UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS:

México's Response
to an
Emerging International Security Paradigm

by

Alfonso J. Motta-Allen

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
January 2008

© Copyright by Alfonso J. Motta-Allen, 2008

Canada

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

To comply with the Canadian Privacy Act the National Library of Canada has requested
that the following pages be removed from this copy of the thesis:

Preliminary Pages
        Examiners Signature Page
        Dalhousie Library Copyright Agreement
Appendices
        Copyright Releases (if applicable)

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my mother Ysela, to my wife Guadalupe, to my children Alfonso and Javier and to my father Fernando.

Dear *Tirros*, my heart is broken because you couldn't see your boy's accomplishment. I am certain you will be very proud of your job; from kinder garden at the *Club de Leones* in Villa Ahumada, Chihuahua, to doctoral degree at Dalhousie University in Canada; not bad for a country boy, hey?

My *Cari-chata*, you should sign this work as well. I cannot imagine myself going through all this process without you along my side. No words can express what you represent to me or how much I love you and admire you; you are my best "everything"!

Alfonso and Javier, you are my little heroes. I cannot account how much you have taught me. Having you as my children has been an honour and a privilege. *E queyo pucho tanto y tanto*!

Guadalupe, Alfonso and Javier, I will never forget that you left behind home, family and friends without ever complain. How will I repay you all? *¡Mi agradecimiento de por vida, mis Chatos!*

Don Fernando, thank you for supporting me during the early years of my life. I love you very much.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ABSTRACT

Structural and conceptual changes in the international system and non-traditional, intermestic forms of violence have rendered military power alone insufficient to restore and maintain international peace and security; and no individual state can do this alone. Security is now at the centre of the international relations while the necessity to cooperate for international security is increasingly accepted. Mexico's necessity to cooperate (arguably created by a series of factors manifested at both the national and the international planes, such as the New Threats and international pressure) comes at the time that it experiences democratization process (also with domestic and international ramifications). Modern Peacekeeping Operations are examined as a potential contribution by México to international security. This study argues that "Selective Peacekeeping," a term proposed by this author – meaning participating only in "selected" UN peacekeeping operations, performing only "selected" functions – can serve both ends: it can be a more central feature of México's foreign policy in response to international security, and the catalyst for modernizing its armed forces to deal more efficiently with new domestically perceived threats, such as drug trafficking, organized crime and terrorism. Obstacles that need to be overcome by México, such as domestic opposition and a traditional non-involvement policy, and the benefits of its participation, are identified. Key aspects of modern peacekeeping help recognizing strengths and weaknesses of the Mexican military for active participation in international security. For comparative purposes, this study examines the cases of Argentina and Japan's involvement in Peacekeeping Operations. First, the case of Argentina underscores the role of UN peacekeeping participation as reform catalyser and policy harmonizer. Second, the case of Japan shows an effective use of safeguards to limit participation in Peacekeeping Operations, and consequently, within constitutional restraints. The study concludes proving that México's foreign policy principles are compatible with those of UN Peacekeeping and erases the idea of unconstitutionality for these kinds of operations. A series of policy recommendations for successful Mexican participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations are included at the end.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank CONACYT México for the financial support without which I would not have been able to undertake doctoral studies in Canada. I would also like to thank the Faculty of Graduate Studies and the International Student and Exchange Services of Dalhousie University for the financial support that allowed me to conclude Doctoral studies. I am grateful to my professors and to the members of my thesis committee, Dr. Robert Boardman, Dr. Robert Finbow, and Dr. Walter Dorn for the thoughtful comments and guidance, but certainly more for their kindness and support.

I must thank Captain Mexican Navy (MN) Salvador Miranda Orendain for his desicive support that helped me finish doctoral studies in Canada; *en los malos como en los buenos tiempos Colega, mi agradecimiento para ti y tu familia.* To Rear Admiral (MN) Angel Sarmiento Beltran, Commander (MN) Rogelio Marbán Díaz, Captain (MN) Marco Antonio Pescina Ávila, and Commander Argentine Navy Fernando Maglione, tank you also for supporting me during the difficult times of my doctoral program. I am indebted to you and to your families.

I acknowledge and appreciate the efforts of professors Finbow and Boardman and the valuable contribution of Professor Walter Dorn for the editing of this study.

I am grateful to the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre of Canada for having me conducting research on Peacekeeping Operations during the winter of 2003. To Dr. Kenneth C. Eyre, Dr. Anne Livingstone, and Carol Sabean, thanks you for your support and kindness.

I also thank the Center for Inter-American Studies and Programs (CEPI) of ITAM México and the Ford Foundation for supporting my research on México for this study during the winter/spring of 2004. I am grateful to Rafael Fernandez de Castro and Jennifer Jeffs, Chair International Relations Department and CEPI Coordinator respectively. I am obligued to Dr. Athanasios Hristoulas, Dr. James Robinson, Dr. Duncan Wood, and Dr. Jordi Bacaria for the thoughtful remarks and suggestions.

To *El Colegio de México*, thank you for having me as a visiting scholar during the summer of 2003.

To my "favourite" uncle Dr. Mariano Allen, thank you very much for your support; at times you were my only connection with my extended family. You were there when I needed you, and that, I will never forget; *¡Gracias Tio Chicho!*

Thank you to my aunt Eugenia for the valuable support. *Tia Geña*, you are the kind of aunt everybody needs; kind, generous, supportive,...cool!

To my friend "Tony"Amedeo Ravina, I say *¡grazie infinite per tutto!* Your friendship meant a lot to me and to my family during all the years it took me to complete this study.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

> *"There is no greater legitimacy for the use of military forces,
> and for that matter, civilian police, than for the maintenance
> of international peace and security. It should therefore be a
> matter of honour and privilege for countries to provide such
> forces for peace missions."*
>
> Satish Nambiar[1]

Introduction

This study is about México and United Nations (UN) peacekeeping as an option for this country to become actively involved in international security. It centers the attention on a perceived new activism in México's foreign policy in response to demands posed by both the international and domestic environments. This study argues that "Selective Peacekeeping," a term proposed by this author, can serve both ends: it can be a more central feature of México's foreign policy in response to international security, and catalyst for modernizing its armed forces to deal more efficiently with domestically perceived new threats. "Selective Peacekeeping" means those UN Peacekeeping Operations suited for Mexican participation. It refers to the performance of "selected functions" by military contingents in UN Peacekeeping Operations, where the principles of "impartiality," "consent" and "the minimum use of force only in self-defence," are observed.[2] As proposed here, "selective peacekeeping" should not be a foreign policy objective, but a foreign policy instrument through the use of the armed forces in international security missions.

This study shows that Mexican participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations not only is possible and constitutional for this country, but also it is an instrument for states to meet international obligations as stated in international legislation and practice, such as

---

[1] Satish Nambiar, United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Problems and Prospects, (New Delhi: March 1999). Internet. Available at:
http://www.indianembassy.org/policy/Peace_Keeping/UN_Seminar/UN_Seminar_Nambiar.htm Last accessed: September 6, 2005.

[2] The implementation of UN peacekeeping operations over time fostered the gradual evolution of a body of principles, procedures and practices for peacekeeping. Some of them were formally enacted by the legislative organs of the United Nations and came to constitute a corpus of case law or customary practice which has been widely accepted. As explained in Chapter IV of this work, from these, the principles of "impartiality," "consent" and "self-defence" have become the bedrock principles of UN Peacekeeping Operations.

1

the UN Charter and UN Security Council resolutions. The definition of "Selective Peacekeeping" comes primarily from three sources: the definition of UN Peacekeeping Operations as defined by the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, the three core principles of UN Peacekeeping Operations (impartiality, consent and the minimum use of force only in self-defence), and the three core principles of México's foreign policy (non-intervention, self-determination and the peaceful resolution of disputes).

Increased global insecurity and instability are moving the international community to cooperate in the maintenance of international security. New threats have appeared that challenge not only the whole system, but the constituency of the societies that form it. The New threats are asymmetric[3] and intermestic (domestic and international) in nature and they cannot be addressed by individual states alone, not even the Great Powers[4] (the so-called wars against terrorism and illicit drugs are examples of this). Their effects have blurred the distinction between the national and international spheres and between defence and internal security.

The conceptualization of security has spanned beyond the territorial notion of the state, to include the individual and the environment. New security paradigms try to "adjust" to the circumstances, as they are identified by concepts, such as "Common Security,"[5] "Shared Security" (An Agenda for Peace – 1992),[6] Human Security (UNDP – 1994),[7] "Global Security" (Global Governance Commission – 1994),[8] and "Democratic

---

[3] "Asymmetry" here means different means and ends, as well as vulnerabilities between adversaries (Christopher Bellamy, 2002). The use of the terms "asymmetric" and "asymmetry" are problematic. They are of common use to refer to "everything from the threats we face, to the wars we fight." By doing so, the term has lost conceptual utility, and thus it needs to be reformulated. Stephen J. Blank, "Rethinking Asymmetric Threats," Air University, (USAF, September 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/ssi/asymetry2.pdf Last accessed: October 19, 2006.

[4] Great Powers here means the five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council.

[5] Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, Common Security: A Blueprint for Survival, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982).

[6] Boutros Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping, A/47/277-S/24111. (United Nations, 1992), p.15. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html Last accessed: June 06, 2005.

[7] UN Development Program, "The 1994 Human Development Report: New Dimensions on Human Security," (1994). Internet. Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/1994/en/ Last accessed: October 20, 2006.

Security" (Central America Democratic Security Treaty – 1995),[9] among others. States are also increasingly considering security as paramount while it gains centrality in the international agenda.

During the last decades, and notably since 2000, México's traditional territorially oriented notion of security started to shift towards a much broader, multidimensional concept. This notion encompasses newly perceived threats, such as poverty, corruption, and terrorism, among others.[10] This conception differs from that of its Northern partner, such as the American "pre-emptive action" and "homeland security," though it is closer to the Canadian advanced notion of "human security."

The end of the Cold War facilitated co-operation and harmony and the UN emerged stronger, as this reflected on a larger number of Peacekeeping Operations implemented afterwards.[11]In the post-Cold War environment, and notably in the post-9/11 environment, the use of force became even more problematic and thus the need for legal and legitimate instruments to eliminate the breaches of peace also became larger than in the past. Despite its limited capacity, the United Nations represents the collective arrangement that provides the highest legitimacy for the use of force and hence the need to strengthen the system of collective security administered, and arguably maintained, by the organization, is also larger than before.

In the face of an observed tendency of the United States – the only dominating superpower – towards unilateral approaches to the use of force, there is also a need to strengthen the UN-centered multilateralism. Smaller states have a natural interest on strengthen multilateralism because, among other reasons, it reduces the asymmetric

---

[8] Commission on Global Governance, Our Global Neighborhood: Report of the Commission on Global Governance, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[9] Tratado Marco de Seguridad Democrática en Centro América, (San Pedro Sula, Honduras: 1995). Internet. Available at: http://www.protegiendoles.org/documentacion/articulo13.pdf Last accessed: October 20, 2006.

[10] Gobierno Federal de México -2006. Plan Nacional de Desarrollo. "Orden y Respeto". (México: 2001). Internet. Available at: http://www.economia.gob.mx/pics/p/p1376/PLAN1.pdf. Last accessed: April 10, 2007

[11] The number of UN peacekeeping operations implemented during the first decade after the end of the Cold War was four times larger than during this ideological confrontation. Information Note, February 28, 2006. United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/glossary/ Last accessed: March 24, 2006.

3

relationship with the Great Powers. This is particularly important for México that is in a continuous search of ways to reduce the asymmetric relations with the United States.

The necessity to cooperate, however, can be seen also as an opportunity to advance individual national interests in the pursuit of collective interests. In the present world, highly interconnected and interdependent, the relative economic position of the states in the system seems to dictate both, privileges and responsibilities. In this context, the international community expects an international involvement according to a state's economic power determines the level of international involvement.

The term "middle power" refers to states situated in the middle grounds between two other types of powers; the great and small powers. Therefore, a middle power is a state which is neither a great power nor a small power. This term is, however, relative and not self-evident. States can be defined as middle powers in terms of the extent of its involvement, its interests, and its ability to contribute to particular situations (functional);[12] according to its tendency to pursue multilateral solutions to international problems, its tendency to embrace compromise positions in international disputes, and its tendency to embrace notions of "good international citizenship" to guide its diplomacy (behavioural); and that which, by reason of its size, its material resources, its willingness to accept responsibility, its influence and its stability is close to being great power (hierarchical).[13]

In economic terms, México is a developing middle power and as such, it is sensitive to outside pressure, and it must get involved accordingly in the solutions of international security-related problems. At home, the effects of the international environment are felt in the form of new threats (e.g., drug trafficking and terrorism) and challenges and international pressure (e.g., increased co-operation with the United States). Together, all these are testing the capacity of the Mexican state which struggles to increase the effectiveness of its institutions at the very moment that it experiences an

---

[12] It has been argued that the functional principle "was really the first enunciation of the 'middle power' concept". J.L. Granatstein, (ed.), Canadian Foreign Policy Since 1945: Middle Power or Satellite?, (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Company, 1970). Cited in Adam Chapnick, "The Middle Powers," Canadian Foreign Policy, 7, 2 (Winter 1999), pp.73-82. p.74.

[13] Adam Chapnick, "The Middle Powers," Canadian Foreign Policy, 7, 2, (Winter 1999), pp.73-82. p.73.

accelerated democratic process.

After the seventy-year one-party hegemonic regime came to an end in 2000, México entered a process of redefinition of political participation, both inwards and outwards. New democratic practices and structures seem to transform rapidly the Mexican domestic context, where human rights, transparency and public accountability are notably improving. Mexican institutions are gradually adapting to the new democratic practices, though at a different pace. One of the pillar institutions of the Mexican state, the armed forces, has been pointed out as being "left behind" in the democratization process, particularly in the areas of public accountability and human rights practices. Even though the military has taken important steps to catch up with the democratization process of the country, some consider that more needs to be done.[14]

Internationally, México is augmenting its involvement, but, different from the past, it is now preoccupied with international security. Its pacifist tradition[15] long operationalized by a characteristic "low-profile – low-involvement" diplomacy, has reached a dead end. In the present world, isolationism is not a viable option for México, as for most countries in the world.

In 2000, the newly elected government administration of President Vicente Fox announced a new era of international activism based on the promotion of human rights and democracy and on building a new strategic relationship with the United States.[16] Unprecedented steps, though small in terms of implications, were taken in the politico-military area, where UN peacekeeping was sought by the new government as one option

---

[14] United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. "Human Rights Watch World Report 2006: México," Human Rights Watch Annual Reports, (United Nations). Internet. Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/opendoc.htm?tbl=RSDCOI&page=research&id=43cfaea334 Last accessed: July 4, 2006.

[15] In a broad sense, "pacifist tradition" here means opposing to the use of force as a means for conflict resolution. This tradition finds support on the three core principles of México's foreign policy: non-intervention, self determination and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Even though these principles were incorporated into the Constitution in 1988 (Article 89), there is enough evidence that shows that Mexican diplomacy followed these principles for decades, notable during the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI) rule.

[16] Jorge Castañeda, "Los Ejes de la Política exterior de México," Nexos, (México: December 2001), pp.66-75.

5

to operationalize its new international activism.[17] Domestic political opposition, however, derailed this attempt because, among other reasons, peacekeeping was perceived as interventionist and thus unconstitutional and against México's pacifist tradition.[18]

This study argues that "Selective Peacekeeping," a term coined by this study, is none of these and that it is compatible with the core principles of México's foreign policy, and thus it can serve both international and national demands. This means adhering to the principles of non-intervention, self-determination and the peaceful resolution of disputes. In other words, there is room for a limited, though constitutional, Mexican participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations.

Selective peacekeeping means performing only "selected" functions in "selected" UN Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKO). One main objective of this study is therefore identifying such "functions" and "operations." Through Selective Peacekeeping, México can contribute to international security while it lowers the pressure – posed by its relative position vis-à-vis other middle and developing powers and other international actors, as well as by the necessity to cooperate – for increased involvement in international security.

"Selective Peacekeeping" for México applies only for the military performing activities that will guarantee that participation will not drag this country into open conflict. It means limiting functions by safeguards, included in the last chapter of this study as a practical complement to the definition of Selective Peacekeeping.

---

[17] Declarations of Mexican officials in this direction, particularly between 2001 and 2002, say that México could be more active in UN Peacekeeping. Some examples are: Reuters. April 1, 2001. México Gobierno de la Republica. Sistema Internet de la Presidencia. Internet. Available at: http://www.presidencia.gob.mx/?P=42&Orden=Leer&Tipo=&Art=219. Last accessed: October 22, 2004; Ricardo Méndez Silva and Gloria Abella, "Las Operaciones de Mantenimiento de la Paz y las Relaciones Internacionales de México." Stenographic version of a radio program by Instituto Matias Romero, broadcasted on February 6, 2001. Radio XEUN 860 AM, RADIO UNAM. Internet. Available at: http://www.sre.gob.mx/imred/academ/Trascripciones/radio01/omp.htm. Last accessed: May 17, 2004; Vicente Fox, President of México, Introductory letter. Promotion flier for the Mexican candidacy to a Non-permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council, (México: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 2001); Adolfo Aguilar Sintzer, México's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, México debe tener más presencia en operaciones de mantenimiento de paz que promueve Naciones Unidas. Declaration made in Brussels on June 24, 2002, source: Notimex. Internet. Available at: http://canales.t1msn.com.mx/noticias/nacional/leer_articulo.cfm?article_id=48904; and Intervention of México's Permanent representative to the United Nations before the Peacekeeping Operations Committee of the UN General Assembly. New York, February 12, 2002.

[18] Marco Appel, "México, el Debutante Global," Milenio Semanal, 174, (México: January 14, 2001).

6

Put differently, "Selective Peacekeeping" is defined as those UN Peacekeeping Operations suited for Mexican participation. It refers to the performance of "selected functions" by military contingents in UN Peacekeeping Operations, where the principles of "impartiality," "consent" and "the minimum use of force only in self-defence," are observed

Through Peacekeeping Operations, México can pursue both collective and national interests (e.g., increased recognition and political influence – particularly in UN fora – that eventually can be translated into an improved ability to advance desired structural reforms, diversification of its foreign policy out of the US-México bilateral agenda, increased political autonomy, and operational experience, among others). It is frequently recognized that the relationship with the United States influences México's international relations. Therefore, strengthening the UN-centered multilateralism is in the interest of México because, among other reasons, it attenuates the disproportionate asymmetric relation with the United States.

A thoughtful compatibility analysis of the core principles of UNPKO as they have evolved over time, and the normative principles of México's foreign policy as stated by the Constitution and their different interpretations over time, produces the definitional basis for Selective Peacekeeping for México. Such a definition erases the notion of incompatibility between the two sets of principles and provides the basis for active Mexican participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations. That is, it erases the notion that UN Peacekeeping Operations are "interventions" expressly prohibited by the Mexican Constitution. It also sets up the framework for the design of normative safeguards that will prevent México from drifting from its pacifist tradition when conducting Peacekeeping Operations.

An analysis of the multidimensional/multifunctional character of Modern peacekeeping sheds light on those aspects where México can have the largest comparative advantage. This means identifying "niches" of opportunity where México can make a difference. A comparison of the technical/operational demands of these operations and key features of the Mexican military facilitates the identification of strengths and weaknesses of México's military establishment that are relevant for

7

peacekeeping participation.

Mexican participation in Peacekeeping Operations will help strengthen a UN-centered multilateralism, which is seen by this country as best serving its national project, and, indirectly, will help to reduce the organization's proclivity to US domination. Selective peacekeeping can be also a means for México to diversify its highly "Americanized" international agenda while it advances national strategic interests, such as increasing its international political influence and defending the economic status quo, through the promotion of free trade, human rights, and democracy.

The benefits for México from participating in peacekeeping can be identified at the strategic (international) and the tactical (societal and role) levels. At the international level, increased recognition and political influence – particularly in UN fora – that eventually can be translated into improved ability to advance desired structural reforms, diversification of its foreign policy out of the US-México bilateral agenda, increased political autonomy, and operational experience for participating Mexican contingents, among others. At the tactical level, the potential benefits are: public accountability, improved Civil-Military Relations, human rights, gender mainstreaming, targeted training on the modulation of the use of force, and increased effectiveness in dealing with domestic threats through the gaining of experience after operating in multinational environments. These benefits can be inferred by comparing the domestic roles of the Mexican armed forces with the typical roles of military forces in peacekeeping.

At the national level, Selective Peacekeeping can be the catalysis to modernize México's armed forces to deal more effectively with domestic threats, and to help them draw alongside with the ongoing democratization process, where human rights and accountability stand out. However, peacekeeping participation need to be examined in light of an already strained capacity (financially and operationally) of the Mexican security forces to meet national demands.

Therefore, defining Selective Peacekeeping must take into account financial and operational considerations as well. How much contribution is required to impact this second proposition, however, can only be inferred and not determined, a task left to further research. Also, UN peacekeeping is not the panacea. As the comparative cases

8

show it, the benefits of peacekeeping participation can only be sustainable if proper support programs are in place.

This study proposes a basic theoretical/methodological framework for the comparative study of peacekeeping participation as foreign policy decision. The study examines Peacekeeping Operations in search for interests behind states' participation. The analysis is centered on the identification of environmental factors that can help reveal rational patterns in foreign policy decision-making. Any Member State, large or small, poor or rich, can contribute personnel to UN Peacekeeping Operations. The huge and numerous differences between them suggest a need for new approaches.

In regard to UN peacekeeping, this study examines first, the role these operations play in the maintenance of international peace and security; second, the interests and motives behind states' participation; and third, the operational aspects for their implementation, mission success and long-lasting peace. Measuring interests, however, is a difficult task. This difficulty increases when national interests are pursued indirectly through the achievement of collective interests. Also, UNPKO differ from one mission to another and so do their level of risk, involvement, political costs, strategic value, and political returns for participating states. Therefore, only partial explanations of the drives behind state participation in UNPKO can be obtained. The author recognizes, however, that an in-depth analysis of the states' motives to participate in Peacekeeping Operations goes beyond the practical limits of this study and thus this and various aspects of peacekeeping participation are left to further research (e.g., economic interests in the country of deployment, political alliances for specific participation, impact of peacekeeping on military identities, effectiveness in dealing with the root causes of conflict, etc.).

Nevertheless, identifiable behavioural patterns can shed light on key aspects for successful participation of which México can take advantage. For this reason and for comparative purposes, the cases of Argentina, which ranks 24th as troops contributor to Peacekeeping Operations with 891 personnel[19] and Japan are analyzed. Identifying the

---

[19] Data November 2006. United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/2006/feb06_2.pdf Last accessed: December 10, 2006.

patterns of participation of these countries in Peacekeeping Operations is expected to draw significant decision-making references for México.

Identifying the pattern of participation of Argentina, one of the most experienced Latin American country in Peacekeeping Operations, it is argued, has an important psychological resonance for Mexican policy-makers. This is primarily because of the strong historical and cultural nexuses of México with Latin America, and an undeniable notion of pertinence to a community. This explains why México is frequently considered as part of Central America, when in geographical terms, it belongs to North America.[20] The Argentinean involvement in UN peacekeeping is worth analyzing from various angles: transition facilitation from military dictatorship to democracy (subordination to civilian power, democratic Civil-Military Relations), closer ties with the United States, harmonization of foreign and defence policies, erasing an international notion (particularly among neighbouring countries) of been a problem state, and improved national image and public acceptance of the armed forces.

The involvement of Japan in Peacekeeping Operations reveals the rationale for increased co-operation in international security. Having explicitly renounced to its right to belligerence and the maintenance of armed forces, Japan is now participating in UNPKO. Japan sought an active participation in PKO as a means to increase its long time neglected involvement in international security and to improve its international negotiation capacity in pursuit of specific goals, including a permanent seat at the UN Security Council. The Japanese case is useful as a reflection on the influence of UNPKO on attitudes towards international security; the way foreign policy making is conceived; the role of the state and non-state actors in this process; PKO as an option to diversify a highly interdependent bilateral relationship with the United States; the inescapable responsibility of cooperating with the international community in the maintenance of security; and the influence that PKO can exert in the promotion of the role that states seek to play in the international arena. Commonalities with México make the Japanese case useful for policy comparisons.

---

[20] "World Macro Regions and Components," (United Nations, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/depts/dhl/maplib/worldregions.htm Last accessed: March 18, 2006.

10

The time frame of the comparative analysis runs from January 1990 to April 2007; the starting year represents a turning point for Japan's foreign policy and marks a big step for its involvement in international security. It also covers the starting involvement of Argentina in Peacekeeping Operations. The period also covers the UN efforts to "revive" peacekeeping after failed missions in Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda. In addition, the time frame covers the change in trend participation in UNPKO, from Middle Power domination to increased small and developing nations, as well as previously non-participating Great Powers.[21] The end of the one-party hegemonic rule in México and the increase in the debate of the peacekeeping issue within government and academic circles, are also covered, as well as post-9/11 events. Closing the time frame to April 2007 allows having access to the latest data available on Peacekeeping Operations. This time frame, however, does not include information on the New Mexican administration of President Felipe Calderon; this is mainly because, as of April 21, 2007, the new National Development Plan was not yet issued, and deep re-structuring was taking part in the federal government, namely the creation of a national police.

The study concludes by assessing the relevance of "Selective Peacekeeping" for México, including a series of policy recommendations and possible courses of actions, as well as a set of safeguards to guarantee the constitutionality of the Mexican actions on the ground. Participating in selective Peacekeeping Operations for México is recommended to take a two-fold pattern: incremental involvement to break the inertia of long, low-involvement – low-profile internationalism and a safe path towards active participation; and gradual participation to allow assimilation of structural and behavioural changes in México's armed forces. In any way, this study recommends peacekeeping for México to resolve structural issues of the military, for which specific support programs are required.

Research Question and Hypotheses

This study seeks to answer one central question: how can México rationalize the inescapable dilemma posed by its Constitutional mandate to conduct foreign policy (strict

---

[21] Great Powers here means the five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council, or P5.

11

observation of non-intervention, self-determination and peaceful settlement of disputes) in order for this country to contribute to international security at the moment that experiences a democratization process? The main hypothesis is that "Selective Peacekeeping" can serve both international and national demands for México, and thus it can be a central feature of México's foreign policy.

Selective peacekeeping draws from México's foreign policy principles, UN peacekeeping principles and the necessity to cooperate with international security. As such, the policy prescription, "Selective Peacekeeping," is aimed at serving both national and international ends.

The fact that México is willing to increase co-operation with international security, as historical evidence shows it, allows hypothesizing the relationship between the necessity to cooperate and Selective Peacekeeping as policy prescription. Accordingly, a set of five propositions guides the study: 1) security, which is increasingly dominating the international agenda, can be more effectively addressed through a UN-centered multilateralism, and contributing to international security is in the interest of México; 2) peacekeeping remains valid as a UN instrument to restore and maintain international peace and security, and it offers a host of possibilities for participation; 3) a military participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations maximizes the benefits for México at both the national and international levels; 4) deriving from an acceptable notion of peacekeeping (UNDPKO's definition), the constitutional guidelines for the conduction of México's foreign policy (non-intervention, self-determination and the peaceful resolution of disputes), and the three core principles of peacekeeping (impartiality, consent, and the minimum use of force only in self-defence), Selective Peacekeeping can be a foreign policy instrument for México; 5) finally, the cases of Argentina and Japan represent an important source of lessons for México to adopt UN peacekeeping as a policy instrument.

Definition of Peacekeeping
This study utilizes the terms "Selective Peacekeeping" and "UN Peacekeeping Operations." The term "UN Peacekeeping Operations," as it has been defined by the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, is used here as a reference for the construction

12

of the term "Selective Peacekeeping" proposed by this study exclusively to apply to the case of México.

It is not easy to define "Peacekeeping Operations" and various authors agree that no official definition exists, and some even argue that nothing in the UN Charter provides express authorization to the UN to carry out these kinds of operations.[22] One reason is that these operations were not specifically contemplated at the moment of founding the United Nations and therefore they are not specifically mentioned by name in the UN Charter.[23] However, Articles VI, VII, and VIII of the UN Charter provide legality to the conduct of these operations.[24] Also, the term "peacekeeping" has generated confusion and is a matter of debate. Nevertheless, the term is of common use and, despite the lack of consensus mentioned above, there have been sixty operations since 1948 categorized as "Peacekeeping Operations," of which fifteen are currently in place.[25]

A number of definitions of peacekeeping exist than can be used for the purpose of this study.[26] However, this study focuses on UN Peacekeeping Operations as the possible foreign policy instrument for México, and since the constitutional mandate for the conduct of its foreign policy poses specific challenges, the definition offered by the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO) seems to be more appropriate: "peace-keeping operation; PKO [noncombat military operations undertaken by outside forces with the consent of all major belligerent parties and designed to monitor and

---

[22] Christopher Bellamy, Knights in White Armour: New Art of War and Peace, (London: Hutchinson, 1996), p.85.

[23] Charter of the United Nations, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945).

[24] Legal Framework for Modern Peacekeeping Operations. The New Peacekeeping Partnership.Précis C99-0101, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.3.

[25] Information Note, February 28, 2006. United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/glossary/ Last accessed: March 24, 2006.

[26] Examples of these are: Indar Rikhye, The Politics and Practice of United Nations Peacekeeping: Past, Present and Future, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2000), p.10; Ministerio de Defensa Español. Misiones de Paz. Clasificación de las Misiones de Paz. Internet. Available at: http://www.mde.es/./contenido.jsp?id_nodo=4262&&&keyword=&auditoria=F Last accessed: March 26, 2006; Marrack Goulding, "The Evolution of United Nations Peacekeeping," International Affairs, 69, (1993), pp.451–464; William J. Durch, (ed.), UN Peacekeeping, American Policy, and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), p.4.

facilitate the implementation of an existing truce agreement in support of diplomatic efforts to reach a political settlement; 'PKOs' covers (sic): peace-keeping forces, observer missions and mixed operations]."[27] Another reason for the use of this term above other definitions is that Peacekeeping Operations are frequently defined by states according to their own interest.

Various functions performed by modern operations are left outsome peacekeeping includes a broad range of functions: establishing and maintaining law and order, monitoring or verifying ceasefire or disengagement agreements, planning and supervising disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of combatants, and protecting humanitarian assistance. It may include, however, "peacemaking" and "peacebuilding" efforts implemented as part of wider democracy building or nation building efforts specified in the mandate of peacekeeping missions (e.g., election organizing, civilian police formation/supervision, judiciary and correctional systems, mine action programs, and transitional administration as part of UNMIBH in 1995).

The UNDPKO definition does not include "enforcement" efforts (e.g. US-led military forces deployed in Korea in the 1950 or the NATO-led air strikes in Kosovo in1999) or post-conflict "peacebuilding" efforts carried on separately (e.g., the EU Election Observation Missions (EOMs) deployed in West Bank/Gaza, Guinea Bissau, Burundi, Ethiopia, and Lebanon, or the UN-OAS International Civilian Mission to Haiti, also known as MICIVIH). Nevertheless, this definition still provides the analytical grounds for traditional approaches which are more appropriate for states with restrictive mandates.

---

[27] Glossary. United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/glossary/ Last accessed: March 24, 2006.

14

The term "Selective Peacekeeping"[28] is defined as those UN Peacekeeping Operations suited for Mexican participation. It refers to the performance of "selected functions" by military contingents in UN Peacekeeping Operations, where the principles of "impartiality," "consent" and "the minimum use of force only in self-defence," are observed: impartiality means that the operations should not take sides with any of the parties to the conflict; consent neutralizes the notion of "intervention" and thus it must be reconciled with self-determination and thus it means the tacit agreement to the deployment of "all," or "most of all" the parties to the conflict where the operation is to be, or has been, deployed; and minimum use of force only in self-defence must be authorized by the national authority – in agreement with the international authority – through the commander on the ground. And the selection of functions to be performed by Mexican contingents need to be specified as safeguards to guarantee the constitutionality of Selective Peacekeeping for México.

As it can be noted, the term "Selective Peacekeeping" applies only for military and police participation, other civilian participation is possible, but as it is explained further on, it will not provide the same political returns, nor it will serve national and international interests in the same way.

Theoretical/Analytical Framework

During its early decades – most of the Cold War period – peacekeeping was dominated by the Middle Powers, that is, those states not big enough to be considered Great Powers, but with enough economic and military resources to "patrol" the world. This tendency,

---

[28] The author acknowledges parallelism of the proposed term "Selective Peacekeeping" with the ones included in Presidential Decision Directive 25 (PDD-25) considered as to be intended "to ensure that use of [peace] operations is 'selective' and more effective." "Selectivity" in this case, however, means that the United States "cannot respond to every humanitarian catastrophe in the world." For instance, just before her trip to Sierra Leone in October, 1999, Secretary of State Albright said: "We have to resist the temptation to use our forces in every dispute that catches our eye or our emotions." John R. Bolton, "United States Policy on United Nations Peacekeeping," World Affairs, 163, 3, (Winter 2001), pp.129-147. And with the term used in María Cristina Rosas, "México before UN Peacekeeping Operations: Policy Recommendations." In this work, Rosas sets forth fourteen recommendations for Mexico to get involved in UN peacekeeping operations, which includes "selective" participation with strict attachment to constitutional law, and only when Mexico can "make a difference." Selectivity for Rosas means "conducting a study on the different possible functions to be performed, such as elections, police, administrative, humanitarian aid, etc."Maria Cristina Rosas (Coord.), Las Operaciones de Mantenimiento de la Paz de las Naciones Unidas: Lecciones para México, (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2005), p.63, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

15

however, has changed and, now, the major contributors to peacekeeping are developing countries and not previously participating Great Powers. This reversed interest in peacekeeping can only be partially explained by the theories that had dominated the subject area, such as Realism (states pursue pure selfish interests), Functionalism (through Middle Power Theory – "niche diplomacy"), and Behaviouralism (through the Theory of Externalities – "private goods" vs. "public goods"), and thus it calls for more comprehensive approaches. Consequently, this study draws on a combination of theories and methodologies to simplify explanations while it sets up a conceptual framework for analysis; what Adam Przeworski has called a "methodological opportunism."[29]

As has been noted, participating in UN Peacekeeping Operations is a voluntary decision of Member States. The international nature of these operations makes such a decision necessarily a foreign policy decision and, thus, its study falls in the subfield of foreign policy analysis. Identifying the viability of a Mexican participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations requires looking into this country's foreign policy decision-making. It also requires looking at the constraints (legal and contextual) for México to "shape" such participation.

Characteristic of International Relations, there is a host of theoretical approaches to the analysis of decision-making. Most of them offer satisfying explanations according to the focus of analysis, but none can claim the title of "general theory," that is, one theory to explain all, or most, of the phenomena in the subfield. Therefore, students must be content with "selecting" and "arranging" "partial" explanations to reach conclusions, and yet it will not be possible for them to avoid the major debates of the discipline.

The study of foreign policy decision-making has focused on the "intentions and strategies of governments and how definitions of the situation are translated into action".[30] It puts emphasis on human beings acting individually and collectively in the formulation of foreign policy. With this focus, the study of foreign policy decisions

---

[29] Adam orski, "[Contribution to] The Role of Theory in Comparative Politics - A Symposium"; World Politics, 48, 1, (The John Hopkins University Press, 1995), p.16.

[30] Margaret G. Herman, "Leaders and Foreign Policy Decision-making." In Dan Caldwell and Timothy J. McKeown (eds.), Diplomacy, Force and Leadership.Essays in Honor of Alexander L. George, (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1993), p.78.

16

challenges the major paradigms of the field of International Relations. For instance, rather than assuming the state as a homogeneous unitary actor (the realist claim),[31] foreign policy analysis opens the "black box" of the state. That is, it looks into the formulation and implementation processes – actors involved, structures and relationships. Also, the notion that the state is a rational actor fails to explain apparently irrational foreign policy decisions and behaviour, such as the manipulation of perceptions.[32] Furthermore, the realist homogeneous conceptualization of national interest makes analyses of the multiple agendas involved in the policy formulation process, almost impossible.

From a different perspective, liberalism, with its focus on democracy, free trade and international institutions tends to downplay the role of military power in foreign policy decision-making. And Idealism or Constructivism, which focus on values, cultural ties, and social identities, cannot provide alone satisfactory explanations for the international-human security debate.[33] In sum, the "best" approach for the analysis of foreign decision-making has to be tailored to each specific analytical case. The greatest challenge to do this is to provide a coherent framework to answer the research question.

In this context, the question that arises is how to manage insecurity? From the array of theories of International Relations, two are typically used to analyze security in the international environment: the Liberal and the Realist traditions. Both approaches have been the "basic building blocks of International Relations Theory,"[34] and both have generated an unresolved debate that "whoever studies contemporary international relations cannot but hear, behind the clash of interests and ideologies, a kind of

---

[31] Hans Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations: the Struggle for Power and Peace, (New York: Knopf, 1978), p.5.

[32] Robert Jarvis, Perception and Misperception in International Politics, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976).

[33] Larry A. Swatuk, Between Choice in a Hard Place: Contending Theories of International Relations, (Halifax, NS.: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, 1991).

[34] Swatuk, Between Choice in a Hard Place, p.13.

17

permanent dialogue between Rousseau and Kant."[35]

To address the security issue, liberal internationalist approaches rely on power control through coordinated action from the international community and its institutions. Two are the most cited liberal approaches to international security: "collective security" and "arms control and disarmament." The former is based on the proposition that an aggression to one is an aggression to all. It came about as a doctrine developed to replace the self-help system of balance of power. The new system involved "the commitment by each state to the security of every other state."[36] The latter is based on the assumption that "fewer weapons mean greater security." By regulating the proliferation of arms (arms control) and by reducing the number and kinds of weapons in use (disarmament), the costs of security decrease.[37] In this sense, it is safe to say that México has held a liberal approach to international relations. The normative emphasis of its foreign policy based on the so-called "Estrada" and "Carranza" doctrines, the vigorous tradition of the right to asylum, and the precepts of the UN Charter.[38] The "Carranza" Doctrine relates to an almost-blind respect for state sovereignty, and the "Estrada" Doctrine to avoid intervening in internal matters exclusive of other states (both are explained in detail in Chapter III of this study).

The realists rely on force, or the threat of the use of force, to manage security. The common approaches to security in the realist tradition are "the balance of power" and "deterrence." The balance of power refers to an equilibrium between any two parties. The role a state will play derives from careful rational and calculated evaluations of costs and benefits of particular policies. The goal for the state is to maintain a balance of power by

---

[35] Stanley Hoffman, Janus and Minerva: Essays in the Theory and Practice of International Politics, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987), p.47. In Larry A. Swatuk, Between Choice and a hard Place: Contending Theories of International Relations, (Halifax, NS: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1991), p.16.

[36] Chris Brown and Kirsten Ainley, Understanding International Relations, (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2005), p.133.

[37] Karen A. Mingst, Essentials of International Relations, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2004), p.221.

[38] Jorge Castañeda, "El Cambio Democrático y la Política Exterior Mexicana." El Universal, (México: June 29, 2002).

18

protecting its own interests by increasing its capabilities and undermining the capabilities of others.[39] For deterrence, the goal is to prevent the outbreak of war. According to this approach, war can be prevented by wielding the threat of the use of force. For instance, the United States made clear in its 2002 National Security Strategy that it will defend "the United States, the American people, and our interests at home and abroad by identifying and destroying the threat before it reaches our borders. While the United States will constantly strive to enlist the support of the international community, we will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise our right of self-defence by acting pre-emptively against such terrorists, to prevent them from doing harm against our people and our country;..."[40] This is a clear example of deterrence and certainly an opportunity to establish a position of power.

The theoretical framework needed for this study must provide guidance to find explanations about the increasing necessity of states to participate in international security, the importance of the UN as the administrative institution of the international security system, the identification of motives that drive peacekeeping participation, and México's international relations expressed through its foreign policy and international behaviour. The phenomena involved in the intellectual exercise of this study are complex and diverse. Their analysis requires looking into processes that take place at different levels and paces. The relationship between them not always is clear and frequent overlapping make distinction difficult. Simplification is therefore advised to give coherence and consistence to the thesis.

The necessity to cooperate for México with the outside environment (arguably created by a series of factors manifested at both the national and the international planes, such as the New Threats and international pressure) comes at the time that it experiences democratization process (also with domestic and international ramifications). Policy instruments able to be implemented at both planes and to serve at both ends, will

---

[39] Karen A. Mingst, Essentials of International Relations, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2004), p.225.

[40] The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, (Washington, DC: The White House, 2002). Internet, available at: http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf Last accessed: April 19, 2006, [NOTE: ITALICS BY AUTHOR].

therefore preferred: UN peacekeeping is one of these. Consequently, the analytical foci for the case of México are: "the necessity to cooperate," UN "Peacekeeping Operations," México's "democratization process," and the Mexican "armed forces."

As proposed by this work, "Selective Peacekeeping" is drawn as "the policy prescription" that can best serve both national and international demands. The fact that the new threats and challenges exist in both the domestic and international environments, has direct implications on the extended roles of defence and security forces. For this reason, it is imperative for México to improve effectiveness and democratization of its armed forces, which extended roles demand in turn a revision of an outdated defence policy.

In this sense, Selective Peacekeeping should point towards improved democratization and effectiveness of the participating agencies, which in this particular case refers to the Mexican armed forces. Subsequently, there is a need to isolate each of the ongoing processes for analysis: the necessity to cooperate, UN peacekeeping as a valid mechanism, and México's democratization process (including the internal implications of this for the armed forces).

In the absence of a comprehensive analytical tool, this study builds on the concepts of the "levels of analysis" by J. David Singer (1969)[41] and Middle Power and Niche Diplomacy.[42] Singer's "levels of analysis" allow focusing the analyses on the environment. The practical value of these contributions to the case of México lies in the possibility to theorize about the possible effects of the international environment on foreign policy decisions. Therefore, identifying levels of analysis and organizing variables accordingly, and in relation to one another, is important in order to make the environment "manageable."

In the particular case of the analysis of peacekeeping participation as foreign policy decision, the framework provided by Singer helps breaking down the environment

---

[41] J. David Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations," in James N. Rosenau (Ed.), International Politics and Foreign Policy, (New York: Free Press, 1969), pp.20-29.

[42] Shannon-Marie Soni, "A Lighter Shade of Blue: Japan's Role in UN Peacekeeping Operations," Periscope, (International University of Japan, 1997). Internet. Available at: http://www2.iuj.ac.jp/persicope/paperV21D.htm Accessed: March 8, 2006.

into areas where policies originate. For instance, the raison d'etre of an eventual Mexican peacekeeping participation, as well as the relationship of México with the UN, can be found by looking at the "international environment level;" the US-México bilateral relationship can be examined at the "international relations level"; México's foreign policy decision-making process can be located at the "societal level;" and the extended roles of the Mexican armed forces can be distinguished at the "role level."

Based on Middle Power theory, Shannon-Marie Soni (1997)[43] observes that the "invention" of peacekeeping filled in an existing void in the system of collective security. This system, as stated in the UN Charter, establishes clear roles to be played by the Great Powers, but not for the rest of the Member States. The roles that "the rest" must play in international security have to be determined by a sort of natural selection. Middle Power theory in general and Niche Diplomacy in particular, provide the bases for this action, which in turn meets the demand for co-operation that peacekeeping creates. This theory can shed light on the likely international behaviour of a country like México, which has signalled its intent to take a larger stake in international politics.

Middle power diplomacy and niche diplomacy are mutually compatible with collective security, Soni argues. The former makes the selection on the basis of resources (lack military resources to become Great Powers, but enough to be placed above minor powers) and the prediction of patterns of behaviour (multilateral over unilateral solutions, disputes referees, good international citizenship). Based on capabilities and interests, the latter advocates the concentration of the states' resources in specific areas where they can maximize returns and make a difference (comparative advantage). For Soni, these two theories provide the rationale for peacekeeping participation: finding "the niche" for co-operation in exchange for "good international citizen reputation."

However, there are at least two problems with these theories: first, defining national interests is a highly controversial issue, and, most of the time, national interests are not openly pursued. And second, Middle Power Diplomacy fails to explain the

---

[43] Shannon-Marie Soni, "A Lighter Shade of Blue: Japan's Role in UN Peacekeeping Operations," Periscope, (International University of Japan, 1997). Internet. Available at: http://www2.iuj.ac.jp/persicope/paperV21D.htm Accessed: March 8, 2006.

21

dramatic change in post-Cold War peacekeeping participation, from middle power domination, to developing states and previous non-participating Great powers. Nonetheless, Middle Power theory and Niche Diplomacy seem to be helpful to rationalize prescriptive options for México to define the kind of "Selective Peacekeeping" through which it can find its comparative advantage, or "niche," and maximize returns, and make a difference with its participation.

Research Methods

This study employs a four-step analysis. First: the phenomena that may influence México's decision to participate in international security, that is the set of factors that produces the necessity to cooperate, can be identified at the different levels of analysis recommended by J. David Singer (1969):[44] the international environment, international relations, societal, government, and role. Second: The "niches" of opportunities for UN peacekeeping participation, as they are provided by the analysis of Modern Peacekeeping Operations, will be identified. Third: the cases of Argentina and Japan will be employed to observe patterns of participation, as well as different ways to pursue national interests while contributing to international security through peacekeeping participation. And Fourth: the dissertation will include a compatibility analysis of the three core principles of peacekeeping and their applicability over time, and the three core principles of México's foreign policy as well as their different conceptualizations over time, to help de-stigmatize the notion of unconstitutionality of UN peacekeeping for México.

As outlined in the following section, this study utilizes a number of bibliographic sources, some of which are found only in specialized libraries, internet accessible documents and works, as well as interviews with government officials and official documents obtained through México's new mechanism to access public information.

---

[44] J. David Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations," in James N. Rosenau (Ed.), International Politics and Foreign Policy, (New York: Free Press, 1969), pp.20-29.

22

First Step Analysis: Levels of Analysis

The International Environment Level

At this level, the key aspects under consideration are global security, new threats, México in a US-led world, UN-centered multilateralism, and Peacekeeping Operations. Through a selection of recent readings and databases, such as the High-level Panel on Threats,[45] the 2005 Human Security Report,[46] "International Relations Theory and Multilateralism: the Search for Foundations,"[47] "United Nations: Multilateralism and International Security,"[48] "Democratic Accountability and the Use of Force,"[49] "Niche Diplomacy,"[50] and the "2005 Globalization Index Data,"[51] among others, this study will portray the international environment and the central place that security is occupying. Particular emphasis will be put on the intermestic nature of the new threats that has blurred the distinction between external and internal security, and between defence and security roles. In pursuant of national interests through co-operation with collective interests, and as it is advised by Niche Diplomacy, peacekeeping will help draw a new international role for México.

The difficulty of the use of force is addressed afterwards. From this, noting that unilateral approaches to the use of force cannot build enough legitimacy for action, this

---

[45] Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, "A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility," (New York: United Nations, 2004), p.78.

[46] The Human Security Report 2005: War and Peace in the 21st Century. The Human Security Centre, (2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.humansecurityreport.info/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=28&Itemid=63 Last accessed: November 7, 2005.

[47] James Caporazo, "International Relations Theory and Multilateralism: The Search for Foundations," International Organization, 46, 3, (Summer, 1992), pp.599-632.

[48] C. Uday Bhaskar and others, United Nations: Multilateralism and International Security, (New Delhi: Shipra, 2005).

[49] Charlotte Ku and Harold K. Jacobson (ed.), Democratic Accountability and the Use of Force in International Law, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[50] Andrew F. Cooper, Niche Diplomacy: Middle Powers after the Cold War, (New York: St. Martin Press, 1997).

[51] "2005 Globalization Index Data," A. T. Kearny/Foreign Policy. Internet. Available at: http://www.atkearney.com/main.taf?p=5,4,1,116,1 Last accessed: March 18, 2006.

23

study stresses the importance of UN-centered multilateralism. In addition, México's preference to the UN over other international organizations is also explained. The privileges and responsibilities that México has acquired through its relative position in the world are explained on the basis of its economic size and trade volume, and its relationship with the United States. Furthermore in this section, the necessity to cooperate for the maintenance of international security will be addressed. This analysis will attempt to make clear that isolationism is not a viable political option, while it underscores the reasons behind the observed new international activism of México.

Peacekeeping as an option for México will be examined at this point. The set of opportunities (contextual and circumstantial) will point at UN peacekeeping as "the" option for Mexican diplomacy, in exchange for international political benefits. By looking at the tendency of peacekeeping missions around the world in the context of the trend of armed conflicts, this study will project the likely future of these operations. An in-depth analysis of these operations in the context of inadequacies of the UN Security Council, and the dynamics of mission approval and funding, will serve as a backdrop for further analysis at both the strategic and operational levels. The seminal works for this purpose are the Report of the High-level Panel on Threats[52] and the Report of the Panel on United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, better known as "The Brahimi Report."[53]

The report on threats makes an extensive recount of the state of the art of the international security environment, while strongly endorsing an emerging acceptance of the responsibility to "protect" people from harm. The Brahimi report is the recognition of the international community of the importance to improve peacekeeping, and its likely future as a UN instrument to restore and maintain international peace and security.

The Brahimi Report was published in 2000, after numerous missions were implemented during the 1990s that exceeded the capacity of the UN, including disastrous missions in Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda. These perceived failures severely damaged the

---

[52] Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, "A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility," (New York: United Nations, 2004), p.78.

[53] Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations. A/55/305. S/2000/809, "The need for change," (United Nations, 2000), p.3. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/ Last accessed: April 13, 2005.

reputation of the organization to handle operations where impartiality was not possible. The most salient aspects of the Brahimi Report are its proposals to reform peacekeeping, to establish new or adapt existing structures for the conduct of peace operations, and to develop mechanisms of rapid response. The Brahimi Report validates the prominence of peacekeeping as a useful instrument for international peace and security.

The International Relations Level

At the level of the international relations, the attention is centered on México and its role in a US-led world. The foci of analysis are the US-México bilateral relations, the three core principles of México's foreign policy, the UN-México relationship, and México's regional position. The analysis at this level needs to be performed in the context of an increasing integration (social, economic and security) of North America. This section will seek to emphasize the centrality of the US-México bilateral relations, characterized by intense interdependence and asymmetric relationship. For this, a historical perspective will also be included.

At this point, México's long pacifist tradition and the reasons that supported an also long low-involvement – low-profile foreign policy, will be highlighted. Understanding the importance of the US-México bilateral relation is vital for the comprehension of the three core principles of México's foreign policy, and the reluctance of some sectors of this country's society to accept an increased international activism, particularly in the military sphere. The key readings for understanding these factors include the Reports to the Leaders of the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America,[54] México and the New Challenges for Hemispheric Security,[55] the 2005 Comparative Defence Atlas of Latin America,[56] and the Declaration on Security in the

---

[54] The Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America Report to the Leaders. Internet. Available at: http://www.fac-aec.gc.ca/spp/SPP-report.PDF Last accessed: March 18, 2006.

[55] Raúl B. Manaut, México and the New Challenges for Hemispheric Security, (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/ACF18DF.pdf Last accessed: March 18, 2006.

[56] Atlas Comparativo de América Latina, (Buenos Aires: Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.resdal.org/libros/Archivo/atlas-libro.htm Last accessed: March 19, 2006.

25

Americas,[57] among others.

The Societal Level

At the societal level, the factors selected for analysis are: México's democratization process, foreign policy formulation, actors involved, and new democratic practices. In other words, this section will look into the "black box" of México's foreign policy decision-making. Here, foreign policy is considered as a process because this allows understanding the dynamics posed by both the global and the domestic environments. At this level, identifying the actors and practices involved in the decision-making process is important, given the ongoing democratic process in México. This way, the relationships between factors (and actors) involved at the different levels of analysis can be identified, and the likeliness for supporting peacekeeping participation can be inferred.

Here, the analysis will centre on identifying the dynamics between the major actors in the foreign policy formulation process, namely Congress and the executive. A review of Article 89 of the Constitution of México is critical to understand the formulation process and to introduce the core principles of México's foreign policy.[58] Also, an initiative prepared by the Senate in 2005 to reform Article 76 of the Constitution is also important to analyze in light of the necessity to cooperate.[59] If succeeds, this reform will pave the road for a Mexican participation in Peacekeeping Operations, without the need of Congressional authorization.

---

[57] Declaration on Security in the Americas, (The Organization of American States, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.oas.org/documents/eng/DeclaracionSecurity_102803.asp Last accessed: March 18, 2006.

[58] The standard principles of México's foreign policy were included in the Constitution by reform in May 11, 1988. H. Cámara de Diputados. Reformas Constitucionales por Artículo. Internet. Available at: http://www.cddhcu.gob.mx/leyinfo/refcns/reformaspa.htm last accessed: March 20, 2006. Constitutional Article 89, X, states: "Faculties and Obligations of the President." "Direct foreign policy and conclude international treaties, and submit them to the approval of the Senate: In the conducting of this policy, the head of the Executive Power will observe the following standard principles: self-determination of peoples, non-intervention, peaceful resolution of disputes, juridical equality of states, international co-operation for development, and the struggle for international peace and security." Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, (México: 1917).

[59] Constitutional Article 76, Fraction III states as exclusive power of the Senate to authorize the president "to permit the departure of national troops beyond the borders of the country, the passage of foreign troops through the national territory, and the sojourn of squadrons of other powers for more than one month in Mexican waters." The proposal modifies Fraction III by allowing the President to permit the departure of troops in those cases "contemplated in treaties and norms of international law ratified by México," Agora, No. 1665, *Boletín del Grupo Parlamentario del PRD*, (México, March 03, 2006), p.22, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

26

It will be necessary at this level to learn how the Mexican society thinks about peacekeeping and an eventual participation of México in these kinds of operations. For this, the study conducted by the *Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica* (CIDE) and *Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales* (COMEXI)[60] will be the source of information.

Evidence of political struggle in México that led to failed attempts of the Fox's Administration to participate in international peace and security issues, suggests changes in México's policy-making process. Outcomes of Mexican foreign policy are now a result of a political bargaining process and not just the product of an Executive fiat. Newspapers articles are a good source of information to identify changes in political practices and actors involved in the policy-making process.

Also, a comparison of México's foreign policy, as outlined in the National Plan for Development, before and after 2000, helps to identify these changes. The necessary information for the analysis is obtained from government documents, such as the above mentioned National Plan for Development, which contains the guidelines for México's foreign policy implementation, and official records of Mexican participation in international organizations held by the Mexican Secretariat of Foreign Affairs. Such a comparison is expected to shed light on different conceptualizations of the three core principles of México's foreign policy over time.

The Government Level

The government level, Congress and the Executive branch will be the focus. Once identified the relationship between Congress and the Executive branch, it will be possible to more closely examine the roles and capabilities of the government's operational arms. About Congress, the interest will be oriented towards the identification of positions regarding active involvement in international security in general, and Peacekeeping Operations in particular. The same will be done for the Executive, but extended to its

---

[60] This survey, titled "México y el Mundo. Global Views 2004. Mexican Public Opinion and Foreign Policy," was conducted from July 9-19, 2004. It uses a nationally representative sample of 1,500 face-to-face home interviews. For leaders, it telephone interviewed Mexican politicians, businessmen and cultural leaders. Methodological details can be found at CIDE's webpage: http://www.cide.edu Las accessed: March 20, 2006.

operational arms, such as the armed forces, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the federal police.

The Role Level

Of particular interest in this section will be the identification of traditional and newly assigned roles of the armed forces as well as capabilities and different positions about peacekeeping participation. Also, by looking at México's national security agenda and the particular mission statements of its armed forces, the changing role of the military in the face of perceived threats will become clear. The armed forces' internal organization laws are good sources of information for this endeavour.[61]

Through a selection of newspapers articles, the different stands on peacekeeping and on the increasing international involvement of the military will be determined. México's "official" position about Peacekeeping Operations will be determined from a careful revision of interventions at UN fora within the time frame. About these, it will be important to look for radical changes of México's position and commitment especially during the period that México served as a Non-permanent Member of the Security Council for the period 2002-2003.

At this point, a review of previous participation of México in peacekeeping and international crises will be important to establish the precedents for further action. The successful participation of Mexican teams in the 2004 tsunami disaster in South-east Asia and hurricane Katrina in the United States in 2005 will be specifically targeted for analysis. Particular emphasis will be put on the wide public support that these operations received in México. Previous participations of México in UN missions, such as UNSCOB (United Nations Special Committee in the Balkans) in 1947 and in UNMOGIP (United Nations Military Observer Group in India-Pakistan) in 1949, as well as in ONUSAL (UN mission to El Salvador) in 1994, are not examined, unfortunately, since no official record was found and no individuals were available for interview. For the first two cases all the military personnel that participated in these operations have died by the time this study

---

[61] Ley Orgánica del Ejército y Fuerza Aérea Mexicanos, (México: 1986 – last reform 1998) and Ley Orgánica de la Armada de México, (México 2002).

28

was conducted and incidents of corruption with Mexican policemen participating in ONUSAL prevented further research.

Second Step Analysis: "Niches" of Opportunity

As stated before, Niche Diplomacy suggests, based on capabilities and interests, states need to concentrate their resources in specific areas where they can maximize returns and make a difference.[62] Identifying such areas is therefore a mandatory exercise for policy prescription. The set of choices for UN peacekeeping participation as they are provided by the analysis of Modern Peacekeeping Operations will be identified.

This analysis is three-fold: 1) it will seek to identify key features of Modern peacekeeping that affect mission implementation and success (e.g., legality, legitimacy, use of force, applicability of the core principles); 2) it will identify the main functions performed in these operations (e.g., military, civilian police, disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, elections); and 3) key issues for mission success and successful participation as well as long-lasting peace will also be identified (e.g., Civil-Military Relations, women in peacekeeping, the dark side of peacekeeping).

The analysis of Modern Peacekeeping will help identify the "niches" of opportunity for a potential Mexican participation in Peacekeeping Operations. It will also help to identify strengths and weaknesses of the Mexican military in relation to Peacekeeping Operations. By making a comprehensive overview of influential readings in the field, this study will clarify the evolution of Peacekeeping Operations.

Understanding the making and implementation of a UN peacekeeping operation will be helpful to identify potential difficulties (political and operational) for deployment. At this point, a distinction of the different multilateral interventions authorized by the UNSC will provide the backdrop for the compatibility analysis of the core principles of México's foreign policy and peacekeeping. In addition, peacekeeping's collateral effects are highlighted with the intention of raising concern about the importance of pre-deployment professional training for peacekeeping.

---

[62] Andrew F. Cooper, Niche Diplomacy: Middle Powers after the Cold War, (New York: St. Martin Press, 1997).

Third Step Analysis: Patterns of Participation

The identification of patterns of behaviour will become important deterministic factors of México's foreign policy because they will underscore tactics of participation used by comparable states. They will also be additional factors for the formulation of "Selective Peacekeeping" for México. For these reasons, the cases of Argentina and Japan focus on the evolution of these countries' participation in Peacekeeping Operations that shed light on the main interests behind its contribution to international security.

The characteristics of these countries' involvement in peacekeeping are analyzed to understand how they overcame domestic and international constraints in pursuit of its foreign policy goals. The case of Argentina was selected to highlight both, commonalities as well as differences between the Argentine and Mexican military establishments; particularly in regards to their reactions to the extended roles and to democratization. The Argentina case draws important lessons for México in various aspects: the relation between the Executive and the Congress in starting active participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations, as well as a way to get closer to the United States. The selection of peacekeeping as policy harmonizer and image booster, as well as the operational perceived benefits for Argentine armed forces are also good sources of lessons for the Mexican military. An overview of Congressional debates to restrain the Argentine Executive powers, show the difficulty for the president to have at its disposal the armed forces for international deployments.

The Japanese case is used to contrast commonalities with the Mexican case, from which both antimilitaristic pacifist foreign policies and the constraints posed by equally high interdependent bilateral relations with the United States stand out. Also, relevant differences are highlighted to make comparisons possible, particularly Japan's gradual but steady participation in Peacekeeping Operations so as to incorporate them as part of its foreign policy in a relatively short time.

The origins of Japan's Constitution and the evolution of Japan's Self-defence Forces are described to explain a long-standing, limited involvement in international security. Next, the centrality of the Japan-US security alliance sheds light on the parallel evolution of Japan's postwar defence and foreign policies. Afterward, a series of changes,

30

both domestically and internationally, are identified to frame Japan's major policy turning points. An overview of salient domestic debates about Japanese participation in peacekeeping shows the difficulties Japan has encountered in reconciling domestic opposition with external pressure. The Japanese case concludes with the identification of some of the clearest implications of Japanese peacekeeping. An analysis of the case of Japan identifies the major objectives behind Japan's substantial participation in peacekeeping, and the comparative analysis sheds light on the choices available for policy recommendation in the case of México.

Fourth Step Analysis: Principles' Compatibility

An analysis of the three core principles of peacekeeping (impartiality, consent and the minimum use of force only in self-defence) and their applicability over time will be examined. A comparative analysis will be conducted on the three core principles of México's foreign policy (non-intervention, self-determination and the peaceful resolution of disputes) as well as their different conceptualizations over time.

These analyses will be employed to shape the definition of "Selective Peacekeeping" for México, and to recommend possible safeguards for a Mexican active participation in Peacekeeping Operations. The outcomes of these analyses are expected to erase the notion of incompatibility between these two sets of principles, and thus contribute to change the perception of foreign policy-makers in México about Peacekeeping Operations. Also relevant for this study, and particularly for the case of México, is the fact that as long as Mexican policy-makers "perceive" peacekeeping to be incompatible with México's foreign policy, the decision to participate in Peacekeeping Operations will not be taken.[63]

Organization of the Study

This study is organized in five chapters: besides the introductory first chapter, the first step analysis is included in chapter two and three. Chapter two looks at the international

---

[63] Richard C. Snyder and others, Foreign Policy Decision-making: an approach to the Study of International Politics, (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), p.86.

31

environment, with especial attention to the necessity to cooperate as explained by the New Threats, co-operation in the global world and the use of force through the UN-centered multilateralism; and the international relations level, where the role of México in a US-led world is analyzed, followed by this country's predilection on the UN over other regional organizations, as the optimal forum to advance its interests.

Chapter three analyzes México's national environment, where the foreign policy formulation process and the three core principles of México foreign policy are central. The democratization process of México and the extended roles of the Mexican armed forces are also reviewed here.

The second step analysis is included in Chapter four. Here, the focus is UN Peacekeeping Operations, its legal framework, legitimacy for the use of force, evolution, and the core principles that have gained wide acceptance. Modern Peacekeeping Operations are also reviewed at this point, with attention of multi-functional, multi-disciplinary nature of these missions. The chapter also includes aspects of modern operations that are relevant for mission success and long-lasting peace.

The comparative cases of Argentina and Japan are included in Chapter five. This concludes the third step analysis of patterns of participation as lessons for México. And finally, the last chapter is dedicated to the shaping of the term "Selective Peacekeeping" for México as a conclusion. A set of safeguards for an eventual Mexican participation is included in this chapter as well, which finalizes with the inclusion of a number of recommendations for successful UN peacekeeping participation.

Research Limitations and Further Research

This research is limited to casting a general definition of "Selective Peacekeeping" for México, assessing the viability of this concept and validating the analytical approach, and recommending viable courses of action. This work centers its research on the armed forces for the following reasons: the military remains the core component of Peacekeeping Operations; its qualities make it ideal for playing not only its primary peace role, but for providing security and humanitarian support, human rights, development, and democratization programs, and the Mexican military also includes

32

police, humanitarian and disaster relief, and development capabilities.

The identification of strengths and weaknesses of the Mexican armed forces is only made in relation to peacekeeping, though it is expected to help orient modernization programs to deal more effectively with domestic missions and realities. And as the case of Japan demonstrates, non-military contributions to international security by themselves cannot translate into significant political leverage. Numerous aspects of the Mexican armed forces are not covered, and the potential participation of the Mexican electoral institute and the federal police in peacekeeping are only briefly mentioned. These certainly require, and deserve, separate in-depth analyses.

Important aspects of peacekeeping are also left out due to space limitations. These aspects include measuring core aspects of peacekeeping that have been identified by influential reports, such as political commitment, the impact of peacekeeping on professional identities, and democratization. The comparative cases briefly describe the participation of Argentina and Japan in Peacekeeping Operations. The reasons behind both countries' participation, however, are only inferred. In-depth analysis of such reasons lies beyond the limits of this study and it is therefore left for further research.

The recognized limitations of peacekeeping to deal with the dynamism and complexity of modern conflicts need to be addressed in the context of a major reform of the United Nations. Also, important implications for México need to be examined in more detail. Some of these include: the impact of peacekeeping on the effectiveness of the Mexican armed forces (and/or police) forces to meet national challenges, the militarization of México's foreign policy, and a less restrictive definition of "Selective Peacekeeping" more appropriate to the challenges of Modern peacekeeping.

As the existing civil-military pact in México, originated in the post-revolution, loses relevance, mainly due to increased public accountability of the armed forces, increased mistrust between civilian and military actors will eventually result. Higher involvement of the military in civilian affairs in response to loses of privileges can also eventually result. Therefore further research is recommended on the implications of democratic practices and reforms on the Mexican civil-military political arrangements.

CHAPTER II: FIRST STEP ANALYSIS. THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

> *"Still, at its heart the Rwandan story is the story of the failure of humanity to heed a call for help from an endangered people.*
> *The international community, of which the UN is only a symbol, failed to move beyond self-interest for the sake of Rwanda. While most nations agreed that something should be done they all had an excuses why they should not be the ones to do it. As a result, the UN was denied the political will and material mean to prevent the tragedy."*
>
> Canadian Army General, Romeo Dallaire.[64]

Introduction

The argument of this chapter is that changes in the international environment, particularly in the area of security, have rendered international isolationism obsolete as a political option and, as it is true for most states, México "must" now show larger commitment and involvement. At the core of this argument lies the question "why is México abandoning a once-considered "safe" foreign policy alignment?" This question is answered by what is termed here, "the necessity to cooperate." As security became central to international relations in the post-Cold War scenario – particularly to the United States, and notoriously after 9/11 – México has incrementally getting involved in international security issues.

The necessity to cooperate for México can be explained at two levels: global [in]security and the territorial security of the United States. The former is characterized by the unprecedented speed and scope of structural and conceptual changes in the world that have affected all aspects of human life. The later is recognized by México's high dependency on trade and the movement of people across the border with the United States, and the need for these movements not to compromise the homeland security of this country. It is here where the phenomena that dictate México's foreign policy new

---

[64] Excerpted from Romeo A. Dellaire, <u>Shake hands with the Devil: the Failure of Humanity in Rwanda</u>, (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2004). Embassy of South Africa in Washington, (2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.saembassy.org/usaembassy/NewsMedia/Whatsnew/The%20failure%20of%20humanity%20in%20Rwanda.html Last accessed: April 29, 2007.

34

course, lie.

This chapter starts by identifying those aspects that make the present environment far different from the one that existed at the end of World War II, when the present power structure was set up. New threats and challenges have appeared that threaten the entire international system, and the internal cohesion of the units that form it. The characteristics of the new threats explain the increasing entanglement of the domestic and international spheres. This entanglement has resulted in a blurring distinction between external defence and internal security with the consequently "extended" roles of defence and security forces, and increased co-operation in international security.

The extended roles are easy identifiable when looking at the new security co-operation mechanisms established by México, the United States and Canada in the framework of the Security and Prosperity Partnership for North America (SPP). Extended roles find also explanation in the need for "additional niches" of action of the Mexican military as a response to domestic conditions.

The emergence of the United States as "the" world leader, albeit not hegemonic, has direct implications for México, which economy depends vitally from the American markets. Traditionally México has struggled to maintain relative political independence from the United States. The difficulty to achieve this has increased as interdependence with the United States has escalated.

As México continues "Americanizing" its foreign policy and its international co-operation agenda, the margins to manoeuvre in the international arena shrink. Also, the level of interdependence with the United States has caught México in a "co-operation trap," as its recent involvement in "guarding" the US/México border from terrorist activity suggests. In other words, México's international agenda is overwhelmed by its "necessity to cooperate" with the United States homeland security. This assertion provides the rational for México to seek ways to "de-Americanize" its international agenda for the sake of increased relative political independence.

Furthermore, changes in the environment have also led to new conceptualizations of the traditional principles of the international system. From these, the principles of security, sovereignty and self-determination are examined closely, as they underscore

35

both the necessity to cooperate and México's foreign policy re-orientation.

This chapter describes the perceived need to strengthen a United Nations-centered multilateralism after making clear that the state and institutions are essential factors for viable and durable international orders, unilateral approaches cannot build enough legitimacy for the use of force, co-operation to maintain international security is essential, and the UN is the only global institution with a specific mandate in security, being an effective actor in conflict resolution. For a developing middle power like México, the UN represents the natural forum to deploy a viable and realistic foreign policy in search for improved political conditions.

While political and economic pressure, among other reasons, is pushing México to look at increased co-operation and integration with the United States (and Canada, on the basis of NAFTA and the SPP), this work proposes México's participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations as one option to "de-Americanize" México's international co-operation agenda. Therefore, the core objective of this chapter is to describe the phenomena in the international environment that produces the "necessity to cooperate" and the advantages of adopting the "peacekeeping option" for México.

Global Security

In 1945, the leaders of 51 states gathered in San Francisco to sign the Charter of the United Nations. With it, a new power structure was created to support the international order of the victors. The structure of power, as reflected in the composition of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), was supposed to secure a more effective collective security system.[65] The lessons drawn from the previous regime that ended with a generalized state of war, led to more precise prohibitions on the use of force and

---

[65] Some changes to the UN structured have been introduced through amendments to the UN Charter. In 1965, articles 23, 27 and 109 were reformed to increase from eleven to fifteen the number of Non-permanent Members of the UN Security Council, and to expand the Economic and Social Council (Article 61) from eighteen to twenty-seven members, further increased to fifty-four in 1973. These amendments responded to "a perceived need to reflect the changing composition of the Organization's membership in those two bodies." Other changes have occurred without reforming the UN Charter. These include the state name changes of Russia (the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) and the People's Republic of China (former Republic of China). Carolyn L. Wilson, "Changing the Charter: The United Nations Prepares for the Twenty-first Century," The American Journal of International Law, 90, 1, (Washington: American Society of International Law, January 1996), pp.115-126.

36

"enhanced" enforcement powers through great power co-operation. Nevertheless, the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union prevented this architecture from becoming fully functional. Instead, a bipolar power structure, constrained by nuclear deterrence, shaped a hegemonic order that lasted until the late 1980s.

In 1945 in Dumbarton Oaks, México and other Latin American countries opposed the idea to eliminate the Inter American System with the creation of the United Nations. With this, México and Latin America sought to "balance" the veto power of the United States, with the recognition of the UN over the right of regional organizations to legitimate collective defence, and to privilege the peaceful resolution of conflicts. The natural subordination of the Organization of American States (OAS) to the interests of the United States, in the form of constant and continue interventions, was the key factor for México to latter sustain the supremacy of the UN above the OAS.[66]

During the Cold War, Latin America was "one of the most loyal allies to the United States."[67] Most Latin American countries gave unconditional support to the United States in international fora. México, however, was a singular exemption by maintaining relative political independence from its northern neighbour. The typical example of this is the case of Cuba. México was the only Latin American country that maintained uninterrupted relations with socialist Cuba, even against a resolution adopted by the OAS in 1964.[68]

During this time, states were the main actors in international politics, separated by the two dominant powers as friends or foes in terms of their ideologies. Today, the power structure announced in San Francisco in 1945 remains almost unchanged in theory, but the reality is different. The UN Membership has increased to 192 Member States; the Soviet Union has disintegrated and Russia, which inherited the permanent seat at the UNSC, is a smaller military power; India became independent and is now a populous and militarily strong state; Japan and Germany not only recovered from the war, but they also

---

[66] Mario Ojeda, Alcances y Limites de la Política Exterior de México, (México: El Colegio de México, 1976), p.54.

[67] Alcances y Limites de la Política Exterior de México, p.42.

[68] Alcances y Limites de la Política Exterior de México, p.43.

became two economic powers; China, which had more than 60 percent of its population in poverty, is now an emerging economic and military power. The nature and trend of major violent conflicts also changed, and with these, the international community was confronted with the dilemma of the humanitarian interventions, notoriously after the end of the Cold War.

In 2005, the Human Security Centre at the University of British Columbia produced one of the most comprehensive reports on trends in armed conflicts, genocide, and human rights abuses. Perhaps the greatest achievement of the "Human Security Report 2005"[69] (HSR 2005) is that it brought onto focus little known findings of previous research about contemporary international violence. Some examples of these are the claims that terrorism is currently the gravest threat to international security, civilians represent about 90 percent of the casualties of war, and women are disproportionately affected by armed conflict. Additional findings show that, after nearly fifty years of steady increase, the number of genocides and violent conflicts dropped rapidly when the Cold War ended.

The Human Security Report 2005 revealed that inter-state wars became less frequent – and far less deadly – while intra-state conflicts had a dramatic surge in 1990. The decline in number of inter-state conflicts is associated with the de-colonization process and the end of the Cold War. This decline happened with the "assistance" of nuclear deterrence, the spread of democracy and a growing acceptance of international law.[70] The rise of intra-state conflict (arguably from 2 in 1946 to 25 in 1991) is attributed mainly to "the rise in Cold War-related conflicts and to struggles for control over the new states created by the end of colonialism."[71] And the dramatic decline (from 25 in 1992 to 11 in 2002) in the number of intra-state conflicts is explained by "the spread of democracy, less poverty and less ethnic discrimination…, [but] the most important factor

[69] The Human Security Report 2005: War and Peace in the 21st Century. The Human Security Centre, (2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.humansecurityreport.info/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=28&Itemid=63 Last accessed: July 15, 2006.

[70] The Human Security Report, p.148.

[71] The Human Security Report, p.146.

38

was the end of the Cold War."[72]

The "improvement" in global security since the end of the Cold War, the Report argues, did not happen alone. The United Nations played a critically important role in promoting international co-operation in conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace building activities. The achievements of the UN were possible with the co-operation of international, regional and non-governmental organizations. Despite of highly publicized failures, the leading role of the UN, the only international organization with a mandate in global security, brought an increased international activism during the 1990s to account for a lower number of crises, wars and genocides. For instance, the study "The UN's Role in Nation-building: from the Congo to Iraq" found that UN's nation-building missions had high success rates. In addition, a sharp increase in peacemaking efforts led to helping negotiating the termination of a significant number of conflicts.[73] Notably, international armed conflicts have changed in two different aspects: there have been fewer wars, and the patterns of violent conflict are different.

Changing Patterns of Violent Conflict

Using the findings of the HSR 2005, it is possible to identify changes in the patters of violent conflicts. According to this report, the number of armed conflicts has declined by more than 40 percent since 1992. The deadliest conflicts (those with 1000 or more casualties) dropped even more dramatically (80%).[74] The number of international crises, which normally led to armed conflicts, fell by more than 70 percent between 1981 and 2001. International armed conflicts, meaning wars between countries, are smaller in number than in previous decades; they constitute now less than 5 percent of all armed conflicts.

---

[72] The Human Security Report 2005: War and Peace in the 21st Century. The Human Security Centre, (2005), p.150. Internet. Available at:
http://www.humansecurityreport.info/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=28&Itemid=63 Last accessed: July 15, 2006.

[73] James Dobbins and others, The UN's Role in Nation-building: from the Congo to Iraq, (Rand Corporation, 2005), p.xxxi. Internet. Available at: http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2005/RAND_MG304.pdf last accessed: July 16, 2006.

[74] The Human Security Report, p.6.

39

Military coups declined by 60 percent, going from 25 coups in 1965 to 10 in 2004. Most violent conflicts are now concentrated in Africa, which holds the poorest countries in the world. This makes a direct link between income and risk of war. Yet there are signs of hope in this region: the HSR found that the number of armed conflicts in Africa dropped from 41 to 35, between 2002 and 2003.[75]

During the decades of the 1950s, 60s and 70s, the highest numbers of casualties in armed conflicts occurred in East and Southeast Asia. In the 1970s and 1980s, most of the killing took place in Central and South Asia, the Middle East, and sub-Saharan Africa. The conflicts in sub-Sahara Africa were by far the deadliest in the 1990s. By the end of this decade, more people had been killed in this region's armed conflicts than the rest of the world combined.[76]

The change in trend of armed conflicts in the 1990s was associated also with a decline in arms transfers and military spending. Violent conflicts became dramatically less deadly over the past five decades. The average number of civilian casualties per conflict per year in 1950 was 38,000; in 2002 it was just 600 (a 98% decline).[77]

The Report also found that between 2002 and 2003, the number of reported deaths from all forms of political violence fell by 62 percent in the Americas, 32 percent in Europe, 35 percent in Asia and 24 percent in Africa. The largest death tolls did not come from the fighting of armed conflicts, but from disease and malnutrition as sub products of war. These indirect deaths can account for as much as 90 percent of the total war-related death toll. However, there are insufficient data to estimate the global, or even regional, indirect death toll trends. Putting aside the genocides of Rwanda and Srebrenica, the number of genocides plummeted by 80 percent between 1988 (when it reached its peak) and 2001.[78]

---

[75] The Human Security Report 2005: War and Peace in the 21st Century. The Human Security Centre, (2005), p.150. Internet. Available at:
http://www.humansecurityreport.info/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=28&Itemid=63 Last accessed: July 15, 2006.

[76] The Human Security Report, p.4.

[77] The Human Security Report, p.2.

[78] The Human Security Report, p.1.

From the forms of political violence, international terrorism is the only form that appears to be getting worse. The most recent statistics suggest a dramatic increase in the number of high–casualty attacks since 9/11. The death toll from international terrorist attacks is, however, only a small fraction of the annual war death toll.[79]

The Human Security Report identified three major political changes that "have radically altered the global security landscape" in the last three decades. First, colonial wars, which represented 60 to 100 percent of all international conflicts, were terminated. Second, the end of the Cold War, which drove 30 percent of all international conflicts, removed the threat of conflict between the Superpowers that stopped fuelling proxy wars in the developing world. And third, the unprecedented increase of international co-operation through the United Nations, which included:

- A "six hundred" percent increase in UN preventive diplomacy missions to stop wars starting.
- A "four hundred" percent increase in UN peacemaking missions to end ongoing conflicts.
- A "four hundred" percent increase in UN peace operations to reduce the risk of wars restarting.
- An "eleven hundred" percent increase in the number of states subject to UN sanctions, which are thought help bring warring parties into peace negotiations.[80]

It is difficult to think on an international organization other than the UN capable to achieve such results. Notwithstanding the significance of these impressive figures in terms of human suffering, the ability of the UN to centralize international efforts has no comparison. The achievements of the UN are even more impressive when they are examined in terms of the economic cost of operation. The annual cost of these changes to the international community has been lower than one percent of world military spending. In fact, the cost of running all of the UN's peace operations around the world (totalling 17 in 2006) for an entire year is less than the amount spent by the United States in Iraq in

---

[79] The Human Security Report 2005: War and Peace in the 21st Century. The Human Security Centre, (2005), p.44. Internet. Available at:
http://www.humansecurityreport.info/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=28&Itemid=63 Last accessed: July 15, 2006.

[80] The Human Security Report, p.9.

41

one month.[81]

According to the HSR, in the long run, equitable economic development, increased state capacity and the spread of democracy play a vital role in reducing the risk of political violence. It also argues, however, that these factors alone cannot explain the dramatic post-Cold War reduction in armed conflicts.[82]

Reduced capacities of the state to maintain order and political control at both the domestic and international levels will reflect onto the existing international orders. This is the challenge that weakened and failed states pose to the international system and it represents the "new security dilemma." In the case of México, this dilemma confronts this country with one of the pillar principles of its foreign policy – self-determination – at the moment of taking a stand on international crises related to weakened or collapsed states. This is because self-determination translates differently for these kinds of states. Weakened and failed are unable to perform their basic functions, and cannot exert effective international sovereignty, and lack self-determination. They have been the stage for massive and gross violations of human rights in the last decades and for this reason have caught the attention of the international community.

In addition, and as the nature and trend of major violent conflicts changed dramatically by the end of the Cold War, the international community faced the dilemma of the interventions on humanitarian grounds. Despite the enormous difficulty to resolve this, the UN played a pivotal role in the reduction of the number of violent conflicts (including intra-state conflicts) through effective leadership and action. These include the termination of wars in the former Yugoslavia, Namibia, Mozambique, El Salvador, and to a lesser extent Cambodia. The response of the international community was divided, making evident the need for consensual conceptualizations of the principle of self-determination.

The international security architecture also changed with the demise of the

---

[81] The Human Security Report 2005: War and Peace in the 21st Century. The Human Security Centre, (2005), p.36. Internet. Available at:
http://www.humansecurityreport.info/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=28&Itemid=63 Last accessed: July 15, 2006.

[82] The Human Security Report, p.9.

42

Warsaw Pact and the strengthening of NATO. New institutions and mechanisms were created that have become influential actors, such as the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR), the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR),[83] the *ad hoc* criminal tribunals for the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and Sierra Leona, and the newly created International Criminal Court (ICC). Numerous non-state actors (NGOs) are increasingly becoming the means for civil society to participate in international affairs bypassing traditional government structures; media and academic institutions dealing with global issues have emerged as influential international actors too.

Economic blocs formed in Asia, Europe and North America. These arrangements have produced regional integration, and an array of new actors and issues within the realm of security. Under a "liberal" concept (free trade), the US influence over México and Canada is notorious. Security for North America has broadened and deepened the co-operation between the three North American countries, which aims at increasing and speeding up the regional integration. As it is explained in its corresponding section further on in this chapter, this new security arrangement (2004) reflects one side of México's "necessity to cooperate."

In addition, an array of non-state actors, including national and international terrorist groups and radical religious groups with not very clear purposes are seeking to destabilize the existing international order. Drug trafficking, terrorist and criminal organizations are taking advantage of the liberties and openness the world is now enjoying to become influential on international issues – their illegal activities threaten not only to disturb the existing international order, but also the existence of entire states. The cases of Colombia and Afghanistan are illustrative of the deteriorating effects of illicit drugs. More recently, México has experienced these effects by losing part of the state's capacity to maintain governance and the rule of law. "Criminal networks operating at the

---

[83] The UNHCR was actually created in 1949 through General Assembly Resolution 319 (IV). Initially, the job of this office was to relocate more than 60 million refugees from Europe and Asia affected by WWII. It was believed at first that the UNHCR will only function for a period no longer than three years. However, fifty-eight years later, it is a permanent body that administers programs to help about twenty million refugees in 166 countries, and is the leading humanitarian organization in the world. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. "Basic Facts," (United Nations). Internet. Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/basics/opendoc.htm?tbl=BASICS&id=420cc0432 Last accessed: April 20, 2007.

border [with México] are increasingly emboldened and represent alarming risks to our security and public safety. Their lawlessness is intolerable, and together we will confront them with the full force of the law," said US Secretary of DHS Michael Chertoff when he announced the implementation of an Action Plan to combat border violence and improve public safety.[84]

Multinational corporations have become powerful actors able to challenge numerous state entities. Demographic explosion in localized areas of the world is placing too much pressure on existing natural resources, and so becomes a threat to international security. Environmental degradation due to fast industrialization and resource extraction also represents a challenge for the biosphere. And the list goes on and on. The bottom line is that the world of today barely resembles that of 1945 and the transformations, most of them attributed to globalization – and the host of "new threats" that came with it – not only have touched peoples' minds and behaviours, but also have placed security at the center of the international relations.

New Threats

The new threats are diverse, multidimensional, non-military, and asymmetric. They are interrelated and threat to one state is a threat to all. According to the World Bank, the 9/11 events increased the number of poor people by 10 million, with a total cost for the world economy exceeding 80 billion dollars. Comprehensive approaches and cooperative schemes are therefore necessary to address them. In 2003, the UN Secretary-General organized a "High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change," to assess global security threats and recommend collective actions to prevent or respond to them. The Panel was asked to focus on today's global threats and the connections between them, as well as the assessment of future challenges to international peace and security; to identify how these challenges can be addressed by collective action and assess existing mechanisms; and to recommend the changes necessary to ensure effective collective

---

[84] US Department of Homeland Security, Press Release "United States and México Commit to Combat Border Violence and Improve Public Safety," (DHS: March 03, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.dhs.gov/xnews/releases/press_release_0873.shtm Last accessed: November 8, 2006.

44

action.

The Panel produced a study in 2004 titled "A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility,"[85] which has been considered as "a historic undertaking, the first of its kind since the United Nations was formed in 1945." The most recognized threats are: poverty, infectious diseases, environmental degradation, internal conflicts, Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD - nuclear, radiological, chemical and biological weapons), terrorism, and trans-national organized crime.[86] The problem of illicit drugs – production, traffic and consumption – also represents a global threat, as their devastating effects have shown in Colombia, Afghanistan and Myanmar.

As mentioned before, in México, the effects of illicit drugs are more than evident: extended roles of the military, street violence, and drug abuse.[87] Some of the effects of the approaches to the drug problem can be appreciated in the form of militarization of the law enforcement apparatus (e.g., *Grupos de Coordinación Interinstitucional*),[88] corruption of security and defence forces that extent to the governmental apparatus (from 1995 to 2000, about 150 military personnel were court-martialed for drug-related crimes),[89] human rights abuses (e.g., illegal detention of suspects) by security and defence

---

[85] Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, "A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility," (New York: United Nations, 2004), p.14.

[86] Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, p.14.

[87] Compared to international standards, drug consumption in México remains low, though there has been an increase during the last decade or so. Encuesta Nacional de Adicciones 2002, (México: ENA CONADIC/SSA, 2002).

[88] The Inter-agency Groups were created during the Fox administration to increase coordination between the different levels of government. These groups include the active participation of the armed forces in various areas, such as: Public Security, Sovereignty and Democracy Risk Factors, Strategic Facilities, Traffic Prevention and Control of Fire Arms, munitions and explosives, Inter-sector Liaison, and Drug Control Standard Statistic System. Jorge Luis Sierra, Las Fuerzas Armadas Mexicanas en la Guerra Antinarcóticos, (Washington: Washington Office on Latin America, 2003), p.3. Internet. Available at: http://www.wola.org/publications/ddhr_México_brief_esp.pdf Last accessed: April 18, 2006.

[89] Jorge Luis Sierra, "Estragos de la Guerra Inútil," REDES 2003, Research and Education in Defence and Security Studies. (Santiago de Chile: Center for Hemispheric Defence Studies, 2003), p.19. Internet. Available at: http://www.ndu.edu/chds/redes2003/Academic-Papers/8.Internal-Security/5.Drug-Control-Democracy-Human-Rights/1.%20Sierra-final.doc. Last accessed: March 23, 2005 Also see Roderic Ai Camp, "Militarizing México. Where is the Officers Corps Going?" Policy Paper on the Americas, X, 1 (The Center for Strategic and Internacional Studies, 1999). Internet. Available at: http://www.csis.org/component/option,com_csis_pubs/task,view/id,745/. Last accessed: April 18, 2006.

45

forces,[90] and international pressure (notably from the United States)[91] to exert tighter controls over its borders. One major problem for addressing the drug problem is the perception of México to be fighting a war caused by the United States, which is where the major force of attraction (the demand for drugs) resides.

New threats are less vulnerable to military responses because traditional battle plans cannot be drawn against non-specific threats. These threats create a demand for better intelligence sharing and revised military roles and missions. The fact that they move across borders helps blur the lines between domestic and international spheres and law enforcement and military actions result undistinguishable. For these reasons, existing legal and political arrangements are increasingly under pressure.

The new threats have all existed in the past. One novelty about them is that now, they do not target traditional objectives, such as military capabilities, territory and control over resources, to mention a few. Instead, they target individuals, communities, ethnic or religious groups, whole populations, institutions, and symbols, among others.[92] The fact that all these "threats" existed in the past raises the doubt of whether they should be considered as such or just as "risk factors" whose intensity has increased during the last decades.[93] Their effectiveness comes from asymmetries magnified by globalization.

These asymmetries produce – and feed upon – the inability of the states to respond with coercive power. Also, the new threats knit webs of contacts and processes at different levels that many times challenge the capabilities of individual states, geographic regions and the international system as a whole. Examples of these are the cases of drugs

---

[90] Laura Poy Solano, "Critica ONG creciente incorporación de militares a los cuerpos policíacos," La Jornada, (México: October 10, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2004/10/10/016n1pol.php?origen=politica.php&fly=1 Last accessed: April 18, 2006.

[91] Diagnostico sobre la Situación de los derechos Humanos en México, (New York: United Nations, 2003), p.12. Internet. Available at: http://www.cinu.org.mx/prensa/especiales/2003/dh_2003/diagnosticocompleto.pdf last accessed: April 18, 2006.

[92] Andrés Fontana, "Nuevas Amenazas: Implicancias para la Seguridad Internacional y el Empleo de las Fuerzas Armadas," Documento de Trabajo #103, (Argentina: Universidad de Belgrano, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.ub.edu.ar/investigaciones/dt_nuevos/103_fontana.pdf Last accessed: July 21, 2005.

[93] Pere Vilanova, "La Seguridad Europea: Diálogos para el Siglo XXI," Revista CIDOB d 'Afers Internacionals, 38-39(1997). Internet. Available at: http://www.cidob.org/Castellano/Publicaciones/Afers/38-39vilanova.cfm Last accessed: April 18, 2006.

46

in Colombia, the problem of extreme poverty in Sub Sahara Africa, and the problem of global warming due to excessive fossil fuel consumption.

Poverty, however, is a major destabilizing force and thus deserves proper attention. Despite the ethical and moral implications, poverty is a threat to international security because, among other things, there is a poverty-conflict trap.[94] While some scholars argue that no empirical evidence exist to claim a clear link between poverty and violence, others have found that only countries with poor environments for capital formation are likely to be stuck in the poverty-violence cycle.[95] In addition, and regardless of the poverty-conflict debate, when armed conflict breaks out in poor countries, the potential for the emergence of a humanitarian crisis is huge.[96] Therefore there is a need for the international community to put attention to poverty, not just for humanitarian reasons, but for international security and stability reasons. Although the poverty-violence trap does not apply for the case of México, poverty reached alarming levels in the 1990s with about half of this country's population living now below the poverty line.[97] This means that México must pay attention to the poverty effects on security at both the international and the domestic environments.

Often, the new threats are not alone. The globalization of markets and the porosity of national borders facilitate the proliferation of criminal activities at scales and effectiveness not even imagined before. Symbiotic relations form between non-traditional actors that also represent a challenge for the established orders, the states and their societies.

---

[94] Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, "A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility," (New York: United Nations, 2004), p.15.

[95] S. Brock Blomberg and others, "Is there Evidence of a Poverty-Conflict Trap?" Wellesley College Working Paper 2000-06, (Massachusetts: Department of Economics, Wellesley College, May 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.wellesley.edu/Economics/wkpapers/wellwp_0006.pdf Last accessed: April 18, 2006.

[96] Monty G. Marshall and Ted Robert Gurr, Peace and Conflict 2005: A Global Survey of Armed Conflicts, Self-Determination Movements, and Democracy, (College Park, MD: CIDCM, University of Maryland, 2005), p.39. Internet. Available at: http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/peace_and_conflict.asp last accessed: November 08, 2006.

[97] Report 28612-ME México, "Poverty in México: an Assessment of Conditions, Trends and Government Strategies," (World Bank, June 2004), p.1. Internet. Available at: http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2004/07/13/000012009_20040713141715/Rendered/PDF/28 6120ME.pdf Last accessed: April 18, 2006.

47

The debate over the new threats centers on those aspects that link the non-traditional forms of aggression and destabilization to the modern state. One main characteristic of the new threats is the high degree of uncertainty that they produce and the complexity of the risk that they represent. It is common to link the emergence of these threats to the post-Cold War order because they are observed in terms of their capacity to change the states' behaviour.[98]

There are also a number of states that lie practically out of any structure of power, though they remain part of the international community. These are the failed or collapsed states, which have been the stage for massive and gross violations of human rights in the last decade. They have no control over their means of violence and cannot perform their basic functions, nor exert effective international sovereignty, and lack self-determination. These states require external assistance to survive, but help from outside is controversial too because it constrains the capacity of the people to be themselves. Examples of these kinds of states abound. The Failed state Index for 2004 included Cote d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Sudan, Iraq, and Somalia among the ten most critical cases of state failure.[99]

The Failed state has been defined as "utterly incapable of sustaining itself as a member of the international community."[100] In terms of conflict prevention, the central question around this typology is whether the conditions associated to state failure can be diagnosed well in advance as to prevent humanitarian catastrophes.

The intermestic nature of the challenge posed by failed states, and particularly the domestic centrality of the security dilemma, brings analysts to the intersection of international relations and comparative politics because they have to focus on the system

---

[98] Andrés Fontana, "Nuevas Amenazas: Implicancias para la Seguridad Internacional y el Empleo de las Fuerzas Armadas," Documento de Trabajo #103, (Argentina: Universidad de Belgrano, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.ub.edu.ar/investigaciones/dt_nuevos/103_fontana.pdf Last accessed: July 21, 2005.

[99] Failed State Index. The Fund for Peace. Internet. Available at: http://www.fundforpeace.org/programs/fsi/fsindex.php Last accessed: February 17, 2006.

[100] Gerald B. Herman and Steven R. Ratner, "Saving the Failed States," Foreign Policy, 89, (Washington: Winter 1992), p.3.

48

and on the constituency of the unit of analysis.[101] The incapacity of these states to sustain themselves also challenges the principles on which the international system rests, such as sovereignty (lack of sovereign power) and self-determination (no representative government in place).

In addition to the potential for humanitarian crises, failed states have been targeted by the international community because they can provide the physical space and resources to terrorist groups, drug cartels, and criminal enterprises. Weak and failed states affect their surrounding regions and affect international stability.[102] As such, these states represent real threats to their own societies and also to the international community. There has been a recent shift of focus on weak and failed states; once considered "too weak" to influence international politics, after 9/11 they became a priority.

The list of states in this category and the underlying structural conditions associated are long. The State Failure Task Force (SFTF), a U.S. initiative, identified 114 state-failure events that started between 1955 and 1998. These are serious internal political crises that occurred in independent states in the form of revolutionary wars, ethnic wars, adverse regime changes, and genocides.[103] The Phase III of SFTF for 2000 identifies various factors that correlate with state failure, such as regime type (e.g. the odds for partial democracies are seven times higher than for full democracies and autocracies), selected economic factors (low material well-being and low trade openness doubled the odds), conflicts in two or more neighbouring states (also doubled the odds for state failure), population density (30% greater odds), and population size (40%). Interestingly, the SFTF found no direct relationship to state failure for environmental factors, ethnic/religious discrimination, government indebtedness, and military spending.

---

[101] Michael Stohl and George Lopez, "Failed States and International Security: Causes, Prospects and Consequences," Westphalia, the End of the Cold War and the New World Order: Old Roots to a New Problem, (Purdue University, 1998). Internet. Available at: http://www.ippu.purdue.edu/failed_states/1998/papers/stohl-lopez.html Last accessed: September 28, 2004.

[102] Robert S. Chase, Emily B. Hill and Paul Kennedy, "Pivotal States and U.S. Strategy," Foreign Affairs, 75, 1 (January/February, 1996), pp.33-51.

[103] Report, Phase III Findings, (State Failure Task Force, University of Maryland, September 30, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://globalpolicy.gmu.edu/pitf/SFTF%20Phase%20III%20Report%20Final.pdf Last accessed: February 17, 2006.

Nevertheless, these factors "might have indirect effects on state failure, if they influence a country's material well-being or its engagement in international trade."[104]

As the Failed State Index and the SFTF note, the challenge that failed states posse to the international system is substantive and it cannot be ignored. This means that there is a need to revise traditional conceptualizations of the principles of non-intervention and self-determination. The most recent UN intervention in Haiti is an example of the perception of regional instability and the necessity to cooperate, as well as an example of a pragmatic interpretation of the principles of non-intervention and self-determination. In 2004, México made a modest contribution to MINUSTAH (*Mission des Nations Unies pour la stabilisation en Haïti*). In this occasion, the government of México tried to make a larger contribution but it encountered strong opposition. Yet, the government managed to send two "multipurpose" navy vessels and two C-130 of the Mexican Air Force carrying over one thousand tons of food, medicines and equipment, including one helicopter and one ambulance. The Mexican team provided medical attention to over one thousand people.[105] It is worth noting that UNMIH was a "Chapter VII" PKO, the kind of PKOs that is more difficult to reconcile with international normative principles, namely non-intervention.

In order to meet the challenges posed by the new threats, the defence requirements of individual states must be linked at the national, international and global levels with the resulting widened roles for their defence forces. The world has become more interconnected and international stability depends on international commitment and co-operation. As a result, the armed forces of numerous states are increasingly performing roles that extend to the sphere of internal security; the war against drugs became one of the main missions of the Mexican armed forces since the late 1970s, to

---

[104] Report, Phase III Findings, (State Failure Task Force, University of Maryland, September 30, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://globalpolicy.gmu.edu/pitf/SFTF%20Phase%20III%20Report%20Final.pdf Last accessed: February 17, 2006.

[105] México's contribution to MINUSTAH was considered as "emergency humanitarian assistance." The contribution included 1,056 tons of food and medicines as well as doctors and civil engineers. Intervention of Ambassador Enrique Berruga at the UN Security Council on the debate about the situation in Haiti, (New York: Permanent Mission of México to the United Nations, January 12, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.int/México/2005/interv_cs_011205.htm Last accessed: July 10, 2006.

50

mention one case.[106]

The war against drugs, the war against terrorism and other tasks with political, social and economic objectives go beyond the management of violence and thus security forces are also increasingly performing external roles. For instance, the strengthening of paramilitary security forces or *gendarmeries* in European countries is notable. The cases of *gendarmeries* in France, Italy and Spain have gained centrality in internal and external missions.[107] In addition, the United States has issued a strategy for homeland security that assigns its military to less traditional – and potentially more problematic – areas, such as intelligence sharing with civilian law enforcement.[108]

Extended Roles

The extended roles of the military in response to intermestic threats are controversial and risky. While states increase their local capacities by using their armed forces in support of internal security, their armed forces become vulnerable to corruption and more susceptible to commit human rights violations. The armed forces are not designed to perform law enforcement roles – where human rights are paramount – because their capabilities for internal security affairs are limited. At the end, weakened armed forces hurt the state's capacity to respond to the challenges posed by an insecure environment.

In the United States, the military involvement in the 1993 standoff between federal police agencies and the religious community "Branch Davidian" in Waco, Texas, is considered as one of "the worst disaster in law enforcement history – military-style attacks that left more than 80 civilians dead, including 27 children."[109] And in México, a

---

[106] George W. Grayson, México's Armed Forces: A Factbook, (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1999), p.19. Internet. Available at: www.csis.org/americas/pubs/MexArmedForces0299.pdf. Last accessed: November 23, 2004.

[107] Derek Lutterbeck, "Between Police and Military," Co-operation and Conflict. (2004). Internet. Available at: http://cac.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/39/1/45 Last access: July 23, 2005.

[108] Strategy for Homeland Defense and Civil Support, (U.S. Department of Defense, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.defencelink.mil/news/Jun2005/d20050630homeland.pdf Last accessed: July 22, 2005.

[109] Gene Healy, "Deployed in the U.S.A.: the Creeping Militarization of the Home Front," Policy Analysis, 503, (Washington: Cato Institute, December 17, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.cato-institute.org/pubs/pas/pa503.pdf Last accessed: May 28, 2006.

51

human rights organization reported forced disappearances between 1996 and 1998 at the hands of military personnel in the context of the war against drugs.[110]

There are a number of examples of the extended roles of the military. A "creeping militarization" of the US-México border has been observed. This finds explanation in the context of the extended roles assigned to the military, significantly extended after 9/11.[111] Operation "Jump Start" is one example. Through this operation, "National Guard units will assist the [US] Border Patrol by executing a myriad of missions such as logistical and administrative support, operating detection systems, augmenting border-related intelligence analysis efforts and provide training."[112]

Another example is found in Central America with the phenomenon of the criminal gangs, better known as the *"Maras."* According to the National Drug Intelligence Center, *Mara Salvatrucha* poses a serious threat in Central America, México, the United States, and Canada. Gang members deported to El Salvador from the United States in the early 1990s were released to an unsuspecting population. Once in El Salvador, these gang members quickly migrated to Guatemala, Honduras, and México. The gang activity poses a significant threat for the region, now extended to North America. There are approximately between 20,000 and 40,000 members in the region, with established cliques in Vancouver, Canada.[113] The *Maras* are a pervasive criminal fact in Central America and a threat to national security in the region and to the United

---

[110] Desapariciones Forzadas o Involuntarias en México 1996-1998, (Centro Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez, 1998). In Jorge Luis Sierra, Las Fuerzas Armadas Mexicanas en la Guerra Antinarcóticos, (Washington Office on Latin America, April 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.wola.org/publications/ddhr_México_brief_esp.pdf Last accessed: January 30, 2005, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

[111] "The national Guard has almost 20 years in history in supporting the Border Patrol," said National Guard Bureau spokesman Emmanuel Pacheco in June 2006. Donna Miles, "'Operation Jump Start' jumps into gear along Southwest Border," (Washington: American Forces Press Service, June 15, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.defencelink.mil/news/Jun2006/20060615_5427.html Last accessed: July 13, 2006.

[112] "Rio Grande Valley Border Patrol Sector Initiates Operation Jumpstart," (US Customs and Border Protection, June 20, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://cbp.gov/xp/cgov/newsroom/news_releases/06202006_3.xml Last accessed: July 13, 2006.

[113] Alvi J. Castro, "Mara Salvatrucha Street Gang: An International Criminal Enterprise with Roots in El Salvador's Civil War," Immigration and Customs Enforcement/Department of Homeland Security, (March 2005). Internet. Available at: http://webzoom.freewebs.com/swnmia/Mara.pdf accessed: march 03, 2006.

52

States.[114]

Some of the identified effects of widened roles assigned to the military and increased public scrutiny in México are: a new Civil-Military Relationship is emerging; corruption has increased within the military; both internal and external focus of the military on human rights has increased; and increased awareness on gender equality is also evident. It is worth noting that the geopolitical position of México has pushed the military to widen its roles in search for domestic legitimacy. This means that in the absence of traditional external military threats, the Mexican armed forces have sought "niches" of action, such as the social and ecological roles assigned (or self-assigned). The reason of this is because México's national defence policy is obsolete, as the gap between the official missions and the roles performed shows it. It is therefore a need for "additional niches" to fill this gap.[115]

States are thus seeking for appropriate approaches – mostly in a cooperative fashion with neighbouring states – to address effectively the present threats. This means they have to redirect their foreign policies as to consider not only the most effective, but also the least compromising approaches. In other words, there is need to cooperate, but the imperative for political independence prevails.

As stated before, until now, México has not been a target of international terrorism. However, it has especial interest on cooperating in the war against terrorism. In a clear disposition, México has taken its own actions to prevent terrorist acts within its territory, and it has joined international efforts in this regard and in compliance with UN

---

[114] Thomas C. Bruneau, "The Maras and National Security in Central America," Strategic Insights, IV, 5, (May 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/2005/May/bruneauMay05.pdf Last accessed: March 03, 2006.

[115] Fernando Pérez Correa, "Gobernabilidad y Marco Jurídico," workshop: Los Retos de la Seguridad Nacional en el Siglo XXI, (México City: Instituto Mora, November 14, 2006).

Security Council Resolutions 1368 and 1373.[116] Consequently, México adopted a series of security measures that included: increased surveillance on financial movements, information exchange on "unusual" money transfers and money laundry, increased customs control to stop arms and explosive devise transfers, increased control over migration flows at borders, ports and airports, and intelligence sharing between national security related agencies.[117]

The clearest example of increased co-operation in security matters after 9/11 is provided by the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP). The SPP is neither an agreement nor a treaty. It is a forum for permanent dialogue to increase security and enhance prosperity among México, Canada and the United States. it is safe to say that the SPP is the materialization of the "necessity to cooperate" at the regional level.

México in a US-Led World

On top of all the structural and conceptual changes at the end of the Cold War, the actions that followed the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 further complicated the international relations. A new security paradigm is taking shape and security is now the priority for states, particularly the United States, which has been under direct terrorist attack. The world is widely perceived now as being less secure, not only due to an increased terrorist activity, but also to the unilateral response to the use of force by the United States. For instance, relying on its incontestable military pre-eminence, the United

---

[116] Both resolutions call on "all States to work together urgently to bring to justice the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of [the 9/11] terrorist attacks and stresses that those responsible for aiding, supporting or harbouring the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of these acts will be held accountable;" Resolution 1368: Threats to International Peace and Security Caused by terrorist Acts, (United Nations Security Council). Internet. Available at: http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N01/533/82/PDF/N0153382.pdf?OpenElement Last accessed: July 11, 2006 and Resolution 1373: Threats to International Peace and Security Caused by terrorist Acts, (United Nations Security Council). Internet. Available at: http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N01/557/43/PDF/N0155743.pdf?OpenElement Last accessed: July 11, 2006.

[117] "Statement by H. E. Mr. Jorge E. Navarrete, Permanent Representative of México to the United Nations on measures to eliminate international terrorism (Agenda Item 166) at the Plenary of the fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly, October 01, 2001. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/terrorism/statements/MéxicoS.html Last accessed: July 11, 2006.

States bases its defence policy on "the active deterrence of aggression and coercion."[118] Its unique hegemonic condition makes it more inclined towards a "going alone policy."[119]

The military defeat of the Iraqi regular forces in Operation Iraq Freedom in 2003 announced "the birth of a New American Empire and predicted the death of the UN. U.S. power appeared impenetrable."[120] And the multilateralism/unilateralism debate seemed to be resolved. However, the war in Iraq is still ongoing and Afghanistan, which was sought by the world as a legitimate retaliatory action after 9/11, remains unresolved. These two issues are keeping the multilateralism/unilateralism debate as much open as it has been for a while.

The current defence policy of the United States has been under severe criticism, among other reasons because dismissing international institutions on the basis that military pre-eminence and unilateralism can be effective sources of stability, disregards the liberal claim that they are essential to co-operation.[121] This tendency of the United States puts México between a rock and a hard place because it is extremely difficult for this country to articulate a relatively independent foreign policy without contravening that of the United States.

This dilemma was clearly observed during the discussions of the UN Security Council on the Iraq case in 2003. México, a then elected Non-permanent Member of the UN Security Council, needed to cast a vote in case a second resolution was considered. This means that following the principles of non-intervention, self-determination and the

---

[118] The National Defense Strategy of the United States, (U.S. Department of Defense, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/dod/nds-usa_mar2005.htm last accessed: July 23, 2005.

[119]The most common example of U.S. unilateralism is the 2003 military invasion to Iraq despite open opposition at the UN Security Council. Economic unilateral actions are also documented. For instance, from 1993-1996, through law enactment and executive actions, the United States imposed 61 economic sanctions for foreign policy purposes to 35 countries. "A Catalogue of New US Unilateral Economic Sanctions for Foreign Policy Purposes," (San Francisco, CA: San Francisco state University, 1997). Internet. Available at: http://bss.sfsu.edu/fischer/IR%20742/acatalog.htm Last accessed: July 24, 2005.

[120] Bruce W. Jentleson, "Tough Love Multilateralism," The Washington Quarterly, (The MIT Press, Winter 2003-04). Internet. Available at: http://mitpress.mit.edu/journals/pdf/wash_27_1_7_0.pdf Last accessed: July 24, 2005.

[121] Charles A. Kupchan, "New Research Agenda? Yes. New Paradigm? No," Council on Foreign Relations, (2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.cfr.org/pdf/ZIB.pdf Last accessed: July 24, 2005.

peaceful resolution of disputes (México's foreign policy core principles), México should vote against its economic partner –México routinely votes in opposition to the US in the General Assembly, along with the majority. Luckily for México a second resolution was not issued and it was able to save face. This was, however, perhaps one of the most difficult decisions in the history of the country's foreign policy. This difficulty also explains why México has been actively involved in all areas of the UN system, but never sought a permanent seat at the UN Security Council.[122]

Different from other countries of the world that live in constant state of readiness, México does not have traditional neighbouring enemies. A military invasion from any of its neighbours is highly unlikely: one is too powerful and the others too weak. However, México faces non-traditional threats that can even challenge its viability as a nation-state. Poverty (and its associated lack of order and crime), drug trafficking (drug abuse, violence and corruption), and emigration to the United States (loss of labour force, social disruption and cultural penetration) are among the most significant. These threats, however, are rooted in México's physical proximity and the enormous economic interdependence to the United States.

The tendency of the United States to privilege unilateral approaches to the use of force, adds an element of complexity for México to articulate a relatively independent foreign policy. The key question for México is whether such a high dependence and interdependence with the United States will lead it to seek a common position on security and defence with its neighbour.[123] From the host of constraints and opportunities imposed by the international environment, these two aspects, the economic interdependence with the United States, and the tendency of this country to privilege unilateral approaches for the use of force, enclose the main drives of México's necessity to cooperate. Put differently, any realistic policy option for México need to take into account these two

---

[122] Andres Rozental, "The meaning and implementation of security in the contemporary world," Conference: Features of Contemporary World: Politics Affecting México, (Center for Mexican Studies. University of Oxford, February 21-22, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.México.ox.ac.uk/wp1.htm Last accessed: May 1, 2006.

[123]Raúl Benítez Manaut, "México: Desafió Existencial en Seguridad: Entre el Nacionalismo, América del Norte y América Latina," REDES 2003, (Santiago, Chile: Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, October 28-30, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.resdal.org/producciones-miembros/redes-03-benitez.pdf Last accessed: April 15, 2006.

aspects.

In general, México is not the only country that opposes unilateral action. Latin America also strong opposes unilateral action, which is coloured by the history of US interventions in the region. However, there are significant differences among major Latin American countries on the use of force. For instance, Argentina and Chile have been moderately supportive, México strongly opposed, and Brazil stood in the middle.[124]

Differences in capabilities between states mean also different interests. The lack of consensus on security issues has the international community divided at the moment when there is a clear need for higher levels of commitment. In responding to the global changes and in order to insulate themselves from external threats, states adapt their defence strategies. As it is the case of the United States, powerful states tend to respond unilaterally while the rest prefer to opt for multilateral solutions to narrow power asymmetries.

In self-help systems, states pursue pure individual interests, but in a highly interdependent world, such a system is inefficient. Even the powerful states need to respond to legitimate collective interests while pursuing individual national interests because they are part of a system of collective reciprocity. Consequently, states have to harmonize co-operation. This is especially true for small and medium states, which try to avoid direct confrontation with the Superpowers. The case of México in its bilateral relationship with the United States is self-explanatory.

The United States has led the international economic system since the end of World War II. However, evidence on a narrowing difference in productivity between the United States and the major European countries and Japan has generated a debate about the future of the existing regime.[125] The state has widened its role and conflict among nations still is possible, but the greatest threats for the world economy have their roots in

---

[124] Project on Transformations in Multilateral Security Institutions: Implications for the UN, Center on International Co-operation, (Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.cic.nyu.edu/internationalsecurity/docs/Recent%20Thinking%20on%20Peacekeeping%20Literature%20Rev iew3.pdf Last accessed: December 1, 2006.

[125] Sylvia Ostry, The Post-Cold War Trading System: Who's on First, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p.1.

the political conflicts among nations.[126] This means that military power is insufficient to lead the system, and superiority in resources does not translate directly into greater benefits for the world economy. Instead, structure and process must be taken into account to understand "how the constraints or interests derived from the international structure are transformed into decisions or political strategies within particular countries."[127]

The role of the United States in the world, and more specifically the way it exerts power, shows an unprecedented supremacy. This hegemonic position was the result of the systemic transformations after the end of the Cold War combined with the disposition of the United States to use its power in an assertive way.

After 9/11, the national security strategy of the United States established a new world geography. Before, geography was defined by borders between states. Now, it is defined by the lines of fracture within states in the context of the new threats. The process of blurring the distinction between traditional borders separating the domestic from the international runs parallel to the acceleration of the increase of threats: there is "kind of inverse continuum of threat and vulnerability."[128] This means that the more threatening capacity (e.g., development of weapons of mass destruction), the lesser vulnerability to military action due to deter by fear of retaliation (e.g., the case of North Korea and its nuclear weapons program).

It is worth noting that some of the new threats come from political forces that define their actions according to the rivalry to the United States. And thus the suggestion is the deterrent action. "While force and coercion are reserved for foes, current and future

---

[126] Robert O. Keohane, After Hegemony: Co-operation and Discord in the World Political Economy, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984). In G. R. Winham, Theories of International Relations. Reader, (Halifax: Dalhousie University, Winter 2001), p.5.

[127] David Lake, "International Economic Structures and American Foreign Policy, 1887-1934," World Politics, 35, 4, (July, 1983) In G. R. Winham, Theories of International Relations. Reader, (Halifax: Dalhousie University, Winter 2001), p.137.

[128] Philip Zelikow, "The Transformation of National Security," The National Interest, (Spring, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2751/is_2003_Spring/ai_99377572/pg_9 Last accessed: November 12, 2006.

58

allies will be led by the United States by consensus and cooptation."[129]

The convenience for the international community to prevent the resurgence of the classical rivalry between Great Powers, points towards the promotion of alliance formation and institution strengthening. In this regard, México is well equipped because of the notorious normative bases of its traditional foreign policy. However, little evidence in the behaviour of the United States in this direction suggests changes in México's perennial dilemma – not contravening too much the position of the United States – for the conduct of international affairs, unless it takes a more assertive approach in search for greater political independence.

The accelerated globalization, deeper integration of the international economy, and the rapid erosion of the American economy in recent decades, provide substantial uncertainty about the possibility of co-operation without hegemony. The emphasis can not be put on power alone to explain political behaviour. International institutions are also insufficient to guarantee co-operation without hegemony, since these were formed under principles espoused to the hegemon.[130] As long as world political economy persists, its central dilemma will be how to achieve co-operation without hegemony.[131] However, Robert O. Keohane suggests that "whether a hegemon exists or not, international regimes depend on the existence of patterns of common or complimentary interests that are perceived or capable of being perceived by political actors. This makes common action to produce joint gains rational".[132]

It is difficult to know whether the United States will regain its past leadership, but it is for sure that it will continue to be a strong player in the world. The problem is that it

---

[129] Roberto Russel, "Imperio o Hegemonía: la Política Exterior de los Estados Unidos desde el 11 de Septiembre." In "El Estado de la Seguridad y la Seguridad del Estado en América Latina," Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Internacionales, (Instituto de Seguridad Internacional y Asuntos Estratégicos). Internet. Available at: http://www.cari1.org.ar/pdf/estado-seguridad.pdf Accessed: march 26, 2006.

[130] Russel, "Imperio o Hegemonía," p.8.

[131] Robert O. Keohane, After Hegemony: Co-operation and Discord in the World Political Economy, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1984). In G. R. Winham. Theories of International Relations. Course Reader, (Halifax: Dalhousie University, Winter 2001), p.10.

[132] Keohane, After Hegemony, p.78.

59

cannot cooperate effectively, since it is too concerned with maximizing its own interest and domestic welfare and security. The likely reactions of the world economic blocs are protectionism in some industrial sectors, increased attention upon regional trade and a not too fierce mercantilism. For the United States this means closer ties with México, Canada and the Pacific; for México, this means reduced political independence in exchange of increased economic integration.

México seems to be aware that it needs to diversify its foreign policy out of the bilateral relation with the United States, as its new international activism suggests. Decision-makers in México coincide on that it is necessary to start making changes in order for México to find its place in the global world. México, however, is immersed in the debate of continuing with a strict attachment to the constitutional principles for the conduct of foreign policy, against widening the interpretation of these principles as to allow a more active international participation. Traditional principles are being conceptualized differently around the world for the sake of relevance in the global environment, and certainly México is not an exemption.

Niche Diplomacy

In a not quite clearly defined power structure, the "central, albeit not hegemonic, role of the USA is recognized."[133] The absence of a common enemy has made the military prominence of this country less crucial as it was during the Cold War. In addition, the United States has hesitated to take on responsibilities in the changing global world. As such, the issue of the future of American leadership rests "not so much on the capacity in quantitative terms as on will and effectiveness in qualitative terms."[134]

As noted before, territorial integrity has been displaced down in the priority list of the states; security in a broader sense (economic wellbeing and a broad range of social issues) occupies its place instead. Issues such as human rights, the environment and

---

[133] Joseph S. Nye Jr., <u>Bound to Lead</u>, (Canada: Harpers Collins, 1991, p.234. Cited in Andrew F. Cooper, <u>Niche Diplomacy: Middle Powers After the Cold War</u>, (Ontario: University of Waterloo, 1997), p.2.

[134] Susan Strange, "The Future of the American Empire," <u>Journal of International Affairs</u>, 42, 1, (Fall 1988), pp.1-17. In Andrew F. Cooper, <u>Niche Diplomacy: Middle Powers After the Cold War</u>, (Ontario: University of Waterloo, 1997), p.2.

poverty, cannot be addressed effectively by individual states alone. They require new forms of multilateral co-operation, being through established institutions (the UN and regional organizations) or through ad hoc mechanisms. In any case, multilateralism provides better opportunities for success than unilateral initiatives.

In the words of Ernst Haas, multilateralism means "accepting compromises that fall short of immediate goals. It also means not overloading the international organizations with tasks that are likely to discredit them. The true mark of a multilaterally involved superpower is its knowledge that there is no rule requiring it to lead all the time and perhaps not even most of the time."[135]

The diffusion of influence produced by the global changes generates "pockets" for action for secondary powers. The economic power of smaller states, such as Japan and Germany, suggests a possible joint leadership with the United States. However, the reactions of these countries to international crises ("willing to pay but not play") and their culture of military constraint, also leave leadership voids.[136] These are the "pockets" or "niches" of opportunities for smaller or middle-power states.

The notion of niches builds on an established theory and practice concerned with functionalism, named "Niche Diplomacy." It involves "concentrating resources in specific areas best able to generate returns worth having, rather than trying to cover the field."[137] The advance of Middle-power functionalism through niche diplomacy has been driven by the global changes. Among these, a key concern is the admixture of risks and opportunities inherent in "moving from the rigidity of an old order towards the uncertainties of a new environment." Under this conception, states need to "identify and

---

[135] Ernst B. Haas, "Collective Conflict Management: Evidence of a New World Order," in Thomas G. Weiss (ed.), Collective Security in a Changing World, (Boulder: Lynee Rienner, 1993), p.98. In Andrew F. Cooper, Niche Diplomacy: Middle Powers After the Cold War, (Ontario: University of Waterloo, 1997), p.2.

[136] Donald Puchala and R. A. Coate, "The State of the United Nations," (Hanover NH: Academic Council of the United Nations System, 1988). In Andrew F. Cooper, Niche Diplomacy: Middle Powers After the Cold War, (Ontario: University of Waterloo, 1997), p.4.

[137] Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant, "Australia's Foreign Relations in the World of the 1990s," (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1991), p.323. In Andrew F. Cooper, Niche Diplomacy: Middle Powers After the Cold War, (Ontario: University of Waterloo, 1997), p.2.

61

fill niche spaces on a selective basis through policy ingenuity and execution."[138]

Middle powers became visibly active in the 1960s. Canada, Australia, Sweden, and Norway were able to find their "niche" and gained a reputation as "good multilateralists or international citizens."[139] Canada for instance became known by its commitment to peacekeeping and security-related activities (comprehensive cooperative security). Norway focused on mediation activities, and Australia and Sweden assumed the role of facilitators or coalition managers.[140]

In a separate category, middle powers from the south, such as México and Nigeria, emerged as critics of the norms and structure of the international system. Their role differed from the middle powers from the north in political terms. For instance, Nigeria became active promoter of coalition-building, co-operation-building, mechanisms, on specific issues. Examples of Nigerian activism are the Concert of Middle Powers, or Lagos Forum, a Nigerian initiative to discuss a mediatory role in the "international dialogue with the generalized aim of strengthening co-operation, peace and security."[141]

In a similar way, México played a prominent, albeit selective role in international affairs. The Cancún Conference on North/South Relations and the Contadora Group initiative are usually referred as examples of this. This conference was organized by the United Nations on Mexican initiative, to discuss issues on food security, agricultural development, commodities trade, energy and finance. The most salient aspect of this conference was the South/South solidarity shown, after 22 developing nations, led by México, stood up to the developed nations from the North.

The Contadora initiative devoted efforts to restore and maintain peace and

---

[138] Andrew F. Cooper, Niche Diplomacy: Middle Powers After the Cold War, (Ontario: University of Waterloo, 1997), p.5.

[139] Carsten Holbraad, Middle Powers in International Politics, (London: MacMillan, 1994); Bernard Wood, The Middle Powers and the General Interest, (Ottawa: The North-South Institute, 1988). In Andrew F. Cooper, Niche Diplomacy: Middle Powers After the Cold War, (Ontario: University of Waterloo, 1997), p.6.

[140] Cooper, Niche Diplomacy, p.13.

[141] Cooper, Niche Diplomacy, p.15.

security in Central America in the 1980s. Along with Colombia, Panama and Venezuela, México played a leader role in criticizing the US military presence in the region. However, México lack consistency with its role. México backed away from mediating activity shortly after their peak moments, mainly due to domestic economic problems; the case of Nigeria is similar. Consistency is another difference in the role played by middle powers from the North.

For decades, México resisted playing a middle power role in the inter-American system. Its geopolitical condition suggests playing a diplomatic North-South link role in the American continent. This role, ignored at times, still make sense for México to achieve the equivalent level of international status to its economic stature. NAFTA has provided the means to take active part in a regional project with its northern partners. Regional integration has been accepted as a shield against the charge of globalization. With the rest of the continent, however, México still needs to define its role and its position with respect to the North American developed and the Central-South American developing regions.

During the decades of the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI) regime, México positioned itself as one of the most conservative states in the Americas. In the name of the principles of non-intervention and self-determination in the internal affairs of other states, México rejected the creation of a multinational force to protect democracy, and opposed a normative reinforcement of the inter-American System. Examples of this stand are México's position against the Protocol of Washington in 1992 (which allows the OAS to expel non-democratic states), and against OAS interventions in Haiti, Peru and Guatemala.[142]

México's international participation in the 1980s in the Group of Eight (México, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay) and the Group of Three (Colombia, Venezuela and México), can be inscribed more in the context of economic and political questioning fora, than in performing a middle-power role.[143] What

---

[142] Louis Bélanger and Gordon Mace, "Middle Powers and Regionalism in the Americas: the Cases of Argentina and México," in Andrew F. Cooper, Niche Diplomacy: Middle Powers After the Cold War, (Ontario: University of Waterloo, 1997), p.176.

[143] Bélanger, "Middle Powers and Regionalism in the Americas," p.176.

México tested was an approach that sought to "connect the Mexican economy to the roles of the world development without modifying its diplomatic profile;"[144] a practice that was termed as "participative realism" by González and Chabat.[145] This means "increasing its economic power and to base its political power on future economic attributes, rather than to seek political dividends through immediate diplomatic involvement in the regionalization process."[146]

The constraints that prevent México from behaving as a middle power are both domestic and international. Internally, México's foreign policy helped legitimize a revolutionary regime on the basis of a nationalist discourse, which resulted in the exacerbation of defensive policies, notably against the United States. The new international activism of México after 2000 can be read as an attempt to assume a long-neglected role in the regional integration process, as well as an attempt to diversify a highly "Americanized" international agenda.

The middle-power role does not suit neatly for México. The main impediment for this country to play a consistent middle-power role is geopolitics. Although the United States stopped being a symbol of external (military) threat, México has sought the diplomatic arena as the means to affirm its political independence from its northern neighbour. For this reason, middle power theory, and particularly niche diplomacy, still provides a rationale framework for México to pursue interests consistent with the demands for political independence.

Older Principles, Newer Conceptualizations
Security

In its broadest conceptualization, security means "freedom from anxiety and fear," or

---

[144] Louis Bélanger and Gordon Mace, "Middle Powers and Regionalism in the Americas: the Cases of Argentina and México," in Andrew F. Cooper, Niche Diplomacy: Middle Powers After the Cold War, (Ontario: University of Waterloo, 1997), p.176.

[145] Guadalupe González and Jorge Chabat "México's Hemispheric Options in the Post–Cold War Era," in Gordon Mace and Jean-Philippe Thérien (eds.), Foreign Policy and Regionalism in the Americas, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996), pp.39–51.

[146] González and Chabat, "México's Hemispheric Options in the Post–Cold War Era," pp.39–51.

64

"the state of being free from danger or injury."[147] Security as "freedom from anxiety and fear" is at the center of the intellectual debate. There is a wide recognition that existing theory can only offer partial explanations, as the causes of violence remain unknown or lack agreement and no grand theory exists to explain the whole phenomenon.[148] One of the main problems for contemporary research is perhaps the fact that old and new structures coexist at the same time.

At the end of World War II, people used to think on security in territorial-military terms; today, security has a human dimension and extends to the environment. Speaking about security at the end of the Cold War, a former CIA director stated that "we have slain the dragon, but now live in a jungle full of poisonous snakes."[149] This statement describes the conceptual change of security from well-defined threats to uncertain enemies.

Security is paramount in the global world. Even if the international relations are disaggregated in sectors or dimensions (e.g., military, political, economic, societal, environmental, etc.), each of these can only define focal points of attention of the whole security problematique, but "all are woven together in a strong web of linkages."[150] Due to the high levels of interdependence and the complexity of the threats, co-operation by necessity on security issues is a natural sub-product of globalization. In the words of Kofi Annan, UN Secretary-General, "the interconnectedness of contemporary threats to our security is particularly important. We cannot treat issues such as terrorism or civil wars or extreme poverty in isolation. The implications of this interconnectedness are profound. Our strategies must be comprehensive. Our institutions must overcome their narrow

---

[147] Wordreference.com. (Princeton University, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.wordreference.com/definition/security Last acceded: July 24, 2005.

[148] James Dougherty and Robert Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey, (New York: Longman, 2001).

[149] James Woolsey at Senate Hearings, (Washington DC: February 1993). In Paul F. Rogers, Politics in the Next 50 Years: the Changing nature of International Conflict, (University of Bradford, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.brad.ac.uk/acad/peace/pubs/psp1.pdf Last accessed: August 6, 2005.

[150] Barry Buzan, "New Patterns of Global Security in the 21st Century," International Affairs, 67, 3, (Royal Institute of International Affairs, July 1991), p.433

preoccupations and learn to work across issues in a *concerted fashion.*"[151]

The existing regional security arrangements share various commonalities, such as liberal democracy, free market economies, and a recognized leadership of the United States.[152] The rationale behind these arrangements is that conflict disrupts economies and markets; therefore, attention must be shifted to peace and development in order to maintain and improve the stability that free markets need to flourish. This means that security must be conceptualized in a broader way.

The development of the concept of human security can be seen as part of the "normative revolution" and is perhaps one of the most revolutionary concepts of the last decades. This concept shifts the attention from security of the state to security of the people. It does not preclude, but complements, the primary responsibility of the state. By placing the security of people at the center of the global agenda, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), developer of the concept, sought to shift the attention on almost everything that prevented people from living a decent life. Issues such as unemployment, corruption, pandemics, war, human rights violations, etc., were pointed out as threats to human security.

According to Mexican scholar Maria Cristina Rosas, the human security concept is so broad that its implementation is troublesome. First, as it is noted by Thomas Ledger, broad definitions make difficult to decision-makers to determine what are the priorities. Second, the concept is so close to the development agenda that it is hard to distinguish one from the other. Third, the concept was developed by the UNDP and not by the UNSC, hence the difficulty for its promotion and implementation. And fourth, it has been subjected to different interpretations. From these, two are notable: a maximalist notion includes freedom from want and freedom from fear; the minimalist seeks to limit the concept to the protection of people in violent conflicts. While Japan has adopted the

---

[151] A/59/565, , "Follow-up to the Millennium Outcome," Note by the Secretary-General transmitting the report of the High-level panel on threats, challenges and change, (New York: United Nations, December 2004). Internet. Available at: http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N04/602/31/PDF/N0460231.pdf?OpenElement Last accessed: April 12, 2006, [NOTE: ITALICS IN ORIGINAL].

[152] Andrés Fontana, "Nuevas Amenazas: Implicancias para la Seguridad Internacional y el Empleo de las Fuerzas Armadas," Documento de Trabajo #103, (Argentina: Universidad de Belgrano, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.ub.edu.ar/investigaciones/dt_nuevos/103_fontana.pdf Last accessed: July 21, 2005.

former conceptualization, Canada was an enthusiastic promoter of the latter.[153]

Security of the state remains a necessary condition for human security, but individuals also require protection from arbitrary power (state power included) and from marginalization (social, economical and political). This means that human security encompasses "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want."[154] Therefore, the notion of security has expanded beyond the realist conception of national security as to include the political, military, and economic spheres. In other words, the state is responsible to protect its citizens – from fear and from want – and the international community is responsible to make sure that this happens: this is the responsibility to protect.

It is worth noting that this responsibility to protect has been adopted by the UN in the recent reforms advanced by the 2005 World Summit. In this regard, the international community, represented at the Summit, had agreed "that the responsibility to protect civilian populations lies first and foremost with each individual state and we accept that responsibility and agree to act in accordance with it. The international community should, as appropriate, encourage and help States to exercise this responsibility."[155]

The responsibility to protect is captured by a report published in 2001 by the International Commission on Intervention, and States Sovereignty (ICISS).[156] The report, titled "The Responsibility to Protect," utilizes the maximalist approach and analyzes the humanitarian interventions of the 1990s. The document is controversial in that it supports the idea that the international community has the responsibility to intervene where states are incapable or unwilling to protect their citizens. The concept rubs against the dogmatic practice of full respect to sovereignty, although broader interpretations equate

---

[153] Maria Cristina Rosas, "La Seguridad Internacional y la Lucha Contra el Terrorismo a 5 años del 11 de septiembre," Comercio Exterior, 56, 9, (México City: September 2006). Internet. Available at: Last accessed: November 11, 2006.

[154] Commission on Human Security, Human Security Now, (New York: United Nations, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/finalreport/English/FinalReport.pdf Last accessed: August 4, 2005.

[155] High-level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly 14-16 September 2005, "Draft Outcome Document," (New York: United Nations, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/ga/president/59/draft_outcome.htm Last accessed: September 26, 2005.

[156] The Responsibility to Protect, "Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty," (Ottawa : Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Canada, 2001), p.2.

67

sovereignty with responsibility. Nevertheless, the Report attempts to minimize the criticism by stating that humanitarian interventions should be a last resource. In addition, the Report was prepared before the events of September 11 and thus it does not take into account the threat posed by terrorist activity. "[W]hen the document was published, its proposal passed almost unnoted because the world's attention was centered on the United States and the war against terrorism."[157]

In the Americas, the obsolescence of the old mechanisms for collective security has been noted. New approaches have been demanded that put more emphasis on co-operation, the respect for the cultural differences and self-determination. Co-operation must be directed towards conflict prevention and containment through development programs for the region. In this sense, Central America adopted the concept of "democratic security" in 1995. This concept of security, institutionalized with the signing of the Democratic Security Framework Agreement (*Tratado Marco de Seguridad Democrática*), emphasizes the existence of governments democratically elected, the supremacy of civil power over the military, the respect for human rights, the security of people and the their property, the eradication of poverty, violence, corruption and impunity, and the fighting of terrorism and the traffic of weapons.[158] As it can be noted, this concept is so broad that encompasses elements of social stability as well as elements of traditional defence and collective security for the region.

After 2000, México signalled a move away from its traditional Westphalian conception of security to a multidimensional concept that encompasses drug trafficking, organized crime, corruption, human trafficking, arms trafficking, terrorism, poverty, and inequality, as it was stated by the National Development Plan 2001-2006. This conceptualization of security is based on a broad vision aimed at preventing and addressing emerging threats to peace, the rule of law, and the wellbeing and physical

---

[157] Maria Cristina Rosas, "La Seguridad Internacional y la Lucha Contra el Terrorismo a 5 años del 11 de septiembre," Comercio Exterior, 56, 9, (México City: September 2006). Internet. Available at: Last accessed: November 11, 2006.

[158] Tratado Marco de Seguridad Democrática en Centro América, (San Pedro Sula, Honduras: 1995). Internet. Available at: http://www.protegiendoles.org/documentacion/articulo13.pdf Last accessed: October 20, 2006.

integrity of people.[159]

In addition, a different conceptualization of security, termed *"seguridad integral"* (integrated security) was tested by México with little success. This conceptualization puts emphasis on economic and social elements while limits military co-operation mainly to educational aspects.[160] This conception differs from those of its North American partners, such as the American "pre-emptive action" and "homeland security," or the Canadian advanced notion of "human security."

The author acknowledges that the concept of "integrated security" challenges a military participation of México in UN Peacekeeping Operations in theoretical grounds. However, the notion encounters numerous difficulties that leave room for advancing the proposal for a Mexican peacekeeping. For instance, there is substantive empirical evidence that México is increasing its international co-operation (particularly with the United States) and that most Mexicans support pragmatic approaches to international security. Also the term has not been fully developed, it is not widely recognized and it lacks practical considerations. Nevertheless, a thoughtful analysis of this theoretical challenge lies beyond the boundaries of this study.

These new conceptualizations cannot be understood in isolation, but in the context of global and regional integration processes. Co-operation on security becomes a logical consequence because integration produces common interests and there is a need to harmonize policies and structures, both domestic and international.[161] México is now conceptualizing security beyond the traditional Westphalian concept of territorial security, as it experiences the effects of the New Threats which have no respect for territorial borders; the following step for this country is, perhaps, expanding action

---

[159] Gobierno Federal de México -2006. Plan Nacional de Desarrollo. "Orden y Respeto," (México: 2001). Internet. Available at: http://www.economia.gob.mx/pics/p/p1376/PLAN1.pdf Last accessed: April 29, 2007.

[160] According to Raúl Benítez Manaut, "México is developing the concept of 'integrated security,' with emphasis on "social and economic elements, and is attempting to limit military co-operation mainly to educational aspects." México and the New Challenges for Hemispheric Security, (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2004), p.15. Internet. Available at: http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/ACF18DF.pdf Last accessed: March 18, 2006.

[161] Sabine Kurtenbach, Revista Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad, 16, 2, (Santiago, Chile: FLACSO, April-june, 2001). Internet. Available at: http://www.fasoc.cl/files/articulo/ART410fbad59e93a.pdf Last accessed: November 11, 2006.

beyond its borders.

Sovereignty

In the present context, the principles that have given pre-eminence to the state are also gradually transforming themselves. Sovereignty, for instance, can be conceptualized differently according to the context. "International legal sovereignty" refers to the mutual recognition by territorial entities with formal juridical independence; "Westphalian sovereignty" means the political organization that excludes external actors from authority structures within a given territory; "domestic sovereignty" signifies the formal organization of political authority with the ability to control its own polity within a given territory; and "interdependence sovereignty" is the ability of the public authority to control trans-border flows (ideas, information, goods, people, etc.).[162]

Also, sovereignty means responsibility to perform the primary functions of the state delivering security to its population in the first place. A state can have one but not the other and one can undermine the other. Controlling one, some or none, produces a natural classification of states that erodes the already worn-out requisite condition of equality of the international system. It is worth noting that in the current international environment, the system of states is superimposed on a wider international system that includes the rest of the non-state actors, with their complex networks of interaction.

Another aspect of the transformation of the international system that is closely related to the multi-conceptualized term of sovereignty concerns the use of power. The modern state, it is said, is able to concentrate two different types of power: hard power and soft power.[163] "Soft power is the ability to get what you want by attracting and persuading others to adopt your goals. It differs from hard power, the ability to use the carrots and sticks of economic and military might to make others follow your will."[164]

---

[162] Stephen Kraesner, <u>Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy</u>, (Princeton University Press, 1999), p.3.

[163] Joseph S. Nye Jr. and William A. Owen, "America Information Age," <u>Foreign Affairs</u>, 75, 2 (March/April 1996), pp.20-36.

[164] Joseph S. Nye Jr. "Propaganda Isn't the Way: Soft Power," <u>The International Herald Tribune</u>, (January 03, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/news/opeds/2003/nye_soft_power_iht_011003.htm Last accessed: July 21, 2005.

70

Those states that are able to concentrate more of both types of power will retain more sovereignty and therefore will enjoy more international political autonomy.

Consequently, power asymmetries will be the reflection of the states' different levels of control of the sovereign power: control to maintain the capacity to perform the primary functions of the state and power to pursue its national interests. Logically, powerful states retain larger control and power requisites and for this, they become a driving force of globalization. Medium and small states retain smaller requisites and are more vulnerable to the undesired effects of globalization.

From the realist perspective, sovereignty derives from the legal recognition by the international community of authoritative control over a specified population and territory.[165] More recently, sovereignty has signified the responsibility to perform the primary functions of the state delivering security to its population in the first place.[166] For México, the principle of sovereignty has also had different meanings along time.

At first, when México obtained its independence from Spain, sovereignty signified survival of the state. Numerous military interventions into its territory during the nineteen and early twenty centuries reaffirmed this meaning of sovereignty, which afterwards expanded and centered on the concepts of non-intervention and self-determination.

With increasing frequency there are cases of extraterritorial enforcement of state legislation (more common on consumer legislation and intellectual property) and international legislation within sovereign state borders (state failure and the responsibility

---

[165] For Hans Morgenthau, sovereignty is primarily a legal condition. It is supreme authority to create and enforce laws within a given territory. Hans J. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, 6th ed., (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985). For Kenneth Waltz, the principles that legitimize state authority are not as relevant as whether states remain independent. Kenneth Waltz, Theory of International Politics, (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1979). And for Robert Gilpin, sovereignty derives from the state's ability to maintain order and control, that is, to exercise a legitimate monopoly of the use of force and "embodies the idea that everyone in the territory is a subject to the same law or set of rules," within the territory it encompasses." Robert Gilpin, War and Change in the World Politics, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.17.

[166] High-level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly 14-16 September 2005, "Draft Outcome Document," (New York: United Nations, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/ga/president/59/draft_outcome.htm Last accessed: September 26, 2005.

71

to protect).[167] For México, the constant intervention of the United States in domestic affairs is undeniable. The sounded drug-related case of Alvarez-Machain who was detained in México in 1990 by American anti-narcotic officers for arrest in the United States,[168] and the expulsion of a Cuban delegation from an hotel in México City in February 2006[169] are only two examples of how difficult is for México to defend a more restrictive interpretation of the principle of non-intervention in its own territory. As it is explained in detail in Chapters IV and VI of this study, the principles of sovereignty and self-determination melt together in the concept of consent, which is a UN Peacekeeping Operations implementation prerequisite.

The focus on economic growth after the Mexican revolution that continued after the end of World War II represented a different conceptualization of sovereignty for México, which started to become a synonym of autonomous development.[170] At the end of the Cold War and with the advent of globalization, sovereignty has lost much of its meaning. Not only the Mexican state has lost control over trans-national flows of information, goods and people – which is a characteristic phenomenon attributed to globalization that affects the nation-state – but it also has lost the ability to define values and allocate resources.[171] The integration of networks of all sorts of human activity along the México-US border have conformed was has been termed the "borderlands," and the

---

[167] Lee Feinstein and Anne-Marie Slaughter, "A Duty to Prevent," Foreign Affairs, 83, 1 (New York: January/February 2004), p.136.

[168] Alberto Alvarez-Machain, a Mexican national, was indicted for involvement in the torture and murder of a DEA (US Drug Enforcement Administration) agent (Enrique Camarena) in Guadalajara México. The DEA arranged to abduct Alvarez and fly him to Texas. Alvarez's criminal case worked its way up to the Supreme Court on disputes over federal jurisdiction. "The Supreme Court Leading Cases," Harvard Law Review, 118, (Harvard: November, 2004), p.248. Internet. Available at: http://www.harvardlawreview.org/issues/118/Nov04/Leading%20Cases/Sosa_v_Alvarez-MachainFTX.pdf Last accessed: April 16, 2006.

[169] In its editorial, México's La Jornada daily strongly criticized the decision of the management of the Maria Isabel Sheraton Hotel to expel 16 Cuban officials who had met with US business executives in México City. The application of the Helms-Burton Act in México, is a violation of that country's law and it is "unacceptable and absolutely reprehensible," said the paper. La Jornada, (México: February 05, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2006/02/05/edito.php Last accessed: April 16, 2006.

[170] Mario Ojeda, Alcances y Límites de la Política Exterior de México, (México: El Colegio de México, 1976), p.40.

[171] David Thelen, "Rethinking History and the Nation-state: México and the United States," The Journal of American History, 86, 2, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 1999), pp.438-452.

72

growing political activism of a large, and also growing, diasporas in the United States, call for different conceptualizations of sovereignty.

In sum, for México as it is true for most of the members of the international community, sovereignty has been conceptualized beyond the territorial dimension of the Westphalian notion. As a result of the democratization process, this country struggles to maintain "domestic sovereign" power; the high interdependence with the United States has reduced its ability to control trans-border fluxes. And finally, the attempted international activism signals a move of the country to use its "soft power" to fill the gap between its achieved economic position and the political international influence. Put different, in the practice, México has already abandoned its traditional Westphalian concept of sovereignty; its problem now is to find a more updated concept according to its national and international reality.

Self-Determination

The other principle in question is self-determination, a fundamental principle of Human Rights Law and a foundation bloc of all nation-states.[172] The principle of self-determination is central to the discussion of weak and failed states and globalization, because it is the force behind any form of governance. Authority for governance can only be legitimate when it provides security and welfare to the people; it erodes when people believe that existing institutions of governance no longer represent their interests.[173]

Self-determination was the justification behind the de-colonization process as a form to devolve control of the institutions of governance to the local people.[174] However weakened and failed states are increasingly seen as examples of erroneous application of

---

[172] Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of any government;..." Also, Article 1.2 of the UN Charter states that one of the purposes of the UN is "To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;..."

[173] Karen Parker, "Understanding Self-determination: the basics," First International Conference on the Right of Self-determination, (Geneva: United Nations, August, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.webcom.com/hrin/parker/selfdet.html Last accessed: July 26, 2005.

[174] Article XI Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories. Charter of the United Nations, Articles 73 and 74, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945).

73

this principle. In vast areas of Africa, Asia and the Middle East, self-determination "has led to much grief." "The experiment with political independence – especially in Africa – has been a disaster for most poor countries."[175]

At a lower level, self-determination is a key factor of cohesion of minority groups and thus it inserts itself between the concepts of national sovereignty and global governance. Therefore, there is a need to review the principles of self-determination and sovereignty in a context where fragmentation and integration forces run parallel: the former, resulting from increased attachment to national or local culture, are affecting the coherence and viability of traditional state entities in the form of cultural and ethnic identities. The latter, fostered by free markets and the spread of modern technology and by public international regimes and institutions, are bringing people together through freer and unchecked trans-border flows and networks.[176]

For México, the principle of self-determination is derived from the *Calvo* doctrine of 1868, which stated that citizens or corporations involved in economic activities in México should abide by Mexican laws. Any intervention by a foreign government on behalf of these citizens or corporations was considered unjust and illegal.[177]

Throughout its history, México has constantly and consistently proclaimed the right of the peoples to self-determination. This is one of the pillar principles of México's foreign policy. In this sense, México has signed and ratified international instruments in support of this principle, such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social & Cultural Rights (1976) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966); both are binding instruments for México since 1981.[178]

---

[175] Niall Ferguson, Colossus, (New York: Penguin Press, 2004). Cited in G. John Ikenberry, "Illusions of Empire: Defining the New American Order," Foreign Affairs, 83, 2 (New York, 2004).

[176] Stanley Hoffman, World Disorders: Troubled Peace in the post-cold war Era, (Boston: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998), p.4.

[177] The Calvo Doctrine named after Argentine diplomat and historian Carlos Calvo (1824-1906), prohibits the use of diplomatic intervention as a method of enforcing private claims before local remedies have been exhausted. It is frequently cited to explain economic self-determination.

[178] "Pacto Internacional sobre los Derechos Económicos, Sociales y Culturales," Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas. Internet. Available at: http://cdi.gob.mx/derechos/vigencia/pacto_internacional_derechos_economicos.pdf Last accessed: November 22, 2006.

74

As stated before, the uprising of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN), in January of 1994 in the state of Chiapas, confronted Mexicans with the parallel forces of fragmentation and integration. The armed conflict put into the national agenda a problem that had been neglected for centuries: the struggle for indigenous autonomy.[179] This problem in México encompasses 56 indigenous peoples, 81 languages, and over 10 million persons. It is clear then that for Mexicans, the once-thought "monolithic" notion of self-determination is far gone in time, and that present circumstances demand broader and more flexible interpretations of this foreign policy principle.

The "Necessity to Cooperate"

Co-operation can be a tricky word because, among other things, it does not disclose by itself the reasons behind. In collective systems, it is important to know the rationale behind state behaviour. According to Robert O. Keohane, differentiating harmony from co-operation is important in theses kinds of systems; harmony "refers to a situation in which actor's policies (pursued in their own self-interest without regard for others) automatically facilitate the attainment of others' goals."[180] Co-operation, in contrast, occurs "when the policies actually followed by one government are regarded by its partners as facilitating realization of their own objectives, as the result of a process of policy coordination."[181]

Therefore, harmony is apolitical and co-operation is highly political and controversial. Also, in the international economy, co-operation is difficult to achieve because it fails even where common interests exist. From a Realist point of view, the last economic regime rests on the political hegemony of the United States, and as the

---

[179] Violence erupted in the Mexican state of Chiapas on January 01, 1994 at a time when the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came into effect, and President Carlos Salinas de Gortari proclaimed that México was on the verge of becoming a more modernized and industrialized state.

[180] Robert O. Keohane, After Hegemony: Co-operation and Discord in the World Political Economy, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984). In G. R. Winham, Theories of International Relations, Course Reader, (Dalhousie University, Winter 2001), p.51.2.

[181] Keohane, After Hegemony, p.51.2.

75

American power erodes, so does the international regime.[182] Realists emphasize the impact of state power over institutions, which can be interpreted as the power of influential states to control international institutions. On the contrary, institutions affect the patterns of co-operation, which can develop under some conditions of complimentary interests.[183]

In reference to international security, Keohane's definitions are helpful to understand why traditional "collective security" (pure harmonic co-operation) is increasingly becoming "cooperative security" (co-operation between and among adversaries or potential adversaries, as well as between and among allies and potential allies).[184] Cooperative actions are necessary to contain the destabilizing effects inside and around failed states, which turn into heavens of opportunity for terrorists and criminals and thus represent one of the major challenges for international peace and security. Cooperative security requires higher levels of international political commitment and coordination; collective security is becoming cooperative security[185]

As the world – interconnected and interdependent – faces multidimensional, non-traditional, asymmetric, non-military threats, international security depends more on international co-operation. In this context, the formation of regional security arrangements around the globe is self-explanatory. Examples of these are the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Organization of

---

[182] Robert O. Keohane, After Hegemony: Co-operation and Discord in the World Political Economy, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984). In G. R. Winham, Theories of International Relations, Course Reader, (Dalhousie University, Winter 2001), p.9.1,3.

[183] Keohane, After Hegemony, p. 9.4.

[184] Robert Kennedy, "Competing Conceptions of the post-cold war Order," Southeast Roundtable on Defence, (September 23, 2003).

[185] Janne E. Nolan (Ed.), Global Engagement: Co-operation and Security in the 21st Century, (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1994), p.3.

American States (OAS),[186] and the Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR),[187] among other.

Although many of these arrangements were built on economic bases, all have now included security considerations. These multilateral, regionally-based arrangements are advancing the notion of global cooperative security. By looking at the individual objectives of these organizations, it is noticeable that, despite of contextual and temporary differences, almost all processes of interaction share a more frequent use of confidence-building mechanisms and political arrangements to strengthen the concept of "cooperative security."[188]

Of particular importance is the increasing overlapping of defence and internal security mechanisms. This overlapping has broadened the roles of national militaries and law enforcement institutions. Three examples of this are the creation of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) by the United States after 9/11, the Ministry of Public Security and Emergency Preparedness (PSEP – latter renamed Public Safety Canada) in 2003 and the Council for National Security of México.

The DHS exerts direct control over border security and law enforcement agencies at the local, state and federal levels and coordinates security policies with defence structures and concentrates intelligence capabilities.[189]

PS Canada integrated five agencies and three review bodies dealing with national security, law enforcement, emergency management, correctional, crime prevention, and

---

[186] "A New Vision of the OAS," Working paper of the General Secretariat of the Permanent Council, (Organization of American States). Cited in. Human Rights. International Civilian Mission in Haiti, OAS/UN. "Regional Co-operation and Increasing the Peacekeeping capacity of the UN: Role of the OAS," (United Nations). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/rights/micivih/rapports/arg.htm Last accessed: May 31, 2005.

[187] Mercosur. Información General. 3. Una Nueva Etapa. Internet. Available at: http://www.mercosur.org.uy/pagina1esp.htm Last accessed: July 29, 2005.

[188] Andrés Fontana, "Nuevas Amenazas: Implicancias para la Seguridad Internacional y el Empleo de las Fuerzas Armadas," Documento de Trabajo #103, (Argentina: Universidad de Belgrano, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.ub.edu.ar/investigaciones/dt_nuevos/103_fontana.pdf Last accessed: July 21, 2005.

[189] The DHS Strategic Plan: Securing Our Homeland, (U.S. Department of Homeland Security). Internet. Available at: http://www.dhs.gov/dhspublic/interapp/editorial/editorial_0413.xml last accessed: August 4, 2005.

borders.[190]

The Council for National Security of México articulates the defence and public security policies and capabilities through the establishment of agreements between the Mexican states and the federation.[191]

The necessity for México to cooperate with the United States, and to some extent with Canada is evident: almost 90 percent of México's exports go to its North American partners. There is a clear incentive for México to increase co-operation on security issues with the United States to maintain, and improve, the trans-border fluxes of people and goods. It is in this context that the North America Partnership on Security and Prosperity (SPP) was signed in 2005 by the heads of government of México, Canada and the United States.

The SPP seeks to advance trilateral co-operation to further build a "North American Community." This community, however, need to be built following one overriding principle: uncompromising respect for the political independence and distinctiveness of Canada, México and the United States." This principle rules out the ideas of common markets and supranational institutions. On pragmatic bilateral and trilateral bases, the SPP moves forward to strengthen North American economic and security co-operation.[192]

Therefore, the necessity to co-operate for México at the sub-regional level is very clear; what is not clear for some is the necessity for México to cooperate with the international community on security issues; this, however becomes evident when analyzing the intermestic nature of the threats to México's national security, such as international instability, drug trafficking, organized crime, immigration, and extreme poverty. There is a tendency, however, to address these kinds of threats at the domestic

---

[190] Public Safety Canada. Official Site. Internet. Available at: http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/abt/wwa/index-en.asp last accessed: April 20, 2007.

[191] Ley de Seguridad Nacional, (México, 2005).

[192] Thomas D'Aquino, "Security and Prosperity: The dynamics of a New Canada-United States Partnership in North America," Presentation to the Annual General Meeting of the Canadian Council of Chief Executives. Internet. Available at: http://scholar.google.com/scholar?q=security+and+prosperity+partnership+of+north+america&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8&hl=en last accessed: May 28, 2006.

level, leaving the international causes unattended. A need exists then, to increase co-operation with multilateral approaches to address these threats at the global level; although indirectly for some of these threats, UN peacekeeping is one of these approaches.

Therefore, states must cooperate with other states in order to become more secure. For instance, states have to share intelligence to fight terrorism. The availability of WMD and the difficulty of detecting concealed weapons with such a huge destructive capacity, move states to cooperate on controlling "dangerous materials, deter and capture terrorists, and address the broader threats that increase the risk of terrorist action."[193] Similarly with other threats like organized crime and drug trafficking, states have an interest in forging comprehensive security mechanisms and to act cooperatively against a broad array of threats; this is another facet of the necessity to cooperate.

The unprecedented participation of México in international crises during the last decade, and most notoriously since 2000, acknowledges the necessity to cooperate out of the US-México bilateral relationship. The Mexican Secretariat of National Defence (Army and Air Force) reports participation in 22 international humanitarian operations (almost all natural disaster): eight from 1996 to 2000 and the rest after this year. With the exception of the operation to Haiti after the political crisis of 2004, the rest of the Mexican missions were deployed to deliver relief aid in cases of natural disasters.[194] Such participation underscores both a necessity to cooperate with international crises, and México's search for an international "niche."

UN-Centered Multilateralism and the Use of Force
The present unipolar world order is led by the hegemonic military, and to a lesser extent economic, power of the United States. In such a world, the multilateralism/unilateralism debate spins around the world's view and the role of the United States as the hegemonic

---

[193] Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, "A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility," (New York: United Nations, 2004), p.16.

[194] Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional, "Ayuda Humanitaria a Otros Países." Internet. Available at: http://www.sedena.gob.mx/artic_int/proy_inova/planiiie/index.html# Last accessed: November 24, 2006.

leader. Many issues, like the centrality of the United Nations, the Kyoto Protocol, the global environment, the non-proliferation regimes, the International Criminal Court, among others, also come into play. But the central and most controversial issue is the use of force.

Disillusionment with multilateralism to prevent and eradicate armed conflicts keeps the debate alive. In response to perceived threats, the United States, which is the lead power in the construction of the international order, looks for maximum effectiveness alternatives, thus privileging unilateral approaches. As noted before, relying on its incontestable military pre-eminence, the United States bases its defence policy on "the active deterrence of aggression and coercion,"[195] and its unique hegemonic condition makes it more inclined towards a "going alone policy."[196]

The military defeat of the Iraqi regular forces in Operation Iraq Freedom in 2003 announced "the birth of a New American Empire and predicted the death of the UN. U.S. power appeared impenetrable."[197] And the multilateralism/unilateralism debate seemed to be resolved. However, the war in Iraq is still ongoing and Afghanistan, which was sought by the world as a legitimate retaliatory action after 9/11, remains unresolved. These two issues are keeping the multilateralism/unilateralism debate as much open as it has been for a while.

Unilateral actions employing the use of force by the hegemonic leader cannot build the commitment and legitimacy that the circumstances demand. The current international environment – fragile, divided, and complex – leaves not many choices for the establishment of peaceful orders. The world seems to be fast approaching a dead end

---

[195] The National Defense Strategy of the United States, (U.S. Department of Defense, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/dod/nds-usa_mar2005.htm last accessed: July 23, 2005.

[196] The most common example of U.S. unilateralism is the 2003 military invasion to Iraq despite open opposition at the UN Security Council. Economic unilateral actions are also documented. For instance, from 1993-1996, through law enactment and executive actions, the United States imposed 61 economic sanctions for foreign policy purposes to 35 countries. "A Catalogue of New US Unilateral Economic Sanctions for Foreign Policy Purposes," (San Francisco, CA: San Francisco state University, 1997). Internet. Available at: http://bss.sfsu.edu/fischer/IR%20742/acatalog.htm Last accessed: July 24, 2005.

[197] Bruce W. Jentleson, "Tough Love Multilateralism," The Washington Quarterly, (The MIT Press, Winter 2003-04). Internet. Available at: http://mitpress.mit.edu/journals/pdf/wash_27_1_7_0.pdf Last accessed: July 24, 2005.

where there are only a few choices left, among which consensus and commitment stand out: consensus to agree on global governance mechanisms, and commitment to operationalize the necessary collective action. For these reasons, it can be argued that global security can only be achieved through the UN. The current defence policy of the United States has been under severe criticism.

On the other hand, it is clear that the United Nations has fallen short in achieving its primary goal, which is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war,…" It is also clear that it lacks the enforcement powers granted only in theory by Article 43 of the UN Charter which states that

> "[a]ll Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security."[198]

And "only twice in its entire history has the Security Council authorized coalitions of the willing to enforce its mandate: the Korean and first Gulf wars, and Korea was a fluke."[199] No formal military enforcement capacity has ever materialized for the UN and peacekeeping has been more an *ad hoc* mechanism.

From September 14-16, 2005 the United Nations Headquarters in New York held the 2005 World Summit (formerly known as Millennium Summit +5). This meeting brought together the largest gathering of world leaders in history to discuss a set of proposals made by Secretary-General Kofi Annan on development, security, human rights, and reform of the UN. One of the main objectives of the Summit was to improve the international community's ability to prevent and resolve armed conflicts. For this, an important step is to advance the recognition of the link between poverty and security. It was agreed to take concrete measures in the areas of development, peace and collective

---

[198] Charter of the United Nations, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945).

[199] John G. Ruggie, "This Crisis of Multilateralism is Different." The National Forum on the United Nations. Kennedy School of Government, (Harvard University 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.unausa.org/newindex.asp?place=http://www.unausa.org/membership/forum/ruggie.asp Last accessed: June 12, 2004.

81

security, human rights and the rule of law, and strengthening of the United Nations.

Regarding peace and collective security, the Summit resolved to take concerted action, "through such a system of collective security, based on the United Nations Charter and respect for international law, so as to prevent, mitigate and remove threats to international peace and security, respond effectively to natural disasters, ensure economic development and the full enjoyment of human rights for all States and peoples."[200] As of proposed reforms to strengthen the UN, the Summit agreed to undertake comprehensive reform of the Security Council "to make it more broadly representative, more efficient and transparent so as to enhance the legitimacy of its decisions and its effectiveness."[201]

The international environment has put security at the center of discussion. This means that a system of collective security still makes sense to the strong and to the weak. And the only institution available that is capable to administer and, to a certain point, to deliver such collective action is the UN. Therefore, the question is not whether the UN has a future or not, but how might the world be if greater commitment could be achieved through the UN. Global justice is only reachable through global governance and this is only achievable through international law and institutions.

The role of the hegemonic leader is to make this possible. Certainly the UN must learn from past failures and must look to the future. But the UN only represents the wills of the peoples and it is a place where all can meet and agree on common priorities and conventions. Increased commitment and consensus on global priorities would translate into increased global governance: a commodity desperately wanted by common people that suffer the effects of insecurity.

The influential report An Agenda for Peace, prepared by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, provides the basis to understand the interaction between the normative framework of the UN Charter and the actions of the international community through the UN system of collective security. The recognition that globalization has

---

[200] High-level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly 14-16 September 2005, "Draft Outcome Document," (New York: United Nations, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/ga/president/59/draft_outcome.htm Last accessed: September 26, 2005.

[201] High-level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly.

82

confronted pillar principles calls for a need to find a balance between normative frameworks and action. 'The sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of States within the established international system, and the principle of self-determination for peoples, both of great value and importance, must not be permitted to work against each other in the period ahead. Respect for democratic principles at all levels of social existence is crucial: in communities, within States and within the community of States. Our constant duty should be to maintain the integrity of each while finding a balanced design for all."[202]

In this sense, An Agenda for Peace outlines various action mechanisms through the UN system. These are Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping. An additional coercive action mechanism, authorized by the UNSC but not carried on by the organization, is called Peace Enforcement. The model of the "Peacekeeping spectrum and Terminology" crafted by Ken Eyre of the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre of Canada, helps understand the functions and times of the different peace efforts.

Figure 1: Peacekeeping Spectrum and Terminology
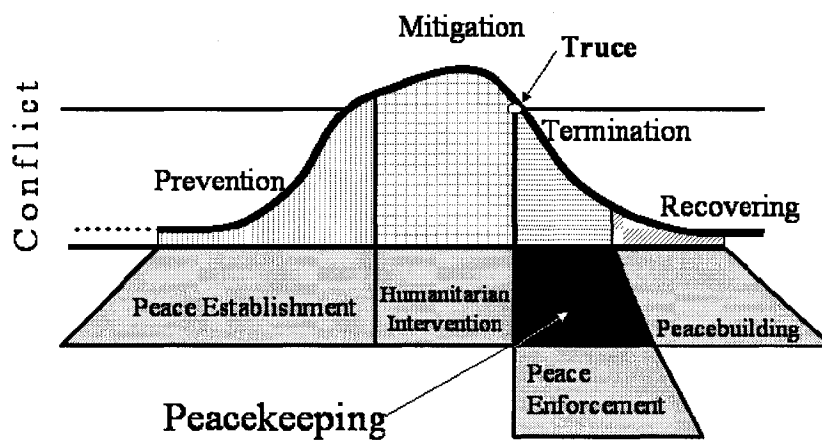
Source: Ken Eyre (1998)

Preventive Diplomacy

Preventive Diplomacy is defined as the "action to prevent disputes from arising between

---

[202] Boutros Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping, A/47/277-S/24111. (United Nations, 1992), p.15. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html Last accessed: June 06, 2005.

parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur."[203] Preventive diplomacy actions can be implemented by different UN bodies or regional organizations. Normally, these include confidence building measures, fact finding missions, early warning, preventive deployment, and the establishment of demilitarized zones. These actions require the consent of the parties to a conflict. When these actions fail or fall short, peacemaking actions represent a second attempt to defuse an ongoing violent conflict.

Peacemaking

This is the "action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations."[204] In peacemaking actions, the UNSC can act by its own initiative or by invitation of the parties to a conflict to make recommendations on "appropriate procedures or methods for dispute settlement [(Article 36 of the UN Charter)] and, if all the parties to a dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties for a pacific settlement of the dispute [(Article 37)]."[205] The UN Secretary-General recommends the intervention of the International Court of Justice, which has a huge potential for conflict resolution. Peacemaking requires the consent of the parties to the conflict.

Peacekeeping

As stated in Chapter I, there are various definitions of peacekeeping, and this study utilizes the definition offered by the UNDPKO. However, and in order to offer a contextual definition included in An Agenda for Peace of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, peacekeeping means "the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United

---

[203] Boutros Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping, A/47/277-S/24111. (United Nations, 1992), p.15. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html Last accessed: June 06, 2005.

[204] Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, p.5.

[205] Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, p.15.

84

Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well. Peace-keeping is a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace."[206]

Along with mediation, peacekeeping Operations are the most frequently used mechanism for conflict resolution. Boutros Boutros-Ghali considers peacekeeping as a technique that expands the possibilities for both conflict prevention and peace maintenance. Since these operations have a strong normative basis for the use of force, they are ideal for implementing collective action without undermining too much the principles of the international system. These operations are the main focus of this work and are explained in detail in Chapter IV.

Peacekeeping is an instrument to "maintain," and "restore" international peace and stability. It is a response of the international community to the threats and breaches of the peace implemented through, and administered by the United Nations. Peacekeeping is at the center of the debate on the prevalence of traditional principles, such as sovereignty, non-intervention and the use of force because it is a conceptual aberration itself: a "forceful" mechanism to "maintain" the peace. Nevertheless, it is the most frequently implemented when violence arises.

Peacekeeping Operations exist in a different context than common military operations. The latter find legality in various sources of international law and legitimacy in the approval by the international community; the former require the "consent" of the parties to a conflict to get legitimacy, and the express authorization of the UN Security Council to become legal; the actions derived have to conform to various sources of international humanitarian law, human rights law and international law specifically stated in the UN Charter and the Statute of the International Court of Justice as well.[207]

The humanitarian international law, also known as the law of armed conflicts or

---

[206] Boutros Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping, A/47/277-S/24111. (United Nations, 1992), p.15. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html Last accessed: June 06, 2005.

[207] Kenneth C. Eyre, "The Legal Framework of Modern Peacekeeping." Course Presentation. International Summer Peacekeeping Institute 2001, (Wolfville, NS: Acadia University/The Royal Canadian Military College/The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

85

the law of war, becomes relevant to the legitimizing of the use of force because it does not make distinction between aggressor and defendant, nor between the reasons that anyone may have to become hostile. The international humanitarian law is contained in a series of legal instruments and treaties signed by the states, such as the Geneva Conventions and their additional protocols. These instruments provide the framework for the conduct of Peacekeeping Operations and set the limits for the use of force.

Peace Enforcement

Peace Enforcement is the last recourse of the international system of collective security. The legal basis for this action is provided by Chapter VII of the UN Charter: "Actions with respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression" (Chapter VII) through peace enforcement operations.[208] Article 41 of the UN Charter states the measures for the use of force, which include "complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations."[209] In addition, Article 42 states that in the event that measures provided for in Article 41 result inadequate, "it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations."[210] These faculties are limited by the purpose and principles of the United Nations and by factors that may affect international peace and security.

Related to the conflict process, the peace efforts are different not only in terms of

---

[208] Charter of the United Nations, Chapter VII. "Actions with respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace and Acts of Aggression," (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945).

[209] Charter of the United Nations, Chapter VII. Article 41. "The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations," (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945).

[210] Charter of the United Nations, Chapter VII. Article 42. "Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations," (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945).

86

functions, but also in terms of implementation times. It is important that these efforts do not interrupt the conflict process for the sake of long-lasting peace. As it is explained in Chapter IV, sometimes the international community has to intervene and "stop" the conflict to avoid excessive costs in terms of human suffering.

Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding takes place in a safer environment; meaning when there is not generalized violence. "Not all peacebuilding efforts take place within transitional administrations and many take place without the presence of peacekeepers."[211] Peacebuilding represent an idea developed to both dim the criticisms about legitimacy and to describe the host of actions undertaken in contemporary transitional administrations.

There are a number of definitions of peacebuilding, but the one developed by Catherine Morris seems to encompass most of the aspects involved in modern efforts: "Peacebuilding involves a full range of approaches, processes, and stages needed for transformation toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships and governance modes and structures. Peacebuilding includes building legal and human rights institutions as well as fair and effective governance and dispute resolution processes and systems. To be effective, peacebuilding activities require careful and participatory planning, coordination among various efforts, and sustained commitments by both local and donor partners."[212]

Ideally, pre-conflict peacebuilding will render unnecessary all other mechanisms; in the practice pre-conflict and post-conflict initiatives are indistinct. In other words, if peacekeeping is to be implemented is because pre-conflict peacebuilding had already failed. As the illustration below shows it, from a different perspective, the TRANSCEND approach, developed by Johan Galtung, considers conflict as a live, almost organic, process.[213]

---

[211] Alex J. Bellamy and others, Understanding Peacekeeping, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), p.235.

[212] Catherine Morris, "What is Peacebuilding? One Definition," Peacemakers Trust, (2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.peacemakers.ca/publications/peacebuildingdefinition.html Last accessed: December 10 2006.

[213] Johan Galtung, Carl G. Jacobsen and Kai Frithjof Brand-Jacobsen, Searching for Peace: The Road to Transcend, (London: Pluto Press, 2002), p.3.

Figure 2: Life-Cycle of a Conflict

	PHASE I BEFORE VIOLENCE	PHASE II DURING VIOLENCE	PHASE III AFTER VIOLENCE	
TRANSFORMATION PEACEFUL ACTORS + PEACEFUL STRUCTURES + PEACEFUL CULTURES	SUSTAINABLE PEACE INITIATIVES	PEACEKEEPING • UN CHARTER CH. 6 • MILITARY SKILLS • POLICE SKILLS • NON-VIOLENT SKILLS • MEDIATION SKILLS • 50% WOMEN	RESOLUTION RECONSTRUCTION RECONCILIATION	TRANSFORMATION PEACEFUL ACTORS + PEACEFUL STRUCTURES + PEACEFUL CULTURES
	VIOLENCE OUTBREAK		VIOLENCE CESATION	

WAR-TORN PEOPLE/SOCIETIES/WORLD

VIOLENT CULTURES + VIOLENT STRUCTURES + VIOLENT ACTORS − BASIC CONFLICTS (Deep-rooted)		WORSE CULTURES + WORSE STRUCTURES + WORSE ACTORS = WORSE CONFLICTS (Protracted)

TIME

Peace — VIOLENCE

Source: Johan Galtung (2000).

According to Galtung, the life-cycle of a conflict has three phases separated by an outbreak and a ceasefire: "before violence," "during violence" and "after violence."[214] For Galtung, violence is not unavoidable and conflict does not equal violence and/or destruction. As noted in the figure above, violent cultures and structures exist far before the implementation of Peacekeeping Operations, which obviously will not disappear with the truce or the mission. Note that peacekeeping has to be implemented after the truce, meaning that consent from the parties involved (Chapter VI) is essential; it is a multidisciplinary effort; non-violent means are privileged, meaning the minimum use of force exclusively for self-defence situations; mediation skills are central, meaning that diplomats have a job to do while peacekeepers are "keeping" the peace; and 50% women means gender mainstreaming at all the levels and disciplines, including the military,

---

[214] Johan Galtung, Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means, UNDP Conflict Training Manual, (Geneva: United Nations, 2000), p.14.

88

which is where the strongest opposition seems to exist.

Even though the main focus of peacekeeping is direct violence, these operations have to be implemented with a clear conscience that conflict has structural and cultural roots that need to be transformed positively to build a sustainable peace. It is worth noting that peacemaking actions are implemented both during the phase of "reconstruction" and "before violence." This means that conflict has a latent and cyclic dimension; both peace before violence and peace after violence can be disrupted by an outbreak. Therefore, peacebuilding would not be necessary to be implemented after conflicts if it had been implemented enough before conflicts.

The need to develop institutions for government and assuming all or part of the sovereign powers of war-torn nations is called "state-building." This implies increasing the effectiveness and responsiveness of constitutional governance. Bosnia, Kosovo, Timor Leste, and Afghanistan are vivid examples of these actions. The authorization and implementation of transitional administrations by the UN are nothing but a firm reassertion by the international community of the Westphalian version of the territorial principle.[215]

The United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) provided a great deal of legitimacy to the NATO intervention undertaken without Security Council authorization in 1999.[216] The UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) was hastily implemented after the violence that followed the Timorese decision to become independent from Indonesia. And the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) was the peacebuilding response to the crisis following 9/11.[217]

As it was mentioned before, globalization has brought numerous benefits, but also numerous dangers to humanity in the form of trans-national maladies. These dangers

---

[215] Esref Aksu, "International Transitional Administrations: Towards Territorialization of IGOs?" Journal of International and Area Studies, 13, 1 (2006), pp.37-52.

[216] The NATO bombing did not have express UNSC authorization, but UNMIK was authorized and mandated by the Security Council.

[217] Simon Chesterman, "Transitional Administrations Project," (International Peace Academy, 2001-2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.ipacademy.org/Programs/Research/ProgReseTransAdmin_body.htm Last accessed: December 09, 2006.

pose practical and legal challenges to address them, and because they cannot be addressed by individual states alone, the greatest challenge for the international community is called "global governance." This does not mean forming a supranational, centralized bureaucracy, but inventing new forms of international co-operation and understanding through the strengthening of international institutions. "More than ever, a robust international legal order, together with the principles and practices of multilateralism, is needed to define the ground rules of an emerging global civilization within which there will be room for the world's rich diversity to express itself fully."[218]

In terms of the use of force to maintain international peace and security, the challenge for the international community is also enormous. As the trend of armed conflicts has changed, and violence is more frequent within territorial limits of "sovereign" states, the constraints for the international community to act are greater. For the UN, intervening in such cases has been problematic. Frequently, it has faced the dilemma of using force to stop human rights violations in detriment of international law. This is an unresolved dilemma that has directed the most severe criticism to the UN: operations in Namibia, Mozambique, El Salvador, and to a lesser extent Cambodia, are frequently seen as successful; Bosnia, Rwanda and Somalia are instead seen as big disasters.[219]

For moral and legal reasons, it is difficult to prioritize the defence of people over the principles of the nation-state system, though both are essential to preserve humanity. To those who consider that international law must be followed on top of international humanitarian law, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan says: "But to the critics I would pose this question: if humanitarian intervention is, indeed, an unacceptable assault on sovereignty, how should we respond to a Rwanda, to a Srebrenica – to gross and systematic violations of human rights that offend every precept of our common

---

[218] We the peoples. The Role of the United Nations in the 21 Century. II Globalization and Governance, (United Nations, 2000), p.13. Internet, Available at: http://www.un.org/millennium/sg/report/full.htm Last accessed: November 23, 2006.

[219] James Robbins, "United Nations in a New Millennium." News BBC, (September 4, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/909865.stm. Last accessed: May 21, 2005.

humanity?"[220]

This dilemma is omnipresent in intrastate peacekeeping, at some point, from head to toes. Solving this conflict is crucial to increase international co-operation and political commitment. In sum, the implementation of UN Peacekeeping Operations reflects the levels of international commitment manifested in the Security Council Resolutions that authorize these. Ideally, enough pre-conflict peacebuilding efforts World render peacekeeping and other mechanisms obsolete.

However, lack of resources and insufficient commitment makes reality far different. In 2000, Nobel Peace Prize Oscar Arias wrote: "Today, the world governments spend 868 billion dollars a year to support military forces that include 24 million soldiers worldwide. The industrialized nations account for 75 percent of this total. Approximately one third of the world's total defence spending is from the United States defence budget alone. In the developing world, 221 billion dollars are spent on the military while many of the people of those countries live in poverty, without access to education, medical attention, or even water."[221] The world military expenditure in 2005 reached $1,001 billion, corresponding to 2.5 per cent of world GDP or an average spending of $173 per capita. And almost half of the world's spending in arms is from the United States alone.[222]

There is therefore a need for more appropriate mechanisms to prevent and neutralize the effects of violent conflicts, and particularly those that privilege multilateral approaches as a form of global governance. The current environment makes evident the urgency for structural reforms and new models that allow action without confronting the principles of the international system with universal values. The UN peacekeeping model has the potential to adapt to the existing conditions, as its evolution – multidimensional, multifunctional – has proved it, and as it has been recognized by influential studies

---

[220] We the peoples. The Role of the United Nations in the 21 Century. II Globalization and Governance, (United Nations, 2000), p.48. Internet, Available at: http://www.un.org/millennium/sg/report/full.htm Last accessed: November 23, 2006.

[221] Oscar Arias, "Launching the year 2000 Campaign to redirect world military spending to human development," (Federation of American Scientists). Internet. Available at: http://fas.org/pub/gen/mswg/year2000/ariasspe.htm Last accessed: November 23, 2006.

[222] SIPRI Yearbook 2006, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI 2007) Internet. Available at: http://yearbook2006.sipri.org/chap8. Last accessed: October 10, 2007.

91

As mentioned, during the Cold War, the UN Security Council was virtually paralyzed by the constant use of the veto power, though it managed to authorize over a dozen of PKOs. The end of the Cold War put an end to the immobility of the Security Council to take collective action. This raised the hopes among the international community as manifested in the number of missions implemented (see Appendix B and C), that peacekeeping will become the expected enforcement power of the organization. The failed missions in Bosnia, Somalia and Rwandashown that those hopes were high. Economic sanctions as a means of enforcement by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) have been also under criticism.

The economic sanctions imposed on Iraq after it invaded Kuwait – considered the most significant economic sanction ever – caused severe internal corruption that eventually led to the death of several hundred thousand Iraqi children. Other regimes, such as the ones formed around the nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), have also been termed ineffective.[223] The NPT has been incapable of fully preventing these weapons from spreading (arguably North Korea and Iran), even to signatory states and a clandestine market for such weapons is suspected to exist. As for the CWC, it "might be considered as even more flawed than the NPT, as the current implementation attitude enables states to pick and choose their obligations..."[224] In other words, multilateralism through the UN has not been completely effective.

However, in the last 15 years, "more civil wars were ended through negotiation than in the previous two centuries, in large part because the United Nations provided leadership, opportunities for negotiation, strategic coordination, and resources needed for implementation."[225] The increase of UN activity in internal conflicts coincides with a

---

[223] Rodam Narasimha, "A Road-Map for Nuclear Zero," (Bangalore: National Institute for Advanced Studies, June 8, 2001). Internet. Available at: http://www.iisc.ernet.in/nias/nuclzero.pdf Last accessed: February 17, 2006.

[224] Alexander Kelle, "CWC Update: Implementation on a low flame," Disarmament Diplomacy, 57 (The Acronym Institute for Disarmament and Diplomacy, May 2001). Internet. Available at: http://www.acronym.org.uk/dd/dd57/57cwc.htm Last accessed: July 28, 2005.

[225] Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, "A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility," (New York: United Nations, 2004), p.33.

92

sharp reduction of 40 percent of these conflicts.

Other contributions of the UN to the reduction of international threats in the form of humanitarian assistance, reconstruction aid, disarmament, peacekeeping, and sanctions, to mention some, should not be underappreciated. The Human Security Report 2005 credits the UN with leading "an upsurge of international activism that has played a critical role in reducing the number of violent conflicts."[226] It is not coincidental (see figure below) that as UN peacekeeping and peacebuilding activity increased, internal conflicts lowered in numbers.

Figure 3: Ending Civil Wars and Building Peace 1970-2002
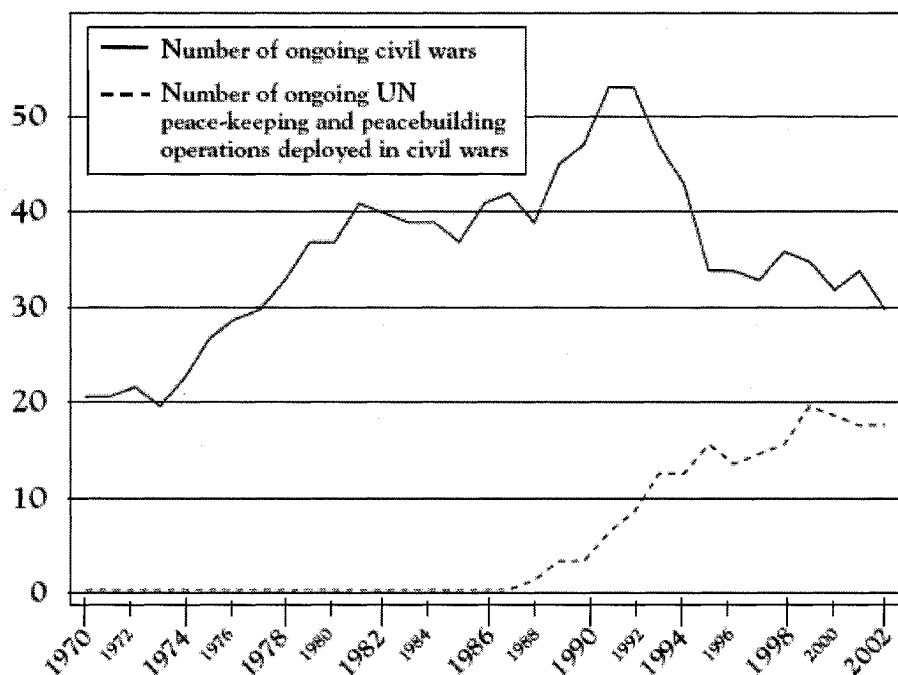
Source: Uppsala University and International Peace Research Institute, Oslo.[227]

---

[226] The Human Security Report 2005: War and Peace in the 21st Century. The Human Security Centre, (2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.humansecurityreport.info/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=28&Itemid=63 Last accessed: November 7, 2005.

[227] Excerpted from Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, "A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility," (New York: United Nations, 2004), p.33.

93

The 9/11 events show a potential for collective security through the UN. On the basis of self-defence, the UNSC unanimously passed Resolution 1368 on September 12, 2001, condemning the attacks and paving the road for a U.S. military response against the Taliban regime,[228] though not specifically authorized for that purpose. On September 28, 2001, through Resolution 1373, the UNSC issued the guidelines for the war against terrorism, stating that "every state has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in terrorist acts in another state or acquiescing in organized activities within its territory directed towards the commission of such acts."[229]

Later, in December 2001, the UN took over the Bonn Agreement to establish an interim government in Afghanistan.[230] Together, all these issues were perceived as a new trend of international co-operation on international security. Disillusionment came quickly in 2003 after the U.S. invaded Iraq without the express authorization of the UNSC for the use of force. In an attempt to gain legitimacy for its military action, the United States managed to form a coalition of states. The so-called "Coalition of the willing" was formed by 46 countries, but it fooled nobody: military contributions were clearly symbolic (about 27,000 troops from all countries compared to 130,000 U.S. soldiers).[231] "The enormous tide of sympathy and support that flowed to America after the attacks - from all corners of the world - has now been dissipated."[232]

It is evident that the UN has weaknesses and strengths and its potential has been not fully taken advantage of by the international community. Also clear is that the UN requires a major overhaul to function as an effective collective security system. Various

---

[228] Resolution 1368: Threats to International Peace and Security Caused by terrorist Act, (United Nations Security Council). Internet. Available at: http://daccess-ods.un.org/TMP/1926838.html Last accessed: July 28, 2005.

[229] Resolution 1368.

[230] Government Afghan-Bonn Agreement, "Agreement on Provisional Arrangements in Afghanistan Pending the Re-establishment of Permanent Government Institutions." Internet. Available at: http://www.afghangovernment.com/AfghanAgreementBonn.htm Last accessed: July 28, 2005.

[231] The term "Coalition of the willing" has been used to refer to groups of states acting collectively and often militarily without the authorization of the UN Security Council. The term was used to refer to the multinational force that invaded Iraq in 2003. The original list included 48 states.

[232] Clare Short, "What Future for the UN?," Global Policy Forum, (BBC News. June 9, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalpolicy.org/socecon/un/2003/0609future.htm Last accessed: August 6, 2005.

shortcomings have been identified that demand to be urgently remedied: the General Assembly lacks vitality and fails to focus on compelling issues; the Security Council needs to be restructured to reach greater credibility, legitimacy and representation; the UN must do more to help states that recover from violent conflicts; there is a need for greater coordination and burden-share with regional organizations; specific structures have to be created to address emerging economic and social threats; the work on human rights need to be strengthened to improve the reputation of the UN as an institution of global governance; and the Secretariat needs to be improved to deal with the present dynamics of the international relations.[233]

On this issue, México sees the necessity to promote a comprehensive reform of the UN Security Council, more representative, effective and transparent. The reform to the UNSC must secure the construction of an enhanced system of collective security to face the new threats to international peace and security. México proposes to increase its membership from 15 to 20 non-permanent seats elected by the UN General Assembly according to the rule of geographical distribution. México rejects the idea of creating new permanent seats and to extend the privilege of the veto.

From the Mexican perspective, more permanent seats will accentuate the concentration of power in a few, a situation that is conducive to immobility of the UNSC. The Mexican proposal seeks more democratic practices at the Security Council and promotes more equality among the 192 Member States. More seats occupied under periodic elections would increase the possibilities for the members to participate in the decisions of the body in charge of international security issues.[234]

In addition, México led the organization of the Group of Friends for the Reform of the United Nations. Along with 13 states, this group promotes an integral reform of the organization aimed at strengthening the UN-centered multilateralism in order to address

---

[233] Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, "A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility," (New York: United Nations, 2004), p.78.

[234] Posición de México Sobre la Reforma del Consejo de Seguridad, Comunicado de Prensa No. 126, (Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores). Internet. Available at: http://www.sre.gob.mx/comunicados/comunicados/2006/junio/b_126.htm Last accessed: November 23, 2006.

"the threats and challenges of today."[235] Interestingly, México is preoccupied with the strengthening of the UN system of collective security. This is a middle powers behaviour, which defines them according to "their tendency to pursue multilateral solutions to international problems, their tendency to embrace compromise positions in international disputes, and their tendency to embrace notions of 'good international citizenship' to guide their diplomacy."[236]

Preponderance of the UN over Regional Organizations

The experience of multiple interventions on Mexican soil and the loss of more than half of its territory to the United States led México to promote the strict observance of the principle of non-intervention and to seek for multilateral mechanisms to counter the influence of the United States.[237] This concept acquired priority for México which adopted its own interpretation of sovereignty opposed to the concept of "limited sovereignty" adopted by the Superpowers during the Cold War.[238] During the Cold War, México's position differed from that of the United States mainly as a result of the war against communism, which México perceived as beyond the scope of core international principles.[239]

---

[235] The group is formed by México, Germany, Algeria, Australia, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Spain, Japan, Kenya, New Zealand, Netherlands, Pakistan, Singapore and Sweden. It represents one of the most important initiatives promoted by México to reform the UN. "Group of friends for the Reform of the United Nations," Misión Permanente de México ante las Naciones Unidas, (SRE, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.int/México/2003/interv_cs_102903.htm Last accessed: September 19, 2005.

[236] Andrew F. Cooper, Relocating Middle Powers, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994). p.19 In Shannon-Marie Soni, "A Lighter Shade of Blue: Japan's Role in UN Peacekeeping Operations," Periscope, 2, 1 (International University of Japan, 1999). Internet. Available at: http://www2.iuj.ac.jp/periscope/paperV21D.htm Last accessed: August 21, 2005.

[237] Mario Ojeda, Alcances y Limites de la Política Exterior de México, (México: El Colegio de México, 1976), p.43.

[238] According to Mario Ojeda, México's own interpretation of "full sovereignty" did not signify the postulation against the constraints to freedom of action imposed by international law, but the concept opposite to "limited sovereignty", which was a concept supported – explicitly or expressly — by the two superpowers during the Cold War (Johnson and Brezhnev doctrines that had their most dramatic implementation in 1965 in Dominican republic and 1968 in the Czech Republic, respectively). Ojeda, Alcances y Limites, p.42.

[239] Raúl Benítez Manaut and Georgina Sánchez López. Panel: "Evolution of the concept of Hemispheric Security." REDES 2003, (Santiago, Chile: Center for Hemispheric Defence Studies, October 28-30, 2003).

96

In this context, México was a singular exception in Latin America since it maintained relative independence from the inter-American system. Enough evidence shows that México applied its own criteria and maintained a consistent line on its foreign policy in terms of sovereignty and non-intervention during the whole Twentieth Century.[240] At first, México gave full support to the Organization of American States (OAS) as international regional organization and a system of collective security. However, the evident control of the organization by the United States led to an early disenchantment by México which turned its eyes to the UN as the supreme body over the regional organizations.[241] More on this is included in "The Role of Regional Organizations in PKO" in Chapter IV.

Conclusion

A combination of structural, conceptual and situational changes in the international environment has put security at the center of the international relations. More and non-traditional actors have appeared, economic blocs have been formed as a means of modern alliances, the nature of violent conflicts also changed and new rules are taking shape. Traditional principles have been conceptualized differently (broader) and the security environment has been disrupted by changes in trend of violence and the appearance of new threats.

The result is an increased interdependence between the constituent elements of the international system, a necessity to cooperate and far greater difficulty for the use of force. Collective security still make sense to all, large and small, states. However, unilateral approaches to the breaches of the peace cannot build the necessary legitimacy for the use of force, and thus the UN, the sole institution with a universal mandate to maintain international peace and security, remains as the least compromising body to translate into action the political will of the international community. In this context and

---

[240] México voted against the OAS Resolution condemning the Guatemalan government in 1954, Cuba in 1962, and Dominican Republic in 1964.

[241] Mario Ojeda, Alcances y Limites de la Política Exterior de México, (México: El Colegio de México, 1976), p.52.

97

although perfectible, UN Peacekeeping also remains a valid, legal and legitimate instrument to articulate collective action.

The necessity to cooperate has moved states, which have traditionally stayed at the margin of active involvement, such as México, into action. This country, a middle power from the south, is seeking its "diplomatic niche" that best can serve the necessity to cooperate and alternative fora to increase political independence. In sum, the international environment has created a necessity to cooperate with international security and thus isolationism is not a political option any more, for México or any other state.

CHAPTER III: FIRST STEP ANALYSIS (continued). MÉXICO'S NATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

> *"There is a need for a clear stand of México's participation on Peacekeeping Operations; participating is unavoidable if we want to comply with our responsibilities as UN Members."*
>
> <u>Las Relaciones de México con el Exterior.</u>[242]

Introduction

Traditionally, México has maintained an isolated and defensive international position and a foreign policy based on the core principles of non-intervention, self-determination, and the peaceful resolution of disputes. However, substantive changes in the international and domestic contexts in the aftermath of the Cold War and the terrorist attacks of 9/11 have produced changes in México's foreign policy. No individual state can remain immune to transformations in the international context because no one state can address the emerging threats alone. México understands this well while it observes how the reaction of the United States to perceived threats to its national security affects the bilateral relations with its powerful neighbour, particularly on security issues. In addition, México's ongoing democratic process generates structural adjustment to which institutions are responding unevenly. In this, the Mexican armed forces, traditional promoters of social and political stability, have been notably left behind, as human rights records and low accountability and transparency show it.

With a highly interdependent economic relationship with the United States, México is far from being able to pursue a completely independent international position. The perennial dilemma of its foreign policy – seeking an independent and isolated position while trying not to contradict too much the United States – seems to be more valid than ever for México.

Liberalization of trade and a policy of open borders have shaped a new international role for México with increased activism in regional and international fora.

---

[242] Guadalupe González and others, <u>Las Relaciones de México con el Exterior: Diagnóstico y Propuestas de Acción</u>, (México: Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.consejomexicano.org/index.php?publicaciones Last accessed: November 27, 2006.

As such, México needs to develop new policy mechanisms to integrate domestic and international security structures, and to seek higher levels of international co-operation to widen its margins of manoeuvre, constrained by the bilateral agenda with the United States.

In the domestic environment, it is clear that the Mexican armed forces, which were a key stabilization factor in the post-revolution, need to speed up the structural and behavioural adjustments to catch up with democratic progress achieved by other government bodies. New democratic practices populate the socio-political arena that make and imperative for México to identify those adjustments. Among the basic principles of democracy is the right that people have to control the institutions, represented by public decisions and decision-makers, and to be treated with equal respect and as of equal worth in the context of such decisions. For these reasons, key aspects such as Civil-Military Relations and human rights, clearly manifested in the areas of women in uniform and HIV/AIDS, are of priority attention. In other words, hardly will the Mexican armed forces be able to perform their traditional stabilization role in the socio-politico context if they are unable to close the gap between traditional and new democratic practices. In this vein, increased respect and admiration from the population and the international community is a potential benefit of peacekeeping participation.

Building on a long tradition of attachment to principles of international law and in order to strengthen multilateralism, México can be better off if, behaving as the middle power it is in economic terms, it concentrates its contribution to international peace and security through the United Nations; that is, "concentrating resources in specific areas best able to generate returns worth having, rather than trying to cover the field."[243]

In 2000, México initiated a new political era based on the legitimacy provided by the victory in presidential election by an opposition party after more than seventy years of one-party rule. At the presidential and cabinet levels, the newly elected administration expressed its willingness to be a more active participant in the formation of an emerging

---

[243] Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant, "Australia's Foreign Relations in the World of the 1990s," (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1991), p.323. In Andrew F. Cooper, Niche Diplomacy: Middle Powers After the Cold War, (Ontario: University of Waterloo, 1997), p.2.

international order; particularly through Peacekeeping Operations.[244] A debate in this direction was initiated, although it never reached the national level. After the presidential announcement, several Mexican institutions appeared to be willing to represent México in Peacekeeping Operations, and some took a more active approach towards this end.

As stated before, considerable domestic political opposition to a wider Mexican participation in military operations abroad erupted, and the plans of the new administration were halted. Two more issues influenced the postponement of such plans: the unilateral military approach taken by the United States as a reaction to the 9/11 attacks on American soil, and the resignation of two key cabinet members that had drawn-up the guidelines for the "New" Mexican foreign policy. The former, although closely connected to the Mexican response to show support to the Americans in 2001, put security at the center of México's international relations; the latter resulted in a slowdown of the novel Mexican international activism and a return to traditional low-profile, low-involvement diplomatic. One additional influential issue worth mentioning is the unprecedented gridlock between Congress and the Presidency, considered by some as a general weakness of the past administration.

The aim of this section is to explain the domestic phenomena that affect México's interaction with the outside world, as well as the institutional capabilities to transform commitment into action. In these terms, the centrality of the México-US bilateral relation, as well as the evolution of México's foreign policy in the face of changing domestic and international contexts, are important to identify the relationship between foreign and

---

[244] Declarations of Mexican officials in this direction at the presidential and cabinet levels, particularly between 2001 and 2002, say that México could be more active in UN Peacekeeping. Some examples are: Reuters. April 1, 2001. México Gobierno de la Republica. Sistema Internet de la Presidencia. Internet. Available at: http://www.presidencia.gob.mx/?P=42&Orden=Leer&Tipo=&Art=219. Last accessed: October 22, 2004; Ricardo Méndez Silva and Gloria Abella, "Las Operaciones de Mantenimiento de la Paz y las Relaciones Internacionales de México." Stenographic version of a radio program by Instituto Matias Romero, broadcasted on February 6, 2001. Radio XEUN 860 AM, RADIO UNAM. Internet. Available at: http://www.sre.gob.mx/imred/academ/Trascripciones/radio01/omp.htm. Last accessed: May 17, 2004; Vicente Fox, President of México, Introductory letter. Promotion flier for the Mexican candidacy to a Non-permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council, (México: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 2001); Adolfo Aguilar Sintzer, México's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, México debe tener más presencia en operaciones de mantenimiento de paz que promueve Naciones Unidas. Declaration made in Brussels on June 24, 2002, source: Notimex. Internet. Available at: http://canales.t1msn.com.mx/noticias/nacional/leer_articulo.cfm?article_id=48904; and Intervention of México's Permanent representative to the United Nations before the Peacekeeping Operations Committee of the UN General Assembly,(New York, February 12, 2002).

domestic interests in support of a potential Mexican participation in Peacekeeping Operations. This chapter contrasts recent past with new political practices and builds a broader picture of the ongoing democratic process of México.

At the level of the international relations, this chapter analyzes Mexican foreign policy, its policy-making process, and its evolution as a result of domestic and international changes. It also identifies the supremacy of the international context in shaping the New Mexican international activism. At the Societal level, the democratization process of México is examined in the context of new practices and rules between political actors, mainly regarding the policy-making process. A section on public opinion has been included to assess the support for an eventual Mexican involvement in Peacekeeping Operations. It analyzes the findings of an influential survey on Mexican public opinion on foreign policy issues, including peacekeeping.

Furthermore, at the Governmental level, a synthesized report on the political role of the Mexican armed forces, natural potential participants in peacekeeping, is offered to identify the reasons behind their widened roles, as well as the civil-military structures in place that support their performance. At the Role level, an overview of the operational capabilities of the armed forces is provided. Special sections have been included on human rights and women in uniform to foresee the challenges and the strengths and weaknesses of the Mexican armed forces in performing UN peacekeeping roles.

A short though focused introduction on the Federal Preventive Police (*Policía Federal Preventiva*) as a potential participant is included at the end of this chapter. The present chapter concludes by summarizing those issues that have contextual relevance for the work as a whole, such as México's international isolationism, the centrality of the bilateral relationship with the United States, the rationale behind opting for UN-centered multilateralism, the status of the Mexican armed forces, public opinion, and democratization process of the country.

The International Relations Level
México's Foreign Policy: Centrality of the México-US Bilateral Relationship
Mexican foreign policy has followed a transformation parallel to the democratization

path. Increasingly, exogenous factors affect in larger proportions Mexican foreign policy outcomes and behaviours. During many years, particularly during the Cold War, the making of México's foreign policy was easily explained by the "realist" conception of the unitary actor.[245] The foreign policy decision-making process of México's could be simplified and traced to one actor: the diplomatic elite headed by the president.

México's foreign policy is a part of the national policy and its conduct is assigned to the Executive, who should observe the following principles established by Article 89 of the Constitution: "non-intervention; peaceful settlement of disputes; proscription of the threat of the use of force in international relations; juridical equality of states; international co-operation for development; and the struggle for international peace and security."[246]

These principles are supported by a set of doctrinal bodies, such as the so-called "Carranza Doctrine" and the "Estrada Doctrine." The Carranza Doctrine was established by President Venustiano Carranza on November 1, 1918. It recognizes "the equality among states and disapproves all intervention in the internal matters of another nation, as well as the equivalence of the national and foreign rights before the legislation of one country."[247] One outstanding feature of this doctrine is its total rejection to the "Monroe Doctrine," which considered it as "an arbitrary protectorate imposed on the peoples that have not requested it and that don't need it."[248] The Carranza doctrine supports the principle of non-intervention since the US invasion to México in response to the attacks

---

[245] Rafael Velázquez Flores, Características Contemporáneas de la Política Exterior de México, (Universidad de Quintana Roo). SISBI. Internet. Available at: http://dzibanche.biblos.uqroo.mx/Cursos_linea/Rafael_Velazquez/Articulo01.htm. Last accessed: November 16, 2004.

[246] Article 89, X. "Faculties and Obligations of the President." Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, (México: 1917), [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

[247] Information obtained from the biography of Venustiano Carranza. Cited in Claudia Gamboa and Sandra Valdés, "Lineamientos Constitucionales de la Política Exterior de México," (México: Cámara de Diputados, September, 2005).

[248] Isidro Fabela, La Política Interior y Exterior de Carranza," (México: Jus, 1979), p.221. Cited in Alejandro Sobrazo, "La Constitución y Nuestra Política Exterior," (UNAM). Internet. Available at: www.bibliojuridica.org/libros/4/1643/17.pdf Last accessed: April 26, 2007.

of Francisco (Pancho) Villa to Columbus, New México.[249]

The "Estrada Doctrine" is named after Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, Genaro Estrada, in 1930. On the basis of self-determination, Minister Estrada established the practice of maintaining or breaking relations with another country without approving or disapproving its government. This means that "in cases where there is a change of government through the rupture of the constitutional order, or a coup, the Mexican Government does not judge, for good or bad, governments or changes in governments in other nations, because it would imply a breach to their sovereignty."[250]

With these two doctrines, México erected what Jorge Castaneda, former Secretary of Foreign Affairs of México, described as the "twin pillars" of México's foreign policy – non-intervention and self-determination.[251] It is worth noting that the foreign policy principles were only included in the Constitution in 1986 by President Miguel De la Madrid as a move to become less vulnerable to direct international pressure, particularly from the United States.

These principles find explanation in the main factor that has shaped México's foreign policy: geopolitics. No phrase can be more evocative of the circumstances that give place to México's foreign policy: "Poor México! So far from god and so close to the United States."[252] As this phrase suggests, closeness to "the great power" (and now incontestable military hegemon) has always been troublesome, particularly because of the huge economic and military asymmetries between the two countries. In this context, México's perennial dilemma is choosing wisely between maintaining and promoting the principles that better guarantee its basic survival, and not contravening too much the interests of its powerful neighbour. This does not mean, however, that México is

---

[249] Carlos Ramírez, "Doctrina Estrada, Doctrina Castañeda," Indicador Político, (October 29, 2001). Internet. Available at: http://mx.geocities.com/cencoalt/110901/doctrina.htm Last accessed: April 26, 2007.

[250] Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, UNAM, Enciclopedia Jurídica Mexicana, Ed. Porrúa, Tomo III, Letras: D-E, (México, 2002), p.609.

[251] Interview with Jorge Castañeda, Secretary of Foreing Affairs of México by Sergio Munoz. "Jorge Castañeda: México's man abroad." Los Angeles Times, (August 12, 2001).

[252] This quote has been traditionally attributed to Porfirio Diaz, who ruled México from 1876-1880 and 1884-1911.

104

defenceless against U.S. policies or actions, nor that it always has to support American policies.

As noted before, México has been able to project an image of relative political independence. Various cases can be mentioned as examples of this. For instance, in 1924, México was the first Western Hemisphere country to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Later on in the 1970s, México signed various agreements with the Soviet-controlled Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), becoming the first non-communist Latin American country to do so.[253] México was the only Latin American country that maintained uninterrupted relations with socialist Cuba, even voting against a resolution adopted by the OAS in 1964.[254] The Cancún Conference on North/South Relations and the Contadora Group initiative are also examples of México's relative political independence.

Indeed México's sovereignty is limited not only as a result of its closeness to the United States, but also as a result of economic, social and cultural implications of such closeness and its integrating effects. For México, maintaining its own identity as a nation-state and resisting the penetration of its powerful neighbour becomes vital. This relative disadvantage pushed México to adopt a defensive international policy. Its need for independence moved it towards an isolated position to avoid clashes with its powerful neighbour.

As mentioned before, the geographic closeness to the United States has cost México the loss of more than half of its territory plus numerous military interventions and an impressive dependency level due to the monopolizing effect that the U.S. market has on Mexican foreign trade.[255] The interference of the United States in the internal affairs of México is constant, as are its economic and cultural penetration and its impact on the

---

[253] Jorge Salaverry, "Evolution of the Mexican Foreign Policy," Backgrounder, 638, (Heritage Foundation, March 1988).

[254] Mario Ojeda, Alcances y Limites de la Política Exterior de México, (México: El Colegio de México, 1976), p.43.

[255] In 2000, Mexican exports to the United States represented 83.7% of its total. México at a glance. General Information. Trade, (United States Embassy in México). Internet. Available at: http://www.usembassy-México.gov/eataglance1.htm Last accessed: May 31, 2005.

stability of the country.[256] The proximity to the United States has been also beneficial for México.

The possibility of dumping its "demographic surpluses" into the United States gives México a relief valve for the pressure that its growing population places on scarce employment and resources.[257] Dependency also has turned into interdependency in many aspects of the bilateral relationship. One example of this is the intervention of the United States in México's financial crisis of 1995. Against strong political opposition, President Bill Clinton helped México to stabilize its tumbling peso, through a presidential act that included a $20 billion dollar loan package from the Federal Exchange Stabilization Fund – usually used to intervene in foreign currency markets to support the U.S. dollar. It was clear that a "broken" México represented a threat to the economy of the United States. This action showed the clear effect of the level of interdependence between the two countries. Interdependence is even more visible on security issues (e.g., trans-border activities such as drug trafficking, migration and terrorism) as the North American Security and Prosperity Partnership (SPP) shows.

The original benefits of NAFTA, such as increased trade and investment, are decreasing. One main reason is the low competitiveness of the Mexican economy and the low assertiveness to take advantage of the opportunities of the American market. Also and despite higher border controls, Mexican immigration to the United States has grown. The impact on the American society is divided among those who see the need for cheaper labour and cultural and linguistic integration, and those who see immigration from a security perspective. In addition and as a consequence, remittances from Mexicans workers in the United States have surpassed the income from tourism, making it a factor

---

[256] See Jesús Velasco-Márquez, Mexican Cosmo vision of the United States, (Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. Harvard University). Internet. Available at: http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/conferences/canadaMéxico/marquezpaper.pdf Also, see David Luhnow, México again criticizes U.S. over Chiapas, (México: Global Exchange/Reuters, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalexchange.org/countries/México/news/073198.html Last accessed: May 31, 2005.

[257] México represents the largest source of immigration to the United States. Of the 32.5 million foreign born individuals covered by the March 2002 Current Population Survey, 9.8 million or 30 percent were from México. Migration Information Source. Jeffrey Passel, "Mexican Immigration to the United States: The Latest Estimates," (March, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.migrationinformation.org/USfocus/display.cfm?ID=208 Last accessed: May 31, 2005.

of survival for millions of Mexicans.[258]

The most influential issue of México's proximity to the United States is perhaps the strategic value assigned to its territory: México, as a part of North America, lies within the geographic perimeter of the defence of the United States. This gives México substantial leverage on bilateral negotiations and justifies in part the domestic focus of the Mexican military. Therefore, the geographic location of México to the United States imposes limitations on its foreign policy, and validates its fundamental principles.

Undoubtedly the United States occupies a special place in México's foreign policy formulation. It is said that at times, México's foreign policy cannot be distinguished from the bilateral relationship with the United States.[259] And there are in fact a number of issues that fit indistinctly in both agendas, such as human rights. Clearly, the United States will always receive a special treatment from México vis-à-vis the rest of the international community. Also, the characteristic economic orientation of the Mexican foreign policy makes it vulnerable to changes in the global economy. The economic dependency of México on the external context – foreign debt, trade concentration on the U.S., the influence of trans-national corporations, high level of foreign investment, and internal financial crises – has reduced significantly its margin of international negotiation.

Some may argue that México has a wide margin of negotiation when it managed to negotiate NAFTA and free trade agreements with the EU and various Latin American countries. Others, however, consider that these agreements respond more to circumstances[260] rather than to a high negotiation capacity. In other words, México's

---

[258] Guadalupe González and others, Las Relaciones de México con el Exterior: Diagnóstico y Propuestas de Acción, (México: Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.consejomexicano.org/index.php?publicaciones Last accessed: November 27, 2006.

[259] Arturo Borja, "Enfoques para el Estudio de la Política Exterior de México: Evolución y Perspectivas." In Rafael Velázquez Flores, Características Contemporáneas de la Política Exterior de México, (Universidad de Quintana Roo). SISBI. Internet. Available at: http://dzibanche.biblos.uqroo.mx/Cursos_linea/Rafael_Velazquez/Articulo01.htm. Last accessed: November 16, 2004.

[260] Some scholars argue that NAFTA was signed by the United States mainly for the following reasons: 1) lost of hegemony vis-à-vis other poles; 2) fear of failure of the Uruguay Round; 3) increasing economic globalization; and 4) the end of the Cold War. Rafael Velázquez Flores, Características Contemporáneas de la Política Exterior de México, (Universidad de Quintana Roo). SISBI. Internet. Available at: http://dzibanche.biblos.uqroo.mx/Cursos_linea/Rafael_Velazquez/Articulo01.htm. Last accessed: November 16, 2004.

107

foreign policy is highly susceptible to external changes and pressures and thus can be seen as "pragmatic" – meaning that it is conscious of the prevailing constraints posed by the international context, especially the United States.[261]

Mexican foreign policy has also taken an anti-militaristic approach. México opposed the creation of a permanent defence council for the Americas and declined a Military Assistance Pact (MAP) with the United States during the Korean War. It also opposed the creation of the Inter-American Defence Board (IADB) and signed no bilateral or multilateral military agreement with any state.[262] However, México voted in favour of the creation of the Inter-American Defence College (IADC) and has sent military officers to train at the IADC and the School of the Americas.[263] What can be seen as incongruence, can also be seen as a pragmatic concession to break an impasse under the justification that the IADB performs functions other that those of a military staff.[264] Also regarding the IADC, one explanation why México has sent officers to train at this college is perhaps the weak civil-military structures in place; a fact that becomes evident when actions in one sphere transcend to the other. This means that the training at the IADC has not been part of a national policy but rather the decisions of the heads of the military branches. As it is explained further on, "pragmatism" has been a constant recourse of México's foreign policy, particularly during crises.

México's national security is not military in nature; it is related to preserving the historical project of a doctrine established by the Constitution: self-determination and coexistence with other states.[265] In military terms, Mexican foreign policy is parallel to

---

[261] Antonio López M. "Algunas Hipótesis sobre la Política Exterior de México en el Siglo XXI." Revista Debate Social, 11 (Instituto de Estudios Superiores de Occidente). Internet. Available at: http://www.debate.iteso.mx/numero11/Articula/PolexMex.htm. Last accessed: November 20, 2004.

[262] Mario Ojeda, Alcances y Limites de la Política Exterior de México, (México: El Colegio de México, 1976), p.58.

[263] Up to June 2003, one hundred and two Mexican officers had attended the Inter-American Defence College; 50% Navy, 43% Army, and 7% civilian. Source: telephone Interview conducted on March 1, 2004 with Navy Captain, Advisor, Inter-American Defence College located in (Washington, DC.

[264] Ojeda, Alcances y Limites, p.57.

[265] Ricardo Valero, La Política Exterior de México: Contexto y Realidades. In Humberto Garza (Ed.), Fundamentos y Prioridades de la Política Exterior de México, (México: El Colegio de México, 1986).

national security policy. With a few exceptions, the Mexican government has privileged peaceful solutions to internal conflicts. These parallel paths result from a realistic consideration of México's relative power since conventional wars against its neighbours become unviable: one is too big and powerful; the others are too small and weak.[266] Such a reality, plus the fact that México lies within the defence perimeter of the United States, allowed México to maintain one of the relatively smallest military budgets of Latin America.

Compared to Argentina (2.5%) and Brazil (2.4%), México's military expenditure between 1950 and 1965 signified only 0.7 percent of its GDP.[267] This trend changed in the 1990s with a sharp increase after the 1994 uprising in the Southern state of Chiapas, and new functions were assigned to the military in support of internal security. The chart below shows México's military expenditure since 1988:

Figure 4: México's Military Expenditure

(1988-2005)

(in US dollars, at constant (2005) prices and exchange rates)
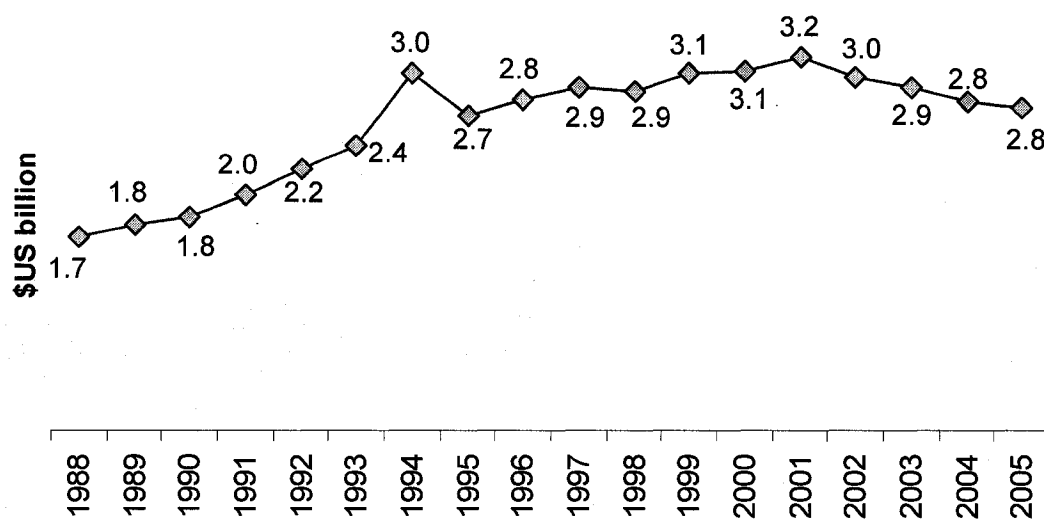
Source: Author (2008), with data from SIPRI.

---

[266] Mario Ojeda, Alcances y Limites de la Política Exterior de México, (México: El Colegio de México, 1976), p.63.

[267] Ojeda, Alcances y Limites, p.64.

109

By 1996, the military budget of México was 2.8 billion dollars, representing 0.6 percent of its GDP and in 1999 the figure was 3 billion dollars (0.6% of GDP).[268] In 2004, México's expenditure was 0.4% of its GDP. Still, this is one of the lowest relative budgets in Latin America (Argentina was 1.1% and Brazil 1.5% of GDP).[269] The increase in expenditure has remained almost unchanged in proportion of México's GDP, though the amount increased since 1990. These changes, however, did not represent an involvement of México in international affairs.

As it is true in most countries, México's foreign policy is rooted in its national policy. Nationalism has been the element of national cohesion and a strategy for national integration. It has been an ideological element promoted through education to nurture internal stability. In this sense, México's foreign policy is aimed at promoting national unity.[270] This has been difficult for México which has limited political space to manoeuvre due to its close relationship and physical proximity with the United States. In addition, nationalism has been the dyke against American penetration of any kind since it reminds Mexicans of the fact that this was how the process of breaking apart the Mexican territory begun 150 years ago.[271]

Therefore, non-intervention and self-determination are two principles that make perfect sense for México to be used as the "fundamental shield for survival." However, non-intervention can translate also into isolationism. México has tried whenever possible to avoid committing itself to the solution of other country's affairs, thus evading positions that go to the political roots of the problems of the international community.[272] The

---

[268] México Military Expenditure, (figures in millions U.S. dollars constant 2005 prices and exchange rates). Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI 2007). Internet. Available at: http://first.sipri.org/non_first/milex.php Last accessed: April 19, 2007.

[269] México Military Expenditure, (SIPRI 2007).

[270] Mario Ojeda, Alcances y Limites de la Política Exterior de México, (México: El Colegio de México, 1976), p.86.

[271] Ojeda, Alcances y Limites, p.86.

[272] Ojeda, Alcances y Limites, p.101.

rationale behind this position is to avoid direct confrontations with other countries, particularly with the United States. When México needs to adopt a dissident position, its tendency is to wrap it up with the formality of international law opting for the "least damage" instead of the "maximum benefit."[273]

An additional element that explains the weak level of international commitment of México is the traditionally relative wide consensus on its foreign policy (this situation is changing, as continuous differences between the Executive and the Legislative suggest).[274] The fact that such an orientation has compromised the country the least has gained the support of its national public. Mexicans consider that directing most efforts to national development has been beneficial for the country. This point explains perhaps why major changes in México's foreign policy were not even attempted at the beginning of the first "post-PRI" administration, when the stage was set for marking a difference from the old regime.

Recognizing the passivity of México's foreign policy, the past government administration of President Fox stated that the "Mexican diplomacy for the new millennium cannot only be a central instrument for the preservation of national sovereignty and security, but it must become also a lever to promote and support México's socioeconomic development."[275] New guidelines or "strategic objectives," as they were called, were issued in 2000 to seek:

1) The promotion and strengthening of democracy and human rights as fundamental bases of the new international system;
2) The strengthening of México's capacity to protect and defend the rights of Mexicans abroad;
3) The intensification of México's participation and influence at international fora playing an active role in designing the new international architecture;
4) The use of regional harmonization schemes in order to equilibrate México's

---

[273] Ojeda, Alcances y Limites, p.103.

[274] Guadalupe González and others, Las Relaciones de México con el Exterior: Diagnóstico y Propuestas de Acción, (México: Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.consejomexicano.org/index.php?publicaciones Last accessed: November 27, 2006.

[275] Gobierno Federal de México 2001-2006. Plan Nacional de Desarrollo. "La Política Exterior," (México: Presidencia de la Republica, 2001). Internet. Available at: http://pnd.presidencia.gob.mx/index?idseccion=35 Last accessed: June 01, 2005, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

111

foreign affairs agenda through new action axes;

5) The boosting of trade and the promotion of México's new economic and cultural image in benefit of a long termed sustainable national development.[276]

This new approach, launched in December 2000, pursued two main objectives: the first was the "construction of a relation of strategic scope with the United States and the second [was] México's active participation in the formation of the new international order..."[277]

At first, the administration of President Vicente Fox chose change over continuity and a new activism was noticed at international fora: México managed to be elected as a Non-permanent Member of the UN Security Council for the term 2001-2003;[278] it hosted the International Conference for Financing for Development in 2002 in Monterrey; it ratified the UN Convention Against Organized Crime (Palermo Convention) and its three protocols on arms trafficking, money laundry and human trafficking; it hosted the XXXII Inter American Commission on Drug Abuse; it formulated a declaration of acceptance of the competence of the International Tribunal on Law of the Seas;[279] and it hosted the OAS's Special Conference on Hemispheric Security in 2003,[280] among others.

In military affairs, México also participated in various international fora. In 2001, the Mexican Navy participated in joint exercises with the French Navy in the territorial waters of México; in 2001, the Mexican Army joined the Conference of the American Armies; and in 2002 the Mexican Navy participated in the joint operation UNITAS in

---

[276] 2001-2006. Plan Nacional de Desarrollo, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

[277] Jorge Castañeda, "Los Ejes de la Política exterior de México." Nexos, (México: December 2001). Internet. Available at: http://www.nexos.com.mx/Castañeda.html Last accessed: March 12, 2004, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

[278] México has served as a Non-permanent Member of the UNSC in three occasions: 1946-1947; 1980-1981; and recently 2001-2002. La ONU. México y la ONU, (Naciones Unidas – Centro de Información México, Cuba y República Dominicana). Internet, Available at: http://www.cinu.org.mx/onu/México.htm#cs Last accessed: June 1, 2005.

[279] Informe de labores del año 2002 del Dr. Jorge Castañeda, (Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores). Internet. Available at: http://www.sre.gob.mx/acerca/informes/inf2002.htm

[280] Organization of American States, "Special Conference on Security," (2003). Internet. Available at: www.oas.org/esh/ces/en Last accessed: November 27, 2006.

112

South America. In addition, the Army completed 14 international missions during the period 2000-2005 to deploy humanitarian aid in zones devastated by natural disasters.[281] This shift from the traditional isolated position was initiated as a result of the "New Foreign Policy" implemented by President Fox.[282]

This new approach was highly criticized at home and produced heated political discussions. In addition, differences between cabinet members and domestic pressures produced changes in President Fox's cabinet; the two key actors for the implementation and promotion of México's "New Foreign Policy" resigned in 2003: Jorge Castaneda, Secretary of Foreign Affairs (January 2003) and Adolfo Aguilar Sintzer, Permanent Representative to the UN (December, 2003).

Such changes were read as a return to a more conservative position by President Fox's administration and a less active diplomacy. This interpretation was endorsed by President Fox himself. Speaking before the International Court of Justice in late January 2003, he reaffirmed that "respect thy neighbour's right," "self-determination," and "non-intervention in internal matters of the states" were the "everlasting norms of [México's] foreign policy."[283]

All the enthusiasm of the first post-PRI government in becoming an active international player was extinguished by 2004. What followed was a series of "reactions" to international events and more notoriously in the context of the North American partnership on security. It is worth noting that there were important participations of México in international crises, which can be put in the context of the "necessity to cooperate" rather than as a result of foreign policy strategies.

According to a prominent scholar, the following characterize México's foreign

---

[281] Ayuda Humanitaria a Otros Países. (México: Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional). Internet. Available at: http://www.sedena.gob.mx/artic_int/proy_inova/planiiie/index.html# Last accessed: November 24, 2006.

[282] Jesús Aranda, "México se integra a la Conferencia de Ejércitos Americanos: paso previo a la participación del país en el Consejo de Seguridad de la ONU." La Jornada, (México: November 27, 2001). Internet. Available at: http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2001/nov01/011127/022n1pol.html Last accessed: May 27, 2005.

[283] Juan Manuel Venegas, "Insólita mención de Fox en la Corte de La Haya a principios Juaristas." La Jornada, (México: January 28, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.lajornada.unam.mx/003n1pol.php?origen=politica.html Last accessed: January 28, 2003, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

policy:

1) The president still is at the top of the decision-making structure. This is possible because decisions are taken only by small government elite.
2) It is a dual policy. The government takes one international position on specific issues and a different one at home. This is a contradiction, but only superficial: in fact, the goal of this strategy is to maintain and consolidate the group in power.
3) It is increasingly pragmatic. It has traditionally shifted from a realist to an idealist position according to the country's interests.
4) It is highly economic. For years, foreign indebtedness and free trade have been the axes of México's foreign policy.
5) The United States plays an important role in policy formulation. México will always take a different position in relation to the United States than with any other state.
6) It is increasingly influenced by the external context. Under the argument that México has to insert itself in the current international dynamism, most important foreign policy decisions have been taken on the basis of, and justified by, the international context.
7) It lacks appropriate international negotiation capacity. México's economic dependency has substantially reduced its negotiation capacity. And
8) It is drifting apart from the national project of the Mexican Revolution. México's current foreign policy is more regional-oriented and multi-topical.[284]

These characteristics become clear when observing the policy formulation process and the actors involved in the design of México's foreign policy. It is evident that the México that emerged in 2000 is different from the one ruled by the PRI for seven decades. It is also evident that the possibilities to project a more independent foreign policy are seriously constrained. The observed changes can definitely be considered as part of a democratization process.

However, pragmatism is a murky term. For instance, it has been explained that the Mexican government has applied the foreign policy principles in a pragmatic way to "defend" itself from foreign threats and interventions. Other times, however, México has conceded other countries and international organizations influence over the course of the

---

[284] Rafael Velázquez Flores, Características Contemporáneas de la Política Exterior de México, (Universidad de Quintana Roo). SISBI. Internet. Available at: http://dzibanche.biblos.uqroo.mx/Cursos_linea/Rafael_Velazquez/Articulo01.htm. Last accessed: November 16, 2004.

114

nation. Examples of these are the letters of intention that México has signed with the International Monetary Fund, which have forced this country to implement a more liberal economic policy; the pressure in 1995 from the United States to deposit part of the oil profits into an account in New York to repay the financial aid package; the signing of the democratic and human rights clause as a prerequisite to negotiate a free trade agreement with the European Union; an anti-narcotics strategy designed in Washington; and the assistance from the US Government to repatriate Mexican nationals, among others. All these are clear examples of how México has "pragmatically" drifted from its foreign policy principles. Therefore, and despite the official discourse, it is clear that México has interpreted the foreign policy principles at its convenience.[285]

The Societal Level
México's Democratization Process

As stated before, the year of 2000 is of great historical significance for México. It opened windows of opportunity for regime change. The handover of power that modified the party system constructed after the Mexican Revolution that persisted until 2000 changed the processes for policy-making and policy-implementation. This is particularly visible for México's foreign policy which is now a result of a more complex bargaining process rather than an executive decision, as it was in the past.

Numerous works consider México as one of the presidential systems with the highest concentration of power in the figure of the President. This figure was the head of the whole politico-decisional structure; a situation only possible because of the "metaconstitutional" power embedded in the figure of the Executive. It is safe to say that in México, the president was at the top of both the institutional structure (exerting greater power than the Legislative and the Judicial Powers) and the decision-making structure (the president used to make all the most important decisions in the country). In other words, geopolitics and presidentialism have dominated the foreign policy-making process

---

[285] Rafael Velázquez Flores, Características Contemporáneas de la Política Exterior de México, (Universidad de Quintana Roo). SISBI. Internet. Available at:
http://dzibanche.biblos.uqroo.mx/Cursos_linea/Rafael_Velazquez/Articulo01.htm. Last accessed: November 16, 2004.

in México for decades.[286]This situation has changed and now these characteristics have almost disappeared after 2000. The president now shares the institutional and decisional power with other political actors. Also, now the decision-making structure does include other institutions, such as Congress, which gradually performs more of its constitutional functions.[287]

The actors intervening in the formulation of foreign policies are diverse. In democracies, the bodies of government in charge of designing the foreign policy must be open to the demands of the civil society and must take into account the diverse social groups and non-governmental organizations that influence the state. Some actors have greater influence than others in the formulation of foreign policy, such as public opinion, political parties, businessmen organizations, unions, the church, the academia, organized ethnic groups, and the military. External actors, such as other states, international organizations and multinational enterprises also influence the design and conduct of foreign policies.

In the case of México, the internal actors exerted little influence over the presidential decisions on foreign policy in the past. The current situation is far different and these actors have been more active in foreign policy since 2000, particularly in the Senate. The Constitution grants the Executive with the power to conduct foreign policy with the approval of the Senate.[288] Traditionally, the design and conduct of Mexican foreign policy have been in the hands of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores*). This is one of the few ministries in México with a professional civil service system. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs controlled foreign policy in México for the decades of PRI rule. These were the decades of supremacy of the Executive, which still exerts substantial control over the design and implementation of foreign

---

[286] Rafael Velázquez Flores, Características Contemporáneas de la Política Exterior de México, (Universidad de Quintana Roo). SISBI. Internet. Available at: http://dzibanche.biblos.uqroo.mx/Cursos_linea/Rafael_Velazquez/Articulo01.htm. Last accessed: November 16, 2004.

[287] Lorenzo Córdova Vianello, Cambio Político y Consolidación de la Democracia en México, (Tecnológico de Monterrey. División de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales). Internet. Available at: http://www.ccm.itesm.mx/dhcs/juripolis/archivos/Cordova.pdf. Last accessed: November 16, 2004.

[288] Article 89, Faculties and Obligations of the President. X. Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, (México: 1917).

116

policy.

The main reasons behind the supremacy of the Executive were: 1) the president appointed Deputies and Senators[289] and thus they were not independent; 2) the Executive had a wider view of the national interest than other actors; 3) the Executive had more information on each topic of the agenda because it relied on a bureaucratic structure for such an end; 4) the Executive relied on a professional civil service that worked full time on international issues, whereas Congressmen lacked professional support due to the impossibility of re-election.[290] Some of these features remain on the side of the Executive which keeps an advantage over Congressmen that cannot seek immediate re-election.

The fact that the president held absolute control over the foreign policy greatly limited his negotiation margin, though he could negotiate as a single actor, decisively, versus the need to compromise with other actors in more democratic circumstances. The inclusion of the foreign policy principles in the Constitutional Article 89 is one clear example of this. The supremacy of the Executive over the Legislative and the Judicial made the president vulnerable to international pressure. For this reason, President De la Madrid sought the protection of the Constitution in 1988 to decrease international pressure, particularly from the United States.[291]

This is not the case anymore and it is said that the international negotiation capacity of México has increased because Congress has jumped into the decision-making arena. On April 9, 2002, the Senate denied permission to President Fox to travel to Canada and the United States. Even though it was an isolated issue, it showed the Senate's disagreement with the conduct of México's foreign policy. Also, it was the first time that the Legislature denied permission to the president to travel abroad; what used to

---

[289] During the ruling years of the PRI, the president directly appointed candidates to federal Deputies and Senators or approved the party's recommendations. However, the PRI only lost majority of the Lower Chamber in 1988, meaning that elections were a formality to legitimize the regime for over sixty years.

[290] Rafael Velázquez Flores, Características Contemporáneas de la Política Exterior de México, (Universidad de Quintana Roo). SISBI. Internet. Available at: http://dzibanche.biblos.uqroo.mx/Cursos_linea/Rafael_Velazquez/Articulo01.htm. Last accessed: November 16, 2004.

[291] Rafael Velázquez Flores, Características Contemporáneas de la Política Exterior de México, (Universidad de Quintana Roo). SISBI. Internet. Available at: http://dzibanche.biblos.uqroo.mx/Cursos_linea/Rafael_Velazquez/Articulo01.htm. Last accessed: November 16, 2004, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

117

be a simple routine procedure in the past it is now an exercise of political leverage.[292]

In addition, there is evidence that other actors, such as the church and trade unions, are actively participating in the foreign policy formulation process. In México, "the Church" means the Roman Catholic Church. At its lowest historical level of popularity, still 89 percent of the total population in México is Roman Catholic. The Mexican Constitution limits the economic power, political participation and social authority of the Church (Articles 24 and 130).[293] However, anticlerical provisions are not enforced and Church and Government support each other in a number of issues.

For instance, during Pope John Paul II's visits to México in 1979 and 1990, federal officials overlooked the pontiff's violations of constitutional bans on public religious ceremonies.[294] The Church has increased its participation in politics during the last years. On international issues, it has focused its participation on putting pressure on the Mexican government to give priority to the defence of migrant workers in the United States over other issues, such as the vote of Mexicans abroad.[295]

Separately, trade unions also find their way to participate in the formulation of México's foreign policy. Since the post-revolution era, trade unions became one of the key actors of the corporatist system of the Mexican state. Their discipline and contribution to the stability of the country is widely recognized and thus they enjoy and exert substantial political power. However, an independent unionism started to emerge

---

[292] Andrea Becerril, "Niega el Senado permiso a Fox para viajar a EU y Canadá: Decisión histórica de las fracciones del PRI, PRD y PVEM." La Jornada, (México: April 9, 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2002/abr02/020410/003n1pol.php?origen=politica.html. Last accessed: November 20, 2004.

[293] Article 24. "No criminal trial shall have more than three instances. No person, whether acquitted or convicted, can be tried twice for the same offence. The practice of absolving from the instance is prohibited."

Article 30. "Mexican nationality is acquired by birth or by naturalization." Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, (México: 1917), [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

[294] Peter L. Reich, The Mexican Catholic Church and Constitutional Change since 1929. Internet. Available at: http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2082/is_n1_v60/ai_20150896. Last accessed: November 20, 2004.

[295] Víctor López A. "Exige Iglesia defender a los Migrantes." Diario de México, (México: June 21, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.diariodeMéxico.com.mx/?module=displaystory&story_id=28466&edition_id=350&format=html. Last accessed: November 20, 2004.

118

only about two decades ago. Independent unions have occupied political spaces once controlled by the official unions.

The new unions seek to push the government towards strengthening migrant workers' rights. These groups have been also vocal to prevent sectors, once under control of the state, from being opened to foreign investment, such as oil and electricity. This "new unionism" has also pushed the government to include labour rights clauses in the negotiation of new trade agreements and has called for a revision of NAFTA on these issues.[296] A number of other civil society actors, domestic and trans-national have become influential too. The foreign policy formulation process in México not only has become more complex in terms of the number of actors involved, but it also has become more influenced by the external context. The clearest example is NAFTA and the recent security arrangement SPP, on which México is pressured to cooperate with Canada and the United States.

In terms of the use of force to maintain international peace and security, México's position is that, for whatever reason, including the noblest humanitarian causes, the use of force does not represent a legitimate solution for conflict. In fact it can be the source of greater instability. México also recognizes that the international community cannot become passive in the face of extreme situations of systematic and massive human rights violations.

It is difficult, however, to support these two at-times-incompatible positions without being trapped in the dilemma of the humanitarian interventions: finding equilibrium between the need to respond properly to humanitarian crises while preserving the sovereign integrity of states and without compromising its international credibility.[297] Such a difficult dilemma has not been solved by México not even in the past, when the circumstantial pressure to increase international co-operation was lower. When México has been caught in such a dilemma, the government of this country has circumvented it through "pragmatic" stands.

---

[296] Francisco Hernández J. and Maria X. Lopez, El Sindicalismo en la Reforma del Estado: Una Visión de la Modernización de México, (México 1993).

[297] Rosario Green, "La ONU y la Solución de los Conflictos." In Miguel A. Covian González (Ed.), La Cumbre del Milenio: ¿Hacia Donde van las Naciones Unidas? (México: Instituto Matías Romero, 2000), p.13.

119

The case of Central America can be illustrative of the "pragmatism" of México's foreign policy. In the late 1970s, México started to become actively involved in maintaining political stability in Central America, and it was satisfied "even if such stability was the result of military dictatorships." In May 1979, President Jose Lopez Portillo broke diplomatic relations with Nicaragua, in a move against the Somoza regime and in clear support to the Sandinistas. With this action, México violated the much proclaimed principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries.[298]

Such a move can hardly be repeated now because as noted, the principle of non-intervention is now a Constitutional guideline for the conduct of México's foreign policy. Nevertheless, this episode can be set as a precedent of the limits of México's attachment to its pillar principles.

México's dilemma over whether to take a stand regarding humanitarian crises certainly is the same dilemma that has divided the international community over the last two decades, as it is reflected in various UNSC resolutions. One common solution to circumvent such a dilemma was invoking a strict attachment to the principles of non-intervention and self-determination. Such a possibility, however, has disappeared from the catalogue of political choices: a clear stand is demanded, and some times action is necessary. This dilemma puts peacekeeping at the center of the debate as the most frequent alternative to circumvent it. To this regard, Mexican public opinion is divided, as is explained next.

Mexican Public Opinion on PKO

Generally speaking, public opinion has an impact on policy-making and agenda setting. Direct and indirect influence of public opinion on policy-making has increased as communications technology improves. Mass communication is a powerful tool for policy decisions. And politicians are influenced by a variety of sources when making decisions. Some argue that policy-makers take into account the opinions of academics and professional think tanks.

---

[298] Jorge Salaverry, "Evolution of the Mexican Foreign Policy," <u>Backgrounder</u>, 638, (Heritage Foundation, March 1988).

Others believe that they act by gut instinct, a sort of confluence of opinions and expertise. A number of theories exist on policy-making, though there is no consensus on methods, processes or policy determinants. Also, policy-makers pay more attention to some issues over others when narrowing the focus of government attention. The strategic rationale for action comes from discussion and debate and elite interests. As ideas are singled out, they are thrown into public debate fora to test public reactions and weight supporters and opponents.

In the case of México, such a "testing" practice has become clearer after public debates became more frequent. During decades of authoritarian rule, the Mexican public opinion was attenuated by political and legal governmental controls. A limited pluralism was allowed and encouraged as public debates were censored through media controls. These controls, however, did not silence the critical voices that emerged from an incipient civil society. In other words, the government controlled public opinion for decades and populated the public spaces with official discourses.

How influential the Mexican public is now is difficult to assess. Also, how homogeneous Mexican public opinion is and how it can be measured are also difficult questions to answer. However, it is clear indeed that the policy-making process in México has become more complex and foreign policy issues in particular have been publicly discussed as never before; hence the importance of identifying the influence of public opinion on specific foreign policy issues.

To know what Mexicans think about peacekeeping and to sense the support for an eventual participation of México in these kinds of operations, this work leans on the 2004 Mexican Public Opinion and Foreign Policy Survey conducted by the *Centro de Investigacion y Docencia Economica* (CIDE) and *Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales* (COMEXI).[299] This survey is referred as the CIDE/COMEXI Survey.

The CIDE/COMEXI survey offers interesting findings about Mexicans that somewhat contradict traditional stereotypes. According to these findings, Mexicans are

---

[299] This survey, titled "México y el Mundo. Global Views 2004. Mexican Public Opinion and Foreign Policy," was conducted from July 9-19, 2004. It uses a nationally representative sample of 1,500 face-to-face home interviews. For leaders, it telephone interviewed Mexican politicians, businessmen and cultural leaders. Methodological details can be found at CIDE's webpage: http://www.cide.edu.

121

not inwardly focused. They are interested and want to know about what happens in the world. They are preoccupied with the direction the world is taking, particularly on security issues, and they strongly support an independent Mexican foreign policy. The survey confirms México's struggle to solve its perennial dilemma in foreign affairs as it validates the "principle-pragmatism" shift in México's foreign policy. Pragmatism points north and principles point south – the need for improved economic conditions pushes México to increase trade and investment from the rich North, while its national memory and solidarity make it look at the poor South. Therefore, it is expected that México's foreign policy will continue having different discourses in both international and national political fora.

Mexicans' pessimistic view about the direction the world is going is a reflection of perceived threats. Drug trafficking elicits the highest level of concern among Mexicans. It is not surprising given the position of México in the illegal drugs market. Such a concern about drugs necessarily also extends to the institutions in charge of fighting them, such as the military and police forces. To put it differently, it shows that Mexicans are afraid of the dreadful effects of such a malady – domestic consumption, street violence and police and military corruption. Compared to international standards, drug consumption in México remains low, though there has been an increase during the last decade.[300] For instance, the consumption of marijuana and cocaine in Canada is 8.9 percent and 1.0 percent respectively, while in México these figures are 0.6 percent and 0.3 percent.[301]

Tied for second place in the list of critical threats identified by Mexicans in the CIDE/COMEXI survey are global warming and international terrorism, followed closely by chemical and biological weapons (CBW). This means that Mexicans are sensitive to threats perceived as originating beyond its borders. This finding supports the idea that

---

[300] The National Survey on Drug Consumption is conducted by the Secretariat of Public Health (SALUD) and the National Institute of Geography and Statistics (INEGI) once every five years. Encuesta Nacional de Adicciones 2002, (México: ENA CONADIC/SSA, 2002).

[301] UN estimations for 2000. In Consulta Mitofski. Resultados de la Encuesta Nacional de Adicciones 2002, (México: ENA CONADIC/SSA, 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.consulta.com.mx/interiores/99_pdfs/15_otros_pdf/ENA02-4.pdf Last accessed: May 13, 2005.

122

Mexicans do not feel isolated from the international community and thus have to participate in the solution of common problems. These findings also justify the reasons behind assigning extended internal security roles to the military.

The fact that Mexicans take international terrorism seriously draws important lessons for international co-operation. Fully 87 percent of Mexicans favour increased border controls.[302] A smaller yet significant number of people (63%) support allowing Americans to participate with Mexican agents in the surveillance of México's borders.[303] The presence of foreign agents and the conduct of joint security operations are long-standing taboos in México's traditional defensive and nationalist foreign policy discourse. The results of the survey indicate that Mexicans are willing to set aside their defensive posture when their security is at stake. This result can be of particular importance to sell the idea that participating in Peacekeeping Operations when regional stability is at risk is also good for México.

Conflicts of an ethnic and religious nature around the world also occupy an important place in the minds of Mexicans (54.5%).[304] Such concern can be the reflection of México's own indigenous and armed peasant movements in its rural South, for which containment efforts have been coordinated by the military. Similarly, environmental threats deserve more attention by Mexicans who see their lives affected by environmental degradation in their own lands. About 79 percent consider that México has experienced serious environmental problems – air and water pollution, solid waste management, forest and fisheries depletion, etc. – due to rapid population growth and explosive industrialization after NAFTA.[305]

Economic crises and economic competition from the United States and China are also perceived by Mexicans as critical. The concern on these issues is consistent with

---

[302] México y el Mundo. Global Views 2004. Mexican Public Opinion and Foreign Policy, (CIDE/COMEXI, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.cide.edu Last accessed: May 10, 2005.

[303] México y el Mundo.

[304] México y el Mundo.

[305] México y el Mundo.

123

México's recurrent economic and financial crises linked to sudden changes in the international markets. The interpretation given by CIDE/COMEXI to these results is that "Mexicans are generally negative about the direction of world affairs. The threats considered critical in the minds of most Mexicans are those related either to issues that have or may have a direct negative impact on the security and economic conditions of their daily lives, such as drug trafficking and world economic crises, or to issues linked to México's geographical position as neighbour of the United States, such as chemical and biological weapons and international terrorism."[306]

A majority of Mexicans support an active role for México in world affairs. This finding also contradicts the general vision of a Mexican society closed to, or disengaged from, the rest of the world. However, the survey distinguishes the kinds of world affairs Mexicans are interested in. Most respondents (58%) lie in the category of "light internationalists," meaning that México should participate only in resolving those problems that directly affect its national interests. About one-third of Mexicans (31%) believe that México should only participate in the solution of the most critical problems of the world. And only a small proportion (9%) is isolationist, saying that México should not participate at all in foreign affairs.[307] Opinions on what the goals of México's foreign policy should be show an interesting combination of pragmatism and principle.

With a record high of 13.2 billion dollars in remittances in 2004 from workers in the United States – second only after oil exports – it is not surprising to find that Mexicans are more likely to support policies that protect México's interests and markets abroad. This assertion has an evident economic component, but also a democratic one on the basis that it is a state's responsibility to look after its citizens.

Helping to improve the living standards of other countries and bringing democracy to other countries, although significant, are less important to Mexicans. This is perfectly consistent with México's long non-interventionist tradition. This is a key issue in determining how much Mexicans will support interventions abroad. Human

---

[306] México y el Mundo. Global Views 2004. Mexican Public Opinion and Foreign Policy, (CIDE/COMEXI, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.cide.edu Last accessed: May 10, 2005.

[307] México y el Mundo.

rights advocacy is also among the given priorities for México's foreign policy goals. Sixty percent of Mexicans believe that promoting and defending human rights in other countries should be one of México's priorities. However, the natural overlapping between México's bilateral policy with the United States and México's foreign policy is reflected in the CIDE/COMEXI survey.

Considering that an overwhelming majority of Mexicans living abroad reside in the United States and that more than 85 percent of México's foreign trade is with that country, opinions about defending economic interests of Mexicans "abroad" as well as promoting human rights in "other countries," in fact they mean "in the United States." Also note that bringing México's disputes with other countries to international tribunals also received the same attention as the category above. Such level of priority is a clear token of a diminished Mexican "hard" nationalism and a clear support for UN-centered multilateralism.

Regardless of the priority given to economic issues, Mexicans also show strong support for multilateralism as the right path to conflict resolution. Mexicans consider that strengthening the UN is as important as fighting international terrorism. Drug trafficking into the United States and preventing the spread of nuclear weapons are just behind with 83 percent and 70 percent respectively.

Mexicans seem to be aware of the importance of addressing threats to international security and want their government to get involved accordingly. Regardless of the shift between pragmatic and principled foreign policies implemented by México, most Mexicans perceive that changes in the international context require more participation by México in the elimination of threats to the world's stability. Congruent with a long tradition in support of non-intervention, self-determination and the peaceful resolution of conflicts, Mexicans favour a strengthened, UN-centered multilateralism.

For Mexicans, the UN is a trustworthy organization. They see it as México's primary option to maintain and support a foreign policy independent from the United States. This is not surprising for a medium-size, developing country given México's geopolitical condition and historical relations with the most powerful country in the world. An interesting finding by the CIDE/COMEXI Survey in this regard is that

Mexicans prefer the UN over a number of other institutions, namely human rights INGOs, financial institutions like the IMF, and regional organizations such as the OAS and the EU.

By differentiating organizations with clear cooperative and humanistic functions from those with economic goals, Mexicans confirm that strengthening the UN and promoting human rights abroad must be among México's priorities. About measures to strengthen the UN, Mexicans are not quite in agreement: while 48 percent favour giving the UN the power to regulate the international arms trade, 46 percent disagree; 43 percent agreed to give the UN the power to fund itself by taxing oil and small arms trade, against 44 percent that disagreed. The last and only question which Mexicans agree about is the one relating to peacekeeping. Sixty-four percent of Mexicans support having a UN peacekeeping standing force selected, trained and commanded by the UN; only 27 percent are opposed.[308]

Consistent with their support to a UN peacekeeping standing force, Mexicans favour the UN's right to authorize the use of force. This support is consistent with the priority that Mexicans give to México's foreign policy goals. As noted, the support to the UNSC to authorize force is consistent with México's principled tradition of self-determination and non-intervention, as expressed in the categories of human rights support and restoring democratic governments.

Mexicans support the idea of sending troops to participate in Peacekeeping Operations. Fifty percent answered that México should participate if the United Nations ask it to participate in a peacekeeping force being sent to some part of the world (34.2% said it should not). Note that the two categories – "UNSC Authority" and "Mexican Participation in Peacekeeping" – complement each other well enough to infer that there is significant public support for Mexican peacekeeping. However, such support will not necessarily translate into action.

When asked about whether they agree or disagree that México should support decisions made within the UN even if it is not México's preferred decision, only 44

---

[308] México y el Mundo. Global Views 2004. Mexican Public Opinion and Foreign Policy, (CIDE/COMEXI, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.cide.edu Last accessed: May 10, 2005.

126

percent agreed and 38 percent disagreed. Also, in event of a conflict between Latin American states, although 52 percent favour an active diplomatic role for México, they are divided over multilateral or unilateral approaches. Twenty-eight percent think that the UN or the OAS should intervene to solve the conflict, whereas 24 percent believe that México should act directly as mediator. As is indicated by the CIDE/COMEXI Survey, a considerable minority (36%) prefer not to act in international disputes even within Latin America. This is an important issue because Latin America is considered to be far more important for Mexicans than any other region in the world (Latin America 39%; Asia 4%; Africa 7%; Europe 24%; and Middle East 4%).[309]

Various categories of the CIDE/COMEXI Survey show a significant gap between the opinion of public and leaders. In a country where the foreign policy process is still dominated by elites, these disparities may shed light on the feasibility of related policy implementation. Four categories are of significant importance for this work: "It is better for the future of México to take an active part in world affairs" (57% public versus 94% leaders), "The UN should have the power to regulate the international arms trade" (48% public, 81% leaders), "Favour having a standing UN peacekeeping force selected, trained, and commanded by the UN" (64% public, 82% leaders), and "Mexicans accused of crimes against humanity who have not been tried in México should be tried in the ICC" (42% public versus 90% leaders).

In sum, from the outcomes of the survey revised, it can be inferred that domestic public opinion is modestly favourable for active participation of México in UN Peacekeeping Operations. There is however, a consideration worth taking when pondering the public support to an eventual Mexican participation in UN peacekeeping: there should be a clear and direct connection with México's national interests. An important consideration worth taking into account is that, public opinion in México is not a strong decisional factor in the foreign policy-making process. Mexicans are aware of certain action is needed to maintain international peace and security. They are sensitive to international instability and thus support changes in México's international role.

---

[309] The responses do not include Canada and the United States and thus it is titled Importance of "Other" Regions in the World. México y el Mundo.

The Government Level

The Armed Forces in the Political Structure

For many years it was widely known that the armed forces in México were closed and lacked public accountability. This situation, however, just started to change during the last few years. In the early Twenty-first century, the panorama of the Mexican armed forces can be described as: 1) largely partially subordinated to the civilian power;[310] 2) receiving increased military expenditure; 3) increasingly involved in law enforcement functions; d) extending its influence in civilian areas (particularly law enforcement).[311]

The armed forces in México are a product of the Mexican Revolution and thus their popular origins are evident. This characteristic background stands in contrast to most Latin American armed forces that have a history of military coups. The only Latin American countries with similar popular armed forces are Cuba, which emerged after its revolution in 1957, and Nicaragua in 1979. The popular origins of the Mexican armed forces have positively influenced the Mexican public opinion and the way the officer corps see themselves.[312] Another remarkable difference with the rest of their Latin American counterparts is that the Mexican military has been loyal to the civilian power.

In México, the armed forces, particularly the army which is larger than the other two branches and politically more powerful, has played a key role in the integration of the Mexican state; they gave social cohesion and political leadership to the country after independence in the Nineteenth Century and after the Revolution in the first decade of the

---

[310] The supremacy of the civilian institutions over the military is established by Article 89, sections IV, V and VI. This article states that it is a faculty of the president to appoint the officers of the armed forces, and to "dispose of the permanent armed forces, including the land army, the navy and the air force for internal security and exterior defence of the Federation." Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, (México: 1917), [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

[311] Miguel Carbonell, "El Rol de las Fuerzas Armadas en la Constitución Mexicana," Ius et Praxis, 8, 1, (Talca, Chile: Universidad de Talca, 2002). Internet. Available at: http://redalyc.uaemex.mx/redalyc/pdf/197/19780105.pdf Last access: November 27, 2006.

[312] Roderic Ai Camp, "México's Armed Forces: Marching to a Democratic Tune?" In Kevin J. Middlebrook (Ed.) Dilemmas of Political Change in México, (London: Institute of Latin American Studies. University of London. School of Advanced Study. 2004), p.353.

128

Twentieth Century.[313] The Mexican armed forces do not participate directly in politics and they are constitutionally entitled to act on the external defence and internal security matters. These are remarkable differences with most states that make clear distinction between these two tasks.

After the revolution, the Mexican armed forces started a slow but steady professionalization trend. Since neighbouring countries posed no threat to México's national security the Mexican armed forces have traditionally focused on internal, rather than external threats. In fact, the missions assigned to the army and air force include: 1) "to defend the integrity, independence and sovereignty of the nation; 2) to guarantee internal security; 3) to assist the civilian population in case of public need; 4) to conduct civic actions and social works aimed at encouraging national development; and 5) to provide humanitarian assistance, to maintain order, and to provide reconstruction in cases of disasters."[314]

Separately, the navy's mission is "to use the naval power of the Federation for external defence and to assist in the maintenance of internal security."[315] These roles reflect the response of the Mexican state to changes in the national and the international environments, as is explained further on. In the absence of a traditional external military threat and in the face of increased trans-national activity, the Mexican armed forces are legally entitled to fight threats that are of the common competency of the police forces, such as organized crime, drug trafficking, human and arms trafficking, and terrorism. These, which are in fact the currently perceived threats to México's national security, fit smoothly within the constitutional powers of the military, which has been organized

---

[313] Raúl Benítez Manaut, "Seguridad y Relaciones Cívico-Militares en México y América Central. Escenarios a inicios del Siglo XXI." In Athanasious Hristoulas (Coord.), Las Relaciones Cívico-Militares en el Nuevo Orden Internacional, (México: ITAM, 2002), p.201.

[314] Article 1. Ley Orgánica del Ejército y Fuerza Aérea Mexicanos, (México: 1986 – last reform 1998), [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

[315] Article 1. Ley Orgánica de la Armada de México, (México 2002), [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

129

accordingly.[316] Activities performed by the armed forces in support of internal security, particularly police functions, however, have raised concerns about potential human rights abuses and a slowdown of the democratization process.[317]

In almost 197 years as independent state, México has had 70 presidents, of which 39 were from the military. The first civilian president after the Revolution, Miguel Alemán, took power in 1946. It is said that a non-written "civil-military pact" emerged at this time. The "pact" reads as follows: the armed forces will not participate in politics. In return, they will be exempted from public accountability.

The government administrations that followed diminished both the political role and the financial power of the military. The president organized the army territorially according to the federal entities with the purpose of having effective control over the generals.[318] The armed forces, however, "maintained notable quotas of autonomy (tacit and legal). In return, the armed forces supported the revolutionary elite."[319] After all, there were no external threats perceived, and thus Mexican governments were able to concentrate on internal economic development. These were the years of the post-World War II era, based on industrialization and import substitution.

After the PRI lost the presidency in 2000, the corporatist structure of the post-revolution was severely affected. The political links and interests that bonded the corporate forces (the Church, unions, the military) started to vanish. With them, the civil-military pact started to fade away as well; new democratic practices, such as

---

[316] Gobierno Federal de México 2001-2006. Plan Nacional de Desarrollo. "Orden y Respeto," (México: Presidencia de la Republica, 2001). Internet. Available at: http://pnd.presidencia.gob.mx/index?idseccion=35 Last accessed: June 01, 2005.

[317] Laura Poy Solano, "Alarma a ONG la Militarización de los Cuerpos Encargados de la Seguridad," La Jornada, (México: January 09, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2005/01/09/003n2pol.php Last accessed: October 01, 2005.

[318] Tzvi Medin, El Sexenio Alemanista: Ideología y Praxis de Miguel Alemán, (México: Ediciones Era, 1990), p.65. In Jorge Luís Sierra, El Enemigo Interno: Contrainsurgencia y Fuerzas Armadas en México, (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2003), p.281. See also Raúl Benítez Manaut, "Seguridad y Relaciones Cívico-Militares en México y América Central. Escenarios a inicios del Siglo XXI." In Athanasious Hristoulas (Coord.), Las Relaciones Cívico-Militares en el Nuevo Orden Internacional, (México: ITAM, 2002), p.202.

[319] Raúl Benítez Manaut, "Seguridad y Relaciones Cívico-Militares en México y América Central. Escenarios a inicios del Siglo XXI." In Athanasious Hristoulas (Coord.), Las Relaciones Cívico-Militares en el Nuevo Orden Internacional, (México: ITAM, 2002), p.202, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

130

transparency, accountability and human rights started to populate the political agenda. The military cadre started to lose privileges too, and there is a need for compensatory mechanisms. This is one important aspect that requires further research and attention.

Since the revolution, the strategy of the armed forces has been to maintain territorial presence and control. The army is by far the largest service branch with 188,000 army personnel and the air force about 12,000 personnel, making a total 241,000 manpower of the Secretariat of National Defence.[320] The navy has an approximate manpower of 53,000, from which about 12,000 are marine personnel.[321] In 2001, the Navy had 55,687 personnel, but it started a reduction program called *"adelgazamiento"* (slimming) this same year.[322]The armed forces are organized in military and naval territorial regions and zones. In 2005, there were 12 military regions with 44 military zones and 7 naval regions with 9 naval zones. This form of organization has remained relatively unchanged over time. However, additional military zones were created after internal conflicts and social uneasiness, such as guerrilla movements in the Southern part of the country and increased drug trafficking activity in the Northern regions.

The existing operational and disciplinary structures of the armed forces were established in the 1930s. There have been changes since, certainly, but they have not touched the essence of the institution. It can be said that the military has not adapted well – at least not as fast as it should – to the democratization trend of the country. For this reason, frictions with Congress, for instance, have only occurred in the last few years. Different from most Latin American countries, where democratization was paired with a de-militarization process (e.g. Argentina, Chile and Brazil), México is experiencing democratization with militarization.

The militarization phenomenon occurs in México because the democratization

---

[320] Jorge A. Medellin, "Revelan los Secretos del Ejercito Mexicano." El Universal, (México: October 16, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/pls/impreso/version_imprimir?id_nota=15280&tabla=primera. Last accessed October 16, 2003.

[321] Pamphlet "La Accion Social de la Armada de México 2001-2002," (México: Secretaría de Marina, 2003), p.5.

[322] Jesus Aranda, "Adelgazamiento Administrativo de la Armada." La Jornada, (México: March 07, 2001).

trend has also brought more poverty, increased organized criminal and drug trafficking activity, and social unrest produced by guerrilla movements.[323] Therefore, the state struggles to maintain order and governance and, logically, it turns to the only institution capable – though not necessarily prepared – to face such a challenge. It is worth noting that in México, old semi-feudal power structures interact with modernity and democracy. Such a disparate interaction of old and modern structures and practices produces focal points of potential violence, particularly where differences are extreme, such as in indigenous populated areas.

Civil-Military Relations in México

In general, Civil-Military Relations are commonly determined by the level of interaction between a society and its armed forces: the higher the interaction, the broader and more complex the civil-military structures. In, México, a peculiar political system has led to an atypical pattern of Civil-Military Relations. Starting in the 1930s, México experienced a "demilitarization" process that has recently reverted in some areas, particularly on internal security matters. While in 1935 all states and territories were governed by military personnel, by 1970 all governors were civilian. Police forces followed a similar path: by 1970, there were only a few local police forces headed by military personnel – and they were all retired personnel.

Traditionally, the nexuses between military and civilians were those that resulted from the interaction of the armed forces with the civilian population during emergency response operations. At the government level, the civil-military structure was simple and minimal, consisting only of a set of communication channels between government officials and the military officers – usually through the office of the presidency via the Presidential Military Staff. These relations have been affected by the recent structural reorganization of the military and democratic changes in the country.

After the Chiapas uprising in 1994, military zone commanders were given greater

---

[323] Raúl Benítez Manaut, "Seguridad y Relaciones Cívico-Militares en México y América Central. Escenarios a inicios del Siglo XXI." In Athanasious Hristoulas (Coord.), Las Relaciones Cívico-Militares en el Nuevo Orden Internacional, (México: ITAM, 2002), p.189.

132

decision-making authority to cut the reaction times. Co-operation between army and air force units increased after the creation of Airborne Special Forces units. And contact with civilian professionals increased as part of the new emphasis upon internal security issues and higher education – more civilians started to teach at military academies and more officers studied at civilian universities.[324]

Also and while opposition parties started to gain control of the Lower Chamber in the mid-1980s, the military began to take over more internal security matters. The result was an increased interaction between civilians and the military. New political alliances between opposition leaders and military members started to multiply as police forces were reinforced with military personnel. Also, retired or licensed high-ranked members of the armed forces have served in Congress, where they normally concentrate on military issues.

Military personnel, retired or on-leave, started to join opposition parties and occupy seats at both legislative chambers; seats that once were reserved to the PRI and were offered exclusively to "disciplined" military officials. In Congress, there were five Deputies and three Senators from the military in 1988 (all belonging to the PRI).[325] In 2000, there was one military legislator from the opposition (PRD) from a total of six legislators with military background. The proportion of civilian personnel serving in the armed forces is small and formal.

Civil-military structures traditionally existed only between the president and the secretaries of the armed forces. Although the Constitution empowers the Senate to exert control of the military through budgetary and organizational overseeing, these functions have never been exerted in practice.[326] There are also a few cases of military personnel that have entered into politics in pursuit of individual projects. Currently, retired and

---

[324] Roderic Ai Camp, "México's Armed Forces: Marching to a Democratic Tune?" In Kevin J. Middlebrook (Ed.) Dilemmas of Political Change in México., (London: University of London. School of Advanced Study. Institute of Latin American Studies, 2004), p.355.

[325] George W. Grayson, México's Armed Forces: A Factbook, (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1999). Internet. Available at: www.csis.org/americas/pubs/MexArmedForces0299.pdf. Last accessed: November 23, 2004.

[326] Article 73. XIV. Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, (México: 1917).

133

active-duty officers supervise or command civilian law enforcement units in México City and various states. Some more military officers are involved in customs and immigration operations; traditionally a civilian task.

Officers serve as aides-de-camp to the president, cabinet members and governors. Retired officers have the control of the security of strategic areas such as the state oil company (*Petróleos Mexicanos* - PEMEX), the electricity company (*Comisión Federal de Electricidad* - CFE), airports, Congress facilities, and other critical infrastructure and entities. Active-duty officers serve at Mexican embassies around the world as military and naval attachés.[327] The Office of the Attorney General, which included anti-drug and investigative police, was headed by an army general during the first four years or so of the Fox's administration.

One structural change produced in the aftermath of the extended roles assigned to the military is the formation of the National Security Cabinet. This group is formed by the heads of the Secretariat of National Defence, the Marine Secretariat, the Office of the Attorney General, the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, and the Secretariat of Internal Affairs. This cabinet meets by convocation of its Chair, the president of the republic. Other structures in place were created to deal with intelligence and communications operations, such as the formation of the Center for Investigation and National Security (*Centro de Investigación y Seguridad Nacional* – CISEN), which is the intelligence agency of the federal government. This agency is headed by a civilian, but military officers have been appointed at deputy levels.

However, the progress achieved in Civil-Military Relations has been overshadowed by the meagre results of the new structures created to face in dealing with the newly emerging challenges. Even with higher capabilities under civilian control, the new civil-military structure has proved inadequate due to poor coordination with military counterparts. The most severe criticism in this regard focuses on the government's incompetence in anticipating well-established guerrilla groups' actions. As was pointed

---

[327] George W. Grayson, México's Armed Forces: A Factbook, (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1999). Internet. Available at: www.csis.org/americas/pubs/MexArmedForces0299.pdf. Last accessed: November 23, 2004.

134

out by a prominent scholar when explaining the Chiapas uprising, "It is likely that the military was aware of serious problems in the region, but that its superiors in the civilian bureaucracy ignored military intelligence."[328]

A few years ago, the government established a series of coordination units among government levels to cope with the drug problem. During the Fox's administration the number of inter-institutional coordination units, called Mixed Operation Bases (*Bases de Operacion Mixta* – BOM), reached sixty-three. These units attempt to bring together the efforts of the military and federal, state and municipal police forces, all under military control.[329] In addition, the army has been training municipal police forces in the country. It has been mentioned that army personnel gave psychomotor tests to over five thousand federal, state and municipal policemen.

Effectiveness of these efforts has been compromised by unusual violence around drug trafficking which has been linked to defected military personnel hired as executers for drug cartels. Also, the incorporation of military personnel in public security agencies has been criticized by civil society actors who warn the government of potential corruption and human rights abuses.[330]

In addition, the lack of civil-military structures in the public information sector is evident. The two secretariats related to defence issues, Army and Navy, maintain social communication offices (*Dirección de Comunicación Social*). These are press offices that liaise with journalists and media representatives. They are also in charge of advertising recruitment campaigns and other minor tasks related to the use of mass media. They to do not conduct, however, long-run media strategies nor have embedded civilian reporters. In other words, public relations are confined to providing information to accredited media

---

[328] Roderic Ai Camp, "Militarizing México. Where is the Officers Corps Going?" Policy Paper on the Americas, X, 1 (The Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1999). Internet. Available at: www.csis.org/americas/pubs/ppMilitarizingMéxico.pdf. Last accessed: December 7, 2004.

[329] Jorge Luis Sierra, Las Fuerzas Armadas Mexicanas en la Guerra Antinarcóticos, (Washington Office on Latin America. April 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.wola.org/publications/ddhr_México_brief_esp.pdf Last accessed: January 30, 2005.

[330] Laura Poy Solano, "Critica ONG creciente incorporación de militares a los cuerpos policíacos," La Jornada, (México: October 10, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.jornada.unam.mx/016n1pol.php?origen=politica.php&fly=1 Last accessed: October 10, 2004.

personnel. Such circumstance was commented in an intelligence report issued by the US Defence Attaché Office in México after the Chiapas uprising in 1994; "[the Mexican Army] ...failed to comprehend the crucial role of public relations in 'selling' their operations to the Mexican people." The report continues ..."[t]alking to the press goes against the institutional nature of the Mexican army."[331]

This lack of well-established civil-military structures, which means not only insufficient official information channels, but also insufficient accountability mechanisms, makes the military an easy prey for corruption. This is perhaps the highest risk of getting the armed forces involved in the war against drugs. The cost of this involvement is high. From 1995 to 2000, about 150 military personnel were court-martialed for drug-related crimes.[332]

A number of generals have been prosecuted and sentenced for drug crimes, with the most prominent cases of being those of the Drug Czar and the former Chief of Military Police in 1997. Almost fifty high rank military officers have been prosecuted for the same reasons in the last two decades.[333] Also, various BOMs have been dissolved due to reported abuses by military personnel.[334] An additional effect of poor accountability is the systematic violation of human rights, because corruption and human rights abuses are two sides of the same coin.

After an impressive start in the late 1990s, the democratization process in México has slowed down after the disenchantment produced by the present administration that has failed to resolve a number of issues, such as the Zapatista movement in Chiapas and

[331] Kate Doyle, Rebellion in Chiapas and the Mexican Military, (The National Security Archive). Internet. Available at: http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB109/#article Last accessed: November 18, 2004.

[332] Jorge Luis Sierra, "Estragos de la Guerra Inútil," REDES 2003, Research and Education in Defence and Security Studies. (Santiago de Chile: Center for Hemispheric Defence Studies, 2003), p.19. Internet. Available at: http://www.ndu.edu/chds/redes2003/Academic-Papers/8.Internal-Security/5.Drug-Control-Democracy-Human-Rights/1.%20Sierra-final.doc. Last accessed: March 23, 2005.

[333] "Otros 20 Militares serán consignados." El Informador, (Guadalajara: September 02, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://148.245.26.68/lastest/2000/Septiembre/02sep2000/02pr02a.htm. Last accessed: March 23, 2005.

[334] Martha Izquierdo, "Retiran Bases de Operación Militar y Policial de Sierra Mixe-Zapoteca en Oaxaca: Pobladores Indígenas habían denunciado abusos contra mujeres," (Comunicación e información de la Mujer – CIMAC, 2001). Internet. Available at: http://www.cimac.org.mx/noticias/01feb/01022109.html Last accessed: November 28, 2006.

other guerrilla movements. Issues like these have overloaded the military with internal security missions that have caught the armed forces unawares. The military seems not to know how to modernize its own structures and practices, particularly on human rights issues, while it increases its participation in more internal security missions to maintain governance and stability. In addition, accountability, which became a public practice in México only after 2000, is starting to permeate into the armed forces. Such a democratic practice will soon fully invalidate the "civil-military pact" of the 1940s and will bring major changes to the existing Civil-Military Relations.[335]

The "use" of the military, particularly the army, by civilian governments to contend with or eliminate guerrilla movements in México, has damaged the public image of the armed forces. The recent involvement of the armed forces in law enforcement activities to fight violence, rubs against the democratic practice of keeping the military off police business. Yet they remain among the most trusted institutions in México.[336]

Also, deficiencies of existing civil-military structures would hinder Mexican participation in Peacekeeping Operations because these operations demand close coordination between military and civilian teams. Peacekeeping command and control structures, as well as negotiation of deployment conditions and the establishment of levels of involvement and the use of force are areas of close civil-military coordination in peacekeeping. Weak civil-military structures would compromise the efficiency and efficacy of the deployed contingent and the peacekeeping operation as a whole.

The Role Level

The Role of the Mexican Armed Forces

As mentioned before, México's armed forces are comprised of three branches: the army,

---

[335] Raúl Benítez Manaut, "Seguridad y Relaciones Cívico-Militares en México y América Central. Escenarios a inicios del Siglo XXI." In Athanasious Hristoulas (Coord.), Las Relaciones Cívico-Militares en el Nuevo Orden Internacional, (México: ITAM, 2002), p.206.

[336] A telephone poll commissioned by the U.S. Information Agency in 1997 shown 71% of "fair amount of [public] confidence" on the Mexican Army, compared to 50% on the federal government and 40% on the judicial system. George W. Grayson, México's Armed Forces: A Factbook, (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1999). Internet. Available at: www.csis.org/americas/pubs/MexArmedForces0299.pdf. Last accessed: November 23, 2004.

137

the navy and the air force. The Defence Secretariat (*Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional* –
SEDENA) controls the Army and Air Force and the Marine Secretariat (*Secretaría de
Marina* – SEMAR) administers the Navy with surface, air and amphibious elements.
Traditionally, the heads of the Secretariat of the Army and the Marine Secretariat are
military officers who hold cabinet ranks and are directly appointed by the president of the
republic.[337] Normally, the heads of these secretariats serve for the same six-year term as
the president, who has the power to make discretionary changes in the cabinet. Both
military secretariats are independent from each other and both report directly to the
president, who is the supreme commander of the armed forces.

At first, the armed forces, particularly the army, concentrated on actions to help
the civilian population, suppressing guerrilla bands that emerged in the 1960s and early
1970s, and helping to maintain political stability as part of their role in internal security.
The navy was mainly performing coast guard functions, conducting search-and-rescue
missions, enforcing fisheries, fighting smugglers and illegal migration, and helping to
clean up oil spills and other types of pollution. In the late 1990s, the armed forces in
México started a deeper modernization process. This process was accelerated by changes
in the international environment and domestic instability that resulted in widened roles in
support of internal security. The table in Appendix A shows the change in roles of the
military and the acquisition of equipment as part of the modernization process.

During the 1960s, the army fought guerrilla movements in various regions of
México, helping the civilian bodies of the state to suppress political opposition as well.
The most widely reported act of this kind was the 1968 "massacre of Tlatelolco" in
México City. The clash with the army left hundreds of students and other protesters

---

[337] According to Article 89 of the Mexican Constitution, the president has no restrictions to appoint and
remove cabinet secretaries. It has been customary for the president in turn to appoint only flag officers as heads of the
defence and marine Secretariats. However, three civilians and two Army Generals have occupied the Navy's chair:
General Heriberto Jara 1941-1946; General Rodolfo Sanchez Taboada 1952-1955; Mr.Alberto Pawling 1949-1952; Mr.
Raúl Lopez Sanchez 1952; and Mr. Alfonso Poire 1955. Secretaría de Marina. Historia. Galería Fotográfica de
Secretarios. Internet. Available at: http://www.semar.gob.mx/historia/galeria.htm. Last accessed: November 24, 2004.

dead.[338] In January 1994, an uprising in the Southern state of Chiapas put the army again in the eye of the hurricane. Violations of human rights committed by military personnel while acting in support of internal security were made public by civil society organizations. This increased political pressure on the government, which eventually responded with the creation of the Office of the Special Attorney for Past Social and Political Movements (*Oficina del Fiscal Especial para Movimientos Sociales y Políticos del Pasado* – FEMOSPP) to investigate the so-called "dirty war" of the 1960s and 1970s. Although the Chiapas uprising is not a case assigned to this office, it has been a key element in attracting enough political commitment and public support to decrease the levels of impunity of the security forces – the army included.

It can be said that the constitutional framework for the armed forces is specified by Article 129. This article states that *"No military authority may, in time of peace, perform any functions other than those that are directly connected with military affairs. There shall be fixed and permanent military commands only in the castles, fortresses, and depots immediately subordinate to the Government of the Union; or in encampments, barracks, or arsenals established for the quartering of troops outside towns."*[339] This framework has been the basis for criticizing the use of the military in law enforcement functions.

Preoccupied with the involvement of the military in law enforcement actions, in 1996, a group of Deputies submitted recourse of unconstitutionality before the Supreme

---

[338] There is still a heated debate on this incident that occurred almost forty years ago. The incident has to be framed within the ideological war fought against socialist movements that emerged in México during the 1960s and 1970s and not as an isolated incident. Young people trained in guerilla tactics in various socialist countries like China, North Korea and the Soviet Union, joined student movements to protest against the government. Starting in the mid 1960s, student and workers' protests along the country sparked a wave of violent repression by the government that sought the stability of the regime compromised. Guerrilla movements sprang in various regions of the country and the armed forces started to act in support of internal security. On October 2, 1968, the army dissolved a protest that resulted in the death of hundreds of students. As of today, the number of deaths in unknown and it is still a part of the investigation of a Special Prosecutor established on 2001 for that purpose. The "massacre of Tlatelolco" is part of the "dirty war," which prosecutor investigates the whereabouts of over five hundred people reported missing. These people were allegedly arrested, tortured and killed by state security forces. Jorge Luis Sierra, El Enemigo Interno: Contrainsurgencia y Fuerzas Armadas en México, (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2003), p.71. And Human Rights Watch, "Justice in Jeopardy," (México). Internet. Available at: http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/México0703/4.htm#_Toc46223058. Last accessed: December 7, 2004.

[339] Article 129, General Considerations. Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, (México: 1917), [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR], [CURSIVES ADDED].

139

Court. The Supreme Court gave the controversy a historical interpretation, stating that the spirit of Article 129 is to prevent the armed forces from acting alone, but it permits military action in support of civilian authorities.[340] In other words, for the Supreme Court, the involvement of the armed forces in internal security actions – in support of the civilian authority – is perfectly legal.

Recent changes in the army's organization, manpower and leadership, reflect the new challenges of the Mexican military. Poverty, a large and discontented indigenous population, corruption, unprecedented levels of drug trafficking and organized crime activities, are among these challenges. In addition, low salaries and meagre benefits have forced "military personnel to moonlight (even though formally prohibited) at other jobs. Moreover, poor benefits and compensations make the military more susceptible to corruption, especially drug-related bribery."[341] The "zetas" is one clear example of this. They are a group of army special operations individuals that defected to drug cartels. They provide protection and intelligence to drug organizations. Tens of executions and armed confrontations with army and police forces are attributed to this group.[342]

Nevertheless, the armed forces remain the central support of the war against drugs in México. In 2000, the armed forces targeted about 16 percent of their budget to anti-drug activities. This reflects the level of commitment and the magnitude of the threat that drug trafficking represents. The following table shows some figures of drug interdiction by the armed forces during the past administration.

---

[340] Army, Air Force and Navy. They can participate in civilian actions in support of law Enforcement, in situations where there is no need to suspend the individual Rights, but only if such actions have been expressly requested by civilian authority to which they must subordinate, with strict attachment to the Constitution and its secondary laws. P./J. 36/2000, "Seguridad Pública. Su participación en acciones civiles, sin suspensión de garantías individuales. A requerimiento de las autoridades," (México: Instituto Nacional de Controversias y Asuntos de Inconstitucionalidad, A.C., 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.controversias.org/inf_prontuario.htm Last accessed: November 27, 2006, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

[341] Roderic Ai Camp, "Militarizing México. Where is the Officers Corps Going?" Policy Paper on the Americas, X, 1 (The Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1999). Internet. Available at: www.csis.org/americas/pubs/ppMilitarizingMéxico.pdf. Last accessed: December 7, 2004.

[342] Oscar Hernández, "Quienes son los Zetas?" EsMas, (Noticieros Televisa, October 29, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.esmas.com/noticierostelevisa/México/402396.html Last accessed: April 28, 2005.

Table 1: Drug Interdiction by the Mexican Armed Forces

(2000-2006)

	Marijuana	Cocaine
Army and Air Force	9,700 metric Tons	43 metric Tons
Navy	168 metric Tons	61 metric Tons

Source: Author (2008) with data from SEDENA[343] and SEMAR[344]

In an attempt to be effective in fighting present challenges, the military has acquired great mobility and rapid deployment capabilities. This is shown by the acquisition of equipment and capabilities, such as helicopters and fast boats and the formation of special units by both the army and the navy. The army has seven brigades and a number of separate regiments and infantry battalions. The brigades are: one armoured, two infantry, one motorized cavalry, one airborne, one combined military police and engineer brigade, and the Presidential Guard Brigade (*Guardias Presidenciales*). The motorized cavalry brigade is composed of three motorized regiments. The airborne brigade consists of two army and one air force battalion. Engineers, air defence, and combat support and service units are organized into separate regimental, battalion, and company units, which are distributed among military zones.[345]

The elite Presidential Guard Brigade reports directly to the Office of the President and is responsible for providing military security for the president and for visiting dignitaries. The head of the Presidential Guard is the Chief of the Presidential Military Staff (*Estado Mayor Presidencial* – EMP), which is normally an army general. The EMP also plays the role of liaison between the Office of the Presidency and cabinet members with the military. The EMP is at the center of Civil-Military Relations. The Presidential Guard Brigade consists of three infantry battalions, one special force battalion, and one

---

[343] Aplicaciones del Plan DN-III, (México: Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional). Internet. Available at: http://www.sedena.gob.mx/index4.html Last accessed: November 25, 2006.

[344] Secretaría de Marina, "Logros de la Secretaría de Marina 2001-2006" Internet. Available at: http://www.semar.gob.mx/informes/logros.pdf Last accessed: November 25, 2006.

[345] Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional, (México: 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.sedena.gob.mx/index4.html Last accessed: November 25, 2006.

artillery battalion. One additional Marine Battalion is provided by the Navy to the Presidential Guard. The substitution of this corps, which acts independent from the rest of the military, by a civilian structure, is a pending issue in the democratic process of the country.

The army has organized Special Force Groups (*Grupos de Fuerzas Especiales* - GAFEs). Each of the forty-four military zones has its own GAFE and there are GAFE groups for the military police and airborne Brigades. There are also 36 Amphibious Special Force Groups (*Grupos Anfibios de Fuerzas Especiales* - GANFEs). These groups are trained in jungle, high-mountain, desert, amphibious, and submarine warfare.[346]

The air force has divided the Mexican territory into three regions, each with two Air Sectors. There are nineteen air bases along the territory, each under direct control of the corresponding military zone commander. The navy has 23 battalions of marine personnel distributed among the naval zones, from which three are presidential guards and one airborne. The navy administers its own aviation organized in three naval stations and ten squadrons. The naval capabilities are distributed in two naval forces, one for each coast: the Pacific Force with nine navy flotillas and the Gulf of México and Caribbean Force with four flotillas.

Operationally, there are three plans to put the military into operation: external defence (*Defensa Nacional I* – DN-I), internal security and social peace (*Defensa Nacional II* – DN-II) and humanitarian and emergency relief (*Defensa Nacional III* – DN-III). Natural disasters like hurricanes and earthquakes – common phenomena in the region – have made the DN-III one of the most recognized and appreciated faces of the military. When this plan is implemented, troops are mobilized in support of the National System of Civil Protection (*Sistema Nacional de Proteccion Civil* - SINAPROC); a civilian alert and reaction system first implemented after the 1985 earthquakes in México City. Where implemented, the highest local authority becomes the local coordinator of the Civil Protection Plan with the subordinate support of the local military authority.[347]

---

[346] Raúl Benítez Manaut, <u>Las Fuerzas Armadas mexicanas a fin de siglo</u>, XXII International Congress (Miami, FL: Latin American Studies Association, 2000).

[347] <u>Ley General de Protección Civil,</u> (México: 2000; Reformed on December 29, 2001, June 13, 2003 and June 15, 2004).

142

The SINAPROC organizes and administers resources available to react in cases of natural disasters. It maintains a database of public and private resources available and maintains a number of operational communication channels. In the practice, the subordination of the military authority is not always achieved because the military controls most of the resources made available, such as manpower, equipment and communications.

Additional development actions are commonly performed by the armed forces, such as vaccination campaigns, adult literacy, wildfire fighting, and reforestation. This former action, which is a permanent function of the military, makes the Mexican army one of the few with ecological functions in the world.

In the period of 2000-2006, the army implemented numerous times the *Plan Defensa Nacional III* (DN-III plan). The plan was implemented to assist communities affected by ice and snow, wildfires, earthquakes, volcanic activity, and hurricanes. In separate actions, the navy reported assisting 1,544 communities affected by natural disasters in the same period of time.[348] The next table shows the army's report of DN-III actions in cases of hurricanes:

Table 2: DN-III Actions Tropical Storms (2000-2005)

Contributions	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total
Military personnel	8,549	5,123	10,423	7,411	20,108	**51,614**
Civilians evacuated	5,018	46,827	9,424	12,955	56,818	**131,042**
Shelters	105	86	176	39	146	**552**
Civilians hosted in shelters	15,994	19,604	22,804	13,998	39,285	**111,685**
Hot meals	2,813	29,492	11,977	3,723	25,631	**73,636**
Vehicles	142,000	996,479	378,443	101,286	1,232,681	**2,820,889**

Source: Author (2006) with data from SEDENA[349]

---

[348] Secretaría de Marina, "Logros de la Secretaría de Marina 2001-2006" Internet. Available at: http://www.semar.gob.mx/informes/logros.pdf Last accessed: November 25, 2006.

[349] Aplicaciones del Plan DN-III, (México: Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional). Internet. Available at: http://www.sedena.gob.mx/index4.html Last accessed: November 25, 2006.

143

As noted, these are impressive figures that show the magnitude of the efforts of the military to provide humanitarian assistance in cases of natural disasters. They also show a great response capacity of the Mexican Army for these kinds of operations. In February 2000, the army sought to increase its emergency response capabilities. It formed the Airborne Reaction Team for Disasters (*Fuerza de Reaccion Aeromovil para Casos de Desastre* – FRACD), which soon evolved into the Disasters Support Force (*Fuerza de Apoyo en Casos de Desastre* – FACD). The mission of this team is to provide rapid support to the commanders of military regions in implementing emergency management measures. These personnel are trained to conduct air and land recognition, damage control analysis, first aid response, search and rescue, medical evacuation, emergency aid delivery, and restoration capabilities.

The FACD is formed by air and land components, which include engineers (with heavy construction equipment e.g., excavators, bulldozers, loaders, etc.), specialists, medical (doctors, dentists, nurses, etc.), logistics (food and water supply), transmissions (radio and satellite communications, GPS navigation equipment, etc.), military police (search and rescue and K9), and mechanical rescue cells (hydraulic lifters, metal cutters, mobile electricity plants, etc).

The FACD's air component includes C-130 and Boeing 727 airplanes, and MD-530F, MI-2, MI-8, MI-17, and MI-26 helicopters. The FACD is capable to operate in three different areas simultaneously.[350] For its great mobility and high capacity to deploy emergency aid rapidly and effectively, the FACD has the potential for international humanitarian and emergency missions. The number of DN-III missions conducted and lack of resources are perhaps among the greatest challenges for the FACD to be deployed internationally.

The navy has also developed its own DN-III-type plan to respond to emergency situations. This plan has been named "*Plan Marina*" and through it, the navy provides surveillance and evacuation operations, risk assessment of vulnerable sites, shelter

---

[350] Aplicación del Plan DN-III, (México: Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional). Internet. Available at: http://www.sedena.gob.mx/index4.html Last accessed: November 25, 2006.

144

construction and administration, primary medical assistance, communications, and humanitarian aid delivery. Similar to the army's DN-III, the navy's *Plan Marina* also coordinates actions with the local civil protection authority.[351]

In general, the armed forces have the capability and the experience to conduct emergency relief operations. There are however, aspects of the forces that require a close review attempting greater international participation. These include enhancing human rights and gender conditions among the armed forces, and as lessons from international participation have shown, implementing international standards for humanitarian and emergency relief operations. This does not mean that the Mexican armed forces are not capable of performing international roles. It only means that in order for Mexican contingents to comply with UN standards, some reforms may be necessary.

Human Rights

The reputation of the Mexican army on human rights is not the best. In contemporary times, during the 1970s and 1980s, hundreds of students, political opposition leaders, and insurgents were tortured and disappeared by army personnel. Also, the Mexican army has been accused of committing serious human rights abuses in the course of counterinsurgency and drug trafficking efforts. Impunity for these abuses, it is argued, is the norm. "The military justice is closed and secretive and rarely investigates or punishes soldiers for abuse."[352]

However, human rights organizations blame the United States for complicity with the Mexican military that have resulted in human rights abuses. The sale of military equipment and training in counterinsurgency connects the Americans to the number of cases of abuse.[353] Nevertheless, all of the accusations of human rights abuses are against

---

[351] Secretaría de Marina, "Plan Marina." Internet. Available at: http://www.semar.gob.mx/plangral.htm Last accessed: April 21, 2007.

[352] Promoting Human Rights, Democracy, and Social and Economic Justice in Latin America, "México", "The Mexican Military and Human Rights", (Washington Office on Latin America). Internet. Available at: http://www.wola.org/México/hr/military.htm Last accessed: April 15, 2005.

[353] See Sharon Donovan, The México Connection: a Survey of Mainstream Media reporting on US Military Aid, the Drug War, and Human Rights in México, (Media Alliance Latin American Committee). Internet. Available at: http://www.media-alliance.org/mediafile/18-1/mexconnect.html Last accessed: April 15, 2005.

army, not navy or air force, personnel, and never at the magnitude of those in Argentina or Chile.

In terms of human rights, the Mexican democratization process calls for concrete actions in at least two directions: to stop current and to prevent future abuses, and to prosecute the perpetrators of past abuses. As a result, the government announced in May 2001 the creation of the Special Prosecutor's Office on Social and Political Movements of the Past. Its main objective is to investigate the role of the armed forces in dirty war disappearances and massacres. This is a public recognition of abuses by police and military forces and the first serious effort to address past human rights abuses.

In addition, the National Human Rights Commission (*Comisión Nacional de Derechos Humanos* – CNDH) has signed an agreement with the Defence Secretariat to follow the implementation of a "National Program for the Promotion and Strengthening of Human Rights" ordered by the Government of México.[354] An official report issued by the CNDH shows that 2,438 (out of 82,782) complaints filed since the creation of the commission to December 31, 2002, were associated with military personnel. This figure represents only 2.9 percent of the total number of human rights complaints in more than a decade.

According to the Defence Secretariat, 97.3 percent of these complaints received appropriate attention, while the rest are still under investigation. In the case of the investigation of past abuses, the office of the special prosecutor has not convinced a still sceptical public opinion. Nevertheless, it brought to the surface the civilian responsibility for the "use" of the military in internal security issues and the subordination of the armed forces to the president, and not necessarily to the civilian power as a whole.

The armed forces have taken some steps towards the improvement of human rights that are neither unilateral nor isolated. Building on the Vienna Declaration and

---

[354] Justicia Militar: Derechos Humanos, (México: Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional). Internet. Available at: http://www.sedena.gob.mx/index4.html Last accessed: April 15, 2005.

146

Programme of Action adopted by the UNGA in 1993,[355] the government launched the National Program for the Promotion and Strengthening of Human Rights in 1998. The main goals of the plan included the inclusion of human rights and humanitarian law in the curriculum of the military formation centers, as well as a public commitment to investigate every alleged abuse committed by military personnel.

The plan assigned specific tasks to the following cabinet offices: the Office of the General Prosecutor is expected to focus on impunity reduction and improving criminal investigation capabilities; the Secretariat of Internal Affairs is expected to fight police corruption, eradicate the practice of torture and extortion and illegal abductions; the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs should study the convenience of ratifying international human rights instruments and promote co-operation and assistance; the Secretariat of Education should draw plans for the inclusion of human rights education K-12, promote the rights of the children, and promote a culture of respect to human rights; and the Secretariat of Public Health is expected to provide psychological support to victims and training to medical personnel that evaluate victims.[356]

It is worth noting here that the military was not assigned specific result-oriented tasks on human rights, instead actions were left to the discretion of the heads of the military secretariats. Such negligence explains the lack of structural reforms on human rights within the military.

Other measures have been taken by the government of México on human rights issues. More recently, the Congress approved a reform of the Code of Military Justice to eliminate the death penalty from military legislation.[357] This measure was considered a

---

[355] Paragraph 71 of the World Conference on Human Rights recommends that "each state the desirability of drawing up a national action plan identifying steps whereby that State would improve the promotion and protection of human rights." Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action. World Conference on Human Rights A/CONF. 157/23. (United Nations General Assembly, July 12, 1993). Internet. Available at: http://www.unhchr.ch/huridocda/huridoca.nsf/(Symbol)/A.CONF.157.23.En?OpenDocument Last accessed: April 15, 2005.

[356] Justicia Militar: Derechos Humanos, (México: Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional). Internet. Available at: http://www.sedena.gob.mx/index4.html Last accessed: April 15, 2005.

[357] Angel Cruz, "Elimina el Senado la Pena de Muerte del Codigo de Justicia Militar." Canal del Congreso, (H. Congreso de la Union). Internet. Available at: http://www.canaldelcongreso.gob.mx/article.php3?id_article=472 Last accessed: April 15, 2005.

big step forward by the human rights community, even though in the practice, the death penalty has not been implemented for over half a century in México and still it remains valid according to Article 22 of the Constitution. A few years latter in 1997, the government created the Inter Secretariat Commission for the Attention of International Commitments on Human Rights. The purpose of this commission was to evaluate México's degree of compliance with signed international agreements. In addition, the navy issued the Human Rights Manual for Navy Personnel in 2002. This is a Secretarial Order for the navy personnel to respect the human rights of the civilian population while pursuing institutional goals.[358]

All these measures, however, do not touch the core aspects of the root causes of past and present abuses, nor do they prevent future abuses. Furthermore, accountability remains low as the military continues enjoying the impunity provided by present military legislation, namely the "code of war" (*Fuero de Guerra*). Such legislation gives special treatment to military personnel. This means that military personnel who committed abuses against civilians can only be prosecuted by military courts. The code of war is specified by Article 13 of the Constitution. This article also limits the applicability of the code exclusively to military personnel, meaning that "Military jurisdiction shall be recognized for the trial of crimes against and violation of military discipline, but the military tribunals shall in no case have jurisdiction over persons who do not belong to the army."[359]

In addition, and in the absence of a neutral legal protection authority, human rights abuses within the armed forces are necessarily unjustly prosecuted. Military trials are characterized by little independence, lack of impartiality, and low commitment to the investigation and prosecution of cases of abuse.[360] The delay in establishing a military

---

[358] Acuerdo Secretarial 036. Manual de Derechos Humanos para el Personal de la Armada de México, (México: Secretaría de Marina, April 2002).

[359] Article 13, Individual Guarantees. Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, (México: 1917), [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

[360] Impunidad en México. "Reporte que presentan Organizaciones Mexicanas a la Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos," (Academia Mexicana de Derechos Humanos, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.cmdpdh.org/informes/informecidhfebrero2003-3-impunidad.pdf Last accessed: April 16, 2005.

ombudsman to investigate internal abuses, proposed twelve years ago,[361] shows a clear resistance of the armed forces to democratic changes.

Standard operational procedures on human rights for police and military forces are non-existent and therefore the links between judicial and law enforcement criteria and between theory and practice, are weak. Moreover, assigning public security issues to the military is troublesome. The potential for human rights violations is higher because of "increased military prerogatives in the face of weakened civilian controls, corruption, and low morale of the troop, military intelligence meddling in civilian affairs, and pouring police resources – normally scarce – into the military."[362]

An additional military issue closely related to human rights is HIV/AIDS. There were 249 cases of HIV/AIDS among military personnel from 1989 to 2004. Eighty-seven of these cases were reported between 2001 and 2003, which signals an alarming increase of people infected with HIV.[363] In 2003, the navy had detected 278 cases in a ten-year period.[364] Both secretariats provide medical treatment to patients according to the official norm (NOM-010-SSA2-1993) for HIV/AIDS.[365] This is an important achievement on human rights with a significant impact on Civil-Military Relations. The military has

---

[361] In October 1993, General Jose Francisco Gallardo published an article in the magazine Forum entitled "'The need for a military ombudsman in México." ("La necesidad de un ombudsman militar en México"). The article was a summary of the General's Master's degree dissertation for a civilian university. The work stressed the need for an ombudsman for the armed forces. On November 9, 1993, General Gallardo was arrested on charges relating to an alleged crime of embezzlement that kept him in military prison for eight years. The Gallardo case received the attention of human rights organizations around the world and it has served to test the reaction of the military to public meddling into internal affairs.

[362] Jorge Luis Sierra, Las Fuerzas Armadas Mexicanas en la Guerra Antinarcóticos, (Washington Office on Latin America, April 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.wola.org/publications/ddhr_México_brief_esp.pdf Last accessed: January 30, 2005, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

[363] Jorge A. Medellín, "Refuerza SDN acciones para prevenir SIDA," El Universal, (México: February 08, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/pls/impreso/noticia.html?id_nota=121556&tabla=nacion Last accessed: February 08, 2005.

[364] Jorge A. Medellín, "Reporta la Marina 287 casos de SIDA," El Universal, (México: November 01, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/pls/impreso/web_histo_primera.despliega?var=15370&var_sub_actual=-&var_fecha=01-NOV-03 Last accessed: April 16, 2005.

[365] The Norm establishes the technical characteristics of services and goods produced in México for the prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS. It was published in the Official Gazette on January 01, 1995, to provide technical ground to the National Council for the Prevention and Control of AIDS (Consejo Nacional de Prevencion y Control del SIDA – CONASIDA), which is the government's response to a public health issue.

followed the directives established by the national program (a civilian program) for the prevention and control of HIV/AIDS, in two directions: one aims at the containment and prevention of the disease among military personnel and the other is oriented at preventing the spread of the virus to the civilian population.

Education programs on the prevention of HIV/AIDS have been implemented by the military, such as the army issuance of individual control cards and the establishment of epidemiological alerts for the detection of new cases among military personnel and their dependents in February 2005.[366] The card, which must be carried by soldiers all the time, is part of the efforts to reduce the number of HIV/AIDS cases. However, and despite the clear efforts made, HIV cases have become a human rights issue for the military. Not only have HIV-infected personnel been dismissed from the armed forces, but also infected prospective individuals have been prevented from joining the forces.

In February 2007, six of the eleven justices of the Supreme Court of México ruled that it was unconstitutionality for the armed forces to dismiss HIV-infected personnel. The discussion centered on the Law for the Social Security Institute of the Armed Forces (*Instituto de Seguridad Social de las Fuerzas Armadas* - ISSFAM), which entitles the head of the armed forces branches to dismiss HIV-infected personnel under the argument of "uselessness." The measure allows these personnel to seek legal protection against such action.[367]

Such measures started a debate that lies at the heart of human rights and beyond the boundaries of military discipline for which further research is necessary. The HIV issue transcends all boundaries and makes no distinction of any kind.

It is essential that military personnel become educated on HIV/AIDS before being deployed as peacekeepers because they are advocates and actors for the awareness and prevention of HIV transmission. Ill-trained personnel can spread the disease in both the

---

[366] Jorge A. Medellín, "Refuerza SDN acciones para prevenir SIDA," El Universal, (México: February 08, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/pls/impreso/noticia.html?id_nota=121556&tabla=nacion Last accessed: February 08, 2005.

[367] Jesús Aranda, "Favorecen seis ministros el amparo a soldados con VIH," La Jornada, (México: February 23, 2007). Internet. Available at:
http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2007/02/23/index.php?section=politica&article=003n1pol Last accessed: April 21, 2007.

150

countries of deployment and their own. Also, the lack of specific policies to address the HIV/AIDS increases the potential for human rights abuses within the military; a problem that would have terrible consequences if it is "exported" to the area of deployment.

Women in Uniform

Traditionally, Mexican women have been involved in different types of soldiering. The role of women in military affairs in México varies along time and across the social spectrum. Cultural stereotypes exist that can be traced back to pre-Columbian times and for which different names have been coined. *"Coronelas," "soldaderas," "soldadas,"* and *"adelitas"* are some of the names that identify women in the military. These names correspond to the different roles played by women as warriors, camp followers, and care takers of the wounded, among others.[368] In modern times, the Mexican military has gradually increased the number of women in uniform. In 2004, the proportion of women serving in the military has reached a historical high of about 3 percent and 14 percent for the army and navy respectively.[369] Compared to international standards, these figures are in fact fairly high. For instance, the Canadian proportion of women in the forces in 2002 was 11.4 percent (18.7% in reserve forces and 1.9% in combat units);[370] American women represented 15 percent of U.S. armed forces;[371] and 12.8 percent of the Australian armed forces are women (17.5% in defence forces reserve).[372]

Even though women can enjoy careers in the Mexican armed forces, they are

---

[368] Elizabeth Salas, <u>Soldaderas in the Mexican Military: Myth and History</u>, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990).

[369] "Entrega de Medalla Conmemorativa al Sufragio Femenino a Mujeres del Ejercito Mexicano," <u>Gazeta Parlamentaria</u>, 63 (Senado de la República, September 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.senado.gob.mx/sgsp/gaceta/?sesion=2004/09/30/1&documento=12 Last accessed: April 17, 2005.

[370] North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Committee on Women in NATO Forces. Internet. Available at: http://www.nato.int/ims/2001/win/canada.htm Last accessed: April 17, 2005.

[371] Rudy Williams, <u>Women Rising to Higher Positions in the Military</u>, (American Forces Press, April 2005). Internet. Available at: http://usmilitary.about.com/od/womeninthemilitary/a/dodwomen.htm Last accessed: April 17, 2005.

[372] <u>Women in the armed forces: the role of women in Australian Defence Force</u>. (Parliament of Australia. Parliamentary Library. Foreign Affaires, Defence and Trade group). Internet. Available at: http://www.aph.gov.au/library/intguide/fad/women_armed.htm#Women_in_the_ADF Last accessed: April 17, 2005.

subject to numerous restrictions. Military regulations and legislation are "gender blind" and therefore assume that women have the same rights and duties as men.[373] However, and despite such "equality," in the practice women are not eligible for admission to service academies nor are they allowed to fill combat positions. Women serve as clerical and administrative support, nurses, communications, and physical education. From a total of 14 military schools, women are allowed admission in only four, which include infirmary, dentistry, and health specialists. In 2003, there were two female generals and four female colonels (dentists and physicians, respectively).[374] The highest rank a woman has achieved is that of major general, as it was the case of a senior military surgeon. In the Navy, the highest rank a woman has reached is Rear Admiral: the officer in question was a dentist.

The subject of women in uniform is little-studied in México. Women have been in the military for decades and, as mentioned before, their participation in military affairs can easily be traced back to pre-Colombian times.[375] Despite this long presence in the military, they have seen little progress on their conditions to achieve equal fulfillment. México is a member of the "Friends of 1325," a voluntary, *ad hoc* group of UN Member States who advocates for the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325.[376] This group is devoted to encouraging their Member States colleagues to become more aware of the provisions of Resolution 1325 and to promote its implementation. However, no connection was found between México's promotion of the implementation of Resolution

---

[373] The corresponding words in Spanish for "women," "female," "feminine," "men," "male," "masculine," and "gender" are not found – not even once – in both the Army and Air Force and the Navy Organic Laws. Ley Orgánica del Ejército y Fuerza Aérea Mexicanos, (México: 1986 – last reform 1998). Ley Orgánica de la Armada de México, (México: 2002).

[374] Almicar Salazar, "Fuerzas Armadas, un reto para la Mujer." El Universal, (México: March 09, 2003. Internet. Available at: http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/pls/impreso/noticia.html?id_nota=94336&tabla=nacion Last accessed: April 17, 2005.

[375] A seminal work on this subject is *Soldaderas* in the Mexican Military, by Elizabeth Salas. This is an interdisciplinary work that uses history, literature and popular culture to explain and account for myth and reality of Mexican women in the military. It stresses the need for further research on the topic of women in the Mexican military. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990).

[376] "Intervención de la Delegación de México en el debate del Consejo de Seguridad sobre el Tema de "las Mujeres, la Paz y la Seguridad," Misión Permanente de México ante las Naciones Unidas, (SRE, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.int/México/2003/interv_cs_102903.htm Last accessed: September 19, 2005.

1325 abroad and the reality of women in uniform at home. Such a discrepancy results perhaps because México does not participate in Peacekeeping Operations, which is the main focus of UNSC Resolution 1325. Nevertheless, there is no excuse for México to seek and promote gender awareness abroad through implementation of Resolution 1325, and not at home.

Nevertheless, since the First World Conference on Women convened in its capital city in 1975, México has joined global efforts to promote the advancement of women. At the national level, Congress established Women's Parliament México formed by the permanent commissions on gender and equality from both legislative chambers.[377] The main goal of the Parliament is to promote discussions on the women's issue between the federal and local Congresses and civil society actors with the aim of putting the gender issue on the national agenda. Other efforts include the National Program on Equal Opportunities and Non-discrimination of Women "PROEQUIDAD" and the National Institute for Women "INMUJER." Both efforts are directed at linking the three branches of government – executive, legislative and judicial – by creating the conditions to eradicate all forms of discrimination against women. None of them, however, have included women in uniform in their own agenda.

Cases of abuses of military women are rarely reported, even though they are not uncommon in all branches of the military. Since military legislation in México is gender blind, distinctions between men and women are only made on operational bases. This means that only essential practical distinctions, such as washrooms, dormitories and duty shifts are made. Women play a not-always-recognized, but used, role to "soften" the public image of the military. They participate in military parades carrying guns and simulating roles never assigned in practice, such as those related to special operations.[378]

The absence of impartial protection mechanisms has pushed women to seek the

---

[377] Patricia Espinosa, "Posición de México en la Evaluación de Beijín 10+," Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres, (México, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.inmujeres.gob.mx/comunicacion/discursos/03-05/18-03-05.pdf Last accessed: September 19, 2005.

[378] Jorge A. Medellín, "Adiestran a Mujeres para Participar en Comandos," El Universal, (México: January 24, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://estadis.eluniversal.com.mx/nacion/120852.html Last accessed: January 24, 2005.

protection of external bodies, such as the National Commission on Human Rights. In the face of democratic advances in México, it becomes clear that more has to be done to eliminate the barriers that have prevented women from achieving full professional development. If the most salient characteristic of the Mexican military is its support to the civilian population, women can add their attributes to the improvement of DN-III and *Plan Marina* type operations. In other words, women can be valued for the same reasons they have been kept away from line operations. This is an area that requires more research in order for the military to couple its modernization process with the democratization of the country. The gender problem in the Mexican military should not be one of quantity or proportion, but of equality.

Increasing the proportion of women in the Mexican military would be recognition of the right of half of the Mexican population to serve its country as members of the armed forces. It would also means compliance with international conventions reflected in Security Council Resolutions and political international congruence. More women in uniform enjoying improved career conditions would also reinforce the professional identity of the Mexican armed forces, which has been shaped as providers of relief to the civilian population in cases of natural disasters and ecological workers, not soldiers for war making.

In Peacekeeping Operations, México would need soldiers capable of performing roles different from traditional soldering with conciliatory, patience, and humanitarian qualities. For these, an appreciation of the qualities attributed to women when seeking mechanisms to gain legitimacy from the local population, is essential.

Mexican Peacekeeping in Transition

Despite an unequivocal non-belligerent position and a constitutional mandate to "struggle for international peace and security,"[379] México does not have a clear position on peacekeeping, and the debate on this issue has not reached the national level as public opinion remains marginal.

---

[379] Article 89, Faculties and Obligations of the President. X. Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, (México: 1917), [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

154

On the one hand, these operations are perceived in general as interventions and a pretext to meddle in others' affairs. On the other hand, lack of knowledge about peacekeeping – as shown by numerous official interventions before the UNSC and the UNGA – and domestic resistance to change a long supported policy, have prevented the government from taking a clear and firm stand on this issue. An analysis of these interventions shows an indiscriminate use of terms that explains the unclear and inconsistent position of México on this issue.

These interventions also show an idealist position of México on cases that clearly required realist responses, such as those marked by tragic outcomes in Rwanda and Sierra Leone. The table below shows some of the remarks taken from a sample of interventions by Mexican officials at UN fora on the issue of Peacekeeping Operations. This sample includes interventions from 1998 to 2003, which includes the participation of México as a Non-permanent Member of the UNSC.[380] The analysis, however, is not intended to be comprehensive, but to help identify the use of terms and to contrast positions adopted by México on the issue.

Table 3: México's Interventions at UN Fora

Date/Event	Remarks
04/01/1998 General debate of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations	- PKO can be a valuable mechanism only if principles are followed (consent is essential). - PKO can only be implemented under express request of the parties to a conflict; except of course "in extreme and exceptional cases of coercive measures imposed on the basis of Chapter VII." - Clear, precise and well-defined mandate must be always followed. - A Rapid reaction Force cannot substitute consent.[381] (1)
10/29/1998 Fourth Commission, consideration of issue 85: wide examination of all questions and aspects of Peacekeeping Operations	- PKO is a useful tool for the UN and their implementation should be an exception, not a rule. - PKO cannot substitute the dialogue between parties to a conflict. - Economic and social development instead of PKO. - PKO must have first the consent of the parties to a conflict.[382] (2)

---

[380] México occupied a seat as a Non-permanent Member of the UNSC from January 01, 2001 to December 31, 2003.

[381] Intervention of the Mexican Permanent Representative to the General Debate of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, (New York: Permanent Mission of México to the United Nations, April 1, 1998).

[382] Intervention of the Mexican Permanent Representative to the Fourth Commission, Consideration of Issue 85: Wide Examination of All Questions and Aspects of Peacekeeping Operations, (New York: Permanent Mission of México to the United Nations, March 25, 1999).

155

México's Interventions at UN Fora (continued).

Date/Event	Remarks
03/25/1999 General debate of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations	- PKO must not be implemented indiscriminately. - Clear mandates and pre-established duration. - PKO can only be successful if fundamental principles are followed (consent, neutrality, impartiality, and limited use of the minimal force). - Peacebuilding instead of PKO. - "New generation" PKO should be only military (UNSC); civilian components and functions should be left to the UNGA.[383] (3)
02/14/2000 General debate of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations	- PKO differ from humanitarian assistance and must not be mistaken. - PKO can include a humanitarian component.[384] (4)
02/12/2002 General debate of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations	- "Peace Operations" must follow: a) consent – and only in extreme and exceptional cases of coercive measures imposed by the UNSC; b) contribution of Regional organizations to conflict resolution under strict attachment to Chapter VIII; c) precise and clear legal framework, contingents composition and command, and outcomes of each operation; d) UNGA and other UN bodies must assume responsibilities in "peace operations," particularly on institution building, development and human rights; e) efficient communication between contributing countries.[385] (5)*
07/25/2002 UNSC Public meeting on Conflict, Gender and Peacekeeping	- It is fundamental to incorporate a gender perspective into PKO. - More participation of women in PKO. - A full implementation of international humanitarian law, international human rights law, and the emerging international criminal law.[386] (6)*
10/21/2002 Debate on item 78: wide examination of all questions and aspects of Peacekeeping Operations	- The time has come to talk of "peace operations" instead of "Peacekeeping Operations."[387] (7)*

---

[383] Intervention of the Mexican Permanent Representative to the General Debate of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, (New York: Permanent Mission of México to the United Nations, February 14, 2000).

[384] Intervention of the Mexican Permanent Representative to the General Debate of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, (New York: Permanent Mission of México to the United Nations, February 12, 2002).

[385] "Intervention of the Mexican Permanent representative to the General debate of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations," (New York: Permanent Mission of México to the United Nations, July 25, 2002).

[386] "Intervention of the Mexican Permanent representative to the UNSC public meeting on Conflict, Gender and Peacekeeping," (New York: Permanent Mission of México to the United Nations, October 21, 2002).

[387] "Intervention of the Mexican Permanent representative to the Debate on item 78: wide examination of all questions and aspects of Peacekeeping Operations," (New York: Permanent Mission of México to the United Nations, January 14, 2003).

México's Interventions at UN Fora (continued).

Date/Event	Remarks
01/14/2003 UNSC Public meeting on Children in Armed Conflicts	- Incorporation of a perspective on child protection into "peace operations."[388] (8)*
08/28/2003 Recapitulation session of the UNSC on the contribution of PKO to international peace and security	- A constant revision of the UNSC pending tasks regarding "peace operations." - Clear establishment of the scope of the mandates. - take advantage of the experiences of contributing countries to "peace missions." - Widen participation to "peacebuilding." - Include gender perspectives into "peace missions." - Protect personnel working on "peacekeeping" and "peacebuilding."[389] (9)*

* México was a Non-permanent Member of the UNSC at this time.

Source: Author (2008).

These interventions indiscriminately used the terms "peacekeeping" and "peace operations" and no clear distinctions were made between peacekeeping and peace enforcement operations, though recognized Chapter VII PKO **(1)**. However, by 2002, México considered – without further explanation or prior definition of the term – that "the time has come to talk about peace operations instead of Peacekeeping Operations" **(7)**. Also in 2002, the Mexican position shifted from a narrow and ambiguous interpretation of peacekeeping as a useful UN mechanism "only if principles are followed"**(1)**, to a broad range of actions, such as institution building, development, and human rights under the term "peace operations"**(5)**.

Seemingly inconsistent statements are also found, such as in **(4)** – "PKO differ from humanitarian assistance and must not be mistaken," but they "can include a humanitarian component." Looking at the dates of the interventions, it can be noticed that those made while México was a Non-permanent Member of the UNSC reflect a more committed discourse regarding peacekeeping. Before its participation at the UNSC, México recognized the usefulness of peacekeeping, but it privileged other mechanisms

[388] "Intervention of the Mexican Permanent representative to the UNSC public meeting on Children in Armed Conflicts," (New York: Permanent Mission of México to the United Nations, August 28, 2003).

[389] "Intervention of the Mexican Permanent representative to the Recapitulation session of the UNSC on the contribution of PKO to international peace and security," (New York: Permanent Mission of México to the United Nations, August 28, 2003).

157

regardless of whether they could be feasible substitutes of peacekeeping, such as peacebuilding and "the dialogue between parties"(2).

In general, the Mexican interventions on PKO lack coherence and consistency. No clear explanation seems to be available, although four issues can shed light on these facts: first, México was absent from the Security Council for a long time,particularly during the late 1980s and the 1990s, which were active decades for peacekeeping, and thus the Mexican foreign affairs Secretariat seldom followed the issue. Second, in 2000, Mexican foreign policy took a new approach under the leadership of a recognized scholar, Jorge Castañeda. He designed a new foreign policy strategy based on increased activism at international fora and a new relation with the United States. Third, in 2001, México was elected as a Non-permanent Member of the UNSC and Adolfo Aguilar, another recognized scholar, was appointed Permanent Representative to this body.

The political rivalry between Castañeda and Aguilar was notorious and their disagreements public, particularly regarding México's position vis-à-vis the United States.[390] The key point of contention remains unclear although policy analysts frequently pointed out personal squabbles. The wide gap between Tlatelolco (Castañeda's headquarters) and New York (Aguilar's headquarters), weakened the platform to effectively launch México's New Foreign Policy. Finally, Castañeda resigned in January and Aguilar in December 2003, thus leaving a six-year term project without a clear leader or coherent follow-up.

It is safe to say that this reflects an extremely cautious position. México supported the UN Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations since its inception in 1965, though its direct involvement has been rather modest since. México has participated in PKO in a circumspect and peripheral way. Mexican military observers participated in UNSCOB (United Nations Special Committee in the Balkans) in 1947 and in UNMOGIP (United Nations Military Observer Group in India-Pakistan) in 1949.[391] The Mexican

---

[390] Miguel A. Granados Chapa, "Entre Nueva York y Tlatelolco." Plaza Pública, (July 18, 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.suracapulco.com.mx/anterior/2002/julio/18/opinion.htm Last accessed: November 23, 2004.

[391] Compendio de Operaciones de mantenimiento de la Paz: DN-C-4200, (México: Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional, 2003), p.170.

Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) has provided technical assistance for elections to 17 countries through international co-operation agreements. Some of these, however, were delivered to countries where UNPKO missions were running, such as El Salvador and East Timor.[392]

In 1994, a small contingent of policemen in the Highway Police Force (*Policía Federal de Caminos*) participated as "observers" to the UN mission to El Salvador (ONUSAL), supervising compliance after a peace agreement to the conflict was signed in México City in 1992.[393] Other sources mention a larger contingent (112 policemen from different agencies) of Mexican police officers to ONUSAL.[394]

The Mexican participation in ONUSAL can be a good source of lessons for this country. There are cases of corruption, drugs and cheating that involved Mexican police officers. Cases were documented in El Salvador (ONUSAL) of one Mexican police officer who was caught selling drugs[395] and another – not documented and kept secret by the government – who was selling guns.[396] In México, no official record was found on these issues.[397] Also, many members of the Mexican contingent were "arbitrarily promoted to officers so that they could be sent to El Salvador, a situation that provoked

---

[392] Asuntos Internacionales. Misiones de Asistencia Técnica, (Instituto Federal Electoral). Internet. Available at: http://www.ife.org.mx/ Last accessed : May 31, 2005.

[393] United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. "Operations Completed." ONUSAL. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/onusal.htm. Other sources mention a larger contingent (112 policemen from different agencies) of Mexican police officers in ONUSAL. Raúl Benítez Manaut, "Seguridad y Relaciones Cívico-Militares en México y América Central. Escenarios a inicios del siglo XXI." In Athanasious Hristoulas (Coord.), Las Relaciones Cívico-Militares en el Nuevo Orden Internacional, (México: ITAM, 2002). And (100 policemen) México says could be more active in UN Peacekeeping, (Reuters, April 1, 2001). México Gobierno de la República. Sistema Internet de la Presidencia. Internet. Available at: http://www.presidencia.gob.mx/?P=42&Orden=Leer&Tipo=&Art=219 Last accessed: May 31, 2005.

[394] Raúl Benítez Manaut, "Seguridad y relaciones cívico-militares en México y América Central. Escenarios a inicios del siglo XXI." In Athanasious Hristoulas (Coord.), Las Relaciones Cívico-Militares en el Nuevo Orden Internacional, (México: ITAM, 2002).

[395] Vicente Araujo Cárdenas, "Males que nos vienen del Exterior," El Diario de Hoy, (San Salvador: July 26, 2002).

[396] Interview with an officer of México's Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, (México City: August, 2004).

[397] Information request by the Author to the Mexican Secretariat of Transport and Communication (SCT) on ONUSAL through the Institute of Access to Public Information (IFAI) on June, 2006. SCT responded that "the requested information is nonexistent." File #CI-001ORD-2006-196.

159

contempt and derision among the well-trained and well-educated officers from both Europe and South America."[398]

After 2000, México has increased its financial participation to the UN. In 2004, México ranked tenth as a contributor to the Peacekeeping Fund, thus indicating an increase in participation and trend change in international peace and security matters. Such a modest participation, however, has signalled an incremental acceptance of the Peacekeeping Operations concept – strictly under Chapter VI – by the Mexican diplomatic elite.[399]

The Mexican army has participated abroad in cases of natural disasters in Central and South America. More recently, the navy contributed two multipurpose vessels to deliver disaster relief aid to Indonesia after the 2004 tsunami.[400] Also, in September 2005, Mexican troops crossed into the United States to bring aid to victims of Hurricane "Katrina." Army and Navy personnel provided food and medical attention to affected populations in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama. Despite the "symbolism" embedded – this was the first time that Mexican military operated on US soil since 1846 – this participation found no opposition at all in México. The Senate unanimously approved the request of President Fox to send emergency aid to the United States.[401]

The "Katrina" mission drew important lessons of which México can take advantage of. The fact that navy and military personnel were not allowed to perform their attempted roles due to "incompatibility" of operation procedures, should be of particular importance for future deployments. For instance, food transport and the serving of hot meals were not allowed by some American authorities because "Mexicans did not follow

---

[398] Tommie Sue Montgomery, "Getting to Peace in El Salvador: The Roles of the United Nations Secretariat and ONUSAL," Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, 37, 4, (Winter, 1995), p.150-151.

[399] As of November 2006, México is not among the ten top contributors to the Peacekeeping Fund. United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. "Financing of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/financing.html Last accessed: November 29, 2006.

[400] Alejandro Medellín, "Envía Marina Brigadas Medicas a Indonesia." El Universal, (México: January 10, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://estadis.eluniversal.com.mx/nacion/120092.html Last accessed: January 11, 2005.

[401] Andrea Becerril, "A toro pasado aprueba el Senado la salida de tropas." La Jornada, (México: September 07, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2005/09/07/015n1pol.php Last accessed: October 03, 2005.

160

US standards" (health & safety code). In the end, the Mexican military returned back home with most of the supplies they were supposed to deliver,[402]

The following table shows the participation of the Mexican Army in humanitarian missions during two time periods.

Table 4: México's International Humanitarian Assistance (1996-1999)

Year	Country	Type	Military personnel and equipment	Aid
1996	Ecuador	Earthquake	8 air force, 1 C-130	10 tons
1996	Costa Rica and Nicaragua	Hurricane "Caesar"	64 army and air force 4 C-130	27 tons
1996	Cuba	Hurricane "Lily"	26 army and air force 4 C-130	70 tons
1998	Bolivia	Earthquake	168 army and air force 6 K9s 1 C-130	Building and reconstruction
1998	Dominican Republic	Hurricane "George"	14 army and air force 2 C-130 airplanes	8 tons
1998	Central America	Hurricane "Mitch"	665 army and air force 5 C-130 2 Boeing 727 20 helicopters 62 military vehicles 29 construction vehicles	Air bridge 1,096,750 tons
1999	Colombia	Earthquake	128 army and air force 3 C-130 18 K9s	Medical and logistics 2 tons
1999	Venezuela	Mudslides	230 army and air force 5 C-130 2 Boeing 727 1 Hospital 5 K9s	43 tons

Source: Author (2006) with data from SEDENA[403] and SEMAR[404]

---

[402] Interview with an officer of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who coordinated Mexican efforts for Katrina. (México City: November 18, 2006).

[403] "Aplicaciones del Plan DN-III," (México: Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional). Internet. Available at: http://www.sedena.gob.mx/index4.html Last accessed: November 25, 2006.

[404] Secretaría de Marina, "Boletines emitidos por la Secretaría de Marina 2001-2006" Internet. Available at: http://www.semar.gob.mx/boletin2005.htm Last accessed: November 25, 2006.

161

Table 5: México's International Humanitarian Assistance (2000-2005)

Year	Country	Type	Military personnel and equipment	Aid
2000	Guatemala	Wildfires	26 army and air force 2 helicopters	Wildfire fighting equipment
2001	El Salvador	Earthquake	225 army and air force 10 C-130 1 MI-26 helicopter	120 tons
2001	Belize	Hurricane "Iris"	16 army and air force 1 C-130	Logistics
2001	Honduras	Hurricane "Michelle"	14 air force 2 C-130	Air bridge 3 tons
2003	Iran	Earthquake	10 army	Damage assessment
2004	Haiti	Civil war/floods	23 air force 131 navy 1 multipurpose navy vessel 1 Boeing 727 2 C-130 1 Helicopter	Diplomatic personnel evacuation Air bridge 20 tons
2004	Dominican Republic	Floods	15 army and air force 2 C-130	16 tons
2004	Jamaica	Hurricane "Ivan"	8 army and air force 1 C-130	5 tons
2004	Haiti	Hurricane "Jeanne"	14 army and air force 2 C-130	25 tons
2005	Indonesia	Tsunami	613 army and air force 487 navy 4 C-130 3 Multipurpose navy vessels 76 military vehicles 2 MI-17 helicopters 1 BO105 Helicopter 50 water purification plants	3,014 tons
2005	Panama	Floods	8 army and air force 1 C-130	10 tons
2005	United States	Hurricane "Katrina"	184 army 385 navy 2 MI-17 Helicopters 61 military vehicles	184 tons
2005	El Salvador	Hurricane "Stan"	8 army and air force 1 C-130	15 tons

Source: Author (2006) with data from SEDENA[405] and SEMAR[406]

---

[405] "Aplicaciones del Plan DN-III," (México: Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional). Internet. Available at: http://www.sedena.gob.mx/index4.html Last accessed: November 25, 2006.

162

At a different level, Mexican diplomats have participated in UN fact-finding missions, but as a former chancellor said, this participation has been rather incidental and not as a government strategy.[407] In sum, México's isolationism has not been absolute and evidence shows that Mexicans are not disengaged from the international community, as was long believed.

In addition, numerous actions performed by the military show a clear attempt to participate in Peacekeeping Operations. The 2001 Navy's exercise with the French Navy in Mexican waters was planned to prepare navy crews for future deployment overseas.[408] Also in 2001, the Navy announced a restructuring to increase its "blue-water" capability in preparation for participating in Peacekeeping Operations.[409] At the end of the same year, the Mexican Army joined the American Armies Conference (*Conferencia de Ejércitos Americanos* - CEA). This was an unprecedented act. The rationale was that "the Army needs to assume and project a position of openness inwards and outwards."[410]

On February 2002, the Mexican frigate "*Abasolo*" participated in the joint submarine warfare exercise "UNITAS-43, Caribbean" a naval exercise organized by the U.S. Southern Command with the participation of South American navies. The Mexican participation was possible due to a direct authorization of the President without consulting with the Senate. A second participation was scheduled for "UNITAS-43, Pacific" in June 2002, and the Senate again was not consulted. These exercises were

[406] Secretaría de Marina, "Boletines emitidos por la Secretaría de Marina 2001-2006" Internet. Available at: http://www.semar.gob.mx/boletin2005.htm Last accessed: November 25, 2006.

[407] Bernardo Sepúlveda A., "Una Asignatura Pendiente: La Participación de México en las Operaciones de Paz de la ONU." In Miguel A. Covian González (Ed.) La Cumbre del Milenio: ¿Hacia Donde van las Naciones Unidas? (México: Instituto Matías Romero, 2000), p.28.

[408] Jesús Aranda, "Buques de guerra de México y Francia realizarán maniobras conjuntas frente a las costas de Veracruz: Es un paso previo para la participación de la Armada en aguas extranjeras." La Jornada, (México: June 27, 2001).

[409] Jesús Aranda, "La Armada comienza hoy a restablecer las Fuerzas Navales: Se prepara para eventuales "operaciones de paz." La Jornada, (México: July 06, 2001).

[410] Jesús Aranda, "Un riesgo, ingreso del Ejército a organismo regional." La Jornada, (México: December 03, 2001), [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

authorized by the President under the argument that they were not belligerent per se and thus the Senate's authorization was not necessary.

However, Article 76-III of México's Constitution stated that authorizing the Executive to allow national troops to travel abroad is an exclusive prerogative of the Senate.[411] Under this legal base and as a disciplinary measure, the Senate denied authorization to the President to make an unrelated trip to the United States and Canada in April 2002, and the participation of the Mexican frigate in "UNITAS-43, Pacific" was suspended. The naval exercise and the participation in military conferences were sought as a test of the political reaction to an eventual deployment of Mexican troops abroad. The reaction was immediate in the form of strong opposition by the Senate and criticism in the Lower House, and the political cost for the President was high.[412] The disagreement, however, was not over peacekeeping participation, but a show of strength by the opposition in the Senate.

The reaction to the polemic confrontation between the Executive and the Senate led to reforming the Constitution. On February 29, 2005, the Senate approved an initiative to reform section III of Constitutional Article 76. The new text states that "In order for army, navy and air force units to travel beyond the national territorial limits to conduct combat operations, they will require the approval of the Senate. In any other case, the Executive will report to the Senate the actions performed." This means that the president must request permission to the Senate only when Mexican contingents are sent to combat operations abroad. This excuses the president from requesting permission when troops are sent to perform humanitarian actions in cases of natural disasters, economic, food and health crises, and multinational military exercises for training purposes. Under such interpretation, the deployment of Mexican contingents to Chapter

---

[411] Article 76, Fraction III. "To authorize [the Executive] also to permit the departure of national troops beyond the borders of the country, the passage of foreign troops through the national territory, and the sojourn of squadrons of other powers for more than one month in Mexican waters," Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, (México: 1917).

[412] Andrea Becerril, "Niega el Senado permiso a Fox para viajar a EU y Canadá: Decisión histórica de las fracciones del PRI, PRD y PVEM." La Jornada, (México: April 9, 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2002/abr02/020410/003n1pol.php?origen=politica.html. Last accessed: November 20, 2004.

VI Peacekeeping Operations would not require Congressional authorization.

However, and interestingly, in its comments submitted for the debate in the Lower Chamber, the parliamentary group of the leftist Democratic Revolution Party (PRD) interprets the reform even more broadly, as a possibility for the Executive to send troops in the following cases:

- "Actions or missions to re-establish peace (also known as Interposition Actions or Peace Imposition –Peace Making), which imply the deployment of military contingents to impose, by force or deterrence, through the peace between two or more belligerent parties."

- "Actions or peacekeeping missions (which can include Peace Consolidation or 'Peace Building'), which imply sending military contingents to maintain the peace after armed conflicts occurred, internal or between nations, or to rebuild institutions of one state."

According to this parliamentary group, "These actions can only be legally conducted under the auspices of the United Nations in accordance with Chapters VI and VII of the Charter."[413]

Note that the comments of the PRD mistakes the terms utilized (most of them included in English in the original comment as a way of precision). The lack of a precise notion of the definitions of the terms used at the highest decision-making levels, suggests the need to extend the peacekeeping debate in México. Also, the original text of Article 76 does not ban Mexican participation in international operations. It only entitles the Senate to "authorize [the Executive] also to permit the departure of national troops beyond the borders of the country ..."

The UNITAS incident pushed the president to seek for a way to avoid political confrontation with the Senate when trying to meet international commitments. The proposal of reform of Article 76 did not originate at the Office of the Presidency, nor at

---

[413] Mauricio D. Velásquez, "Comentarios sobre la Minuta que Reforma y Adiciona la Fracción III del Articulo 76 de la constitución Política de Los Estados Unidos Mexicanos," Debate Parlamentario, 2, (May 2005). Internet. Available at: http://prd.cddhcu.gob.mx/debate_parlamentario/mayo/pol_ext.htm Last accessed: July 22, 2007.

165

the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, but at the Marine Secretariat.[414] However, as of December 04, 2006, the reform to Article 76 has not been yet enacted and there were ongoing discussions at the Lower Chamber.

The peacekeeping topic is not buried. In 2004, the Office for the United Nations of México's Ministry of Foreign Affairs conducted a series of seminars on peacekeeping at the Navy's top educational institution, CESNAV.[415] These seminars were presented in response to an express request of the Navy's General Staff. In addition, officers from the Army[416] and the Navy[417] have taken courses on peacekeeping in various training centers in Canada, Chile, Argentina, and Spain.

In the domestic context, consensus on an eventual Mexican participation in Peacekeeping Operations seems far from being reached. The Mexican armed forces face opposition to participating in multinational exercises in preparation for an eventual deployment, and the Senate has clashed with the Executive on this particular issue. Although there is a general perception that peacekeeping can be a useful means to support a more active international policy, there is no consensus on the merits of participating in such operations. Some institutions in México have started to study the feasibility of an eventual participation, though they have been cautious about openly taking a stand on this issue.

There is also a political resistance to letting the Executive take absolute control over the conduct of the foreign policy, particularly with respect to sending troops abroad. However, the peacekeeping debate has not yet reached all sectors of Mexican society and

---

[414] Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores. Press Conference of Mr. Luis Ernesto Derbez, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, after the signing of co-operation agreement between SRE and the Institute Mora, (México City: July 20, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.sre.gob.mx/comunicados/conferencias/2005/confe_25.htm Last accessed: December 04, 2006.

[415] On June 2004, the author was invited by the Mexican Navy to participate in a week-long seminar titled "México y las Operaciones de Mantenimiento de Paz." The seminar was conducted and coordinated by the Office of the United Nations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of México.

[416] For instance, one Army General from México attended the Peacekeeping Advanced Course C99-0201 at The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre of Canada in 2001.

[417] Interview with Navy Captain, Mexican Navy General Staff. México City, February 2004. And personal experience of the author at the Lester Pearson Peacekeeping Centre of Canada.

166

thus it is something that has to be encouraged. Finally, peacekeeping is a topic about which little is known in México, including the government sector in charge of the conduct of the policy, the armed forces and the federal police.

The Federal Preventive Police (PFP)

The Federal Preventive Police (*Policia Federal Preventiva* – PFP) was formed in 1998 as a decentralized law enforcement body of the Secretariat of Internal Affairs. It absorbed existing police bodies, such as the Federal Highway police, the Fiscal Police and the Migration Police, supplemented with military and intelligence personnel. It included the recruitment and training of new agents. Almost 6,000 of the new agents came from the military (3rd Brigade of Military Police and Marines). It also included the counterintelligence unit of the Center for Investigation and Intelligence (CISEN). The PFP manpower is over 10,000 personnel[418] and now belongs to the Secretariat of Public Safety.

The mission of the PFP is quite broad. It has to prevent crimes and violations to federal legislation, to perform law enforcement actions, to watch borders, rivers, ports of entry, federal highways, railroads, airports, and transport routs in general. National parks, hydraulic infrastructure, dams, and lakes are also under the jurisdiction of the PFP in terms of law enforcement. This agency also received the instruction to conduct criminal investigations in support, and by request of the federal, state and municipal authorities. And as stated by the Federal Preventive Police Law, one of its main functions is to "preserve the integrity and the rights of the citizens, as well as their liberties and the public peace and order in the terms established by law."[419] Also, the PFP performs

---

[418] Benjamin Reames, "Police Forces in México: a Profile," Project o Reforming the Administration of Justice in México, (La Jolla: Center for US-México Studies, May, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://repositories.cdlib.org/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1025&context=usmex Last accessed: November 26, 2006.

[419] Article 1. General Considerations, Ley de la Policía Federal Preventiva, (México: 1998). Internet. Available at: http://www.ssp.gob.mx/buffer/BEA/ssp/contenido/d715/v9/Ley_PFP.pdf Last accessed: November 26, 2006.

167

preventive functions against terrorism, drug trafficking and organized crime.[420] Cyber security investigations have been recently performed by the PFP as well.

At the beginning, the PFP was a matter of political controversy. Opposition parties were critical about the potential of using this agency for political purposes. In 2000, the PFP was ordered to recover the facilities of the National Autonomous University of México, which had been occupied by protesting students for several months. As this paragraph is written, the PFP is in the capital city of Oaxaca trying to contend with a generalized protest that has brought the state into a social turmoil.[421]

In many ways, the PFP is an innovative organization aimed at meeting at least three types of needs: an enhanced police force – better organized, trained and equipped than regular police forces in México; a police agency capable to combine preventive and investigative functions; a police force flexible enough to work with federal, state and municipal police agencies.[422] According to prominent scholars, the PFP as a whole also represents a threat to the democratization process: it is a force closely linked to the military, and particularly to the military elite; it can be used to suppress legal dissidence or to go against legitimate political organizations. Against these threats, the close supervision of Congress and more effective accountability can preserve the strength of the PFP.[423]

The PFP is operating now at its capacity limits. Targeted operations in different areas of the Mexican territory to cope with increased drug-related violence, particularly in the northern border communities, and social unrest in the southern states, have this

---

[420] Marcos P. Moloeznic, "Presente y Futuro del Papel de las Fuerzas Armadas Mexicanas: aproximación al debate sobre el rol del instrumento militar en la democracia," Security and Defence Studies Review, 1, (Universidad de Guadalajara, Spring 2001). Internet. Available at: http://www.ndu.edu/chds/journal/PDF/moloeznik.pdf last accessed: November 26, 2006.

[421] Jorge Octavio Ochoa and Alejandro Torres, "PFP Toma Control of Oaxaca," El Universal, (México City: October 30, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/notas/384481.html Last accessed: November 26, 2006.

[422] Jorge Chabat and John Bailey, "Seguridad pública y gobernabilidad democrática: desafíos para México y Estados Unidos." Reporte al Grupo de Tarea, (Universidad de Georgetown, February, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.georgetown.edu/sfs/programs/clas/México/grants/REPORTE.htm Last accessed: November 26, 2006

[423] Chabat and Bailey, "Seguridad pública y gobernabilidad democrática."

168

organization more than busy. To complicate more this scenario, in December 2006, the new administration of President Felipe Calderón announced the re-structuring of the Secretariat of Public Security. With this, the PFP will transform into the Federal Police Body (*Cuerpo Federal de Policía* – CFP), which will absorb "all federal law enforcement capabilities," including the powerful Federal Investigation Agency (*Agencia Federal de Investigaciones* – AFI) from the Office of the Attorney General, customs, immigration, and corrections. At the beginning of the new administration in México, the PFP is operationally overwhelmed at its best, and structurally "unfinished."[424]

So far there have been no serious discussions about the possibility of PFP deployments to PKO. Its capabilities, however, are fit for such a task. The current insecurity situation in México, which has this organization working at its limits, makes a PFP near-future deployment unlikely.

Conclusion

In summary, in terms of resources, México is a developing middle power without the ambitions or broad vision necessary to become a middle power with an active global or regional policy compared to other states with similar economies. Nonetheless, it is clear that México is in the process of redefining its international activism and foreign policy. During past years, México's closed economy complemented a similarly closed political system. Recognized vulnerability influenced a new Mexican strategy to participate actively in the formation of a new paradigm of international relations and in constructing a strategic relationship with the United States.

In 2000, México entered into a process of accelerated democratization and started to change authoritative and corporatist practices for new forms of political expression, such as equilibrium of powers, transparency of the public sector, and a free and fair electoral process.

With frequency, the Mexican case is identified as a "transition" to democracy. However, the Mexican case is more about power shifting that is transforming the political

---

[424] Interview with staff officer of the Preventive Federal Police. México City, November 28, 2006.

169

system into different ways of making politics without modifying the core structures of the old regime. Mexican foreign policy has followed a transformation parallel to the democratization path. Increasingly, exogenous factors affect in larger proportions the foreign policy outcomes and behaviours. México's long supported principles of non-intervention and self-determination find explanation in geopolitics. México's sovereignty is limited not only as a result of its closeness to the United States, but also as a result of the economic, social and cultural implications of such closeness and its integrating effects. Undoubtedly the United States occupies a special place in México's foreign policy formulation. The geographic location of México relative to the United States imposes limitations to its foreign policy and validates its fundamental principles.

Mexican foreign policy has also taken an anti-militaristic approach. México's national security is not military in nature; Mexican government has privileged peaceful solutions to internal conflicts. This parallelism results from a realistic consideration of México's relative power since conventional wars against its neighbours become unviable: one is too big and powerful; the others are too small and weak. México, as a part of North America, lies within the geographic defence perimeter of the United States. This gives México substantial leverage on bilateral negotiations and justifies the domestic focus of the Mexican military.

When México needs to adopt a dissident position, its tendency is to wrap it up with the formality of international law opting for the "least damage" instead of the "maximum benefit." The government of México has understood that in the new millennium, diplomacy cannot only be a central instrument for the preservation of national sovereignty and security, but it must also become a lever to promote and support México's socioeconomic development. For this reason in December 2000 it launched a "new approach" to México's foreign policy. The new approach had two main objectives: the construction of a relationship of strategic scope with the United States and an active participation in the formation of the new international order.

However, there is not much "new" in today's Mexican foreign policy. It is based on the same principles and pursues similar objectives as before. It seems to be more constrained than in the past. An overwhelming "Americanization" of México's

170

international relations has reduced its margin to manoeuvre in the diplomatic sphere and thus multilateralism seems a better option. It maintains a double discourse to keep both domestic and international support and consistency. At home, new democratic practices have opened the door to new actors in the policy formulation process; internationally, México has focused on strengthening UN-centered multilateralism through the promotion of human rights and democracy.

Within this constrained framework, México attempts to respond to the changing conditions and opportunities posed by the international environment. It is keen to participate in shaping an emerging international order. As it experiences the negative effects of globalization in the form of increased drug trafficking, terrorism, organized crime, etc., México seeks to participate in the construction of a new international order. At home, Mexicans are aware of the emerging threats to international peace and security and they perceive that these are affecting their homeland as well. A majority of Mexicans support an active role in world affairs but it has to be circumscribed to solving those problems that directly affects México's national interests.

At least two perceived macro-changes have pushed México to shift from its traditional international isolationism. One stems from global changes in the international context and the other is related to internal regime change that has brought numerous reforms to the Mexican society. The demise of the one-party system and power switching at the top levels of government have opened the door to new political actors and the opportunity to new democratic practices, such as accountability and real political opposition.

Emergency and humanitarian relief operations carried on by the Mexican military have made it one of the most trusted institutions in México. The Mexican armed forces stand out from their Latin American counterparts for their popular origins and composition, and their constitutional functions in support of internal security matters. They have been loyal to the civilian power, although Civil-Military Relations just started to strengthen recently. Mexican democratic advances have affected not only existing Civil-Military Relations and structures, but have also brought increased accountability in the form of greater organizational and operational transparency.

171

Perceived domestic and international threats to México's national security, such as organized crime and drug trafficking and increased levels of extreme poverty and insecurity, have overwhelmed the military with internal security roles. These phenomena have pushed México towards a militarization process that contradicts existing democratic theory. Extended roles, once solely in the civilian domain, have made the military vulnerable to corruption. The Mexican armed forces are immersed in a modernization process that focuses on increasing mobility through equipment acquisition. Substantive advances on human rights, gender and HIV/AIDS issues are notable, though these areas are not yet catching up with the achievements made by the rest of the Mexican society.

Peacekeeping is an option for México to participate in the shaping of a new international order. This was recognized as an option by the administration of President Vicente Fox although some constitutional reform failed but some actions were taken. The peacekeeping issue has gained modest public support and from influential elites, that can be translated into action. Public opinion shows that support for troop contributions to UN Peacekeeping Operations is possible as long as it is perceived as having a direct link to México's interests. The military maintains capabilities that are suitable for Peacekeeping Operations, though evidence shows that it has first to improve domestic credibility on the basis of increased effectiveness in dealing with the constitutional roles assigned, before trying to solve someone else's problems abroad.

CHAPTER IV: SECOND STEP ANALYSIS. NICHES OF OPPORTUNITY. MULTIDIMENSIONAL, MULTIFUNCTIONAL, UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

> *"But to the critics I would pose this question: if humanitarian intervention is, indeed, an unacceptable assault on sovereignty, how should we respond to a Rwanda, to a Srebrenica – to gross and systematic violations of human rights that offend every precept of our common humanity?"*

> UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan[425]

Introduction

Being left without its own enforcement means, the UN for decades has struggled internally to develop and strengthen *ad hoc* mechanisms to maintain international peace and security. Peacekeeping is one of these mechanisms and even though it is a limited recourse for conflict prevention, it is the alternative that better operationalizes the benefits of UN-centered multilateralism, and is the most frequently used when violent conflict arises. As a concept, peacekeeping has also evolved to combine a more robust military presence with increased peacemaking and peacebuilding capabilities. Recently, UN peacekeeping has been an important factor in advancing global awareness of human rights, gender and democracy issues. This is because it is widely accepted that human rights abuses are often among the root causes of violence, and thus long-lasting peace can only be achieved by eradicating the causes of violent conflicts.[426]

In theory, participation in Peacekeeping Operations is "optional." Such participation is considered a prescriptive and non-binding international norm. This means that certain course of action is appreciated, but abstention will not be punished. In some cases, however, this is theory: the case of Japan (explained in detail in Chapter V) shows that non-mandatory monetary contributions are insufficient in some cases, military action

---

[425] We the peoples. The Role of the United Nations in the 21 Century. IV Freedom from Fear. Kofi Annan at the UN Summit, (United Nations, 2000), p.48. Internet, Available at: http://www.un.org/millennium/sg/report/full.htm Last accessed: November 23, 2006.

[426] William G. O'Neil, "A Humanitarian Practitioner's Guide to International Human Rights Law," Occasional Paper #34 ,Occasional Papers Series of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute of International Studies, (Providence, RI: Brown University, 1999), p.58.

is expected. This informal "binding" dimension of international co-operation is seemingly related to the "obligations" or responsibilities with the international community that need to be paid for enjoyed "privileges" granted by economic size, and it is somewhat a manifestation of the necessity to cooperate.

An important issue is that UN Peacekeeping Operations are not equally suited to all situations. Understanding this for policy-makers can mean the difference between success and failure. Some of the criteria for deciding if and when to deploy a UN peacekeeping operation include: there should be a peace to keep and viable political processes, a clear, achievable and adequately resourced mandate, the full support of a unified UNSC, and if possible, the support of key regional actors.

The main purpose of this chapter is therefore to identify the multidimensional, multidisciplinary aspects of Modern Peacekeeping Operations that offer a host of possibilities for prospective participants, such as military, naval, civilian police, humanitarian actions, and human rights actions among others. It starts with a brief explanation of the influential "Brahimi Report" and its centrality. The concept and evolution of peacekeeping is addressed afterwards to help understand the challenges posed by the changing nature of armed conflicts during and after the Cold War. It further outlines the legal framework of these operations, which sheds light on the hard-to-solve dilemma of the use of force that has made UN peacekeeping a highly difficult task, and the least controversial operational means for a viable system of collective security.

Also included in this chapter is the controversial implementation of transitional administrations through Peacekeeping Operations and the challenges these actions represent (operationally, conceptually, and legally) to the UN and the international community as a whole. Challenges that have been recognized by influential studies as key issues for success – not only in operational terms, but also as contributions to long-lasting peace – include the role of women in Peacekeeping Operations and the abuses committed by peacekeepers (the dark side).

The increasing role of regional organizations in Peacekeeping Operations, command and control, civil-military co-operation, the role of the media, and costs and funding are also included. The chapter concludes addressing the new challenges for the

prevalence of UN Peacekeeping Operations and a brief summary. With this, it restates the challenges and opportunities that peacekeeping offer to states like México, which seek for the least compromising, return-maximizer, option to respond to the necessity to cooperate to international security.

The Brahimi Report

The Brahimi Report was released by the time the heads of state, gathering at the Millennium Summit, were discussing the kind of United Nations the world needed for the Twenty-first Century. The report has served as a basis for intense and deep discussions at the very highest levels of decision-making. In many ways, the Brahimi Report is a positive development for the UN, since it addresses many of the shortcomings in UN military, strategic and planning functions that were supposedly performed by the original and failed Military Staff Committee (MSC).

Disastrous missions in Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda eroded the reputation of the UN to handle Peacekeeping Operations. As a result, Secretary-General Kofi Annan, on March 7, 2000, announced the creation of a panel of experts with the mandate "to assess the shortcomings of the existing system and to make frank, specific and realistic recommendations for change."[427] Such task was assigned to the Undersecretary-General for Special Matters (Preventive Action and Peacebuilding), Ambassador Lakhdar Brahimi from Algeria, who, during four months, supervised the work for the issuance of the Report of the Panel on United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, A/55/305 - S/2000/809, widely known as the "Brahimi Report."

The Report has 73 pages and makes 57 recommendations. Each of the recommendations was designed "to remedy a serious problem in strategic direction, decision-making, rapid deployment, operational planning and support, and the use of modern information technology."[428] The most salient aspects of the Brahimi Report are its

---

[427] Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations. A/55/305. S/2000/809, "The need for change," (United Nations, 2000), p.viii. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/ Last accessed: April 13, 2005.

[428] Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, p.3.

proposal to reform peacekeeping as a handy instrument, establishing new and adapting existing structures for the conduct of peace operations and to develop mechanisms of rapid response. The Brahimi Report adopts a broad security concept. This approach reflects the changes in the pattern of conflict since the cold war, and the accompanying development of more frequent and more extensive peace operations under UN auspices. A summary of the recommendations issued by the Brahimi Report is included in Appendix D.

The Brahimi Report is a public recognition of past failures in peacekeeping and is an encouraging renewed political commitment. Before the Brahimi Report, peacekeeping within the UN was considered a temporary and *ad hoc* affair. The Report states that it should be considered a core activity and thus it should be properly institutionalized. The Report, however, has faced substantive criticism, particularly from countries from the South, which fear that "increased emphasis on improving peace operations would consume resources better spent on fighting poverty."[429] Others objected, "The call for robust peacekeeping mandates is conceptually wrong and might threaten the sovereignty of smaller countries, especially in the South."[430] They also criticized Northern countries, in particular the five Permanent Members, for "having disengaged from risky Peacekeeping Operations outside their spheres of vital interests, notably Sub-Saharan Africa, [making] the present Security Council's lack of representativeness even more intolerable."[431]

Regarding the issue of women in peacekeeping, the Brahimi Report was a complete disappointment; it is totally gender-blind. The only reference to gender is linked to the UN personnel on the field (Challenges to Implementation).[432] The report still leaves gaps that must be addressed. Regarding the negative, usually not publicized, collateral

---

[429] Winrich Kühne and Jochen Prantl, The Brahimi Report: Overcoming the North-South Divide, (German Institute for International and Security Affairs, June 2001).

[430] Kühne, The Brahimi Report.

[431] Kühne, The Brahimi Report.

[432] Louise Olsson and Torunn L. Tryggestad (Eds.), Women and International Peacekeeping, (London: Frank Cass, 2001), p.3.

damage produced by peacekeepers, such as a rapid rise in child prostitution, rape, and sexual abuse – as it has been documented in Cambodia, Somalia, Mozambique, the former Yugoslavia, and other missions – the Brahimi Report does not make the slightest reference.[433] These voids are filled by influential UNSC Resolution 1325, UNSG's Bulletin on Special Measures for Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse, among others.

More criticism points out to the use of vague language and poor creativity since most of the problems addressed by the Brahimi Report have been known for decades. The use of phrases like "clear, credible and achievable mandates" and calling for "rapid reaction capability" may ignore the real difficulty to achieve consensus and to have the necessary resources at the disposal of the UN for emergencies; no single state member would compromise resources in advance without keeping a tight control over them and officials clearly prefer clearness over vagueness.[434]

Nevertheless, the Brahimi Report is a milestone in the peacekeeping timetable. Students seeking to understand crucial aspects of the field and UN failures during the 1990s may find useful answers to questions in this report. The Brahimi Report is not the panacea and follow-up research reveals that the gap between manifested desires and tangible commitments results from the difference between ambitions expressed at the UNSC and resources made available to peacekeepers on the ground. "Only six people, for instance, are in charge of the operation in Kosovo (UNMIK). The CIVPOL Unit consists of 9 people who are responsible for 9,000 civilian police in the field. It therefore seems clear that the UN needs more posts in the Secretariat in general and in the DPKO in particular to enable it to follow up today's complex and extensive peace operations involving many different fields of expertise (multifunctional operations)."[435]

---

[433] Felicity Hill, Gender and Frontline Perspectives on Peacekeeping and the Brahimi Report, (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom). Internet. Available at: http://www.wilpf.int.ch/publications/brahimireport.htm Last accessed: April 13, 2005.

[434] Duane Bratt and Erin Gionet, Evaluating the Brahimi Report, (The Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 2001).

[435] Utenriksdepartementet, "Objectives of the Follow-up of the Brahimi Report," (Norway Ministry of Foreign Affairs). Internet. Available at: http://odin.dep.no/ud/engelsk/publ/veiledninger/032001-120009/hov002-bn.html Last accessed: April 12, 2005.

Concept and Evolution

Since their first implementation in 1956, both the concept and practice of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations have undergone substantial changes. With a preconditioned agreed peace, peacekeeping was first imagined as an impartial, non-forcible intervention with the consent of the conflict parties. After the Cold War, peacekeeping has been overwhelmingly surpassed by reality. Despite all the attention given, it has been ineffective in stopping and preventing gross massacres in internal conflicts. As a result, the UN has been caught in the dilemma of humanitarian interventions with legal, moral, operational, and political implications.

Modified or widened versions of traditional Peacekeeping Operations for which there is no clear legal framework, have been implemented. The UN was accused of not intervening enough, as in Rwanda, or too much, as in Somalia. However, lack of political commitment and consensus by the international community is frequently pointed out as the major shortcoming of UN Peacekeeping Operations. A renewed commitment by the international community after a careful revision of peacekeeping in the aftermath of the Millennium Summit was manifested at both the national and international levels. Such a commitment still needs to be translated into action.

Since its inception, the UN was assigned a significant role in security matters. Contrasting with its predecessor the League of Nations, the UN was granted the requisite powers under the UN Charter and entrusted with the task of forming a standing military force (a task never achieved due to the rivalry between the Superpowers). The main purposes originally established for the UN were: "To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace..."[436]

Chapter VI of the UN Charter compels parties to a conflict, the continuation of

---

[436]Charter of the United Nations, Article I.1, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945).

178

which is likely to endanger international peace and security, to seek a solution by "negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice."[437] Chapter VII of the Charter grants powers to the Security Council to authorize the use of force to maintain or restore international peace and security.[438] For this purpose, Articles 26[439] and 47[440] of the UN Charter, establish the Military Staff Committee (MSC) "to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to its military requirements, including the employment, command and strategic direction of any armed forces placed at its disposal, as well as the regulation of armaments and possible disarmament." The functions envisaged for the MSC make perfectly sense in the context of Article 43 which states:

1. "*All Members of the United Nations*, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake *to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities*, including rights of passage, necessary *for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security*.
2. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities

---

[437] Charter of the United Nations, Chapter VI. Pacific Settlement of Disputes, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945).

[438] Charter of the United Nations, Chapter VII. Action With Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945).

[439] Article 26 of the UN Charter states: "In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Article 47, plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments." Charter of the United Nations, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945).

[440] Article 47 states: "1. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament. 2. The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the Permanent Members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any Member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that Member in its work. 3. The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently. 4. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional sub-committees." Charter of the United Nations, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945).

179

and assistance to be provided.

3. The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and *shall be subject to ratification by the signatory States in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.*"[441]

The political mistrust between the Superpowers rendered the MSC obsolete, Article 43 a dead letter and the military arrangements foreseen in the Charter never materialized. However, according to Article 43 of the UN Charter, "all Members of the United Nations" should have harmonized their "respective constitutional processes" in order to "make available" forces "for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security." Article 43 is usually considered as enforcement, but it could be interpreted or applied to peacekeeping operations.

In other words, participating in UN Peacekeeping Operations should not be an illegal or unconstitutional action for any Member State. This, conversely, is not always the case. The cases of Japan and México are illustrative of the problems to meet international commitments: the former has overcome the obstacles to participate and it is now an active player in international security; the latter still needs to find its way, but as this study proposes, UN peacekeeping for México is viable, is possible and is constitutional.

The responsibilities of the MSC were absorbed by other bodies of the UN which "[was] forced to undertake peacekeeping on an *ad hoc* basis with insufficient structural or budgetary resources."[442] The present MSC is "an anachronism because its core membership is restricted to the five Permanent Security Council Members, with no assured role for the ten temporary members, never mind any one else."[443] The Brahimi Report, issued in 2000, attempts to address some of the holes left by the MSC. Other

---

[441] Charter of the United Nations, Chapter VII. Action With Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression, Article 43, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945), [NOTE: ITALICS BY AUTHOR].

[442] Felicity Hill, "The Military Staff Committee: A Possible Future Role in UN Peace Operations?" Global Forum, (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 2001). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/peacekpg/reform/2001/msc.htm Last accessed: August 31, 2005.

[443] Christopher Bellamy, Knights in White Armour: New Art of War and Peace, (London: Hutchinson, 1996), p.209.

military functions are performed by the Military Division of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO). Put differently, political mistrust between the Superpowers left the organization without the enforcement means to perform its main function. And the UN Charter does not mention peacekeeping; these operations were "invented" years after the drafting.

The first problem a student encounters when trying to understand peacekeeping is that the term has too many meanings. It is ironic that being one of the most relevant aspects of the UN, Peacekeeping Operations cannot even be defined with precision. This situation may be the result not only of the changing nature of modern conflicts, but also of the close relationship that these kinds of operations have with other concepts, such as collective security, humanitarian intervention, and preventive diplomacy. In addition, the overlapping boundaries of other concepts (e.g. peacebuilding, peace enforcement, peace maintenance, peacemaking, operations other than war, and widen peacekeeping, among others) increase the difficulty to make generalizations in detriment of constructing a peacekeeping theory.

UN military operations have been implemented in varied contexts that range from a safe, unarmed presence, to highly hostile and belligerent environments. Such contextual diversity has pushed the UN to adapt its methods to particular scenarios. In this sense, various types of UN military operations exist, of which peacekeeping is one. Also, peacekeeping has variants that can be described as "Classic" or "Traditional" operations,[444] also called "First Generation,"[445] and "Modern" or "Second Generation Multinational Operations."[446]

All these terms result from a number of unsuccessful attempts to build a theory of peacekeeping. The field, however, remains one of a single case study, in which description is the primary goal. Both, an approach claiming the uniqueness of each

---

[444] John Hillen, Blue Helmets: The Strategy of UN Military Operations, (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1998), p.22.

[445] Kenneth C. Eyre, "Peacekeeping at the Millennium." Pro Peace Paratus: An Anthology of Readings in Modern Peacekeeping, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.4.

[446] Indar Rikhye, The Politics and Practice of United Nations Peacekeeping: Past, Present and Future, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2000), p.10.

peacekeeping mission and one treating all operations as the same, are equally misguided. The diversity of functions performed by Modern Peacekeeping Operations makes it difficult to assess whether generalizations are applicable or not.

There is a need for a proper theoretical framework to sort all the terms around peacekeeping.[447] This makes easy to fall into a definitional morass. Nonetheless, observing the different schemes implemented under "peacekeeping" can shed light on the practical meaning of the term. These can include interventions termed as Traditional Peacekeeping Operations, Observer Missions and Modern Peacekeeping Operations. As such, it excludes enforcement actions authorized by the UN Security Council, but not conducted by the United Nations, as well as non-UN Peacekeeping Operations.

Also, a chronological differentiation between Peacekeeping Operations implemented during and after the Cold War help understand the evolution of these operations in response to political situations and contextual changes. Nonetheless, the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO) offers a general definition of these operations: "peace-keeping operation; PKO [noncombat military operations undertaken by outside forces with the consent of all major belligerent parties and designed to monitor and facilitate the implementation of an existing truce agreement in support of diplomatic efforts to reach a political settlement; 'PKOs' covers (sic): peace-keeping forces, observer missions and mixed operations]."[448]

According to this definition and to the general perception of the meaning of the term, peacekeeping differs in nature from conventional soldiering. These differences are lucidly explained by Canadian General Clayton Beattie:

> [Peacekeeping] "involves the psychological change from an adversary to a pacific role; from confrontation to third party interposition. In peacekeeping there is no enemy: the objective is to avoid hostilities, to improve communications between the parties, and to advance the process of reconciliation.
> Peacekeeping Operations are part of a broader process of recovery from

---

[447] Paul F. Diehl, Daniel Druckman and James Wall, "International Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution: A Taxonomic Analysis with Implications," The Journal of Conflict Resolution, 42, 1 (Sage Publications, 1998), p.34.

[448] Glossary. United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/glossary/ Last accessed: March 24, 2006.

conflict. These operations are deployed as part of a long-term strategy to help ensure an effective transition to longer term actors. Exit strategies are usually facilitated by entrance strategies. This means that for effective disengagement of a peacekeeping operation and transfer of duties to other partners, various activities must be undertaken. These include integrated mission planning from the outset of the mission, transition planning and management throughout the mission, and realistic up-to-date plans with benchmarks setup for effective transition.

This necessitates a full understanding of the causes of the conflict – political, military, and economic – as well as the social and cultural environment. It demands a fair-minded and impartial approach while operating within an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion among the protagonists, often under difficult and provocative conditions."[449]

The following table shows the different behaviours and skills displayed by military forces in both military and Peacekeeping Operations:

Table 6: Military Operations versus Peacekeeping
Differences in Behaviour Displayed and Skills Required

Traditional Military Behaviour	Peacekeeping
No contact with civilians	Intense interaction with civilians (control of hostile crowds, distribution of humanitarian relief to civilian population, disarmament of local militias, etc.); co-operation with civilian mission components
Basic military skills employed (non-contact skills)	Negotiation skills employed (contact skills)
Destruction of opposing armed elements	Negotiation with opposing armed elements
Adversary role	Pacific role
Identified enemy	No identified enemy; impartial role
End goal: military victory	End goal: resolving underlying conflict causes
Forcible	Consent based

Source: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management (2004)[450]

---

[449] Clayton Beattie, "Canadian Army," (1983). Cited in Wibke Hansen, Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse, "Hawks and Doves: Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution," (Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2004), p.8. Internet. Available at: http://www.berghof-handbook.net Last accessed: September 6, 2005.

[450] Wibke Hansen, Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse, "Hawks and Doves: Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution," (Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.berghof-handbook.net Last accessed: September 6, 2005.

183

These differences suggest that peacekeeping doctrine may have positive influence on militaries which roles have been extended to the internal security sphere, as it is the case of México. In the case of new peacekeeping participation, it means that the same individuals have to perform functions never performed before, hence the importance of special training before deployment.

As a concept, the origins of peacekeeping can be traced back to the 1920s, when the delimitation commissions redrew the map of Europe after World War First.[451] According to the UNDPKO, the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO, 1948) in Palestine was the first Peacekeeping Operation as a UN mechanism.[452] The paternity of peacekeeping is controversial, but it is frequently assigned to Lester Bowles Pearson, Former Prime Minister of Canada and then President of the 7th UN General Assembly[453] and Dag Hammarskjöld, UN Secretary-General. They setup the guidelines for the implementation of the first peacekeeping force, UNEF I, during the crisis of the Suez canal in 1957; an action for which both received the Nobel Peace Prize, in 1957 and 1961, respectively.[454]

These activities brought legitimacy to the conduct of peacekeeping as a UN affair and a body of custom and practice grew up from them. The most salient "non-written" norms for Peacekeeping Operations developed by Dag Hammarskjöld and Lester B. Pearson, and accepted over time are: 1) Peacekeeping Operations are conducted under the direction of the UNSG.[455] 2) Forces are supplied voluntarily by Member States and

---

[451] Christopher Bellamy, Knights in White Armour: New Art of War and Peace, (London: Hutchinson, 1996), p.85.

[452] United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/timeline/ Last accessed: April 12, 2005.

[453] "About the Centre. Mission & History," (The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre). Internet. Available at http://www.peaceoperations.org/en/au/au_missionhistory.asp Last accessed: April 12, 2005.

[454] Lester Bowles Pearson (1897-1972), former Secretary of Extarnal Affairs of Canada and President of the 7th General Assembly of the United Nations was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957. Dag Hammarskjöld (1905-1961), Secretary-General of the United Nations (1953-1961) was posthumously awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1961. Nobel Peace Prize Laureates, (The Norwegian Nobel Institute). Internet. Available at: http://www.nobel.no/eng_ins_map.html Last accessed: June 04, 2005.

[455] There are a few exceptions: Missions in Korea in 1950, Kuwait in 1991, and Somalia in 1992 are considered as "enforcement operations." They were authorized by the UNSC to be conducted under national command. Christopher Bellamy, Knights in White Armour: New Art of War and Peace, (London: Hutchinson, 1996), p.86.

184

supported collectively as "expenses of the UN organization" (Article 17 of the UN Charter).[456] 3) Peacekeeping Operations can only be implemented with the consent of the parties to the conflict. 4) Peacekeepers must be impartial. 5) The use of force should be limited to self-defence.[457] From these, the principles of consent, impartiality and the use of force only for self-defence are increasingly recognized as "the three core principles of peacekeeping," also known as the three "bedrock" principles of peacekeeping. While these principles have stood the test of time, their application has evolved in response to the changing nature of UN Peacekeeping Operations.

In 1998, the UN celebrated the 50th anniversary of Peacekeeping Operations. As of March 2007, there have been 61 Peacekeeping Operations since 1948, of which 13 were implemented during the period known as the Cold War and 48 after 1989. This means that only 13 operations were implemented during the first 40 years and almost 75 percent of total operations were implemented in the first ten years after the end of the Cold War. Such dramatic increase finds explanation in structural changes in the international context that were replicated in all human activity, particularly in the security, economic, and environmental sectors.[458]

The Development of PKO: 1947-1989

No exercise can be more illustrative of the evolution of peacekeeping than the one offered by Patricia Fortier.[459] This author takes the Monument to Peacekeeping in Ottawa,

---

[456] Article 17 of the Charter states: 1) The General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the Organization. 2) The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly. 3) The General Assembly shall consider and approve any financial and budgetary arrangements with specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 and shall examine the administrative budgets of such specialized agencies with a view to making recommendations to the agencies concerned. Charter of the United Nations, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945).

[457] Christopher Bellamy, Knights in White Armour: New Art of War and Peace, (London: Hutchinson, 1996), p.86.

[458] United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/bnote.htm Last accessed: April 22, 2007.

[459] Patricia Fortier, "The Evolution of Peacekeeping." In Rob McRae and Don Hubert (Eds). Human Security and the New Diplomacy: Protecting People, Promoting Peace, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), p.41.

185

erected as a symbol of the Canadian support for peacekeeping, to explain the evolution of this field. The Canadian monument represents the Traditional or Classic model; peacekeeping during the Cold War. As Ms. Fortier explains, "[a] military observer stands high on a plinth representing the cease-fire line, supported by other military, and looks towards Parliament Hill. There is also evidence of the need for constant negotiation and the inherent danger and bravery in standing between two opposing sides."

Patricia Fortier places the question of how would a monument to Modern or post-Cold War peacekeeping missions look like? And she explains: "First, the platform would be crowded. The lone observer would be joined by combat pilots, combat troops, police, doctors and nurses, engineers, field diplomats, forensic specialists, human rights and electoral specialists, corrections officials, customs officers, humanitarian workers, judges, lawyers, and urban planners (among others). To add to the potential confusion, the military might be performing all or some of these roles, or vice versa. There would be no clear dividing line between antagonists or even a cease-fire. There would, however, be empty places on the monument scattered in inconvenient locations on which signs would indicate 'awaiting logistical support' or 'civilian police on order.' A tin cup would be permanently affixed to the base with a polite but patently desperate request to donate to the worthy cause."[460]

As the explanation above describes it, Modern peacekeeping little resembles its early predecessor. In over fifty years, the world changed and so did UN Peacekeeping Operations; they became more complex, more dangerous and more numerous. Such complexity and dangerousness create the demand for a new generation of soldiers and a new form of soldiering. Hence the vital need for professional training for peacekeeping.

UN Peacekeeping Operations implemented during this period are widely recognized as "Traditional" or "Classic" Peacekeeping Operations. The first operation, UNTSO, was mainly an "observer" mission. Its main objective was the supervision of the

---

[460] Patricia Fortier, "The Evolution of Peacekeeping." In Rob McRae and Don Hubert (Eds). Human Security and the New Diplomacy: Protecting People, Promoting Peace. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), p.41.

truce between Palestine and the newly created Jewish State of Israel.[461] Diplomats acting as mediators and military observers formed the core of the UN component. The observer function is one of the characteristics of the Peacekeeping Operations of the early days. However, the immobility of the UNSC due to the veto power, prevented it from becoming a peacekeeping operation, instead, action was taken through UN Resolution 377 (V) called "Uniting for Peace," for which the UN General Assembly (UNGA) played a crucial role.[462]

In 1956 came UNEF I, which was the first Peacekeeping Operation implemented as an "armed" peace force: "Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal and Israel, France and the United Kingdom intervened. In the UNSC, vetoes by France and the United Kingdom prevented UN action. The UNSG called the General Assembly for an emergency session and consensus was reached to establish UNEF I, the first armed UN peacekeeping force. Its objective was to supervise the withdrawal of the invading forces and to act as buffer between the Egyptian and Israeli armies."[463]

UNEF was the first time that the "blue helmets" came into scene as a distinctive for all the military personnel from various armies that were serving under UN command. In fact, this operation had many "firsts," as was pointed out by a British diplomat: "[UNEF I was] the first time ever that an armed peacekeeping force (as opposed to unarmed observers) had been deployed; the first time that blue helmets had been used; the first time that the UN had taken military action with the consent of the parties to a conflict, an eventuality not expressly stated in the UN Charter. It was the precedent for what has become the most familiar of UN activities."[464]

---

[461] United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. "Current Missions. UNTSO. Background." Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/untso/ Last accessed: April 12, 2005.

[462] "A Lasting Legacy – Lester B. Pearson and Korea," (Centre for Military and Strategic Studies University of Calgary). Internet. Available at: http://www.stratnet.ucalgary.ca/elearning/CanadaArmedForces/Readings/Part2Intro/shapcanidkoreanwar.htm Last accessed: April 12, 2005.

[463] United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. "First UN Emergency Force (UNEF I)." Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/timeline/ Last accessed: April 12, 2005.

[464] Sir Antony Parsons, British permanent representative to the UN. Cited in Christopher Bellamy, Knights in White Armour: New Art of War and Peace, (London: Hutchinson, 1996), p.85.

Traditional Peacekeeping Operations are relatively simple because they are mostly unidimensional and unidisciplinary. The basic function performed by the UN contingents in these operations is to stand between the "armies" of the two belligerent "states" to "keep" an agreed peace in the form of a signed truce or cease-fire. UN personnel supervise the conditions of the cease-fire and establish "separation zones" between the belligerents, basically performing the function of a sport "referee" after the bell has tolled. These operations are approved by the UNSC on the basis of Chapter VI of the UN Charter and therefore, the use of force for the UN personnel can only be justified for self-defence.

In traditional operations, all, or most of the parties involved in the conflict must agree to the conduct of these operations and peacekeepers must remain impartial. Since these operations are almost unidisciplinary, meaning that they are conducted solely by the military (and within it, basically by ground armies with a "light" force posture), preparation for Traditional Peacekeeping Operations is minimal. Actions such as observation, separation of warring factions, and supervising demilitarized zones, are typically included in these operations.

Due to limitations in technology proper of the time, the perception of remoteness of the conflicts, and the fact that the number of casualties was minuscule, the first Classic Peacekeeping Operations had little or no media coverage (with the exeption of UNEF I, which had significant coverage). These operations are included in Appendix B.

Post-cold War Peacekeeping: 1989-2005
To changes in the international structure and the nature of conflicts at the end of the Cold War, the UN responded by implementing a number of Peacekeeping Operations in circumstances never tested before. These operations have faced the unresolved dilemma of the escalation of the use of force without compromising the core concepts of peacekeeping: consent, impartiality and the use of force only in self-defence. These new conflicts involved not only professional armies, but also a host of violent manifestations, such as irregular and private armies, guerrilla warfare and organized crime. Also, the objectives of violence became "less military" in character and vulnerable sectors of

188

society were selected as targets. Since 1945, twenty-two million people have been killed in wars, and the proportion of civilian casualties rose from 50 percent to 84 percent in 1995.[465]

The Operations implemented before 1994 have the mark of the politics of the Great Powers brought to their legal limits. These conflicts occurred while the world was enjoying the "peace" brought by the end of the Cold War; they were what John Fishel called "the savage wars of peace."[466] This was an era of failed states and failed operations. Dark times for the UN and for humanity because massacres in Bosnia[467] and Rwanda[468] occurred before the eyes of UN peacekeepers. "Widespread fatigue and pessimism at the UN Secretariat over its failed Peacekeeping Operations, as well as slow pace of reform in the organization itself, led to a paralysis on the East River."[469] By late 1995, these failures had affected the prestige of peacekeeping as an effective mechanism to contain violence in internal conflicts.

Three operations in particular, UNPROFOR, UNAMIR and UNOSOM, left deep scars and a bad taste for subsequent operations in "quasi-civil wars." The result was low interest of Member States to invest time and money in something that was assumed as a bad business. The issuance of Presidential Decision Directive 25 (PDD-25) is the clear

---

[465] Michael Cranna (Ed.), "The true cost of conflict." Cited in Luisa Vercellesi (Ed.), European Association for Health and Libraries. Internet. Available at: http://www.eahil.org/newsletter/47/edit.htm Last accessed: April 12, 2005.

[466] John Fishel, The Savage Wars of Peace, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998). Cited in Kenneth C. Eyre, "Peacekeeping at the Millennium." Pro Peace Paratus: An Anthology of Readings in Modern Peacekeeping, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.5.

[467] It is estimated that more than 7,000 Muslim Bosnian were killed by Serbian forces in the Srebrenica massacre in 1995. Serbs admit Srebrenica death toll. BBC News World Edition. Internet. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3743176.stm Last accessed: June 17, 2005.

[468] The 2001 Census ran by the Rwandan Government documented a death toll of 937,000 casualties as a result of the 1994 genocide. Arthur Asiimwe, "Rwanda Census put Genocide death toll at 937,000." Reuters AlertNet. Internet. Available at: http://www.alertnet.org/thefacts/reliefresources/108117321274.htm Last accessed: June 17, 2005.

[469] Jarat Chopra, "Back to the Drawing Board," The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, (1995). Internet. Available at: http://www.bullatomsci.org/issues/1995/ma95/ma95.chopra.html Last accessed: May 17, 2004.

189

example of this.[470] Modern Peacekeeping Operations implemented after 1989 are included in Appendix C.

Modern operations are qualitatively and quantitatively different from Traditional operations. These newer operations can be best described as multidimensional and multidisciplinary operations. Modern conflicts frequently involve not just two, well-defined, warring parties, but several factions, a weakly based or ill-reached truce, and a nation-state for theatre of operations. Due to their destabilizing effects, these conflicts call for a more comprehensive approach.

As UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali stated, "for Peacekeeping Operations deployed in a failed state, no issue can be considered purely military or purely humanitarian. Action in one sphere can have direct consequences in the other."[471] Such a scenario is now addressed by a number of disciplines and organizations, and for this reason it has been called "multidimensional, multifunctional" Modern peacekeeping. These operations involve diplomatic and development efforts to make transitions to stable and sustainable institutions, a task not always possible and not always welcomed.

Legal Framework and the Use of Force

"No amount of good intentions can substitute for the fundamental ability to project credible force. However, force alone cannot create peace; it can only create a space in which peace can be built."[472] Peacekeeping Operations are legal and legitimate instruments of the UNSC, whose functions – also legally founded – were designed to enhance international peace, security and stability.

United Nations Peacekeeping Operations derive their legitimacy from the authority of the Security Council, which primarily responsibility, assigned by the UN

---

[470] The White House, Presidential Decision Directive DD-25, (Washington: 1996). Internet. Available at: http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/pdd25.htm Last accessed: January 13, 2005.

[471] Boutros Boutros-Ghali, The United Nations in Somalia 1992-1996, (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1996). Cited in The New Peacekeeping Partnership.Précis C99-0101, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.1.

[472] Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations. A/55/305, S/2000/809, "The need for change," (United Nations, 2000), p.3. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/ Last accessed: April 13, 2005.

Charter, is to preserve international peace. The Security Council mandate is the legal basis for all UN peacekeeping activity. The law that gives life to Peacekeeping Operations is the same law that grants rights and regulates international relations and human behaviour in general. It is also the same law that nourishes and complements national laws.

This law stems from four main bodies of legislation: public International Law, International Humanitarian Law, International Human Rights Law, and domestic Law (from host nations and peacekeeper's nations).[473] The UNSC found in the UN Charter its legal basis to authorize UN Military Operations; "Pacific Settlement of Disputes" (Chapter VI) through observer missions, preventive deployment, and peacekeeping and "Actions with respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression" (Chapter VII) through peace enforcement operations.[474]

Modern Peacekeeping Operations need to show higher levels of force to deal with internal conflicts. This requires "stretching" the legal boundaries provided by Chapter VI of the UN Charter, meaning operating between Chapters VI½ and VII; some even work completely under Chapter VII. Therefore, it cannot be said that Peacekeeping equals Chapter VI operations and Peace enforcement equals Chapter VI operations.

For this reason it is said that Chapter VI of the UN Charter does not provide enough support for Modern Peacekeeping Operations. And this one major cause of confusion because there are Peacekeeping Operations authorized under the legal basis of both, Chapters VI and VII. Examples of Chapter VII Peacekeeping (not Peace Enforcement) Operations are the recent operations implemented in Haiti (MINUSTAH), Congo (MONUC) and Sudan (UNMIS), among others. Yet the principles of consent and impartiality still apply for both and so too the spirit of peacekeeping.

The lack of specific legal framework is what makes peacekeeping very controversial in the political sphere, and so difficult to conduct in the operational sphere.

---

[473] The New Peacekeeping Partnership.Précis C99-0101, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.3.

[474] Charter of the United Nations, Chapter VI. "Pacific Settlement of Disputes;" and Chapter VII "Actions with respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace and Acts of Aggression,"(San Francisco: United Nations, 1945).

191

Legality and legitimacy are useless if they are not linked to action. The delay in deploying forces in emergency areas is a frustrating reality. Frustration was experienced by peacekeepers in Bosnia and Cambodia, though never at the magnitude of those in Rwanda. This is because the UN Charter of the United Nations gives the Security Council enormous formal powers, but it does not give it the means with which to enact those powers. Much of the power of the Council is contingent on the voluntary contribution of states, measured in terms of resources, financial and contribution to peacekeeping, and the national enforcement of sanctions regimes. Also, voluntary compliance depends also on how states perceive the legitimacy of the UNSC and its actions.

The level of force used, or shown, in Peacekeeping Operations seems to be useful to differentiate Traditional from Modern operations. In this context, Modern Peacekeeping Operations lie between Traditional Peacekeeping, which are legally deployed on the basis of Chapter VI of the UN Charter, and Enforcement Actions, which are implemented under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Being in the middle ground between these two Chapters and performing functions that are not included in any of the two, as well as other that belong to one or the other, suggests that a Chapter is "missing" in the UN Charter. This legal "void" is in fact the natural arena for peacekeeping because it represents the "use of force without using it." This shortcoming was already identified by UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld who visualized peacekeeping falling into the category of "Chapter Six-and-a-Half."[475]

A thin line separates Modern Peacekeeping from Enforcement Actions. It makes easy for a Peacekeeping Operation to get involved in enforcement actions (Chapter VII), for which sometimes it does not have legal authority. The need to protect innocent people, UN strategic equipment, or to force a party to comply with the peace agreement can make peacekeepers to cross such a thin line. This is "the line of consent," also known

---

[475] Christopher Bellamy, Knights in White Armour: New Art of War and Peace, (London: Hutchinson, 1996), p.156.

192

as the "Mogadishu line."[476] This is also the line that the UNSC has to cross when it approves humanitarian interventions, which are highly controversial operations that have divided the international community. The following figure shows a model developed by intelligence professional Frederick H. Fleitz. This model shows that escalating to enforcement actions is a "one way" route that separates Peacekeeping from Peace Enforcement actions.

Figure 5: Level of Coercion
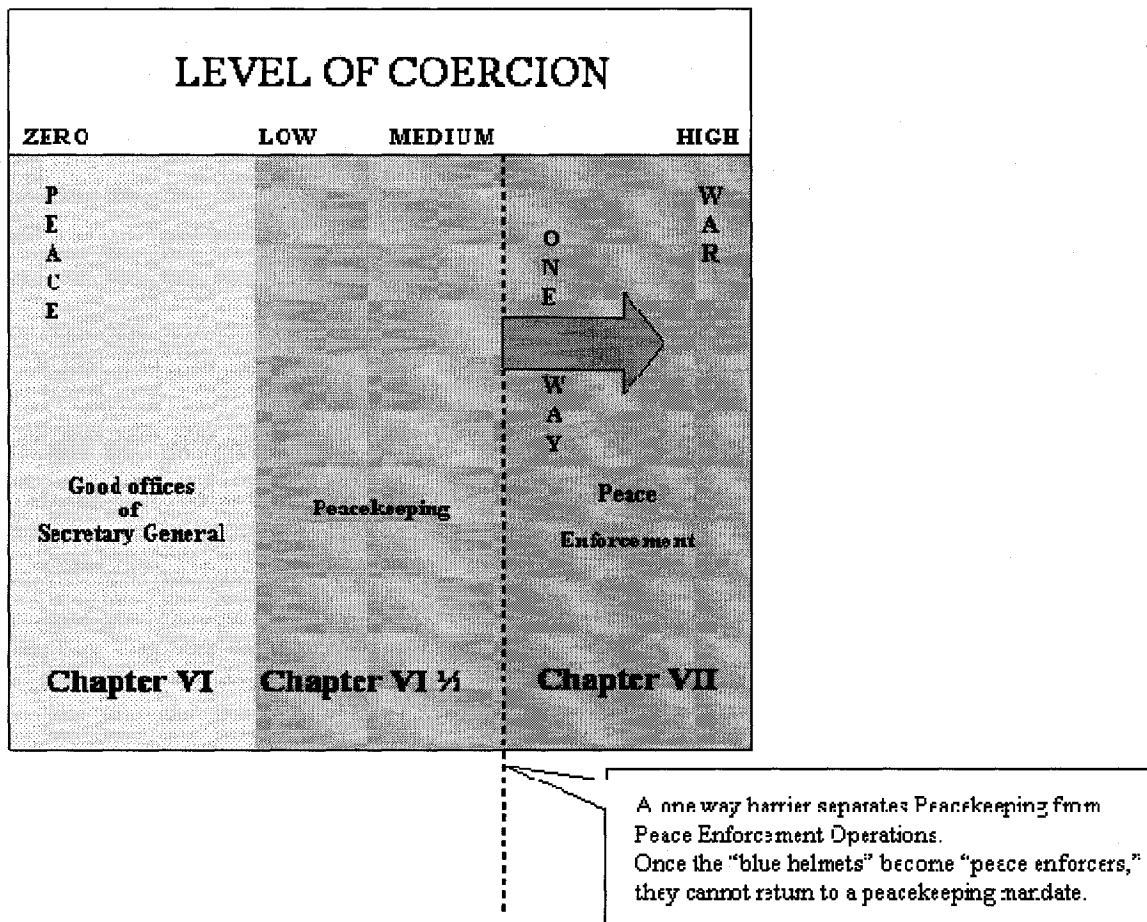
Source: Frederick H. Fleitz (2002)

---

[476] UN Force Commander Sir Michael Rose called "crossing the Mogadishu line" to refer to an operation launched by U.S. Rangers to capture several aides of one factional leader who were suspected of complicity in an ambush that killed 25 Pakistani "blue helmets" and wounded 40 more. Cited in Christopher Bellamy, Knights in White Armour: New Art of War and Peace, (London: Hutchinson, 1996), p.103.

Fleitz's model also shows a relationship between the level of force shown, or coercion, and the different types of UN actions. Note that Chapter VI½ Peacekeeping differs from pure Chapter VI Peacekeeping (Classic) in the level of force, or "muscle" shown by the mission. It also shows that Peacekeeping and Peace Enforcement are two different actions that must not be conducted by the same operations, and consequently by the same people.

The use of force is an omnipresent and unresolved dilemma in Modern Peacekeeping Operations. It is considered that peacekeepers must resign to the use of force; when unavoidable, force can be used at its minimum possible and only in self-defence. But how much the minimum possible and when it is unavoidable? These are difficult questions to be answer by soldiers on the ground, who many times have to walk along thin lines. Sometimes they have to perform observers and agreement supervision missions, or to protect convoys and civilian populations at protected areas, and even protecting UN facilities and personnel from terrorist attacks.

The mentioned cases of Somalia, Rwanda and Bosnia and Herzegovina are illustrative of such a dilemma. In these cases, considered by some as complete failures, peacekeepers had mandates that required the use of force, and nothing is more dangerous for a Peacekeeping mission that crossing the line of consent. The logic of peacekeeping goes from different political and military premises than peace enforcement; the dynamic of peace enforcement is incompatible with the political processes that peacekeeping seeks to help solving. Trying to erase this distinction hurts the viability of UN Peacekeeping Operations and jeopardizes the integrity of the peacekeepers.[477]

The following model, developed by William J. Durch from the Henry L. Stimson Centre, shows how a peacekeeping mission can cross the line of consent (though reality has shown that there is a spectrum of consent instead) and the danger of doing itFor this reason, the use of force (other than self-defence) in peacekeeping must be seen as an alternative technique, and not as an adjacent point of the same continuum.

---

[477] Boutros Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping, A/47/277-S/24111. (United Nations, 1992), p.15. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html Last accessed: June 06, 2005.

three are the key relations: 1) between belligerent groups; 2) between peacekeeping forces and the belligerent groups; and 3) between the use of force by UN peacekeepers and the behaviour of the belligerents.[478]

This approach centers on the dilemma of controlling legitimacy through the modulation of the use of force. When the local and international support to the Peacekeeping Operation is high, higher levels of the use of force are perceived as unnecessarily coercive, thus damaging legitimacy. When consent declines, which is normal in enforcement actions, it is highly probable that the use of force will lead to the escalation of violence between the belligerent groups, which always try to reach their goals. Such relationship between legitimacy and the use of force is illustrated by the following American doctrine and the model developed by Dana Eyre.[479]

> "the necessity to use force can initiate a cycle of increased violence, and therefore commanders must use their good judgement when using coercive measures. They must understand the relationship between force and desired end. From the three variables (force, impartiality and consent), the level of force is the only one over which commanders can exert their dominant influence..."[480]

---

[478] David Last, "Winning "The Savage Wars of peace:" What the Manwaring paradigm tells us." In John T. Fishel (Ed.), The Savage Wars of Peace, (Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 1998), p.228.

[479] Dana Eyre, (1996). Cited in John T. Fishel (Ed.), The Savage Wars of Peace, (Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 1998), p.230.

[480] FM 100-23, "Peace Operations," (Washington, DC: Department of the US Army, December 1994), p.13. Cited in John T. Fishel (Ed.), The Savage Wars of Peace, (Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 1998), p.231.

Figure 7: Level of Force, Consent and Legitimacy

High

Potential for escalation

The use of limited force causes belligerent to escalate in order to reach their goals (therefore, go big or stay at home)

The use of excessive force will erode legitimacy, therefore play civilian police roles

Low   Level of legitimacy, Consent   High
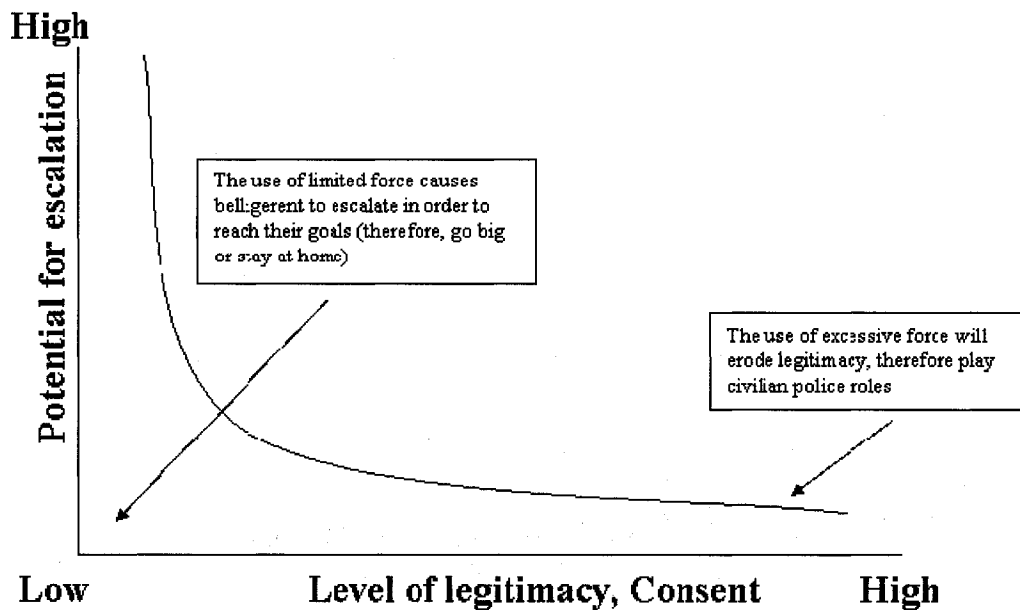
Source: Dana Eyre, (1996).

It can be noted how important is the modulation of the use of force for the success of the mission. For doing this, legal instruments such as the Rules of Engagement (ROE), the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFAs), have been designed for Modern Peacekeeping Operations. The ROE are the link between the political and the operational dimensions of a military operation. In Peacekeeping Operations, they must be specified in the UN Mandate and must be drafted under the principles of necessity, proportionality, and avoiding collateral damage. They are directives "issued by competent military authority [that] delineate the circumstances and limitations within which armed force may be applied, and under which armed forces would initiate or continue combat to achieve military objectives in furtherance of national policy."[481]

These rules are issued for the military on the basis of the Law of Armed Conflict,

---

[481] The New Peacekeeping Partnership.Précis C99-0101, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

197

which is considered to be a part of the International Humanitarian Law. ROE represent a potential problem for states which have not developed similar instruments for the modulation of the use of force. This is because the design and issuance of these instruments require effective inter-institutional coordination, civil and military, if they are to comply with national policies while contribute to the conduct of the operation as a whole.

The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO) has developed a set of general ROE as templates that can be used with minor modifications for specific missions. These ROE provide the advantage of availability for in-advance training, but they cannot provide enough flexibility for force escalation. The UN ROE are based on a quite broad concept of self-defence. They make no distinction between the rules of self-defence and the rules for "defence of the mandate." The UN definition of self-defence often includes the defence of local civilians that have been threatened by their fellow citizens and the defence of protected areas and property. This definition fails to provide sufficient guidance to the soldier on the ground regarding the level of force he/she is authorized to use.[482]

The use of UN ROE has brought problems in various situations that have called for a major revision, as it is has been recognized by the UN.[483] Incidents in Haiti (1996) for instance, showed the difficulty of transmitting changes and amplifications to the ROE in a timely fashion. Although not a UN mission, the ROE issued for the Multi National Force provided no guidance on violence committed by one Haitian against another and because the mission changed from a "forcible entry" to "permissive entry." In Peacekeeping Operations, questions about the defence of third parties and local nationals need to be resolved in advance.

The mentioned Status-of-forces agreements (SOFAs), are documents prepared by the UN in coordination with the parties involved in the conflict and in the deployment of

---

[482] F. M. Lorenz, "Rules of Engagement in Peace Support Operations." In The New Peacekeeping Partnership.Précis C99-0101, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.41.

[483] Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations. A/55/305, S/2000/809, "The need for change," (United Nations, 2000), p.3. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/ Last accessed: April 13, 2005.

the Peacekeeping Operations. These documents define the rights and obligations of military forces deployed. SOFAs define the relationship between the host nation and the UN contingents, indicating the limitations of privileges and immunities granted to military peacekeepers. SOFAs do not include UN agencies like UNHCR and UNHCR, which along with NGOs must negotiate their own agreements with host authorities. SOFAs provide legal protection to peacekeepers once deployed. However, where law is not enforced (e.g., failed or collapsed states), the basis for effective SOFAs have to be also created by peacekeepers.[484]

The drafting of effective SOFAs for especial cases (e.g., for states legally constrained to perform certain functions such as soldiering and combat like missions), require advanced diplomatic skills. This means that diplomats need to be literate in military affairs of their own states, something not always possible due to the abstraction of certain militaries, namely México. This means that an eventual Mexican participation in Peacekeeping would require bringing diplomats, military staff officers and international lawyers to work together in the drafting and negotiation of SOFAs and other legal instruments. It also points out to a need for especial training for these individuals.

Status-of-Forces agreements play a significant role in preserving command authority, guaranteeing fair treatment for military personnel and conserving resources. They deal with civil and criminal legislation and thus become essential for protecting the rights of peacekeepers when facing criminal trials. SOFAs must foresee cultural differences as possible to provide legal security for the mission's performance. SOFAs are therefore essential means for assuring legality for the troops on the ground to perform their duties as stated in the mission's objectives.

Other instruments that define a peacekeeping operation, its composition, legal rights and responsibilities and its tasks include, the peace accords, memoranda of understanding, Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security and other landmark Security Council Resolutions. The legal framework for Modern peacekeeping should guide the efforts of numerous entities working at various

---

[484] The New Peacekeeping Partnership.Précis C99-0101, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

dimensions of the conflict.

Multidimensional, Multifunctional Modern PKO

Modern Peacekeeping Operations are multidimensional and multifunctional. These operations have become the dominant form of UN peacekeeping operation in recent years. Dimensions and functions traditionally by peacemaking and peacebuilding efforts entwine with peacekeeping; and are now covered by military and civilian working together. This is a characteristic feature of Modern Peacekeeping Operations. Multidimensional peacekeeping is designed to help post-conflict states exercise their full sovereignty. Depending on the nature of the peace agreement, the UNSC may mandate a multidimensional peacekeeping operation with a wide array of tasks, both civilian and military in nature, to support the peace.

Common objectives of multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations are: help maintaining stability and order, help the host state re-establish its authority and secure the monopoly over the legitimate means of violence, support measures to re-establish effective police forces, judiciary and corrections structures to uphold the rule of law, support the emergence of legitimate political institutions and participatory processes to manage conflict without recourse to violence, and build and help to sustain a national, regional and international political consensus in support of the peace process. These objectives are pursued by a number of disciplines each one performing a different function. The table below identifies some of the disciplines involved in Modern peacekeeping and the main functions performed:

Table 7: Functions of Multidimensional PKO

Component	Function	
Military	• monitoring and verification of cease-fires • cantonment • disarmament and demobilization of combatants • overseeing the withdrawal of foreign forces	• mine-awareness education and mine-clearance • provision of security for UN and other international activities in support of the peace – process • civilian protection
Naval	• monitoring cease-fires • military observers • mandate enforcement • Information collection and intelligence production	• strategic conventional deterrence • support operations • humanitarian aid delivery • logistics • maritime traffic control

200

Functions of Multidimensional PKO (continued).

Component	Function	
Civilian Police	• crowd control • establishment and maintenance of a judicial system • law enforcement	• monitoring, training and advising local law enforcement authorities on organizational, administrative and human rights issues
Civilian Component	*Political Element* • political guidance of the overall peace process	• assistance in the rehabilitation of existing political institutions • promotion of national reconciliation
	Electoral Element • monitoring and verification of all aspects and stages of the electoral process; co-ordination of technical assistance	• education of the public about electoral processes and provision of help in the development of grass-roots democratic institutions
	Human Rights Element • monitoring of human rights • promotion of human rights	• investigation of specific cases of alleged human rights violations
	Humanitarian Element • delivery of humanitarian aid (food and other emergency relief supplies) • implementation of refugee repatriation programs	• resettlement of displaced persons reintegration of ex-combatants

Source: Author (2008), on the basis of Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management (2004)[485]

The array of functions performed in Modern Peacekeeping Operations at different levels can be also seen as a source of opportunities for co-operation. Not only the different international actors can share responsibilities and burden in the prevention of violence in their corresponding spheres of action, but also contributing states to Peacekeeping Operations can identify the activities that best suit their own interests and stick to them. A sort of division of labour can be promoted for the sake of resource efficiency and mission efficacy.

In this sense, it can be noted that two of the functions included in the table, Naval and Humanitarian elements, seem to be compatible with those performed by the Mexican military on a daily basis in its domestic context. Also note that both are functions that can be considered as "peripheral" (the humanitarian element is even a civilian function) to

---

[485] Wibke Hansen, Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse, "Hawks and Doves: Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution," (Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.berghof-handbook.net Last accessed: September 6, 2005.

201

those directly related to the use of force, which are commonly performed by states with more permissible constitutional frameworks.

As mentioned, Modern peacekeeping frequently deals with intrastate violent conflicts. These conflicts require comprehensive approaches that accommodate a host of functional tasks performed by different civilian and military components. These include, the military (naval), civilian police, and the civilian component (political, human rights, and humanitarian elements), and state building/strengthening efforts (transitional administrations). These components, however, function in different security conditions. This means that they deploy at different "stages" of the conflict. The following model, developed by Michael Dziedzic (1998) from the US Institute of Peace, illustrates an internal war that extends for some time and the "order" on which the different components are deployed as security conditions are created.

Figure 8: Operationalization of the Peacekeeping Partnership[486]
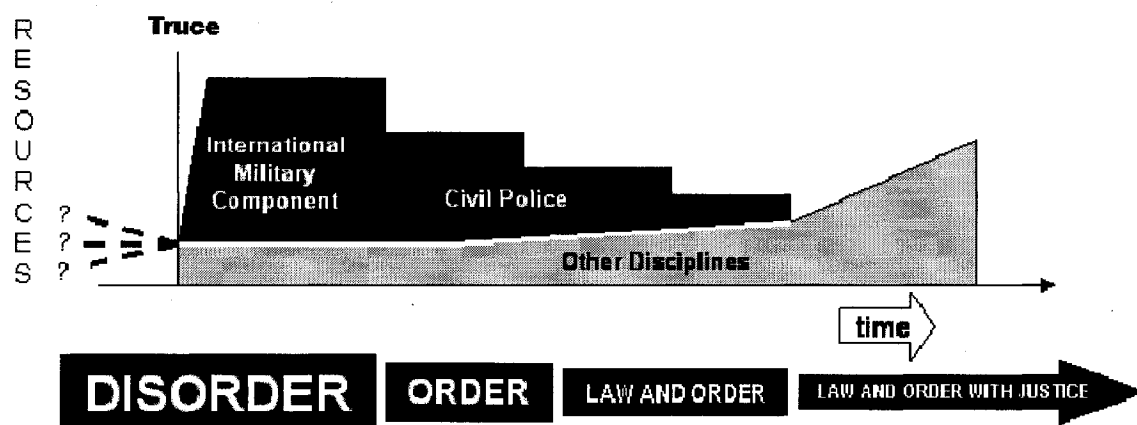
Source: Michael J. Dziedzic (1998).[487]

---

[486] The host of disciplines and organizations involved in UN Peacekeeping Operations was lumped together by the Lester Pearson Peacekeeping Centre of Canada under the term "The New Peacekeeping Partnership." Kenneth C. Eyre, "The New Peacekeeping Partnership.The Human Security Agenda." Pro Peace Paratus: An Anthology of Readings in Modern Peacekeeping, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.2.

[487] Michael J Dziedzic, "Introduction" in Robert B. Oakley, Michael J. Dziedzic and Elliot M. Goldberg, (eds), Policing the New World Disorder: Peace Operations and Public Security, (Washington: National Defense University Press, 1998). Cited in Kenneth C. Eyre, "An Overview of the Military Role in Peacekeeping." Pro Peace Paratus: An Anthology of Readings in Modern Peacekeeping, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.11.

Note that the model shows the truce as a crucial moment in the conflict. This moment comes after some sort of agreement has been reached to suspend hostilities. Reaching a truce or cease-fire does not mean, however, that violent acts will suddenly disappear and this is an important fact for consideration for planning and goal setting. In this model, how the truce came about is irrelevant, what is important here is that it represents the opportunity for the international community to act quickly and to take the necessary actions to create "order," "order with law" and "order with law and justice."[488]

Military

The military still occupies the central place in modern Peacekeeping Operations. Its qualities make it ideal for playing not only its primary peace role, but for providing security and humanitarian support, human rights, development, and democratization programs. The qualities of the military that makes it highly appreciated in Peacekeeping Operations are: high cohesion, well organized, well communicated, self contained, modular structured, powerful command and control systems, highly mobile, and able to follow mandates that make it go "in harm's way."[489] The military can also perform dangerous or even "potentially lethal" duties. Military personnel work as a team and have the resources to fulfill the assigned tasks. Professional armies have also developed the ability to coordinate actions with multinational military and civilian contingents.

Military personnel require special training on peacekeeping. Active duty members in the armed forces do not automatically qualify for peacekeeping missions. The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre of Canada has identified the following qualities for good military

---

[488] After the cease-fire, the "rapid deployment" of peacekeeping military forces is crucial to separate the warring factions and prevent them to restart hostilities. According to the UN, the first 6 to 12 weeks following a cease-fire are crucial to establish a stable peace and credibility in Peacekeeping Operations. The influential Brahimi Report recommends defining the concept "capacity for rapid and effective deployment" as the ability to completely deploy a traditional or classic Peacekeeping Operation within the first 30 days that follow the authorization (UNSC resolution), and within 90 days for a complex Peacekeeping Operation.Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations. A/55/305-S/2000/809, (United nations, March 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/ Last accessed: December 2, 2006.

[489] Kenneth C. Eyre, "An Overview of the Military Role in Peacekeeping." Pro Peace Paratus: An Anthology of Readings in Modern Peacekeeping, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.36.

203

"peacekeepers:"

> Well equipped
> Speak the language of the Mission[490]
> Incorruptible
> Humane
> Healthy and adaptable to the theatre climate
> Able to take casualties without overreacting
> Able to assist and respect other participants[491]

The work of the military component is essential to create the conditions that will discourage the warring parties from reinitiating hostilities. At this point, it is important to emphasize that in order for a force to produce enough deterrent effect, the use of force or the threat of the use of force has to be credible. This is only possible if, first, forces are professional, well (in advance) trained in Peacekeeping Operations, well equipped and with adequate ROE. And second, these forces are able to react properly to aggressions in order to maintain such credibility. The key concept for the success of peacekeeping is "impartiality," which only forces with such characteristics can maintain.

The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations has developed basic training "standards" to help standardize the operational levels, to spread the use of a common terminology and to increase the capacity for rapid deployment. Knowing that the time it takes to organize and deploy a PKO (average 3-6 months) is crucial for preventing the escalation of violence, the UN established in 1993 the Standby Arrangements System (UNSAS) to reduce its time of response. UNSAS maintains a database of personnel, equipment, and resources which countries have ready at home, as a whole or in parts, for possible deployment anywhere in the world. These are resources "conditionally pledged" by Member States to be deployed within "agreed response times" and "restrictions."

The system has proved effective in UNAMEV III and UNMIH but still is at its early stage. UNSAS considers four levels of commitment: Level I List of Capabilities;

---

[490] Peacekeeping Operations are commonly conducted in one of the UN official languages, agreed by the UNSC at the moment of the mission's approval. Various aspects influence the determination of the mission's language, such as the official language of the country of deployment, and the language of the major contributing country or countries.

[491] Kenneth C. Eyre, "The New Peacekeeping Partnership." Pro Peace Paratus: An Anthology of Readings in Modern Peacekeeping, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.31.

Level II Planning data sheet; Level III Generic Memorandum of Understanding (MOU); and Rapid Deployment Level (RDL). The latter level was recently included to reduce the deployment time of pledged resources to 30/90 days after the issuance of an UNSC Mandate. The resources pledged by Member States reflect the level of political commitment too, though nations still retain the right to decline to participate in a given operation. As of July 15 2003, the number of countries out of the system remains high: 112 out of 192 Member States have not joined UNSAS,[492] and only two countries (Uruguay and Jordan) have joined the Rapid Deployment Level. Latin American countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay participate in UNSAS.[493]

The UN arrangement system is flexible. It allows Member States to "earmark" the resources pledged, meaning optional deployment, in order to comply also with national legislations. This means that by pledging resources to UNSAS, states are not drawing "blank cheques" to the UN.

Even though the military component remains throughout the mission, its size and robustness decreases as mission objectives are achieved. Note in the Dziedzic's model that as time passes, the military resources decrease. Once the military forces have discouraged the hostile actions and order has been re-established, the next step is to create order according to the law. The military component can perform this task, but it was not designed to do so and therefore it has to step aside and make room for the civilian police, which is ideal to secure the stage of "order with law". For security reasons, civilian police forces cannot be deployed with the same anticipation as the military force and they have no function to perform if there is no law to enforce.

Naval Components

Naval forces were envisioned for the UN by the failed Military Staff Committee. Naval

---

[492]United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Overview. "Rapid Deployment. Standby Arrangement System." UNSAS Presentation. (United Nations). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/milad/fgs2/unsas_files/sba.htm Last accessed: April 13, 2005.

[493] United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. "Monthly Status Report United Nations Standby Arrangements. February 2003." Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/rapid/MonthlySR.html Last accessed: December 2, 2006.

blockades were plausible strategies for enforcing UN Security Council sanctions and peacekeeping actions. Naval blockades and maritime security schemes have been an important support of Peacekeeping Operations.[494] Despite its utility, however, naval operations have never been clearly defined within the non-written peacekeeping doctrine.[495] As a result, only a few UN naval peacekeeping missions have ever been implemented. As such, most naval actions within the UN military planning have been marginal. Nonetheless, naval forces have been greatly effective performing supporting roles in UN Peacekeeping Operations and have increased in number and relevance since the 1990s.

The shift from open ocean to coastal operations, presaged by the United States' Navy's "...From the Sea" doctrine, suggests a new area of operations for navies. "The Navy and Marine Corps Team is changing in response to the challenges of a new security environment. The shift in strategic landscape means that Naval Forces will concentrate on littoral warfare and manoeuvre from the sea."[496] In reality, it is the return to the traditional operating area of the navies. During the Cold War, aside from NATO exercises, most naval operations took place in the littoral area. The naval dimension of the Korean War, Arab-Israeli Wars, the US/Libyan confrontations, and even the Argentina/UK *Malvinas* War were all conducted in the littoral area.

In Peacekeeping Operations, naval components can perform numerous roles that can contribute to the goals of the mission as a whole. These roles can include cease fire monitoring, observation of agreements compliance, enforcement of UNSC sanctions, information collection and intelligence production, strategic conventional deterrence, logistics, interdiction, and support operations. Operating in peacekeeping missions, however, require special considerations to develop the capacity to act independently in

---

[494] Owen J. W. Parkhouse, Naval Diplomacy and the United Nations: Naval Peacekeeping in a New World Order, MA Thesis, Department of Political Science, (Halifax: Dalhousie University, October 1997), p.44.

[495] In January 18, 2008, there was a "Capston Doctrine" approved for UN peacekeeping operations. UNDPKO, United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Doctrine, (United Nations, January 2008). Internet. Available at: Last accessed: January 20, 2008.

[496] ...From the Sea: Preparing the Naval Service for the 21st Century, (US Navy, September 1992). Internet. Available at: http://www.navy.mil/navydata/policy/fromsea/fromsea.txt Last accessed: December 3, 2006.

remote, multinational environments. These considerations include training, doctrine and procedures, appropriate political guidance and effective ROE, effective command, control and communications, and logistics.[497]

Training for naval peacekeeping has to be directed to increase the national capacity to operate first, in a safe and independent way; second, to operate effectively, that is, with goal-reaching strategies; and third, to operate in multinational environments. Due to its nature, most navies develop acceptable standards in the first two levels, the third, however, is more troublesome. OTAN navies have developed compatible command, control and communications standards, and for this reason seem to be better suited to improvise multinational forces. They have reduced the problems associated with differences in language, procedures and doctrines. Non-NATO navies can also develop the ability to operate safely and effectively in multinational forces through constant participation in exercises like UNITAS,[498] MARCOT,[499] TEAMWORK SOUTH[500] and RIMPAC,[501] to mention a few.

---

[497] Ruggero Cozzi Paredes, "Participación de Unidades Navales en Operaciones de Paz," Revista de Marina, 119/873, (Armada de Chile, September 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.revistamarina.cl/ Last accessed: December 3, 2006.

[498] UNITAS exercises initiated as bilateral naval exercises with the U.S. Navy in 1959. They were a coordinated answer from the United States and its Latin American allies to an eventual aggression of the Soviet Union. The original focus was the performance of anti-submarine exercises. These exercises have gradually evolved to adapt to the global changes. These are now multinational exercises with the participation of units from Navies of coastal South American countries like Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela, and NATO navies from Canada, Great Britain, and the Netherlands. UNITAS exercises also include amphibious exercises and exercises of units that have a role in coastal areas. (Center for International Policy). Internet. Available at: http://www.ciponline.org/facts/unit.htm Last accessed: December 3, 2006.

[499] MARCOT (Maritime Coordination and Training) is a multinational naval exercise organized by the Canadian Navy. It takes place in Canadian waters of the Pacific Ocean, and it is directed to the training of multinational forces that operate by United Nations' mandate. Navies from Australia, Canada, Chile, United States, and Great Britain participate. Internet. Available at: http://www.armada.cl/p4_ingles/site/artic/20040518/pags/20040518103935.html Last accessed: December 3, 2006.

[500] TEAMWORK SOUTH is a multinational naval exercise that concentrates troops, navy vessels, and aircraft. It takes place since 1995 in the northern part of Chile, and since 1999 it is carried out bi-annually in odd years. Internet. Available at: http://www.armada.cl/p4_ingles/site/artic/20040518/pags/20040518103935.html Last accessed: December 3, 2006.

[501] RIMPAC (Rim of the Pacific) is the largest naval combined exercise of the Pacific Ocean. It is organized by the U.S. Navy since 1971, and from 1974 it is performed bi-annually in even years in Hawaii. The countries that participate are: Australia, Canada, Chile, United States, Japan, Korea, United Kingdom, and Peru. (US Third Fleet). Internet. Available at: http://www.c3f.navy.mil/RIMPAC_2006/ Last accessed: December 3, 2006.

207

The conduct of multinational joint operations requires compatible procedures and doctrines. Developing these, however, is a lengthy process that involves careful revisions at strategic and tactical levels. For this reason, navies without such capability normally turn to NATO's doctrinal framework. This is an excellent platform for interoperability facilitation between allied navies.

Political guidance and ROE are usually in concordance with each other. Highly restrictive ROE, however, many times affect the mission as a whole and jeopardize the security of the national units and the rest of the members. For this reason, particular rules of engagement and political guidance cannot be issued without considering contextual factors, such as security levels and ROE of the other Member States' navies.

Effective command, control and communications structures are necessarily unitary. This means that maintaining separate national command and control structures parallel to the UN on the field, is a road to disaster. This means that in order to operate effectively in multinational forces, command, control and communications structures need to integrate to the UN assigned unitary command. This include having communication systems (cryptographic and data link) compatible with the rest of the elements in the task force. Many times, informal command structures are improvised flexible substitutes that work well in low-risk environments, but they are not effective in hostile contexts.

Finally, participating in naval Peacekeeping Operations, demand careful logistic considerations imposed by both, the remoteness of the deployment and the necessity to interoperate with other navies. Such requirements push governments to negotiate agreements with ally states for the provision of basic and technical supply for the fleet. In this sense, NATO compatible equipment facilitates the logistic function.

In the case of the Mexican navy, the nature of its domestic mission makes it a natural candidate for naval peacekeeping. However, lack of experience in multinational exercises (product of long isolationism), low training in peacekeeping, and low interoperability capability, are important challenges that need to be overcome. Nonetheless, the Mexican navy has several units which are NATO compatible, and as the few joint exercises held with foreign navies have shown, it can overcome these

208

challenges in the short term.

Civilian Police

Civilian police is an essential element to create the conditions for order with law. In the first Peacekeeping Operations, CIVPOL, as it is frequently called in Peacekeeping Operations, was present as an auxiliary component subordinated to the military component. Its first participation at the level of Modern Peacekeeping Operations was in Namibia in 1989. Now, it is simply unthinkable not to include CIVPOL in every peacekeeping operation. The role played by CIVPOL varies depending on the mission's mandate, but its most common functions include: monitoring local police performance, police formation, patrolling and criminal investigation, and riot control.

Police training and formation can be conducted in any country or police academies can be established in host states. Relevant aspects of CIVPOL include recruitment of new police forces with minorities' representation considerations, particularly in the cases of ethnic and/or religious conflicts. The police work in peacekeeping has many facets that require numerous specialties. Different from the military component, which is normally deployed in strategic or tactical units, CIVPOL is normally deployed individually. Recruitment is done on individual basis and only a few countries provide operative CIVPOL units, such it is the case of the Italian *"Carabinieri"* that holds a paramilitary structure, similar to the Mexican Federal Preventive Police.

Individual recruitment is highly inefficient since international civilian police contingents require a long time to fulfill their goals. Contributing policemen to Peacekeeping Operations is a sensitive political issue domestically. Policemen selected for deployment have to set aside their job in their countries for several months.[502] Many times criminal investigators leave investigations they have followed for a long time to the detriment of the national police function. Traditional roles of CIVPOL include prevention, detection of focuses of actual or potential threat to public order, investigation of criminal activities, protection of citizenry, liaison between the UN and civil society of

---

[502] The normal time of deployment for CIVPOL is six months for the operational levels. The UN considers necessary to rotate the personnel and to avoid repetition of immediate shifts to reduce post-traumatic stress syndrome.

209

the host state, monitoring human rights, local police performance, training of local police forces, and policing.[503]

Civilian police forces alone cannot create the conditions for complete rule of law. The police is one of the three components of the public security equation. The other two are the judicial system (courts and tribunals) and the correctional system (jails and prisons). Additional to this triad, an expanded model includes a body of law and those agencies with police powers, such as customs, treasury, parks, housing, etc.[504] Therefore, public security is achieved only after all the elements are present and work in close coordination. Long-lasting sustainable peace requires also effective judicial and correctional systems. These systems are particularly difficult to strengthen, first because training judges and magistrates takes a long time and, second because it takes a substantial amount of resources to re-establish and maintain a penitentiary infrastructure. As is shown in the Dziedzic's model, the next step is to establish "order with law and justice." It can be noted that civilian entities, humanitarian agencies, human rights organizations, and democracy building efforts are present since the beginning of the peace process, and their presence increases when there is "order with law and justice."

The paramilitary structure of México's Federal Preventive Police (now National Police Body) makes it a good candidate to be deployed as CIVPOL unit. However, and despite the good reputation it enjoys at home, it should deal with the reputation of corruption of the Mexican police in general.[505] In addition and most important, México's federal police should deal with an already-strained capacity to meet national demands.

---

[503] Kenneth C. Eyre, "The Roles of CIVPOL." Course Presentation, International Summer Peacekeeping Institute 2001, (Wolfville, NS: Acadia University/The Royal Canadian Military College/The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

[504] "Law and Order." Course Presentation. C99-0101, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

[505] México ranked 70 in the 2006 Corruption Perceptions Index, compared to Japan which ranked 17, Canada 14 and Argentina 93. Ranking run from 1 (least corrupt country) to 163 (most corrupt country). Transparency International (2007). Internet. available at: http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/global/cpi Last accessed: April 22, 2007.

Diplomats and Politicians

Politicians and diplomats play a significant role during the entire peace process, but of particular importance for Peacekeeping Operations, are their achievements when hostilities have ceased. Politicians who "seek power or claim leadership at the national, regional or community level" and diplomats that "act for a country, an international organization, or a sub national actor in an international context" represent was has been termed the "political/diplomatic" component.[506]

The main responsibility of diplomats and politicians is to be sure that the conditions exist for the deployment of the peacekeeping operation; that there is a clear and viable mandate and that the necessary resources are at its disposal. These people are also actively involved in setting the conditions for the best settlement of the conflict. The central figure in this group is the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG), who takes the responsibility for the whole operation on the ground on behalf of the UN Secretary-General. It is safe to say that the effects of this group decisively shape every peacekeeping operation and affect the individual goals of every mission's components. The work of these people is an important consideration for evaluation purposes, because politically inspired constrains cannot always be clearly translated into operational directives.[507]

Elections

Elections activities are commonly carried out by organizations from "developed countries working bilaterally, the UN, regional organizations, the international foundation for Electoral Systems, NGOs, and VIPs."[508] The main purpose of these groups is to provide technical assistance and elections monitoring. They contribute to enhance the credibility or legitimacy of the elections held in the host country. The management of the electoral

---

[506] The New Peacekeeping Partnership.Précis C99-0101, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.10.

[507] Thomas B. Baines, The Laws of War and the Rules of Peace: Why Traditional Legal Models Do Not Work. The Pearson Papers. Paper No. 5. (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.11.

[508] The New Peacekeeping Partnership, p.11.

process is expected to respect always national autonomy. In this sense, NGOs play a significant role in checking the transparency of the electoral processes. Democracy-building is a long-run process and a few elections are insufficient to consolidate it. Therefore, democracy-building activities must take a comprehensive approach and long term planning.

The development and strengthening of an electoral institution is essential and it has to be paired with the construction of an electoral infrastructure (local presence, ballot production, distribution, and security, etc.). Agencies and organizations working on elections seek to create the "elements of civil society and even legislation in democratic processes."[509] This is a controversial issue because such "democratic" processes implemented through the UN by "developed countries," can be interpreted as a domination strategy.

Elections have been an essential activity in democratic transitions. The UN has been active providing electoral assistance around the world with particular emphasis on those states that recovers from civil wars. Within the organization, these activities are carried out by the Electoral Assistance Division of the Department of Political Affairs. This office provides technical assistance, maintains records, coordinates with other UN agencies and departments the electoral components of Peacekeeping Operations, coordinates and supports the activities of international electoral monitors, assists in the development of capabilities for non-partisan national election observation, and maintains a roster of international electoral experts.[510]

UN electoral assistance has evolved over time. During the 1990s, the United Nations organized and supported elections in East Timor, South Africa, Mozambique, El Salvador and Cambodia. More recently, the UN has provided technical assistance in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Burundi. Demand for UN "electoral assistance is growing, as are the

---

[509] The New Peacekeeping Partnership.Précis C99-0101, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.11.

[510] Electoral Assistance Division. Department of Political Affairs, (United Nations, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpa/ead/overview.html Last accessed: December 4, 2006.

212

duration and complexity of these operations."[511] Since 1989, the UN delivered electoral assistance to 96 countries.

These activities are funded through the "The United Nations Trust Fund for Electoral Observation" created in 1992 by the General Assembly by resolution A/Res/46/137.[512] The Trust Fund is administered by the Department of Political Affairs and is formed by voluntary contributions of Member States. States can contribute money to activities being conducted in a particular country (earmarked) for electoral assistance, or they can let the United Nations to use it at its discretion.

Member States also can contribute technical assistance. For instance, México is an active participant in international electoral processes through the UN. In the last decade, México provided electoral assistance to 22 countries in 41 electoral missions with the UN. Among these, most of them Latin American and developing countries, is Canada, which received technical assistance from México to develop a permanent voters list. In the same period of time, México hosted 159 delegations from 36 foreign countries and 10 more from international organizations to exchange experiences on electoral processes.[513]

Such participation was sought as a sign of maturity of the insipient Mexican democracy. This perception, however, was clouded by the criticism and the low credibility of the last presidential election in 2006, in which the National Action Party retained the presidency by a razor thin difference.[514] The IFE now recognizes the need to

---

[511] Electoral Assistance Division. Department of Political Affairs, (United Nations, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpa/ead/overview.html Last accessed: December 4, 2006.

[512] United Nations General Assembly Resolution A/Res/46/137, "Enhancing the effectiveness of the principle of periodic and genuine elections," (United Nations, December 17, 1991). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dhl/res/resa46.htm Last accessed: December 4, 2006.

[513] Countries that have receive technical electoral assistance from México include: Guyana, Brazil, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Panama, Bolivia, Chile, Canada, Colombia, Paraguay, Ghana, Congo, Zimbabwe, and Timor - Leste. "México Exporta Democracia," El Universal, (México City). Internet. Available at: http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/graficos/infografias/ifeexporta.htm Last accessed: December 5, 2006.

[514] A survey ordered by an influential newspaper shown a descent of 20 percent of the IFE's popularity after the 2006 presidential election (82% versus 62% before and after the election, respectively). Also, the perception of impartiality of the work done by the Institute during the election declined from 71 to 52 percent. Jorge Herrera, "Comicios Dañaron la Imagen del IFE, revelan," El Universal, (México City: November 10, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/nacion/145254.html Last accessed: December 5 2006.

213

initiate internal reforms to remedy the observed shortcomings on issues like low credibility, the times and funding of electoral campaigns, and the role of the media.[515] Nevertheless, the experience and good reputation gained by México's IFE makes it the ideal candidate for Peacekeeping Operations that require elections capabilities.

Human Rights

Human rights relate to UN Peacekeeping Operations, because there is a clear connection between armed conflicts and human rights violations. In fact, various Peacekeeping Operations have been justified on the grounds of mass violations of human rights. Therefore, preventing human rights violations is essential to achieve lasting peace. As such, it is a function of modern Peacekeeping Operations in three aspects: protection, confidence building and prevention of future violations. The UN understands that the use of force can do much in these regards and thus robust mandates and Peacekeeping Operations "with muscle" are becoming more frequent. It has been proved that establishing mechanisms to secure the respect for human rights is an effective way for Peacekeeping Operations to build confidence, legitimacy and consent.

Human rights actions are definitely a civilian task. They are conducted by a host of institutions among which the HCHR stands out. Other organizations in this group are the Center for Human Rights, UNICEF, and regional organizations. These organizations perform duties legally framed by International human rights legislation, such as the International Bill of Human Rights that includes the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and its Optional Protocol. Other legal instruments for human rights are the Genocide Convention, the Convention against Torture, and the Refugee Convention.[516] There is a growing convention for respecting human rights, a practice that is bonded to the process of democratization openly

---

[515] Arturo Sánchez Gutiérrez, "Considera Consejero del IFE muy Oportuna una Reforma Electoral," NOTIMEX, (México City: December 2, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://espanol.news.yahoo.com/s/02122006/4/n-latam-considera-consejero-ife-oportuna-reforma-electoral.html Last accessed: December 5, 2006.

[516] The New Peacekeeping Partnership.Précis C99-0101, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.10.

214

promoted by the UN and other international organizations.

Human rights workers aim their efforts at protecting and promoting human rights for all. Organizations working in this field try to ensure the practical implementation of universally recognized human rights norms. One of the main tasks of the "human right partner" is to enhance national capabilities in the field of human rights and to improve the respect for human rights. This includes the actions of UN personnel and other agencies involved in the peace efforts. Human rights organizations play an active role removing obstacles to the full realization of human rights and in preventing the continuation of abuses. To achieve this goal, human rights organizations work closely with governments, UN bodies, regional organizations, other workers on democracy-building and democracy-enhancement projects, and civil societies.

Humanitarian Actions

Humanitarianism involves the interaction between the military and humanitarian organizations. However, and ironically, the military, accustomed to deliver emergency aid, seems to be not very well-suited for this job, as it was pointed out by Kofi Annan in 2000: "Humanitarian Aid is a Civilian Activity."[517] However, there are several humanitarian tasks for the military, which mostly fit under the Civil-Military Co-operation (UN CMcoord or CIMIC), such as providing security, demining, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants (DDR), and logistics and transportation.[518]

The case of the Mexican armed forces, however, seems to contradict such statement. As it is explained in Chapter III, the Mexican military has a strong and long tradition of supplying humanitarian and emergency relief aid, though not comparatively to international relief efforts Such a contradiction is perhaps due to the atypical condition

---

[517] Kofi Annan, Skopje, May 19, 2000. Cited in Timothy Pitt, "The Role of Humanitarian Aid." Course Presentation. International Summer Peacekeeping Institute 2001, (Wolfville, NS: Acadia University/The Royal Canadian Military College/The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

[518] Timothy Pitt, "The Role of Humanitarian Aid." Course Presentation. International Summer Peacekeeping Institute 2001, (Wolfville, NS: Acadia University/The Royal Canadian Military College/The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

of the Mexican military, which is more inwards focused.

Humanitarian actions seek to respond to the need to sustain life, relieve suffering and restore basic human needs (water, food, shelter, health, protection). The priority order of the tasks performed by these organizations, also known as the "Governance Priorities," goes in a cascade sequence from stopping fighting, imposing law and order and restoring the economy to re-establish civil society and democracy.[519] The aim of the humanitarian response is "in such a way that it: strengthens local institutions, supports rehabilitation and reconstruction of society as the peace process proceeds in parallel."[520]

In 1997, a group of humanitarian NGOs and the Red Cross and Red Crescent movement, established the Humanitarian Charter and identified Minimum Standards to be attained in disaster assistance, in each of five key sectors: water supply and sanitation, nutrition, food aid, shelter and health services. The result was SPHERE, a handbook prepared by NGOs, UN agencies, and academic institutions. In 2004, the handbook was significantly revised to include practical recommendations from agencies using Sphere in the field. In particular, a sixth sector, food security, has been added and integrated with those of nutrition and food aid.

The Sphere Project is hosted by the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and funded by external donors. Training is provided through a series of workshops aimed at training the trainers.[521] The most practical benefit of using Sphere is perhaps the attachment to international standards, which (as Katrina shown to the Mexican teams) many times are essential for full capability deployment.

In addition managing the supplies that need to be delivered in humanitarian crises is a huge challenge. To solve this problem, international organizations have developed supplies management systems, such as SUMA (Supply Management System) developed

---

[519] The New Peacekeeping Partnership.Précis C99-0101, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

[520] Timothy Pitt, "The Role of Humanitarian Aid." Course Presentation. International Summer Peacekeeping Institute 2001, (Wolfville, NS: Acadia University/The Royal Canadian Military College/The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

[521] Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Disasters Response, (The SPHERE Project). Internet. Available at: http://www.sphereproject.org/index.htm Last accessed: September 14, 2005.

216

by the World Health Organization (WHO) and used by Argentina's "White Helmets" (more in Chapter VI).

At the UN level, the Office of the Coordinator of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) is responsible for coordinating the several UN agencies involved in delivering emergency relief such as the UNHCR. Other organizations including regional organizations and NGOs provide most of the emergency relief.[522] The aid delivered by these organization targets the individual, while development aid focuses on the community, the regional, and the national levels.

Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

After the deployment of peacekeepers, a series of measures need to be taken to assure a long-lasting truce to provide enough time and space for the settlement of disputes. It is essential for peacekeepers to gain control of the means of violence and to break the inertia of violence of the society in crisis. This process is called Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR). The process must flow in a coordinated fashion by almost all the organizations involved in the peace process.

Disarmament means to restore the power monopoly of the state, to reduce the access to and usage of arms to the legitimate forces, namely the arm forces and the police, to reduce the number of arms circulating in the country, and to eliminate the use of arms used in conflicts at the community and household levels.[523]

Various critical issues regarding disarmament need to be considered for a successful campaign; it is important to secure specific provisions in the peace agreement, with emphasis on weapons destruction; to set aside adequate resources, interim storage facilities and procedures; to establish incentives for compliance and penalties for failure; to design enforcement mechanisms at the national level and long term weapons

---

[522] International Summer Peacekeeping Institute 2001, (Wolfville, NS: Acadia University/The Royal Canadian Military College/The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

[523] Kees Steenken, "Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration." Course Presentation. International Summer Peacekeeping Institute 2001, (Wolfville, NS: Acadia University/The Royal Canadian Military College/The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

management; to stop illicit arms flows and halt the availability of weapons.[524] This task usually requires high coordination between military components to cover the whole area of deployment. When possible, the work of naval components is highly effective to prevent arms from getting into the area of conflict. Navies with coastal and river patrol capabilities can more effectively support disarmament efforts.

Demobilization is a process by which the warring forces, both regular and irregular, are reduced in size or completely disbanded. The people involved in this phase usually come from government forces, opposition forces, police force, gendarmerie, irregular armed groups, and armed individuals. A timetable has to be set up before initiating the demobilization process. It often starts from the peace agreement and the range varies according to the dimension of the armed conflict and the time of the warring; experience has shown that a common range goes from a few months to two years. The rate of demobilization also varies, but the important issue is to demobilize both sides proportionately.

Demobilization must be a part of the conflict resolution strategy and as such it lies under the responsibility of the SRSG.[525] There is a need for high levels of coordination between agencies to link smoothly the DDR phases with minimal risk for an outbreak. Demobilization requires also high coordination between civilian diplomatic components negotiating the conditions for it to happen, and military components securing such conditions.

Reintegration is a complex process, or better said, a complex set of processes and activities. Many factors come into play with reintegration because it reaches all aspects of society. In this process, security is paramount. Former warriors must find soon their place in the society and engage in productive activities. The role played in this stage by the military component of peacekeeping is crucial; particularly in deterring violence from erupting again.

---

[524] Kees Steenken, "Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration." Course Presentation. International Summer Peacekeeping Institute 2001. (Wolfville, NS: Acadia University/The Royal Canadian Military College/The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

[525] Steenken, "Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration."

218

The core and most difficult aspect of reintegration is reconciliation. War-torn societies need assistance to develop the means to reunite and to accept each other. At the community level, traditional and religious ceremonies and culturally focused programs are normally implemented. At the national level, war crime trials, and peace and truth commissions are to be established.[526] This task can hardly be possible without the assistance of the international community, which can be catalyst for a faster and smoother transition from a state of war to a state of normality. State members can develop technical capabilities in each or a set of phases of DDR. Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration processes require professional teams with high coordination capabilities that only a few states can achieve.

Mission Transitions

Traditional Peacekeeping Operations used to be quite static and changed very little over time. However, this is not the case for modern Peacekeeping Operations, which, as explained before, they have been increasingly implemented in intrastate conflicts, which conditions are sometimes extremely volatile. The term "transition" is used in peacekeeping to describe a series of coordinated actions to gradually withdraw the military intervention so as to leave the theatre of operations in the hands of legal and legitimate civil authorities.

In other words, transition means passing the responsibility of the local legal and legitimate authorities. In the case of failed or collapsed states, legal and legitimate institutions and authorities are nonexistent, and thus they have to be created and elected. The lack of a centralized control or "unity of command," undermines any comprehensive plan for the transition, consequently unity of effort is the best that can be hoped. Transition also means handing off the situation to a contracted organization when escalation of force goes beyond Peacekeeping.

The various elements that often intervene in Modern Peacekeeping Operations

---

[526] Kees Steenken, "Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration." Course Presentation. International Summer Peacekeeping Institute 2001, (Wolfville, NS: Acadia University/The Royal Canadian Military College/The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

make transitions even more complex. As it can be appreciated in the figure below, which shows a less simplified picture than prior models presented in this study, a mission can change from a peacekeeping deployment (Chapter VI), to a robust enforcement of agreement conditions or humanitarian reasons under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

Figure 9: Possible Transition in the Life of a Mission
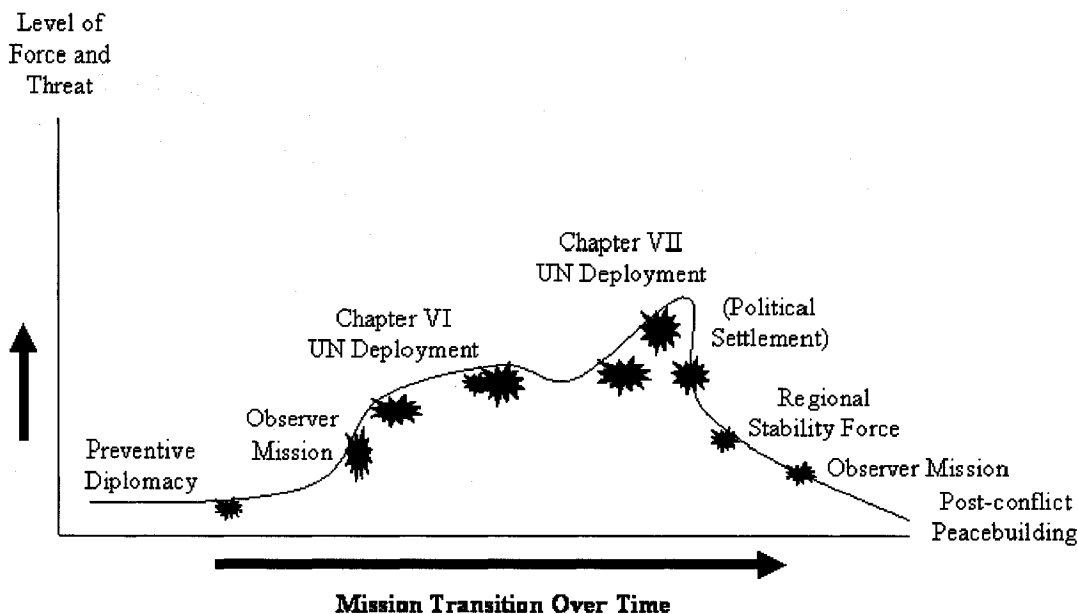
Source: David Last (2001)

Examples of these situations are the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the former Yugoslavia and the UN Mission in Somalia (UNOSOM), respectively. UNPROFOR was initially designed as an interim enforcement operation (Chapter VII) to create the conditions for a cease-fire. Its mandate was modified afterwards to increase the level of force and to coordinate with the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO) the use of air power. Three years after its first implementation UNPROFOR was restructured in three separate but interlinked Peacekeeping Operations.[527]

In Somalia, UNOSOM I was forced to hand in the mission to an authorized

---

[527] United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, United Nations Peacekeeping in the Service of Peace. UNPROFOR. Mission Profile. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/unprof_p.htm Last accessed: December 10, 2006.

220

American-led coalition, the United Task Force (UNITAF) to protect the delivery of humanitarian aid to famine corridors due to the high levels of violence and banditry. UNITAF handed in the operation back to the UN in the form of a more robust, larger and with a wider mandate mission, UNOSOM II. [528]

From Preventive Diplomacy to Post-conflict Peacebuilding, every transition requires substantive planning and management, without mentioning the control and coordination efforts. Administration and logistics are also complicated since high levels of coordination with contributing states are necessary while trying to meet the demands of the deployed forces. At times, all aspects of the mission should be re-evaluated; almost as in implementing a new one, particularly when shifting from a Chapter VI to Chapter VII schemes.[529]

Also, nothing can assure that the conditions will not deteriorate after the mission has withdrawn, and therefore, longer withdrawal processes are necessary. Violence can erupt even after peacekeepers have been deployed, raising the need for an implementation force under Chapter VII. At the end, a mission transition strategy must be a part of the exit strategy.

As explained, Peacekeeping Operations create the space for peaceful negotiation and to some extent reconciliation. Military security or "order" alone is insufficient to establish the Rule of Law, because it needs "law and justice" as well. All these conditions can be, and in fact have been, created by Peacekeeping Operations. However, in the long run, stable and sustainable peace is necessary. For this, effective legal and legitimate institutions (democratic independent judiciary, media, electoral, government), political leaders, and a running economy to provide for the needs of the local population, need to be created or reformed. All these actions are addressed by peacebuilding efforts and at times by UN-implemented transitional administrations.

---

[528] John Hillen, Blue Helmets: The Strategy of UN Military Operations, (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1998), p.184.

[529] David Last, "Theatre Dynamics of a Mission: Command, Control and Transition." Command and Control, Coordination and Co-operation. In Kenneth C. Eyre, "Peacekeeping at the Millennium." Pro Peace Paratus: An Anthology of Readings in Modern Peacekeeping, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.156.

Transitional Administrations

Transitional administrations represent the most complex operations attempted by the United Nations. These operations are commonly referred as "unique in the history of the UN –perhaps never to be repeated."[530] Two questions are central to these operations that have raised doubts about the interest of the international community: one is concerning the legitimacy of the UN in implementing particular types of liberal democracy (a form of government not even adopted by all its members) and the institutional capacity to supervise these administrations (clear mandate or political consensus).[531] These operations necessarily affect the principles of sovereignty (as it is necessary for the international community to undertake government functions) and self-determination (as war-torn nations can hardly decide for their own future).

The rationale behind these operations is that failed or collapsed states represent a threat themselves to international peace and security, which can be strengthened by replicating the establishment of liberal democratic societies. This particular issue has been controversial because some see such a "democracy" implemented by the UN as a direct form of domination. Also, economic reconstruction has been criticized as been "more intent on following neo-liberal economic doctrine than creating an economic framework capable of meeting the material needs of the local populace."[532] Transitional administrations have been also accused of being "little kingdoms" that signal a form of liberal imperialism.[533]

Nevertheless, these are attempts by the international community through the UN as important measures against violence. Others target cultural and structural factors of violence located at different levels of society – included the "external help," which need

---

[530] Simon Chesterman, "Transitional Administrations Project," (International Peace Academy, 2001-2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.ipacademy.org/Programs/Research/ProgReseTransAdmin_body.htm Last accessed: December 09, 2006.

[531] Alex J. Bellamy and others, Understanding Peacekeeping, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), p.238.

[532] Bellamy, Understanding Peacekeeping, p.247.

[533] Jarat Chopra, "The UN's Kingdom of East Timor," Survival, 42, 3 (2000), pp.27-40. In Alex J. Bellamy and others, Understanding Peacekeeping, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), p.247.

222

to be overcome before achieving long-lasting peace, such as ethnic and gender issues, among others.

Key Issues of Modern PKO

Women in Peacekeeping

Women relate to UN Peacekeeping not only because they make good peacekeepers, but also because it has been recognized that they are disproportionately affected by conflict and thus they should participate in the solution. And also because the gender problem is among the root causes of conflict. In other words, the participation of women in UN Peacekeeping Operations means commitment with long-lasting peace arrangements. On October 24, 2000, UNSC Press release 6937 announced a day long UNSC debate on a "stronger decision-making role for women in peace processes."[534] The issue of women, peace and security was discussed at this meeting. An overwhelming number of speakers stressed the need to include women in every aspect of peacebuilding initiatives, particularly at decision-making levels.

Secretary-General Kofi Annan stated that "maintaining and promoting peace and security required women's equal participation in decision-making."[535] "Women had proved instrumental in building bridges rather than walls." "They had also been crucial in preserving social order when communities collapsed. Conflict resolution and prevention called for creative and flexible approaches. In all these areas we have seen examples of women playing an important role." He added, "I am here today to ask you to do everything in your power to translate that statement into action."[536]

The response came soon. On October 31 2000, the UNSC adopted Resolution 1325, which urged Member States to "ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and

---

[534] UN Security Council. Press Release SC/6937, (United Nations). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2000/20001025.sc6939.doc.html Last accessed: April 12, 2005.

[535] Press Release SC/6937.

[536] Press Release SC/6937.

mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict."[537] México supported Resolution 1325 and agreed to "increase the participation of women at all levels and aspects of peace operations, particularly at the decision-making level. Also, [it] expressed the support to the creation of a focal point on gender at the UN headquarters, specifically at the UNDPKO, as well as the inclusion of gender specialists to Peacekeeping Operations."[538]

Resolution 1325 represents the first time in the history of the UN that the UNSC has taken a formal decision on the issue of gender. The Resolution summarizes the ongoing debate on women and peacekeeping. This debate, as explained by the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), can be divided into five major aspects that include the peacebuilding perspective: 1) "Understanding the impact of armed conflict on women & girls; 2) improving protection and assistance for women; 3) supporting women's participation in peace processes; 4) bringing a gender perspective to inter-governmental peace and security initiatives; and 5) gender justice in post-conflict peacebuilding."[539]

However, there are differences between the UNSC Resolution and the UNIFEM approach that suggests lack of consensus on conceptual issues like "gender" and "women." How should women be treated? Same as men? Only as a vulnerable group? Striving for equal or 50/50 women/men ratio participation? Assuming equal men/women functional responsibility? Or focusing on employment opportunity equity, and identical interests between men and women?

The use of the terms "gender" and "women" in the peacekeeping debate raises several issues. Cynthia Enloe warns about the use of the term "gender" as a synonym for

---

[537] Resolution S/RES/1325/2000, on Women and Peace and Security, (United Nations Security Council, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/720/18/PDF/N0072018.pdf?OpenElement Last accessed: April 12, 2005.

[538] Intervention of the Mexican Delegation at the UNSC in the Debate about "Women, Peace and Security," Misión Permanente de México ante las Naciones Unidas, (SRE, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.int/México/2003/interv_cs_102903.htm Last accessed: November 29, 2006.

[539] United Nations Development Fund for Women. Internet. Available at: http://www.unifem.undp.org/about_us/ataglance.html Last accessed: April 12, 2005.

"women." It is not, she says. "To take seriously the full implications of gender entail shining bright lights into the cultures, the structures, and the silences of peacekeeping."[540] For Enloe, talking about gender in a policy conversation means introducing questions about power. It means that calling for more women participation in peacekeeping is also calling for the right of one-half of the world's population to participate in the prevention of violent conflicts of which they are disproportionately affected.

By the mid-1990s, about 80 percent of fatalities in armed conflicts were civilians, mainly women and children.[541] Therefore, defining gender in terms of the social construction of femininity and masculinity requires mainstreaming gender into peacekeeping. If violence has direct and devastating consequences on women regardless of their membership in defined social groups, it is fair to include them in the prevention and resolution efforts.

The landmark UNSC Resolution 1325 builds on the 1999 Windhoek Declaration and Namibian Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations, commonly known as the "Windhoek Declaration." This declaration supports the idea that "to ensure the effectiveness of peace support operations, the principles of gender equality must permeate the entire mission, at all levels, thus ensuring the participation of women and men as equal partners and beneficiaries in all aspects of the peace process – from peacekeeping, reconciliation and peace-building, towards a situation of political, economic and social development of their country."[542]

The integration of women into the military has traditionally found strong opposition and weak advocacy. On the one side, women, it is said, "do not make good

---

[540] Cynthia Enloe, Closing Remarks. In Louise Olsson and Torunn L. Tryggestad (Eds.), Women and International Peacekeeping, (London: Frank Cass, 2001), p.112.

[541] Women Victims of Armed Conflict, "Rape as a War Crime." Irish Section, (Amnesty International). Internet. Available at: http://www.amnesty.ie/netw/wan/mj99a.shtml Last accessed: October, 12 2003.

[542] Resolution S/RES/1325/2000, on Women and Peace and Security, (United Nations Security Council, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/720/18/PDF/N0072018.pdf?OpenElement Last accessed: April 12, 2005.

225

soldiers because they are weak, both physically and emotionally."[543] Advances in technology have gradually eroded the physical argument while the emotional argument remains. Women, it is said, are genetically programmed to give life, not to take it away.

However, Modern Peacekeeping needs soldiers capable of performing roles different from traditional soldering with conciliatory, patience, and humanitarian qualities. Lately operations have led to an appreciation of the qualities attributed to women when seeking mechanisms to gain legitimacy from the local population. Such recognition suggests that future Peacekeeping Operations "might want women for the very same reasons they have rejected them in the past."[544] Central to this debate is an issue for which there is no response: who is more aggressive, men or women?

The 50/50 women/men ratio participation in peacekeeping finds a series of problems too. Only a few countries can provide well-trained women and yet are unable to achieve a gender balance. Canada is one of these few countries and women represent only 12 percent of the Canadian forces; in Peacekeeping Operations, the figure is much lower.[545] Modern Peacekeeping Operations have seen little improvement in gender balance. While the UN civilian staff has increased in peacekeeping missions, the proportion of military women deployed remains low.[546]

The efforts by the UN to increase women's participation in peacekeeping and to develop gender capacity are shown by the fact that ten out of the current seventeen peacekeeping missions have either a formalized unit or a gender advisor.[547] Two women have been appointed head of missions in Georgia (UNOMIG) and Burundi (UNMIB). In

---

[543] Gerard J. DeGroot, "A Few Good Women: Gender Stereotypes, the Military and Peacekeeping." In Louise Olsson and Torunn L. Tryggestad (Eds.), Women and International Peacekeeping, (London: Frank Cass, 2001), p.23.

[544] Louise Olsson and Torunn L. Tryggestad (Eds.), Women and International Peacekeeping, (London: Frank Cass, 2001), p.37.

[545] DeGroot, "A Few Good Women." p.37.

[546] Judith Hicks Stiehm, "Women and Peacemaking: Gender Balance and Mainstream." In Louise Olsson and Torunn L. Tryggestad (Eds.), Women and International Peacekeeping, (London: Frank Cass, 2001), p.40.

[547] Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, "Women, Gender and Peacekeeping," (Peace Women). Internet. Available at: http://www.peacewomen.org/un/pkwatch/facts.html Last accessed: April 7, 2005.

2004, women represented 4.4 percent of civilian police and one percent of military personnel working in Peacekeeping Operations, they constituted 27.5 percent of international civilian personnel (up from 24% in 2002).[548]

Johan Galtung justifies women mainstreaming in two ways: women are targets of violence and therefore must participate in the solutions; and because they tend to relate more to people than to hardware, they become an asset for peacekeeping soldiering.[549] Because peacekeeping is implemented between the "before violence" and "after violence" phases, attention has to be put to the roots of the conflict, but also to the future, where reconstruction and reconciliation are vital.

In a nutshell, consensus has been reached at the UNSC that peacekeeping and peacebuilding should promote women's full, equal and effective participation as actors in all peace processes; particularly in negotiation, mediation and facilitation. Peace agreements must address, from a gender perspective, the full range of security aspects – legal, political, social, economic and physical – and also address the specific needs and priorities of women and girls. Peacekeeping Operations must promote gender equality and women's full participation at all aspects – demobilization, disarmament, reintegration, and rehabilitation. Women must have equal and full access to public information related to peace processes. It is important that they contribute to gender equality participating on monitoring, accountability and reporting obligations in the implementation of peace agreements.

In regard to gender mainstreaming, the importance of ensuring and supporting the full participation of women at all levels of decision-making and implementation in development activities and peace processes, has been recognized. Women must be involved in all aspects of conflict prevention and resolution, post-conflict reconstruction, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace building. Therefore, the involvement of women's organizations, community-based organizations and non-governmental organizations is

---

[548] Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, "Women, Gender and Peacekeeping," (Peace Women). Internet. Available at: http://www.peacewomen.org/un/pkwatch/facts.html Last accessed: April 7, 2005.

[549] Johan Galtung, Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means, UNDP Conflict Training Manual, (Geneva: United Nations, 2000), p.20.

227

essential. All these call for the development and strengthen of gender advisory capacity and gender sensitive training programs for all staff in missions related to armed conflicts. The call for 50/50 men/women ratio participation in peacekeeping remains valid in order for troops to play a more adequate peacekeeping role and not to signify only a military presence.

An eventual participation of México in Peacekeeping Operations would help increasing the proportion of women in the Mexican military. This means giving women in uniform the opportunity to be recognized for their job in more equalitarian conditions. It would also means providing women in uniform with a respected role that may open similar opportunities at home, and eventually that may break traditional restraints. This means also taking advantage by the Mexican government of the opportunity to comply with international conventions reflected in Security Council Resolutions (1325). More women in uniform would also reinforce the professional identity of the Mexican armed forces, relief providers to the civilian population not war makers.

As such, the gender issue represents a challenge for an eventual participation of Mexican military contingents in UNPKO, for which a clear, not politicised, position is required. Other challenges include those aspects commonly developed by militaries with international experience, such as Command and Control structures and procedures and strong Civil-Military Co-operation mechanisms.

Command and Control
Different from the simple command structures of traditional peacekeeping missions, where the Force Commander was the head of the whole UN mission, complex operations require inclusive command and control structures (C2 or C3 when Communications are included) to cover all or most of all of the civilian and military contingents involved in the mission. In broad terms, command and control structures have to be oriented to encompass national and international efforts to "manage" the mission. When established, these structures are setup under different considerations for the strategic and tactical

228

levels.[550]

Even though the participation of Member States is voluntary, they do not subordinate completely to the UN; unless not in the military notion of subordination, which is a synonym of obedience. This lack of rigidity results from the sovereign right of contributing states, which do whatever is necessary to ensure this principle is followed permanently. In other words, participating states maintain direct control over their contingents all the time, though the level of control retained varies depending on the state and the circumstances. Therefore, troops follow parallel chains of command: the national chain of command (home governments), and the local chain of command (UN-led multinational forces).

At the operational or tactical level, commanders require having enough authority to work harmoniously and efficiently with the rest of the mission's participants. Every restriction imposed unilaterally by the states on their field commanders affects the whole mission. This point was clearly illustrated by General Sir Peter de La Billiere in a passage from the Gulf War: "... the French ... were contributing a sizable contingent to the coalition, but through no fault of their officers or men were quickly pushed off on to the sidelines and had no say in the central planning. This was because the defence minister ... insisted that all command decisions must go through him in Paris –a requirement which made it impossible for the French to work closely with the Americans and condemned them to isolation."[551]

Administrative matters, such as wage pay and discipline, have to be handled through national chains of command and the rearrangement of units at the tactical level to suit the commander's plans is difficult because national contingents or units are rarely

---

[550] David Last, "Theatre Dynamics of a Mission: Command, Control and Transition," Command and Control, Coordination and Co-operation. In Kenneth C. Eyre, "Peacekeeping at the Millennium." Pro Peace Paratus: An Anthology of Readings in Modern Peacekeeping, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.145.

[551] Peter De La Billiere, Storm Command, (Harper Collins, San Francisco, 1992), 50-51. Citado en David. Last, "Theatre Dynamics of a Mission: Command, Control and Transition." Command and Control, Coordination and Co-operation. En Kenneth C. Eyre, "Peacekeeping at the Millennium." Pro Peace Paratus: An Anthology of Readings in Modern Peacekeeping, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.146.

separated or divided.[552] It can be said then that the UN provides the basic structure for command and control, but a whole, fully functional and efficient structure is naturally hindered by the sovereign power of states, particularly the five Permanent Members of the UNSC. For this reason, the participation of these powers in Peacekeeping Operations, particularly the United States, has to be analyzed separately.

The main control measures at the international level are UNSC Resolutions, directives from the UNSG and the Secretariat, and UNSG's Reports.[553] However, Resolutions alone do not provide clear and coherent direction to the people responsible for a mission, such as the SRSG or the Force Commander. Military advice is provided at the national level, because the UN does not have a military staff and the UNDPKO only advises the UNSG.

The UNDPKO is the contact office for any mission. It is organized to provide information and to attend missions' requests, but it is not organized along military staff lines, and it does not perform military staff functions. Other agencies, such as the Department of Political Affairs (UNDPA) and the Department of Humanitarian Affairs (UNDHA) are also actively involved. Recently, personnel from the Field Administration and Logistics Department (UNFALD) have been incorporated into the UNDPKO to reduce the conflict between reports issued by civilian and military through the Chief Administrative Office (CAO) and the Force Commander, respectively.[554]

Normally, international control measures are not subjected to discussion or manipulation at the national level. Contributing states need to find their own channels to influence the direction of a particular mission. The official conduits for state members are the Military Advisor to the Permanent Representative to the mission in the UNHQ, and the UNDPKO. At the mission level, the command and control structure can have several levels, depending on the size of the mission, and "the structure of each mission is

---

[552] David Last, "Theatre Dynamics of a Mission: Command, Control and Transition." Command and Control, Coordination and Co-operation. In Kenneth C. Eyre, "Peacekeeping at the Millennium." Pro Peace Paratus: An Anthology of Readings in Modern Peacekeeping, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.146.

[553] Last, "Theatre Dynamics of a Mission," p.146.

[554] Last, "Theatre Dynamics of a Mission," p.147.

230

unique."[555] Nevertheless, common elements found in most Peacekeeping Operations include a military staff, an administrative staff, a political or civil affairs staff, and a public information staff.

Putting all these pieces together and make them work as one coherent entity, can only be possible if effective structural and procedural control mechanisms are in place. These structures and mechanisms give life to myriad acronyms such as:

Table 8: Control Offices in UNPKO

Office	Acronyms	Mission
Joint Operations Center	JOC	Cyprus
Integrated Operations Center	IOC	Pearson Peacekeeping Centre
Joint Mission Analysis Cell	JMAC	Timor-Leste
On-site Operations Coordination Center	OSOCC	Rwanda
Joint Logistics Coordination Center	JLCC	Bosnia y Herzegovina
Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Cells	HACC	Haiti
Civil-Military Co-operation	UN CMcoord	Most PKO

Source: Author (2005) with information from David Last (2001).[556]

These structures are not fixed and they can change over time as the mission evolves. Today's missions are very complex and highly fluid because they have to respond to the dynamics of the conflict. Such volatility increases the necessity for increased co-operation between mission components, for which closer ties between civilians and military personnel are essential.

Civil-Military Co-Operation

Force alone is unable to create anything; "...in the long run, the sword is always beaten

---

[555] David Last, "Theatre Dynamics of a Mission: Command, Control and Transition." Command and Control, Coordination and Co-operation. In Kenneth C. Eyre, "Peacekeeping at the Millennium." Pro Peace Paratus: An Anthology of Readings in Modern Peacekeeping, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.149.

[556] Last, "Theatre Dynamics of a Mission," p.147.

231

by the spirit."[557] The ultimate goal of any Civil-Military Relations program should be to ensure full civilian control and authority over the military; a rationale that is fundamental to democracy. The state concentrates power, through the monopoly of the means of violence, to provide "security" to its population. With coercive power at hand, the state is not only a source of protection, but also a threat to its population. Thus, full civilian control of the military ensures that defence and security mechanisms will not compromise the basic democratic values of majority rule, minority rights, and freedom of speech, religion, and due process. The military must obey the lawful orders of civilian authorities who are also responsible to enforce civilian control.

The main goal of Civil-Military Relations in Peacekeeping Operations has a significant variant. Indeed the military component in Peacekeeping Operations is under the civilian control of the Secretary-General through the SRSG, though Civil-Military Relations are more focused on increasing co-operation between mission components.

Co-operation between civilian and military organizations is an area of growing interest. The traditional role of the military – that of applying coercive power against the enemy does not apply in Peacekeeping Operations. In complex environments where various military and civil components have similar objectives in the long-run, the need for coordination is evident. Modern conflicts have challenged the notion that armies are self-sufficient entities; "the largest and most sophisticated armies in the history of the world are by training, equipment, and attitude incapable of fighting real modern wars."[558]

There are various factors that explain why the military cannot succeed alone in modern armed conflicts; one has to do with the nature of modern conflicts, which frequently involve weakened and collapsed states, and other has to do with the de-escalation of conflict. Such a need had moved theorists to link peacekeeping to conflict resolution theory and to call for a move beyond the practical business of separating

---

[557] Napoleon Bonaparte, Quote: "Do you know, Fontanes, what astonishes me most in this world? The inability of force to create anything. In the long run, the sword is always beaten by the spirit". Cited in David M. Last, "Winning the Peace." In The New Peacekeeping Partnership.Précis C99-0101, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.15.

[558] John Raiston Saul, "The Doubter's Companion: A Dictionary of Aggressive Common Sense." Penguin Books, 1995. 318-319. Cited in The New Peacekeeping Partnership.Précis C99-0101, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.3.

belligerents from each other.[559] It is essential for Peacekeeping Operations to build strong and efficient links between the military and civil components. However, military components with weak national Civil-Military Relations are less likely to engage smoothly in the command and control structures of Modern peacekeeping, where the civilian component is as important as the military.

Civilian and military spheres have different cultures and languages that seem incompatible at times. Other differences are evident in their funding basis, mandates, "turf," personalities, experience, and deployed resources. Such differences lead many times to tensions and clashes in coordination.[560] The most salient cultural differences between civil and military personnel are compared in the following table:

Table 9: Civil-military Cultural Differences

Military	Civil
Rigid	Loosely structured
Structured	Flat
Hierarchical	Consensus based
Authoritarian	Highly decentralized
Orderly	Undisciplined
Impartiality	Neutrality (some)
Little understanding of Civil	Little understanding of Military
Turf	Turf

Source: David T. Lightburn, 2001

Civil-military co-operation mechanisms implemented in peacekeeping are referred by the UN as "UN CMcoord." Other states have different terms, for instance Canada uses the term CIMIC (Civil-Military Co-operation) and the United States CMO

---

[559] David M. Last, "Winning the Peace." In The New Peacekeeping Partnership.Précis C99-0101, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.15.

[560] David T. Lightburn, Civil-Military Co-Operation. "Ass Pass on the Seas..." The Peacekeeping Dimension of Maritime Operations. Civil-Military Co-operation. Précis C16-2001, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.1.

233

(Civil-Military Operations) and CA (Civil Affairs). The basic difference between these concepts is that for the UN, the military component is under civilian control through the figure of the UNSRSG, whereas the others refer to military structures designed to liaise with civilian organizations. The UN defines UN CMcoord as "the system of interaction, involving exchange of information, negotiation, de-confliction, mutual support, and planning at all levels between military elements and humanitarian organizations, development organizations, or the local civilian population, to achieve respective objectives."[561]

Not surprisingly, co-operation between civilians and the military in the field is not an easy task. The military is frequently seen by civil organizations as a manpower pool, often creating unwanted dependencies. UN CMcoord, or CIMIC, can be a new discipline to teach both military and civilian how to deal with each other in benefit of a common goal; but the problem has to be accepted first in order to find a solution and many armies already participating in Peacekeeping Operations have not yet developed CIMIC capabilities. The civil side also needs to move forward.

There are various proposals for improvement, among which are: acceptance of cultural differences and work with them; reduce "turf-related" tensions; better understanding and co-operation in "peacetime" – course, exercises, staff exchanges, etc.; exchange of information, operational concepts and outline planning before any deployment; development of practical measures of co-operation and coordination during operations; national efforts to improve CIMIC; and adjustment of certain operational concepts.[562]

It is essential for troop contributing states to establish CIMIC mechanisms to liaise with civilian organizations on the field. However, civil-military structures and practices can hardly be improvised. Effective co-operation with civilian is not a choice in

---

[561] United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Training. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/depts/dpko/training/SGTM%20v%201.1/B-%20Training%20Material/C-%20UN%20Issues/10%20%20UN%20Civil-Military%20Coordination.doc Last accessed: June 20, 2005.

[562] David T. Lightburn, Civil-Military Co-Operation. "Ass Pass on the Seas..." The Peacekeeping Dimension of Maritime Operations. Civil-Military Co-operation. Précis C16-2001, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001), p.5.

peacekeeping environments, but an imperative. For this reason, participating states should prepare in advance on adopting a civil-military culture and practices. In the case of México and as explained in Chapter III, the lack of well-established civil-military structures is evident and there is an urgent need for this country to improve them, particularly in the context of the extended roles of the military.

The Media in Peacekeeping Operations

The media plays an increasingly significant role in Peacekeeping Operations. The rapid development of technology in the area of communications has brought all countries of the world closer. Events taking place in remote places are watched in real time by people at the other side of the world. The enormous capacity of the media to publicize events around the world has empowered the public to play more active roles in democratic countries. However, the transmission of news is neutral; both beneficial and detrimental information for one cause can be broadcasted equally.

One of the most widely known media effect is the "CNN Effect," which takes its name from the American company Cable News Network (CNN). It refers to the effect that broadcasted news of crises or disasters have on the public and policymakers who rush to change the foreign policy agenda accordingly. An additional effect associated with the media is the "Body Bag Effect." This effect refers to the psychological effect that the images of the reception of corpses of peacekeepers killed in missions make on the domestic public opinion. These effects translate into pressure exerted by the public on national governments to reduce their involvement in conflicts many times perceived as remote and not as direct threats to their national security.

The same effects can also put pressure on governments to act on assisting the victims of aggression, conflict or genocide. This "push and pull" impact of the news media can be exemplified by television images of starving Somali women and children that "pushed" Americans to send in troops to assist in the distribution of relief supplies. Images of one dead American soldier – out of eighteen killed in a failed operation – being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu by a crowd of Somali people, were enough to

235

persuade Americans to "pull" out their troops.[563]

The unique nature of Peacekeeping Operations gives the news media more potential power and more freedom than in war situations. Peacekeeping Operations have more sources of information that any other type of operation. For example, "in Rwanda about 90 relief agencies were operating and in Somalia several ethnic factions vied to get their messages across through the media." In Modern Peacekeeping Operations, "officials have to pay much more attention to the media and information than they did before."[564] Another issue that makes the media coverage in Peacekeeping Operations different from common wars or battlefield coverage is the relationship between reporters and officials.

In peace operations, rather than controlling reporters, military commanders and UN officials "desperately need them to help build public support, to explain what may be a complex and indistinct picture and even to gather useful information for them in the field."[565] Also, the military can "use" the media for leverage versus insurgent groups and to gain intelligence.[566] In return, peacekeepers grant access and independence to reporters. In addition, there is an on-going debate on the role of the media as an actor in the peace process. Consensus is growing on increased principled and committed media involvement in drawing global attention to human suffering.

There is a need in peacekeeping to make a clear link between conflicts and human suffering; a task that the media can perform if it is to become a party to the conflict transformation process. For these reasons and from an operational point of view, media people require specialized training on peacekeeping. Such training should be aimed at familiarizing media workers on peacekeeping as a conflict resolution tool and at building coordination capabilities with peacekeeping partners from all disciplines. From a military perspective, there is also a need to develop institutional links with the media in order to

---

[563] Warren P. Strobel, "The Military and the Media." Late-Breaking Foreign Policy, (United States Institute of Peace, 1997).

[564] The Mass Media's Impact on International Affairs, (U.S. Institute of Peace). Internet. Available at: http://www.usip.org/peacewatch/1997/697/media.html Last accessed: April 13, 2005.

[565] Strobel, "The Military and the Media."

[566] Lewis Mackenzie, Peacekeeper: the Road to Sarajevo, (Douglas & Macintyre, 1993), p.308.

build enough legitimacy for the mission.

For these reasons, military contingents planning to participate in UNPKO must prepare improved relationship mechanisms with the media. In the case of the Mexican military and as it is explained in Chapter III, "talking to the press" still is a practice that need to be institutionalised.

Costs and Funding

The funding mechanism for peacekeeping is not trouble free. Funding is a highly political issue and it affects directly the success/failure of Peacekeeping Operations. The budget for Peacekeeping Operations is one of the four main budgets in the United Nations system. The others budgets are: the regular budget; the specialized agencies' budgets, and the voluntary programs budget. The regular budget is formed with the contributions of Member States based on a scale of assessments.[567] As from 1 July 2001, the rates of assessment for peacekeeping are based on the scale of assessments for the regular budget of the United Nations. This is a ten-level scale of contributions and parameters. States are assigned to different levels according to their per capita gross national product (PCGNP). The Level A is for the P5 and Level J for the least developed countries.

The levels of discount facilitate automatic, predictable movement between categories. The discount rates go from zero for the A level, to 90% for the J level. According to this scale, México is in the "I" level, along with countries like Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua, which have far smaller GDP. This contradicts the idea that México is a middle power in economic terms. However, the reason for such a discrepancy is that contributions are based on average per capita gross national product, and México's is below the average. On the one hand, such a difference suggests that paying its contributions to peacekeeping is not a heavy burden for México, but on the other hand, it reflects the huge inequality of the Mexican society.

Even though the peacekeeping budget is separate, sometimes it has been used as a

---

[567] Resolution A/RES/55/235 Scale of Assessments for the Apportionment of the Expenses of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, (United Nations General Assembly). Internet. Available at: http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/573/25/PDF/N0057325.pdf?OpenElement Last accessed November 29, 2006.

backstop to cover short-term deficits in the regular budget.[568] Such a remedy has only transferred the problems caused by the states' arrears to peacekeepers on the ground that frequently lack appropriate resources. States contributing troops pay wages to their own personnel. The UN reimburses these states at a flat rate of about US$1,000 per individual a month. In the case of special equipment, states make particular arrangements for reimbursement with the UN.

Reimbursements are sometimes deferred due to cash shortages in the organization. Since most troops are contributed by developing countries, this represents an additional financial burden for them and a cause of discourage for prospective contributors. For others, however, this is a vital source of aid to help "pay" for that states' military establishments. Civilian police and other civilian specialists are paid from the peacekeeping budget established for the operation.

Member States not always pay on time their assessments. Some times they do not pay for political reasons, such as having specific objections to a particular mission, or as a political leverage at the UN level. Each mission is funded separately and each has its own fiscal term beginning when a mandate is approved. This means that Member States are asked to make payments at unexpected moments throughout their domestic budget cycle, thus complicating the fundraising process.[569]

As of August 2004, over US$1.9 billion were owed to the peacekeeping budget in arrears.[570] The UN has been underfinanced for a while. Payment of UN dues is an international treaty obligation. However, many states do not comply with the law. And even though the UN Charter does have provisions to penalize members in arrears,[571] these

---

[568] Money Talks: the Funding Crisis at the UN, World Federalists of Canada. (Global Policy Forum). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalpolicy.org/finance/docs/wfedcan.htm. Last accessed October 17, 2004.

[569] The Financial Costs of Peacekeeping, (United Nations Association). Internet. Available at: http://www.una-uk.org/UN&C/costs.html. Last accessed October 04, 2004.

[570] Contributions Owed to the UN for Peacekeeping Operations: 2004, (Global Policy Forum). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalpolicy.org/finance/tables/pko/due2004.htm. Last accessed October 17, 2004.

[571] Article 19 of the UN Charter states that "[a] Member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of contributions due from it for the preceding two full years. The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member." Charter of the United Nations, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945).

measures are not applied and are ineffective.[572] The UN needs to solve the chronic problem of lack of resources and depoliticize its revenue system. Alternative funding methods have been explored that rely not only on the contributions from Member States, but from "those activities which benefit from the peaceful international order which the UN seeks to provide; travel, transport, communications and international transactions are obvious candidates."[573] It is clearly an area that deserves more research.

Even though México has tried to pay its contributions to the peacekeeping budget in time, in August 2006, México owed $12 US millions to the UN Peacekeeping Operations budget.[574] The challenge of financing UNPK participation can be overcome by México if proper measures are taken. These include enough in-advance planning and negotiations at the UN and domestic (inter-agency) levels, and gradual, selective participation. The financing challenge can be used by México as "the" critical decision-making factor for the selection of the least-compromising, highest-return option.

The Role of Regional Organizations in PKO

In its modern conception, peacekeeping is a UN invention, but it is not the sole preserve of the organization. Peacekeeping is also a prerogative of regional organizations. These organizations are varied. There are regional organizations that encompass all states in a defined region, such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the African Union (AU). Others are groups of states like the Francophone and the Commonwealth. There are also sub regional organizations like the Western European Union (WEU) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), among

---

[572] The problem of default in peacekeeping can be traced as far as the mere origin of peacekeeping. In 1956, the Soviet Union, supported by a number of Arab states, refused to pay for UNEF, which was established after the Suez crisis. The UN studied the possibility to enforce Article 19, but it fell short after the Soviet threat to leave the organization. The same situation occurred again with the mission in Congo. The "failure to implement Article 19 for fear of key members resigning demonstrated a lack of resolve and willingness to enforce the spirit and letter of the Charter. Members could fail to meet their assessments with little fear of the consequences." Money Talks: the Funding Crisis at the UN, World Federalists of Canada. (Global Policy Forum). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalpolicy.org/finance/docs/wfedcan.htm. Last accessed October 17, 2004.

[573] Money Talks: the Funding Crisis at the UN, World Federalists of Canada. (Global Policy Forum). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalpolicy.org/finance/docs/wfedcan.htm. Last accessed October 17, 2004.

[574] Contributions Owed to the UN for Peacekeeping Operations: 2006, (Global Policy Forum). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalpolicy.org/finance/tables/pko/due2006.htm Last accessed November 29, 2006.

239

others. Due to the difficulty of the UN to respond to numerous conflicts at the end of the Cold War, regional organizations started to play an important role in international peace and security.

The UN has recognized the importance of these organizations and their ability to adapt to new challenges and to deal with internal conflicts.[575] The UN Charter (Chapter VIII, Articles 52 to 54) encourages Member States to participate through these organizations in the maintenance of international peace and security, provided that such arrangements are consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.[576] In addition, Chapter VII of the Charter (Article 51) recognizes the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence.

Regional organizations are apparently more suited to intervene in internal conflicts – a constant in Modern Peacekeeping. The potential role of these organizations in support of peacekeeping has been recognized by influential reports, such as An Agenda for Peace and the Brahimi Report. The former recognizes that regional organizations, in "many cases[,] possess a potential that should be utilized in serving the functions [of] ...: preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peacemaking and post-conflict peace-building."[577] It outlines the different forms of co-operation between the UN and regional organizations on security matters, such as: consultation, diplomatic support, operational support, co-deployment, and joint operations.[578]

The Brahimi Report states that "[p]roviding training, equipment, logistical

---

[575] International Civilian Mission in Haiti, OAS/UN. "Regional Co-operation and Increasing the Peacekeeping capacity of the UN: Role of the OAS," (United Nations). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/rights/micivih/rapports/arg.htm. Last accessed: October 04, 2004.

[576] Chapter VIII, Article 53 (1), of the UN Charter provides that the Security Council "shall, where appropriate, utilize such regional arrangements and agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council." Charter of the United Nations, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945).

[577] Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992. VII Co-operation with Regional Organizations. (United Nations), p.64. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html. Last accessed: Oct 18, 2004.

[578] Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization. Supplement to An Agenda For Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations. A/50/60 - S/1995/1. 3. IV Coordination. (United Nations, January 1995), p.86. Internet. Available at: http://www.unog.ch/archives/agendas/supagp.htm. Last accessed October 19, 2004.

240

support and other resources to regional and sub regional organizations could enable peacekeepers from all regions to participate in a United Nations peacekeeping operation or to set up regional Peacekeeping Operations on the basis of a Security Council resolution."[579]

As recognized, regional co-operation with the UN offers great advantages: it combines the global legitimacy of the organization and its access to large amounts of resources with those of the regional organizations. Also, the UN has at its disposal "the credible threat of the use of force and the recourse to collective military action;"[580] two recourses that regional organizations can take advantage of.

These organizations are usually better positioned to encourage compliance with common norms and have greater knowledge of the dynamics of local conflicts as well as more flexibility to respond to crises. "Being closer to the conflict, such organizations can react faster and have a better understanding of the conflict than the international community as a whole, as represented by the United Nations."[581]

However, there are a number of disadvantages that make regional organizations less preferential over the UN for the conduct of Peacekeeping Operations. Some of these are: Interests; the closeness to the conflicts impede them to distinguish between national and regional self-interests, consequently compromising impartiality. Power perceptions: regional organizations are usually dominated by the major power of the region. Capacity: No regional organizations has ever developed peacekeeping capacity (except NATO if it is considered as such). And authority: regional organizations lack the legal authority for the use of force.[582]

---

[579] Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations. A/55/305. S/2000/809, "E. Implications for peacekeeping doctrine and strategy,"(United Nations, 2000), p.54.

[580] International Civilian Mission in Haiti, OAS/UN. "Regional Co-operation and Increasing the Peacekeeping capacity of the UN: Role of the OAS," (United Nations). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/rights/micivih/rapports/arg.htm. Last accessed: October 04, 2004.

[581] Walter Dorn, "Regional Peacekeeping is Not the Way," Peacekeeping and International Relations, 7, 2, (July-October 1998). Internet. Available at: http://www.rmc.ca/academic/gradrech/dorn5_e.html Last accessed: April 21, 2007.

[582] Dorn, "Regional Peacekeeping is Not the Way."

UN-regional co-operation can be set up at many levels and it can take many forms. The 1991 case of Haiti is illustrative. This year, a military coup against the democratically-elected President Aristide caused the OAS to adopt the Santiago Commitment to Democracy and the Renewal of the Inter-American System. The 1991 military coup in Haiti also originated the issuance of Resolution 1080, "an unprecedented automatic mechanism, [...] to deter illegal action against democratically elected governments." México supported and adopted this resolution, which requires the Secretary-General "to convene the Permanent Council and then hemispheric foreign ministers within 10 days after a coup or other interruption of a legitimate, elected government."[583]

The OAS took the lead in addressing the Haitian crisis with the support of the UN. Diplomatic recourses and an embargo preceded the deployment of a joint OAS/UN mission to reinforce the small group of observes deployed in 1992. A special envoy, Mr. Dante Caputo, represented both organizations.[584] The Mission was unique in two aspects. It was the first joint, fully integrated field-mission between a regional organization and the United Nations and it was an operation deployed before a political settlement had been reached.[585]

Nevertheless, the role played by regional organizations in matters of security is part of the debate surrounding the rival concepts of globalism and regionalism. Some states favour regional approaches to breaches of the peace while others, particularly smaller states, fear this could open the door to imperialism. As mentioned, frequently, powerful states can manipulate the regional organizations in their area of influence, an issue better known as "regional hegemony." This is the case of the OAS, which decision-making structure is clearly dominated by the United States.

---

[583] Historia de México en la OEA, Misión de México en la OEA, (Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores). Internet. Available at: http://www.sre.gob.mx/oea/ Last accessed: December 1, 2006.

[584] United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Past Missions. UNMIH, (United Nations). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/unmihbackgr2.html. Last accessed: October 19, 2004.

[585] International Civilian Mission in Haiti, "OAS Peace-Building Experiences: Progress Achieved, Lessons Learned, and Future Possibilities." OAS/UN International Civilian Mission - Speaking Notes, (United Nations). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/rights/micivih/rapports/peace-bu.htm. Last accessed: December 1, 2006.

There have been numerous observer missions implemented by the OAS, but not all successful. For instance, the Inter-American Peace Force implemented by this organization in the Dominican Republic in 1965, "resulted only in profound distrust of such an international force, mainly because it was evident that the IAPF was largely a US operation which deployed the multilateral organ as a cover for unilateral political objectives."[586] Reasons like these are enough support for México to sustain the supremacy of the UN above the OAS.[587]

In addition, military resources and capabilities are unevenly distributed around the world. Such differences are also evident in regional organizations; while some have strong military structures and capabilities (e.g. NATO), others lack even a mandate for the use of force (e.g. the OAS). Regional peacekeeping capacity is the most acute area of diversity, as it has been identified by the Brahimi Report. Other problems encountered with regional co-operation on security matters include the lack of financial resources, political divisions, political side-taking and low legitimacy (especially if they act without UNSC authorization).[588] Nonetheless, regional organizations are fertile soil for conflict prevention and conflict transformation in their own areas of influence.

Why Do States Participate in UN Peacekeeping Operations?

There are many reasons why states participate in Peacekeeping Operations. These are difficult to identify because individual and collective interests of participating states, overlap. Various authors have attempted to identify the reasons why states participate in UN Peacekeeping Operations, some of which are included next.

---

[586] Jack Child, "Guns and Roses," (Florida international University). Internet. Available at: http://www.fiu.edu/~lacc/hemisphere/vol6num3/child.html Last accessed: April 21, 2007.

[587] Mario Ojeda, Alcances y Limites de la Política Exterior de México, (México: El Colegio de México, 1976), p.54.

[588] Regional Security Organizations and the Challenge of Regional Peacekeeping, (United Nations Association). Internet. Available at: http://www.una-uk.org/UN&C/regionalsecurity.html. Last accessed: October 04, 2004.

Self-Interest

An analysis of Peacekeeping Operations prepared by Laura Neack in 1995, sought to identify whether patters of state participation suggest an idealist (interest of the community) or a realist (self-interest) explanation.[589] The study found that in a period time (1948-1990), conflict was an insufficient condition to warrant the establishment of a peacekeeping mission, that many of the largest contributors to peacekeeping were also among the largest arms exporters, that peacekeeping was dominated by Western states, that there are clear national interests in peacekeeping participation, and that Middle Power Diplomacy was a Cold War commodity.

The final conclusion of Neack's study is that the realist explanation of state participation overshadows the idealist base of participation in the interest of the community. The argument that states participate in PKO to defend the status quo contradicts the dynamics of present contributions by developing countries and therefore it is not of much help for comparative purposes.

Commitment

The question posed by Andreas Andersson (2002)[590] is to what extent does polity affect commitment to UN interventions?[591] The author argues that the norms that make democracies more peaceful in their interactions with one another should also make them more willing to commit to UN interventions. To answer this question, the author bases his analysis on the intellectual grounds of the Democratic Peace Proposition and Constructivism. The empirical tests ran by Andersson suggest that commitment to UN interventions tends to be higher among more democratic states. Under the label of "UN interventions," the author attempts to capture the general properties of interest that can be equally found in peacekeeping, peacebuilding, peace-promoting, peace-enforcement, etc.

---

[589] Laura Neack, "UN Peace-keeping: In the Interest of Community or Self?" Journal of Peace Research, 32, (1995), pp.181-196.

[590] Andreas Andersson, "United Nations Intervention by United Democracies? State Commitment to UN Interventions 1991-1999," Co-operation and Conflict: Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association, 37.4, (London: Sage Publications, 2002), pp.363-386.

[591] Andersson, "United Nations Intervention by United Democracies?" p.364

244

General properties of interests result from the characteristics of the mentioned interventions. For instance, for states, UN interventions differ from conventional interventions in more than one way: there may not be immediate security threat for them, the use of force by reaction is unlikely, only a minimum of military capabilities is required, and UN interventions are only for very limited purposes. For the author, these differences are important to theorize on the factors that drive commitment.

Although commitment is not a sufficient condition to explain why states participate in UN Peacekeeping Operations, Andersson's concept of commitment is useful to find answers – though partial – to the questions of *who, where, when, why,* and *how,* states participate in peacekeeping. Unfortunately, Andersson's approach cannot be used for the Mexican "democratization" process, because this country lacks significant participation in UN interventions to build a case.

Interest of the Community

Richard Bruneau's comparative study (2004) tries to answer the question "why do countries participate in Peacekeeping Operations?"[592] This author addresses the motivations of contributing states and what has changed since the end of the Cold War. He acknowledges the difficulty to separate self-interests from institutional and public goods contexts when using realist approaches to the question.

Bruneau utilizes the concept of impure public goods to setup a framework to explore motivations for peacekeeping participation. The shift in the participative trend of peacekeeping after the end of the Cold War (from Middle Power domination to developing states majority and previously non-participating P5) is identified by Bruneau who suggests the emergence of an "institutional system in which a broad spectrum of countries' self-interests are being pursued within notions of collective security."[593]

This author confirms that indeed UN peacekeeping has shifted from Middle

---

[592] Richard Bruneau, "Selfishness in Service of Common Good: Why States Participate in UN Peacekeeping," (Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.augustana.ca/rdx/bruneau/documents/PeacekeepingNov24.pdf Last accessed: March 9, 2006.

[593] Bruneau, "Selfishness in Service of Common Good", p.2.

Power dominance to developing countries majority, and that Russia and France have emerged as significant contributors after no participation before. Bruneau departs from the notion that the pursuit of narrow self-interests and collectively desired outcomes are not mutually exclusive.

According to alliance theory, "states are more likely to contribute to the provision of impure public goods (such as UNPKO) when higher levels of private benefits are possible."[594] To the author, this theory suggests that "we should not be trying to separate purely selfish or purely altruistic motivations, as they exist in relation to each other. It is doubtful that any one motivation by itself convinces a country to participate."[595]

Bruneau's approach to the study of peacekeeping participation provides the rationale to avoid the "either-or" conceptualization of states' motives. Such a differentiation is important for states like México, which are in the process of evaluating potential participation in peacekeeping, and which require "value-maximizing" strategies for international co-operation. Nevertheless, and as Richard Bruneau suggests, practical motivations for peacekeeping participation have been identified that can shed light on the interests behind states' contributions.

In addition, an influential study prepared by Trevor Findlay and published by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) in 1996,[596] identifies several of these motivations as follows:

Table 10: Motivations for UN Peacekeeping Participation

Motivation	Explanation
Pressure	Pressure from allies, the UN Secretary-General, international organizations. For instance, Caribbean states participated in UNMIH by USA pressure in order to "lend a multinational character to a US-dominated mission." A similar process occurred with UNTAF: "Russia pressured fellow CIS members to join it in peacekeeping in Tajikistan."[597]

---

[594] Richard Bruneau, "Selfishness in Service of Common Good: Why States Participate in UN Peacekeeping," (Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, 2004), p.5. Internet. Available at: http://www.augustana.ca/rdx/bruneau/documents/PeacekeepingNov24.pdf Last accessed: March 9, 2006.

[595] Bruneau, "Selfishness in Service of Common Good, p.5.

[596] Trevor Findlay, Challenges for New Peacekeepers, SIPRI Research Report No. 12, (Stockholm: International Peace Research Institute, 1996).

[597] Findlay, Challenges for New Peacekeepers.

Motivations for UN Peacekeeping Participation (continued).

Motivation	Explanation
Safer missions	Safer missions have been "over-subscribed." "More states were willing to volunteer troops for UNAMEV II and UNMIH, for instance, than could be accommodated."[598]
Altruism	Some states project certain degree of collective interest (even if national interest is greater) and are willing to pay for the cost involved. The "good international citizenship" shown in the old days when UN peacekeeping was little publicized, is an example. Today, altruism is also backed by other factors. Peacekeeping has acquired certain cachet and is seen as "enhancing national prestige and independence." For instance, new independent states of the former Soviet Union and former Warsaw Pact have been active participants in UNPKO.
Public opinion	Public opinion steels the altruism of governments and moves them to action. Humanitarian crises are the best example of this, and UNOSOM shows the "pushing" factor of public opinion (CNN factor).
UNSC membership	States seeking to become Permanent Members of the Security Council are keen to participate in PKO. Visible candidates are Japan, Brazil, India, Pakistan, and Germany. For these states, PKO has become a sine qua non.
Influence	Influence UN debate on world's hot spots. States hope to increase or expand their influence in general through Peacekeeping Operations, and particularly in the areas of deployment. For instance, New Zealand contributed troops to UNPROFOR during its term as a Non-permanent Member of the UNSC. It was partially inspired "by a desire to enhance its credibility and influence in Council debates on the situation in the former Yugoslavia."
National security	Some states see peacekeeping participation as contributing – inchoately – to their own national security (Spain). Due to the geographical closeness and national interests involved, others see a more direct link between peacekeeping and national security, such as the ASEAN countries which all participated in UNTAC in 1992.[599]
Down payment contribution	Some states consider these operations as a down payment contribution for the day when they themselves will need the assistance of the international community. Examples of these are the so-called Baltic States Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia, which live in the shadow of Russia. These states also saw peacekeeping as a way to prove their capability to acquire membership with NATO.[600]

[598] Emilio Cárdenas, Argentinean Ambassador to the United Nations, "Statement at the 25th Vienna Seminar," (Vienna: International Peace Academy, March 4, 1995). In Trevor Findlay, Challenges for New Peacekeepers, SIPRI Research Report No. 12, (Stockholm: International Peace Research Institute, 1996), p.7.

[599] UNTAC, United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, (1992). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/untac.htm Last accessed: December 6, 2006.

[600] The Baltic States officially joined NATO on March 29, 2004, (NATO). Internet. Available at: http://www.nato.int Last accessed: December 7, 2006.

247

Motivations for UN Peacekeeping Participation (continued).

Motivation	Explanation
Whole of government	Military show its usefulness to foreign affairs and development departments. Support a diverse foreign policy. Integration driven. Future threats; todays simple conflicts are tomorrows' hot bed for trouble.
Repaying a Debt	Former beneficiaries of peacekeeping see their participation on these operations as a way to pay back for the assistance received from the international community in the past. Among these states are: Egypt, El Salvador, Greece, Israel, Jordan, Namibia, South Korea, Zimbabwe, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.
Additional "niches" for the military	Some states, which integrity and professionalism of their military establishments have been compromised (e.g., authoritarian and/or regimes), have sought peacekeeping as an option to have their forces occupied outside the country rather than meddling in domestic affairs. Peacekeeping as an additional "niche" has helped these forces to reintegrate to democratic structures while provides them motives for national pride and public acceptance. The case of Argentina is commonly referred as an example of this.
Profit	A less "edifying" motivation for peacekeeping participation is profit. Poorer states may be inclined to "profit from the reimbursements for the costs of troop contributing (over and above those they would have incurred if their forces had remained home)." A related benefit for such states is receiving equipment from "better-equipped" force contributors. Profit, however, can hardly be the sole motivating factor because the UN is very slow in reimbursing costs.
Experience	Develop expertise and experience. This is perhaps the most valuable motivation for states joining Peacekeeping Operations. "...whether from rich or poor countries, is the invaluable overseas experience that Peacekeeping Operations provide them in peacetime and the training and contacts with other military forces that may ensue."

Source: Author (2008), with information from Trevor Findlay (1996).[601]

As Richard Bruneau suggests, it is important for states to identify practical motivations for participation. From the table above, it can be possible to identify some of the México's motives to participate in UN peacekeeping operations, at both the national and international levels. These motivations for México can be the following:

---

[601] Trevor Findlay, Challenges for New Peacekeepers, SIPRI Research Report No. 12, (Stockholm: International Peace Research Institute, 1996), p.10.

Table 11: Motivations for Mexican Participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations

Motivation	Explanation
Pressure	México can avoid international pressure by meeting the necessity to cooperate on international security issues through peacekeeping participation. This way, México will cooperate to solve problems at the global level (e.g., restoring and maintaining international peace and security) that otherwise affect indirectly its own national security.
Safer missions	Safeguards in place, still there is room for Mexican participation in safer missions, which are better fit for México's Selective Peacekeeping and have proved to be ideal for an entry level and gradual involvement.
Altruism	Mexico can project greater degree of collective interest while it shows its willingness to pay for the cost involved. This country can also show "good international citizenship" at the time it acquires certain cachet, seen as "enhancing national prestige and independence."
Public opinion	As the CIDE/COMEXUS survey found it, 50 percent of Mexicans support own country's participation in UNPKO. Once the first-time participation inertia is broken, public opinion may fortify Mexico's altruism and maintain a circular movement for action. The public support to the Mexican Army's participation in 21 humanitarian crises in the last decade is the best example of this.
UNSC membership	Although Mexico does not seek to become a Permanent Member of the Security Council, it has been active promoter of this body's reform. PKO would give this country greater leverage to advance its reform proposals through the Group of Friends for the Reform of the United Nations.
Influence	Through Peacekeeping Operations, Mexico can increase its influence in the areas of deployment. Active participation would show greater commitment and thus enhance Mexico's credibility and influence in Council debates.
National security	Mexico's participation in peacekeeping participation will indirectly (due to the intermestic nature of the threats), and directly (geographical closeness to areas of potential deployments, such as Latin America and the Caribbean) contribute to its own national security. Both arguments justify the Mexican contribution to MNUSTAH in 2005.
Political	Finding foreign policy "niches" out of the México-US bilateral relationship safe from clashing with US positions. Improving regional leadership through increased commitment. Concentrating foreign aid through peacekeeping will increase political returns and make a difference.
Whole of government	Peacekeeping participation can be an opportunity for the Mexican Government "to make defence and foreign policies complementary to each other in pursuit of one common national interest." Integration drive, meaning bringing the secretariats of foreign affairs and development together with the military in support of a diverse foreign policy. Increased interoperability between the Mexican military branches. Congress will start performing its neglected overseeing function over the military.
Additional "niches" for the military	Peacekeeping as an additional "niche" for the military cadre in partial substitution of post-revolution civil-military arrangements (e.g., the "civil-military pact") while facilitates full integration to democratic structures. It will also provide the military with motives for national pride and greater public acceptance.

Motivations for Mexican Participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations (continued).

Motivation	Explanation
Profit	If not alone, the economic incentive helps decision makers to build a case of burden sharing in order to justify lack of resources to deal with primary domestic missions. Considering peacekeeping participation as training in multinational environments that pay for themselves (after UN reimbursements).
Experience	Develop expertise and experience. This could be the most valuable motivation for Mexico to joining Peacekeeping Operations. The invaluable overseas experience that Peacekeeping Operations provide troops in peacetime and the training and contacts with other military forces will improve performance on extended roles at home, where human rights and the modulation of the use of force are central.
Additional	Increasing cultural sensitiveness and other languages knowledge will help improve the level of professionalism of the military cadre. Increased interoperability with North American militaries in tune with the ongoing regional integration.

Source: Author (2008).

As noted, there is a host of reasons why states participate in UN Peacekeeping Operations. It means that states have also a host of opportunities to combine (even cover) own national interests with community interests in support to international peace and security. Such possibility adds to the host of opportunities also offered by multifunctional multidimensional Modern Peacekeeping Operations. It is like having a double set of "niche opportunities" at the strategic and the tactical levels respectively. These, however, need to be chosen carefully according to own specific circumstance.

The Dark Side of PKO

Peacekeeping Operations have a dark side. A number of unforeseen issues around the implementation of peacekeeping missions have terrible effects on the populations of host countries. Human rights abuses, prostitution and human trafficking, illegal drugs and arms smuggling are only some of the effects poorly addressed by the UN and contributing Member States. Some of these issues are directly provoked by ill-trained peacekeepers while others are the result of collateral damage.

Whatever the cause, wrongly or unintended actions produce suffer to vulnerable populations and delay the return to normality of societies caught in armed conflicts. Also,

250

low media coverage, lack of enforcement and accountability bodies, and impunity conditions negotiated for peacekeepers and UN staff have prevented atrocities from being publicly accounted and prosecuted. Individual cases of misconduct are relatively easier to report and correct, but systematic and large scale offences are normally covered by state members and the UN in an attempt to protect the mission's legitimacy.

When peacekeepers are deployed in large numbers, the surroundings of military facilities become potential areas for illegal markets: prostitution rigs, smuggling gangs, brain drain, and more. Doctors and nurses and other educated people are frequently hired to provide services to UN personnel (e.g. drivers, clerical, housekeeping, interpreters, etc.). This practice produces a shortage of services in the local communities. This phenomenon has economic implications not easily to prevent because UN salaries are highly competitive and peacekeeping missions are frequently implemented in places where fighting has severely deteriorated the local economies. Therefore, the presence of hundreds or even thousands of young soldiers with cash in their pockets becomes a powerful magnet for legal and illegal services.[602] The UN however, does not have a proper solution for such problems and peacekeeping training only slightly addresses them by including codes of conduct and human rights indoctrination to peacekeepers. This is an area that deserves more attention if peacekeeping is thought to be a part of a solution and not and additional malady.

Individual cases of misbehaviours or criminal actions reported by the media are found in a number of missions. They are part of a problem relatively easy to address and solve through improved screening, recruiting and training mechanisms. They are not insignificant, however, since they severely hurt the credibility and legitimacy of the missions. These cases range from breaking into a church and stealing items used for the mass[603] and making pornographic videos of local women,[604] to murdering and sexually

---

[602] These are observations and recollections by the author from interviews with locals during a field trip to the United Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMBiH) in 2001 as part of the curriculum of the Advanced Course on Peacekeeping Operations. The Course (C-99-0101) was conducted by The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre of Canada.

[603] UN Congo Peacekeepers Investigated, "Seven U.N. peacekeeping troops from Uruguay who are under investigation for stealing from a church in northeastern Congo will be transferred to the capital, Kinshasa, the United Nations said Thursday [9/11/2003]," (Associated Press). Internet. Available at: http://www.kentucky.com/mld/kentucky/2003/07/31/news/state/6750710.htm Last accessed: April 13, 2005.

assaulting minor girls.[605] Disciplinary action has usually been left to national authorities that provide troops to the United Nations. The UN has no capacity to take other disciplinary action but to send them back home in disgrace. These kinds of behaviours are usually the product of ill training, and as the Mexican participation in ONUSAL shown, México requires intense training and safeguards implementation before attempting active participation in international crises.

Other more serious problems lie on the dark side of peacekeeping. These are large scale and systematic violations to human rights committed by peacekeepers against which, only small efforts have been done. A public denouncement of systematic atrocities around peacekeeping was made in 2002 by Graça Machel in her report, "The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children."[606] In a time of armed conflict, women are forced by the circumstances to sell their bodies for food or shelter and this is how prostitution arises around peacekeepers. But frequently, girls under 18 are referred to as prostitutes too. And sexual relations between a minor and an adult are unacceptable regardless of the context or the circumstances.

Even if children consent to sexual relations, they are not aware of the dangers involved. Ms. Machel, who is recognized by her efforts to educate people in Mozambique and around the world, found that the arrival of peacekeeping troops has been associated with a rapid rise in child prostitution.[607] She recommends proper training to peacekeepers on how to deal with women and children. She also recommends the establishment of

---

[604] Declan Walsh Nicola Byrne, Peacekeeper Jailed for Porno Films, (NewsScotsman.Com., December 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.news.scotsman.com/international.cfm?id=1422722002 Last accessed: April 13, 2005.

[605] Steven Silber, US Soldier Pleads Guilty to murder of Kosovo Girl, "U.S. Staff Sergeant Frank Ronghi pleaded guilty late on Friday to the forcible sodomy and premeditated murder of an 11-year-old ethnic Albanian girl while on peacekeeping duty in Kosovo," (Reuters, July 29, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://dailynews.yahoo.com/h/nm/20000729/ts/soldier_trial_dc_1.html Last accessed: October 04, 2004.

[606] Report of Graça Machel, Expert of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, UNICEF. "Impact of Armed Conflict on Children", (United Nations, 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.unicef.org/graca/a51-306_en.pdf Last accessed: April 13, 2005.

[607] Report of Graça Machel.

truth commissions to "expose wrongdoing and reinforce personal accountability."[608]

In the case of México, the aforementioned abuses allegedly (some proved) committed by Mexican soldiers[609] while conducting internal security operations in México are a sufficient element for the government to correct and eradicate such misbehaviour. This is definitely an issue that México should address before attempting active participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations.

In an interview for a news network, John Hillen, a peacekeeping specialist, admitted that peacekeepers have had "serious problems with child prostitution, drug dealing and running brothels. Larceny, racketeering, black marketeering, smuggling, prostitution, these sorts of things, but done in a very systematic and organized fashion."[610] In its report titled, "We'll kill you if you cry," Human Rights Watch denounced cases of sexual exploitation of women and children by peacekeepers in Sierra Leone.[611] Amnesty International has called for an independent inquiry to examine claims that more than 650 Masai and Samburu women have been raped by British soldiers stationed in Kenya over 36 years.[612] According to Under Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Jean-Marie Guéhenno, the Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, has issued a "zero tolerance" policy towards peacekeepers involved in acts of sexual exploitation and trafficking of women and young girls.[613] Major changes however, are not quite visible at the training level

---

[608] Graça Machel, cited in Zihindula, Mulegwa. "Rape: A Weapon of War." General Board of Global Ministries, (The United Methodist Church). Internet. Available at: http://gbgm-umc.org/mission_programs/global_connections/africa/rapeweap.cfm Last accessed: April 13, 2005.

[609] Promoting Human Rights, Democracy, and Social and Economic Justice in Latin America. México. The Mexican Military and Human Rights, (Washington Office on Latin America). Internet. Available at: http://www.wola.org/México/hr/military.htm Last accessed: April 15, 2005.

[610] Dateline Uncovers Violence Committed by UN Peacekeepers. Internet. Available at: http://www.freedomdomain.com/un/disturbpeace.html#BODY Last accessed: April 13, 2005.

[611] "We'll Kill You if You Cry: Sexual Violence in the Sierra Leone Conflict," Human Rights Watch, 15, 1A (Sierra Leone: January 2003).

[612] Although no evidence was found that British soldiers were training for peacekeeping missions in Kenya, the British Army plays a significant role in Peacekeeping Operations around the world. Sanjay Suri, "Kenyan Women Sue British Soldiers over Mass Rapes." Global Report, (Asheville, NC). Internet. Available at: http://www.agrnews.org/issues/234/worldnews.html#kenyan Last accessed: April 13, 2005.

[613] Deen Thalif, "UN Cracks Down on Sexual Exploitation by Peacekeepers," (Interpress Service, July 31, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.cyberdyaryo.com/features/f2002_0731_05.htm Last accessed: April 13, 2005.

253

conducted by the UN and such education is definitely not among the priorities of peacekeeping training courses.

Last but not least, the HIV/AIDS problem related to peacekeeping. "All too often, the sad truth is that at times, in trying to solve one problem such as preventing a war...or containing conflict, U.N. peacekeepers unintentionally contribute to another serious problem, the spread of AIDS," said Richard Holbrooke, a U.S. ambassador to the UN.[614] The UNSC adopted Resolution 1308 on July 17, 2000 acknowledging the effects, both negative and positive, that peacekeepers have on HIV/AIDS around the world.[615] As a result, UNAIDS and the UNDPKO signed in 2001 a "co-operation framework agreement" committing both entities to improving the ability of peacekeepers to become advocates and actors for the awareness and prevention of HIV transmission.[616]

The UN is addressing the HIV/AIDS problem but still more has to be done, as it was noted by Ambassador Holbrooke: "We spend billions of dollars on peacekeeping, we spend millions to protect our peacekeepers from terrorist attacks and from hostile forces – but I don't think we're spending even $500,000 yet to protect them from HIV/AIDS."[617] For México, this is a potential challenge if active participation in international crises is planned. The aforementioned progress made to attend the problem with HIV/AIDS among the military establishment[618] needs to be reinforced in the context of international deployments.

---

[614] Richard C. Holbrooke, US Permanent Representative to the United Nations. Statement for the Record on HIV/AIDS before the Committee on Banking and Financial Services of the U.S. House of Representatives, (March 8, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.int/usa/00hol0308.htm Last accessed: April 13, 2005.

[615] Resolution S/RES/1308/2000, on the responsibility of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security: HIV/AIDS and international Peacekeeping Operations (United Nations Security Council, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://ods-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/536/02/PDF/N0053602.pdf?OpenElement Last accessed: July 18, 2003.

[616] HIV/AIDS Prevention and care among armed forces and UN peacekeepers. "The Case of Eritrea," (UNAIDS, 2003). Internet. Available at : http://www.unaids.org/html/pub/Publications/IRC-pub05/armed_forces_eritrea_en_pdf.pdf Last accessed: June 1, 2005.

[617] Judy Aita, Security Council discusses connection between Peacekeepers, HIV/AIDS. International Information Programs, (U.S. Department of State). Internet. Available at: http://usinfo.state.gov/topical/pol/usandun/01011900.htm Last accessed: October 12, 2003.

[618] Jorge A. Medellín, "Refuerza SDN Acciones para Prevenir SIDA," El Universal, (México: February 08, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/pls/impreso/noticia.html?id_nota=121556&tabla=nacion Last accessed: February 08, 2005.

The UN recognizes the problems caused by peacekeeping and humanitarian workers on torn-war populations. The revelations of a report by the UN Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS) on sexual exploitation and abuse by a considerable number of peacekeepers in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2004,[619] led UNSG Kofi Annan to order an investigation of the allegations. A special committee headed by His Royal Highness Prince Zeid Ra'ad Zeid Al-hussein, Permanent representative of Jordan to the UN, submitted a blunt report made available to all members of the General Assembly.

The report builds on previous attempts to reduce abuses documented by seminal UN documents, such as the 2003 Secretary-General's Bulletin on Special Measures for Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse (ST/SGB/2003/13),[620] the Report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict (S/2004/431),[621] and other practical documents like the "Ten Rules: Code of Personal Conduct for Blue Helmets,"[622] and "We are United Nations Peacekeepers."

Some of the remarks of Prince Zeid's Report include the recognition that acts of abuse by peacekeeping personnel are a shared responsibility of participating Member States and the UN. The Report, titled "A Comprehensive Strategy to Eliminate Future Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations," identifies

---

[619] After media reports indicating the occurrence of sexual exploitation and abuse of Congolese women and girls by peacekeepers, the United Nations Office of Internal Oversight Services conducted an investigation from May to September 2004. The outcomes of the investigation proved that sexual contact between peacekeepers and local women and girls (some as young as 13 years old) occurred with regularity, usually in exchange for food or small sums of money. From over seventy allegations, twenty cases were compiled that included a civilian involved in child pornography. United Nations General Assembly. "Investigation by the Office of Internal Oversight Services into allegation of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo." A/59/661. Internet. Available at: http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/200/55/PDF/N0520055.pdf?OpenElement Last accessed: April 12, 2005.

[620] Secretary-General's Bulletin, ST/SGB/2003/13. "Special Measures for Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse." United Nations Secretariat. Internet. Available at : http://www.peacewomen.org/un/pkwatch/discipline/SGBonSEA.pdf Last accessed: April 8, 2005.

[621] Report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflicts." S/2004/431. United Nations Security Council. Internet. Available at: http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N04/363/13/PDF/N0436313.pdf?OpenElement Last accessed: April 8, 2005.

[622] Ten Rules: Code of Personal Conduct for Blue Helmets, (United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations). Internet. Available at: http://www.genderandpeacekeeping.org/resources/5_UN_Codes_of_Conduct.pdf Last accessed: April 8, 2005.

255

areas of concern and include a series of recommendations. The document centers attention to the establishment of accountability mechanisms, both administrative and criminal, for UN peacekeeping personnel. It differentiates five categories of peacekeeping personnel: UN Staff, UN Civilian Police and Military Observers, Members of National Military contingents, UN Volunteers, and Individual Contractors. It is expected that the document will lay the foundation for serious commitment by the international community to eliminate abusive practices committed by not only peacekeeping personnel, but UN personnel in general.[623]

The Future of Peacekeeping

While modern peacekeeping has grown and traditional peacekeeping is considered a passing fad, the Brahimi Report reaffirms that the three core concepts of peacekeeping (consent of the local parties, impartiality and the use of force only in self-defence) should remain the bedrock principles of peacekeeping. The Brahimi Report acknowledges that consent can be manipulated in many ways, and thus impartiality for UN operations should mean adherence to the principles of the UN Charter; if one party is violating the agreement, then the UN cannot treat the two parties equally.

Armed conflicts are more complex than in the past and the UN has responded with "improved" Peacekeeping Operations. However, deficiencies in its decision-making structure and lack of commitment from Member States, particularly the five Permanent Members of the Security Council, have produced mixed results. Many aspects of modern Peacekeeping Operations, like those identified by the Brahimi Report, have not been implemented due to present contextual and structural challenges, such as the changing nature of conflict and the lack of commitment and adjustments at the decision-making structure. Reforms to the UNSC must enable the organization to deal more efficiently with arising breaches to the peace.

In the absence of improved substitute mechanisms, Peacekeeping Operations still

---

[623] <u>Secretary-General's Bulletin</u>, ST/SGB/2003/13. "Special Measures for Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse." United Nations Secretariat. Internet. Available at : http://www.peacewomen.org/un/pkwatch/discipline/SGBonSEA.pdf Last accessed: April 8, 2005.

256

have a future. The question perhaps is how much peacekeeping is going to be used for conflict transformation in the future. Ups and downs in peacekeeping effectiveness over fifty years have shown that such mechanisms have been misused – and abused – in the past. Also, the limited capability of peacekeeping in conflict prevention and its meagre ability to prevent violence from arising, make this instrument too costly in comparison to its outcomes. In addition, the nature of conflict continues to change as terrorism spreads instability worldwide; a type of violence for which peacekeeping is not suited at all.

More recently, a larger post-conflict nation-building component has been added to peacekeeping and therefore, this model faces a huge contextual challenge that can only be properly addressed with increased political commitment from the international community. In order for peacekeeping to strive for sustainable peace, it must be linked to peacemaking and peacebuilding initiatives.

The lack of political commitment from Member States as reflected in the form of inappropriate mandates and resources for Peacekeeping Operations is an omnipresent challenge for peacekeeping unless a structural overhaul is performed to the global organization. Its vital dependency on substantial funding from the powerful members makes the organization highly vulnerable to political manipulation.

Expenditure declined from 3.5 billion dollars in 1993 to less than one billion in 1998, and rose again in 2006 to reach a record $5,066,000.[624] The change in the size of the missions is meaningful too. The number of personnel in peacekeeping – military and civilian police – went from 75,000 in the mid-1990s to 12,000 in 1999.[625] Such political passing fancy can be appreciated by examining at the amount of resources spent on peacekeeping missions.

Table 12: The Growth of UNPKO: 1988-2007

	1988	1992	1994	2000	2007
No. of Active Missions	5	11	17	14	17

---

[624] Jens Whinter Andersen, <u>UN Peacekeeping Operations, Lessons Learned and a Vision for the Future,</u> "Presentation," (Inter-American Defense College, January 15, 2008).

[625] Michael Renner, "UN Peacekeeping: An Uncertain Future." <u>Foreign Policy Infocus,</u> 5, 28 (September 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.fpif.org/pdf/vol5/28ifpeace.pdf Last accessed: April 13, 2005.

The Growth of UNPKO: 1988-2007 (continued).

	1988	1992	1994	2000	2007
Countries Contributing Troops	26	56	76	89	119
Military Personnel	9,570	11,495	73,393	30,350	70,396
Civilian Police Personnel	35	155	2,260	3,243	9,617
Int'l Civilian Personnel	1,516	2,206	2,260	3,243	4,857
Annual UN PK Budget	$230.4 m	$1,689.6 m	$3,616.0 m	$2,220.0 m	$5,066,0 m

Source: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management (2004)[626] and UNDPKO (2007).

Increased and steady support in terms of funding and troop contributions is therefore essential for a more certain future for peacekeeping; something not possible to be achieved under the current structure of peacekeeping clearly dominated by the P5 interests and improvisation. More has to be done to reform the UNSC and to improve the UN's capability to respond to breaches to the peace. Initiatives, like the Mexican-led Group of Friends for the Reform of the United Nations, are important to build consensus over a more appropriate power structure and enhanced administration of the UN collective security system.

The low support to peacekeeping by the United States shown by its unilateral actions and its refusal to support the newly-born International Criminal Court signify a major challenge for the organization too. The U.S. led a campaign to undermine international efforts for the creation of the ICC. Through "Article 98 agreements," the United States negotiated bilateral agreements to opt out of the ICC's jurisdiction.[627] These

---

[626] Wibke Hansen, Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse, "Hawks and Doves: Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution," (Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.berghof-handbook.net Last accessed: September 6, 2005.

[627] One example of these agreements negotiated by the United States is the "Article 98 impunity agreement" with the government of East Timor. Basically, the agreement prevents U.S. military personnel stationed in east Timor from being prosecuted for war crimes by the ICC. This is different from the SOFAs also agreed by the two governments that relates to ordinary crimes and that restates the impunity for U.S. personnel because they were granted a diplomatic status. Diplomatic immunity is a status protected by the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. Charles Schneider, "East Timor puts U.S. Soldiers above the Law," The East Timor Estafeta, 8, 1, (Winter 2002-2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.etan.org/estafeta/02/winter02/3law.htm Last accessed: November 10, 2007.

258

agreements are made on the base of Article 98 of the Rome Statute,[628] which was intended to address potential conflicts between this legislation body and existing international obligations.

This is a domestic political problem with huge international implications. As it is pointed out by Michael Renner, a senior researcher at the Worldwatch Institute, "The broader – and more troubling – context is that Washington does not want to be bound by the very rules governing international conduct that it urges others to respect. U.S. policy toward UN peacekeeping bears the tell-tale signs of an exceptionalism that rejects common, reciprocal obligations. The struggle over peacekeeping policy is also a struggle involving the legitimacy of international law and institutions. Both struggles hinge on cooperatively reconciling the contradictions of national sovereignty in a globalizing world."[629]

Lack of consensus on primary concepts to build coherent doctrinal bodies for the field remains a major challenge for peacekeeping too. The need for clearer conceptualizations of peacekeeping indicated by the numerous definitions and misconceptions around the world is more than evident. Countries willing to make contributions to peace and security through peacekeeping have to "choose" the definition that better suits their interests: this is inappropriate. The UN and peacekeeping experienced Member States have to do more to reach consensus on a common doctrine for peacekeeping in order to increase legitimacy of what seems to be the "best" legal instrument for conflict resolution at hand.

The present international environment demands institutional capabilities for the

---

[628] Article 98 of the Rome Statute. Co-operation with respect to waiver of immunity and consent to surrender. 1. "The Court may not proceed with a request for surrender or assistance which would require the requested State to act inconsistently with its obligations under international law with respect to the State or diplomatic immunity of a person or property of a third State, unless the Court can first obtain the co-operation of that third State for the waiver of the immunity." 2. "The Court may not proceed with a request for surrender which would require the requested State to act inconsistently with its obligations under international agreements pursuant to which the consent of a sending State is required to surrender a person of that State to the Court, unless the Court can first obtain the co-operation of the sending State for the giving of consent for the surrender." Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. Part 9. International Co-operation and Judicial Assistance. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/law/icc/statute/romefra.htm Last accessed: November 10, 2007.

[629] Michael Renner, "UN Peacekeeping: An Uncertain Future." Foreign Policy Infocus, 5, 28, (September 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.fpif.org/pdf/vol5/28ifpeace.pdf Last accessed: April 13, 2005.

259

maintenance of peace and security; and proper responsibility-sharing under the lead of the UN. The need for fully institutionalized peacekeeping is clear after failures in Rwanda, Kosovo and Bosnia marked the real dimensions of inaction and the problems justifying military intervention. To put it simply, the world's tolerance for human rights abuses is at its lowest level and the international community is more compelled to act where the state fails to protect its citizens.

Improved peacekeeping is desperately needed to avoid more damage to the international system without overlooking the responsibility to protect human lives. More specifically, improved peacekeeping needs to fill the gap between UN Chapter VI and Chapter VII interventions. In other words, the instability and complexity of the global world can be better addressed by combined arrangements of peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding institutional capabilities.

In addition, a strange "division of labour" has been identified in Peacekeeping Operations. While some point fingers saying that Western states are "too worried about the risks involved in Peacekeeping Operations," others point out technical operational reasons. Canada, for instance, prefers to participate in NATO-led missions as opposed to UN peacekeeping. In NATO, "the military structure is better defined, the number of troops deployed is larger, the level of support is greater, and partner nations are generally better equipped and trained than in typical UN missions."

Western nations, including Canada, let their support for UN missions decline as NATO took on new peacekeeping missions in Bosnia, Kosovo and the Kabul region of Afghanistan. Fortunately, the developing world was able to provide tens of thousands of troops to the UN. But it still leaves a gap, both in representation –since the UN should represent the world – and in capability.[630]

The selectiveness of contributions has a political side too. Main contributors of peacekeeping troops are the South Asian countries, which as of October 2003 provided

---

[630] Walter Dorn, "Canada: the Once and Future Peacekeeper?" Peace Magazine, 22, 4, (October-December, 2006), pp.16-21.

about 27 percent of military and civil police personnel in peacekeeping.[631] Western countries not only rank low in their contributions to peacekeeping, but also they have been pointed out to be "increasingly wary about the perils of peacekeeping. In disturbed areas outside their own neighbourhood, they leave risky operations to non-white soldiers. The result is that those with the military muscle to amount effective operations lack the courage of their convictions; those with the will lack the military means." Such a *"tribalización"* of peacekeeping undermines the solidarity of the international community and introduces the risk of creeping apartheid in peacekeeping."[632] After Lebanon (2006) two European nations became among the top ten contributors, as the list (March 2007) shows it:

1. Pakistan
2. Bangladesh
3. India
4. Nepal
5. Jordan
6. Ghana
7. Uruguay
8. Italy
9. Nigeria
10. France[633]

Finally, various countries, have replaced the use of the "peacekeeping" term with the broader, and less compromising term "peace support operations." In the practice, however, peacekeeping has been kept as one type of these operations. The rationale behind this practice is that peace support operations represent a "more realistic description, since the troops could only support the peace. They could not be certain they could "keep" it. It meant that soldiers would not

---

[631] In October 2003, only Bangladesh, India and Pakistan contribute 12,562 personnel (included military and civil police), which represents 27.6% of the total contributions to peacekeeping. Data from United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Internet. Available at:
http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/November2003Countrysummary.pdf Last accessed: November 20, 2007.

[632] Ramesh Thakur and David Malone. "Tribes within the UN," The Hindustan Times, (November 20, 2000). Citado en Shalini Chawla, "Trends in United Nations Peacekeeping," Strategic Analysis: A Monthly Journal of the ISDA, Vol. XXIV, No. 10, (January 2001).

[633] United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. "Facts and Figures." Contributors. Monthly Summary of Contributors. March 2007. Internet. Available en:
http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/2007/march07_2.pdf Last accessed: April 22, 2007.

raise expectations to a level that would be doomed to fail if one of the parties started fighting again.[634] Nevertheless, "peacekeeping" is a term of common use in public and official languages in many countries around the world and is likely to stay.

Conclusion

Peacekeeping is one of the most frequently used *ad hoc* multilateral mechanisms to maintain international peace and security. Although participation in these operations is "optional," there is an informal binding dimension of international co-operation here referred as "the necessity to cooperate." UN Peacekeeping Operations are not equally suited to all situations and therefore different functions and tasks need to be performed accordingly. Since its first implementation in 1956, both the concept and practice of peacekeeping have undergone substantial changes. These changes are the product of changes in the nature of violent conflicts as well as power rearrangements in the international system of states.

Modern versions of peacekeeping have been attempted to resolve the dilemmas posed by contesting principles. Humanitarian catastrophes in the context of failed or collapsed states confronted the international community with the pillar principles of the nation-state system. These crises demanded the accelerated transformation of peacekeeping, which responded with broader schemes of conflict transformation. Peacemaking and peacebuilding efforts started to intertwine with modern Peacekeeping Operations. The result was multidimensional, multifunctional Peacekeeping Operations. These operations offer a host of possible "niches" for state participation. Contributing states not only can "select" the niche or function that best suites to their interests, but also, they can choose the level of involvement and, to some extent, the level of risk.

United Nations Peacekeeping Operations are now performed by civilian and military components. From these, the military remains the central component of Peacekeeping Operations. This is because its characteristics make its suitable for creating the conditions and the space for peaceful negotiations and reconciliation. However,

---

[634] Walter Dorn, "Canada: the Once and Future Peacekeeper?" Peace Magazine, 22, 4, (October-December, 2006), pp.16-21.

262

peacekeeping participation requires intense professional training for the military, as it is a conceptually different task that involves complex relations with the civilian sphere. Failing to achieve professional peacekeeping standards can send contingents to the dark side of peacekeeping, which spreads its negative effects to innocent people from the host state, the military itself and the homelands (e.g., HIV/AIDS).

Peacekeeping participation demands high levels of coordination with numerous civilian and military entities. Modern Peacekeeping Operations function in complex multinational environments that require effective civil-military coordination and co-operation mechanisms. It is likely that this mechanism for conflict resolution will continue being the most frequently implemented for conflict resolution. There are a number of challenges that need to be addressed by the international community, but there are also a number of possible solutions for peacekeeping improvement. In summary, peacekeeping encompasses comprehensive civil and military efforts for stable, sustainable and long-lasting peace, and it has a future.

CHAPTER V: THIRD STEP ANALYSIS. COMPARATIVE CASES

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present two real-life cases, to explore further the main thesis and as important comparable lessons for México. First, the path followed by one Latin American country, Argentina, which jumped from near-zero participation to the top places as a contributor Member to UN Peacekeeping Operations in a decade, is analyzed. The case of Argentina underscores the role of UN peacekeeping participation as reform catalyst and policy harmonizer. Second, the case of Japan, another significant peacekeeping contributor, whose Constitution obliges it to follow a pacifist foreign policy, is reviewed. The case of Japan shows an effective use of safeguards to limit participation in Peacekeeping Operations, and consequently, within constitutional restraints.

Identifying Argentina's peacekeeping participation pattern is expected to have significant decision-making implications for México. This can provide criteria for Mexican decision-makers to delineate a potential Mexican participation. The case of Argentina, which ranks 24th as contributor to Peacekeeping Operations with 900 personnel,[635] it is argued, has an important psychological weight for Mexican policy-makers. This is primarily because of the strong historical and cultural nexuses of México with Latin America, and an undeniable notion of belonging to a community. Although not exactly like the case of México, Argentina experienced a transition process to democracy after military rule in 1983. And it sought UN Peacekeeping as a catalyst of the required reforms. Its transition to democracy from an authoritarian regime is sufficient to build a comparative case in terms of Peacekeeping Operations and both countries' military establishments.

Argentina underwent deep reforms to secure the subordination of the military to the civilian power. This country sought participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations as an instrument to mend a deteriorated public image of the armed forces. México still

---

[635] Data November 2006. United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/2006/feb06_2.pdf Last accessed: December 10, 2006.

264

requires a similar reform to fully integrate its military into the emerging democratic environment, substituting the loss of privileges of the military elite after the dismantling of the old corporatist structure, and updating military structures, roles and missions to new democratic practices, where human rights and public accountability stand out.

In the second case, both countries, México and Japan, are comparable cases with respect to peacekeeping. Both countries are traditionally non-PKO states, although for different reasons. Japan has made a transition while México tries to find its way into becoming a significant participant. From the commonalities between México and Japan regarding peacekeeping, the following stand out: long recognized pacifist foreign policies; defence policies long subordinated to economic development; the militaries have specific mandates on internal security and have extended their roles in response to the new threats; economic power has not translated into international political influence; and highly interdependent bilateral relationships with the US constrain international political autonomies.

This chapter is organized in two sections, one for each comparative case. The topics included for each case were selected to contrast with those factors that constrain and enhance México's participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations. These include constitutional features, organization and capabilities of the military, peacekeeping involvement, relation with the United States, and each country's approach to multilateralism. Both sections conclude with the implications for each country of active involvement in UN Peacekeeping Operations.

ARGENTINA

"In short, it is not the threats what justifies the existence of the armed forces, but the State and the need to defend it."

First Public Debate on National Defence in Democratic Argentina.[636]

The case of Argentina is worth comparing with México because, among other things, this country sought UN peacekeeping as a means to facilitate the transition from military regime to democracy. For this, Argentina underwent deep changes that transformed the military establishment, its roles and its political reality. Argentina's participation in peacekeeping was the result of major changes in foreign policy priorities, a new international political alignment, and new roles assigned to the military, particularly the navy.

Since 2000, México has become immersed in an accelerated transition to democracy, which has touched only superficially the military establishment. Looking at the Argentine case will not necessarily indicate what México should do, or not do, to get the military on the track to democracy. It certainly will provide, however, criteria for decision-makers. And it will show how, in a short period of time, from 1989 to 1993, a Latin American country, which has had no military forces outside its territory, became one of the ten top troop contributing states to UN Peacekeeping Operations.

There are as well remarkable differences between the Mexican and the Argentine military establishments. Not only has the Mexican military stayed away from political participation and been loyal to the civilian power, it also is one of the most trustworthy institutions in México - something that cannot be said of the Argentine military, though public acceptance has improved significantly after UN Peacekeeping involvement.

In general, it can be said that the traditional roles of the Argentine military (defence of sovereignty, counterinsurgency, hemispheric defence, and geopolitically-

---

[636] Ministerio de Defensa, "La Defensa Nacional en la Agenda Democrática: Informe de la Primera Ronda de Discusiones," (República Argentina, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.mindef.gov.ar/secciones/documentos/Proyecto%20La%20Defensa%20Nacional%20en%20la%20Agenda%20Democr%E1tica.doc Last accessed: March 14, 2007, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

266

based national security doctrines) and the unwritten one of self-preservation and protection of privileges, started to change at the end of the Cold War. In response to the changing world situation, new military roles have been assigned by their corresponding civilian governments. Among the roles gaining in importance are UN Peacekeeping Operations as contributions to international peace and security, as catalyser to internal reforms, and as "image cleanser," domestically and internationally.

In particular, Argentina has transited from military to democratic regimes. As is noted next, its decision to participate in Peacekeeping Operations is a combination of self, and community interests. Its leaders looked for ways to harmonize the new roles of the military within enhanced democratic structures; and UN peacekeeping was sought as a promising way to give the military a role with prestige. Civilian governments also hoped peacekeeping participation would direct military attention away from internal politics, and perhaps improve the level of professionalism of the military establishment. In addition, peacekeeping was also perceived as a way of improving a deteriorated image and prestige lost during repressive military regimes. Finally, participation in UN peacekeeping has also been a bargaining coin in the international arena.

In sum, with the "assistance" of UN peacekeeping, the transition to democracy has brought Argentina: New Civil-Military Relations to ensure a full subordination of the military to the civilian power, an overhauled public image of the military, an international image of confidence to change the negative perception of neighbouring states, new roles for the military to keep it away from internal civilian matters, a strengthened strategic relation with the United States, the use of UN-centered multilateralism in pursuance of a national project, and the contribution to international peace and security. All these facets shed light on Argentina's path to UN peacekeeping participation, which, it is argued, is an experience worth taking by Mexican decision-makers.

Background

Argentina is the fourth largest country in the Americas after Canada, the United States and Brazil. It shares borders with Uruguay, Brazil, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Chile. With a population of 36 million, Argentina ranked 34 in the 2004 A. T. Kearney/Foreign Policy

Globalization Index, sixteen places up from the previous year.[637] It has a system of presidential democracy with separation of powers between the executive, the legislative and the judiciary. After recent reforms, it also instituted full civilian control over the military.

Different from México, where the armed forces have a specific and prominent role in internal security, in Argentina this role is played exclusively by the police.[638] The Argentine armed forces do not participate in internal security actions, unless expressly ordered by the President of the Republic as stated by the National Defence Law.[639]

Also different from México, where the military has been loyal to the civilian power since the early 20th Century, Argentina has a tradition of military rule. The military traded power with civilian administrations seven times since the early 1900s. The last military *junta* ruled until 1983. During this time, the military government repressed opposition by force in what was called the "Dirty War." Thousands of "disappeared" along with economic crises and endemic corruption started a public revulsion. An army defeated by the British in the *Malvinas* War (*Guerra de las Malvinas* – also referred as the Falklands War) in 1982, discredited the regime and the military establishment, and created the stigma of an aggressive state with neighbouring countries, with which Argentina share a history of conflictive relationships.

Global changes modified military domestic roles and there emerged the opportunity for a closer relationship with the United States. Since the return to civilian government in 1983, Argentina has had four popularly elected Presidents: Raúl Alfonsín, Carlos Menem, Fernando De La Rúa, and, Nestor Kirchner.

---

[637] The 2004 A. T. Kearney/Foreign Policy Globalization Index compares 62 states using a number of variables grouped in four concepts: economic integration, personal contact, technological connectivity, and political engagement. Foreign Policy. Internet. Available at: http://www.foreignpolicy.com/issue_marapr_2004/countrydetail.php Last accessed: January 17, 2007.

[638] The Law 24.059 of Internal Security establishes that the Border Police (*Gendarmeria*), the Coast Guard (*Prefectura Naval*), the Federal Police, and the Provincial Police forces, are the only agencies entitled to act in the neutralization of threats to the internal security. These agencies belong to the Ministry of the Interior. "Argentina: Ley de Seguridad Interior 24.059," Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina (RESDAL), Atlas de Defensa, (August, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.resdal.org/Archivo/d0000004.htm Last accessed: March 21, 2007.

[639] Ley de Defensa Nacional 23.554, (May 5, 1988). Base de Datos SER en el 2000. Internet. Available at: http://www.ser2000.org.ar/protect/Archivo/d000c9fe.htm last accessed: March 21, 2007.

268

A democracy consolidation process started at the end of the military rule. This led to a reorganization of the Argentine military, changing the defence policy and traditional Civil-Military Relations. In this sense, Argentina's foreign policy dictated, and brought closer, a complementary defence policy aimed at reinserting Argentina into the international scene. For this, United Nations Peacekeeping Operations were sought as the optimal instrument.

In 1983, Argentina initiated a period of economic recovery and reconciliation. President Raúl Alfonsín implemented measures to account for the abuse committed during the Dirty War and took steps to consolidate democracy. President Alfonsín faced strong military resistance to reform. Three military coup attempts were crashed during the short administration of President Alfonsín. He implemented a drastic reduction in expenditure and manpower of the military. The cuts weakened so severely the operational capacity of the Argentine military that it "became a shadow of its former self. The days of splendour of the institution were most certainly over."[640]

President Alfonsín resigned before ending his term due to his inability to solve economic problems and to maintain public confidence on his administration. The new president, Carlos Saúl Menem, took office in 1989 and imposed strict economic measures that led to a substantive increase in foreign investment and economic growth. This economic boom, however, did not last long. By the end of the 1990s, Argentina had accumulated a large fiscal burden and overvaluation of a dollar-pegged *peso* that caused a gradual slide into economic crisis. The Menem administration became instrumental in depoliticizing the military, providing it with renewed prestige and professional roles, and stabilizing Civil-Military Relations.

President Menem adopted a control strategy for the military. In contrast with his predecessor, President Menem granted military leaders more autonomy in professional matters. For example, while setting down general guidelines for restructuring, he left the details of demobilization to the military. In addition, he made senior leaders aware that

---

[640] Wendy Hunter, "State and Soldier in Latin America: Redefining the Military's Role in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile," (United States Institute of Peace, October 1996), p.18. Internet. Available at: http://www.usip.org/pubs/peaceworks/state10/forwrd10.html last accessed: January 25, 2007.

269

their own professional survival and ascent rests on promoting the notions of subordination and adherence to civilian authority among the ranks.

It can be said therefore that "non-interference in each other's sphere of influence characterizes the relationship between the Menem government and the armed forces."[641] President Menem's strategy is clearly similar to the civil-military pact subscribed between México's military and the first civilian government of the post-revolution. Menem's strategy worked; it was put to the test in 1990 by extremist elements in the Argentine armed forces that revolted for the fourth time since 1983. This time, however, it was the army leaders who crushed the rebellion.[642]

The necessity to cooperate imposed by the global context in the 1990s, pushed Argentina to sign a series of bilateral agreements. First with Brazil and further with Paraguay and Uruguay, these agreements eventually led to the Agreement of Asunción that formed MERCOSUR.[643] For the military, extended roles were necessary to address the "New Threats" as well. In this context, the need was clear for both government and the military to increase the credibility and public acceptance of the armed forces while addressing the new challenges: recompose a deteriorated international credibility, erase the international image as an aggressive state after the *Malvinas* episode, reform Civil-Military Relations to ensure military subordination to the civilian power, and streamline an obsolete and oversized military establishment.

President Menem developed a combination of military and foreign policies to project an image of a reliable international partner. This gave the armed forces an "additional niche" to improve their domestic image. The message has to be sent both to the international community, and particularly to the United States, which Menem considered a strategic allied to get economically afloat, and to the neighbouring countries

---

[641] Wendy Hunter, "State and Soldier in Latin America: Redefining the Military's Role in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile," (United States Institute of Peace, October 1996), p.12. Internet. Available at: http://www.usip.org/pubs/peaceworks/state10/forwrd10.html last accessed: January 25, 2007.

[642] Hunter, "State and Soldier in Latin America, p.12.

[643] Gilda Follietti, "La Participación Argentina en Haití: el Papel del Congreso," Revista Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad: FASOC, XIX, 1, (Santiago de Chile: 2005), pp.37-56

270

with which Argentina had a tradition of rivalry.[644]

Through the development of Mutual Trust Building (MTB) mechanisms, Argentina started to take steps to erase the notion of being a problem state.[645] Some of these measures have been institutionalized, such as the Argentina-Chile Permanent Committee on Security (*Comité Permanente de Seguridad Argentino-Chileno*)[646] and the Argentina-Brazil Permanent Consulting and Coordination Mechanism on Defence and International Security (*Mecanismo de Consulta y Coordinación en Materia de Defensa y Seguridad Internacional Argentina-Brasil*).[647]

Argentina made evident its disposition to adopt cooperative concrete measures at the regional context. Together with Latin American countries, Argentina made a number of political commitments, among which are:

---

[644] Argentina and Brazil went to war in 1826 after the latter annexed portion of the land, known as the "Oriental Stripe," to its territory which in 1828 became the independent Republic of the Uruguay. Between 1865 and 1870, Argentina, Brazil and the Uruguay formed the "Triple Alliance" against Paraguay. The war ended with a total defeat of Paraguay, a disaster in terms of human life (Paraguay lost almost 5/6 of its population), the loss of part of its territory (160,000 Km^2), and a huge economic loss in the form of war compensation. Sergio Tollos, "La Guerra del Paraguay (1865-1870)," RS Órgano Oficial del Estado Mayor General del Ejército Argentino. Internet. Available at: http://www.rs.ejercito.mil.ar/Contenido/Nro649/Revista/histomilitar.htm Last accessed: January 25, 2007. In 1978, the armies of Argentina and Chile started an episode known as "the Beagle Conflict;" a dispute over the possession of three small islands located between the East side of the Beagle Canal, and Cabo de Hornos. The conflict between these two countries was defused thanks to the intervention and the good offices of Pope John Paul II. After that incident, both countries have improved substantially the bilateral relationship, and no incident has been reported since. James L. Garret, "The Beagle Channel Dispute: Confrontation and Negotiation in the Southern Cone," The Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, 27, 3, (Miami: School of International Studies, Autumn, 1985). pp.81-109.

[645] Gilda Follietti, "La participación Argentina en Haití: el Papel del Congreso," Revista Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad: FASOC, XIX, 1, (Santiago de Chile: 2005), pp.37-56.

[646] "Comité Permanente de Seguridad Argentino-Chileno," (1995). Internet. Available at: http://www.defencenet.ser2000.org.ar/informe.htm Last accessed: December 23, 2006.

[647] "Mecanismo de consulta entre Argentina y Brasil: Memorando de entendimiento entre el gobierno de la Republica Argentina y el gobierno de la Republica Federativa del Brasil de Consulta y Coordinación," (1997). Revista SER en el 2000. Internet. Available at: http://www.ser2000.org.ar/articulos-revista-ser/revista-10/memobra.htm last accessed: December 23, 2006.

Table 13: Political Regional Arrangements

Date	Name	Participants	Objective
1989	Grupo de Río[648]	Multinational	Consulting and political consensus mechanism to regulate armament policies.
1990	Guadalajara Agreement[649]	ARG-BRA	Bilateral control mechanisms for the peaceful use of nuclear material.
1991	Compromiso de Mendoza[650]	Multinational	Chemical & Biological Weapons control mechanism
1993	Ratification of the Tlatelolco Agreement[651]	Multinational	Total elimination of nuclear weapons
1993	Missile Technology Control Regime[652]	Multinational	Non-proliferation of unmanned delivery systems capable of delivering weapons of mass destruction.
1992	The Australia Group[653]	Multinational	Export control mechanism for dual-use chemical and biological materials

Source: Author (2008)

---

[648] The "Grupo de Río" is a high-level consultation mechanism, which main purpose is to identify and contain those processes that jeopardize democracy. The group is the result of the fusion of the "Contadora Group" and its support group, which tended to look after the political crises in Central America. Currently, the Grupo de Río is recognized as legitimate and trustworthy negotiator by different states and organizations, such as Canada, Japan, India, and the European Union. Internet. Available at: http://www.mre.gov.br/cdbrasil/itamaraty/web/espanhol/relext/mre/orgreg/gruporio/apresent.htm Last accessed: March 9, 2007.

[649] The Guadalajara Agreement established the Brazil-Argentine Agency for Accounting and Control of Nuclear Materials (ABACC). This agency is responsible for the administration and application of the Common System of Accounting and Control (CSAC), which is a full-scope safeguards system applied to all nuclear activity. "Bilateral Agreement between the Republic of Argentina and the Federal Republic of Brazil on the Use of Nuclear Material Exclusively for Peaceful Purposes." (Guadalajara, México: July 18, 1991). Internet. Available at: www.nunnturnerinitiative.org/e_research/official_docs/inventory/pdfs/abacc.pdf Last accessed: March 9, 2007.

[650] Signed originally by Argentina, Brazil and Chile, the Mendoza Declaration states the commitment of the three countries to not to "develop, produce or acquire in any way, or stockpile or retain, or transfer directly or indirectly, and to not to use biological and chemical weapons." Uruguay, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Ecuador joined afterwards. Internet. Available at: http://www.ser2000.org.ar/articulos-revista-ser/revista-2/armas.htm Last accessed: March 8, 2007.

[651] Argentina joined the Tlatelolco Agreement, which establishes Latin America and the Caribbean as nuclear weapons free territories, in 1967, but it did not ratify it until 1993. Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina (RESDAL), Atlas de Defensa, (August, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.resdal.org/atlas/atlas-argentina-info.html Last accessed: March 8, 2007.

[652] Argentina joined the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) in 1993, after abandoning its Condor II missile program. The Missile Technology Control Regime, (2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.mtcr.info/english/index.html Last accessed: March 9, 2007.

[653] Argentina became a member of the Australia Group in 1992. The Australia Group (2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.australiagroup.net/ Last accessed: March 8, 2007.

272

Together, these measures show an important effort made by Argentina to change the image of troubled state, and to reposition itself in the international arena. They also show a foreign policy deliberately directed to form cooperative arrangements in response to the New Threats. In addition to these measures, Argentina initiated a fast-paced involvement in UN Peacekeeping Operations; in only six years, Argentina's participation in peacekeeping grew from 28 military observers to UNIIMOG in 1988 to 2,387 troops in different UN missions in 1994. And even though its participation started to decline in 1996, as of April 2007 Argentina had contributed 17,519 personnel to UN Peacekeeping Operations.[654]

Such participation was possible due to a combination of factors that can be considered as structurally possible, opportunistic, and circumstantial. Of these, the Argentine Constitution, the relationship with the United States, the reforms to the military establishment, and its participation in peacekeeping, are revealing factors.

The participation of the armed forces in politics during the military regime, de-professionalized the military, breaking the chain of command and affecting hierarchy; the result was a decay of professional identity and loss of specific roles. México's recent involvement of its military in law enforcement functions carries a similar risk in the context of loss of privileges once granted by a now-in-demise corporatist system.

For Argentina, making military and defence policy follow a newly-oriented foreign policy was a significant achievement. For the first time in Argentina, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs defined the areas in which the armed forces should be prepared. For this, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs drafted the guidelines for the Ministry of Defence, which can be lumped together around "four axes:" 1) a strictly defensive deterrence for the protection of the territory; 2) guaranteeing the optimal use of the national resources; 3) to build a safe regional framework; and 4) participation in UN peacekeeping, with the OAS and other arrangements.[655]

---

[654] Ministerio de Defensa, "Participación en Misiones de Paz: 1958-2005," (República Argentina, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.jef3op.ejercito.mil.ar/website/Departamentos/oomp/inicio.htm# Last accessed: April 17, 2007.

[655] Rut Clara Diamint, "Cambios en la Política de Seguridad: Argentina en Busca de un Perfil No Conflictivo," Revista Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad: FASOC, VII, 1, (Santiago de Chile: 1992). Internet. Available at: http://www.fasoc.cl/php/fasoc.php?seccion=articulo&id_articulo=406 Last accessed: December 14, 2006.

These guidelines sought to achieve a net defensive, highly professional profile for the armed forces: to defend, not to attack. The rationale is projecting deterrence to the outside and collective security to the inside; that is, convincing enemies that the cost to attack is too high and convincing Argentines that maintaining an individual security system is also too high. This approach allows Argentina to construct a transparent regime able to promote trust and disarmament.[656]

In 1994, André Ouellette, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Canada, noted the intention of Argentina to establish itself as a regional or rising global power through peacekeeping participation. Looking beyond the top ten contributors, minister Ouellette considered the participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations of Brazil, Argentina, Ghana and Nigeria, which are not typically classified as middle powers. It "reinforces the realist perception that these states have attempted at various times to establish themselves as regional and/or non-aligned or rising global powers. Thus, state participation in UN peacekeeping supports the view that the most likely participants are states that benefit from the *status quo*, and aspiring 'powers' that seek to achieve some relative prestige within the *status quo*."[657] The above mentioned statement seems to fit quite nicely to Argentina, which sought participation in Peacekeeping Operations as a multi-purpose measure. It also could be true for México as well.

Therefore, for Argentina, participating in UN Peacekeeping Operations signifies operating in support of international security as well as national security, but under a different concept. Such actions are expected to help Argentina "not to be considered by its neighbour countries as a permanent hypothesis of conflict."[658]

It is irrefutable that in the anarchical international system, those actors with the

---

[656] Rut Clara Diamint, "Cambios en la Política de Seguridad: Argentina en Busca de un Perfil No Conflictivo," Revista Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad: FASOC, VII, 1, (Santiago de Chile: 1992). Internet. Available at: http://www.fasoc.cl/php/fasoc.php?seccion=articulo&id_articulo=406 Last accessed: December 14, 2006.

[657] Notes from a speech by André Ouellet, Minister of Foreign Affairs, addressing the House of Commons on Canada's Role in Peacekeeping, (Ottawa: September 21, 1994). p.185. Cited in Kgomotso Monnakgotla, "The Naked Face of UN Peacekeeping: Noble Crusade or National Self-interest," African Security Review, 15, 5, (Institute for Defence Policy 1, 1996).

[658] Domingo Cavallo, La Nación, (September 22, 1990), p.3. In Diamint, "Cambios en la Política de Seguridad."

274

largest military and economic power have more capacity to impose their will. Therefore it is not wise for less powerful actors going against those efforts to strengthen the institutionalization of systems that equalize power differences between actors, such as the UN system. Argentina is one of the Founding Member States of the United Nations and since has been taking an active part in every organ and program of the UN System. In an address to the UN General Assembly on September 23, 2003, President Kirchner noted the close connection between security, multilateralism, and economics.[659]

Participating in these kinds of operations, however, was not trouble free for Argentine governments, which struggled to find the way to avoid public debates. Even though the Constitution does not prohibit these kinds of operations for Argentine troops, the political debate for such participation was avoided through the use of legal recourses of the Executive.

Argentina's Constitution

The Argentine Constitution was drafted on May 25, 1853. Its long validity, however, has been interrupted numerous times since. Frequent de facto governments, particularly during the 20th Century, reduced the applicability of the Constitution, which has survived numerous attempts to reform it, and even to derogate it. One of these attempts was the drafting of a completely new Constitution by the first *Peronista*[660] regime in 1949. The "New" Constitution was in effect until 1956, when the regime was deposed by a civilian-military movement which reinstalled the original 1853 constitutional text.[661]

Periods of political and institutional instability ruled by de facto military governments came after. Such an agitated situation led to the military coup that installed,

---

[659]"Statement by Dr. Nestor Carlos Kirchner, president of the Argentine Republic," United Nations General Assembly Plenary, Permanent Mission of Argentina to the United Nations, (República Argentina, 2003). Internet. Available at : http://www.un.org/webcast/ga/58/statements/argeeng030925.htm Last accessed: April 15, 2007.

[660] The name *"Peronismo"* comes after Juan Domingo Perón, who ruled Argentina in three occasions (1946-1952; 1952-1955; 1973-1974), and created his own social movement. With the assistance of his wife, Eva (*"Evita"*), Perón introduced unionist, nationalist and populist measures that made him and his wife, two of the most influential characters of the 20th Century in Argentina.

[661] Constitución de la Nación Argentina, Instituto de Derecho Público Comparado, (Madrid: Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.uc3m.es/uc3m/inst/MPG/consarg.htm last accessed: February 28, 2007.

275

in 1976, the *Junta Militar*. This was a group of top-rank military officers that ruled Argentina through the establishment of a strongly authoritarian and repressive regime.[662] During this period of time, the Constitution was not enforced as the military regime denied Argentineans even the most basic civil rights.[663] This government ("the last military regime" in Argentina) was removed from power after a combination of serious economic problems, corruption, public revulsion, and discredit after the defeat in the *Malvinas* War. The strong public pressure pushed the *Junta* to lift bans on political parties and gradually restore basic political liberties.

In 1983, Argentineans went to the ballot boxes to elect President Raúl Alfonsín to start the recovery of democracy. During this period (1983/1989), an intensive and extensive debate took place in the academic and political spheres. President Alfonsín appointed a Council for the Consolidation of Democracy to end the political instability and to respond to the socio-economic crisis of the country. The Council, however, did not succeed in reforming the Constitution.[664]

In early 1992, the new president, Carlos Saúl Menem, announced his desire to launch a new constitutional reform project. This time, the reform was restricted to the organizational part of the government; the main focus was the inclusion of the possibility of re-election. The reform was approved after intense debate, modifying 44 articles. The

---

[662] Some of the measures imposed by the Junta were: all political activity was suspended, as well as all the workers' rights; unions were intervened by the government; labour strikes were prohibited; Congress was dissolved; the Supreme Court was dismissed; night clubs were closed; all men must have a haircut; tons of books and magazines considered "dangerous" were burned; and media was censored; among others. "La Dictadura Militar Argentina: 24 de marzo de 1976-10 de diciembre de 1983," Ministerio de Educación de Argentina. Internet. Available at: http://www.me.gov.ar/efeme/24demarzo/dictadura.html Last accessed: March 01, 2007.

[663] Argentina scored 6, 5, NF in 1976-1977 Annual Freedom of the World Survey; compared to 2, 2, F. in 2006 From left to right, scores represent "political rights," "civil liberties," and "freedom status." Each of the first two is measured on a one-to-seven scale, with one representing the highest degree of freedom and seven the lowest; "F" stands for "free" and NF for "not free." Countries whose combined averages for political rights and for civil liberties fall between 1.0 and 2.5 are designated "free"; between 3.0 and 5.5. "partly free"; and between 5.5 and 7.0 "not free." Freedom House. Internet. Available at: http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=22&year=2006&country=6911 Last accessed: March 4, 2007.

[664] The Council for the Consolidation of Democracy issued two reports (1986 and 1987) where it recommended the steps to transform the old presidential regime onto a parliament or semi-parliament regime, with the figure of a Prime Minister. It also considered the reduction of the administration period, from six to four years, with the possibility of re-election. Additional recommendations included direct election of the Chief of State, the constitutionality of the "urgency and necessity" decrees, forms of indirect democracy, and the reduction of the senators' time to six years, among others. "Constitución Nacional," Política y Actualidad. Internet. Available at: http://www.politicayactualidad.com/info_basica_contitucion.asp Last accessed: March 4, 2007.

reform included: the recognition of numerous rights, such as environmental, consumer, information, collective action, appeal for legal protection; crimes against the Constitution and against democracy; the pre-eminence of the international treaties; the university autonomy; the direct vote; the presidential re-election for one term, and the reduction of the presidential period from six to four years; the regulation of the urgency and necessity decrees; a third minority senator; the magistracy council; and the autonomy of Buenos Aires City.[665]

An important feature of the Menem Administration is the fact that it found the way to circumvent the political debate to authorize the deployment of troops abroad. The Constitutional Sections 99.12 and 99.14 (Chapter III: Powers of the Executive Branch) respectively establish the "Commander in Chief" Clause and grant overall powers to the president over the armed forces. These enable the president to deploy Argentine troops in Peacekeeping Operations. The Sections state as follow:

> 99.12: "[the president] is commander-in-chief of all the Armed Forces of the Nation.
> 99.14: [the president] has the control of the Armed Forces and is in charge of their organization and distribution, according to the needs of the Nation."[666]

With such power, apparently the president does not need to request permission from Congress to deploy troops in Peacekeeping Operations, as these kinds of operations do not involve war actions, whether declared or not. However, Section 75.28 (Chapter VI: Powers of Congress) seems to be a bit contradictory. This Section specifies one of the powers of Congress:

> 75.28: "To authorize the entry of foreign troops into the territory of the Nation and to allow national troops to leave the country."[667]

---

[665] José M Serna de la Garza, La Reforma del Estado en América Latina: los Casos de Brasil, Argentina y México, (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas de la UNAM, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.bibliojuridica.org/libros/libro.htm?l=134 Last accessed: March 04, 2007.

[666] Constitución de la Nación Argentina, Instituto de Derecho Público Comparado, (Madrid: Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.uc3m.es/uc3m/inst/MPG/consarg.htm last accessed: February 28, 2007, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

[667] Constitución de la Nación Argentina, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

277

Numerous times this contradiction was resolved through pragmatic arrangements between the Executive and the Legislative Branches. In the 1990s, this situation allowed the Executive to organize a series of joint exercises in preparation for the Argentine military to peacekeeping deployments. Operations such as, CRUZ DEL SUR, CEIBO, UNITAS, FRATERNO, FLUVIAL, ARAEX, TANBA, EVACUACIÓN, SANITARIA, and SAR[668] were sought by the Argentine government as useful for its troops to train for Peacekeeping Operations.[669]

These operations, however, produced a generalized discontent among legislators, who complained that Argentina looked like "an occupied territory by foreign troops who speak another language, and walk the streets of the cities without the authorization of Congress." This was the case in 2001, of the multinational exercise "Cabañas 2001."[670] This time, the Executive requested the approval of Congress to authorize the entrance of contingents from the US, Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Chile. Although the request was under study by Congress, the troops involved started the exercise without waiting for the authorization.[671]

In 2002, Argentina granted diplomatic immunity to US Marines who arrived in Argentina to participate in joint exercises with the Argentine Army. The exercise was the third of a series planned to train troops in "adverse environments;" the first started in 1991 in Mendoza. The second exercise was in 1998 in Ushuaia and the third one in the Missionary Jungle. The decision to grant immunity to American troops was approved after Washington demanded the Argentine commitment not to put American soldiers on trial after Argentina signed the Roma Statute.[672]

---

[668] Ministerio de Defensa, "Nuestras Fuerzas Armadas en Acción," (República Argentina, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.mindef.gov.ar/secciones/revision/accion3.htm Last accessed: December 23, 2006.

[669] "El Ejército de los Estados Unidos en Salta,"Alerta-Salta, (March, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.alerta-salta.org.ar/article.php3?id_article=4 Last accessed: march 7, 2007.

[670] "El Ejército de los Estados Unidos en Salta,"

[671] Martín Lozada, "El Ingreso de Tropas Extranjeras a Argentina," (Universidad Fasta-Bariloche). Internet. Available at: http://veneno.com/2001/v-46/loza-46.html Last accessed: March 6, 2007.

[672] Ana Gerschenson, "Dan inmunidad diplomática a tropas de Estados Unidos," Diario El Clarín, (Buenos Aires: August 8, 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.clarin.com/diario/2002/08/31/p-01401.htm Last accessed: March 6, 2007.

Incidents such as these, where the Executive utilized its powers at the margin of the Constitution to authorize actions in preparation for peacekeeping, became frequent in Argentina. In 2001, the National Deputy Ramón H. Torres Molina denounced a series of irregularities in granting authorization by the Executive (or not even requesting authorization) for the entry and departure of foreign and national troops in and out Argentine territory.[673] The table in Appendix E shows a number of joint exercises conducted by Argentine troops without the express authorization of Congress, as it was reported by Deputy Torres Molina during an ordinary session of the Chamber of Deputies. The specifics of some of these operations were published by the Argentine Army.[674]

According to Deputy Torres Molina, Congress never issued the express authorization for the entrance and exit of foreign and national troops for operations numbered 5 to 20 (*Cruz del Sur, Fuerzas Unidas, Cabañas, Ceibo, Isla Grande, Fluvial*, Dynamic Response, and Courageous Elephant) in the table in Appendix E. This legal loophole led the Lower Chamber to introduced initiative 159/03 on March 31, 2003. The initiative regulates the procedure to allow the entrance of foreign troops to Argentine territory and the exit of national forces abroad.

The initiative was approved and further complemented by Law 717/03 of the Senate. Both pieces of legislation now regulate Section 75.28 of the Constitution and establish limits to the Executive to deploy Argentine armed forces abroad. Article 2 of Law 717/03 establishes that the President can "authorize the exit of national *troops* and *military resources* to perform activities of *international protocol*, *academic* and *research*

---

[673] Honorable Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, 22ª Reunión, 10ª Sesión Ordinaria, (Buenos Aires: August 22, 2001). Internet. Available at: http://www1.hcdn.gov.ar/sesionesxml/reunion.asp?p=119&r=22 Last accessed: March 8, 2007.

[674] Ejército Argentino, Memorias del Ejército Argentino: 1992/1999, (Buenos Aires: 1999), pp.95-101. Internet. Available at: http://www.biblioteca.ejercito.mil.ar/Doctrina/Biblioteca/Libros/librosonline.htm Last accessed: March 7, 2007.

279

exchange, or to provide *humanitarian assistance in cases of disaster.*"[675]

In addition, Article 3 of the same law states that the express authorization of Congress is necessary for the President to send troops and military resources (including coast guard – *Prefectura Naval* and border police – *Gendarmería*) to perform the following actions:

1) Joint training exercises.
2) Humanitarian assistance in scenarios where armed conflict are ongoing.
3) Joint operations in support of peace under the flag of the United Nations, or other international organizations as a result of treaties ratified by Argentina.
4) Joint peace enforcement operations under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. And
5) Any other type of operation foreseen by Article 2 of this law.

Although rather permissive and in correspondence with the foreign policy principles of Argentina, the objective of Article 3 of Law 717/03 is to establish safeguards or constraints for the "use" of troops as instruments of international politics. With this law, Congress recovered in 2004 control over the armed forces. The debate that led to the enactment of the regulatory law reflects the preoccupation of wide sectors of the population, which criticized previous "unlawful" presidential approvals. Now, the president cannot decide international deployments unilaterally; at least not without the consent of Congress.

The case of México is similar, though it has evolved in the opposite direction. México's Constitution does not prohibit peacekeeping deployments, and the only restriction the president has to send troops abroad for non-combat missions, is to get the authorization of Congress. However, the recent initiative to reform constitutional Article 126 (still under revision in Congress) will allow the president of México to do what Argentines have prevented their president to do: authorize the exit of troops without Congress' authorization.

---

[675] Both initiatives, 159/03 of the Lower Chamber and 717/03 of the Senate, concurred in the approval of Law 25.880, enacted in April 21, 2004. Internet. Available at: http://www.profesorgentile.com.ar/leyes/ley25880.html Last accessed: March 6, 2007 Honorable Senado de la Nación, Expediente Número S-717/03, "Permiso para la Introducción de Tropas Extranjeras al territorio de la Nación y Salida de Fuerzas Nacionales fuera de él – Reglamentación del Artículo 75, Inciso 28, de la Constitución Nacional. Internet. available at: http://tv.senado.gov.ar/web/proyectos/verExpe.php?&origen=S&numexp=717/03&tipo=PL&tConsulta=1 Last accessed: March 6, 2007, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR], [NOTE: ITALICS BY AUTHOR].

The Argentina-US Bilateral Relationship

Historically, relations between Argentina and the United States have been "difficult." A long ideological foreign policy based on the belief that Argentina was a world power, led this country to ignore the hegemonic status of the United States. As a result, diplomatic relations between both countries have been plagued by animosity. Consistent with the animosity against the United States, during WWII and until the mid 1950s, Argentina substituted its traditional alignment with Europe, and particularly with the United Kingdom, for a non-alignment policy.

From the mid-1950s and until the first civilian government in 1983, Argentina's foreign policy fluctuated between short periods of alignment and non-alignment.[676] It can be said that all these years of relations were marked by mutual distrust. However, this transition to democracy in Argentina opened a new phase in the bilateral relationship with the United States.

President Raúl Alfonsín sought not to follow an anti-American policy, though Argentina did not align completely with the United States.[677] Argentina's economic problems and the need for external assistance pushed this country to improve relations with the United States. When President Menem took office in 1989, the bilateral relationship with the United States became central to Argentina's foreign policy. Menem's "New foreign policy" contained a specific chapter titled "alignment with the United States."[678] For Menem, the alignment with the United States was the only viable option to reinsert Argentina into the New World Order proclaimed by President George Bush.

The alignment with US policies has been since a source of constant and intense

---

[676] Waldemar Arroyo-Rojas, "Argentina's Foreign Policy towards the United States under the Democratic Regime," (Mayaguez, Puerto Rico: 2001). Internet. Available at: http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/Lasa2001/ArroyoRojasWaldemar.pdf Last accessed: March 20, 2007.

[677] For instance, Argentina disapproved the US policy towards Central America. This disapproval was manifested by supporting the Contadora Group and the Sandinista Government in Nicaragua. Other examples of the Argentina's dissent with the United States are its participation in the anti-nuclear Group of Six in 1984 (together with India, México, Sweden, Tanzania, and Greece) and the Non-alignment Movement in 1983, among others.

[678] "Opinión Publica Argentina sobre Política Exterior y Defensa 2002," (Buenos Aires: Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Internacionales, 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.cari1.org.ar/pdf/encuesta2002.pdf Last accessed: March 19, 2007.

281

debate in Argentina. Nevertheless, the Menem administration benefited from the close relationship with the United States. By following a foreign policy based on the doctrine of "peripheral realism," meaning defusing the power-to-power threat (Argentina could not challenge the United States militarily or economically), Argentina served its economic goals by attracting foreign investment and trade. In this sense, Menem's administration adopted a pragmatic approach towards the United States.[679]

Under this approach, Argentina took concrete steps to improve relations with the United States. For instance, in 1993, Argentina handed over "most of the components of the secretive Condor II ballistic missile project to the United States for destruction."[680] However, the clearest proof of alignment with the United States is Argentine participation in the Gulf War.

On August 1st, 1990, in condemning the Iraqi invasion to Kuwait, the UN Security Council issued Resolutions 661/90 (imposing a global economic embargo on Iraq), 665/90 (authorizing the use of force to implement the economic sanctions) and 678/90 (authorizing the use of force against Iraq). In support to these Resolutions, the Argentine Executive issued Decree 1871/90 and enacted Law 23.904/91 to dispose and authorize the Argentine armed intervention in the Persian Gulf.[681]

Argentina participated with a small naval component in support of US and UK operations against Iraq, and became the only Latin American country to participate in this UN sanctioned operation. During a press conference with the US media, President Menem justified Argentina's participation stating: "I comply with a UN Resolution and with the legal and moral obligation to attend a direct request of the Kuwaiti

---

[679] Domingo Cavallo, "Algunas Orientaciones Básicas de Nuestra Diplomacia," Perspectiva Internacional, 1, 2, (December 1989). Cited in Waldemar Arroyo-Rojas, "Argentina's Foreign Policy Towards the United States Under the Democratic Regime," (Mayaguez, Puerto Rico: 2001). Internet. Available at: http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/Lasa2001/ArroyoRojasWaldemar.pdf Last accessed: March 20, 2007.

[680] The Condor II Missile Project was carried out by Argentina, Egypt and Iraq to develop a medium-range surface-to-surface missile (Egyptian designation Badr-2000). "Weapons of Mass Destruction: Missile Programs," (Global Security, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/world/argentina/missile.htm Last accessed: March 20, 2007.

[681] Ministerio de Defensa, "Sitio Oficial de la Armada Argentina," Misiones de Paz: Golfo Pérsico, (República Argentina, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.ara.mil.ar/opnav_misiones.asp Last accessed: March 21, 2007.

Government."[682]

Along with its participation in the Gulf War, Argentina also started a gradual participation in UN peacekeeping missions and initiated contact with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In 1992 and again in 1994, Argentina presented the central aspects of its international security policy to the Permanent Representatives of the North Atlantic Council in Brussels.[683] For its activism in international security issues in partnership with the United States, President Bill Clinton designated Argentina as the first Latin American Major Non-NATO Ally (MNNA) in a determination signed on January 6, 1998.

The benefits of MNNA status are mostly symbolic, implying a close working relationship with US defence forces. MNNAs do not enjoy, however, the same mutual defence and security relationship afforded to NATO members. Some of the benefits include eligibility for foreign assistance, such as "priority delivery of excess defence articles (EDA), stockpiling of U.S. defence articles, purchase of depleted uranium anti-tank rounds, participation in cooperative research and development programs, and participation in the Defence Export Loan Guarantee (DELG) program, which endorses private loans for commercial defence exports."[684]

Closer ties with the United States showed a significant shift in Argentina's foreign policy, which abandoned a historical goal of becoming a world power. Different from the Peronista government's foreign policy, which sought an international position at the highest possible place for Argentina, the Menem administration recognized that thus far Argentina was not such a power. Instead of pretending to be a power on its own, like Peron did, Menem would join the group of Western allies that recognized the leadership

---

[682] Rut Clara Diamint, "Cambios en la Política de Seguridad: Argentina en Busca de un Perfil No Conflictivo," Revista Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad: FASOC, VII, 1, (Santiago de Chile: 1992). Internet. Available at: http://www.fasoc.cl/php/fasoc.php?seccion=articulo&id_articulo=406 Last accessed: December 14, 2006, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

[683] "Argentina, NATO's South Atlantic Partner," NATO Review, 47, 1, (North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 1999). Internet. Available at: http://www.nato.int/docu/review/1999/9901-02.htm Last accessed: March 21, 2007.

[684] "Just the Facts: "a Civilian Guide to US Defence and Security Assistance to Latin America and the Caribbean." Major Non-Nato Ally (MNNA) Status, Latin America Working Group, Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), (Center for international Policy, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.ciponline.org/facts/mnna.htm Last accessed: April 5, 2007.

of the United States in the world.[685]

During the years of the post-military regime, and notoriously during the Menem's Administrations, Argentina became an unconditional ally of Washington. In a phrase that became famous but bothered many conservative Argentines, Guido di Tella, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, initially described those ties as "carnal relations" – though the term "automatic alignment" later came to be preferred.[686]

Disenchantment occurred after Argentina entered into another economic crisis in 2001. In the eyes of the Argentines, the Bush administration was indifferent and failed to assist during the crisis, as Argentina experienced a deep recession, bankruptcy, default on its debt and a 40 percent devaluation of the peso. Its automatic alignment with the United States, its participation in the Gulf War, and its consistent vote on issues like human rights violations in Cuba, were insufficient to get the sympathy of the Americans in times of crisis. It was clear that the era of "carnal relations" was over.

After the 2001/2002 crisis, Argentina started to shift attention away from the United States and towards MERCOSUR partners, and within these, towards Brazil and most recently Venezuela – which Argentina has fully supported to become a member of this customs union, also sought by many as the rival to the US-led Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). Nevertheless, Argentina maintains an extensive bilateral relationship with the United States. Both countries share interests on strategic issues, such as counterterrorism, non-proliferation, counternarcotics, and regional stability.

Along with Brazil and Paraguay, Argentina invited the U.S. to join the counterterrorism consultative and co-operation mechanism "Three Plus One," which focuses on possible terrorist-related activity in the tri-border region. Argentina remains the only South American country to have endorsed the US Proliferation Security and the Container Security Initiatives. In 2004, Argentina signed a Letter of Agreement with the Department of State opening the way for enhanced co-operation with the U.S. on

---

[685] Waldemar Arroyo-Rojas, "Argentina's Foreign Policy towards the United States under the Democratic Regime," (Mayaguez, Puerto Rico: 2001). p.12. Internet. Available at: http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/Lasa2001/ArroyoRojasWaldemar.pdf Last accessed: March 20, 2007.

[686] Larry Rother, "Argentina and the U.S. Grow Apart over a Crisis," The New York Times, (January 20, 2002). Internet. available at: http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/argentina/collapse.htm Last accessed: April 6, 2007.

284

counternarcotics issues and enabling the U.S. to begin providing financial assistance to the Government of Argentina for their counternarcotics efforts.[687] All these ties between Argentina and the United States reflect the fact that these countries have not grown apart, but their relationship has evolved from one of "automatic alignment" to one of "pragmatic interests."

The Argentine bilateral relationship with the United States is quite different from the México-US relationship. The level of interdependence is also remarkably different. For Argentina, exports to the US represent only 15 percent of its total exports; and Argentina imports from this country are only 14 percent.[688] Strategically, there are also huge differences between these two relationships that make the relationship with the United States "dispensable" for Argentina; definitively not an option for México.

The Argentine Armed Forces

The modern roles assigned to the Argentine armed forces include performing actions at the national, regional and international or global environments. As stated by the 1999 Defence White Book, these roles are "preserving the sovereignty, territorial integrity, self-determination, national heritage, and the lives and liberties of the Argentine people;" "participating in Peacekeeping Operations and/or multinational coalitions under the command of international organizations; contributing to the development of Mutual Trust Building (MTB) measures at the regional and international contexts in order to prevent conflicts; and performing internal security missions in the terms prescribed by the Internal Security Law."[689]

In practice, Argentine armed forces activity is confined almost exclusively to the external arena, namely to international peacekeeping and conventional defence roles.

---

[687] "Background Note: Argentina," Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, (US Department of State, November 2006). Internet. available at: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/26516.htm Last accessed: April 6, 2007.

[688] 2004 Figures. "Background Note: Argentina," Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, (US Department of State, November 2006). Internet. available at: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/26516.htm Last accessed: April 6, 2007.

[689] Ministerio de Defensa, Libro Blanco de la República Argentina, (República Argentina, 2006), pp.52, 90 Internet. Available at: http://www.mindef.gov.ar/secciones/libro_blanco/libro%20blanco%20de%20defensa.doc Last accessed: March 15, 2007.

Only under exceptional circumstances do the armed forces play the roles considered under the rubric of "internal security." For instance, their contribution to drug interdiction is merely logistical. Occasionally, the Argentine armed forces participate in disaster relief missions, and their participation in civilian works is practically nonexistent. It is recognized that lack of budgetary resources is the most serious problem facing the Argentine military today. Current economic conditions and the government's commitment to reduce public spending have slowed down modernization and restructuring efforts.[690] Nonetheless, the armed forces still represent an important actor in the political, economic and social spheres of Argentina.

The 2001 Defence White Book recognizes territorial integrity as the second vital interest of the nation, and a primary mission for the armed forces.[691] For this, the operations of the armed forces are aimed at supporting, or at least at taking into consideration, MTB at the three levels: at the national (regain and preserve public support), at the regional (erase the perception of becoming a threat to neighbouring countries) and at the international or global (improved relations with the UK).

The Argentine armed forces are comprised of the traditional branches, army, navy (with naval aviation and naval infantry components) and air force, all operationally controlled by a combined military staff (*Estado Mayor Conjunto*). The president of the republic is the Commander in Chief of the Armed forces, which are administratively concentrated in the Defence Ministry. Paramilitary forces under the control of the Ministry of the Interior perform coast guard (*Prefectura Naval*) and border police (*Gendarmería*) functions.

The present structure is the product of two milestone reforms: the 1958 Law of Ministries and the 1988 National Defence Law.[692] The former brought together the old

---

[690] "Background Note: Argentina," Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, (US Department of State, November 2006). Internet. available at: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/26516.htm Last accessed: April 06, 2007.

[691] Ministerio de Defensa, Libro Blanco de la República Argentina, (República Argentina, 2006). p.52 Internet. Available at: http://www.mindef.gov.ar/secciones/libro_blanco/libro%20blanco%20de%20defensa.doc Last accessed: March 15, 2007.

[692] Ministerio de Defensa, Misiones de Paz, "Creación del Actual Ministerio de Defensa," (República Argentina, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.mindef.gov.ar/secciones/historia/III.htm Last accessed: December 23, 2006.

ministries of Defence, Military, Navy, and Aeronautics into the actual Defence Ministry.[693] The latter permitted a restructuring of the armed forces to secure military subordination to civilian power.[694]

It is worth noting that the 1988 National Defence Law did not enter fully into effect after President Néstor Kirchner signed the regulatory framework in 2005. This action unveils both a long resistance of the armed forces to abandoning old privileges and a political reaction against the notion of "New Threats," which extends the roles of the military to internal security. The National Defence Law represents a significant distinction from México, where the armed forces are legally entitled to act in internal security matters; the Law bans the Argentine armed forces from getting involved in internal security matters.

The army has a total manpower of 41,400 (5,300 officers, 20,600 NCOs, and 15,500 volunteer troops). In 2000, it started a reorganization plan (*Plan 2000*) in two large groups engaged in different activities: Regional Use Forces (*Fuerzas de Empleo Regional*) geographically distributed throughout the country, organized, equipped and trained to act in mountains, desert, forest, etc. in internal security and natural disasters; and Variable Use Forces (*Fuerzas de Empleo Variable*), organized and equipped to carry out functions inside and outside the national territory.

Emphasis has been put on the conformation of a Rapid Response Force (*Fuerza de Despliegue Rápido*), which is a regiment-size airborne force and represents the modern vision of the Argentine Army. These forces are versatile and possess high levels of autonomy and mobility. Some of their functions include the capability to participate in Peacekeeping Operations.[695]

The Air Force has a military staff that performs advice, planning, steering and

---

[693] Ministerio de Defensa, Libro Blanco de la República Argentina, (República Argentina, 2006). p.114 Internet. Available at: http://www.mindef.gov.ar/secciones/libro_blanco/libro%20blanco%20de%20defensa.doc Last accessed: March 15, 2007.

[694] Congreso Nacional, Ley de Defensa Nacional 23.554, (Argentina, 1998). Internet. Available at: http://www.mindef.gov.ar/secciones/documentos/ley_23554.htm Last accessed: December 12, 2006.

[695] "Argentina," Military. Ejército Argentino, (Global Security, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/argentina/army.htm Last accessed: December 13, 2006.

287

logistics functions. It contains as well a number of offices for personnel control and wellbeing. Operationally, the Argentine Air Force depends on the Air Operations Command. This command is formed by air brigades, air force bases and combat support facilities. Two independent command centres, the Materiel Command and the Personnel Command, concentrate the rest of the functions, such as recruitment and training.

A fourth command centre oversees all the Air Regions, which are part of the territorial organization of the Argentine Air Force. An important difference from México, where civilian aviation and military aviation are separate and independent entities, is that in Argentina, all the civilian aviation control bodies are subordinated to the Air Regions Commandant. This military position is the civilian aviation authority in Argentina. This situation however is expected to change soon.[696]

The Air Force operates an important inventory of air materiel, including Dassault Mirage III and 5 interceptors and Douglas A-4 fighters. It also operates an important number of transport and air support units, such as Lockheed C-130 Hercules and Fokker F27/28. This last category of airplanes has been active supporting peacekeeping missions around the globe. An Argentine Air contingent (UNFLIGHT) has supported the UN mandate in Cyprus (UNFICYP), achieving 10,000 flight hours in 2003 without any accidents. As of March 2007, Argentina supports UNFICYP with a joint military contingent formed by troops from Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Peru. UNFICYP Force Commander is the Argentine Major General Rafael José Barni.[697] Since 2005, the FAA has also deployed Bell 212 helicopters to Haiti under MINUSTAH mandate.

The Argentine Navy is structurally organized around three key positions that distribute power within the organization: the Navy Commandant, the Deputy Navy

---

[696] The Argentine Minister of Defence, Nilda Garré, announced that the aviation control transfer from military to civilian "is a complex process and we want to do it gradually, to ensure everything works well." This announcement was made after the signing of a decree that creates the National Civilian Aviation Administration, which will act as the national aviation authority. The starting date for the new agency has not been determined yet. Europa Press, "El Gobierno argentino traspasará el control de la aviación comercial a un organismo civil," (Buenos Aires: March 16, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.invertia.com/noticias/noticia.asp?idnoticia=1714153 Last accessed: March 17, 2007.

[697] United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Current Operations. Europe. "United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus, (UNFICYP)." Internet. Available at: http://www.fuerzaaerea.mil.ar/index_win.html Last accessed: March 17, 2007.

Commandant and the Commandant of Naval Operations. The naval force is organized under the direction of the Commandant of Naval Operations with the assistance of civil agencies in charge of maritime traffic control and maritime affairs. The Argentine Navy is composed of one surface fleet (*Flota de Mar*), one submarine fleet, one naval aviation force, and one marine corps. The two main naval facilities, the General Belgrano Navy Base and the Munitions Depot, are located in Port Belgrano. From here, the navy accommodates the surface fleet and provides it with logistics support.

Like the Mexican, the Argentine navy also has a territorial control divided in Naval Zones, located at the following bases: Fluvial Zone at Zarate's Naval Base in Buenos Aires; the Atlantic Naval Zone at Mar del Plata's Base in Buenos Aires, and the Austral Zone at Ushuaia's Base in Tierra del Fuego.[698] With a total manpower of 17,914,[699] the Argentine Navy has an inventory of vessels which is a combination of modern and outmoded equipment. This include German-built destroyers Meko 360H2 (four) and missile corvettes Meko 140A16 (nine), as well as WW II patrols, such as the *Murature* Class. The fleet also includes logistics and multipurpose vessels as well as two submarines, a relatively small naval aviation force and a number of marines' brigades.[700]

The navy has been assigned the mission to participate in Peacekeeping Operations, maritime security, search and rescue, Antarctic research support, humanitarian assistance, environmental activities, and internal security.[701] In this context, the navy has become an important tool of Argentina's foreign policy, participating in several peacekeeping missions with naval vessels, medical teams, transport operations,

---

[698] Ricardo A. Runza, "Misiones, despliegue y organización de las Fuerzas Armadas de Argentina, Brasil y Chile," Revista Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad, 18, 1-2, (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Estudios Estratégicos, 2004). pp.155-181. Internet. Available at: http://www.fasoc.cl/files/articulo/ART4112cb8275129.pdf Last accessed: March 17, 2007.

[699] 2005 Figures. Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina (RESDAL), Atlas de Defensa, "Países: Argentina," (August, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.resdal.org/atlas/atlas-argentina-info.html Last accessed: March 8, 2007.

[700] Ministerio de Defensa, "Sitio Oficial de la Armada Argentina," Poder Naval, Comandos Operativos, (República Argentina, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.ara.mil.ar/comandos.asp Last accessed: March 15, 2007.

[701] Ministerio de Defensa, "Sitio Oficial de la Armada Argentina," Operaciones, (República Argentina, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.ara.mil.ar/comandos.asp Last accessed: March 15, 2007.

marine contingents, and chemical, biological and nuclear (CBNW) warfare inspectors, among others.

In 1967 in Palestine (UNTSO), the Argentine navy started its participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations. Today, the navy has participated in 15 UN peacekeeping missions and several multinational coalitions, including the Gulf War and the non-UN peacekeeping mission in Ecuador-Peru in 1995. The Argentine Navy has been recognized by the UN and Member States as a significant actor for Naval Peacekeeping.

Civil-Military Relations

The *Malvinas* War is frequently cited as the turning point in the reform of the defence sector in Argentina, particularly in regards to Civil-Military Relations. Seven years after the war, hyperinflation paved the road for the state reform. Further on, the changes in the international system completed the set of variables required for an extensive debate on the reform of Argentina's defence system. In terms of Civil-Military Relations, the negotiation processes that ended up in the enactment of the National Defence Law (1988) and the Internal Security Law (1991) are clear tokens of what political will can achieve.

This process, however, is far from over, and even though important achievements can be identified in terms of Civil-Military Relations, other related areas, such as health and justice, remain as areas of concern. This is primarily due to the low political interest shown from the civilian side. To put it in the words of the military officers: "defence is not a saleable topic."[702]

One major challenge for Argentine leaders is the difficulty of carving out missions for the military, appropriate to both the security environment of the post-Cold War era and to Civil-Military Relations in a democratic environment. Two issues are central to Civil-Military Relations in the current era: one is the degree of subordination of the military to civilian control, and the other is the primary focus (internal or external security) of the defence forces. In theory, militaries can be highly subordinated to civilian

---

[702] Marcela Donadio, "La Construcción de una Nueva Política de Defensa en Argentina," Revista Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad: FASOC, II, 2, (Santiago de Chile: 1996. Internet. Available at: http://www.fasoc.cl/files/articulo/ART4119218ebbe5d.pdf Last accessed: March 17, 2007.

290

control and have either a primarily internal or external orientation, but in practice, strong civilian control is difficult to sustain when the armed forces are oriented mainly toward internal conflict.[703] The case of México has been an exception to this rule, as it remained free from military coups when these were a common bargaining chip in Latin America, though reforms are needed to maintain it that way.

In the case of Argentina, it is clear that the Civil-Military Relations are shaped by the imperative to subordinate the military to civilian control. In this sense, the roles assigned to the military are clearly focused outwards, while the inwards possibilities of action are limited. It can be said, therefore, that Argentina still is in the process of finding the balance between the measures to subordinate the military to civilian control without lamenting a return to the past experiences of military coups, and the measures to effectively determine the roles of the armed forces.

In this sense, two sets of factors affecting Civil-Military Relations in Argentina can be identified. First, the constant reduction of the defence budget that affects the armed forces and the whole defence system, and the lack of clear political guidance for the design of an effective defence strategy are sources of potential civil-military confrontation. And second, there is the pressure of the United States on Latin American countries to get the armed forces involved in internal security matters, namely the War against Drugs and the War against Terrorism. Such involvement can shift the military roles to dangerous directions.[704] This is partially applicable to Argentina, whose legislation has been reformed to keep the military away from internal roles, but certainly true for México, whose armed forces are increasingly taking internal security responsibilities.

For the Argentine contingents deployed to UN Peacekeeping Operations, Civil-Military Relations have been a must, as military power in these operations is

---

[703] Wendy Hunter, "State and Soldier in Latin America: Redefining the Military's Role in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile," (United States Institute of Peace, October 1996), p.1. Internet. Available at: http://www.usip.org/pubs/peaceworks/state10/forwrd10.html last accessed: March 17, 2007.

[704] "Informe Tendencias de la Política de Seguridad en Argentina," Base de Datos SER en el 2000, (Hamburgo: Instituto de Estudios Iberoamericanos, 1997). Internet. Available at: http://www.ser2000.org.ar/tendencias/tendencia.htm Last accessed: March 19, 2007.

291

subordinated to the civilian power vested in the figure of the UNSG Special Representative.

The goals established in 1990 (further revised in 1999) for the modernization of the armed forces, were not reached, and thus various doctrinal voids were left. Also, aspects required for an integrated and coherent development of forces were left unattended. These aspects include: "Logistics, Motorized, Assault and Special Forces units, mobilization and *Civil-Military Relations*, and computer information technology."[705] Therefore, it can be said that despite drastic reforms and intense participation in Peacekeeping Operations, Civil-Military Relations in Argentina is an unfinished task.

Women in Uniform

In Argentina, the integration of women into the armed forces has been a slow and partial process. The transition to democracy opened a window of opportunity for women to expand their areas of action. However, today, women who become officers and non-commissioned members can only fill logistics and combat-support positions. And only a handful of women have participated in Peacekeeping Operations.

Today, Argentine women join the armed forces through reserve formation schools called "*Liceos*,"[706] or directly from civilian life. Regular assignments for women include military staffs, operation centres, and Army airplanes. The participation of women in the armed forces increased notably since the implementation of the voluntary military service in 1995. In terms of numbers, female participation increased since the opening of the Argentine Military College to women in the programs of command, artillery, engineers and communications.

---

[705] Ministerio de Defensa, "Ejército Argentino, su desarrollo operativo 1990-1999: una Fuerza para el Siglo XXI," (República Argentina, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.ara.mil.ar/comandos.asp Last accessed: March 15, 2007, [NOTE: ITALICS BY AUTHOR].

[706] Military *Liceos* are high schools where students, boys and girls, receive secondary education under military discipline. When they graduate, they receive high school diplomas and the Reserve Rank of Officer Cadets. There are nine *Liceos* in Argentina that hold about 7,000 students. Rosario Gabino, "Argentina: Vuelta atrás con Liceos Militares," BBC Mundo, (Buenos Aires: May 31, 2006). Internet. available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/spanish/latin_america/newsid_5035000/5035570.stm last accessed: April 6, 2007.

292

According to the Argentine Ministry of Defence, the Argentine experience shows that "women are fully capable of playing the military roles, since they have not shown impediments to fulfill the tasks assigned, and they exhibit a manifest enthusiasm, decision, work spirit, competitiveness, and desires of personal growth."[707] The year of acceptance in the different branches of the armed forces and the prospects of Argentine women in uniform are as follows:

Table 14: Argentine Women in Uniform
(Year of Entrance into Service & Highest Rank)

	Army	Navy	Air Force
Year of entry	Officers: 1982 Non commissioned Officers: 1982 (in 1990, the ranking lists and career plans for both men and women, were unified) Command Officers: 1997	Officers: 1981 Non commissioned Officers: 1981 (considered Reserve Officers) Command Officers: 2001	Officers: 1980 Non commissioned Officers: 1982 Command Officers: 2001
Highest Rank	Women can reach the highest rank (Lieutenant General) Cannot join combat positions	Women can reach the highest rank (Admiral) Cannot join combat positions	Women can reach the highest rank (Air Marshal) Cannot join combat positions

Source: Author (2008) with data from RESDAL[708]

Indeed Argentina has made important efforts to incorporate women into the armed forces. These efforts, however, follow a conception of division of labour instead of equality, and the 50/50 men/women ratio recommended by UNSC Resolution 1325,

---

[707] Ministerio de Defensa, Libro Blanco de la República Argentina, (República Argentina, 2006), p.169. Internet. Available at: http://www.mindef.gov.ar/secciones/libro_blanco/libro%20blanco%20de%20defensa.doc Last accessed: March 15, 2007.

[708] "Incorporación Femenina a las Fuerzas Armadas," Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina (RESDAL), Atlas de Defensa, (August, 2005), p.84. Internet. Available at: http://www.resdal.org/Archivo/d0000004.htm Last accessed: March 21, 2007.

293

whose importance has been recognized by Argentina,[709] is certainly not a target for this country. Proofs of this abound in the paper "The Argentine Army, its Operational Development 1990-1999: a Force for the 21st Century," published by the Argentine Ministry of Defence in 2000. For instance, one of the objectives is "to enlist female personnel, with no further restrictions other than *those that derive from the tasks for which they are apt*, and *without surpassing 20 percent of the global manpower*."[710]

Another example of the Argentine notion of the role of women in uniform is found in the section titled "Factors that influenced the Operational Development" of the Operational Development Paper. This section includes the following statement: "One highly positive aspect is the inclusion of female personnel. This is because these personnel can perform tasks and activities for which they are especially apt, in replacement of men who perform tasks that require greater robustness and effort."[711]

By 1998, the number of Argentine women who had participated in UN Peacekeeping Operations was 78, out of 10,844 total personnel. This figure represented only the 0.7 percent of women in Peacekeeping Operations.[712] In 2000, women in uniform represented only 5.57 percent of total manpower; three percent of the officers and non-commissioned; 13 percent of the students attending military academies; 10 percent of active soldiers.[713] Argentina's target is to increase women's participation in the armed

---

[709] Argentina has recognized "the importance of implement national action plans for the implementation of Resolution 1325. These plans should be elaborated through a participative process that should include monitoring and accountability mechanisms for the governments to assure not only the greatest possible number of women participation in the decision making processes of the country but also that their demands and needs are taken into consideration at all state levels, especially in the institutional reform processes, including the reform of the legislative, legal and security sectors." (Permanent Mission of Argentina to the United Nations, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.int/argentina/english/statements/security-council/sec-council-06.htm#october26 Last accessed: April 08, 2007.

[710] Ministerio de Defensa, "Ejército Argentino, su desarrollo operativo 1990-1999: una Fuerza para el Siglo XXI," (República Argentina, 2007), p.21. Internet. Available at: http://www.ara.mil.ar/comandos.asp Last accessed: March 15, 2007, [NOTE: ITALICS BY AUTHOR], [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

[711] Ministerio de Defensa, "Ejército Argentino, su desarrollo operativo 1990-1999," p.42.

[712] Ejército Argentino, Memorias del Ejército Argentino: 1992/1999, (Buenos Aires: 1999), p.127. Internet. Available at: http://www.biblioteca.ejercito.mil.ar/Doctrina/Biblioteca/Libros/librosonline.htm Last accessed: March 7, 2007.

[713] Ministerio de Defensa, "Ejército Argentino, su desarrollo operativo 1990-1999," p.25.

forces up to 10-15 percent.[714] By 2007, there were 197 women who had participated in peacekeeping missions out of a grand total of 17,519;[715] this figure represents 1.12 percent of the whole Argentine participation in Peacekeeping Operations.

Argentine Peacekeeping

Argentine troops have been deployed on missions to the Persian Gulf, Croatia, Cambodia, Angola, Morocco, and the Sinai, among others. The involvement of the military in peacekeeping has provided it with a constructive and demanding role. The peacekeeping role, however, cannot be understood in isolation but as a multi-purpose strategy, national and international. These include the facilitation of the transition from a military regime to democracy; deactivation of conflicting relations with neighbouring countries; trust building relationship of the military with civil society; a closer relationship with the United States; image improvement of the military; new roles for the military away from politics; a defence policy in support to an active foreign policy; and commitment to international peace and security.

In this context, Argentina has been an active participant in peacekeeping missions, notably since 1992. Argentine military personnel have been deployed in various Peacekeeping Operations and to the UNDPKO headquarter in New York, serving as military advisors, command and staff officers, as well as military observers and "Blue Helmet" troops. An Argentine General serves as an advisor to the UN Secretary-General and military advisors have been assigned to the UNDPKO since 1990. Since 1993, Argentina maintains a military attaché to its Permanent Representation to the UN.[716]

For most of its history Argentina has had no military forces deployed outside its

---

[714] Ministerio de Defensa, "Ejército Argentino, su desarrollo operativo 1990-1999: una Fuerza para el Siglo XXI," (República Argentina, 2007), p.21. Internet. Available at: http://www.ara.mil.ar/comandos.asp Last accessed: March 15, 2007.

[715] Ministerio de Defensa, "Participación en Misiones de Paz: 1958-2007," (República Argentina, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.jef3op.ejercito.mil.ar/website/Departamentos/oomp/inicio.htm Last accessed: April 8, 2007.

[716] Ministerio de Defensa, "Soldados Argentinos por la Paz: la contribución del Ejército Argentino en la Solución Pacifica de los Conflictos," (República Argentina, 1998). Chapter I. Internet. Available at: http://www.biblioteca.ejercito.mil.ar/Doctrina/Biblioteca/Libros/Soldados/indice.htm Last accessed: April 7, 2007.

295

borders or territorial waters. There are a few exceptions; during the Wars of Independence from Spain (1816-1824), the War of the Triple Alliance with Brazil and the Uruguay (1865-1870), and arguably, the Malvinas War against Britain (1982).[717] In fact, and similar to México, Argentina was a reluctant partner in most international security arrangements until quite recently.

Evolution

For the purpose of comparison and lessons learned, it is worth identifying how Argentina got actively involved in UN peacekeeping. The first antecedent of Argentine Peacekeeping is found during the Chaco War between Paraguay and Bolivia (1928-1935), when Foreign Affairs Ministry Carlos Saavedra Lamas, acted as a mediator; an action for which he received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1936.[718] Years later, in the late 1950s and until 1988, Argentina contributed small contingents to UN observer missions (UNOGIL/1958; UNTSO/1967; UNIIMOG/1988; UNAMEV I/1989). However, Argentine active participation started when President Menem came into office in 1989. At that time, there were only twenty-one people involved in UN missions, seventeen of them authorized only the year before.

Having defused a military resurgence with pardons, and having apparently prevented a military involvement in domestic political affairs, President Menem began to employ the armed forces to underpin a newly redirected foreign policy. The first opportunity for the Argentine armed forces to get involved in UN peacekeeping came in February 1990. UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuellar sought out Argentina to provide fast patrol boats to support ONUCA (*Operación de Naciones Unidas en Centro América*). This was the first time that a UN Member-country deployed naval forces in this type of mission; Argentina deployed four patrol boats ("*Concepción del Uruguay*,"

---

[717] Most observers outside Latin America regard the brief occupation of the Malvinas/Falklands as an Argentine invasion of British territory; the Argentines emphatically deny this.

[718] Carlos Saavedra Lamas (1878-1959), Ministry of Foreign affairs of Argentina was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1936. Nobel Peace Prize Laureates, (The Norwegian Nobel Institute). Internet. Available at: http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1936/ Last accessed: April 13, 2007.

"Clorinda," "Barranqueras," and *"Baradero"*) to ONUCA in June 1990.[719]

The ONUCA operation had at least three positive consequences for Argentina: fuller integration into the expanding role of the UN Security Council in resolving conflicts (signalling support to the US-announced "New World Order"); an image of caring about the pacification process in Central America (as a part of the "Contadora Support Group"), of which Argentina was an active supporter; benefits for the Argentine Navy in the form of improved training, readiness, and crew experience without incurring additional cost to Argentina, since the UN paid for the operation.[720]

Politically, it was not difficult for President Menem to put forces under UN command, as he applied the "Commander in Chief" Clause of the Constitution (without the requirement of Congressional approval, as the operation did not involve war actions). This is not the case, however, operationally. Crisis specialist Katherine J. Worboys considers that Argentina underwent operational difficulties with the introduction of peacekeeping. These can be framed in the context of the Civil-Military Relations, and have been explained by political scientist Lyle Goldstein.

Goldstein identifies three sources of military reluctance to engage in peacekeeping as a primary mission: First, the "victory problem" – "soldiers become wary of Peacekeeping Operations because of their ambiguous nature and the subsequent lack of satisfaction derived from a clear-cut victory." Second, the "politics problem" – "soldiers' disdain for the political complexity and diplomatic requirements of operations other than war." And third, the "readiness problem" – "soldiers' belief that peacekeeping prevents them from acting in more pressing activities, including training and preparedness."[721]

For Worboys, Goldstein's assertions are highly relevant to the process of

---

[719] Ministerio de Defensa, "Sitio Oficial de la Armada Argentina," Operaciones, (República Argentina, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.ara.mil.ar/opnav_misiones.asp#onuca Last accessed: April 14, 2007.

[720] Juan Carlos Neves, "The Argentine Navy and UN Peacekeeping Operations in the Gulf of Fonseca," Naval War College Review, (Winter 1994), pp.40-67.

[721] Lyle J. Goldstein, "General John Shalikashvili and the Civil-Military Relations of Peacekeeping,"Armed Forces & Society 26, no. 3 (Spring 2000). Cited in Katherine J. Worboys, "The Traumatic Journey from Dictatorship to Democracy: Peacekeeping Operations and Civil-Military Relations in Argentina 1989-1999," Armed Forces and Society, 33, 2, (January 2007). pp.149-168, p.153.

297

introducing peacekeeping in any military; "Goldstein demonstrates the profound changes required of a military institution in transition from war fighting to peacemaking." The case of Argentina seems to fit nicely in Goldstein's framework, but it is not so relevant for México, where the internally oriented armed forces do not always look for clear-cut victories; the "politics" and the "readiness" problems, however, exist for the Mexican armed forces.

Only two months after sending navy patrol boats to El Salvador, President Menem saw the opportunity to support international efforts more than rhetorically or in very small ways, particularly in relation to the US-announced "New World Order." Argentina sent one destroyer (*"Almirante Brown"*) and one corvette (*"Spiro"*) (later relieved by the corvette *"Rosales"* and the transport *"Bahía San Blas"*)[722] and several air force cargo planes to support the US-led blockade of Iraq, as part of Operation Desert Shield.[723]

This action was somewhat controversial in the Congress, as it was a deployment outside the hemisphere – unprecedented for Argentina. It was the only Latin American country to commit forces in the Gulf War, standing out among Western Hemisphere nations. However, impressive as it was, the Argentine participation in the Gulf War cannot be counted as part of a sustained commitment to UN Peacekeeping Operations. The first major commitment to peacekeeping was the force sent to the former Yugoslavia. Moreover, this commitment was fulfilled not by the wide-ranging, internationally oriented Navy, but by the traditionally domestic Army.

In February 1992, Argentina announced its participation with one infantry battalion (870 personnel) in UNPROFOR (United Nations Protection Force). The Argentine Army had no prior experience in the deployment of major combat units

---

[722] Ministerio de Defensa, "Sitio Oficial de la Armada Argentina," Operaciones, (República Argentina, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.ara.mil.ar/opnav_misiones.asp#golfo Last accessed: April 14, 2007.

[723] Deborah L. Norden, "Keeping the Peace, Outside and In: Argentina's UN Missions," International Peacekeeping, (Autumn 1995), p.332. Cited in Herbert C. Huser, "Democratic Argentina's 'Global Reach:' The Argentine Military in Peacekeeping Operations," (US Naval War College, Summer 1998). Internet. Available at : http://www.nwc.navy.mil/press/Review/1998/summer/art4su98.htm Last accessed: February 22, 2006.

overseas of any kind.[724] "No existing unit was close to being prepared, since formations of this size (regiments, in the Argentine infantry nomenclature) were geographically based and consisted of relatively small professional cadres and large complements of conscripts; even those personnel were in short supply and not suitably trained for "Blue Helmet" units."[725]

The search for appropriate personnel was first seen as a challenge due to the UN prerequisites of English proficiency and volunteer enrolment. There was a surprising result as there were "two or three times as many applicants as positions for the first 865-man unit."[726] By May 1992, the Argentine Army Battalion was fully deployed to the west sector in Western Slavonia, Croatia. Gradually, the Argentine contingent began to redeploy back to Argentina, and stood down completely by the end of 1995.[727]

A significant move was the appointment of Oscar Camilión as defence minister in 1993. Mister Camilión, a highly respected diplomat, brought diplomatic skills to the use of the military in support to foreign policy objectives. Camilión carried on the UNPROFOR deployment and planned and supervised the following one in Cyprus in the same year. In the years to come, Argentina engaged in several UN peacekeeping missions at a time. Appendix F shows the UN missions which Argentina has participated in from 1958-2007.

The number of missions (34) in which Argentina has participated is remarkable. Of these, 11 have been in Africa, 6 in the Americas and the Caribbean, 4 in the Middle East, 9 in Europe, and 4 in Asia. Compared to the global distribution of Peacekeeping Operations, the Argentine participation shows no predilection for any specific region.

---

[724] Although the Malvinas episode, ten years before, can be considered by some as a "foreign deployment," in any event it can be said that it did provide useful lessons for UN peacekeeping missions.

[725] Herbert C. Huser, "Democratic Argentina's "Global Reach:" The Argentine Military in Peacekeeping Operations," (US Naval War College, Summer 1998). Internet. Available at : http://www.nwc.navy.mil/press/Review/1998/summer/art4su98.htm Last accessed: February 22, 2006.

[726] Huser, "Democratic Argentina's "Global Reach."

[727] Ministerio de Defensa, "Soldados Argentinos por la Paz: la contribución del Ejército Argentino en la Solución Pacifica de los Conflictos," (República Argentina, 1998). UNPROFOR. Internet. Available at: http://www.jef3op.ejercito.mil.ar/website/Departamentos/oomp/paginas/unprofor.htm Last accessed: April 7, 2007.

Table 15: Geographical Distribution of Argentine Deployment to UNPKO (1958-2007)

Region	Total UN PK Missions (61)	Argentina PKO (34)
Africa	37%	32%
Americas & the Caribbean	15%	17%
Middle East	15%	12%
Europe	16%	26%
Asia	15%	12%

Source: Author (2008)

As noted in Appendix F, as of April 2007, Argentina currently participates in nine out of 16 ongoing UN peacekeeping missions around the world. The number of personnel, military and civilian police, committed to these operations in 2006 was 1,023.[728] The Argentine participation reached its peak during the Menem Administration and has maintained a relatively steady level since, with a slight increase in 2005. As noted in the Table above, the "enthusiasm" of the Menem Administration coincides with a higher number of missions implemented in Europe during the early 1990s. This enthusiasm is also notable in the number of personnel Argentina committed to Peacekeeping Operations. The following chart shows the behaviour of the Argentine participation in PKO since 1958:

---

[728] There are discrepancies on the figures of Argentine personnel in peacekeeping missions from source to source. 2006 figures provided by the Argentine Permanent Representation to the UN are 862, while the Ministry of Defence provides 1,024. Internet. available at: http://www.un.int/argentina/espanol/archivos/OMP.doc Last accessed: April 8, 2007. Ministerio de Defensa, "Participación en Misiones de Paz: 1958-2007," (República Argentina, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.jef3op.ejercito.mil.ar/website/Departamentos/oomp/inicio.htm Last accessed: April 8, 2007.

300

Figure 10: Number of Argentine Personnel in UNPKO (1958-2007)
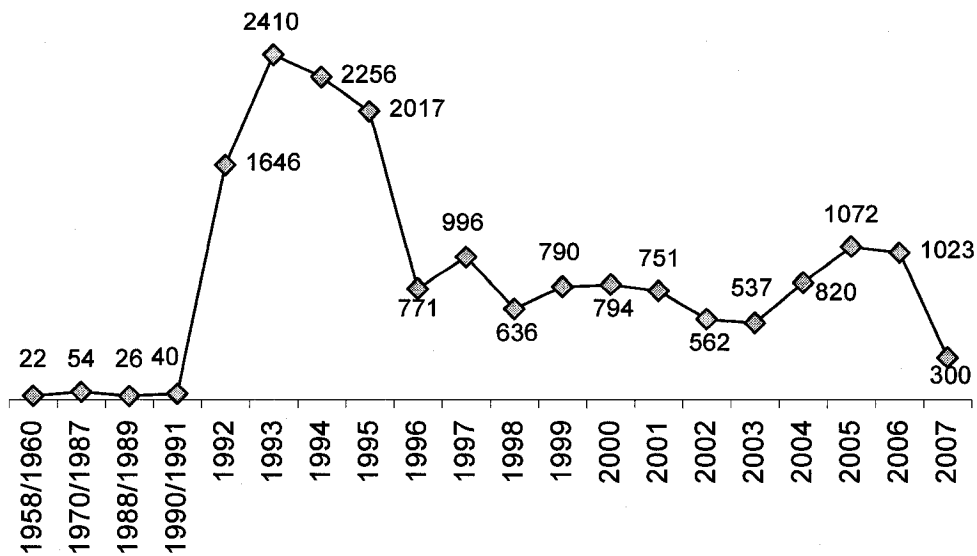
Source: Author (2008) with data from the Argentine Ministry of Defence.[729]

The number of personnel deployed to UNPKO shows a huge jump from 40 to 2,410 in only two years (1991-1993). This includes the first brigade-size Argentine deployment to Bosnia. This increase represented a huge training challenge for Argentina, which had not developed peacekeeping training capabilities by that time. This shortcoming was recognized by the Argentine Government, which had already explored ways to mend it. For instance, in June 1988, Argentina cosponsored with Canada a weeklong peacekeeping seminar in Buenos Aires that included participation from diplomatic, military, police, and NGO representatives from nations throughout North, Central, and South America.[730]

Once it identified the need for professional training, Argentina created the

---

[729] Ministerio de Defensa, "Participación en Misiones de Paz: 1958-2007," (República Argentina, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.jef3op.ejercito.mil.ar/website/Departamentos/oomp/inicio.htm Last accessed: April 8, 2007.

[730] Canadian Embassy in Argentina and Honorary Consulate in Paraguay, Press Release, June 15, 1988. Cited in Katherine J. Worboys, "The Traumatic Journey from Dictatorship to Democracy: Peacekeeping Operations and Civil-Military Relations in Argentina 1989-1999," Armed Forces and Society, 33, 2, (January 2007). pp.149-168.

Argentine Joint Training Centre for Peace Operations (*Centro Argentino de Entrenamiento Conjunto para Operaciones de Paz* - CAECOPAZ). By Ministerial Defence Resolution 669/95, CAECOPAZ initiated activities on June 27, 1995. This training centre has been a key element in the preparation of Argentine contingents deployed to UN Peacekeeping Operations. CAECOPAZ follows UN training curricula and standards and its faculty team is drawn up from experienced personnel from the Argentine armed forces and other UN Member States.[731] With this centre, Argentina covers its training needs for Peacekeeping Operations and those of countries in the region.

Argentine Peacekeeping remained more or less steady under succeeding presidents Fernando de la Rúa (1999-2001) and Eduardo Duhalde (2002-2003). During the present administration of President Néstor Kirchner (2003-present), Peacekeeping has become rather ambiguous.[732] As such, the number of Argentine personnel in PKO has remained relatively steady during the last ten years. Peacekeeping participation has not impacted significantly on military expenditures. The following graph shows the military expenditure of Argentina from 1988 to 2005.

---

[731] Ministerio de Defensa, "Soldados Argentinos por la Paz: la contribución del Ejército Argentino en la Solución Pacifica de los Conflictos," (República Argentina, 1998). CAECOPAZ. Internet. Available at: http://www.biblioteca.ejercito.mil.ar/Doctrina/Biblioteca/Libros/Soldados/cap_01.htm#caecopaz Last accessed: April 7, 2007.

[732] Katherine J. Worboys, "The Traumatic Journey from Dictatorship to Democracy: Peacekeeping Operations and Civil-Military Relations in Argentina 1989-1999," Armed Forces and Society, 33, 2, (January 2007). pp.149-168.

Figure 11: Argentine Military Spending

(1988-2005)
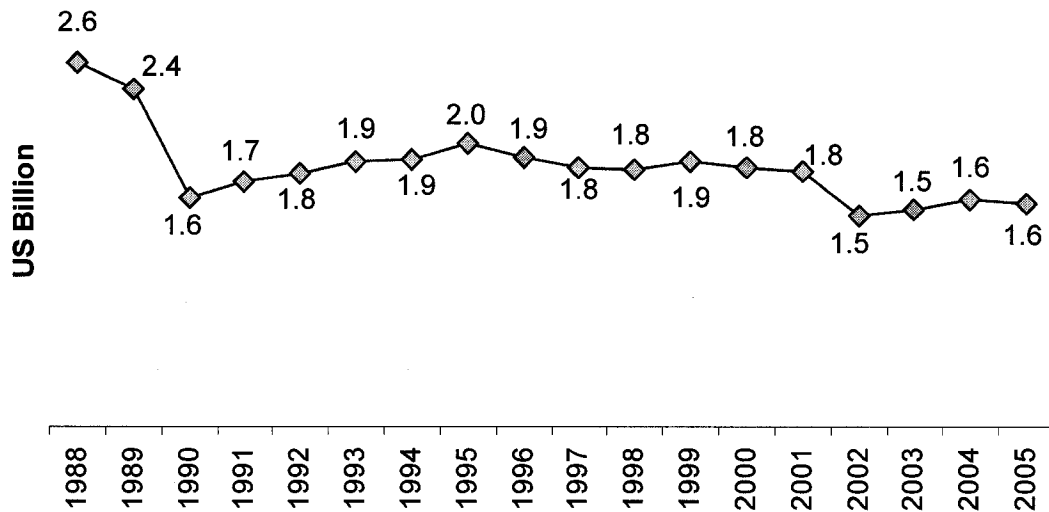
Source: Author (2008) with data from SIPRI

As shown in the graph, there is a significant budget cutting at the end of the last military regime, then a slight increase in military spending, which coincides with the active involvement of Argentina in PKO, followed by a reduction in military spending after the 2002 economic crisis; and a small recovery during the Kirchner's administration.

Also notable is Argentina's commitment to PKO, as reflected in its determination to maintain troops in UN Peacekeeping Operations in spite of severe economic emergencies. Argentina seems to understand well the price of being consistent; "Even with its economy disintegrating [(2002 crisis)], Argentina has not wavered from a commitment to send up to 600 troops as part of the peacekeeping force in Afghanistan and to open a field hospital in Pakistan. That effort, which will cost Argentina up to $20 million, has been criticized here as an expenditure that would be better directed at creating jobs for the millions of unemployed."[733] Even with UN financial aid, contributing

---

[733] Larry Rother, "Consequences for the United States in Argentina's Collpase," The New York Times, (December 25, 2001). Internet. available at: http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/argentina/collapse.htm Last accessed: April 06, 2007.

303

Member States are still required to bear some of the costs involved in their participation.

As a reflection of this commitment, in 1993, Argentina launched the Commission for the Struggle against Hunger and Poverty. This initiative, whose original purpose was to create a humanitarian aid and peacebuilding agency, was presented to the UN General Assembly in 1994. The UN adopted the initiative and suggested changing the name to the "White Helmets Initiative" (*Iniciativa Cascos Blancos*). However and in spite of the parallelism, unlike the UN "Blue Helmets," the "White Helmets" is a civilian organisation.

The OAS adopted the White Helmets initiative in 1998, and this evolved into what is now recognized as the "White Helmets Commission" (*Comisión Cascos Blancos*). The mission of the White Helmets is to respond to "natural or man-made catastrophes and all types of conflicts and emergencies." This organization works on volunteer experience and international financial support.[734]

The White Helmets Commission depends on the Argentine Ministry of Foreign Relations. Within the UN, this commission works closely with the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and the United Nations Volunteers (UNV). The missions of the White Helmets are implemented per request in countries whose crisis response capabilities have been surpassed by a catastrophe. The White Helmets respond with humanitarian aid in a horizontal and voluntary way. These requirements can be country-to-country, or directly to the UN or the OAS. This civilian organization has taken part in 36 missions, some of which are:

- Anti-*Chagas* campaign in Argentina.
- Young volunteer training courses.
- Containing forest fires in Brazil (1998).
- Disaster management in Honduras after Hurricane Mitch (1999).
- Reconstruction works in India after the 2001 earthquake in Gujarat.
- Humanitarian aid in Bam, Iran after the December 2003 earthquake.
- Emergency and flood control in Durazno, Uruguay.
- Humanitarian aid to Jamaica, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Peru and Bolivia after a number of different natural disasters in 2004.

---

[734] Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto, Comisión Cascos Blancos, (Republica Argentina, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.cascosblancos.gov.ar/c_normativa/02/index.htm Last accessed: April 15, 2007.

304

- Argentina for Katrina in the United States in 2005.
- Aid to Ecuador after floods in 2006.

The White Helmets implement SUMA (Supply Management System) in their missions. SUMA is a set of standard procedures that "contributes to the correct administration of humanitarian supplies, and guarantees transparency and efficiency in logistical and resource distribution operations."[735] With SUMA, humanitarian organizations attempt to make order of the confusion often caused by uncoordinated humanitarian relief. The system was designed initially to target health-related supplies in the aftermath of a disaster. After the experience of crises in various Latin American countries, the scope of SUMA was broadened to include all relief items. It formally started operations in 1992 with the financial support of the Government of the Netherlands. It currently has more than 2,500 trained volunteers around the world, an integrated logistics course, and it is included in the curriculum of several universities.[736]

Initiatives such as the White Helmets are not a substitute for the humanitarian work of Peacekeeping Operations. The reason is that these initiatives "comprise a net addition of resources for such work, but likely represents fewer overall resources than if a similar number of military personnel were to be used because such workers generally do not have to be as extensively trained and equipped."[737]

The White Helmets organization has similarities as well as differences with México's *Plan DN-III*. Both arrangements target humanitarian crises and extend their

---

[735] In 1990, the World Health Organization (WHO) launched a supply management project, known as "SUMA," to provide national agencies with a management tool to sort and inventory, large amounts of relief supplies in a short period of time. SUMA is a "technical co-operation programme to assist the local coordinating agency to get an accurate picture of what is potentially available in the affected area, and to sort the most valuable relief items from those of doubtful usefulness. National authorities have developed their SUMA teams in many situations, both in Latin America and the Caribbean." De Ville de Goyet C. and others, "SUMA: a management tool for Post-disaster Relief Supplies," PubMed, 49, (1996). Internet. Available at: http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/entrez/query.fcgi?cmd=Retrieve&db=PubMed&list_uids=9170233&dopt=Abstract Last accessed: April 15, 2007.

[736] "SUMA System Helps Avoid Second Disaster," Press Information, (Pan-American Health Organization, 2007). Internet. available at: http://www.paho.org/English/DPI/100/100feature16.htm Last accessed: April 15, 2007.

[737] B. Solomon, "Economic analysis for a peacekeeping mission," Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy, 5, 1, (1999). Cited in Louis Parai, "A Note on the Economics of Stand By versus Standing Peacekeeping Forces," Defence and Peace Economics, 15, 5, (October 2006), pp.413-419.

305

mandates to the social sphere. As shown next, the military-civilian stand out among the main differences between the two initiatives:

Table 16: Argentina White Helmets versus México Plan DN-III

Arrangement	Funding	Context	Structure	Operational Standards
White Helmets	Argentine Government, International (UN, OAS)	International	Civilian volunteer networks	International
Plan DN-III (*Plan Marina*)	Mexican Government (Defence Budget)	Mainly National; occasionally international	Military	National

Source: Author (2008).

Even though México has increasingly provided international humanitarian aid through the use of its *Plan DN-III* and *Plan Marina* resources and expertise, the structure, capabilities and resources of the plan remain domestically focused. There is no evidence that México is working on "internationalizing" its emergency response main plans as a whole, or that this country is attempting to "export" such a mechanism. As the table above shows, the difference between the international versus the national orientation has implications in the funding sources and the operational standards.

Implications for Argentina of Peacekeeping Involvement

Various implications of participating in UN Peacekeeping Operations have been identified. The Argentine Ministry of Defence has listed a number of "benefits" of Argentine participation in these operations. In general, the benefits are:

- "Contributing to comply with Argentina international commitments (Article 31 of Argentina's National Constitution).
- Promoting the awareness of Argentina and its men around the world.
- Active contributing with the United Nations to maintaining international peace.
- Knowing other regions and cultures; other forces and soldiers; own professional aptitude."[738]

---

[738] Ministerio de Defensa, "Soldados Argentinos por la Paz: la contribución del Ejército Argentino en la Solución Pacifica de los Conflictos," (República Argentina, 1998). Reseña Histórica. Internet. Available at: http://www.jef3op.ejercito.mil.ar/website/Departamentos/oomp/paginas/resena.htm Last accessed: April 16, 2007, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

306

In the professional context, the benefits identified by the Argentine Ministry of Defence are:

- "Integrating and sharing technical knowledge with other forces.
- Making ready tactical units and assessing leadership capabilities of the commands conducted.
- Conducting activities similar to those conducted in rearguard areas during conflict.
- Executing field operations in six-month successive periods, under conditions imposed by different geographic contexts.
- Testing performance of personal equipment in extreme climate conditions.
- Maintaining personnel in permanent training."[739]

In the domestic context, participation in UN peacekeeping serves political as well as military objectives. Argentine Army General Carlos María Zabala, a former UN sector commander in Croatia, cited many of the advantages of peacekeeping for his army:

"On a professional level, it is an occasion to operate in a complex operational environment. You have the opportunity to work with other armies and appreciate their capabilities as well as your own. It provides firsthand knowledge of the effects of war, allowing our troops to appreciate the importance of the UN and its peace operations. On a personal level, it lends opportunity for travel to foreign locations and exposure to other cultures and customs. Additionally, it allows the troops to feel as representatives of their country in an important mission abroad."[740]

Politically, participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations provides prestige for the national government, as well as a certain degree of leverage in the international arena. Participation also can be used in exchange for political and/or economic concessions from the world community. For instance, despite opposition from the British, Argentina

---

[739] Ministerio de Defensa, "Soldados Argentinos por la Paz: la contribución del Ejército Argentino en la Solución Pacifica de los Conflictos," (República Argentina, 1998). Reseña Histórica. Internet. Available at: http://www.jef3op.ejercito.mil.ar/website/Departamentos/oomp/paginas/resena.htm Last accessed: April 16, 2007, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

[740] Carlos María Zabala, "Una Oportunidad Histórica," Revista del Suboficial, 611, (March-April 1994), pp.24-25. Cited in Antonio L. Pala, "The Increased Role of Latin American Armed Forces in UN Peacekeeping: Opportunities and Challenges," Air Power Journal, (USAF Air University, 1995). Internet. Available at: http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/airchronicles/apj/pala.html Last accessed: April 16, 2007.

negotiated the purchase from the United States of radars for its A-4M Skyhawk fighters.[741] Another example is the surplus C-130 transports obtained by Argentina from the US Air Force; two frigates for the Argentine Navy; and training to facilitate communication with NATO aircraft for the enforcing of no-fly zones.

Argentine Navy Captain, Pablo Vignolles, conceptualizes a layered set of benefits of Argentine participation in peacekeeping. Internationally, he argues, Argentina increased its prestige as this is reflected in international recognition and the promotion of Argentine values; regionally, peacekeeping has been an integration driver – it contributed to the development of politico-military co-operation and of mutual understanding on security and defence matters, including defence education and the consolidation of MTB mechanisms and transparency; and nationally, peacekeeping helped concretize a new politico-military relationship and also a new Civil-Military Relationship. There have been new roles for the armed forces that satisfy professional expectations and aspirations, a new image of the military establishment that has led to increased public acceptance, and increased recognition of the armed forces which have managed to reinsert themselves into society; and individually, peacekeeping has satisfied professional and personal needs and aspirations, increased professional capacity and increased cultural background.[742]

However, there is no general consensus on the benefits brought by Argentine participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations. The debate in Congress on March 31, 2004 reflected the weariness of senators about how peacekeeping involvement might affect Argentina's foreign policy. An overwhelming majority demanded policy implementation to recover the full authority of Congress over Argentine deployments abroad, leaving to the Executive only the authority to decide over purely ceremonial and disaster relief

---

[741]A statement by US Embassy officials in Buenos Aires confirmed that Argentina's participation in peacekeeping and its commitment to regional arms-control agreements were contributing factors to the sale of the upgraded A-4M aircraft. Ovidio Bellando, "EE.UU. venderá los aviones con radares," La Nación, (February 02, 1994). Cited in Antonio L. Pala, "The Increased Role of Latin American Armed Forces in UN Peacekeeping: Opportunities and Challenges," Air Power Journal, (USAF Air University, 1995). Internet. Available at: http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/airchronicles/apj/pala.html Last accessed: April 16, 2007.

[742] Pablo Vignolles, "El Valor de las Fuerzas Armadas como Instrumento de la Política Exterior: Argentina en Misiones de Paz y Coaliciones Militares," Security and Defence Studies Review, 2, (Center for Hemispheric Defence Studies, Winter 2003-2004), pp.143-188.

operations.[743]

One Argentine senator suggested that Argentine participation in the coalition forces during the Gulf War may have prompted the bombing of the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires and the headquarters of an Argentine Jewish mutual assistance association (AMIA).[744]

In addition, the benefits of intensive participation in peacekeeping have not permeated to the military establishment as expected, or even as heralded. Studies of Argentine military reform point to serious weaknesses: labour costs consume about 80 percent of the defence budget (international standards are below 60 percent); expenditure on weapons systems has been lower than one percent of the annual budget for the last decade (international standards are between 15-25 percent); only about 10 percent of the warplanes of the Argentine Air Force are in flying condition; pilots log about one hour of flight per month (the international standard is 10 hours minimum); forces are top-heavy, with about twice the proportion of colonel and lieutenant-colonel rank found in other forces, such as the US or the UK. "In spite of the 'public relations success,' of Argentine UN-peace-keeping missions, presidential leadership has created armed forces that are almost entirely inoperative..."[745]

In sum, UN peacekeeping has provided the Argentine armed forces with professional experience, higher salaries, and a boost in morale. It also has constituted a way to integrate the military into broader government objectives. The six-month rotations have given the opportunity to a significant percentage of military personnel to benefit from training with professional forces in multinational operations. For Argentina, UN

---

[743] José M Lladós and Carlos M Regúnaga, "Thinking Strategically," US-Argentina Monitor, I, 3, (Buenos Aires: Center for Strategic and International Studies, May 2004).

[744] Although the Argentine Government rushed to blame Iran (as was the United States) on the AMIA bombing, many Argentines suspected the involvement of Argentine right-wing ultranationalists linked to security forces. The first suspect arrested by the government was Carlos Telledín, a former police intelligence officer with right-wing connections. In late 1995, police arrested another fifteen suspects, including active-duty officers and former Carapintadas, but they were released in 1996; later that year police officers were arrested as suspects. J. Patrice McSherry, "Strategic Alliance: Menem and the Military-Security forces in Argentina," (Argentina Under Menem), Latin American Perspectives, 24, 6, (1997), pp.63-92 - p.76.

[745] "Argentina: Military Reform Plans Fail to Halt Decay," Oxford Analytical Staff, Offnews.info para el desarrollo sostenible, (November 29, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.offnews.info/imprimir.php?contenidoID=6632 Last accessed: April 16, 2007.

peacekeeping participation has bolstered the pursuit of economic and political objectives in close alignment with the United States, and served as an "image cleanser" for a discredited military.

As is true for most countries, peacekeeping participation for Argentina is not a panacea. Such participation has not impacted significantly on important aspects of the military, notably those related to women in uniform and Civil-Military Relations. Peacekeeping participation, however, has helped Argentina to make its defence and foreign policies complementary to each other, and to erase the international notion of a troubled country; Argentina now is far different from what it was during the times of military rule. The smooth transition to acceptance of democracy by the Argentine armed forces can be attributed to a large extent to active UN Peacekeeping Operations participation.

JAPAN

"Even neutralized Austria enacted a Bundesverfassungesetz [International Service Law] in order to participate in Peacekeeping Operations. It is contrary to logic in international society that a "peace" state, Japan, does not participate in the United Nations Forces because of the SDF Law."

Ribot Hatano, Professor of International Law (1984)[746]

The contribution of Japan to UN Peacekeeping Operations is remarkable. Equally remarkable is its rapid evolution as a contributor state, and its ability to overcome domestic – legal, cultural and political – obstacles and international pressure to make peacekeeping a major component of its national defence strategy. In ten years, Japan jumped from "near-zero" to seventeenth position in the ranking table of personnel contributors to Peacekeeping Operations.[747] As of March 2005, Japan had contributed 4,633 personnel to eight UN peacekeeping missions.[748] Why is it that a long-standing pacifist state that has constitutionally renounced the use of force, wants to participate and become one of the top contributors to UN Peacekeeping Operations?

Like Japan, México also enjoys recognition for a long pacifist tradition. A difference between the two, however, is that México's tradition is based on the attachment and promotion of the principle of the peaceful resolution of disputes. This tradition is far less constrained for the legitimate use of force in comparison to Japan's. Therefore, learning how Japan became an active UN Peacekeeping participant with such express constitutional constraints can provide Mexican policy-makers with useful comparative lessons.

---

[746] Katsumi Ishizuka, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Paper presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting for the Academic Council on the United Nations System, (Cascais, Portugal: 21-23 June 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/iaps/katsumi%20paper2.pdf Last accessed: August 15, 2005.

[747] Ishizuka, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations."

[748] Record of Japan's International Peace Co-operation Activities based on the International Peace Co-operation Law, (Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs). Internet. Available at: http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/un/pko/pamph2005-2.pdf accessed: August 15, 2005.

The aim of this section is to identify policy-making opportunities and limitations that have both motivated and restricted the Japanese government's efforts to contribute to global security. Current pressures, and the shifting priorities that confront Japan as it seeks to carve out a new international role, are also identified. The incorporation of peacekeeping into Japan's foreign policy can be seen as a response to perceived international threats and a long recognized need to become a "normal power;" that is, matching international political influence to an already-achieved economic stature.

Consequently, this chapter is organized as follows. First, it starts with a short description of the origins of Japan's Constitution and its widely recognized antimilitaristic pacifist foreign policy. The evolution of Japan Self-defence Forces is followed by an explanation of its long low involvement in international security. Next, the centrality of the Japan-US security alliance sheds light on the parallel evolution of Japan's defence and foreign policies in the postwar period. After that, a series of changes, both domestically and internationally, are identified to frame Japan's major policy turning points. An overview of domestic debates about Japanese participation in peacekeeping shows the difficulties Japan has encountered in reconciling domestic opposition with external pressure. In conclusion, the most salient implications of Japanese peacekeeping are identified.

Background

Despite the short time of its remarkable transition in Peacekeeping Operations, the process has not been sudden nor smooth. Strong opposition has been offset by a combination of international pressure and domestic structural changes. In particular, three events shaped Japan's participation in Peacekeeping Operations: the Korean War, the Gulf War and 9/11.

Domestically, the rearrangement of political forces lifted the restrictions on public debate about what was once considered a taboo issue. Since its first deployment, Japanese peacekeeping has followed three identifiable axes in pursuit of long-term complementary objectives: to play a more influential role in international security in

312

general and to become a Permanent Member of the UN Security Council in particular;[749] to reduce its defence dependence in the face of emerging traditional regional threats (revising the Japan-US security alliance); and to transform its military into a modern multifunctional, multipurpose, force (meeting the challenges posed by the global environment in the form of new threats). Japanese peacekeeping, however, has clear regional and international implications in at least three major areas: the strengthening of UN-centered multilateralism; the strategic defence alliance with the United States; and the regional fears raised by the potential re-emergence of Japanese militarism.

Japan's Constitution

On August 15, 1945, Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration of the Allied Powers and surrendered unconditionally. The detonation of atomic bombs in Nagasaki and Hiroshima was the *coup de grâce*. Japan had been at war for fourteen consecutive years by that time and had suffered over three million war casualties. The Declaration called for the elimination "for all time [of] the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest, for we insist that a new order of peace, security and justice will be impossible until irresponsible militarism is driven from the world."[750]

With a totally wrecked country, humiliated by defeat, and in deep sorrow for the enormous loss of lives, the Japanese Empire and the Japanese people had completely lost their taste for war. As a people who suffered the horrors of war and nuclear devastation, the Japanese welcomed a new peaceful era marked by the enactment of a new

---

[749] Reforming Article 53(2) of the UN Charter is a requisite objective for Japan before becoming a Permanent Member of the UN Security Council. Paragraph two of this Article defines the term "Enemy State" which "applies to any State which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter." According to Article 53, technically, Japan could not even apply for regular membership to the UN. References to enemy states are also made by Articles 77 and 107. In 1995, Japan passed a resolution though the General Assembly stating that the clauses were a dead letter and requested to undertake the process of amending the Charter for their removal. The deletion of these clauses is included in the recommendations for UN reform in the report of the High Level Panel created in 2003. Hanaoka Nobuaki, "Japan's case for a Permanent Seat," Japan-echo, 32, Special Issue: UN Reform: Japan Speaks up.(Tokyo, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.japanecho.co.jp/sum/2005/32sp11.html Last accessed: August 27, 2005.

[750] The Postdam Declaration, (Postdam, Germany: July 26, 1945). "Birth of the Constitution of Japan." National Diet Library. Internet. Available at: http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/etc/c06.html last accessed: August 16, 2005.

313

Constitution.

The "Peace Constitution," as it was called, was written in 1946 under U.S. occupation to ensure that Japan would never initiate a militaristic arms race. Through Article 9 of the Peace Constitution, Japan totally renounced war. Although there is a controversy around whether the constitution was forced upon Japan by the Americans, it projects a consensus among Japanese people, who, traumatized by the humiliation and the horrors of war, have developed a pacifist-antimilitaristic culture on the grounds of Article 9.[751] The Constitution also underscored a strategic move to restore stability in Asia while containing Japan and preventing it from becoming a military threat. The Article has been the cornerstone for Japan's foreign and defence policies since the end of Second World War. It states:

> "Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized."

By renouncing to its right to the use of force, Japan traced a pacifist course with no active role in the maintenance or promotion of international peace and security; by rejecting the maintenance of armed forces Japan became dependent on external protection. The application of Article 9 can be demonstrated in two mutually reinforcing policies: an antimilitaristic low-profile pacifist foreign policy, and a dependent defence policy through a security alliance with the United States. The former made Japan living proof that states can opt out of the realist world of realpolitik, and the latter allowed it to concentrate all its reconstruction efforts on economic development.

By the end of the 1960s, Japan's gross national product was the second largest in the world.[752] To put it differently, through its Constitution, Japan agreed to help dismiss

---

[751] Yamauchi Toshihiro, "Gunning for Japan's Peace Constitution," Japan Quarterly, 39, 2 (Research Library, April 1992), p.160.

[752] Makoto Iokibe, Japan After the Cold War, (Japan Center for International Studies). Internet. Available at: http://www.jcie.or.jp/thinknet/insights/iokibe.html Last accessed: August 18, 2005.

314

any fears of becoming a military threat in exchange for protection. Both policies worked relatively well for a while (namely most of the Cold War period), and both have drifted apart substantively over time in an attempt to meet the challenges posed by the complexities of the global world. Also, both have been dominated by the Japan-US bilateral relationship.

On the basis of Article 9, Japan started to reserve its right to cooperate in any military activity. When Japan joined the United Nations in 1956, it stated that "the Japanese government will not be subject to the obligations of the United Nations Charter, which requires military co-operation or military participation."[753] This stand, however, was never substantiated in practice. Over time and after being challenged by the threatening behaviour of regional and international actors, Japanese pacifism has evolved into a more proactive pacifism in the form of peacekeeping, human security and regional community building.[754]

Within the framework of Article 9, Japan is allowed the right to self-defence, but not resort to collective self-defence outside of the Japan-US alliance. Such a principle opened the door for much wider interpretations and laid the foundation for the creation and maintenance of self-defence forces. Japan's defence policy is based on four guidelines: exclusively defence-oriented policy; not becoming a military power; adherence to the three non-nuclear principles (prohibiting possession, production, and introduction into Japan, of nuclear weapons); and civilian control.[755]

Four years after its enactment, the Peace Constitution was tested by the Korean War. With North Korea and Communist China physically close, Japan needed a military

---

[753] Kempo Chosakai and others, "Proceedings of the 24th Session of the Third Committee of the Research Commission on the Constitution." Cited in Yamauchi Toshihiro, "Gunning for Japan's Peace Constitution," Japan Quarterly, 39, 2 (Tokyo: April 1992).

[754] Yoshihide Soeya, "Redefining Japan's Security Profile: International Security, Human Security, and an East Asian Community," IIPS International Conference: A New Horizon for Japan's Security policy – Basic Concept and Framework, (Tokyo: Institute for International Policy Studies, December 2004). Internet. Available at: www.iips.org/04sec/04asiasec_nishihara.pdf Last accessed: August 17, 2005.

[755] Report of the Australian Parliamentary Delegation to Japan and the Republic of Korea, 8-19 December 2003. The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia. (Canberra: Senate Printing Unit, Department of the Senate, Parliament House, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.aph.gov.au/house/info/pro/del_reports/JapanROKorea.pdf Last accessed: August 10, 2005.

capability of its own to defend itself in case of any threat to its security. This rationale, however, overlooked the perennial fears of regional neighbours of a remilitarized Japan. Therefore, any defence capabilities sought by Japan should keep this into consideration.

Furthermore, creating any defence forces will be a clear violation of the Constitution. Such a dilemma was resolved by a "pragmatic" interpretation of the Constitution. In 1950, Japan – still under occupation[756] – and the United States sought to strengthen Japanese military capability within the framework of the alliance. However, there has also been a nationalist or somewhat rightist wing among the Japanese that has opposed the dominant pacifism. This means that internal forces have been at work against a "pure Japanese pacifism" since the end of Second World War.

The Constitution passed the test as it was not amended, though it was somewhat weakened. Secretly, Japan provided military support to the United States, the United Kingdom and the United Nations during the Korean War. This support set the precedent that despite constitutional restraints, "unofficial" military participation was possible.[757] Such "interpretation" was the key to circumvent extreme reactions to the build-up of Japan own defence capabilities. It is safe to say that ultimately, the Korean War led to the creation of Japan's Self-Defence Forces.

Centrality of the Japan-US Alliance

Maintaining a strong military presence after the war was the logical move for the United States. Its aim was to restore stability in Asia and prevent Japan from remilitarizing. The nascent Cold War, however, made necessary an American military presence in Japan to protect against the spread of communism and to maintain a balance of power. In 1951, one year before ending the Occupation, Japan signed the Treaty of Peace, also known as

---

[756] The allied Occupation of Japan ended with the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty on September 8, 1951. By entering into effect on April 28, 1952 Japan regained its sovereignty, though American troops remained for the following decades. Occupied Japan, (Natiomaster.com Encyclopedia). Internet. Available at: http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Occupied-Japan last accessed: August 18, 2005.

[757] Katsumi Ishizuka, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Paper presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting for the Academic Council on the United Nations System, at Cascais, Portugal, 21-23 June 2002. Internet. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/iaps/katsumi%20paper2.pdf Last accessed: August 15, 2005.

the San Francisco Peace Treaty, with the allied powers. With it, Japan agreed to end the state of war with each of the Allied Powers in return for the recognition of "full sovereignty of the Japanese people over Japan and its territorial waters" (Article 1).[758]

A disarmed Japan was unable to exercise its inherent right of self-defence and thus needed an alternative for defence. The alternative was the acceptance of the protection provided by the Occupation forces; a military presence legitimized with the signing of the Japan-US Security Treaty. The Security Treaty was signed simultaneously with the San Francisco Peace Treaty. It allowed the United States to "maintain armed forces of its own in and about Japan so as to deter armed attack upon Japan."[759] In 1960, the San Francisco Peace Treaty was replaced by the Japan-US Mutual Security Treaty. This treaty was the basis for the Japan-US security alliance that is still in effect. The original purpose of the alliance was to guarantee Japan's defence (Article V)[760] and to allow a US strategic deployment in Asia-Pacific, often extended to the Middle East (Article VI).[761]

Bilateral relations with the United States have guided Japanese foreign policy since the end of the Second World War. The Japan-US security alliance lies at the core of

---

[758] Treaty of Peace with Japan, (San Francisco: Taiwan Documents Project, September 8, 1951). Internet. Available at: http://www.taiwandocuments.org/sanfrancisco01.htm Last accessed: August 19, 2005.

[759] Japan-US Security Treaty, (San Francisco: Indiana University, September 8, 1951). Internet. Available at: http://www.taiwandocuments.org/sanfrancisco01.htm Last accessed: August 19, 2005.

[760] Article V. "Each Party recognizes that an armed attack against either Party in the territories under the administration of Japan would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional provisions and processes. Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security." Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security between Japan and the United States of America, (Washington, January 19, 1960). Indiana University. Internet. Available at: http://www.indiana.edu/~easc/security_issues/japan/us-japan%20mutual%20security%20treaty.pdfLast accessed: August 19, 2005.

[761] Article VI. "For the purpose of contributing to the security of Japan and the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East, the United States of America is granted the use by its land, air and naval forces of facilities and areas in Japan. The use of these facilities and areas as well as the status of United States armed forces in Japan shall be governed by a separate agreement, replacing the Administrative Agreement under Article III of the Security Treaty between Japan and the United States of America, signed at Tokyo on February 28, 1952, as amended, and by such other arrangements as may be agreed upon." Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security between Japan and the United States of America, (Washington, January 19, 1960). Indiana University. Internet. Available at: http://www.indiana.edu/~easc/security_issues/japan/us-japan%20mutual%20security%20treaty.pdfLast accessed: August 19, 2005.

this relationship, which not only shaped Japan's "aligned" position with the United States, but also shaped the policy behaviour of Tokyo.[762] The Japanese word *gaiatsu* (meaning foreign pressure) was specially coined to refer to Japan's tendency to follow Washington's leadership. *Gaiatsu* identifies a "reactive" foreign policy instead of a "proactive" one.[763]

Two influential doctrines have also shaped Japan's foreign policy. The first is the so-called "Yoshida doctrine," which advocates economic development, a low profile in international affairs, and reliance on a moderate self-defence capability complemented by the protection of the United States.[764] Initiated in the early 1950s by Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, the fundamental principles of this doctrine remain almost intact. Even though the Yoshida doctrine advocates domestic economic growth, it has served to cultivate influence through an expanding economic presence in the world, particularly during the 1980s and 1990s. One related instrument of influence has been a substantial foreign aid budget, manifested through the highly criticized – and to some point, a cause of embarrassment during the Gulf War – Japan's "chequebook diplomacy."[765]

The second influential doctrine is the "Fukuda doctrine." This doctrine, named after Prime Minister Fukuda Takeo, contains three points that have guided Japan's foreign policy towards Southeast Asia since 1977: 1) Japan is committed to peace and it pledges not to become a military power; 2) Japan would establish a close relationship with Southeast Asia that extends beyond economics and politics; and 3) Japan could cooperate with the Association of East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in making a bridge to

---

[762] Elena Atanassova, "Towards a 'Major Power' Role: Japan's Foreign Policy After the Cold War mirrored through the US-Japan Alliance and Japan-Europe Relations." (Belgium: Catholic University of Leuven, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://najs.jp/papers_2005/atanossova.pdf Last accessed: August 18, 2005.

[763] Atanassova, "Towards a 'Major Power' Role."

[764] Encyclopedia. Answers. Com. Shigeru Yoshida, (Columbia University Press). Internet. Available at: http://www.answers.com/topic/shigeru-yoshida Last accessed: August 17, 2005.

[765] Ted Galen Carpenter, "Paternalism and dependence: The US-Japanese Security relationship." Cato Policy Analysis, 244 (Washington: Cato Institute, November 1, 1995). Internet. Available at: http://www.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa-244.html Last accessed: August 19, 2005.

Indochina in order to build a peaceful Southeast Asian community.[766] While the Yoshida doctrine legitimized a Japanese strategy of funnelling to economic development resources otherwise destined to defence, the Fukuda doctrine targeted regional fears of remilitarization.

During the Cold War, Japan's economic development was not coupled with military strength, thus it did not represent a military threat to regional powers. The Japan-US security alliance served its original purposes well. Given the geographic location of Japan and its lack of petroleum resources, economic development could hardly be possible without a subsidized defence, hence the centrality of the Japan-US security alliance. A clear example of this was the 1973 oil crisis that hit the world's economy and showed the vulnerability of the international trade system.

Japan was severely hurt by the crisis but managed to recover in only four years.[767] However, today's world barely resembles that of the early postwar years. The objectives of the alliance have also changed and for this reason it was revised. in 1996, the United States and Japan made a joint declaration to revalidate the centrality of the alliance for the security of Japan and the whole Asia-Pacific region.[768] The joint declaration, signed by Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto and President Bill Clinton, implied that the global strategy of the United States would not contradict the basic goals of the alliance. The joint declaration also unveiled the Japanese strategy – consistent with the Fukuda doctrine – to strengthen the regional community as a means to reduce the *gaiatsu* stigma of its foreign policy.

---

[766] Yoshihide Soeya, Japan as a Regional Actor, "ASEAN-Japan Co-operation: a Foundation for East Asian Community," (Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.jcie.or.jp/thinknet/pdfs/asean_soeya.pdf Last accessed: August 17, 2005.

[767] Yoshihide Soeya, "Redefining Japan's Security Profile: International Security, Human Security, and an East Asian Community," IIPS International Conference: A New Horizon for Japan's Security policy – Basic Concept and Framework, (Tokyo: Institute for International Policy Studies, December 2004). Internet. Available at: www.iips.org/04sec/04asiasec_nishihara.pdf Last accessed: August 17, 2005.

[768] Yoshihide Soeya, Japan as a Regional Actor, "ASEAN-Japan Co-operation: a Foundation for East Asian Community," (Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.jcie.or.jp/thinknet/pdfs/asean_soeya.pdf Last accessed: August 17, 2005.

319

Japanese Self-Defence Forces

At the end of Second World War the Japanese military was disbanded and the protection of Japan became the responsibility of the Occupation forces. It was thought at first that Japan would never require forces of its own because it had renounced the use of force and its defence was secured by Occupation forces. In 1950, the Korean War proved this idea wrong. Despite Article 9, during this war the United States and Japanese conservatives pushed towards the re-establishment of a defence force for Japan. It was argued that a force only for the purpose of self-defence would not violate the constitution. Ironically, the Peace Constitution, formulated under the strong influence of the American Occupation, prevented this from happening.

The Japanese people categorically opposed the creation of armed forces. Instead, the National Police Reserve (NPR) was created to replace the American troops that were sent into the Korean War. The newly created NPR started from scratch, though it retained certain capabilities of the disbanded imperial forces, as Japan's involvement in the Korean War proved.[769] The NPR was in fact "a miniature armed force" established by extra-constitutional ordinance.[770] In 1954, with the enactment of the Self-Defence Forces Law, the NPR became the Self-Defence Forces (SDF), or *Jieitai*, which included ground, air and maritime components.[771] As its name implies, the mission assigned to the SDF was to defend the country from attack rather than to fight wars abroad. A key issue was the restricted definition of the roles of the force, and the geographical area within which they could operate - defence of Japan plus the immediate sea lanes.

The Law states that the SDF are "to preserve the peace and independence of the

---

[769] Japanese minesweepers were secretly sent to operate off the Korean cost in support of UN forces, thus indicating that Japan retained some of its maritime capabilities after the war. Leitenberg M. "The Participation of Japanese Military Forces in UN Peacekeeping Operations," Tsukuba Papers on US-Japan Relations, (Maryland, 1996). Cited in Katsumi Ishizuka, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Paper presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting for the Academic Council on the United Nations System, at Cascais, Portugal, 21-23 June 2002. Internet. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/iaps/katsumi%20paper2.pdf Last accessed: August 15, 2005.

[770] Japan-Guide, "The Self-Defence Force." Internet. Available at: http://www.japan-guide.com/e/e2138.html Last accessed: August 18, 2005.

[771] Sasaki Yoshitaka, "Japan's Undue International Contribution," Japan Quarterly, 40, 3 (Tokyo: Research Library, July 1993), p.260.

320

nation and to maintain national security by conducting operations on land, at sea, and in the air to defend the nation against direct and indirect aggression."[772] The creation of the SDF was legitimized on the grounds of a broad interpretation of Article 9 and not by constitutional amendment. Successive Japanese governments have used this interpretation to build-up one of the five most highly equipped armed forces in the world and to actively participate in international security operations. The structure of the SDF was designed to avoid suspicions, at home and abroad, of remilitarization. A "civilian image" was carefully crafted for this purpose and civilian control (required by Article 66 of the Constitution) of the organization was secured.

The non-military terms used to refer to the forces are a proof of it: the overall organization was called the "Defence Agency" (*Bôeichô*) instead of the more common ministry or secretariat of defence; the term Ground Self-Defence Force (GSDF) was used rather than army; Maritime Self-Defence Force (MSDF) for navy; and Air Self-Defence Force (ASDF) instead of air force. The *Bôeichô* is part of the Office of the Prime Minister and is headed by a director general, who has the rank of minister of state. The director is assisted by two under directors general or vice ministers, one parliamentary and one administrative. In addition, the Defence Facilities Administration Agency and the internal bureaus also assist the director general in the conduct of SDF operations. The highest figure in the command structure is the prime minister, who is the chief commander of the forces and directly responsible to the Diet (the Japanese legislative body).

Starting in 1957, Japan's defence policy was drafted in a series of four consecutive defence programs adopted in 1961, 1966, and 1972. These programs stated the *Kokubo no Kihon Hoshin* or "Basic Policy for National Defence." The programs were exclusively domestic in nature and failed to recognize even the existence of defence mechanisms in place by the alliance with the United States. In 1976, the first *Taiko* or "National Defence Program Outline" (NDPO) was issued as an effort to harmonize

---

[772] Japan Military. "Self-Defence Forces," (Global Security). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/japan/jda.htm Last accessed: August 26, 2005.

Japan's defence efforts with the Japan-US security alliance.[773]

The evolution of the SDF runs parallel to the evolution of Japan's foreign policy. Both processes have been shaped by two permanent dilemmas. The former is the constant effort to circumvent militarization fears, and the latter is not to contradict too much the international position of the United States. When Japan's foreign policy was passive and tangential to international security, the SDF were small militarily and focused on the internal security and national defence dimensions of their mandate.

Now that Japan's foreign policy is based on a notably proactive diplomacy, the SDF have extended their roles to international security and are among the top five armed forces in the world (limited offensive ground capabilities, but third largest naval fleet in terms of major surface combatants and fourth most powerful air force).[774] This transformation, however, was not always fast nor always smooth either: strong domestic opposition and external (regional) pressure slowed down its pace.

Japan started to modernize the SDF from their inception, always seeking to provide them with increased national defence capabilities to contend with perceived regional threats. Domestic opponents questioned both the constitutionality of the SDF and government spending on defence during relatively peaceful, but economically difficult times. This rationale led to the establishment of a "ceiling" against militarization. The solution was *Kibanteki Boueiryoku Kousou* (Basic Defence Concept – BDC). The idea behind the BDC is that "in an international environment of growing détente, Japan, as an independent state, should maintain the minimum necessary basic defence force in order not to become a destabilizing factor in this region by creating a power vacuum."[775]

By reducing Japan's defence from that of dealing with a large-scale invasion to

---

[773] Yoshihide Soeya, "Japan's Dual Identity and the U.S.-Japan Alliance," Working Papers May 1998, (Asia/Pacific Research Center, 1998). Internet. Available at: http://www.ciaonet.org/wps/soy01/ Last accessed: August 26, 2005.

[774] Jennifer M. Lind, "Pacifism or Passing the Buck?," International Security, 29, 1 (Cambridge: The MIT Press, Summer 2004), p.111.

[775] The Council on Security and Defence Capabilities. The Council on Security and Defence Capabilities Report 2004, "Japan's Visions for Future Security and Defence Capabilities," (Global Security, 2004). Internet. Available at:http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/news/japan/2004/041000-csdc-report.pdf Last accessed: August 20, 2005.

that of a limited conventional attack through its BDC, Japan was leaving most of its defence burden to the Japan-US security alliance. Put differently, the BDC gave Japan the justification to ride on the alliance's back for decades. Such a position had been legitimized by the Yoshida doctrine. During the Cold War Japan enjoyed not only the economic returns of a subsidized defence, but also a certain degree of autonomy to dodge American pressure, particularly in relation to standing militarily against the Soviet Union.[776]

By 1976 the SDF had already run their fourth "modernization program" with previously-owned destroyers and aircraft from the United States. Another modernization attempt in 1978 led to the purchase of top-of-the-line equipment, such as F-15 fighter aircraft, P-3C naval patrol aircraft, diesel-electric submarines, missile destroyers, and sophisticated radar systems. This build-up "laid the groundwork for increases in military power of a kind that could eventually project Japanese influence far beyond the shores of the home archipelago."[777] In 2005, the revised defence guidelines claimed that Japan's SDF are prepared "to react rapidly and multi-functionally to widespread emergencies, both domestic and international."[778]

This in fifty years, the SDF have evolved from a police force into multipurpose, flexible and effective armed forces able "to respond to a variety of situations, including disaster relief, patrolling Japanese waters, guerrilla warfare, aggression against outlying islands, and joining future international co-operation activities." This evolution shows a gradual but steady increase in capabilities. The figure below shows part of this evolution

---

[776] David Fouse, "Japan's FY 2005 National Defence Program Outline: New Concepts, Old Compromises," Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 4, 3 (March 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.apcss.org/Publications/APSSS/Japans%20FY2005%20National%20Defence%20Program%20Outline.pdf Last accessed: August 18, 2005.

[777] Jennifer M. Lind, "Pacifism or Passing the Buck?" International Security, 29, 1 (Cambridge: The MIT Press, Summer 2004), p.111.

[778] Special Press Summary: Japan's Revised National Defence Program Outline. (Japan DoD. Virtual Information Center. NDPO). Internet. Available at: http://www.vic-info.org/RegionsTop.nsf/0/782098d68e67b9ae0a256f6d007ce454/US$FILE/041217-SPS-JapanRevisesNationalDefenceProgramOutline(NPDO)-web.doc Last accessed: August 18, 2005.

323

as reflected in Japan's defence spending (which reached $42.442 billion in 2004).[779]

Figure 12: Japan Defence Spending

(1965-2000)*
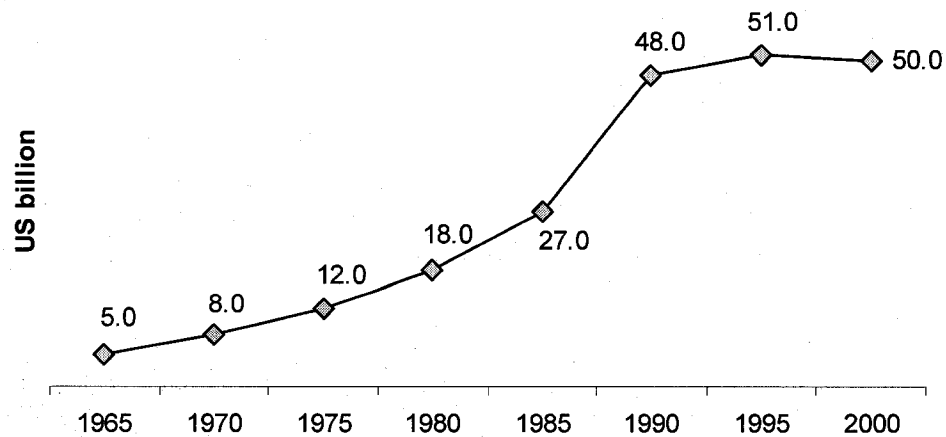
Source: Arms Control and Disarmament Handbook.[780]

The evolution of the SDF went hand-in-hand with the evolution of Japan's foreign policy, which moved from a passive pacifist position after the war, to a clear active involvement in international security. The streamlining of the SDF is claimed to be in response to an "extended Basic Defence Force Concept" that identifies peacekeeping activities and counterterrorism as primary components of Japan's overall national defence strategy.[781]

UN-Centered Multilateralism

Japan joined the UN in 1956. The Japanese people have since recognized the role played

---

[779] Military Expenditure and Arms Production Project. "Japan Military Expenditure 2003," (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.sipri.org Last accessed: August 18, 2005.

[780] Figures in US Billions, constant 1996. Cited in Jennifer M. Lind, "Pacifism or Passing the Buck?" International Security, 29, 1 (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2004), p.112.

[781] David Fouse, "Japan's FY 2005 National Defence Program Outline: New Concepts, Old Compromises," Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 4, 3 (March 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.apcss.org/Publications/APSSS/Japans%20FY2005%20National%20Defence%20Program%20Outline.pdf Last accessed: August 18, 2005.

324

by the organization in creating, maintaining and restoring international order and stability. On March 20, 1957, the Japanese National Defence Council and Cabinet acknowledged this by issuing the Basic Policies for National Defence. The document expressed the need "to support the activities of the United Nations and promote international co-operation thereby contributing to the realization of world peace."[782] It is worth noting that Japan has been elected a Non-permanent Member of the UN Security Council on nine occasions.[783]

Opting for a United Nations-centered multilateralism makes perfect sense to Japanese policymakers, who sought this as the least compromising option in the era of the confrontation between the two Superpowers, and as a means to legitimize the Japan-US security alliance in the aftermath of the Cold War. Unlike other states with similar economies, for a long time Japan did not develop an influential presence in multilateral fora at the UN. It even lacked strong relationships with its neighbours in Asia. Therefore there was a need for Japan to find an alternative way to contribute to international security without abandoning the safety net of the Japan-US security alliance. After its revision in 1995, the New *Taiko* stressed both a need to become actively involved in international security and to "use" the alliance for this endeavour.

Specifically, the revised *Taiko* stated that a "close cooperative bilateral relationship based on the Japan-U.S. security arrangements, facilitates Japanese efforts for peace and stability of the international community, including promotion of regional multilateral security dialogues and co-operation, as well as support for various United Nations activities."[784] Along this line was the joint declaration made in 1996 by Prime Minister Hashimoto and President Clinton to revalidate the centrality of the alliance. In

---

[782] Katsumi Ishizuka, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Paper presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting for the Academic Council on the United Nations System, at Cascais, Portugal, 21-23 June 2002. Internet. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/iaps/katsumi%20paper2.pdf Last accessed: August 15, 2005.

[783] Elected Members of the Security Council, 1946-present, (Global Forum). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/membship/mem2.htm Last accessed: August 20, 2005.

[784] National Defence Program Outline in and after FY 1996, (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, December, 1995). Federation of American Scientists. Internet. Available at: http://www.fas.org/news/japan/ndpo.htm Last accessed: August 20, 2005.

325

other words, the joint declaration can be read as an American endorsement of a Japanese foreign policy aimed at joining UN-led efforts to maintain a safer and more stable international environment. It becomes clear then that Japan recognizes the importance of the UN, and particularly the UN security system in which peacekeeping is central.

The complex, unstable and insecure environment that emerged at the end of the Cold War demanded multinational efforts to restore and maintain international peace and stability. Multiple acts of genocide and ethnic cleansing in Africa, Asia and Europe spread a sensation of insecurity and instability. There were thirty major conflicts in 1995 and all were intrastate.[785] The number of Peacekeeping Operations implemented in the first decade of the post-Cold War era was almost four times larger than during the Cold War.

The UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was eloquent in justifying peacekeeping when he stated that "the world has been changed by powerful forces that no state, or even group of states, has the capacity to manage by itself."[786] Within this framework, strengthening UN-centered multilateralism has been in Japan's interests for various reasons: it offers an option to genuinely cooperate to improve international security; through Peacekeeping Operations, it justifies the increase of military capabilities without raising much concern about remilitarization; it allows an effective footing in UN fora; it gives Japan the opportunity to maintain up-to-date its security alliance with the United States; and it offers a safe option to disagree with the United States on international issues.

Therefore, acting through the UN allows Japan to achieve national objectives while contributing to common global objectives. For Japan, the UN works as a "legitimizer" for a military build-up and an assertive diplomacy that can eventually be translated into "hard power," and as a booster for the spread of pacifist "soft power."

---

[785] Hugo Dobson, Japan and UN Peacekeeping: New Pressures and New Responses, (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003).

[786] Boutros Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping, A/47/277-S/24111. (United Nations, 1992), p.15. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html Last accessed: June 06, 2005.

326

Japanese Peacekeeping

Evolution

As a result of, and in clear contradiction to, an express constitutional mandate, Japan has created and expanded the roles of the SDF, and hosted foreign military establishments. As explained before, military activities have been legally possible through "pragmatic interpretations" of the Constitution. The extended roles of the SDF include Japan's participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations, which fit into the context of cooperative arrangements for the maintenance of the UN security system.

The participation of Japan in Peacekeeping Operations can be seen as part of a strategy to become a "normal power." That is, to be able to exert an amount of "hard power" equivalent to an acquired economic stature. Japanese participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations has various distinctive features: incremental progress; legal constraints; incremental domestic support; and external pressure.

A Japanese cultural strategy called "*nashikuzushi*" is used to reach political goals when there are hard obstacles to clear. *Nashikuzushi* means "you do not suddenly announce any important change of policy. You pretend that the original policy is still intact, but subject it to so many constant minor changes and amendments that eventually it ceases to exist and has to be replaced by the policy you wanted all along. Death by a thousand cuts might be one way to translate it."[787]

The decision to send the SDF abroad for Peacekeeping Operations is one step in the continuous and gradual process of *nashikuzushi* to expand their role and capabilities, through successive additions to what is permissible by the Constitution.

The interpretation of Article 9 is central to the discussion. It holds that it is unconstitutional to deploy the SDF overseas for the purpose of using force because this goes beyond the limits of self-defence. Nevertheless, neither Article 9, nor any other, prohibits deployments that are not for the purpose of using force. Therefore, if peacekeeping is not expressly prohibited by the Constitution, then it is implicitly

---

[787] Gregory Clark, "Self-Defence Force to the Rescue...of Self-Interest," (Australian, August 31, 1991). Cited in Aurelia George, "Japan's Participation in U.N. Peacekeeping Operations: Radical Departure or Predictable Response?" "Japan: Redefining its International Role," Asian Survey, 33, 6 (University of California Press, June, 1993), p.561.

327

permitted.[788] Also, since the Self-Defence Force Law has no provision for such kinds of deployment, peacekeeping, it is said, lies in an "undefined grey area, a deficiency in the legal framework governing SDF activity."[789]

Japan's participation in Peacekeeping Operations was prompted by a perceived need to cooperate with the efforts of the United Nations to restore and maintain international peace and security at the end of the Cold War. And the peacekeeping issue has been in the minds of the Japanese people for some time. First, the Korean War made a Japanese participation in UN military operations – although unconstitutional – technically possible. In 1958, the peacekeeping issue was put on the Japanese agenda as something feasible rather than a theoretical issue.

While serving for the first time as a Non-permanent Member of the UN Security Council, Japan was asked by the UN Secretary-General to send SDF officers as military observers to UNOGIL. The request was consistent with the Japanese position in the UN Security Council, which advocated an increase of UN peacekeepers in Lebanon instead of US troops. Heated debates in Japan's Diet and protesters outside led the government to reject the Secretary-General's request and declare that UN duties were not permitted by the Self-Defence Force Law.[790]

In 1960, the UN Security Council authorized ONUC. In clear reference to Japan's recent refusal to cooperate with UNOGIL, the Japanese representative to the Security Council, Ambassador Koto Matsudaira, tried to gain domestic support to participate in ONUC. "It is not consistent for Japan to adhere to UN co-operation on the one hand and refuse all participation in the UN armies on the other," he said. The comment of the Japanese ambassador caused so much controversy in the Diet that the opposition

---

[788] Aurelia George, "Japan's Participation in U.N. Peacekeeping Operations: Radical Departure or Predictable Response?" "Japan: Redefining its International Role," Asian Survey, 33, 6 (University of California Press, June, 1993), p.562.

[789] George, "Japan's Participation in U.N. Peacekeeping Operations," p.562.

[790] Katsumi Ishizuka, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Paper presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting for the Academic Council on the United Nations System, at Cascais, Portugal, 21-23 June 2002. Internet. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/iaps/katsumi%20paper2.pdf Last accessed: August 15, 2005.

328

demanded his resignation. Ambassador Matsudaira withdrew his statement.[791]

The Japanese government also tried to join Peacekeeping Operations in 1965. This time, Japan was initiating its second term as a Non-permanent Member of the Security Council. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs drafted a UN Resolutions Co-operation Bill which specified a proposed participation of SDF personnel in Peacekeeping Operations. The Bill died in the Diet.[792]

In 1982, Japan proposed the creation of a panel of experts to study ways of strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security. The UN General Assembly welcomed the proposal and asked members to submit proposals. The Japanese proposal criticized the limitations of Japan's role to purely financial contributions:

> "The commitment of our country to the UN has been apt to be restricted to financial aspects. However, our country should participate in UN Peacekeeping Operations in terms of the following sections positively and extensively: provision of funds and materials, election supervision, medical assistance, transport and communications activities, police activities, logistic support, and observation and patrol activities."

In 1987, the United States was conducting operations in the Persian Gulf to protect Kuwaiti oil tankers from attack during the Iran-Iraq War. Japanese leaders suggested sending minesweepers to the Gulf as a sign of support for the United States. The idea did not progress because political opposition in Japan blocked the move.[793]

As Peacekeeping Operations started to become multidimensional and multidisciplinary, more options were available for states to participate. Broader mandates for Peacekeeping Operations also came with more missions implemented, for which more

---

[791] Katsumi Ishizuka, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Paper presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting for the Academic Council on the United Nations System, at Cascais, Portugal, 21-23 June 2002. Internet. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/iaps/katsumi%20paper2.pdf Last accessed: August 15, 2005.

[792] Ishizuka, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations."

[793] Larry A. Niksch and Robert G. Sutter, Japan's Response to the Persian Gulf Crisis: Implications for U.S.-Japan Relations, Congressional Research Service, (Library of Congress, May 23, 1991). Internet. Available at: http://digital.library.unt.edu/govdocs/crs/data/1991/upl-meta-crs-8/91-444f_1991May23.txt Last accessed: August 21, 2005.

contributions were needed. The initiative sent by Prime Minister Noburo Takeshita in 1988 to participate in Peacekeeping Operations, took these issues into account.

The International Co-operation Initiative, as it was called, identified areas in which Japan could participate: diplomatic mediation; financial support of UN-sponsored pre-conflict peacebuilding; civilian participation to fact-finding missions; elections monitoring; medical and logistic assistance; and refugee assistance through bilateral and multilateral arrangements.[794] This time, a symbolic Japanese participation in peacekeeping was authorized. Japan sent one political officer to UNGOMAP and another to UNIIMOG.

The following year, in 1989, Japan sent 27 election monitors to UNTAG. These were significant financial contributions: US$5 million to UNMOGAP, US$19 million to UNIIMOG, and US$13.6 million to UNTAG. In addition, Japan contributed US$14.1 million to UNIFIL and US$3.1 million to UNDOF.[795] Contributing a great deal of money to the UN was a natural way to get around the constitutional ban on the use of force in support of collective security. The Japanese "juicy" contributions were welcomed by the UN and Member States and Japan's "chequebook diplomacy" seemed to function well.

It is generally accepted that the Gulf War in 1990 was a turning point for Japan's foreign policy. The United States recognized the constitutional restraints to Japan's military participation, but they nonetheless wanted a greater Japanese involvement in security issues. On August 2, 1990 Japan, together with numerous other states, condemned the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Japan joined the UN-sponsored trade embargo imposed on Iraq and made a US$10 million contribution to refugee efforts in Jordan.

It also announced an additional US$13billion contribution to the multilateral forces led by the United States. The timing and the form of Japan's contribution ignited heated criticisms from the international community. The United States made it clear that

---

[794] Henrich L. W. and others, United Nations Peace-keeping Operations: A Guide to Japanese Politics, (Tokyo: UN University Press, 1999), p.18. Cited in Katsumi Ishizuka, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Paper presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting for the Academic Council on the United Nations System, at Cascais, Portugal, 21-23 June 2002. Internet. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/iaps/katsumi%20paper2.pdf Last accessed: August 15, 2005.

[795] Tsuneo Akaha, "Japan's Comprehensive Security Policy: A New East Asian Environment," Asian Survey, 31, 4 (University of California Press, 1991), p.329.

330

more was expected from Japan than a financial contribution, which it considered as "too little too late."[796]

The Japanese government reacted to international pressure and hastily introduced the United Nations Peace Co-operation Bill in the Diet in the fall of 1990. The Bill considered the creation of a UN Peace Co-operation Corps (UNPCC), consisting of civilian government and non-government employees and some members temporarily transferred from the SDF. The proposed legislation also specified the permitted activities of the UNPCC, which included overseeing cease-fire agreements, monitoring elections, providing medical services and disaster relief, communications, transportation, and other logistic support.

However, the Bill lacked consistency and coherence and was presented without careful consideration of its content. The result was a series of incoherent public statements and government irresolution during the debates in the Diet.[797] The Bill was withdrawn after facing strong opposition and protests from members of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), who believed that sending the SDF to the Gulf would be an open violation of Article 9. Central to the discussion in the Diet was the issue of whether members of the SDF "could participate, even only in the capacity of logistic support, in activities of a multinational force not strictly under UN command."[798]

Its inability to make non-monetary contributions caused much embarrassment to the Japanese government because it exhibited a weak Japan unable to handle international security. During a speech in Tokyo in 1991, US Secretary of State James Baker stated that "your chequebook diplomacy, like our dollar diplomacy of an earlier era, is clearly

---

[796] Mutsuyoshi Nishimura, "A Japanese Perspective on Peacekeeping." In Alex Morrison (Ed.). Proceedings of the 1996 Canada-Japan Conference on Modern Peacekeeping, (Cornwallis NS: The Canadian Peacekeeping Press, 1997), p.72. Cited in Shannon-Marie Soni, "A Lighter Shade of Blue: Japan's Role in UN Peacekeeping Operations," Periscope, 2, 1 (International University of Japan, 1999). Internet. Available at: http://www2.iuj.ac.jp/periscope/paperV21D.htm Last accessed: August 21, 2005.

[797] Courtney Purrington, "Tokyo's Policy Responses During the Gulf Crisis," Asian Survey, 31, 4 (University of California Press, 1991), p.313.

[798] Current issues Surrounding Peacekeeping Operations and Japanese Perspective (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan). Internet. Available at: http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/un/pko/issues.htm Last accessed: August 21, 2005.

331

too narrow."[799] The Japanese government did not give up and tried – without any success – to send SDF planes in refugee evacuation missions to the Gulf.[800] But the damage was already done. Japan "suffered the rigors of isolation in the congratulatory period after victory of the multinational task forces and fell prey to the general perception that its behaviour during the Gulf War had been an international public relations disaster."[801]

The Gulf War showed Japan that appeals are not enough to achieve peace; in some cases, action is necessary. After the embarrassment caused by its chequebook diplomacy, Japan was eager to show the world it could manage global security issues. Something positive arose from the failed draft legislation, however; it did succeed in raising awareness among Japanese policymakers about the need for a new legal framework to permit peacekeeping participation.

The ruling Liberal Democratic Party created a special group to study Japan's role in international security. The group, known as the "Ozawa Commission" after Ichiro Ozawa, LDP Secretary-General, started its assignment in June 1991. The Commission concluded that Japan would be able to join multinational forces authorized by the UN Security Council. The supporting argument was based on the Constitution's Preamble which provides a "clear provision for peaceful cooperative arrangements." The Preamble states:

> "We, the Japanese people, acting through our duly elected representatives in the National Diet, determined that we shall secure for ourselves and our posterity the fruits of peaceful co-operation with all nations and the blessings of liberty throughout this land, and resolved that never again shall we be visited with horrors of war through the action of government, do proclaim that sovereign power resides with the people and do firmly establish this

---

[799] Aurelia George, "Japan's Participation in U.N. Peacekeeping Operations: Radical Departure or Predictable Response?" "Japan: Redefining its International Role," Asian Survey, 33, 6 (University of California Press, June, 1993), p.564.

[800] Yamauchi Toshihiro, "Gunning for Japan's Peace Constitution," Japan Quarterly, 39, 2 (Research Library, 1992), p.160.

[801] Aurelia George, "Japan's Participation in U.N. Peacekeeping Operations: Radical Departure or Predictable Response?" "Japan: Redefining its International Role," Asian Survey, 33, 6 (University of California Press, June, 1993), p.563.

332

Constitution. ..."[802]

The phrase "peaceful co-operation with all nations," according to the Ozawa Commission, was consistent with Articles 42 and 43 of the UN Charter, which grant the Security Council the legal powers for the use of force and states the arrangement for Member States to make available armed forces at the disposal of the United Nations. Therefore, Japanese participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations was not unconstitutional.[803] In September 1991, the government introduced a new initiative that would permit the deployment of the SDF to Peacekeeping Operations.

After one year of intense national debate, in June 1992 the Diet approved the Law on Co-operation for United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and Related Activities. The "Peacekeeping Law" or "PKO Law," as it has been called, differed from the first bill in that it clearly specified its purpose to regulate participation in peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance. The PKO Law reflects the fears of the Japanese people to repeat past military mistakes.

In order to approve the Law, the Diet had to reduce as much as possible the chances of Japan getting involved in an open conflict. Therefore, the PKO Law included a series of safeguards, the so-called "five principles," to regulate Japanese participation in Peacekeeping Operations. The principles are:

1. "Agreement on the ceasefire shall have been reached among the parties to the conflicts.
2. The parties to the conflict, including the territorial states, shall have given their consent to deployment of the peacekeeping force and Japan's participation in the force.
3. The peacekeeping force shall strictly maintain impartiality, not favouring any party to the conflict.
4. Should any of the above guideline requirements ceased (sic) to satisfy the

---

[802] Katsumi Ishizuka, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Paper presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting for the Academic Council on the United Nations System, at Cascais, Portugal, 21-23 June 2002. Internet. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/iaps/katsumi%20paper2.pdf Last accessed: August 15, 2005.

[803] Katsumi Ishizuka, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Paper presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting for the Academic Council on the United Nations System, at Cascais, Portugal, 21-23 June 2002. Internet. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/iaps/katsumi%20paper2.pdf Last accessed: August 15, 2005.

Government of Japan, she may withdraw its contingent.
5. Use of weapons shall be limited to the minimum necessary to protect the personnel's lives, etc."[804]

These principles are very close to those proposed by Dag Hammarskjöld and Lester Bowles Pearson for UNEF I in 1957. This similarity suggests that the PKO Law would allow Japanese peacekeeping limited to those operations authorized under the legal framework provided by Chapter VI of the UN Charter, that is "Traditional" or "Classic" Peacekeeping Operations.

One contentious issue that occupied part of the debates concerned who would command the Japanese troops deployed abroad. The PKO Law allows SDF troops to operate under the UN command, "except when the prime minister deems it necessary." This provision is aimed at allowing SDF contingents to take discretionary action, such as refusing to obey orders from the UN Force Commander for purposes other than self-defence. In such a case, the prime minister may "delegate limited authority" to SDF personnel so they can take necessary actions to deal with local contingencies.[805]

When the Bill was introduced in the Diet, it included a section containing the core assignments of the SDF for the conduct of international peace operations. However, consensus was not reached on this section and it was put aside for further revision. The "frozen" assignments are:

"I. UN Peacekeeping Operations
   A. Assignments of the core units of peacekeeping forces
      1. Monitoring the observance of the cessation of armed conflict and relation, withdrawal or demobilization of armed forces.
      2. Stationing and patrol in buffer zones
      3. Inspection or identification of the carrying in or out of weapon
      4. Collection storage on disposal of abandoned weapons

---

[804] Defence of Japan: the White Paper of the Defence Agency (Tokyo: The Japan Times, 1995), p.99. Cited in Katsumi Ishizuka, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Paper presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting for the Academic Council on the United Nations System, at Cascais, Portugal, 21-23 June 2002. Internet. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/iaps/katsumi%20paper2.pdf Last accessed: August 15, 2005.

[805] Rinn-Sup Shin, "Japanese Participation in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations," Congressional Research Service, (Library of Congress, 1992). Internet. Available at: http://digital.library.unt.edu/govdocs/crs/data/1992/upl-meta-crs-24/92-665f_1992Aug24.txt Last accessed: August 22, 2005.

334

5. Assistance for the designation of cease-fire lines and other boundaries by the parties to armed conflicts

6. Assistance for the exchange of prisoners-of-war among the parties to armed conflicts

B. PKF logistic support

7. Medical care (including sanitary measures)

8. Transportation, communication, construction, etc.

C. Functions that are not for SDF units

9. Supervision or management of fair execution of election or voting

10. Advice or guidance for and supervision of police administrative matters

11. Advice or guidance for administrative matters not covered by 10

II. Humanitarian International Relief Operations

12. Search or rescue of affected people or assistance for their repatriation

13. Distribution of food, clothing, medical supplies and other daily necessities to affected people and medical care for them

14. Installation of facilities or equipment to accommodate affected people

15. Measures for the repair or maintenance of facilities or equipment necessary for daily life of affected people

16. Restoration and other measures of facilities and natural environment subjected to damage by conflicts."[806]

Soon, two operations gave Japan the opportunity to review the "frozen" assignments; UNTAC in 1992 and UNAMIR in 1994. Japanese civilian policemen assigned to UNTAC were unable to comply with the mission's mandate, which required the arrest of those who violated the election process, because this was clearly, according to the core assignments, a function not suitable for SDF units (C.9). In UNAMIR, the Japanese contribution focused on carrying out humanitarian relief activities in Rwanda. This time, such activity was among the core assignments (II).

Critical domestic changes also took place in Japan during the summer of 1993. The conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) – the largest political force in Japan – lost its majority in the Diet Lower House for the first time in almost forty years. With this monopoly of power broken, political forces in Japan started to rearrange. An anti-LDP coalition formed a governing majority and elected Morihiro Hosokawa as Prime Minister.

---

[806] Defence of Japan: the White Paper of the Defence Agency, (Tokyo: The Japan Times, 1995), p.99. Cited in Katsumi Ishizuka, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Paper presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting for the Academic Council on the United Nations System, at Cascais, Portugal, 21-23 June 2002. Internet. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/iaps/katsumi%20paper2.pdf Last accessed: August 15, 2005.

The new Government focused on conducting a major political reform.

The coalition succeeded in passing key legislation that modified the electoral system. The 1994 reforms weakened the Socialist Party, which was the force behind unarmed neutrality. This enabled Japan to involve itself in Peacekeeping Operations and to pass the special measures law for further SDF deployments.[807] Prime Minister Hosokawa resigned in April 1994 and only two months later the LDP returned to power; this time in coalition with the Japan Socialist Party (JSP). Since then, no single political party has totally dominated Japan's political scene.[808]

The PKO Law was amended for the first time in 1998 to meet the challenges posed by a more complex international environment and to include some of the lessons learned since its enactment in 1992. The new law changed two of the "five principles" of the original piece of legislation. Consent from the parties to a conflict would not be necessary in humanitarian operations involving the UNHCR. Also, SDF personnel were now able to use their weapons not only for self-defence, but also "when their senior officers ordered them to do so."[809]

The amended law expanded the scope of Japan's participation so as to include humanitarian operations and elections monitoring activities not only under the UN, but also under the auspices of regional organizations.

An additional bill to amend the International Peace Co-operation Law was submitted to the Diet in the aftermath of 9/11. The proposed amendment, which was approved and enacted in December 2001, ensures smoother implementation of

---

[807] Amy McCreedy, "Japanese Political Reform: Progress in Process." Asia Program Special Report, 117, 2004 (Washington: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://wwics.si.edu/topics/pubs/Japan%20politics.pdf Last accessed: August 10, 2005.

[808] Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs. Background Note. Japan, (U.S. Department of State). Internet. Available at: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/4142.htm Last accessed: August 25, 2005.

[809] Katsumi Ishizuka, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Paper presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting for the Academic Council on the United Nations System, at Cascais, Portugal, 21-23 June 2002. Internet. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/iaps/katsumi%20paper2.pdf Last accessed: August 15, 2005.

336

international peace co-operation assignments.[810] The revised law broadens the roles of the SDF and extends Japan's margins of manoeuvre to respond to terrorism. The revision sought to lift some of the restrictions posed by the "five principles" included in the original PKO Law of 1992, further revised in 1998.

In the post-9/11 environment, Japanese peacekeepers would be able to engage in "monitoring ceasefires, disarming local forces, patrolling demilitarized zones, inspecting the transport of weapons, and collecting and disposing of abandoned weapons."[811] The principle on the use of force was also expanded to allow SDF personnel to use their weapons in self-defence, by order from a superior, and to "protect those under their control" (e.g. civilians, refugees, and troops from other countries).[812] In other words, the most recent PKO Law justifies the use of force in self-defence, in defence of the mandate, and in defence of the protected population.

The amendments were approved in the Diet by an overwhelming majority. In December 2001, the restrictions on Japan's participation in core assignments of UN peacekeeping forces were lifted by the Diet's amendment of the International Peacekeeping Law. Three months later, Japan sent SDF engineers to UNMISET. In December 2002, the Advisory Group on International Co-operation for Peace called for an expanded international role for the SDF in support of UN Peacekeeping Operations and outlined the legislative changes necessary to facilitate SDF participation.[813] In 2002, Japan ranked 17th among UN Member States contributing to peacekeeping, and 4th

---

[810] White Paper 2002. Chapter IV. "Response to Disasters and Contribution to Building a More Stable Security Environment: Expanding the Sphere of SDF Activities In and Outside Japan," Efforts for International Peace. (Japan Defence Agency, 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.jda.go.jp/e/pab/wp2002/0402.htm Last accessed: August 22, 2005.

[811] Ishizuka, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Paper presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting for the Academic Council on the United Nations System, at Cascais, Portugal, 21-23 June 2002. Internet. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/iaps/katsumi%20paper2.pdf Last accessed: August 15, 2005.

[812] Ishizuka, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

[813] James J. Przystup, "U.S.-Japan Relations: Toward a Mature Partnership," (Institute for International Strategic Studies, June 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.ndu.edu/inss/Occassional_Papers/Przystup_OP_072005/Przystup_OP_072005.pdf Last accessed: August 22, 2005.

337

among the developed countries, following Australia, Poland and Portugal.[814] Japan thus stood as an important contributor to Peacekeeping Operations and excels as a financial supporter to the UN regular budget. Japan is the second largest contributor to the 2004-2006 UN budgets, both Peacekeeping and Regular Budgets, after only the United States.[815]

As it was since 1976, the government of Japan issued the 2005 *Taiko*. The most recent *Taiko*, or NDPO, represents a new turning point in Japan's defence and foreign policies. The Basic Defence Force Concept, the pillar of NDPOs since 1976, was in 2005 extended to include "international peacekeeping activities and counter terrorism as primary components of Japan's overall national defence strategy." [816]

The 2005 *Taiko* also outlines organizational changes aimed at strengthening Japan's operational structure. Among other things, it points to the creation of the Joint Staff Office and the transfer of Japan's Intelligence Headquarters under the Director General of the Japan Defence Agency.[817] These changes are aimed at strengthening the existing support structures which include the International Peace Co-operation Headquarters (IPCH). The IPCH was established in 1992 with the enactment of the PKO Law. Within the Cabinet Office, it administers Japan's international peace co-operation activities and contributions in kind.

The IPCH is headed by the prime minister and the chief cabinet secretary as deputy chief. It also includes the heads of relevant government agencies. A secretariat

---

[814] Ishizuka, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Paper presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting for the Academic Council on the United Nations System, at Cascais, Portugal, 21-23 June 2002. Internet. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/iaps/katsumi%20paper2.pdf Last accessed: August 15, 2005.

[815] In the 2004-2006 UN Scale of Assessments for the Regular Budget, the United States contributes 22.0% of the whole budget; Japan 19.469%; United Kingdom 6.127%; France 6.03%; China 2.054%; and Russia 1.1%. Together the four Permanent Members (not considering the US) contribute 15.31%, considerably less than Japan. Japan, the United Nations and the International Community. (Embassy of Japan in Washington, January 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.us.emb-japan.go.jp/english/html/UNREFORM.PPT Last accessed: August 15, 2005.

[816] David Fouse, "Japan's FY 2005 National Defence Program Outline: New Concepts, Old Compromises," Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 4, 3 (March 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.apcss.org/Publications/APSSS/Japans%20FY2005%20National%20Defence%20Program%20Outline.pdf Last accessed: August 18, 2005.

[817] Fouse, "Japan's FY 2005 National Defence Program Outline."

handles the administrative tasks of the IPCH. [818]

Starting in 1992, Japan has participated in eight UN peacekeeping missions and a number of humanitarian and democracy building activities. Its participation has followed an incremental pattern that is consistent with a steady flow of supporting legislation. The following table shows Japan's participation in these activities.

Table 17: Japan Participation in International Peace Co-Operation Activities up to March 2005

UN Peacekeeping Operations		Date	Contribution
United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II)	Electoral observers	Sep-Oct 1992	3 persons
United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)	Military observers Civilian police Engineering units Electoral observers	Sep 1992-Sep 1993 Oct 1992-Jul 1993 Sep 1992-Sep 1993 May-Jun 1993	8 persons x 2 75 persons 600 persons x 2 41 persons
United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)	Staff officers Movement control units Electoral observers	May 1993-Jan 1995 May 1993-Jan 1995 Oct-Nov 1994	5 persons x 2 48 persons x 3 15 persons
United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL)	Electoral observers	Mar-Apr 1994	15 persons x 2
United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF)	Staff officers Transport units	Feb 1996-present Feb 1996-present	2 persons x 9 43 persons x 18
United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) *	Civilian police	Jul-Sep 1999	3 persons
United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET)	Engineer group Headquarters personnel	Mar-May 2002 Feb-May 2002	680 persons 10 persons
United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET)	Engineer group Headquarters personnel	May 2002-Jun 2004 May 2002-Jun 2004	680 persons x 2 +522 persons +405 persons 10 persons + 7 persons
		Sub Total	4,633 persons

*UNAMET: UN Political Mission.

---

[818] Japan's Contributions to International Peace. Facts and Figures. Current UN Peacekeeping Operations. International, (Peace Co-operation Headquarters). Internet. Available at: http://www.pko.go.jp/PKO_E/data1_e.html Last accessed: August 23, 2005.

339

International Humanitarian Relief Operations

Relief of Rwandan refugees	Refugee relief units Airlifting units	Sep-Dec 1994 Sep-Dec 1994	283 persons 118 persons
Relief of East Timorese displaced persons	Airlifting units	Nov 1999-Feb 2000	113 persons
Relief activities of Afghan refugees	Airlifting units	Oct 2001	138 persons
Relief of Iraqi refugees	Airlifting units	Apr 2003	56 persons
Relief of Iraqi victims	Airlifting units	Jul-Aug 2003	104 persons
		Sub Total	812 persons

International Election Monitoring Activities

Bosnia and Herzegovina general and regional elections	Elections supervisors and observers	Sep 1998	30 persons
Bosnia and Herzegovina municipal assembly elections	Polling supervisors	Mar-Apr 2000	11 persons
Timor-Leste constituent assembly elections	Electoral observers	Aug-Sep 2001	19 persons
Kosovo assembly elections	Electoral observers	Nov 2001	6 persons
Timor-Leste presidential election	Electoral observers	Apr 2002	8 persons
		Sub Total	74 persons
		Total	5,519 persons

Source: Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[819]

Additional legislation has been passed to meet the challenges posed by the post-9/11 environment. In July 2003, the Japanese Government introduced the Special Law for Iraqi Reconstruction and Stabilization Assistance. This provided for the dispatch of SDF personnel to Iraq for humanitarian and security assistance. The new law, originally enacted for a period of four years, enables Japan for the first time to send the SDF to a country where small-scale fighting continues. The law, however, limits the SDF

---

[819] Record of Japan's International Peace Co-operation Activities based on the International Peace Co-operation Law, (Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs). Internet. Available at: http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/un/pko/pamph2005-2.pdf Last accessed: August 15, 2005.

340

deployment to areas in which no combat activities are in progress or where no act of aggression is expected against SDF troops.

On 9 December 2003, Japan approved a basic plan to dispatch SDF personnel to Iraq "paving the way for up to 600 ground troops in south-eastern Iraq early in 2004, to engage in medical assistance, reconstruct schools and other public buildings and to provide water supply. The use of weapons will be strictly limited to self-defence." The basic plan heralded a foreign policy turn for the Japanese decision to dispatch troops to a nation effectively at war. The aim was for Japan to become a part of the international efforts to reconstruct Iraq and to maintain a solid Japan-US security alliance.[820] The Japanese presence in Iraq, as part of a multinational force, was expected to end in December 2005.[821] However, Japan withdrew its forces from Iraq in July 2006.

As noted, Japan's Self-Defence Forces of the 1950s, small and at the margins of international security issues, differ substantially from today's modern SDF, which actively promote a proactive Japanese foreign policy. Whatever planned or unplanned, a simple comparison of the 1954 and current legal frameworks suggests a *nashikuzushi* pattern. Any transformation of roles, capabilities and legislation can only be undertaken with the support of the majority of the Japanese people.

Japanese Public Opinion

The SDF has had the constant support of the Japanese people to conduct UN Peacekeeping Operations. Variations in the amount of support reflect both government information campaigns and public reactions to the extended roles assigned to the SDF. In 1991, the Japanese public support for SDF Peacekeeping Operations jumped to 41.6 percent (compared to 22.5% in 1988) mainly as a result of intense public debates conducted nationwide. In 1992, the public support for SDF peacekeeping activities rose

---

[820] Report of the Australian Parliamentary Delegation to Japan and the Republic of Korea, 8-19 December 2003. The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia. (Canberra: Senate Printing Unit, Department of the Senate, Parliament House, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.aph.gov.au/house/info/pro/del_reports/JapanROKorea.pdf Last accessed: August 10, 2005.

[821] "Koizumi Hints at Extending SDF Dispatch to Iraq," Nikkei, (Tokyo: July 13, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.nni.nikkei.co.jp/FR/FEAT/sdf/ Last accessed: August 27, 2005.

341

to 67.8 percent. This significant increase is explained by the Japanese embarrassment after the Gulf War.

A telephone survey conducted in May 30, 1993 by the influential Japanese newspaper, *Asahi Shimbun*, showed that 45.7 percent of people supported Japan's participation in Cambodia (UNTAC); 33.4 percent did not. Also, 21 percent of the respondents favoured plans for further deployments of SDF in similar operations; 60 percent opposed such a decision. Furthermore, 42.1 percent of the interviewed considered that non-military contributions alone would not be enough.[822] The survey was conducted only two days after an incident that left one Japanese civilian police officer dead and four wounded in an ambush in Cambodia. This was the second casualty in only one month of SDF deployment with UNTAC. To put this in context, UNTAC was the first time that Japanese forces had been deployed outside of Japan since Second World War.

The results of the 1993 *Asahi Shimbun* survey suggested that the embarrassment of the Gulf War made a great impact on the Japanese people. Perhaps "the time has come for Japan to express commitment to international society in concrete, non-monetary terms and external and internal pressure for the commitment to involve human resources and the SDF."[823]

In 1995, the Japanese Prime Minister's office conducted an opinion poll which showed that 70 percent of the Japanese citizens supported Peacekeeping Operations.[824] This increase, however, has no apparent explanation. In 2005, public support for peacekeeping activities returned to the average shown since 1992. The evolution of Japanese public opinion on SDF deployments in UN Peacekeeping Operations, which is summarized by the figure below, shows important developments in the support given to UN peacekeeping participation.

---

[822] Sasaki Yoshitaka, "Japan's Undue International Contribution," Japan Quarterly, 40, 3 (Tokyo: Research Library, July 1993), p.259.

[823] Yoshitaka, "Japan's Undue International Contribution," p.259.

[824] Shannon-Marie Soni, "A Lighter Shade of Blue: Japan's Role in UN Peacekeeping Operations," Periscope, 2, 1 (International University of Japan, 1999). Internet. Available at: http://www2.iuj.ac.jp/periscope/paperV21D.htm Last accessed: August 21, 2005.

Figure 13: Public Support to SDF Participation in UNPKO
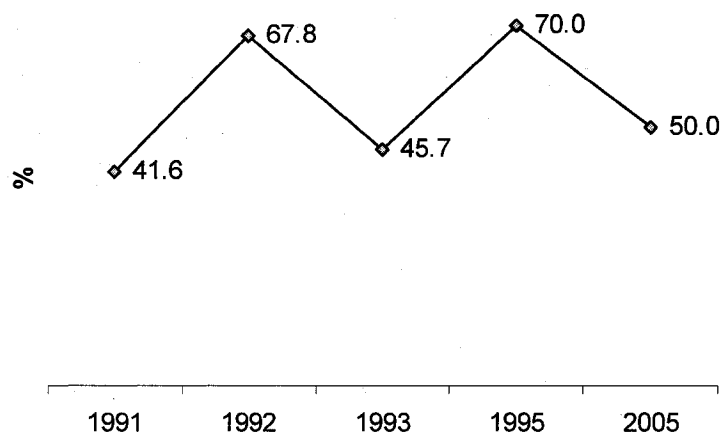
Source: Author (2005) with data from the following sources:
  1991 – *Asahi Shimbun*;[825]
  1992 – *Yomiuri Shimbun*;[826]
  1993 – *Asahi Shimbun*;[827]
  1995 – Japan Prime Minister's Office;[828]
  2005 – *Asahi Shimbun*.[829]

The Japanese are able to make clear distinctions between agreeing to the extended

---

[825] The Asahi Shimbun, 12 June 1992. In Katsumi Ishizuka, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Paper presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting for the Academic Council on the United Nations System (ACUNS), at Cascais, Portugal, 21-23 June 2002. Internet. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/iaps/katsumi%20paper2.pdf Last accessed: August 15, 2005.

[826] K. Ishizuka, A Japanese Perspective to UN Peacekeeping Operations, MA Dissertation, the Department of Politics, (Nottingham: the University of Nottingham, September 1996), p.78. In Katsumi Ishizuka, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Paper presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting for the Academic Council on the United Nations System (ACUNS), at Cascais, Portugal, 21-23 June 2002. Internet. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/iaps/katsumi%20paper2.pdf Last accessed: August 15, 2005.

[827] Sasaki Yoshitaka, "Japan's Undue International Contribution," Japan Quarterly, 40, 3 (Tokyo: Research Library, July 1993), p.259.

[828] Mutsuyoshi Nishimura, "A Japanese Perspective on Peacekeeping." In Alex Morrison and James Kiras (Eds.), UN Peace Operations and the Role of Japan, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 1996). Cited in Shannon-Marie Soni, "A Lighter Shade of Blue: Japan's Role in UN Peacekeeping Operations," Periscope, 2, 1 (International University of Japan, 1999). Internet. Available at: http://www2.iuj.ac.jp/periscope/paperV21D.htm Last accessed: August 21, 2005.

[829] Takafumi Yoshida, "Public Accepts the Realities of the SDF and the Pacifist Ideals," The Asahi Shimbun, (May 04, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.asahi.com/english/Herald-asahi/TKY200505040086.html Last accessed: August 24, 2005.

343

roles of the SDF in international security, and drifting from a long-standing pacifist vocation. For the Japanese, cooperating with collective security and promoting a pacifist foreign policy are two sides of the same coin. In 2005, the *Asahi Shimbun* conducted another survey on the international role of Japan. The outcomes of the new survey showed that even though 56 percent of citizens supported revisions to the Constitution, the Japanese people did not call for changes to Article 9. In fact, 51 percent of the respondents opposed amendments to Article 9 (36 percent favoured). These results show that a majority of Japanese people still supported a pacifist policy as dictated by Article 9.

The percentage of respondents that favoured a revision to Article 9 shows that "the public respects Article 9's pacifist principles but also approves the realities surrounding the nation's Self-Defence Forces. In other words, the public accepts both the SDF and the war-renouncing Article 9."[830] According to the survey, 58 percent supported constitutional revisions to clearly allow the existence of the SDF, while only 12 percent said that it should become a regular military force.
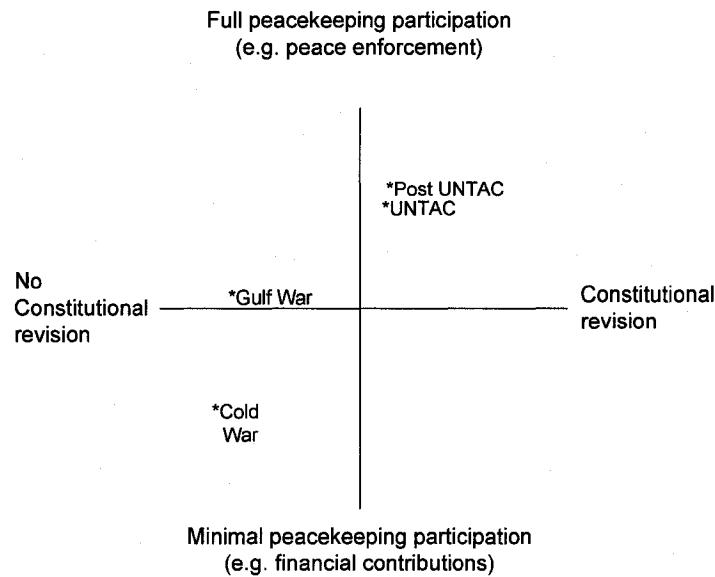
Recent SDF activities are supported by the Japanese people. Of the 1,802 people interviewed, only 7 percent considered the SDF as unconstitutional and called for their abolition. The Japanese are also able to distinguish the different roles played by the SDF, of which UN Peacekeeping Operations have most support. Nearly half the respondents said they support SDF's activities abroad only if limited to UN Peacekeeping Operations. About one-third also support reconstruction efforts in war-torn countries like Iraq.

The pacifist vocation of the Japanese people is restated by the overwhelming support to Article 9 – 76 percent considered that Article 9 has contributed to the peace and prosperity of Japan and 84 percent were opposed to revising the article.[831] The matrix in the following figure shows that even though Japan has increased its participation in international security and had notable expanded the roles of the SDF abroad, the Japanese pacifist vocation remains a firm guidance to and restraint on Japan's involvement in international security.

---

[830] Takafumi Yoshida, "Public Accepts the Realities of the SDF and the Pacifist Ideals," The Asahi Shimbun, (May 04, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.asahi.com/english/Herald-asahi/TKY200505040086.html Last accessed: August 24, 2005.

[831] Yoshida, "Public Accepts the Realities of the SDF and the Pacifist Ideals."

Figure 14: Japanese Public Opinion PKO and Constitutional Reform

Full peacekeeping participation
(e.g. peace enforcement)

```
                                      |
                                      |
                           *Post UNTAC
                           *UNTAC
                                      |
No                                    |
Constitutional ————————— *Gulf War ———+——————————————  Constitutional
revision                              |                revision
                                      |
                    *Cold             |
                    War               |
                                      |
                                      |
```

Minimal peacekeeping participation
(e.g. financial contributions)

Source: Adapted by the author from policy-making matrixes in Hugo Dobson (2003).

In summary, Japan's participation in Peacekeeping Operations has direct implications for international security, the UN security system, the Japan-US security alliance, the Asian community, and Japan itself. Japan's activities on international security have been carefully selected to follow a long-standing pacifist line. Its multilateral approach to international security strengthens the key international institutions on which multilateralism leans, such as the United Nations Security Council and the High Commissioner for Refugees. The Japanese contributions, monetary and military, are considerable.

The international environment is certainly better off with the Japanese participation in peacekeeping. Its proactive foreign policy through the United Nations, particularly through UN Peacekeeping Operations, helps reduce the tendency of the organization to fall under US domination. In addition, Japanese peacekeeping has direct implications for the efforts to reform both the UN Charter (deleting the "enemy state" clause) and the UN Security Council (a quest for a permanent seat).

The process of achieving such international activism has a direct impact on Japan's military capabilities which can be, eventually, translated into "hard power." Increased military capabilities change the original conditions of the Japan-US security

345

alliance. Instead of replacing it with an "updated version," both countries have found a way to harmonize their own interests. Maintaining the alliance is in Japan's interests to keep external suspicions of remilitarization low; the United States wants to keep the alliance in order to maintain a strong presence in Asia and, with the help of a powerful ally, to counterbalance emerging military threats in the region.

In addition to maintaining the alliance, Japan is increasing efforts aimed at strengthening a Southeast Asian community. This will also help Japan to ease regional fears of its remilitarization, while providing it with a multilateral forum to project its increasing international political influence. Japan is expecting high returns from its active involvement in Peacekeeping Operations. It has managed to modernize its SDF to make them one of the five best equipped forces in the world. Through peacekeeping and humanitarian operations, Japan is increasing its presence, prestige, and political influence in the world. Japan's proactive diplomacy through UN peacekeeping is clearly helping it to become a "normal power" and, perhaps, to secure a permanent seat on the UN Security Council.

One of the most salient changes which has taken place in Japan's defence and foreign policies is the legalization and legitimization of the deployment of SDF to UN Peacekeeping Operations. Japan is an example of national interests being pursued while there is a clear and legitimate collective interest. Whether a means or an end – military build-up and Permanent Membership in the UN Security Council – the contribution of Japan to the UN system of collective security is undeniable. Japan has a history of half a century of purely financial contributions to international security, one decade of minimal contributions of civilian personnel, and one decade of active participation with both monetary and military contributions to Peacekeeping Operations. It has served also nine times as a Non-permanent Member of the Security Council.

Above all, the Japanese case illustrates the difficulties (strong domestic opposition, constitutional restraints, external pressure, and so on) that some states encounter in harmonizing national with collective interests. It also shows how foreign policies are shaped by domestic policies and vice versa. But most important for the purpose of this work, the Japanese case shows a gradual yet safe way to initiate active

346

participation in Peacekeeping Operations.

The inclusion of the five principles into the PKO Law shows that Traditional or Classic Peacekeeping Operations (Chapter VI) were sought as the "entry level" route into the "business" of international security, and thus the safest option. Japan's gradual involvement confirms a careful consideration to not raise regional concerns about remilitarization, which is reinforced by the Japanese proactive approach towards strengthening a Southeast Asian community.

Finally, the steady evolution of the legal framework for Japanese participation in international security shows the influence of definitions of national interest. Japan's participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations illustrates one way to make defence and foreign policies complementary to each other in pursuit of one common national interest.

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION

FOURTH STEP ANALYSIS - "SELECTIVE PEACEKEEPING" AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This study has argued that the high interconnectedness and interdependence between the constituent units of the international system, as well as the challenges posed by perceived New Threats, have put security at the center stage of international relations. In such an environment, there is a necessity for states to cooperate. It is impossible to deal with these threats alone. This is true even for the Superpowers, because individual security schemes are insufficient to deal effectively with the trans-national nature of the present threats. Also, unilateral approaches to security are incapable of building enough legitimacy for the use of force, and thus multilateral approaches through the United Nations are the least compromising option.

In this world situation, México is making a transition to democracy. New political actors have become active in the domestic policy-making process, which has seen unprecedented practices marked by human rights concerns and accountability. Institutions have adapted their structures and practices accordingly. Of these, the military, a key actor in the past for the political and social stability of the country, has been left behind. This situation occurs at the moment that México is struggling to cope with the domestic effects of the New Threats, in the form of increased insecurity and lower levels of governance. The result is an atypical militarization process combined with democratization, which calls for improved effectiveness to deal with domestically perceived threats.

The Government of México understands that isolationism has ceased to be a political option and thus tries to rationalize the apparent contradiction between the long supported principle of non-intervention and the necessity to cooperate. In this endeavour, UN-centered multilateralism is the best option. Action through the UN may represent for México a political option to widen its margin for manoeuvre away from an overwhelmingly "Americanized" foreign policy. Of the actions available through the UN,

348

peacekeeping can be a catalyst for potentially involved Mexican institutions to modernize and improve their effectiveness in dealing with new domestic threats.

The difference for México is that now, its traditional normative discourse needs to be backed with action. For this reason and in order for México to deal with the necessity to cooperate while attending to domestic security and structural demands, this study has proposed active participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations. This mechanism, imperfect as it is, has been identified as the least compromising opportunity for México to contribute to international security while gaining maximum political returns. UN Peacekeeping is not a panacea though, and additional supporting programs are required to sustain the positive effects of active participation.

Central to the discussion of the feasibility of México getting involved in international security, is whether UN Peacekeeping can be compatible with this country's foreign policy principles, and thus a constitutional activity for the Mexican armed forces. Dissipating the cloud of unconstitutionality from these operations is therefore crucial for policy-makers in México. One key feature is that participating in UN Peacekeeping Operations will seldom confront México with the United States, as these operations need to be authorized (at least not opposed) by all members of the P5.

For these reasons, this chapter starts by summarizing each of the propositions that guided this study. A comparative analysis of the sets of principles of both UN Peacekeeping and México's foreign policy, as these have been interpreted over time, is offered next. Then, a definition of Selective Peacekeeping for México is drafted. And finally, the study concludes with a series of policy recommendations for the successful active participation of México in PKO.

The cases of Argentina and Japan showed states taking gradual and relatively safe paths to initiate active participation in Peacekeeping Operations. These cases also illustrated the possibility of harmonize national interests with the interest of the global community. In addition, these cases showed that active participation in peacekeeping is compatible with a country's pacifist tradition, provided that carefully selected safeguards are in place.

From the wide range of activities performed by modern peacekeeping, selected

349

activities for Mexican institutions can serve the purpose of a more proactive foreign policy without the need to undertake major reforms. Through peacekeeping, México can make a significant contribution to international security while it maintains a traditional attachment to the principles of non-intervention, self-determination and the peaceful resolution of disputes.

Classic Peacekeeping Operations (purely Chapter VI) are indeed scarce in modern times. However, as of March 2007 there are fifteen ongoing UN Peacekeeping Operations, of which seven are Chapter VI (and VI½) operations. The fifteen operations occupy 83,071 personnel. Of these, the seven Chapter VI operations include 13,529 military personnel and 3,451 civilian police; these figures do not include logistics units.[832] This means that still is possible to make a difference through these kinds of operations, and nothing indicates that these are to disappear from the UN catalogue of peaceful resolution mechanisms.

This study recommends Mexican military participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations carried on under Chapter VI of the UN Charter. This is because these operations fulfill the traditional principles of México's foreign policy: non-intervention, self-determination and the peaceful resolution of conflicts. The relatively low demands of Chapter VI Peacekeeping Operations, México's long alienation from international security involvement, and its peculiar transition to democracy, will allow Mexican contingents to prepare at their own pace. This way México can make not just individual contributions, but contributions as part of a strategically planned implementation of mutually reinforcing foreign and defence policies.

Compatibility Analysis

There is an interesting and close relationship and compatibility between the core principles of México's foreign policy and those of UN Peacekeeping. This compatibility, however, is not the product of a mere coincidence. The principles that have guided México's foreign policy derive from the same sources of international norms, such as the

---

[832] United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Fact and Figures. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/ Last accessed: April 28, 2007.

Covenant of the League of Nations and the UN Charter, as well as Mexican normative instruments, such as the Carranza and the Estrada doctrines,[833] which support the "twin pillars" (non-intervention and self-determination) of México's foreign policy.

Political opposition to Mexican peacekeeping is strong, however, and it derailed various plans of the Fox Administration. As for constitutional restrictions, the interpretation of Article 89 is central to the discussion. Critics in México consider that it would be unconstitutional to deploy the Mexican military overseas. Nevertheless neither Article 89, nor any other, prohibits deployments that are not for the purpose of using force. This article states: "for the conduct of foreign policy, the Executive will observe the following normative principles: non-intervention; peaceful settlement of disputes; proscription of the threat of the use of force in international relations; juridical equality of states; international co-operation for development; and to struggle for international peace and security."[834]

Consequently, deployments for the purpose of participating in Peacekeeping Operations in which the use of force is not a strategic goal, but an operational necessity limited to the inherent individual right of self-defence, are not expressly prohibited. Furthermore, the goal of peacekeeping is to reduce the use of force and forceful interventions, to promote peaceful settlement of disputes, and to promote justice and co-operation. Therefore, "pragmatic" interpretations of Article 89.X of the Constitution would not only allow Mexican participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations, but would also allow peacekeeping to become an integral part of México's foreign policy. The constitutional mandate of Article 89 can provide the legal ground for Peacekeeping Operations. In addition, participating in a multinational, UN-led effort to restore and maintain international peace and security with the consent of the parties to a conflict nullifies the restriction posed by the traditional interpretation of the principle of non-intervention.

---

[833] Política Exterior de México en el Siglo XXI, Embajada de México en Alemania, (Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores). Internet. Available at: http://www.embamex.de/politica/pol_ext_XXI.htm Last accessed: April 26, 2007.

[834] Article 89, X. "Faculties and Obligations of the President," Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, (México: 1917), [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

351

One can hardly think of any action that provides greater legitimacy for the employment of armed forces than to use them for the cause of international peace and security. Moreover, normative safeguards, such as strict attachment to the three core principles of peacekeeping (consent of the local parties, impartiality, and the use of force only in self-defence), and participation limited to specific tasks, would ensure incremental involvement and prevent Mexican contingents from being dragged into open conflicts. In other words, México would be able to participate in UN Peacekeeping Operations because they are not military interventions *per se*, but cooperative collective actions legitimized by the whole international community. Otherwise, inaction can signify indifference, which the international community can punish with international embarrassment and exclusion.

Yet peacekeeping as an integral part of México's foreign policy is possible only if it is carefully planned in the long-term. Also, no major structural reforms need to be undertaken if México limits its participation to "light-low profile," Chapter VI Peacekeeping Operations. Building on its well-earned domestic reputation for the conduct of DN-III operations, México can conduct emergency and humanitarian relief operations as part of UN efforts, including Peacekeeping Operations. Electoral assistance and elections monitoring as part of UN efforts are also options for México, though they cannot offer the same political and military returns or the same status in international fora.

Given the domestic political sensitivities and perceptions of "interventionism" of some Peacekeeping Operations, México would need to be cautious when approaching the issue of military contributions to international security missions. These sensitivities are greater for some regions and countries than others. This is particularly true in the case of non-UN regional peacekeeping, for which national interests are harder to harmonize with the interests of the regional collectivity. What is possible in one country in the military area may not be possible in another. Thus, México would need to approach military co-operation on a case-by-case and country-by-country basis.

When Constitutional Article 89 was reformed in 1988 to include the foreign policy principles, legislators questioned the justification for such a measure. The

352

argument against was that anyways "these principles already were explicitly and implicitly included in the UN Charter and the Charter of the OAS. Provided that México was a party to these international instruments, it was indeed juridically obliged to comply with them..."[835]

In addition, there is no doubt that México's foreign policy principles reflect the UN Charter; not only conceptually, but in language too. In other words, conceptually and normatively, the core principles of México's foreign policy are fully compatible with the UN Charter. The following table identifies the "three core principles" of México's foreign policy (non-intervention, self-determination and the peaceful resolution of disputes), as these are mentioned in the UN Charter.

Table 18: México's Foreign Policy Principles in UN Charter

Foreign Policy Principle	UN Charter[836]
Non-intervention	Article 2.7 "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; *but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.*"
Self-determination	Article 1.2 "To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;" Article 55 "With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote: ..."

---

[835] Alonso Gómez-Robledo Verduzco, "Elevación a rango constitucional de los principios de política exterior," In Revista Jurídica, "Boletín Mexicano de Derecho Comparado," XXI, 63, (Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, UNAM, September 1988). Internet. Available at: http://www.juridicas.unam.mx/publica/rev/indice.htm?r=boletin&n=63 Last accessed: April 26, 2007, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

[836] Charter of the United Nations, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945), [NOTE: BOLD AND ITALICS BY AUTHOR].

353

México's Foreign Policy Principles in UN Charter (continued).

Foreign Policy Principle	UN Charter
Peaceful resolution of disputes	**Article 2.3** "All Members shall <u>settle their international disputes by peaceful means</u> in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered."
Peaceful resolution of disputes (continued).	**Article 33.1** (Chapter VI) "The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution <u>by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means</u> of their own choice."

Source: Author (2008).

Since these principles are not alien to the spirit of the UN Charter, which indirectly provides the legal basis for the peacekeeping concept, and consequently for its core principles, it is possible to establish a relationship between the two sets of principles in order to determine the level of compatibility between them. The following figure shows the relationship identified between these principles:

Figure 15: México's and UNPK Principles' Compatibility

México's Foreign Policy	**UN Peacekeeping Operations**

Source: Author (2008).

354
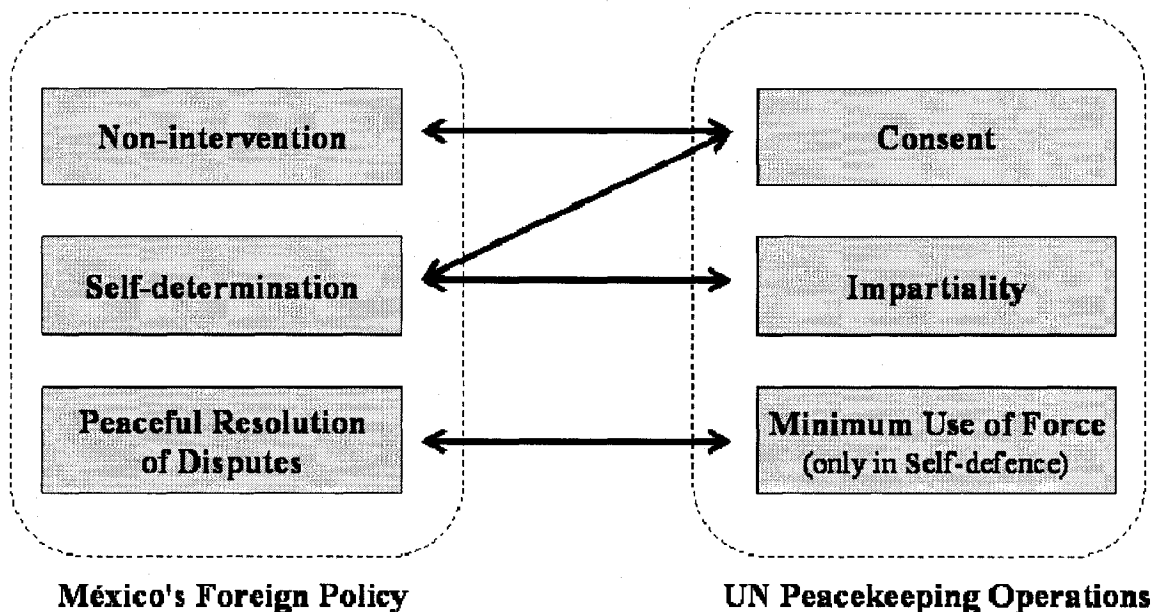
As explained in Chapter IV of this study, the UN Peacekeeping Operations "core principles" apply only to Chapter VI (VI½) and not to Chapter VII operations. The relationship identified between these and the core principles of México's foreign policy include strategic as well as operational considerations. It is worth noting that this analysis does not take into consideration the direct relationship between consent, impartiality and the use of force, but only how these relate to the foreign policy principles of México.

Non-Intervention - Consent

Several definitions of the term "intervention" exist and some consider this as helpful or welcomed. "Non-intervention," however, has been widely used in its negative connotation referring to "unwanted" intervention, especially to "unwanted military occupation." As defined by the Dictionary of International Law, non-intervention means "The obligation of every state or group of states, to not to meddle or interfere, directly or indirectly, regardless of the motives and the form of interference, in the internal or external matters of the other states."[837] In practice, however, the interaction and interdependence between states make observation of this principle difficult. Nevertheless, "pragmatic" interpretations of this principle are widely "accepted," or at least not punished, by the international community.

The case of México is illustrative of this "unwritten" norm. Despite being included in the Constitution as a principle of foreign policy, non-intervention for México has had different meanings historically during the conduct of its foreign policy. As mentioned, numerous military interventions from the United States left deep scars in the collective conscience of Mexicans. Yet México is incapable, perhaps now more than ever, of stopping the constant interference of its neighbour in its internal matters.

When applied to its foreign policy, non-intervention has been also "partially" followed. Some cases of contravention by México of this principle, as well as others of "pragmatic" interpretations, have been documented. For instance, contravening the principle of non-intervention, this country "behaved as exorbitant and arrogant judge,

---

[837] Alonso Gómez-Robledo Verduzco and Jorge Witker (Coord.), <u>Diccionario de Derecho Internacional</u>, (México: Editorial Porrúa, 2001), p.238, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

355

such as in the final crises of the *Somosista* Nicaragua and President Duarte's El Salvador, which México accused of being tyrannies."[838] And giving a "pragmatic" interpretation to this principle, it participated with "emergency humanitarian assistance" in a Chapter VII Peacekeeping Operation (MINUSTAH) in 2004.

These examples prove that, for México, the principle of non-intervention is not "monolithic" and that it can be (and in fact has been) interpreted in distinct ways (even ignored) for political motives. What is not clear, however, is what factors need to be present or absent, for such interpretations.

In addition, for the purpose of peacekeeping, consent means "the tacit agreement of 'all,' or 'most of all' the parties to the conflict" to the deployment of a UN Peacekeeping Operation. In theory, this principle neutralizes the notion of "intervention" as this is "permitted" or "requested" by the parties to a conflict. In other words, with the consent of the parties, Peacekeeping Operations need not to be different from, say, the kinds of operations that Mexican armed forces have conducted to deliver humanitarian assistance. In practice, however, consent is a murky concept and thus it has to be tought through very carefully.

First, in conflicts, consent can be easily manipulated, particularly when there is no legitimate government in place. Second, it is very difficult (sometimes even impossible) to obtain the approval of "all the parties" to a conflict for the deployment of an operation. Third, consent is not an absolute concept, meaning that it can be withdrawn as time goes by and conditions change. Fourth, consent reflects different levels of legitimacy, affecting the conduct of the operation. And fifth, consent does not provide a well-defined legal threshold for UN Peacekeeping Operations (the "line of consent" or the "Mogadishu line"), to separate these (Chapter VI, VI½) from enforcement actions (Chapter VII Peacekeeping and Peace Enforcement Operations).

Therefore, consent means that Chapter VI (and VI½) UN Peacekeeping

---

[838] Juan de Dios Gutiérrez Bailón. In Emilio O. Rabasa (Coord.), "Los Siete Principios Básicos de la Política Exterior de México," Serie Doctrina Jurídica, 219, (México: UNAM, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://132.248.65.15/libros/libro.htm?l=1588 Last accessed: April 27, 2007. Cited in Claudia Gamboa and Sandra Valdés, "Lineamientos Constitucionales de la Política Exterior de México," (México: Cámara de Diputados, September, 2005).

356

Operations are not "military interventions" and thus participation in these operations does not violate the principle of non-intervention. Chapter VII Peacekeeping Operations and enforcement actions, which do not require the consent of the parties to a conflict, can be categorized as "legal" (as these are authorized by the UN Security Council), yet "military interventions." Chapter VII Peacekeeping Operations are more difficult to reconcile with the normative principle of non-intervention.

Self-Determination - Consent - Impartiality

It is recognized that self-determination is not just a foreign policy principle, but also a right of the peoples. In a broad sense, self-determination has been defined as "the decision by the people of a nation as to what form of government they shall have [and how they are governed], without [imposition or] reference to the wishes of any other nation."[839] In addition to the inclusion of this principle in its Constitution, and as explained before, México signed and ratified international instruments in support of this principle, such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1976) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966); both are binding instruments for México since 1981.[840]

However, the principle does not, by itself, define which group is a nation, which groups are entitled to sovereignty, or what territory they should get for that purpose. The application of this principle in international law creates a tension between this and the principles of sovereignty (territorial integrity) and non-intervention.

Different interpretations of self-determination have been used for a long time – in Africa for instance, to justify the de-colonization process as a way to devolve control of the institutions of governance to the local people.[841] And examples of erroneous

---

[839] International Model United Nations (IMUNA). Internet. Available at: www.imuna.org/c2c/app_a.html Last accessed: April 27, 2007.

[840] "Pacto Internacional sobre los Derechos Económicos, Sociales y Culturales," Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas. Internet. Available at:
http://cdi.gob.mx/derechos/vigencia/pacto_internacional_derechos_economicos.pdf Last accessed: November 22, 2006.

[841] Article XI Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories. Charter of the United Nations, Articles 73 and 74, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945).

357

application of this principle are commonly pointed out in weakened and failed states.

The struggle for indigenous autonomy in the southern states of México is one example of the need for this country to seek broader and less partial interpretations of this principle.

In the case of peacekeeping, a key principle that relates to self-determination is impartiality. This principle means that operations should not take sides with any of the parties to the conflict. By adhering to this principle, Peacekeeping Operations cannot only help solve the conflict by peaceful means, but also can create the space for the local population to decide how to solve it "without reference to the wishes of any other nation;..."

In modern UN operations, impartiality should mean adherence to the principles of the UN Charter. This is because if parties violate an agreement, peacekeepers cannot treat the two parties equally; being partial, however, means drifting from the core principle of impartiality. This dilemma can only be resolved through pragmatic interpretations at the tactical and strategic levels.

At the strategic level, politics is the key consideration. The case of Regional Peacekeeping shows this difficulty. These normally lack impartiality due to both the domination of the regional power, and the interests of the participant states. Therefore, the selection of participating states which are able to not take sides in a conflict is crucial for maintaining impartiality. México's long-standing respect for self-determination makes it a strong potential peacekeeper. At the tactical level impartiality is difficult to maintain, however, as it requires high levels of professionalism on the part of peacekeepers. Responding to aggression or enforcing agreements requires proportional response and consideration of the political implications.

In addition, in Chapter VI½ Peacekeeping Operations, where actions can be taken for humanitarian reasons, impartiality can be compromised. The spirit of peacekeeping can be lost if this principle is compromised; when it happens, it opens the door to the political manipulation of the operation.[842]

---

[842] John Hillen, Blue Helmets: The Strategy of UN Military Operations, (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1998), p.10.

Therefore, impartiality relates to self-determination in that professional peacekeeping forces support the latter if they are able to maintain the former. For this reason, it is crucial for Mexican contingents to establish specific safeguards to prevent this from happening, as well as to reach high levels of professionalism and training in peacekeeping prior to deployment. Mexican contingents will protect the self-determination principle as long as they manage to stay impartial.

Peaceful Resolution of Disputes – Minimum Use of Force

The peaceful resolution of disputes is "the principle of international law that obliges states to seek a solution to their controversies by peaceful means, in such way that they do not endanger international peace and security and justice."[843] As this definition suggests, even though disputes arise between states, between states and international organizations, as well as between states and non-state entities, and even between individuals, here, the principle refers basically between states.

As Table 18 indicates, Articles 2.3 and 33.1 of the UN Charter state that disputes shall be resolved by peaceful means. However, the specification of such means is rather subjective. The most widely accepted doctrine groups these in the following categories: diplomatic procedures, good offices, mediation, arbitration, judicial settlement, investigations, and conciliation.[844] One additional category for the resolution of disputes is through the intervention of international organizations. From these, the United Nations has the mandate to perform such a function, as expressed in Chapter VI (Articles 33 and 38) of the UN Charter.

Under this legal basis, it can be said that it is the obligation of the international community to seek the peaceful resolution of disputes as this goal is expressed in the UN Charter. México has turned to international organizations in search of mediation in

---

[843] Claudia Gamboa and Sandra Valdés, "Lineamientos Constitucionales de la Política Exterior de México," (México: Cámara de Diputados, September, 2005), p.13.

[844] Political disputes are not considered in these categories, which frequently are referred to the International Court of Justice. Alonso Gómez-Robledo Verduzco and Jorge Witker (Coord.), Diccionario de Derecho Internacional, (México: Editorial Porrúa, 2001), p.315.

international disputes. These cases include "the Pious Fund of the Californias," (1902)[845] "the Clipperton Island (*Île de la Passion* or *Isla de la Pasión*)" (1931)[846] and "*El Chamizal*" (1911).[847]

These cases and its participation in UN fora show that México recognizes the role and legitimacy of the international community in the peaceful resolution of disputes, as well as its obligation to privilege such means. The participation of Mexican military observers in UNSCOB (United Nations Special Committee in the Balkans) in 1947 and in UNMOGIP (United Nations Military Observer Group in India-Pakistan) in 1949, are also proofs of such recognition, and also a recognition by México that UN Peacekeeping Operations are "peaceful" means for the "resolution of disputes."

On the other hand, Peacekeeping Operations can be considered as conceptual "aberrations," since these are "peaceful means" implemented through the potential "use of force." The use of force in these operations, however, is represented by the military presence on the ground. As explained in Chapter IV of this study, the main reason for this presence is to create the space for peace negotiations to take place, and thus the use of force is only permitted in minimal degree and only in self-defence. Therefore, the principle that can reconcile the peacekeeping "aberration" is "the minimum use of force only in self defence."

---

[845] On October 14, 1902, the Permanent Court of Arbitration (Hague Tribunal) issued a sentence against México and in favor of the catholic archdioceses of California in the United States. The sentence was the result of the arbitration trial about a trusteeship fund created by Jesuits in México in the 17th Century. In compliance with the sentence, México pays a sum in "Mexican silver" to the Government of the United States a sum for the Catholic Church in California. Francis J. Weber, "The Pious Fund of the Californias," The Hispanic American Historical Review, 43, 1, (February 1963), pp.78-94.

[846] Discovered by Fernando de Magallanes in 1521, the Clipperton Island has been the possession of México, France and temporarily the United States. The nine square kilometers island is situated in the Pacific Ocean at about 900 Km out from the Mexican archipelago of the Revillagigedo. France annexed the island in 1855, but in 1897 México took it over. With the mediation of the Vatican, which arbitration was assigned to the hardly-impartial King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel. On January 28, 1931, the Clipperton Island was declared a French possession. "Isla, Conservación del Territorio Mexicano." Internet. Available at: http://www.isla.org.mx/clipperton.htm Last accessed: April 28, 2007.

[847] The *El Chamizal* dispute between México and the United States was a boundary conflict over about 600 acres at Juárez-El Paso border. With the arbitration of Canada, *El Chamizal* was divided in two in 1911 and declared one of the halves as part of México. The United States refused to accept the sentence. The dispute was formally settled on January 14, 1963, when the United States "gave back" to México *El Chamizal* following the 1911 arbitration recommendations. Carlos Martínez, "The Chamizal Dispute," (University of Texas at Brownsville), Internet. Available at: http://blue.utb.edu/localhistory/chamizal.htm Last accessed: April 28, 2007.

The principle of the minimum use of force means using coercive methods "only in self-defence" and following the principle of proportionality.[848] This principle must be observed in close relation to consent and impartiality; of these three, the use of force is the only one that can be fully controlled by the commanders on the ground.

In sum, following the principle of "the minimum use of force only in self-defence" is what makes Peacekeeping Operations a means for the "peaceful resolution of disputes." Strict adherence to it is in the hands of the commanders, and hence the need – here repeated to the point of exhaustion – for professional training.

In conclusion, the "three core principles" of México's foreign policy are compatible with the "three core principles" of UN Peacekeeping Operations. This compatibility shows that participating in UN Peacekeeping Operations is not unconstitutional for México. In fact it is an obligation of the Mexican state as stated by international legislation and México's own Constitution (Article 89: the "struggle for peace"). México recognizes compliance with international law and treaties and the Constitution as paramount. Constitutional Article 133 states that "This Constitution, the laws of the Congress of the Union that emanate there from, and all treaties that have been made and shall be made in accordance therewith by the President of the Republic, with the approval of the Senate, shall be the supreme law of the whole Union."[849]

The Constitution is recognized by México as being highest in the hierarchy of laws; as long as they do not contradict the Constitution, international treaties are above all national legislation.[850]

When México signed and ratified the UN Charter, in a voluntary and thus sovereign act, it agreed to a system of the monopoly of force headed by a supranational body called the UN Security Council. México thereby recognized this body as legally

---

[848] Alonso Gómez-Robledo Verduzco and Jorge Witker (Coord.), Diccionario de Derecho Internacional, (México: Editorial Porrúa, 2001), p.238, [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

[849] Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, (México: 1917), [NOTE: TRANSLATED BY AUTHOR].

[850] Carlos Avilés, "La Corte Ratifica Jerarquía de Constitución sobre Tratados," El Universal, (México: February 14, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/nacion/148381.html Last accessed: April 26, 2007.

361

entitled to determine the existence of any aggression, threat or breaches to the peace. This means that México, as well as any other UN Member, should comply with the precepts established in this legal instrument and assist with its implementation.

In regard to Peacekeeping Operations, and as explained in Chapter IV of this study, another aspect is relevant in the obligation of México (as well of all members) to "undertake *to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities*, including rights of passage, necessary *for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security*" (Article 43 of the UN Charter).[851] In practice, Article 43 has been a dead letter. Nevertheless, it provides a legal basis to respond to the UN call to provide military resources to Peacekeeping Operations.

Put differently, the Constitution does not prohibit Mexican military participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations, but it encourages (Article 89: the "struggle for peace"). There is an identified political problem though. This is underscored by the reform initiative relating to Constitutional Article 76: the Executive needs to negotiate with Congress on the deployment of Mexican "Blue Helmets." What form will this participation take, in order for México not to drift from its traditional normative-based foreign policy, is defined by the "Selective Peacekeeping" concept for México.

Selective Peacekeeping

The definition of "Selective Peacekeeping" for México applies only for the military; participation with humanitarian aid, such as in MINISTAH in 2005 – a bold though unconstitutional move – is not recommended. Instead, this definition includes only those activities that will guarantee that such participation will not drag this country into open conflict. Therefore, peacekeeping participation for México needs to be limited by safeguards, here included as a practical complement to the definition of Selective Peacekeeping.

"Selective Peacekeeping" is defined as those UN Peacekeeping Operations suited

---

[851] <u>Charter of the United Nations</u>, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945), [NOTE: ITALICS BY AUTHOR].

362

for Mexican participation. It refers to the performance of "selected functions" by military contingents in UN Peacekeeping Operations, where the principles of "impartiality," "consent" and "the minimum use of force only in self-defence," are observed. Impartiality means that the operations should not take sides with any of the parties to the conflict; consent neutralizes the notion of "intervention" and must be reconciled with self-determination and thus it means the tacit agreement of "all," or "most of all" the parties to the conflict where the operation is to be, or has been, deployed; and minimum use of force only in self-defence must be authorized by the national authority through the commander on the ground. The following figure shows the boundaries of Selective Peacekeeping in relation to the levels of consent and the use of force, as well as in regard to the legal basis for the authorization of the UN Peacekeeping missions.

Figure 16: Selective Peacekeeping for México
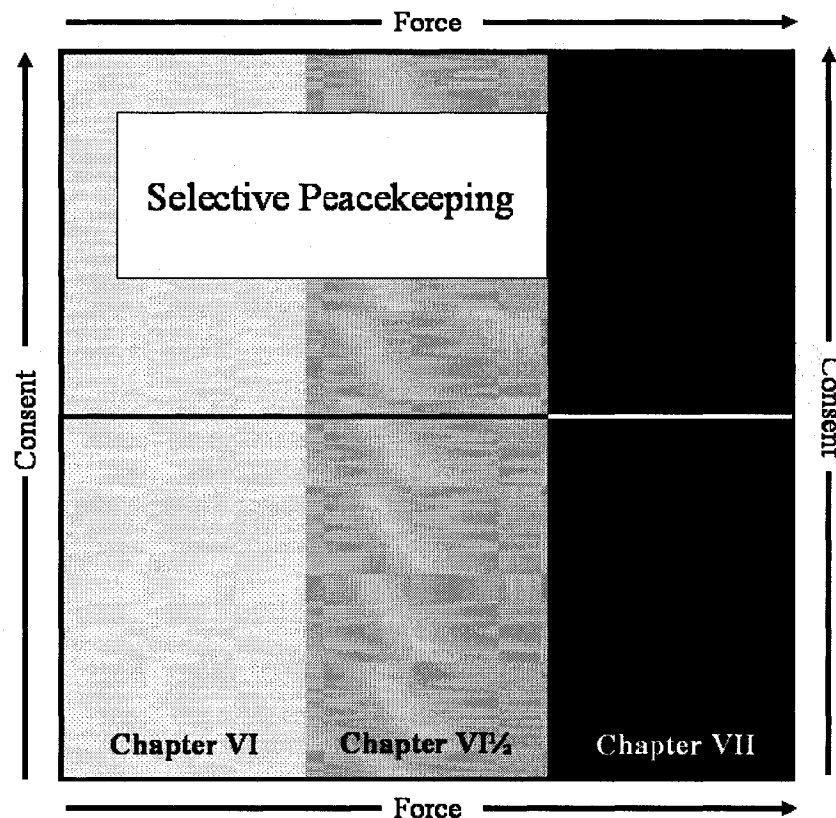
Source: Author (2008), on the basis of Fleitz (2002)[852] and Durch (1994).[853]

---

[852] Frederick H. Fleitz, Peacekeeping Fiascoes of the 1990s: Causes, Solutions, and U.S. Interests, (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002).

It can be observed that Chapter VII Peacekeeping Operations are excluded from Selective Peacekeeping, which is limited to Chapter VI operations. Indeed there is no such thing as Chapter VI½ operations, and thus all Peacekeeping Operations other than expressly authorized under Chapter VII, are Chapter VI operations. The model includes this category only to show the relation to the use of force. This means that the main limitation of Selective Peacekeeping is established by "consent."

The selection of functions to be performed by Mexican contingents is specified next as safeguards to guarantee the constitutionality of Selective Peacekeeping for México. Taking the Japanese so-called "frozen" assignments as reference, the following can be considered as safeguards for México, provided that these functions are performed as part of UN Peacekeeping Operations:

A) Monitoring and verification of cease-fires, cantonment, disarmament and demobilization of combatants, overseeing the withdrawal of foreign forces, mine-awareness education and mine-clearance, and provision of security for UN and other international activities in support of the peace – process.

B) Humanitarian and Emergency Relief Operations (an international version of "Improved DN-III and *Plan Marina*").

1. Shelter and supply distribution (water supply and sanitation, nutrition, food aid, food security, shelter, and health services of affected civilian people). The reference works for international standards are the Humanitarian Charter, the Sphere Project, and SUMA. On the basis of International Humanitarian Law and International Human Rights Law, the Humanitarian Charter sets up the basic principles for sustaining the lives and dignity of those affected by calamity or armed conflict. The Sphere Project establishes the minimum standards to operationalize basic principles with regard to people's need for water, sanitation, nutrition, food, shelter, and health care. And SUMA provides the means for the administration of the relief supplies. Applied to the recognized effective Plan DN-III and *Plan Marina*, the outcomes will be a solid operational framework for

---

[853] William J. Durch, (Ed.), The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping: Case Studies and Comparative Analysis, (The Henry L. Stimson Center, 1993).

364

accountability in humanitarian assistance efforts. Such additions will help increasing effectiveness in international environments and coordination with NGOs working in humanitarian activities.

C)   Naval peacekeeping. Maritime law enforcement. Arms and drugs interdiction – maritime traffic control – search and rescue missions – environmental damage control.

D)   Peacekeeping Operations logistics (ground, air and maritime) support.

E)   Electoral technical assistance and civilian elections monitoring by IFE.

F)   Civilian Police. Police formation and training; police academy and police monitoring. Training and formation of extended law enforcement agencies, such as customs and immigration, correctional, forestry, fisheries, and coast guard.

G)   Peacebuilding Operations

1.   Ecological Operations. Reforestation of affected zones by the armed conflict.

2.   Reconstruction of basic infrastructure, such as roads, bridges, electricity distribution networks, water distribution systems, communications, etc.

3.   IFE participation in support to democracy efforts through UN Peacekeeping Operations.

Policy Recommendations

As Table 11 (Motivations for Mexican Participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations) shows it, there are numerous potential goals for México through peacekeeping participation. However, it is important to identify the approach that can best serve its own national and international circumstance. For instance, the cases of Argentina and Japan show two different approaches to active participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations. Both cases also provide criteria worth considering concerning participation in these operations as a means to reach specific national objectives. This section includes a table summarizing the most salient features of both countries' participation and a suggested focus of attention for Mexican policy-makers, followed by a number of measures that México may consider undertaking in preparation for active participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations:

365

Table 19: Lessons and Target Foci for Policy-Makers

Argentina	México
PKO as a transition facilitator – from military rule to democracy.	Transition from semi-authoritarian regime to democracy.
PKO participation possible by Executive decision and "pragmatic interpretation" of existing legislation.	PKO participation requires high legitimacy and thus political agreements between most political actors.
Definition of new roles for the armed forces, starting from the making of the defence and foreign policies mutually reinforcing.	Modernization through updated roles for the military will necessarily require harmonizing the defence and foreign policy.
PKO as catalyser for structural reforms, namely Civil-Military Relations and subordination of the military to the civilian power (not much on women).	A reform to the civil-military structures is urgently required to compensate the void of power left by the demise of the old corporatist system, as well as to institutionalize the hitherto tacit subordination of the military to the civilian power.
Improved image of the military and increased public acceptance at home.	An opportunity to increase morale and prestige, including showing roles (particularly women) never performed in reality.
Closer ties with the United States.	A prospect for teaming with its northern neighbour on international security matters, which will spill over co-operation on regional security mechanisms.
Drastic improved relations with traditionally rival neighbours.	One option to work on recovering regional leadership and improving relations with Latin American and Caribbean countries.
"White Helmets" international and national funding structure.	DN-III and *Plan Marina* type missions can explore the feasibility to obtain international funding as well to increase the opportunity "niche" for México to make contributions to international crises.

Japan	México
PKO as a foreign policy instrument to reconcile and achieved economic power with corresponding international political influence.	There is a recognized need to reconcile an already-achieved economic stature with a corresponding international political influence.
Overcame strong political opposition.	The political cost of avoiding public debates on the PK issue is higher than confronting opposition.
PKO active participation possible without reforming the Constitution and without drifting from pacifist tradition.	PKO not prohibited by the Constitution and there have been "pragmatic" interpretations in the past, then political bargaining and safeguards can guarantee not drifting from pacifist tradition.

366

Lessons and Target Foci for Policy-Makers (continued).

Japan	México
Chequebook Diplomacy insufficient; PKO better to show commitment with international peace and security.	Paying fees to PKO Fund insufficient; military participation is necessary to show real commitment. Bilateral humanitarian assistance does not provide the multinational forum and lesser political returns than through the UN.
PKO as a proof of capacity to manage international responsibilities in search for a permanent seat at the UNSC.	PKO to show capacity to make a difference in international security in search to strengthening a UN-centered multilateralism and a UN less prone to big power manipulation.
Modernization of the SDF to deal more effectively with new roles and in support to a more active foreign policy.	Modernization of armed forces to deal more effective with both international and national demands; the necessity to cooperate and New Threats in concordance with democratic changes and practices.
PKO as a policy option to harmonize international objectives with a US-constrained diplomacy.	PKO as a means to "de-Americanize" foreign policy while allows not clashing with its neighbour.

Source: Author (2008).

More specifically, this study puts forward the following recommendations:

A. In search of wide domestic legitimacy through consensus building, México should start discussing openly the relevance of UN Peacekeeping Operations as a way to contribute to international security. The government can initiate information campaigns targeting decision-making elites and influential selected groups of civil society, such as academics, the media and NGOs. Broader awareness campaigns should target the public in general. As the Japanese case showed, educating policy elites and the public in general on peacekeeping is a precondition for legitimate and sustainable policies. The aim of these campaigns should be to bring the peacekeeping debate to the national level for consensus building. This way, an eventual participation would have sufficient legitimacy to make peacekeeping a more central component of México's response to international security.

B. Congress should prevent Constitutional Article 76 from being reformed. Not only is this reform unnecessary, but it rubs against democratic practices and against the Constitutional principle of the division of power. What is needed instead is improved communication between the Executive and Congress, lobbying strategies, and the

367

education of Congressmen, politicians and bureaucrats on the peacekeeping issue. It also requires better and clearer policy approaches to make foreign and defence policies mutually reinforcing, as Argentina has done.

C. México should develop its own peacekeeping doctrine on the basis of the definition of "Selective Peacekeeping," which means being compatible with both its foreign policy principles and the three core principles of Peacekeeping Operations, as stated by the Brahimi Report (consent of the local parties, impartiality, and the use of force only in self-defence).

D. The development of a Mexican doctrine on peacekeeping should take cultural aspects into consideration, particularly language. In this regard, existing doctrines of experienced peacekeeping Spanish-spoken countries, such as Argentina and Chile, can be a good source of terminology and concepts. Nonetheless, a genuine peacekeeping doctrine for México should be the result of intense public debates.

Since peacekeeping can be catalyst for potentially involved Mexican institutions to modernize and improve effectiveness in dealing with perceived new domestic threats, this study has identified a number of "shortcomings" of the Mexican military, particularly in the areas of civil-military co-operation, human rights, women in uniform, HIV/AIDS, and interoperability. The government of México should consider improvements in these areas if peacekeeping is to be a more central feature of México's response to international security.

Therefore, the modernization programs of the Mexican armed forces should be aimed at improving these areas and increasing capabilities by adapting doctrine, training and materiel according to the functions the military is most likely to perform in Peacekeeping Operations (e.g. emergency relief, and logistics).

Improved effectiveness in dealing with constitutionally assigned roles would increase domestic credibility, which in consequence would attract increased support for overseas deployments. This way, peacekeeping can trigger a mutually reinforcing cycle of effectiveness and credibility in dealing with domestic as well as international assignments. These recommendations, however, are not prerequisites for Mexican

participation in Peacekeeping Operations. They are instead suggestions on the basis of lessons learned and specific findings for the Mexican case.

Civil-Military Relations

In preparation for an eventual active participation in peacekeeping, México needs to improve existing civil-military co-operation structures. At the national level, increasing co-operation with civilians is a huge challenge for the Mexican military. The long alienation between the military and civilian society in México makes Civil-Military Relations an extremely complex and politicized issue. It is clear that major structural reforms and substantial changes in behaviour need to be undertaken, for which preparation for active peacekeeping participation can be catalyst.

Nonetheless, the emergence of democratic practices in México, along with the demands posed by the erasing of borders between extended defence and internal security, improve the conditions for increasing civil-military co-operation. Indeed Civil-Military Relations have improved in México during the last decade, not as a result of well-orchestrated plans, but because of pragmatic responses to emerging threats to México's national security. And the government of México recognizes the need for improved civil-military co-operation. The creation of the National Security Council at the strategic level, and the Mixed Operation Bases at the operational level, are proof of this. Therefore, changes in the existing structures are part of ongoing processes.

Structural changes in this sense, however, should follow bi-directional lines of behavioural change. In other words, behavioural changes should start with military initiatives as well as civilian initiatives. Educating people is essential to encourage them to accept, and to work with, cultural differences. The key institutions that need to become involved in this crusade are: the President, who is the Supreme Commander of the armed forces and Chief of the Cabinet; Congress, which has the constitutional "obligation" to "raise and support" and to "regulate" the armed forces' "organization and service;" and the armed forces, which "must obey the lawful orders of civilian authorities."

Of these, Congress is the only institution which is able to act impartially and thus it should lead the promotion of civil-military initiatives. On the basis of Article 73.14 of

369

the Constitution, Congress should start promoting the institutionalization of civil-military co-operation, though structural and doctrinal changes aimed at increasing accountability and resource efficiency. The president can "break the inertia" through executive decision, while the heads of the military branches can implement specific programs to develop a common civil-military co-operation doctrine. A combination of coordination offices between government departments and the military, and military offices off military facilities to attend civilian demands, with educational programs targeting decision-making elites can considerably improve existing Civil-Military Relations in México. In order for civil-military co-operation structures to be sustainable, however, any attempted change must seek to become institutionalized.

Institutional civil-military co-operation structures must allow the military to insulate itself from corruption and lower the potential for human rights violations. Special steps must be taken in order for the military to maintain the capacity to "protect" vulnerable information and practices, such as the establishment of clear and transparent guidelines for information management and standard operational procedures. These latter will also result in improved inter-branch interoperability because they will share common procedures.

Finally, the humanitarian and emergency relief plan DN-III (*Plan Marina* included) should be reviewed in light of these structural changes. Being one of the most recognized and appreciated faces of the military by the civilian population, DN-III actions must include improved civil-military practices. When implemented, the local civilian authority must be in charge of DN-III in practice and not just in theory. For this to be possible, it is necessary to simplify the procedures for the conduct of DN-III operations, and thus training and drill exercises must be permanently conducted for both civilian and military authorities. High levels of readiness can be secured through certification of authorities – both civil and military. *Plan Marina* should follow a parallel path.

Women in Uniform

There has been some progress on gender equality within the military in México, but

much is still pending. Provided that Mexican participation in Peacekeeping Operations will be small in numbers at first, it is feasible for México to increase the proportion of women in the field. At the operational level, and for the purpose of conducting DN-III-type operations, achieving a 50/50 women/men participation ratio, which is a UN goal, is perhaps the easiest task for México of the gender issues. The hardest task is changing the conditions that prevent women from reaching full potential. This means removing all the obstacles – cultural, social and political – that make women a vulnerable group.

Doing this requires intense debates in the widest fora. Nevertheless, training for Peacekeeping Operations can be catalyst for speeding up the process of integrating the gender equality perspective into the military. Consistent with Resolution 1325, it is a primary responsibility of the government of México to provide training on gender issues prior to the deployment of military personnel in a peacekeeping operation. With this, México will also show larger political congruence by targeting international as well as national objectives through the "Friends of 1325." This resolution not only provides ideas of how to promote gender mainstreaming within Peacekeeping Operations, but it also offers ideas on how to develop codes of conduct for international and local peacekeepers.

As an exercise for Congress to perform its constitutional functions, *ad hoc* advisory and consultative groups can be established under the coordination of Women's Parliament México to support the revision of military legislation, policymaking, programming and advocacy on gender mainstreaming within the armed forces. The outcomes of these efforts will help amend identified gender shortcomings in México's military while increasing peacekeeping capabilities through the incorporation of higher proportions of women.

A serious effort should cover both the national and international contexts of gender mainstreaming into the military in relation to peacekeeping: at the national level, an action plan should be drawn up for improving collaboration and partnership with existing governmental and non-governmental initiatives; at the international level, a gender and peacekeeping working group could be proposed as part of México's initiatives on gender mainstreaming.

371

Human Rights

There is no way México can prevent human rights violations by military personnel against the civilian population and military subalterns without first limiting the decision-making power of the branch commanders. Therefore, the first issue to be addressed by México regarding human rights in the armed forces is the establishment of the long-neglected figure of the military ombudsman. The question is not whether this figure must be created or not, but what form will it take and how much power and autonomy it will be granted to pursue its goals.

For this figure to be effective, institutional channels must be put in place to link it with civilian counterparts. Otherwise, the existing *Fuero de Guerra* will continue providing impunity to unlawful actions against the civilian population. The creation of a military ombudsman is a highly sensitive issue that can severely hurt military discipline to the detriment of national security, if proper care is not taken. For this reason, the military ombudsman position must be the result of profound debates and studies conducted by military and civilian experts. The ombudsman must be part of an also-delayed major reform of the military to establish effective command and control structures, as well as coherent defence policies and better financial accountability of the military as a whole. Reforming the military justice apparatus to break the monopoly exerted by the army must also be part of this major reform.

In the meantime, and building on the progress made on human rights, a number of actions can be taken:

1) Design and implementation of standard operational procedures should be instituted by and for every branch of the military. The criteria for these procedures can be provided by existing doctrinal bodies and conventions as well as human rights directives. Special but compatible operational procedures should be designed for the conduct of operations in support of international security. These procedures can also serve as the basis for the design of effective rules of engagement for Peacekeeping Operations. These procedures, however, must be institutionalized if they are to become part of the national doctrine and culture.

2) Educational campaigns regarding the observance of human rights within the

372

military can be initiated. The aim of these campaigns should be to improve superior-subordinate relationships for the sake of military discipline based on the intrinsic respect for human rights. This will be an important step forward for the conduct of national and international operations that require high contact with civilians.

3) A zero-tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and child abuse must be issued before deployment in Peacekeeping Operations. This measure can be an effective way to prevent Mexican peacekeeping from ending up in the dark side of peacekeeping. Such a policy can be designed following the zero-tolerance policy in force for United Nations peacekeeping missions. Furthermore, nothing precludes this measure from being implemented for the conduct of domestic operations as well.

And 4) The establishment of impartial oversight mechanisms are needed to expose wrongdoings in Peacekeeping Operations.

Structural Adjustments

The following is a series of recommended structural adjustments that may be needed to help optimize México's participation in Peacekeeping Operations as a contribution to international security. The main focus of these changes is public accountability as a means to guarantee high levels of legitimacy of Mexican peacekeeping activities.

First, it would be useful to establish an international aid coordination office, which can be named the *Oficina de Coordinacion de Ayuda Internacional* (OCAI), to handle all international co-operation and oversee compliance with international commitments. Within the Office of the Presidency, the OCAI should include a military advisory body (which may lay the groundwork for, and perform the functions of, the neglected military joint staff) manned with staff officers from the three branches of the military. The OCAI will liaise with the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, the National System of Civil Protection (SINAPROC), the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) and key government agencies and departments (e.g., the Centre for Investigation and National Security – CISEN) to facilitate and optimize resources to be destined for international assistance.

The OCAI should also include units for overseeing human rights when forces are

deployed (manned with human rights officers from military and civilian – governmental and non-governmental – organizations), as well as logistics support and concentrated intelligence capabilities. Indeed concentrating intelligence capabilities is a sensitive issue that may not be possible to achieve in the short-run, but *ad hoc* schemes may be considered to provide minimum intelligence requirements to deployed forces.

Second, México should consider the establishment of a training centre for peacekeeping with research capabilities for the development of doctrine. It can be named the *Centro de Investigacion y Capacitacion para Mantenimiento de Paz* (CICAMAP). This center will conduct research for the creation of doctrinal platforms, the designing of training programs to be conducted by military branches, and the training of trainers and decision-making officials. CICAMAP will coordinate with the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, and other national and international counterparts, such as Argentina's CAECOPAZ and the Canadian led International Association of Peacekeeping Training Centres (IAPTC). It will provide feedback to OCAI on strategic and operational aspects for the conduct of peacekeeping and other international operations.

The key concepts around which this center should be organized are: objectivity (to facilitate the making of defence and foreign policies complementary to each other in pursuit of a clear national interest), autonomy (to insulate it from political manipulation), and accountability (to avoid corruption and avoid departing from established normative principles). It will include a "lessons learned unit" to research benefits from México's own experiences, as well as those experiences of other states to avoid repeating mistakes.

The center can supervise the different training programs to be implemented by the armed forces according to their own needs. Therefore, agreements should be reached with the armed forces to provide resources to CICAMAP. The center should be able to enjoy academic autonomy and thus funding should come from a combination of government and external, national and international sources. If research produced at CICAMAP is to be objective, it must remain autonomous, decentralized from the federal government, and with its own recognized juridical personality, technical autonomy, and funding.

Third, modernization programs should be aimed at transforming the military into

374

multipurpose, flexible and effective armed forces able to respond to a variety of situations. These include disaster relief (DN-III and *Plan Marina*), patrolling Mexican territorial waters, conducting ecological campaigns, guerrilla warfare, drug interdiction, social and health support campaigns, and international co-operation activities. Different from past modernization programs, these must be passed on standardized doctrinal and cultural changes regarding women in uniform, human rights, civil-military co-operation, HIV/AIDS, and improved interoperability. The modernization of equipment must be programmed to attend to demands posed by the roles assigned at both national and international levels. And equipment acquisition should consider interoperability needs above all.

Finally, interoperability of the armed forces, an issue not addressed in this study due to space constraints, should increase. Interoperability offers the opportunity to increase effectiveness and efficiency between national forces and multinational coalitions. Interoperability is a measure of the level at which various individuals or groups of individuals are able to work together to achieve a common goal. A broader definition of interoperability may include additional aspects, such as the ability of forces from different nations to work effectively together despite the nature of the forces, the combined command and control structure, the effectiveness of the combined force, and the similarity of technical capabilities.

In the context of peacekeeping, interoperability must support national security and national military strategies to be carried out in Peacekeeping Operations. In this context, effective interoperability at the strategic level must allow coalition-building with other national contingents. The benefits of effective interoperability should be measurable on key aspects, such as cost reduction, increased burden sharing, and greater opportunities to enhance future coalition operations. At this level, the highest benefit is certainty and the reliability of working with allies over the long term to achieve and/or maintain shared goals. In order for Mexican armed forces to be able to operate in a UN-led multinational force, they must first increase inter-branch interoperability, otherwise precious resources will be wasted and efficiency will not be secured. Starting the improvement of inter-branch interoperability would not be a very difficult task for México because all its armed

375

forces are a professional corps under the centralized control of the Executive.

Participating in multinational exercises can be a good starting point for improving interoperability and can serve both national and international demands. "UNITAS" and "Tradewinds" (both U.S.-led exercises with Latin American and Caribbean forces, respectively) are two training fora for increasing readiness to participate in multinational efforts to combat trans-national threats, and to conduct counterdrug operations, and disaster relief.

Improving interoperability causes financial and political costs that may be difficult to estimate. The question would be what kind of interoperability will serve both national and international operational demands. Improved interoperability will have important spillovers that will enable the Mexican military to improve operational levels with regional partners, particularly in North America.

Implications

UN peacekeeping as México's response to international security would have international, regional and domestic implications in the area of security. However, determining the level of impact of México's peacekeeping in these areas lies beyond the limits of this study, and thus they are only briefly addressed as subjects for further research. Similar to the Argentine and the Japanese cases, México's multilateral approach to international security through United Nations Peacekeeping Operations would strengthen the United Nations system of collective security.

A strengthened United Nations would become less vulnerable to Great Power domination. Increasing México's influence in multilateral fora would put it in a better position to advance initiatives to reform the UN in general, and the UN Security Council in particular, in pursuit of greater representation and autonomy. Moreover, pairing international appeals with military contributions would reduce the gap between an achieved economic stature and a desired international political influence. Non-monetary contributions to the UN security system would provide México with greater influence in international fora, such as the UN Security Council and the OAS.

The stigma of being a Great Power affects the participation of the United States in

376

peacekeeping and emergency relief operations because it raises suspicions. For this, among other reasons, US peacekeeping is problematic. This is not the case for México, which shares areas of political and economic influence with the United States in the Americas. Therefore, Mexican participation in Peacekeeping Operations would provide an additional platform for México to negotiate bilaterally with the United States.

In favourable circumstances, México can opt to participate where calculated political returns are higher. However, even though México and the United States are highly interdependent, México is far more vulnerable than the United States. In this sense, México must be careful not to be dragged by its northern partner into performing unwanted and unsolicited roles in Peacekeeping Operations, for which establishing its own criteria would be crucial. In addition, the increased interoperability of the Mexican military would also increase interoperability with its American and Canadian counterparts. This is because UN interoperability standards are US – and Canada – compatible to a significant degree. Therefore, an active participation of México in UN Peacekeeping Operations could have positive effects on regional and border security initiatives.

Mexican peacekeeping would also positively affect México's foreign policy. Active participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations would meet the demand for a more proactive foreign policy for the solution of international security issues. A long, pacifist and passive foreign policy has reached a dead end, and participating in peacekeeping represents an honourable policy choice for the future. Isolation and passiveness are not realistic policy choices in the global world, and thus Mexican pacifism must become active and engaged. Peacekeeping can bring both concepts into México's foreign policy.

The implications of active participation in peacekeeping at the national level would be reflected more clearly in México's national defence policy and related aspects. Deploying Mexican contingents abroad as part of UN Peacekeeping Operations would call for the revision of México's national defence policy. The wide recognition that security has become a highly interconnected concept with profound effects at both national and international levels would help eradicate the territorial characteristic of México's national defence policy.

377

Conceptual changes in this direction would start a "snowball effect" that may incorporate directly related issues, such as Civil-Military Relations, modernization programs of the armed forces, women in the military, human rights, and interoperability. The final result would broaden the perspectives for México to shift from national to human security and would incorporate the armed forces into the ongoing democratization process of the country.

APPENDIX A

Military Functions versus Equipment Acquisition in México Post-WWII by Decade

Key internal and external events	Missions	Major weapons acquisitions
1940 - World War II	Quell social unrest, invoke civic action, fight abroad	Under Lend-Lease program, acquired $40 million worth of weapons, including 17 P–47 Thunderbolt fighters
1970 - Tlatelolco declared Massacre (sic)* Establishment of 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone off country's shores Emergence of guerrilla organizations (A)	Counterinsurgency	Navy: 2 *Fletcher*-class destroyers
1980 - Discovery of huge oil field in Isthmus of Tehuantepec, civil wars in Central America, Guatemalan refugees pour into the South, earthquakes strike México City.	Protect oil fields, eradicate drugs, defend fishing resources, relocate refugees	Army: 40 Panhard vehicles; 40 Panhard VBL light armoured cars; 35 German HWK–11 armed personnel carriers; domestic mass production (in co-operation with Germany) of G–3 automatic rifles, ¾-ton trucks for military use, and DN–III armoured cars; Air Force: 12 F–5 supersonic Fighters (B); 55 Pilatus PC–7s (training and counterinsurgency); 5 Boeing 727–100s (transport); 20 Mudry CAP–10Bs (training); C–130s (cargo); Navy: 2 *Gearing* class destroyers; 6 *Halcón*-class frigates; 4 *Aguila* class fishery protection vessels
1990		Army: Mi–8 HIP helicopters (Russian); Navy: 2 *Knox*-class frigates
1995 - Escalation of drug trafficking, NAFTA takes effect, Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, Hurricanes lash Acapulco area	Directing police in México City and in states and cities throughout the country	
1997/2000		Army: 73 UH–1H Huey helicopters; In 1998, the navy planned to purchase another *Knox* class frigate to use for spare parts needed to make the 2 already purchased operational

* The "Tlatelolco massacre" occurred on October 2, 1968

(A) People's Union (UP), Revolutionary Action Movement (MAR), and People's Armed Revolutionary Forces (FRAP).
(B) The United States established a military liaison office (MLO), staffed by Air Force personnel, to manage the F–5 purchase; subsequently, the MLO coordinated navy purchases of U.S.-made frigates and army acquisition of U.S.-made night radar equipment.

Sources: Author (2008) with data from: Raúl Benítez Manuat, (1994); Roderic Ai Camp (1986): and George W. Grayson (1999).

379

APPENDIX B

Classical or Traditional PKO: 1947-1989

UNTSO	UN Truce Supervision Organization - Palestine	1948 –
UNMOGIP	UN Military Observer Group in India-Pakistan	1949 –
UNEF I	First UN Emergency Force –Sinai/Gaza Strip – "Suez Canal Crisis"	1956 - 1967
UNOGIL	UN Observation Group in Lebanon - Lebanon	1958 – 1958
ONUC *	Operation des Nations Units au Congo – Congo, then Zaire and now Democratic Republic of Congo	1960 - 1964
UNSF	UN Security Force in W. New Guinea – Guinea Occidental	1962 - 1963
UNYOM	UN Yemen Observation Mission - Yemen	1963 – 1964
UNFICYP	UN Peacekeeping Force In Cyprus - Cyprus	1964 –
DOMREP	Mission of the Representative of the SG in the Dominican Republic – Dominican Republic	1965 - 1966
UNIPOM	UN India-Pakistan Observation Mission	1965 – 1966
UNEF II	Second UN Emergency Force – Canal de Suez/Golan Heights	1973 - 1979
UNDOF	UN Disengagement Observer Mission – Golan Heights	1974 -
UNIFIL	UN Interim Force in Lebanon – Lebanon	1978 –
UNGOMAP	UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan - Pakistan	1988 – 1990
UNIIMOG	UN Iran-Iraq Military Observer Mission	1988 – 1991
UNAMEV I	UN Angola Verification Mission	1988 – 1991
UNTAG	UN Transition Assistance Group – Namibia	1989 – 1990
UNMEE	UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea	2000 –
ONUCA	Operación de Naciones Unidas en Centro América – Central America	1989 – 1992

Source: Author (2005) with data from UNDPKO

*Due to the high level of force involved, it is said that ONUC does not qualify as a Traditional PKO. However, the mandate for this operation was extended due to the effect known as "mission creep," which is defined as being drawn into expanding the mission's requirements as to end up conducting activities not included in the mandate. ONUC however was never planned as an Enforcement Operation (Chapter VII). Frederick H. Fleitz provides the following explanation: Scholars have long argued whether ONUC qualifies as a peacekeeping operation. There is no doubt that its mandate expanded over time and suffered from a phenomenon now known as "mission creep." The International Court of Justice weighted in on this question in 1962 when it found in an advisory opinion that although this mission was authorized to use force by the UN Security Council and had conducted military operations against mercenaries and Katangan separatists, it "was not an enforcement action within the compass of Chapter VII of the Charter." ... [854]

---

[854] Frederick H. Fleitz, Peacekeeping Fiascoes of the 1990s: Causes, Solutions, and U.S. Interests, (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002), p.50 and Endnote #4.

380

APPENDIX C

Modern PKO: 1989-2005

	Operation	Year
UNIKOM	UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission	1991 – 2003
UNAMEV II	Second UN Angola Verification Mission	1991 – 1995
ONUSAL	Operación de Naciones Unidas en El Salvador	1991 – 1995
MINURSO	UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara	1991 –
UNAMIC	UN Advance Mission in Cambodia	1991 – 1992
UNPROFOR	UN Protection Force (Croatia and extended to Bosnia and Herzegovina)	1992 – 1995
UNTAC	UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia	1992 – 1993
UNOSOM I	UN Operation in Somalia	1992 – 1993
ONUMOZ	Operación de Naciones Unidas en Mozambique	1992 – 1994
UNOSOM II	Second UN Operation in Somalia	1993 – 1995
UNOMUR	UN Observer Mission in Uganda-Rwanda	1993 – 1994
UNOMIG	UN Observer Mission in Georgia	1993 –
UNOMIL	UN Observer Mission in Liberia	1993 – 1997
UNMIH	UN Mission in Haiti	1993 – 1996
UNAMIR	UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda	1993 – 1996
UNASOG	UN Aouzou Strip Observer Group	1994 – 1994
UNMOT	UN Mission of Observers in Tajikistan	1994 – 2000
UNAMEV III	Third UN Angola Verification Mission	1995 – 1997
UNCRO	UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia	1995 – 1996
UNPREDEP	UN Preventive Deployment Force (replaced UNPROFOR in Macedonia)	1995 – 1999
UNMIBH	UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina	1995 – 2002
UNTAES	UN Transitional Administration for E. Slavonia, Baranja, and W. Sirmium	1996 – 1998
UNMOP	UN Mission of Observers in Prevlaka	1996 – 2002
UNSMIH	UN Support Mission in Haiti	1996 – 1997
MINUGA	Misión de Naciones Unidas en Guatemala	1997 – 1997
MONUA	Missão de Observação das Nações Unidas em Angola	1997 – 1999
UNTMIH	UN Transition Mission in Haiti	1997 – 1997
MIPONUH	Mission de la Police des Nations Unies en Haití	1997 – 2000
MINURCA	Mission des Nations Unies en République Centroafricaine	1998 – 2000
UNOMSIL	UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leone	1998 – 1999
UNMIK	UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo	1999 –
UNAMSIL	UN Mission in Sierra Leone	1999 –
UNTAET	UN Transitional Administration in East Timor	1999 – 2002
MONUC	Mission des Nations Units en République Démocratique du Congo	1999 –
UNMISET	UN Mission of Support in East Timor	2002 –
UNMIL	UN Mission in Liberia	2003 –
UNOCI	UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire	2004 –
MINUSTAH	Mission des Nations Unies pour la Stabilisation en Haïti	2004 –

381

Modern PKO: 1989-2005 (continued).

	Operation	Year
ONUB	Opération des Nations Unies au Burundi	2005 –
UNMIS	United Nations Mission in the Sudan	2005 –

Source: Author (2005) with data from UNDPKO

* UNOSOM I and UNOSOM II[855] and UNIKOM,[856] both considered interventionist and characterized by an unprecedented use of force and a reduced emphasis on, or a total lack of consent, can well fit into a different category sometimes referred as "Third Generation" Peacekeeping Operations.

UNOSOM I was established in 1992 in Mogadishu Somalia to monitor the ceasefire of the civil war and provide escort to humanitarian supply lines in the city. The mandate and robustness were later enlarged to enable it to protect humanitarian convoys and distribution centers throughout Somalia. UNOSOM II was established in March 1993 by Security Council Resolution 814 (1993), to take over from the Unified Task Force (UNITAF). "UNITAF was a multinational force, organized and led by the United States, which, in December 1992, had been authorized by the Security Council to use "all necessary means" to establish a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia."

In fact, UNIKOM came after a UN coalition of Member States reversed the Iraqi invasion to Kuwait in 1991 backed up by UN Resolutions 660 (1990) and 678 (1990).

---

[855] United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Past Operations. Africa. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/ Last accessed: September 5, 2005.

[856] United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. "First UN Emergency Force (UNEF I)." Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/unikom/unikomB.htm Last accessed: April 12, 2005.

APPENDIX D

Brahimi Report Recommendations[857]

1. Preventive action:

   a) Building on the Millennium Report, the report calls to "all who are engaged in conflict prevention and development – the United Nations, the Bretton Woods institutions, Governments and civil society organizations – [to] address these challenges in a more integrated fashion."

   b) It endorses the Secretary-General's proposal to more frequent use of fact-finding missions to areas of tension, and stresses the Member States' obligations (Article 2.5 of the Charter)[A] to give "every assistance" to such activities of the United Nations.

2. Peace-building strategy

   a) Money should be put at the disposal of the SRSG to fund quick impact projects in its area of operations.

   b) Through a doctrinal shift, rule of law institutions should be strengthen and respect for human rights improved;

   c) Demobilization and reintegration programs should be included into the assessed budgets of complex peace operations to quick disassembly of fighting factions and reduce the likelihood of resumed conflict;

   d) The Executive Committee on Peace and Security (ECPS)[B] should plan to strengthen the permanent capacity of the United Nations to develop peacebuilding strategies and to implement programs in support of those strategies.

3. Peacekeeping doctrine and strategy
   UN peacekeepers must be able to carry out their mandates professionally and successfully. They must also be capable to defend themselves, defend the mandate, and defend other mission components, with "robust rules of engagement, against those who renege on their commitments to a peace accord or otherwise seek to undermine it by violence."

4. Clear, credible and achievable mandates

   a) Before implementing a ceasefire or peace agreement with a UNPKO, the UNSC must be sure that the agreement must be consistent with international human rights standards and it meets practicability of specified tasks and timelines;

   b) UNSC resolutions authorizing missions with sizeable troop levels must be prepared until firm confirmation of troops and resources from Member States, including peacebuilding elements;

   c) UNSC resolutions should specify a clear chain of command and unity of effort;

   d) The Secretariat must provide objective information to the UNSC and contributing

---

[857] Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations. A/55/305-S/2000/809, (United nations, March 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/ Last accessed: April 13, 2005, [NOTE: SUMMARY BY AUTHOR].

383

states when formulating or changing mission mandates, particularly on matters affecting the safety and security of peacekeepers.

5. Information and strategic analysis

   The UNSG should establish an Information and Strategic Analysis Secretariat (EISAS)^C at the ECPS, administered by and report jointly to the heads of the Department of Political Affairs (DPA) and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO).

6. Transitional civil administration

   A panel of experts should evaluate the feasibility and utility of developing an interim criminal code, including any regional adaptations potentially required, for use by such operations pending the re-establishment of local rule of law and local law enforcement capacity.

7. Determining deployment timelines

   Rapid and effective deployment capacities should be defines as the ability to fully deploy Traditional Peacekeeping Operations within 30 days after the adoption of a UNSC resolution, and within 90 days in the case of Complex Peacekeeping Operations.

8. Mission leadership

   a) A systematized selection method should be established and a roster of professionals be prepared for Special Representatives, force commanders, civilian police commissioners, and their deputies and other heads of substantive and administrative components, within a fair geographic and gender distribution and with input from Member States;

   b) The entire mission "cabinet" should be selected and assembled as early as possible in order to enable their participation in mission planning and situation briefings;

   c) The Secretariat should routinely provide guidance and plans, and work together when possible, to the mission cabinet for anticipating and overcoming challenges to mandate implementation.

9. Military personnel

   a) Member States should enter into partnerships with one another, within the context of the United Nations Standby Arrangements System (UNSAS), to form several coherent brigade-size forces, ready for effective deployment within 30 days of the authorization of Traditional UN peacekeeping operation, and within 90 days for Complex UN Peacekeeping Operations;

   b) The UNSG should be authorized to lobby for increasing the participation in UNSAS;

   c) The Secretariat should confirm the preparedness of each potential troop contributor prior to deployment; those that do not meet the requirements must not deploy;

   d) A revolving "on-call list" of about 100 military officers should be created in UNSAS to be available on seven days' notice to help planning the structures of new Peacekeeping Operations.

10. Civilian police personnel

    a) Member States should establish national pools of civilian police officers to be ready for deployment on short notice, within the context of UNSAS;

    b) Member States should seek entering into regional training partnerships for civilian

384

police, to standardize preparedness in accordance with UN standard operating procedures;

c) Members States are encouraged to designate a single point of contact within their governmental structures for the provision of civilian police to UN peace operations;

d) A revolving on-call list of about 100 police officers and experts should be created in UNSAS to be available on seven days' notice to help create the civilian police component of new Peacekeeping Operations;

e) Parallel arrangements to recommendations a), b) and c) above should be established for judicial, penal, human rights and other relevant specialists to make up collegial "rule of law" teams, together with civilian police will.

11. Civilian specialists

a) A central Internet/Intranet-based roster of civilian candidates should be available to deploy to peace operations on short notice;

b) The Field Service category of personnel should be reformed to meet the recurrent demands of peace operations, especially at the mid- to senior-levels in the administrative and logistics areas;

c) Conditions of service for externally recruited civilian staff should be revised to attract the most highly qualified candidates, and to offer greater career prospects;

d) A comprehensive staffing strategy for peace operations should outline the use of UN Volunteers, standby arrangements for civilian personnel on 72 hours' notice, and the divisions of responsibility among the members of the ECPS for implementing that strategy.

12. Rapidly deployable capacity for public information

Additional resources should be poured into mission budgets for public information and effective internal communications links.

13. Logistics support and expenditure management

a) A global logistics support strategy should be prepared by the Secretariat to enable rapid and effective mission deployment;

b) The UNGA should authorize the maintenance of five or more mission start-up kits in Brindisi,[D] which should include rapidly deployable communications equipment;

c) With the approval of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) and prior to the adoption of a UNSC resolution, the UNSG should be given authority to draw up to US$50 million from the Peacekeeping Reserve Fund;

d) The Secretariat should review the entire procurement policies and procedures to facilitate the rapid and full deployment of an operation within the proposed timelines;

e) The Secretariat should review the financial policies and procedures of peacekeeping missions in order to provide them with greater flexibility in the management of their budgets;

f) The Secretariat should increase the level of procurement authority to field missions for local goods and services not covered under systems contracts or standing commercial services contracts.

385

14. Funding Headquarters support for Peacekeeping Operations
    a) More resources should be available for Headquarters support of Peacekeeping Operations;
    b) Headquarters support for peacekeeping should be treated as a core activity and as such it should be funded through the mechanism of the regular biennial program budget of the Organization;
    c) The UNSG should request the UNGA an emergency supplemental increase to the Support Account[E] to allow immediate recruitment of additional personnel, particularly in DPKO.
15. Integrated mission planning and support
    The Integrated Mission Task Forces (IMTFs)[F] should be the standard medium and first point of contact for mission-specific planning and support.
16. Other structural adjustments in DPKO
    a) The Civilian Police Unit should be moved out from the Military and Civilian Police Division and the rank and level of the Civilian Police Adviser should be upgraded;
    b) The Military Adviser's Office in DPKO should be restructured to reflect the structure of the military field headquarters in Peacekeeping Operations;
    c) A criminal law unit should be established in DPKO to advice on issues that are critical to the effective use of civilian police;
    d) The Under Secretary-General for Management should delegate authority and responsibility for peacekeeping-related budgeting and procurement functions to the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations for a two-year trial period;
    e) The Lessons Learned Unit should be improved and moved into a revamped DPKO Office of Operations;
    f) The number of Assistant Secretaries-General in DPKO should be increased to three. One of them should act as "Principal Assistant Secretary-General" and deputy to the Under Secretary-General.
17. Operational support for public information
    A public information unit should be established within DPKO or within a new Peace and Security Information Service in the Department of Public Information (DPI).
18. Peace-building support in the Department of Political Affairs
    a) The proposed Peace-building Unit should be established and funded within DPA to strengthen the UN peacebuilding capacity;
    b) Instead of voluntary contributions, regular budget resources should be substantially increased for the Electoral Assistance Division;
    c) Procurement, logistics, and other support services for small, non-military field missions should be provided by the United Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPS).
19. Peace operations support in the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
    The field mission planning and preparation capacity of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights should be enhanced, and funded from the regular and the peace operations budgets.

386

20. Peace operations and the information age
   a) A responsibility centre should be created at EISAS to oversee the implementation of common information technology strategy and training for peace operations;
   b) EISAS and the Information Technology Services Division (ITSD) should implement an enhanced peace operations element on the current UN Intranet and link it to the missions through a Peace Operations Extranet (POE);
   c) Peace operations could benefit from more extensive use of geographic information systems (GIS) technology, for demobilization, civilian policing, voter registration, human rights monitoring and reconstruction;
   d) Unique information technology needs for civilian police and human rights should be anticipated and met more consistently in mission planning and implementation;
   e) Co-managed websites at Headquarters and field missions should be established to maintain oversight and individual missions would be allowed to produce and post web content that conforms to basic presentational standards and policy.

A. Article 2.2 of the UN Charter states: "All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter."

B. The Executive Committee on Peace and Security (ECPS) is a high-level coordinating body created by Secretary-General Kofi-Annan, to facilitate communication between UN programs and agencies in order to prevent, respond to, and end conflict. ECPS is not a standing body but is rather convened on a regular basis by the Under Secretary-General for Political Affairs. It is formed by high-level representatives from the UN secretariat and the UN system that deal with peace and security issues, (including the Departments of Political Affairs and Peacekeeping Operations).

C. The Executive Committee on Peace and Security Information and Strategic Analysis Secretariat (EISAS) is a small, multidisciplinary unit with information gathering and analysis capacity. It provides cross-cutting analysis to the ECPS to anticipate and understand the root causes of the conflicts.

D. In 1994, the UN established the Brindisi Logistics Base in Brindisi, Italy. The facility is a supply and logistics depot used to storage and repair reusable assets from missions being closed down. The Base also provides satellite communications support to the UN Headquarters, peacekeeping missions and other field offices.

E. The Peacekeeping Support Account was established in 1993. The account was setup to fund Peacekeeping Operations separately from the regular budget and related headquarters functions, included UNDPKO.

F. Before the Brahimi Report, there were ad hoc groups that contributed to mission planning. Since 2000, real joint planning groups for operations called "Integrated Mission Task Forces (IMTFs)," were created to standardize UNDPKO and ECPS decision-making. Even though IMTFs have improved horizontal discussion and planning, they lack decision authority and recourse to higher-level bodies, serving more as brainstorming and drafting committees.

387

APPENDIX E

Joint Exercises with the Participation of Argentine Forces

Num	Date	Place	Exercise	Participants	Objective
1	Jun 1995	Rural Argentina (Tucumán)	Apoyo Humanitario	ARG-US	Delivery of actual sanitary and medical aid
2	Aug 1995	Buenos Aires, Argentina	Fuerza Unidas	ARG-BRA-PAR-URU-UN-Red Cross-UNHCR	Train for PKO
3	Aug 1996	Montevideo, Uruguay	Fuerzas Unidas 96	ARG-URU-US-BRA-PAR-URU-UN	Train for PKO
4	Jun 1996	USAFB Albrook in Panama	Cabañas 96	ARG-US-PARA-URU	Train for PKO
5	Oct 1996	Monte Caseros, Argentina	Cruz del Sur 96	ARG-BRA-URU-CHL	Train for PKO
6	Aug 1997	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	Fuerzas Unidas 97	ARG-BRA-PAR-URU-US	Train for PKO
7	Oct 1997	US Fort Sherman, Panamá	Cabañas 97	ARG-BOL-PAR-URU-US	Train for PKO
8	Oct 1997	Rosario Do Sul-Rio Grande Do Soul, Brazil	Cruz del Sur 97	ARG-BRA-URU-PAR-CHL	Regional Forces integration
9	Jun 1997	Fray Bentos, Uruguay	Ceibo 97	ARG-URU-BRA-PAR-CHL	Interoperability
10	Jun 1998	Asunción, Paraguay	Fuerzas Unidas 98	ARG-BOL-BRA-CHL-PAR-URU-VEN-US	PKO
11	Jul 1998	Entre Ríos, Argentina	Ceibo 98	ARG-URU	PKO
12	Aug 1998	San Juan, Puerto Rico	Cabañas 98	ARG-BOL-CHL-PAR-US	Cooperative security
13	Nov 1998	Corrientes, Argentina	Cruz del Sur 98	ARG-BRA-URU-PAR	Regional integration
14	Jul 1998	Tierra del Fuego, Argentina	Isla Grande de Tierra del Fuego	ARG-US	Interoperability
15	Sep 2000	Córdoba, Argentina	Cabañas 2000	ARG-	PKO

388

Joint Exercises with the Participation of Argentine Forces (continued).

16	June 2000	Río Paraná, Argentina	Fluvial IV	ARG-US	Amphibian capabilities
17	Apr 2001	Villa Reynolds, Argentina		ARG-US	Air force drills
18	Apr 2001	The Balkans	Dynamic Response 2001	ARG-NATO	Peace Enforcement*
19	May 2001	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Courageous Elephant	ARG-NATO	Peace Enforcement
20	Jun 2001	Ecuador	Fuerzas Unidas 2001	ARG-BOL-BRA-COL-CHL-ECU-PAR-PER-URU-VEN-US	

Source: Author (2008)

* NATO, International Military Staff, "IMS Press Release 18 April, 2001. Internet. Available at: http://www.nato.int/ims/2001/i010418e_b.htm Last accessed: March 8, 2007.

389

APPENDIX F

Argentine Participation in UNPKO

Mission/year	Year	Type of participation
UNOGIL/1958	UN Observation Group in Lebanon - Lebanon	Military observers
UNTSO/1967*-	UN Truce Supervision Organization - Palestine	Military observers
UNIIMOG/1988-1991	UN Iran-Iraq Military Observer Mission	Military observers
UNAMEV I, II & III/1989-1991	UN Angola Verification Mission	Military observers
ONUCA/1989-1992	Operación de Naciones Unidas en Centro América – Central America	Military observers
UNIKOM/1991	UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission	Military observers and troops
MINURSO/1991-	UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara	Military observers and troops
UNAMIC/1991-1992	UN Advance Mission in Cambodia	Military observers
UNTAC/1991-1993	UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia	Military observers
ONUSAL/1991-1995	Operación de Naciones Unidas en El Salvador	Medical personnel
UNPROFOR/1992-1995	UN Protection Force (Croatia and extended to Bosnia and Herzegovina)	Military observers, command, staff, troops, and civilian police
ONUMOZ/1993-1994	Operación de Naciones Unidas en Mozambique	Military observers, medial personnel, DDR
UNMIH/1993-1996**	UN Mission in Haiti	SRSG, military observers, troops, civilian police

390

Argentine Participation in UNPKO (continued).

UNAMIR/1993-1996	UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda	Military observers
UNFICYP/1993-	UN Peacekeeping Force In Cyprus - Cyprus	Staff, command, troops, air force components, civilian police, Force Commander***
UNCRO/1995	UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia	Military observers
UNPREDEP/1995-1999	UN Preventive Deployment Force (replaced UNPROFOR in Macedonia)	Military observers
UNTAES/1996-1997	UN Transitional Authority in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium	Military observers and civilian police
UNPSG Croatia/1997-1998	UN Police Support Group in Croatia-Danube Region – the mission took over UNTAES	Civilian police
MINUGUA/1994-2002	Misión de Naciones Unidas en Guatemala	Military observers
UNMOP/1996-2002	UN Mission of Observers in Prevlaka	Military observers
UNMIBH/1996-2003	UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina	Civilian police
MIPONUH/1997-2000	Mission de Police civile des Nations Unies en Haïti	Civilian police
MONUA/1997-1999	Missão de Observação das Nações Unidas em Angola	Military observers, troops
UNTAET-UNMISET/1999-2005	UN Transitional Administration in East Timor – UN Mission of Support in East Timor	Civilian police
MONUC/1999-	Mission des Nations Unies en RD Congo	Civilian police

Argentine Participation in UNPKO (continued).

UNMIK/1999-	UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo	Medical personnel
UNMIL/2003-	United Nations Mission in Liberia	Civilian police
ONUCI/2004-	Opération des Nations Unies en Côte d'Ivoire	Civilian police, Police Commissioner
MINUSTAH/2004-	Mission des Nations Unies pour la Stabilisation en Haïti	Military observers, command, staff, troops, civilian police, air force components
UNMIS/2005-	United Nations Mission in Sudan	Civilian police

* UNTSO was first implemented in 1948 and is an ongoing mission since. The year of 1967 marks the Argentine first participation in this operation. The Argentine presence in UNTSO was suspended in 1982 and restarted in 1997. As of April 2007, Argentina maintains military observers in this mission.[858]
** Mr. Dante Caputo from Argentina served as Special Envoy of the UN Secretary-General to UNMIH representative in 1992 and 1994, and as a Special Representative of the Secretary-General from 1993-1994.
*** Major General Rafael José Barni of Argentina was appointed Force Commander in January 2006 and he remains in this position as of April 8, 2007.[859]

Source: Author (2008), with information from UNDPKO and the Argentine Ministry of Defence.[860]

[858] Ministerio de Defensa, "Sitio Oficial de la Armada Argentina," Misiones de Paz, (República Argentina, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.ara.mil.ar/opnav_misiones.asp#untso Last accessed: April 8, 2007.

[859] United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Current Operations. Europe. "United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus, (UNFICYP)." Internet. Available at: http://www.fuerzaaerea.mil.ar/index_win.html Last accessed: April 8, 2007.

[860] Ministerio de Defensa, "Soldados Argentinos por la Paz: la contribución del Ejército Argentino en la Solución Pacifica de los Conflictos," (República Argentina, 1998). Internet. Available at: http://www.biblioteca.ejercito.mil.ar/Doctrina/Biblioteca/Libros/Soldados/indice.htm Last accessed: April 7, 2007. And Fuerza Aérea Argentina: Misiones de Paz (República Argentina, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.fuerzaaerea.mil.ar/misiones/introduccion.html Last accessed: April 8, 2007.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

2001-2006. Plan Nacional de Desarrollo. México. Internet. Available at:
http://www.economia.gob.mx/pics/p/p1376/PLAN1.pdf Last accessed: April 29, 2007

A Catalogue of New US Unilateral Economic Sanctions for Foreign Policy Purposes,"
(San Francisco, CA: San Francisco state University, 1997). Internet. Available at:
http://bss.sfsu.edu/fischer/IR%20742/acatalog.htm Last accessed: July 24, 2005

A Lasting Legacy – Lester B. Pearson and Korea," (Centre for Military and Strategic
Studies University of Calgary). Internet. Available at:
http://www.stratnet.ucalgary.ca/elearning/CanadaArmedForces/Readings/Part2Intro/s
hapcanidkoreanwar.htm Last accessed: April 12, 2005

A. T. Kearny/Foreign Policy. Internet. Available at:
http://www.atkearney.com/main.taf?p=5,4,1,116,1 Last accessed: March 18, 2006

A.P./J. 36/2000, "Seguridad Pública. Su participación en acciones civiles, sin suspensión
de garantías individuales. A requerimiento de las autoridades," (México: Instituto
Nacional de Controversias y Asuntos de Inconstitucionalidad, A.C., 2000). Internet.
Available at: http://www.controversias.org/inf_prontuario.htm Last accessed:
November 27, 2006

Acuerdo Secretarial 036. Manual de Derechos Humanos para el Personal de la Armada
de México, (México: Secretaría de Marina – Armada de México, April 2002).

Agora, No. 1665, "Boletín del Grupo Parlamentario del PRD," (México, March 03, 2006)

Aguilar Sintzer, Adolfo, "México debe tener más presencia en operaciones de
mantenimiento de paz que promueve Naciones Unidas." Declaration made in
Brussels on June 24, 2002, source: Notimex. Internet. Available at:
http://canales.t1msn.com.mx/noticias/nacional/leer_articulo.cfm?article_id=48904

Aguilar Sintzer, Adolfo, México's Permanent Representative to the United "México debe
tener más presencia en operaciones de mantenimiento de paz que promueve Naciones
Unidas." Declaration made in Brussels on June 24, 2002, source: Notimex. Internet.
Available at:
http://canales.t1msn.com.mx/noticias/nacional/leer_articulo.cfm?article_id=48904

Ai Camp, Roderic, "Militarizing México. Where is the Officers Corps Going?" Policy
Paper on the Americas, X, 1 (The Center for Strategic and Internacional Studies,
1999). Internet. Available at:
http://www.csis.org/component/option,com_csis_pubs/task,view/id,745/. Last
accessed: April 18, 2006.

Aita, Judy, Security Council discusses connection between Peacekeepers, HIV/AIDS.
International Information Programs, (U.S. Department of State). Internet. Available
at: http://usinfo.state.gov/topical/pol/usandun/01011900.htm Last accessed: October
12, 2003

Akaha, Tsuneo, "Japan's Comprehensive Security Policy: A New East Asian
Environment," Asian Survey, 31, 4 (University of California Press, 1991).

Aksu, Esref, "International Transitional Administrations: Towards Territorialization of
IGOs?" Journal of International and Area Studies, 13, 1 (2006), pp. 37-52

Andersson, Andreas, "United Nations Intervention by United Democracies? State Commitment to UN Interventions 1991-1999," Co-operation and Conflict: Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association, 37.4, (London: Sage Publications, 2002), pp. 363-386

Appel, Marco, "México, el Debutante Global," Milenio Semanal, 174, (México: January 14, 2001).

Aranda, Jesús, "Adelgazamiento Administrativo de la Armada." La Jornada, (México: March 7, 2001).

Aranda, Jesús, "Buques de guerra de México y Francia realizarán maniobras conjuntas frente a las costas de Veracruz: Es un paso previo para la participación de la Armada en aguas extranjeras." La Jornada, (México: June 27, 2001).

Aranda, Jesús, "Favorecen seis ministros el amparo a soldados con VIH," La Jornada, (México: February 23, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2007/02/23/index.php?section=politica&article=003n1 pol Last accessed: April 21, 2007

Aranda, Jesús, "La Armada comienza hoy a restablecer las Fuerzas Navales: Se prepara para eventuales "operaciones de paz." La Jornada, (México: July 06, 2001).

Aranda, Jesús, "México se integra a la Conferencia de Ejércitos Americanos: paso previo a la participación del país en el Consejo de Seguridad de la ONU." La Jornada, (México: November 27, 2001). Internet. Available at: http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2001/nov01/011127/022n1pol.html Last accessed: May 27, 2005

Aranda, Jesús, "Un riesgo, ingreso del Ejército a organismo regional." La Jornada, (México: December 03, 2001).

Araujo Cárdenas, Vicente, "Males que nos vienen del Exterior," El Diario de Hoy, (San Salvador: July 26, 2002)

Argentina, NATO's South Atlantic Partner," NATO Review, 47, 1, (North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 1999). Internet. Available at: http://www.nato.int/docu/review/1999/9901-02.htm Last accessed: March 21, 2007

Argentina," Military. Ejército Argentino, (Global Security, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/argentina/army.htm Last accessed: December 13, 2006

Argentina: Ley de Seguridad Interior 24.059," Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina (RESDAL), Atlas de Defensa, (August, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.resdal.org/Archivo/d0000004.htm Last accessed: March 21, 2007

Argentina: Military Reform Plans Fail to Halt Decay," Oxford Analytical Staff, Offnews.info para el desarrollo sostenible, (November 29, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.offnews.info/imprimir.php?contenidoID=6632 Last accessed: April 16, 2007

Arias, Oscar, "Launching the year 2000 Campaign to redirect world military spending to human development," (Federation of American Scientists). Internet. Available at: http://fas.org/pub/gen/mswg/year2000/ariasspe.htm Last accessed: November 23, 2006

394

Arroyo-Rojas, Waldemar, "Argentina's Foreign Policy Towards the United States Under the Democratic Regime," (Mayaguez, Puerto Rico: 2001). Internet. Available at: http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/Lasa2001/ArroyoRojasWaldemar.pdf Last accessed: March 20, 2007

Asiimwe,Arthur, "Rwanda Census put Genocide death toll at 937,000." Reuters AlertNet. Internet. Available at: http://www.alertnet.org/thefacts/reliefresources/108117321274.htm Last accessed: June 17, 2005

Atanassova, Elena, "Towards a 'Major Power' Role: Japan's Foreign Policy After the Cold War mirrored through the US-Japan Alliance and Japan-Europe Relations." (Belgium: Catholic University of Leuven, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://najs.jp/papers_2005/atanossova.pdf Last accessed: August 18, 2005

Avilés, Carlos, "La Corte Ratifica Jerarquía de Constitución sobre Tratados," El Universal, (México: February 14, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/nacion/148381.html Last accessed: April 26, 2007

Baines, Thomas B., The Laws of War and the Rules of Peace: Why Traditional Legal Models Do Not Work. The Pearson Papers. Paper No. 5. (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001)

Becerril, Andrea, "A toro pasado aprueba el Senado la salida de tropas." La Jornada, (México: September 07, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2005/09/07/015n1pol.php Last accessed: October 03, 2005

Becerril, Andrea, "Niega el Senado permiso a Fox para viajar a EU y Canadá: Decisión histórica de las fracciones del PRI, PRD y PVEM." La Jornada, (México: April 9, 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2002/abr02/020410/003n1pol.php?origen=politica.html . Last accessed: November 20, 2004

Bellamy, Alex J. and others, Understanding Peacekeeping, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004).

Bellamy, Christopher, Knights in White Armour: New Art of War and Peace, (London: Hutchinson, 1996).

Benítez Manaut, Raúl and Georgina Sanchez Lopez. Panel: "Evolution of the concept of Hemispheric Security." REDES 2003, (Santiago, Chile: Center for Hemispheric Defence Studies, October 28-30, 2003).

Benítez Manaut, Raúl, "México: Desafió Existencial en Seguridad: Entre el Nacionalismo, América del Norte y América Latina," REDES 2003, (Santiago, Chile: Center for Hemispheric Defence Studies, October 28-30, 2003). Internet. Avauilable at: http://www.resdal.org/producciones-miembros/redes-03-benitez.pdf Last accessed: April 15, 2006

Benítez Manaut, Raúl, Las Fuerzas Armadas mexicanas a fin de siglo, XXII Internacional Congress (Miami, FL: Latin American Studies Association, 2000).

Benítez Manaut, Raúl, México and the New Challenges for Hemispheric Security, (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/ACF18DF.pdf Last accessed: March 18, 2006

Bhaskar, C. Uday and others, United Nations: Multilateralism and International Security, (New Delhi: Shipra, 2005)

"Bilateral Agreement between the Republic of Argentina and the Federal Republic of Brazil on the Use of Nuclear Material Exclusively for Peaceful Purposes." (Guadalajara, México: July 18, 1991). Internet. Available at: www.nunnturnerinitiative.org/e_research/official_docs/inventory/pdfs/abacc.pdf Last accessed: March 9, 2007

Blank, Stephen J., "Rethinking Asymmetric Threats," Air University, (USAF, September 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/ssi/asymetry2.pdf Last accessed: October 19, 2006.

Blomberg, S. Brock and others, "Is there Evidence of a Poverty-Conflict Trap?" Wellesley College Working Paper 2000-06, (Massachusetts: Department of Economics, Wellesley College, May 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.wellesley.edu/Economics/wkpapers/wellwp_0006.pdf Last accessed: April 18, 2006

Bolton, John R., "United States Policy on United Nations Peacekeeping," World Affairs, 163, 3, (Winter 2001), pp. 129-147

Borja, Arturo, "Enfoques para el Estudio de la Política Exterior de México: Evolución y Perspectivas." In Rafael Velázquez Flores, Características Contemporáneas de la Política Exterior de México, (Universidad de Quintana Roo). SISBI. Internet. Available at: http://dzibanche.biblos.uqroo.mx/Cursos_linea/Rafael_Velazquez/Articulo01.htm. Last accessed: November 16, 2004.

Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, An Agenda for Peace Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping, A/47/277-S/24111. (United Nations, 1992). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html Last accessed: June 06, 2005

Bratt, Duane and Erin Gionet, Evaluating the Brahimi Report, (The Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 2001).

Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainley, Understanding International Relations, (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2005).

Bruneau, Richard, "Selfishness in Service of Common Good: Why States Participate in UN Peacekeeping," (Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.augustana.ca/rdx/bruneau/documents/PeacekeepingNov24.pdf Last accessed: March 9, 2006

Bruneau, Thomas C., "The Maras and National Security in Central America," Strategic Insights, IV, 5, (May 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/2005/May/bruneauMay05.pdf Last accessed: March 03, 2006

Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs. Background Note. Japan, (U.S. Department of State). Internet. Available at: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/4142.htm Last accessed: August 25, 2005

Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, (US Department of State, November 2006). Internet. available at: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/26516.htm Last accessed: April 6, 2007

396

Buzan, Barry "New Patterns of Global Security in the 21st Century," International Affairs, 67, 3, (Royal Institute of International Affairs, July 1991).

Byrne, Declan Walsh Nicola, Peacekeeper Jailed for Porno Films, (NewsScotsman.Com., December 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.news.scotsman.com/international.cfm?id=1422722002 Last accessed: April 13, 2005

Caldwell, Dan and Timothy J. McKeown (eds.), Diplomacy, Force and Leadership. Essays in Honor of Alexander L. George, (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1993).

Caporazo, James, "International Relations Theory and Multilateralism: The Search for Foundations," International Organization, 46, 3, (Summer, 1992), pp. 599-632

Carbonell, Miguel, "El Rol de las Fuerzas Armadas en la Constitución Mexicana," Ius et Praxis, 8, 1, (Talca, Chile: Universidad de Talca, 2002). Internet. Available at: http://redalyc.uaemex.mx/redalyc/pdf/197/19780105.pdf Last access: November 27, 2006

Carpenter, Ted Galen, "Paternalism and dependence: The US-Japanese Security relationship." Cato Policy Analysis, 244 (Washington: Cato Institute, November 1, 1995). Internet. Available at: http://www.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa-244.html Last accessed: August 19, 2005

Castañeda, Jorge, "El Cambio Democrático y la Política Exterior Mexicana." El Universal, (México: June 29, 2002).

Castañeda, Jorge, "Los Ejes de la Política exterior de México." Nexos, (México: December 2001).

Castro, Alvi J., "Mara Salvatrucha Street Gang: An International Criminal Enterprise with Roots in El Salvador's Civil War," Immigration and Customs Enforcement/Department of Homeland Security, (March 2005). Internet. Available at: http://webzoom.freewebs.com/swnmia/Mara.pdf accessed: march 03, 2006

Chabat, Jorge and John Bailey, "Seguridad pública y gobernabilidad democrática: desafíos para México y Estados Unidos." Reporte al Grupo de Tarea, (Universidad de Georgetown, February, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.georgetown.edu/sfs/programs/clas/México/grants/REPORTE.htm Last accessed: November 26, 2006

Chapnick, Adam, "The Middle Powers," Canadian Foreign Policy, 7, 2 (Winter 1999), pp. 73-82.

Charter of the United Nations, (San Francisco: United Nations, 1945).

Chase, Robert S., Emily B. Hill and Paul Kennedy, "Pivotal States and U.S. Strategy," Foreign Affairs, 75, 1 (January/February, 1996), pp. 33-51.

Chawla, Shalini, "Trends in United Nations Peacekeeping," Strategic Analysis: A Monthly Journal of the ISDA, Vol. XXIV, No. 10, (January 2001).

Chesterman, Simon, "Transitional Administrations Project," (International Peace Academy, 2001-2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.ipacademy.org/Programs/Research/ProgReseTransAdmin_body.htm Last accessed: December 09, 2006

Child, Jack, "Guns and Roses," (Florida international University). Internet. Available at: http://www.fiu.edu/~lacc/hemisphere/vol6num3/child.html Last accessed: April 21, 2007

397

Chopra, Jarat, "Back to the Drawing Board," The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, (1995). Internet. Available at: http://www.bullatomsci.org/issues/1995/ma95/ma95.chopra.html

Comité Permanente de Seguridad Argentino-Chileno," (1995). Internet. Available at: http://www.defencenet.ser2000.org.ar/informe.htm Last accessed: December 23, 2006

Commission on Global Governance, Our Global Neighbourhood: Report of the Commission on Global Governance, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Commission on Human Security, Human Security Now, (New York: United Nations, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/finalreport/English/FinalReport.pdf Last accessed: August 4, 2005

Compendio de Operaciones de mantenimiento de la Paz: DN-C-4200, (México: Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional, 2003).

Constitución de la Nación Argentina, Instituto de Derecho Público Comparado, (Madrid: Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.uc3m.es/uc3m/inst/MPG/consarg.htm last accessed: February 28, 2007

Constitución Nacional," Política y Actualidad. Internet. Available at: http://www.politicayactualidad.com/info_basica_contitucion.asp Last accessed: March 4, 2007

Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, (México: 1917).

Consulta Mitofski. Resultados de la Encuesta Nacional de Adicciones 2002, (México: ENA CONADIC/SSA, 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.consulta.com.mx/interiores/99_pdfs/15_otros_pdf/ENA02-4.pdf Last accessed: May 13, 2005

Contributions Owed to the UN for Peacekeeping Operations: 2004, (Global Policy Forum). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalpolicy.org/finance/tables/pko/due2004.htm. Last accessed October 17, 2004

Cooper, Andrew F., Niche Diplomacy: Middle Powers after the Cold War, (New York: St. Martin Press, 1997).

Córdova Vianello, Lorenzo, Cambio Político y Consolidación de la Democracia en México, (Tecnológico de Monterrey. División de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales). Internet. Available at: http://www.ccm.itesm.mx/dhcs/juripolis/archivos/Cordova.pdf. Last accessed: November 16, 2004.

Covian González, Miguel A. (Ed.), La Cumbre del Milenio: ¿Hacia Donde van las Naciones Unidas? (México: Instituto Matías Romero, 2000).

Cozzi Paredes, Ruggero, "Participación de Unidades Navales en Operaciones de Paz," Revista de Marina, 119/873, (Armada de Chile, September 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.revistamarina.cl/ Last accessed: December 3, 2006

Cranna, Michael (Ed.), "The true cost of conflict." Cited in Luisa Vercellesi, (Ed.), European Association for Health and Libraries. Internet. Available at: http://www.eahil.org/newsletter/47/edit.htm Last accessed: April 12, 2005

Cruz, Ángel, "Elimina el Senado la Pena de Muerte del Código de Justicia Militar." Canal del Congreso, (H. Congreso de la Unión). Internet. Available at: http://www.canaldelcongreso.gob.mx/article.php3?id_article=472 Last accessed: April 15, 2005

Current issues Surrounding Peacekeeping Operations and Japanese Perspective (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan). Internet. Available at: http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/un/pko/issues.htm Last accessed: August 21, 2005

D'Aquino, Thomas, "Security and Prosperity: The dynamics of a New Canada-United States Partnership in North America," Presentation to the Annual General Meeting of the Canadian Council of Chief Executives. Internet. Available at: http://scholar.google.com/scholar?q=security+and+prosperity+partnership+of+north+america&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8&hl=en last accessed: May 28, 2006

Dateline Uncovers Violence Committed by UN Peacekeepers. Internet. Available at: http://www.freedomdomain.com/un/disturbpeace.html#BODY Last accessed: April 13, 2005

De Ville de Goyet C. and others, "SUMA: a management tool for Post-disaster Relief Supplies," PubMed, 49, (1996). Internet. Available at: http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/entrez/query.fcgi?cmd=Retrieve&db=PubMed&list_uids=9170233&dopt=Abstract Last accessed: April 15, 2007

Diagnóstico Sobre la Situación de los Derechos Humanos en México, (New York: United Nations, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.cinu.org.mx/prensa/especiales/2003/dh_2003/diagnosticocompleto.pdf last accessed: April 18, 2006

Diamint, Rut Clara, "Cambios en la Política de Seguridad: Argentina en Busca de un Perfil No Conflictivo," Revista Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad: FASOC, VII, 1, (Santiago de Chile: 1992). Internet. Available at: http://www.fasoc.cl/php/fasoc.php?seccion=articulo&id_articulo=406 Last accessed: December 14, 2006

Diehl, Paul F., Daniel Druckman and James Wall, "International Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution: A Taxonomic Analysis with Implications," The Journal of Conflict Resolution, 42, 1 (Sage Publications, 1998).

Dobbins, James and others, The UN's Role in Nation-building: from the Congo to Iraq, (Rand Corporation, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2005/RAND_MG304.pdf last accessed: July 16, 2006

Dobson, Hugo, Japan and UN Peacekeeping: New Pressures and New Responses, (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003).

Donadio, Marcela, "La Construcción de una Nueva Política de Defensa en Argentina," Revista Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad: FASOC, II, 2, (Santiago de Chile: 1996. Internet. Available at: http://www.fasoc.cl/files/articulo/ART4119218ebbe5d.pdf Last accessed: March 17, 2007

Donovan, Sharon, The México Connection: a Survey of Mainstream Media reporting on US Military Aid, the Drug War, and Human Rights in México, (Media Alliance Latin American Committee). Internet. Available at: http://www.media-alliance.org/mediafile/18-1/mexconnect.html Last accessed: April 15, 2005

Dorn, Walter, "Canada: the Once and Future Peacekeeper?" Peace Magazine, 22, 4, (October-December, 2006), pp. 16-21

Dorn, Walter, "Regional Peacekeeping is Not the Way," Peacekeeping and International Relations, 7, 2, (July-October 1998). Internet. Available at: http://www.rmc.ca/academic/gradrech/dorn5_e.html Last accessed: April 21, 2007

Dougherty, James and Robert Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey, (New York: Longman, 2001).

Doyle, Kate, Rebellion in Chiapas and the Mexican Military, (The National Security Archive). Internet. Available at: http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB109/#article Last accessed: November 18, 2004

Durch, William J. (Ed.), The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping: Case Studies and Comparative Analysis, (The Henry L. Stimson Center, 1993).

Durch, William J. (ed.), UN Peacekeeping, American Policy, and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996).

Ejército Argentino, Memorias del Ejército Argentino: 1992/1999, (Buenos Aires: 1999). Internet. Available at: http://www.biblioteca.ejercito.mil.ar/Doctrina/Biblioteca/Libros/librosonline.htm Last accessed: March 7, 2007

El Ejército de los Estados Unidos en Salta,"Alerta-Salta, (March, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.alerta-salta.org.ar/article.php3?id_article=4 Last accessed: march 7, 2007

El Estado de la Seguridad y la Seguridad del Estado en América Latina," Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Internacionales, (Instituto de Seguridad Internacional y Asuntos Estratégicos). Internet. Available at: http://www.cari1.org.ar/pdf/estado-seguridad.pdf Accessed: march 26, 2006

Elected Members of the Security Council, 1946-present, (Global Forum). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/membship/mem2.htm Last accessed: August 20, 2005

Electoral Assistance Division. Department of Political Affairs, (United Nations, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpa/ead/overview.html Last accessed: December 4, 2006

Encuesta Nacional de Adicciones 2002, (México: ENA CONADIC/SSA, 2002).

Encyclopedia. Answers. Com. Shigeru Yoshida, (Columbia University Press). Internet. Available at: http://www.answers.com/topic/shigeru-yoshida Last accessed: August 17, 2005

"Entrega de Medalla Conmemorativa al Sufragio Femenino a Mujeres del Ejercito Mexicano," Gazeta Parlamentaria, 63 (Senado de la Republica, September 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.senado.gob.mx/sgsp/gaceta/?sesion=2004/09/30/1&documento=12 Last accessed: April 17, 2005

Espinosa, Patricia, "Posición de México en la Evaluación de Beijin 10+." Instituto nacional de las Mujeres, (México, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.inmujeres.gob.mx/comunicacion/discursos/03-05/18-03-05.pdf Last accessed: September 19, 2005

Europa Press, "El Gobierno Argentino Traspasará el Control de la Aviación Comercial a un Organismo Civil," (Buenos Aires: March 16, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.invertia.com/noticias/noticia.asp?idnoticia=1714153 Last accessed: March 17, 2007

Eyre, Kenneth C., Pro Peace Paratus: An Anthology of Readings in Modern Peacekeeping, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

Eyre, Kenneth C., "The Legal Framework of Modern Peacekeeping." Course presentation. International Summer Peacekeeping Institute 2001, (Wolfville, NS: Acadia University/The Royal Canadian Military College/The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

Eyre, Kenneth C., "The Roles of CIVPOL." Course presentation, International Summer Peacekeeping Institute 2001, (Wolfville, NS: Acadia University/The Royal Canadian Military College/The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

Failed state Index. The Fund for Peace. Internet. Available at: http://www.fundforpeace.org/programs/fsi/fsindex.php Last accessed: February 17, 2006

Feinstein, Lee and Anne-Marie Slaughter, "A Duty to Prevent," Foreign Affairs, 83, 1 (New York: January/February 2004).

Findlay, Trevor, Challenges for New Peacekeepers, SIPRI Research Report No. 12, (Stockholm: International Peace Research Institute, 1996).

Fishel, John T., (Ed.), The Savage Wars of Peace, (Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 1998).

Fleitz, Frederick H., Peacekeeping Fiascoes of the 1990s: Causes, Solutions, and U.S. Interests, (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002).

Follietti, Gilda, "La Participación Argentina en Haití: el Papel del Congreso," Revista Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad: FASOC, XIX, 1, (Santiago de Chile: 2005), pp. 37-56

Fontana, Andrés, "Nuevas Amenazas: Implicancias para la Seguridad Internacional y el Empleo de las Fuerzas Armadas," Documento de Trabajo #103, (Argentina: Universidad de Belgrano, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.ub.edu.ar/investigaciones/dt_nuevos/103_fontana.pdf Last accessed: July 21, 2005

Fouse, David, "Japan's FY 2005 National Defence Program Outline: New Concepts, Old Compromises," Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 4, 3 (March 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.apcss.org/Publications/APSSS/Japans%20FY2005%20National%20Defence%20Program%20Outline.pdf Last accessed: August 18, 2005

Fox, Vicente, President of México, Introductory Letter. Promotion flier for the Mexican candidacy to a Non-permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council, (México: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 2001).

Freedom House. Internet. Available at: http://www.freedomhouse.org

From the Sea: Preparing the Naval Service for the 21st Century, (US Navy, September 1992). Internet. Available at: http://www.navy.mil/navydata/policy/fromsea/fromsea.txt Last accessed: December 3, 2006

Gabino, Rosario, "Argentina: Vuelta Atrás con Liceos Militares," BBC Mundo, (Buenos Aires: May 31, 2006). Internet. available at:

http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/spanish/latin_america/newsid_5035000/5035570.stm last accessed: April 6, 2007

Galtung, Johan, Carl G. Jacobsen and Kai Frithjof Brand-Jacobsen, Searching for Peace: The Road to Transcend, (London: Pluto Press, 2002).

Galtung, Johan, Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means, UNDP Conflict Training Manual, (Geneva: United Nations, 2000).

Garret, James L., "The Beagle Channel Dispute: Confrontation and Negotiation in the Southern Cone," The Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, 27, 3, (Miami: School of International Studies, Autumm, 1985). pp. 81-109

Garza, Humberto (Ed.), Fundamentos y Prioridades de la Política Exterior de México, (México: El Colegio de México, 1986).

Gentile, Jorge Horacio, Ley 25.880. Internet. Available at: http://www.profesorgentile.com.ar/leyes/ley25880.html Last accessed: March 6, 2007 Honorable Senado de la Nación. Internet. Available at: http://tv.senado.gov.ar

George, Aurelia, "Japan's Participation in U.N. Peacekeeping Operations: Radical Departure or Predictable Response?" "Japan: Redefining its International Role," Asian Survey, 33, 6 (University of California Press, June, 1993).

Gerschenson, Ana, "Dan Inmunidad Diplomática a Tropas de Estados Unidos," Diario El Clarín, (Buenos Aires: August 8, 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.clarin.com/diario/2002/08/31/p-01401.htm Last accessed: March 6, 2007

Gilpin, Robert, War and Change in the World Politics, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

Gobierno Federal de México 2001-2006. Plan Nacional de Desarrollo. (México: Presidencia de la Republica, 2001). Internet. Available at: http://pnd.presidencia.gob.mx/index?idseccion=35 Last accessed: June 01, 2005

González, Guadalupe and others, Las Relaciones de México con el Exterior: Diagnóstico y Propuestas de Acción, (México: Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.consejomexicano.org/index.php?publicaciones Last accessed: November 27, 2006

Goulding, Marrack, "The Evolution of United Nations Peacekeeping," International Affairs, 69, (1993), pp. 451–464.

Government Afghan-Bonn Agreement, "Agreement on Provisional Arrangements in Afghanistan Pending the Re-establishment of Permanent Government Institutions." Internet. Available at: http://www.afghangovernment.com/AfghanAgreementBonn.htm Last accessed: July 28, 2005

Granados Chapa, Miguel A., "Entre Nueva York y Tlatelolco." Plaza Pública, (July 18, 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.suracapulco.com.mx/anterior/2002/julio/18/opinion.htm Last accessed: November 23, 2004

Grayson, George W., México's Armed Forces: A Factbook, (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1999). Internet. Available at: www.csis.org/americas/pubs/MexArmedForces0299.pdf. Last accessed: November 23, 2004

Group of Friends for the Reform of the United Nations," Misión Permanente de México ante las Naciones Unidas, (SRE, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.int/México/2003/interv_cs_102903.htm Last accessed: September 19, 2005

H. Cámara de Diputados. Reformas Constitucionales por Artículo. Internet. Available at: http://www.cddhcu.gob.mx/leyinfo/refcns/reformaspa.htm last accessed: March 20, 2006.

Hansen, Wibke, Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse, "Hawks and Doves: Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution," (Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.berghof-handbook.net Last accessed: September 6, 2005

Healy, Gene, "Deployed in the U.S.A.: the Creeping Militarization of the Home Front," Policy Analysis, 503, (Washington: Cato Institute, December 17, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.cato-institute.org/pubs/pas/pa503.pdf Last accessed: May 28, 2006

Herman, Gerald B. and Steven R. Ratner, "Saving the Failed States," Foreign Policy, 89, (Washington: Winter 1992).

Hernández J., Francisco and Maria X. Lopez, El Sindicalismo en la Reforma del Estado: Una Visión de la Modernización de México, (México 1993).

Hernández, Oscar, "Quienes son los Zetas?" EsMas, (Noticieros Televisa, October 29, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.esmas.com/noticierostelevisa/México/402396.html Last accessed: April 28, 2005

Herrera, Jorge, "Comicios Dañaron la Imágen del IFE, revelan," El Universal, (México City: November 10, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/nacion/145254.html Last accessed: December 5 2006

High-level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly 14-16 September 2005, "Draft Outcome Document," (New York: United Nations, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/ga/president/59/draft_outcome.htm Last accessed: September 26, 2005

Hill, Felicity, "The Military Staff Committee: A Possible Future Role in UN Peace Operations?" Global Forum, (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 2001). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/peacekpg/reform/2001/msc.htm Last accessed: August 31, 2005

Hill, Felicity, Gender and Frontline Perspectives on Peacekeeping and the Brahimi Report, (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom). Internet. Available at: http://www.wilpf.int.ch/publications/brahimireport.htm Last accessed: April 13, 2005

Hillen, John, Blue Helmets: The Strategy of UN Military Operations, (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1998).

Historia de México en la OEA, Misión de México en la OEA, (Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores). Internet. Available at: http://www.sre.gob.mx/oea/ Last accessed: December 1, 2006

HIV/AIDS Prevention and care among armed forces and UN peacekeepers. "The Case of

Eritrea," (UNAIDS, 2003). Internet. Available at :
http://www.unaids.org/html/pub/Publications/IRC-
pub05/armed_forces_eritrea_en_pdf.pdf Last accessed: June 1, 2005

Hoffman, Stanley, World Disorders: Troubled Peace in the post-cold war Era, (Boston: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998).

Holbrooke, Richard C., US Permanent Representative to the United Nations. Statement for the Record on HIV/AIDS before the Committee on Banking and Financial Services of the U.S. House of Representatives, (March 8, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.int/usa/00hol0308.htm Last accessed: April 13, 2005

Honorable Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, 22ª Reunión, 10ª Sesión Ordinaria, (Buenos Aires: August 22, 2001). Internet. Available at: http://www1.hcdn.gov.ar/sesionesxml/reunion.asp?p=119&r=22 Last accessed: March 8, 2007

Hristoulas, Athanasious (Coord.), Las Relaciones Cívico-Militares en el Nuevo Orden Internacional, (México: ITAM, 2002).

Human Rights Watch, "Justice in Jeopardy," (México). Internet. Available at: http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/México0703/4.htm#_Toc46223058. Last accessed: December 7, 2004

Human Rights. International Civilian Mission in Haiti, OAS/UN. "Regional Co-operation and Increasing the Peacekeeping capacity of the UN: Role of the OAS," (United Nations). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/rights/micivih/rapports/arg.htm Last accessed: May 31, 2005

Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Disasters Response, (The SPHERE Project). Internet. Available at: http://www.sphereproject.org/index.htm Last accessed: September 14, 2005

Hunter, Wendy, "State and Soldier in Latin America: Redefining the Military's Role in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile," (United States Institute of Peace, October 1996). Internet. Available at: http://www.usip.org/pubs/peaceworks/state10/forwrd10.html last accessed: January 25, 2007

Huser, Herbert C., "Democratic Argentina's 'Global Reach:' The Argentine Military in Peacekeeping Operations," (US Naval War College, Summer 1998). Internet. Available at : http://www.nwc.navy.mil/press/Review/1998/summer/art4su98.htm Last accessed: February 22, 2006

Ikenberry, G. John, "Illusions of Empire: Defining the New American Order," Foreign Affairs, 83, 2 (New York, 2004).

Impunidad en México. "Reporte que presentan Organizaciones Mexicanas a la Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos," (Academia Mexicana de Derechos Humanos, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.cmdpdh.org/informes/informecidhfebrero2003-3-impunidad.pdf Last accessed: April 16, 2005

Informe de labores del año 2002 del Dr. Jorge Castañeda, (Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores). Internet. Available at: http://www.sre.gob.mx/acerca/informes/inf2002.htm

Informe Tendencias de la Política de Seguridad en Argentina," Base de Datos SER en el 2000, (Hamburgo: Instituto de Estudios Iberoamericanos, 1997). Internet. Available

404

at: http://www.ser2000.org.ar/tendencias/tendencia.htm Last accessed: March 19, 2007

Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, UNAM, Enciclopedia Jurídica Mexicana, Ed. Porrúa, Tomo III, Letras: D-E, (México, 2002)

Instituto Federal Electoral. Internet. Available at: http://www.ife.org.mx

International Civilian Mission in Haiti, "OAS Peace-Building Experiences: Progress Achieved, Lessons Learned, and Future Possibilities." OAS/UN International Civilian Mission - Speaking Notes, (United Nations). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/rights/micivih/rapports/peace-bu.htm. Last accessed: December 1, 2006

International Summer Peacekeeping Institute 2001, (Wolfville, NS: Acadia University/The Royal Canadian Military College/The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

Intervención de la Delegación de México en el debate del Consejo de Seguridad sobre el Tema de "las Mujeres, la Paz y la Seguridad," Misión Permanente de México ante las Naciones Unidas, (SRE, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.int/México/2003/interv_cs_102903.htm Last accessed: September 19, 2005

Intervention of Ambassador Enrique Berruga at the UN Security Council on the debate about the situation in Haiti, (New York: Permanent Mission of México to the United Nations, January 12, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.int/México/2005/interv_cs_011205.htm Last accessed: July 10, 2006

Intervention of México's Permanent representative to the United Nations before the Peacekeeping Operations Committee of the UN General Assembly. New York, February 12, 2002.

Interview with Jorge Castañeda, Secretary of Foreing Affairs of México by Sergio Munoz. "Jorge Castañeda: México's man abroad." Los Angeles Times, (August 12, 2001).

Iokibe, Makoto, Japan After the Cold War, (Japan Center for International Studies). Internet. Available at: http://www.jcie.or.jp/thinknet/insights/iokibe.html Last accessed: August 18, 2005

Ishizuka, Katsumi, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Paper presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting for the Academic Council on the United Nations System, at Cascais, Portugal, 21-23 June 2002. Internet. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/iaps/katsumi%20paper2.pdf Last accessed: August 15, 2005

Ishizuka, Katsumi, "The Evolution of Japan's Policy towards United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." Paper presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting for the Academic Council on the United Nations System, at Cascais, Portugal, 21-23 June 2002. Internet. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/iaps/katsumi%20paper2.pdf Last accessed: August 15, 2005

Izquierdo, Martha, "Retiran Bases de Operación Militar y Policial de Sierra Mixe-Zapoteca en Oaxaca: Pobladores Indígenas habían denunciado abusos contra mujeres," (Comunicación e información de la Mujer – CIMAC, 2001). Internet. Available at: http://www.cimac.org.mx/noticias/01feb/01022109.html Last accessed: November 28, 2006

Japan Military. "Self-Defence Forces," (Global Security). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/japan/jda.htm Last accessed: August 26, 2005

Japan, the United Nations and the International Community, (Embassy of Japan in Washington, January 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.us.emb-japan.go.jp/english/html/UNREFORM.PPT Last accessed: August 15, 2005

Japan's Contributions to International Peace. Facts and Figures. Current UN Peacekeeping Operations. International, (Peace Co-operation Headquarters). Internet. Available at: http://www.pko.go.jp/PKO_E/data1_e.html Last accessed: August 23, 2005

Japan-Guide, "The Self-Defence Force." Internet. Available at: http://www.japan-guide.com/e/e2138.html Last accessed: August 18, 2005

Japan-US Security Treaty, (San Francisco: Indiana University, September 8, 1951). Internet. Available at: http://www.taiwandocuments.org/sanfrancisco01.htm Last accessed: August 19, 2005

Jarvis, Robert, Perception and Misperception in International Politics, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976).

Jentleson, Bruce W., "Tough Love Multilateralism," The Washington Quarterly, (The MIT Press, Winter 2003-04). Internet. Available at: http://mitpress.mit.edu/journals/pdf/wash_27_1_7_0.pdf Last accessed: July 24, 2005

Just the Facts: "a Civilian Guide to US Defence and Security Assistance to Latin America and the Caribbean." Major Non-Nato Ally (MNNA) Status, Latin America Working Group, Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), (Center for international Policy, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.ciponline.org/facts/mnna.htm Last accessed: April 5, 2007

Justicia Militar: Derechos Humanos, (México: Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional). Internet. Available at: http://www.sedena.gob.mx/index4.html Last accessed: April 15, 2005

Kelle, Alexander, "CWC Update: Implementation on a low flame," Disarmament Diplomacy, 57 (The Acronym Institute for Disarmament and Diplomacy, May 2001). Internet. Available at: http://www.acronym.org.uk/dd/dd57/57cwc.htm Last accessed: July 28, 2005

Kennedy, Robert, "Competing Conceptions of the post-cold war Order," Southeast Roundtable on Defence, (September 23, 2003).

Koizumi Hints at Extending SDF Dispatch to Iraq," Nikkei, (Tokyo: July 13, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.nni.nikkei.co.jp/FR/FEAT/sdf/ Last accessed: August 27, 2005

Kraesner, Stephen, Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy, (Princeton University Press, 1999).

Ku, Charlotte and Harold K. Jacobson (ed.), Democratic Accountability and the Use of Force in International Law, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Kühne, Winrich and Jochen Prantl, The Brahimi Report: Overcoming the North-South Divide, (German Institute for International and Security Affairs, June 2001).

Kupchan, Charles A., "New Research Agenda? Yes. New Paradigm? No," Council on Foreign Relations, (2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.cfr.org/pdf/ZIB.pdf Last accessed: July 24, 2005

Kurtenbach, Sabine, Revista Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad, 16, 2, (Santiago, Chile: FLACSO, April-june, 2001). Internet. Available at: http://www.fasoc.cl/files/articulo/ART410fbad59e93a.pdf Last accessed: November 11, 2006

La Accion Social de la Armada de México 2001-2002," (México: Secretaría de Marina, 2003).

La Dictadura Militar Argentina: 24 de marzo de 1976-10 de diciembre de 1983," Ministerio de Educación de Argentina. Internet. Available at: http://www.me.gov.ar/efeme/24demarzo/dictadura.html Last accessed: March 01, 2007

La Jornada, (México: February 05, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2006/02/05/edito.php Last accessed: April 16, 2006

La ONU. México y la ONU, (Naciones Unidas – Centro de Información México, Cuba y República Dominicana). Internet, Available at: http://www.cinu.org.mx/onu/México.htm#cs Last accessed: June 1, 2005

Law and Order." Course Presentation. C99-0101, (The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, Cornwallis, NS, 2001).

Ley de Defensa Nacional 23.554, (Argentina, 1998). Internet. Available at: http://www.mindef.gov.ar/secciones/documentos/ley_23554.htm Last accessed: December 12, 2006

Ley de la Policía Federal Preventiva, (México: 1998). Internet. Available at: http://www.ssp.gob.mx/buffer/BEA/ssp/contenido/d715/v9/Ley_PFP.pdf Last accessed: November 26, 2006

Ley de Seguridad Nacional, (México, 2005).

Ley Orgánica de la Armada de México, (México 2002).

Ley Orgánica del Ejército y Fuerza Aérea Mexicanos, (México: 1986 – last reform 1998).

Lightburn, David T., Civil-Military Co-Operation. "Ass Pass on the Seas..." The Peacekeeping Dimension of Maritime Operations. Civil-Military Co-operation. Précis C16-2001, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

Lind, Jennifer M., "Pacifism or Passing the Buck?," International Security, 29, 1 (Cambridge: The MIT Press, Summer 2004).

Lladós, José M. and Carlos M Regúnaga, "Thinking Strategically," US-Argentina Monitor, I, 3, (Buenos Aires: Center for Strategic and International Studies, May 2004).

López A., Víctor, "Exige Iglesia defender a los Migrantes." Diario de México, (México: June 21, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.diariodeMéxico.com.mx/?module=displaystory&story_id=28466&edition _id=350&format=html. Last accessed: November 20, 2004.

López M., Antonio, "Algunas Hipótesis sobre la Política Exterior de México en el Siglo XXI." Revista Debate Social, 11 (Instituto de Estudios Superiores de Occidente). Internet. Available at: http://www.debate.iteso.mx/numero11/Articula/PolexMex.htm. Last accessed: November 20, 2004.

Lozada, Martín, "El Ingreso de Tropas Extranjeras a Argentina," (Universidad Fasta-Bariloche). Internet. Available at: http://veneno.com/2001/v-46/loza-46.html Last accessed: March 6, 2007

Luhnow, David, México again criticizes U.S. over Chiapas, (México: Global Exchange/Reuters, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalexchange.org/countries/México/news/073198.html Last accessed: May 31, 2005

Lutterbeck, Derek, "Between Police and Military," Co-operation and Conflict. (2004). Internet. Available at: http://cac.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/39/1/45 Last access: July 23, 2005

Mace, Gordon and Jean-Philippe Thérien (eds.), Foreign Policy and Regionalism in the Americas, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996), pp. 39–51.

Mackenzie, Lewis, Peacekeeper: the Road to Sarajevo, (Douglas & Macintyre, 1993).

MARCOT (Maritime Coordination and Training). Internet. Available at: http://www.armada.cl/p4_ingles/site/artic/20040518/pags/20040518103935.html Last accessed: December 3, 2006

Marshall, Monty G. and Ted Robert Gurr, Peace and Conflict 2005: A Global Survey of Armed Conflicts, Self-Determination Movements, and Democracy, (College Park, MD: CIDCM, University of Maryland, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/peace_and_conflict.asp last accessed: November 08, 2006

McCreedy, Amy, "Japanese Political Reform: Progress in Process." Asia Program Special Report, 117, 2004 (Washington: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://wwics.si.edu/topics/pubs/Japan%20politics.pdf Last accessed: August 10, 2005.

McRae, Rob and Don Hubert (Eds), Human Security and the New Diplomacy: Protecting People, Promoting Peace, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

McSherry, J. Patrice, "Strategic Alliance: Menem and the Military-Security forces in Argentina," (Argentina Under Menem), Latin American Perspectives, 24, 6, (1997), pp. 63-92

"Mecanismo de consulta entre Argentina y Brasil: Memorando de entendimiento entre el gobierno de la Republica Argentina y el gobierno de la Republica Federativa del Brasil de Consulta y Coordinación," (1997). Revista SER en el 2000. Internet. Available at: http://www.ser2000.org.ar/articulos-revista-ser/revista-10/memobra.htm last accessed: December 23, 2006

Medellín, Alejandro, "Envía Marina Brigadas Medicas a Indonesia." El Universal, (México: January 10, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://estadis.eluniversal.com.mx/nacion/120092.html Last accessed: January 11, 2005

Medellín, Jorge A., "Adiestran a Mujeres para Participar en Comandos," El Universal, (México: January 24, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://estadis.eluniversal.com.mx/nacion/120852.html Last accessed: January 24, 2005

Medellín, Jorge A., "Refuerza SDN acciones para prevenir SIDA," El Universal, (México: February 08, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/pls/impreso/noticia.html?id_nota=121556&tabla=nacion Last accessed: February 08, 2005

Medellín, Jorge A., "Reporta la Marina 287 casos de SIDA," El Universal, (México: November 01, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/pls/impreso/web_histo_primera.despliega?var=15370 &var_sub_actual=-&var_fecha=01-NOV-03 Last accessed: April 16, 2005

Medellin, Jorge A., "Revelan los Secretos del Ejercito Mexicano," El Universal, (México: October 16, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/pls/impreso/version_imprimir?id_nota=15280&tabla =primera. Last accessed October 16, 2003

Méndez Silva, Ricardo and Gloria Abella, "Las Operaciones de Mantenimiento de la Paz y las Relaciones Internacionales de México." Stenographic version of a radio program by Instituto Matias Romero, broadcasted on February 6, 2001. Radio XEUN 860 AM, RADIO UNAM. Internet. Available at: http://www.sre.gob.mx/imred/academ/Trascripciones/radio01/omp.htm. Last accessed: May 17, 2004

Mendoza Declaration. Internet. Available at: http://www.ser2000.org.ar/articulos-revista-ser/revista-2/armas.htm Last accessed: March 8, 2007

Mercosur. Internet. Available at: http://www.mercosur.org.uy/pagina1esp.htm Last accessed: July 29, 2005

México at a glance. General Information. Trade, (United States Embassy in México). Internet. Available at: http://www.usembassy-México.gov/eataglance1.htm Last accessed: May 31, 2005

México Exporta Democracia," El Universal, (México City). Internet. Available at: http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/graficos/infografias/ifeexporta.htm Last accessed: December 5, 2006

México y el Mundo. Global Views 2004. Mexican Public Opinion and Foreign Policy, (CIDE/COMEXI, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.cide.edu Last accessed: May 10, 2005

México, Gobierno de la Republica. Sistema Internet de la Presidencia. Internet. Available at: http://www.presidencia.gob.mx

Middlebrook, Kevin J. (Ed.), Dilemmas of Political Change in México, (London: Institute of Latin American Studies. University of London. School of Advanced Study. 2004).

Miles, Donna, "'Operation Jump Start' jumps into gear along Southwest Border," (Washington: American Forces Press Service, June 15, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.defencelink.mil/news/Jun2006/20060615_5427.html Last accessed: July 13, 2006

Mingst, Karen A., Essentials of International Relations, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2004).

Ministerio de Defensa Español. Misiones de Paz. Clasificación de las Misiones de Paz. Internet. Available at: http://www.mde.es/./contenido.jsp?id_nodo=4262&&&keyword=&auditoria=F Last accessed: March 26, 2006

Ministerio de Defensa, "Nuestras Fuerzas Armadas en Acción," (República Argentina, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.mindef.gov.ar/secciones/revision/accion3.htm Last accessed: December 23, 2006

Ministerio de Defensa, "Ejército Argentino, su desarrollo operativo 1990-1999: una Fuerza para el Siglo XXI," (República Argentina, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.ara.mil.ar/comandos.asp Last accessed: March 15, 2007, [ITALICS ADDED].

Ministerio de Defensa, "La Defensa Nacional en la Agenda Democrática: Informe de la Primera Ronda de Discusiones," (República Argentina, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.mindef.gov.ar/secciones/documentos/Proyecto%20La%20Defensa%20Na cional%20en%20la%20Agenda%20Democr%E1tica.doc Last accessed: March 14, 2007

Ministerio de Defensa, "Participación en Misiones de Paz: 1958-2005," (República Argentina, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.jef3op.ejercito.mil.ar/website/Departamentos/oomp/inicio.htm# Last accessed: April 17, 2007

Ministerio de Defensa, "Sitio Oficial de la Armada Argentina," Misiones de Paz: Golfo Pérsico, (República Argentina, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.ara.mil.ar/opnav_misiones.asp Last accessed: March 21, 2007

Ministerio de Defensa, "Soldados Argentinos por la Paz: la contribución del Ejército Argentino en la Solución Pacifica de los Conflictos," (República Argentina, 1998). Internet. Available at: http://www.biblioteca.ejercito.mil.ar/Doctrina/Biblioteca/Libros/Soldados/indice.htm Last accessed: April 7, 2007

Ministerio de Defensa, Libro Blanco de la República Argentina, (República Argentina, 2006), p. 90 Internet. Available at: http://www.mindef.gov.ar/secciones/libro_blanco/libro%20blanco%20de%20defensa. doc Last accessed: March 15, 2007

Ministerio de Defensa, Misiones de Paz, "Creación del Actual Ministerio de Defensa," (República Argentina, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.mindef.gov.ar/secciones/historia/III.htm Last accessed: December 23, 2006

410

Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto, Comisión Cascos Blancos, (Republica Argentina, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.cascosblancos.gov.ar/c_normativa/02/index.htm Last accessed: April 15, 2007

Moloeznic, Marcos P., "Presente y Futuro del Papel de las Fuerzas Armadas Mexicanas: aproximación al debate sobre el rol del instrumento militar en la democracia," Security and Defence Studies Review, 1, (Universidad de Guadalajara, Spring 2001). Internet. Available at: http://www.ndu.edu/chds/journal/PDF/moloeznik.pdf last accessed: November 26, 2006

Money Talks: the Funding Crisis at the UN, World Federalists of Canada. (Global Policy Forum). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalpolicy.org/finance/docs/wfedcan.htm. Last accessed October 17, 2004.

Monnakgotla, Kgomotso, "The Naked Face of UN Peacekeeping: Noble Crusade or National Self-interest," African Security Review, 15, 5, (Institute for Defence Policy 1, 1996)

Montgomery, Tommie Sue, "Getting to Peace in El Salvador: The Roles of the United Nations Secretaríat and ONUSAL," Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, 37, 4, (Winter, 1995), p.150-151.

Moregnthau, Hans J., Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, 6th ed., (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985).

Morgenthau, Hans, Politics Among Nations: the Struggle for Power and Peace, (New York: Knopf, 1978).

Morris, Catherine, "What is Peacebuilding? One Definition," Peacemakers Trust, (2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.peacemakers.ca/publications/peacebuildingdefinition.html Last accessed: December 10 2006

Morrison, Alex and James Kiras (Eds.), UN Peace Operations and the Role of Japan, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 1996).

Mulegwa, Zihindula, "Rape: A Weapon of War." General Board of Global Ministries, (The United Methodist Church). Internet. Available at: http://gbgm-umc.org/mission_programs/global_connections/africa/rapeweap.cfm Last accessed: April 13, 2005

Nambiar, Satish, United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Problems and Prospects, (New Delhi: March 1999). Internet. Available at: http://www.indianembassy.org/policy/Peace_Keeping/UN_Seminar/UN_Seminar_Nambiar.htm Last accessed: September 6, 2005

Narasimha, Rodam, "A Road-Map for Nuclear Zero," (Bangalore: National Institute for Advanced Studies, June 8, 2001). Internet. Available at: http://www.iisc.ernet.in/nias/nuclzero.pdf Last accessed: February 17, 2006

National Defence Program Outline in and after FY 1996, (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, December, 1995). Federation of American Scientists. Internet. Available at: http://www.fas.org/news/japan/ndpo.htm Last accessed: August 20, 2005

NATO. Internet. Available at: http://www.nato.int

411

Neack, Laura, "UN Peace-keeping: In the Interest of Community or Self?" Journal of Peace Research, 32, (1995).

Neves, Juan Carlos, "The Argentine Navy and UN Peacekeeping Operations in the Gulf of Fonseca," Naval War College Review, (Winter 1994), pp. 40-67.

Niksch, Larry A. and Robert G. Sutter, Japan's Response to the Persian Gulf Crisis: Implications for U.S.-Japan Relations, Congressional Research Service, (Library of Congress, May 23, 1991). Internet. Available at: http://digital.library.unt.edu/govdocs/crs/data/1991/upl-meta-crs-8/91-444f_1991May23.txt Last accessed: August 21, 2005

Nobuaki, Hanaoka, "Japan's case for a Permanent Seat," Japan-echo, 32, Special Issue: UN Reform: Japan Speaks up. (Tokyo, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.japanecho.co.jp/sum/2005/32sp11.html Last accessed: August 27, 2005

Nolan, Janne E. (Ed.), Global Engagement: Co-operation and Security in the 21st Century, (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1994).

North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Internet. Available at: http://www.nato.int

"Note by the Secretary-General transmitting the report of the High-level panel on threats, challenges and change, "Follow-up to the Millennium Outcome," A/59/565, (New York: United Nations, December 2004). Internet. Available at: http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N04/602/31/PDF/N0460231.pdf?OpenEl ement Last accessed: April 12, 2006.

Nye Jr., Joseph S. and William A. Owen, "America Information Age," Foreign Affairs, 75, 2 (March/April 1996), pp. 20-36.

Nye Jr., Joseph S., "Propaganda Isn't the Way: Soft Power," The International Herald Tribune, (January 03, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/news/opeds/2003/nye_soft_power_iht_011003.htm Last accessed: July 21, 2005

O'Neil, William G., "A Humanitarian Practitioner's Guide to International Human Rights Law," Occasional Paper #34 ,Occasional Papers Series of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute of International Studies, (Providence, RI: Brown University, 1999).

Occupied Japan, (Natiomaster.com Encyclopedia). Internet. Available at: http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Occupied-Japan last accessed: August 18, 2005

Ochoa, Jorge Octavio and Alejandro Torres, "PFP Toma Control of Oaxaca," El Universal, (México City: October 30, 2006). Internet. Avilable at: http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/notas/384481.html Last accessed: November 26, 2006

Ojeda, Mario, Alcances y Limites de la Política Exterior de México, (México: El Colegio de México, 1976)

Olsson, Louise and Torunn L. Tryggestad (Eds.), Women and International Peacekeeping, (London: Frank Cass, 2001).

Opinión Publica Argentina sobre Política Exterior y Defensa 2002," (Buenos Aires: Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Internacionales, 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.cari1.org.ar/pdf/encuesta2002.pdf Last accessed: March 19, 2007

Organization of American States, "Special Conference on Security," (2003). Internet. Available at: www.oas.org/esh/ces/en Last accessed: November 27, 2006

412

Ostry, Sylvia, The Post-Cold War Trading System: Who's on First, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

"Otros 20 Militares serán consignados." El Informador, (Guadalajara: September 02, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://148.245.26.68/lastest/2000/Septiembre/02sep2000/02pr02a.htm. Last accessed: March 23, 2005

"Pacto Internacional sobre los Derechos Económicos, Sociales y Culturales," Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas. Internet. Available at: http://cdi.gob.mx/derechos/vigencia/pacto_internacional_derechos_economicos.pdf Last accessed: November 22, 2006

Pala, Antonio L., "The Increased Role of Latin American Armed Forces in UN Peacekeeping: Opportunities and Challenges," Air Power Journal, (USAF Air University, 1995). Internet. Available at: http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/airchronicles/apj/pala.html Last accessed: April 16, 2007

Parai, Louis, "A Note on the Economics of Stand By versus Standing Peacekeeping Forces," Defence and Peace Economics, 15, 5, (October 2006), pp.413-419.

Parker, Karen, "Understanding Self-determination: the basics," First International Conference on the Right of Self-determination, (Geneva: United Nations, August, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.webcom.com/hrin/parker/selfdet.html Last accessed: July 26, 2005

Parkhouse, Owen J. W., Naval Diplomacy and the United Nations: Naval Peacekeeping in a New World Order, MA Thesis, Department of Political Science, (Halifax: Dalhousie University, October 1997).

Passel, Jeffrey, "Mexican Immigration to the United States: The Latest Estimates," (March, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.migrationinformation.org/USfocus/display.cfm?ID=208 Last accessed: May 31, 2005

Pérez Correa, Fernando, "Gobernabilidad y Marco Jurídico," workshop: Los Retos de la Seguridad Nacional en el Siglo XXI, (México City: Instituto Mora, November 14, 2006)

Permanent Mission of Argentina to the United Nations, 2006. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.int/argentina

Pitt, Timothy, "The Role of Humanitarian Aid." Course Presentation. International Summer Peacekeeping Institute 2001, (Wolfville, NS: Acadia University/The Royal Canadian Military College/The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

Política Exterior de México en el Siglo XXI, Embajada de México en Alemania, (Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores). Internet. Available at: http://www.embamex.de/politica/pol_ext_XXI.htm Last accessed: April 26, 2007

Posición de México Sobre la Reforma del Consejo de Seguridad, Comunicado de Prensa No. 126, (Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores). Internet. Available at: http://www.sre.gob.mx/comunicados/comunicados/2006/junio/b_126.htm Last accessed: November 23, 2006

413

Poy Solano, Laura, "Alarma a ONG la Militarización de los Cuerpos Encargados de la Seguridad," La Jornada, (México: January 09, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2005/01/09/003n2pol.php Last accessed: October 01, 2005

Poy Solano, Laura, "Critica ONG creciente incorporación de militares a los cuerpos policíacos," La Jornada, (México: October 10, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2004/10/10/016n1pol.php?origen=politica.php&fly=1 Last accessed: April 18, 2006

Project on Transformations in Multilateral Security Institutions: Implications for the UN, Center on International Co-operation, (Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.cic.nyu.edu/internationalsecurity/docs/Recent%20Thinking%20on%20Peacekeeping%20Literature%20Review3.pdf Last accessed: December 1, 2006

Promoting Human Rights, Democracy, and Social and Economic Justice in Latin America. México. The Mexican Military and Human Rights, (Washington Office on Latin America). Internet. Available at: http://www.wola.org/México/hr/military.htm Last accessed: April 15, 2005

Przeworski, Adam, "[Contribution to] The Role of Theory in Comparative Politics - A Symposium"; World Politics, 48, 1, (The John Hopkins University Press, 1995).

Przystup, James J., "U.S.-Japan Relations: Toward a Mature Partnership," (Institute for International Strategic Studies, June 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.ndu.edu/inss/Occassional_Papers/Przystup_OP_072005/Przystup_OP_07 2005.pdf Last accessed: August 22, 2005

Public Safety Canada. Internet. Available at: http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca

Purrington, Courtney, "Tokyo's Policy Responses During the Gulf Crisis," Asian Survey, 31, 4 (University of California Press, 1991).

Ramírez, Carlos, "Doctrina Estrada, Doctrina Castañeda," Indicador Político, (October 29, 2001). Internet. Available at: http://mx.geocities.com/cencoalt/110901/doctrina.htm Last accessed: April 26, 2007

Reames, Benjamin, "Police Forces in México: a Profile," (La Jolla: Center for US-México Studies, May, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://repositories.cdlib.org/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1025&context=usmex Last accessed: November 26, 2006

Record of Japan's International Peace Co-operation Activities based on the International Peace Co-operation Law, (Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs). Internet. Available at: http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/un/pko/pamph2005-2.pdf accessed: August 15, 2005

Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina (RESDAL), Atlas de Defensa, "Países: Argentina," (August, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.resdal.org/atlas/atlas-argentina-info.html Last accessed: March 8, 2007

Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina (RESDAL), Atlas de Defensa, (August, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.resdal.org

Regional Security Organizations and the Challenge of Regional Peacekeeping, (United Nations Association). Internet. Available at: http://www.una-uk.org/UN&C/regionalsecurity.html. Last accessed: October 04, 2004

414

Reich, Peter L., The Mexican Catholic Church and Constitutional Change since 1929. Internet. Available at: http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2082/is_n1_v60/ai_20150896. Last accessed: November 20, 2004.

Renner, Michael, "UN Peacekeeping: An Uncertain Future." Foreign Policy Infocus, 5, 28 (September 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.fpif.org/pdf/vol5/28ifpeace.pdf Last accessed: April 13, 2005

Report 28612-ME México, "Poverty in México: an Assessment of Conditions, Trends and Government Strategies," (World Bank, June 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2004/07/13/000012009_20 040713141715/Rendered/PDF/286120ME.pdf Last accessed: April 18, 2006

Report of Graça Machel, Expert of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, UNICEF. "Impact of Armed Conflict on Children", (United Nations, 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.unicef.org/graca/a51-306_en.pdf Last accessed: April 13, 2005

Report of the Australian Parliamentary Delegation to Japan and the Republic of Korea, 8-19 December 2003. The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia. (Canberra: Senate Printing Unit, Department of the Senate, Parliament House, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.aph.gov.au/house/info/pro/del_reports/JapanROKorea.pdf Last accessed: August 10, 2005

Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, "A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility," (New York: United Nations, 2004).

Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations. A/55/305-S/2000/809, (United nations, March 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/ Last accessed: December 2, 2006

Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization. Supplement to An Agenda For Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations. A/50/60 - S/1995/1. 3. IV Coordination. (United Nations, January 1995). Internet. Available at: http://www.unog.ch/archives/agendas/supagp.htm. Last accessed October 19, 2004

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992. VII Co-operation with Regional Organizations. (United Nations), p. 64. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html. Last accessed: Oct 18, 2004

Report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflicts." S/2004/431. United Nations Security Council. Internet. Available at: http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N04/363/13/PDF/N0436313.pdf?OpenEl ement Last accessed: April 8, 2005

Report, Phase III Findings, (state Failure Task Force, University of Maryland, September 30, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://globalpolicy.gmu.edu/pitf/SFTF%20Phase%20III%20Report%20Final.pdf Last accessed: February 17, 2006

RESDAL, Atlas Comparativo de América Latina, (Buenos Aires: Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.resdal.org/libros/Archivo/atlas-libro.htm Last accessed: March 19, 2006

Resolution 1368: Threats to International Peace and Security Caused by terrorist Acts, (United Nations Security Council). Internet. Available at: http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N01/533/82/PDF/N0153382.pdf?OpenEl ement Last accessed: July 11, 2006

Resolution 1373: Threats to International Peace and Security Caused by terrorist Acts, (United Nations Security Council). Internet. Available at: http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N01/557/43/PDF/N0155743.pdf?OpenEl ement Last accessed: July 11, 2006

Resolution A/RES/55/235 Scale of Assessments for the Apportionment of the Expenses of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, (United Nations General Assembly). Internet. Available at: http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/573/25/PDF/N0057325.pdf?OpenEl ement Last accessed November 29, 2006

Resolution S/RES/1308/2000, on the responsibility of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security: HIV/AIDS and international Peacekeeping Operations (United Nations Security Council, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://ods-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/536/02/PDF/N0053602.pdf?OpenElement Last accessed: July 18, 2003

Resolution S/RES/1325/2000, on Women and Peace and Security, (United Nations Security Council, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/720/18/PDF/N0072018.pdf?OpenEl ement Last accessed: April 12, 2005

Revista Jurídica, "Boletín Mexicano de Derecho Comparado," XXI, 63, (Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, UNAM, September 1988). Internet. Available at: http://www.juridicas.unam.mx/publica/rev/indice.htm?r=boletin&n=63 Last accessed: April 26, 2007

Rikhye, Indar, The Politics and Practice of United Nations Peacekeeping: Past, Present and Future, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2000)

RIMPAC (Rim of the Pacific). (US Third Fleet). Internet. Available at: http://www.c3f.navy.mil/RIMPAC_2006/ Last accessed: December 3, 2006

Rio Grande Valley Border Patrol Sector Initiates Operation Jumpstart," (US Customs and Border Protection, June 20, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://cbp.gov/xp/cgov/newsroom/news_releases/06202006_3.xml Last accessed: July 13, 2006

Robbins, James, "United Nations in a New Millennium." News BBC, (September 4, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/909865.stm. Last accessed: May 21, 2005

Rogers, Paul F., Politics in the Next 50 Years: the Changing nature of International Conflict, (University of Bradford, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.brad.ac.uk/acad/peace/pubs/psp1.pdf Last accessed: August 6, 2005

416

Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/law/icc/statute/romefra.htm

Rosas, María Cristina, "La Seguridad Internacional y la Lucha Contra el Terrorismo a 5 años del 11 de septiembre," Comercio Exterior, 56, 9, (México City: September 2006). Internet. Available at: Last accessed: November 11, 2006

Rosas, María Cristina (Coord.), Las Operaciones de Mantenimiento de la Paz de las Naciones Unidas: Lecciones para México, (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2005).

Rosenau, James N. (Ed.), International Politics and Foreign Policy, (New York: Free Press, 1969).

Rother, Larry, "Argentina and the U.S. Grow Apart over a Crisis," The New York Times, (January 20, 2002). Internet. available at: http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/argentina/collapse.htm Last accessed: April 6, 2007

Rother, Larry, "Consequences for the United States in Argentina's Collpase," The New York Times, (December 25, 2001). Internet. available at: http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/argentina/collapse.htm Last accessed: April 06, 2007

Rozental, Andres, "The meaning and implementation of security in the contemporary world," Conference: Features of Contemporary World: Politics Affecting México, (Center for Mexican Studies. University of Oxford, February 21-22, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.México.ox.ac.uk/wp1.htm Last accessed: May 1, 2006

Ruggie, John G., "This Crisis of Multilateralism is Different." The National Forum on the United Nations. Kennedy School of Government, (Harvard University 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.unausa.org/newindex.asp?place=http://www.unausa.org/membership/forum/ruggie.asp Last accessed: June 12, 2004

Runza, Ricardo A., "Misiones, despliegue y organización de las Fuerzas Armadas de Argentina, Brasil y Chile," Revista Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad, 18, 1-2, (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Estudios Estratégicos, 2004). pp. 155-181. Internet. Available at: http://www.fasoc.cl/files/articulo/ART4112cb8275129.pdf Last accessed: March 17, 2007

Russell, Roberto, "Imperio o Hegemonía: La política exterior de los Estados Unidos desde el 11 de Septiembre", en Seminario El Estado de la Seguridad y la Seguridad del Estado en América Latina, organizado por el Instituto de Seguridad Internacional y Asuntos Estratégicos del Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Internacionales, Buenos Aires, 3 de julio de 2003, pp. 7

Salas, Elizabeth, Soldaderas in the Mexican Military, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990).

Salaverry, Jorge, "Evolution of the Mexican Foreign Policy," Backgrounder, 638, (Heritage Foundation, March 1988).

Salazar, Almicar, "Fuerzas Armadas, un reto para la Mujer," El Universal, (México: March 09, 2003. Internet. Available at: http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/pls/impreso/noticia.html?id_nota=94336&tabla=nacion Last accessed: April 17, 2005

417

Sánchez Gutiérrez, Arturo, "Considera Consejero del IFE muy Oportuna una Reforma Electoral," NOTIMEX, (México Citu: December 2, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://espanol.news.yahoo.com/s/02122006/4/n-latam-considera-consejero-ife-oportuna-reforma-electoral.html Last accessed: December 5, 2006

Schneider, Charles, "East Timor puts U.S. Soldiers above the Law," The East Timor Estafeta, 8, 1, (Winter 2002-2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.etan.org/estafeta/02/winter02/3law.htm

Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional, (México: 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.sedena.gob.mx

Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional, "Ayuda Humanitaria a Otros Países."Internet. Available at: http://www.sedena.gob.mx/artic_int/proy_inova/planiiie/index.html# Last accessed: November 24, 2006

Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional. Internet. Available at: http://www.sedena.gob.mx.

Secretaría de Marina, "Boletines emitidos por la Secretaría de Marina 2001-2006" Internet. Available at: http://www.semar.gob.mx/boletin2005.htm Last accessed: November 25, 2006

Secretaría de Marina, "Logros de la Secretaría de Marina 2001-2006" Internet. Available at: http://www.semar.gob.mx/informes/logros.pdf Last accessed: November 25, 2006

Secretaría de Marina, "Plan Marina." Internet. Available at: http://www.semar.gob.mx/plangral.htm Last accessed: April 21, 2007

Secretaría de Marina. Internet. Available at: http://www.semar.gob.mx/ Last accessed: November 24, 2004

Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores. Press Conference of Mr. Luis Ernesto Derbez, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, after the signing of co-operation agreement between SRE and the Institute Mora, (México City: July 20, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.sre.gob.mx/comunicados/conferencias/2005/confe_25.htm Last accessed: December 04, 2006

Secretary-General's Bulletin, ST/SGB/2003/13. "Special Measures for Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse." United Nations Secretariat. Internet. Available at : http://www.peacewomen.org/un/pkwatch/discipline/SGBonSEA.pdf Last accessed: April 8, 2005

Serbs admit Srebrenica death toll. BBC News World Edition. Internet. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3743176.stm Last accessed: June 17, 2005

Serna de la Garza, José M. La Reforma del Estado en América Latina: los Casos de Brasil, Argentina y México, (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas de la UNAM, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.bibliojuridica.org/libros/libro.htm?l=134 Last accessed: March 04, 2007

Shin, Rinn-Sup, "Japanese Participation in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations," Congressional Research Service, (Library of Congress, 1992). Internet. Available at: http://digital.library.unt.edu/govdocs/crs/data/1992/upl-meta-crs-24/92-665f_1992Aug24.txt Last accessed: August 22, 2005

Short, Clare, "What Future for the UN?," Global Policy Forum, (BBC News. June 9, 2003).). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalpolicy.org/socecon/un/2003/0609future.htm Last accessed: August 6, 2005

Sierra, Jorge Luis, "Estragos de la Guerra Inútil," REDES 2003, Research and Education in Defence and Security Studies. (Santiago de Chile: Center for Hemispheric Defence Studies, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.ndu.edu/chds/redes2003/Academic-Papers/8.Internal-Security/5.Drug-Control-Democracy-Human-Rights/1.%20Sierra-final.doc. Last accessed: March 23, 2005

Sierra, Jorge Luis, El Enemigo Interno: Contrainsurgencia y Fuerzas Armadas en México, (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2003).

Sierra, Jorge Luis, Las Fuerzas Armadas Mexicanas en la Guerra Antinarcóticos, (Washington Office on Latin America, April 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.wola.org/publications/ddhr_México_brief_esp.pdf Last accessed: January 30, 2005

Silber, Steven, US Soldier Pleads Guilty to murder of Kosovo Girl, "U.S. Staff Sergeant Frank Ronghi pleaded guilty late on Friday to the forcible sodomy and premeditated murder of an 11-year-old ethnic Albanian girl while on peacekeeping duty in Kosovo," (Reuters, July 29, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://dailynews.yahoo.com/h/nm/20000729/ts/soldier_trial_dc_1.html Last accessed: October 04, 2004

Snyder, Richard C. and others, Foreign Policy Decision-making: an approach to the Study of International Politics, (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962).

Sobrazo, Alejandro, "La Constitución y Nuestra Política Exterior," (UNAM). Internet. Available at: www.bibliojuridica.org/libros/4/1643/17.pdf Last accessed: April 26, 2007

Soeya, Yoshihide, "Japan's Dual Identity and the U.S.-Japan Alliance," Working Papers May 1998, (Asia/Pacific Research Center, 1998). Internet. Available at: http://www.ciaonet.org/wps/soy01/ Last accessed: August 26, 2005

Soeya, Yoshihide, "Redefining Japan's Security Profile: International Security, Human Security, and an East Asian Community," IIPS International Conference: A New Horizon for Japan's Security policy – Basic Concept and Framework, (Tokyo: Institute for International Policy Studies, December 2004). Internet. Available at: www.iips.org/04sec/04asiasec_nishihara.pdf Last accessed: August 17, 2005

Soeya, Yoshihide, Japan as a Regional Actor, "ASEAN-Japan Co-operation: a Foundation for East Asian Community," (Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.jcie.or.jp/thinknet/pdfs/asean_soeya.pdf Last accessed: August 17, 2005

Soni, Shannon-Marie, "A Lighter Shade of Blue: Japan's Role in UN Peacekeeping Operations," Periscope, 2, 1 (International University of Japan, 1999). Internet. Available at: http://www2.iuj.ac.jp/periscope/paperV21D.htm Last accessed: August 21, 2005

Special Press Summary: Japan's Revised National Defence Program Outline, (Japan DoD. Virtual Information Center. NDPO). Internet. Available at: http://www.vic-info.org/RegionsTop.nsf/0/782098d68e67b9ae0a256f6d007ce454/US$FILE/041217-SPS-JapanRevisesNationalDefenceProgramOutline(NPDO)-web.doc Last accessed: August 18, 2005

Statement by Dr. Nestor Carlos Kirchner, president of the Argentine Republic," United Nations General Assembly Plenary, Permanent Mission of Argentina to the United Nations, (República Argentina, 2003). Internet. Available at : http://www.un.org/webcast/ga/58/statements/argeeng030925.htm Last accessed: April 15, 2007

Statement by H. E. Mr. Jorge E. Navarrete, Permanent Representative of México to the United Nations on measures to eliminate international terrorism (Agenda Item 166) at the Plenary of the fifty-sixth session of the General Assembly, October 01, 2001. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/terrorism/statements/MéxicoS.html Last accessed: July 11, 2006

Steenken, Kees, "Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration." Course Presentation. International Summer Peacekeeping Institute 2001, (Wolfville, NS: Acadia University/The Royal Canadian Military College/The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI 2007). Internet. Available at: http://first.sipri.org

Stohl, Michael and George Lopez, "Failed States and International Security: Causes, Prospects and Consequences," Westphalia, the End of the Cold War and the New World Order: Old Roots to a New Problem, (Purdue University, 1998). Internet. Available at: http://www.ippu.purdue.edu/failed_states/1998/papers/stohl-lopez.html Last accessed: September 28, 2004

Strategy for Homeland Defence and Civil Support, (U.S. Department of Defence, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.defencelink.mil/news/Jun2005/d20050630homeland.pdf Last accessed: July 22, 2005

Strobel, Warren P., "The Military and the Media." Late-Breaking Foreign Policy, (United States Institute of Peace, 1997).

SUMA System Helps Avoid Second Disaster," Press Information, (Pan-American Health Organization, 2007). Internet. available at: http://www.paho.org/English/DPI/100/100feature16.htm Last accessed: April 15, 2007

Suri, Sanjay, "Kenyan Women Sue British Soldiers over Mass Rapes." Global Report, (Asheville, NC). Internet. Available at: http://www.agrnews.org/issues/234/worldnews.html#kenyan Last accessed: April 13, 2005

Swatuk, Larry A., Between Choice and a hard Place: Contending Theories of International Relations, (Halifax, NS: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1991).

TEAMWORK SOUTH. Internet. Available at: http://www.armada.cl/p4_ingles/site/artic/20040518/pags/20040518103935.html Last accessed: December 3, 2006

Ten Rules: Code of Personal Conduct for Blue Helmets, (United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations). Internet. Available at: http://www.genderandpeacekeeping.org/resources/5_UN_Codes_of_Conduct.pdf Last accessed: April 8, 2005

Thalif, Deen, "UN Cracks Down on Sexual Exploitation by Peacekeepers," (Interpress Service, July 31, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.cyberdyaryo.com/features/f2002_0731_05.htm Last accessed: April 13, 2005

The "Grupo de Río." Internet. Available at: http://www.mre.gov.br/cdbrasil/itamaraty/web/espanhol/relext/mre/orgreg/gruporio/apresent.htm Last accessed: March 9, 2007

The 1994 Human Development Report: New Dimensions on Human Security," (1994). Internet. Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/1994/en/ Last accessed: October 20, 2006

The 1997 Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production, and Transfer of Anti-personnel Mines, and on their destruction, (Ottawa: 1997). Internet. Available at: http://www.icbl.org/treaty Last accessed: March 9, 2007

The 2004 A. T. Kearney/Foreign Policy Globalization Index. Foreign Policy. Internet. Available at: http://www.foreignpolicy.com/issue_marapr_2004/countrydetail.php Last accessed: January 17, 2007

The Council on Security and Defence Capabilities. The Council on Security and Defence Capabilities Report 2004, "Japan's Visions for Future Security and Defence Capabilities," (Global Security, 2004). Internet. Available at:http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/news/japan/2004/041000-csdc-report.pdf Last accessed: August 20, 2005

The DHS Strategic Plan: Securing Our Homeland, (U.S. Department of Homeland Security). Internet. Available at: http://www.dhs.gov/dhspublic/interapp/editorial/editorial_0413.xml last accessed: August 4, 2005

The Financial Costs of Peacekeeping, (United Nations Association). Internet. Available at: http://www.una-uk.org/UN&C/costs.html. Last accessed October 04, 2004

The Human Security Report 2005: War and Peace in the 21st Century. The Human Security Centre, (2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.humansecurityreport.info/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=28&Itemid=63 Last accessed: November 7, 2005

The Mass Media's Impact on International Affairs, (U.S. Institute of Peace). Internet. Available at: http://www.usip.org/peacewatch/1997/697/media.html Last accessed: April 13, 2005

The Missile Technology Control Regime, (2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.mtcr.info/english/index.html

The National Defence Strategy of the United States, (U.S. Department of Defence, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/dod/nds-usa_mar2005.htm last accessed: July 23, 2005

The National Security Strategy of the United States of America,"(Washington, DC: The White House, 2002). Internet, available at: http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf Last accessed: April 19, 2006

The New Peacekeeping Partnership. Précis C99-0101, (Cornwallis, NS: The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, 2001).

The Norwegian Nobel Institute. Internet. Available at: http://nobelprize.org

421

The Pearson Peacekeeping Centre. Internet. Available at http://www.peaceoperations.org
The Postdam Declaration, (Postdam, Germany: July 26, 1945). "Birth of the Constitution of Japan." National Diet Library. Internet. Available at: http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/etc/c06.html last accessed: August 16, 2005

The Responsibility to Protect, "Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty," (Ottawa : Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Canada, 2001).

The Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America Report to the Leaders. Internet. Available at: http://www.fac-aec.gc.ca/spp/SPP-report.PDF Last accessed: March 18, 2006

The Supreme Court Leading Cases," Harvard Law Review, 118, (Harvard: November, 2004). Internet. Available at: http://www.harvardlawreview.org/issues/118/Nov04/Leading%20Cases/Sosa_v_Alvarez-MachainFTX.pdf Last accessed: April 16, 2006

Thelen, David, "Rethinking History and the Nation-state: México and the United States," The Journal of American History, 86, 2, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 1999), pp. 438-452.

Tollos, Sergio, "La Guerra del Paraguay (1865-1870)," RS Órgano Oficial del Estado Mayor General del Ejército Argentino. Internet. Available at: http://www.rs.ejercito.mil.ar/Contenido/Nro649/Revista/histomilitar.htm Last accessed: January 25, 2007

Toshihiro, Yamauchi, "Gunning for Japan's Peace Constitution," Japan Quarterly, 39, 2 (Tokyo: April 1992).

Transparency International (2007). Internet. available at: http://www.transparency.org/

Tratado Marco de Seguridad Democrática en Centro América, (San Pedro Sula, Honduras: 1995). Internet. Available at: http://www.protegiendoles.org/documentacion/articulo13.pdf Last accessed: October 20, 2006

Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security between Japan and the United States of America, (Washington, January 19, 1960). Indiana University. Internet. Available at: http://www.indiana.edu/~easc/security_issues/japan/us-japan%20mutual%20security%20treaty.pdfLast accessed: August 19, 2005

Treaty of Peace with Japan, (San Francisco: Taiwan Documents Project, September 8, 1951). Internet. Available at: http://www.taiwandocuments.org/sanfrancisco01.htm Last accessed: August 19, 2005

UN Congo Peacekeepers Investigated, "Seven U.N. Peacekeeping Troops from Uruguay Who are Under Investigation for Stealing From a Church in Northeastern Congo Will be Transferred to the Capital, Kinshasa, the United Nations said Thursday [9/11/2003]," (Associated Press). Internet. Available at: http://www.kentucky.com/mld/kentucky/2003/07/31/news/state/6750710.htm Last accessed: April 13, 2005

UN Security Council. Press Release SC/6937, (United Nations). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2000/20001025.sc6939.doc.html Last accessed: April 12, 2005

UNITAS. (Center for International Policy). Internet. Available at: http://www.ciponline.org/facts/unit.htm Last accessed: December 3, 2006

United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Past Operations. Africa. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/ Last accessed: September 5, 2005

United Nations Development Fund for Women. Internet. Available at: http://www.unifem.undp.org/about_us/ataglance.html Last accessed: April 12, 2005

United Nations General Assembly Resolution A/Res/46/137, "Enhancing the effectiveness of the principle of periodic and genuine elections," (United Nations, December 17, 1991). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dhl/res/resa46.htm Last accessed: December 4, 2006

United Nations General Assembly. "Investigation by the Office of Internal Oversight Services into allegation of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo." A/59/661. Internet. Available at: http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/200/55/PDF/N0520055.pdf?OpenEl ement Last accessed: April 12, 2005

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. "Basic Facts," (United Nations). Internet. Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/basics/opendoc.htm?tbl=BASICS&id=420cc0432 Last accessed: April 20, 2007

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. "Human Rights Watch World Report 2006: México," Human Rights Watch Annual Reports, (United Nations). Internet. Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/opendoc.htm?tbl=RSDCOI&page=research&id=43cfaea334 Last accessed: July 4, 2006

United Nations. Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org

UNTAC, United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, (1992). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/untac.htm Last accessed: December 6, 2006

US Department of Homeland Security, Press Release, "United States and México Commit to Combat Border Violence and Improve Public Safety," (DHS: March 03, 2006). Internet. Available at: http://www.dhs.gov/xnews/releases/press_release_0873.shtm Last accessed: November 8, 2006

Utenriksdepartementet, "Objectives of the Follow-up of the Brahimi Report," (Norway Ministry of Foreign Affairs). Internet. Available at: http://odin.dep.no/ud/engelsk/publ/veiledninger/032001-120009/hov002-bn.html Last accessed: April 12, 2005

Velasco-Márquez, Jesús, Mexican Cosmo Vision of the United States, (Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. Harvard University). Internet. Available at: http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/conferences/canadaMéxico/marquezpaper.pdf

Velásquez, Mauricio D., "Comentarios sobre la Minuta que Reforma y Adiciona la Fracción III del Articulo 76 de la Constitución Política de Los Estados Unidos Mexicanos," Debate Parlamentario, 2, (May 2005). Internet. Available at: Last accessed: December 04, 2006

423

Velázquez Flores, Rafael, Características Contemporáneas de la Política Exterior de México, (Universidad de Quintana Roo). SISBI. Internet. Available at: http://dzibanche.biblos.uqroo.mx/Cursos_linea/Rafael_Velazquez/Articulo01.htm. Last accessed: November 16, 2004.

Venegas, Juan Manuel, "Insólita mención de Fox en la Corte de La Haya a principios Juaristas." La Jornada, (México: January 28, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.lajornada.unam.mx/003n1pol.php?origen=politica.html Last accessed: January 28, 2003

Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action. World Conference on Human Rights A/CONF. 157/23. (United Nations General Assembly, July 12, 1993). Internet. Available at: http://www.unhchr.ch/huridocda/huridoca.nsf/(Symbol)/A.CONF.157.23.En?OpenDocument Last accessed: April 15, 2005

Vignolles, Pablo, "El Valor de las Fuerzas Armadas como Instrumento de la Política Exterior: Argentina en Misiones de Paz y Coaliciones Militares," Security and Defence Studies Review, 2, (Center for Hemispheric Defence Studies, Winter 2003-2004), pp.143-188.

Vilanova, Pere, "La Seguridad Europea: Diálogos para el Siglo XXI," Revista CIDOB d 'Afers Internacionals, 38-39(1997). Internet. Available at: http://www.cidob.org/Castellano/Publicaciones/Afers/38-39vilanova.cfm Last accessed: April 18, 2006

Waltz, Kenneth, Theory of International Politics, (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1979).

We the peoples. The Role of the United Nations in the 21 Century. II Globalization and Governance, (United Nations, 2000). Internet, Available at: http://www.un.org/millennium/sg/report/full.htm Last accessed: November 23, 2006

"We'll Kill You if You Cry: Sexual Violence in the Sierra Leone Conflict," Human Rights Watch, 15, 1A (Sierra Leone: January 2003).

Weapons of Mass Destruction: Missile Programs," (Global Security, 2007). Internet. Available at: http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/world/argentina/missile.htm Last accessed: March 20, 2007

White Paper 2002. Chapter IV. "Response to Disasters and Contribution to Building a More Stable Security Environment: Expanding the Sphere of SDF Activities In and Outside Japan," Efforts for International Peace. (Japan Defence Agency, 2002). Internet. Available at: http://www.jda.go.jp/e/pab/wp2002/0402.htm Last accessed: August 22, 2005

Williams, Rudy, Women Rising to Higher Positions in the Military, (American Forces Press, April 2005). Internet. Available at: http://usmilitary.about.com/od/womeninthemilitary/a/dodwomen.htm Last accessed: April 17, 2005

Wilson, Carolyn L., "Changing the Charter: The United Nations Prepares for the Twenty-first Century," The American Journal of International Law, 90, 1, (Washington: American Society of International Law, January 1996), pp. 115-126

424

Women in the armed forces: the role of women in Australian Defence Force. (Parliament of Australia. Parliamentary Library. Foreign Affaires, Defence and Trade group). Internet. Available at: http://www.aph.gov.au/library/intguide/fad/women_armed.htm#Women_in_the_ADF Last accessed: April 17, 2005

Women Victims of Armed Conflict, "Rape as a War Crime." Irish Section, (Amnesty International). Internet. Available at: http://www.amnesty.ie/netw/wan/mj99a.shtml Last accessed: October, 12 2003

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, "Women, Gender and Peacekeeping," (Peace Women). Internet. Available at: http://www.peacewomen.org/un/pkwatch/pkindex.html Last accessed: April 7, 2005

Worboys, Katherine J., "The Traumatic Journey from Dictatorship to Democracy: Peacekeeping Operations and Civil-Military Relations in Argentina 1989-1999," Armed Forces and Society, 33, 2, (January 2007). pp.149-168

Wordreference.com. (Princetown University, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://www.wordreference.com/definition/security Last acceded: July 24, 2005

World Macro Regions and Components," (United Nations, 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.un.org/depts/dhl/maplib/worldregions.htm Last accessed: March 18, 2006

Yoshida, Takafumi, "Public Accepts the Realities of the SDF and the Pacifist Ideals," The Asahi Shimbun, (May 04, 2005). Internet. Available at: http://www.asahi.com/english/Herald-asahi/TKY200505040086.html Last accessed: August 24, 2005

Yoshitaka, Sasaki, "Japan's Undue International Contribution," Japan Quarterly, 40, 3 (Tokyo: Research Library, July 1993).

Zelikow, Philip, "The Transformation of National Security," The National Interest, (Spring, 2003). Internet. Available at: http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2751/is_2003_Spring/ai_99377572/pg_9 Last accessed: November 12, 2006