



V CONFERENCIA DE MINISTROS DE DEFENSA DE LAS AMERICAS

SANTIAGO DE CHILE 18 AL 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2002

THEMATIC LINE 1: REGIONAL SECURITY AT THE ONSET OF THE 21ST CENTURY

SUB-THEME 1B: STRUCTURES AND MECHANISMS FOR FACING NEW THREATS

SPEAKER: CHILE

TOWARD THE RENEWAL OF SECURITY INSTITUTIONS IN THE AMERICAS.

Chile's Rapporteur Report on Subtopic B, "Structures and mechanisms to face the new threats", wishes to express its gratitude to the co-Rapporteurs of the Ministry of the Defense of the Republic of Paraguay for their valuable contribution to the preparation and discussion of the subtopic assigned to this commission.

1. ABSTRACT.

The American continent has embarked upon the 21st century in the midst of a long-winded process in which societies and governments of the countries that compose it attempt to stride toward a joint analysis of security problems, and to address them jointly too, including security concepts, policies and institutions.

This paper intends to propose a path to advance in the inter-American discussion on the future of "structures and mechanisms to face the new threats".

For this purpose, the second part of this paper will approach the issue of new threats and the evolution of security conceptualization in the region, assuming that institutions exist or are created - to a great extent (although not exclusively) - in terms of a particular demand. In this case, it is a demand for security vis-à-vis problems that affect the American region. Defining this demand or, in other words, conceptualizing regional security problems is hence inevitable and is above matters pertaining to institutions, which is still a cause for discussion in the region. In this respect, this document sustains two basic ideas.

First, that in the dawning of the 21st Century the region's security problems can be placed in two major categories: Those linked to the relations between states, which are usually conceived as "traditional" or "conventional" security problems, and emerging security problems related to globalization. Their origin, actors and solution do not pertain exclusively to the state, they are societal concerns, including many and new international system actors who demand increased international cooperation.



V CONFERENCIA DE MINISTROS DE DEFENSA DE LAS AMERICAS

SANTIAGO DE CHILE 18 AL 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2002

This is generally known as the new security agenda. Secondly, that this situation entails modifying and broadening the traditional security concepts into others that can account for this new richness, something that is necessary and constructive. However, the debate on security should also set limits to what is understood as security and avoid conceptualizations that may once more “securitize” every aspect of society. Specifically, this paper raises the need to broaden security concepts, but *proposes restricting its definition to the problems that affect the development of people, the State and the international system, and which require the use of legal and legitimate force.*

The third part refers to “structures and mechanisms to face the new threats” or as set forth in this paper, of continental security institutions or regimes, in a broad sense. The main hypotheses in this regard is that the continent needs to overcome the debate on “what to do” with the Inter-American System’s security institutions and assume that in the eighties, and with greater intensity during the nineties, the American region has *actually* developed a new security architecture. It combines new and old security regimes that attempt to respond to both a traditional and an emerging conflict agenda, and policies should primarily focus in this area, solving the real security problems affecting the continent. This new security architecture is broader and is not limited to the collective security system as the only way to fulfill the region’s inter-state security demands and emerging security problems. It has some common denominators that in actual fact make up the basis for the construction of the new regional security system.

In respect to the Inter-American System’s security institutions, it would be useful to advance toward a new consensus regarding their functions and structures, hence they should be functional to the demands posed by global and continental security transformations. They should also consider a balanced perspective of the Inter-American System’s weaknesses and strengths in the area of security.

The fourth part shall summarize the paper, propose some conclusions, and present some recommendation proposals to be submitted to the consideration of the Conference, which essentially suggest that: a) it is possible to agree in the short term on a new basic conceptual framework on security; b) it is possible to agree on a new conceptual and political approach to the security institutions issue based on the idea of a flexible governance architecture that incorporates collective and cooperative security institutions; and c) it is possible to advance toward the establishment of a set of guiding principles to constitute objectives and be structured as a security conduct code, expressed in a political declaration or security charter presented jointly with the region’s countries, articulating the specific instruments or international agreements that will enable their operationalization. Recommending an agenda of this type in the near future, for example in the Special Security Conference of the Organization of American States, could be an enormous contribution on behalf of the Conference of Ministers of Defense of the Americas to the consolidation of stability and peace in the American region.



V CONFERENCIA DE MINISTROS DE DEFENSA DE LAS AMERICAS

SANTIAGO DE CHILE 18 AL 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2002

2. GLOBALIZATION AND SECURITY: NEW REALITIES, NEW CONCEPTS.

2.1. GLOBALIZATION AND SECURITY.

In the outset of the 21st Century, the international system's most important characteristic is the consolidation of the Globalization process, which in recent years has begun to introduce qualitative political and strategic changes. Some of these transformations are as follows:

2.1.1. End of the state as a monopolic international security actor and the incorporation of new actors. Globalization has diversified the international system's types of actors, which in the past was entirely limited to states. Transnationalization and globalization of the economy, increased transaction of people, goods and information have created the conditions for enterprises, non-governmental organizations -prompted by the most heterogeneous objectives- and people to become consolidated as the new subjects that are increasingly acting in politics and international institutions, causing repercussions in the context of security and defense.

- a) **Market.** The most visible instance of new international actors is composed by enterprises and the consolidation of markets that operate globally in real time, adopting decisions in a relatively autonomous manner, directly affecting the international system at global and regional levels. Economic globalization has caused multiple effects in the area of security and defense. Among other aspects, it has stimulated the de-regulation of international economic relationships, triggering the development of integration processes which have in turn produced changes in inter-state political relations, which have generally fostered increased cooperation alliances, e.g., North America, the European Union, South Africa, Central America and South America.
- b) **Civil Society.** Civil society has also become consolidated as an international actor inasmuch as non-governmental organizations have developed the capacity to create international political agendas and influence decision-making in international states, either formally, through their participation in international organizations, or informally through direct actions. Thus, in the context of international security, the action of non-governmental organizations may also have direct and indirect effects on states, either at global, regional or national levels. For example, the role of non-governmental organizations was decisive in 1997 in the approval of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Landmines and on their Destruction.
- c) **Human Person.** The human person has also become the subject of the international system, and his/her actions cause direct or indirect strategic consequences. This phenomenon is based on the consolidation of a copious and growing assortment of international regimes or agreements concerning the protection of human rights during the post Cold War period.



V CONFERENCIA DE MINISTROS DE DEFENSA DE LAS AMERICAS

SANTIAGO DE CHILE 18 AL 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2002

This tendency started in the aftermath of World War II and experienced a second great impulse in the last stage of the Cold war during the so-called “Third Wave”, the democratization processes of authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. It has recently experienced another milestone with the creation of the International Criminal Court (ICC). The Treaty that regulated the International Criminal Court has become enforceable and albeit not having been ratified by some of the most important powers such as the United States, Russia and China, the human person is today placed as the subject of international law and may act against states and rulers who violate human rights. Furthermore, the importance of the respect for human rights in the international agenda also has direct and indirect strategic consequences, inasmuch as the United Nations Security Council has recently made decisions leading to international interventions based on, among other aspects, the need to protect essential human rights, such as the right to live, in populations undergoing conflicts.

2.1.2. Extending the international security agenda. This combination of new agendas, new actors and strategic changes has led to an international scenario with a more complex international security agenda, which contains modern conflicts which are by no means less important and also postmodern conflicts. The most important global security problems taking place within the globalization process are:

a) Inter-state conflicts. The evolution of international relations indicates a reduction in the number of major inter-state conflicts, but this has not derived in the disappearance of inter-state disputes or the importance of traditional conflict. On the contrary, preventing or avoiding war between states continues to be one of the international community’s most important tasks.

Inter-state conflictivity is practically non-existent in North America and Western Europe, and has diminished in Eastern Europe, Central and South America, Asia and Oceania. However, the regions that present the greatest indices of conflict are the Middle East, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, Northwestern Asia and Africa. The most important problems in the regions with the greatest conflict indices deal with interstate dispute, but also with emerging international crises stemming from failed states, fundamentalist religious movements and nationalism.

b) New non-traditional international conflicts: transnational-scope non-state threats. The end of the Cold War and globalization deepened the development of interdependence in international relations in an remarkable way. This has granted security problems -which in the past had a more limited scope- an increasingly global character. Hence, globalization has added new types of conflict to the modern era which were basically between or within states. The international security agenda has spread out remarkably from exclusively inter-state affairs to a series of security problems that share some common characteristics:



V CONFERENCIA DE MINISTROS DE DEFENSA DE LAS AMERICAS

SANTIAGO DE CHILE 18 AL 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2002

- **They are of transnational scope.** They are usually problems that transcend the context of one country and may even reach global or regional dimensions.
- **They do not originate in the state.** These new global security problems are usually caused by some states' impossibility to satisfy their citizens' development demands. However, they are not state strategies in the framework of a conflict. Consequently, not all these security problems represent a traditional military threat. However, they are phenomena that can actually cause international crises requiring military intervention on the part of one or many states in either a conflict or cooperation relationship. For example, United Nations has clearly informed that migratory crises are a type of security problem that is distinctive of globalization. Obviously illegal mass migrations are not a deliberate strategy carried out by states. However, in some cases states that receive mass illegal migrations have had to deploy military and navy forces to restrain massive flows that because of their mass characteristic destabilize their jurisdiction. The acceleration of environmental degradation, narcotrafic and other forms of organized crime do not constitute inter-state conflict but they affect international security and can cause inter-state crises. Nevertheless, it is also clear that some of these transnational and societal security problems such as terrorism can be considered military capacity threats. They may be linked to sponsoring states but they also have a significant capacity to act with relative independence with regard to the sponsoring state. Furthermore, their political objectives may not necessarily be those of a traditional terrorist group, i.e., the seizure of power in some state, in this case Arab or Muslim, they are of a general nature, such as causing terror in their enemies. However, the articulation of state and non-state threats, for example some states' sponsoring of transnational terrorist groups, has demonstrated to be an extraordinarily serious threat to international peace and security.
- **They generate different threat perceptions.** Finally, even if from an analytical perspective the new international security agenda is made up of an assortment of global phenomena, they affect the states quite differently. Consequently, states react in different ways and this should be respected.
- **Conflicts between states persist, but crises are viewed as a frequent form of international conflict in the globalization stage.** Most conflicts stemming from the new security problems haven not ended in wars between states. On the contrary, since the end of the Cold War, in most cases the combination of new threats and weak or failed states has led to the development of international crises, most of which have tensed inter-state relations and produced destabilizing effects at regional or subregional levels.



V CONFERENCIA DE MINISTROS DE DEFENSA DE LAS AMERICAS

SANTIAGO DE CHILE 18 AL 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2002

Hence, the international scenario has experienced a type of conflict that raises the need to broaden the concepts of crisis as a stage preceding war between states, or as a political instrument that states can use to attain certain political objectives

2.1.3. The technological revolution's strategic effects and the emergence of asymmetric threats. Globalization has developed on the basis of the qualitative progress of information technologies, which has also introduced strategic changes, synthesized in the concept of Revolution in Military Affairs (RMI). This change has produced an enormous difference in the capacities of agents that generate technology and actors who do not have access to it, generating a tendency in the latter to design strategies to attain their objectives avoiding open conflict in the scenario favoring technology holders. This has given rise to "asymmetric" threats, among them terrorism, which have brutally struck the United States and other countries, including some in our region.

2.2. THE POLITICAL EFFECTS OF GLOBALIZATION. INCREASING INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND DEVELOPING GOVERNANCE REGIMES.

This new scenario that has emerged in recent years demands great effort in governments to reformulate international policy concepts and practices, especially in the context of security. However, some common answers are starting to take shape as this process intensifies. This new scenario has specifically caused an important tendency toward greater international cooperation, especially in the context of United Nations and regional organizations. Should this tendency be adequately supported by states it may contribute to international security, despite the fact that the asymmetries observed in the capacities of states fostering cooperation hinder it.

2.2.1. Effects in inter-state security. In the context of the traditional agenda pertaining to conflicts, international cooperation institutions have become consolidated as effective tools to encounter them. There are many examples pointing in the direction of this tendency, but the strategic agreements between Russia, the United States and NATO stand out.

2.2.2. Effects in the new security agenda. Something similar has happened with the new security agenda. Although it deals with different problems, we generally refer to non-state and transnational scope threats, the more effective answers have also been those based on strengthening international cooperation, a fact that has been particularly clear in the international struggle against terrorism.

In sum, the globalization process has paradoxically generated a tendency toward strengthening the state role and the importance of international cooperation regimes in cooperation areas that are attractive for states, expressing in their contents and reach the power of the states that take part or do not take part in them.



V CONFERENCIA DE MINISTROS DE DEFENSA DE LAS AMERICAS

SANTIAGO DE CHILE 18 AL 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2002

However, in this period, globalization has given rise to a transnational agenda, the management of which has created a demand for new institutions, capable of accounting for the evolution, growing diversity and complexity of security challenges. An important part of international politics is still based on state management, however, international regimes have expanded in a relatively proportional way to the increasing political agenda related to globalization and an international agenda that requires coordination among governments.

Thus, international regimes have started to act as institutions through which states attempt, with greater or less success, to confer governance to the globalization process.

2.3. TOWARD BROADER AND MORE INTEGRATING SECURITY CONCEPTS: HUMAN SECURITY, STATE SECURITY, INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

2.3.1. From state-centered concepts to integral concepts. The emergence of new international actors requires changing the modern concepts of international security, the essential characteristic of which was being state-centered. International security concepts were constructed on the actual fact that until recently the state was the only actor with international and juridical capacity. It was the only institution that articulated the organization of domestic and international policy. With the consolidation of the globalization process and the emergence of new international actors, the state-centered international security conception has experienced changes in some of its basic assumptions, putting an end to the exclusive and excluding character of the state as international actor. An international system has gradually been shaped in which the state coexists with a group of other international actors endowed with a growing capacity to exert influence in politics and international security. Moreover, the state is no longer the exclusive object of security: Apart from the state are new demanders and suppliers of security.

2.3.2. The human person as the new subject and object of security. As indicated above, one of the new security elements is the growing importance of the human person as a subject-actor of security, both in the state and the international system.

Since World War II onwards, this state-centered conception of security has experienced changes in some of its basic assumptions. In essence, these transformations put an end to the exclusive and excluding character of the state as international actor, opening the way to an international system in which the state coexists with a group of other international actors endowed with power. Therefore, the state is no longer the exclusive object of securitization, thus, the international security agenda has also undergone changes.

The emergence of new international actors represents in itself a modification in the security agenda, since securitization objects have multiplied. Enterprises -a myriad of civil society expressions- and people add security demands that are not exclusively state-centered. The security of discriminated social groups -as expression of the legitimate component of civil society- and development's environmental sustainability are, for example, two new security demanders.



V CONFERENCIA DE MINISTROS DE DEFENSA DE LAS AMERICAS

SANTIAGO DE CHILE 18 AL 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2002

People are particularly important as new international actors, since the existence of the state, and even the democratic state, has proven that it is not a mechanic synonym of respect for human rights. The huge procedural and economic-social deficiencies in modern poliarchies, in addition to the totalitarian and authoritarian experiences in the 20th Century, have given rise to a growing and global movement aimed at institutionalizing the prevalence of human security vis-à-vis the state, the sovereign's above the mandated institution's.

In the context described above, the international community has re-opened the discussion of international security concepts, carrying out important efforts, such as the conceptualization of Human Security carried out by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), in 1994, and included in the Declaration of Quebec and in the Action Plan of the III Summit of the Americas.

In this regard, the consolidation of human beings as subjects of international law, the strengthening of international regimes aimed at protecting their rights, and the centrality of the human person as the object and subject of politics, should be assumed as major conquests of Humanity. They should also be considered to be significant advances toward an international system that accounts for its own richness and diversity, provides a participation space to new international actors, protects people and is, therefore, more democratic and also more secure.

In Chile, the Government has addressed the principle of human security concepts, taking part in the Human Security network and setting forth an assortment of initiatives that form part of the human security agenda based on two principles. Firstly, that people's security should be at the center of the different levels that articulate people's security, security of the state as a *democratic polis*, and international security. Secondly, that security problems or threats present different dimensions, thus becoming a multidimensional phenomenon that requires coordinated answers, albeit not necessarily being the same for all states.

However, the conceptual debate on security in the post-Cold War period and in the framework of globalization demands deeper debate considering at least the following elements:

2.3.3. A scope-defined security concept. Using the security concept to refer to anything that threatens the achievement of human, state or international development should be avoided, since it leads to securitization and, thus, "policialization" and militarization of all aspects of politics and development, a result that pretty much resembles the national security doctrines developed after World War II.



V CONFERENCIA DE MINISTROS DE DEFENSA DE LAS AMERICAS

SANTIAGO DE CHILE 18 AL 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2002

It is also necessary to distinguish between the problems that demand different processes and decisions in the context of democratic political institutions and the international system and the problems that threaten the rights or the well-being of people and democratic political communities (whether they are within or outside the jurisdiction of a state) and which demand the use of force by democratically legitimized institutions.

Therefore, a democratic society's development problems do not constitute *per se* a security problem, rather a political one whose dimensions may eventually -and under certain circumstances- be the use of force. An eventuality that results in a security problem. And in this context, security problems become a threat when an opponent is willing to use force.

Two examples may help to explain the above. The first is the environmental deterioration problem, usually mentioned as one of the new security problems. It is evident that environmental deterioration threatens our own survival as a species as well as the planet's, but what makes it a security issue if the most important ways to solve it depend on regulatory political decisions in the economic, forestry, maritime, etc. context? In our opinion, its securitization starts the moment a conflict involving an environmental issue is created between actors, which may eventually be solved by the use of force and not by political institutions. That is, an inter-state, or intra-state dispute or a dispute among state and non-state actors.

2.3.4. Distinguishing security levels and responsible parties. It is also necessary to maintain the analytical distinction between securitization levels and objects: Security of people, security of the polis, and international security, and also establish the parties in charge of securitizing every object and at which level. This level has historically and currently generated confusions, although it is evident that the institutions developed by modern states to handle security demands – i.e., the use of force – continue to be valid and legitimate: Police institutions are technically trained to act in proportion when the democratic authority considers it to be legitimate and necessary, while military institutions should develop expertise vis-à-vis external threats, especially those of state character, except in situations in which:

- a) The legitimately constituted power summons them to other duties, including the use of force inside the state and which democracies usually regulate in the so-called states of constitutional exception; or
- b) The use of military force against non-regular forces in peace operations.

2.3.5. The state as a regulating and articulating pivot of the globalization process. Lastly, it is important to restore and distinguish the importance of the state in the context of actor diversification and the international agenda. Even though the state has lost the monopoly of international politics, its relative power has diminished, and the use of force between states has dropped as a resource to solve some types of conflict in the framework of growing interdependence, it has two important characteristics.



V CONFERENCIA DE MINISTROS DE DEFENSA DE LAS AMERICAS

SANTIAGO DE CHILE 18 AL 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2002

On the one hand, it continues to be the only actor in the international system endowed with democratic political representation, a characteristic that is not present in any non-governmental entity, much less in any global market institution. Furthermore, the state continues to be the only international actor endowed with the capacity to use force, the *ultima ratio* in international inter or intra-state conflicts,. Moreover, the state continues to be the actor endowed with the greatest and more complex power resources.

2.4. GLOBALIZATION, LATIN AMERICA AND SECURITY.

Despite maintaining some considerable particularities, the Latin American region does not escape this global picture presenting this double security agenda and albeit significant challenges and problems, the continent has made major advances. The problems are well known, although they manifest in different ways according to the reality of each country or sub-region.

Terrorism, drug traffic, organized crime and related crimes. On the one hand, the security problems created in the globalization period have emerged with intensity, especially narcotraffic. There is also considerable local or transnational terrorist activity in some countries. Organized crime is also a security problem or a threat for some states, especially the smallest ones, reflected, for example, in the illicit traffic and criminal use of firearms.

Migratory Crises. Many countries in the Caribbean Basin have experienced important migratory crises during the nineties. Some cases have become security hazards in some states.

Political-institutional economic and social crises. Their consolidation as efficient and legitimate regimes vis-à-vis their citizens is an unsettling and persistent difficulty for many Latin American democracies. Persistent instability introduces uncertainties that may affect security relations in a region where inter-state conflict level has dropped significantly, but it has not disappeared completely, and where the institutions in charge of preventing and resolving inter-state conflicts should be strengthened. The consolidation of democracies is hence linked to conflict prevention.

3. SECURITY INSTITUTIONS IN THE CONTINENT.

3.1. TOWARD A FLEXIBLE REGIONAL SECURITY ARCHITECTURE.

3.1.1. Post World War II Institutions: Values and institutionality. Security and defense institutions in America started, for the most part, during World War II, as part of the Inter-American System. They date back to 1942, year in which the Inter-American Defense Board was instituted, and 1947 when the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (TIAR) was created. They basically constitute a collective security system of the continent's states vis-à-vis an armed attack or extra-continental aggression.



V CONFERENCIA DE MINISTROS DE DEFENSA DE LAS AMERICAS

SANTIAGO DE CHILE 18 AL 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2002

The Inter-American System has been the cause of long-standing debate in the region. Before and following the Cold War its efficiency and representativity as international organizations were affected in numerous opportunities. Thus, Chile and the countries in the region have been open to search for more efficient institutions capable of providing an adequate response to the challenges posed by international security to the countries and the people.

However, this does not mean that all institutions that form part of the Inter-American system have lost validity, especially some of the principles that gave rise to them, pertaining to continental solidarity and collective action, the commitment not to use or threaten to use force among the region's states, the peaceful resolution of controversies, and non-intervention and the right to self-determination. Therefore, these principles and institutions that operationalize them, may be summoned again vis-a-vis aggressions affecting in any way all the countries in the region, such as the case in the terrorist attack against the United States on September 11, 2001. In fact, on that opportunity, regional governments invoked TIAR. Chile supported that appeal and the agreements taken after said reactivation of the Treaty. Hence, the institutions in the Inter-American system that are still valuable and important to the countries in the region should be supported and may continue to make invaluable contributions.

This transit toward a new security architecture should not be understood as opposed, but rather as complementary to the security institutions created after World War II, such as those comprising the Inter-American system, regardless of the fact that the latter may eventually be reformed if there is consensus in this regard.

No obstante es importante asumir también que el sistema de seguridad colectiva se ha transformado en solamente una parte de una red mayor, creciente, e interrelacionada de mecanismos ad hoc y regímenes cooperativos de seguridad, desarrollados en la región en la última etapa de la Guerra Fría, y en su mayoría a partir de la década de los 90, y que en definitiva estos mecanismos y regímenes han ido conformado un nuevo tipo de arquitectura o régimen internacional de hecho que los estados de la región hayan logrado desarrollar grados importantes de gobernabilidad en el ámbito de la seguridad regional.

However, it is important to also assume that the collective security system has not only become part of a greater, growing and inter-related network of ad-hoc mechanisms and cooperative security regimes, developed in the region in the last stage of the Cold War and for the most part as of the nineties, and that these mechanisms and regimes have definitely developed a new type of international architecture or regime.

Cooperative relationships are still a process under construction in the region but their groundwork lies in the existence of a sustained process of reducing inter-state conflictivity in the American region, and in the emergence of new security problems which demand greater international cooperation.



V CONFERENCIA DE MINISTROS DE DEFENSA DE LAS AMERICAS

SANTIAGO DE CHILE 18 AL 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2002

This new type of cooperative institution is more functional than the collective security system as regards encountering the security problems that emerged in the region after the Cold War. They deal with the traditional perception of threat (inter-state conflicts) and with the new security threats or problems agenda, usually of a non-state and transnational nature, including terrorism.

3.1.2. Regional security network construction contexts and levels. This new architecture or regional governance regime for security affairs has been constructed at various levels and according to the type of security problem it involves, either traditional or new.

- a) **International.** For example, at international level, in the nineties an important part of the region's countries adhered to/ratified United Nations' more relevant international regimes in matters of non-proliferation and restriction of mass destruction weapons, such as the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the Convention of Chemical Weapons and the Convention of Biological Weapons. Furthermore, Chile and the region's countries participated massively in other international regimes, such as the Convention of Anti-personnel Landmines, while others took part in the Missile Technology Control Regime, coinciding in the interest to increase their contribution to United Nations peace operations.
- b) **Continental.** At a continental level, in this same period the region experienced increased participation in regional non-proliferation regimes, among which the Tlatelolco Treaty was the most outstanding. The region also witnessed the launching of the Summit of the Americas process in which Heads of State reached a series of agreements, including important security aspects at an expressly hemispheric level, organized in terms of shared principles and specific policies represented in the declarations and action plans of each Summit. At this same hemispheric level, the Organization of American States has structured many hemispheric scope regimes related both to the traditional agenda as well as the new security threats agenda. With regard to the traditional security agenda, the Inter-American system has played an important role in the resolution of inter-state conflicts, such as the conflict between Peru and Ecuador solved in 1999 with the cooperation of the Group of Guarantor Countries. Moreover, the OAS organized, under Chile's and other countries' initiative, two regional conferences on mutual trust building measures, one in 1995 in Santiago, and the other in 1999 in San Salvador, which gave rise to the establishment of a basic mechanism to follow-up this type of regime, in addition to conflict prevention institutions established in the Inter-American and United Nations systems and the progress made on transparency in the acquisition of conventional weapons (1999).



V CONFERENCIA DE MINISTROS DE DEFENSA DE LAS AMERICAS

SANTIAGO DE CHILE 18 AL 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2002

As regards the new threats approach, among other advances and following the mandate of the Summits process, the region has increased its anti-terrorist cooperation regimes after the attack to the United States in 2001. This post September 11, 2001, cooperation took place in a favorable framework, after the Mar del Plata Commitment in 1998 and the Inter-American Committee Against Terrorism (CICTE), which has developed its Statutes and Work Program. The OAS has also reached important agreements on narcotraffic control, especially the multilateral certification mechanism and the series of agreements supervised under the Inter-American Drug Control Abuse Commission (CICAD), following the Santiago Summit. The same can be said about the agreements achieved in a broad range of topics related to light weapons traffic control (1997) and the regimes regarding the protection of democracy and human rights, which, as seen in this past decade in the cases of Peru, Haiti, Guatemala and Venezuela, among others, also cause strategic effects.

Also in a hemispheric context, the OAS, specifically the Hemispheric Security Commission, is currently carrying out an important contribution by triggering a reflection and an agenda organized on the basis of the human security concept, which has been promoted by Chile and accounts for some significant changes operating in the international scenario, such as the centrality of the human person as the subject of development and some deficiencies observed in exclusively state-centered security conceptions.

- c) **Regional.** Agreements have also been reached at a third level, contributing to generate a security framework at Latin American regional level: the Rio Group. This concertation mechanism, i.e., of inter-governmental coordination, has developed an important dialogue on non-proliferation, disarmament, military expenditure, environmental affairs, humanitarian intervention and narcotraffic, among others, and has shown a significant capacity in articulating the standpoints of member states without necessarily creating a new international organization. At this same level, the Presidents of South America have held two meetings. On the second one, held on July 26 and 27, 2002, they established the Declaration on the South American Peace Zone.
- d) **Subregional.** The fourth level refers to subregions. The experience of the past two decades has taught us that instead of attempting continental scope policies that are not always feasible or necessary, security policies should assume the diversity and the specific rationales of the Caribbean, Central America, the Andean Zone and the South Cone subregions. Acknowledging the fact that subregions present dynamics with their own characteristics, security dynamics have been developed which have turned out to be particularly effective in resolving conflicts or developing cooperation processes at subregional level.



V CONFERENCIA DE MINISTROS DE DEFENSA DE LAS AMERICAS

SANTIAGO DE CHILE 18 AL 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2002

In the case of the South Cone, the dynamics opened by the integration process are particularly evident, but important advances have also been made in other subregions such as the Andean Zone, and even between subregions, such as the NAFTA zone and Central America in issues such as mass illegal migrations.

- e) **Bilateral.** Last but not least, it is a known fact that bilateral cooperation and its institutionalization have been very important in the positive transformation of the regional scenario, in some cases producing impact on the region as a whole, such as the agreements between Brazil and Argentina in the nuclear context. Other agreements reached between Argentina-Chile, Chile-Peru, and Peru-Ecuador, among others, should also be mentioned.

3.1.3. Common characteristics of the new security architecture.

- a) **Inter-governmental political concertation or coordination.** Most of the regimes that make up this emerging regional security architecture at different levels and embracing different topics, have been the result of international political concertation as the most frequent institutional political form in the search for agreements. Most of the new regimes have avoided generating new international organizations and, on the contrary, the preferred options have been two: either the direct execution of agreements or commissioning existing international organizations, such as the OAS, as executing organizations.
- b) **Cooperative institutionalality.** Most regimes, at different levels, are cooperative institutions, even those new regimes in which the United States participates. The construction of cooperative security regimes presents two major advantages as compared to the diplomatic practices of the Cold War period that tended to be restricted to the creation of alliances, collective security systems or the creation of international organizations. On the one hand, they are efficient in encountering the new threats agenda since the transnational and non-state character of these threats makes unilateral solution attempts unfeasible. By demanding an important level of political concertation, cooperative regimes provide medium and small states greater participation and decision-making space, granting a more democratic character to the new network of security institutions.
- c) **New collective security regimes, of cooperative creation.** Lastly, it is important to underscore that collective security as a model has maintained its validity in cases where there has been consensus, especially in the political sphere. The institutionalities developed to consolidate Latin American democracies as of the Santiago Declaration and up to the recently approved OAS Democratic Charter are particularly relevant in this context.



V CONFERENCIA DE MINISTROS DE DEFENSA DE LAS AMERICAS

SANTIAGO DE CHILE 18 AL 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2002

d) Important, but insufficient advances. Even though this new architecture is an emerging form of building a regional security system, and the levels reached constitute important advances that enable a positive comparison of the American continent with other global regions, it is also evident that these achievements are still insufficient. Even if a relatively robust regional regime has been consolidated in non-proliferation issues, it is still not possible to state the same in the context of inter-state conflict prevention, and especially in the field of regional institutions geared to encounter the new threats, especially the more serious ones, such as terrorism and narcotraffic.

4. SUMMARY AND PRELIMINARY RECOMMENDATIONS.

In future and always in the context of regional security institutional development, it is necessary to consolidate and develop this institutional security architecture that combines cooperative and collective, emerging and flexible, in respect to both the traditional security agenda and the new security agenda.

4.1. THE REGION IN A REFOUNDING STAGE OF ITS SECURITY INSTITUTIONS.

TOWARD THE RENEWAL OF PRINCIPLES AND INSTITUTIONS. The region's security institutions are undergoing a refounding stage, similar to the one that followed World War II. In actual fact, due to the evolution of the international security situation and the region's concept and institution renewal process, the foundation has been created to assert the existence of a renewal process as regards continental security institutions. This process is based on the re-affirmation of the principles and institutions developed in the past by the Inter-American System and is complemented by the advances made as of the end of the Cold War. This process is based on two main pillars:

4.1.1. New conceptual grounds on security: Toward an integral security concept.

New conceptual foundations have been laid for a new consensual continental conceptual approach. It is an integral conceptualization of security, broader than the traditional security concepts (exclusively state-centered), incorporating human security as a complementary dimension of state and international security and which assumes that security is a multidimensional phenomenon.

4.1.2. New institutional grounds: Toward a flexible collective and cooperative security architecture to guarantee regional governance in the sphere of security.

The countries in the region have also made strides in conceptual development and in the new institutional grounds. In actual fact, today collective security coexists with cooperative security as an institutional form and reality indicates that, regardless of differences in power between states, the new security problems have increased the need for cooperative relations and institutions. As a whole, this new flexible security architecture grants the region important levels of governance in the sphere of security.



V CONFERENCIA DE MINISTROS DE DEFENSA DE LAS AMERICAS

SANTIAGO DE CHILE 18 AL 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2002

The existence of new conceptual grounds and a new look at security institutions makes it possible to think that these advances may be systematized and institutionalized. As a whole, both processes could result in establishing a set of general political objectives or principles that, reflected in a political declaration or security charter, may constitute a security and defense code of conduct to which the region's countries may adhere and which reflect the basic consensus in terms of values, political objectives and norms and which may articulate all cooperation policies, regional security and defense institutions, that make these principles operational.

Recommending an agenda of this type to be developed in the near future, for example in the Especial Security Conference of the Organization of American States, could be an enormous contribution of the Conference of Ministers of Defense of the Americas to the consolidation of stability and peace in the American continent.

4.2. A NEED TO ADVANCE IN THE DIRECTION OF AN AGENDA WITH MORE PRECISE POLICIES:

4.2.1. In the context of inter-state security. In the case of the traditional inter-state security agenda, the basic objective is to consolidate stability and peace in inter-state relations in the region, especially in a situation marked by instability and democratic consolidation problems in the Latin American region. Despite its deficiencies, the Inter-American System developed an important number of institutions that continue to be very valuable in this regard. Furthermore, a set of policies are semi-articulated and underway which should be strengthened and be essentially oriented toward preventing conflict by developing the following policy areas:

a) Generating confidence, greater transparency. The promotion of transparency among states is a basic requirement. Advance can be achieved in the following areas:

- **Transparency of security and defense policies by publication in defense books.** Chile and Argentina have published Defense Books. Brazil has published a document on Defense Policy while Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador are currently preparing their respective documents. We estimate that without aiming at a single format, it is possible to develop international cooperation initiatives fostering the publication of state documents.
- **Development of methodologies to compare defense expenditure.** Chile and Argentina agreed on a methodology with the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) and at present Chile and Peru have agreed to develop a similar initiative. This is an initiative that can be carried out bilaterally and/or study a regional scope model, in part or as a whole.



V CONFERENCIA DE MINISTROS DE DEFENSA DE LAS AMERICAS

SANTIAGO DE CHILE 18 AL 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2002

- **Transparency in important military policy areas by means of the progressive development of mutual confidence building measures.**
- **Strengthening additional control and verification mechanisms.** Consolidating country commitments by sending timely information to the UN Register of Conventional Weapons.
- **Strengthening the follow-up capacity of international organization agreements (OAS) or inter-governmental coordination (Pro Tempore Secretariat, Conference of Ministers)).** As for the Conference of Ministers, the Pro Tempore Secretariat could develop abilities to follow-up on the fulfillment of recommendations formulated by the Ministers of Defense.

4.2.2. New threats and emerging security problems. The most important objectives in the new threats agenda should be directed toward the consolidation and creation of security regimes dealing with the most important threats which affect the region's security directly (especially terrorism), narcotraffic, organized crime, and arms traffic.

From a global and regional perspective, the struggle against asymmetric external terrorist threats admits various types of policies and strategies, although the center of the response should necessarily be the articulation of more effective cooperative security regimes.

It is also important to consider that although security problems are of a global nature and some threats are also global, they affect countries in different ways, therefore, replies should also differ, in consideration of the sovereign determination of each state.

The fight against the most important threats such as terrorism or narcotraffic, does not necessarily demand the development of new military structures or the articulation of regional military coalitions. The advances made up to now and reflected in the Declaration of Quebec and in the Action Plan of the Third Summit of the Americas clearly indicate the path to follow in this context, which has been reaffirmed after the terrorist attacks against the United States in the year 2001.

As for terrorism, that demands priority attention, the countries in the continent have agreed on a set of policies that aim to strengthen inter-governmental cooperation and coordination, especially in the area of police and intelligence, mentioned in previous sections herein.

Cooperation against narcotraffic has been a good example in this sense. Emphasis was placed in the Anti-Drug Strategy in the Hemisphere, based on the principles of shared responsibility, a comprehensive and balanced approach and multilateral cooperation, considering the development of the Multilateral Evaluation Mechanism, unique in the world, and one of the central pillars in effective hemispheric cooperation in the struggle against all the factors that constitute the global drug problem.



V CONFERENCIA DE MINISTROS DE DEFENSA DE LAS AMERICAS

SANTIAGO DE CHILE 18 AL 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2002

We express our support for effective alternative development programs aimed at eradicating illicit cultivations and we shall strive to facilitate market access of products resulting from these programs.

Notwithstanding the above, the region should also advance in the development of shared and coordinated responses to face other security problems indicated by the Heads of State in the Declaration of Quebec, especially those aiming at improving human security conditions in the Hemisphere.

These two security agendas that account for the traditional and emerging security and defense problems should be promoted at all levels in which this variable regional security architecture is carried out, because they complement and empower each other and if they are understood as complementary policies and strategies, they enable advancing at variable speeds without generating conflict or competition.

4.3. OAS-CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS OF DEFENSE OF THE AMERICAS LINK

In the field of developing security institutions it is possible to advance in establishing some general procedures.

In this sense, and without forsaking the original spirit of the Conferences of Ministers of Defense of the Americas as a non-binding forum, it is proposed to advance toward a closer relationship and communication between the OAS and the Conference of Ministers of Defense of the Americas, especially on the occasion of the Special Conference of Hemispheric Security, commissioned to the OAS by the Heads of State and Government on the Second Summit of the Americas.

In this same spirit, the development of a work relationship between the OAS Commission of Hemispheric Security and the Conference of Ministers of Defense Pro Tempore Secretariat, to allow, for example, dialogue and follow-up of the recommendations stemming from the Conference of Ministers of Defense of the Americas.