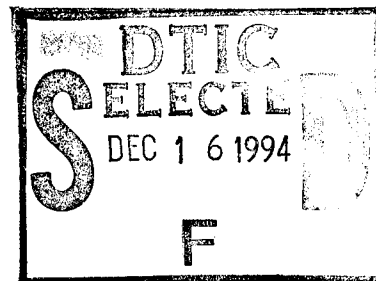


**An Occasional Paper of
The Center for Naval
Warfare Studies**



**Report of the
Lateral International
Global Game 94**



11 July - 15 July

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19941212 020

**Strategic Research Department
Research Memorandum 6-94**

U.S. Naval War College



REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

Form Approved
OMB No. 0704-0188

Joint reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302 and to the Office and Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188), Washington, DC 20503

1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave blank)	2. REPORT DATE 27 JULY 1994	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED FINAL - From 1994 to 1994
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4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE REPORT OF THE LATERAL INTERNATIONAL GLOBAL GAME 94	5. FUNDING NUMBERS
6. AUTHOR(S) DR. STANLEY E. SPANGLER	

7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) US NAVAL WAR COLLEGE STRATEGIC RESEARCH DEPARTMENT (CODE 30) CENTER FOR NAVAL WARFARE STUDIES 686 CUSHING ROAD NEWPORT, RI 02840-1207	8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER RESEARCH MEMORANDUM 6-94
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9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) OSD (NET ASSESSMENT) INSS PENTAGON, WASHINGTON, DC USAF ACADEMY	10. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER
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12a. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT APPROVED FOR PUBLIC RELEASE; DISTRIBUTION IS UNLIMITED	12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE
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13. ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words) This memorandum summarizes the general themes and perspectives developed during the course of the International Game '94 which was conducted in parallel with Global '94. The game simulated the UN Security Council and looked at potential crises in six geographical areas: Asia/Pacific; the Americas; Southwest Asia/Middle East; Africa; Europe; and Russia/Eurasia.
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14. SUBJECT TERMS UNITED NATIONS; CRISIS MANAGEMENT; SIMULATIONS AND WAR GAMES; SECURITY COUNCIL	15. NUMBER OF PAGES 23
	16. PRICE CODE

17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT UNCLASSIFIED	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE UNCLASSIFIED	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT UNCLASSIFIED	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT NONE
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1994 2/2 020
0704 0188 14661

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UNITED STATES NAVAL WAR COLLEGE
Newport, Rhode Island

INTERNATIONAL GLOBAL GAME '94

by

Dr. Stanley E. Spangler

This report was prepared for the Strategic Research Department of the Center for Naval Warfare Studies.

The contents of this report reflect the views of the author and are not necessarily endorsed by the Naval War College or the Department of the Navy.

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27 July 1994

THE INTERNATIONAL GLOBAL GAME '94

The first International Global Game took place at the Naval War College from July 11 to 15, 1994. It featured participants from sixteen foreign countries simulating U.N. Security Council sessions on six international crises. The exercise proved to be very productive and generated valuable insights.

While it is difficult to accurately depict the variety and range of perspectives from such a meeting in a relatively short report, we offer the following pages as a brief rundown of the proceedings and an overall summary of recurring or novel themes.

For those unable to read the full report, we suggest reading the section entitled, "GENERAL THEMES." Those wishing more detailed information on each crisis can find it in the "DISCUSSION/SIMULATION" section.

It was generally agreed the first International Global Game was very successful and plans are already underway to conduct another game next year.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Donald C. Daniel".

Prof. Donald C. Daniel, Ph.D
Director, Strategic Research Department
Center for Naval Warfare Studies

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INTRODUCTION

The U.S. Naval War College has been involved in wargaming for much of its long history. In 1978 the first Global War Game (GWG) Series was introduced to explore warfighting issues. It soon became apparent that the GWG, which would evolve into the largest war game of its kind in the world, required more than a specific Navy focus. Of necessity, the game was broadened into a much more comprehensive exercise that increasingly emphasized not just military operations but also political, economic, and social factors that impact on the national security strategy of the United States.

Despite great progress in expanding the GWG to reflect not only global military operations but also worldwide political and economic relationships, various observers noted that some additional ingredients might make the Naval War College's simulation efforts even more realistic. One of these ingredients was the desirability of foreign input. The method chosen to do this was to bring together foreign nationals at the Naval War College to simulate the United Nations Security Council (SC).

With this format in mind, staff members of the Center for Naval Warfare Studies decided to set up a separate game but one running parallel with the GWG and occurring during the same period in July.

An important first step was to locate funding for the new game. Fortunately, the CNWS staff was able to secure interest and financial sponsorship from two sources fairly quickly. The bulk of our support was provided by the Office of Net Assessment in OSD, directed by Mr. Andrew Marshall; additional assistance came from the Institute of National Security Studies at the Air Force Academy, administered by Colonel Jeff Larson.

Once funding was secured, sixteen foreign nationals, with qualifications in international and security affairs, were invited to come to Newport and participate in the Security Council simulation. The individuals were selected from a wide variety of organizations, countries, and regions and included representatives from Ghana, France, Israel, Mexico, China, South Korea, Zaire, Russia, Indonesia, Egypt, the United Kingdom, India, Poland, Brazil, and Japan. The United Nations Secretariat was also represented through the participation of the Principal Officer in the Executive Office of the Secretary-General. A U.S. ambassador rounded out the group in his role as a member of the Permanent Five of the Security Council. [A complete list of all the participants is contained in the annex section].

THE SIMULATION

The program ran one working week (July 11-15, 1994). During the first day the participants received briefings on the major regions of the world being dealt with in the main Global game. These were the Asia/Pacific region; the Americas; Southwest Asia/Middle East; Africa; Europe; and Russia/Eurasia. They were then asked to present their own views, focusing especially on what they felt were likely potential crises in each region. From these discussions and the list of potential crises generated, the CNWS staff selected the following: (1) possibility of a Korean War; (2) instability in Nigeria; (3) an environmental crisis in the Americas; (4) problems with Iran in the Middle East; (5) unrest in Algeria and Tunisia impacting on Europe; and (6) potential conflict between Russia and the Ukraine. [A detailed account of each of these crises is contained in the report].

From Tuesday through Thursday, two crises were considered by the "Security Council" each day, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. The participants simulated a Security Council session on each crisis. As in the real world, the group broke up into various caucuses to consider the issues involved and to draft resolutions. They reconvened, debated proposed solutions to the crises and then voted on the submitted resolutions as the final action in the exercise.

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

The discussions were very lively and the insights and new perspectives evident throughout made the exercise extremely fruitful and productive. Without exception everyone seemed to agree it should be continued. Planning for next year's game has already begun.

GENERAL THEMES

The simulated Security Council discussions on the six regional crises produced a number of frequently stressed points and revealed some notable differences in attitudes and philosophy. These seem to indicate some definite trends of thinking in this new post-Cold War era, though to what extent they represent personal feelings of the individual players or reflect those of their governments is naturally open to conjecture. For the most part, however, they seem consistent with developments on the world scene.

In some cases these points of emphasis were not new or surprising; they have received substantial attention from other observers. In a number of cases, however, the perspectives offered were fresh and frequently very insightful.

Overall the discussions and game play illustrated the fact that the international system in the post-Cold War period is more complex, fragmented, and in many ways more dangerous than during the bipolar confrontation of the Cold War. The number of potentially powerful actors is growing. The types of conflict, many of which involve centuries-old cultural, religious, and ethnic rivalries, are extraordinarily complicated and difficult to deal with.

The simulation also demonstrated the importance in this new era of issues that are transnational in character, cutting across borders — issues like environmental pollution, terrorism, health threats like AIDS, resource depletion, the population explosion, criminal activity, the drug trade, and economic issues such as debt burdens and enormous income disparities in many regions.

A major change, of course, has been the transformation of enemies into friends and sometimes the reverse. Some alliances and rivalries have disappeared (or are disappearing) and have been replaced by more cooperative relationships. In other cases old rivalries, dormant for more than half a century during the Cold War, have suddenly made bloody reappearances on the international scene. As the struggle between East and West has faded into history, conflict between the fundamental groups of organized social life — tribes, clans, nations — has come to the fore. This fact was illustrated throughout the simulation and created great difficulties in dealing with various crises.

Other new realities surfaced again and again during the simulation and side discussions. The Western nations, and particularly the U.S., now face many issues that could be overlooked or ignored during the intense bipolar confrontation. Other problems have come about as a result of the Cold War's end and many of these have appeared with an alarming urgency. The simulation well illustrated the fact that in this very interdependent and high cost post-Cold War environment, unilateral and bilateral initiatives are often inadequate to meet critical international situations affecting much of the globe. Supranational institutions like the UN and hastily formed coalitions have

justifiably gained a new importance, replacing in many instances unilateral superpower actions.

However, at the same time that new and heavier demands have been placed on supranational organizations like the UN, the more prosperous industrialized powers of the North have often proved unwilling to provide adequate resources to carry out the kinds of actions they publicly agree are needed. Though the UN has accomplished much in many areas, its members have demonstrated neither the will to act nor provided the resources necessary to cope with many situations crying out for international attention. Too often there has been agreement in principle, paralysis in practice. Unfortunately this inability to act forcefully in many situations occurs at a time when in many cases the indigenous sources of order have broken down and when an unprecedented array of sophisticated weapons are available to feuding parties.

* * * * *

The foregoing represents a general background which emerged from the discussants remarks and actions during the exercise. However, there were a number of general themes and trends which repeatedly surfaced and merit further attention. In many ways they graphically illustrate the drastically changed environment of the post-Cold War era and have significant implications for future American policy, as well as the policies of other nations.

While it is difficult to neatly categorize all of these, some of the most striking themes were: (1) acute awareness of transnational interdependence; (2) strong tendency toward regional approaches to problems; (3) clear differences between developed and less developed countries; (4) concern about the prospects for democracy in many areas; (5) diffusion of power and changed political relationships; (6) control over weaponry, particularly weapons of mass destruction (WMD); and (7) the changing role of key nations.

- **PARTICIPANTS WERE KEENLY CONSCIOUS THAT GLOBAL PROBLEMS AND TRANSNATIONAL INTERDEPENDENCE HAVE FOREVER ALTERED THE WORLD. THUS THE NEED FOR COLLECTIVE ACTION ON THESE PROBLEMS AND THE ROLE OF SUPRANATIONAL BODIES LIKE THE UN RECEIVED MUCH ATTENTION.**

- The simulation demonstrated acute recognition of the world's interdependence in such areas as economics, the environment (especially air and water pollution and changes in weather patterns), the increasing scarcity of some resources (e.g. water in certain areas), growing international crime, the drug trade, health threats, the population explosion, and other issues.

- There was substantial disagreement over what constitutes a strictly domestic problem and what constitutes a problem of legitimate concern to the international community. In an era of growing transnational problems such as drugs and the environment, combined with the breakup of former sovereign states like the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the SC discussions clearly indicated the difficulty of making such determinations.
 - What issues should be taken up by the UN Security Council received considerable attention. Since the SC is to consider matters involving only threats to international peace and security, how broad should interpretations be of what constitutes such a threat? For example, should environmental issues be considered? Is an undesirable precedent set when social and environmental issues become subject to possible veto action by permanent members?
 - There was evident concern that the relationship between the UN and regional organizations like NATO and CSCE often appear unclear, which sometimes leads to ineffective operations, as in Bosnia. These relationships need to be better defined.
- REGIONAL APPROACHES TO REGIONAL PROBLEMS WAS A THEME EMPHASIZED THROUGHOUT THE SIMULATION.
 - Most felt Regional solutions should be found for regional crises whenever possible.
 - Strong feelings were expressed among both developed and less developed nations that regional organizations like EU, CSCE, NATO, OAU, OAS, GCC, ASEAN, APEC, and others should be strengthened and become even more active. This reflected both a recognition that international resources through the UN are being strained to the limit and also a feeling that those closest to the situation are in the best position to deal with it.
 - How to finance UN peacekeeping operations and assemble forces were perceived as vital issues. More peacekeeping operations by regional organizations, sanctioned by the UN, was offered as one solution. General agreement was reached on the need to include troops from the region where peacekeeping forces are deployed.
 - "Regionalization" in development of economic zones like NAFTA was emphasized.

- Regionalization in political/cultural/social areas is also important as a means of helping other countries better appreciate inter-cultural differences — for example, why Western democracy is not as easily assimilated in an Asian context.
- Despite warm feelings about the wisdom of regional approaches to problems, it was nonetheless clear that some Asian countries do not consider the U.S. part of the Asian region, even though it is a Pacific power.
- **GREAT CONCERN WAS EVIDENCED OVER WORLD ECONOMIC DISPARITIES AND THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE "HAVES" AND "HAVE NOTS"**
 - Perhaps most striking, though not surprising, were the differences in philosophy and approach between the developed nations largely in the North and the less developed nations of the South. While these differences existed during much of the Cold War, the end of bipolarity has made them even more obvious.
 - Whether in the political and economic areas, or on social and environmental issues, the less developed countries were extremely sensitive about possible infringements of their sovereignty, being taken advantage of economically, subjected to a "double standard" in observing nuclear nonproliferation, and being ignored by the major powers on many issues including failure to be consulted in any meaningful way in UN deliberations.
 - In many cases the less developed countries felt the more advanced nations not only failed to understand their cultures but made little effort to do so.
- **A MAJOR QUESTION CONCERNED THE PROSPECTS FOR THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY AND AUTHORITARIANISM IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD, WITH CONSIDERABLE ANXIETY ABOUT THE GROWING SUCCESS OF VARIOUS EXTREMIST GROUPS.**
 - It was felt that the growth of democracy in many Asian and African countries will be slow and uncertain with frequent setbacks.
 - There were mixed feelings and considerable skepticism about prospects for the growth of democracy in Eastern Europe, former states of the Soviet Union, and Russia. There was substantial concern about the possible rise of "hardliners" in those areas.
 - Increasing concern about the growth of Islamic fundamentalism was evident, but there was serious disagreement over the causes of its growth

and how best to deal with it. Some felt poverty and economic inequality inspired it while others saw it mainly as a reaction against Western cultural values by a relatively small group of Muslim extremists. Because of Islam's growing influence in the great arc stretching from Morocco in Africa to Indonesia in Asia, Western nations should be very careful to avoid crisis actions that might appear as an anti-Islamic campaign.

- The nations of Southern Europe such as France, Spain, and Italy, grouped around the Mediterranean, are increasingly concerned about events in the Maghreb in Northern Africa. Of particular concern are conditions in countries like Algeria where poorly performing economies and the activities of extremist Islamic fundamentalist groups have created great instability, resulting in an alarming flood of migrants to Southern Europe.
- THERE WAS A FEELING THAT CHANGED WORLD POWER RELATIONSHIPS, THE DIFFUSION OF POWER TO SMALLER NATIONS, AND NEW KINDS OF GLOBAL ISSUES HAVE COMBINED TO MAKE APPROACHES TO SOLVING INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS MORE CONFUSING AND DIFFICULT.
 - It was recognized that *ad hoc* coalitions will be important for a variety of purposes and that alliances will be shifting frequently, depending on the issues involved.
 - Not surprisingly there was little evidence of any "hangover" from the East-West conflict. In fact in most cases the cooperation between Russia and its former adversaries was quite remarkable. On the other hand when Russia experienced conflict with one of the former states of the Soviet Union (in the simulation it was the Ukraine), cooperation with the West waned substantially. Apparently the Russians viewed this type situation as more of an internal/neighborhood matter not necessarily requiring any outside "assistance."
 - There was considerable optimism about the "peace process" in the Middle East. With Israel's continuing rapprochement with the Arab states promising positive results, the Middle East Arab/Israeli confrontation is likely to be succeeded by a multipolar situation.
 - There was general agreement on the vital role of preventive diplomacy and the need to head off volatile situations before they reach explosive levels. Despite much rhetoric about the value of preventive diplomacy, there was little enthusiasm for UN preventive deployments, especially on the part of third world countries.

- Possibly the most interesting element in the simulation revolved around the question of humanitarian intervention and the dilemmas it poses. Because of the chaotic nature of the post-Cold War world — rampant growing nationalism, the widespread breakup of former states, bloody ethnic conflicts, massive refugee flows, and so on — there has been a greatly increased number of crises that call for humanitarian assistance, especially from the United States and other Western powers. Intervention for moral and humanitarian reasons, to protect individual rights, has in many respects replaced other forms of intervention. The problem is that humanitarian intervention often conflicts with the sovereign rights of states; despite the best of intentions, humanitarian assistance almost always leads to political involvement. An issue which was very evident in the simulation was how to provide humanitarian aid without becoming involved in unacceptable political situations.

- **MAINTAINING EFFECTIVE AND EQUITABLE WORLDWIDE CONTROL OF WEAPONS, NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL, WAS A HEAVILY STRESSED THEME.**
 - The vital importance of maintaining an effective nonproliferation regime was emphasized throughout the SC sessions. Many argued that no exceptions to the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) should be allowed. The less developed nations of the nonaligned movement (NAM) criticized the "double standard" under which the major powers insist on adherence to the NPT by nations like Iraq, Iran, and North Korea but ignore nuclear capabilities of nations like Israel.

 - Discussions revealed considerable sentiment, particularly among the NAM, for developing nuclear-free zones, especially in the Middle East and Northeast Asia.

 - It was also argued that conventional arms sales, especially offensive arms, should be curbed and particularly in volatile areas. Western nations pointed out their difficulty in doing this because of existing contractual arrangements for arms sales.

- **THE CURRENT AND FUTURE ROLES OF SEVERAL KEY NATIONS WERE RECURRENT THEMES THROUGHOUT THE DISCUSSIONS AND SIMULATION:**
 - The growing economic, political, and military importance of China, in both regional and global affairs, was a dominant theme.

- Turkey, situated at the juncture of Europe, the Middle East, and Eurasia, was seen exercising greater influence in international affairs in the future.
- Following its traditional nonaligned stance, India will likely play the role of "balancer" both regionally and globally.
- Japan will probably assume new and broader roles on the world stage, particularly in the security area. However, Japan is caught in an awkward position between China and the United States. When those two countries have disagreements on issues where Japan must take a position, it faces a real dilemma.
- While various nations, particularly in the NAM, would prefer a lower U.S. profile in many areas, the general feeling was that the U.S. needs to retain an active and strong presence in Europe and the Middle East to help maintain regional balances of power. The situation was less clear in Asia where some nations like Japan and South Korea support a strong U.S. presence while others like China and Indonesia seem far less enthusiastic about it.
- Israel will likely assume a broader regional and possibly wider world role if the peace process continues on track, which seems likely. With Arab/Israeli tensions greatly reduced, Israel will play a more cooperative role in the region.

REGIONAL DISCUSSIONS/SIMULATION

ASIAN/PACIFIC REGION

INITIAL DISCUSSION: Players discussed which potential crises seemed most likely to occur in this region. Five were selected as possibilities: (1) crisis over Taiwan if it moves toward independence; (2) Korean crisis; (3) possible internal crisis in China; (4) crisis over Hong Kong if agreements are violated; (5) dispute over Spratley Islands.

During these initial, pre-simulation discussions, the two crises receiving the most attention were the Taiwan and Korean scenarios. The role of China tended to dominate both scenarios, with concern expressed over its future economic role, potential role as a hegemon, prospects for internal fracturing, and prospects for liberalization.

The continuing importance of a U.S. presence and role in Asia was stressed. Possible new and broader roles for Japan received considerable attention, as did expanding the activities of Asian/Pacific organizations like ASEAN.

A KOREAN SCENARIO WAS FINALLY SELECTED FOR THE SIMULATION

ASIAN/PACIFIC CRISIS

SCENARIO: The West and North Korea (DPRK) reach agreement in 1994 regarding the nuclear impasse, including provisions for withdrawal of U.S. troops and economic assistance. But by 1998 the DPRK economy is in serious trouble and Kim Jong-Il is under pressure from "hardliners" to take action against the West, supposedly because promised Western economic assistance has not been received and because of "interference" by IAEA inspectors. IAEA inspectors are detained by DPRK and it suspends participation in NPT, commences mobilization, and declares any sanctions "acts of war." South Korea (ROK) mobilizes, asks the U.S. to redeploy troops, and requests a meeting of the UN Security Council. (It is estimated DPRK has 8 to 10 nuclear weapons at this time).

KEY DYNAMICS/PLAYERS MAIN CONCERNS: Unprecedented action of DPRK in detaining IAEA inspectors, followed by mobilization, created an extremely grave situation. Other actions by DPRK, including advanced missile sales to "rogue states," added to the gravity of the situation. Players were extremely anxious to avoid overly provocative moves that might incite the unstable DPRK regime to touch off the conflict. China's role was viewed as critical. With that nation strongly backing DPRK, effective ways to "woo" China were seen as essential to a solution. Russia offered strong support to curb the DPRK. Another positive development was the active concern of Asian/Pacific organizations like ASEAN, which offered its services as a mediator.

RESOLUTION OF CRISIS: The crisis was finally resolved with a joint resolution in the Security Council which called on the DPRK to release inspectors, return to principles of the NPT, and called on all parties to demobilize. China, heavily wooed by Western powers and the nonaligned group, finally agreed to support the resolution after receiving assurance that major powers would guarantee the territorial integrity of both Koreas, the SC would resume withdrawal of all UN troops from the peninsula, and a special UN envoy would go to Korea to implement the agreement. The crisis was settled more by carrots than sticks, with the main carrots directed toward China.

FINAL VOTE ON RESOLUTION WAS UNANIMOUS APPROVAL

AFRICAN REGION

INITIAL DISCUSSION: In Africa ten potential crises were discussed: (1) ethnic/tribal conflict/Angola; (2) armed conflict in Nigeria; (3) African debt/economic problems; (4) education and social issues; (5) spreading Islamic type situation in Maghreb (Algeria); (6) potential conflict in South Africa; (7) Sudan as potential problem; (8) refugee problems; (9) possible anarchy in Zaire; (10) economic stagnation in Egypt and its concomitant impact on the region.

A number of major points emerged from these initial discussions. Substantial emphasis was placed on ethnic/tribal conflicts and the Western world's lack of understanding about what causes them. The role of the OAU needs to be expanded. There are positive signs that this is happening but more needs to be done. The importance of world organizations providing humanitarian aid and development assistance to Africa was noted but the NAM insisted such assistance should have no strings attached. The best approach is to provide assistance and show Africans how to help themselves. The significance of growing Islamic fundamentalism in Northern Africa was discussed and also the great differences in problems between Northern and sub-Saharan Africa. The slow growth of democracy in many parts of Africa is a problem and is partly due to development of political forces along tribal/ethnic lines.

A CRISIS IN NIGERIA WAS FINALLY SELECTED FOR THE SIMULATION

AFRICAN CRISIS

SCENARIO: Nigeria is undergoing slow, painful transition to civilian rule. With oil prices depressed, the economy is in severe trouble. A major drought has produced critical shortages and substantial fatalities. Unrest develops between the Army (loyal to civilian President) and the National Guard (loyal to former military President). The international media features graphic pictures of drought devastation, fatalities, which produced immediate international calls for humanitarian relief. Events bringing crisis to head are

the abduction of international relief workers, sacking of a Red Cross convoy, and the killing of two nuns.

KEY DYNAMICS/PLAYERS MAIN CONCERNS: The media promoted keen global awareness of the crisis, which resulted in international demands for humanitarian assistance. The main issue was how best to carry out relief efforts, whether through the UN or perhaps by unilateral or multilateral action. The African nations and nonaligned movement wanted assistance but were very wary of Western "political interference" and insisted help should be coordinated by the UN. Western powers, especially potential aid donors like U.S. and U.K., were concerned about protection of their nationals in Nigeria and also aid supplies, were skeptical about the Nigerian government's ability to protect either. There was a clear conflict between African desire to control their own destiny and potential donor countries skepticism about African ability to control events. With refugees fleeing to Cameroon and the potential for conflict on the Nigerian/Cameroon border, the question of introducing outside troops as a preventive deployment measure arose. If troops were introduced, where should they come from? Would outside troops simply trigger more violence? The importance of bringing OAU into the situation was stressed.

RESOLUTION OF CRISIS: The crisis was finally resolved in the UN Security Council with a resolution which tried to meet the concerns of African nations to avoid unwanted outside interference and potential donor nations' concerns that their nationals and humanitarian aid be protected. The resolution emphasized the importance of a regional solution with regional organizations under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, stressed need for non-governmental organizations like the Red Cross in providing relief, requested the UN Secretary-General to send a fact-finding mission to Nigeria to assess humanitarian needs, urged all parties not to impede delivery of aid, and urged the UN Secretary-General to coordinate efforts with the OAU. The resolution called on Nigeria to make every effort to avoid further deterioration in the situation.

RESOLUTION PASSED WITH 14 IN FAVOR, ONE ABSTENTION, CHINA. China abstained due to concern over UN procedures and criteria for extending aid.

FOLLOWING EXERCISE, THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT AMONG PARTICIPANTS THAT THE RESOLUTION WAS NOT STRONG ENOUGH.

SOUTHWEST ASIA/MIDDLE EAST REGION

INITIAL DISCUSSION: Potential crises discussed included the following: (1) crisis involving Emirates (Gulf Islands) (2) spreading Iranian-type situation in the Maghreb (Algeria); (3) water scarcity problems inciting conflict; (4) possible conflict among PLO leaders returning from exile and those who stayed in the territories; (5) future of regime in Syria; (6) possible crisis with Iraq over its refusal to accept sanctions; (7) crisis over

reported development of Iranian nuclear capabilities; (8) possible governmental collapses in Egypt and Saudi Arabia; (9) Turkey, Syria, Iraq and the Kurdistan problem.

Initial discussion reflected a mixture of negative and positive predictions for this area. There were fairly positive feelings about prospects for the peace process between Arabs and Israel but considerable concern about other potential crises. There were mixed feelings about Iran, some feeling it will open up and develop better relations with the West, others feeling it constitutes a major threat to stability. General agreement was reached that everything possible should be done to open it up and bring it more into the international community. There was a variety of opinions regarding Iraq and whether or not it poses a serious threat in the region; some participants felt it had been too greatly weakened by the Gulf War to constitute a threat while others felt the right combination of circumstances might permit Saddam to again become a major problem. A major point of agreement among participants was on the vital necessity of curbing arms sales in the region, particularly WMD. Importance of maintaining a western military presence in the region was stressed, not surprisingly by the Western powers, to insure the safety of oil shipments. Nearly everyone agreed that Turkey's role in international affairs is growing and is likely to continue to grow. Also the organization of countries bordering on the Mediterranean (Mediterranean Forum) has become more active and influential in Middle Eastern affairs, a development regarded as positive and promising for the future of the region.

A CRISIS WITH IRAN WAS SELECTED FOR THE SIMULATION EXERCISE

IRANIAN CRISIS

SCENARIO: By 1998 the Iranian economy is in serious difficulty, due largely to reduced oil revenues. Iran pushes OPEC to increase quotas. Iraq supports this move but Saudi Arabia vigorously resists. Demonstrations supporting the Iranian position break out in Saudi Arabia and other Arab states. The U.S. is informed by several Gulf states that Iran has demanded they back its demand on OPEC. Saudis refuse this demand and seek U.S. and UN support. More terrorist incidents occur in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere. In late 1998, substantial evidence surfaces that Iran may have a nuclear weapon. Iran denies that charge but demands OPEC comply with its demand for increased quotas. It deploys forces to emphasize point and asks UN to stop U.S. deployments to region, stating it will not tolerate them.

KEY DYNAMICS/PLAYERS MAJOR CONCERNS: The exercise revealed major disagreement between those states dependent on oil supplies (Western powers, Japan, Russia, Israel, etc.) and the less developed nonaligned countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The former group saw Iran's actions as a clear danger to the region, a violation of the NPT, and a threat to the principle of the "freedom of the seas" under international law. Though the Iranian demand for an oil quota increase was not seen in itself as a cause for strong action, other actions of that nation clearly called for decisive measures. The

nonaligned group of less developed nations did not generally favor condemnation of Iran alone (especially on the nuclear issue) and resisted force deployments to the region by the U.S. and other Western powers. Many states in this group cited the "double standard" involved in nuclear matters — Iran is condemned while other states (such as Israel) are not pressured. Flowing from this concern was considerable sentiment for a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East. The nonaligned group also called for severe curbing of conventional weapons sales in the region but Western powers pointed out the difficulty for them in escaping from existing arms contracts. India and other members of the nonaligned group emphasized the necessity of developing measures to bring Iran out of its isolation and into collective security arrangements in the Middle East.

RESOLUTION OF CRISIS: Security Council members were severely divided over the wording of the resolution dealing with the crisis. The Western powers, plus Russia, Japan, Korea, and others, called on Iran to abide by the NPT, cease interfering in Saudi Arabia's internal affairs, and desist from hostile threats and actions. Their resolution also requested the Security Council to respond to any Saudi request for defensive military assistance and urged all nations to restrain transfer of any technology for WMD to the region. The nonaligned group, including India, objected to condemning Iran alone and urged a more cautious preventive diplomacy approach. They also resisted armed deployments to the area as provocative, stressed the need for regional organizations to find solutions for the crisis, and called on the "good offices" of the UN Secretary-General.

FOLLOWING CONSIDERABLE DEBATE, WESTERN-SPONSORED RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED (Vote: 9 in favor, 6 abstentions).

AMERICAS REGION

INITIAL DISCUSSION: Potential crises considered in the Americas region included: (1) Haiti; (2) criminal organizations and transnational drug trafficking; (3) Peru/Bolivia drug problems; (4) Amazon environmental degradation (5) Cuba.

Major points emerging from the initial discussion featured concerns over economic and social problems in the Americas with less attention devoted to security issues. Economic problems were viewed as critical, with great income disparities in many countries creating instability, improving but still serious debt problems, great economic inequalities between regions, and over dependence of Latin America on foreign investment. Environmental problems and criminal activity associated with the drug trade were cited as major concerns of participants. Many countries are still not doing enough to alleviate environmental problems and the U.S. was singled out as a major offender. Criminal activity, which seems to be on the increase as criminals become more sophisticated in their operations, was viewed as a major cause for alarm. The role of the OAS needs to be expanded and it should take over duties the UN is unable to perform in the region. The U.S. was seen as exerting too much influence over the OAS with

counterproductive results. Major threats to U.S. security were cited as migration, drug trafficking, and environmental problems like oxygen depletion.

A CRISIS IN THE AMAZON WAS FINALLY SELECTED FOR THE SIMULATION.

AMAZONIAN CRISIS

SCENARIO: Global changes in climate and weather patterns produce droughts and other alarming effects by 1998. Possible correlation with "Green House" effect creates increased international concern. Media reports point to burning of forests in Amazonia as major contributor to climate changes. Brazil resists this accusation, points to gas emissions in developed countries as major problem, insists Brazil be allowed to handle its own internal problems. By the year 2002, situation has worsened greatly. California has lost 90 percent of its crops, Mexico 80 percent, and Canada has been hard hit. With the international community very alarmed, the U.S. calls for a Security Council meeting to consider the matter.

KEY DYNAMICS/PLAYERS MAJOR CONCERNS: Brazil was incensed about international pressure and pointed to the U.S. as a major source of gas emissions. Mexico and other less industrialized states insisted U.S. and other advanced countries must change their environmental practices and support environmental treaties from the 1992 Rio conference, as well as new treaties. The U.S. and other developed nations agreed that their practices must change but disagree with Brazilian contention that burning of the rain forests was an internal matter and the international community should not interfere. The industrialized countries, led by the U.S. and U.K., suggested both long-term and short-term strategies were needed to meet the environmental crisis. Less developed nations of the nonaligned group were pleased with this attitude but skeptical about actual performance. Considerable debate occurred over the question of whether or not this environmental issue was appropriate for Security Council consideration. Did it constitute a threat to international peace and security? Might an undesirable precedent be set by having the SC consider such issues when a permanent member veto is possible?

RESOLUTION OF CRISIS: Matter was debated in the Security Council and two resolutions emerged, one sponsored by the U.S., U.K. and Mexico, calling for a longer range program, another sponsored by France (supported by several less developed countries) providing for a shorter range program, less international action, and less specific measures. Both resolutions called for signing and ratification of the Biodiversity Treaty of 1992, a new international conference, immediate food relief, and urgent resources for Brazil. Key difference was that the U.S./U.K./Mexico resolution called for a multilateral treaty which would require worldwide drastic reductions in gaseous emissions with monitoring provisions.

RESOLUTIONS WERE VOTED ON SEPARATELY. U.S./U.K./MEXICO RESOLUTION WAS VETOED BY FRANCE. (Vote was 9 in favor, 4 against, 2 abstentions). WITH FRENCH VETO, FIRST RESOLUTION WAS KILLED. SECOND RESOLUTION SPONSORED BY FRANCE WAS APPROVED. (Vote was 12 in favor, 1 against, 2 abstentions).

EUROPEAN REGION

INITIAL DISCUSSION: Potential crises considered for the European region included (1) Algeria (considered as a major problem for Europe despite being in Africa); (2) possible crisis in Eastern Europe; (3) possible crisis involving the Baltic states.

Initial pre-simulation discussion, besides considering potential crises, focused on the role of European organizations (i.e., NATO, CSCE, EU, etc.) and their evolving roles in the post-Cold War era. It was pointed out that the relationship between these organizations — for example between CSCE, NATO, and the UN — is often unclear and confusing. Misunderstanding the appropriate role of these bodies is dangerous and a prescription for badly conceived planning, inaction, and worse. Also there is the basic question of whether or not these organizations, conceived during the Cold War, reflect current needs or are in many ways simply anachronisms requiring drastic revision — changes that may often be resisted by incumbent bureaucrats. Beyond concern about organizational questions, participants in the simulation seemed generally to agree that a continued U.S. presence in Europe is necessary; that in a number of places in Eastern Europe the process of democratization is questionable (due partly to economic problems); security arrangements through NATO will probably expand eastward; and ethnic conflicts and mass migration will continue to pose major problems.

A CRISIS IN ALGERIA WAS SELECTED FOR THE SIMULATION

EUROPEAN CRISIS

SCENARIO: In the late 1990s, the fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) comes to power in Algeria. Despite foreign assistance, the Algerian economy deteriorates and FIS blames outside interference. By 2003 FIS begins to spread its fundamentalist message to Morocco and Tunisia. Morocco resists this better than Tunisia. Skirmishes break out on Tunisian/Algerian border and tensions rise. Tunisia approaches France and Italy for assistance. A team of British engineers are killed in Oran. The British press blames Algeria and raises the specter of a possible Algerian nuclear program. The EU meets to consider a French/Italian proposal to support Tunisia's request for assistance. There are rumors of Algerian preparations to test "Super-Scud" missiles. Acts of terrorism increase in Europe as the EU meets and requests a UN Security Council resolution sanctioning EU support for Tunisia. Tunisia makes a separate request for assistance to the UNSC.

KEY DYNAMICS/PLAYERS MAIN CONCERNS: This crisis again reflected deep divisions between the industrialized Western nations and the less developed, nonaligned nations. France supported organizing a multilateral peacekeeping force through the EU to respond to Tunisia's request for assistance, such force to be sanctioned by the UN. Nonaligned nations like Egypt, Ghana, Mexico, and others questioned whether any peacekeeping force should be dispatched sponsored by a European organization like the EU; insisted that any peacekeeping force have sizable contingents of African/Muslim troops and be sponsored by the UN. They also suggested that regional organizations like the Arab League and the Mediterranean Forum be involved. Western nations, including the U.S., generally supported the idea of having African/Muslim troops in any peacekeeping force. The U.S. was also concerned that no action be taken that might appear to be an anti-Islamic campaign. Disagreement between the Western nations and nonaligned group also arose over the issue of migration of Algerian nationals to Europe, some of which was supposedly being sponsored by the Algerian government to foment unrest and terrorist acts in European countries. Western nations opted for strong pressure on Algerian government to restrict migration while the nonaligned group (in this case including Israel) saw this as a violation of generally accepted international norms concerning migration.

RESOLUTION OF CRISIS: France submitted a resolution to the UNSC calling on the UN to sanction an EU sponsored military peacekeeping force to assist Tunisia. The resolution provided for participation by the Mediterranean Forum in the peacekeeping force which satisfied the requirement that the force contain substantial African/Muslim representation. However, the migration issue was a major stumbling block. Paragraph three of the original resolution called on Algeria to "control the flow of migration" from its territory to neighboring Mediterranean countries. The nonaligned group and others considered this unreasonable, unfair, a violation of generally accepted practices on migration, and an excessive demand on the Algerian government. The Western nations agreed to reword the disputed paragraph to specify that the Algerian government will not "encourage nationals to migrate across its borders for the purpose of threatening peace and security and destabilizing the region."

REWORDED RESOLUTION IS VOTED ON PARAGRAPH BY PARAGRAPH AND IS FINALLY ADOPTED.

RUSSIA/EURASIA REGION

INITIAL DISCUSSION: The potential crises discussed before the simulation included: (1) possible attempts to restore Soviet Empire; (2) health and social issues; (3) Chinese invasion/illegal immigration; (4) internal instability in Ukraine.

Overall the general discussion on Russia and the former states of the Soviet Union was not very positive. There was concern expressed that Russia is not moving in the right

direction and has no clear domestic or foreign policy. Reactionary forces like the Nomenklatura and authoritarian elements continue to slow reform in political and economic areas. The economy is in difficult shape and living standards are declining. Criminal activity has increased tremendously and there is great concern over the security of nuclear weapons and the safety of nuclear plants. Chinese immigration into Russian territory is an increasing problem. The Russian army is an uncertain element in the overall situation and there is growing concern about a possible military takeover if conditions worsen. Russia's many problems, including strained relations with border states like Ukraine, make fertile ground for the rise of an authoritarian leader, perhaps one shrewder and more dangerous than Zhirinovskiy.

A CRISIS WITH THE UKRAINE WAS SELECTED FOR THE SIMULATION EXERCISE.

RUSSIA/EURASIA CRISIS

SCENARIO: A new Russian president is elected in 1996. The economy is still in difficulty and ultranationalists are concerned that conflict in the Caucasus/Transcaucasus is a threat to Russia. The Ukraine is experiencing severe depression and the Russian-dominated eastern part of that state is demanding closer union with Russia. The Crimea, dominated by Russian leadership, is threatening secession from the Ukraine. Riots and strikes in eastern Ukraine cause increasing violence, prompting the Ukrainian president to declare martial law. The Russian president, under pressure from hardliners, threatens to send troops to eastern Ukraine to protect Russians. The Ukraine appeals to the UN and NATO to take action. Russia requests UN to sanction Russian peacekeeping in Ukraine.

KEY DYNAMICS/PLAYERS MAIN CONCERNS: The crisis was considered very serious but regarded as a mixture of domestic problems (such as settlement of Black Sea fleet question) and legitimate international concerns. Russia regarded this as an issue that should be settled between Russia and the Ukraine but nonetheless appealed for mediation efforts. However, it was clear Russia wished to send armed force into eastern Ukraine in a so-called "peacekeeping" mission with UN backing. This was opposed by Western nations and the NAM. There was general agreement that a regional solution should be sought using regional organizations. The CSCE was considered the most appropriate forum to consider the matter, NATO inappropriate. What role should be played by the UN and its relation to CSCE was debated at some length. The main concerns of Western nations and also the NAM were to (1) get appropriate regional organization in a mediating role (CSCE); (2) keep Russian troops within their borders; (3) send some sort of observer team to Russian/Ukrainian border to reduce tensions.

RESOLUTION OF CRISIS: Russia submitted a proposal to UNSC calling on that body to demand withdrawal of Ukrainian military forces from eastern Ukraine and requested UN sanction for introduction of Russian civilian police into area. The U.S. submitted a

resolution calling on the UN to "invite" the CSCE to mediate in the crisis and to send an observer team to the region. Following negotiations with the U.S. to amend its resolution slightly, the Russians withdrew theirs. U.S. resolution was amended with minor modification, adding "fact-finding" as a task for CSCE observer mission.

RESOLUTION PASSED WITH 10 IN FAVOR, 4 ABSTENTIONS AND 1 PARTICIPANT NOT PRESENT.

ANNEX A - PARTICIPANTS

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*Role denotes country each player represented on the Security Council and the regional overview they provided in discussions.

ANNEX B - GLOSSARY

APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CNWS	Center for Naval Warfare Studies
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
DPRK	Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea
EU	European Union
FIS	Islamic Salvation Front
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GWG	Global War Game
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
NAM	Nonaligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NPT	Nonproliferation Treaty
OAS	Organization of American States
OAU	Organization for African Unity
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OSD	Office of Secretary of Defense
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
ROK	Republic of Korea
UNSC(SC)	United Nations Security Council
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction