PROFESSIONAL PEACEBUILDING

*A **Preliminary Guide** developed in an International Workshop and Simulation*

Created and edited by
LARRY SEAQUIST
With TOM FORSTENZER *and* YASMIN K. QUIANZON

UNESCO

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC
AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

THE VENICE PAPERS

A series of reports reflecting UNESCO's activities in the area of new security.

Titles published to date:

Spring 1996

- **The Venice Deliberations**
  Transformations in the Meaning of *Security*
  Practical Steps Toward a New Security Culture
  Available in English.

- **Security for Peace**
  Inter-American Symposium
  on Peace Building & Peace Keeping
  Co-sponsored by
  UNESCO and the Organization of American States
  Hosted by
  the Inter-American Defense College.
  Available in English, Spanish and Portuguese.

- **Professional Peacebuilding**
  A Preliminary Guide developed in an
  International Workshop and Simulation
  Available in English and Spanish.

Additional reports will follow.

THE NEW PAGE

Federico Mayor

"No business as usual". In his 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, preventive 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" thinking.

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 encourage 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 UNESCO-IADC PeaceGame was 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.

Early warning.
Children are often the first to signal a slide into crisis.
Declining health, malnutrition, and disrupted schools
often telegraph a gathering emergency.

Contents

Needed: Professional Peacebuilders

How can we move upstream?

Can we break the cycle of violence and too-late, too-little crisis response with practical preventive action taken early?

These were the questions posed to more than 200 specially-invited security professionals assembled in March 1997 by the Inter-American Defense College in Washington, D.C. Meeting at the joint invitation of Professor Federico Mayor, UNESCO Director-General, and Major General John C. Thompson, Chairman of the Inter-American Defense Board and Director of the Inter-American Defense College, military officers, diplomats, development bankers, business persons, and security professionals from the Americas, Europe, Africa, and the Middle East gathered to participate in a pioneering workshop-simulation. The participants moved to the innovative Center for Business and Industry at the Charles County Community College in LaPlata, Maryland for a first-ever, day-long "PeaceGame", then to the Inter-American Defense College at Fort McNair in Washington for a day of debriefings and analyses by the gaming teams. To wrap up, a small group of organizers and invited experts met in the United Nations conference room in Washington D.C. for a half-day assessment of the insights generated by the gaming and discussions.

The key is a new kind of cross-disciplinary professionalism. Drawing on the insights generated in the Professional Peace-building gaming and discussions and on the underlying ideas of the Venice Process, this report is structured for use world-wide as a professional educational tool.

Part I steps through a self-teaching process.
*If you wish to head off a gathering crisis, if you would like to
scout potential crises, if you hope to galvanize all the various
professional disciplines which must engage in any local or
sub-regional effort to avert yet another human tragedy,
you will need to draw together knowledgeable citizens and
professionals from the many different disciplines that make
up a healthy, functioning community.*

Part II walks you through the mechanics of a PeaceGame.
*Many variations are possible. Each game should be tailored
to the specific circumstances and objectives of the participants
and sponsors. We invite you to apply these methods.*

***Part III outlines the structure and methodology we
used with great success in the demonstration with the
Inter-American Defense College.***
*You can do this. You can make a difference. Serious problems
simmer in every region in the world. Opportunities for
peacebuilding – and for professional peacebuilders – abound.*

*We would like to hear from you. This is a new, undefined
field. Even the most basic concepts are still being developed
and tested. How can we begin to take concrete, practical
steps to avoid crises and reinforce the civil society with the
same practiced, pro-democracy skills that we expect of the best
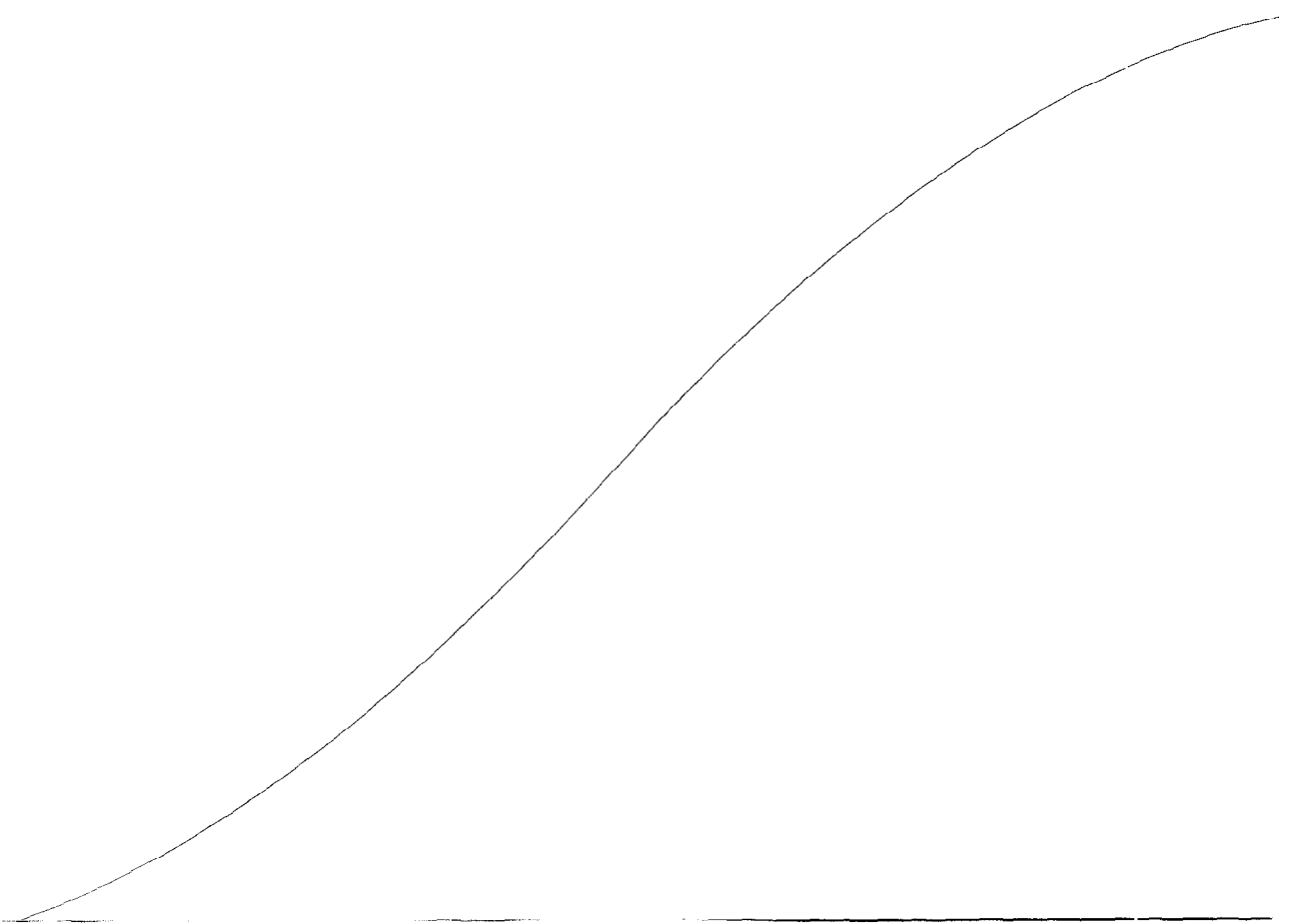professionals in medicine, education, and the military?*

Creative use of military capabilities.
Many military capabilities can contribute
to a comprehensive peacebuilding campaign.

THE
VENICE
PAPERS
No. 3

Toward a New Professionalism

A Planning Exercise

An Introduction to Peacebuilding

Violence, conflict, and tragedy often seem to dominate the global news. Day after day, press reports jump from one region to another as we follow the latest instances of casualties and refugees. In fact, the human suffering is much greater than we hear about: there are many, many more crises and conflicts than the international news organizations can report. Indeed, even the professionals are not sure how many deadly conflicts there are at any one time. Estimates often run in the neighborhood of thirty or forty or so.

With the end of the Cold War, the attention of the international community was released from the overriding dynamics of deterrence of another World War and the nuclear confrontation between the superpower blocs. A growing recognition of the risks of regional tensions and, especially, intrastate conflicts led to attempts to improve crisis response.

As the United Nations, acting through the Security Council, dispatched more and more blue-helmeted peace- keeping formations, crisis *reaction* capabilities became more routine. In recent years, well over a dozen official peacekeeping operations have been underway at all times.

The Venice Process is dedicated to the proposition that reaction is not enough. Of course, it is necessary that the international community has the capability through the United Nations of being able to help resolve ongoing conflict and mitigate the human costs of tragedy. But *prevention is vital.* No community would be content with a public health system which consisted solely of ambulances and emergency rooms able to respond only to those who were in extremis.

"Welcome fellow students"

PROFESSOR FEDERICO MAYOR
Director-General, UNESCO

Earlier, "preventive" actions are also necessary. What would you do if you were asked to be proactive, to move upstream from crisis? Okay, you have been asked. Ready?

Move Upstream

What does that mean?

The Planning Process – Step 1

You have been asked to develop a plan to try to foresall a crisis looming on the horizon.

? How is prevention different from reacting to an on-going conflict or disaster?

? Can you create this plan by yourself, or will you need to bring in other professionals from different disciplines?

? Are those experts and their parent organizations the same ones which work in peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance operations?

How will peacebuilding as you envision it differ from other approaches?
Can you integrate these different ideas?

The military route to peace

Traditional views of prevention are rooted in war strategy and the theories of deterrence. This leads to a highly militarized, "big stick" philosophy. Consider the spectrum of violence as seen by a military strategist:

In this view, peace is the product of military power, the ↖ symbols.

Military strategy plans to keep the peace by deterrence – peace through strength – or if necessary, to fight and win a war to restore the peace. The emphasis is on accumulating and brandishing military power. And since a big war, although less likely than smaller, less violent episodes, is potentially so dangerous, the military strategist wants the insurance of having enough military power to fight and win a big war. The smaller contingencies are considered "lesser included cases" – tasks a big military can handle easily.

In the Venice Process, we believe that military power, wielded sensibly by responsible, democratic governments has a role but that *military power alone cannot create genuine peace*. What do you think?

The peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance routes to peace

There are other schools of thought. Rather, they are schools of action, since governments and private, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are both very active in these roles.

Often first on the scene as a crisis looms are NGOs hoping to alleviate human suffering, whatever

Increasing Violence

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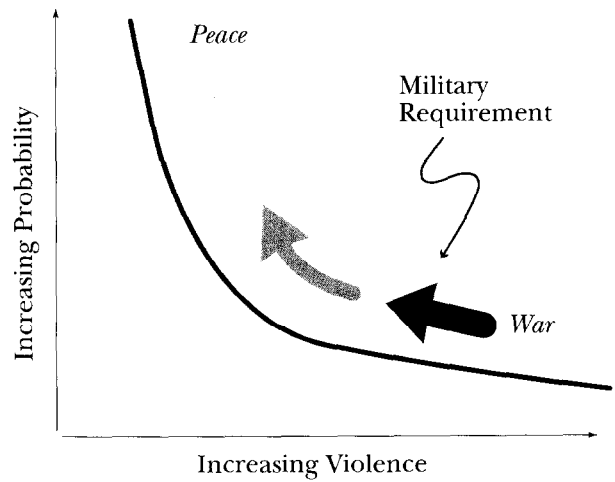
the cause, by providing food, medical care and other emergency services. Their goal is to help as many people survive as possible. Many espouse a doctrine of neutrality.

The political track, often intersecting with the humanitarian, focuses on bringing the contending parties to the negotiating table. The goal is a political agreement which will find enough common ground to harness the hostile parties in a peaceful framework. Many NGOs now specialize in conflict resolution.

Working with the UN Secretariat, many governments are now creating military units specializing in peacekeeping and peace enforcement missions. In different ways each time, PK ops try to be neutral, to separate the warring parties.
In peacebuilding, we are trying to act well before that war starts.
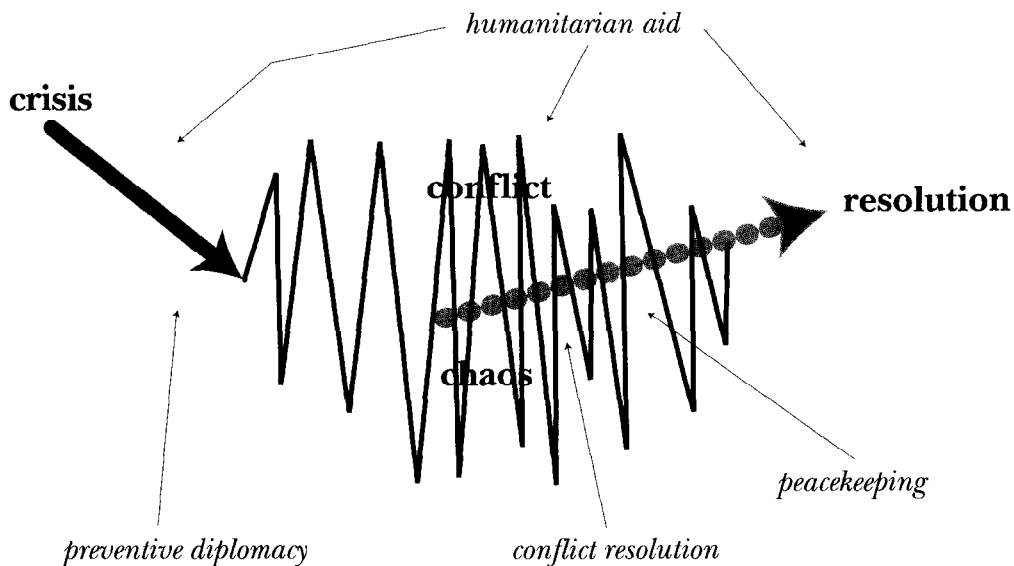
These are some of the ideas voiced in the PeaceGame discussions.
Speakers included World Bank executives, military officers, and an International Committee
of the Red Cross official.

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- Today no operation from any relief agency can take place without a strong security approach.

- What is happening in the world? The rule of law is weakening in many places. In some situations there are no authorities, no accountability. We are seeing more and more groups and factions which are not accountable to anyone.

"A period of unprecedented change has created a new security reality. Today we have a broad range of challenges. We need to develop new tools.
These new problems are worthy of your talents.
We hope to help you prepare to contribute."

MAJOR GENERAL JOHN THOMPSON
Director, Inter-American Defense College

- We must all recognize that the situation is very different. We have to take more risks. We cannot wait for the conditions to be okay to assist the people. We have to act when they are in need. So we need from the army more rapid deployment forces that can get there early, when the need first becomes acute.

- But we also need to take more time to understand the environment. And we need to fit in. We often are unaware of the implications of our image as wealthy outsiders. We must not be so conspicuous in poor countries.

- Today it is more and more difficult to conduct a dialog. We must talk to each group separately, often we have to work with different, powerful individuals.

- We make a great effort to engage the civil society, but where is the civil society in countries at war for years? All values have collapsed.

- The goal is to get the country back on its feet again. The goal is to help the parties come to a lasting peace.

- Traditionally, the military has concentrated on hostilities. Now we need to concentrate on the pre-hostilities stages as well. Prevention, containment, limitation of conflict should be more and more in the front of our military thinking.

- In order to move upstream, to be effective in prevention, we need to change our cultural mindset in the professional military. We need to think of these tasks within a matrix of peace operations. In these campaigns, there will be no combat victory, there will be no enemy.

- The World Wars were comparatively short. Now these conflicts last for generations. Before the fighting was formal, channeled. Now it is difficult to tell who is a combatant.

- We need to take the broader view – of a war-to-peace cycle of transitions. Prevention involves poverty reduction and economic development, demilitarization. Often the economy has collapsed and the major institutions no longer function. The society may be criminalized.

Remember, our goal in this exercise is to explore practical ways of developing peacebuilding expertise. Here are some of the thoughts of the PeaceGamers.

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"We need to develop a doctrine of peacebuilding – a way of foreseeing crises and acting before we see it on television. Let us learn to think preventively."

DR. TOM FORSTENZER
UNESCO

- The key is getting the military involved with the civilians. But that is often difficult. Nowadays there seems to be less and less understanding between the military and civilian professional communities.

- "Security" is a complex matter. We can use the military to help with the techniques, but we need to transfer the action to the civilian arena. That is not easy. There are no models and no formulae. No single solution will fit all problems. Each situation will be different.

- The thinking on the military and civilian sides is different. The military is centralized; it has organizations and regulations. The military is careful about timing and it knows when decisions have to be made if something needs to be done. In civil life it is much different.

- I learned in the peacegame that governance is as important as economics and culture. This gave me a new blend of points of view, new horizons.

- This is really the start of a new discipline: pan-conflict studies. I have to go back and shift the focus of our organization to achieve that scope of thinking.

Move Upstream

How do you get ready?

Taking action – Step 1

Okay, you are tuned in and thinking upstream.
But a plan is not just a concept paper – it is a recipe for practical action by real people in the field under the direction of real leaders. What do you do now?

? Do you need to assemble a planning team?
? Will that team need some training? Where could you get expert help in providing that instruction?
? Who will lead these operations? How should they prepare?

Getting Serious About Objectives

Military strategists know they need to develop for themselves a comprehensive understanding of the situation before they lay the plans and marshal the forces for a campaign – the series of battles that will lead to achieving their strategic goals.

This preliminary stage is in some respects even more perilous than the battles themselves. History offers endless examples of misjudgments that led to disaster: not only battles lost when the enemy did the unexpected, but companies wrecked, peoples impoverished, governments ruined by a failure to understand what was happening. Frequently leaders fall victim to their own wishful thinking, choosing objectives which do not fit the actual circumstances. So your first – and unending – test as a peacebuilding strategist is whether you can see the situation clearly in a practical, penetrating light.

By the way, it is also important that you not carve these objectives in stone. Even if they are exactly right when you start, the situation will change and your objectives must change to keep pace. Indeed, you hope to change the situation by your wisely-constructed and skillfully-executed intervention plan, do you not? Built into your scheme must be a requirement to frequently reconsider your objectives. History suggests this is even more diffi-cult than choosing sound goals at the start. Once

under way, it is very difficult for organizations to step back, reassess, alter their plan, and move in a different direction.

"First, we need to under-stand the local patterns of thinking and living."

BRIG. GEN. BORIS SAAVEDRA
Dean, Inter-American Defense College

**Moving Upstream
– Setting Objectives Earlier Than "Early Warning"**

Experienced people say "We always have early warning. Our problem is not being warned, it is in understanding what the warning means". Your main contribution as a peacebuilding strategist may be to provide this timely context, to make these "early strategic assessments".

The Planning Process – Step 2

Assess the Strategic Situation"

What does that mean?

Your judgements about the situation and your choice of objectives are closely tied. Be careful. This is where you begin making some important assumptions. Bad assumptions and wishful thinking can carry you to a bad plan.

? What is going on? In practical, concrete terms, what can you hope to see change?
? What is the timeline? How fast is the situation moving? How fast could your plan engage and make a difference?

Here is a different way to think about crises and strategies of prevention
– a way to begin to break the cycles of violence and too-late crisis response.

Normal, healthy change — *growth, change* — *stuggle, resolution* — *growth, change*

Change through violence and deadly conflict
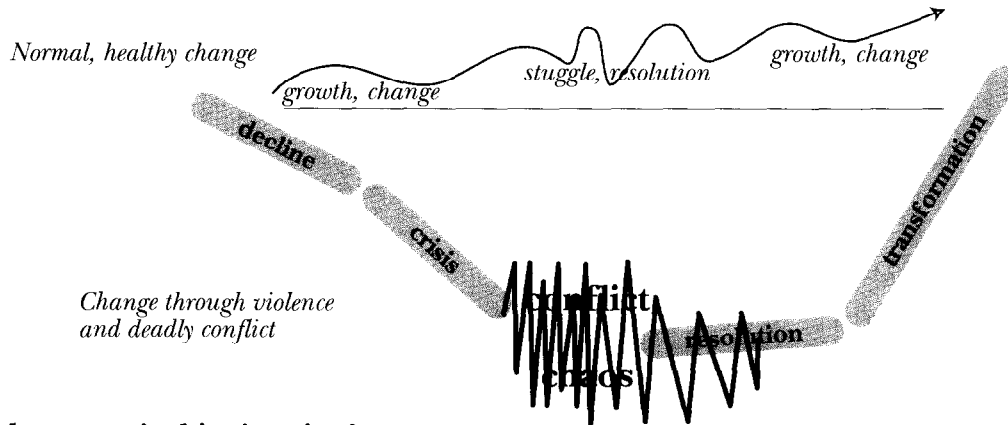
In what stage is this situation?

Change and the struggles over how to respond to change are normal in all societies. The strategist needs to be wary of calls for "stability" when stability means no change. Healthy, growing communities and nations successfully weather crises and are strengthened as they adapt to change.

What concerns us here is our ability to recognize when the change is not normal, when it portends conflict and tragedy – when early, outside intervention is required to break the cycle and preempt the impending disaster.

The first step in peacebuilding planning is making an initial assessment of where in the

cycle the situation is. It is a key judgment that you will want to revisit from time to time.

Speaking of time, what is the time-scale? Crises seem to run on accelerated timelines – days and weeks. Is not your horizon much wider in peace-building? You want to discern crises six months or a year or more before they become acute. If you are going to have enough time for an intervention to succeed you need to identify the stages of decline a year, even several years, before it slips into *extremis.* Note, too, that just as contemporary intra-state conflicts may last years, even decades, it may take a generation or several for genuine progress.

Different objectives in different situations
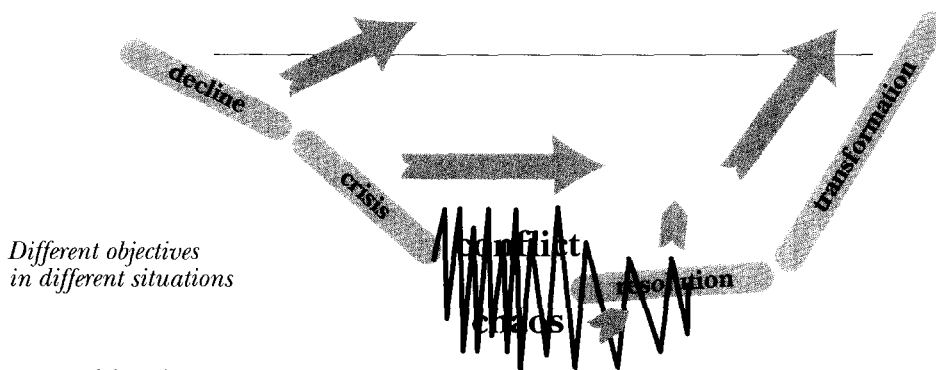
What are your objectives?

What outcomes can you hope for? Be practical. To start, please let go of the idea of reversing the situation, of returning to the status quo ante. Contrary to what many people might wish, the past is past. You need to move forward.

Here are some of the tracks the PeaceGamers sketched: If they could act very early, in the stage of "decline", they could hope to help the local actors get themselves on a normal, self-managed development track. If already in a quickening crisis, they looked for ways to build a bridge across the violence, to get to the resolution

and transformation stages without a descent into crisis.

In a situation of backsliding, where crisis resolution was failing to take hold, the strategists looked for ways to turn the situation around and get back on the transformation track. Most difficult of all, was a situation of cascading crises where the violence was feared to be spiralling down into even more conflict and human tragedy.

Later you will have a chance to consider how your planning might differ in each situation.

*Here are some of the ideas from the PeaceGame teams talking about how
to judge where a local situation falls in the cycle of violence.
This is only a brief selection of dozens of indicators the PeaceGamers identified.*

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Decline

- Migration is a signal. People are "voting with their feet", searching for better opportunities.
- The status of children is an early indicator. They may be underfed and uneducated.
- Violations of human rights are key signals. The international norms make good benchmarks.
- There is increasing government influence on the media.
- Government officials are inefficient; corruption is spreading and the military is ominous.
- Society is becoming more polarized; ethnic and religious groups pursue individual agendas.

Crisis

- The economy crashes, foreign investors pull out, poverty and unemployment accelerate.
- An economic crisis is often linked to the politics and policies of the government.
- Crime and criminal organizations flourish while services like medical care disappear.
- Press censorship is high; government is controlling the media.
- Violence is a primary indicator. Personal security is low, human rights abuses are severe.
- Arms are flowing in, military power is becoming a main measure of political strength.

Chaos and Conflict

- International media coverage can become intense, if intermittent.
- The difference between conflict and chaos is that conflict implies structure. Organizations oppose each other. Chaos has no structure. Both are severe problems. Both can draw in and destabilize neighboring states or even the region.

- Human tragedy is extreme: killing, disease, starvation are endemic.
- Schools are non-functional; young people and children are drawn into combatant roles.

Resolution

- People of vision emerge. Citizens are ready to move forward out of the violence.
- People start rebuilding trust, especially trust in each other. They begin to have hope.
- There is a willingness to involve mediators and to undertake conflict resolution processes.
- People begin to think they can improve their lot through political participation and voting.
- NGOs and others are beginning to make a difference in people's lives. Death, disease slow.
- Disarmament is feasible, arms flows slow.

Transformation

- Money is not the only goal. Cultural and moral strength indicate that even a less wealthy country is on the track to success.
- There is a sense of reliable justice. People obey the laws and institutions function.
- Education systems are restored. There is a sense of growing expertise and professionalism.
- An open press is reestablished; there is a growing and free flow of unbiased information.
- Public health is steadily improving; mortality rate is declining; population growth rates are slowing.
- Demilitarization is moving ahead; former military are finding new, civil sector careers.

The PeaceGame, by examining case studies across the full spectrum of violence, clearly pointed to the importance of cross-disciplinary professionalism. Here are some of the ideas of the participants.

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- We can expect that there will be professionalism in each of the various disciplines: medicine, education, and so on. What we need is a new professionalism that bridges across those individual sectors. We need a multi-track approach.

Peacebuilding is critically dependent on interactions among different experts. That may be the central skill of the professional peacebuilder.

MS. LEA JOHNSON
Collaboration Systems Consultant

- Regardless of the profession, the basic skills are dialogue skills. These are more useful than debating skills. We are all taught to debate, few are taught to interact and build consensus. We are taught to have the "right" answers, not how to help the search for common ground.

- In many countries, including in the wealthy, developed world, there is little dialogue among the different professions. Some universities feature cross-disciplinary studies but most professionals work inside the boundaries of their own field. The role-playing of gaming can be a good way for these working professionals to begin to see each other's contributions.

- We need to be practical and very operational.

- We need to think of the various actors who enter the picture at the local, national, and regional levels. It is particularly important that we engage actors at the local level.

- Perhaps we need to create an international cadre of "peacebuilders": people who are specially trained to help other professionals see the cross-connections; people who can help local citizens and leaders begin to engage without waiting for an international intervention, institutional response.

Taking Action – Step 2

Draft your objectives

What does that mean?

Are you ready to start making some choices? These are just "first draft" decisions to help you focus the rest of your planning.

? Can you locate your situation in one of the stages of the cycle? Is that easy or are there mixed indicators, some better, some worse?

? What is your basic objective? Are you considering all the indicators?

? And what is your rough timeline? How fast is the situation moving?

Note: This process of thinking about the full crisis cycle and then locating your case along that spectrum may be the first stage in your own PeaceGame.

Who wants what?
Why do they think that way?

You will often run into two kinds of obstacles when you are trying to understand a particular situation and formulate a plan for early strategic engagement. First, people will tend to think of a crisis only in its political-military dimensions: how the contending politicians are maneuvering around each other and what various military forces are doing. These are the staples of journalists looking for "News".

But consider: if you are going to engage early and preventively, there is not going to be a lot of dramatic political rhetoric or military maneuvers to use as a yardstick of progress. You are going to need to look deeper into the economic, social, and cultural layers of the society to find meaningful perspectives. The matrix on the next page suggests a simple way of reminding yourself what those many layers may be. Each case will be different.

Transcending the data is the second challenge. Understand the actors. Unemployment statistics, birth rates, education and literacy data all help cast a useful light but they do not tell you who are the actors and what they want. If there is a crisis of food distribution, for example, how is that being played out in the political process? Is there a callous group attempting to use starving people for their own political advantage? If you plan to fix the food problem you will need to be clear about these political facts of life.

This is why gaming is so useful. The PeaceGame is designed to search out the main players, the complex array of groups and leaders who are constantly interacting as they compete and cooperate for power, influence, and wealth.

"Everyone wants to lead, no one wants to be coordinated."

MR. NAT COLLETA
The World Bank

To design a successful strategy, you need more than anything else a clear-eyed understanding of who the main leaders and power blocks are, what they want, and what their motivations are.

Key
Players

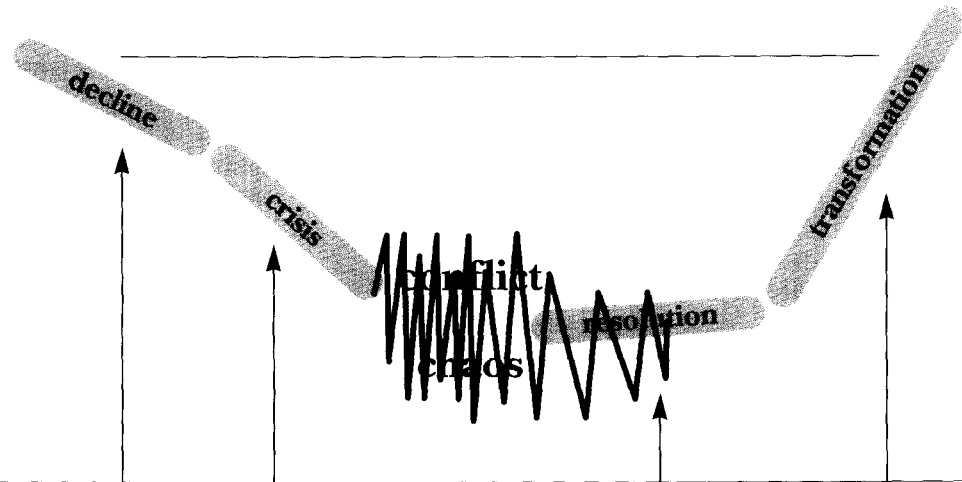*Who are the main actors?*

The Planning Process – Step 3

You have an idea of your own objectives. Now to probe the other players who can help or hurt.

? Who are the main actors? Who do they see as their friends and enemies?

? What are they trying to achieve? What is their vision of the future?

? Why do they want those things? What is the history that is driving them?

? Can they be influenced?

The PeaceGamers used this matrix to think about all the different actors, their individual perspectives, and the different kinds of information each uses to assess their own situation.

Sectors		decline	crisis		resolution	transformation
Political	Public Officials Parties/factions					
Public	Citizens Advocacy NGOs					
Economic	Business Bankers Analysts					
Knowledge	Educators Media					
Health & Environment	Medical & health Ecologists					
Security	Police Judges Military					

Example

	Educators see:	literacy declines, braindrain	schools collapse	Children carry guns not books	local education restarts	schools thrive, acquire info technology

Ask a professional

One of the important insights reached by the PeaceGame participants was about judging the situation. Rather than the usual attempt to build a complicated matrix of technical data, the focus was on finding professionals in each sector. By asking those professionals to synthesize the technical data in their individual fields and then consult with each other, the strategist-planner can get an earlier and more useful feel for the dimensions of the situation than by struggling with complex methods of comparing disparate information.

*The PeaceGamers easily adapted to the use of the matrix as a guide
to the many different dimensions of a security problem.
They found much more complexity than they had expected
as they explored four different case studies.*

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- Our case study involved a tribal society. Each of the tribes competed for primacy.

- If the leaders have no credibility with the citizens, then you are not going to be able to bank on the leaders in your planning. We were hunting for some figure or group with credibility that could successfully encourage the people toward the necessary changes.

- When we started, we assumed that the country in our case study was in a deep crisis. But when we reviewed all the factors we found many indicators pointing to "decline". There was still a free press, for example. The external debt situation was bad, but there was still time to develop a debt rescheduling plan.

- Our country was just emerging from a long period of crisis. We assigned it to the early stage of the "transformation" zone. The trouble is that most of the signs indicate the country is sliding backwards. The signals were really mixed. Energy sales and tourism are up but the people's health and the environment are in serious trouble. Disease and mortality are high; the health care system is in a real crisis. And they have to do something to restart the basic education system. Meanwhile, rebel groups are operating in the interior.

- The country in our case study was emerging from a long conflict. Demobilization of the former combatants is important, but to demobilize is to become unemployed. The army does not like that. So there is a danger of a military coup overturning the new civilian government.

- In our case governance is the main problem. There are few skilled administrators. There should have been a team of international administrators to help teach and advise. And restarting education is a real problem. Most of the educators had left the country as the school system collapsed. Illiteracy is high. We can find no easy fixes. This will take time.

- It seems that the deeper the crisis, the more the political dimension becomes primary. Economic and security concerns follow. If the situation is less dire – still very early in decline or if the transformation is going well – then economic, health and education issues become most important. But it is not that simple. In the polling of all the teams, education was rated low priority by almost everyone. Yet almost every team said in their individual analyses that education was both a primary signpost and extremely important to the country's long-term prospects.

- Our case may be in the "resolution" stage, but it is very weak. There is a possibility of relapse. We need to find some common ground among the players if they are going to be able to move forward.

- We couldn't decide whether the country was in a deepening crisis and on the eve of a conflict or whether this was a stage of resolution after the last conflict.

- There is no effort being made to get information to the people. The people cannot see how their needs are being considered. They are kept ignorant and they are angry.

Based on their experiences in the PeaceGame, the participants developed these views.

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- To be effective you must be immersed in the region, recognize all the local interests, and promote teamwork.

"The game suggests that we may need interdisciplinary skills. There are bodies of expertise in each profession, medicine, education, architecture, but each is isolated. None can get the job done on its own. We need training and encouragement for cross-profession work."

MR. RODNEY MCDANIEL
International Security Consultant

- You must develop a partnership with the NGOs and the other organizations who are on the ground.

- The key is getting the military involved with the civilians.

- The game definitely showed that professionals must get together and cooperate if there are to be solutions.

- We have two basic choices: We could create a new, cross-disciplinary profession or we could create cadres whose specialty is helping build local, interdisciplinary groups – a profession to get professionals together.

- Notice that all the professions are represented on both sides of the military-civilian divide: both have doctors, educators, etc. They may have different objectives, peace vs. war, but they share a core professionalism. This makes it easier to cross-connect them, especially in peacebuilding activities.

- These new professionals must come up with things that work faster. A solution that takes fifty years is not a solution.

Key Players

Can you engage the main actors?

Taking Action – Step 3

You have decided you need a multidisciplinary approach. Can you build such a team?

? Considering the specific situation and country you are addressing, which professions are the ones you most need to engage?

? How are you going todo that? Are there local professional associations? Are there experts in other countries in those fields for a "second opinion"?

? How are you going to help them work together?

Note: This step will help you select the participants in your own PeaceGame.

Theaters and campaigns

Military strategists cross the bridge from wishes to action by thinking about "campaigns" conducted in "theaters". A theater is the geographic scene of action – the terrain, towns, and populations across which formations will be maneuvered. Successful generals are able to orchestrate a series of individual battles and skirmishes into a coherent campaign. They stitch together individual, tactical events all across the theater to achieve their overall strategic objective.

How could you achieve that coherence in the much more complex and even less orderly world of peacebuilding? You want that same outcome: individual actions adding up over a wide theater of operations. But there is no one general in overall command. Many different kinds of organizations are in action, each with its own leaders, goals, and procedures. There is none of the uniformity and common doctrine the military finds essential to success.

Modern peacekeeping operations have tried to solve this problem with civil-military coordination centers, places where the leaders of the UN peacekeeping forces and the heads of the various NGOs and other civilian agencies could exchange plans. But those are still military-dominant situations with a peacekeeping commander reporting to the UN Security Council.

To hope to achieve a focused peacebuilding campaign likely you will require two capabilities:
1) an ability to generate and update an overall understanding of general goals and priorities among the participants, and
2) a way to provide the participants with a steady flow of information so they individually may navigate toward those goals.

"In the PeaceGame we were trying to get one integrating idea together. Usually we do not see that kind of thinking. People are always arguing for their own separate ideas."

MS. NANCY BERARDINELLI
Student, American University

Outline a Campaign

What is the game plan?

The Planning Process – Step 4

So far so good. You have picked objectives and started to assemble a diverse team. Now for the hard part – designing something that will actually work.

? What do you want to achieve? How will you define success?
? What is your basic strategy to get there?
? How does it blend the various sectors: economic, education, health, justice, governance, etc.? Do one or two offer more leverage than the others?
? How long will it take? What can you hope to achieve in, say, one year?

*Let's go back to the "cycle of violence" diagrams to sketch out
how different situations require different campaigns.*

Two different strategies

As illustrated in the diagram below, we might distinguish between two kinds of "prevention" strategies: one of very early and persistent "avoidance" (Type I), and one bypassing an impending conflict or manmade disaster on an alternative
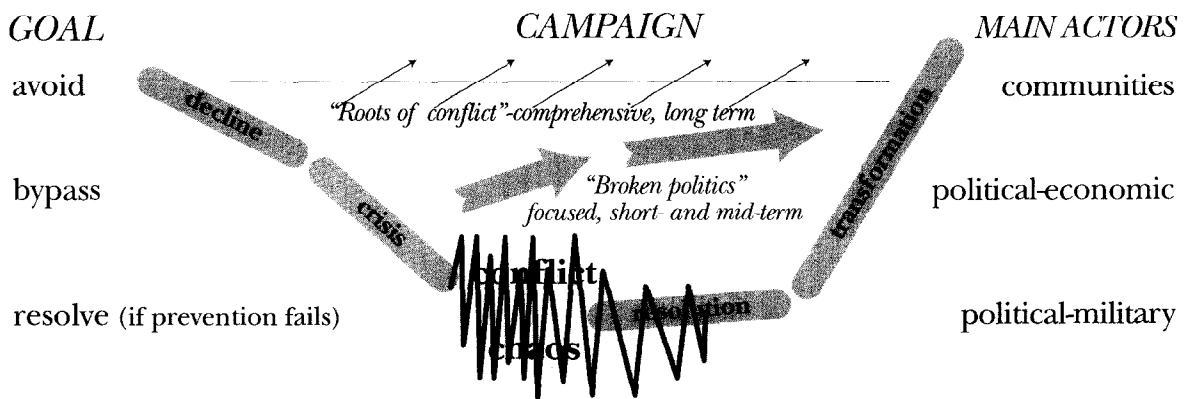
track (Type II). Since the international community is so deeply involved in managing existing conflicts (Type III), we will not consider those reactive, too-little, too-late strategies here. Our goal is to move upstream.

GOAL	CAMPAIGN	TYPE
avoid		I
bypass		II
resolve (if prevention fails)		III
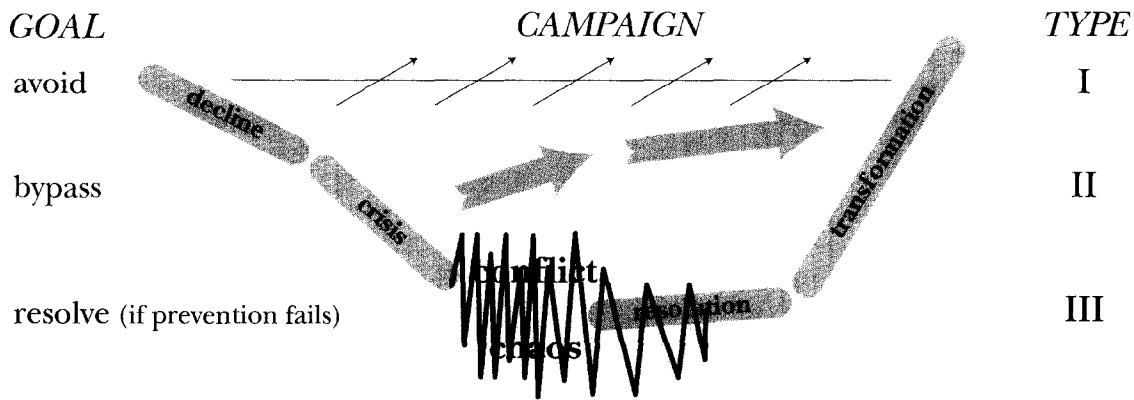
Tailoring the campaign to the circumstances

As the two diagrams suggest, different circumstances demand different approaches. If you engage very early, you can design campaigns which attack the basics on a long-term basis.

Your concern here will be to help enable the local communities to act. That is where all the social, cultural, economic, and political strands come together.

GOAL	CAMPAIGN	MAIN ACTORS
avoid	"Roots of conflict"-comprehensive, long term	communities
bypass	"Broken politics" focused, short and mid-term	political-economic
resolve (if prevention fails)		political-military

Remember, every situation is different: different situations, different cultures, different priorities. But there are some general guidelines: The earlier you are, the more you can focus on the local community level. As things become more serious and you are trying to disperse a gathering storm, the level of critical engagement tends to move up to the level of national govern-

ment. If the crisis degenerates into conflict or chaos then outside actors become the dominant players – the UN Security Council, stronger regional states, the Great Powers. One measure of progress is your ability to shift the action into the hands of local communities and into the realms of civil life and away from the military and economic strong-arm tactics of outsiders.

The PeaceGamers found the creation of an action plan to be the most demanding part of the exercise.
As in the real world, different groups proposed different approaches to the same problem.
These comments come from the discussion of the case studies.

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- The only perfect diagnosis is an autopsy. We must do the best we can with what we have at hand – and then refine and revise as we proceed.

- The ability of the World Bank to engage changes with the situation. As a crisis deepens, the local budgetary processes may be collapsing, revenue is disappearing, and institutions like the central bank may stop functioning. The economy may become criminalized. Development loans cannot help in those stages.

- Democratization is more than a one person, one vote, one time proposition. In many cases a "democratic" vote can lead to a winner-take-all situation. These kinds of elections often lead to coups. We need to help foster arrangements which lead to power sharing and full participation by citizens.

- In our case study, a very young population has limited access to education. Literacy is low and unemployment is very high. We need to get something started in education fast – but that is not going to solve the problem in the near term. The youth need to feel some sense of hope and participation soon.

- We are making some progress in our case, we can avoid a crisis, but we need to build confidence. The citizens need more information about what the government is trying to do; foreign investors and businesses need reassurance that we are proceeding with reforms. And we need a mechanism to build confidence in the relationship with our big neighbor.

- We decided we needed to work on just about everything as fast as possible. Public health is in a crisis and we have severe environmental problems. We need to enact a new constitution, pass an elections law, and bring in international observers for our first round of voting. We need to restructure the government administration and improve the professionalism of government officials. We need to keep on with the demobilization program. We need to make education

mandatory for all and get the schools running full tilt so that we can attack illiteracy and help people get employment. Of all those urgent needs, we think working on the economy and on the education system are the top priorities.

- Our situation is hovering between "decline" and "crisis". We have a democratically elected government but an almost non-existent justice system. There is very high population density. The secondary education system is broken so there is no educational route to employment. We need everything. We urgently need projects which can use the existing, unskilled manpower.

- In our case study, the situation is quite different – we are in the throes of a deep-rooted, long-running crisis. But we have the same problem of needed to get everything fixed at once. Our team wished we had some sort of methodology to pick out the most destabilizing factors. We have to prioritize. It is impossible to do it all at the same time.

- We think the biggest problem is the government itself. It has little legitimacy and cannot lead the way out. So we started thinking about how the neighbors and the international community could give the situation a push. And that means yielding some sovereignty.

- This is difficult. Organizing for war is easier.

*PeaceGame highlighted the critical importance of an ability
to assemble a practical, multi-sector approach to peacebuilding
in situations where many things need to be done at once.*

• We need professional peacebuilders.
We need people who are skilled at
understanding these very complicated
problems, people who can help advise
the leaders.

*"We do not yet know how
to do internal peace.
We have been working on
external peace, peace among
states. Conflict is shifting
to the "intra-state" arena.
So we must learn to make
peace beginning with
ourselves, internally."*

MS. MARIA ROZAS
Diplomat, Inter-American College Faculty

• This game really showed how difficult it is
to coordinate. It is easy to overlook that
when you are writing a staff paper by yourself.
You need to understand how all these
different viewpoints and problems get tangled
up together.

• We need these new capacities at all levels:
at the local, national, and international.
At each level there has to be a capability to
integrate the government, the military, and
the different civilian professions.

• In some cases it may be important to develop
a regional education and meeting system which
can foster this kind of thinking.

• Part of this is helping people understand
that they are not living in isolation. We are
not alone. We need bridges to neighbors,
ways we can learn from others.

• Most people do not get an education in
"security". They leave that to the military
and to "defense". But we all know it is more
complex than that. We are all involved in
security.

Outline a Campaign

*Are you ready to move
from plan to action?*

Taking Action – Step 4

*So far so good. Now to put all this clear thinking in motion.
Are you ready to design a campaign?*

? What is the "center of gravity" of the problem?
Can you focus on one or a few key areas where there is
the most leverage?

? How are you going to generate that leverage?
How long will it take?

? Who are the key leaders you need to enlist in this cam-
paign? How?

? How are you going to test this approach?
Could you run a simulation – a PeaceGame – and see if
it stands up to the realities?

This is not a perfect world

Over and over we see some well-intentioned enterprise go aground on the rocks of reality. Peacekeeping operations founder in the face of unexpected opposition. A seemingly well-planned development project turns out to have unintended and most unpleasant consequences. These universal hazards must certainly be expected to imperil every peacebuilding campaign, which by their nature are exceptionally complex and difficult to control.

And, of course, you would not be working on this problem if there were not many problems already afoot in the theater. Before you start, events are being propelled by many different players with goals and methods quite different from yours.

Every step of a peacebuilding campaign will be accompanied by the actions of others – some friends, some foes, some shifting back and forth between helper and hindrance.

Your campaign must be planned with these interactions in mind. The heart of a peacebuilding campaign is its ability to influence these players, to nudge them toward agendas and relationships which turn away from paths descending to violence and conflict and toward a climate of healthy transactions within their communities and their country.

Do not fixate just on your "enemies". Also consider carefully the "friendly forces". Design a campaign that helps multiply their numbers and their effectiveness.

> *"Everything takes much longer than you planned."*
>
> **PARKINSON'S LAWS**

The special power of gaming

Role-playing simulations offer a particularly valuable set of tools for mapping these complex arrays of actors, relationships, and agendas. Simulations like the PeaceGame can do more than help you design a campaign. They can also help the participants understand each other. As events move forward, simulations can help you stay up to date.

Dealing with friends and foes

You are not alone.

The Planning Process – Step 5

So far you have been mainly thinking about what you want to achieve – about your own plans and actions. But it is not that simple, is it? Others will be involved every step of the way – many, many others.

? Who are the main players – for and against? How do you expect them to react as your peacebuilding campaign proceeds?

? Can you organize a role-playing simulation – a PeaceGame – to help illuminate the different actors and how they might react and interact? Could a periodic PeaceGame be a useful part of your overall campaign plan as a way of helping the main actors understand each other better?

The ancient Chinese philosopher Sun Tzu advised:
"Know thy enemy and know thyself and you shall not fear a hundred battles".
Here is a very brief introduction to some of the many things to think about
as you map the dynamics of the interactions between friends, foes, and peacebuilding.

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Life is complicated

Our habit is to think of conflict in simple, two-sided terms: us-them, good-bad, friend-enemy. But life – and the kinds of intra-state conflict and chaos which we are hoping to forestall – are not like that. The actors come in much more complicated webs of relationships which continually change as the circumstances evolve.

Peacebuilding ties together organizations and leaders from all across society. Peace is not the franchise of diplomats and warriors or government policy makers. Every one, especially ordinary citizens, are key actors.

Peace is more than power politics

Our habit is to think of conflict and peace mainly in terms of muscle: the player with the most military power or economic strength dominates. As a crisis deepens such strong-arm methods may offer the only practical hope of forcing the parties toward a resolution. But in peacebuilding, military threats and economic embargoes are unlikely to be useful elements of a campaign. Nor will it usually be helpful to single out "enemies" to be crushed. Ultimately, these actors must bring themselves to cooperative-competitive relationships which put the general situation on a positive track.

Keeping track of and working with these many, disparate players requires innovative arrangements. Each side has its own perspectives, each operates within different networks with different priorities and methods of interaction. Providing an updated overall context, a "big picture" in which they can find a positive role, may be an important operational challenge. Peacekeeping forces have found it useful to invite even the most hostile actors to participate in campaign coordination meetings.

Information and the media

The new information technologies and the global networks of news organizations play an increasingly powerful role in human affairs. Misused by demagogues, the media can inflame partisans and incite violence. On the other hand, a free flow of accurate news and information is probably the peacebuilder's most important tool.

Traditional View

friend	enemy
diplomat	*diplomat*
warrior	**warrior**

Peacebuilder's View
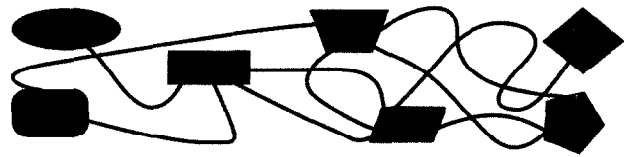
web of complex, changing relashionships
among many different kinds of actors

Two of the many things to incorporate in your planning and operations: First, you will need a process for tracking the players and their impact. Which media are important and are they independent or controlled? Second, how can truly independent, information flow freely to all?

Not to forget: the "media" are much more than radio, television, and newspapers. Schools and churches are major media – channels of communicating information and attitudes. And increasingly, the international web of Internet connections can provide an extraordinarily rich medium for person-to-person communications. A peacebuilding campaign must include all these.

Expect the unexpected

Prepare to be surprised. Prepare for unexpected crises (and don't forget to prepare for unexpected success). And expect what the German strategist Clausewitz called "friction" – everything is harder than you expect, everything moves slower than you planned.

In the PeaceGame a special team played the opposition. Calling themselves the "Ministers of Chaos" this group challenged the thinking from each of the peacebuilding case studies.
The "Ministers" probed the peacebuilders' thinking, pointing out real world obstacles to their plans.

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- Not everyone likes peace. Often in these crisis and pre-crisis situations there are some elements profiting from the instability. Some get rich even in the most dire of calamities. They do not want resolution and peace; they will fight for chaos.

- Change is not a threat except to those who benefit from the current problems. Be wary of objectives to "stabilize the situation". That may be a recipe for self-defeat. Your goal should be to foster positive, healthy change.

- Similarly flawed are objectives to restore the situation to an earlier state, the status quo ante. This is a powerful draw – to return to earlier, happier times. But it is a myth. Circumstances change, seldom can you go back. You need to consider how to move forward.

- The hot button in the PeaceGame – the issue that invariably energized the participants – was the question of intervention versus sovereignty. It is easy to talk about intervening, hard to work out the politics of doing so in a way which leads to a successful campaign of assistance.

- The planning needs to look at the government itself. It may not be fully legitimate, often it may be corrupt and inefficient.

- Be careful of sweeping ideas about reforming the justice and education systems or transforming the government. Those ideals may be impractical. How can you help start local processes which might lead to those outcomes from inside? An outside diktat may have no effect – it might even create a backlash. On the other hand, you cannot ignore those issues.

- The keys at the human level are basic: food, health, a job, and education. You need to develop an optic which lets you understand very clearly what it is like to live there.

- Often what matters is quality not urgency. Be careful of trying to meet timelines rather than substantive benchmarks.

- Important: make sure you are clear about your own assumptions. You may have started your planning with some unrealistic ideas about the situation and about what is possible.

- Remember that the media is an actor, too – perhaps several different actors. Are they being manipulated so as to prolong and deepen the crisis? Are the independent media reporting the successes or only chasing the spectacular and the tragic? Are you providing constructive, accurate information and helping the free flow of information inside the country?

- What can go wrong with your plan? Is there something, maybe even something which seems small, which can bring the whole situation crashing down into a crisis or war? Are you watching those "hair triggers" closely? Can you buffer against those risks?

- Finally, do not focus exclusively on the negative. Look for the positive factors, too. Are there strong leaders and positive organizations? Help them. Are there good trends? Reinforce them. Point these out to the press.

Inexperienced strategists often neglect to include an opposition group. Unchallenged by a "red team", planners may lead themselves to optimistic schemes soon defeated. Here are some guidelines for including the Ministers of Chaos in your own PeaceGame.

The construction and use of an opposition team

A useful red team can be quite small, just three to five, picked for their experience and ability to think outside the normal frameworks. Our PeaceGame featured four: a novelist (skilled at imagining how people and events go wrong), a historian (familiar with past failures), a general

"'Prevention' is having so much power that the elimination of one person will not kill the idea. "I do not fear" is the state we are looking for. Security is not being afraid."

DR. OMAR MAKALOU
President, C.E.R.D.E.S.,Mali

(practiced at defeating others' plans) and a political scientist (expert in political crises).

During the case studies, the "Ministers" outlined problems which they could create. This challenged the gaming teams to develop realistic plans. Then the Ministers offered a critique of each team's planning during a general discussion period. Result: better plans, better learning.

Recipes for failure: five dangerous scenarios

Here are some of the common contingencies thrown up by PeaceGame red team to challenge the results of the case studies:

*   Opposition groups incite ethnic and religious hatreds, use the media to encourage "cleansing" and violence.

*   Large flows of refugees and/or internal migrations lead to human disasters.

*   Public health declines, major epidemics break out, agriculture deteriorates and there is a degradation of the environment.

*   Personal security spirals down: criminality, drug flows, and arms flows increase; terrorist actions and government repression reinforce each other.

*   Overoptimistic plans with unrealistic timelines lead to disappointment, the perception of failure, and withdrawal.

Ministers of Chaos

Can you shape events?

Taking Action – Step 5

You recognize that your campaign will provoke reactions from many other actors. Can you build into your organization a capacity to recognize and shape these dynamics so you reach your goal?

?   Can you add a "red team" to your staff – a small group specializing in how others are going to interpret and react to ypur campaign, a group that can continually explore the contingencies and help you to hedge against obstacles?

?   What is your practical approach to maximizing cooperation?

New Military Roles

Peace operations

The end of the Cold War and the increase in the number of UN-mandated peacekeeping operations stirred a debate in many military circles around the world. Should professional military forces restrict themselves to the traditional roles of war-deterrence and war-fighting? Or should they plunge into "operations other than war" – the low intensity missions of blue helmet peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance? Some find these new "soft" roles a diversion which drain training time and resources away from core combat readiness. Others argue that profound changes in the international security climate are spotlighting these non-traditional activities, that they are now a prime *raison d'être* for many military organizations.

In the Venice Process, we pose the problem in a different way. Our concern is with peacebuilding. Our interest is prevention – moving upstream to escape the endless cycles of crisis response and combatant operations.

In this framework, there is no doubt the military should be involved. There is also no risk that this will supplant either traditional or updated military roles. In peacebuilding the military has a leading role, but as one of many important players. Indeed, our work indicates that peacebuilding may be thought of as an individual professional specialty for some military men and women as well as a primary institutional mission.

A special role for police

Military operations and policing, traditionally kept well separated, are increasingly converging in peace operations roles where "security" problems include drug traffic, terrorists, and illegal arms flows. Both kinds of professionals work together in peacebuilding.

"I noticed that the military players in the game really liked the peacebuilding problem. Several said that they often felt they were stereotyped, even by their own families, in narrow war-fighting roles. Peacebuilding is a new challenge, an interesting intellectual stretch."

MS. YASMIN KHAN QUIANZON
The Strategy Group

Military Roles

What can the military offer?

The Planning Process – Step 6

Looking back across your thinking, how can you creatively involve military professionals?

? What can these professionals contribute to the planning and to the doing?

? Normally, military planners work inside formal, restricted channels. How can you engage their strategic thinkers and operational planners in the development of a peacebuilding campaign? Can you develop, with them, an innovative process that enables them to interact with the many civilian parties?

Usually, people think only of asking the military for security services – using their firepower to calm the situation; or for logistics – using their trucks, airplanes, and manpower.
The PeaceGamers touched on a much wider range of military contributions to peacebuilding.

Military Peacebuilding Roles
– a Baker's Dozen Options

- **Strategic Awareness and Early Warning**
  Military organizations have an inherent interest in looking ahead at future contingencies.
  A source of early strategic assessment?

- **Strategic Planning**
  Strategic thinking and disciplined operational planning are special military strengths.
  A principal source of peacebuilding thinking and planning expertise?

- **Operational Coordination**
  Military organizations have elaborate coordination capabilities – command centers, communications, data systems.
  Useable in peacebuilding campaigns?

- **Supplementary Medical and other Professional Services**
  Doctors, engineers and other military professionals have "dual purpose" specialties.
  Useful in peacebuilding campaigns?

- **Technical Assistance**
  Basic military expertise spans skills useful in local communities such as vehicle maintenance, electronic repair, and management.
  Apply to local, civil needs?

- **Contract Support from Defense Industries**
  Specialized industries build and support most military sytems. Help those industries to see that peacebuilding operations are a "market"?

- **Interim School Management and Teaching**
  Military organizations run elaborate training and education systems.
  Use that expertise to help restart local education systems?

- **Logistics**
  Many militaries, especially those of the great powers, operate a sizeable logistics apparatus of trucks, ships, airplanes, and depots.
  Use to support peacebuilding operations?

- **Disciplined Manpower**
  Ideally, militaries are trained, disciplined organizations ready to follow their government's orders on a wide array of tasks.
  A useful early "work force"?

- **Security and Security Training**
  As crises deepen, military power becomes paramount. Use those capabilities to help enhance the security environment in peacebuilding?

- **Disaster-response and Emergency Preparedness Exercises**
  The military are key aids in natural disasters.
  Use rehearsals to help peacebuilders begin to plan and work together?

- **Confidence-building Measures**
  Consultations and disclosures of military operations can help establish a crisis-resistant climate.
  Include such methods in peacebuilding campaigns?

- **Professional Peacebuilder Training and Education**
  Because of these several qualities, active and retired military may be good peacebuilders.
  Use as cadres to help others?

Can you refine and extend this list?

*Here are the thoughts of many of the PeaceGamers about these innovative approaches
to the use of military capabilities in peacebuilding.*

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- What defines a great military leader is the ability to foresee action. Peace needs foresight.

- Education is an investment in security. Armies can be a major education tool by teaching skills and inculcating citizenship.

- Armies, navies, and air forces are radical tools, necessary to combat violence. They can be deployed also to reduce the threat of violence. This is cheaper, less dramatic, and sustainable.

- The meaning of "security" is expanding. Military organizations now have a broader mission. We need to move away from our traditional thinking that the military role is limited to defending the national boundaries.

- In peacekeeping we have learned that the principles of war apply just as much in peace operations as in combat. Initiative, coordination, a clear objective and unity of command are still key. But there is a major difference in the nature of leadership. In war, disciplined execution of the general's orders is vital. But peace operations are a junior leadership activity. Quite often it is the sergeant and the young lieutenant on the front lines who make the most critical decisions. Likely they are spread out in one-on-one contact with the local population. So their training needs to be different. They have to be allowed to make mistakes in training, to learn to be involved in the decision process. Note that this tends to create higher quality military leadership for the other, traditional tasks, too.

- Peacebuilding does not mean going unarmed. You must have sufficient resources, including firepower, to be credible. But credibility hangs on more than being able to shoot.

- Soldiers can be excellent teachers. Generally, they work well with young people.

- Drugs, illegal arms flows, and terrorism are pulling the military and police to new forms of close cooperation. We need to encourage this. There is a lot each can learn from the other.

- Our societies are increasingly interdependent. Threats are no longer just territorial defense problems.

- When a security problem escalates to the national level then you are headed for a crisis. You need to engage earlier, at the local community level before it becomes a military emergency.

- A military in collapse can be a source of trouble. Demoralized, underpaid, poorly trained troops may lead to increasing crime, corruption and instability. Demobilized troops who have no jobs and no hope for a better life can quickly become security problems themselves.

- Some things are quite different for the military. We generals have a great sense of urgency, of the importance of timing. But in these peacebuilding problems you have to prepare for the long haul and design a campaign with staying power.

- The case studies showed the importance of strategic imagination and clear thinking.

In their final session, the PeaceGamers considered peacebuilding professionalism and how military professionals might contribute.

- The key is getting the military closely involved with the civilians. But nowadays, there seems to be less and less understanding between the civilian and military worlds. Gaming can help show where these different worlds can usefully intersect.

> ## "We need to get over the myths of the past and move to a new level of sophistication. We need to respect diversity, work cooperatively, blend in, and expect no credit."
>
> **GENERAL WESLEY CLARK**
> NATO Military Commander

- Perhaps we need a new profession – a profession which gets the different specialists together and helps them work together. That might be a role for selected military people – perhaps as a second career.

- These peacebuilding roles seem to offer a useful bridge for healthy military-civilian cooperation.

- Some of our language and ideas must change. We will have to distinguish between traditional roles and these regional or international cadres working upstream.

- Remember that there is a gulf between the philosophies of many humanitarian NGOs and the traditional views of the military. Both sides may need some help in learning to work together

- We need to add to the military skills profile more on the civil society and human rights. We are doing this now at the Inter-American Defense College. Our curriculum emphasizes learning about society, economics, and democratic systems. This is for mid-career officers ready to move up from purely military assignments to more senior responsibilities where they will need broader perspectives.

Military Roles

Can you include them?

Taking Action – Step 6

Fine. You and your military friends agree they should have a role. Can you translate that into practical action?

? What specific military contributions would be most useful to your upstream campaign?

? Can you create an innovative military-civilian (or civilian-military) organization, formal or informal, to do the planning and orchestrate integrated operations in the field?
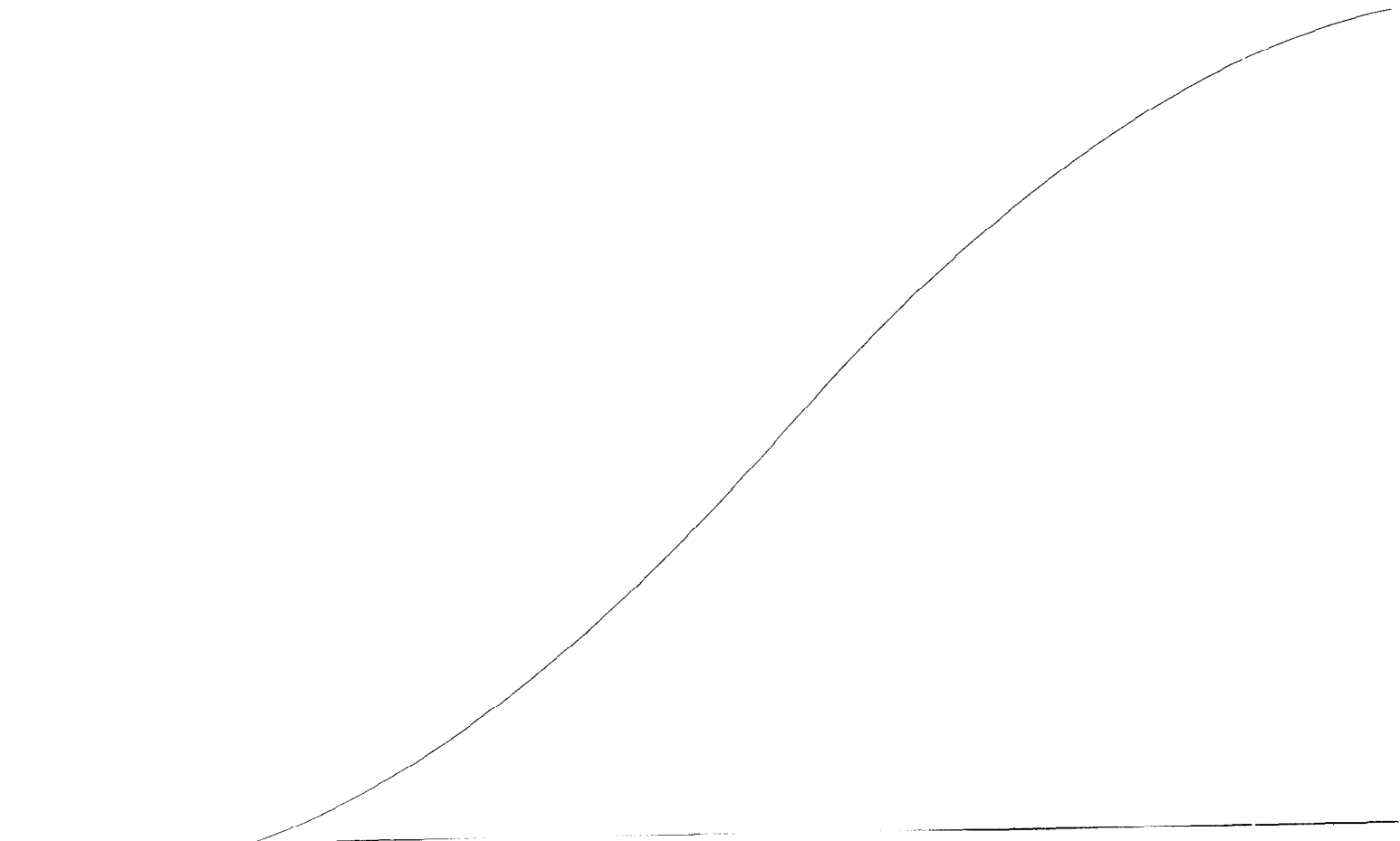
Strengthening the community.
A peacebuilding campaign will consider the full array of local needs.
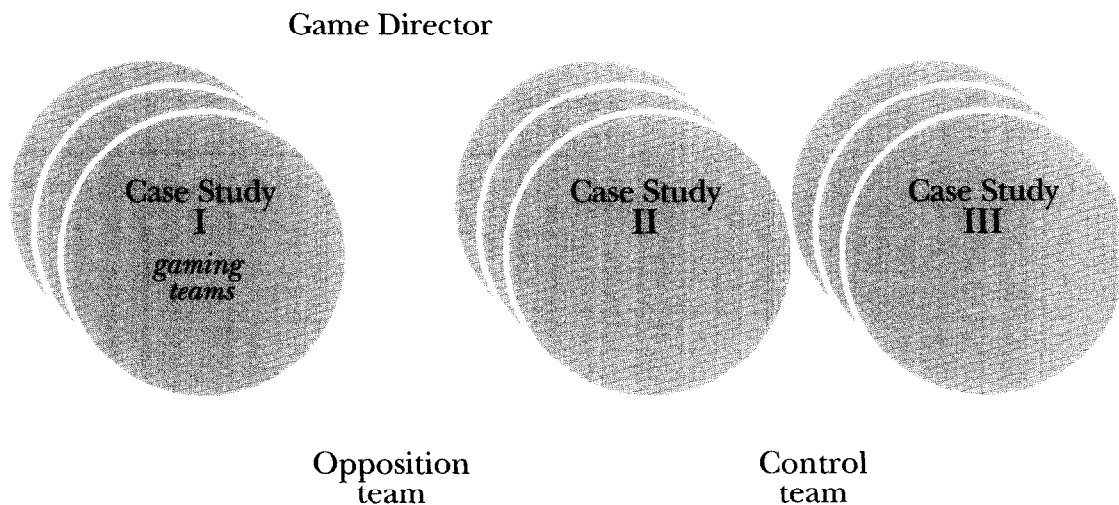
Designing
a PeaceGame

Elements of a PeaceGame

Boost Multi-Discipline Professionalism through Gaming

The central purpose of wargaming is to develop the professionalism of military officers. By simulating a conflict or the crises leading up to a threatening conflict, military professionals move beyond the theoretical studies of the classroom to a more realistic feel for the dynamics of the battlefield. These skills of life and death are too important to be left unrehearsed until actual combat.

So, too, for peacegaming. The objective is professionalism – professionalism developed across the many different disciplines and specialties which comprise ordinary life in a healthy society. Rather than waiting for an actual crisis or conflict and the tasks of helping communities restore peaceful, vigorous life, the peacebuilder is interested in acting early and effectively. As with war, simulations give the potential for realism and repetition without the risks. By playing roles, each participant is quickly drawn into a deeper understanding of the perspectives and motivations of the other actors.

Game Director

Case Study I

gaming teams

Case Study II

Case Study III

Opposition team

Control team

Organizing the Teams

Each game must be tailored for the specific objectives and circumstances at hand. Below is the game design used in the PeaceGame hosted by the Inter-American Defense College. Fewer than twelve teams may be used and fewer than three case studies examined.

It is important to have a skilled Game Director to oversee the design and conduct of the operation. The moderator for each team is responsible for keeping the discussions on track and ensuring that all participate. Ideally, the moderators will be involved in game design. A rapporteur helps keep a record of key points in the discussion and the main decisions of the team. A small opposition group works to challenge the other teams' thinking and a control team provides technical support. It is best if teams are small. Eight is a good number. With about eight, all will be able to participate fully.

Schedule and Moves

Scheduling the Play

A PeaceGame might run for a few hours or even a few days. Three or four hours – a "half-day" game – can be enough to enable a group of busy executives to get a personal feel for the issues and dynamics among the main actors in a peace-building opportunity. A full day game – six or, at most, seven hours with periodic breaks – is sufficient to probe a problem quite deeply. That is about as long as a group can work effectively. Elaborate simulations lasting several days or even a few weeks are possible for research purposes but require special support.

Here is a typical, "two move" game schedule, adjustable for a half-day or an all-day plan:

Half-day timetable (4 hours)	Events* (additional breaks may be included)	Full-day timetable (7 hours)
08:30	Players check-in, receive team assignments	08:30
09:00	General game instructions, review of scenario, and Move One tasking	09:00
09:15	MOVE ONE Individual teams meet, select spokesperson, assume roles, and conduct discussions per questionnaire	09:30
10:45	First plenary – Individual teams brief their findings, opposition team reports, general discussion	12:00
11:15	Move Two tasking	12:45
	Break	*(lunch)*
11:30	MOVE TWO Based on what they have learned, individual teams resume discussions per second questionnaire	14:00
12:15	Second plenary – teams and opposition again brief their findings, discussion	15:45
12:45	Summary discussion	16:30
13:00	Adjourn	17:00

* Note: The March 1997 PeaceGame used a variation of this plan. Six hours were devoted to three gaming moves with opposition team feedback; a full second day was reserved for the plenary discussions.

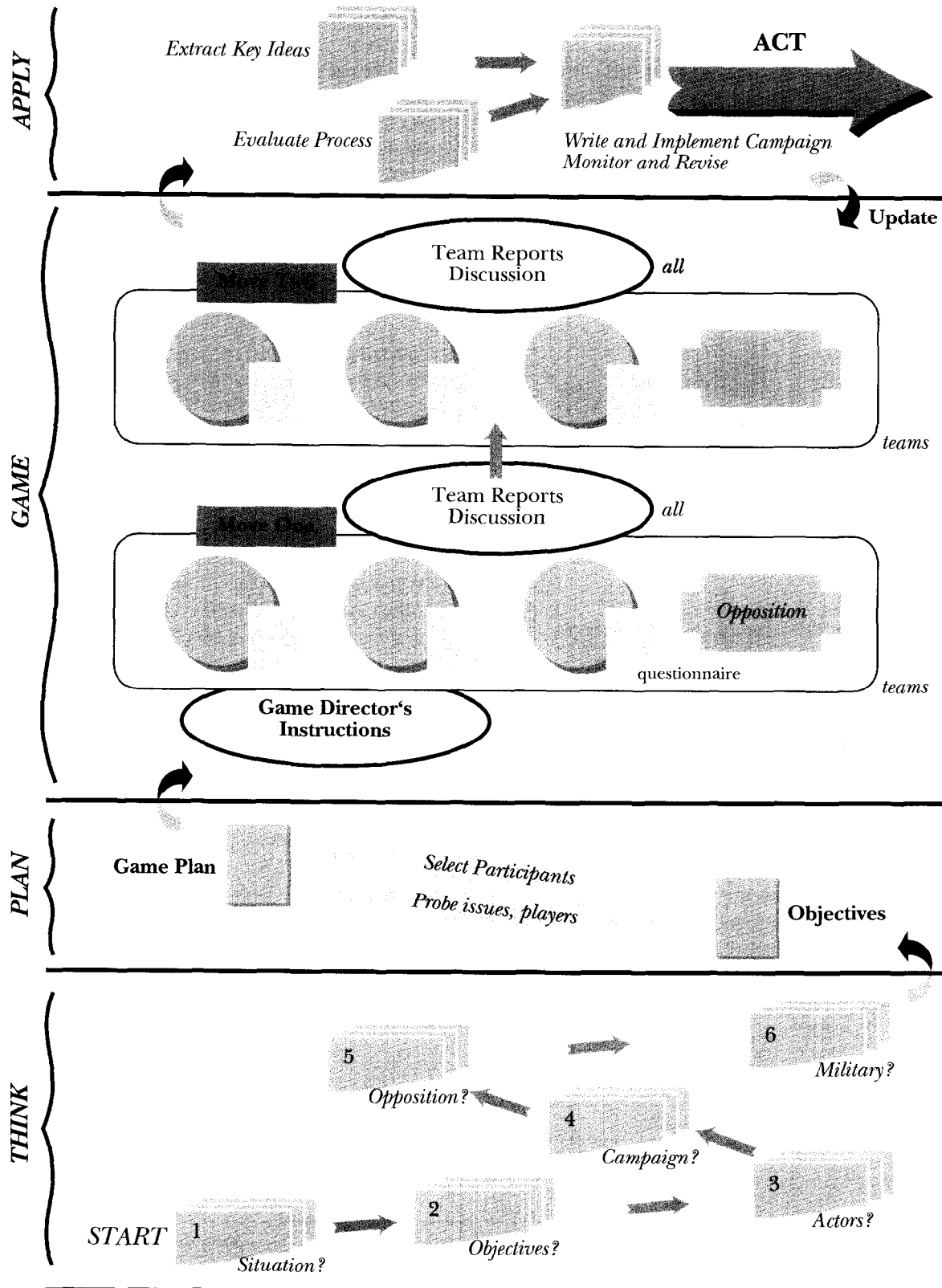## Using a Questionnaire to Discipline Planning and Focus Play

Even advanced games with experienced players will often benefit from using a questionnaire to guide individual team discussions. The game designers will find that the process of developing a useable questionnaire will be essential. Properly thought through, a very few simple and accurately focused questions will help a team avoid meandering conversations and plunge directly into the role-playing illumination of a useful simulation. Many hours and days are usually needed in advance to engineer these game mechanics.

As a general starting place, Question One for Move One might be something like, "Who are the main actors in this situation – what are their goals, who are their friends and enemies"?

For the second move, probe for "what ifs": "if [situation] happened, what would you do"?

These are ways to understand the motivations which drive the actors in different directions. From there you can begin to test how different peacebuilding campaigns might play out.

The PeaceGames at a Glance

APPLY

Extract Key Ideas

Evaluate Process

ACT

Write and Implement Campaign
Monitor and Revise

Update

GAME

Team Reports
Discussion — *all*

Move Two

teams

Team Reports
Discussion — *all*

Move One

Opposition

questionnaire

teams

**Game Director's
Instructions**

PLAN

Game Plan

Select Participants

Probe issues, players

Objectives

THINK

START **1**
Situation?

2
Objectives?

5
Opposition?

4
Campaign?

6
Military?

3
Actors?

Arrange the Teams

Managing the team

The **moderator** encourages each player's participation and gently keeps the discussion focused. Normally, the moderator participates in a preliminary training session with the game organizers to understand the objectives and the issues. It is most important that the moderator not lecture the players or insist on one point of view. Rather, the moderator helps clarify and sharpen the views expressed by the players.
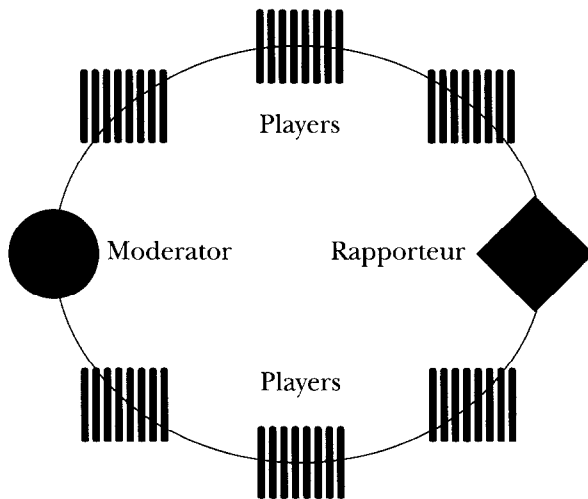
An **interpreter** may also be at the table or providing simultaneous translation from a booth via headphones.

The **rapporteur** tracks the discussion and keeps notes on the key points and conclusions. This may be done with handwritten notes or with a small computer. It may be possible to hook these computers together with "groupware". These advanced techniques allow the teams to interact and to be polled for their opinions.

Choosing Players

The purpose of the team is blend the different perspectives of individuals with different expertise from different professions and personal backgrounds. There are different ways to cross-check yourself as you assemble a balanced team. Among them:

* What is the **representation** needed across the sectors? You want individuals with different expertise and perspectives.

* What is the **blend** of "insiders" (individuals born in the region with personal, local experience), "outsiders" (scholars and policy officials who study that region or issue from elsewhere), and "translators" (bi-cultural individuals who can bridge the inside and outside perspectives)? You need all three kinds for a good mix.

* What is the **balance** of ages, gender, and other qualities? Avoid a team which is too male and too old, for example, so you can see perspectives of all the actors who may matter in a particular issue.

Assigning Roles

Remember, the purpose of the PeaceGame is to use the power of role-playing to enable the participants rapidly to penetrate deeply into how others feel and think about important issues. This is why you assign roles to the teams. In some games, you may wish to assign each player to an individual role. Usually it is better to ask the full team to play a collective role.

Examples of Sectors	Political	Economic	Health and Environment
	Public Officials	Business/Bankers	Medical and health
	Parties/factions	Analysts	Ecologists
	Public	*Knowledge*	*Security*
	Citizens	Educators	Police/Military
	Advocacy NGOs	Media	Judges

Challenge the Players

Game Books

How much **player support** do you need to provide your teams? It depends both on the objective of your PeaceGame and on the kinds of players you are working with. If the objective is to develop a strategic perspective on a real world crisis and your teams are already expert on that region and the issues, then you need do no more than ask them to apply what they know when they walk in.

If your goal is teaching peacebuilding professionalism or if you are using a group of experts from one area to look freshly at a different problem, then you will want to offer some pre-game background material. This is assembled into a "game book". The sector matrix is a good guide for assembling this material which you can find in a library. If you have Internet access, this is especially easy – you will be amazed at how much current information from many sources you can find on the net.

Remember, simpler and shorter is better for a game book. You are more interested in generating strategic insights than exploring nuances of the economy or other technical details.

Examples	*Political*
of Sectors	*Public*
	Economic
	Knowledge
	Health and Environment
	Security

Role Playing

The critical difference between a conference and a simulation is the role playing. In a conference, each participant offers her or his own views: "what I think about them." The game transports the participants to a radically different mindset: "what it feels like to be them." And from the other players, the participant will also gain a more personal understanding of how and why the other actors think and behave.

It is this rapid, deep, and personal penetration of the situation that you are after. As you design your game, make sure your game director talks to the need to "get in character" in the introductory session. Ask your team moderators to be alert for this. When a participant slips out of character and starts playing her or his real-world position, help them get back into character.

There is another common problem to watch for: sometimes a player will object to the game's scenario. This "fighting the scenario", as it is called, can divert the entire team from consideration of the issue to a critique of your game design. The game director and the moderators can channel these objections back into the game by asking the person to explain why the "real world" is different from the game scenario and then asking them to set those concerns aside until the post-game critique. Sometimes these objections can lead to key insights.

Opposition

Playing a game without opposition is like playing tennis with no opponent. You can hit the ball wherever you like. In the situations you are exploring in PeaceGames there may be several kinds of opponents, competitors, and even enemies who are going to resist your plans. An opposition group, sometimes called a "red team" can help challenge the team's ideas and remind them that, for every move, someone is reacting with a counter-move. Encourage your "Ministers of Chaos" to be tough. A common problem in games – as in real life – is hubris. The team – or the policy maker – become convinced that they have made the right choices. Surprise and failure may ensue.

Lessons Learned and Applied

Soliciting the Players' Ideas

You will find it helpful to listen carefully to suggestions from the PeaceGame participants about how to improve the game. These suggestions can be useful in helping you shape your peacebuilding operations to fit local perspectives. One caution about taking advice: Try to defer attempts to critique the game during game play. We all like to point out how others may improve their procedures. Such comments, even if quite helpful, can be damaging to the game while it is in progress – it allows the players to slip out of the problem and their role-playing. Ask people with such ideas to please hold them until the end of the game, then devote a separate short session to hearing suggestions.

Again, be alert for the player who "fights the scenario" by offering a different problem to solve with different starting assumptions. Your game director may find it useful to ask the players, if they do differ with the game scenario, to simply continue play and specify how their own assumptions would differ. This can turn a game-stopping objection into a positive input.

"There is no absolute answer,
no one solution.
At the end of the game
you have alternatives.
This is how you get ahead,
how you anticipate the problem"

MR. ISSAM MALKAWI
Director-General
World Affairs Council, Amman, Jordan

Common Concerns

Here are some of the problems which you will often encounter as you design a PeaceGame:

- *Who are we?* What role or roles do you want the players to assume? One good way to help the players understand local perspectives from the inside is to assign them to be a group of top-level advisors – invited by the head of state or perhaps the Secretary-General of the UN to offer peacebuilding advice.

- *What is the situation?* While it is possible to conduct elaborate games with made-up scenarios, you may find it best to use the facts of a real-world case as it stands on the day of the game. This minimizes your need to write thick books of background data and your players' needs to take time to memorize an artificial case study. You may want to include on each gaming team one or two people who know the local situation quite well. That can help the others be realistic. But be careful: avoid "experts" who already know all the answers if you want new ideas.

- *Can the teams interact during the game?* A basic design question is whether you assign teams to play different, specialist roles and then try to synthesize their individual findings or whether each team tries for a parallel, "big picture" synthesis. Unless you have several days to devote to elaborate procedures, you will usually find it best to ask each team to work on the big picture and then learn from each other about different ways to see the same problem.

- *Common outcome: "Great, now we know exactly how this situation is going to play out"!* Games are not forecasts. They can powerfully illuminate the issues but different teams will teach different insights.

- *Another common outcome: "What did this tell us"?* Here is where you come in. After the game sort through all the ideas for the underlying strategic ideas that were revealed.
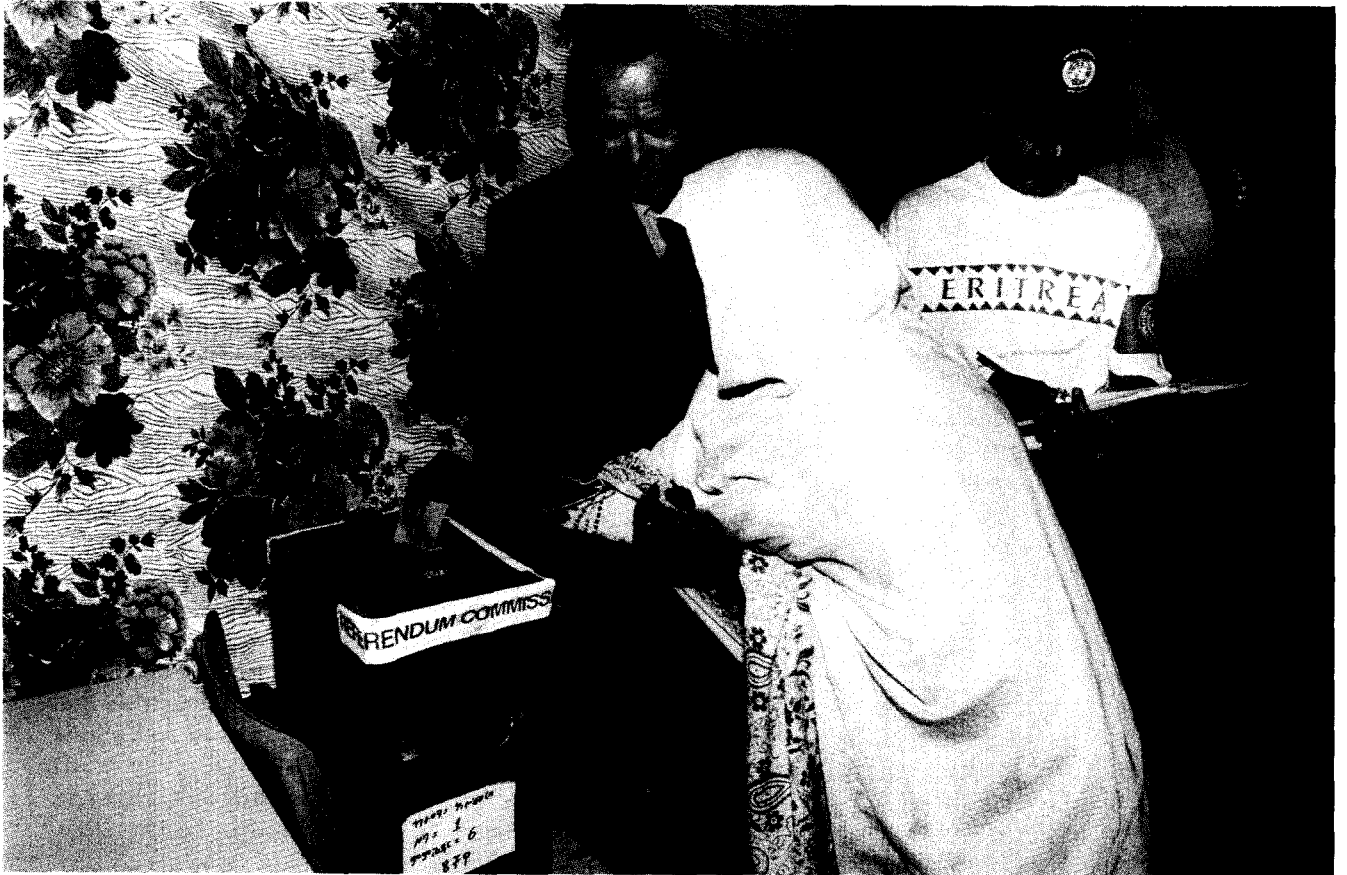
Helping democracy take root.
A successful peacebuilding campaign will see increased citizen participation
and a growing confidence in the systems of justice and governance.

THE
VENICE
PAPERS
No. 3

Example:
The Inter-American Defense College PeaceGame

Workshop Simulation

Concept Demonstration

Organization

Each Professional Peacebuilding workshop and PeaceGame must, of course, be tailored for the specific goals and circumstances of the organizers. As a guide, the following outlines how the premier event was organized. Many variations in size and design are possible.

Workshop Arrangements

In March 1997, the Inter-American Defense College hosted the inaugural Professional Peace-building workshop and the premier PeaceGame. Conducted over a three and a half day period, the conference brought together more than two hundred participants. Included were the students and faculty of the Inter-American Defense College, staff members of the Inter-American Defense Board who helped organize the events, U.S. and international undergraduate students from the Washington Semester program of American University, and a number of special guest participants from Africa, the Middle East, and Europe. VIP attendees included a number of ambassadors and senior delegates to the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Defense Board.

The first day's plenary sessions, organized in traditional conference style, convened in the headquarters of the Organization of American States in Washington, DC. After welcoming speeches by the hosts and co-sponsors, panels of experts taked about changes in the international security climate, using examples from recent peacekeeping or crisis response situations. The day concluded with a preparatory briefing for the next day's PeaceGame.

PeaceGame Arrangements

The PeaceGame was conducted in the innovative facilities of the Charles County Community College, in LaPlata, Maryland near Washington. Twelve gaming teams addressed four case studies drawn from real-world situations. Each team of about ten included a mixture of persons with different professional backgrounds. Specially-trained moderators helped guide the discussions. The game was structured to answer a short series of basic questions about how the team assessed the situation and what they proposed to do. Specially-trained rapporteurs equipped with wireless notebook computers recorded the key ideas as the team discussions proceeded. A four-person opposition group met to devise obstacles to the teams' plans. Led by an experienced game director, a small control group managed the progress of the game. Collaborative "groupware" and large-screen displays enabled the control team to poll the individual gaming teams during the gaming. About forty VIPs bused to the game site for a two-hour overview of the game and facilities.

PeaceGame Debriefing and Discussion Arrangements

The third day of game debriefings and discussions was held in the main auditorium of the Inter-American Defense College following classroom meetings of the individual teams as they prepared their briefings. Computer briefing capabilities were provided for each team.

Final Discussions and Evaluation

After the three days of plenary proceedings and gaming, a small group assembled for a special, half-day "hot washup" evaluation of the main themes and recommendations which emerged from the workshop-simulation.

Interpretation at all sessions enabled simultaneous use of three working languages: Spanish, Portuguese, and English.

Key Participants

Themes and Guest Speakers

A number of distinguished officials accepted invitations to address the workshop. Each session included a discussion period.

Welcoming and Opening Remarks: Precepts for the Workshop-simulation

MAJOR GENERAL JOHN C. THOMPSON
U.S. Army
Chairman, Inter-American Defense Board
Director, Inter-American Defense College

DR. THOMAS R. FORSTENZER
Cabinet of the Director-General
UNESCO

BRIGADIER GENERAL BORIS SAAVEDRA
Venezuelan Air Force
Dean of Studies, Inter-American Defense College

AMBASSADOR CHRISTOPHER THOMAS
Assistant Secretary General
Organization of American States

The New Security Climate

AMBASSADOR CARMEN MORENO
de DEL CUETO
Permanent Representative of Mexico to the OAS,
Chair, OAS Security Commission

MR. PIERRE PONT
International Committee of the Red Cross

Peacekeeping Lessons

COLONEL CEES VON EGMOND
Royal Dutch Marines
Department of Peacekeeping Operations
Secretariat of the United Nations

MR. NAT J. COLLETTA
Head, War-to-Peace Transition Team, Africa
The World Bank

Innovations in Regional Security

GENERAL WESLEY J. CLARK
U.S. Army
(then) Commander-in-Chief, SOUTHCOM
(present) NATO Military Commander

Conference Chairperson

CAPTAIN DIANE CARNEVALE
U.S. Navy
Head, Speakers Bureau
Inter-American Defense College

PeaceGame Organizers

MR. LARRY SEAQUIST
The Strategy Group

MR. RONALD C. ST. MARTIN
Science Applications International Corp.

DR. JOHN SINE
President, Charles County Community College

MS. LEA JOHNSON
President, Johnson Enterprises

MS. YASMIN K. QUIANZON
The Strategy Group

MR. RODNEY MCDANIEL
Consultant

DR. MARY PODMOSTKO
Charles County Community College

MR. STEVE COCHRAN
Vice President,
Council for Excellence in Government

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