



THE
**peace
guerilla**
HANDBOOK

Ben Hoffman

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The Peace Guerilla Handbook:

violence prevention
and peacebuilding praxis

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APPLIED TO Waging Peace

The Peace Guerilla

wages peace

with Collaborators to target
actions at the grassroots, national,
regional and international
levels to reduce immediate,
intermediate and long-term
vulnerabilities to violence
and to build the social,
political and economic capacity
for sustainable peace

Who is this Handbook for?

This Handbook is for anyone charged with the task of preventing political violence or with building peace.

The Handbook puts flesh on the bones of commonly recited “best practices” for peacebuilding: that action be theory-informed, holistic, comprehensive, collaborative, facilitative and sustained. It goes further, calling upon the peacebuilder to apply unconventional methodologies in an ever-vigilant effort to remove violence and to build the conditions in society that will make positive peace sustainable. Violence prevention and peacebuilding are action agendas requiring professional skill, assertiveness, political savvy and staying power. Peace agreements must be “won” by those who strive to reduce violence in the world. Sustainable peace must be nurtured and grown through the slow process of transforming power from violent to peaceful forms. To do this, the peacebuilder must “wage peace”.

The Handbook assumes that conflict resolution practitioners and peacebuilders have a sound grasp and command of their theory and techniques. Conflict resolution practitioners will know how to facilitate dialogue and mediate disputes, for example, and the peacebuilder who concentrates on state-craft will know how the institutions of governance must be constructed. These specific tasks, and all of the techniques and the skills associated with their execution, are embraced here as part of the necessary repertoire of mature peacebuilders.

This Handbook, however, takes a larger view of the challenge of preventing violence and building sustainable peace. It is not a “cook book” but a strategic guide promoting unconventional methodologies that combine action, peace advocacy and learning from practice; and it provides considerable tactical detail to assist in planning and implementing peace actions.

The strategic orientation of the Handbook is based on a core of theory that focuses on violence itself rather than conflict. There is less

emphasis on conflict resolution and more on identifying, targeting and reducing violence. At the heart of the approach presented here is power and its role in social and political relations, in war and peace. Power is defined as the ability to effect outcomes. Power is treated as intentional, and its use based on values. The product of power is not merely a “change” that occurs by chance.

The *transformation* of power is given more attention as the salient element in violence prevention and peacebuilding. The key dimensions on which power must be transformed from abusive forms to peaceful forms are identified and described. These are: Leadership, Structures, Skills, and Values.

The difficulty of transforming power to support sustainable peace is not underestimated; rather, the reality of how resistant belligerent leaders and oppressive systems are is confronted directly. And the burden, both psychologically and technically, of those who work for peace is a theme running throughout. The possibility of preventing violence and achieving peace, however, are affirmed.

Why the term Peace “Guerilla”?

Those charged with the task of “waging peace” can be effective by acting like a “guerilla”, a Peace Guerilla.

The war guerilla, obsessed with the goal of victory through force, acts strategically. Using limited resources to greatest effect, he or she moves quickly to attack targets most likely to weaken the enemy in ways and at points consistent with achieving the long-term goal. The war guerilla may be invisible, often working with Collaborators in the general population. The war guerilla must show adaptability, flexibility, have a sense of urgency when necessary and be able to react with immediacy. And the war guerilla is tenacious, often passing the torch from father to son and from mother to daughter, until the mission is achieved.

In a likewise manner the “Peace Guerilla” *wages peace*.

What is a Peace Guerilla?

A Peace Guerilla:

- is committed to a world where people live in non-violating relationships with others, including the natural environment, and where the potential of human development is optimal.
- *wages peace* to help humanity realize such a world.
- takes a “whole of problem” approach to wage peace. Thus, the factors and actors within a country that sustain violence and obstruct peace are relevant, as are the regional and international dimensions that bear on the violence and the prospects for peace.
- is a catalyst, mobilizing and engaging Collaborators in the analysis, diagnostics, prescriptions and execution of targeted actions that will reduce violence and build peace.

- sees the “big” picture while being able to know the place and timing of micro-initiatives, as well as when and how to “shift gears” to reduce vulnerabilities to violence – to neutralize actors and factors conducive to violence – and to bolster the transformation of power to peaceful forms. The Peace Guerilla therefore is able to embrace the full spectrum of security and development. She or he is able to function comfortably at the grassroots level, in the bush with rebels, and downtown New York City with senior UN Officials and members of the diplomatic community.

- understands classical peacebuilding and is highly experienced in using the tools of the trade. For example, she or he will have a well-developed repertoire which includes knowledge of political systems; the theories of conflict and violence; negotiation, facilitation and mediation skills, including participatory consensus-building processes; governance and institution-building; social and economic development; and some will have a sound background in security issues.

This classical repertoire, combined with a “nose for politics and for power”, is the basis upon which they function. The broader and deeper the Peace Guerilla’s repertoire in violence reduction, peace advocacy, and peacebuilding the better.

- is often an “invisible hand” in violence reduction and peacebuilding work, not expecting personal credit, and finding reward in the removal of violence and the manifestation of peace.

The spirit of the
Peace Guerilla can be
found in many people.
And everyone can
practice the principles
that guide the
Peace Guerilla.

The Peace Guerilla's Guiding Principles

- 1** Collaboration is the Peace Guerilla's key philosophy and operating principle.
- 2** The Peace Guerilla's goal is positive peace.
- 3** The enemy of positive peace is violence.
- 4** Violence is the use of power to impose an outcome on someone.
- 5** The central objective of the Peace Guerilla is the transformation of power.

- 6** The Peace Guerilla's strategy, working with Collaborators, is to determine the short- and long-term vulnerabilities to violence in order to remove or alter those conditions and actors who use power abusively; and to build constructive, creative forms of power – those that liberate.
- 7** The Peace Guerilla understands that only when there has been a change in values, from those that sustain the abusive use of power to those that under-gird constructive uses of power, will sustainable peace be possible.
- 8** The Peace Guerilla's work is generational.

Guiding Principle 1

Collaboration is the Peace Guerilla's key philosophy and operating principle.

Peace Guerillas and Collaborators function in a brother and sisterhood that stands above self-interest and ego, above narrow corporate and national interests. It is Collaborators both within and outside war zones, mobilized and supported by Peace Guerillas, who make peace possible. Those who are most suited to be Peace Guerillas include nongovernmental peace activists and representatives of nongovernmental organizations whose mandate is to prevent or end violence and build sustainable peace; and representatives of the United Nations Secretary General and intergovernmental organizations and the peace envoys of concerned governments. Potential Collaborators can be found everywhere: in national governments, in UN and international nongovernmental agencies with specific program mandates, but also and especially within the population in war zones, including those who work or volunteer for national nongovernmental organizations, and local champions for peace.

Guiding Principle 2

The Peace Guerilla's goal is positive peace.

There are two faces of peace: negative peace (the absence of overt hostilities), and positive peace. Positive Peace is both a state of societal development and a dynamic condition in the relationships between and among people and states that liberates human potential and enables the resolution of differences without resorting to violence. Peace is ultimately undergirded by values and attitudes towards self and others that translate into leadership, structures, and skills in societies that forego violence.

These values include, among others, valuing the mystery of creation, and with it the universal need of people for sacred meaning. Valuing human contact and with it the universal need of social bonding. Valuing the integration of all creation, and with it, belonging and consequence. Valuing the vulnerability of all creation, and with it, stewardship. Valuing humility, and with it, tolerance and forgiveness.

Guiding Principle 3

The enemy of positive peace is violence.

Violence is that which offends, injures, or destroys. Violence is the enemy of peace, except in two cases: when force is used by a legitimate government in a responsible and measured way with the full support of the people to protect against violence within a state or from without; and when those who are repressed and suffer the abusive use of power can find no other means to challenge the oppression.

Guiding Principle 4

Violence is the use of power to impose an outcome on someone.

Political Violence is direct violence (the use of force) and structural violence (laws, institutions, policy and procedural practices which exclude, injure, and perpetrate injustice on people) used by states and groups to achieve their objectives.

Guiding Principle 5

The central objective of the Peace Guerilla is the transformation of power.

Power is the ability to effect outcomes. Power is treated in this definition as intentional. The product of power is not merely a “change” that occurs by chance. And while there are many sources of power, found in resources and skills, these alone are not sufficient to say someone or something has power. Power is the use of Skills (S) to Mobilize (X) Resources (R) as a function (f) of a Decision (D), based on values (v), which must overcome internal resistance (ir) and external resistance (er), that with time ($+T$) produces (\rightarrow) an **Outcome**.

Power is thus depicted as:

Power = S X R f D (v) / ir,er ($+T$) \rightarrow **Outcome**

Embedded within this definition of power are the actor's values. Not only must the actor have the skills to mobilize resources, but he or she must do so after taking and holding on to a decision to effect an outcome. This process

of decision-making must overcome internal resistances within the actor to take the action and external resistances that bear upon the actor. Internal resistance may be self-doubt, cognitive dissonance. External resistances are multi-fold, from the contrary opinions and actions of those close by to opposing political, economic and security forces. In making the decision to use power to the intended effect (the Outcome) the actor must also consider his or her values. These values may give license to the actor to use power abusively or to foster him or her to use it non-abusively, constructively, collaboratively.

Beginning at the bottom of FIGURE 1 (page 16), the chain of steps leading from Values to Violence Writ Large is outlined. The chain of escalation starts with the abusive use of power, that is – with violence – supported by values that endorse the abusive use of power. If the conflict that is produced by that first act is not resolved, escalation is predicted. Escalation can take a few seconds in the case of interpersonal relations, with the quick movement from feeling slighted to retaliation to argument

and then to deeper and protracted conflict with different expressions of violence. Escalation can also be a slow, literally trans-generational process, as in the case of the violation of indigenous peoples, their sense of injury and injustice, a protracted state of being in conflict with the oppressor, with or without episodes of overt violence (ie, public protests and clashes, property damage, hostage taking, political assassinations, insurgency).

STEP 2

STEP 1

"lower case" violence

Power is used abusively by an Initiator, consistent with the Initiator's values; and it is experienced by a Recipient as a violation.

The violence can be overt or structural, leading to

"lower case" conflict

Conflict (ie, tension, disharmony, a sense of incompatible interests) is experienced by the "Recipient" as a symptom of the violence.

The Recipient experiences conflict as he or she has been offended, hurt, injured, violated.

This conflict can be resolved (diminish to zero) if the real violence is removed or the Recipient "lives with" or "eats" the violence. If not it leads to

STEP 3

"upper case" Violence

Overt or structural violence is initiated in turn by the "Recipient" when the conflict has not been resolved or the Recipient is no longer willing to live with it.

This violence may be episodic or sustained, leading to a state of

"upper case" Conflict

Conflict is now fully manifest as the Initiator and the Recipient struggle.

Short of dominance by one side, capitulation by one side, or resolution, this state leads to

STEP 4

"upper case" Violence

Violence is now fully manifest as force is used overtly to impose an Outcome on the other.

STEP 5

FIGURE 1
The Chain of Values to Violence

The point is that when power is used abusively it produces conflict as a symptom of being abused. There will always be conflict, even in the most open and inclusive societies.

**Conflict is not the enemy of peace.
Violence is.**

Starting our analysis of interpersonal, inter-group or inter-state conflict without attending to the actual forms and expressions of violence (how power is used) weakens the analysis and the plan of remedy.

A focus on violence becomes a focus on power, and both the challenges and opportunities to transform power from abusive to constructive forms become clear.

Power used abusively is called “power over”. Power used constructively is called “power with”.

Power Over is the world of the winner and loser – of victor and vanquished.

The Peace Guerilla is confronted with a society marked by the use of “power over” in its various expressions, from subtle forms of exclusion and oppression to overt hostility, political clashes, political assassinations, coups d’état, war.

Those who “wage peace” are challenged to transform the forms and expressions of power in a violent society or state from **power over** (violence) to **power with** (peace). For most societies, Rule of Law will under-gird positive peace, “power with”.

Three axes help depict power transformation. These are the OUTCOME AXIS, the JUSTICE AXIS, and the POWER AXIS. In striving for a world where outcomes are voluntary and not imposed, where justice results in the healing of wounds and the restoration of relationships, the challenge is to move “up” the POWER AXIS, from “power over” to “power with” (see FIGURE 2, page 20).

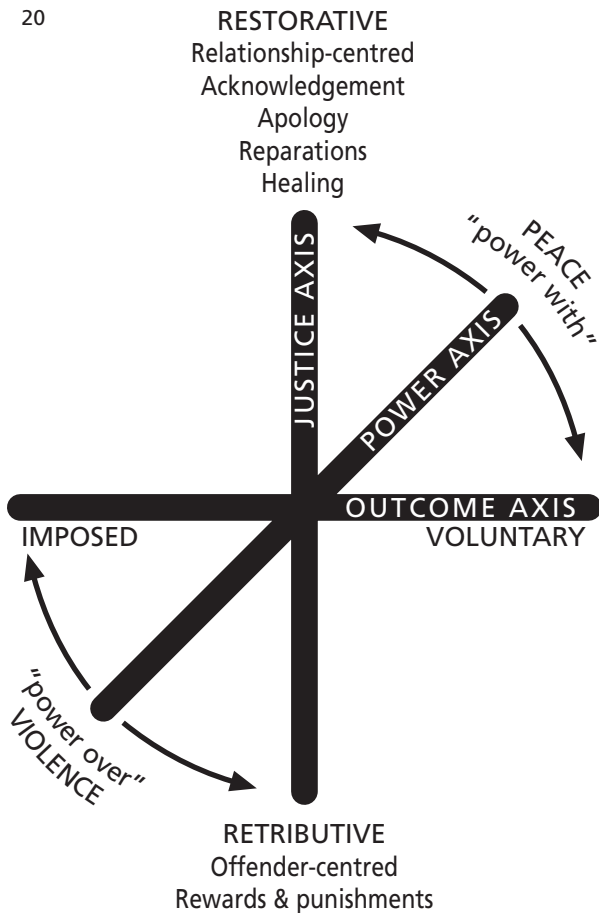


FIGURE 2
The Power Axis in War and Peace

To build sustainable peace, that is to move “up” the Power Axis, the destructive forms of power and the destructive expressions of power must be transformed into constructive forms and expressions. FIGURE 3 (page 22) identifies four dimensions on which power must be transformed: Leadership, Structures, Skills and Values. The process of transformation is depicted as an “up hill” struggle to transform from a condition of Violence (power over), where power is used abusively and people’s needs are unmet, and to a condition of Peace (power with), where power is used constructively and people’s needs are met. Building peace is therefore a values-based process of empowerment.

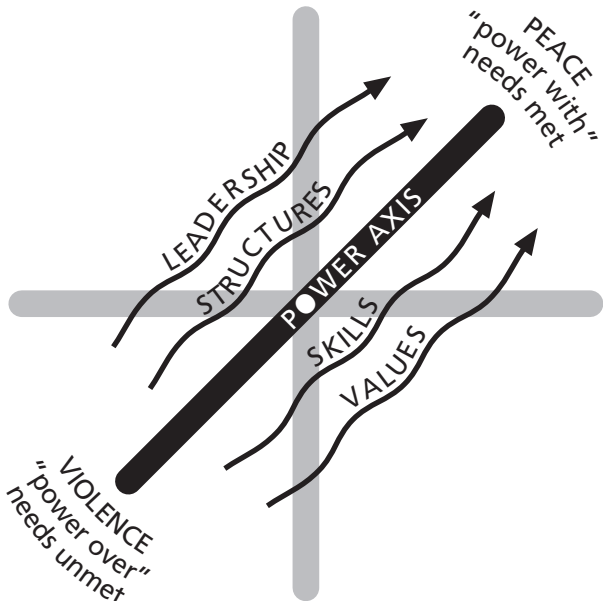


FIGURE 3
Power Axis with 4 Dimensions
for Power Transformation

Transformation on each of the four dimensions is required, as follows:

Leadership

A regularly acknowledged but inadequately addressed key challenge to peace is leaders. Many function on the basis of "power over", especially in cases of political violence and war. The Peace Guerilla must know how to influence **war lords** in war zones to move away from violence and towards peace; and to convince potential **peace lords** in the capitals of peaceful nations to get behind peace efforts.

The task of transforming power will require that some actors give up or are removed from their practice of using power to violate. Others who condone, and those who enjoy the benefits of belligerent leaders' behaviour, must also be stopped as they tacitly endorse the abusive use of power. Belligerent leaders can be removed or dissuaded from using power abusively by non-violent political processes, the use of diplomatic influence and pressure, and the legal use of force. The cultivation of positive leadership as an alternative to existing practices and personalities is another way to shift from a cadre of leaders wedded to destructive forms of power to those who will use power constructively.

Structures

Structures (laws, institutions, policies, established programs and the processes used to implement them) that violate must be transformed into those that do not offend; rather, to those that are inclusive and that liberate human potential. The transformation of institutions requires political will and practical will. Practical will includes high level technical expertise and ongoing support to build local capacity.

Skills

The skills to survive in a culture of violence are predominantly “defend and attack skills”. Necessary in some situations of genuine threat, they are not the skills of accommodation that produce “win-win” outcomes. These defend and attack skills must be replaced by skills that enable people and groups to engage one another constructively, to generate creative outcomes, and to resolve differences without resorting to violence.

Values

Once values have moved from an "I/Them" posture to that of an "I/Thou" posture, the path to fulfilling human needs, to reaching the condition of sustainable peace, is cleared. "I/Thou Values" is a simple way of saying that others, both other people and the natural environment, are no longer seen as alien and exploitable, but integral to the sense of self and to personal and societal well-being.

The process of transforming power along these four dimensions (leadership, structures, skills and values) from "power over" to "power with" is a long-term struggle. People, groups and regimes who use power abusively do not convert easily to peace. The abusive use of power has helped them achieve their goals. For them, violence works.

And national constitutions, laws, policies, and practices that must be changed to achieve peace are **structures** of embedded power. They too will not change easily or quickly. Transformation across all the dimensions,

from “power over” to “power with” will take decades. Peace is a work in progress.

The four dimensions are depicted more descriptively in both modalities (“power over” and “power with”) in FIGURE 4, the **Power Hour Glass**. The transformative process of moving from unmet needs to met needs (from a **culture of violence** to a **culture of peace**) will ultimately have to deal with values. Values are thus placed at the inner level, or “turning point” that will underpin and sustain the transformative process.

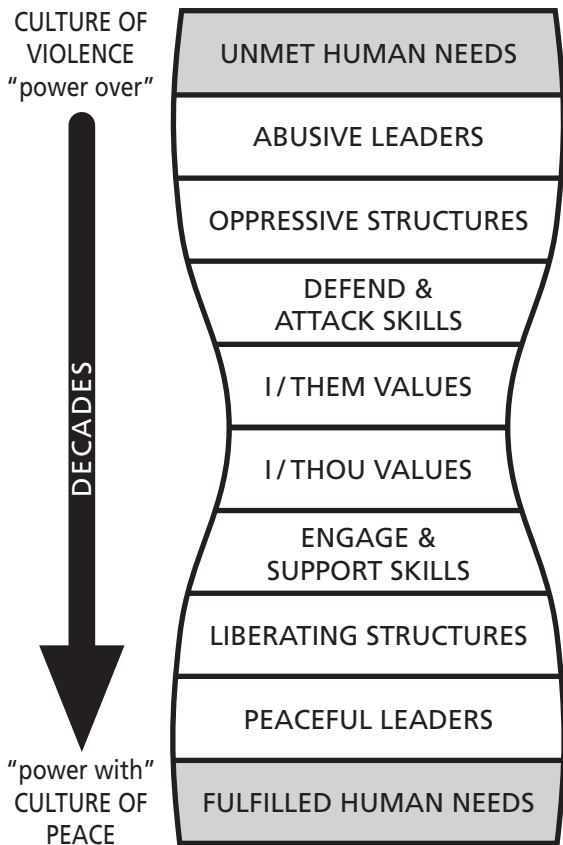


FIGURE 4
Power Hour Glass

Guiding Principle 6

The Peace Guerilla's strategy, working with Collaborators, is to determine the short- and long-term vulnerabilities to violence in order to remove or alter those conditions and actors who use power abusively; and to build constructive, creative forms of power – those that liberate.

The Peace Guerilla's actions, carried out with Collaborators, are guided by the vision of positive peace and informed by a violence reduction and peacebuilding strategy. This long-term strategy is based on the analysis of violence (the way power is used, and why; and the conflicts that emerge) and the identification of what needs to take place in what order to build towards the vision of sustainable positive peace. Securing and stabilizing the environment may be the first requirement, followed by any number of initiatives which transform power (ie, a **new** legitimate constitution, a **new** fair electoral process, **new** transparent and accountable institutions of governance,

a **new** sound economic development policy and regulatory environment).

Peacebuilding, however, is a non-linear process. It is not Newtonian as the term implies. An uneven path where one step forward can be followed by two steps back is common. Even when overt violence has ended and stability has been achieved and a more determined peace plan has been arrived at through collaborative processes, the need to attend to subtle cues and the continuous adjustment of emphasis, if not priorities, is required. The strategy of violence reduction and establishing the conditions supportive of sustainable peace will be modified as necessary. To do this, Peace Guerillas are vigilant in monitoring the pulse of actors and factors that combine in the never-ending dynamics of power, some of which auger well for peace, others which retard progress, and some which are intended to set it back entirely. This requires ongoing "real time" and "realistic" assessments of the motivations and actions of the key parties involved.

Peace Guerillas, therefore, like jazz musicians, orchestrate and arrange the elements of violence reduction and peacebuilding innovatively, case-specifically. Peace Guerillas work with maximum dexterity and flexibility, sometimes with urgency, to execute strategically-informed targeted actions on the four key dimensions where power may be transformed: leadership, structures, skills, and values. Which one is accentuated, which are developed in tandem, and the issue of sequencing specific actions are theory- and experience-informed judgment calls made by the Peace Guerilla.

Consequently, the Peace Guerilla is light on his/her feet, identifying and catalyzing strategically-informed targeted violence reduction and peacebuilding actions within the context of a long-term strategy to build positive peace.

This is done through a commitment to working with and through local Collaborators. Local Collaborators, first and foremost, are the leaders in the country in violence.

These are local peace champions, such as leaders of civil society and people working in national nongovernmental organizations, and those who work in the government or for dissenting factions but whose behaviour shows they are focused on the goal of peace. Getting them to feel confident as leaders may be a function the Peace Guerilla performs.

Getting the outside-local mix right is case-dependent but must be based on the recognition that in most cases local leaders require ideas, technical and moral support as they take on more and more of the work.

The Peace Guerilla therefore does not necessarily need an in-country office, let alone staffed by expatriates, inevitably becoming a part of the landscape of international nongovernmental organizations with specific mandates; and drawn into internal bureaucratic concerns and the local politics that are part of the everyday reality of permanent missions.

When a Peace Guerilla has the luxury of a country-based office, however, the emphasis

should always be to assist local leaders to assume and conduct leadership roles, to identify needs and resource gaps and to draw upon external subject matter experts to support in-country efforts and the transfer of knowledge to local people.

Local Collaborators are also brought out of the country to restore their energy and to make informed and more compelling appeals for resources than can be made by outsiders.

Guiding Principle 7

The Peace Guerilla understands that only when there has been a change in values, from those that sustain the abusive use of power to those that under-gird constructive uses of power, will sustainable peace be possible.

While the entire challenge of preventing state failure or rebuilding a country after war is a multi-faceted interplay of security and development matters, transforming power remains at the core.

And how power will be used is a question of values. Violence must become devalued through a combination of prohibitions which are enforced, the raising of awareness and sensitization to the negative consequences of using power abusively over others and the environment.

Guiding Principle 8

The Peace Guerilla's work is generational.

The transformation of power along the dimensions of Leadership, Structures, Skills and Values takes decades.

How is a Peace Guerilla Different from Other Peaceworkers?

People who work to prevent violence and build peace are associated with organizations that have a specific mandate: they ensure security; they provide relief services; they reconstruct the war-damaged environment; build credible institutions of governance, including fair and equitable electoral systems; and they help instill a respect for human rights and develop capacities to ensure the rule of law. Others work in health and education, assist with poverty reduction, construct conditions to build the economy, work with youth, with women.

Sometimes, however, they feel caught in a “mandate trap”. They see beyond their specialized expertise, programs and services and know that holistic, comprehensive approaches are required to improve the prospects of peace. These people push the limits of their mandate, bending the rules, thinking and acting “outside the box”. For example, peacekeepers whose

mandate is security will do what they can to respond to unmet humanitarian needs; those working on youth programs might naturally press to involve themselves in educational and economic issues; and those providing services in constitutional reform and democracy-building may reach out to and work with political parties and their leaders.

These Peaceworkers have the spirit of the Peace Guerilla in them. They see the big picture and the real needs and they “connect the dots”. Few, however, have the broad mandate to take a “whole of problem” approach to violence prevention and peacebuilding. They may strive to look at problems and challenges in an holistic way, and they may promote and participate in collaborative initiatives. They will of necessity, however, confine their activities to that which they are mandated to do; and they will do that more or less exclusively at the grassroots or national level, or the regional or international level. They will not work across all sectors or fully vertically within a sector.

For example, take an NGO delivering a grassroots micro-economic program to develop a craft business owned and operated by women at the village level. The local program officer might realize that real hindrances to effective progress with the women are the lack of English language skills focused on business, and an unstable security environment – there are raids on the villages.

Because solutions to these problems fall outside the mandate of the micro-economic development project, the NGO worker at the grassroots level is unable to address them adequately. She may raise concerns with her supervisor at the national level and hope that, eventually, an “English for Business” course will be developed, funded and delivered to her women by another NGO specialized in that service. And she will hope as well that security measures are taken by those responsible.

Notwithstanding her own networking and informal appeals to colleagues to take action, however, she will not be directly active or necessarily influential on the education and

security agenda. Her project will likely be compromised or fail because the NGO for which she works will take neither the necessary cross-sectoral (horizontal) initiatives in education and security at the local level, nor the vertical actions required within the education and security sectors to enable her to provide sound programming. Her NGO is simply not mandated to do all that is necessary.

The Peace Guerilla, however, recognizes the limitations placed on specifically-mandated peaceworkers and will engage and support them. The Peace Guerilla will move across sectors and vertically within sectors to mobilize or take actions to reduce vulnerabilities to violence, and to create the conditions supportive of positive peace.

The Peace Guerilla, taking a “whole of problem” approach, **wages peace** with Collaborators by catalyzing targeted actions at the grassroots, national, regional and international levels to reduce immediate, intermediate and long-term vulnerabilities to violence, and to build the social, political and economic capacity for sustainable peace.

The Peace Guerilla's Working Assumptions ...

... about Conflict, Violence, Power and Peace

The Peace Guerilla assumes that:

- conflict is a symptom of violence, and
- at the heart of conflict is power;

The Peace Guerilla assumes that:

- power is simply the ability to effect outcomes, and
- power can be used abusively or constructively;

The Peace Guerilla assumes that:

- power must be transformed from abusive to constructive forms, and
- peace efforts must address power intentionally and specifically;

The Peace Guerilla assumes that:

- values are at the heart of the transformative process, and
- those who use power abusively will resist the transformation of power;

The Peace Guerilla assumes that:

- the path to peace is non-linear, and
- set-backs and regression to violence are likely;

The Peace Guerilla assumes that:

- peace is a work-in-progress, and that
- peace is possible.

... about the Parties in Violent Power Struggles

THEY DO NOT WANT TO SHARE POWER

THEY ARE NOT ENLIGHTENED OPPONENTS

THEY DO NOT HOLD THE VALUES OF THE
PEACEMAKER

THEY ARE HOOKED ON FIGHTING, IT'S PART
OF WHO THEY ARE

THEY WILL SLIDE DOWN THE POWER AXIS

THEY WILL PLAY DIRTY

THEY WILL RUN AND THEY WILL HIDE

THEY WANT YOU WHEN THEY NEED YOU;
AND EVEN WHEN THEY NEED YOU THEY MAY
NOT WANT YOU

THEY WILL REQUIRE CARROTS AND STICKS

THEY WILL GO KICKING AND SCREAMING TO
PEACE

A Comprehensive Framework for Waging Peace

The following Framework is intended primarily as a planning tool. In designing a Plan to Wage Peace, The Peace Guerilla facilitates the multi-stakeholder planning exercise. It begins with the group's vision of peace and then the steps to move toward the vision are outlined. The questions provided here should be answered in a relatively linear, and detailed way.

Collaboration is recommended from the beginning of the planning exercise and throughout the stages of implementing programs and activities. And the crucial importance of influencing political actors is stressed, always with a view to overcoming the stubbornness of violence to achieve sustainable peace.

The Framework also calls for the evaluation of progress at points throughout planned activities and when the work is complete. Furthermore, the Framework can be used to structure less formal efforts of reflecting on practice.

A Comprehensive Framework for Waging Peace

1 Work Collaboratively

- Engage others in your work
- Strive for an integrated approach

2 Design a Plan to Wage Peace

- Envisage peace
- Analyze the violence
- Identify the drivers for peace
- Identify the spoilers of peace
- Determine what must change for peace to follow
- Identify the “fronts” on which peace must be waged
- Confirm that your expertise and effort are required
- Set short-, medium-, and long-term objectives
- Plan the steps you will take to achieve your objectives

3 Push for Peace

- Implement your violence reduction and peacebuilding plan
- Create the will to peace
- Understand what motivates war lords and peace lords
- Lobby for peace

4 Evaluate Progress

- Be reflective
- Be adaptive and innovative
- Measure results
- Share lessons learned

5 Win the Peace

6 Support the Peace

7 9 Principles of Waging War applied to Waging Peace

1 Work Collaboratively

(i) Engage others in your work

Waging Peace requires a multitude of actors providing a great variety of increasingly specialized services over an extended period of time under different circumstances in the violent situation, and in the international community.

Conduct your analysis and design your plan for waging peace with other key individuals and organizations.

Others whose support you may require – those who may work with you one day, and those whose financial support you may require – and those who you wish **not** to interfere with your proposed activities – should be informed appropriately of your activities as early as possible.

For security or political reasons you may have to be discreet in what you tell to whom. While transparency is the operating principle, many times the Peace Guerilla must use discretion.

Sometimes it is sufficient to simply tell someone that you must work in a less transparent way than normal to achieve the goal of peace.

(ii) Strive for an integrated approach

The record shows that duplication of effort, lack of cooperation, let alone coordination, counter-productive and even competing initiatives, are all too common. This has a negative effect on people on the ground, on political actors in the war zone, and on external agencies.

Explicit efforts need to be made to build an integrated approach to waging peace. Joint initiatives on several fronts will be required from time to time. This may involve interdisciplinary assessment teams, sharing tasks in the direct delivery of prevention, conflict resolution and post-violence peacebuilding programs and services. It could well involve activities outside the war zone, including peace advocacy, public diplomacy, media relations, fundraising and evaluation of efforts.

2 Design a Plan to Wage Peace

(i) Envisage peace

In a multi-stakeholder facilitated session begin the planning process by inviting the participants to envisage what 'peace' will look like for these people in this situation. Return to that vision and keep it fresh in people's minds as they work through the planning process.

(ii) Analyze the violence

Violence is the presenting reality, whether structural or direct. Focus your analysis of Political Violence on violence itself.

A Focus on Violence ...

... generates a proactive approach;

... sharpens diagnostics;

... clarifies the steps that need to be taken,
their order and likely duration;

... helps measure success.

A focus on violence generates a proactive approach to efforts directed at prevention, resolution and peacebuilding programs and activities. You are able to determine the nature and stage of the political violence – whether it is structural and likely to lead to open hostilities and forms of direct violence; whether it is direct, lethal, and must be interdicted with security responses which are followed by actions that address any structural or human causes.

A focus on violence sharpens diagnostics and clarifies the steps that need to be taken, their order and likely duration. It helps clarify which agencies and actors might lead at certain times, and how certain proposed or ongoing activities are counterproductive, even dangerous. For example, it is clear that establishing the means by which contests may be settled without resort to use of force is an integral step in the transformative project, in removing violence and building peace; that is, establishing the rule of law is a major step away from the jungle of violence and towards the prospects of peace. Without securing the environment first, and

building the capacity to express and resolve grievances non-violently, the pursuit of goals such as inter-communal reconciliation and long-term healing are inappropriate, misplaced.

A focus on violence helps measure success. If human rights abuses are occurring and there are indicators of exclusion and oppression, efforts directed at removing these will be seen to be effective or not, depending on the change in the indicators. If lives are being lost, that is, killing has broken out, then introducing security measures will prove either effective or not, depending on observed reduction in aggravated violence and killings. If the violence is in the form of structural oppression, whether economic, political or social, measurable by indicators on those dimensions, then removing these violence-doing structures and rebuilding a more liberating and inclusive, non-violating structural environment is indicated, and is measurable.

Questions to ask

Considering the key dimensions of Leadership, Structures, Skills and Values, where on the Power Axis is the society?

Is the violence direct, or structural, or both?

What forms of structural violence are there?

How is it being manifest?

How likely is it to become lethal?

When might it become lethal?

What must be done, first, to reduce violence?

(iii) Identify the drivers for peace

In every case of violence there are people and factors that are pro-peace. These may be economic, social and political conditions or individuals inside the arena of violence as well as conditions outside of it, in the neighborhood, in transnational organizations and corporations, in regional states and at the UN. These allies of peace, or forces for peace, must be identified and, to the extent possible, supported and drawn upon as efforts to reduce the violence are specified and carried out.

Questions to ask

Who are the drivers for peace?

How can their efforts be supported?

Who could be a driver for peace?

How can they be made active?

(iv) Identify the spoilers of peace

For some people, some organizations, some states, and some corporations, violence works. Their goals are directly tied to being violent or their goals are the by-products of violence, whether structural or direct. Indeed, the prospect of altering the power dynamics in cases of political violence through prevention, conflict resolution and peacebuilding activities is anathema to these actors. They will want to spoil the peace, and many will be effective in doing so.

For some people, organizations, states, and corporations, peace is a threat. It may mean giving up a hatred of the other side; a hatred that grew from oppression and violation. It may mean accommodating those considered foreign, even alien. It may mean sharing wealth, power, and prospects. These actors will resist peace. Furthermore, some of the actors in violent situations are so immersed in violence that their identity (that is, their sense of self and purpose) is associated with being violent. These actors will not want peace.

There will be spoilers (actors and factors/ intentional and unintentional) working against peace. They must be identified and efforts planned to neutralize or convert them to the peace agenda.

Questions to ask

Who are the spoilers?

What motivates them (what are they gaining by spoiling peace efforts)?

Can they be induced to stop?

Can they be neutralized, non-violently?

Must legal coercion be used to neutralize them?

(v) Determine what must change for peace to follow

The transformation from violence to peace is carried out on the four key dimensions: Leadership, Structures, Skills and Values.

In most cases of conflict, structural violence is present, indicated by unmet needs, including basic provisions, human rights, citizenship, upward mobility and full development.

These are often thought of as root causes of conflict and “violent conflict”. Yet, they are manifestations of power being used abusively, a condition sustained by a set of values that enable leaders and sometimes whole societies to perpetrate violence.

Transforming the values that sustain violence is a generational effort unlikely to take place fast enough when fundamental human needs are neglected, and especially if overt violence is manifest. Critical choices, arrived at through joint analysis with Collaborators, must be made about the changes required in the immediate, intermediate and long-term for peace to be achieved. Even when a plan has been developed, the fluidity of political violence,

taking into account the role of leaders and conditions inside and outside the country, will demand flexibility. But a hard look at the problem by focusing on the dimensions of Leadership, Structures, Skills and Values will assist in identifying what needs to change, and the likely order and length of time that change will require. Furthermore, the technical resources and the combination of activities by various Peaceworkers will be indicated. For example, it may be obvious that corrupt leaders need to be replaced, but the only remedy may have to be through creating institutions of governance that require transparency and accountability. Even this slower approach may have to follow internationally-induced and supported efforts to create a fair electoral process that will result in the non-violent removal of local war lords. Without a transformation in values, however, without the requisite “inside” work, outside-initiated or supported change will not on its own sustain peace. Changes may be evident, but the transformation of power that sustains positive peace will not have been effected.

Questions to ask

Keeping in mind the lethality of the Political Violence and the time required to build sustainable peace, what must change first?

Are there human needs that must be met now?

Are there political, economic or social structures that must change now?

Are there values and attitudinal changes required now?

What are the levels of change required; at the individual, political or economic level?

What can be worked on simultaneously?

How much time will the transformative project take?

What will be required to support it?

**(vi) Identify the “fronts”
on which peace must be waged**

The notion of “waging peace” reflects the proactivity and the amount of effort required of those who strive for peace. It also reminds us that, like “waging war”, a strategy is needed, efforts must take place on several fronts and be sufficiently sustained to achieve the objective.

Questions to ask

Where are the forces against peace located?


Where are the forces for peace located?

Are there external factors and actors that must be acted upon to bring about peace?

What needs to be done to bring the forces for peace to bear on the violence?

What needs to be done to neutralize or convert those forces against peace?

Are these informational tasks, are they tasks directed at new skills, are they tasks directed at systems? Are they political tasks,



of persuading political leaders (both war lords and those who should be concerned and active peace lords) to give peace a chance?

How much effort needs to be expended in the war zone?

How much in the neighborhood?

In the region?

In the capitals of peace-loving countries?

At the UN?

(vii) Confirm that your expertise and effort are required

The principal role of the Peace Guerilla is a catalyst with an obsession to reduce violence through the transformation of power so that sustainable peace is possible. Other actors may have the mandate to “wage peace” in an holistic, comprehensive and collaborative manner. Yet, there may be resource gaps that will only be filled through the efforts of the Peace Guerilla, by lobbying or mobilizing expertise available to the Peace Guerilla, or in some cases by providing that expertise directly. What the Peace Guerilla does, when, and how must always be viewed and critically assessed through the lens of ongoing analysis and knowledge of the actors and actions that are taking place or planned.

It is essential for credibility and economy that the Peace Guerilla confirm that his or her expertise and effort are required.

Questions to ask

Who else is active, waging peace?

Will you duplicate or undermine useful effort
already underway?

What is your comparative advantage
in this situation at this time?

Is what you have to offer needed now?

Where is it needed most?

Will it be needed elsewhere, or later?

Where is a catalyst needed?

(viii) Set short-, medium- and long-term objectives

Based on your analysis thus far, specify your objectives.

Questions to ask

What should your objectives be?

In what order should they be?

How long will it take to plan, fund, prepare, mobilize and execute the activities you have to offer?

What resources are needed?

Where will you get them?

(ix) Plan the steps you will take to achieve your objectives

Consider the security environment and how it may change, the strengths of an interdisciplinary team, local in-country activities complemented with external activities, assets you have or may develop as the case proceeds, the measures of success, and an exit strategy.

Questions to ask

Who will do “what”, “when” and “how” to achieve your objectives?

3 Push for Peace

(i) Implement your violence reduction and peacebuilding plan

Begin the long process of transforming power from violence to peace. Continue to analyze the situation and be prepared to change your immediate focus in a responsive way while keeping your actions strategically-targeted; that is, do not lose sight of the long-term perspective and the plan required to accomplish the transformation from a culture of violence to a culture of peace.

(ii) Create the will to peace

The political will to take peace action must be created and sustained. Political leaders, both inside the zone of violence and those external to it who are needed to stop the violence, must become engaged. Violence reduction and peace action will happen only when the political will to act has been created in political actors who have the executive control.

This applies in New York at the UN, or in Brussels at the European Union. And it applies

in a war zone. In New York, leaders at the UN, in the Security Council, must be moved to give peace a chance. They must agree to take action. So must war lords and the antagonists engaged in violence.

Whether your efforts are directed at the highest levels, or deep in a war zone, whether striving to prevent warfare or when mediating an end to it, those who wage peace must have the skills and tools to create in leaders the political will to act. They must be able to gain access to leaders and make a persuasive case that compels the leader to take action. When an agreement is reached, and post-violence peacebuilding is underway, leaders (including those who want to spoil an agreement) must be engaged; their motivations understood, and their sometimes crass needs addressed in politically astute ways.

When engaging leaders it is helpful to avoid making mistaken assumptions about influence.

It is a mistake to assume that:

Access equals influence

Issues of importance to you
are important to others

Arguments that persuade you
will persuade others

Getting someone's attention on an issue
means they will remain interested

More information or better information
will change someone's behaviour

Leaders are rational

Leaders are altruistic

(iii) Understand what motivates war lords and peace lords

Political leaders are compelled to take action on the basis of their own calculation of the political imperative for doing so.

While conventional wisdom tends to propagate the idea that there are “good” and “bad” leaders, in reality they are more complex and their actions are determined by the interaction of political, organizational, cultural, and historical events as well as personal characteristics.

War lords are motivated by calculations of self-interest, just as peace lords are. Leverage exerted by external states, by leaders of external states, and by international organizations in the conflict situation is crucial to moving war lords to peace. Understanding the psychology of political actors and determining what motivates them, and seizing them of the need to take action in the prescribed direction is requisite to effectiveness.

Creating pulls and pushes to compel leaders is

essential. This may require attracting media attention to the violence, creating public pressure on leaders, mobilizing political actors with influence, and clarifying to leaders the consequences of their failure to act. This applies at all levels where violence reduction, conflict resolution, and peace efforts are being undertaken.

What is needed is a repertoire of political analysis (as distinct from conflict analysis), peace advocacy skills, of marketing and selling violence reduction action, of identifying target audiences and of mobilizing pressures and inducements which persuade them to act.

(iv) Lobby for Peace

It is helpful to have a presence where leaders are found; that is, in Washington DC, in London, in Brussels, in New York, in Geneva – in regional centres and on the ground in war zones.

It is important to cultivate relationships with policy makers and government officials who may have influence on a leader's choices.

The limitations and inadequacies of political actors must be understood. And clever or amusing ways to compensate for these inadequacies must be found. Media and reporters who report mistakes can reveal policy errors on the ground and then adjustments in policy will occur. The need for hard-headed political analysis cannot be underestimated. Treat policy as a huge beast of burden, and prod and push it so that it goes the way Peaceworkers wish it to go. It is a multi-level process that requires many allies and partners and there are many tasks for each.

4 Evaluate Progress

(i) Be reflective

Theory-informed, empirically-tested “best practice” carried out in a professional, deliberate, ethical manner is the standard required of responsible individuals and organizations who wage peace.

Reflecting on practice should be the norm.

A culture of evaluation is growing, and from it will come better analysis, better interventions and better education and training for Peace Guerillas and Collaborators.

(ii) Be adaptive and innovative

In the midst of waging peace, the ground will shift. There may be changes on the battlefield, new leaders within a violent situation may emerge, old leaders may return, external actors may be persuaded to take another approach – an unpredictable event on the scale and with the impact of 9/11 may occur. Those once supportive of peace may cool off; those who were disinterested

may become interested, if only for self-serving reasons.

While keeping your objective in mind, and knowing your strengths and limitations, be prepared to adapt, innovate, and adjust your efforts as needed. A balance between staying focused and holding your course of planned action, and having the wisdom and dexterity to shift, is certain to be needed.

(iii) Measure results

Notwithstanding the truly fluid nature of politics and Political Violence, you will have set objectives that you are to meet. You will have determined that certain things have to stop and certain things have to start as a result of your efforts. Measure these targeted changes and assess why they are being achieved or not. Make the necessary changes.

(iv) Share lessons learned

There is a reluctance, perhaps understandably, to share your shortcomings and failures with others. This is especially true if your reputation and financial viability is tied to such performance.

Everyone in the world who works for peace, however, must confront failure or limited success. Violence is a stubborn enemy of peace; and peace is mostly a work in progress.

A culture of taking risk, of sharing both successes and failures, and rewarding innovation will auger well for all. The Peace Guerilla can model this behaviour.

5 Win the Peace

Violence and forms of “power over” continue to have a large presence in human relations and the relationships between and within states. Politics is about power, and humanity as a whole is still only moving “up” the Power Axis. Acknowledged “universal human needs” remain unmet for billions of people. Being political animals, the attention and commitment of leaders to peace will in most cases be only as much as that which satisfies their political needs.

There will be more political violence ahead.

Peace Guerillas and all Collaborators must have staying power, adapting (on the basis of analysis) to the changing dynamics of the violence and to the changing cast of political actors who are key to success.

Peace must be won!

6 Support the Peace

Engage early, be certain you add value, and remain engaged. When peace has begun to blossom, conduct jointly undertaken peace assessments over time, and promote actions that are needed for the full transformation of power until peace is sustainable.

7 9 Principles of Waging War APPLIED TO Waging Peace

Waging Peace is very tough work. It requires deep commitment and is no less demanding than waging war. The principles of waging war can be applied to waging peace.

9 Principles of Waging War*

APPLIED TO

Waging Peace

MASS

Concentrate combat power at the decisive place and time.

When Waging Peace:

Determine the short- and long-term vulnerabilities to violence, identify what must change first and target actions to those “fronts” on which peace must be waged.

* Taken from US Army Field Manual 22-100
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OBJECTIVE

Direct every military operation towards a clearly defined, decisive, and attainable objective.

When Waging Peace:

Direct every violence reduction and peacebuilding action towards a clearly defined, decisive, and attainable objective.

OFFENSIVE

Seize, retain, and exploit the initiative.

When Waging Peace:

Seize, retain, and exploit the initiative.

SURPRISE

Strike the enemy at a time, at a place, or in a manner for which he is unprepared.

When Waging Peace:

Have good intelligence, use it constructively to change the target and timing of actions which pull and push for peace.

ECONOMY OF EFFORT

Allocate minimum combat power to secondary efforts.

When Waging Peace:

Allocate less resources to secondary efforts but do not neglect these as they may quickly become primary.

MANOEUVRE

Place the enemy in a position of disadvantage through flexible application of combat power.

When Waging Peace:

Work with different Collaborators, changing the focus and level of effort as ongoing real-time analysis dictates.

UNITY OF COMMAND

For every objective, ensure unity of effort under one responsible commander.

When Waging Peace:

For every objective, ensure coordination of effort under responsible leadership.

SECURITY

Never permit the enemy to acquire an unexpected advantage.

When Waging Peace:

Stay alert, remain informed, respect confidentiality, retain professional control of the violence reduction and peacebuilding strategy, defend its integrity against attacks by the parties in conflict or intrusions by third parties, including other peacemakers.

SIMPLICITY

Prepare clear, uncomplicated plans and clear, concise orders to ensure understanding.

When Waging Peace:

Prepare clear, uncomplicated plans and clear directions to ensure understanding and effective action.

NewMathforHumanity

Our vision is that one day all of humanity will enjoy freedom, justice and prosperity. Human relations will exclude all forms of violence and liberate the creative potential of humanity's power.

A dream? Certainly.

But a dream worth working toward.

Despite our great accomplishments in science and technology, the status quo is not sustainable. More people were killed in warfare in the last century than in all centuries before. And more than one-half of us lives on less than 2 dollars a day. The gap between those who 'have' and 'have not' is growing wider every day – a breeding ground for violence and terrorism. The destructive use of power prevails on such a scale that our human potential is thwarted, and now even our survival as a species is at risk.

The vision to put a “man on the moon” seemed preposterous in the mid-twentieth century. And it took generations of dedicated work by numerous people to achieve. But it was achieved! Mankind overcame the obstacles, traversed space, walked on the moon, and returned safely to earth.

Our vision may seem no less preposterous; but it is far more important. It is an evolutionary project directed at the transformation of power in human relations. It is adaptive and in our best interest.

For more information visit
www.newmathforhumanity.com

Ben Hoffman, PhD, has more than 30 years of experience in violence prevention and peacebuilding, ranging from grassroots conflict resolution in the trenches of war zones to mediating peace agreements at the diplomatic level and facilitating healing and reconciliation processes.

Believing that power must be transformed across a number of key dimensions, including values, Ben raises the bar on peacebuilding practice by challenging and providing practical guidance on how to take a “whole of problem” approach that combines peace advocacy, peace action and critical reflection.

