

THE DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD LECTURE 2015

Preventing Conflicts, Building Durable Peace

José Ramos-Horta

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annual Dag Hammarskjöld Lecture given by José Ramos-
Horta at Uppsala University on 3 November 2015.*

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Durable Peace**

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Many people came to listen to José Ramos-Horta in the University Hall.

Preface

José Ramos-Horta, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate and former President of Timor-Leste, delivered the 2015 Dag Hammarskjöld Lecture, the 17th honoree to do so since the lecture series was instituted two decades ago. Created in memory of the United Nations' second Secretary-General, the Dag Hammarskjöld lecture is an annual lecture given in recognition of the values that inspired Hammarskjöld as a statesman and in his life – compassion, humanism and commitment to international solidarity and cooperation. In selecting the lecturer, the guidelines state that the lecture will be offered to a personality who, in significant and innovative ways, contributes to a more just, peaceful and environmentally sustainable world through valuable achievements in politics or research.

Jose Ramos-Horta was chosen by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and Uppsala University to deliver the 2015 Dag Hammarskjöld Lecture for his outstanding efforts – that have spanned decades and continue today – to promote peaceful solutions to conflict, at the national and at the international level, and to strengthen the United Nations' work on peace and security. In this way he reflects and continues Hammarskjöld efforts to ensure that the UN Charter is applied in situations of armed conflict and that the UN is successful in carrying out its fundamental role “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”.

In 2014, Ramos-Horta was appointed by the Secretary-General to chair the High-Level Independent Panel on UN Peace Operations. Its task

was to review the UN peace and security architecture, its strengths and weaknesses, and to advise him and member states on how to transform the Organisation to better address the new security challenges facing the world. After months of work including broad consultations, the Panel presented its report “*Uniting our Strengths for Peace: Politics, Partnership and People*” to the Secretary-General in June 2015.

Ramos-Horta delivered the lecture on the topic “*Preventing conflicts, Building Durable Peace.*” This public event provided the opportunity for a broad audience from the academic and diplomatic spheres as well as the public sector and private individuals to hear about Ramos-Horta’s experience and insights on global efforts to address violent conflicts and to promote peace.

In the lecture, he elaborated on the four essential shifts that the report presents and must be embraced in the future design and delivery of UN peace operations. They are necessary if real progress is to be made and if UN peace operations are to realise their potential for better results in the field. Ramos-Horta also spoke on the importance of the other, parallel review processes related to the peace and security pillar of the UN’s work – the review of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture (Peacebuilding Commission, Peacebuilding Support Office and Peacebuilding Fund) and the Global Study on the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. He underlined and reflected on a common finding in all three reviews: that the UN is not doing enough to implement what has become known as the ‘women, peace and security agenda’. Gender equality and women’s empowerment on issues of peace and security must be made central to the UN’s work

in promoting peace, as women's participation is key to sustainable peace. To answer the question whether real, long-lasting peace is possible in our lifetime, Ramos-Horta highlighted inclusion, dialogue and empowerment of all as some of the key elements for success. The root causes of tension, such as poverty and exclusion should be carefully observed and addressed. He emphasized that there are no shortcuts to peace and to sustainable and equitable development, and that the eradication of extreme poverty is a moral imperative for all and crucial for the attainment of durable peace. Ramos-Horta also addressed the importance of good leadership. He concluded that the UN of Dag Hammarskjöld, a UN fit-for-purpose to serve the cause of peace, a UN of the people, is under severe stress and is challenged on many fronts. To prevent conflicts, end wars, heal wounds, reconcile communities and nations, and build durable peace, leaders with vision, courage, determination, humility and compassion are required.

Uppsala, November 2015

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José Ramos-Horta delivering the 2015 Dag Hammarskjöld Lecture.

Preventing Conflicts, Building Durable Peace

José Ramos-Horta

Preventing Conflicts, Building Durable Peace
by Jose Ramos-Horta*

Your Royal Highness,
Rector Magnifica,
Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is an honour to be on this rostrum, following in the footsteps of greater luminaries who have preceded me. That you invited someone originating from a small village in a remote little country situated on the edge of the world to speak here in this august forum is more an illustration of your generous heart than it says about my possible worthiness.

Dag Hammarskjöld – diplomat, economist, author, and Secretary-General of the United Nations from 1953 to 1961 – perished on 18 September 1961, just past midnight, when the DC-6 plane in which he was travelling crashed, shortly before it was due to land in Ndola, a dot on the map of Northern Rhodesia, now Zambia. The cause of Hammarskjöld's death remains shrouded in mystery, as is the murder of former US president, John F. Kennedy, two years later. There were certainly enough people and interests wanting Dag Hammarskjöld dead as he searched for peace in the newly independent Congo, a private possession of King Leopold of Belgium until 1908.

It is fitting that I should also pay homage to another great Swede, who preceded Dag Hammarskjöld as a dedicated and courageous mediator – Folke Bernadotte, Count of Wisborg, diplomat and nobleman, who was the first UN Envoy sent to the Middle East in 1948 to try to find a solution acceptable to all parties – Palestinians, Arabs and Jews. As Head of the Swedish Red Cross, Folke Bernadotte had negotiated the release of 31,000 prisoners from German concentration camps, including 450 Danish Jews from the Theresienstadt camp. Tragically, like many other great peacemakers, Folke Bernadotte was murdered. While searching for a fair and just settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict he was assassinated by Jewish extremist elements in 1948. Long since these two great Swedish statesmen made the ultimate sacrifice, peace in the Middle East remains elusive and the United Nations is still mired in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), in one of the oldest and most expensive UN peacekeeping missions in Africa.

We react with horror to the ongoing barbarities perpetrated by extremist groups operating in Syria and Iraq; but we should remember that extremism and violence are not evils peculiar to any one group of people or any single religion; they are not peculiar to Arabs, Africans or Muslims. We are reminded of this as this year, across much of the world, the 70th anniversary of the end of WWII is celebrated. Six million Jews – defenceless people, unprotected and unarmed – were executed, starved to death or gassed. The Roma were equally singled out for extermination. More than 30 million Russians perished; an equal number of Chinese lost their lives during the period of Japanese occupation and aggression. These were not violence and wars waged by Arabs and Muslims.

More recent horrendous tragedies have faded in our collective memory: the 1965-66 killings in Indonesia; the 1971 Bangladesh-Pakistan war that devoured millions of people; the ‘killing fields’ of Cambodia with an estimated 2-3 million perishing under the brutal and insane rule of the Khmer Rouge; and the even more recent Balkan wars of the 1990s, which happened in the heart of Europe. And many more Muslims died in the last 10 years in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Syria and Libya slaughtered

by fellow Muslims than by fellow human beings of other religious faiths. In Myanmar, Buddhist supremacists are waging an ethnic and religious cleansing war on Burmese Rohingias and other Muslims who have inhabited Myanmar for generations.

Your generous people and wise leaders contributed much towards world peace, freedom, and the dignity of many millions. In the 1960s and 1970s you protested against the insane Vietnam War; in the 1960s you were the only Western European country advocating and actively supporting the struggles for the emancipation of the enslaved millions on the African continent. You sheltered countless political refugees and provided them with material support and a free public platform to publicise and advance their struggles. You were the most generous of all in the provision of development assistance to the newly independent Asian and African nations, from Vietnam to Tanzania, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, to mention only a few.

I haven't been here in many years; but I recall that it was here in Uppsala that, some time in 1997, Swedish mediation experts managed to bring some Timorese compatriots and me for discreet talks with senior Indonesian officials as we began to explore the path of dialogue towards a resolution of the Timor-Leste conflict. Sweden has faded away as a development partner of Timor-Leste, but you were with us in the first critical years, along with Norway and Finland, providing significant financial and technical assistance to our country.

Today my country is free, peaceful and on a relatively strong economic and development growth path. The latest UN Human Development Index for Timor-Leste illustrates the progress we have made in less than 15 years. On several social and economic indicators we are doing much better than Cambodia, Lao, Myanmar, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Nepal; as we are, too, in relation to all of sub-Saharan Africa with only two exceptions – Cape Verde and South Africa. We in Timor-Leste do

question the quality of aid allocated to us by some of our friends in the past but we are grateful for the genuine commitment shown by our many friends today around the world. Australia, Brazil, China, Cuba, the EU, Germany, Ireland, Japan, New Zealand, Portugal, the Republic of Korea, Spain, the UK and the USA are among our generous, steady partners.

Beginning with small steps in 2003-04, Timor-Leste and Cuba developed a successful partnership in the health sector with the deployment of more than 200 Cuban doctors to Timor-Leste; 700 Timorese medical students were sent to medical schools in Cuba; all have graduated. At the same time Cuba set up our first medical school ever in Dili, where 400 students are being trained. By 2017, Timor-Leste will have more doctors as a percentage of the population than any country in Asia. Our other friends and neighbours – Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand – have provided technical assistance, training and scholarships to Timor-Leste in the critical area of state-building. The United Nations system – through its agencies, funds and programmes – as well as the World Bank and Asian Development Bank, have been in Timor-Leste from day one and continue to assist in our peace consolidation and development efforts.

After 24 years of an often brutal conflict, Timor-Leste and Indonesia enjoy an exemplary relationship at all levels; from day one of our independence the leaders of our two nations wisely and pragmatically made a conscious and determined decision to look forward, and to choose the path of reconciliation and friendship. Our people, though still bearing in their bodies and souls fresh wounds from the conflict, endorsed the leaders' wise decision to pursue a process of healing and reconciliation, rather than allowing ourselves to be hostages of the past; we resisted the temptation of revenge. Indonesian people and leaders, deeply absorbed in their own complex democratic transition, following the dramatic events of 1998-1999, responded very positively to our approach; they met us half-way, accepted our hand of friendship and together we have built an exemplary relationship.

As Europe faces exceptionally difficult times, I wish to express sympathy to all – sympathy to the policy-makers and elected leaders who have to make difficult decisions in the midst of an unprecedented and prolonged severe economic downturn, financial precariousness, social stress and political polarisation. I express my sincere admiration to those in Europe, particularly the ‘ordinary’ individuals and families, and leaders, who in spite of these difficulties have nevertheless shown heart-warming compassion and welcomed hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing the wars in the Middle East and extreme poverty in Africa.

The old Europe that colonised much of the world, that displaced the original peoples and created new countries, that invented the slave trade to serve the European settlers in these new countries, is changing. The Europe that in part built its prosperity on the backs of the peoples it subjugated – or from their sweat and blood – is now a safe heaven for many that your ancestors conquered and subjugated.

A new Europe is emerging; and whether this new Europe will be peaceful and embracing of all, enabling all to live in harmony and prosperity, depends on what the Europeans of today, Europeans of different ethnic extractions and beliefs, want it to be, and whether, with vision and wisdom, they can prepare for the new Europe. It will be a test of the quality of leadership, of political wisdom, a measure of the values of solidarity and justice that should be ingrained in European societies. It is a test for all in Europe, Christians and non-Christians, how they will jointly manage this fast-changing demography; and on them will depend either a newly rejuvenated and vibrant Europe or a Europe mired in racial, religious, social and political sectarianism and hatred.

Dag Hammarskjöld was an aristocrat. I am not. I come from a very different background; I grew up in Laklubur, Barike, Atsabe, Laga...places

as poor, remote and forgotten as any village anywhere in the world can be. As a child I went mostly barefoot; I got my first pair of shoes for Christmas in 1957, and as I didn't want the shoes to be worn out too quickly I wore them only once, for the midnight Christmas mass; after the mass I carefully put them away, saving them for the next Christmas. Every once in a while I would pull out my cherished shoes, look at them lovingly and daydream about next Christmas when I could proudly wear them again. And when the next Christmas did arrive...to my utter shock my feet would no longer fit in my shoes; I was puzzled about how those shoes had shrunk. I had never seen a car until one day - by an act of God - a beaten-up truck arrived in our village, bringing some supplies for the lonely Chinese shop owner; the arrival of the old truck was cause for celebration. Children and adults, we were all in awe.

Fast forward 20 years and I found myself in New York. Between 1975 and the late 1980s, I lived in New York, and to survive I did occasional menial work, including as a helper in a small Chinese take-away food business. My first engagements with the UN began in December 1975 when at age 26, on the eve of the feared invasion of my country, I was sent to New York to advocate and plead with the Secretary-General, General Assembly and Security Council to prevent the much- anticipated and feared invasion.

On 7 December 1975, following a State Visit to Indonesia by President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Indonesian forces began what was to become a 24-year war on and occupation of my country. This was 1975, at the height of the Cold War, and in the immediate aftermath of the Vietnam War, a senseless war that ended with the mighty US being ignominiously defeated by an Asian peasant army. Timor-Leste was a footnote of the Cold War, our people expendable and sacrificed in the name of God and anti-communism.

I have had about 30 years of engagement with the UN, primarily as an outsider, a victim, looking for help; I observed up close the paralysis and dysfunctionality in the Secretariat, caused by poor leadership in

the Executive Office of the Secretary-General, and in key departments, where personal ambitions and agendas, provincial-mindedness and turf rivalries, exacerbated by the almost daily interference by member states, hampered the entire system. But I was also fortunate to meet exceptional UN staff who, in spite of relentless pressures by member states and a senior management lacking in integrity and courage, truly embraced the ideals and principles embodied in the Charter. While I witnessed – and learned sad lessons from – blatant double standards and hypocrisy on the part of many member states, large and small, rich and poor, I was also fortunate in meeting diplomats who had a conscience.

Maybe it was because of this unique experience, with 30 years of intimate, daily engagement with the UN, and then having served for 10 years as Foreign Minister, Prime Minister and President, that the esteemed UN Secretary-General invited me to be his Special Representative in Guinea-Bissau (2013–2014); and later he thought I would be the right person to chair the High Level Independent Panel on UN Peace Operations. I was privileged to serve with 15 outstanding colleagues from very rich, diverse backgrounds, and to be supported by a team of the best people drawn from the UN Secretariat.**

We were tasked by the Secretary-General to review the UN peace and security architecture, its strengths and weaknesses, building on the Brahimi Report, and to advise him and member states on how to transform our Organisation to better address the new security challenges facing us all. The challenges of the 21st century are enormously complex and almost overwhelming in their intensity and spread.

We are facing implosions of fragile states like South Sudan and the Central African Republic, and attendant mass atrocities against civilian populations by all sides in the conflicts; we are facing a non-traditional insurgency in Mali where the UN has become the main target of attacks without the human and technical resources proportional to the mandate assigned to it by the Security Council. The UN peace and security architecture is under severe stress, with more than 100,000 armed personnel deployed

in 16 peacekeeping missions and with more than 30 non-armed special political missions across the globe.

From the very first mediations, dizzying shuttle diplomacy, ceasefire negotiations and observer missions undertaken by Folke Bernadotte and Dag Hammarskjöld, up until our times, peacekeeping has evolved into peace enforcement and robust protection of civilians in armed conflicts; from being mere unarmed or non-combatant forces, the UN and/or regional organisations, authorised by the Security Council, have been mandated to use robust force to challenge armed groups, as in the DRC and Mali.

While the UN peacekeeping budget, at over US\$9 billion for 2015, may seem very high, in reality the costs of UN peacekeeping operations are a minute fraction of US and NATO costs per soldier deployed in Afghanistan and Iraq. The overall UN core budget is modest by any standards of measurement; however, while there have been significant improvements in efficiency of management in the last 10 years, there is much room for further improvement and an urgent need to end duplication, waste and inefficiency.

I am often baffled at how some Western leaders protest over the core costs of the UN and its Peace Operations as excessive, but gingerly they find hundreds of billions of dollars to rescue mismanaged banks, insurance and housing companies, failed auto industry companies. The Secretary-General and his senior management team expect the Security Council to give the financial means and tools commensurate with the mandate; but for the Organisation to meet the expectations of its members, and deliver peace and security, it must also change the way it is managed and how it operates.

On 16th June 2015, after months of intense listening to all stakeholders, member states, UN departments and agencies, special representatives of the Secretary-General (SRSGs) and envoys, force commanders serving in the field, regional organisations, academics, civil society advocates,

community leaders, and after reading through the more than 80 written submissions our Panel received, my esteemed colleagues and I delivered to the Secretary-General our report entitled ***Uniting our Strengths for Peace: Politics, Partnership and People.***

Allow me now to share with you the key thoughts and recommendations contained in our 100-page report.

Four essential shifts must be embraced in the future design and delivery of UN peace operations if real progress is to be made and if UN peace operations are to realise their potential for better results in the field.

First, politics must drive the design and implementation of peace operations. Lasting peace is achieved not through military and technical engagements, but through political solutions. Political solutions should always guide the design and deployment of UN peace operations. When the momentum behind peace falters, the United Nations, and particularly its member states, must help to mobilise renewed political efforts to keep peace processes on track.

Second, the full spectrum of UN peace operations must be used more flexibly to respond to changing needs on the ground. The United Nations has a uniquely broad spectrum of peace operations that it can draw upon to deliver situation-specific responses. And yet it often struggles to generate and rapidly deploy missions that are well tailored to the context. The sharp distinctions between ***peacekeeping operations*** and ***special political missions*** should give way to a continuum of response and smoother transitions between different phases of missions. The United Nations should embrace the term ***peace operations*** to denote the full spectrum of responses required and invest in strengthening the underlying analysis, strategy and planning that leads to more successful design of missions.

Peacekeeping and special political missions are artificially separated, managed by two different departments, leading to bureaucratic rivalry and infighting. Hence the Panel proposed the fusion of the two core UN

peace and security functions into a single peace operations concept under a new Deputy Secretary-General charged with the Department of Peace Operations. *Sequenced and prioritised mandates* will allow missions to develop over time rather than trying to do everything at once, and failing.

Third, a stronger global-regional peace and security partnership is needed to respond to the more challenging crises of tomorrow. Common purpose and resolve must be established from the outset of a new operation and must be maintained throughout through enhanced collaboration and consultation. The UN System too must pull together in a more integrated manner in the service of conflict prevention and peace. All of these partnerships must be underpinned by mutual respect and mutual responsibilities.

Fourth, the UN Secretariat must become more field-focused and UN peace operations must be more people-centred. There must be an awakening on the part of UN Headquarters to the distinct and important needs of field missions, and a renewed resolve on the part of UN peace operations personnel to engage with, serve and protect the people they have been mandated to assist.

New approaches to ensure that UN peace operations are able to reliably play their critical roles in the international peace and security firmament in the years to come require significant change across four of the most important areas of the work of UN peace operations and of the United Nations generally. Conflict prevention and mediation must be brought back to the fore.

The prevention of armed conflict is perhaps the greatest responsibility of the international community and yet it has not been sufficiently invested in.

A decade ago, the World Summit, held from 14 to 16 September at the United Nations headquarters in New York brought together more

than 170 Heads of State and Government. It was a once-in-a-generation opportunity to take bold decisions in the areas of development, security, human rights and reform of the United Nations.

The agenda was based on an achievable set of proposals outlined in March 2005 by Secretary-General Kofi Annan in his report 'In Larger Freedom'. This called for collective Security Council action when national authorities are incapable of or unwilling to protect their own people from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. It then went on to set up two new bodies, a Peacebuilding Commission to help countries in transition from war to peace, and a strengthened Human Rights Council. Whether these two institutions have delivered on their promise is an entirely different question.

Member states have not sufficiently invested in addressing root causes of conflict; nor has the United Nations generally been able to engage early enough in emerging crises. The UN must invest in its own capacities to undertake prevention and mediation, and in its capacity to assist others, particularly at the national and regional level.

The Security Council, supported by the Secretariat, should seek to play an earlier role in addressing emerging conflicts, and must do so with impartiality. At the global level, the United Nations must mobilise a new international commitment to preventing conflict and mobilising partnerships to support political solutions. It must find ways to draw on the knowledge and resources of others beyond the UN System through civil society – community, religious, youth and women's groups – and the global business community.

Protection of civilians is a core obligation of the United Nations, but expectations and capability must converge. Significant progress has been made in promoting norms and frameworks for the protection of civilians. And yet, on the ground, the results are mixed and the gap between what is asked for and what peace operations can deliver has widened in more difficult environments. The protection of civilians is a national

responsibility and UN peace operations can play an important role in supporting governments to execute that responsibility.

UN missions and non-governmental actors have important unarmed and civilian tools for protecting civilians, working with communities. The United Nations must rise to the challenge of protecting civilians in the face of imminent threat, and must do so proactively and effectively, but also with recognition of its limits. Protection mandates must be realistic and linked to a wider political approach. Closing the gap between what is asked of missions to protect civilians and what they can provide demands improvements across several dimensions:

- assessments and planning capabilities,
- timely information and communication,
- leadership and training,
- more focused mandates.

The Secretariat must be frank in the assessments it delivers to the Security Council about what is required to respond to threats to civilians. In turn, member states should provide the necessary resources and lend their influence and leverage to respond to threats against civilians. When a protection crisis occurs, UN personnel cannot stand by while civilians are threatened or killed. They must use every tool available to them to protect civilians under actual or imminent threat. Each and every peacekeeper – military, police and civilian – must pass this test when crisis presents itself.

Clarity is needed on the use of force and on the role of UN peace operations and others in managing armed conflict. While some missions are working to implement ceasefires or peace agreements, others are operating in environments with no peace to keep. They are struggling to contain or manage conflict and to keep alive the prospects for the resumption of a peace process.

The Panel believes that the United Nations may see more, not less, of these situations in the future. Its existing concepts, tools and capabilities

for peace implementation do not always serve these missions well. For such situations there must be a new approach to mandating and resourcing missions, while also setting out the limits of ambition of what the UN can achieve in such settings. Every effort must be made to establish minimum conditions to ensure a mission's viability and to define 'success' more realistically in such settings.

Where armed conflict is ongoing, missions will struggle to establish themselves, particularly if they are not perceived to be impartial. Although efforts are underway to strengthen capabilities, UN peacekeeping operations are often poorly suited to these operating environments, and others must come forward to respond.

The Panel believes that there are outer limits for UN peacekeeping operations defined by their composition, character and inherent capability limitations. Peacekeeping operations are but one tool at the disposal of the Security Council and they should perform a circumscribed set of roles. In this regard, the Panel believes that UN troops should not undertake military counter-terrorism operations. Extreme caution should guide the mandating of enforcement tasks to degrade, neutralise or defeat a designated enemy. Such operations should be exceptional, time-limited and undertaken with full awareness of the risks and responsibilities for the UN mission as a whole. Where a parallel force is engaged in offensive combat operations it is important for UN peacekeeping operations to maintain a clear division of labour and distinction of roles.

The Panel has heard many views on the core principles of UN peacekeeping. The Panel is convinced of their importance in guiding successful UN peacekeeping operations. Yet, these principles must be interpreted progressively and with flexibility in the face of new challenges, and they should never be an excuse for failure to protect civilians or to defend the mission proactively.

To sustain peace, political vigilance is needed. Peace processes do not end when a peace agreement has been signed or an election held. The

international community must sustain high-level political engagement in support of national efforts to deepen and broaden processes of inclusion and reconciliation, as well as address the underlying causes of conflict.

Peace operations, like other actors, must work to overcome deficits in supporting conflict-affected countries in sustaining peace, including supply-driven templates and an over-technocratic focus on capitals and elites, and the risk of unintentionally exacerbating divisions. Strong support for reconciliation and healing is also critical to prevent relapse into conflict.

Peace operations have a key role to play in mobilising political support for reforms and resources for critical gaps in state capacity, as well as supporting others to revitalise livelihoods in conflict-affected economies. Engagement with affected communities should help build confidence in political processes and responsible state structures.

Missions must focus first and foremost on creating political commitment and the space for others to address important elements in sustaining peace. The security sector must be a particular focus owing to its potential to disrupt peace in many countries, with the UN in a convening and coordinating role, if requested. A significant change in policing approaches is needed to better support national police development and reform. These efforts should be linked to the whole 'justice chain', ensuring an integrated approach between human rights and rule of law capacities.

In sustaining peace, the UN System must overcome structural and other impediments to working together, including through more innovative resourcing options. Missions must work closely with their national counterparts and UN and regional partners to ensure that the least disruption is caused when they transition and depart.

These are the four core shifts in mindset and policies my colleagues and I have recommended to all stakeholders in our common effort to render our Organisation more reliable and efficient in the fight for peace.

I also want to mention that in carrying out our work the Panel was mindful that the Review of UN Peace Operations was taking place in parallel with two other important reviews related to the peace and security pillar of the UN's work – the review of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture (Peacebuilding Commission, Peacebuilding Support Office and Peacebuilding Fund) and the Global Study on the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. In that regard we consulted with the panels working on the other reviews and have advocated that changes and reforms resulting from these processes must be coherent and not further contribute to fragmentation in the system.

In particular I want to mention a common finding in all three reviews: that the UN is not doing enough to implement what has become known as the 'women, peace and security agenda'. Gender equality and women's empowerment on issues of peace and security must be made central to the UN's work in promoting peace, as women's participation is key to sustainable peace.

We are pleased that our Report has received widespread support from all our partners. We are nevertheless concerned that the Secretary-General, in his report to the General Assembly (GA) on 12 October, failed to advocate strongly for the full implementation of our core recommendations. One seasoned UN diplomat eloquently described the Secretary-General's report to the GA as a 'decaffeinated' version of the Report of the High Level Independent Panel on UN Peace Operations.

The systemic weaknesses in the UN Secretariat, characterised by turf tensions and rivalries, are already emerging and threaten to undermine some of our key recommendations, namely in regards mindset-changing in the Secretariat.

The Panel called for several foundational changes in how the UN works

in countries shattered by conflict. One important set of recommendations that I fear has not received the attention from member states that it deserves is related to bureaucratic reform. We called for a decisive move away from the mindsets of a Headquarters bureaucracy not attuned to the needs of field operations.

Your Royal Highness,
Rector Magnifica,
Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Is real, lasting peace possible in our lifetime? For idealists, the answer is yes. Though I am a believer in the fundamental good of human being, I also fear the human capacity for extreme inhumanity. From the time of our ancestors many thousands of years ago up until present times, human beings have with each passing century perfected the art and science of war and killing. Can we prevent social and political tensions from escalating into violent conflicts? Can we do better in bringing parties in a conflict to the table and restoring peace? And how can we build durable peace?

In some cases neutral and credible national and/or external actors may be able to discretely or openly influence behavioural change and policies among competing actors, when those involved are committed to preventing an escalation of the political conflict and welcome advice. But too often, individual pride and egos block friendly, neutral help, domestic or external. Too often those in power do not have the wisdom and humility of the truly great in embracing the other half who disagree with them. And the opposition overestimates its own power, so it underestimates the adversary and miscalculates, making excessive demands, amounting to an ultimatum to surrender.

My humble advice: when you are at the top of the mountain, embrace those on the fringes of power and privileges; in victory, be magnanimous, embrace the vanquished adversaries; if they are on their knees, help them

to their feet, invite them to join in the new enterprise of peace. To those in the opposition my advice is: never surrender to violence and hatred; seize every opportunity to enter the political process, advance your interests with patience, through dialogue and persuasion.

There are many simple ways to prevent conflicts and some old tested methods are genuine, patient dialogue, consultation and empowerment of all, making all feel part of the nation. All it actually requires is serious investment in the mechanisms of dialogue; and dialogue means listening attentively and respectfully to the other side, accommodating their views as much as you can.

Leaders, supported by the international development partners, must carefully study and address the many obvious causes of tension, namely, the abject poverty of the majority in contrast with the opulence and ostentation of the few; real or perceived discrimination and exclusion. They must engage community and religious leaders in developing strategies and inclusive policies that leave no one behind.

Corruption and ostentation are causes of inequality and tension; the more a country is free from corruption, the more leaders show humility and integrity, the more they are respected and are followed, the better the chances for peace to gain roots.

In too many countries, rather than embracing ethnic, cultural and religious diversity as a blessing, leaders try to suppress particular ethnic groups, their language and religion, in the name of an artificial national unity – the unity of the majority ethnic group. Cases include Sri Lanka, Turkey, Spain under Franco, Myanmar. When a particular ethnic/religious minority manages to achieve power (the case of the Alawites in Syria) it builds a powerful minority army and intelligence apparatus to protect its community from the majority.

There are no short cuts to peace, nor to sustainable and equitable development; peace has to be built block by block; eradication of extreme

poverty is a moral imperative for all and a sine qua non condition for the attainment of durable peace.

ODA has been for decades been the prime tool employed to assist poorer countries in freeing themselves from chronic poverty and instability. Tragically and unwisely, in a simplistic and knee-jerk reaction to the economic and financial downturn that began in 2008, almost all OECD countries – exceptions being the UK and the Nordic countries – opted to impose draconian cuts in ODA budgets. The UK under Prime Minister David Cameron made the courageous and wise decision in increase UK's ODA budget to 0.7% of its GDP, thus becoming the only G7 country to do so; and PM Cameron's decision is the more commendable as this is done in the midst of the ongoing financial crisis.

As we have learned over several decades, there are no short cuts to peace; there are no magic bullets that cure long festering wounds and poverty. Both require long-term commitment and investment, and accepting that there have been and there will be relapses in the peacebuilding process, and with it setbacks in the road to economic recovery.

Human beings (usually men) are the authors of conflicts and wars; and human beings are the only ones who can prevent the outbreak of violent conflicts, negotiate the end of wars and build peace.

Peoples are the makers of history but peoples need leaders; when they are inspired by their leaders, leaders they trust, leaders who preach compassion and reconciliation, people follow, and peace grows.

To prevent conflicts, end wars, heal wounds, reconcile communities and nations, build durable peace, we require leaders with vision, courage, determination, humility and compassion. Our collectivity, called the United Nations, is made up of its many parts, and the parts are we the peoples of the world.

The UN of Dag Hammarskjöld, a UN fit for purpose, to serve the cause of peace, a UN of the people, is under severe stress and is challenged on many fronts.

I dedicated the Panel's report to my hero, a three-year old girl from South Sudan –Nyakhat Pal. In April 2014 Nyakhat Pal walked for four long hours along treacherous tracks, guiding her blind father, in search of a UN civilian protection centre. They did reach the UN facility, were duly registered, interviewed and assisted. Her story, a story of resilience and survival, is also an indictment of the collective failure of the UN and its regional partners – the neighbours of South Sudan – for their inability to prevent the implosion of the country and the ensuing war. However, Nyakhat's story also underlines the indispensability of the UN. For all its weaknesses and limitations, the UN is in these conflict regions; its dedicated personnel – facing extreme hardships and risks to their own well-being and lives, and working long hours – feed and shelter people, and save lives. We can do more; we can do better; we can prevail over hatred and extremism. Peace will prevail.

Your Royal Highness, I pray to God, the Almighty and the Merciful, to continue to bestow on their Majesties the King and Queen of Sweden, and their much-esteemed Royal Family, and the people of Sweden, bountiful health and endless happiness.

**President of Timor-Leste 2007-2012; Prime Minister, Minister of Defence, 2006-2007; Senior Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, 2001-2006.*

***Panel members: Ameerah Haq, Jean Arnault, Marie-Louise Baricako, Radhika Coomaraswamy, Abhijit Guha, Andrew Hughes, Alexander Ilitchev, Hilde F. Johnson, Youssef Mahmoud, Ian Martin, Henrietta Joy Abena Nyarko Mensa-Bonsu, B. Lynn Pascoe, Floriano Peixoto Vieira Neto, Rima Salah and Wang Xuexian.*

Secretariat staff: Bela Kapur, Tamara Al-Zayyat, Heather Belrose, Paul Keating, Moritz Meier-Ewert, Madalene O'Donnell, Suman Pradhan, Jessica Serraris and Mike Yuanhu Yin.



José Ramos-Horta signing the guestbook.

Henrik Hammargren, Executive Director of Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation presented the medal to the Lecturer.

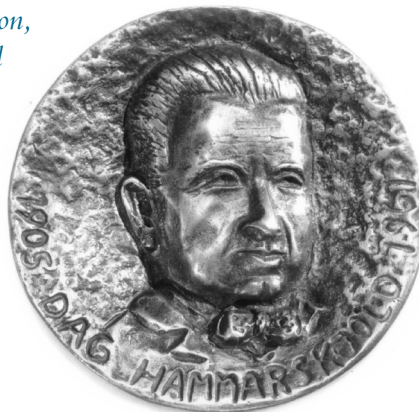
Dear President Ramos-Horta,

You are now the seventeenth in line to have delivered a Dag Hammarskjöld Lecture at Uppsala University. We thank You and congratulate You.

Jose Ramos-Horta was chosen by the Foundation and Uppsala University to deliver the 2015 Dag Hammarskjöld Lecture for his outstanding efforts - that have spanned decades and continue today - to promote peaceful solutions to conflict, at the national and at the international level, and to strengthen the UN's work on peace and security. In this way he reflects and furthers Hammarskjöld efforts to ensure that the UN Charter is applied in situations of armed conflict and that the UN is successful in carrying out its fundamental role "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

The University has found it appropriate to institute a special medal, which is only bestowed upon the Dag Hammarskjöld Lecturers. The medal has been created by the artist Annette Rydström and is cast in bronze. Its obverse shows Dag Hammarskjöld's portrait and the reverse a handshake, the old symbol of Concordia, here representing Hammarskjöld's diplomatic efforts. In the Latin inscription, Uppsala University dedicates the medal to the memory of its disciple for his outstanding achievements.

President Ramos-Horta, I now invite You to receive the seventeenth medal, with Your name engraved on the rim, from the Chancellor.



Seminar: Building Peace

Strengthening the UN's role in sustaining peace

Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation

3 November 2015

Prior to the lecture, the Foundation hosted a private seminar focused on the UN's role in supporting efforts to achieve and maintain sustainable peace. The seminar elaborated on the report by the High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (HIPPO), chaired by Ramos-Horta, that was delivered to the UN Secretary-General in June 2015. The discussion focused on what implementing the findings and recommended changes articulated in the report will entail, such as improved training and leadership in peacekeeping missions, increased coherence in UN responses and dealing with powerful spoilers, among other things. Special consideration was given to the response by the Secretary-General's Office to the HIPPO report (issued in September 2015) as well as how the conclusions and recommendations coming out of this review process relate to those of the Advisory Group of Experts (AGE) that implemented the first phase of the 2015 Review of the UN's Peacebuilding Architecture and the Global Study on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (presented in mid-October). In concluding, seminar participants agreed on the importance of international actors, and in particular UN member states, moving forward on the findings and recommendations in the HIPPO report.



*José Ramos-Horta speaking at seminar at the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.
Left: Henrik Hammargren, Executive Director of the Foundation.*

José Ramos-Horta

Before serving his country as President, Dr. José Ramos-Horta was known internationally as a peacemaker. In exile from his country for almost three decades, he had been the international voice of the Timorese people while they fought for survival against one of the most brutal regimes of our time.

From 1975 to 1999 Timor-Leste, formerly known as East Timor, was invaded and occupied by Indonesia. In exile for the entire occupation, José Ramos-Horta worked to build a human rights network to defend the rights of the Timorese, walking the halls of the UN, addressing the Security Council, and working tirelessly to ensure his people were not forgotten while they suffered.

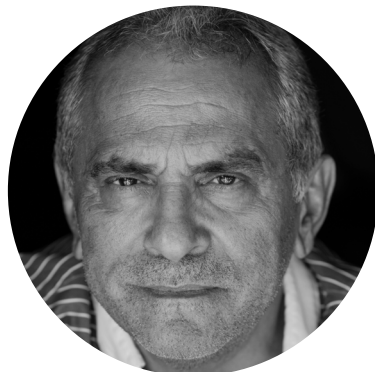
In 1996, José Ramos-Horta and Timorese Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize “for their work toward a just and peaceful solution to the conflict in East Timor.”

When returning from exile in 1999, he was appointed Senior Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, and quickly began work to help build a new democratic government. He was later appointed Prime Minister and Minister of Defense (2006-07), and elected President of the Republic (2007-12).

Assuming the helm of one of the poorest nations in Asia, and a country devastated by conflict, his promise was to serve as the “President of the Poor”. His work in taking his country from conflict to peace and economic growth in just over a decade serves as a model for building democracy in the 21st century.

After his years as President, he has served as Under- Secretary-General, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General and Head of the UN Integrated Peace Building Mission in Guinea-Bissau (West Africa) (2013-14) and is currently Co-Chair for International Commission on Multilateralism, International Peace Institute in New York, as well as Chair for the High Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations, appointed by the UN Secretary-General (2014-15).

Adapted from www.ramoshorta.com.



Dag Hammarskjöld

Dag Hammarskjöld (1905–1961) was a world citizen. During his period as Secretary-General of the United Nations (UN), from 1953 until his death in 1961, he became known as an efficient and dedicated international civil servant.

Dag Hammarskjöld emphasized that a major task of the UN is to assert the interests of small countries in relation to the major powers. He also shaped the UN's mandate to establish peacekeeping forces. Before he was appointed UN Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld held high positions as a civil servant and became a non-partisan member of the Swedish Cabinet.

Dag Hammarskjöld also had strong cultural interests and was a member of the Swedish Academy. His book *Markings* (*Vägmärken*) was published after his death. Most of Dag Hammarskjöld's childhood and adolescence were spent in Uppsala, Sweden, where his father was the provincial governor.





José Ramos-Horta laying a wreath on Dag Hammarskjöld's grave

Uppsala University

Uppsala University, founded in 1477, is the oldest and best-known university in Scandinavia. Famous scholars such as Olof Rudbeck, Anders Celsius and Carl Linnaeus were professors at the university. Eight Nobel Prize laureates have been professors at the university, among them Archbishop Nathan Söderblom, who was also the University's Pro-Chancellor. He received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1930.

Dag Hammarskjöld completed his studies at Uppsala with a bachelor's degree in Law. He began his studies in 1923, received a degree in Romance Languages, Philosophy and Economics in 1925 and took a further post-graduate degree in Economics early in 1928.

The University's international studies library is named after Dag Hammarskjöld and, in 1981, the Swedish Parliament established the Dag Hammarskjöld Chair of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University (www.pcr.uu.se), to commemorate that twenty years passed since the death of Dag Hammarskjöld.



Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation

The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation was established in 1962 by the Swedish government as an independent organisation in memory of the second Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Foundation's mission is to catalyse dialogue and action for a socially and economically just, environmentally sustainable, democratic and peaceful world. In the spirit of Dag Hammarskjöld, the Foundation aims to generate new perspectives and ideas on global development and multilateral cooperation. The Foundation builds bridges between actors and provides space for those most affected by inequalities and injustice.

The work of the Foundation is centred around five different programme areas.

- UN Development System Renewal
- Building Peace
- The International Development Agenda
- Global Disorders
- Dag Hammarskjöld's Legacy

More information about the Foundation at www.daghammarskjold.se.



Dag Hammarskjöld Lecture

The Dag Hammarskjöld Lecture is given in memory of Dag Hammarskjöld, and in recognition of the values that inspired him as Secretary-General and generally in his life – compassion, humanism and commitment to international solidarity and cooperation.

The invited speaker should be an outstanding international personality who in significant and innovative ways contributes to a more just, peaceful and environmentally sustainable world through valuable achievements in politics or research. Further information about the annual Dag Hammarskjöld Lecture including the full list of previous lecturers, can be found online at www.daghammarskjold.se.



Other Dag Hammarskjöld Lectures available in print:

- José Ramos-Horta, *Preventing Conflicts, Building Durable Peace*, 2015
- Helen Clark, *The Future We Want - Can We Make It A Reality?*, 2014
- Margot Wallström, *Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict*, 2013
- Tarja Halonen, *Women's Participation in the Sustainable World*, 2012
- Jan Eliasson, *Peace Development and Human Rights*
– *The Indispensable Connection*, 2011
- Francis Deng, *Idealism and Realism – Negotiating sovereignty in divided nations*, 2010
- Karen AbuZayd, *Rights, Justice and United Nations Values*
– *Reflections through a Palestine Refugee Prism*, 2009
- Martti Ahtisaari, *Can the International Community Meet the Challenges Ahead of Us?*, 2008
- Sture Linnér and Sverker Åström, *UN Secretary-General Hammarskjöld*
– *Reflections and personal experiences*, 2007
- Hans Blix, *UN Reform and World Disarmament – Where do we go?*, 2005
- Noeleen Heyzer, *Woman, War and Peace*
– *Mobilizing for Peace and Security in the 21st century*, 2003
- Lakhdar Brahimi, *The Rule of Law at Home and Abroad*, 2002
- Kofi Annan, *Dag Hammarskjöld and the 21st Century*, 2001
- Joseph Rotblat, *The Nuclear Age – A Curse and a Challenge: The Role of Scientists*, 2001
- Brian Urquhart, *Between Sovereignty and Globalisation*
– *Where does the United Nations fit in?*, 2000
- Mary Robinson, *Human Rights – Challenges for the 21st Century*, 1998



José Ramos-Horta speaking to H.R.H. Crown Princess Victoria before the Lecture.