

Key Documents in the Latin American CBM Process

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Latin American countries have utilized confidence-building measures (CBMs) to reduce tension, bolster economic integration, and introduce measures for increasing cooperative security in the region. These efforts reflect the aims of new civilian leaderships to institute ties that would further common goals, such as economic development and the consolidation of democratic governance in countries emerging from years of military rule. While Latin American nations have undertaken informal CBMs, the three documents reproduced below—the 1991 Santiago Declaration, the 1994 Meeting of Experts on Confidence and Security Building Measures, and the 1996 Bariloche Declaration—represent important regional initiatives that create institutional mechanisms to design and implement far-reaching CBM agreements. These selected documents chart the gradual evolution and expansion of the CBM process in Latin America, as national leaderships sought to strengthen the important relationship between stable democratic governance, regional security, and economic development. Furthermore, these agreements also recognized the interdependence of Latin American nations in the search for peace and economic prosperity.

1991 Santiago Declaration

The 1991 Santiago Declaration was the first major document to pledge the member nations of the Organization of American States (OAS) to the creation of security-related CBMs that would strengthen democratic governance in Latin America. This document was prompted by concerns from newly-democratized nations that tension and instability among the countries of the region could jeopardize the return to civilian rule. Accordingly, the Declaration committed its signatories to democratic rule, to increased communication and cooperation among nations, and to reduced military expenditures. It further sought to link the consolidation of democracy with economic prosperity, advocating the liberalization of trade to promote economic integration between the nations of the region. The framers of this Declaration also hoped that the OAS would step forward to provide leadership and an institutional framework for additional CBM agreements in the future. While the Santiago Declaration did not recommend specific CBMs, this document provided the guiding framework for future CBM agreements. The complete document follows below:

The Santiago Commitment to Democracy and the Renewal of the Inter-American System

Organization of American States, General Assembly, 4 June 1991,

The Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Chiefs of Delegation of the member states of the Organization of American States, meeting in Santiago, Chile, as the representatives of their democratically-elected governments to the twenty-first regular session of the General Assembly of the OAS,

Aware that profound international political and economic changes and the end of the Cold War open up new opportunities and responsibilities for concerted action by all countries through global and regional organizations, as well as in their bilateral relationships;

Bearing in mind that the changes towards a more open and democratic international system are not completely established, and that cooperation must be encouraged and strengthened so that those favorable trends may continue;

Recognizing the need to advance decisively towards a just and democratic order based on full respect for international law, the peaceful settlement of disputes, solidarity and the revitalization of multilateral diplomacy and of international organizations;

Mindful that representative democracy is the form of government of the region and that its consolidation, improvement and true enjoyment are shared priorities;

Reaffirming that the principles enshrined in the OAS Charter and the ideals of peace, democracy, social justice, comprehensive development and solidarity are the permanent foundation of the Inter-American system;

Recognizing that cooperation to guarantee the peace and security of the hemisphere is one of the essential purposes consecrated in the Charter of the OAS, and that the proliferation of arms adversely affects international security and takes resources away from the economic and social development of the peoples of the member states;

Resolved to work for the intensification of the struggle against extreme poverty and the elimination of the economic and social inequalities in each nation and among the nations of the hemisphere;

Noting with interest the report of the Consultation Group on the Renewal of the Inter-American System; and

Convinced that the OAS is the political forum for dialogue, understanding and cooperation among all the countries of the hemisphere, whose potential, enhanced by the accession of new member states, must be increased to make it an effective voice in the world for the decisions of its members;

DECLARE:

- Their inescapable commitment to the defense and promotion of representative democracy and human rights in the region, within the framework of respect for the principles of self-determination and non-intervention;
- Their firm resolve to stimulate the renewal of the Organization of American States, to make it more effective and useful in the application of its guiding principles and for the attainment of its objectives;
- Their determination to continue to prepare and develop a relevant agenda for the Organization, in order to respond appropriately to the new challenges and demands in the world and in the region, and their decision to assign special priority in this decade to the following actions:

- a. An intensification of the common struggle and cooperative actions against extreme poverty to help reduce economic and social inequalities in the hemisphere, thus strengthening the promotion and consolidation of democracy in the region;
 - b. Strengthening representative democracy as an expression of the legitimate and free manifestation of the will of the people, always respecting the sovereignty and independence of member states;
 - c. Promoting the enjoyment and defense of human rights in accordance with inter-American instruments in force and through particular existing agencies; and ensuring that discrimination does not become an obstacle to political participation by undervalued or minority ethnic groups;
 - d. Promoting the progressive liberalization of trade and the expansion of investments, access to scientific and technological knowledge and the reduction of the foreign debt of the countries of the region and, from this perspective, support of the “Enterprise of the Americas Initiative” and the Uruguay Round of the GATT negotiations;
 - e. Contributing to the protection by all of our environment for the benefit of present and future generations, thus assuring sustainable development in the region;
 - f. Encouragement to the adoption and execution of appropriate measures to prevent and combat the illicit use and production of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, and traffic therein, chemical precursors and money laundering, and related clandestine traffic in arms, ammunitions, and explosives;
 - g. The favoring of integration processes in the region and, to this end, the adoption of a program of work designed, *inter alia*, to harmonize legislation in the region, particularly the civil and common law systems;
 - h. Promotion and intensification of cultural, educational, scientific and technological exchanges as instruments for integration, with full respect for the cultural heritage of each of the member states;
 - i. An increase in technical cooperation and encouragement of a transfer of technology to enhance the capabilities for economic growth of the countries in the region.
- Their decision to initiate a process of consultation on hemispheric security in light of the new conditions in the region and the world, from a revised and comprehensive perspective of security and disarmament, including the subject of all forms of proliferation of weapons and instruments of mass destruction, so that the largest possible volume of resources may be devoted to the economic and social development of the member states; and an appeal to other competent organizations in the world to unite their efforts to those of the OAS.
 - Their decision to adopt efficacious, timely and expeditious procedures for the promotion and defense of representative democracy, in keeping with the Charter of the Organization of American States.
 - Consequently, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the Chiefs of Delegation of the member states of the Organization of American States, in the name of the region, and for the success of the changes and renewal that the Inter-American System will require at the threshold of the twenty-first century.

1994 Meeting of Experts on Confidence and Security Building Measures in the Region

Building on the consensus established by the Santiago Declaration, the Report of the OAS Special Committee on Hemispheric Security is a both a compendium list of CBMs in the Western Hemisphere and a plan of action for their continued development. The Meeting of Experts recommended a wide range of CBMs, including military communication and

information sharing, trade liberalization, the establishment of joint economic development projects, verification measure, and education and cultural exchanges. Explicit within these recommendations is the recognition that the preservation and strengthening of democracy is a cooperative venture, dependent on mutual security and economic growth. This document presents an itemized list of CBMs that take account of ongoing projects and future goals. Moreover, these recommendations divided the various spheres of CBM engagement into discrete units that would later be approached individually in other regional fora. The following is an excerpt from the complete document:

Illustrative List of Measures that Could be Taken to Build Confidence and Security

(from the Report of the Special Committee on Hemispheric Security on Fulfillment of Resolution AG/RES. 1237 (XX-O/93), "Meeting of Experts on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures in the Region," 18 May 1994)

I. Political Measures

1. increase in joint policy planning at appropriate levels for consideration of matters of common interest;
2. promotion of legislative contacts for discussion of security questions;
3. study of appropriate measures to effectively honor the solemn commitments to peace, non-use of force in international relations, respect for international law, and peaceful settlement of disputes;
4. reiteration that representative democracy is the indispensable condition for peace;
5. political overtures that demonstrate the purpose of promoting peace and Inter-American cooperation in its multiple facets;
6. closer cooperation for eradication of transnational criminal activities that affect peace and democracy;
7. strengthening of regional cooperation programs to respond to natural disasters, in coordination with existing organizations;
8. prioritization of joint development projects, particularly in border areas;
9. adequate access to technology for satellite sensing;
10. increase in cooperation on environmental issues.

II. Diplomatic Measures

1. introduction of courses in foreign service institutes on disarmament, arms limitation, and related topics;
2. holding of academic seminars with participation of diplomats and military officers on various topics under the broad umbrella of security;
3. establishment of special offices or sections on these subjects in the foreign ministries, to which diplomats from other countries could be detailed for study tours;
4. increase current levels of exchanges in diplomatic training institutions.

III. Educational and Cultural Measures

1. promotion of studies on disarmament, security, and development;
2. development of regional and international support for educational and cultural studies on peace and development;
3. studies and research, preferably done jointly with professional groups from other countries, on topics related to security and defense;

4. seminars on the responsibility of the media in forming and guiding public opinion on security questions.

IV. Military Measures

- A. Confidence- and Security-building Measures Relating to Troop and Army Deployment
 1. advance notification of maneuvers that their own units or those of third countries undertake within a certain distance from coasts and borders;
 2. advance notification of identification, planned route, and purpose of military units that are expected to be within a certain distance;
 3. radio contact between border forces, through periodic communications, in order to coordinate activities undertaken by all organs at the border, thus obviating the possibility of tension through misunderstanding;
 4. meetings of naval and air officials to deal with navigation issues;
 5. invitations to armed forces of neighboring countries to send observers to maneuvers and troop exercises carried out in areas near the respective borders.
- B. Confidence- and Security-building Measures Relating to Information Exchange
 1. strengthening of machinery for information and cooperation on search and rescue operations;
 2. periodic meetings of the general staffs of the armed forces;
 3. exchange of information on military budgets;
 4. exchange of information on production and/or purchase of new equipment and weapons;
 5. exchange of information on military doctrine and organization;
 6. more active participation in the United Nations Register of Conventional Weapons and the instrument for standardized international presentation of reports of military expenditures.
- C. Confidence- and Security-building Measures Relating to Personal Exchange
 1. personal exchange visits to military units;
- D. Confidence- and Security-building Measures Relating to Communications
 1. direct and frequent communication between authorities with a view to ensuring the exchange of information that will permit comprehensive reciprocal understanding of military activities.
- E. Confidence- and Security-building Measures Relating to Contacts
 1. normal safety procedures when naval and air units are in operation, in accordance with the international agreements in force;
 2. sharing of experiences on:
 - organization and structure of defense ministries and armed forces;
 - peacekeeping operations;
 - analysis of specific problems of mutual interest.
- F. Confidence- and Security-building Measures Relating to Training and Education
 1. exchange of military personnel of various ranks on diverse subjects, such as:
 - survival training,
 - confidence- and security-building measures training,

- general staff and higher level courses,
 - military training and refresher courses,
 - exchange of basic information on confidence- and security-building measures,
 - exchange of cadets, students, and advisers;
2. joint activities of military academies;
 3. visits and exchange of chiefs and units of the respective armed forces;
 4. exchange of specialized military personnel in areas of personnel, intelligence, operations, logistics, civil affairs, data processing, and other areas of interest;
 5. joint training exercises with armed forces of other countries.

Finally, the working group expressed interest in considering the possibility and desirability of a follow-up study on verification of confidence-building measures.

63. It should be added that when discussing this matter the working group said it would be useful for the Special Committee on Hemispheric Security to add to this list a chapter on measures of an economic nature.
64. In this regard, the chairman suggested this draft list of economic measures for consideration by the member states and possible addition to the list approved by the Meeting of Experts:
 - joint economic development projects, especially in the border areas;
 - establishment of free trade zones and processes of economic integration;
 - reaffirmation of the basic principles, standards, and instruments of international economic relations;
 - measures to reactivate international cooperation for growth and development
 - establishment of mechanisms for consultation, negotiation, and settlement of economic disputes;
 - implementation of measures to liberalize and expand trade, eliminating trade barriers that may exist;
 - measures favoring free circulation of the factors of production.
 - Abstention from exercising policies, carrying out activities, and taking measures adversely affecting the development of other member states.

1996 Bariloche Declaration of the Second Defense Ministerial of the Americas

At the OAS Meeting on Confidence and Security Building of 1994, Argentine ambassador to the OAS Patino Meyer called for a meeting of all the ministers of defense of the hemisphere. In 1995, US secretary of defense William Perry hosted the first ever meeting of ministers of defense in Williamsburg, Virginia from which the “Williamsburg Principles” emerged. These six principles confirmed the commitment of the armed forces to democratic governance and looked for ways to incorporate the military into regional confidence-building. Although the 1994 OAS meeting on CBMs reflected a consensus, the 1995 Defense Ministerial meeting revealed that there were still many different, sometimes divergent, approaches to, and perspectives on, security in the emerging post-Cold War world. To address these issues, and to consolidate the gains made at Williamsburg, Argentine minister of defense Oscar Camillón offered to host a second gathering of the ministers of defense in San Carlos de Bariloche,

Argentina. The October 1996 meeting hosted by new Minister of Defense Jorge Dominguez succeeded in maintaining the momentum initiated by Perry by putting forth concrete proposals that have since been implemented. The Bariloche Declaration called for specific exchanges of defense information such as defense budgets, strategy, and weapons purchases between nations in the Western Hemisphere. Since Bariloche, Argentina, Chile, and other countries have published defense white papers, while Argentina, Brazil, and Chile have all signed bilateral memorandums of understanding to share more—and more detailed—information. Moreover, signatory nations have increased multilateral training and exchanges. In September 1997, the Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, proposed at Bariloche to teach civilians about defense issues and establish mutual trust and confidence between military and civilian defense leaders in the region, was inaugurated. The following is an excerpt from the Declaration:

San Carlos de Bariloche Declaration, The Conference of Ministers of Defense of the Americas, San Carlos de Bariloche, Argentina, 9 October 1996

The Second Defense Ministerial of the Americas took place in San Carlos de Bariloche, Argentina, October 7th–9th, 1996 at the invitation of Mr. Jorge Dominguez, Minister of Defense of Argentina on behalf of his Government.

During this meeting, Delegations discussed the full range of security concerns and interests of the participating states. Opening statements and these discussions covered issues such as confidence building measures, cooperation in peacekeeping, the impact of crime and drugs on security, the threat posed by the illegal trade in small arms and the impact of economic issues on security.

They noted that in view of the far reaching political, social and economic challenges faced by their nations that defense organizations are essential institutions of sovereign states.

In the course of their discussion they:

1. Recalled the “Santiago Commitment to Democracy and the Renewal of the Interamerican System,” adopted by the OAS General Assembly in Santiago de Chile, in 1991 and recalled the Conference held in Williamsburg, VA, USA, in July 1995, expressed that representative democracy is a fundamental element for hemispheric security.
2. Stressed the need to promote Inter-American cooperation for the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of continental security, preserving the sovereignty of each state as recognized by the International Law, and in particular by the United Nations and OAS charters.
3. Consistent with the “Santiago Declaration on Confidence Building Measures” adopted by the OAS in November 1995, considered that those measures are suitable tools for maintaining peace since they contribute to a better relationship between countries fostering levels of transparency, cooperation and information exchange on defense and international security issues.
4. Called upon all the nations of the Hemisphere to promote through their active voluntary participation, the success of peacekeeping operations in conformity with the UN charter.
5. Took note of the Initiatives proposed in this Conference and of the conclusions of the Working Groups.

6. The delegations congratulated and thanked the Government and People of the Republic of Argentina for their warm hospitality and for their successful organization and management of the Second Defense Ministerial Conference of the Americas.

Conclusions of Group 1: New Dimension of the International Security

1. Defense in the XXI Century—Role of the Armed Forces

One of the main challenges for the promotion of development and stability in the forthcoming century is the consolidation of democracy.

Within this context, the delegations analyzed the roles of the Armed Forces.

They shared the view that the main role of the Armed Forces continues to be the defense of the national sovereignty.

Likewise, the delegates exchanged view points about the important supplementary roles that the Armed Forces play in each country, according to the different political, social, economic and military realities and circumstances.

It was agreed upon that the Armed Forces should perform their functions according to the legal framework established in their respective Constitutions.

The delegations highlighted that the transparency and the measures taken to foster mutual trust are important tools in the strengthening of the hemispheric cooperation regarding defense and security matters.

2. Risks, Threats and Opportunities: A Discussion of Different Perceptions About Defense and Security in the Continent

The end of the Cold War has created new opportunities of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the economic, political and military areas.

Considering the atmosphere of the post-Cold War, the delegations discussed the threats and opportunities in the current changing international context.

Together with the reduction of the old threats, the countries of the hemisphere are facing new risks and threats of diverse nature: among others, increasing unemployment, marginality of great sectors of the population, drug-trafficking, terrorism in its diverse modalities, organized crime and the violations of the human rights, including the ethnic, religious and political discrimination were discussed.

Without invalidating the previous remark, this does not mean that the new threats should be faced and eliminated from a strictly military perspective.

According to their own experience, the delegations gave examples of comprehensive solutions to old problems.

In relation with one of the new threats, the delegation of Panama handed out a report.

3. **The influence of the Economic Integration Processes in the Defense**

The integration processes increased in this post-Cold War period and new opportunities of cooperation have sprung up.

The delegations agreed upon the fact that such processes have increased the mutual benefits. In this sense, the different forms of cooperation make it possible to find joint solutions to common problems.

This bilateral and multilateral spirit of cooperation has made it easy to settle old scores between countries of the region by means of bilateral or multilateral agreements.

The example of the European cooperation was presented as a case of integration brought about by a common military threat. This cooperation in the military field favored wide cooperation in the political and economic aspects.

There was coincidence in acknowledging that there are diverse models of integration that must be interpreted according to the specific situations.

The regional and subregional gatherings should not be seen as closed blocs that seek to affect third parties.

Examples of integration in the hemisphere, such as MERCOSUR, the Andes Agreement, the system of Central American Integration and CARICOM were provided.

The various examples mentioned before reveal the importance of a horizontal cooperation between countries with different levels of development. The features of each group set the rhythms and progression of such processes.

The delegations coincided that integration does not oppose the existence and roles of the Armed Forces. On the contrary, the process of integration contributes to improving and perfecting those roles.

4. **Military Cooperation**

The discussion about military cooperation allowed us to distinguish three different interrelated levels:

- I. political
- II. military and strategic
- III. exchange of services

Various examples of current military cooperation were provided for each of these levels: combined military drills, exchange of information, delivery of reports and other issues of logistics, which contribute to the strengthening of the mutual security.

It was agreed upon the convenience of driving the exchanges of operations for peacekeeping, science, technology and others.

The process of strengthening democracies demand the Armed Forces to create transparent and open relationships with their societies.

The fostering of greater cooperation concerning the issue of visits, and of the exchange of personnel and information was demanded, as well as the assistance in case of emergency and of environmental protection.

The expansion of bilateral and multilateral military cooperation should not lead to the “militarization” while tackling those threats that, due to their nature, can be faced by different means.

Conclusions of Group 3: Institutional Framework and Relationship Between Defense Systems

1. Discussion on Confidence Building Measures and Transparency

After listening to the comprehensive and varied explanations on the activity developed by each of the participant countries regarding the strengthening of confidence building measures and transparency, in military relationships and defense related issues, we may summarize that the spirit and general objectives focused on the following aspects:

- a. The adherence to the Santiago Declaration on Confidence and Security Building Measures, as adopted by the General Assembly of the Organization of American States (OAS), as per Resolution 1409/96.
- b. It is clear that Defense and Foreign Ministries play an important role in the implementation of the Santiago Declaration, and Resolutions adopted by the OAS on this issue.
- c. Communication, exchange of information, exchange of professional and educational activities, combined military exercises, meetings of civilian and military officers in charge of the defense policy of each country, and above all, a policy of openness and good will, are important to reaffirm mutual confidence among states. This includes exchange of information and participation of all states in the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms, and the International Standardized Report on Military Expenses.
- d. Some of the participant States underlined their view that the adoption of Confidence Building Measures does not indicate the existence of distrust in the Hemisphere.
- e. Various countries stated the need to develop public documents expressing policies and doctrines related to defense issues. In that regard, the United States offered the organization of a workshop on the subject.
- f. Full and participative democracy is a fundamental basis for the establishment of confidence building measures.

The group took note of the United States decision to provide information in advance on the acquisition of significant weapons covered by the UN Register of Conventional Arms, and it further called upon all states to join in this measure.

2. Education for Defense

A general opinion was reached on the benefits of developing professional civilians proficient in defense issues. Within this context, various topics were discussed, among these:

- a. How democracies can be strengthened by civilian participation in defense related matters, which may also be achieved through the promotion of education on said topics.
- b. Some of the countries high-lighted the participation of their respective Armed Forces in activities

- contributing to national development as a positive contribution to the relationships between civilians and the military.
- c. The United States presented its Initiative on the Inter-American Center for Defense Studies.

The Working Group expressed its agreement on the need to promote, develop, and improve civilian training in the sphere of defense.

The delegates from participating States made comments and suggestions regarding the Initiative, especially in relation to the links with the Inter-American Defense College, its financing, its plans and programs, and its development as an Inter-American institution, and in general on the participation of civilians and military personnel from throughout the Hemisphere in this Initiative.

Some of the countries expressed the possibility that the Center could cooperate with already existing institutions

Delegates to the participant States agreed to carry out consultation for the development of the Initiative.

