

JOAN B. KROC

Distinguished Lecture Series

Jan Egeland

*War, Peace and Climate Change:
A Billion Lives in the Balance*



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



JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE

Distinguished Lecture Series

Delivered on the 4th of March, 2008 at the

JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE

Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies

University of San Diego

San Diego, California

Jan Egeland

War, Peace and Climate Change:

A Billion Lives in the Balance

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Fostering Peace, Cultivating Justice,

Creating a Safer World



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CONTENTS

Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice	4
Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series	6
Biography of Jan Egeland	10
Interview and Student Meeting with Jan Egeland	12
Welcome by Dee Aker	34
Introduction by Diana Kutlow	36
Lecture – <i>War, Peace and Climate Change: A Billion Lives in the Balance</i>	39
Questions and Answers	58
Related Resources	66
About the University of San Diego	68

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 peacemaking activities, the IPJ offers programs that advance scholarship and practice in conflict resolution and human rights. The Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, 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 Dec. 2001 with a conference, "Peacemaking with Justice: Policy for the 21st Century."

The Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice strives, in Joan B. Kroc's words, to "not only talk about peace, but to make peace." The IPJ offers its services to parties in conflict to provide mediation and facilitation, assessments, training and consultations. It advances peace with justice through work with members of civil society in zones of conflict and has a focus on mainstreaming women in peace processes.

The Women PeaceMakers Program brings into residence at the IPJ women who have been actively engaged in peacemaking in conflict areas around the

world to document their stories, share experiences with others working in peacemaking and allow time for reflection on their work.

WorldLink, a year-round educational program for high school students from San Diego and Baja California, connects youth to global affairs.

Country programs, such as the Nepal Project, offer wide-ranging conflict assessments, mediation and conflict resolution training workshops.

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, philanthropist and international peace proponent, the Joan B. Kroc 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 LECTURE SERIES SPEAKERS

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<i>Human Rights and Ethical Globalization</i> |
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<i>Women, War and Peace: The Politics of Peacebuilding</i> |
| November 17, 2004 | Noeleen Heyzer
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President – International Crisis Group
<i>Preventing Mass Atrocities: Making “Never Again” a Reality</i> |
| February 10, 2005 | The Honorable Lloyd Axworthy
President, University of Winnipeg
<i>The Responsibility to Protect: Prescription for a Global Public Domain</i> | September 20, 2007 | Kenneth Roth
Executive Director – Human Rights Watch
<i>The Dynamics of Human Rights and the Environment</i> |
| | | March 4, 2008 | Jan Egeland
Former Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator for the United Nations
<i>War, Peace and Climate Change: A Billion Lives in the Balance</i> |

BIOGRAPHY OF JAN EGELAND

Jan Egeland was Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator for the United Nations from Aug. 2003 to Dec. 2006. From 1999 to 2002, he was the U.N. Secretary-General's Special Adviser. As Under-Secretary, Egeland led joint efforts in providing relief in the wake of a number of disasters – including the devastating earthquake in Bam, the Indian Ocean earthquakes and tsunami, the South Asia earthquake, drought and flooding in Africa and the 2005 Atlantic hurricane season. He traveled to the frontlines of conflicts to bring world attention to suffering in Darfur, Sudan, Colombia, Lebanon and the Palestinian Territories.

Earlier in his career, Egeland served as state secretary in the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1990-97). He co-initiated and co-organized the Norwegian channel between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1992, which led to the Oslo Accord of Sept. 1993. He initiated the two Norwegian Emergency Preparedness Systems, which have provided more than 2,000 experts and humanitarian workers to international organizations. He was head of development studies at the Henry Dunant Institute in Geneva and secretary general of the Norwegian Red Cross.

Egeland holds a magister artium in political science from the University of Oslo. He was a Fulbright scholar at the University of California, Berkeley and a fellow at the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo and the Truman Institute for the Advancement for Peace in Jerusalem. Egeland was chair of Amnesty International, Norway and vice chair of the International Executive Committee of Amnesty International.

Egeland is currently director of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs and Special Adviser to U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon on conflict prevention and resolution.



INTERVIEW AND STUDENT MEETING WITH JAN EGELAND

The following is an edited compilation of an interview with Jan Egeland conducted by Joyce Neu, executive director at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ), and a private meeting held with graduate students from the University of San Diego. The interview and student meeting were held on Feb. 27 and March 4, 2008, respectively.

Q: When you were growing up as a child, did you ever envision yourself doing this? What did you want to do when you were a child?

JE: I frequently dreamt about being able to travel the world, naturally, away from my very privileged and quiet and peaceful Norwegian corner of the world. For me, Latin America was the continent where you could see some of these epic battles between justice and repression, between human rights and dictatorships. It was a dream come true when I was invited [to Colombia] by a Catholic priest whom I saw on television when he asked European youth to come and help him. As a 17-year-old in Norway, I wrote to him in Spanish, which I had in school, and asked, "Can I come?" He said yes, and this was like a calling for me.

Q: Did you have someone in your family or your early life who influenced you to be this passionate about pursuing cases of injustice?

JE: Yes. My parents would always put a lot of emphasis on us, their children, being aware of our privileged position. They themselves grew up in the 1930s in a Norway of mass social misery. Their parents were wartime sailors who were torpedoed by the Nazi U-boat captains and just barely survived. It was very clear for us through what they said that we shouldn't take anything for granted.

But I think it's very important to not idealize us who have done international work and pursued careers in human rights and humanitarian work as if we're

more heroic than anybody else. I mean, I have felt it an enormous privilege to work with the issues that I consider the most important ones for our generation. Everybody wants to work on things that matter. Everybody wants to have an opportunity to be where important things happen. I've been privileged. I feel that there are hundreds if not thousands, tens of thousands, of youth who would want to have a chance to really work in the field, on the frontlines of humanity, if you like.

Q: If I understand correctly, you have two daughters.

JE: Indeed.

Q: Do they share this passion or have they taken very different paths?

JE: They very much have this passion. My oldest, who is 18, wants now to take a gap year and is trying to find a humanitarian organization to work as a volunteer with. She's trying to do exactly the same.

Q: But that priest is not around anymore?

JE: No, he's not around. And I would have forbidden her from doing it; it's too dangerous. They would not have my blessing to do the things that I did, which my parents fortunately knew nothing of what it meant to be in a civil war. So, to be on your own as a 19-year-old is not without risk. But my daughter gave away all of her very considerable money that the whole extended family would give to her, which is a tradition when you get confirmation in the Lutheran church. She gave 100 percent of that to Darfur. I didn't do that. I remember I bought my first stereo when I was 16. Anyway, I think the younger generation is as idealistic as we were in my generation, or more.

Q: Your book, *A Billion Lives: An Eyewitness Report from the Frontlines of Humanity*, really covers the gamut of natural and manmade crises that you dealt with over 30 years, from Sudan, Iraq, the Middle East, Colombia, the tsunamis, Uganda. During the



writing of your book, did any common characteristics of these different crisis situations strike you?

JE: Yes, I think the common denominator is really that it didn't have to be like this and it shouldn't continue like this. In other words, more could have been done earlier to avert the loss of lives, the suffering and so on. After my years as emergency relief coordinator – and I have the world record in holding that position for three-and-a-half years (my predecessor lasted two-and-a-half years and most have been less than two years); it's a very tough job – everybody expected me to come out broken and totally depressed, having seen so many bad things, having been to all of these bad places.

But I came out – as I also summed up in my book – an optimist because I saw that more often than not, we succeeded in dramatically changing the world for the better, if and when we had the resources and the support from world governments and world public opinion. In crisis after crisis we were faced with really truly catastrophic loss of life. In the tsunami, in the South Asian earthquake of 2005, in Lebanon, the Horn of Africa and southern Africa, in Darfur, in all of these places it was predicted by many that hundreds of thousands would die for lack of relief, for lack of emergency supplies. In all of these places we managed to reach communities in time.

Q: In a *Washington Post* article that came out in Jan. 2005, “Is America stingy?”,¹ you said that you thought that Americans and Europeans were in fact quite generous and certainly more generous than their governments, that people were really willing to give more, but that, as you say, if the government assistance stands at 0.1 or 0.2 percent of gross national income, than that is in fact stingy. You said that you came out of your work at the United Nations as an optimist because if we do have the resources, we can make a difference. Is this governmental assistance one of the things that you would then urge change on?

1 See Related Resources.

JE: Yes, exactly. I also come out full of eagerness to keep on fighting in this sense, that we, time and again, show that we are not willing to use the resources or the possibilities or the tools we have at hand. So, the great progress we've had is rather in spite of the half-hearted investment very often.

Q: In the *Jerusalem Post*, and this goes back to July 2006, during the attacks both by Hezbollah and by Israel, they quote you as saying about Hezbollah's tactics that armed men should not hide among civilians. “Civilians must be protected and when there are many more dead children than armed men, something is fundamentally wrong, not only with how armed men behave and where they hide, but also in the response.” You were equally harsh toward Israel's attacks, saying it would create a generation of hatred.² This seems to be a real phenomenon of many conflicts where armed people hide behind civilians, not just in the Middle East, but in Afghanistan and in Uganda with the Lord's Resistance Army. Do you have any recommendations or observations on how children and civilians can be more protected?

JE: I think the good news in our generation is that there is more peace and less war. There is a marked rise in the laying down of arms, a farewell to arms in our generation. We should take pride in what the United Nations has been able to do, for example, in helping to end wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, large parts of the Congo, southern Sudan, Burundi, northern Uganda just these last months and weeks, Kosovo, East Timor. There is great progress for peace, and multilateral work has shown how effective it can be and how cost efficient it is. Remember that all the U.N. peacekeeping that led to all of these peace agreements and peacekeeping and peacemaking operations cost one-twentieth of the U.S. annual costs in Iraq. It's one to 20: \$6 billion compared to \$120 billion.

However, the horrendous reality in the remaining wars of our generation is that they are probably crueler than anything in terms of abusing, maiming, killing, destroying the civilian population. It's more dangerous to be a child or woman in many of our contemporary world conflicts than it is to be an armed

2 See Related Resources.

man. The 20,000 kidnapped children in northern Uganda is a moral outrage. There are hundreds of thousands of raped women of eastern Congo, an equal outrage. And it was insanity to the extreme what I saw in the summer of 2006 in southern Lebanon and northern Israel and Gaza, where there were very few killed soldiers and a lot of killed children.

So, what can be done? I think we must hold the warlords, the generals, the political leaders, the governments, the militia leaders – the men, because it's usually men – accountable for what they've done. And I think it is a great step forward that Charles Taylor is in jail, [Slobodan] Milosevic was in jail, many of the Rwandan genocidal leaders are in jail, and hopefully soon those who are responsible for the atrocities, the ethnic cleansing and the massacres in Darfur will be in jail – because it is impunity which we're fighting.

Q: What is your perspective on what the balance should be between the International Criminal Court (ICC) and local forms of justice? Is there a happy middle ground or is it going to be a zero-sum game?

JE: The whole perceived, and at times false and at times real, tension between justice and human rights and peace and reconciliation is a big issue and is growing. In my book there is a photo of me sitting in a refugee camp with Ugandan youth who live like what we call “herring in a box” in my own country. They are so crowded, the camps in northern Uganda, because of what the Lord's Resistance Army has done. I have another photo of meeting this worst terrorist on earth possibly, Joseph Kony: shaking hands with Joseph Kony and his other commandants on an outpost at the border between south Sudan and eastern Congo where they had assembled. I showed them statistics of exactly which massacres they had done which we knew of, telling them we were watching them, telling them that if they continued fighting – because we had gotten a ceasefire – it could only inflict more sorrow and harm to the people and to themselves. He nearly didn't come to see me. I had traveled across the world to see him. It was very controversial. Some said, “Don't go to see him, you will give legitimacy to this mass murderer.” I went there because as a humanitarian, I thought – which turned out to be right actually – that

we could end the violence by going for the cessation of hostilities and by confronting them face to face.

Now in this case, however, the International Criminal Court had indicted five leaders, including the number two who is standing next to me [in the picture] and number one, who is next to him. Number one killed number two, who was my counterpart, three months ago.³ [Kony] didn't want to see me in the beginning because he thought I, who was unarmed, would handcuff him, who had all of these guns, and bring him to The Hague.

So, here's the dilemma. We cannot anymore tolerate impunity for crimes against humanity, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and genocide – those are the four “unforgivable” things if you like. On the other hand, these are real leaders of real armed groups doing real terror; we have to convince them to do something. We have to deal with them. How do you deal with somebody who you should immediately arrest and bring to jail? If you want to arrest them and bring them to jail, they know that you will do that. If you do that, there would be the second who would take over and they would withdraw forever and continue with terror, and we would have no deal.

Now, what's happened is that Uganda has, in my view, become a success story for south Sudanese mediators, for U.N. facilitation. For one-and-a-half years there hasn't been a single attack on the civilian population. We gave, through my organization, food to the fighters under the condition that they would stop looting the civilian population. Several of them have defected – a good sign. Several of the children whom they kidnapped have been able to escape, and hundreds of thousands of civilians have returned home. We've been able to do that without promising the leadership anything, because the indictment stands and I'm sure that one day they will meet justice. So, the long answer to a brief question: I think justice will have to be served, but it can be sequential. It can come after you do humanitarian deals for the benefit of the victims they hurt.

³ On Kony's orders, the “number two,” Vincent Otti, was killed. Another indicted leader, Raska Lukwiya, was killed by the Uganda People's Defense Forces, the Ugandan army, in Aug. 2006, leaving three of the five indicted leaders still alive.

Q: I would like to get your opinion on the new command, AFRICOM [United States Africa Command], that the U.S. has been talking about. What's so unique about it is the tripod effect of having the State Department, USAID [United States Agency for International Development] and DoD [Department of Defense] within this new command. It really is a step forward for how the U.S. military is looking at Africa, which I think they've pretty much ignored for a long time. There will be the DoD piece of it, which could provide logistics and some things that are necessary for humanitarian assistance. What do you see are the benefits of AFRICOM? Is this a positive thing for the continent?

JE: I think it's mixed really; there are pluses and minuses. The pluses can be two. One is the U.S. and European militaries have to do more and can do more to train African militaries to provide better security on their own continent. Clearly in Darfur, it's not going to be the U.S. Marines who in the end will create security for the ethnically cleansed people who are fearing massacres everyday. It would be a magnet for al-Qaeda and whatnot; you could have an Iraq all over again. But, clearly the African Union was not able to do it. They failed. They were not strong enough. So, one of the things that has to happen is massive training of African police, military, all aspects of what is needed for good African Union peacekeeping and peacemaking, security operations. There is no doubt that you need more security operations. It's not enough with blankets – I mean, if civilians are being raped, plundered, beaten, abused, killed, it's not a question of more blankets, it's a question of protection. So that's number one. But again, it's not going to be the westerners, "send the Marines" – it often backfires, it usually backfires. It is "send the neighbors," "send the regional forces," which is the answer.

Number two, you can help with logistics and heavy lifting and immediate response when there are no civilian alternatives. So, in tsunami-like situations or even potentially a massive flow of refugees, you need to care for a million people, you need to lift in hundreds of thousands of tons. Well, the U.S. military is the biggest logistical operation on earth, and the second biggest might be the Russian military. However, that should be primarily in natural

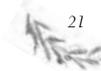


disaster situations and the non-political disasters, and/or when there's clearly no other civilian alternative. To militarize impartial, neutral, independent humanitarian aid is very dangerous. It just is, again, a magnet for those who see this as Western imperialism and whatnot, rightly or wrongly – usually wrongly they see it as that, but they see it as this. That's why [the United Nations] ended up being bombed in Baghdad. My predecessor in the job, Sergio Vieira de Mello was killed in Baghdad because there was no middle ground, because the United Nations was seen as coming on the tail of the U.S., which was seen as the invader by those who were bombing us. So, that's my answer. It's mixed. You have to follow it carefully, but it's not to be ruled out outright, no. There are potential benefits.

Q: There is quite a problem with the issue of HIV/AIDS and the widows and children when the husband dies, with the tradition in Africa being that the brother-in-law or the male family members come in and take care of that family. But now with AIDS, it is a great problem apparently in numerous countries that the widows and the children are cast out with nowhere to go. As one attorney from Nigeria said when asked, "Where do they go?", she said, "Your guess is as good as mine." I understand you work with issues of war, but I would propose that this is a humanitarian issue also. Is there anything that you can do in terms of centers for these women who are experiencing such a situation?

JE: I do not only work on war, and now I'm not anymore the emergency relief coordinator – that's why I can be here basically. However, in my humanitarian work I did more and more work on disasters including the AIDS pandemic, which is an endless disaster, and actually less and less on war for the very reason that there is less and less war in the world and more and more natural disasters. There is actually a building AIDS pandemic, as there has been a building tuberculosis and even in some areas a malaria pandemic.

What can be done? Actually there are many things that can be done if there is an investment in seeking solutions. It's very strange how little we are investing



in this generation of orphans and also women. Of course many of the women also die from AIDS, so there are also widowers with children. I remember vividly a food distribution in Zimbabwe and another one in Malawi which I observed. I couldn't believe my eyes. Those who came to get food – this was a Red Cross food distribution – were children and grandmothers. That middle generation is either dead or they are home dying. We were stupidly having these American 50-kilo corn bags, which then grandmother, aged 62, and two boys, aged 11, tried to drag away to their hut. No father. No mother. Imagine, you are supposed to be taken care of by your children, and suddenly you have to inherit your grandchildren. So, that's what often happens.

The programs that are done a lot by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), the Red Cross, UNICEF [United Nations Children's Fund], a number of U.N. organizations, is to find alternative ways to care for the women and for the children. For example, we even have a program now in the Red Cross called child-led households. In Rwanda, there are not enough grown-ups, so the 14-year-old takes care of her or his five or more siblings, supervised by a nanny, for like five families. They get goats, they get sheep, they get some help, and they get help to get escorted to school for the smaller kids: one system. Another one, which is not usually good, is orphanages. A good one is cooperatives. So, there are many. It's actually a question, really, of investing in this, as it's a question of investing in AIDS prevention work. We're doing now seemingly pretty well in America. When I was a student in San Francisco it seemed to be out of control, the AIDS pandemic. We've been able to get it under control it seems in the North.

Q: Why isn't there enough international pressure and U.N. pressure put on Zimbabwe because of the humanitarian crisis taking place there, or on the African Union? No one seems to be condemning what [Robert] Mugabe is doing in regard to the people.

JE: I have photos about my epic battle with Robert Mugabe. He didn't like me. I didn't like him. Why is Mugabe so shielded? It is a simple reason. I think that the wrong country started to spearhead the campaign against him. The U.K.

and U.S. were historically supporting – especially U.K. but also U.S. – the apartheid regime during the Cold War. There was massive support for South Africa and even Rhodesia because they were on the capitalist side in the Cold War. And it's not forgotten in the region. So, for [Thabo] Mbeki and other leaders to go after the old liberation hero in the struggle against a racist regime, after the country that supported the racist regime went after Mugabe, it's very difficult. I think that's one of the reasons.

But it is terrible what is happening. Mugabe and his regime, ZANU [Zimbabwe African National Union], are tearing apart the country. Zimbabwe was the bread basket of the southern African region. Today it cannot feed even half of its population. The mismanagement is terrible and it is very undemocratic – you know all of these things of course. And South Africa doesn't speak out at all. South Africa has, more than any other one, the key to unlock the situation in my view. And it is tragic. It doesn't bode well for South Africa, because if there is a collapse, South Africa will have 2 million refugees: environmental refugees, economic refugees, not just political refugees necessarily, coming into South Africa. The SADC [South African Development Community] countries in the last summit meeting ended up congratulating Mugabe for his historic contribution to African revival and brushed under the carpet that he had become a dictator in his country.

Maybe I'll tell you a story. Fidel Castro was at one of the summit meetings of the Non-Aligned Movement. There was a reception and the one who was clearly the most popular, next to [Nelson] Mandela, was Fidel Castro. A long line of other leaders wanted to be in a photo with Fidel Castro and shake his hand and so on. A journalist asked him, "Mr. Castro, how come you're so extremely popular?"

And he said, "I owe it all to the United States. If it hadn't been for them, I wouldn't have been."



So, why? Because the Third World loves this David versus Goliath kind of situation. The wrong country has spearheaded it. In the battle for human rights in Cuba, which is a place without many civil liberties, to put it mildly, it was the United States. Very bad things have happened in Cuba. It should have been Latin American countries, European countries pushing back, not the United States. In Darfur, it should be China doing it, not the West.

Q: I'd like to hear your opinion on the escalating political disaster in Sri Lanka. There's a U.N. humanitarian agency presence in Sri Lanka, which is mainly focused on natural disasters and the effects of the tsunami. Also, Norway has been very much involved in the peace talks over the decades, but unfortunately hasn't been very successful. And now the government has chosen again to go back to violent means, and those are affecting the civilians. There are people asking more and more for a U.N. presence in Sri Lanka. In your status now as adviser on conflict prevention and resolution, what do you think the U.N. should be doing or what can the international community be doing in order to stop the escalation of this conflict?

JE: When I did my book and started to list where has it gone well and where has it gone badly the last 10 years (my time in the United Nations), the number of places where we have gotten peace and progress is more than double the places where we've had regression. But certainly Sri Lanka is one of the places where there's clear regression and that has to be said. The tsunami led Indonesia and Aceh to a successful peace process. The GAM [Free Aceh Movement], the rebel movement, and the government, facilitated in this case by Finnish mediation, led to a peace agreement and the demobilization of the guerillas who were peacefully integrated into society.

In Sri Lanka it was interesting to see that during the first 48 hours, the Tamil Tigers, the government army and others worked together – they even retrieved bodies together, they exchanged wounded, dead and so on in these areas. We thought, I thought, this could lead to momentous change for reconciliation and an end to this senseless civil war in Sri Lanka and so on. And then, we saw that the government – really the government first and

foremost – said, “No, no, we really are very suspicious of these people in the north and we're really suspicious of the Tigers.” They regressed and then there was no confidence anymore. And today, the ceasefire is gone, there is a lot of killing and so on.

The Norwegian facilitation has worked in many other contexts where you have willing and able parties. Those of you who are in peace studies would know and should know how to distinguish the four categories: you are either willing or unwilling to talk, and you are either able or unable to negotiate. You can make those who are unable able. We gave international lawyers at their choosing to the Marxist guerillas of Guatemala so they could negotiate with the authorities. But they were willing. If they are unwilling, that is where you have a big problem. And there's where you need big sticks, big carrots. Little Norway can provide a big carrot, no stick. India can provide stick and carrot probably. So, India has to be involved much more. Other regional parties have to be involved more. Japan has to be pushing it as the biggest donor to Sri Lanka. The U.S. has some influence.

You have to have a coherent international approach. The government [of Sri Lanka] does not want the United Nations because they interpret that as “we are a failed state. The United Nations coming means we cannot cope ourselves.” It becomes an international conflict, instead of only a domestic problem with terrorism. That's the usual attitude of a regime that does not really understand its own problems. I think the United Nations has a lot to offer in this area, and I agree with you, it's too limited what the United Nations is doing, which is basically relief, more and more for the conflict victims. It should be really a U.N. role on the political level, and the only way is talks between the Tamil Tigers – which are strong, well-funded by the Tamil diaspora – and the government.

Q: But that's not going to happen until the government will see a stick.

JE: Probably a stick, but also a carrot. I mean, again, my own little piece of theory is that you have to use the full toolbox to make it maximum attractive to peace and reconciliation and compromise, and maximum unattractive to



continue. Maybe there could be sanctions, arms embargoes. There could be sanctions on the government if they continue, and there could be a big promise of a huge aid package if they made a deal. That could be one.

Q: I'm interested in humanitarian aid and neutrality versus the political sphere and political partisanship. The 1999 Kosovo bombing illustrated a case where humanitarianism was widely regarded as illegal but legitimate. It legitimized humanitarian aid as a strategic choice offered through morals and ethics rather than politics, but it's widely considered it was quite beneficial for the United States and for Europe in regard to NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] and some other areas on the political side. But a question frequently asked is, why Kosovo and not others? However good, has humanitarian aid irrevocably moved to the political side? And should humanitarian aid play this role in conflict resolution? Medecins sans Frontieres (MSF) [Doctors without Borders] offers no apologies for their ethics of refusal and say they can no longer remain silent, they are going to be political in their activism. Although it may ease the cause of suffering and correct it in many cases, is humanitarian aid engaging in a political and social engineering from a distinctively Western perspective?

JE: It's a well-thought-out question. But, of course, there are many elements of it; let me try to distinguish between the different ones. One is, can humanitarian aid really be impartial, neutral, independent or not, in this day and age where the President Bush doctrine after 9/11 was – said in the U.N. General Assembly – you are either with us or you're against us? And it is very much also what the Taliban has said in Afghanistan: "You're with us or you're against us, that's why we're bombing you," as they are now with humanitarian organizations, including MSF, which was the first to withdraw from Afghanistan even though it was scientifically trying to be independent and impartial. The Taliban said, "You look, you smell, you walk as if you're Westerners, you haven't joined us, so you must be with them. Let's kill you." It was an eye-opener for everybody, including MSF and the International Committee of the Red Cross, which are, as I say, scientifically trying to be impartial, neutral and only giving assistance to the needy, irrespective of their culture or background.



The United Nations is by nature in a much more complex situation. The United Nations is in many ways much more effective in the sense that it can employ all of the tools to not only administer the crisis and keep people alive, but also to take them out of it. And here comes in the use of force, where one part of the United Nations can legitimize military action, but that leaves the neutrality for people like me, who was the spokesman for the impartial humanitarians who were in Kosovo to help Kosovo Albanians and Serb minority ones when there was a barrage of bombing against the Serb side. They didn't see us as neutral and impartial at all as the United Nations. UNICEF said we have nothing to do with that, we are tending for the children. But then, what about Save the Children, a group from America, which is working with UNICEF for the same children, or the local group of do-gooders for children working with Save the Children, which is working with UNICEF, which is part of the U.N. system?

Now, I'm one of those who have publicly asked for a U.N. force to use force as necessary to end the atrocities in Darfur. Is that because I like the Fur tribe and I dislike the Masalit tribe, which comprises part of the Janjaweed? No. It's because, and here comes a very important concept, I take positions and in this way I am partisan, but I'm partisan for the victims. I see that victims are abused. Women are raped because of these men having those arms. I can then talk against it. Nothing happens. I then ask for protection for these women. This is in my view an impartial call for protection in accordance with the international principle of responsibility to protect.

Now one of the best questions here is, why Kosovo and not the other thing? Why this enormous operation to liberate Kuwait, but no operation to liberate the West Bank, which is by international law occupied. There is no doubt. It is occupied territory.

Q: Are there different levels of suffering?

JE: Yes, there could be different levels of suffering. In Kosovo that was very clear – there were massacres going on in Kosovo at the time. In Kuwait there was



a lot of suffering, but there wasn't necessarily genocide against the Kuwaitis; Iraq I think wanted to include Kuwait and have it as the 23rd province of Iraq. It was however an illegal occupation.

Q: Some say the bombing in Kosovo promoted the genocide: The Serbs continued their cleansing pogroms after the bombing.

JE: Yes. There were massacres before and there were massacres after. But did it end? It probably was the most effective way of ending it. Today Kosovo even has declared itself an independent state, which has created new questions. It's a question of the Serb minority's protection. But there are certainly no more massacres against Kosovars. So, one of the big questions is, if the main product of Kuwait had been olive oil and not petroleum oil, would America had invested so much in liberating Kuwait? I don't know. There is not a predictability of action. It's not necessarily fair. Why do we let 4 to 5 million Congolese die, when in Europe we acted pretty decisively much earlier in Bosnia? Well, because there is no world police. It is independent governments who decide whether they want to act or not.

If it's going through the "responsibility to protect" [framework], there should be an objective kind of needs-based approach, saying there's a lot of suffering, the national government is not protecting these people, so necessary action has to be taken, here are the available actions. And now the Security Council decides Action B seems to be the most appropriate, and here are the resources to do it. That's supposedly the way it should be. I think it would take many years before we see such predictable action.

Q: Almost like a just war doctrine, perhaps the humanitarian aid doctrine: These guidelines must be met before military intervention. I know in Darfur, perhaps rightly so, military intervention – bomb a village to save it, to save those who are being aggrieved by the situation – leads down perhaps a slippery slope: It could be used for political means. Do you think a doctrine is forthcoming or could be forthcoming that countries would acknowledge before a military intervention?

JE: The most potent force now in the world is civil society operations – from San Diego to Oslo and elsewhere – who say, "Enough is enough, these civilians must get support, we demand that our political leaderships take action." So, that could lead to something. I'm less convinced really that whoever sits around the Security Council, from China and Russia and United States and France and U.K., will necessarily always, under objective criteria, decide action. But the doctrine could come, yes.

Q: That responsibility to protect theory is very new, it's very young, and when Gareth Evans was here [as part of the Distinguished Lecture Series in April 2007] somebody asked him about the pace of social change: How does a concept like that get taken forward and become a standard in international affairs? He said that it would in fact take years, but that this had come very quickly because there was this pent-up demand from civil society, from governments, from victims, for there to be a more clear process for action.⁴ There is now a responsibility to protect organization that's trying to develop that concept more fully.⁵ But the Security Council is the hard nut to crack. At the end of that process, the way the structure is set up now, it doesn't require them to act on those steps.

JE: I'm on the advisory council of that organization, and of course, since Gareth Evans was here, there's actually been a step back. Many of these governments who solemnly swore to uphold the responsibility to protect are now trying really to retreat from the whole thing – "maybe we didn't really mean it like that" – and so on. So, that's our challenge now, really to help them remember what they decided.

Q: My question for you is related to what you are going to discuss [in your lecture]: peace, war, climate change – are they related? Al Gore won the peace prize, not the environmental prize – that definitely shows the connection between all these issues. But my question for you is, what are some feasible ways for us to get the climate change issue under control and how can we do that on a global level?

⁴ Gareth Evans is president and chief executive of the International Crisis Group. To access the booklet of his lecture, "Preventing Mass Atrocities: Making 'Never Again' a Reality," please see <http://peace.sandiego.edu/events/archives/lecturearchives.html#Evans>.

⁵ See Related Resources.



JE: Two things need to be done to combat climate change: mitigation and adaptation. Mitigation is really prevention. Trillions of dollars will have to be invested in new technology, changing our lifestyles, different energy consumption. Trillions. That's by all estimations. And a new president, irrespective of who it is, is going to treat it much more seriously than the current administration. In Europe, every country is planning now billions and billions of dollars basically in reducing carbon dioxide. My country wants to cut by 30 percent. It will be very hard in the oil economy because we are exploiting a lot of oil. I don't know what our cars will look like, but they will have to emit very, very little if we are to meet that target. So, one is mitigation. Dump less garbage out in the atmosphere. From the North which has to go down, and from the South, China and India, which cannot continue to grow.

The second thing is adaptation. It is unethical just to stop dumping this out in the atmosphere, only because we are afraid of the end of skiing in Norway, and in San Diego you don't want to have only a weekly shower in 10 years from now. None of us will stop and we will all survive in the North, that's what we believe. In the South, it's a question of life and death. In the Sahel belt, the spread of the desert is noticeable and it is manmade. It's not just because we have climate variations; we have climate change. This is climate change. Adaptation means helping people survive, which means that nomads have to get help to new life if there is no grazing land: new irrigation ways, new technology, new ways of coping. The brutal irony is, of course, that those who did the least to cause it are those who suffer the most. Americans with their cars are not suffering as much as goat herders in the Sahel who emitted nothing except their campfire. So, adaptation will also be a very big thing: make them more resilient to natural disasters.

Q: You've worked for a lot of different kinds of organizations. You've worked in the Norwegian government, at the United Nations and even I think when you were younger you were at the Truman Institute [for the Advancement of Peace] in Jerusalem. And now you're back in more of a research mode as the director of the

Norwegian Institute for International Affairs. How is it different working in these kinds of different organizations: governmental, intergovernmental and now NGO? Are there any particular preferences you have about one or the other?

JE: For me it's been very important to do all of those, to be able to do them all. I learned a lot in the NGO sector: activism, voluntary service, improvisation, working with no money and only voluntary activity in Amnesty International and whatnot. You learn a lot from that. You also learn a lot of the realities of international relations working for governments. And the potential and the limitations of diplomacy, of how difficult it is to get 192 nations to pull together, you learn through the United Nations. And in research you learn to really critically observe, ask questions, review, evaluate and critique, provide quality control. I think it's important to work in different sectors and not be statically in one – at least I feel that has worked for me. What I come back to and back to is sort of the whole quest for peace and social justice, protection of human rights. Coming at it from different angles and through different channels has been very rewarding.

Maybe one piece of advice: The single most important thing to make a career in international organizations, humanitarian organizations, relief organizations, would be a combination of having a good education and field experience of some kind. I have employed many hundreds of people in all these organizations where I worked the last 30 years – since Amnesty International when I was 20 – and very often there is a misconception. I remember one mother calling on behalf of her hopeful son, and she said that he has now a master's from Yale, he has another degree from Oxford – should he go to Sorbonne before he goes to the United Nations? And I said, "Please tell him not to go to Sorbonne because he would be disqualified forever if he made the third degree." We look for people who go and do real work in the trenches, not lecture at the people, but work to solve problems. So, it's as important to do voluntary work for community-based organizations in San Diego or to work with local NGOs, to organize student groups and so on as it is to have a second or a third degree.



Q: Over the years with your work at the United Nations and especially your work as Under-Secretary-General and as emergency relief coordinator, you have been very effective in using television and print media and have spotlighted different issues in different parts of the world. What made you decide then to write a book and what kind of response have you been hoping for or are you hoping for from the book?

JE: Indeed I've always felt in my now 31 years of international work that we need to get the message out, both to the general public and to decision makers. If the true situation is not known, if the voiceless remain voiceless, some of the worst atrocities of our time will never have a chance to change. So, I took it upon myself in all of my positions, whether that was with Amnesty International, the Red Cross, or with the Norwegian government or with the United Nations, to speak the truth as I saw it in the field, as I experienced that on my travels. And I always insisted on trying to go to the worst, to those places where things are really at stake. Of course, what happened very often was that it became controversial because many people did not like what I said, because either there was real neglect by the rich and the powerful or there were outright atrocities by warlords or governments or parties to conflicts locally.

The media can only go so far though, cannot really provide the context that a book can. So, I was then privileged, after leaving the job as U.N. emergency relief coordinator and Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, to have the opportunity through an American publisher, Simon & Schuster, and a Norwegian one, to sum up in a book my 30 years of working in disasters and conflicts and human rights and humanitarian work around the world. So far the reviews have been very encouraging.

Q: Your hope is to continue to spotlight some of these issues and to raise awareness both to the decision-making community and the public.

JE: Yes. I've now gone into another phase in a way because I've returned to research and studies. And I've had periods before in research, in studies and

evaluation. I am now the director of the Norwegian Institute for International Affairs. Through that I will definitely continue by focusing on burning international issues and indeed still spotlighting, highlighting what needs to be done. I think research also has to have the normative goal of improving the world, making the world a better place. We are academics and impartial as we can be, as humanitarians are to conflicts and to partisan views, but we take a stand in terms of improving the situation as far as human rights and living conditions. So, I am indeed continuing, and I'm also continuing as an adviser for the new Secretary-General on conflict resolution and conflict prevention.

Q: Is this a new position? Do you think the new Secretary-General is giving more emphasis to peacemaking?

JE: Yes, he is, and it is very welcome. I mean, it's only a part-time advisory position, but it's indeed a new one and it was linked to the very needed asset of making the United Nations more operational in terms of preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution, conflict prevention. I saw time and again in the United Nations how we were actually able to improve quite dramatically our humanitarian response capacity. Kofi Annan already saw toward the end of his term that, yes, humanitarian work had been strengthened and, yes, peacekeeping work had been strengthened, but the whole political and diplomatic side of the United Nations, which is the core of the Secretary-General's advisers, had not.

So, Secretary-General Kofi Annan proposed in his report to the General Assembly in 2005 the strengthening of the peacemaking capacity in the United Nations. I was one of those who really pushed and lobbied for quite some time on that because I could see that we were perfecting the band-aid on the wound. It was insane to see how we were building up in Darfur our humanitarian program, whereas there was really too little pressure on preventing the small conflict from becoming a major disaster and a major ethnic cleansing campaign.



Q: What do you see ahead at the Norwegian Institute for International Affairs, and what do you see ahead as Special Adviser?

JE: As Special Adviser I see that the good team that [Joyce Neu] is leading up will be launched finally.⁶ I hope that that could be the embryo of something much bigger, even much more operational. Secondly, I see us being more proactive in the United Nations earlier on, as I think now will happen in Kenya. It could have become a terrible civil war, but Kofi Annan, backed up by the United Nations, is now getting the parties, these men, to sit down and talk sense to each other, and there are good hopes to avert war. I see the United Nations becoming much more effective on this. I also see all of the powers, including the United States – which went alone in Iraq – China, the European Union, Russia, India, helping to make the United Nations much stronger.

I remain an optimist. There has never been a generation that has had such big resources, private and public, such good technology and such good tools and organizations at our disposal. We cannot let ourselves fail in ending the remaining wars and lifting up the bottom billion, the I billion lives that are at stake. If they could have this kind of progress in this last generation, we can do even much more than them.



Egeland speaks with USD graduate of the master's program in Peace and Justice Studies, Damusia Garrison ('06)

⁶ Neu was the founding executive director of the institute, serving from 2000 to March 2008. Upon leaving the institute she became team leader for a U.N. standby team of mediation experts.

**WELCOME BY DEE AKER
DEPUTY DIRECTOR,
JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE**

Good evening. Welcome to the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ), where we strive to foster peace, cultivate justice and create a safer world. I'm Dee Aker, the deputy director here at the institute. I'd like to extend a special welcome to Bill Headley, dean of the new Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, which houses our master's program in Peace and Justice Studies, the Trans-Border Institute, and us, the Institute for Peace & Justice. I'd also like to thank the members of our Leadership Circle for your support because so much of what we do in the world is dependent upon you.

After having just returned from the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, where a delegation from the United Nations Association and the IPJ participated, we are ready to share some of the ideas and experiences we had with you. We had a chance there to celebrate and share the work we've been doing here with our Women PeaceMakers Program. We screened one of our Women PeaceMakers' films and in that, what we saw and what we are particularly interested in sharing is the work that's being done to address the tragic cause of anger that our speaker, Jan Egeland, cites in his book – that it is more dangerous to be a woman or a child in the battlefields than an adult, armed, male soldier.

And now I'd like to ask Diana Kutlow, our program officer for the Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series and a member of the inaugural master's class in Peace and Justice Studies at the University of San Diego, to introduce our guest.



Dee Aker welcomes audience to the second distinguished lecture of the 2007-2008 series

**INTRODUCTION BY DIANA KUTLOW
PROGRAM OFFICER,
JOAN B. KROC DISTINGUISHED LECTURE SERIES**

Thank you, Dee. As we develop the themes for each year's Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series we often do so with certain speakers in mind. This year we're pleased to have Jan Egeland examining the intersection of peace, war and climate change. But the truth is that Mr. Egeland would be on our list no matter what the theme. Not only does he have a wide range of experience in human rights, peace negotiations and humanitarian assistance, but he also has broad regional experience in South America, Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Eastern Europe. At a meeting today with some students, he mentioned that he has been to 110 countries and he probably could name them all and speak half the languages as well.

Jan Egeland is director general of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs; he was the U.N. Under-Secretary General for Humanitarian Affairs and its emergency relief coordinator from Aug. 2003 to Dec. 2006. As state secretary for the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he initiated the Norwegian channel between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization that led to the Oslo accords in 1993.

His international experience began at a very young age when he volunteered to help build a more just society in Colombia at the invitation of a Colombian priest who was touring Norway at the time. He later went back to Colombia many times to try to move that country toward peace, most notably as the U.N. Secretary-General's Special Envoy to Colombia from 1992 to 2002. During his negotiations in Colombia, although they were not as successful as he would have liked them to be, Mr. Egeland demonstrated not only incredible persistence, patience and personal courage, but also a deep understanding and caring for the people who bear the brunt of violence there. And that in fact is where all peacebuilding begins.



Diana Kutlow introduces the evening's speaker, Jan Egeland

John Prendergast, the first peace scholar at the Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, who many of you may have seen speaking here within the last month and who just left campus a few days ago, described Mr. Egeland as uncompromising in his defense of those impacted by war, human rights violations and manmade or natural disasters. Please join me in welcoming a diplomat in the most wonderful sense of the word, a man who has seen the worst atrocities and disasters that the world has to offer, but who continues to believe that the solutions to preventing and avoiding conflict and environmental catastrophe are not only in our hands, but in our reach.



*War, Peace and Climate Change:
A Billion Lives in the Balance*

Jan Egeland

Thank you very much indeed. Thank you for having me here. This is a truly wonderful campus. I have never ever seen such a well-located, beautiful place to have a center of excellence on peace and learning. I think it's my duty today to bring us a little bit out of this idyllic place to some of the realities of many other places in the world. I thank you for being here and applauding. You know, my professional circle has been now for many years warlords, dictators, guerilla leaders, mass murderers – and I must say I prefer being with you tonight, because they didn't like me, I didn't like them.

The question we are really asking ourselves tonight – which I think every generation has been doing, certainly the generation of the big wars, the Cold War generation that I belong to, but also the post-Cold War generation – is the following: Is it getting better or is it getting worse in this world during our watch?

During the 1990s when I got that question again and again as I visited schools and universities, primary schools, refugee camps, my answer was always then, “It's really hard to say.” It seemed that for half of us it was getting better; certainly for those in the northwestern corner of the world it was. For a good half of the world's population, it was either static in bad conditions or getting worse.

“... it is a world of contrasts perhaps more than at any time.”

Not so in this decade. We can for the first time in a very long time say confidently that for a majority of us in this world it is getting better. There is 50 percent more peace and less war now than when the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, the watershed of our generation. Researchers have found when they made the *Human Security Report* that there were 10 genocides in 1989. There are one or two today. There was, in the 1960s, '70s and '80s, an average of 10 to



20 military coups per year; now it's between two and four per year. And for the first time ever the World Bank economists found last year in their surveys that there are less than 1 billion fellow human beings who struggle to survive on less than \$1 a day. This is an index-linked dollar as you will know, and there is a growing world population, which means that hundreds of millions of people have been lifted out of poverty in China, India, Southeast Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, Eastern Europe and elsewhere.

There were, I remember vividly because I was an activist and a human rights campaigner in humanitarian work at the time, more than 20 million refugees in the beginning of the 1990s. Four to 5 of those millions were in Europe, where we had several wars in the Balkans at the time. Today they reckon there are around 10 million refugees, in addition to the Palestinian refugees and the displaced, which are in separate categories. So, there are half as many refugees today as there were only 15 years ago.

However, it is a world of contrasts perhaps more than at any time. As we speak, they will be chopping up big arms that are remnants of the Cold War, as a consequence of the disarmament agreements between the NATO West and the old Warsaw countries. But there will be a spread of small arms, remnants of the same Cold War, to these endless cruel wars of Africa and elsewhere. There are, yes, fewer refugees, but the number of displaced people remains the same, around 22, 23, 24 million still. There are many more people in school, many more people in higher education from San Diego to South Africa and to Mongolia, but there are still an enormous amount of people who are deprived of even a minute of education and who remain illiterate for the rest of their lives.

So, we have a world of contrasts where the good news is that there are only I billion people [who live on] around \$1 a day; but that's, of course, also the bad news and that's why I call my book *A Billion Lives*. We've never been richer as an international community, and still I billion people, nearly, will go to bed hungry today. And they will not have had access to safe drinking water today. They will not even have close to primary healthcare.

And surviving on \$1 a day is, in relative terms, even more difficult now than before; they know how well off we are. And I think this is one of the new things of our time and age. The 2 billion under \$2 a day is perhaps even a better measure; they know exactly how we are living in San Diego, in Oslo, in Geneva, in Tokyo, in Seoul – places where we are shielded in a degree of peace, prosperity, welfare, like no other generations before us. And that makes them angry like nowhere before, no time before, and perhaps in particular in the following age group: There are 1.3 billion human beings between 12 and 24 years in the world. Of them, the majority will get education and jobs, but a very sizable minority, hundreds of millions of those 1.3 billion, will get neither of the two. If you deprive tens if not hundreds of millions of youth of all hope, they will get angry and want to move. They want to go north toward this fence, or they want to go to the fences of Europe, or of Korea or Australia or of Japan.



Now, what will I then say are the biggest clouds on this horizon in addition to the contrast between the rich and the poor? Well, there is one new cloud that we're focusing on in particular tonight, which is by far the biggest existential threat against mankind now – in a time when we see so much improvement – and that is climate change.

There have always been climate variations. I was in Oslo with the secretary general of the World Meteorological Organization last week. And he went into detail to explain the difference between climate variation, which has always happened, and climate change, which is not induced by the globe going in a new pattern around the sun and thereby creating an ice age or an ice meltdown – it is human induced for the first time ever. And for the first time ever, there is no doubt anymore. There is a consensus among scientists that we do have climate change which is human induced through the emission of greenhouse gases.

“... there is no doubt anymore. There is a consensus among scientists that we do have climate change which is human induced ...”

Now, the question then becomes, would this lead to war, would it lead to catastrophe, or can we adapt? Well, on that the jury is out because we can influence still. I have of late been more involved in the discussion of the possible climate wars. Many declared, perhaps a little bit too early when the Nobel Peace Prize was given to Al Gore and the U.N.'s Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, that that was in a way evidence that yes, climate change is leading to climate wars. And some said that Darfur is one of the first climate wars. That is not necessarily true.

I just mentioned that we've now gone through in the last 15 years a unique period of end to wars. That is the period when we've seen in the Sahel or





in the hurricane belts of the world and so on a tripling of natural disasters because of climate change. More vulnerable people live more exposed to extreme weather, and where it's dry it's getting drier, where it's wet it's getting wetter, where it's windy it's getting more windy. That is the whole point of climate change. Whether that will lead to more conflict or more cooperation remains to be seen. Many have predicted it will lead to more conflict, but we're actually seeing more peace as of late. There are indications that the world, the United Nations, the regional organizations have had some success in inducing cooperation instead of conflict.

Fifteen years ago we were predicting water wars in the Middle East and elsewhere. It was predicted that there would be fighting around and for the water of the river Jordan, around and for the water of the river Euphrates and the river Tigris. None of those wars happened due to the fight for those scarce water resources. Cooperation regimes were successful. The same thing is true in Africa around the river Niger and the river Mano. There was a Mano River initiative which was successful.

We can influence more cooperation in meeting the resource scarcity, but we can also see more conflict. Certainly in Darfur, which was a manmade disaster – a cruel regime armed some old militias and said “Do whatever you want against the civilian population,” which is the support of the two guerilla movements, then all hell broke loose and there was an ethnic cleansing campaign – the 6 to 7 million people in Darfur today live on less green land than they did 10 years ago. And there is population growth, which means that it is very hard now for those of us who have been involved in the peace efforts to help people back out of camps, even with the peace agreement, to a new and good life in this desert which is so inhospitable because of climate change.

That again means that we need to have a big international investment not only on the political level to get more cooperation, but also on the development level: give people hope, give people a new future in these circumstances. The nomads have to get help for a new life. There will have to be more irrigation. There will have to be more ways of doing agriculture. And there has to be more employment in other areas.

“Many have predicted [climate change] will lead to more conflict, but we’re actually seeing more peace as of late. There are indications that the world . . . [has] had some success in inducing cooperation instead of conflict.”

I mentioned the growth of natural disasters. I don't think that it's really known that there are three times more natural disasters in this decade than there were in the 1960s and '70s, because of more extreme weather and because more vulnerable people live more exposed. There are seven times more livelihoods devastated from natural disasters now than from war in our time and age. It

is impossible, it is estimated, to reach the Millennium Development Goals if this growth of natural disasters continues and if more is not done to adapt and mitigate the results.

“... there are three times more natural disasters in this decade than there were in the 1960s and ‘70s, because of more extreme weather and because more vulnerable people live more exposed.”

We can also safely predict that in the future there will be gradually fewer refugee flows coming from war and conflict (it is predicted that the current positive trend will continue), and there will be more migration from environmental degradation and from totally inhospitable areas which can become wastelands, like parts of the Sahel or Yemen in the southern tip of the Arab peninsula, where there is no groundwater left even now. People can in the future perhaps not live there; it's such a great cost, they cannot afford to live there unless they are heavily subsidized by their Saudi Arabian cousins in the north, whom are not very willing it seems to help them. Sea level rise, which is pretty certain under any of the predictions of the climate panel, will lead to coastal communities having to move inland. There are many reasons there will be migratory trends.

I hope and believe we will have cooperation in the international community to meet these climate changes that will help make poor people survive those great changes. But the investment will be enormous. In Copenhagen at the end of this year, the new Kyoto convention will start to be negotiated. It is probable that the total global bill of preventative measures, fewer emissions, technology transfer (from all those who have technology to all those who need technology) and clean energy (all those places where they are using coal and other things that should not be used anymore) – will cost trillions of dollars. Is

that more than it is possible for humankind to invest? No. It is probably around or between 1 to 2 percent of the gross national income of the industrialized countries. It will be a totally different kind of investment than we've seen so far to foreign assistance, but it is possible. It is a question of will.

And I, for one, having seen all of these places and visited all of these countries on all these continents, I remain an optimist. I feel it is amazing what we can do when we work together as humankind. I mentioned progress in peacemaking. When I started in the United Nations, I saw gradually peace break out in Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, southern Sudan, most parts of the Congo, East Timor, Kosovo and Nepal, to mention a few. This is very often not recognized – what we did and how we managed to do that.

For the United States it was a triumph working with and through the United Nations, making peace in Liberia. The United States was the lead country on that, just as Britain was the lead country on Sierra Leone peace. Those were places where people specialized in killing and massacring each other in the most brutal ways. Today Liberia has a female president who is an example of good governance; that's been a total, total change. And the leader Charles Taylor, who was specializing in using child soldiers to kill other children, is in jail at The Hague waiting for his verdict.

Let me give the other example of relief operations which was my area of responsibility. In the tsunami, 90 countries gave assistance, 35 militaries participated. The carrier USS Abraham Lincoln helped the United Nations to jump start operations, I think it was on day six after the tsunami, all over Aceh. Nobody died because of lack of food, lack of medical services, lack of basic relief. It's the same in northern Pakistan: 3.3 million people were without a roof. It was four weeks until the Himalayan winter would descend on us, and I was there to help start the relief operations. It was a race against the clock. We got enough helicopters. We got enough Pakistani and international efforts on the ground. And no one died that winter than



would have in a normal year. And when spring came, there were more girls in school than in a normal year.

The United Nations in this can be very cost effective as well as effective in meeting the goal. All of these places, I mentioned nine different places, have been made peaceful with U.N., African Union and local and national efforts with a budget for peacekeeping of \$6 billion a year. That is one-sixth of the U.S. military bill in Afghanistan this year, and it is around 5 percent of the cost in Iraq this year – 5 percent: peace in all of these countries through a multilateral effective action, where the U.S. played a very effective and constructive role with and in the United Nations.

I would like to land this lecture, before we have our discussion, with trying to sum up my 31 years of international work since I came through San Diego as a 19-year-old with my friends from Norway, driving a second-hand car from Canada to Panama on the way to work as a volunteer in a Catholic relief organization in Colombia. In those 31 years, the little bit of wisdom which has accumulated has led me to the following 10 conclusions.

Number one: Prevention is better than cure. It's a strange thing perhaps to say for somebody who's had his salary from emergency relief. But it's insane how much we spend on the fire brigade, trying to cure the wound that could have been healed beforehand.

And climate change makes this more important than at any time before. We're talking about mitigation, adaptation, preparedness, early warning, we're talking about environment work, we're talking about development work. That is how we can get out of this vicious cycle of returning again and again and again to certain countries like Ethiopia, which could feed itself, which could make its own population resilient because there are enough natural resources and enough talent in the population to do so, but we have never had a coherent national and international effort to make them resilient to the droughts and

the natural disasters and the internal strife which has come back again and again and again. An African friend said the approach we've had is, "Save me today, kill me tomorrow." Why don't we have an approach that says let's invest in long-term protection for these populations?

Now, the second lesson then is related to what I just said about the United Nations, because I think the multilateral institutions must be empowered to become more effective. The world is getting increasingly multi-polar, with not only the United States as a superpower, but soon also China, India, the European Union, to some extent Russia, Brazil, Nigeria, Indonesia – there will be many powers. Just look at Africa, who is doing most of the investment, who is doing most of the international presence now? China and India. In this world, the United Nations must be empowered to become effective. I've been working in the United Nations, I've seen how it can be effective, but also seen how it can be ineffective.

The second thing that has to happen with the United Nations is that we have to make the structure more operational. It takes a year to fill a post. It is nearly impossible to re-allocate posts. The secretary-general and others have to be able to be more of an executive within the organization so that it can respond more flexibly to world problems as they arise. I have time and again been surprised that we did so much good in so many countries, from the tsunami to the earthquakes to all of this peacemaking, not because of, but in spite of the structure.

Now, the third lesson is that there has to be not only prevention through development and environment action, there needs also to be early, predictable political and security action to protect civilian communities, which in this time and age are as exposed or more exposed to violations as before. It's again one of the paradoxes of our time that yes, there are fewer wars, but they appear to be crueler against the civilian population.



I sat at the table when Darfur was going from a small emergency to a full-blown ethnic cleansing catastrophe. And we saw that there were one or two ceasefires mediated with our humanitarian envoys – not the political ones, but humanitarian envoys – but no real effort by our member states to enforce these ceasefires and restrain the armed men and the government that was arming them. Predictable security and political action has to happen. Too often I find that humanitarians become the alibi for lack of political and security action. You send the humanitarians, they provide enough food, water and blankets to keep people alive, but we don't protect them.

A woman who came to lead a delegation from camps in western Darfur came to me at my last visit there. It was so bad in the camps there that I couldn't go because then there probably would have been riots between the various groups; there was so much anger in the camps and they were surrounded by the militias. So, the women came to me. I always speak to the women because then you get the truth as it is.

This very articulate lady – illiterate, had never gone to school – said more or less the following: “Thank you for the food. (It came from America.) Thanks for the school in a box (which came from UNICEF).⁷ Thanks for the health post – we have never had a health post before, ever. We've got all of this in this camp. But do you know that tonight they may come back? They may rape us. They may pillage everything again. Do you realize how it has been 1,200 days and 1,200 nights in fear?”

And I had to admit, “No, I don't know that. And it is a shame really that you have had to live 1,200 days and nights in utter fear and suffer so much when it should have been an international responsibility to protect you.”

In 2005, leaders – from my prime minister to your president to all of these other leaders – solemnly swore in the General Assembly hall of the United Nations the following: “[W]e are prepared to take collective action in a timely

⁷ According to the Web site of UNICEF, School-in-a-Box kits contain supplies for up to 80 students and a teacher. See http://www.unicef.org/supply/files/School_in_a_box_guidelines.pdf for more information.



and decisive manner through the Security Council in accordance with the Charter including Chapter VII” – which is the one which mandates the use of force – “... should peaceful means be inadequate and national authorities are manifestly failing to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity.”⁸

We are now trying to remind these leaders what they solemnly swore, because they seem to be retreating from this commitment, because still there is no protection in Darfur, still there is no protection for the women in eastern Congo, for the people who are in the camps in Chad or in Colombia, not so far from here.

My fourth lesson is that, given our resources, given the situation, given our potential, we must set ourselves ambitious goals. We cannot but set ourselves ambitious goals. The sky is the limit really. We felt that very strongly when we were four Norwegian individuals who in deepest secret facilitated the first talks ever between the Palestine Liberation Organization and the state of Israel in Norway, which led to the famous Oslo accords. We felt the same when we did the tsunami relief.

“... given our resources, given the situation, given our potential, we must set ourselves ambitious goals.”

I went in 2003 to northern Uganda to see for myself because my first day on the job I asked my most experienced relief colleagues, “What is the most neglected place on earth?”

⁸ See Related Resources



And they said immediately, “It must be northern Uganda. Nobody’s aware of really what’s happening at the hands of the Lord’s Resistance Army in northern Uganda, and we failed to wake up the world.”

So, I said, “OK, let’s go.” So, we went. And I was shocked to my bone by seeing a place where 20,000 children had been kidnapped by a terror organization which had made them into child soldiers, attacking their own population. Very often they brought them to their own village from where they had been kidnapped and terrorized into becoming soldiers, and made them burn their own village. Then they told the kids, “Now you have nothing to return to. We are your new family. You have to live and fight with us forever.” Terror worked in northern Uganda.

So, what did we do? We put it on the international news media. We got much more money for emergency relief, so we lifted standards in the camps. We got it on the Security Council agenda, and when south Sudan started discrete mediations between the government and the Lord’s Resistance Army, we gave money, facilitation. I went myself to the jungle to meet Joseph Kony – this elusive leader of the Lord’s Resistance Army – and told him that if you continue holding the ceasefire agreement, we will give food to your soldiers, we will organize the assembly points, we will be observers there so you are not attacked by the Ugandan army, but you have to stop looting, pillaging, massacring. And it did stop. Two weeks ago, the permanent ceasefire was declared after nearly two years of effective ceasefire, hundreds of thousands of people are returning as we speak and the children are coming back.

The fifth lesson is we need to be more generous to be able to reach all of these good, ambitious goals that we have set for ourselves. Many years ago it was agreed at several international conferences that the goal should be 0.7 percent of gross national income in the rich industrialized countries that goes to foreign assistance. It’s not one-tenth we’re talking about. We’re talking about 0.7 percent. So, how did it go in these 20 years of trying to meet that goal? Well, the average is now I think 0.22 percent or so for the rich industrialized

world. We never did our reading, neither in the Bible nor in the Quran: Keep 99.8 percent to yourself and give 0.2 percent to the neediest in the world. It is not good enough what we have now.

And it was interesting that the G-8 countries in 2005, at the good initiative of Tony Blair, said, “We will build up to this goal of 0.7 percent and we will definitely by 2010 have \$50 billion more for Africa.” I was very happy. I welcomed that in the world media. Next year, I checked: How did it go? Foreign assistance decreased from the G-8 countries, except the U.K. So, my word was “stingy.” I could have found perhaps better words, but it’s not very generous when you give 0.2 percent and it goes down in a world of great, great needs.

Now, it’s not only the Western countries that should step up to the plate. What about the ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations] countries, the Arab countries, who have rapidly growing economies? I have been many times to Singapore and South Korea and the Gulf countries to say, “Look, when my country was half as rich as you are now, we had 0.7 percent of gross national income in foreign assistance. How come it’s not happening here?” I think in a way there has to be a campaign which says there are 50 rich countries now – not five, 50 – that could help lift up the bottom billion to the levels which should be there.

Sixth point: We need to control the arms flows, and these are on two levels. One is the proliferation of small arms. The Kalashnikov is really the most lethal weapon in our time and age. It has spread all over contemporary armed conflicts and it’s creating havoc. With unemployed, angry youth so many places, as I mentioned, and access to small arms, it is nearly impossible to create security for ordinary people and the wars continue and continue.

The other big goal has to do with weapons of mass destruction, which are closer to being used than probably at any point since Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Why? Because you can today on the Internet find the prescription to make a dirty

bomb by nuclear material or bacteriological, biological or chemical weapons. You can buy it through the black market from Eastern Europe and elsewhere. It is not realized that a terror organization or a rogue government can pretty easily get all of the materials and all the prescriptions needed.

The seventh I've already alluded to. I think we have to be more consistent in speaking the truth always as we see it, hear it, smell it, feel it when we go to the field, to the trenches, to where people suffer. It has indeed put me in trouble many times. There were five heads of state in government who were after my scalp when I was in the United Nations and wanted me to leave my position. I was defended always by Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

Why is it so important to speak the truth? Because it's what shields the voiceless, and the voiceless are who we are there to help. It's a strategic choice who should speak out, how, where and in what format, and very often it is not the NGO worker in the field or even the U.N. fieldworker who should do it. It is people like me, people like you here in shielded San Diego, who can and must speak the truth as it is and without censorship. Whether this is maybe our friend – [John] Foster Dulles said famously, "He's a son of a bitch, but he's our son of a bitch," about Anastasio Somoza Garcia – we have to speak the truth as it is.

"Why is it so important to speak the truth? Because it's what shields the voiceless, and the voiceless are who we are there to help."

And the eighth then is derived from that: We have to focus more on the forgotten, the neglected and the voiceless, because I feel too often that we prove again and again that we're great as humankind when CNN and all the limelight is there, such as the tsunami. In Lebanon, we really did what was needed to get the senseless war to end that escalated so fast: 1.2 million

people fled in a fortnight. It ended, there was a U.N. force on the ground in no time, there was a billion dollars pledged in no time, a lot of things happened. This does not happen in French-speaking Africa and elsewhere because it is neglected.

And the ninth point, again derived from that one: There are special needs of the civilian population, especially children and women, that have to be focused on. I mentioned that the wars are fewer but crueler. And perhaps the one thing, next to the kidnapped children who become child soldiers in northern Uganda, which was really unbearable was to meet the raped and abused women of eastern Congo.

At the hospital called Panzi there was a group of 1,200 women who assembled in a big field. They and the doctor wanted to meet me and hear what I had to say, which was not easy. They were all physically and mentally destroyed by the rapes they had been subjected to. Slowly but surely they were helped together physically, medically, mentally to society, which often rejected them because they had been so broken and abused. It is a cancer in modern war which has to end. And we have to focus on this abuse of women, often children, in armed conflict. This can only be done by a very systematic effort to bring the accountable for all of this abuse to justice. An end to impunity is what it's really a question about.

"... this is work where the difference between excellence and mediocrity is measured in human lives."

The 10th and final point is that those of us who are involved in international work – we're all involved in international work directly or indirectly – need to ensure there is quality control, transparency, accountability. I often try to

explain to colleagues and young people joining that this is work where the difference between excellence and mediocrity is measured in human lives. If you make soap, it is good to have good soap and it is bad to have bad soap, but it's not a question of life and death. It is a question of life and death if we do bad work. We cannot allow ourselves to not do the best in all of this, and we cannot lose a penny on the way, we cannot allow any corruption, we cannot allow any kind of cowardice as we are on this quest for very big things.

Now, are we then first and foremost accountable to the donors? No. We are also accountable to the donors and it has to be audited for every penny. The biggest accountability you have is to the vulnerable themselves. I remember one epic evaluation which was on drought relief in the 1980s in Africa, and the first sentence was that the dispossessed, the vulnerable, the poor should at least have one human right left, and that is to be protected against mediocrity in international relief work. So, that's why it's so important with work like you're doing here with peace studies, humanitarian studies, human rights studies, because it's a question of being better and doing what is so important.

“... the dispossessed, the vulnerable, the poor should at least have one human right left, and that is to be protected against mediocrity in international relief work.”

I would like to end by the following question, which is a follow up to my first one: Is the world getting better or not? And then it's a question of what we can do to make it even much better. Then my answer is, I think, for the generation now coming and studying here, the sky is really the limit. If my generation is now 50-and-a-half-years-old; if we, sort of half-asleep and with half-hearted efforts, managed to do these strides ahead, what can one not do now with



Egeland signs a copy of his book A Billion Lives: An Eyewitness Report from the Frontlines of Humanity

resources, private and public, which are infinitely bigger than at any time before in human history; with technology which is infinitely stronger and better than at any point in human history; and with organizations – nongovernmental, multilateral, bilateral, governmental – which are much better tools than ever before? We have everything which is needed to do very great things. It's a question of will. Thank you very much.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The audience submitted questions which were read by Diana Kutlow.

DK: You talked about the difficulty of the United Nations in adapting to new situations because of the structure. The question is will it be able to adapt to the growth of environmental refugees, the growth in natural disasters? Specifically, if not, can the world continue to support the kind of relief efforts that came through private means for things like the tsunami or Katrina, or unilateral governments trying to deal with situations that perhaps should be more multilateral?

JE: This was exactly what was discussed in a series of meetings from Bali to Oslo and a number of other places: Do we have the right organizations, channels and frameworks? Probably the national development plans, the regional cooperative structures set up and the global mechanisms within the United Nations and elsewhere can function, but it is a question of more and better resourcing, a better way of organizing ourselves.

I do not think there will be a new sort of climate change organization – I'm sure some will propose it; there's already a proliferation of international organizations. What we have to have are the existing organizations making vulnerable people able to become more resilient – there's number one. And the other one is, there will be a whole regime on mitigation, getting down emissions and – I won't go into details – you have to price the CO₂, the carbon, which you will pay for in more expensive flights, more expensive petrol costs and so on, because that's the way you can price dumping bad stuff out in the atmosphere.

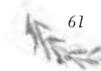
DK: Thank you. There also seems to be a disconnect, especially among Americans but in other countries as well, between what we think we are giving to international development aid and what we are actually giving. What kind of educational processes do you think are necessary for civilians to understand what portion of our government spending is going to international development aid?

JE: It's true. I think it's not only in this country, but in all countries. It's very hard for the population to really get the proportions right. But of course it's famous here. There was a survey in the United States in which people were asked if they think too much is given to international assistance, and they said yes. How much do you think it is? Twenty percent of gross national income – that is what was said. Then people were asked how much it should be. Around 5 percent, people said. Then it was explained to them that actually what was given was 0.17 percent. People wouldn't believe it until you presented the figures.

It's the same in other places as well. I think it is also not well-known that the \$6 billion per year on international peacekeeping through the United Nations – of which the U.S. pays 22 percent, which is the biggest contribution, however, Japan is nearly as big – has led to peace in 10 countries. It's not well-known. And how cost-efficient it was then for the U.S. to work through the United Nations to make peace in Liberia is not well-known.

DK: Would you provide your view of Kosovo's independence and recognition by several leading countries in spite of the Security Council's failure to recognize Kosovo?

JE: Kosovo is a difficult case and it is a case which Europe has not handled as well as we should. The Balkans was supposed to be the hour of Europe, the European Union, and it was a very mixed result. On the one hand I really, really understand the Kosovo Albanians who wanted this independence. They felt totally alienated as part of a Serbia that they felt was behind all of that repression and all of that violence. On the other hand, now it has shifted. It went far too fast for the Serb minority which has been living in Kosovo for hundreds and hundreds of years, and who now feel totally vulnerable as a minority in Kosovo. Ideally, I must say, it should have taken more time to prepare this. What we have to have are international observers protecting the Serb minority in Kosovo, which is irrevocably the latest nation-state.



DK: Moving into our own hemisphere, with the recent killing of Raul Reyes – who is somebody you negotiated with in Colombia – and subsequent events in the last few days, do you worry about Colombia and the neighbors beginning a war?

JE: In my book I have two photographs, one of me with Raul Reyes, who was the lead mediator of the FARC [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia] guerillas in Colombia, the biggest guerilla force in the Western Hemisphere by the way. He was killed Saturday [March 1]. And there's another photo of me with Vincent Otti, the number two in the Lord's Resistance Army, who was killed some months ago.

In many ways it shows that everybody loses if there is not a peace agreement. The FARC believed that they could achieve more through struggle than through negotiations at that time, and it was a catastrophic mistake for them. I remember I brought malaria medicine to Raul Reyes; at some point he was sick during the negotiations. Now he's dead. It's very clear, he should have taken a deal at the time when President [Andres] Pastrana offered that, and he could have been either in jail safely today or in some political position.

I don't think there is going to be a conflict with Venezuela or with Ecuador. But it's not understood enough that there are now very leftist leaders not only in Venezuela, which has more a populist leader than a leftist leader in many ways, but also really very leftist leaders in Ecuador, in Nicaragua, in Bolivia as well, and that means there is a new degree of tension and it has to be followed very, very closely. Colombia does not at all have a leftist leader, and they are pursuing the guerilla even across the border now into Ecuador.

DK: Speaking of others who could be in jail soon: Yesterday the office of the ICC prosecutor, Luis Moreno-Ocampo, again insisted that the arrest warrants be executed for the members of the Lord's Resistance Army who are indicted. What is your sense of the role of the ICC in northern Uganda at this point?

JE: That's a tough one. The Lord's Resistance Army leaders belong in jail, that's for sure. If there's anybody who belongs in jail, it's Joseph Kony: kidnapped

20,000 children, is behind I don't know how many hundreds of massacres. However, we need them to help demobilize their own soldiers. So, it has to be sequenced. Luis Moreno-Ocampo, whom I know well, put it well: Justice must be served in our pursuit of peace, and it can be sequenced. The Lord's Resistance Army fighters are still kids many of them. I saw them, they were pointing the Kalashnikovs at my head; they were not old at all. They belong in school or in vocational training, not in an army. Ideally, we would see now a deal whereby the Lord's Resistance Army leaders are held accountable, and that will probably and best and also most reasonably happen when we have demobilized the soldiers. So, is there an incentive for leaders like that, leaders like Milosevic and others, to end it all if they end up in jail? No. They have still a hope that they can end up in a villa somewhere in Africa, which was the old way you deal with dictators like that. But those days are over.

DK: In the past decade we've seen a shift from traditional warfare to terrorist warfare, rebel movements. How can the United Nations and world powers effectively bring about peace when they are not dealing with governments that have signed treaties and that have responsibilities?

JE: It is in many ways more difficult. It's one of the contrasts that I alluded to, that you virtually have very few international conflicts like Saddam against Iran, Saddam against Kuwait, Saddam against the United States. It is more Lord's Resistance Army, FARC, ELN [National Liberation Army], the Sendero Luminoso, the Taliban – those kinds of wars that are representative in our time and age. And they are more difficult to end. It was easier when it was Germany and France, and every generation for hundreds of years you'd have a war between them and they negotiated an end to it. Civil wars are even worse to end than international wars in that respect.

How do you do it? You have to be very, very clever in getting to the leaderships and getting to them a very convincing message where you make it as attractive as possible to end it and come out, and as unattractive as possible to continue as they are. The FARC, of course, in Colombia feel they can continue because

there is drug money, there is extortion money which has kept them going for 44 years. And it is when you break that vicious cycle of fuel for the conflict that I think it will all end.

DK: Looking at your concern about greater cooperation, especially between industrialized countries in mitigating and adapting to climate change, do you foresee a decline in cooperation spurred by economic challenges like we're facing today in the U.S. and in other countries?

JE: Indeed, in many ways I don't envy the one who will [be president]. In a way it's such a paradox, the big competition to move into the White House in January. It's going to be tough: a big deficit, a slowing economy and greater challenges, including the one of climate change. But then, take heart in the following. It was Professor Jeffrey Sachs – I talked with him also last week – who believes it's 1 percent of gross national income. The military now gets 5 percent. I mean, we're talking about 1 percent or we're talking about 2 percent. That's the investment he thinks is necessary for all of the rich countries to meet these challenges, which are large sums, but it means you have more than 90 percent to other stuff. So, we're not going to bankrupt ourselves even though we are going to have to respond to these great challenges.

DK: Can you address the conflict or the tension between humanitarian aid and peacemaking? At times you've been involved in providing humanitarian aid in areas where you were also working on peace negotiations. Can humanitarian aid actually exacerbate or prolong a conflict because it's providing resources? Are there times when the peace negotiations are jeopardizing the aid, because if you can't make an agreement you can no longer be allowed to provide it?

JE: There are tendencies that you can see; southern Sudan might be a case. The war continued and continued in part because everybody directly or indirectly fed the civilian population, the soldiers; both sides were in a way fed by this. But now there are much better controls so that food is not deviated to armed groups. Secondly, it would be immoral to starve out a population for them to give up the struggle and to go for peace.



Egeland responds during Q & A session

I think there is much more into the possible tension of really sending two signals to the same guerilla leader: We want you in jail, and we want you here to negotiate an end to the war. So, when you sign on the dotted line we will handcuff you immediately and put you in jail. There is no incentive then for him to come and sign on the dotted line. Remember, typically in times of war they are leaders, they are macho, they have a lot of men who are marching behind them, they are cheered usually by some chauvinist populations around them, people salute them. In times of peace, they may be a pathetic war criminal in a cell. For them, there is no incentive necessarily to end it. That's more difficult than the dilemmas of humanitarian work vis a vis compromising peacemaking.

DK: You talked about the number of displaced people as opposed to refugees. (For those who are not aware, displaced are within their own countries, as opposed to refugees who have gone to others.) How do you work with governments to solve

protracted situations of displaced persons where no other country seems willing to accept them, but their own country can't handle the displaced population?

JE: Well, Colombia, close to here, has had 2, 3, 4 million people displaced through these last two decades of warfare, altogether 44 years of war. Many of these camps I've seen for the displaced, for the *desplazados* in Colombia, are as bad as the ones in Darfur in terms of living conditions. What happens there is very often that little by little you are reintegrated into society – in the sense that you end up in the city slums. That's what's happening in the end in a place like Colombia, because the countryside where you were is too unsafe longer term.

It is, however, one of the areas where the world has to give more money, and I mentioned how little money we got. The displaced have as big of needs as the refugees. The only way of ending their sorrow is not by relocation to other countries; it is by redoubling the efforts for peace in the country and for development in the country so that they can get employment and security at the same time.



RELATED RESOURCES

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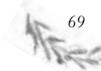
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ABOUT THE UNIVERSITY OF SAN DIEGO

Chartered in 1949, the University of San Diego (USD) is a Roman Catholic institution of higher learning located on 180 acres overlooking San Diego's Mission Bay. The University of San Diego is committed to promoting academic excellence, expanding liberal and professional knowledge, creating a diverse community and preparing leaders dedicated to ethical and compassionate service.

USD is steadfast in its dedication to the examination of the Catholic tradition as the basis of a continuing search for meaning in contemporary life. Global peace and development and the application of ethics and values are examined through campus centers and institutes such as the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, the Values Institute, the Trans-Border Institute, the Center for Public Interest Law, the Institute for Law and Philosophy and the International Center for Character Education. Furthermore, through special campus events such as the Social Issues Conference, the James Bond Stockdale Leadership and Ethics Symposium and the Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series, we invite the community to join us in further exploration of these values.

In recent years, USD has hosted many distinguished guests including Nobel Peace laureates and former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Oscar Arias, Supreme Court justices, United Nations and United States government officials as well as ambassadors from countries around the world. In 1996, the university hosted a Presidential Debate between candidates Bill Clinton and Bob Dole.

The USD campus, considered one of the most architecturally unique in the nation, is known as Alcalá Park. Like the city of San Diego, the campus takes its name from San Diego de Alcalá, a Franciscan brother who served as the infirmarian at Alcalá de Henares, a monastery near Madrid, Spain. The Spanish Renaissance architecture that characterizes the five-century old University of Alcalá serves as the inspiration for the buildings on the University of San Diego campus. The architecture was intended by the founders, Bishop Charles Francis Buddy and Mother Rosalie Hill, to enhance the search for truth through beauty and harmony.

Recent additions, such as the state-of-the-art Donald P. Shiley Center for Science and Technology and the new School of Leadership and Education Sciences building carry on that tradition.

A member of the prestigious Phi Beta Kappa, USD is ranked among the nation's top 100 universities. USD offers its 7,500 undergraduate, graduate and law students rigorous academic programs in more than 60 fields of study through six academic divisions, including the College of Arts and Sciences and the schools of Business Administration, Leadership and Education Sciences, Law, and Nursing and Health Science. The Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies opened in Fall 2007.



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