

**New Trends in Two
Regional Security Complexes:
Adapting to the
New Security Challenges**

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« Latin America » :
an « external invention » ?
Have we anything in common ?

1856 in Paris – Francisco Bilbao and José María Torres Caicedo
« Latin » and « saxon » America

Latin American *identity* ?

1823 : USA Monroe's Doctrine
(« America for the American »)

Vs

1826 : Panama's Congress – Simón Bolívar
(multilateralism)

Regional Security Complex

BUZAN Barry, WAEVER Ole. 2003.

Regions and Powers: The Structure on International Security.
New York: Cambridge University Press.

« a **group of states** whose primary **security concerns link together** sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot realistically be considered apart from one another »

- most **threats** travel more easily over **short distances**
- **security interdependence** is normally into **regionally based clusters : security complexes**
- **Social constructions**

North America :

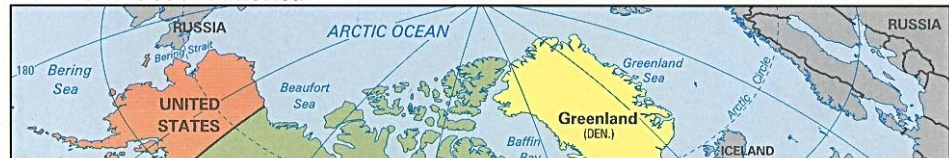
- Mexico,
- Central America (Guatemala, Belice, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama)
- Caribbean

U.S.A.

South America : Venezuela, Colombia, Guyana, Suriname, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Chile, Argentina

BRAZIL

North and South America



2 Regional Security Complexes in Latin America



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New threats in Latin America

New threats in L.A.

- Low level of inter-state conflicts
- New threats have increased :
OAS's Declaration on Security in the Americas (2003)
- “ **terrorism**
- transnational organized **crime**, the global **drug** problem, **corruption**, **asset laundering**, **illicit trafficking** with **weapons**, and the connection among all them.
- extreme **poverty** and **social exclusion**, which affect political stability and democracy. Extreme poverty erodes social cohesion and undermines the security of states.
- natural and man-made **disasters**, AIDS and other **diseases**, environmental degradation
- trafficking in persons
- attack to cyber security (...)

Violence : a major concern in L.A.

Challenges and risks of the new threats

→ **Tras-national**

do we have to
re-think non intervention principle
and sovereignty concerns?

In both Regional Security Complexes:

Mexico – U.S.A. border :

« Mexamerica » and twin cities



Tri Border region



Amazon region



<https://twistedstifer.files.wordpress.com>

[Geocurrents.info](https://www.geocurrents.info)

http://awsassets.panda.org/img/map_biome_low_3_367273.jpg

Challenges and risks of the new threats

→ **Internal / external issues:**

defence and national security => regional security
concept

→ **Multidimensional**

→ **Able to create or wake up inter-states conflicts or disputes**

→ **Produce problematic regions and « no go zones »: lack of effective sovereignty of the state** (Ciudad Juarez on Mexican-USA border; Amazon region; Tri Border region; shantytowns...)

“globalization has sapped states' ability to maintain effective sovereignty over their national territories, and placed ever more powerful tools in the hands of nonstate actors. (...)

Nonstate actors now have capabilities once only available to states (...).

When nonstate actors use such capabilities to organize violence, threat levels can exceed the capacities of traditional police forces”

PION-BERLIN D. and TRINKUNES H.
“Latin America's Growing security gap”,
Journal of Democracy vol. 22 1 January 2011.

→ The law : the most important « weapon »

Figure 1. Major Drug Trafficking Routes in Latin America and the Caribbean

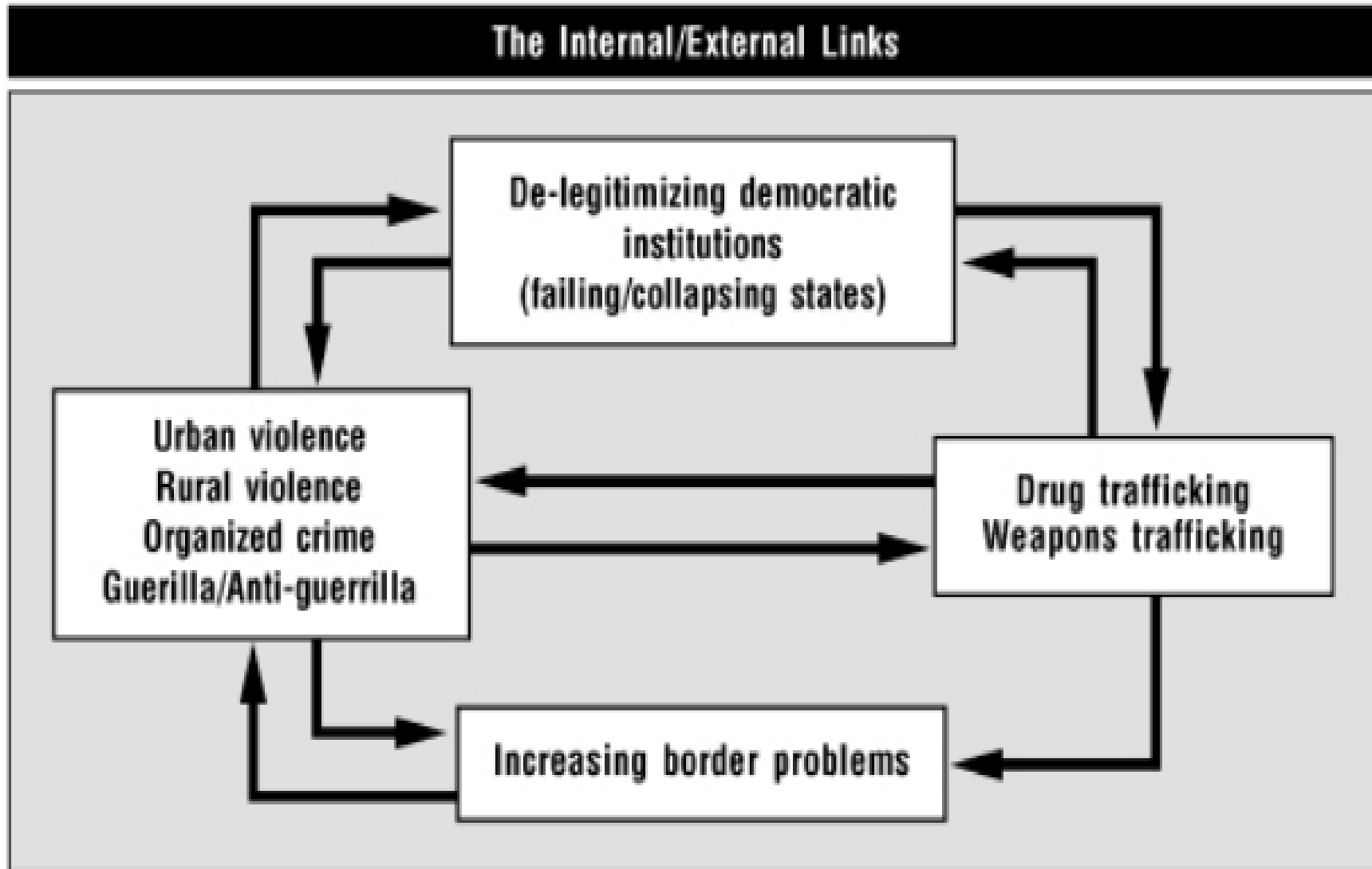
An other important
Challenge :

**Drug trafficking
and
organized crime
contamination**



Source: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *World Drug Report, 2010*; National Drug Intelligence Center, *2010 National Drug Threat Assessment*, February 2010; Barack Obama, Presidential Determination No. 2009-30, "Memorandum to the Secretary of State: Major Drug Transit or Major Illicit Drug Producing Countries for Fiscal Year 2011," September 16, 2010, adapted by CRS graphics.

Security problems : a vicious circle



SORJ Bernardo, "Security, human security and Latin America", 2005?
<http://www.centroedelstein.org.br/PDF/humansecuritylatinamerica.pdf>

New trends in Latin America

How to face new threats?

- Towards a sub-regional security governance in South America : UNASUR**
- Towards a new role for the Armed Forces ?**

Towards a sub-regional security governance in South America

UNASUR

**Union of
South American
Nations**

2008



UNASUR

4 bodies in charge of making decisions :

- 1) Council of Heads of State and Government** : annual ordinary meeting. Pro Tempore Presidency (period of one year).
- 2) Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs**
- 3) Council of Delegates**
- 4) Secretary General**

Unasur's Regional Security conceptions:

Security : defence and public security

“currently, public security and defense have specific legal frameworks in most of the countries of the region”

Defense: “constitutes a fundamental function of the State that is connected to the **protection and maintenance of its sovereignty** and to the integrity of its **population, territory and institutions**; as such, it covers security issues **related to the foreign sphere**; and it takes shape as the specific and exclusive space for the use and the organization of the **State's military force**, based on risks or threats related to its own integrity and its independent and sovereign existence”.

Public Security (or homeland security or public safety): “is related to the **social peace, the State's institutional stability**, the control of the **public order** and the **guarantees of civil political, economic, social, and cultural rights**”.

Centre for Strategic Defense Studies (CEED-CDS), South America Defense Council, UNASUR, “CEED's preliminary report to the South American Defense Council on the terms of reference for the concepts of security¹⁷ and defense in the South American region”, 2011. <http://www.ceedcds.org.ar>

Unasur : 3 different councils for defence and security concerns:

- **South American Defense Council – SDC**

- + **South American Center for Strategic Defense Studies**

(Centro de Estudios Estratégicos -CEED): in charge of defining risks, threats and challenges for the regional security and defense; and of reconciling divergent interests and positions.

- South American Council of **Citizen Security, Justice** and Coordination of Action against **Transnational Organized Crime**

- Council for the **Fight Against Drug Trafficking**

UNASUR's South American Defence Council (CDS)

UNASUR's South American Defence Council (CDS)

Creation: December 2008. A forum for Cooperation, Consultation and Coordination. It is attended by the Ministers of Defence of UNASUR member countries and senior representatives of Foreign Affairs Ministries.

Objectives:

- Consolidate South America as a "peace zone"
- build a South-American identity in the area of defence, based on subregional and national characteristics while contributing to the strengthening of Latin America and Caribbean unity.
- Generate consensus to reinforce regional cooperation in the area of defence.

When the CDS was created, the political will to peacefully settle disputes and promote hemispheric and sub-regional peace and security prevailed. Under these principles, a positive consensus was achieved excluded three aspects:

- The CDS is not conceived as a collective security organization.
- The body does not deal with security issues.
- The CDS does not identify common adversaries.

The period and presidency pro tempore of the South American Defence Council coincides with the UNASUR Presidency (during 2013-2014 the Secretariat of the Council was headed by Suriname).



Activities carried out per country

Defence policies	Military cooperation, humanitarian action and peacekeeping operations	Defence industry and technology	Education and training
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Country	2013	2014
Venezuela	6 2 3 2	4 0 1 0
Colombia	4 0 2 1	3 1 1 2
Ecuador	3 2 1 3	5 1 2 1
Peru	7 3 0 2	4 4 1 1
Bolivia	0 0 0 2	0 0 0 1
Chile	4 3 1 1	1 3 0 1

Country	2013	2014
Guyana	3 1 1 2	0 0 0 0
Suriname	3 0 0 2	5 0 0 1
Brazil	3 2 4 3	3 3 3 1
Paraguay	0 0 0 0	0 1 0 0
Uruguay	1 1 1 2	1 0 1 0
Argentina	1 2 3 4	6 4 3 2

South American Defence Expenditure Registry

The first version of the South American Defence Expenditure Registry was presented at the Executive body's meeting in February 2014. The report presents information between 2006-2011, and its content remains unavailable to the public.

South American Defence School (ESUDE)

It is a higher studies center for training civilians and members of the military in defence. Its creation was approved at the XI Regular Meeting of the Executive Body of the CDS and V Regular Meeting of the CDS, in February 2014. The first meeting of the ESUDE was conducted in April 2014 in Quito.

South American Registry of Military Inventories (RESIM)

In the IX Regular Meeting of the Executive Body of the CDS and the V Regular Meeting of the CDS in February 2014, the Chilean delegation presented the final report on a methodology for making military inventories transparent. Use of the South American Military Inventory Form (FOSIM) was approved. The reports should be submitted by countries to the Centre for Strategic Studies (CEED) - technical manager for the organization of the registry - prior to July 2014.

Agreements and Events (2013-2014)

- Second Meeting of the Working Group responsible for proposing a methodology for making the region's military inventory transparent, with the exposition and debate focusing on observations and proposals in relation to the Manual and Use of FOSIM.
- International Event "New Dimensions of Regional Integration and Security" in Buenos Aires, organized by CEED and CDS.
- Exercise for Application of the Methodology for Making South American Military Inventories Transparent, a line of work established by the 2012 CDS Action Plan.
- Joint Declaration on Cyber Defence, signed by Argentina and Brazil.
- I Forum on "Regional Defence Policies and Strategies", and the IV Event "Conceptual Approaches to Defence, Risk and Threats to the Region", developed in Venezuela.

Source: Compilation based on the website of the South American Defence Council, Action Plans of the South American Defence Council (2013 and 2014), the Act of the IX Meeting of the Executive Body of the CDS and the Act of the Second Meeting on Methodologies for Making Military Inventories Transparent in the South American Region.

Threats for the region :
Unasur has identified these Risk Factors:

- Natural and anthropic **Disasters**
- Risks connected to the **threats against sovereignty of the natural and *strategic resources***: “a new and different security concept” (Nolte 2012)
Securitization of strategic resources : one of the main points of consensus.
- « **South America is a self-sufficient resources geopolitic unit**”
(Center for Strategic Defense Studies)
- **Risks linked to the Defense threats** (territorial occupation, war): out of the main scenario
- **Risks linked to the Public Security threats :**
they mostly overlap 2003 OAS Declaration.

Unasur

Regional Security practices: (still incipient)

- **Conflict mediation and crisis management**
- **Transparency measures and compared legal frameworks** made by the South American Defense Council – SDC / Center for Strategic Defense Studies (CEED-CDS).
- creation of the **South American Defense School**
- South American **Registry of Military Inventories**

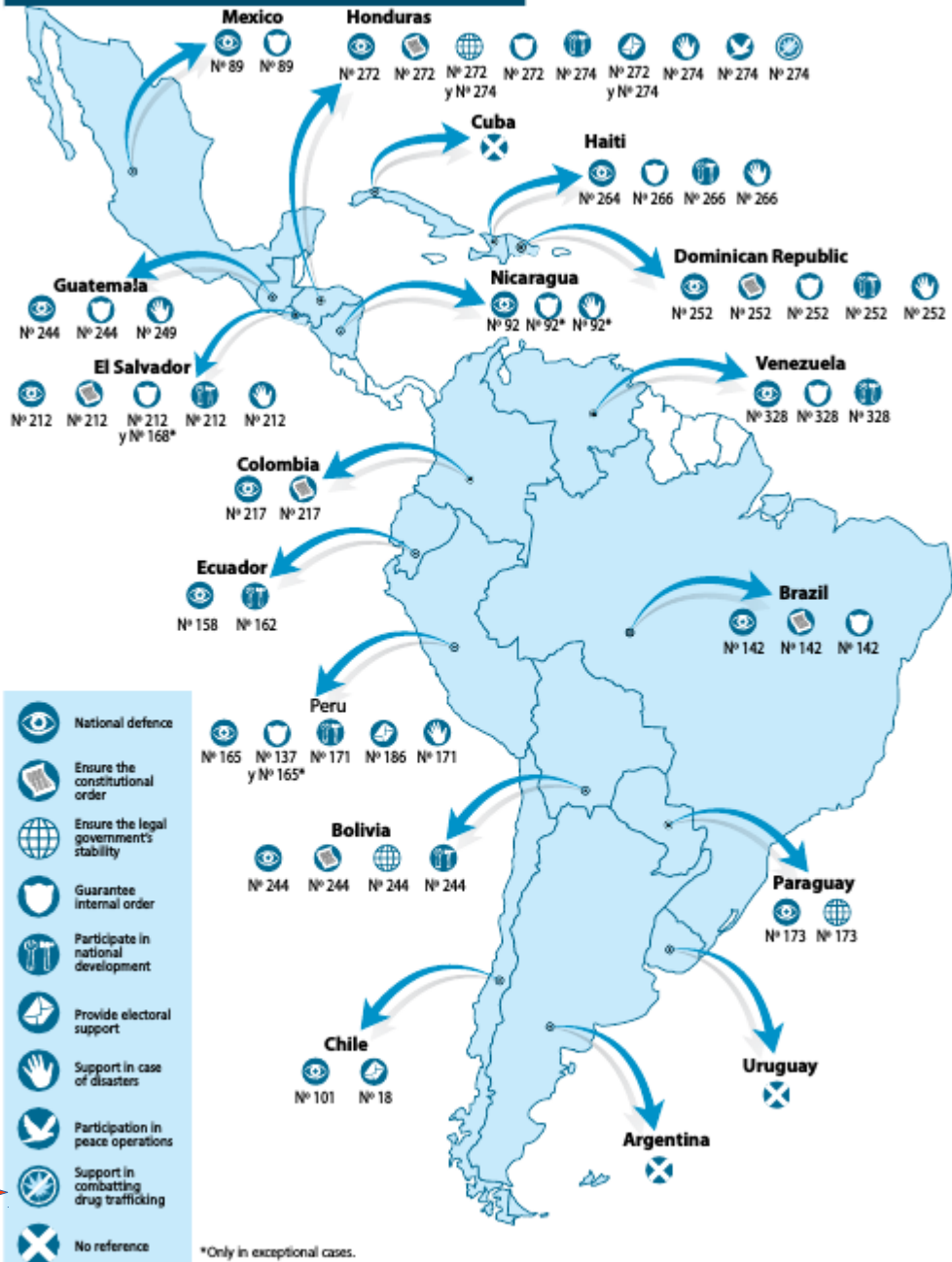
Overlap OAS / UNASUR
hemispheric / regional security challenges
Multidimensional concept of security

But

**UNASUR: building a *shared sight*
and South American *identity***

Towards a new role for the Armed Forces ?

Constitutional Missions of the Armed Forces



Source: Compilation based on each country's Constitution. There are other national supplementary regulations in addition to those presented in the map with respect to the missions of the Armed Forces. For further information, refer to the "Countries" section of this publication. The cases of Costa Rica and Panama are not included as the table refers specifically to the Armed Forces.

Additional References - Legislation*

Country	Guarantee constitutional order/ stability of legal government	Cooperation with internal order/ security**	National development/ environment	Electoral support	Support in the event of disaster	Participation in peace operations
Argentina						
Bolivia						
Brazil						
Chile					****	
Colombia						
Cuba						
Dom. Republic						
Ecuador					****	
El Salvador						
Guatemala						
Haiti					****	
Honduras						
Mexico						
Nicaragua						
Paraguay						
Peru						
Uruguay			***	***	***	
Venezuela						

* In addition to the defence of sovereignty.

** Argentina and Dominican Republic only under state of exception.

*** In times of peace and with the explicit authorization of the National Defence Ministry, they may render services or cooperate with activities required on account of their specialization, social relevance or public convenience and without this being to the detriment of their fundamental mission (*Ley marco de defensa nacional*, Sec. 20).

**** Under state of emergency or disaster.

The cases of Costa Rica and Panama are not included as the table refers specifically to the Armed Forces.

Armed Forces : Traditional and new activities

The Armed Forces and the National and International Community

In recent years the range of activities undertaken by the Armed Forces has expanded. In addition to the peacekeeping operations already engaged in, other activities have been incorporated, including community support and assistance tasks, the defence and protection of natural and economic resources, and even cooperation in public security. In this new defence arena other actions related to natural disaster and humanitarian assistance tasks are also added, with the objective of responding to the increasingly frequent occurrence of catastrophes in the region.

PUBLIC SECURITY

In 2014, 94% of countries in the region regularly performed an activity or operation related to public security:

Combating drug trafficking / Urban patrols

Permanent border control / Security at large events

Security at penitentiary centers / Pacification of violent areas

Beyond the fact that some defence ministries are responsible for airport security, special units, or control of private surveillance, of the 17 countries covered, 4 of them (Guatemala, Mexico, Peru and Uruguay) present within their budget classification programs and/or actions in public security, such as support for citizen security and combating drug trafficking.

- Between 2012 and 2013, approximately 488,000 public security operations were carried out in 5 countries.*

COMMUNITY SUPPORT

The operational and logistical capabilities of the Armed Forces are dedicated, increasingly, to activities in support of the community. All countries in the region present actions and campaigns that reflect the participation of the forces in development, education, health and infrastructure campaigns etc.

Some examples are:

- Distribution of benefits and subsidies, basic food and personal hygiene goods, water for human consumption in areas affected by water shortage, etc.
- Health campaigns: assistance to disabled persons, vaccinations, health controls during dengue epidemics and epidemiological surveillance, development of medical brigades providing general medical services, and pediatrics, dentistry, gynecology, ophthalmology, examinations of diabetes, HIV, and other medical conditions.
- Infrastructure support, conducting repair work and maintenance of highways and rural roads, opening of new roads, general carpentry work, etc.
- Assistance to the population for pruning and felling trees, cleaning canals, ditches and rivers.
- Job training, education, and courses in particular skills to civilians.
- Provision of storage facilities for agricultural machinery, school materials, reforestation, cleaning and fumigation campaigns.
- Transport and logistics in areas affected by strikes or a lack of infrastructure

ASSISTANCE DURING NATURAL DISASTERS

Between 2012-2014, attention to natural disasters has been treated as a central theme during the meetings and working groups of regional bodies dealing with the security in the continent. In this context the Conference of Central American Armed Forces has a Humanitarian Allied Forces Unit (JA-HUUM), and the Cooperation System of American Air Forces carried out a specific exercise for attention to natural disasters, and it has also been a central goal for the Conference of American Armies in their recent cycle.

The Armed Forces are also involved in the protection of natural resources and economic activities, which include:

- Hydrocarbon reserves and production
- Mining activities
- Agricultural activities
- Forest reserves

Traditional Defence Activities

Military Activities

Performance of 26 bilateral and 20 multilateral military exercises by the Armed Forces in the region during 2013-2014. During 2011-2012, 36 bilateral and 23 multilateral exercises were held

Bilateral Agreements

During 2013-2014, 107 bilateral cooperation agreements were signed in the area of security and defence.

Confidence Building Measures

4 countries presented reports on Confidence and Security Building Measures to the Organization of American States in 2013, signifying a reduction of 55% from 2010.

Institutional Transparency

82% of the countries considered regularly present reports outlining the management and activities of their Ministries of Defence.

PEACE OPERATIONS

The Armed Forces of the region have been involved in peacekeeping operations since 1948. 11 countries from Latin America participate in United Nations peacekeeping missions, contributing a total of 6,109 personnel deployed across 15 missions (as of May 2014)

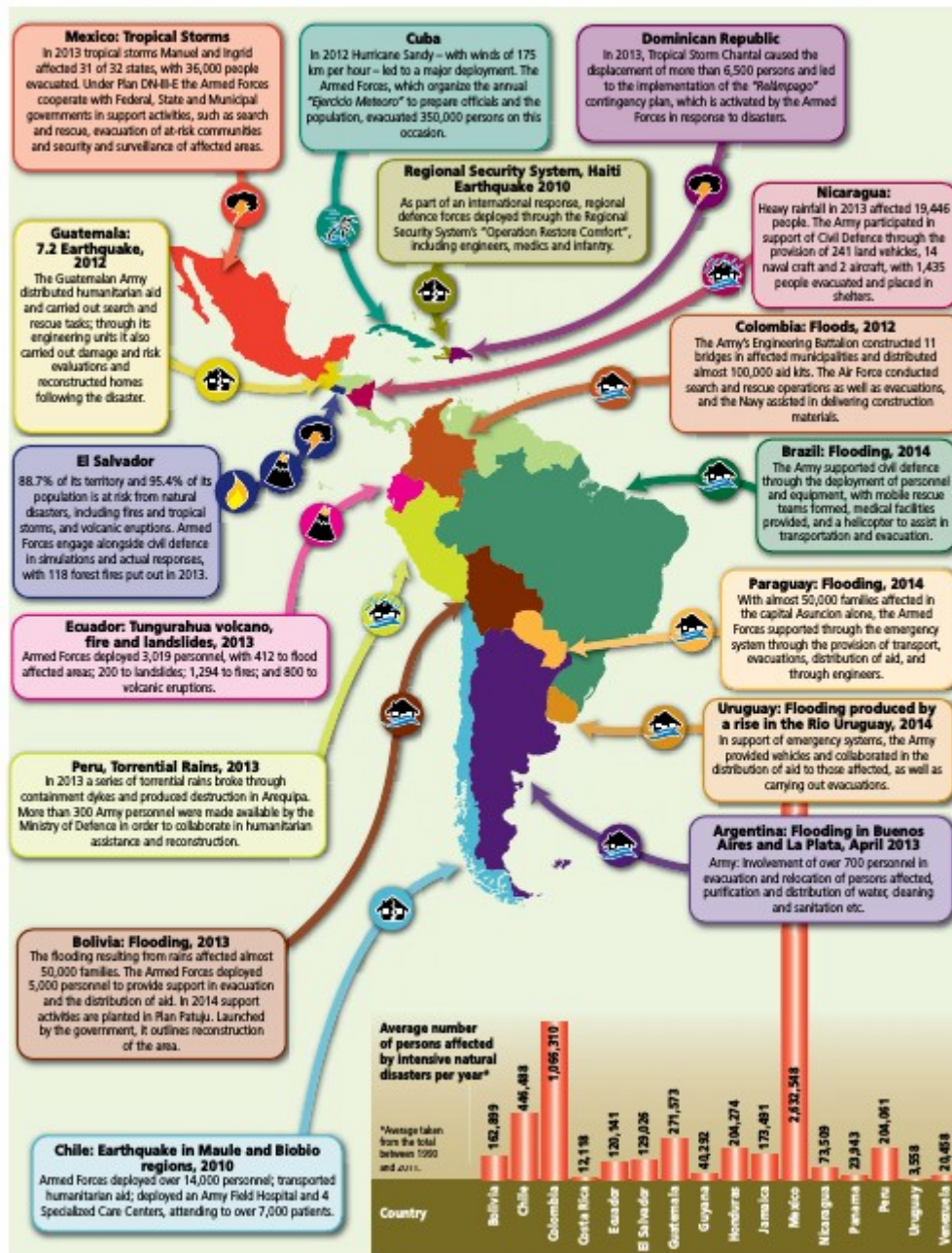


Some countries also participate within peacekeeping contingents outside of the United Nations system, such as through Military Observer Missions on the Sinai Peninsula, where Colombian and Uruguayan personnel are deployed.

*Foot, motorized, amphibious and maritime patrols carried out by military personnel during this period are considered.

Source: Compilation based on official reports for the countries considered in the publication.

The Work of Defence Actors in Disaster Response



Source: Compilation based on *Impacto de los desastres en América Latina y el Caribe, 1990-2011*, United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction, journalistic material and annual reports by Ministries of Defence.

Relations between Defence and Public Security in the Regional Context

Current areas and initiatives

Citizen Security

- (prevention of criminal activity, public order, patrols, control of riots or demonstrations)
- Creation of a new body for public security tasks: the Military Police of Public Order in Honduras
- Establishment of Mixed Operational Bases by SEDENA in areas defined as at high-risk of presenting security problems. Realize mobile and fixed surveillance operations in Mexico.
- Deployment of the Bolivian National Armed Force in patrol tasks and checkpoints as part of *Patria Plan Segura* (Safe Nation Plan) in Venezuela.
- Implementation of the Internal and Citizen Security Operations Plan 2013, in order to support the National Police in public order operations, in Dominican Republic.

Prevention and repression activities in border areas

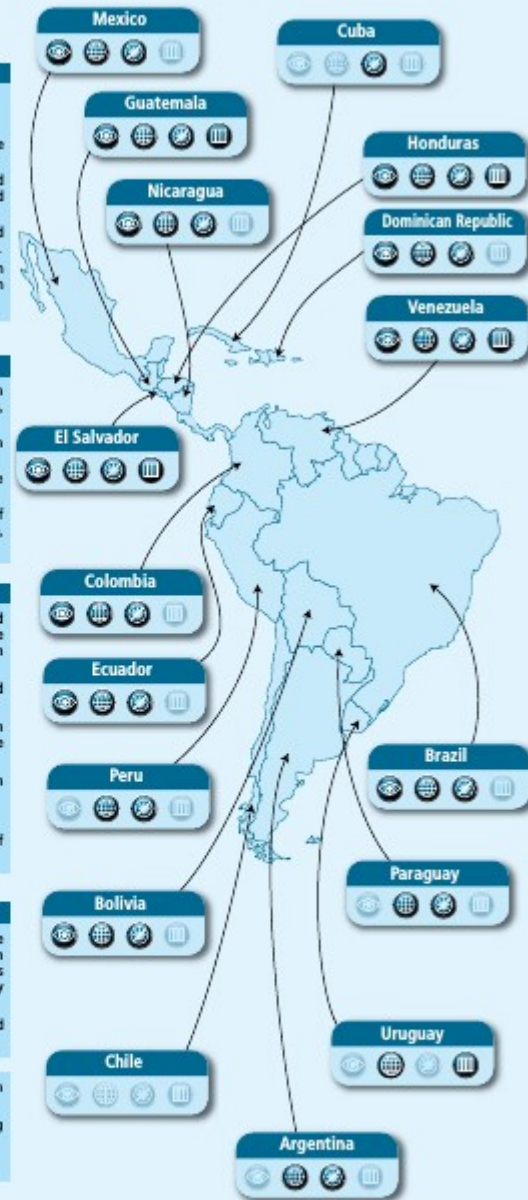
- Implementation of Operation Escudo Norte (Northern Shield) for the surveillance and control of border areas, in Argentina.
- Joint military-civil task forces to protect border areas in Colombia and Venezuela.
- Deployment of Guatemalan military personnel belonging to the *Tecún Umán* Task Force in the area bordering Mexico.
- Aerial and land surveillance in order to impede the entrance of arms, munitions and groups that aim to attack state infrastructure, promote drug trafficking, and/or guerrilla operations, in Ecuador.

Actions against organized crime and drug trafficking

- Operations against drug trafficking and organized crime developed by SEMAR, where they eradicate marijuana plants and decommission firearms, in Mexico.
- Development of the plan against drug trafficking and organized crime in Nicaragua.
- Joint tasks to neutralize drug trafficking, organized crime, human trafficking, and the trafficking of arms and other goods, by the Armed Forces of Paraguay.
- Joint task force that carries out eradication of coca cultivations in Bolivia.
- Development of the Plan Espada de Honor in Colombia.
- Integrated patrols and humanitarian assistance in VRAEM (Valley of the Apurímac, Ene and Mantao rivers) in Peru.

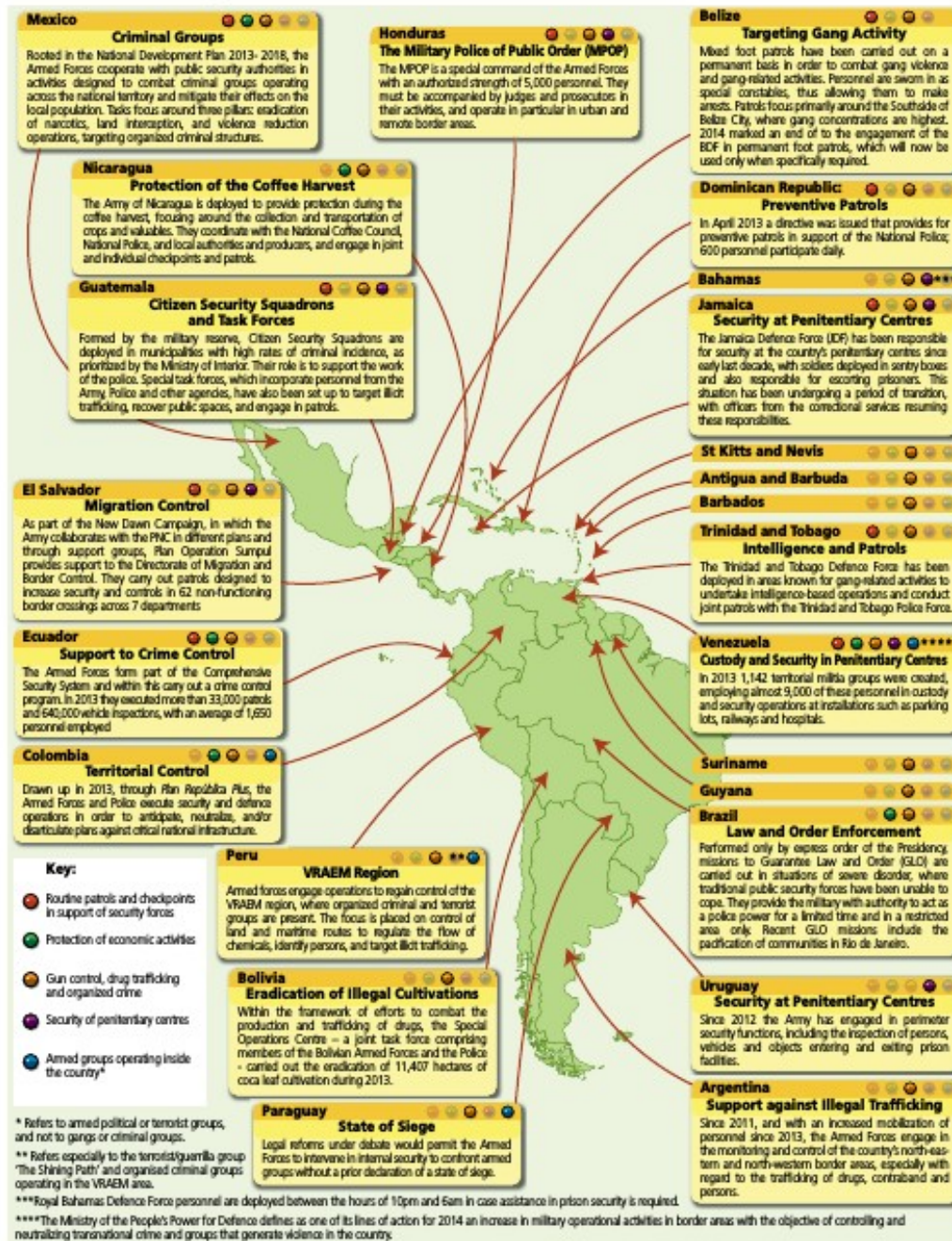
Perimeter control in penitentiary centres

- San Carlos Operational Plan for external and intermediate security in 18 penitentiary centres and 3 rehabilitation centres for minors, and Penal Centre Assistance Groups (GAAP), perimeter security in the rest of the penitentiary centres.
- Access and exit control, revision and inspection of persons, vehicles and objects that enter into jails in Uruguay.
- 65% of the Armed Forces considered possess some program related to citizen security.
- 76% of the Forces possess regular programs for combating drug trafficking or organized crime.
- 29% carry out security tasks in penitentiary centers.



Source: Press releases of the Office of the President of the Nations; comunicado 107/13 of the Ministry of Defence of Argentina. *Memoria Institucional del Ministerio de Defensa de Bolivia* (2013). *Memorias al congreso del Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de Colombia* (2012 – 2013). *Informe de Gestión de las Fuerzas Armadas de Ecuador* (2013). *Informe de Labores de las Fuerzas Armadas* (2012-2013) and the *Dirección de Política de Defensa del Ministerio de la Defensa Nacional de El Salvador*. *Memoria de Labores del Ministerio de la Defensa Nacional de Guatemala* (2012-2013). *Memoria Anual de la Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional* (2012). *Ley de Policía Militar del Orden Público* (DL 168 - 2013); *Ley Estratégica Interinstitucional en Seguridad y Toma Integral Gubernamental de Respuesta Especial de Seguridad* (TIGRES) (DL 103 – 2013) of Honduras. *primer informe de labores de seguridad año 2013* (2014) Mexico. *Memoria Anual del Ejército de Nicaragua* (2013). *Memoria del Ministerio de las Fuerzas Armadas* (2012) and information provided by the Ministry of Defence of the Dominican Republic. *Informe and Memoria Anual de la Gestión del Gobierno Nacional de Uruguay* (2014). *Informe de la Gran Misión A toda vida Venezuela: Plan Patria Segura de Venezuela*

The Armed Forces and Internal Security Operations across the Region



Source: Compilation based on legislation and decrees, institutional reports and websites of ministries and armed forces from each country. It refers to the existence of specified plans or sustained actions in the area, as opposed to one-off activities. The list of activities is not exhaustive.

Why do we see a generalization of the Armed Forces performing activities connected with public security?

- ✓ **Transnational Criminal Organizations** : Violence and great means
- ✓ **Police forces** : **Lack of military capacity** (organizational strength, intelligence ability and fire-power) ;

Poor pay, bad training, low level of education => permeable to corruption

- ✓ Criminal **policies** and penal **justice** systems have **failed** (Mexico, Central America): impunity and corruption

Security Gap
citizen requests / police capabilities and efficiency

Military action in public security field - problems / risks :

- Human rights and military dictatorships
Paraguay (1954-89); Brazil (1964-85); Bolivia (1971-82); Chile (1973-90); Uruguay (1973-84); Peru (1975-80); Argentina (1976-83); Ecuador (1976-79); Guatemala (1982-86 and civil war 1960-96)
- Defence matters and external enemies ; no training to contact civil population
- Distrust military / police

How to fill the Latin American security gap ?

« we need a holistic approach, and not to forget the links between peace, security, rights and development »

Alicia Bárcena (ECLAC, 2016)

THANK YOU !

Dr MORENO SAINZ was born in Argentina and is alumni of Universidad de Buenos Aires where she started studies in political science. She moved to France in 1994 and mastered at Institut d'Etudes Politiques (IEP) Grenoble (Political Section, 1997). She defended her PhD in sociology in 2003.

Since then, Dr MORENO SAINZ is senior lecturer at ESTRI- School for International Careers of Lyon Catholic University, and course lecturer at Institut d'Etudes Politiques (IEP) Lyon (France). Strongly involved in education, she delivered lectures on Latin America against the backdrop of changing international relations (contemporary history, geopolitics, as well as intercultural translation).

Her doctoral research activities focused on social, political and cultural representations of militancy from a sociological and anthropological point of view. As a researcher she also worked on regional integration in South America (Imaginary and people identities linked with regional integration construction) and she is currently working on geopolitical concerns in Latin America. Her last paper (2016, with Dr Béatrice Blanchet) deals with the Falkland / Malvinas war and the present dispute discourses, representations and memories (2012-15) in United Kingdom and Argentina.

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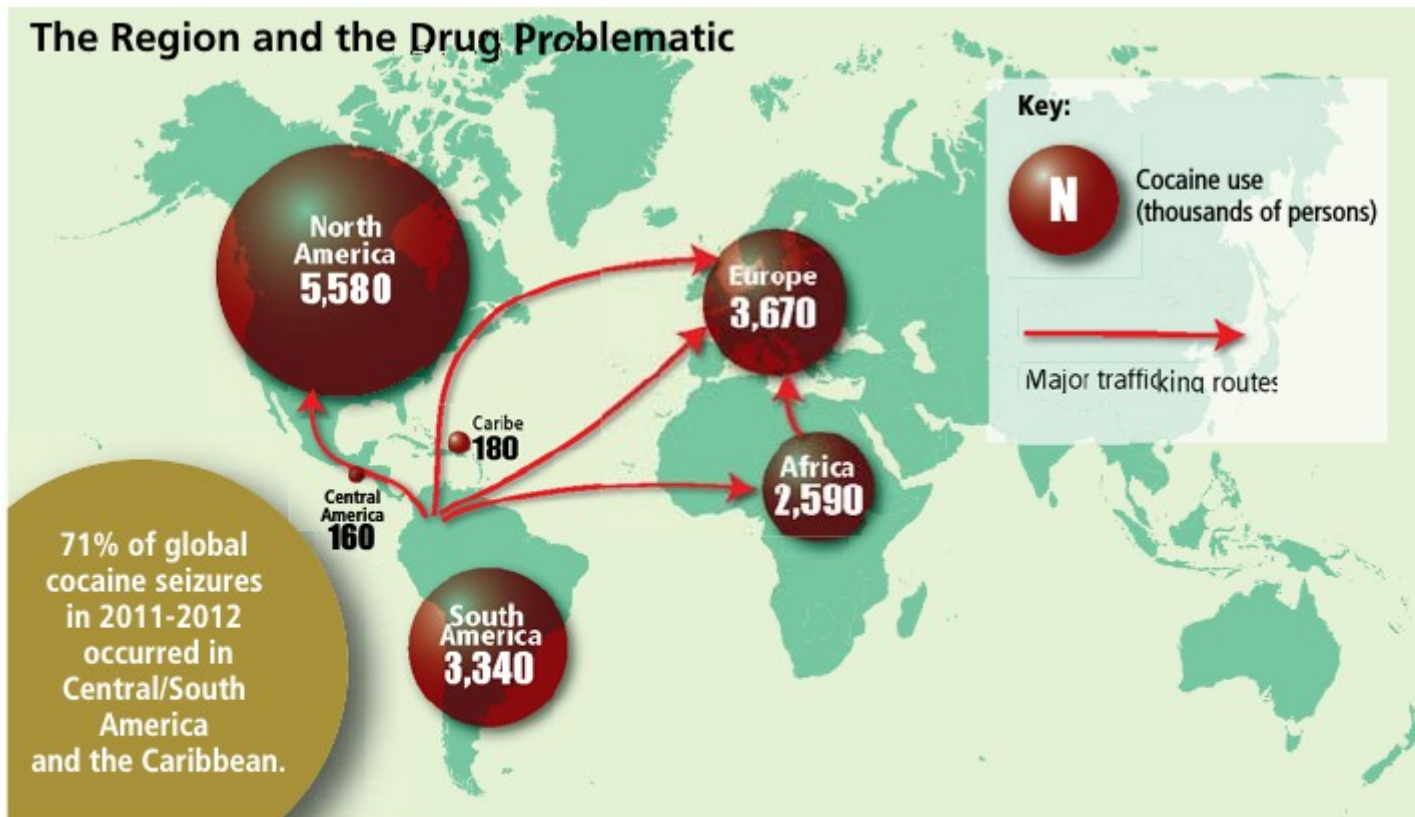
Others

Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (the Rio Treaty or the Rio Pact) – TIAR, 1947



Member states in dark blue, states that withdrew in cyan
Wikipedia.org

The Region and the Drug Problematic



Concern over the effects of natural disasters has passed from being a theme associated with the small island States of the Caribbean to being a key issue on the

hemispheric agenda

On average there are

382
homicides per day

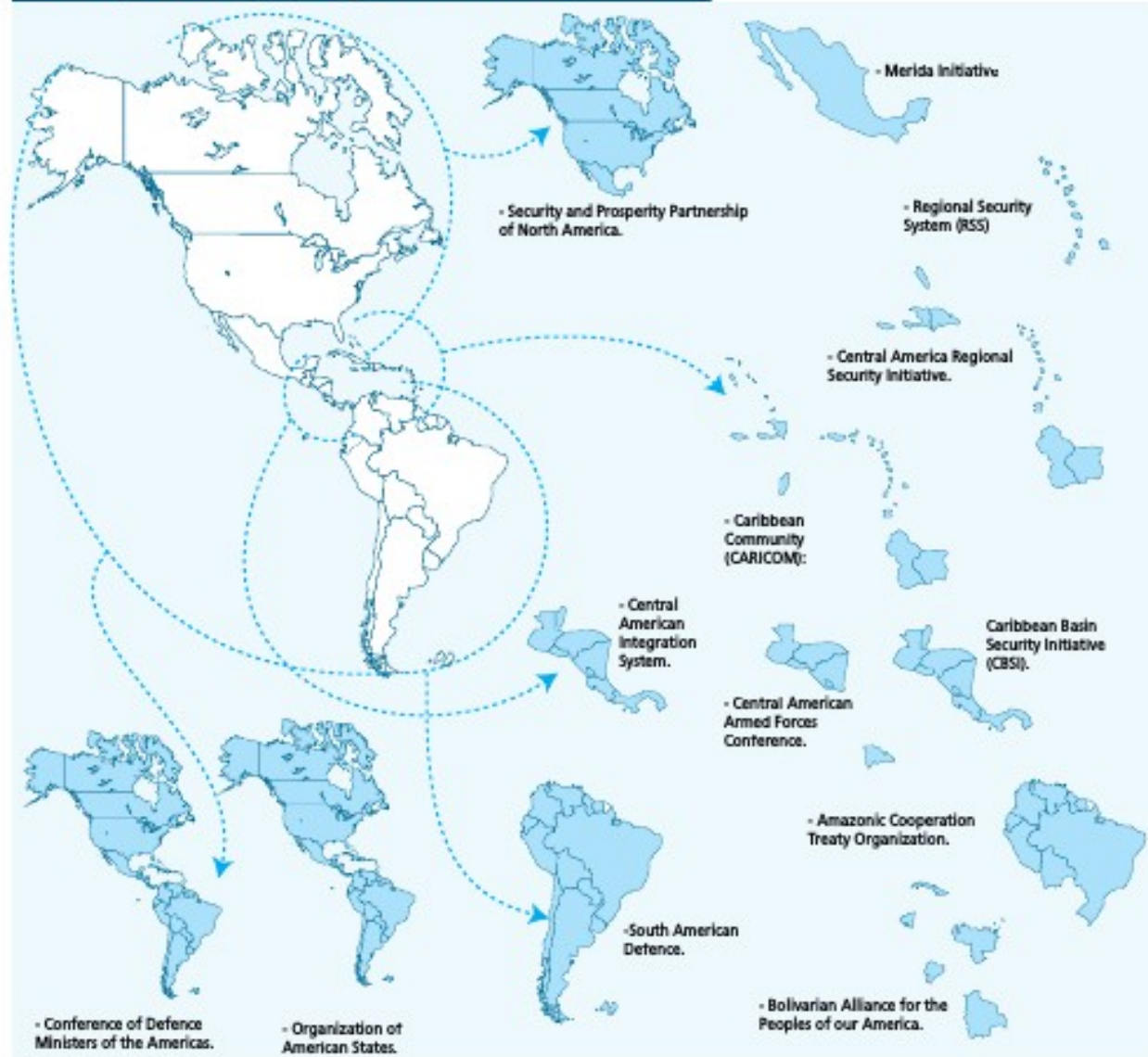
across Latin America and the Caribbean

Latin America and the Caribbean is the only region in the world where homicide rates

are increasing

Source: Gallup World, Latin Americans Least Likely Worldwide to Feel Safe, available at <http://www.gallup.com/poll/156236/latin-americans-least-likely-worldwide-feel-safe.aspx>. UNODC, World Drug Report 2014. *Impacto de los desastres en América Latina y el Caribe, 1990-2011*, United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction. Atlas of Mortality and Economic Losses from Weather, Climate and Water Extremes 1970-2012, World Meteorological Organization.

Security and Defence Organizations and Initiatives



* On July 3, 2009, Resolution 1962 expelling Cuba from the OAS was abolished (Cuba ratified it would not return to the OAS).