

Development policy and security policy: An alliance with conflict (management) potential

Crises do not respect the traditional demarcation lines between ministerial portfolios. This may be a banal observation, but it encapsulates the dilemma facing German development and security policy-makers today. And they are not alone: crises often impinge on foreign, economic and cultural policy as well. The boundaries between the ministerial portfolios with responsibility for the management and especially the early prevention of potential crises are fluid and can rarely be drawn precisely.

“Development policy is the peace policy of the 21st century” – this observation by Willy Brandt, former German Chancellor and Nobel Peace Prize laureate, encapsulates the key principles adopted by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) which guide German development policy to this day:

- Reducing poverty worldwide,
- Protecting the natural environment,
- Building peace and realising democracy,
- Promoting equitable forms of globalisation.

Crisis situations around the world span an extremely wide range of issues, encompassing situations as

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diverse as politically motivated abductions, small-scale conflicts, quasi-war scenarios as in Afghanistan, or state failure and collapse, as in Somalia. International terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) continue to pose major challenges to the international community. Potentially destabilising factors – notably climate change, migration, financial crises and pandemics – are also more significant today than a few years ago. The linkage between crisis prevention, peace-building and poverty reduction is

becoming increasingly apparent. As a consequence, around 20 percent of German bilateral development cooperation funds are invested in the immediate environment of conflicts so as to help prevent crises and build peace (BMZ, 2009).

Inclusive approaches required

As crisis situations are in a constant state of flux, ongoing review of

Paratroopers of the German Bundeswehr in Kabul, Afghanistan.



Photo: GlobalAwareK. Mueller

Women in Somalia collecting food donated by the World Food Programme (WFP). The linkage between crisis prevention, peace-building and poverty reduction is becoming increasingly apparent.

our own strategies and crisis response toolbox is essential. With the adoption of the Federal Government's Action Plan "Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Peace-Building" in 2004, the concept of "civilian crisis management" entered the development policy discourse for the first time (Kirschner, 2007: 19f.). Germany's military commitment worldwide prompted political scientist Christoph Weller to ask: "What contribution can the military make to peace?" (Weller 2007: 19), signalling that the "comprehensive approach" to security championed inter alia by the German Government (see Box) is not without its tensions. The changes in the nature of war ("new wars", "asymmetric warfare", "war on terror") have created many points of contact and linkages between foreign, security and development policy, making the "classic" demarcation between these policy areas appear increasingly irrelevant. In conceptual terms, "inclusive" approaches appear to be required, prompting some observers to postulate the start of a "new alliance" in the development-military relationship (Klingebiel and Roehder, 2004) and the "bundling of civilian and military capabilities" (Borkenhagen, 2006: 9).

Points of contact / points of diversion

The following bullet points illustrate just how close the linkages between security and development policy issues have become today, and highlight the overlaps between them:

1. Given that wars certainly do not arise most frequently in places with the most abject poverty (cf. Münk-



Photo: GlobalAware/ Chu

ler 2004: 8), and given that "war" itself can no longer be defined in clear-cut terms, spanning as it does the full spectrum from international and national to local and regional and even temporary crisis situations, the stabilisation discourse – especially at the military/development nexus – must adapt to this changed situation.

2. The relationship between civilian aid and military measures becomes particularly problematic in acute security situations if civilian relief efforts – e.g. the provision of food aid or the granting of microcredit, etc. – are subordinate to military objectives and there-

fore deviate from the basic goal of poverty reduction through sustainable development. This is especially apparent in a "hot" conflict such as the Afghanistan war, where there have been calls for the creation of instruments "that guarantee swift and friction-free coordination between military and civilian tools in the framework of offensive operations" (Noetzel and Schreer, 2008: 4).

3. The conflict over the allocation of budgetary resources to end or prevent crises is a particular area of tension. The security dimension is playing an increasingly prominent role in the debate about the "com-

The "comprehensive approach"

The current "comprehensive approach" to security is a response to the conviction that the seeds of instability can be sown by the realities of life in regions which, from a Western perspective, are underdeveloped and which are frequently affected by humanitarian crises as well as a lack of infrastructure, poor health, social and economic conditions, under-performing public and private institutions and sometimes inadequate socio-cultural mechanisms. It also means that in some parts of the world, instability may pose a risk to other regions' security. Development aid should therefore aim to promote political stability as well.

Actors' divergent interests

Military perspective	Civilian perspective
Operation under a mandate which may not be impartial, e.g. to end the conflict, separate the conflict parties, restore public order, temporarily exercise the monopoly of force	Need to maintain neutrality towards conflict parties. Task is to restore/ensure sustainability of infrastructure and provide immediate relief and emergency aid
Soldiers are governed by a political mandate which includes development elements but is based on military objectives; troops do not see themselves as aid workers	Civilian reconstruction takes priority
Interest in short-term stabilisation	Sustainability of support measures
Withdrawal, e.g. after establishing self-sustaining stability	May remain in-country for some time if necessary, with expansion of cooperation
Participation of NGOs at local level is welcome, but their influence on operational planning is not desired	Distance (spatial, informal) from the military (defined in phases); participation in military planning processes desired; less interest in practical cooperation at local level due to the risk posed to, and the need to protect, aid agencies' own personnel and activities
Risk of "militarisation" of aid from private sources (use of external resources: donations, budgetary resources)	Risk of politicisation (collection of donations); waning interest ("CNN factor")
Frequent changeover of personnel	Longer duration of "deployment"
Preparatory training, deployment, professionalism	Volunteerism, preparatory training, professionalism, "contract workers"
Use of public funds, no designated funds for "development cooperation"; ring-fenced money from private donors who may have their own views on how it should be spent	Public funds, BMZ, Federal Foreign Office, others; various donors with their own objectives

Source: the authors

prehensive approach" to security, and this is bound to have budgetary implications. The ratio of military to development spending in the world's industrialised nations during the period 2005/2006 was around 7:1. Many experts are worried that the possible expansion of military budgets by stealth in order to fulfil international commitments could take place at the expense of development spending.

4. Armies all over the world have set up "civil-military cooperation" (CIMIC) units which, according to the German understanding, are responsible for providing a local situation report ("sitrep") that focusses on the civilian dimension. This means obtaining an overview

of local decision-makers, ethnic groups, organisations, infrastructure etc. in a given region. Other tasks are stabilising the troops' civilian environment and performing "force protection", i.e. protecting their own personnel by promoting a positive image of these foreign troops among the local population (see, for example, Voget, 2007). In the Bundeswehr's operating areas around the world, which are predominantly rural, this raises a number of issues concerning the demarcation of, and coordination between, the Bundeswehr and civilian aid organisations. The CIMIC units are directly engaged in relief measures in these areas, either autonomously or in conjunction with NGOs, with activi-

ties ranging from well- and school-building to the provision of food aid, clothing and support for SMEs and cooperatives – in other words, the "classic" development agenda – prompting some authors to criticise the "slow but steady militarisation of foreign and development policy" (e.g. Rose, 2009: 8).

This is where the lines start to become blurred: media reports often given the impression that the Bundeswehr's overseas operations have a strong development focus, the implication being that this is the purpose of the operation itself. The troops are then consistently portrayed as "aid workers in uniform" (e.g. Pater, 2007).

In reality, of course, the military and civilian actors' respective activities, intentions and parameters differ widely, as the table shows. It reveals that a blurring of the two policy areas cannot be regarded as a real threat, or indeed as a desirable outcome of a foreign policy agenda which, in Germany, is likely to be dominated by security policy to an even greater extent in future.

Despite their highly divergent interests, the table also shows the areas where practical and pragmatic cooperation already exists. The growing number of crisis and conflict areas and the expectation that it will continue to increase have led to a recognition among civilian and military actors that a joint approach to crisis prevention is an important and sensible option, notably as regards the need for a compatible sitrep for the civilian environment, training and greater involvement of civil society organisations (e.g. Spelten et al., 2006; Ratke, 2008; Barton and Unger, 2009). "On the ground", however, the issues are far more sensitive, especially as regards the joint use of medical services and (protected) transport, telecoms or money transfer services. To put it in a nutshell: is an NGO's regular shared use of military communications systems (such as field post) merely a form

Zusammenfassung

In Deutschland ist die Diskussion über das Verhältnis von Sicherheits- und Entwicklungspolitik in Bewegung geraten. Die Wirklichkeit in den Krisenregionen, der Umgang mit Post-Conflict-Lagen und die vorsorgende Vorausschau auf den Bedarf zur Bewältigung von Krisen verlangen ein Höchstmaß an Abstimmung – auf politischer und lokaler Ebene sowie zwischen den Fachressorts. In der dauerhaften Verbesserung dieser Abstimmung sowohl auf vertikaler als auch auf horizontaler Ebene liegt zugleich die größte nutzbare Ressource für

beide Politikbereiche, die zudem ohne zusätzliche Haushaltsmittel zu beschaffen ist. Und nicht zuletzt werden durch das Miteinander der verschiedenen Akteure in Krisenregionen Berührungspunkte verringert.

Resumen

En Alemania, el debate en torno a la relación entre las políticas de seguridad y de desarrollo se ha hecho más dinámico. La realidad en las regiones en crisis, el manejo de las situaciones post-conflicto y la previsión diligente respecto de los requerimientos para superar las

crisis demandan un grado máximo de coordinación – a nivel político y a nivel local, al igual que entre los sectores especializados. Una mejora permanente de esta coordinación – tanto a nivel vertical como horizontal – constituye a la vez el recurso de mayor utilidad para ambos ámbitos políticos. Además, dicha mejora puede lograrse sin disponer por ello de recursos presupuestarios adicionales. Esta acción conjunta de diversos actores reduce también los temores que pudiesen surgir en las regiones en crisis frente a la colaboración.

of support for its development work, or is this already a form of “militarisation” of its activities?

Crisis prevention as a cross-sectoral task

“Crisis prevention as a cross-sectoral task”: in the Federal Government’s Action Plan “Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Peace-Building”, adopted in 2004, this is defined as one of the key responses to the heightened challenges posed by global crisis situations. Building on an extended security concept, the Action Plan contains a review of the existing crisis prevention tools with various strategic leverage points, fields of action and bodies involved in civilian crisis prevention at global, regional and national level and sets out concrete proposals for action. It clearly states that military action as an instrument of crisis prevention and crisis management may be necessary, but only as a last resort. The 2nd Federal Government Report on the Implementation of the Action Plan “Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict

Resolution and Post-Conflict Peace-Building” is even more explicit:

“Although the instruments of crisis prevention are overwhelmingly civil in nature this does not mean the limiting or exclusion of military means; rather, these are included – where necessary, and recognising the priority given to civil engagement – as an integral component.”

(German Bundestag, 2008: 3)

At national level, it is the task of the Interministerial Steering Group for Civilian Crisis Prevention to ensure that this integration takes place.

The Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) in Afghanistan are an unprecedented example of pragmatic coordination on the ground: the PRTs bring together representatives of various federal ministries and local people with a view to reaching decisions on objectives, resources and projects. It is a system which, despite its inevitable shortcomings, can take account of short-term stability and longer-term sustainability needs.

It will be interesting to see how the dovetailing of security policy and development cooperation, which is obviously desired by policy-makers, develops further in practice.

A detailed list of references can be obtained from the authors.

British and German soldiers with missiles launched at the ISAF camp in Afghanistan. Crisis situations around the world span an extremely wide range of issues – from politically motivated abductions to quasi-war scenarios.

Photo: GlobalAwareK, Mueller

