Peacekeeping for Development: Expanding Peace Missions for Multidimensional Institution Building and Aid to the Civil Authority

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One of the most positive developments in recent years in the hemisphere of the Americas has been the consistent transition to legitimate and responsible democratic rule. However, examples such as the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) show the need for continued security and peace development assistance in the region for member states. On the one hand, the Haitian experience illustrates both the effectiveness and the commitment shown by regional states. On the other hand, however, MINUSTAH has been limited in its potential effectiveness because it lacks both the authority and the capacity to move beyond peace keeping/enforcement to adopt a broader development mission. Coupled with this, the limited capacity of the Haitian government to provide for its own political, social and economic development further prevents the constructive progress of an effective peacekeeping mission to take on a development role. In short, either Haiti itself or the regional community in a cooperative context must be able to broaden the mission.

MINUSTAH and Haiti, of course, represent one example of the security challenges faced in the Americas. And, considering the array of security issues in the region, it is often overshadowed by other matters, such as narcotrafficking, terrorism, and natural disasters. Yet the example aptly demonstrates the need to seriously rethink how regional authorities might utilize the full spectrum of their defence potential. This involves some consideration of the manner in which the regional community could build this authority and capacity.

The CDMA should consider the manner in which it might expand its emphasis on peace missions in the hemisphere to include already existing areas of expertise in development and aid to the civil authority. That stated, there are a number of issues that mitigate any such agenda. First, the primary mandate of the CDMA regarding peace missions must be in the context of defence, rather than a wider set of development, diplomatic, or economic objectives. Defence attributes may certainly aid these other areas, but the CDMA must limit itself to the military role. Second, the specific context of actors (both contributors to peace missions and those receiving) must be taken into account. An enlarged agenda for peace missions will not be successful if it

were based on a singular 'template.' Third, the most effective method to achieve this would be to look to competencies already existing in other institutional arrangements in the region. Some of these are detailed below. Finally, it must be recognized that the process will be cumulative and progressive, without immediate sweeping, or whole-scale advancements.

Peace missions in the hemisphere contribute to regional security. At the 2000 Conference of Ministers of Defense of the Americas in Manaus, Brazil, delegates recommended "active and voluntary participation in peacekeeping operations," and "support for regional peacekeeping training."[1] The Heads of Delegation at the Special Conference on Security, held at Mexico City on 27-28 October 2003 adopted the "Declaration on Security in the Americas," which included the "indispensable condition" of representative democracy for stability, peace, and development. Summits of the Americas since 1994 have consistently recalled the principles of mutual security, effective democracy, and economic development as entwined. Recently, the thirty-sixth regular session of the OAS General Assembly noted not only the inter-institutional linkages between the OAS and the UN, but also the multifaceted objectives of the peace mission in Haiti.[2]

Regional security, of course, is a wide-ranging topic, and extends beyond peace missions and peacekeeping. As Margaret Daly Hayes points out, security in the hemisphere is multidimensional.[3] Indeed, hemispheric security interests are now multifaceted, including democratic development, peacekeeping, drug enforcement, anti-terrorism, drug trafficking, and migration. For the CDMA purposes, the defence aspect of hemispheric security is foundational.

As both a region and the states that make up the region, security requirements vary from other parts of the world. Nonetheless, with regard to the specific case of peace missions, there are developments that are instructive. The Three Block War, first conceptualized by United States Marine General Charles Krulak, considers the variety of defence roles played. In this transformational rubric, armed forces provide and assist in providing humanitarian aid in the first block, conduct peacekeeping and conflict stabilization in the second, and engage in high intensity conflict in the third. The concept, of course, is flexible; more importantly, it is integrative and multi-institutional. A variant of this model, though one geared more to inter-agency cooperation rather than expansion of the primary military role, is the 3D approach taken on by Canada and other allied nations in its robust peace mission operations. 3D – defence, diplomacy, and development – is intended to make use of a wider set of competencies, ranging

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[1] Declaration Of Manaus, Confidence- And Security- Building Measures, IV Conference Of Ministers Of Defense Of The Americas (Manaus, Brazil, October, 16 - 21, 2000).

[2] "The Assembly calls upon the international community, particularly the United Nations, member states of the OAS, and Haiti's international partners, to express their solidarity by working in cooperation with the new government in support of its efforts to achieve integral development in Haiti and to meet the immediate and longer-term reconstruction needs of the country. It reaffirms the continued engagement by the OAS and Haiti's international partners to strengthen the rule of law, respect for human rights, political stability, strengthening of democracy, and social and economic development in Haiti Declaration on Haiti," Thirty-sixth regular session of the OAS General Assembly, 2006: AG/DEC. 51 (XXXVI-O/06).

[3] Margaret Daly Hayes, "Building Consensus on Security: Toward a New Framework," in Gordon Mace, Jean-Philippe Thérien, and Paul Haslam, Governing the Americas: Assessing Multilateral Institutions, (Boulder: Lynne Reinner, 2007), 71.

from the military, to foreign policy, and humanitarian endeavours. Though it has been widely connected with the mission in Afghanistan, there are correlations to peacekeeping in Haiti, for example.

While the CDMA may not enter into widespread consideration of some details concerning, for instance, development aid, the defence role played is in support of other entities tasked to do so. In short, the CDMA must consider ways that armed forces may be involved (but not necessarily primarily engaged in) providing aid to citizens and the civil authority. No less important, the indirect role is essential. This, it may be argued, is reflective of what some militaries have been doing in Haiti. To be more effective, however, interactive training and operations among militaries from the region could contribute to effective lessons learned and better inter-operability, not to mention spin-off benefits for those states receiving peace mission support.

Expanding the peacekeeping agenda in the region would require a fundamental reassessment of operations, joint exercises, and training. But two points should be made: one, to meet the emergent objectives of contemporary peacekeeping, capacity must be built in to missions to encompass development needs; and second, the necessary elements for this to take place already exist, in terms of an expansive array of institutional arrangements that may, in concert with the CDMA mandate, formulate an effective multidimensional undertaking.

Regarding the second point, expertise may be brought together from a variety of regional institutions. These include the Committee on Hemispheric Security of the Organization of American States, which has dealt with a wide set of security matters since at least 2001. The Conference of American Armies (CAA), facilitates dialogue and experience among the armies of American states. From a training perspective, the Inter-American Defence Board (IADB) considers humanitarian concerns and confidence building measures, as well as support for the hemispheric security goals of the OAS. Importantly, a Canadian initiative to undertake a feasibility study for an Inter-American Defence Board Role in Hemispheric Peacekeeping Training Coordination is an intriguing opportunity in this regard.[4] And the Military Training Assistance Program (MTAP) is also well suited to take on the development and training of peacekeeping forces for a wider aid to civil authority role.

Peace and stability in the region is not just a humanitarian objective but also leads to the basis for sustainable economic and democratic development. This contributing effect reflects the potential of expanded peace mission capability: multidimensionality in peacekeeping missions involves a variety of actors and competencies at both the hemispheric and sub-regional level. The CDMA consideration of inter-institutional training and coordination in this regard would present a significant contribution to this objective.

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[4] "Canadian Request For A Study – Feasibility Of An Inter-American Defence Board Role In Hemispheric Peacekeeping Training Coordination," Committee Hemispheric Security, Permanent Council Of The Organization Of American States OEA/Ser.G (CP/CSH/INF. 133/07), 28 September 2007.