LATIN AMERICA SECURITY

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CONTENTS

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Historical Background I

A. What is LAC?
B. Security Related Concepts
# C. History of Latin America's Security

A. What is LAC?

- 42 million square kilometers (20 million is land)
- 33 sovereign countries, plus dependencies etc
- Population: 652 million (2018)
- 2/3 in BR MX CO
- Three main regions:
  - Mexico and Central America: 179.6 m
  - Caribbean Islands: 44.1 m
  - South America: 428.2 m
- Ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural diverse
- Highly unequal societies and 200 year old states
- Semi-peripheral status in world economy
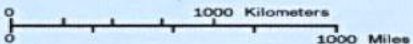
Latin America: Physical

B. Concepts:

- Power
- Polarity
- Polarization
- Threat
- Security
- Regional Security Complex

Power

- Structural (capabilities and patterns)
- Relational (B is affected by A)
- Material (scope and domain)
- Subjective (influence and moral direction)
- Positive (compellence)
- Negative (deterrence)

Polarity

- Conventional Forces (inexpugnability)
- Nuclear forces: second strike capability
- Command of space to sustain operations
- USA - RUSSIA – CHINA - INDIA (?)

Polarization

- Patterns of amity and enmity
- Ultimate interaction: interstate war
- War as the confrontation between two or more antagonic human will (Clausewitz, 2007)
  - Friction, uncertainty and disorder

Threat

- Communicated intent to inflict harm or loss
- Dimension of power: credible threat
- Interpretative and subjective nature
- Interaction with vulnerability
- Threats: existential and otherwise

Security

- Condition of **relative** protection where one actor is capable of neutralize discernible threats
- **Means**: patterns and defense measures in terms of information, installations, communications, personal, equipment and operations
- Securitization is a process, not a *datum*
- Why to securitize?

Regional Security Complex

- Buzan & Weaver (2003)
- Region as a level of analysis?
- Four variables:
  - Borders
  - Anarchy (?)
  - Polarity (?)
  - Social construction
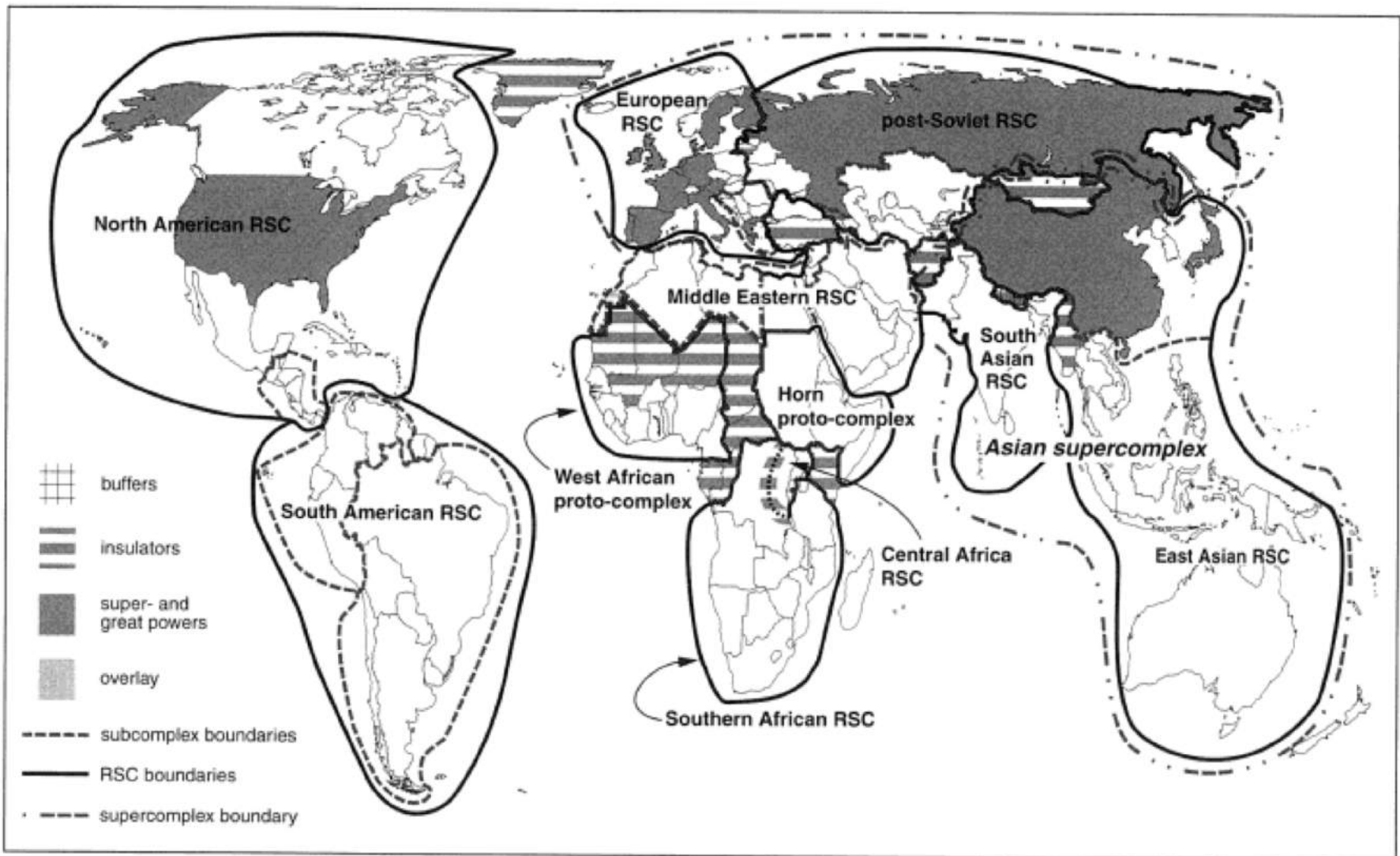
Map 2. Patterns of Regional Security Post-Cold War

Legend:

- buffers
- insulators
- super- and great powers
- overlay
- - - - - - subcomplex boundaries
- ————— RSC boundaries
- · — · — supercomplex boundary

Map labels:

North American RSC

European RSC

post-Soviet RSC

Middle Eastern RSC

South Asian RSC

Horn proto-complex

Asian supercomplex

South American RSC

West African proto-complex

Central Africa RSC

East Asian RSC

Southern African RSC
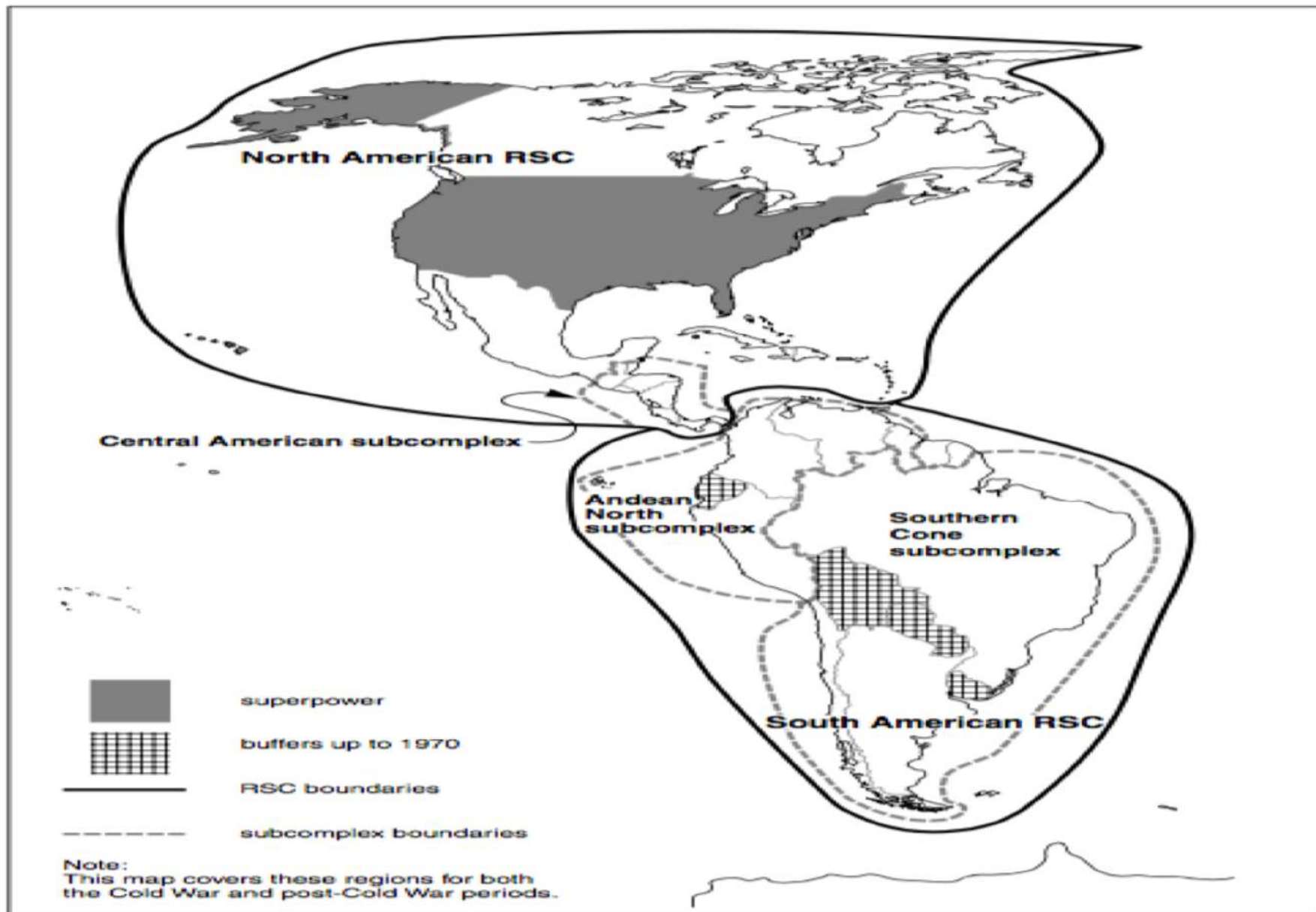
Map 8. RSCs in the Americas

C. History of LAC Security:

- Pre-Columbian (2000 BCE – 1492 CE)
- The Conquest (1492 - 1550)
- Colonial Rule (1551 - 1700)
- Reforms and Revolts (1701 - 1808)
- Independence (1809 - 1828)
- State "Consolidation" (1829 - 1890)
- Oligarchies and Revolutions (1891 - 1945)
- Cold War (1946 - 1989)
- Violent Peace (1990 - 2020)

Pre Columbian (1600 BCE - 1492 CE)

- **Olmec** civilization (1600 BCE – 400 BCE)
- **Mayan** civilization (2600 BCE - 1697 CE)
  - Language: 30 languages derived from Proto-Mayan
  - Population: 5-10 million (1539)
  - Area: Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador, Honduras
  - Maya Classic (c. 250-950 CE) and **Post Classic** (950-1539 CE)
- **Aztec** culture (1300 BCE - 1821 CE)
  - Language: Nahuatl
  - Population: 5 million (1519)
  - Area: Valley of Mexico (Lake Texcoco)
  - Aztec **empire** (1427-1521 CE): Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, and Tlacopan
- **Inca** empire (1438-1572 CE)
  - Languages: Quechua (Aymara, Puquina, Jaqi etc)
  - Population: 10 million (1527)
  - Area: Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and parts of Argentina, Chile and Colombia
  - **Civil war** between Huáscar and Atahualpa (1529-1532)

Império Asteca

Maias

Império Inca

The Conquest (1492 - 1550)

- Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) Castile and Portugal
- Columbus, Vespucci, Cabral: explorers and conquerors
- Waldseemüller names the "New World" as America in 1507
- Tainos, Aztecs, Incas, Mayas, Tamoios: resistance and **genocide**
- Smallpox outbreaks in the Caribbean (1507) and Peru (1524)
- 37 to 65 million Indians in 1492, 09 million in 1650
- Cortez, Pizarro, Sousa: conquerors and exploiters
- "We came here to serve God and the King, and also to get rich."
- First African **slaves** in Hispaniola (1501) and Brazil (1538)
- Conquest of Aztec Empire (1519 - 1521)
- Conquest of Inca Empire (1530 - 1537)
- From Brazil wood extraction to hereditary captaincies (1534)
- Hapsburg Spain establishes the Consejo de las Indias (1524)
- Viceroyalty of Nueva Espana (1535)
- Viceroyalty of Peru (1544)
- Portugal appoints the first Governador Geral (1549)

Colonial Rule (1551 - 1700)

- Economic Foundations
  - Mercantilism
  - Mining (silver, gold, copper, emeralds etc)
  - African Slavery and Indian Forced Labor
  - Plantations (sugar can, tobacco, cacao etc)
  - Trans Atlantic Triangular Commerce and Beyond
- **Expansion** to Inner lands: fields, supplies, minerals
- Catholic Church and the **Inquisition**
- Spanish **Rivalry** with Great Britain, France, and
- Dutch Wars:
  - Northeast Brazil (1624 - 1654)
  - Curacao (1634) and Guyana (1621)
- **Palmares** BR (1605 - 1694) and Pueblo MX (1680)

Reforms and Revolts (1701 - 1808)

- **Spanish America:**
  - Bourbon Monarchs (from 1713)
  - Viceroyalty of New Granada (1717 and 1739)
  - Tax Reforms *encomienda* (1720)
  - Treaty of Madrid (1750)
  - Viceroyalty of Buenos Aires (1776)
  - Tupac Amaru II 80,000 Indian Revolt in Peru (1780)
  - Tensions between *peninsulares* and *criollos*
  - New Spain in 1800: 6,000 army, 23,000 creoles militia
  - Venezuela's Miranda insurgence (1806)
- **Portuguese America:**
  - Mascate (Peddlers) War in Brazil (1711)
  - Inconfidencia Mineira (1789)
  - Napoleon invades Portugal (1807), Braganza's fled to Rio (1808)
- **Caribbean:**
  - From piracy and great power wars to slave uprisings
  - Haitian Revolution (**1791** - 1804)

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Historical Background II

Independence (1809 - 1828)

- American (1775 – 1783) and French (1789 – 1799) **influence**
- Napoleonic Wars and the Spanish **Crisis** (1808 – 1810)
- Anti-Spanish *juntas* in South America (1810)
- Artigas starts the **revolutionary** movement in Uruguay (1810)
- **Britain** exports more to Brazil than to Asia (1812)
- José San Martin. expeditions to Chile, Peru and Bolivia (1810)
- Simon Bolivar's military campaigns (1813 – 1825)
- Prince Regent Dom Pedro I and the Independence of Brazil (1822)
- Republic of **Gran** Colombia (1819-1831)
- Uruguay's Independence: Spain, Argentina, and Brazil (1828)
- Federal Republic of Central America (1823)
- End of Spanish resistance: Peru (1824), Chile (1826), Mexico (1829)
- Challenges: war recovery, capital flight, social unrest, centrifugal thrust
- New Republics, failed constitutions, and Iberian legacies

LATIN-AMERICAN STATES
1823

Boundaries with Brazil, Guiana and United States
The line with Brazil is the probable boundary under
the treaty of 1777.
Boundaries of Latin-American states.
A — Territory claimed by Paraguay.
B — Uruguay (Cisplatine, Banda Oriental) was at that
time joined to Brazil.
C — Upper Peru, a part of Buenos Ayres viceroyalty,
was then still controlled by the royalists, but claimed
as a part of La Plata; later, with a strip of the
Peruvian coast, it became Bolivia.
D — Chiapas in 1823 was not decisively a part either of
Mexico or Central America.

BATTLES:
1. Tucuman
2. Salta
3. Chacabuco
4. Plains of Maipo
5. Talca
6. Boyaca
7. Carabobo
8. Pichincha
9. Junin
10. Ayacucho
11. Santa Cruz
12. Las Cruces
13. Guanajuato
14. Salvatierra
15. Acuico
16. Zitacuaro
17. Bridge of Calderon
18. Cerro del Grillo

BORMAY & CO., N.Y.

State "Consolidation" (1829 - 1890)

- Double security challenge: internal and external
- **Internally**: intra-elite conflicts and social emancipation
- Liberals x Conservatives, Federalists x Unitarians, Popular Revolts
- End of Slavery: USA (1863), Cuba (1886), Brazil (1888)
- **Externally**: new great powers, new regional powers
- United States after the Monroe Doctrine (1823)
- Great Britain and the export-led South American economies
- Ecuador and Venezuela secede from Gran Colombia (1830)
- Chile fights a War against Peru and Bolivia (1836)
- Dissolution of United Central America (1838)
- Mexican-American War (1846 - 1848)
- Francisco Bilbao and the "Latin" America in Paris (1856)
- Triple Alliance War (1864 - 1870)
  – Brazil-Argentina-Uruguay vs Paraguay
- Pacific War of Chile vs Bolivia and Peru (1879 - 1884)
- Wars based on debts and limited mobilization = enfeebled states

Map 1892e - Enc. Britannica

LONGITUDE WEST FROM GREENWICH.

CARIBBEAN SEA

NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN

CENTRAL AMERICA

UNITED STATES OF COLUMBIA

BOGATA

EQUATOR

ECUADOR

QUITO

PERU

LA PAZ
SORATA 21,286 FT.

BOLIVIA

CORDILLERA

Tropic of Capricorn

ISLANDS OF ST FELIX

PACIFIC OCEAN

JUAN FERNANDEZ ISLANDS

VENEZUELA

BRITISH GUIANA

GEORGETOWN

DUTCH GUIANA

FRENCH GUIANA

BRAZIL

Amazon

PARAGUAY

ASSUMPTION

URUGUAY

MONTE VIDEO

ARGENTINE

PAMPAS

BUENOS AYRES

CHILI

VALPARAISO

SANTIAGO

Bahia Blanca

Gulf of St George

Hilly Point

Strait of Magellan

TIERRA DEL FUEGO

SOUTH ATLANTIC OCEAN

SOUTH

ATLANTIC

OCEAN

SOUTH AMERICA.

SCALE OF MILES.
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800

Copyright, 1890, by Rand, McNally & Co.

SOUTH GEORGIA ISLAND

LONGITUDE W. FROM GREENWICH.
GALAPAGOS ISLANDS
(To Ecuador)

ALBEMARLE   INDEFATIGABLE   CHATHAM

Scale of Miles
0 25 50 100 200

Rand, McNally & Co's Eng'r's, Chicago.

FALKLAND ISLANDS
EAST FALKLAND WEST FALKLAND

Oligarchies and Revolutions (1891 - 1945)

- Industrial revolution and growing demand for LAC products
- Social impact: AR 1.7 (1869), 4 (1895), 8 million (1914)
- Oligarchy: dictatorship or limited competitive regimes
- Brazilian Republican Coup (1889 and 1891)
- Spanish-American War (1898)
- Mexican Revolution (1911 - 1920)
- Chaco War (1932) between Bolivia and Paraguay
- Populism: Cardenas (MX), Vargas (BR), Perón (AR)
- World War I and II : strategic meaning for Latin America

Cold War (1946 - 1989)

- USA:
  - School of the America's (1946)
  - Rio Treaty (1947)
  - Organization of American States (1948)
- Bolivian Revolution (1952-1953)
- Cuban Revolution (1953 - 1959)
- Nicaraguan Revolution (1962 - 1990)
- The Malvinas/Falklands War (1982)
- Military dictatorships, including
  - Paraguay (1954 - 1989)
  - Brazil (1964 - 1985)
  - Chile (1973 - 1988)

Violent Peace (1990 - 2020)

- Civilian-led democracies Southern Cone
- End of civil war in El Salvador (1991)
- MERCOSUR (1991) and NAFTA (1994)
- Andean Region and War on Drugs (1990 – 2014)
- Terrorist attacks in Buenos Aires (1992)
- Zapatista rebellion in Mexico (1994)
- Bolivarian Regime in Venezuela (1999 – 2018)
- ALBA (2004), UNASUR (2008), and Pacific Alliance (2011)
- LAC Population reaches 513 million (2000)
- Political Crisis in Brazil (2015 – 2018)
- LAC: 8% of world's population, 38% of homicides (2017)
- Peace Agreement in Colombia (2017), but …

3

Theoretical Approaches

- **International Relations (IR) as interdisciplinary field**
- **Theory and Ideology: overlapping and distinct**
- **IR Theories: research programs and "isms"**
- **Realism, Liberalism, Marxism, Constructivism, etc**
- **Realism:** Classical, Structural, Neo Classical, Power Transition
- **Liberalism**: Classical, Cosmopolitan, Institutionalist, Functional
- **Marxism**: Dependency, Political, Critical, China, Gramsci
- **Constructivism**: English, Wendt, Copenhagen, Postmodernism
- **Approaches** Selected from MARES & KACOWITZ (2015)

A. Geopolitics
B. Liberal Approaches
C. Peripheral Realism
D. English School and Constructivism

A. Geopolitics

- Geopolitics remotely related with Classical Realism
- Centrality of State (unitary or even organic)
- Defend territorial boundaries as primary goal
- Interplay of territory, geography, and politics
- Local, Regional, and Global applications
- Affirmative Nationalism
- Latin America: White Papers and Military Thought
- National Security Doctrines (1960s - 1980s)
- Cold War: bipolarity and ideological anti-communism
- Still influential, but with new meanings

Nolte; Wehner (2016: 33-43)

New Geopolitics

- From nationalism to regional integration
- Defense of natural resources and maritime security
- Amazon, South Atlantic, and Pacific Basin
- LAC has become geopolitically less marginalized
- South America and Brazil as its major regional power
- USA has become less central in South America
- China has become a major player in LAC
- From Geopolitics to Geo-economics?
- Global unipolarity or unbalanced multipolarity?

Nolte; Wehner (2016: 33-43)

B. Liberal Approaches

- Liberalism: interests as drivers, institutions as mechanisms
- Neoliberal Institutionalism and Neofunctionalism differ
- The first: focus on international cooperation
- The second: focus on regional integration
- Main claim: LAC needs liberal analysis of security

Malamud; Schenoni (2016: 44-55)

Neoliberal institutionalism

- Institutions alone cannot explain the "long lasting peace"
- In LAC, institutional rules has tended to be lax
- But, arms control agreements, confidence-building measures, dispute solving mechanisms and permanent international organizations helped to prevent backsliding in security …
- OAS, CELAC, UNASUR, OTCA, MERCOSUR, CAN, OPANAL, ABACC
- Regimes provide information for security
- Why new institutions if existing ones under perform?
- Ad hoc conflict resolution (HERZ et al, 2017)

Malamud; Schenoni (2016: 44-55)

Neofunctionalism:

- LAC efforts at integration have wrongly emphasized shared history and culture as conditions.
- Socioeconomic conditions and institutions are at the root of joint governance.
- Democracy is a necessary condition.
- Spillover effect? peace as precondition and goal of integration.
- State capacity has hindered neofunctionalism spillover.
- Presidential diplomacy as weak mechanism
- Example Control of Nuclear Materials (ABACC): encapsulation (no spillover).

Malamud; Schenoni (2016: 44-55)

C. Peripheral Realism

- Related with Power Transition Realism
- World order is hierarchical, although great powers interact under anarchy.
- In the periphery, socioeconomic development is the foremost national interest, not security.
- Three functionally differentiated types of states: rule-makers, rule-takers, and rebel states.
- Total State Freedom = Absolute Domestic Tyranny.
- Confrontation with rule-maker is counterproductive.

Escudé (2016: 56-66)

- United States (1979 - 2013)
  - Rule-making oligopoly and systematic rule-breaking.
  - Operation Condor, Nicaragua Contra's, War on Terror, Iraq's War.

- Argentina (1889 - 2013)
  - From rule-breaking rebel to ruined rule-taker.
  - Antagonism with US until 1989 answered with economic boycott and political destabilization, and USA military and economic promotion of Brazil.
  - Malvinas (1982).
  - 1989 - 2013: total abdication of capabilities.

Escudé (2016: 56-66)

- Mexico (1992 - 2012)
  - Rule-taking: NAFTA and USA
  - Percentage of manufacturing exports in total exports has increased, and extreme poverty has diminished.
  - However: extreme violence and bad socioeconomic development.
  - Problem: war on drugs and state weakness.

Escudé (2016: 56-66)

D. English School and Constructivism

- Both approaches related with Constructivism
- Relations are socially constructed.
- International politics as distributive (power and interest) and productive (law and norms).
- Three arenas: international system (material), international society (constructed vision) and world community (people).
- Conflict formation: rivalry, enmity, and war prevail over diplomacy, law, and the market.
- Security regimes: principles and codes of conduct to mitigate security dilemmas.
- Security community: no mutual fear and no arms race.

Merke (2016:88-98)

- "World of our making" (Onuf, 1989) depend on whether "anarchy is what states make of it" (Wendt, 1992) or not.
- Power and interest as the effect of shared ideas.
- Norms and identity have both behavioral and constitutive effects.
- Three types of anarchy: Hobbesian, Lockean and Kantian.
- Threats as "thick signifiers" (Huysmans, 1998).
- Constructivism and the English School focus on how structure (cultural) reinforce prevailing behaviors and roles of different actors.

Merke (2016:88-98)

- Latin America: domestic failure and external marginalization as main drivers for security.
- Regional norms have shaped interactions
- Norms: from *Utis Possidetis* to *Concertación*
- Latin America as a regional *society and a security regime*: between conflict formation and security community
- However: leaders seek to avoid war, but use military force to influence their relations (Mares, 2012)

Merke (2016:88-98)

- Trilemma: security, identity and integration
  - Two converge at the expense of another.
- BR-AR: change in political identities led to more convergence?
- Identity cleavages in LA have not been international but domestic
- State security as Regime Survival and Regime Change as the recurrent Latin America predicament
- Constructivism need to address transnational security issues like "narcoterrorism, organized crime, insurgencies, and migrations"…

Merke (2016:88-98)

4

Traditional Security

International security studies as "**the study of the threat, use, and control of military force**". (WALT, 1991: 212).

A. Weapons of Mass Destruction
B. Use of Force by States
C. Militarized Interstate Disputes
D. Military Strategy
E. Arms Acquisitions
F. Civil Military Relations
G. Peace Support Operations
H. Intrastate Conflict in LA
I. Antistate Violence
K. Alternative Governance

A. Weapons of Mass Destruction

- Regional Regimes of nuclear nonproliferation
- Low WMD risk in the region
- NPT criticism as risk or moral obligation?
- Watch Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela and Bolivia
- Cooperation with non-U.S. aligned countries
- Uranium enrichment program
- Nuclear powered submarines program
- Tlatelolco and ABACC still matter?

Patti (2016:221-229)

B. Use of Force by States

- The use of force by states in LAC still matters
- Two dominant approaches:
    - Explains classes of conflict
    - Explains the regional order
- Interstate conflicts short of war
- Why to militarize a conflict?
- Costs associated with a given political-military strategy and strategic balance
- Recurrent interstate conflicts
    - Territorial conflicts are more persistent

Thies (2016:113-126)

- **Forms of conflict**
  Interstate war
  Militarized Interstate Dispute
  Interstate rivalry
  Intrastate civil wars

- **Sources of conflict**
  Boundary and territorial issues
  Riparian and maritime issues
  Ideology
  Natural resources
  Borders porosity
  Systemic Structure
  Poor government performance

- Interstate war
- 15 wars between sovereign states
- "Norm against conquest"
- Dominguez et al (2003):
  - Three factors that explain long peace:
    - System structure
    - LAC insulation
    - *Uti possidetis juris*

Thies (2016:113-126)

- Rivalry between states
- A total of 43 rivalries in LAC
  - 17 of these include Great Powers, such as the United States, Great Britain, France, Spain, and Russia
- Interstate rivalry as an institutional feature of interstate relations
- Interstate rivalry as a self-strengthen tool
- Civil wars may affect interstate relations

Thies (2016:113-126)

- Regional order
  - Merge Kacowicz's (1998) approach to zones of negative peace and Wendt's (1999) Lockean culture of anarchy
- Rivalry and Lockean culture of anarchy mutually increase each other.

Thies (2016:113-126)

Table 9.4 Factors supporting zones of peace/cultures of anarchy

Zone of Conflict (Hobbesian Culture)	Negative Peace (Lockean Culture)	Positive/Stable Peace (Kantian Culture)
	Realist Path	
	U.S. Hegemonic Role	
U.S. Relative Capabilities	U.S. Intervention	
U.S. Cumulative Intervention Regional BOP System Shocks		
	Domestic Shocks Distance	
	Liberal Path	
		Regional Polity Average
	Regional Economic Development Regional Trade Agreements	
	Constructivist Path	
		Joint Satisfaction Negotiated Territorial Issues

Source: Based on Thies (2008).

Thies (2016:113-126)

C. Militarized Interstate Disputes

- The "zone of peace" conception ignores militarized disputes
- Acts of interstate violence persist
- Empirical evidence: "sometimes violence, sometimes peace, and sometimes settlement"
- After 1947, war in LAC have been as rare as war in Europe and East Asia
- 2000s: 47 Militarized Interstate Disputes (MID)

Mares (2016:254-265)

Table 9.1 Militarized interstate disputes (MIDs) in Latin America, 1826–2010

Time Period	All MIDs	Territorial MIDs	Great Power MIDs
1826–1899	122 (1.6 per year)	39 (33% of total)	77 (63% of total)
1900–1945	164 (3.6 per year)	56 (34% of total)	82 (50% of total)
1946–2010	205 (3.2 per year)	75 (37% of total)	69 (34% of total)
Totals	491 (2.7 per year)	170 (35% of total)	228 (47% of total)

Source: Correlates of War Project, http://www.correlatesofwar.org/.

Thies (2016:113-126)

- MID as a policy choice

- Five political-military strategies:

  1. Keep the issue alive
  2. Defend the status quo
  3. Affect bilateral negotiations
  4. Attract the support of third parties
  5. Impose a solution

Mares (2016:254-265)

- Five scenarios:

  1. The MID initiator expects no consequence
  2. If violent actions arise, they will be low. Escalation, however, is possible
  3. Both parties expect a third party intervention to avoid escalation
  4. If war escalates, the costs associated to back down are seen as outweighing the war itself
  5. An actor seeks war because the perceived costs are minimal

Mares (2016:254-265)

- Institutions usually cannot contain escalation
- Moral hazards, legitimacy and growing costs
- Domestic institutions and democracy
- Norms: peaceful settlements, sovereign, *uti possidetis*, and no wars of conquest
- Empirical challenges: solid methodology in identifying trust and confidence-building
- Comparative perspective on MID impact on conflict resolution

Mares (2016:254-265)

D. Military Strategy

- Military strategy is affect by many variables, some of which cannot be anticipated or controlled
- Strategic planning and risk assessment
- Latin American militaries are guided by a Clausewitzian perspective ???
- Argentinean (Malvinas) failure
- Colombian success

Marcella (2016:161-172)

- Several defense strategies and *Libros Blancos* were stated, but the impact of civil society remains poor
- Dilemma: deterrence against conventional threats vs public security and development
- Spectrum of conflict and the use of force

Marcella (2016:161-172)

- Six reasons that explain interstate peace:
  1. Most states are "geopolitically satisfied"
  2. The conditions for interstate war are rare
  3. Poor power projection and logistical capabilities
  4. States prefer international mediation to solve disputes
  5. Cooperative security is a principle of foreign policy
  6. Modern war is expensive

Marcella (2016:161-172)

- Secondary military missions in LAC are linked mainly to public security
- Others include counternarcotic support and humanitarian activities
- "Insecurity dilemma" and armed forces' role in space governance
- Police role and de-professionalization of the military

Marcella (2016:161-172)

- The Colombian experience as model?
  - More military power, changes in strategy and other means, also civil society support
- New grand strategy: "Democratic Security and Defense Policy"
- Author's recommendations
  - Grand strategy guiding military strategy
  - Civilian support and control
  - Debate on the balance between primary and secondary missions

Marcella (2016:161-172)

E. Arms acquisitions

- Defense spending ≠ arms spending
- Defense as percentage of GDP: 1.28 in 2014
- Brasil and Argentina: salaries and pensions
- Arms purchases raised 92% from 1997 - 2005 to 2005 – 2013 (economic crisis since 2014…)
- Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Venezuela = 84% of total armament imports (1993 - 2013)

Battaglino (2016: 230-241)

- In the 2005 - 2013 period:
  – Significant increase in the amount of purchases
  – Less sales from traditional suppliers (UK, FR) and more from other established suppliers (ES, IT, NL)
  – Emergence of new players (CH, RU)
  – Substantial increases (CL, VE), slight reduction (BR), significant drop (AR)
  – Main armaments acquired are aircrafts, followed by ships

Battaglino (2016: 230-241)

Chile:

- Financial from Copper Law and elite support for modern military
- Changing strategy: gradual resolution of disputes and more interest in regional cooperation
- NATO standards
- Amphibious Expeditionary Brigade (2012).
- However, retain conventional capabilities

Battaglino (2016:230-241)

Venezuela:
- Resources from the oil boom and threat perceptions,
- Conventional and asymmetrical preparations
- Su-30MK aircraft and S-300 air defense systems
- Deep crisis since 2014

Brazil:
- Would surpass Chile after purchases from France and Sweden (submarines, helicopters and fighters)
- New strategy and rising power
- Amazon defense and hybrid warfare
- Blue Amazon
- Deep crisis since 2015

Battaglino (2016: 230-241)

Argentina:
- lack interest in defense since 1983
- Studies should focus on theoretical argumentation about cause and effect
- Is LA passing through a transition in security dynamics?
- Possible research avenue: impact of intra and inter services disputes and military doctrines on purchases
- Threat perception?

Battaglino (2016: 230-241)

F. Civil Military Relations

- Colonial times: military, church and landlords
- Since independence: "moderating coups"
- Civilian political control as a recurrent concern
- Armed Forces and the "internal enemy"
- Management of military affairs and civilian roles
- Liberal and other models of CIV-MIL
- ALBA: military as a political partner?

Norden (2016:242-253)

- Changing: women, education and integration
- Civilians in Defense and in the armed forces
- Military rule as an appealing alternative again?
- Human rights and domestic missions
- Military autonomy and bureaucratic isolation

Norden (2016:242-253)

G. Peace Support Operations

- Participations in UN peacekeeping operations:
  - From isolationism (dictatorships)
  - To engagement after democratization
  - PKO troops from LAC: 2.5% in 2000 to 8.9% in 2010
- MINUSTAH as a joint peacekeeping model

Sotomayor (2016: 324-335)

Table 27.2 Latin America's contributions to UN peacekeeping operations, 2000–2010

Ranking in LA	Country	Committed troops	World ranking
1	Uruguay	20,934	8
2	Brazil	9,614	20
3	Argentina	8,633	22
4	Chile	3,688	42
5	Bolivia	2,950	49
6	Peru	1,642	59
7	Guatemala	1,503	61
8	Ecuador	550	78
9	Paraguay	532	79
10	El Salvador	440	82
11	Honduras	131	99
12	Colombia	54	105
13	Dominican Republic	46	106
14	Venezuela	11	120

Source: Adapted from Sotomayor (2014: 26–27).

Sotomayor (2016: 326)

- Three main reasons to participate:
  - Democratization impetus for military reform
  - International reputation and status
  - Evolving regional norms about intervention
- PKO records are good, but the peace-building performance remains unsatisfactory
- Quality vs quantity: PKO doctrine and training
  - Brazil in *favelas*
- How to strengthen regional organizations?

Sotomayor (2016: 324-335)

H. Intrastate Conflict in LA

- 14 Civil Wars during the Cold War (1947-1992)
- Social-economic development and class struggles
- Non-ethnic, apart Guatemala and Nicaragua
- Government control and political goals
- Long civil wars, short interstate wars
- Conflict resolution tend to endure
- Discrimination and inequality as motivations
- Local opportunities and foreign sponsors?
- LAC future as a zone free of civil war?

Hartzell (2016:187-196)

Table 9.3 Intrastate wars in Latin America

State	# Civil War	Civil War Years	Total Deaths
Argentina	10	1841–42, 1861, 1863, 1866–67, 1870–71, 1874, 1879–80, 1880, 1955, 1975–77	10050+
Bolivia	3	1862, 1870–71, 1952	?
Brazil	7	1835–37, 1835–45, 1837–38, 1893–94, 1893–94, 1896–97, 1932	8500+
Chile	3	1851, 1891, 1973	9100+
Colombia	8	1840–42, 1860–61, 1876–77, 1884–85, 1895, 1899–1902, 1948–58, 1989–	164031+
Costa Rica	1	1948	2000
Cuba	2	1912, 1958–59	4050
Dominican Rep.	1	1965	2500+
Ecuador	2	1895, 1912–14	1000+
El Salvador	2	1932, 1979–92	3500+
Guatemala	3	1966–68, 1970–71, 1978–84	8000
Honduras	1	1924	?
Mexico	14	1832, 1835–36, 1841, 1848–55, 1855–56, 1858–61, 1867, 1876, 1899–1900, 1910–14, 1914–20, 1923–24, 1926–29, 1929	148800+
Nicaragua	2	1978–79, 1982–90	36200
Paraguay	2	1911–12, 1947	5000+
Peru	6	1853–55, 1856–58, 1885, 1894–95, 1932, 1982–92	?
Uruguay	1	1904	?
Venezuela	5	1848–49, 1859–63, 1868, 1899, 1901–03	27600+

Note: There are 74 total intrastate wars in Latin America out of a total of 334 for the entire world through 2007.

Source: Correlates of War Project, http://www.correlatesofwar.org/.

Thies (2016:113-126)

I. Antistate Violence

- Conceptual fog or author's interests?
  - Guerrillas or terrorists?
  - Criminals or insurgents?
- Conceptual redefinition for what?
  - Operational and political nature: beyond a classification problem
  - Legitimacy: context, people and objectives

Ortiz (2016:210-220)

- Conceptual redefinition to whom?
  - Ultimate goal: profit or political power?
  - Better consider the nature of each group: political and social participation
  - Or: political and criminal actions as process
- Why they have convergent characteristics?
- Guerrillas and independent funding
- Cartels: survival and profit opportunities
- Criminality and social support

Ortiz (2016:210-220)

- State capacity and institutions
- Physical and nonphysical barriers
  - Border control, local autonomies, socioeconomic isolation and peripheral communities
- Technology and globalization as force multipliers, both for terrorism and organized crime
  - Access to modern weapons, improved arms' production and global connections
- **Two tendencies?** political groups seeking resources and organized crime pursuing political influence...

Ortiz (2016:210-220)

K. Alternative Governance

- Variable state capacity: high state presence + zones of alternative governance.

- Changes after commodities boom and armed forces/police investment.

- Alternative governance persistence
  - Illicit networks;
  - Private security and militias;
  - Insurgents or drug trafficking organizations.

TRINKUNAS & CLUNAN (2016:99-109)

- Ungoverned and undergoverned as security problems
- Globalization and technological innovation increased non-state actors capacity of mobilize and control
- Policy "stubbornly clings to the welfare state as the optimal form of governance" (p.101).
- Theory:
  - "Multiple spheres of authority", "multi-level governance", "hybrid political orders"; "twilight institutions", "mediated states".

TRINKUNAS & CLUNAN (2016:99-109)

- Borders: *de jure* vs. *de facto*.
- Asymmetric countries and sovereignty as an obstacle
  - US-Mexico, Mexico-Guatemala, Brazil-Paraguay.
- Border control by illicit actors.
- When do non-state actors provide governance in place of the state along the border?
- When security or economic concerns are raised.
- Remember Tilly (1985) and Cepik & Borba (2012).

- Urban migration and informal urban settlements.
- Two billion living in slums by 2030 (UN, 2006).
- Governance gap within urban areas and non-state groups.
- Interaction between governed and alternatively governed spaces produces political, social and human security effects.

- Alternative providers of governance pursue their own interests
- They retain the coercive capacity to enforce binding outcomes
- State-led, top-down strategies are doomed to fail?
- Authors highlight the cases of Colombia and Mexico, "key USA partners".
- Alternative governance as a research agenda.
  - Interconnectivity, state capacity and development.

TRINKUNAS & CLUNAN (2016:99-109)

5

New Security

By "uttering 'security' a state-representative moves a particular development into a specific area, and thereby claims a **special right** to do use **whatever means** are necessary to block it" (Wæver,1995: 55).

In contrast, **desecuritization** involves "the shifting of issues out of the emergency mode into the normal bargaining processes of the political sphere" (Buzan et al. 1998: 4).

A. Securitization Approach
B. Citizen and human Security
C. Alterity and Security
D. Gender in Security Studies
E. Ilicit Threats
F. Environmental Security

A. Securitization Approach

- 'Security' cannot be understood as an objective condition, but rather is a subjective (and intersubjective) social construct
- Discursive practice (speech acts): issues become security threats
- What or who is to be secured?
- "Internal enemy": instability and bureaucratic-authoritarianism
- Balance between national development and national security
- Economic liberalization = democratization = security ?
- Democratic Security: individuals to live in peace and to have access to the economic, political and environmental resources required for a dignified existence.
- Could securitization undermine the democratic process?

Tickner (2016: 67-77)

B. Citizen and Human Security

- Citizen security: threats to public order and safety
- "Emic" vs "etic" approaches
- "Security state" as a neoliberal legacy
- Perceived threats and inappropriate responses
- Declining sense of security and frustration with perceived corruption, calling into question the ruling legitimacy of the state.

Goldstein (2016:138-148)

- Citizen security as "*the protection of the normal functioning of **democratic institutions**, the defense of the citizenry from **criminality** in all of its facets and typologies, [and] the defense of citizens against **corruption and other asocial acts** that impede or problematize the normal development and enjoyment of the **fundamental rights** of persons*"

Goldstein (2016:138-148)

- Citizen security after the "war" on terror or drugs
- Hemispheric pacts and transnational cooperation
- Regression to older authoritarian conceptions?
- Criminals or potential criminals are the internal enemy, often young, poor and working-class, and black or indigenous men
- Human security: broader notion of security

Goldstein (2016:138-148)

C. Alterity and Security

- Security and racial domination and resistance
- "We" and the "Other" problem
- Citizenship and the coloniality of power
- Indigeneity vs modernity: security outcomes
- Indigenous and subaltern social movements
- The dangers of disunity and nationalism
- Recognition: people, not individual, as the focus
- Different models of economic development
- Neoliberal culturalism uses recognition selectively
- Self-determination and statecraft **from below**?

Lucero (2016:149-160)

D. Gender in Security Studies

- ## United Nations definition
  - *"Gender refers to the socially constructed roles as ascribed to women and men, as opposed to biological and physical characteristics. Gender roles vary according to socio-economic, political and cultural contexts, and are affected by other factors, including age, race, class, and ethnicity".*

Donadio (2016:78)

- Gender is related to international politics.
- State-centered vision still predominates.
- Security sector reform (see DCAF)
- Security perceptions by individual gender.
- Does insecurity affect men and woman equally?
- Psychological vulnerabilities among soldiers vary by gender?
- Why rape and sexual violence is used as war weapon?
- Female personnel into armed and police forces
- Personnel training in their institutional roles and interactions
- Problem: women usually have just administrative functions
- Organizations are not gender neutral
- Wealth of uncatalogued data
- Need for systematic gender-based criminal statistics.

Donadio (2016: 78-87)

E. Ilicit Threats

- LAC: organized crime and illicit trafficking have revolved around the drug trade
- Conditions: underdevelopment, poor state legitimacy, high institutional distrust, high permeable borders, ineffective laws, corruption, little social provision for citizenry and poor social control mechanisms
- Colombia, Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras

Williams (2016:266-276)

- Five dimensions of drug trafficking and security:

    1. Traffic organizations wield inordinate power
    2. They provide alternative governance
    3. They always seek a larger market share
    4. Violence and corruption: state acquiescence?
    5. Arms trafficking

Williams (2016:266-276)

- Patters of continuity and change
- The broadening of criminal portfolios
- New fertile ground for drug trafficking: Venezuela, Brazil and Argentina
- No more clear distinction between supplier country and consumer country
- Challenge: solving the problem through stronger governance mechanisms without the past authoritarianism

Williams (2016:266-276)

F. Environmental Security

- The number of casualties and the economic impact of disasters are increasing
- Haitian earthquake: 222,570 deaths
- 2012: Americas as the most affected by disasters
- Impact relates to vulnerability
- Climate change will reinforce natural trends
- A security problem?
- Failed states and securitization

O'Toole (2016:277-287)

- Humanitarian intervention and sovereignty
- Environmental security: scarcity by itself is not considered a causal factor for hostilities
- Lack of empirical research?
- Migration and demography (Venezuela)
- LAC: armed forces role in disaster relief
- Cooperation: OTCA, UNASUR, CELAC, OAS?

O'Toole (2016:277-287)

6

Regional Governance

A. Pluralistic Security
B. Cooperative Security
C. Brazil and Regional Security

A. Pluralistic Security

- Karl Deutsch and security communities
- The 'sense of community': integration ?
- 'Peaceful change': institutions ?
- Amalgamated vs pluralistic communities
- Security communities: shared identities, values and meanings
- Shared norms generate good habits and peaceful practices?
- LAC show some features of a security community
- However:
  - Low transnational societal links
  - Territorial/maritime boundary disputes
  - Competitive economic structures
  - "Nationalism", chauvinism and militarism
  - Presidentialism diplomacy and diplomats foreign policy...

Oelsner (2016:173-184)

- **ALBA as a false positive**:
- "Social regionalism" as ideology
- Regional polarization as strategy
- Venezuela's regional influence and now?
- **Southern Cone as a caution positive**:
- Mercosur and the Washington Consensus
- Argentina-Brazil ?
- Chile-Argentina ?
- COMPERSEG and *Cruz del Sur*

Oelsner (2016: 173-184)

B. Cooperative Security

- Cooperative security: arrangements to create regional security
- Change of attitudes and perceptions
- Convergence of security and integration → MERCOSUR
- Three way analysis
  - Different stages and approaches to regionalization
  - Different ideas on the object of securitization
  - Different results in terms of institutions
- LAC: collective security, collective defense, and cooperative security?
- UNASUR and OAS: from overlap to irrelevance and beyond?
- Multilevel and multidimensional Security Governance

Serbin & Serbin (2016: 127-137)

C. Brazil and Regional Security

- Brazilian "rise" or "emergence": revisionist in any sense?
- Capabilities and political-economic crisis' effects
- Current capabilities do not favor revisionist actions anyway
- Middle or Regional power? *emergence* rather than *rise*
- Brazilian leadership? status and recognition by whom?
- Too "soft" power"? Lula and Odebrecht as symbols of a regional crisis
- Longstanding trends in diplomacy
  - Development
  - Conflict resolution
  - Multilateralism
  - Non Intervention
- Comparative paths: India, South Africa, G-77, LAC countries
- Overcoming linguistic and political barriers to integrate
- Domestic and foreign policy connections: rollback without comeback?
- The role of triangular relationships and the USA-China conundrum

Darnton (2016: 197-209)
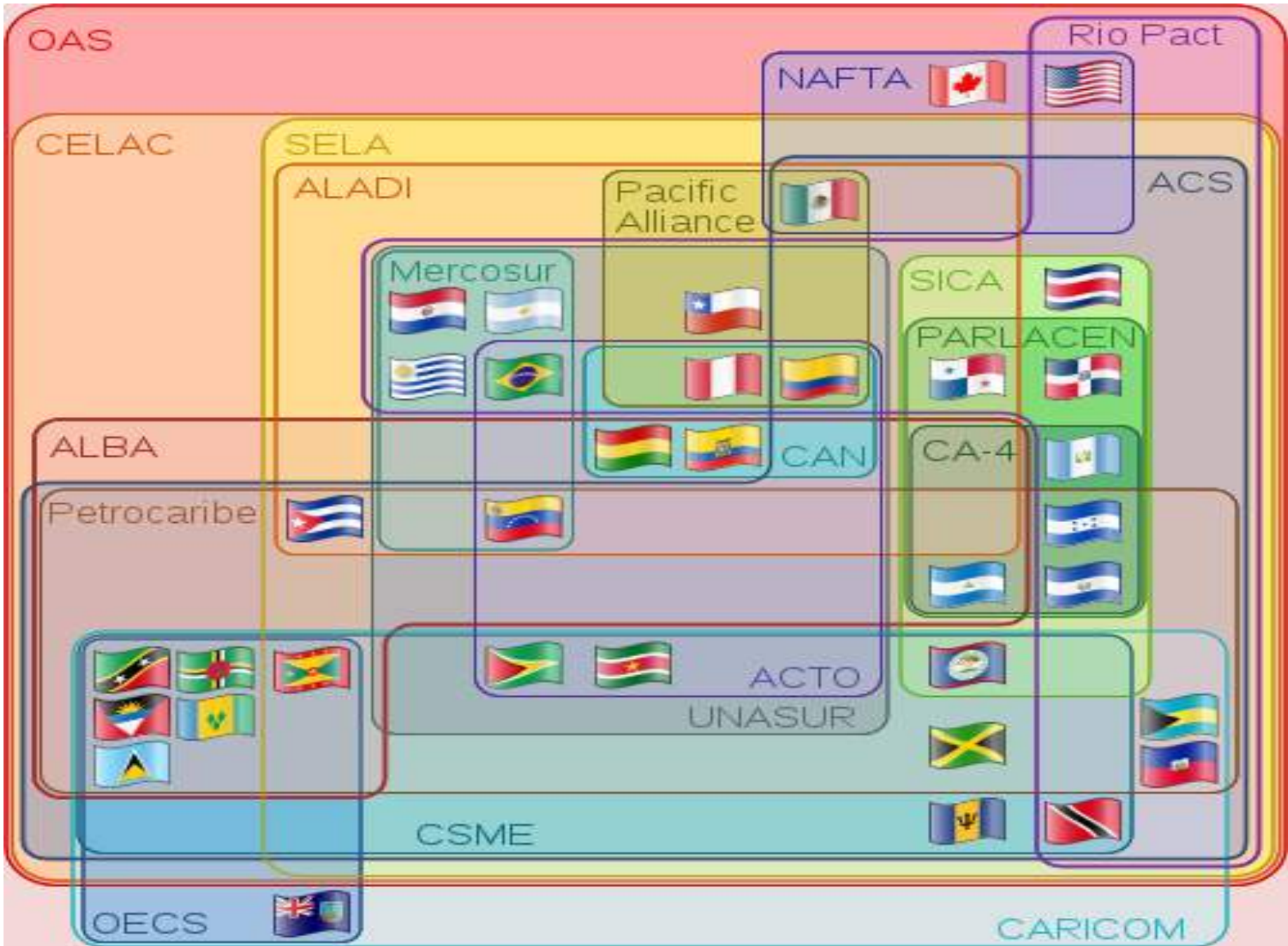
Selected Organizations:

- **CEPAL (1948)** UN Economic Commission for Latin America
- **OAS (1948)** Organization of American States
- **ALADI (1980)** Latin American Integration Association
- **MERCOSUR (1991)** Common Market of the South
- **OTCA (1995)** Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization
- **CAN (1996)** Andean Community
- **ALBA (2004)** Bolivarian Alliance Peoples of Our America
- **UNASUR (2008)** Union of South American Nations
- **BRICS (2009)** Brazil, Russia, India, China South Africa
- **CELAC (2010)** Community Latin American and Caribbean States
- **AP (2012)** Latin American Pacific Alliance

Why Regional Institutions are Weak?

- Cultural determinism *versus* institutional punctuated choices…
- Coercive labor → inequality → weak states (DYE, 2006)
- Weak states and non-complementary economies = no integration
- Brazil and Mexico: internal divisions and oscillations
- NAFTA and EU as inadequate "models" → LAC needs stateness
- Regionalism as idea and praxis: autonomy and external threat
- LAC as a "Modernities Mausoleum" (WHITEHEAD, 2006) ?
- 2003-2013: Gini (0.542 to 0.486) and poverty (43,9% to 28%)
- **Resilience** of Regionalism (RIVAROLA; BRICENO-RUIZ, 2013)
- Current Venezuelan crisis as the lynchpin test for the region
- Back to more functional infrastructural integration led by China?
- "Open Regionalism" *versus* "Post-hegemonic regionalism"?
- Balance of Power **and** Security Community logics (VILLA, 2017)

7

United States and LAC

A. USA and LAC Security

- Realism lenses: USA global and regional strategies
- Liberalism lenses: USA interests and institutions
- Constructivism lenses: what are the visions in LAC?
- Marxism lenses: capital/labor conflict in LAC
- USA-LAC: nemesis or model?

Mares (2016: 302-312)

- After September 11: MX, Central America, CO
- Plan Colombia: USD 6 bi (2000 - 2008)
- Merida Initiative (Mexico and Central America)
- Clinton-Bush years as a period of "neglect"?
- Failure of FTAA and focus on bilateral FTAs
- "Pink Tide" in Latin America and USA perceptions
- 2003 Iraq War: Partial European and LAC criticism
- EC, BO and VE: Bolivarianism as Anti-USA interests
- The impact of the 2008 crisis in USA
- Monroe → Containment → Hegemony → "Primacy"?
- Did LAC overestimate ability to distance from USA?

Mares (2016: 302-312)

- How much relative power USA has actually lost?
- USNORTHCOMM and USSOUTHCOMM
- USA military exercises and UNASUR's role
- An anti-USA institutional architecture?
- The Pacific Alliance growth and USA interests
- Social and political crises harming LAC autonomy
- National Security Strategy (2017) and Trump

Mares (2016: 302-312)

USA Security Cooperation LAC
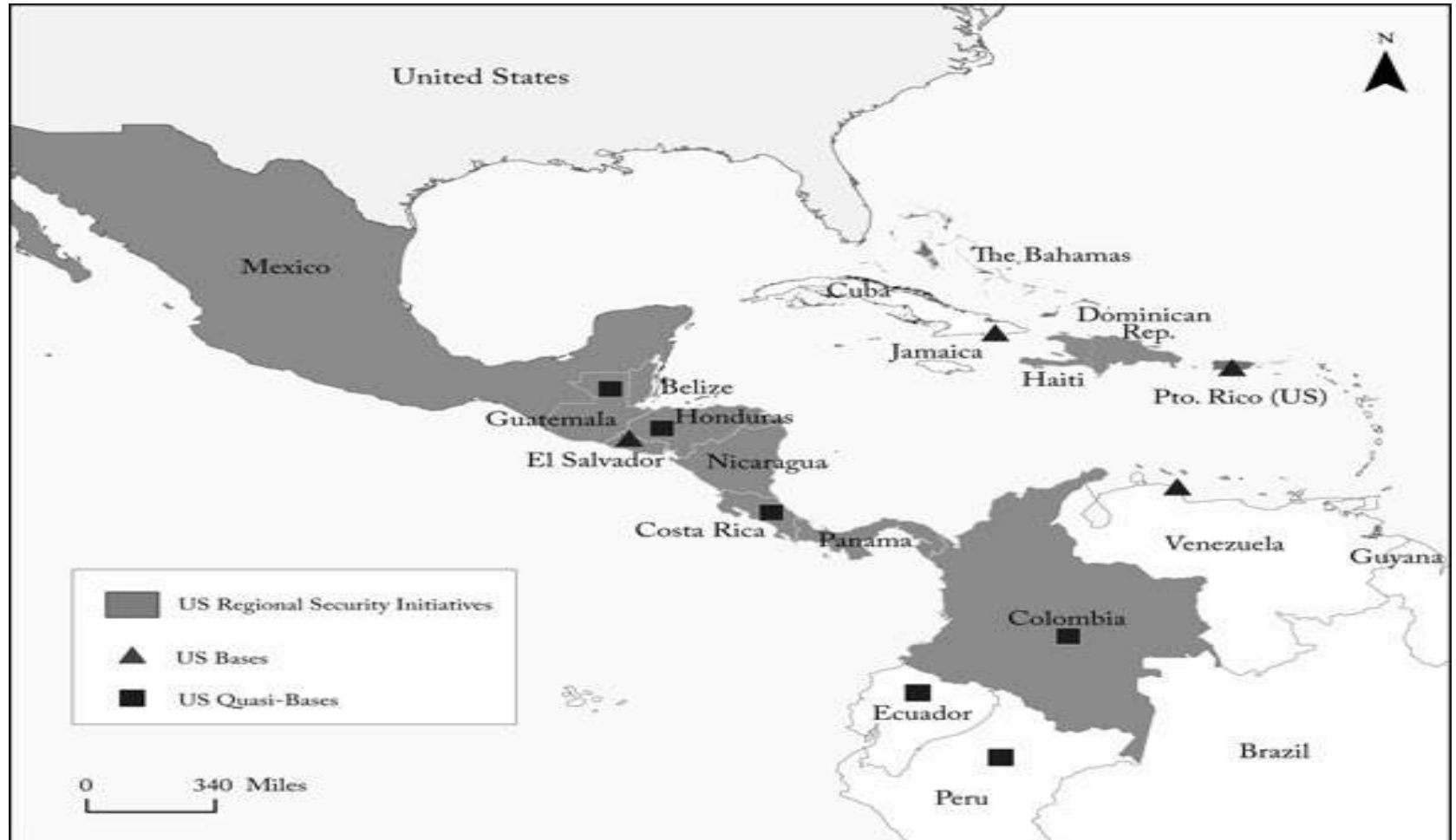
8

China and LAC

A. China and LAC security
B. Where LAC Security Goes?

China Policy towards LAC (2016)

- USD $ 200 billion stock in FDI (2017)
- More than USD $ 250 bi in Trade
- "Land Full of Vitality and Hope"
- High-Level Diplomatic Exchanges and Consultation
- Financial, Energy, Infrastructure, S&TI …
- Environment, Poverty Reduction, People-to-people ..
- Military exchange, cyber security, UN PKO …

CHINA (2016: 16-42)

USA perceptions of China in LAC

- Securitization attempts regarding PRC in LAC
- USA questions PRC principle of non-interference
- China helps to extend the life of "populist" regimes
- Taiwan diplomatic ties (Panama x Paraguay cases)
- Weapons and military equipment supplier?
- Expanded PLA military presence?
- PLA military education and training activities
- Intelligence operations in LAC?

Ellis (2016: 291-301)

Security Issues for China in LAC

- Security of investments, trade and financing
- Chinese companies are now local actors
- Rapid Change: port and transportation infrastructure
- Risk: expanding transpacific criminal activity ?
- Risk: violent crime against Chinese communities?
- Political, economic, and social instabilities in LAC
- Global PRC-USA relations and LAC's role?

B. Where LAC Security Goes?

1. LAC bet on Hillary, ending up unprepared for Trump
2. Negotiate the terms of our new China dependency is crucial
3. Brazil has entered since 2015 in a prolonged national crisis
4. To be semi-peripheral is fine for us elites, and for the rest?
5. Venezuela: lynchpin test of our *maelstrom*, up to them to solve
6. CELAC is now the best forum for "minimal coordination"
7. OAS can play a role, but USA and China lay the cards, not us
8. PKO and Antiterrorism are not enough as Defense Policies
9. UN Development Goals provide enough utopia to unite us
10. Rodrik: globalization, popular sovereignty, equality?
11. Avoid nuclear war is *sine qua non* to sustainable development

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THANK YOU

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