

Chapter 3:

Political Definitions



Security and Defence Concepts

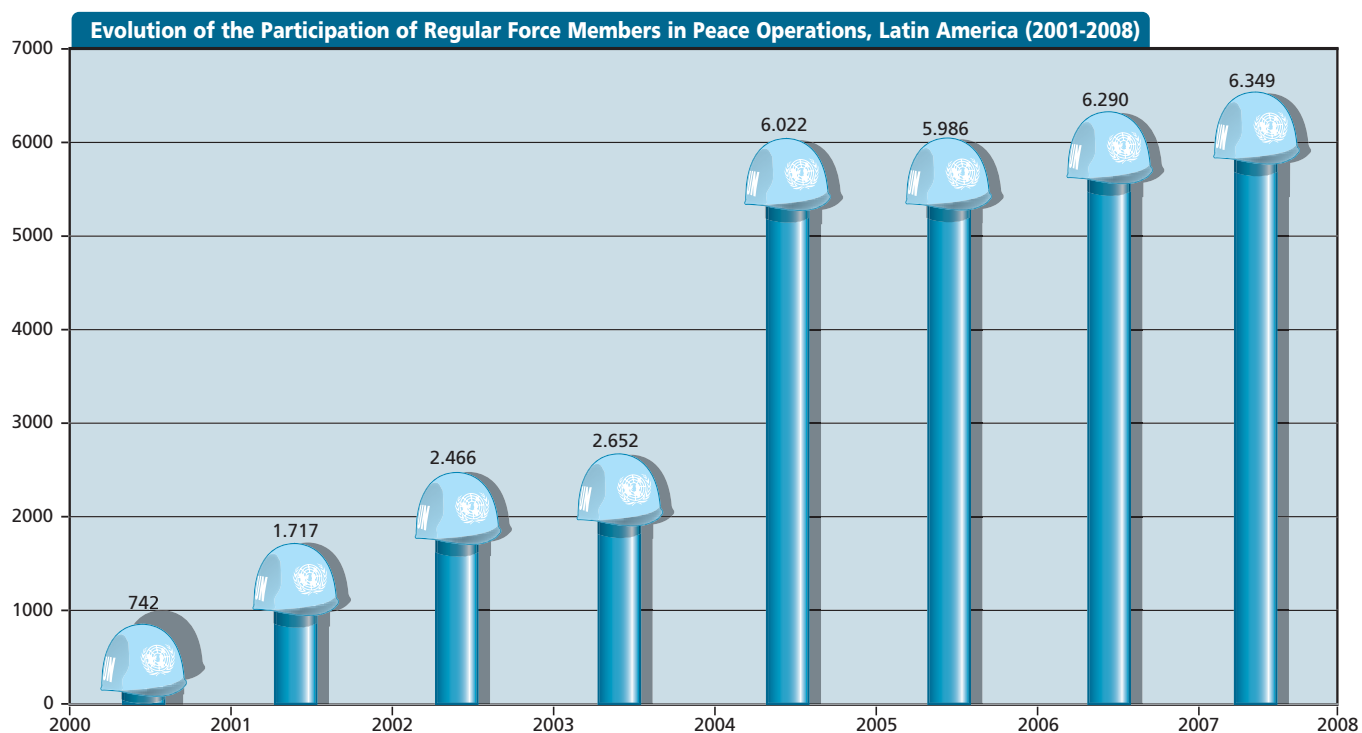
Country	What is Defence?	What is Security?
Argentina	National defence means the integration and coordinated action all of the Nation's forces aimed at solving those conflicts which may demand the use of the Armed Forces, in a dissuasive or effective way in order to face external aggressions. Its purpose is to guarantee sovereignty and independence of the Argentine Nation on a permanent basis; protect life and freedom of its inhabitants. (<i>Ley de Defensa Nacional</i> , N° 23.554 - 1998/05/05, Sec. 2)	Internal security is the actual situation based on the rule of law in which freedom, life and assets of its inhabitants, their rights and guarantees, and the full force of the institutions of the representative, republican and federal system established by the National Constitution, are safeguarded. (<i>Ley de Seguridad Interior</i> , N° 24.059 - 1992/01/17, Sec. 2)
Bolivia	The State, through the Armed Forces, shall organise national security and defence, as an integrated system in order to neutralize, repel or destroy any action which is aimed at infringing them. (<i>Ley Orgánica de las Fuerzas Armadas de la Nación</i> , N° 1.405 - 1992/12/30, Sec. 3)	Internal security: it is closely related to threats which can hinder the development and internal security, such as corruption, delinquency, political instability, arms trafficking, drug trafficking and terrorism. External security: it is supported by the institutional mechanisms provided by defence and diplomacy. It is related to national independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty. (<i>Libro Blanco de la Defensa</i> , 2004)
Brazil	National defence is the set of State's measures and actions with focuses on the military expression, aimed at defending the territory, sovereignty and national interests against threats mainly arising from external, potential or evident sources (<i>Política de Defesa Nacional</i> , Decree N° 5.484 - 2005/07/01)	In general, security is a condition which allows the country to maintain its sovereignty and territorial integrity, the realization of its national interests, free of pressure and threats of any nature, and guarantees to the citizens the exercise of their constitutional rights and duties. (<i>Política de Defesa Nacional</i> , Decree N° 5.484 - 2005/07/01)
Chile	It is one of the essential responsibilities of the State, whose purpose is to protect population, preserve national territory, and protect the capacity of the State to exercise its sovereignty against external threats to those fundamental elements; as well as support the achievement of national objectives within the international sphere. Defence must be considered as a public good in an integral sense. It has a basic social function for the existence of society and cannot not be provided by any other institution than the State. As part of the security which is necessary for the country, defence helps make society development possible. (<i>Libro de la Defensa Nacional</i> , 2002)	Security consists of a desirable condition for the realization of the purposes of the State and the Nation, particularly those related to the social and economic development. (<i>Libro de la Defensa Nacional</i> , 2002)
Colombia	The Consolidation of Democratic Security Policy is the national defence policy of Colombia for the term 2006-2010. Its implementation principles are: achieve security and peace, perform duties legally, have a permanent presence, promote security as a guarantee for the work of justice, be flexible and adaptable, apply coordination among the Forces and with other State agencies. The strategic objectives are set as follows: - Consolidate the territorial control and strengthen the rule of law in all national territory. - Protect inhabitants, by keeping the strategic initiative against all threats to their security. - Increase the cost of engaging in drug-trafficking activities. - Keep a legitimate, modern and effective Public Force, supported by the trust and backing of the people. - Keep the decreasing tendency of all crime indicators in all urban centers of the country. (<i>Política de Consolidación de la Seguridad Democrática</i> , 2007)	
Dominican Republic	For the development of the security and defence policy at the national scope, the following guidelines have been established: - Definition and identification of national objectives. - The approval of a National Security Act. - Modification of the Organic Law of the Armed Forces. - Publication of the White Book of Defence and the Manual of the Joint Doctrine of the Armed Forces. - Creation of the National Intelligence System. - Strengthening of the Permanent Committee of Reform and Modernization of the Armed Forces. - Definition of the Armed Forces model. - Foster the Armed Forces transformation. - Develop a new institutionalization and professionalization model. - Reform the military career. - Improve the equipment. - Foster research, development and innovation in order to maintain a proper technological level. (<i>Directiva de Seguridad y Defensa Nacional</i> , Decree N° 189-07 - 2007/04/03, Sec. 3)	
Ecuador	The defence policy is based in the protection to population, natural resources, national patrimony and the effective control of its territory. The Ecuatorian State maintains the principle of non intervention in internal affairs of other States, rejects the threat and use of force within international relations, according to the ruling principles framed under the foreign policy and the defence policy, promoting the peaceful resolution of conflicts. It promotes the resolution of internal and international conflicts based in political, diplomatic, legal and other non military mechanisms established in international law. Ecuador shall abstain from participating in combined, coordinated or joint military operations with Colombia. (<i>Plan Ecuador</i> , 2007)	The national security of Ecuador is the responsibility of the State. The State ensures the continued existence of the community, the defence of the national assets and the achievement and maintenance of national objectives. Its fundamental responsibility is to enhance national unity, ensure the full effect of fundamental human rights and promoting the economic, social and cultural progress of its inhabitants, reversing the adverse internal and external factors through political, economic, social and military provisions and actions. (<i>Ley de Seguridad Nacional</i> , N° 275 - 1979/08/09, Sec. 1 and 2) Human security is the result of peace and development. (<i>Plan Ecuador</i> , 2007)

Country	What is Defence?	What is Security?
El Salvador	National defence: set of resources and activities that the State develops on a permanent basis, in all fields of action, through coordinated actions, in order to face threats to national sovereignty and integrity of the territory. (Ley de Defensa Nacional, DL N° 948, 2002/10/03, Sec. 4)	National security: set of permanent actions promoted by the State in order to create conditions to overcome international conflicts, disturbances of public order, natural catastrophes and those vulnerabilities which may limit the national development and endanger the achievement of the national purposes. (Ley de Defensa Nacional, DL N° 948, 2002/10/03, Sec. 4)
Guatemala	The external security field belongs to the defence of independency and sovereignty, integrity of the territory, peace, and the maintenance and strengthening of international relations. It works under the responsibility of the President through the ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence. Within the performance and coordination of the external security field, the content of the international treaties and agreements to which Guatemala belongs shall be considered. Regarding foreign policy, it is aimed at preventing and counteracting threats and risks which could politically affect the country and are produced by external factors. As regards national defence, it develops the Nation's defence policy and guarantees the summon and mobilization of civil defence. (Ley Marco del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad, Decree N° 18-2008, 2008/04/15, Sec. 20)	The internal security field includes, in a preventive and direct manner, the set of risks and threats from organized crime and common delinquency, in defence of the democratic State under the rule of law. It works under the responsibility of the President through the Ministry of Government. (Ley Marco del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad, Decree N° 18-2008, 2008/04/15, Sec. 19)
Honduras	Defence is defined as a set of actions and capacities aimed at guaranteeing territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of the country. National defence is focus on preventing and neutralizing external threats which jeopardize national interests. (Libro de la Defensa Nacional, 2005)	Security is a multidimensional concept which encompasses several aspects of the national reality. It is a guarantee for development as long as it generates the adequate conditions for productive investment and the creation of employment. Security is responsibility of the State and it creates co-responsibility, participation and public appropriation of the society in the defence and maintenance of common security. (Libro de la Defensa Nacional, 2005)
Mexico	The Mexican State has the inalienable responsibility and objective to protect the integrity of the territory and preserve the sovereignty of the Nation. The long fight for becoming a free nation, a nation ruled by law, could not be considered as so without the Armed Forces. Guaranteeing the integrity of the national territory is a key imperative for Mexico's progress. The national borders, seas and coasts of the country must not become a channel for the operation of criminals. Actions against life, health, physical integrity and the patrimony of Mexicans must not be allowed in the national territory. (Plan Nacional de Desarrollo, 2007-2012)	National security refers to the actions destined, in an immediate and direct manner, to maintaining the integrity, stability and permanence of the Mexican State, which entails: the protection of the Mexican Nation against threats and risks the country might face; the preservation of national sovereignty and independence and the defence of the territory; maintenance of the constitutional order and empowerment of the democratic institutions of the government; maintenance of the unity of the parties which form the Federation; the legitimate defence of the Mexican State regarding other States or subjects of international law, and the preservation of democracy, founded on the economic, social and political development of the country and its inhabitants. (Ley de Seguridad Nacional, DOF 2005/01/31. Last Reform: DOF 2005/12/26, Sec. 3)
Nicaragua	National defence is the means whose goal is to guarantee security of the State, through the execution of a set of measures and actions aimed at preventing or prevailing threats and risks. This implies that national defence is the capacity of the State to provide protection to its national interests and goals, by having all moral and material powers and forces of the Nation available and working in coordinated action. (Libro de la Defensa Nacional de Nicaragua, 2005)	National security is a permanent condition of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, peace and social justice, which in the institutional framework of a social, legal State, provides the Nation with the necessary guarantees for the force of its interests and national objectives, against any threat, risk or aggression, as well as the exercise of individual freedoms and political rights, in accordance with the law. Although in itself it does not constitute a purpose, national security is a generic objective of the State which involves all of the forces of the Nation, expressed in the national power. (Libro de la Defensa Nacional de Nicaragua, 2005)
Paraguay	National defence is the system of policies, procedures and actions exclusively developed by the State in order to fight any form of external aggression that could jeopardize the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial integrity of the Republic, or the constitutional, democratic order in force. (Ley de Defensa Nacional y de Seguridad Interna, N° 1.337 - 1999/04/14, Sec. 2)	Internal security is the actual situation which in fact safeguards the public order, as well as the life, freedom and rights of the people and entities, and their assets, in a framework of full force of the institutions established in the National Constitution. (Ley de Defensa Nacional y de Seguridad Interna, N° 1.337 - 1999/04/14, Sec. 37)
Peru	The national defence and security system is the set of interrelated elements of the State whose functions are aimed at guaranteeing national security by means of conception, planning, management, preparation, execution and oversight of national defence. (Ley del Sistema de Seguridad y Defensa Nacional, N° 28.478 - 2005/03/23, Sec. 3)	Security is the situation of the State whose independence sovereignty and integrity are guaranteed as well as the inhabitants' fundamental rights established in the Constitution. This situation contributes to the consolidation of peace, integral development and social justice, based on democratic values and the respect for human rights. (Libro de la Defensa Nacional, 2005)
	National defence is the set of measures, plans and actions created, adopted and executed by the State on an integral and permanent basis, both internally and externally. (Libro de la Defensa Nacional, 2005)	



Country	What is Defence?	What is Security?
Uruguay	National defence is one of the means by which national security is achieved. It consists of the set of bodies, laws and rules exercised to that end by the Executive Power through the military commands to repeal, neutralize or reject agents who may infringe such security. (Decreto Ley Orgánica de las Fuerzas Armadas, N° 14.157 - 1974/03/05; modified by Act N° 15.808 - 1986/04/07, Sec. 5)	National security is the condition when the national assets of all kinds and the development process towards the national objectives are safeguarded against internal and external interference or aggression. (Decreto Ley Orgánica de las Fuerzas Armadas, N° 14.157 - 1974/03/05; modified by Act N° 15.808 - 1986/04/07, Sec. 4)
Venezuela	Integral defence: the set of defence systems, methods, measures and actions, whichever their nature and intensity, actively formulated, coordinated and executed by the State, with the participation of public and private institutions and natural and legal persons, national or foreign, aimed at protecting independence, freedom, democracy, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the integral development of the Nation. (Ley Orgánica de Seguridad de la Nación, GO N° 37.594 - 2002/12/18, Sec. 3)	Security of the Nation: It is fundamented in the integral development and it is the condition, state or situation which guarantees the full exercise of the rights and guarantees in the economic, social, political, cultural, geographical, environmental and military areas of the constitutional principles and values of the inhabitants, the institutions and each one of the persons who are part of the State and the society, with a generational approach, within a democratic, participatory and prominent system, free of threats to its survival, sovereignty and integrity of its territory and other geographical spaces. (Ley Orgánica de Seguridad de la Nación, GO N° 37.594 - 2002/12/18, Sec. 3)

Source: Compilation based on the above mentioned documents and legislation.



Source: Compilation based on documents from the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/index.asp>).

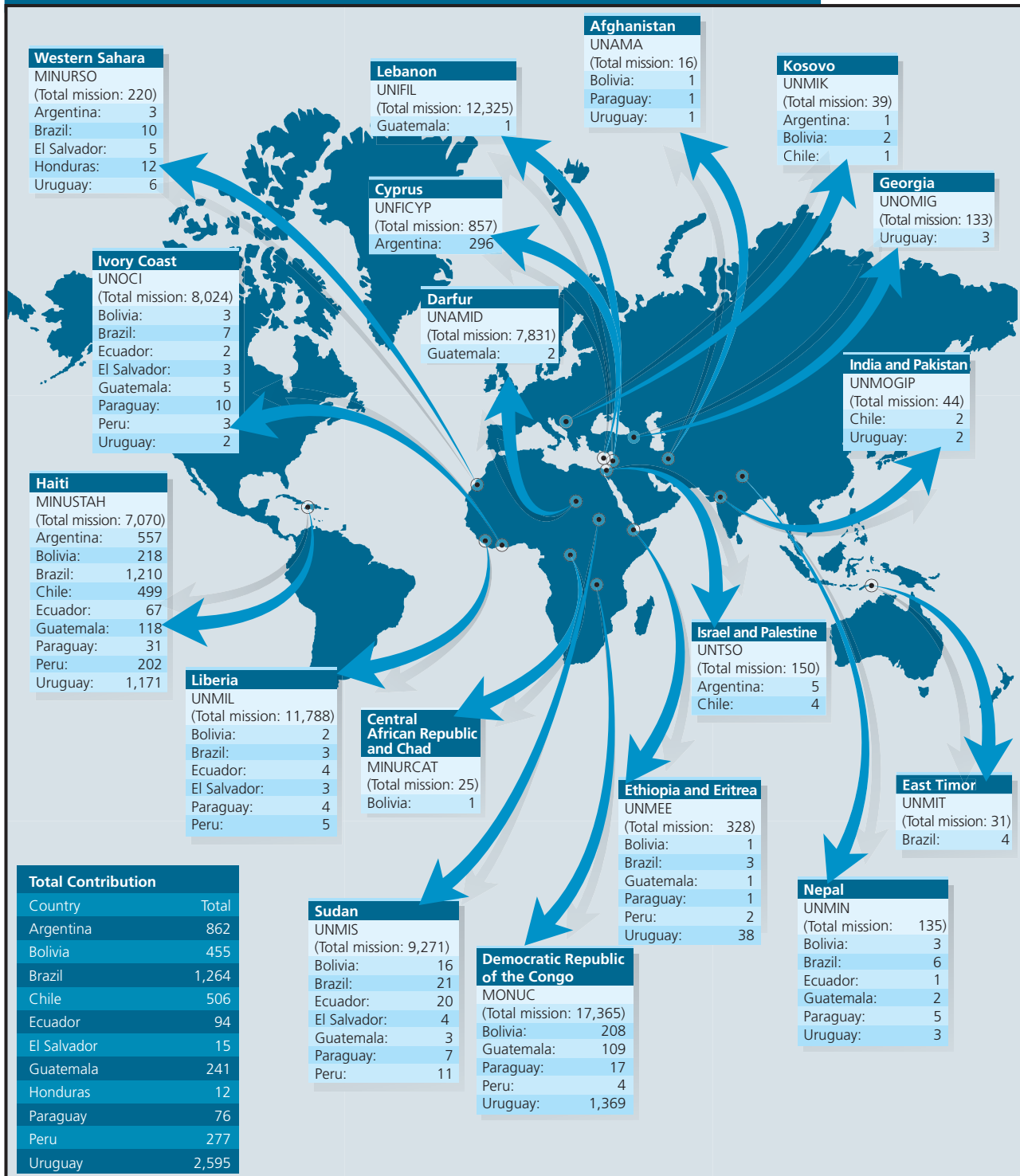
Increase of Participation in Peace Operations (2001-2008 %)

	2001-2002	2002-2003	2003-2004	2004-2005	2005-2006	2006-2007	2007-2008	Total Increase 2001-2008
Latin America	131.4%	43.6%	7.5%	127.1%	-0.6%	5%	0.9%	755.7 %
Rest of the World	29%	-6.2%	8.9%	34.8%	9%	15.5%	2.3%	128.5 %

The percentages represent growth compared to the last period. Baseline date, December 31, 2000 (742 Latin American active troops). Closing date, December 31, 2007 (6,349 Latin American active troops).

Source: Compilation based on documents from the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/index.asp>).

Regular Force Members from Latin American Troop Contributing Countries. UN Peace Operations



Source: Compilation based in documents from the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/index.asp>). Information as of June 30 2008. Troops and military observers are taken, while contributions of Civil Police are excluded. Countries which do not appear on the table, do not contribute troops or military observers to peace operations under the UN.

Colombia has been part of the Multinational Peace Force and Observers (MFO), in the Sinai since 1982. The MFO is an independent mission founded as the result of peace in 1979. Uruguay is also part of that mission.

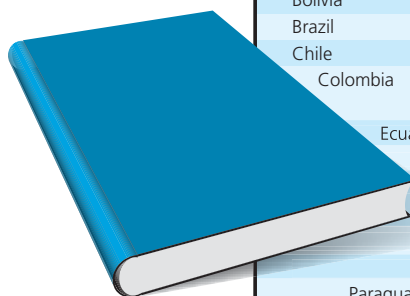


Peacekeeping Operations Training Centres in Latin America

Country	Name of the Centre	Date of Foundation
Argentina	Centro Argentino de Entrenamiento Conjunto para Operaciones de Paz (CAECOPAZ)	June 27, 1995
Bolivia	Centro de Operaciones de Mantenimiento de Paz del Ejército de Bolivia (COMPEBOL)	January 23, 2007
Brazil	Centro de Instrução de Operações de Paz (CI OP PAZ)	February 23, 2005
Chile	Centro Conjunto para Operaciones de Paz de Chile (CECOPAC)	July 15, 2002
Ecuador	Unidad Escuela de Misiones de la Paz "Ecuador" (UEMPE)	November 10, 2003
Guatemala (office)	Centro Regional de Entrenamiento de Operaciones de Mantenimiento de la Paz (CREOMPAZ) (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua)	June 8, 2005
Paraguay	Centro de Entrenamiento Conjunto de Operaciones de Paz (CECOPAZ)	October 8, 2001
Peru	Centro de Entrenamiento Conjunto de Operaciones de Paz (CECOPAZ)	November 11, 2003
Uruguay	Escuela de Operaciones de Paz del Ejército "Mayor Juan Sosa Machado" (EOPE)	December 22, 1998

Source: Compilation based on information supplied by the above mentioned institutions.

White Books

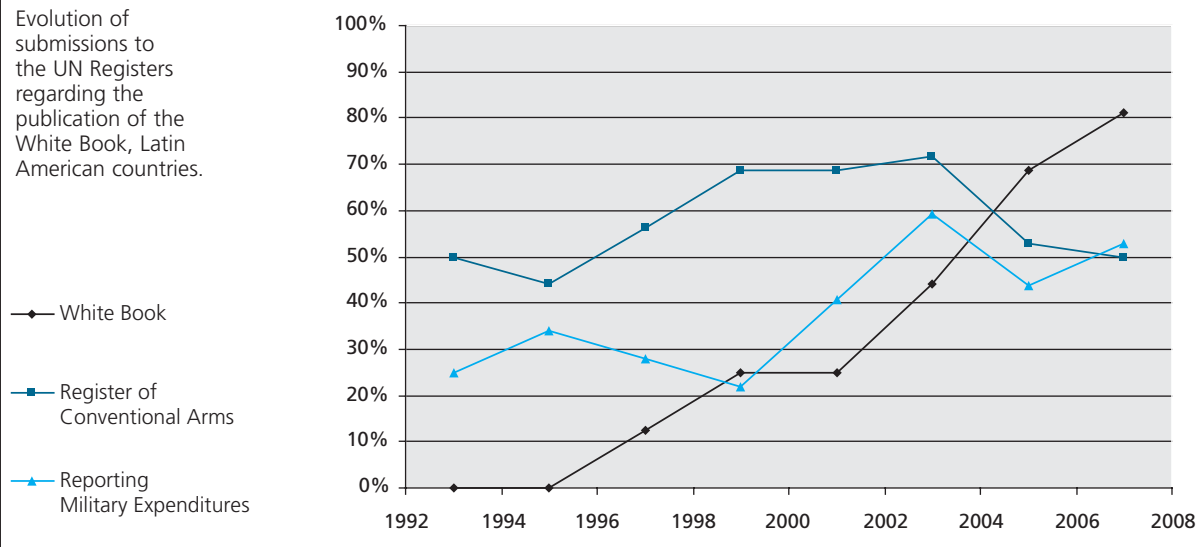


Country	Document
Argentina	Libro Blanco de la Defensa Nacional 1999. Revisión de la Defensa 2001
Bolivia	Libro Blanco de la Defensa 2004
Brazil	Política de Defensa Nacional, 1996 and 2005
Chile	Libro Blanco de la Defensa Nacional de Chile 1997. Libro de la Defensa Nacional 2002
Colombia	Política de Defensa y Seguridad Democrática 2003.
Ecuador	Política de Consolidación de la Seguridad Democrática 2007
El Salvador	Política de la Defensa Nacional del Ecuador, 2002 and 2006.
Guatemala	Libro de la Defensa Nacional 2006
Guatemala	Libro de la Defensa Nacional de la República de Guatemala 2003.
Honduras	Política de la Defensa Nacional 2005
Nicaragua	Libro de la Defensa Nacional 2005
Nicaragua	Libro de la Defensa Nacional de Nicaragua 2005
Paraguay	Política de Defensa Nacional de la República del Paraguay 1999
Peru	Libro Blanco de la Defensa Nacional del Perú 2005

Source: Compilation based on the above mentioned documents.

Transparency Measures

Evolution of submissions to the UN Registers regarding the publication of the White Book, Latin American countries.



Source: Compilation based on White Books and documents of national defence of each country along with reports submitted by the States to the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms and the United Nations Instrument for Reporting Military Expenditures from 1992 to 2008. Register/Instrument: shows the average of the reporting forms delivered in years corresponding to each period. White Books: cumulative frequency of countries which published White Books.

Analysis:

Defence and Security

Héctor Saint-Pierre*

In essence, the term “security” indicates a state or feeling produced by the perception of absence of threats that put life, property, interests, values or the particular way of being of who perceives it at risk. In effect, we feel safe when we do not perceive threats to our peace, that is to say, when nothing we care about is at risk.

However, this conceptual approach directs us towards negation: security is an absence, a lack of something, the negation of the threat. In this sense, we can say that the concept of “security” is negative, not from the pragmatic point of view – as it is a term conveying positive values –, but from the denotative point of view. In spite of being frequently used in strategic planning, the concept indicates, strictly speaking, a static condition of things, though not an activity.

The activity, which is finally the guarantee of security, is normally referred to as “Defence”.

On the one hand, we can feel safe when nothing threatens us; on the other hand we feel “defended” when we are sure to have done our best to keep our attention on the alert in the face of emergent threats; when we know we made good use of the resources around, and the circumstances. All that to diminish our vulnerabilities, hinder the coming of opportunist dangers, and increase our capacity and power to find new threats, drive them back, or lessen their effects if nothing of the latter is possible.

Even though this perception may come from an individual, a group, an ethnicity, a nation, a people, and so on, since the Treaty of Westphalia¹ it is the

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¹ This 1648 treaty put an end to the religious wars that devastated Europe, split the Church from the State in the field of international relations and, positioned the national State as the only full right subject in the international sphere. The international sphere became a world of States, and the international relations became statocentric.



national State that emerges as the preferred target of threats, as the pre-eminent subject perceiving these threats, and as the legitimate link between its diplomatic representation and its defence, even an armed one.

The Westphalian universe is conformed by the States, as the only subjects with the capacity to declare war and sign peace. They constitute themselves as international subjects, by mutual reference and acknowledgement. They eventually choose their own friends and enemies. That is why that sphere, in Carl Schmitt's words, is not a universe, but a *pluriverse*.

If then security was primarily a State duty, and the means of the threat is basically military, the concept of security has broadened so as to include other perceived subjects and threat targets, and has extended its scope to comprise other forms and means of threat. Now, threats could focus on ethnicity, human groups, individuals, institutions, nature, etcetera; and they could become evident through various means, such as the military, the economic, the political, the social, the environmental, and so on and so forth. It is what was called "Multidimensional Security". This conceptual expansion cast some shadows over the organizational and operative aspects of the force.

In fact, the multidimensionality of security has also been perceived as "an old acquaintance" in the American continent; it had already been considered in the National Security Doctrine (DSN) that led the actions of the Latin-American repressive apparatuses - still too present in the regional social memory. In a sort of macabre paradox, citizens were considered in the doctrine as a threat to the State itself, who, instead of guaranteeing their security, treated and fought them as enemies.

Thus, the significance of the Armed Forces (the national defence within the international sphere, as the specific instrument of the foreign policy of the nations) released the State violence, legitimate up to that moment, against the population itself, bursting on the domestic politics and giving birth to a conceptual haze amidst defence, international security and public security, that brought about these lines. With them, we expect to encourage the debate on these issues.

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International Security

Even though the States receive threats, they are also perceived by other States as the main source of those threats. From this mutual relation and reference to threat, the States seek their own security through prevention and diplomacy, but it is the preparation for war that prevails as a guarantee of security and peace among them. However, if military strength can convince other States that an aggression can turn out to be a disaster for them, the excessive care leading to excessive armament can be perceived as a threat, thus triggering a regional arms race.

The search for a good deterrent capacity that is not perceived as a threat engenders the debate between tension and peace in the international sphere: the strategic alertness. This is what is known as “balance of power” and constitutes the subject matter of international security. The appearance of any clutter in this system, with a tense international balance, be it economic, social or military - within a State or among them - is seen as a threat to international security.

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Defence

It is the administrative, organizational and operative structure that the States design in order to be secure within the international sphere. All the national potentials concur in it, but the specific element – though not the only one – is the organized legitimate violence, through the permanent armed forces as an integral part of the State. The latter counts on the necessary laws to organize, operate and command that structure.

In a general sense, the duty of the Executive Branch in most countries is to formulate the defence policy, where the basic definitions on national defence and the structure, organization, objective and use of its specific instrument – the armed forces – are established. Those forces are a part of the monopoly of force content, which defines and belongs to the State. Although they can be used within the internal sphere, its significance is given – and they specifically fulfill it – by its performance in the free concurrence regime, in the “self-help” system that characterizes and defines the international sphere. It is in this exercise that the international balance tightens, and international security is built.

Public Security

Public security, also called “domestic” security, is a perceptive phenomenon, just as international security is. Unlike the latter, it is the citizenry who perceives the threat in the realm of public security. Their protection takes place within the monopoly of violence regime. Internally, the State holds that legitimate monopoly conformed by the police forces, and it can be exercised by the Executive Branch through the ministries of the Interior, Governance or Justice. The exercise of the monopoly of violence allows guaranteeing the univocal nature of law within a country through punishment (or its threat). The specificity of this force lies in its exclusively internal use, which is manifested through investigation, prevention, display and repression. The force devotes itself to guarantee tranquility for the citizenry, and keep them free from crime and disorder, within the certainty of a single legal order across the whole country.

The conceptual debate hereby proposed is neither superfluous nor point-



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less, but rather necessary and urgent. Because of the recent history, the constitutional limitations, the diverse doctrines of use in the internal and external spheres of the State, the preparation and specific training for these different missions, the specificity of the means of violence for each mission, the specific and differentiated systems of intelligence, the security of the citizenry, the prestige of the Armed Forces, or the preservation of the democratic regime in our continent, there are reasons to carry it out.