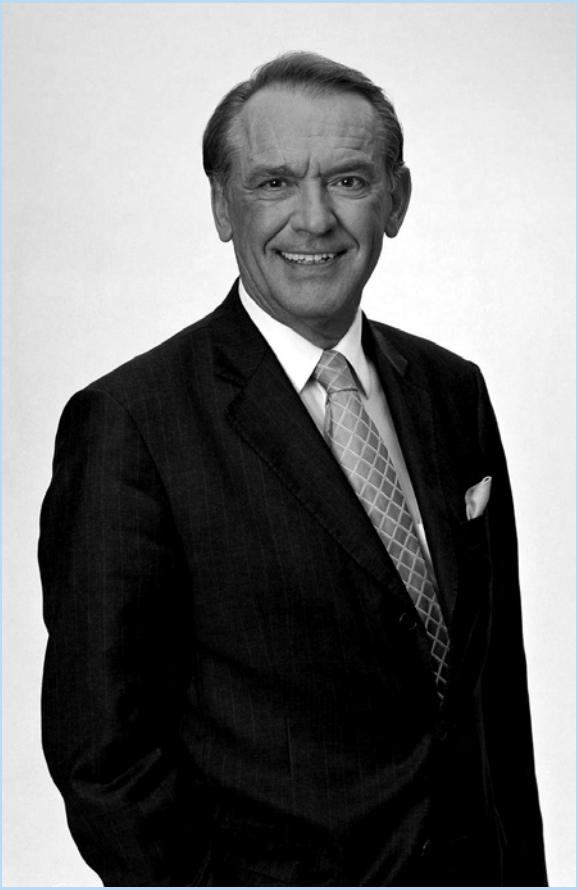
JOAN B. KROC

Distinguished Lecture Series

Jan Eliasson

Armed Conflict: The Cost to Civilians

JOAN B. KROC
INSTITUTE FOR
PEACE & JUSTICE
UNIVERSITY OF SAN DIEGO



Fostering Peace, Cultivating Justice,

Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

Distinguished Lecture Series

Delivered on the 25th of March, 2009 at the

JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE

Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies
University of San Diego
San Diego, California

Jan Eliasson

Armed Conflict: The Cost to Civilians

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Creating a Safer World

Photo: Architectural Photography, Inc.

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JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE

The mission of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) is to foster peace, cultivate justice and create a safer world. Through education, research and peace-making activities, the IPJ offers programs that advance scholarship and practice in conflict resolution and human rights.

The IPJ, a unit of the University of San Diego's Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, draws on Catholic social teaching that sees peace as inseparable from justice and acts to prevent and resolve conflicts that threaten local, national and international peace. The IPJ was established in 2000 through a generous gift from the late Joan B. Kroc to the University of San Diego to create an institute for the study and practice of peace and justice. Programming began in early 2001 and the building was dedicated in December 2001 with a conference, "Peacemaking with Justice: Policy for the 21st Century."

The Institute strives, in Joan B. Kroc's words, to "not only talk about peace, but to make peace." In its peacebuilding initiatives, the IPJ works with local partners to help strengthen their efforts to consolidate peace with justice in the communities in which they live. In Nepal, for example, the IPJ recently began its eighth year of work with Nepali groups to support inclusiveness and dialogue in the transition from armed conflict and monarchy to peace and multiparty democracy. In West Africa, the IPJ works with local human rights groups to strengthen their ability to pressure government for much needed reform and accountability.

The Women PeaceMakers Program documents the stories and best practices of international women leaders who are involved in human rights and peacemaking efforts in their home countries. WorldLink, a year-round educational program for high school students from San Diego and Baja California, connects youth to global affairs.

Community outreach includes speakers, films, art and opportunities for discussion between community members, academics and practitioners on issues of peace and social justice, as well as dialogue with national and international leaders in government, nongovernmental organizations and the military.

In addition to the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, the Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies includes the Trans-Border Institute, which promotes border-related scholarship and an active role for the university in the cross-border community, and a master's program in Peace and Justice Studies to train future leaders in the field.

JOAN B. KROC DISTINGUISHED LECTURE SERIES

Endowed in 2003 by a generous gift to the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice from the late Joan Kroc, the Distinguished Lecture Series is a forum for high-level national and international leaders and policymakers to share their knowledge and perspectives on issues related to peace and justice. The goal of the series is to deepen understanding of how to prevent and resolve conflict and promote peace with justice.

The Distinguished Lecture Series offers the community at large an opportunity to engage with leaders who are working to forge new dialogues with parties in conflict and who seek to answer the question of how to create an enduring peace for tomorrow. The series, which is held at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice at the University of San Diego's Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, examines new developments in the search for effective tools to prevent and resolve conflict while protecting human rights and ensuring social justice.

DISTINGUISHED LECTURERS

April 15, 2003	Robert Edgar General Secretary, National Council of Churches *The Role of the Church in U.S. Foreign Policy*
May 8, 2003	Helen Caldicott President, Nuclear Policy Research Institute *The New Nuclear Danger*
October 15, 2003	Richard J. Goldstone Justice of the Constitutional Court of South Africa *The Role of International Law in Preventing Deadly Conflict*
January 14, 2004	Ambassador Donald K. Steinberg U.S. Department of State *Conflict, Gender and Human Rights: Lessons Learned from the Field*
April 14, 2004	General Anthony C. Zinni United States Marine Corps (retired) *From the Battlefield to the Negotiating Table: Preventing Deadly Conflict*
November 4, 2004	Hanan Ashrawi Secretary General – Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy *Concept, Context and Process in Peacemaking: The Palestinian-Israeli Experience*
November 17, 2004	Noeleen Heyzer Executive Director – U.N. Development Fund for Women *Women, War and Peace: Mobilizing for Security and Justice in the 21st Century*
February 10, 2005	The Honorable Lloyd Axworthy President, University of Winnipeg *The Responsibility to Protect: Prescription for a Global Public Domain*
March 31, 2005	Mary Robinson Former President of Ireland and U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights *Human Rights and Ethical Globalization*

October 27, 2005	His Excellency Ketumile Masire Former President of the Republic of Botswana *Perspectives into the Conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Contemporary Peacebuilding Efforts*
January 27, 2006	Ambassador Christopher R. Hill U.S. Department of State *U.S. Policy in East Asia and the Pacific*
March 9, 2006	William F. Schulz Executive Director – Amnesty International USA *Tainted Legacy: 9/11 and the Ruin of Human Rights*
September 7, 2006	Shirin Ebadi 2003 Nobel Peace Laureate *Iran Awakening: Human Rights, Women and Islam*
October 18, 2006	Miria Matembe, Alma Viviana Pérez, Irene Santiago *Women, War and Peace: The Politics of Peacebuilding*
April 12, 2007	The Honorable Gareth Evans President – International Crisis Group *Preventing Mass Atrocities: Making "Never Again" a Reality*
September 20, 2007	Kenneth Roth Executive Director – Human Rights Watch *The Dynamics of Human Rights and the Environment*
March 4, 2008	Jan Egeland Former Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator for the U.N. *War, Peace and Climate Change: A Billion Lives in the Balance*
April 17, 2008	Jane Goodall Founder – Jane Goodall Institute and U.N. Messenger of Peace *Reason for Hope*
September 24, 2008	The Honorable Louise Arbour Former U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights *Integrating Security, Development and Human Rights*

March 25, 2009 Ambassador Jan Eliasson
Former U.N. Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Darfur and Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs
Armed Conflict: The Cost to Civilians

BIOGRAPHY OF AMBASSADOR JAN ELIASSON

Born in Göteborg, Sweden, in 1940, Ambassador Jan Eliasson was an exchange student in the United States from 1957 to 1958. He graduated from the Swedish Naval Academy in 1962 and earned a master's degree in Economics and Business Administration in 1965.

Ambassador Eliasson served as Diplomatic Adviser to the Swedish Prime Minister from 1982 to 1983, and as Director General for Political Affairs in the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs from 1983 to 1987. In 1992, he was appointed the first U.N. Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and was involved in operations in Somalia, Sudan, Mozambique and the Balkans – taking initiatives on landmines, conflict prevention and humanitarian action.

In 1993 and 1994, Ambassador Eliasson served as mediator in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict for the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. Ambassador Eliasson was the Swedish Ambassador to Washington from 2000 to 2005, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs from 1994 to 2000 and U.N. Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs from 1992 to 1994. Earlier, from 1988 to 1992, he was Sweden's Ambassador to the United Nations in New York where he was part of the U.N. mediation missions in the war between Iran and Iraq, headed by former Prime Minister Olof Palme.

From January 2007 to July 2008, Ambassador Eliasson served as U.N. Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Darfur, and he was President of the U.N. General Assembly from 2005 to 2006. Ambassador Eliasson's distinguished career as a Swedish diplomat culminated in his serving as Minister for Foreign Affairs in 2006.

Ambassador Eliasson is married to Kerstin Eliasson, who was Sweden's State Secretary for Education and Science from 2004 to 2006. They have three grown children: Anna, Emilie and Johan.

INTERVIEW

The following is an edited transcript of an interview with Ambassador Jan Eliasson, conducted on March 25, 2009, by Ami Carpenter, Ph.D., assistant professor of conflict studies in the Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies.

AC: The first question I'm going to ask is on behalf of my students. I know from having read your work that you are a man who has not lost his enthusiasm and optimism – even if you say you do get worried more and more these days. What do you think are some of the most promising roles for our students in peace and justice as they prepare to enter this complex world of development and peacebuilding?

JE: I'm optimistic even though I worry a lot about many developments in today's world. But it always has to come down to practical steps. I think the most important one is to acquire knowledge. The pursuit of knowledge and, in today's world, above all the knowledge of the world outside is absolutely essential. Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* talks about the world outside Verona. We need to realize there is a world outside the United States, outside Sweden, my own country. The more we prepare ourselves for a future which is world-oriented, the better we will serve our nations, paradoxically. "I am basically an internationalist because I love my country," a friend of mine said. In other words, in today's world, well-organized international cooperation is indeed in the national interest, and therefore preparing your professional life and even your personal life for the world in different ways – traveling and learning about the outside world – is the best investment any young person can make.

AC: Agreed. There is a complexity of information that faces our young people, and they tend to get overwhelmed by what they see on the media. I think that is the real value in teaching conflict analysis: It provides a conceptual framework for unpacking or understanding some of the events taking place. What are your thoughts on that?

JE: I think you need to not fall into hopelessness. You need to realize that nobody can do everything, but everybody can do something. And that is absolutely crucial in today's world where the problems are so huge. With the mass of information and the enormity of the problems, you tend to fall into a sense of frustration about the size of the problems and you look to the small, you look inward into your own country and your own small group of friends. You isolate yourself from the realities.

Therefore, I am more and more interested in the notion that we all have a role to play and we cannot blame anyone else. We cannot point to one institution or one organization to solve all the problems. If you look at the environmental issues, they are so huge. Look at the migration issues, look at the diseases, look at organized crime – all these problems are so enormous that not one party, not one organization can deal with it.

The ideal would be to find a way of analyzing the problem, put the problem in the center, and then organize around the problem: the role of the United Nations, the role for regional organizations like the European Union, the role of governments, the role of nongovernmental organizations, the role of the private sector, the role of the universities. Then, after having done that division of labor, realize that here is a very practical part of this problem where I can play a role and make a contribution. By that you distribute the responsibility and reduce somewhat the sometimes too-high expectations on the government. Look at the expectations on the United Nations, or for that matter, the expectations on your new president of the United States, President [Barack] Obama. By realizing that in today's world the problems are interconnected, we therefore need to accept that we all have a role.

AC: I absolutely agree with that perspective, and thank you for the segue because I wanted to ask your opinion about the new administration – specifically, what do you think the geopolitical position of the U.S. is going to be in the next four to eight years?

JE: I can tell you a story. I was giving a speech in Sweden about a month ago. There were a number of chief executive officers of big companies. Before the speech I asked them, "What is it you want me to focus on?"

They said, "President Obama and the direction he goes."

"Fine. Is there a particular reason?"

And one of them said, "I have a 2-year-old son and he was watching television the day after the inauguration and said, 'Obama.'"

The funny thing was not even that, but that the following news item was about the Swedish prime minister. The father came in and asked, "Who is that?" And the child just shook his head.

This is only to tell you the importance of this new American administration. I cannot hide from you that the last few years have been a period where the U.S. leadership in international cooperation, in multilateral structures, has not been strong – in some cases even absent. Then to have a president who seems committed to multilateral cooperation, who seems to realize that not one nation can solve the problems alone, is extremely important.

What I hope is that the president, together with Europe and also others – maybe trans-pacific, not only transatlantic – will adopt an agenda that is not only related to our own immediate interests (namely, security – NATO – or trade and economic factors), but also related to global issues. If the U.S., Europe and other countries with similar values and resources could unite around fighting poverty, could unite around getting clean water, could unite around getting education for the girls in Africa, we would not only do the right thing for these masses of people who need a different type of life, it would also add an ethical dimension to our own cooperation. We would repair some of the damage done to Western democracies the last few years.

We look with great expectations to the president, although by saying that I'm also adding to the problem: He is exposed to almost inhumanly great expectations. But it's also a sign of the hope that is attached to the American government and the American people for the future. So it's also a responsibility for this nation to choose a road ahead which is in conformity with today's world where we are all interdependent – which we have seen now in this financial crisis where everybody has been hurt rather badly.

AC: So you believe that the U.S. can regain its soft power that it's really lost in the past eight years?

JE: I'm glad you said that. I think it's exactly there in the soft power where we democracies have to put the emphasis. I have seen very few military victories, and if there are military victories there is usually some price attached to it and it leads to such suffering and pain and repair work. If we could give a stronger role to, first, diplomacy – the peaceful settlement of disputes – that would be something. But also it is important to lead by example.

Strength during the Cold War was military strength, or political strength as a result of military strength. In today's world, strength is economic strength well-distributed, according to my values. Strength is social cohesion in a society. Strength is environmental balance in a society. Strength is knowledge and science. Strength is young people who believe in the future. If we in Europe and the United States can really move our societies in this direction, then we will not only enhance life for our own citizens, but also we will have a larger influence in today's world. With the development of these weapons of mass destruction and with the effects of wars leaving scars that take decades to heal, we should leave the so-called military solutions behind. Now it's time to give the weight to the peaceful settlement of disputes and also the prevention of conflict by creating societies which are not conflict-prone.

AC: You're speaking my language. If you deconstruct what it means to prevent conflict, it has everything to do with how societies are governed and run: inclusively, democratically and so forth. Speaking of the importance of that mindset – conflict resolution, prevention, nonviolence, diplomacy and development over or before military action – I always think of the difference between the industrial democracies and places in the world where you do not have elected leaders, where you have very bad leaders and very bad institutions. You have actually negotiated with two of these leaders: Saddam Hussein and Robert Mugabe. Could you share your insights? Were they capable negotiating partners? Were you able to make progress in those interactions? Did they have any similarities?

JE: My meeting with Robert Mugabe was actually before Zimbabwe became independent. He was leader of the ZANU [Zimbabwe African National Union] movement, the liberation movement. I saw him together with his wife outside Harare, which at that time was called Salisbury. I got a very bad impression of him, even at that time, because I was trying to convey to him the importance of democracy, respect for human rights, a multiparty system and so forth. Sweden had supported the movements very much during the liberation period and we were in a bit of a famed position in dialogue with him. I was asked to convey this message to him, but my message was very strongly rejected.

He made the point that democracy in his book was something that must take place within one party. So he already at that time talked about a one-party system. He made reference to the chiefs and chieftains tradition in Africa to strengthen his point. I argued, unfortunately not successfully, that I felt that things were not going to go in the right direction. I was unfortunately correct in my forecast. But his wife was there and had spent time in Sweden. I remember her saying, "Robert Mugabe, you should listen to this young man." But he wasn't too friendly in his comments to her. I never really had a serious negotiation with him.

With Saddam Hussein, of course, it was definitely serious negotiations because it was during the Iran-Iraq War. In the mediation efforts of the United Nations, I was first an assistant to [Swedish] Prime Minister Olof Palme[1] and then, after his death, I became the first representative of the secretary-general for the implementation of the ceasefire resolution that was adopted in 1988. I took over the role from the secretary-general to make sure that that became a peace agreement. That required meetings with Saddam Hussein. I'd also met him during the early part of the war. Altogether I think I spent 28 hours with Saddam Hussein.

There are many things I could say, but I don't think I've ever in my life felt fear so physically present in an environment as I did in Iraq. His own colleagues, the diplomats, the ministers, were quiet, pale, hardly moved while he was smoking his cigar and looking at you never blinking. And what I noticed was that my type of questions, my type of conversation was something that he did not normally experience. He evidently never received critical questions or questions that were difficult. I saw the other Iraqis in the room almost fainting when I produced one difficult question after another.

Knowing what happened behind the scenes and in the cellars and in the prisons in Saddam Hussein's Iraq was a background to the meeting. This is also a description of the ethical dilemma a mediator has. I met Saddam Hussein after I knew that he had gassed 5,000 people in Halabja in the Kurdish area. I had to mobilize so much discipline to leave that completely apart because I still had to build his trust and cooperation for my continued work. And I had to suppress that mentally and of course also to the outside.

AC: How difficult was that for you?

JE: Very difficult, but you have to see this as a professional hazard. When you go into this work you may see deficiencies, and you often do so in the wisdom and leadership capacity of the people you deal with. Sometimes as you get to know them you get frustrated. But you also realize that if you

1 Olof Palme was prime minister of Sweden when he was assassinated in February 1986.

don't create a minimum of trust and confidence with them, it is the soldiers who are sent out to the field to die who pay the price. The children in the villages will die unnecessarily if I walk out over negotiations or give up due to my own ethical convictions. So it requires discipline. You have to really accept that during the period of mediation you have to show restraint and just focus on getting the issues done that you are negotiating.

AC: Saddam Hussein is often painted as an individual who was intransigent, unreasonable and could not be negotiated with, in much the same way as we now speak about the president of Iran. It sounds like you are saying you were able to have a dialogue with him, perhaps all having to do with the skills you brought to the table.

JE: I have a pretty modest view of the role of the mediator. I often compare myself to the person who brings the horses to the water hole. You can drag them to the water hole with lots of labor and hard work, but I don't know whether you have ever tried to force a horse to drink. In other words, in any mediation situation there has to be a minimum of political will. If there is a political will on both sides, then you have a chance to get results, with mediation skills. But if there is no political will, if one of the two parties wishes to go for a military victory or refuses defeat, then you are equally handicapped to reach results. So you have to look for political will sufficient to move the process forward.

Then in negotiations you have to deal with certain factors that are in my view decisive to reach results. Firstly there is timing: Choose the right time for the different proposals and for the sequence of the negotiation. Secondly, you have to show cultural understanding. If you lack in that, you don't create the environment where the other parties can feel confidence or trust or sympathy even.

Thirdly, you have to be enormously careful with the language, the nuances of words and be able to change the words in the different situations. Listen to the parties, pick up an idea, pick up a word, weave it into your next text,

quickly change it so you can adapt to the continued discussion and then come up with something before people leave the room or take their flights out.

And fourthly, the power of personal relationships, the power of establishing an atmosphere of trust and confidence and even sympathy. The other person is usually very fearful of making concessions for which he or she – mostly it's he – has to pay a price. So in the end it's a matter of this person trusting the mediator, that he or she is fair enough to come up with a proposal and that you have established a personal relationship so the people really want to agree with you in that situation. These are the four factors that are important for success in negotiations: timing, cultural understanding, control of language and personal relations.

AC: Were you able to establish personal relations in Khartoum?

JE: I negotiated humanitarian corridors in Sudan in 1993. The president at the time was [Omar al-] Bashir. I came back 14 years later to Khartoum. I met President Bashir and I said to him, "I'm back. I hope I don't have to come back 14 years from now for another conflict." He smiled and remembered that we had negotiated the humanitarian corridors in 1993, which was interesting in itself because from the beginning we had negotiated local ceasefires. That was a military concept that didn't work. So we changed the concept to a humanitarian concept – that worked. By that we saved thousands of lives in that certain region of the south.

But the point is that I knew him from the past and that was important. That negotiation had gone well, it worked out. Even though I knew what had happened between 2003 and 2005, I had the role – together with my co-negotiator, Salim Salim of the African Union – to find a peaceful settlement to the Darfur conflict. We dealt with the different issues: power-sharing, wealth-sharing and security. One difficulty was to reach out to the many movements, which were 20 when we were beginning and five when we finished. And still that's not good enough if you want to have one negotiation team.

But you have to develop trust and even sympathy I would say, so that they at least show respect for your efforts. They know that you don't have any hidden agenda, you are honest. My mother always told me, "Never lie in your life." She gave me a very pragmatic reason: If you never lie you don't have to keep track of what you've said before. But in negotiations it's a deadly sin to even come in the neighborhood of something that could look like being devious or not telling the truth.

And then also, have a light touch sometimes. Show your personal side. Dare to be a bit personal. Find out more about the family of the person on the other side. Go and see the carpet museum if you're in Tehran or the museum of antiquities in Baghdad. (Unfortunately lots of things have been stolen there now but I hope that they're retrieved.) And by that you show respect to culture. This you shouldn't do out of manipulation, but out of sheer interest. If you add that cultural curiosity to your arsenal, not only are you more successful, but also you have more fun. It's more interesting.

AC: My next question touches on illegitimate or compromised leadership, which is a better word to use than "bad" leadership. We see it right now in Mexico. There is a very violent conflict taking place between drug cartels that are extremely powerful, very well-armed, control their own paramilitaries, are well-financed. It is similar to the kinds of factional violence which you also see in Afghanistan, Somalia – anything tied to war economies essentially. In your experience working in this field for the past four decades, have you seen an increasing prevalence in illegitimate or compromised leadership? Does that impact the difficulty or ease of your job and, by extension, the potential future job of our graduate students?

JE: I see a growing problem of leadership which is compromised – I like your term – mainly through the role of organized crime, which plays a far more important role than we dare fantasize about, dare imagine. The numbers are enormous. The turnover on narcotics is $300 billion at least. Illegal arms


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trade: $200 billion perhaps. Prostitution: $100 billion. 1.2 million women and children are sold as merchandise in a trade that is run by crime rings. And this money and the power of these people are so strong that they undermine our institutions. They are the power factions behind local government to a great degree in many parts of the world.

But also, they are instilling such fear among those who really want to clean up the system. There are judges killed. There are investigators killed. There are families threatened. There are even prosecutors killed in Italy, in our European Union. I've seen it in the Balkans, I've seen it in Africa, I've seen it in Latin America. I think it's extremely dangerous.

This also should be seen against the background that democratic societies usually have to fight for every dollar or krona. In the finance ministries, the normal routine is to cut down and cut down and cut down. You find that the public servant, the civil servant, the policeman, the customs officer in Eastern Europe or in Asia is paid so low that he or she is prone to corruption.

If this continues, it diminishes the value of democratic structures. You may have the democratic choice, but if those who are elected are under such threat and influence from other groups, then democracy doesn't deliver the results it was supposed to. We even have discussions today inside the European Union on the role of criminal organizations in Bulgaria and Romania who are now members of the European Union. So we have to watch this. This is crucial.

Then you also have the conflicts that are built in, because there is a confrontation between lawmakers and those who are said to protect our society and the criminal groups. Now, with the flow of arms and weapons across the borders and proliferated inside a country, you also bring about more violence – violence that often affects the civilians. It's a poison. We have to mobilize on all fronts to deal with these problems before it's too late.

AC: It's what you said: We have to imagine it. When we can imagine a problem we can start to imagine a solution. Does the international community engage with organized crime?

JE: No. I don't think the international society has done enough. I feel sorry for my friend, Antonio Costa, who is heading the unit of the United Nations responsible for crime fighting in Vienna [United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime]. His resources are perhaps one *promille* of the money used against him and our common interests.

But I think it also goes back to fighting crime and fighting for a good society at home; we talked about that earlier. You have to build a society from the bottom, where these phenomena don't have breeding ground, the fertile soil. It's by creating good society at home that you strengthen the mechanisms that can prevent this from happening. The prevention mechanisms have to be developed both internally, nationally so to speak, and internationally. It's only when you have a combination of measures on both levels that it will work.

Let me just tell you about perhaps my only contribution to academic literature. It has to do with prevention. I started out writing what I called the ladder of prevention, but I have now elaborated that into what I call a pyramid of prevention. It's on the international level and mostly from the U.N. perspective. If you want to avoid the use of force, what are the measures that one can take before you get there? What are the rungs of the ladder up the pyramid? And which are the rungs back after the conflict in order to prevent it from happening again? Fifty percent of the conflicts finished in the last 20 years are erupting again.

The first rung: early warning, which should also include media attention because even the most isolated dictator is sensitive to bad media. The second rung is fact-finding missions from the U.N. system, sent out by the secretary-general in the beginning phase, maybe then enforced by recommendation by the Security Council. Fact-finding missions are there just to see how things are and calm things down.

The third stage is Article 33 of the U.N. Charter which mentions all the methods that should be used before a conflict erupts. The heading of Chapter VI is "Pacific Settlement of Disputes."Article 33 lists the following measures: negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements or other peaceful means – in other words, eight different methods for peaceful settlement of disputes. How often do we use these? Very rarely.

Then you have the fourth rung: preventive deployment, sending out civilians or military for preventive purposes. We did that in Macedonia in the early 1990s, successfully. And then you have Chapter VII and sanctions, and I would say targeted sanctions: affecting the leaders, stopping their wives from buying jewelry in Paris or fur coats in London and stopping their money from going to different tax havens around the world. And then you have the use of force. The credible threat of the use of force comes from unity among the permanent five on the Security Council.

Here are all the things one could do before a conflict erupts. Very rarely are all these methods applied. You go through this painful period of the use of force and then what happens? Very often we leave. What we need to do is change that ladder into a pyramid: You go down the different rungs the other side. What are they? Humanitarian assistance, of course, in order for people to survive. But add to that relief and rehabilitation efforts: drilling wells, building roads, opening up a health clinic, a small school, things that can be done within six months for a society to recover, give jobs to young men often demobilized from the movements or from the guerilla fighters.

Then you have institution building. Without functioning institutions, without the beginning of good governance, you cannot deliver. And then you have reconciliation processes. Here you have five or six rungs down the other side. By that you reduce the risk that you have a vicious circle.

AC: Would you place them in that order: reconciliation after institution building?

JE: No, you could vary that. The earlier you can start reconciliation the better.

WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION

By Dee Aker
Interim Executive Director
Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

Welcome to the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ), where our mission is to foster peace, cultivate justice and create a safer world. We're honored to have with us Dean Paula Cordeiro from the School of Leadership and Education Sciences and our own Dean William Headley of the Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies. We also have in the audience our current M.A. class in Peace and Justice Studies.

We really want to welcome you and invite you to enjoy our most accomplished guest, a diplomat who has toiled in some of the most difficult and dangerous regions of the world, as well as the halls of many capitals and the United Nations. While you can read the brief bit in your program about the speaker's 40 years of diplomatic experience, it can hardly be squeezed into a few paragraphs or a few volumes. We're going to have him write that book he's been talking about to let us really know what went on; it's going to be a series I'm sure.

Diana Kutlow, our senior program officer in charge of the Distinguished Lecture Series, keeps a chart of speakers, ranking them in different areas of expertise. Tonight's speaker is ranked at the top of the chart of almost every theme and region we've covered: weapons control, conflict prevention, humanitarian action, Iran, Iraq, Somalia, Sudan, Mozambique, the Balkans and on and on.

During these years of diplomatic work he's also been an innovator, serving as the first Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs at the United Nations, an area which has grown tremendously in importance over the years and which is very important for those of us who work in the field of peacebuilding. He also launched much needed reforms during his tenure as president of the U.N. General Assembly.

In a new book by Dennis Ross, the former Bush and Clinton administration Middle East envoy and negotiator, it says, "The international realities we face in the early 21st century demand our understanding, effective assessments, the ability to match our objectives and our means, the know-how to wield influence well and get others to do what we want, and the skillful application of all the policy instruments at our disposal. In this more complicated world in which knowledge is more widely shared, resentments are more intensely felt and the use of power is more likely to be constrained, we have little choice but to become far more adept in exercising every aspect of statecraft."

Jan Eliasson is a gentleman and a diplomat who has understood and used this level of statecraft throughout his career. And when the policies and the vision were not sufficient to do what was needed to address the challenges

he saw and faced, he worked to change them at the United Nations and elsewhere. This is a gentleman who listens to and gets women involved in peace dialogues – which some of you know is important to us here – and he continues to share his expertise and experience as a visiting professor at Uppsala and Göteborg Universities in Sweden and in several European and American universities, two of which have granted him an honorary doctorate. He is chairman of the Anna Lindh Memorial Fund of Sweden and a member of the advisory group of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

We thank our truly distinguished guest for joining us this evening and in advance of a presentation he's going to be giving tomorrow to the NROTC [Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps] and the law school. On behalf of the IPJ teams returning from Guatemala, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Mindanao in the Philippines – where they've been seeing the faces and listening to the voices of civilians caught in armed conflicts in recent times – I invite all of you to join me in welcoming the man who, after seeing all and doing all of these things, still claims to be an optimist – if a little worried a lot of the time: Ambassador Jan Eliasson.

Armed Conflict: The Cost to Civilians

Ambassador Jan Eliasson

Thank you very much, Dr. Aker, dear Dee. That was a wonderful introduction. To the young people I want to say that I'm sorry that it also discloses my age, having done all that.

I must tell you a story where the introduction did not end up in such the wonderful way that Dee did it. I was in New York back in the early '90s. I had done humanitarian operations in Somalia, Sudan, Burma, disaster areas all over, and I was given a reception. The lady was very kind and gave a very good account of what I'd done, but she ended up in a way which sort of changed the whole angle of what I'd been doing. She said, "Now, ladies and gentlemen, may I introduce to you the man responsible for all the disasters in the world." I felt that was somewhat unfair.

Thank you very much, and also thank you very much to all of you – Diana and others – for a wonderful reception. I have been met with such warmth, and the atmosphere and serenity here in this surrounding is extraordinary. It's a gift, I'd say, to the students to be at such a place. It really is inspiring. I also want to say as a Swede having left my country last week with snow on the ground, that I realized why I love my own country, namely the summers. I also realized that the winters are the reason I joined the Foreign Service. And here I'm doubly reminded of the wonderful environment in which you live here.

"The need to put the human being in the center is urgent in today's world. I think we are failing in this."

I want to commend the Joan B. Kroc Institute for the justice and peace accent that you have on your work: no justice without peace, no peace without justice. But I also want to commend you for putting such a strong emphasis on human security. The need to put the human being in the center is urgent in today's world. I think we are failing in this. We have not achieved human security. And

I would like to share with you a bit of disappointment in what happened, or rather what did not happen, in two situations in the post-war period.

The first one was at the end of the Second World War. The historians here may dispute this, but I would claim that the period between 1930 and 1945 was the most horrible period in human history if you add up communism in the Stalin fashion, fascism and Nazism, the Second World War, Holocaust. That period between 1930 and 1945 was a true nightmare.

And then, interestingly, what happened was the pendulum effect. 1945: People meet in San Francisco to try to create the basis for a new world – international solidarity, peace and security. They become the founders of the United Nations, those who authored the U.N. Charter. At the same time, Secretary of State George Marshall devised the Marshall Plan, learning from the First World War experiences that it's better to start a period of reconstruction and cooperation.

A couple of years later the European Union started in its first shape: the Coal and Steel Union, which had little to do with coal and steel, but basically dealt with stopping wars between France and Germany. And 1948, on the 10th of December, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted, with Eleanor Roosevelt as a prime mover. Look at this explosion of goodwill and desire to leave this nightmare behind and create a new world. That was a moment of great opportunity, wasn't it?

And then came the Cold War and the suspicion between systems. Human security did not rank very high up on the agenda during the Cold War. During that period nations and people became pawns in a geopolitical chess game. And we forgot what we intended to do during that period between 1945 and 1950. That was the first disappointment, in my view.

Then came the second. We were all extremely happy – do you all remember the great relief, the joy we felt when the wall tumbled down in Berlin in 1989 and the Cold War was over? The communist system, that was lost from

the beginning, recognized its failure, and we saw the end of the Cold War. But then when that wet blanket of the Cold War was lifted away, it turned out that there were so many forces that had been suppressed for so long: ethnic minorities, religious minorities. The superpowers' influence was lifted away and domestic forces started to move. In many places there were not democracies, so it turned out to be a period where, to us diplomats, to a surprising degree conflicts erupted again. But more and more they were in the form of civil wars: disputes, conflicts, wars inside nations. This was the second disappointment, that this dream of the end of the Cold War would lead again to putting human security high up on the agenda.

This challenge remains. The challenge remains to place the human being in the center and achieve the goal that solidarity – this fine word – does not stop at a border but at human beings in need. During that Cold War period,

and even to the founders of the United Nations, sovereignty and territorial integrity was – and is – such a strong concept that those concepts prevailed over humanitarian conditions and the situation of human rights in a country.

"Does solidarity stop at the border or at human beings in need?"

And we see that challenge today. We see it in Sudan – I'll come back to that. We see it in Zimbabwe. We see it in Burma. Does solidarity stop at the border or at human beings in need? It does in fact mostly stop at the border. What can we do about it? I'll come back to that also.

Let me go to the situation as it is around the world now. It's not a pretty picture, but I promise you that I'll have more positive remarks to make later on. Dee was hinting that I was an optimist. I say that I am an optimist, but these days I always add, "but I worry a lot."

Let's look at the cost to civilians in armed conflict. First of all, let's just note the statistics. I am not sure about the exact figures, but they approximately are correct. During the First World War, 10 percent of the casualties were civilians; 90 percent were military. The most horrible form of killing took place between the border of Germany and France. In the Second World War, the figures were approximately 50-50. Fifty million people were killed in the Second World War; approximately 50 percent were civilians and 50 percent military personnel.

What is it today? Many of you know it. It's a remarkable shift, almost the reverse of the First World War. Today, it's 80 to 90 percent civilians who are killed in conflicts, international ones and civil wars. That is a striking and shocking figure. It is the civilians who pay the price in the conflicts today. Why?

Civil wars tend to lead to more casualties among civilians. You have the proliferation of weapons – you see it all over the world, you see it close to you in Mexico. You have also the ever-deadlier weapons, machines that kill to a degree that has never existed in human history. Then you have of course the risk of the use of weapons of mass destruction. I have personally seen the use of chemical weapons when I saw Iranian soldiers coming back from the front in the war with Iraq in 1982 and '83. They were used by Saddam Hussein's Iraq and nothing was done about it. I still sense a bitter disappointment that so little was done and that no warning and no sanctions were exercised against Saddam Hussein. If that had taken place when he started the use of chemical weapons against Iran, then perhaps we would not have seen the incredible, horrible experience of Halabja in March 1988, when Saddam Hussein used chemical weapons and killed 5,000 people, mostly women and children.

Secondly, women and children are the most exposed, the most vulnerable. This is used unfortunately, sadly, tragically, brutally, cruelly, cynically, as a method of warfare – not only inflicting damage, but also sending a message of fear into the conflict. You see it in Congo. You see it in Sudan of course. I can't name it all – there are so many situations where it's used systematically to instill fear among the population. And this also goes for the case of rape. Rape is used systematically, particularly in the Congo conflict. Now, fortunately the Security Council of the United Nations has decided to make rape a war crime. And this is a great step forward – Security Council Resolution 1820. It's important that that is implemented and respected.

You have also the terrible phenomenon of child soldiers. I met them, some of those who came back more or less brainwashed: 9- or 10-year-old boys with AK-47s. They are easier victims, easier to convince to do these horrible things than grown-ups. But they became almost destroyed, although I have seen some fantastic examples of recovery.

Next on this horrible list of issues – sorry to bring up such sad features but we have to see realities as they are – the trafficking. 1.2 million women and children are sold in sexual exploitation around the world. I claim that we

have slave trade around the world. 1.2 million women and children are sold as merchandise in the sex trade, and probably 6 or 7 million are sold as forced labor, and that is something that happens very much in conflict situations.

"... every third Darfuri is an internally displaced person living in camps."

The last point on this list of outlooks today when you see the problems – because you have to identify the problems first before you start trying to do something about them – are the refugees and the internally displaced people. You know the difference: You become a refugee when you get across a border. When you stagger across the border you turn from an IDP, an internally displaced person, into a refugee, and by that you change status. When you become a refugee, the 1951 convention is applicable and you have stronger legal protection.[2] But believe it or not, among the approximately 31 million refugees and displaced persons in the world (I only have the 2007 statistics), the majority are displaced persons. So there are more, if I may say so, refugees inside nations than there are those who have succeeded in crossing into another country. And that I think is an illustration of the degree of violence, conflict and often suppression of minorities that exist in so many countries, within nations.

Let me give you the example of Sudan, where I worked 18 months, until July of last year. There are 2.5 million internally displaced people in Darfur. The population is 6.5 million, so every third Darfuri is an internally displaced person living in camps. They have lived there, many of them, four to five years. It's a sad experience to meet the people inside those camps. I remember a 17-year-old boy who was very bitter. I tried to talk to him; it was hard but I found out that he felt ashamed. His father could not go out and farm, his mother risks being raped when she's out searching for firewood or water, and he himself was unemployed and couldn't do anything in the camp. He

2 The Convention relating to the Status of Refugees.

was saying that there were groups that asked him to take up arms and also instigate violence inside the camp.

Of course you know from the Middle East what happens when you have a refugee situation that just becomes a festering wound, an infected wound – and that very much is a risk in Sudan. When I left I reported to the U.N. Security Council in June 2007 and said there are two ticking bombs. One is what happens in the camps if there is no hope for return, the frustration and anger that will grow there. The second danger is that the land the people have left to go to the camps is now taken over by people who don't own that land, so one day we will have the problem of the people in the camps returning to their villages to find that someone else is sitting in their homes, tilling their land.

Here I should say a few words about today's situation. You know that 13 humanitarian organizations have been expelled from Sudan, mainly from the Darfur area, and there is now a risk that 1 million people will lack food, medicine and in many cases water in the next three or four weeks. We have a desperate situation at hand right now. The solution must be a combination of different steps. The first one of course would be to have President Bashir retract his decision in the interest of saving his own population. But if that doesn't happen, there is a need for a mobilization of efforts from the remaining organizations inside who continue to work (which is about the equal number who were expelled), and they must be given the resources, the personnel, the money to strengthen their organizations to compensate as much as possible for those who leave. But to do that in such a short time is extremely difficult.

The other hope that some have, although there are problems with this, is that the government of Sudan realizes that they now have a larger responsibility to prove the point that there is not going to be a humanitarian disaster, by distributing food, medicine and other supplies more fairly to the Darfuri people. But that might be wishful thinking. And there are also those in the camps who do not want to receive food from the government side.

Another consequence, which has not been discussed so much in the press, is a problem that I think will arise: that many people in the camps may think that the situation will become critical, or is critical, and therefore they will decide to cross the border and get support in Chad where the humanitarian organizations continue, where the UNHCR [United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees] is active and where the legal obligations are there to help out. In Chad there are about 200,000 refugees from Sudan; that figure could grow. So these are the different scenarios for what might happen. I think it's urgent that decisions and action are taken very soon to avoid a huge disaster, again, in Darfur.

OK, I promise you this is it, the dark picture is over. But what can we then do about this? The first point I'd like to make is that to really start a movement or increase our voices and our message, there has to be respect of international law. There has to be respect of international humanitarian law. There is so much that the countries of the world have promised to do which they are now forgetting. We don't know enough about the 1949 Geneva Conventions and all the other instruments that we have from the U.N. Charter onward to protect civilians.

If you notice these rather dangerous trends and facts that I have enumerated, it's a historic irony that we have the nightmare of 1930 to 1945 behind us, we have left the Cold War behind us, and we are still not achieving what we must do – namely, reaching a level of human security which restores the dignity of man around the world. Therefore we have to do this educational work. Get back to the facts. Read the commitments that have been made. The Geneva Conventions state very clearly that civilians must be protected.

We made reference to that, Olof Palme and I. We were mediating in the Iran-Iraq War in the '80s, and there was indiscriminate bombing of the villages in the border area of Iran and Iraq. Some of us just picked up the Geneva Conventions and said to the Iranians and Iraqis, "Are you crazy? You cannot just bomb these villages. They are 95 percent civilian. It's a terror action from both sides." We actually achieved an agreement which is not very well known. On the 11th of June 1984, both sides committed themselves not to

bomb the villages in the border areas. And we made reference to the Geneva Conventions in that agreement.

In 1993 I was in Sudan, in another conflict – it was the war between north and south. And there was an area of 50,000 people that was really isolated by the conflict and by landmines surrounding the area. Norwegian Church Aid, a church organization which was very strong in Juba in southern Sudan, sent a warning to me; I was then Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs. It said, "You have to come. If you don't come here and open up this area, 50,000 people may starve to death."

So I went to Khartoum and tried to negotiate. To begin with we tried to negotiate a local ceasefire, but of course that didn't work because the local ceasefire required the consent of the military and also required observers, monitors. Fortunately, before we had to leave we thought of something new. We said, instead of a local ceasefire, let's go for a humanitarian corridor. This was the first time that concept was introduced. We got the agreement from the government and later on from the movements to open up a humanitarian corridor to this area, which would save everyone in that area, whether it was government-controlled or rebel-controlled villages, and was for a particular duration.

The beauty of it was that the government didn't have to sign an agreement with the rebel movement, the SPLM [Sudan People's Liberation Movement]; they didn't want to give legitimacy to them. We simply said, "You make a commitment to us, the United Nations," and that worked. And in that, again, we made reference to the humanitarian legislation that exists apart from the humanitarian conscience. And believe it or not, three weeks later, 29 landing places had been cleared, and a month later the Nile was open to Juba and that population was saved.

"I think there is a need to go back to the sources and use the authority of the negotiations that were behind this laborious, long work to create a legal framework which defends human dignity."

So things can be done. You can do something if you know first of all the legislation, the legal framework, but also if you use a little bit of an innovative solution.

Now, the U.N. Charter. I carry it with me often; I have it here. Article 51 says that you have the right to self-defense. It's very clear. Israel was exercising that right in the Lebanon war of 2006 and in the Gaza fighting in 2008 and 2009. But it's also irrefutable in my view, and this is clearly the conclusion of most lawyers, that the response has to be proportionate – there has to be a proportionate response in the use of force. If there is a disproportionate response, this is not in line with international law. That again needs to be brought out. I think there is a need to go back to the sources and use the authority of the negotiations that were behind this laborious, long work to create a legal framework which defends human dignity.

Another point is that the peacekeeping operations of today have to have, more and more, a humanitarian mandate. To some this is questionable because there is a risk that you confuse the humanitarian with the military operation and that you taint the humanitarian operation. But I must say, having been in the conflict areas, I am glad that there are peacekeepers with convoys that can reach distant and forgotten villages.

But you have to have a reasonable division of labor. Of course the dilemma is that there is always a risk that the peacekeeping force is seen as an intrusion; therefore in peacekeeping operations we always have to remember that we have to, as it's said, win the hearts and minds of people. When you see a

peacekeeper you should connect him with peace and not with violence. And this of course is a problem the United States has faced in Iraq and the NATO forces are facing in Afghanistan. But we have to make sure that the peacekeeper is seen as a positive factor, someone who brings peace and welfare to the countries.

I remember peacekeepers, some of them were Swedes, in the Balkans. They were electricians or plumbers or carpenters back home. When they got into a village and saw that the woman in the house had problems with her plumbing, they took off their uniforms and fixed the plumbing. That's the way to build trust and confidence.

"Another factor that could enhance the respect and understanding of this civilian suffering is to give a stronger role to civil society – and I would say particularly to women."

And I remember a woman soldier. Children ran out of a school – they were scared, there was shooting. And this soldier, I'm proud to say she was a Swede, sat down on her knees and the children just climbed on her. You can imagine that made that peacekeeping operation in that particular town very popular. We have to try to do that under very difficult circumstances.

Another factor that could enhance the respect and understanding of this civilian suffering is to give a stronger role to civil society – and I would say particularly to women. I have very, very positive experiences of working with the women in Somalia. I had some problems selling my negotiation scheme to the men, I must say, at the risk of almost cultural insensitivity I was told. But I thought I was on the right track – at least the women thought so. And in Sudan, Salim Salim – my co-negotiator from the African Union – and I worked very closely with civil society and women's organizations, and even used their arguments

vis a vis the rebel leaders and the government (when the women so accepted that we bring up their arguments of course). And they represented always the reasonable, down-to-earth, sensible desire to achieve peace, and had very pragmatic approaches. I think the role of civil society must be enhanced. Much can be gained from giving civil society a stronger role.

"Not even the most isolated dictator is insensitive to the pressure from his own people who are more and more well-informed and want to see change."

I believe there is a new possibility here because with the new communication methods we have, with everything from Internet to cell phones and the power of the media, the pressure can be stronger, the impact can be stronger from civil society. Not even the most isolated dictator is insensitive to the pressure from his own people who are more and more well-informed and want to see change. And I think civil society, in particular women's organizations, have a tremendous opportunity.

This role has now been recognized. I mentioned resolution 1820 earlier about rape, but there is another resolution, 1325. It's not from the General Assembly, but from the Security Council, so it's a very strong resolution which states very clearly that women must play a stronger role in peacebuilding around the world. And in the new Peacebuilding Commission (I chaired those negotiations at the United Nations) that role was recognized. Now, again, that has to be implemented in reality.

I mentioned earlier when we were talking about humanitarian access that we have made some progress, although it's being tested in Zimbabwe, it's being tested in Burma, it's being tested now, as I said earlier, on an urgent basis in Sudan. But when it comes to violations of human rights, there is very

little progress because this is seen by most countries, partly in the Security Council but also in the General Assembly, as interference in internal affairs. Humanitarian intervention was introduced as a concept in the early '90s. It was rejected very, very quickly by the majority of states as a political Trojan horse used by Western powers to undermine regimes that they didn't like.

"... if sovereignty is so important, why not then accept that sovereignty implies that you protect your own population from genocide, ethnic cleansing, mass killing, etc., and that every state has a responsibility to protect its own population from genocide, ethnic cleansing and mass killing?"

There is a new concept that I would like to remind you of which is an extremely important new way of looking at this problem of responding to the question, does solidarity stop at a border or at human beings in need, and that is the principle of responsibility to protect – R2P as it's called in diplomat-ese. It is a way of saying that if sovereignty is so important, why not then accept that sovereignty implies that you protect your own population from genocide, ethnic cleansing, mass killing, etc., and that every state has a responsibility to protect its own population from genocide, ethnic cleansing and mass killing?

This principle was accepted. It's on paper. On the 16th of September 2006, this was stated in the U.N. General Assembly. I had the honor of chairing the General Assembly when that decision was taken by 172 leaders from all over the world. This was irrefutable. Nobody could say no to this.

But the problem was the next paragraph. For those who would like to get into diplomat-ese again, you could look at the second part of that paragraph where it says that if a country does not live up to the responsibility to protect

its own population, then the international community, through the United Nations, has the responsibility to act. But there come the restrictions, I'm sorry to say, because it says that it has to be done on a collective basis – and I think it's correct that it should be on a collective basis; no individual state should take the right to intervene. But then it adds "as appropriate" and other limitations as you can imagine in the diplomatic life. And it ends by saying that the responsibility in the end lies with the Security Council, and there the veto power often has prevented action.

"And I think we ... need to bring that principle out and remind the leaders of the world that such a responsibility exists. Print it out, enlarge it, frame it and put it inside all government quarters in the world to remind them."

In a way we are back to square one, although the principle that every state has the responsibility to protect its own population is now laid down. And I think we – you represent the university world and perhaps civil society, the private sector and media – need to bring that principle out and remind the leaders of the world that such a responsibility exists. Print it out, enlarge it, frame it and put it inside all government quarters in the world to remind them.

I will end by putting all this in the larger context: It is time we place the peaceful solutions in the center and realize that very rarely are there military solutions. Indeed the most civilized thing we can do is prevent conflict from erupting, and that if conflict erupts, mediation and other peaceful means should be employed.

There are two key chapters of the U.N. Charter: Chapter VII, the use of force – and I am not a pacifist to the degree that I don't think the United Nations should have the possibility to use force if necessary – and Chapter VI, which

is my favorite chapter. Chapter VI has the beautiful, almost poetic heading, "Pacific Settlements of Disputes." It is not used to the degree that we should. We are losing far too many lives, far too much money, losing reputations of international organizations and our nights' sleep, because we wait until conflicts erupt. Therefore I think we should use Article 33 of the U.N. Charter, which is Christmas Eve for a diplomat.

Listen to what Chapter VI says we should do before conflicts erupt and ask yourself, is this being done? "The parties to any dispute shall first of all seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice." How often do we do this? Very rarely. And I think it's time to give the word a chance, give the dialogue a chance, talk and try to find solutions before the conflicts turn into the nature that I've described in the earlier part of my presentation tonight.

"I only regret that we didn't add a fourth dimension which I still think is necessary for this to work, and that is good governance."

And then also understand in this larger context that while we try to work in our world for peace, we must see the interrelationship between different pursuits of a peaceful world. When Kofi Annan delivered a report to the General Assembly when I was president, we thought of a good way of beginning the document that was adopted on the 16th of September 2005. We had sentences which sound like this: "No peace without development. No development without peace. But no lasting peace or sustainable development without the respect of human rights."

In other words, peace, development and the work for human rights are the same. If one of these three pillars is not there, you have an unstable situation which usually leads to conflict, poverty or continued violations of human rights. They all belong together, so we have to break down walls, and you do that in the Joan Kroc Institute in a very good way because it also has to be done at a university level. We must see the relationship between economic development, social justice, human rights and peace and conflict resolution.

I only regret that we didn't add a fourth dimension which I still think is necessary for this to work, and that is good governance. We need to have governments that are willing to deal seriously with these three aspects. Unfortunately there is a great deficit in good governance in large parts of the world.

That is the larger context in which I would like to put this, and say that this cannot be done by one party alone, by one nation alone, by one organization alone. The problems of today's world are so huge and so complex that no one can do it alone. You see the conflicts with regional and international

implications, but also look at the so-called global threats which are national and local: environmental degradation, climate change, communicable diseases (particularly tropical diseases in the developing world), organized crime, migration. Who could ever imagine that these problems could be solved by one, however powerful one may be?

I am very glad that your president of the United States, President Obama, so clearly has stated that we have to work together. I think that's the only way. If we don't choose that road of strengthening international cooperation, we will start to look inward and build walls again, dividing humanity into us and them and looking at the outside world as a problem. So we have to strengthen that international system and deal with these problems together.

In doing that we have to try to deal with this sense of hopelessness that exists. I notice when I go around Sweden or elsewhere in the world, many people think that the problems are so huge: "I can't even fathom it. I don't even want to see it. Turn off the television, it's too much. I wish I could do more." I think it's time that we realize that everybody has a responsibility. Nobody can do everything, but everybody can do something.

And on these global issues I think that we need to look for a new international division of labor, where of course on the global level the United Nations has a role. In the economic sphere the Bretton Woods system needs to be definitely reformed after what we have seen in the financial area recently; but we also need to strengthen regional organizations. These regional organizations are part of the U.N. Charter. The founders of the United Nations thought that primarily problems should be solved on a regional basis, then go to the United Nations – that was the intention in Chapter VIII of the U.N. Charter. And there is the responsibility of governments, the private sector and the nongovernmental organizations: civil society and you and me.

We must identify the role for each and put the problem in the center. For example, clean water. This is a luxury for 1.2 billion people in the world. 2.5

billion people don't have sanitation – toilets, to put it very simply, directly. This is the main reason for the spread of disease and child mortality south of the Sahara. I've seen it myself: dehydrated children, women who have walked for two hours to get water for their children. Then they drink this dirty water, have diarrhea, get dehydrated and die. Unite around one concrete problem like this and then have a division of labor: who does what. That could lift away this hopelessness and also add an ethical dimension to our agenda. If this could be on the agenda of President Obama and the European Union now while we discuss our cooperation in the security field or trade, can you imagine the difference that would make in the world for millions and millions of people? Plus it would add an ethical dimension to our foreign policy and enhance the standing of Western democracies in the world.

"Without passion nothing happens in life, on any level. But without compassion the wrong things happen."

In all this we need also to have energy. I often say – I said it to my children first but I say it now to my students also – that you need to have a life of passion and compassion. You need to be really engaged. You can't disappear in the mass of communications and speak less clearly. You have to stand for the principles you believe in and do it with passion. Without passion nothing happens in life, on any level. But without compassion the wrong things happen. The realities are unbelievably difficult to take in. I have seen parts of this with my own eyes and I decided this would not make me sleepless, but rather give me anger and translate that anger into action. So if we use that energy and work with passion and compassion to deal with these issues, realizing that the problems are of the magnitude that they are, then we can lift away that hopelessness and achieve a better world for those who have the responsibility to take over from us and hopefully do a better job than we have done. But at least we must all be able to say that we tried our best, and let's at least aim for that. Thank you very much.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The audience submitted questions which were read by Dee Aker.

DA: You started out talking about the really tough situations. If you were asked now to go back to Burma or Zimbabwe, what would you say are those boundary issues? Where is the chance to defend human dignity and what is our responsibility to protect in those situations?

JE: I think there has to be a realization of this responsibility to protect from inside the nation, but also, much more than today, from the regional organizations and from the neighbors. You have a situation in Africa where so many countries gained their independence and freedom very recently and they protect their sovereignty very, very strictly. If they see what they view as Western powers insisting on having their will accepted by one government and an intervention is made, then next time it's someone else. To many Western democracies it's surprising that, for instance, South Africa is not taking a stronger stance on Zimbabwe. Mugabe today can still claim that this is British colonialism.

If you look at the responsibility to protect, it talks only about ethnic cleansing, genocide and mass killing. Bernard Kouchner, the foreign minister of France, suggested that the responsibility to protect was to be applied in Burma. I reluctantly came to the conclusion that that was not the right way to move because by that we strengthen suspicions among developing countries that it was used for purposes that were not part of the negotiation that took place. This didn't mean that nothing was to be done; I felt there were even stronger rules that were part of the humanitarian law framework and also the resolution that I myself negotiated in 1991, resolution 46/182, which says that you have to provide access to humanitarian organizations. But to use the responsibility to protect in the Burma case was probably counter-productive.

You can only reach the government when you have strong internal pressures and pressures from powerful nations in their neighborhood.

DA: In terms of those periods of time you talk about – the disappointments that came when we didn't solve things better at the end of World War II or didn't understand the potential we had in the '80s at the end of the Cold War – what do you see now that is the most positive opportunity for us to get it right in the future?

JE: I think there is tremendous power in civil society. It is probably a new factor. I was surprised to see the number of human rights organizations and women's organizations working so openly and being so active in a country, Sudan, which is not seen as a democratic country. And this was an irrepressible force. They are so strong; they could not be stopped. I loved to hear their voices. This is really a movement that has to do with education, of course, but also the power of communications – the Internet, the messages across nations. It is impossible to isolate yourself today. So I think civil society, and not least of all the role of women, is very hopeful.

I'm also very much encouraged by young people in the universities wherever I go: the curiosity, the interest in doing something, the desire to play a role, the desire to go out and find out for yourself, realizing that Shakespeare was right in *Romeo and Juliet* when Lorenzo says to Romeo, "Remember there is a world outside Verona." We have to remember there is a world outside Verona – Shakespeare's always right. And I see this in the children and among the young people.

My generation, we were so ideological in Europe; left and right were fighting each other and we were very dogmatic. Now I find students more like the H.C. Anderson fairytale *The Emperor's New Clothes*, when the little boy says he has no clothes – they ask those absolutely elementary but very important questions. I hope very much for the new generation and civil society out there in the world.

I must say also the fact that a president here in the most powerful country in the world is seen as a symbol of conciliation, reconciliation, belief in human dignity and belief in working together – that has made a tremendous impression all around the world. And if we can then get Europe and the U.S. to accept the global agenda I described earlier – and that we get over this financial crisis drawing some lessons from it, not just continuing it in the old way – maybe those will also be signs of hope.

DA: Why do you think the Geneva Conventions are so often ignored in conflicts today? Is it the historical distance? Is it ignorance of the media in not helping move it forward? Is it lack of emphasis during military training?

JE: All of the above practically. I am surprised it doesn't play a more important role in training. If you go around the world and look at how much it is a part of military training, you would be very disappointed. But also out in the public and in the editorials when you comment on something, why not refer to the international humanitarian law that exists? I think knowledge is extremely important – law students here have an important role to go spread the word and know the conventions themselves.

In some cases, people don't want to. They don't want to know about it; they sort of hide them away. I've been part of negotiations (not 1949 but others) and it's a tremendous amount of work. Every comma is half a day's work practically. And when you work on that and then you see that it's not known, you get very disappointed.

DA: In your opinion, have the International Criminal Court charges against Bashir helped or hurt in the international situation with Sudan? Do you feel that collective action under the banner of responsibility to protect would be more effective?

JE: Very good question, and a very difficult one to answer. I was in contact with the prosecutor, Luis Moreno-Ocampo, when I was in Darfur and he was working on the warrant. I said to him, "You do your job and I'll do mine." I am a great friend of the International Criminal Court, but the fact that he asked me was probably a sign that he realized there was a dilemma, that once that process was going there could be consequences that could negatively affect the political process and consequences for the presence of the international community – which now we see it has.

Unfortunately, there are also parallels when the leader of the LRA [Lord's Resistance Army] in Uganda was to sign the agreement that former President [Joaquim] Chissano of Mozambique had worked out on that crisis. [Joseph] Kony disappeared because he didn't want to go to The Hague, so the peace agreement wasn't signed. You have to weigh this against the conclusion that we have to have accountability for war crimes even while conflicts go on, and mete out responsibility. We also have to stop making a distinction between war crimes by those who win the wars and those who lose the wars. The Nuremberg principles were fair to the degree for those who were punished, but if you look back at history it was always the winner of the wars who not only wrote history, but also punished the other side. So this is a very civilized next step, but I cannot hide from you that it is a dilemma.

Ocampo had to back down on the genocide charge. The three-judge panel did not accept the genocide charge; that's not that well-known. They accepted the war crimes charge and crimes against humanity – that's enough, isn't it.

But let me just say, I was encouraged to begin with. Last summer there was much more cooperation with the international community. I was saying to myself, maybe this works, maybe it could be a factor of peace. The first three or four months it was a much more cooperative approach and Salim's and my successor could start talks in Doha, and I told myself this is too good to be true. Unfortunately it was.

DA: How do we deal with the U.N. Security Council veto power that halts international cooperation?

JE: Very good question. The Security Council of the United Nations must be reformed. It must better represent the world. The five permanent members who have the veto rights are not the five countries if we were to choose them today. You have India, Japan, Brazil, South Africa, Nigeria, Egypt. You have many, many candidates to be there, and if you were to have a vote, you'd have a different constellation. So there is a need to enlarge the Security Council.

However, I am not the one – and I speak very openly here – who believes there should also be an enlargement of the veto. We already have a problem with five countries that can cast the veto and stop action. For instance, in genocide situations the threat of the use of veto has been applied in the past. If you have a doubling of the veto power, I think the United Nations would be immobilized and could not work. It is important that we then think of something else to make the Security Council work with the existence of the five and then see whatever formula is applied for those who come in as permanent or even semi-permanent members.

But my favorite idea – and this does not require a charter revision, which is a very complicated operation – is to start to work for a veto-free culture. I don't think that there is any possibility to abolish the veto because the veto was there to make sure that the great powers took the United Nations seriously,

so they had the veto power for international peace and security. But I think the veto has been used in a not very responsible fashion, which has led to inaction or the stopping of action.

I think the Security Council should become more and more a negotiation body. If my countryman Hans Blix could have continued his search for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq at the same time that the Security Council had negotiated the solution and waited for him to come back with that report and then take a decision – and by that to have a unified decision from the Security Council – it would have changed the political map today.

So the Security Council should negotiate it. I would go so far as to say that maybe one should more and more look at the use of the veto as a failure – or at least bad taste. I said jokingly to my friends in the Security Council – when I was the president of the General Assembly I had some authority and at lunch I could joke with them – "Why don't you work like the Catholic Church?"

And they said, "What do you mean?"

I said, "You should work like the cardinals when they choose the pope. You lock them up in the Sistine Chapel and it's only when the white smoke comes up that you've got the resolution. It's only when you've negotiated the resolution that you've done your job." That's the way I think it should work, and it doesn't require a change of the charter.

DA: How do you think the United Nations, NGOs and others can emphasize more strongly conflict prevention?

JE: I'm so glad you think along these lines. If you can move the spectrum from the late stages of conflict to the early ones, you've made a great step forward. There is so much we can do in prevention.

We could make sure that we have societies which do not feed conflict. We distorted our thinking during the Cold War. Strength during the Cold War was military strength or political strength as the result of military strength. Strength in today's world must be economic strength well-distributed, according to my values. Strength should be social cohesion in a society. Strength should be environmental balance. Strength should be science and knowledge and research. Strength should be young people who believe in the future. That's strength – not only internally but also externally. If that is the measure of the success of a society then you have a major structural preventive action.

But then, also, to prevent conflicts you could have an early warning system that works – we should add one in the financial area by the way. You can have fact-finding missions that go out. You can have Article 33, the eight measures rarely used. You can have preventive deployment of observers and troops. You can have sanctions that are targeted, stopping the wives of the dictators from buying fur coats in London and jewelry in Paris and sending their money to tax havens. And you can have a pretty civilized use of force, namely the credible threat of the use of force. All this can be done – that's prevention.

And then after the conflict, if it sadly occurs, you have to have humanitarian assistance, you have to have relief, rehabilitation, institution building, reconciliation processes, development programs so the conflict doesn't erupt

again. Believe it or not, 50 percent of the conflicts in the last 20 years have erupted again. So this is an absolutely crucial subject and it's related to the pacific settlement of disputes.

DA: How difficult is it to get different parties to the negotiation table and to put a common interest on the agenda?

JE: The power of the mediator is, I must say modestly, limited. It's like trying to bring horses to the watering hole: You drag them and you get them to the watering hole, but has any one of you succeeded in forcing a horse to drink? No, I don't think it's physically possible. There has to be minimum political will. If there's no minimum degree of political will, not even the best mediator in the world can succeed.

My problem in Darfur and Salim Salim's problem in Darfur was that we had not only a government that was not completely coordinated, if I may say it mildly, between the National Congress Party and the SPLM (the north and south parties), but also the fact that the movements were so splintered. There were 20 movements, approximately, when we started in January 2007. We, together with them, brought it down to seven and then at the end there were five. But even five movements – you can't negotiate with five on one side and one government.

Our job was to try to get them to come to the table with common positions. And here comes the sad part. When we then went through the three issues – power-sharing, wealth-sharing and security (disarmament of the Janjaweed) – they were practically unified. So it was a deep irony here that you have 20, eight, five movements, but on the issues they had the same position. And then you ask them, "Why don't you come to the table?" You come back to the issue of power: Who's number one? Who's the one who leads the delegation? And that's when civil society came in. I reminded them what people in the camps and out in the villages wanted to happen.

So it's a tough job to get them to the table. Once they're there, they still have to have the minimum political will to achieve results.

DA: This question says that the United Nations and international law is largely based on Western models. Is there any effort to recognize or incorporate local African or Asian models of conflict prevention and peacebuilding in the conflicts we face today? If so, do you have any examples?

JE: I can just answer in general terms. I think there is a pretty dangerous undercurrent right now, namely that human rights, responsibility to protect, even prevention are being seen as Western, northern ideas. I'm very worried about that because I think there is universality to these values and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

I was president of the General Assembly when the cartoon crisis broke out in Denmark and all over the world. Islamic ambassadors, as a delegation, came to me and said, "You have to revise the whole resolution on human rights. We have to have a paragraph in the operative section on respect of religion."

And I said, "Fine, I understand your emotions. But I tell you, tomorrow if I introduce your idea, I will immediately have from the Western powers a paragraph on the freedom of the press, freedom of expression."

We have to really struggle now to make sure that we stand on the universality of these principles. This doesn't mean that you can show cultural insensitivity, and that has often been the case. But when it comes to the basic instruments that we negotiated back in 1948, we should stick to them. I would be extremely disappointed if prevention and responsibility to protect were seen as political Trojan horses from the north.

DA: Do you see any progress in the Israeli-Palestinian situation? Also, is the United Nations going to take any action against Israel since more civilians than military combatants died in the recent massacre in Gaza?

JE: On the larger issue, I am very happy that President Obama has taken the initiative early on in his presidency to move on this infected wound in world politics. In the past both President Clinton and President Bush brought up the Israel-Palestine issue in the last year of their presidencies when there was no

re-election situation, and that's usually pretty late in the day. So I'm very glad the matter is being brought up. I hope the new Israeli government will move on the peace process, though it didn't look very promising a couple of days ago. Now the Labour Party has joined the coalition. I don't know whether that will lead to a concrete sense of responsibility for the negotiations. I hope so.

My main point is that I do not think we will have peace in the Israel-Palestine conflict until the people inside both countries come to the conclusion that it is the right thing to do to find a peaceful solution and that it is in their enlightened self-interest. Only when we have that pressure from inside will there be a conclusion to this conflict. Plus of course we need the active role of the United States. The United States is the only strong actor from outside. I'm sorry to say the United Nations as a collective does not have that strength, neither with the Israelis nor with the Arab world. The European Union does not have that standing. The regional actors are seen as partial by Israel. So, the United States and the two sides are the ones who I think have to act.

The solution isn't really difficult, the technical solution; it can be done if there's enough political will. If we are making progress on that issue, the situation in the world will change to a very positive direction. If you travel all over the Islamic and Arab world, but also even in Africa, this issue comes up. So we have to face up to that issue, because with fairness to both sides – Israel's absolute right to exist in peace and security, but also that the Palestinians have a right of land – the problem is that there are two peoples with claims with some legitimacy to the same land. Those issues have been solved in the past, must be solved in the future. The problem is that you have added to this the very emotional religious and ethnic dimensions, particularly around Jerusalem, that make it so difficult.

On the other issue, I said earlier that every nation has a right to self-defense and no doubt there was reason to apply it in the Lebanon case and in the Gaza case. But I also say with conviction, and having consulted all the lawyers I trust, that the response of Israel was disproportionate and that civilians paid far too heavy a price for that conflict. It's very sad. It saddens me as a friend of Israel that this was the case. I think the more the Israelis

themselves deal with this – and I know there are investigations going on – the better. Unfortunately, it will crop up in the Human Rights Council, which by Israel and also by the United States, to some degree rightly, has been seen as very critical and maybe anti-Israeli. But the more the Israelis themselves deal with it, the better. As usual, you have to have the power from inside to get real change and lasting change.

DA: What forces or factions at the United Nations are inhibiting cooperative settlement of Darfur, and how may such opposition be resolved?

JE: There will not be peace in Darfur unless the situation is the right one on four levels. You have to have a reasonable degree of unity in the United Nations Security Council, and there, there has been some distance between the United States and China. Secondly, you need to have neighbors who support a peaceful settlement, and the key neighbors are Chad, Libya, Egypt and Eritrea. These are the four nations that you have to have on board – Chad particularly. If the students would like to look at their maps when they get back home, they will notice that the border between Chad and Sudan was done by a ruler in 1885 in Berlin. The Zaghawa tribe is on both sides. And if you don't have peace and normalization between Chad and Sudan, you will not have peace in Darfur. Thirdly, the government has to have a unified position. I said earlier something about the problems between the National Congress Party and the SPLM, the party of the south. Lastly, the movements need to be brought together and have one unified position.

That's a pretty long list, isn't it? And if it's wrong on any of these four counts, any of them, we won't have peace. That's why it's enormously frustrating. I don't think I've ever had a physically and mentally more demanding conflict to deal with than those 18 months I worked in Darfur. There was always something wrong on any of those four, which extended and still extends the conflict. And now we could have a real humanitarian crisis.

DA: Are there any groups or individuals in Darfur representing the women who have been raped? And then the final question: In the darkest moments you have witnessed, what is something that keeps you going? Why do you continue to do this?

JE: It's really interesting because the first time we were out there in the camps, the women were not in the room, and then we insisted that we wanted to have the women in the room. Then the next time, the women were in the back of the room after we got there – but quiet. I said, "No, I want to have the women so I can see them, so I can see if they want to ask a question or if they react to something I say." And reluctantly the sheiks and others agreed. And then we also asked to see them separately. The more we got to see them, the more we learned about their real lives.

I remember talking to a woman. I could hardly hear a word she was saying, she was so ashamed to tell the story of rape. And I remember this 17-year-old boy who talked about his frustration about his father sitting there doing nothing and his mother afraid of being raped, and the shame that he felt. We heard many stories from them. When we later met the women's organizations in Darfur, they were extremely vocal. We met them outside the camps, and several of them came to Khartoum.

What I remember perhaps most was a visit to a village far up in the north which was isolated, where even the Red Cross couldn't get. We landed there, and the color of the skin on the children was gray. They ran out of the orphanage and climbed on me when I got down on my knees to talk to them – I had 10 children hanging all over me, I was like a Christmas tree. And then I heard women scream something in the background, and I asked, "What are you screaming?"

And they were screaming, "Water, water, water." They had to walk for two hours to get water, and then brought back dirty water to give their children. And I said earlier what happened to them. So, we heard those voices.

Now, what keeps me going? The worst experience of my life was in Somalia in 1992 – that was the worst I've ever seen because that was just mass death along the roads. And I remember coming into the hospital, the little clinic that we had at the UNICEF [United Nations Children's Fund] camp which was set up to take the people we had to pick up on the roads who had died

during the night. It was horrible. We had small bags for the children and big bags for the adults. I met the medical team there – it was an Irish doctor, I think, and Kenyan nurses and local Somalian nurses. They were the same people at 7 o'clock in the morning as 11 o'clock at night. I said to them, "You are so fantastic, I'm so impressed."

And they said, "You know, these guys who have caused this damage, done this to these people, do you think that they will also make me weak? Should I fail? Should I not function? This is a provocation – I have anger in me. And that anger I transform into action."

So I've tried to discipline myself. Instead of becoming sleepless and losing hope, I channel anger into action.

When I was 26 years old, I read two books that influenced my life very strongly. One was Dag Hammerskjöld's *Waymarks* – it's translated "markings," but the best translation is "waymarks." His words were fantastic, in all respects. I understand them even better today than I did at age 26.

The second book I read was Bertrand Russell's autobiography. It's a three-volume work – don't worry, you don't have to read all three. He wrote that autobiography at the age of 85, and he looks back at his life, which was a very rich life: scientist, mathematician, philosopher, author, peace activist, three marriages – a very active life. He looks back at his life and writes a prologue – one and a quarter pages. He writes what has inspired him, what has driven him in his life.

The first paragraph, if I'm not failing miserably, sounds like this. "Three passions, simple but overwhelmingly strong, have governed my life: the longing for love, the search for knowledge, and unbearable pity for the suffering of mankind. These passions like great winds have blown me, hither and thither, in a wayward course, over an ocean of anguish, reaching to the very verge of despair."

I read that at the age of 26 and I think you can wake me up at 2 o'clock in the morning and I would remember this, as I do now. I say yes to the longing for love. I say yes to the search for knowledge. I say yes to the unbearable pity for the suffering of mankind. But I tend to say no to despair. And I tend to say no to anguish. I would rather say yes to determination to do something about the conditions that we know are so wrong and that we need to improve. So by that I want to thank you for inviting me to San Diego.

RELATED RESOURCES

2005 World Summit. www.un.org/summit2005/

Anna Lindh Memorial Fund. www.annalindhsminnesfond.com

Convention relating to the Status of Refugees.
www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/o_c_ref.htm

Eliasson, Jan. "Establishing Trust in the Healer: Preventive Diplomacy and the Future of the United Nations." *Preventive Diplomacy: Stopping Wars Before They Start*. Ed. Kevin M. Cahill. Revised and Updated Edition. New York: Taylor & Francis, Inc., 2000.

Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. www.internal-displacement.org

International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect.
www.responsibilitytoprotect.org

International Committee of the Red Cross. www.icrc.org

United Nations Charter. www.un.org/en/documents/charter/

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. www.unodc.org

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820 on Women and Peace and Security. www.state.gov/documents/organization/106577.pdf

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