

FINAL REPORT ON THE CONFERENCE OF DEFENCE MINISTERS OF THE AMERICAS (CDMA) 2008 SECOND THEMATIC CONFERENCE – BRIDGETOWN, BARBADOS – 06-07 MARCH 2008

SUMMARY

1. The Canadian CDMA 2008 Implementation Team hosted the Second Thematic Development Meeting in Bridgetown, Barbados from 06-07 March 2008 with civil society, academics and non-government organizations (NGOs) in attendance, as a part of Canada's continuing commitment to consult broadly on the agenda and themes to be considered at CDMA 2008. A list of participants is attached at Annex A. The Barbados meeting was held in furtherance of Canada's national objectives for CDMA 2008, and follows up on those aims brought forward by the Department of National Defence (DND) consultations with other departments of the Canadian government. This meeting served as an important consultation which dovetails with the results of the First Thematic Development Meeting held in San José, Costa Rica, and which put the emphasis on South and Central America¹. The Barbados meeting put emphasis on the three North American countries and the Caribbean, with representation from Central and South America. This meeting built on the results of San José, but also incorporated additional ways of thinking about hemispheric defence security and the concerns of the sub-regions that make it up. All were in agreement on the essential need to put defence into a positive light in the hemispheric context, particularly when various elements of the political and economic fronts in the Inter-American system are facing varying degrees of challenge.

2. Consensus was evident on the importance of producing an agreed Agenda during the Spring 2008 Preparatory Meeting in Banff and making major progress on a DRAFT Final Declaration. The participants made it clear that the CDMA is largely a political event, and that reaching consensus on the Final Declaration has always been, and will be, the most difficult challenge to be met in order to ensure a successful outcome of the CDMA 2008. Underpinning all of the discussions was the broad consensus by all participants that the Hemisphere, though in global terms embracing a relatively high level of shared values, is nonetheless very diverse, and not hegemonic. Thus, a successful CDMA process requires that regional and sub-regional issues and perspectives be considered throughout the process. Participants emphasized that within the hemisphere, there is a wide range of approaches regarding how each government handles the balance between defence and security issues, driven by nations' constitutions and histories. Each state attends the CDMA with its own prism on defence and security issues, due to constitution and practice – therefore, individual constitutions and national organization determine how each state approaches these issues, and determines the degree of separation between military, para-military and police forces.

3. In addition to written papers being tabled by most attendees (copies can be found at the CDMA 2008 website at: www.cdma2008.ca), the discussions covered a variety of topic areas (summarized at attached Annex B). The vast increase in Latin American and Caribbean forces deployed to peacekeeping operations, up some 7 1/2

¹ See CDMA 2008 website at: www.cdma2008.ca

times since 1989, was noted by all and demonstrated the considerable potential that the region has for helping with tasks related to the maintenance of international peace and security. There was general agreement that Canada's history of civil/military co-operation could serve as one example, and perhaps help to develop a more positive outcome and Final Declaration. Issues of peacekeeping and gender equality were often cited as examples of this Canadian success. Generic security issues (broadly defined, including economic, development, environmental, justice, poverty, human rights and other social issues) are now seen by many participants to be as important in the CDMA context as those purely defence issues first discussed at CDMA 1995; however, the political difficulties among Andean states of recent weeks have underscored even further the need not to forget traditional defence issues while addressing these less traditional ones. Participants noted that it is key for the next Host Nation for CDMA 2010 to be identified prior to the Preparatory Meeting. Divergent views were presented by participants on the need and value of further institutionalizing of the CDMA process, including how to do so. Walking the fine line between defence and security issues, and balancing regional and sub-regional issues were identified as major challenges. Early and concrete engagement with principal regional participants in this process will be critical, but success in this endeavour will help in producing a CDMA 2008 that has a positive outcome for Canada and other member states.

REPORT

BACKGROUND

4. The Canadian CDMA 2008 Implementation Team hosted the Second Thematic Development Meeting in Bridgetown, Barbados from 06-07 March 2008 in the lead-up to the VIII Conference of Defence Ministers of the Americas (CDMA) from 02-06 September 2008 in Banff, Alberta. As part of the *Summit of the Americas* process, the CDMA has emerged as an important means to promote security and stability in the hemisphere. A list of participants at the Second Thematic Development Meeting is attached at Annex A.

5. Canada has placed emphasis on the importance of including, in so far as possible, the maximum input of civil society into the Defence Ministerial of the Americas process since its inception in 1995. While recognising that such meetings are among governments of the Americas, Canada has felt consistently that its own and other defence ministries of the Hemisphere should seek the opinions of experts and other members of civil society interested in defence themes and should, where appropriate, give them air at such meetings.

6. This view of the need for civil society involvement was presented by Canada, and other nations, at the Mexico City Special Conference on Security in 2003, attended by Foreign Ministers, where the idea was enshrined in the Final Declaration. This proposed guidance to Defence Ministers for the Ministerial Conference process, and to those involved in broader defence and security issues as well, where the Hemisphere's democratic support objectives were under active discussion. Canada and others

welcomed the initial efforts in this regard at the CDMA in Quito in 2004 and in Managua in 2006 and were in general supported in this by many other like-minded states.

7. The consultation process being undertaken by Canada in the lead-up to CDMA 2008 with both governmental and non-governmental actors is designed to take the temperature in the Americas where defence and security issues are concerned and ensure that, at CDMA 2008, member states receive as wide a view as possible of regional perceptions of defence and security concerns. Canada, with its relatively recent expanded focus on the Hemisphere, has found such consultations to be of particular value in the past and is aiming to extend the scope of such efforts both in numbers consulted and in time given over to such consultations in the lead-up to Banff 2008. The reactions of both governments and civil society across the board have been to applaud such efforts, with the understanding that the consultations relate to hearing what others have to say in an inclusive fashion; however, it will be the member states of the CDMA that will act on the results of such deliberations.

8. The CDMA was created in 1995 to provide a forum for defence ministers to share ideas and experiences on contemporary regional security issues. As a reflection of the need by governments to use their armed forces in support of civil authority, and in order to build confidence between states, the proposed overarching theme for CDMA 2008 is “Hemispheric, Regional and Sub-regional Defence and Security Enhancement: Confidence-Building Through Co-operation and Collaboration.”

9. The proposed sub-theme of CDMA 2008 is “military support to civilian authorities through:

- assistance during natural disasters;
- assistance during major nationally or regionally-hosted events (e.g. Olympics, Pan American Games, Cricket World Cup); and
- peacekeeping (e.g. Haiti).”

10. A large percentage of Ministerial discussions at CDMA are based on thematic lines, proposed by the host country and adopted in consultation with officials from participating states and non-governmental experts drawn from across the hemisphere. The official Conference theme of CDMA 2006 was “Hemispheric and Regional Co-operation in Defence: Regimes, Institutions, Advances and Recent Experiences”. In April 2007, the CDMA 2008 Secretariat convened the first meeting of Canadian stakeholders where an initial elaboration of a draft of the thematic agenda for CDMA 2008 was considered. It was agreed that the development of the thematic agenda would be refined through two thematic development meetings, in order to draw upon non-governmental expertise from across the hemisphere. The first meeting, held in San José, Costa Rica, included two regional non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) and the Security and Defence Network of Latin America (RESDAL), who co-ordinated the substantive and administrative management of that meeting, including co-ordinating invitations to the participants. The report on this meeting is included separately on the CDMA 2008 website. Both thematic

development meetings form a critical part of the consultation plan with hemispheric partners. Inter-departmental consultations with relevant Canadian departments and agencies have informed, and will continue to inform and guide the thematic development process. The CDMA 2008 team is also working with the International Security Research and Outreach Program (ISROP) of Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) to conduct workshops with Canadian academic experts and select hemispheric nation partners to help further develop the three topics within the sub-theme. In addition, Canada is carrying out a series of government-to-government consultations with many Hemispheric partner states. The thematic agenda will be finalized by CDMA member states at the Preparatory Meeting in May 2008 at Banff.

11. Several points for discussion have been central to thematic development, and will be further considered during the Preparatory Meeting in May 2008. These are:

Sub-theme 1: Assistance during natural disasters

- What has been the experience of donors/recipients?
- What role should the military play in national and/or international responses?
- How can the military best support civilian authorities? How should responsibilities be divided? What are military/civilian authorities best suited to do?
- What are the best practices/lessons learned, based on different regional experiences?
- How can the military best interact with the various NGOs and international organizations on the ground? Which activities are best suited to be conducted in collaboration?
- What lessons can be learned from the nations that have hosted relief missions?
- How can information sharing, communication and lessons on prevention be improved?

Sub-theme 2: Assistance during major events

- What are the roles/responsibilities for the military in hosting major events, if any? How they can best work with civilian security agencies?
- Is military involvement relatively new? Have we seen a change in the military's role after September 2001 when assisting civilian authorities during major events? How does this change after 2001?
- What do the experiences of previous large events reveal? Which cases can be studied?
- What are the best practices/lessons learned? What are the potential pitfalls especially when assistance is coming from other states?
- What are the differences in experiences (e.g. Cricket World Cup vs. Pan American Games)?
- What has been the lasting legacy of such co-operation?

Sub-theme 3: Peacekeeping

- What links are necessary between military peacekeeping leadership and civilian authorities? What are the roles of international organizations in this relationship (e.g. UN)?
- What is the role of peacekeepers in crisis/disaster response?
- If security is one of the three pillars upholding stability, how should it link to the other two pillars (prosperity and good governance)?
 - How can peacekeeping missions assist in developing good governance? Should they assist?
 - How can peacekeeping missions assist with development activities? Should they assist?
- Do national experiences and political values have an impact on the effectiveness or the type of support given to civilian authorities by peacekeeping forces?
- For countries that do not contribute troops to peacekeeping missions, what other types of support to civil authorities in the host nation can they provide?
- What roles can/should a peacekeeping mission play in a situation where the threats to security are more criminal in nature (e.g. drug trafficking, criminal gangs) and are possibly less effectively addressed by military means? Which lessons can be learned from different regional experiences?
- What lessons can be learned from the nations that have hosted peacekeeping missions?
- How can the participation rate of women and civilians be improved in peacekeeping missions?

MAJOR THEMES EMERGING FROM THE SECOND THEMATIC CONFERENCE

12. The Second Thematic Conference produced considerable and varied inputs from those present, with emphasis on advancing confidence-building through co-operation and collaboration. Those in attendance had been invited to submit papers on their views and experiences regarding the CDMA process and topical analysis. Following are the key points made by participants at the Second Thematic Development Meeting.

- Consensus was evident on the importance of producing an agreed Agenda during the Spring 2008 Preparatory Meeting in Banff and making major progress on a DRAFT Final Declaration. This will help to avoid possible acrimony and also to free up Ministers for sub-regional and bilateral conversations that they might wish to have. The participants emphasised that the CDMA is largely a political event, and reaching consensus on the Final Declaration has always been, and will be, the most difficult challenge to be met in order to ensure a successful outcome of the CDMA 2008.
- Planning and concurrence must be reached prior to the Preparatory Meeting regarding the next Host Nation (CDMA 2010).
- Within the Hemisphere, there is a wide range of approaches regarding how each government handles the balance between defence and security issues, driven by

- nations' constitutions and histories. Each state attends the CDMA with its own prism on defence and security issues, due to constitution and practice; therefore, individual constitutions and national organization determine how each state approaches these issues, and determines the degree of separation between military, para-military and police forces.
- When building an agenda, it is critical to keep key themes to a minimum. Incorporation of sub-themes will permit greater inclusion of national and sub-regional agendas, but this also must be monitored to ensure that the agenda does not become unwieldy. Striking a balance between regional and sub-regional issues is a challenge at each CDMA but it will especially be a challenge at CDMA 2008 given current regional politics.
 - Emphasis must be placed on the absolute congruence of all views that the best approach to the Conference is the one chosen - that the CDMA must seek to build confidence, through emphasising the positive elements of defence co-operation in the Hemisphere as we now know them and have recently experienced them.
 - Divergent views were presented on the need and value of further institutionalizing of the CDMA process, including how to do so. It was agreed that the final decisions regarding all aspects of the CDMA process rest with member states' Ministers.
 - Once a proposed agenda is developed, then urgent and comprehensive efforts must be made to consult with nations that will attend. Current and planned efforts by the CDMA team through visits to selected capitals in order to ensure consensus prior to the Preparatory Meeting were applauded.
 - Results to be sought from the Preparatory Meeting include:
 - Approval of the Thematic Agenda
 - Approval of a DRAFT Final Declaration for consideration at CDMA 2008
 - Agreement on observers to be invited to the CDMA
 - Designation of Working Groups and their subjects
 - Designation of Rapporteurs, Co-Rapporteurs and Moderators, and their respective responsibilities.
 - The scheduling of bilateral meetings for the host Minister with all Heads of Delegation is viewed as important by participating Ministers.
 - All agreed that administrative arrangements must be made so that Ministers maximise their time in face-to-face opportunities with their counterparts.
 - The value placed on the CDMA process by Ministers as an opportunity for each Minister to conduct bilateral and *ad hoc* regional meetings with regional, sub-regional and neighbour partners is significant.
 - The challenge for the Host Nation is to CREATE, not dictate, consensus.
 - The development of non-binding resolutions serves as a safety valve in the CDMA process; status and relative political influence of military establishments in each member state may influence the achievement of consensus in the CDMA process.
 - There was general agreement that Canada's history of civil/military co-operation could serve as one example to others in attendance, and perhaps help to develop a

- more positive outcome and Final Declaration. Issues of peacekeeping and gender equality experience were often cited as examples of this Canadian success.
- Generic security issues (broadly defined, including economic, development, environmental, justice, poverty, human rights and other social issues) are now seen by many to be more important than purely defence issues first discussed at CDMA 1995. Finding the right balance in this discussion will be a challenge.
 - Attendees held diverse views on the agenda issues that should be included in CDMA 2008, with two major viewpoints being expressed; these could be categorized as those of a more purely defence nature, and those of a broader security-based nature. This will be the core of the challenge facing Canada in developing a workable agenda. Principle issues raised by participants for possible inclusion in the final agenda were:
 - The dividing line between roles of militaries and security forces, including the dichotomy between defence and domestic security
 - The role of civil society and civilian control of the military
 - Increased mutual trust and confidence-building measures
 - Consideration of “multi-dimensional security”, in the context of transnationalization of security threats
 - Possibility of a hemispheric arms race and increasing militarization of states
 - Codes of conduct for military members (and defence civilians)
 - White Paper methodology
 - Transparency and accountability
 - Women/gender employment
 - Counter-narcotics and organized crime
 - Trafficking, including humans, drugs and small arms as examples
 - Illegal immigration and refugees
 - Terrorism, failed states and threats from non-state actors
 - Environmental and natural disaster relief
 - Transformation of militaries and institutionalization of defence governance, including better training for civilians in defence ministries and better inter-departmental co-ordination
 - Human rights issues, democratic development and judicial reforms
 - Military training and education
 - Use of “defence” process as a domestic development mechanism
 - Better implementation of outputs from the CDMA process, including a mechanism to assess progress made
 - Recognition of progress and successes since 1995 – regional peacekeeping in Haiti, the extent and success of joint Peru-Chile de-mining operations on their common border, the assistance provided by Mexico to the United States in the Katrina natural disaster, the founding of CFAC (the Conference of Central American Armed Forces), the Commonwealth Caribbean's achievements in holding the Cricket World Cup 2006, and Bolivia's successes in incorporating more women and aboriginals into the military are examples. Positive developments and successes need to be

highlighted in addition to reviewing areas where improvements are necessary.

PARTICIPANTS RECOMMENDATIONS

13. Participants recommendations include, but are not limited to:
- Re-visit the 1994 Miami Summit of the Americas principles leading to the 1995 Williamsburg CDMA principles
 - Recapture the spirit of Williamsburg CDMA 1995, using the CDMA as a means to improve mutual trust and confidence between hemispheric partners.
 - Emphasize positive developments, co-operation and collaboration, and put aside possible tension and discord.
 - Increase ongoing dialogue between civil society and the CDMA process, with Canada providing a leading role. Each member state would be encouraged to consult with its own civil society for inputs prior to each CDMA.
 - Find balance between defence and security issues.
 - Increase general public awareness of the CDMA process, in order to increase civil input to defence/security issues.
 - Develop a short and focused Final Declaration, one designed to produce more tangible results.
 - Reform of the existing CDMA process in order to encourage Ministers to transform militaries and institutionalize better defence governance, including improved training for civilians in defence ministries.
 - Find balance between regional and sub-regional issues.
 - Use of positive examples of regional collaboration and co-operation (Cricket World Cup etc).
 - Continue looking at the best way forward in creating an institutional memory for the CDMA and acknowledge the need for such an improvement to the Conferences.

CONCLUSION

14. Much work remains to be done in order to ensure a successful CDMA. Participants felt that walking the fine line between defence and security issues, and regional and sub-regional issues, will be a challenge, as will conducting CDMA 2008 in the context of the current political and diplomatic situation in the Hemisphere. Continued concrete engagement of principal regional participants in this process will be critical, but success in this endeavour will help in producing a CDMA 2008 that not only achieves Canada's objectives in hosting it, but also provides a positive outcome for both member states and the Inter-American system as well.

Annexes:

- A. List of Participants – Second Thematic Development Meeting**
- B. Agenda - Second Thematic Development Meeting**