

Latin America



Regional Security Complexes

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Latin American Security Complex



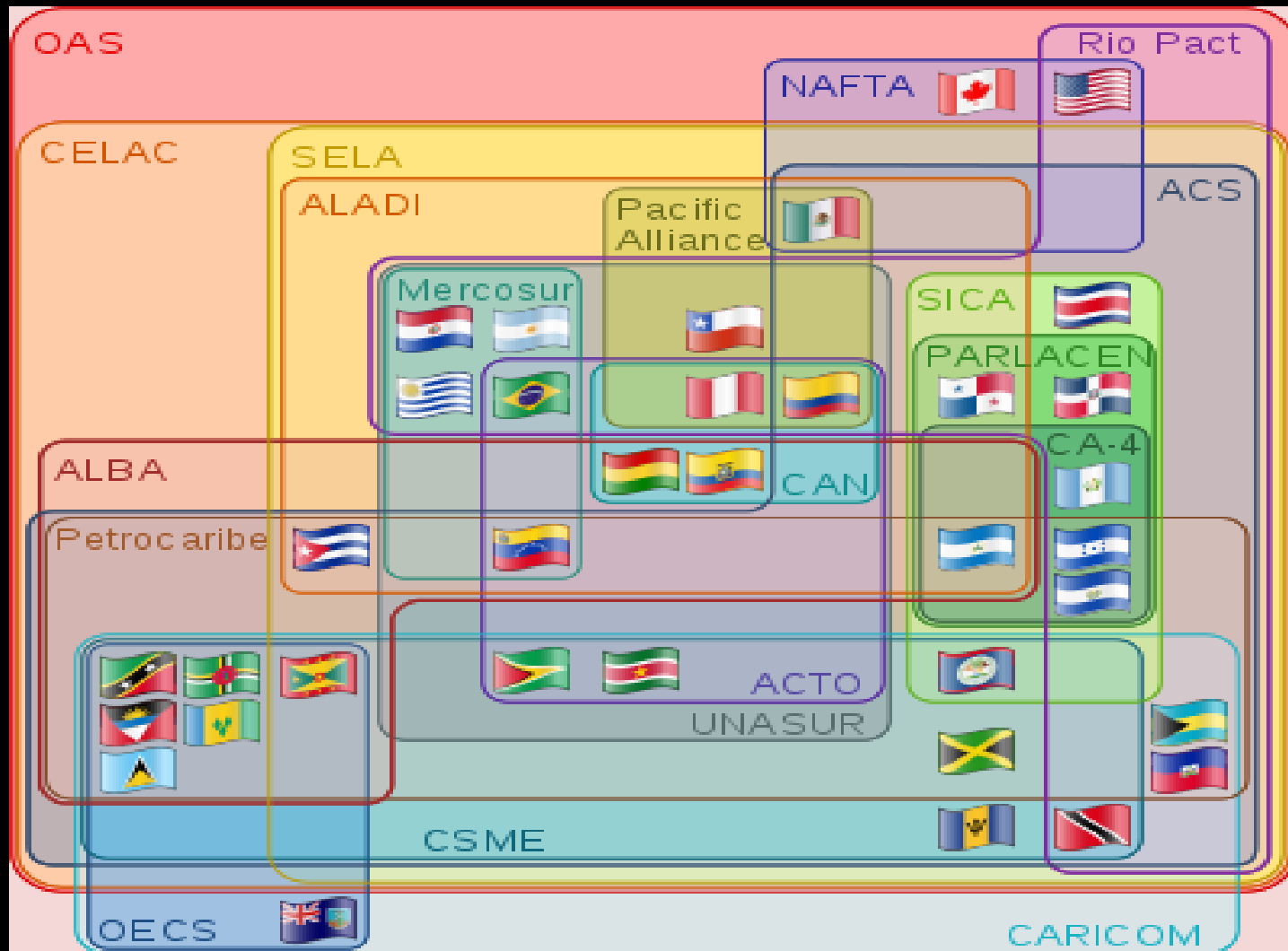
Latin America Security complex



Integration projects

- Not a new idea – **Simon Bolívar**
- 1. Pan american movement – integration dominated by USA:
Organisation of American States (OAS)
- 2. ties to Spain – Iberoamerican Community of Nations
- 3. Uniquely LA integration:
 - **Organisation of central american states**, Latin American Integration Association (**ALADI**)
 - **MERCOSUR** (Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentina, Venezuela)
 - **Andean community of nations CAN** (Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia)
 - **G3 Free Trade Agreement** (Mexico, Colombia; Venezuela withdrew in 2006 and Mexico and Colombia formed **Pacific Alliance** with Chile and Peru)
 - **ALBA**: Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America 2004
 - **Cusco Declaration** invoked Bolivarian dream – **CAN** and **MERCOSUR** – **Union of South American Nations** in 2007

American organisations

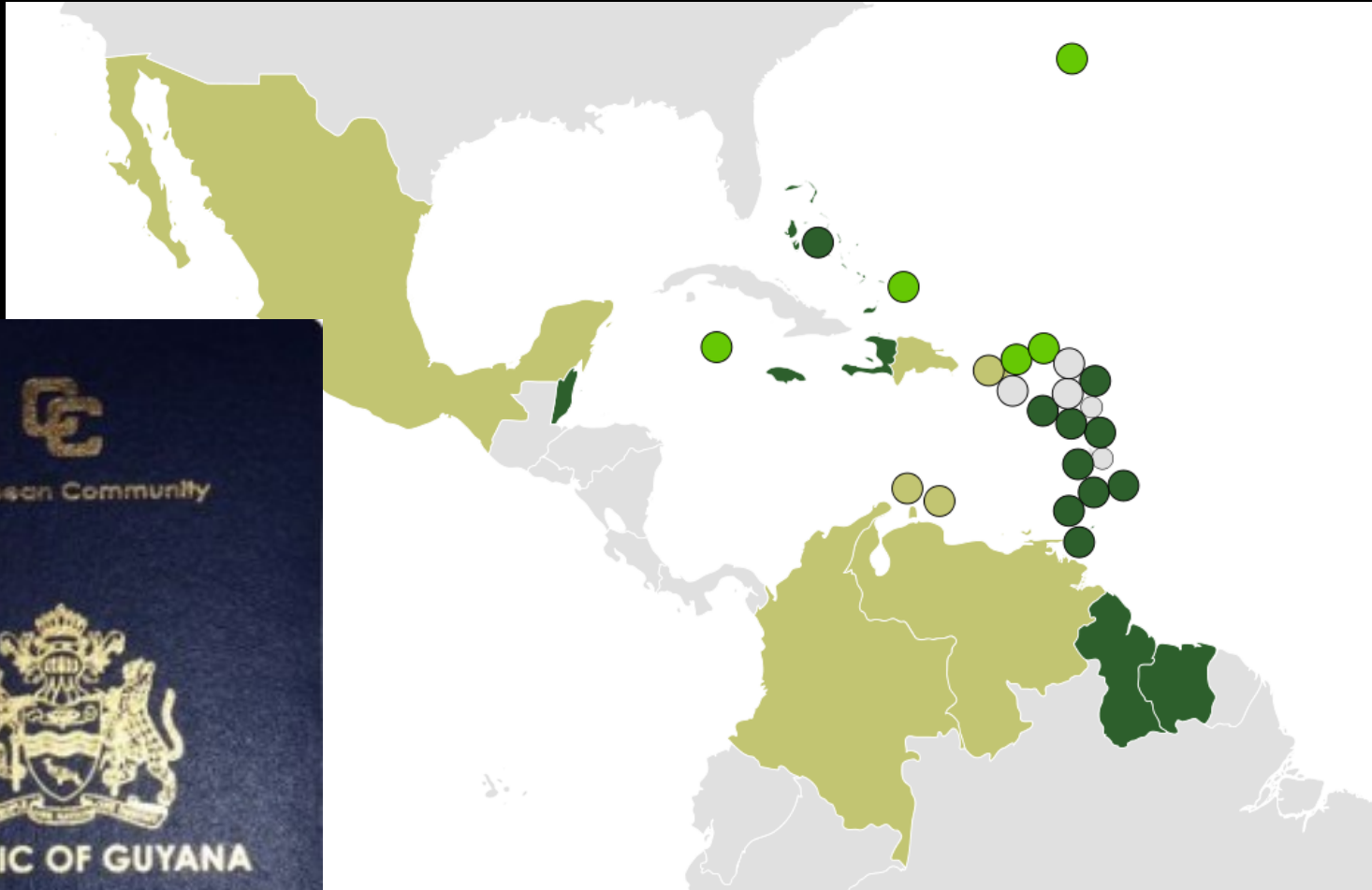


OAS



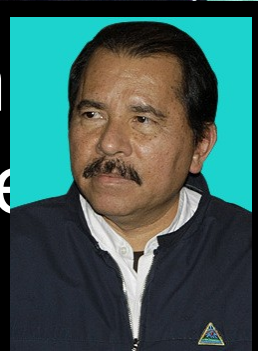
- **Simon Bolivar: 1826 Congress of Panama**
 - 30 April 1948: regional solidarity and cooperation among its member states.
- 35 independent states of the Americas.

Caribbean community



ALBA

- Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America - Peoples' Trade Treaty
- intergovernmental organization
- **socialist** and social democratic
- Antigua and Barbuda, Bolivia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, **Ecuador**, Nicaragua, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Venezuela and Saint Lucia. Suriname
- virtual regional currency **SUCRE**



Pact of Bogota

- **The American Treaty on Pacific Settlement 1948.**
- settle their disputes through peaceful means.
- Exhaust regional dispute-settlement mechanisms before placing matters before the United Nations Security Council.

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MERCOSUR (MERCOSUL) - *Mercado Común del Sur*

- Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay
- Venezuela suspended 2016
- 1991 treaty of Asuncion
- Promote democracy
- promote free trade and the fluid movement of goods, peoples, and currency.



MERCOSUR security consensus

- 1. threat to **democracy**
- 2. military transparency and dialogue, **joint military exercises**
- 3. New threats: mid 1990s **sharing of intelligence and information**

MERCOSUR

1. Strategy to **stabilize democratic** institutions, maintain the rule of law, locking democracy norms
2. **Peace**
3. Confront transnational **terrorist and criminal** organizations

MERCOSUR

- Sovereignty principle
- Policy decisions are made by consensus
- ratification by national parliaments
- Conditionality
- Limitations

Andean community of nations-CAN

- ecuador peru
bolivia colombia
- Free flow of
people – 2001
travelling with
IDs
- The Andean
passport

COMUNIDAD ANDINA

REPUBLICA
DE BOLIVIA



PASAPORTE
PASSPORT

Union of South American Nations UNASUR-PROSUR

- Constitutive Treaty in 2008
- Intergovernmental union
- **MERCOSUR and Andean community of nations**
- The headquarters in Quito (Ecuador), parliament in Chochabamba in Bolivia
- Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, Uruguay, Venezuela
- Official languages dutch, english, spanish, portugues
- **2018- crisis, many left**
- **2019 PROSUR by Colombia and Chile to replace left-wing UNASUR: democracy and HR**



Small vs. large

- **Brazil** is the fifth largest country in the world and **borders** all the countries of South America except Chile and Ecuador. (8 511 965 km² (5. globally)
191 908 598 inhabitants (5. globally).
- Smallest country in south america – **Surinam** 438 144 inhabitants (169. in the world), 163 270 km²



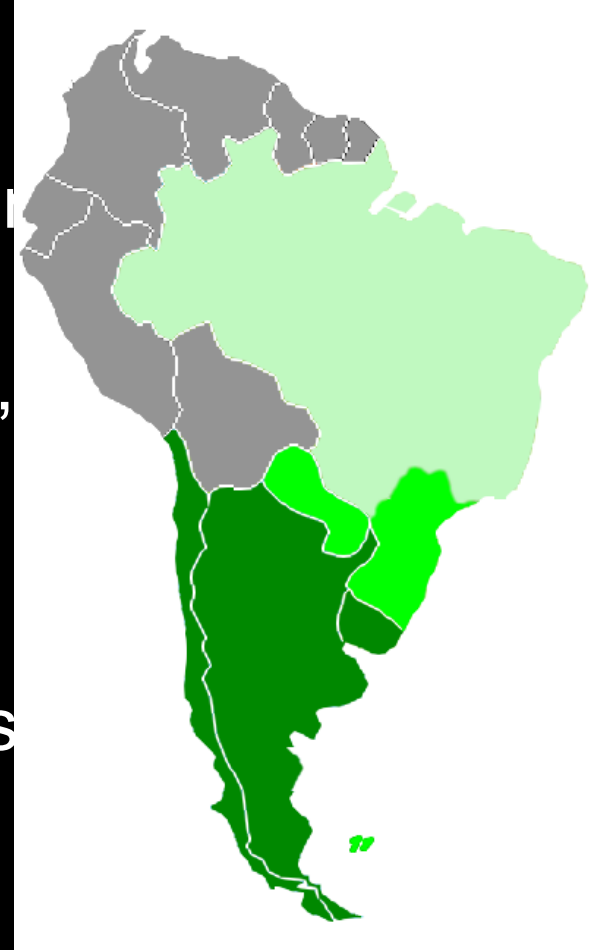
Similar tendencies

- Omnipotent fight „conservatives“ vs „liberals“ vs. „socialists“
- Poor indigenas vs. Spanish rich oligarchy
- Coca as the mean of living vs. Fight against drug trafficking
- US backyard
- Oil
- Women presidents vs machism



Southern Cone

- geographic region: Argentina, Chile and Uruguay
- southernmost areas of South America, south of and around the Tropic of Capricorn
- In terms of social and political geography, the Southern Cone comprises Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Southern Brazil and sometimes Paraguay.
- High life expectancy
- high standard of living,
- the most prosperous macro-region in Latin America



In the name of women in LA



2014 –



Women presidents

- Jeanine Anez interim 2019-2020 Ecuador
- Dilma Rousseff, Brazil 2010-2016
- Laura Chinchilla, Costa Rica 2010-14
- Cristina Fernandez Kirchner Argentina 2007-15
- Michele Bachelet Chile 2006-10, 2014-8
- Mireya Moscoso, Panama, 1999-2004
- Rosalia Arteaga 1997 one week Ecuador
- Violetta Chamorro, Nicaragua 1990-7
- Isabel Peron 1974-76 Argentina
- Lidia Gueiler (1979-1981) Bolivia

Feminism vs. Machismo

- Through marriage or **family** ties (peron, kirchner, laura chinchilla)
- Through **political activity** (bachelet, rousseff)
- Women politicised during **military regimes**, took part in resistance movement,
- **Leftist movements** inclusive and do not focus on gender/class as a condition to hold an important political role

Latin american divisions

- Radical populist left
- „liberal rightist“
- left socialist governments

LA Political spectrum



South America's Political Orientation

Over the past several years, Latin America appears to have rejected the leftist populism that punctuated its political landscape. Brazil and Argentina, however, will probably swing back to the left by the end of the decade.

■ Countries with leftist or populist governments

2007



2016



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- **Jair Messias Bolsonaro**
- **Nationalist, populist**
- **Pro-gun**
- **Misogyny, homophobia**
- **vocal opponent of same-sex marriage, environmental regulations, abortion, affirmative action, drug liberalization, land reforms, and secularism at the federal level**
- **statements in defense of the Brazilian military regime**
- **torture is a "legitimate practice"**
- **introduction of life imprisonment to the Brazilian penal code**
- **supports the privatization of state-owned companies and advocates free market policies**



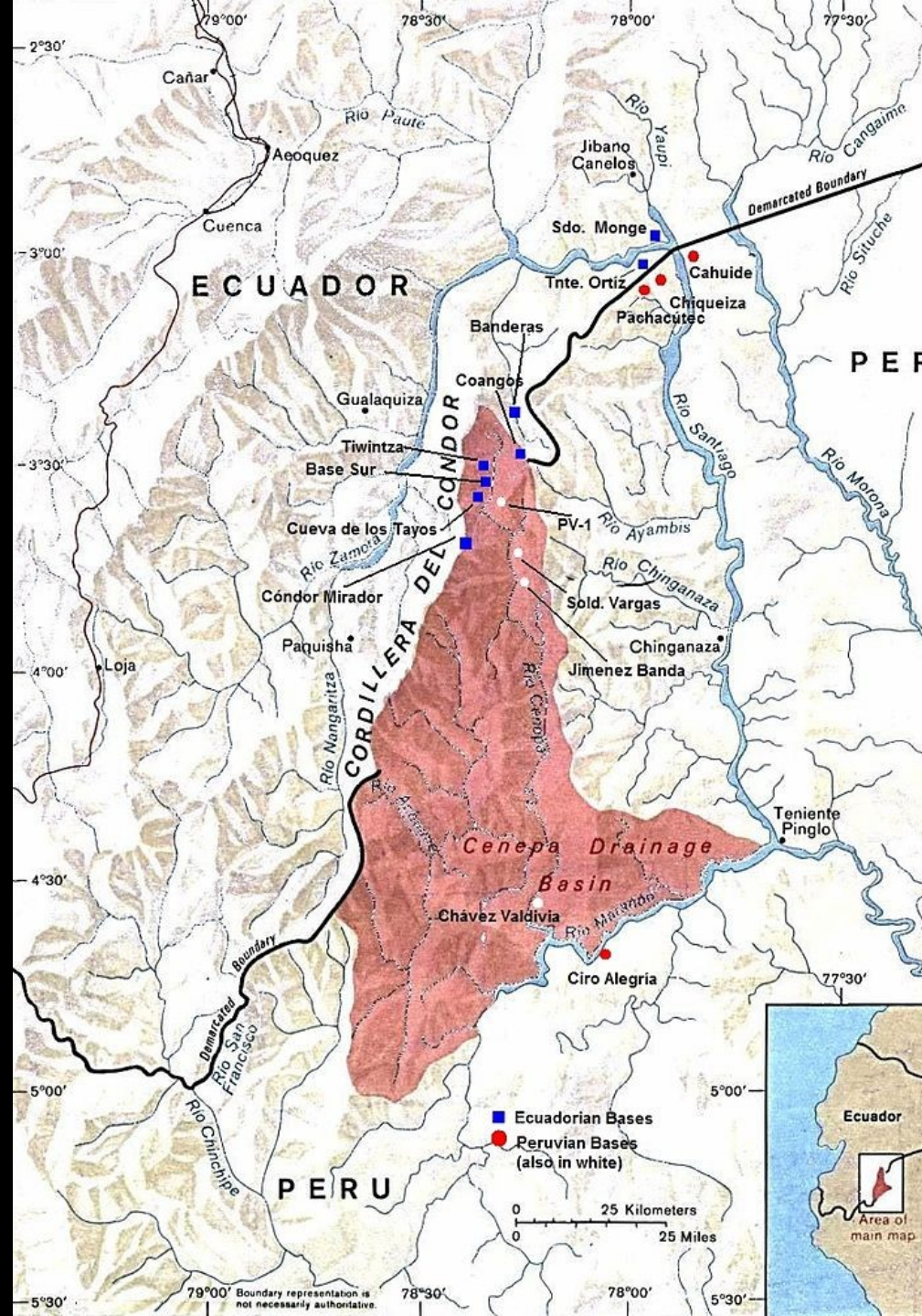
Brazil: far right?

Inter-state conflicts

- 1982 The Falklands War
- 1995 Ecuador and Peru dispute territory in the Cenepa War.

Cenepa war

- War 1941
- 1995 Ecuador disagreed with the 1941 treaty with Peru
- 1998 The peace agreement and
- 1999 demarcation of the border



The Falkland War

- Economic crisis, civil unrest against junta 1982
- 74 days
- Returning the islands to British control
- "a fight between two bald men over a comb,"
- Las Malvinas son Argentinas



Intra-state conflicts

- **Peru**- Shining Path
- **Colombia** – FARC et al
- **Venezuela** unrest since 2014
- **Paraguay**: EPP (Ejercito del Pueblo Paraguayo and splinter Armed Farmers Group ACA since 2005
- **Chiapas**



Mexico: Zapatistas and Chiapas

- *Zapatista*
- 1994 uprising in Chiapas
- Presidential elections in 2000 and ceasefire
- Subcomandante Marcos



Mexico: Oaxaca

- two armed groups in the state of Oaxaca
- Revolutionary Democratic Tendency - Army of the People (TDR-EP)
- Lucio Cabanas Barrientos Revolutionary Movement
- Both of these are originally splinter groups of the People's Revolutionary Army EPR.
- Neither is considered to have any conventional military capacity

PERU: The communist party of Peru -Shining path



- 1960's
- Abimael Guzman
- Universities, intellectuals
- Marxism-leninism, maoism
- Terrorist activities



PERU: The Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA)

- **marxist-leninist** revolutionary movement formed in 1983
- **communist state**
- In December 1996 Japanese embassy hostage crisis



COLOMBIA: FARC/EP



- Oldest, largest revolutionary guerilla group
- the military wing of the communist party.
- 12,000-18,000 members
- present in 35-40 percent of Colombia's territory
- terrorist group
- Peace accord 2016
- Alleged ties with venezuela and Ecuador

Colombia: National liberation army ELN

ELN

- Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN)
- Revolutionary, marxist, insurgent guerilla
- since 1964
- 3,500 to 5,000 guerrillas.
- Perceived as terrorist group



Colombia: Other guerilla groups

- Ejército popular de liberación EPL
- M-19 Movimiento 19 de Abril
- Movimiento Quintín Lame handed in weapons together with EPL in 1991
- Autodefensas unidas de Colombia
UAC – created in 1997 with the aim to unite and centralize all paramilitares.

- *pájaros*
- *limpieza social*
- *Escuadrones the muerte*

Paraguay: Ejercito del Pueblo Paraguayo and splinter Armed Farmers Group ACA since 2005

- The EPP are believed to number 50-80 members
- Ties to FARC and PCC (Primeiro Comando da Capital)

Brazil: Primeiro Comando da Capital PCC

- First Command of the Capital (Sao Paulo)
- **Brazilian criminal organization**
- 13 000 members (6 000 in prison)
- Also in Paraguay and Bolivia
- Prison breaks, prison riots, highway robbery, drug trafficking

Venezuela protests

- Background – Bolivarian revolution
- 2014-present
- Hugo Chavez and Nicolas Maduro
- Democracy, corruption, security, crime
- 4 mil. people left



Brazil 's approach to security

- On the path to become great power
- Little war experience (19th century)
- Defence ministry under civilian control in 1999
- Region on the margin of the world significance
- 3 crucial areas for Brazil security: cybernetics, nuclear technology, space technology, also indigenous production of military hardware
- Prioritize permanent membership in UNSC
- Participation on UN peacekeeping missions (haiti)
- Tries to act as mediator in regional disputes

Brazil 's approach to security

- UNASUR 2009
- South American Defence Council (CDS) 2012
- Strategic partnership with the EU 2007
- Successful story in attracting FDI –BRIC
- **Energy security**: the cleanest energy mix in the world in 2008 48% of energy came from renewable resources
- **Environmental security**: deforestation of amazon

Argentina: Foreign policy

- diplomatic relations with the UK in 1990
- a strong partnership with the USA.
- Argentina was the only Latin American country to participate in the 1991 Gulf War and all phases of the Haiti operation.
- Bill Clinton designated Argentina as a major non-NATO ally in January 1998.

Argentina: Foreign policy

- one of the first nations worldwide to adopt a voluntary greenhouse gas emissions target.
- leading advocate of non-proliferation
- enhanced regional stability in South America
- accused of approving the illegal sale of weapons to Ecuador and to Croatia

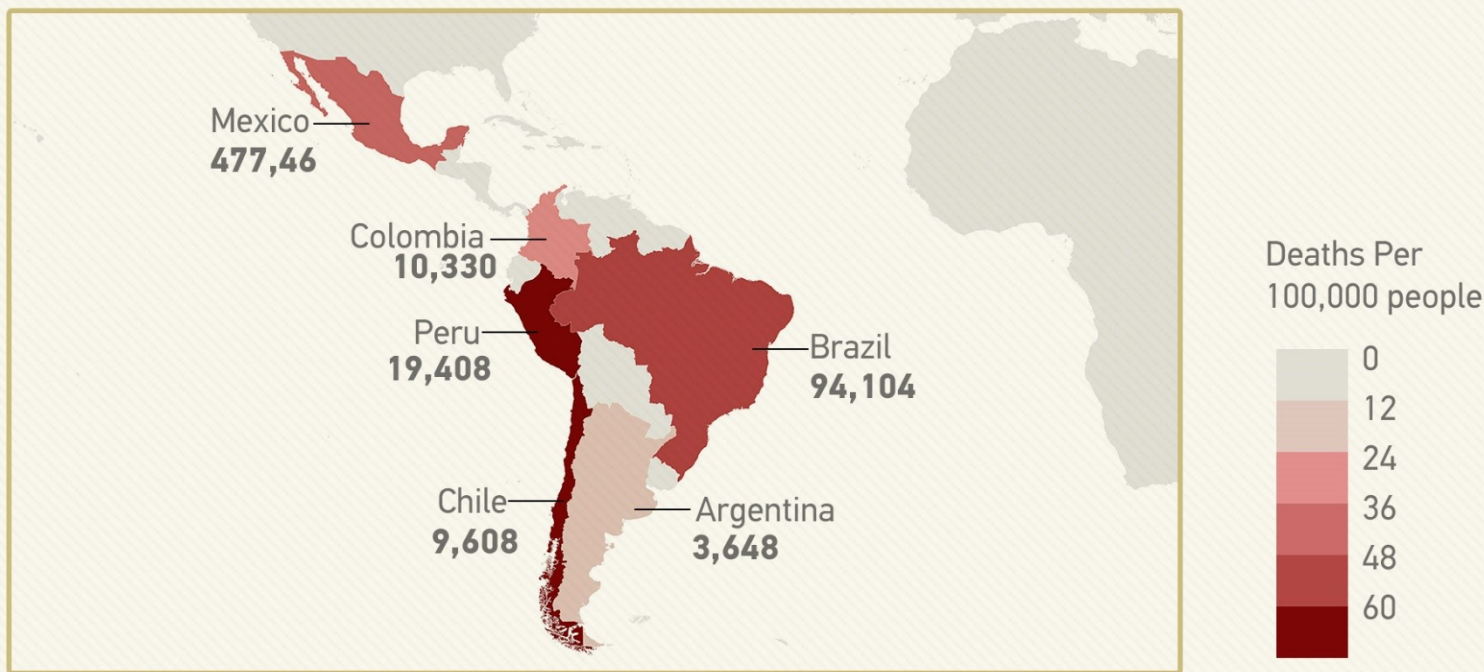
challenges to democracy

- Promoted democracy eventhough they did not always behave in democratic ways
- Exhibit **authocratic tendencies**
- Show little respect for the rule of law, political pluralism and democratic checks and balances
- **Voice to the excluded and marginalized ones** – workers in the classical populism or indigenismo in the neo-populist one
- **End up ruling with decrees**, changing constitutions, launching military backed up presidential coups, disregarding division of power, shutting down congress, legitimizing power by new elections or referenda

- incorporated more voters – workers as well as firm owners, poorest part of society
- heavily relies upon nationalism or indigenism
- charismatic leader
- Sentiments, strong leadership, rapid solutions,
- **machismo**
- origins are quite different from traditional white elite
- High public support
- **Mostly presidential systems without checks and balances**
- **Fragile party system**
- **Aim to create “new type of democracy”**
LA populism, socialism
indigenism



Reported coronavirus deaths in Latin America



Source: Johns Hopkins University. Data as of 03 August

Covid-19 – worse than 1981/2008 crises?

- Basic education
- economies, exports,
- OC, underground eco
- Migrants
- Democracy
- Authoritarian drift
- Conflicts
- political violence



<https://reliefweb.int/report/colombia/covid-19-disorder-tracker-two-month-review-latin-america-22-mar-16-may-2020>

