

*Since wars begin in the minds of men,
it is in the minds of men that
the defences of peace must be constructed*

THE
VENICE
PAPERS

SECURITY FOR PEACE

*A Synopsis of the Inter-American Symposium
on Peace Building and Peace Keeping*

Edited by
LARRY SEAQUIST

Co-Sponsored by
Organization of American States
& United Nations Educational,
Scientific and Cultural Organization

Hosted by
Inter-American Defense College



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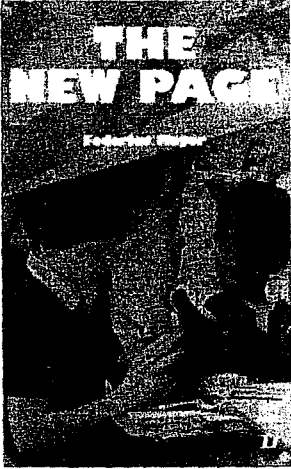
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"No business as usual". In this provocative new book UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor urges a radical change of perspective for citizens and officials around the world. Written in collaboration with Dr. Tom Forstenzer, Professor Mayor surveys the problems of peace and security after the confrontation of the superpowers and the nuclear arms race. Suggesting that we need to shift from a Culture of War to a Culture of Peace, Mayor and Forstenzer examine the preeminent importance of democracy in a civil society. In order for people to count – not merely be counted – they must have the opportunity for life-long education and for economic self-sufficiency.

"The New Page" goes beyond diagnosis to call for urgent, practical action. Cautioning that peace is not free, Mayor and Forstenzer focus especially on "peace building" – taking early, preventative steps to bolster the capacities of local communities everywhere to achieve civil security. This important new analysis is becoming a standard reference for policy makers.

THE VENICE PROCESS

As the New Page neared publication, UNESCO Director-General Mayor invited a small group of distinguished individuals to review the ideas put forward in the book and consider concrete initiatives. Among those meeting in the historic ISTITUTO VENETO DI SCIENZE, LETTERE ED ARTI were British MP Emma Nicholson, Nobel prize winner Ilya Prigogine, futurist Alvin Toffler, and former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Discovering a vigorous consensus on the importance of early actions to bolster the civil society, the group ratified the potential importance of initiatives by UNESCO – the international agency with the civil society portfolios – fostering "new security" initiatives. Among the pragmatic options discussed by the group were various ways to harness the strengths of UNESCO to assist regional organizations, UN member states, and their local communities. The Venice deliberations emphasized the high potential for military organizations, shifting from a Culture of War to a Culture of Peace, to join with others to make practical contributions through innovative "peace operations". Working with regional organizations, UN member states, and their local communities and institutions, UNESCO continues a wide range of efforts to foster innovative thinking and galvanize creative initiatives.

The "pragmatic utopians" at Venice advanced the need for concrete steps. Among them was the need for exchanges among strategic planners, diplomats, and civil society professionals in key regions. The OAS-UNESCO Symposium on Security for Peace is one such step. But symposia and conferences are not the goal. The objective of the Venice Process is to use such multidisciplinary exchanges to ignite bold new policies and realistic projects.



UN Photo 159765 / J. Isaac

*Innovative military missions.
With vital logistic and administrative support from UN military peacekeepers,
UNTAC electoral staff provided voter education in the Cambodian countryside.*

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Introduction

In April 1995 a distinguished group assembled at the Inter-American Defense College in Washington for two days of path-breaking discussions. Path-breaking because they were structured to do more than get top-flight professionals together to exchange views. Meeting at the joint invitation of Federico Mayor, Director-General of UNESCO, and César Gaviria, Secretary-General of the Organization of American States, the symposium participants considered how the nature of "security" had changed in the post-Cold War era.

Reviewing the roots of violence and conflict, the group deliberated initiatives for taking earlier action to forestall gathering crises and address the sources of conflict before events, running out of control, presented the international community with yet another human tragedy. One key theme was the examination of innovative ways for military organizations to engage in these new, non-traditional missions. To that end, a number of guest experts surveyed the lessons learned in a number of different international peace keeping, humanitarian aid, and peace building efforts. One special session then devoted itself to a survey of the challenges in the development of the military, government, and private expertise needed to be skillful in these new endeavors.

This is a synopsis of that thinking. Rather than a narrative, this report presents several dozen key ideas. All were drawn from the discussions; many are exact quotes. Several pages offer the views of many of the individual participants on the nature of security in the much-changed global circumstances. The next section outlines the participants' many ideas for practical actions by the international community, including military organizations. A third section, with a particular focus on creative military options, then itemizes twenty-one specific initiatives. To aid others in repeating this success, the synopsis closes with a summary of the themes of the symposium, a short bibliography, and a self assessment.

New *Changing Policy Imperatives* Frameworks

8

“Our challenge is to maximize the possibilities for international peace, stability and security. At the same time we must create sufficient deterrents to war by accepting a new collective discipline in which the community of nations as a whole actively assumes the responsibility for promoting and ensuring peace and preventing and solving conflicts.”

“But the question which follows is: What can be done to make those dreams come true?”

“We require a profound redefinition of the concept of hemispheric security as well as of the Inter-American system of military confrontation. The time for change is now.”

“OAS member states have adopted a resolution in which they defined a set of prerequisites for peace: ‘...peace is not merely the absence of war... [it is also] interdependence and cooperation to foster economic and social development, disarmament, arms control and limitations, human rights, the strengthening of democratic institutions, protection of the environment and the improvement of the quality of life, for all are indispensable elements for the establishment of peaceful and more secure democratic societies’.”

CÉSAR GAVIRIA

Secretary General, Organization of American States
Former President, Colombia

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- ▶ There may be only a short window for us to take the initiative. We must not lose the opportunity, or we could face fifty or a hundred years of violence.
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- ▶ We are at one of the turning points of history – a period of profound change in many sectors, political, economic, technical. We must reexamine our framework for thinking about security.
-
- ▶ Inter-state wars have been replaced by intra-state conflict. This “internal” violence quickly spills over into the international civil order. That poses difficult new challenges: At what point does an “internal” problem become “international”? What is the threshold where international action can take priority over sovereignty? We do not yet have settled answers.
-
- ▶ There is no security without democracy, no democracy without politics, no politics without values.
-
- ▶ Unfortunately in recent decades there have been a number of examples where security is not connected to human rights. Our right to peace is both collective and individual. Without recognizing our right to peace it would be impossible to find a basis for international security.
-
- ▶ This is a global village; we all pay the price of conflict.
-
- ▶ The key is to have processes which improve the capacity of people to live together.

“This is a time for creative thinking. We have new challenges which require new solutions.”

“We are here to talk about prevention. The biggest victory is not to win a war but to prevent it.”

“It is time for action. The perfect diagnosis is too late. The best diagnosis is the one that enables action – that allows us to do something specific. The main pillars are:

- *Democracy. The unique framework within which we can build societies of peace and justice.*
- *Inclusion. Our challenge is to assure that all are able to participate. This requires education, economic development, cultural recognition, and political empowerment.*
- *Civil infrastructure. At the same time we are talking about speeding along the information superhighway, we must remember that there are 600,000 villages in the world without electricity.”*

“There has been much progress – South Africa is a wonderful example. Like South Africa, we must all remember that we are passengers in the same boat. In stormy weather at sea there are no rich or poor, no men or women, no black or white – only passengers. We are all passengers together on the blue planet. Together we must look for new paths to security, for imaginative breakthroughs.”

FEDERICO MAYOR
Director-General, UNESCO

▶ UNESCO's definition of security – the security of the civil society – is converging with the thinking of modern military strategists who also see the roots of conflict in civil disorder and inequity. The practical consequences of intolerance, the practical consequences of the growing gap between rich and poor are as much practical consequences for the diplomat and the soldier as they are for the so-called “humanitarian sector.” We all work in the humanitarian sector.

▶ Peace keeping actions are not enough. We must do more than separate warring factions. We must build peace and security on preventive actions.

▶ It is time to shift from a Culture of War to a Culture of Peace.

▶ Our goal is not to eliminate armies. Our goal is to go upstream toward the causes of conflict and violence. The goal is to eliminate the roots of violence.

▶ The world will never be at peace until people have security in their daily lives.

▶ There is an evolving consensus about security. We are advancing from a simple, reductionist concept of national security to a more complex idea of human security.

▶ We need to move to the practical level.

New Frameworks

Reinventing Institutions

12

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- ▶ Our old hemispheric security arrangements are beginning to show signs of obsolescence. The Inter-American Defense College is aligned with the new realities: weapons proliferation, human rights, how to strengthen democratic institutions, the fight against terrorism – all of these need to be incorporated in our thinking. More, we need increasingly to blend military with civilian insights and perspectives. The College could assume a much wider role as a forum to discuss, investigate, and provide recommendations on security matters to the Secretary General of the OAS and to the member states.

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- ▶ Some UN member states are making a “contract” with the Secretary General to keep a few selected units trained and ready for peace-keeping assignments. More than thirty states have signed up; some will keep special units ready for rapid reaction assignments.

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- ▶ In Brazil we recognize that peace keeping operations have very little to do with our traditional roles and missions. We have devised new organizations and doctrine for peace missions.

-
- ▶ It is easy to criticize the United Nations, but it is only the UN which has the credibility and the impartiality to be effective. A rapid reaction force is needed. Also important are an improved crisis management capability and improved intelligence capabilities. Better intelligence can help the UN gain and retain the initiative. And there needs to be a “UN CNN”. UN forces in the field are better off when impartial radio and television broadcasts can provide news to the populations caught in a crisis

“In the Americas we require a profound redefinition of security as well as a new hemispheric concept for security.”

CESAR GAVIRIA

Secretary General,
Organization of American States
Former President, Colombia

-
- ▶ Formerly, the UN was organized to handle a few, long-term peace keeping operations in the field. Frankly, these operations were mostly logistics. Now we are building a planning division and a field operations division to improve our control.

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- ▶ Under its charter to work toward peace, UNESCO has a special competence in the civil society – and that is where conflicts are occurring. And it is in the educational, scientific, cultural, and information dimensions where the most innovative tools for conflict prevention and peace building are often to be found.

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- The military in many societies is seen as a pillar of the existing order. By evolving their roles they may further promote progress and social order.

▸ Sadly, refugees and humanitarian crises are a “growth industry.” The total number of refugees will likely continue to grow rapidly. The military may be the missing link in the transition from the period of conflict to the period of reconstruction. Mixed military and civilian medical teams, for example, can make an enormous contribution to working through the medical and surgical caseloads; they can also collaborate in helping the local communities begin to reestablish their own basic medical infrastructure of clinics and hospitals. At the same time, the military doctors are practising battle surgery.

“We must include the military in our new thinking. We need a concept of security where the military are not just the policemen of conflicts broadcast on CNN.”

**AMBASSADOR
HERNAN PATIÑO MAYER**
Chairman,
OAS Standing Commission on Security

▸ Working together in a crisis, mixed military and civilian medical teams are able to deliver capabilities neither alone can do as well. They have better logistics, a rich blend of skills, and a great deal of flexibility. They enable improved coordination across the crisis theater and a faster restart of the local community medical infrastructure.

-
- Often in Latin America there has been a divorce between the military and the civilian – a kind of mutual apartheid. Now we need new structures for new cooperation. Society needs inputs from the military professionals; we need to strengthen the dialogue.

▸ Military skills are changing. New technologies are changing military doctrines and organizations. International threats to the collective civil society such as narcotics and terrorism require new kinds of cross-border collaboration. Peace keeping and peace building missions, often in countries with much different cultures, call forth capabilities much different from those of the classic warrior sent to dispatch an enemy on the battlefield.

Lessons and Ambitions *Peace Building*

▶ According to the past set of definitions, there is a spectrum of UN-sponsored activity in crises. Starting with preventive diplomacy, it runs from peace keeping to peace building to peace maintenance. All involve the consent of the parties in conflict. Peace keeping provides political and military support to an agreement between the parties to end their hostilities. In the UN, peace building encompasses all the political and development activities mounted in the aftermath of crisis. But all these terms and concepts are changing and evolving.

▶ Increasingly, we are coming to recognize that the true target of peace building is upstream – the preventive actions taken early on to address the underlying causes pushing the local societies toward violence and conflict.

▶ Peace building is the area where innovation can really pay off. It is the area where new partnerships among the military, the agencies of civil government, private organizations, and international organizations are needed.

▶ Peace building is also the area where the economics are favorable. Responding to crises is very expensive – and sending the military is the most expensive of all. We will spend fabulous amounts of money to respond to huge tragedies like Somalia and Rwanda when people are already dying. Prevention is much, much cheaper than reacting in extremis. But we are very reluctant to invest tiny amounts in early action.

▶ We call them “supplementary activities” by the army – helping in epidemics, building roads, supporting local governments. This has given us invaluable experience when we are assigned to foreign peace keeping missions.

▶ In the Americas we have not had the mechanisms which easily allowed preventative actions.

“It is difficult to evaluate success in prevention. When you succeed – nothing happens, no one comes to praise. Generals win medals when they win a battle. Truly great generals prevent battles. We need to make these intangibles visible – to help people recognize and applaud when a humanitarian crisis is prevented.”

FEDERICO MAYOR

Director-General, UNESCO

There have been some extraordinary developments in Latin America. There is now a regional atmosphere that lets us look forward, that creates a space so we can look forward.

Planning for peace operations must include plans on how military forces can deal successfully with the local population. We need to create "neutral confidence." And, if the host communities trust us then we will have much better security for our own troops. The point of early planning is to lead to greater local confidence.

Training is not only a matter of training the military unit. The military is trained to fight. All of a sudden the soldier has to be engaged in building the conditions of peace in a local community. Not all soldiers can do this. It requires training and the selection of a leader who can change his psychology to being a peace maker.

In Brazil, we have universal conscription. Every year we take in thousands of young people to work together – horizontally from different places, vertically from different classes. The military blurs the differences. This is quite advantageous for us on peace operations. It makes our experienced soldiers able to work on many different kinds of peace missions with different cultures around the world.

"The current dangers arise from violence, ethnic conflict, terrorism and so on. That is why peace keeping actions are not enough. We must build peace and security on preventative actions."

DR. ANAISABEL PRERA FLORES
Special Advisor to the Director-General,
UNESCO

Peace keeping operations for Argentina in UNPROFOR involved intense activity with the local civilian population – this would be called peace building.

From many operations we have learned to:

- try to understand the root causes;
- drop the good guys vs. bad guys view;
- seek peace with peaceful means;
- mediate with great vision; and
- try to build peace from below – help those who want peace.

Everywhere you will find many fascinated with violence, but you will also find people who truly want peace.

“The international community is coming to a new perspective. Rather than dealing only with the consequences of conflict, we need to deal with prevention.”

DR. MOUFIDA GOUCHA

Special Advisor to the Director-General,
UNESCO

▶ As we showed in Cambodia, the military can help provide the foundation for a civil society. We also showed that you cannot postpone peace building – until after an election, say. You must begin immediately.

▶ In Cambodia the combination of electoral officers plus military personnel were able to make the election system safe and credible.

Lessons and Ambitions

Peace Keeping and Peace Rebuilding

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- ▶ As we see it in UN Headquarters in New York, the immediate point of peace keeping is to help the parties keep to their agreements. But peace keeping must facilitate an overall process which helps the community get back on its feet. That may be different in different crises and involve different UN agencies. In some cases we must help feed populations, help with health care, education, and development. In others we may support local elections or help the local government develop its own capability to administer the country. Some operations focus on helping demobilize warriors and assist them to reintegrate into society. We also can help with training for the local, civil police – we want to avoid the UN policing the country. And throughout, we strive to provide a secure environment.

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- ▶ The most difficult peacekeeping skill is the mental mindset of the soldier. Officers trained to lead in combat find this shift especially challenging.

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- ▶ Training is not only a matter of training the unit. The military is trained to fight, all of a sudden the soldier has to be engaged in peace. This requires psychological spade work. Not all soldiers can do this – the individuals must be screened and their training done right.

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- ▶ We pinpoint the type of soldier we want. In the Americas, with our heritage of immigrants from many countries, we often can pick those with cultural and language skills germane to the target area. Then, we train the unit in a location as close as possible to the climate and terrain where they will deploy.

-
- ▶ We have been sending forces to UN peace keeping missions for decades. We recognized a long time ago that there is a need for specific operational doctrine for peace missions. It also takes very careful planning: adequate logistics plans are essential, interoperability with the other forces must be worked out.

-
- ▶ There must be zero tolerance for human rights abuses by your own troops. We have to set an example of military professionalism.

“Peace keeping is not a job for soldiers – but only soldiers can do it.”

DAG HAMMARSKJOLD
former Secretary-General

Quoted by

COLONEL CEES VAN EGMOND
Netherlands Army,
Department of Peacekeeping Operations,
United Nations

Peace Keeping and Peace Rebuilding

3

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- ▶ Achieving a “stable and secure” climate can require several different operations: protection of your own force, site security for Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and other relief organizations, in some cases security for one or more of the political factions involved.

“Peace keeping operations have been a great source of pride for us. This is noble work. It is tough, it is complex. It is the mission of the Twenty-First Century.”

**GENERAL
BENEDITO O. BEZERRA LEONEL**
Minister of State for Defense, Brazil

-
- ▶ One key mission is to work with and support international police monitors and police training teams.

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- ▶ Military action alone is seldom able to achieve even the limited objectives of peace keeping ops. Do not expect miracles from diplomatic negotiations, either.

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- ▶ Logistics is vital. We have tackled every kind of civil-military support operation. We have restored electricity, rebuilt community water supplies, provided medical supplies, fixed up roads and bridges, restored ports. We have fixed up schools and started schools taught by our own military people. And very often military logistics officers in the UN contingents have managed seaports, airports, truck delivery systems, and warehouses.

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- ▶ Of course, many different UN agencies and many different NGOs are involved – plus the local government offices. We find it very useful for the military peace keepers to set up and run a humanitarian assistance coordination center where all these different groups can coordinate their efforts and stay abreast of the situation.

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- ▶ Prior training is important – for the military peace keepers, NGOs, everybody.

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- ▶ The local health care situation may be disastrous. Military medical capabilities can be essential to establishing local credibility for peace keeping units. Working together, military and NGO surgical and medical teams can plant the seeds of a new community health system.
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21 Concrete Steps for Military Planners Practical Initiatives

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To better prepare for peace building and peace keeping missions...

1. Expanding information exchanges.

The new missions go beyond the scope of traditional military intelligence. Increase multilateral and regional information sharing; open regular channels to the NGOs and civil sector agencies.

2. Revise planning procedures.

Traditional military planning focused on preparations for combat. Planning for these new missions must draw in new factors.

3. Develop specific doctrine for "Peace Operations".

Experienced peace keepers report that military organizations, equipment, and operating procedures must be adapted to ensure effectiveness in the new missions. As with all successful military operations, these basic doctrines are best worked out and studied in advance.

4. Conduct regular "Peace Operations" training.

One major lesson of past peace keeping missions is the need to be able to engage quickly. And innovative peace building operations are often right at hand for the commander prepared to seize the opportunity. Regular training, integrated in overall troop training, will pay off.

"UNESCO was founded fifty years ago at a time of great hope for an end to the massive destruction of war. Our charter begins, 'Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed'. More than ever, that precept is becoming a practical blueprint. Security strategy, military policy and UNESCO's portfolio are converging. More and more, we find that the most practical steps toward security are the initiatives taken to bolster the civil society".

DR. TOM FORSTENZER

Executive Office of the Director-General, UNESCO

5. Include the diplomats, NGO personnel, and international organization staff members in “Peace Operations” training.

By their nature, the new kinds of operations bring many different kinds of organizations together. Many are volunteers, some will have little experience, most will be unfamiliar with all the other organizations and capabilities in the field. Experience has shown that early liaison and collective training can significantly improve performance.

A special, further step some UN member states are taking...

1. “Contract” with the UN Secretary General to designate certain units for peacekeeping missions and keep them trained and ready.

This type of special arrangement for a standby force might also be used with local communities and governments. Military units could agree to provide certain kinds of emergency medical support, infrastructure construction or other services to their host communities.

To improve crisis response, recognizing that the most-cited problems are:

- 1) the difficulty in responding fast enough to humanitarian and political-military contingencies, and**
- 2) sustaining effective ops in the field.**

1. Preplan and rehearse deployment and initial set-up operations.

Often the crisis is recognized early but decisions by the international community to intervene may be delayed. This period may be used by military and government planners to draft and rehearse tentative plans. In some cases the insights gained during these processes can aid the participating government in helping shape the mandate for the operation.

2. “Instrument” humanitarian and crisis theaters of operation.

When undertaking a combat operation, military commanders carefully deploy sensors and organize a command and control network. This same approach – and many of the same sensors and analysis techniques – could be used to heighten the appreciation of the dynamics of a non-combat crisis.

3. “Campaign” in a humanitarian crisis or a peace operation.

In military terms, generals in charge of a combat theater pursue a campaign plan – a design by which individual, tactical engagements are stitched together toward an overall strategy. Participants in past peace keeping operations report that it is often difficult to keep the protracted operations focused.

4. Ensure that the peace operations forces are themselves models of professional discipline and care for human rights.

Experience has shown that the effectiveness of military contingents deployed under an international mandate relates directly to the

perception by the contending parties and local populace that the intervening forces are competent, trained professionals. Successful peace keeping generals also advise that the most critical encounters are those of each individual soldier with a local person or group. These generals suggest careful training in human rights and personal interactions in tense situations.

5. Expand – as feasible – the operation beyond the purely military, constabulary functions.

Experienced peace keepers report that their basic, military effectiveness is considerably enhanced by offering some medical care and support for other community needs. These gestures gain credibility and often open vital communication links.

6. Provide for a careful public information effort.

Successful peace keepers advise special attention to assuring a flow of balanced, factual information to the local population. In some cases a “UN CNN” has broadcast general news; in other cases, the local peace keeping units have published informal newspapers to keep the host communities aware of deployments and plans. One commander conducted a weekly radio call-in show on a local station so citizens could pose questions and receive direct answers.

7. See post-conflict transitions as important military opportunities.

Opportunities to make genuinely creative, long-term contributions may occur at the end of a peace keeping operation as the parties struggle to restore civil order. Reconstructive surgery and community medicine, reconstructive engineering, training of the emerging military units, assistance with the demobilization and retraining of the former combatants may offer opportunities to make a difference.

Early steps for the long term – preventative actions and professional development...

1. Create a regional center for conflict resolution.

A senior diplomat suggests that not only might such a center be useful in the Americas, it might also be a source of expertise and mediation for other regions.

2. Add a strategic study center to the Inter-American Defense College.

The IADC now conducts a year-long course of instruction. Some courses and electives are offered in association with other, local defense colleges. The creation of a Strategic Study Center with a few expert professionals could further improve the academic effectiveness of the IADC as well as equip it to be a source of original, innovative thinking and research on new security issues.

3. Conduct short courses on peace operations as a field activity of the Inter-American Defense College.

Perhaps sponsored by the OAS in association with member states, the Inter-American Defense College might offer short, specialized training sessions around the region to enable working professionals to study the legal framework for UN interventions and to develop practical insights from the many past UN peace keeping operations.

4. Establish a network of military war colleges and research institutions interested in the “New Security” agenda and in peace operations.

There is an existing array of national war colleges plus national and international research organizations which are devoted to the study of war, war prevention, non-proliferation, and so on. By joining with UNESCO, a new, international community of analysts and academics could address the many new policy research and professional development issues.

5. Establish bi-lateral or multi-lateral commissions to develop mechanisms for sub-regional cooperation.

Since peace keeping operations typically bring together military organizations from a number of different states, governments which regularly send peace keeping troops to UN operations are forming regional coalitions. One example is the Nordic Battalion now deployed in Macedonia.

6. Continue to refine the military expertise and develop the working climate needed for the military to be key advisors to the civil leadership.

In some circumstances, as many Symposium participants pointed out, the military has been somewhat isolated from mainstream.

7. Exploit local opportunities to make a difference.

Even in highly developed countries, military organizations can support local medical, education, and infrastructure development efforts to the national benefit – and to the benefit of the military in professional training.

8. Carefully evaluate every peace operation, use the evaluations to refine organization, doctrine, and professional development.

The consensus among strategic thinkers is that peace operations are a “growth industry.” These are particularly complicated and demanding missions. Searching analysis of each operation and crisis can provide important feedback and insights for future operations.

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- ▶ There is a missing literature on prevention and peace building. Much has been written criticizing peace keeping operations, too little about how to do better, almost nothing about how to prevent these crises. This is a professional failure.

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- ▶ There is an important body of expertise and experience in South Africa.

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- ▶ Another place to start is in the Western democracies and their experience of learning to integrate their military procedures. We have seen how NATO countries working together in several regional, non-NATO operations have been able to exploit their common doctrine and long experience in working together.

"We must learn how to deal with this growing reservoir of violence."

DR. RICHARD ARNDT
Chairman of the Board,
National Peace Foundation

-
- ▶ But this cannot only be a matter of soldiers training soldiers. Professional development will require soldiers mixing with diplomats, with international organization professionals, and with the NGOs. We will need to end the gulf which has sometimes grown between the military and these other sectors. This is not just a military problem – often the various government agencies and private groups have worked in their individual, narrow channels. We need to break down those barriers.

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- ▶ Cultural training is also important. There must be a basic understanding of how cultures differ and a specific understanding of the local cultures involved in any particular conflict situation.

“Prevention is fundamental. Our course at the College is designed to help close these professional gaps.”

**REAR ADMIRAL
JERONYMO MACDOWELL**
Vice Director,
Inter-American Defense College

- ▶ Some of the old “war-gaming” techniques can be adapted to help develop this new, multi-discipline professionalism. Role-playing simulations enable experts from the various sectors to illuminate the options for improved collaboration.

- ▶ There are a number of things we could do. UNESCO could help develop standard educational materials. We already see a number of war colleges around the world working on these topics.

“We are working in the cracks of an issue which does not yet belong in any one of our standard disciplines. We need to force national debates, we need to force doctrine writing, and we will gradually see a new professional field arise.”

DR. DON SNIDER
Director, Politico-Military Studies,
Center for Strategic and International Studies

April 1995 Symposium

Themes and Guest Speakers

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Welcome & Opening Remarks: Precepts for the Symposium

Welcome

MAJOR GENERAL JAMES R. HARDING
U.S. Army
Director, Inter-American Defense College
Chairman, Inter-American Defense Board

The International Framework for Security for Peace

DR. CESAR GAVIRIA
Secretary-General, Organization of American States
Former President, Colombia

PROF. FEDERICO MAYOR
Director-General, UNESCO
Former Minister of Education, Spain
Former Member, European Parliament

HON. ESTEBAN TORRES
Member, U.S. Congress
Former U.S. Ambassador to UNESCO

Re-thinking Security in the Post-Cold War World

Security, Democracy, and Politics

MR. HECTOR GROS ESPIELL
Uruguay Ambassador to France and to UNESCO
Former Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations

Security and Development

AMBASSADOR JUAN SOMAVIA
Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs
President, Commission of the Andean Group

Security, Culture, Environment, and Population

MR. CARLOS TUNNERMAN BERNHEIM
Special Advisor to the Director-General,
UNESCO for Latin America & the Caribbean
Former Minister of Education, Nicaragua

Peacebuilding for Security – the UNESCO Insights

DR. TOM FORSTENZER
Executive Officer, Executive Office of the Director-General, UNESCO

DR. ANAISABEL PRERA FLORES,
Senior Special Advisor to the Director-General, UNESCO
Former Minister of Culture and Sports, Guatemala

Organizing Peace Building and Peace Keeping Operations

UN Framework for Peace Operations

COLONEL CEES P.M. VAN EGMOND
 Dutch Navy, Chief of Mission Planning Service
 Department of Peacekeeping Operations, United Nations Secretariat

Planning and Organizing Peace Keeping Forces: The Brazilian Experience

GENERAL BENEDITO O. BEZERRA LEONEL
 Army of Brazil
 Minister, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Brazil

Case Studies in Peace Building and Peace Keeping – The Lessons of Experience

Historical Case Studies – Inter-American Experiences:

Dominican Republic, El Salvador, and Honduras

Inter-American Defense College Advisors
 Inter-American Defense Board Staff

Cambodia Case Study

PROF. REGINALD AUSTIN
 Commonwealth Secretariat
 Former Director, Electoral Component, UN Transitional Authority
 in Cambodia

COLONEL LEONEL MILONE DURANTE
 Army of Uruguay
 Former Commander, Uruguay Battalion, Cambodia

Croatia Case Study

MAJOR GENERAL CARLOS MARIA ZABALA
 Military Attache, Embassy of Argentina
 Former Commander, Sector West, UN Protection Force,
 Former Yugoslavia

Haiti Case Study

BRIGADIER GENERAL GEORGE CLOSE
 U.S. Army
 Former Deputy Commander, Multi-National Force in Haiti

Kashmir Case Study

GENERAL RICARDO GALARZA
 Army of Uruguay (Ret.)
 Former Military Observer, Kashmir
 Former Chief Military Observer, UNMOGIP
 Former Military Observer in South Africa, Zaire, Zimbabwe, and Kenya

Rwanda Case Study

MAJOR-GENERAL ROMEO DALLAIRE
 Deputy Commander, Land Forces Command, Canada
 Former Commander, UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda

Somalia Case Study:

Negotiations Before and After the Arrival of the Peace keeping Forces

AMBASSADOR ROBERT B. OAKLEY
Former U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan
Former U.S. Special Envoy for Somalia

OAS and UNESCO Initiatives

Inter-American Peace Building Initiatives

AMBASSADOR HERNAN PATINO MAYER
Permanent Delegate to the OAS, Argentina
Chairman, OAS Standing Commission on Security

UNESCO's Peace-building Initiatives

DR. MOUFIDA GOUCHA
Special Advisor to the Director-General, UNESCO

UNESCO Culture of Peace Programme in Latin America

MR. JUAN CHONG SANCHEZ
Director, UNESCO Office for Central America and Panama

Follow-up to the Symposium – Opportunities for Practical Initiatives

21 Practical Ideas from the Symposium Participants

MR. LARRY SEAQUIST
Symposium Coordinator
Chairman, The Strategy Group

Opportunities for Innovative Military-Civil Medical Cooperation – Post-Conflict Reconstruction

DR. ANTHONY ROWSELL
Department of Plastic Surgery, Guy's Hospital, London
Vice-Chairman, AMAR International Charity, London

Closing Summaries

General Observations and Closing Synopses of the Symposium

AMBASSADOR AUGUSTO RAMIREZ OCAMPO
Special Advisor, Culture of Peace Programme, UNESCO
Special Representative of UN Secretary General and
Chief of Mission – ONUSAL
Personal Representative, UN Secretary General for the Special
Economic Cooperation Plan for Central America
Director, Inter-American Development Bank

MR. GUSTAV LOPEZ-OSPINA
Director,
Interdisciplinary Project for Inter-Agency Cooperation, UNESCO

MAJOR GENERAL JAMES R. HARDING
U.S. Army; Director, Inter-American Defense College
Chairman, Inter-American Defense Board

Self Assessment

Evaluation of the Symposium Effectiveness

Observations and recommendations gleaned from the Symposium participants and organizers:

Objectives of the "Security for Peace" Initiative

- ▶ The overall focus should be on practical actions – especially ways to initiate early, preventative actions.
- ▶ The innovative use of military forces in these peacebuilding operations is potentially important – but it is not just a military problem. The objective is to foster new forms of teamwork among the military, NGOs, government professionals, international agencies, and development groups.

Agenda for Future Symposia

- ▶ Each region has a particular character and history. Within the global setting of the UN, regional seminars should be tailored to the particular circumstances and needs of each region.
- ▶ A simulation of a hypothetical crisis-prevention situation could be valuable in translating the lessons of the past to future practice.

Participants

- ▶ Other UN Agencies, key NGOs, a few regional business representatives, and development bank staff should be included as guests and speakers.
- ▶ For improved dialogue among the invited experts, total attendance might be reduced somewhat.
- ▶ It is especially valuable to hear the candid experiences and perspectives of diplomats and military officers with personal experience.

Overall Perspectives

- ▶ There is increasing discussion among diplomats, military officers, and other officials concerning the kinds of non-traditional peace operations which may be appropriate for the military.
- ▶ While there are important issues and doctrines to be addressed across the full spectrum of peace enforcement to peace keeping to peace building challenges, the most important area – and the one not yet getting enough thought and attention – is the area of proactive, early peace building: preventive actions to forestall emerging humanitarian and political crises.
- ▶ In sum, the current agenda is an action agenda – especially a preventive action agenda.

Books

*General Suggestions:**Diplomatic and Political Biographies; Histories of contemporary conflicts.*

- Federico Mayor, *The New Page*, with Dr. Tom Forstenzer, UNESCO 1995.
Personally authored by Professor Mayor and Dr. Forstenzer as a "white paper" to reevaluate the roles and contributions of UNESCO in the transformed, post-Cold War World. Includes an analysis of the causes of conflict and the tools for early, preventative actions.
- Conor Cruise O'Brien, *To Katanga and Back, a UN Case History*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1963
A well-written narrative by a premier diplomat and man of letters.
- Donald Daniel and Bradd Hayes, eds., *Beyond Traditional Peacekeeping*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1995
A recent analysis of peace keeping operations and options for improvements.
- Mats Berdal, *Whither on Peacekeeping?*, Adelphi Papers No. 281, London, International Institute of Strategic Studies, October 1993.
A valuable survey of peace keeping issues by a specialist.

Recent Journal Articles

- Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "Improving the Capacity of the UN for Peacekeeping", Report of the Secretary General, printed in *Military Technology*, vol.18 no. 12, December 1994, pp.70-82.
Survey of methods of maintaining peace and security, importance of peace building.
- Adam Roberts, "The Crisis in UN Peacekeeping", *Survival*, London, IISS, vol.36 no. 3, Autumn, 1994, pp.93-120.
Comparison of pre- and post-1987 peace keeping operations, survey of current issues.
- John MacKinley, "Improving Multifunctional Forces", *Survival*, London, IISS, vol. 36 no. 3, Autumn, 1994, pp. 149-173.
Comparative survey of different national approaches; case for a "multifunctional" force.
- James M. Greene, "The Peacekeeping Doctrines of the CIS", *Janes Intelligence Review*, vol. 5 no. 4, April 1993, pp.156-159
Synopsis of the Russian, more than CIS, approach to peace keeping interventions nearby.
- Alvaro de Soto and Graciana del Castillo, "Obstacles to Peacebuilding", *Foreign Policy*, no. 94, Spring 1994, pp. 69-83.
Survey of some of the practical, structural impediments to successful peace building efforts.
- Ronal J. Fisher, "The Potential for Peacebuilding: Forging a Bridge from Peacekeeping to Peacemaking", *Peace and Change*, Vol.18 no.3, July 1993, pp 247-266.
Useful analysis of types of conflicts and various models for intervention.

Acknowledgment

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- Major General JAMES R. HARDING, U.S. Army, Director of the Inter-American Defense College; Rear Admiral JERONIMO MACDOWELL, Brazilian Navy, Vice-Director; General LUIS ABRAHAM, Uruguayan Army, Dean of Academics; and all the IADC staff.
- Mr. TOM BRUCE and Mr. JORGE TELLERMAN of the OAS Staff; Ms. ELIZABETH SPEHAR, Mr. RUBEN PERINA, and Mr. STEVEN GRINER of the OAS Unit for Democracy.
- Mrs. ROSEMARY WILTSHIRE, Executive Office of the Director-General, UNESCO; Mr. LESLIE ATHERLEY and the staff of the UNESCO Culture of Peace Programme; Mr. ANDREW RADOLF, UNESCO Press Officer, New York.
- U.S. Congressman ESTEBAN TORRES (Democrat, California) and Mr. ERIC REUTHER, Legislative Assistant to Mr. Torres.
- Dr. DON SNIDER, Director of the Political-Military Studies Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies; Dr. DAN GOURE, Vice-Director; and Mr. STUART SCHWARTZSTEIN, CSIS.

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- *in Washington,*
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- *in Paris,*
to Ms. ROCHELLE ROCA HACHEM, Special Assistant to Mr. Forstenzer.

The "New Page" we are turning in this book is one of a culture of peace, based on a culture of democracy. It is a transition fraught with all the dangers of moving into the unknown without much guidance from our personal or collective memories. If this transition can be successful, we will at long last have the possibility of changing radically our economic, social and political perceptions and entering a new renaissance of hope and creativity in our lifetimes.¹

The perversion of education, science, culture and communication in the celebration of violence and hate – in their mobilization in the most extreme forms of the culture of war – led the framers of UNESCO's Constitution to rededicate learning and creativity to building global communities of tolerance, cooperation and mutual understanding.²

If the history of humanity has been a succession of struggles against nature for survival, today man faces his own dangers, that go far beyond the risks of the natural system left to itself. To write a new page, we must rededicate ourselves to the ethical forces of peace rather than the coercive force of war.³

The culture of war may have taught us certain survival skills in an extremely hostile world, but it may have taught us skills which are poorly adapted to a world which offers new possibilities for our personal achievements, societal progress and world development.⁴

There is no substitute for freedom and there is no substitute for the defence of freedom by democracy.⁵

From *The New Page*

By FEDERICO MAYOR, UNESCO Director-General
with the collaboration of TOM FORSTENZER

¹ p. xiii, 4th §

² p. 4, 2nd §

³ p. xv, 3rd §

⁴ p. 7, 1st §

⁵ p. 36, 1st §