






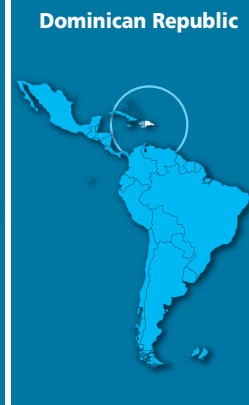








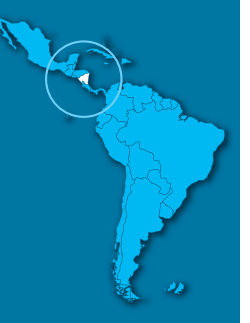





THE LATIN AMERICAN REGION



The Latin American Region

Argentina	Bolivia	Brazil	Chile	Colombia
				
Population: 41,775,000	Population: 10,598,000	Population: 201,497,000	Population: 17,748,000	Population: 49,007,000
Geographic area: 2,780,400 km ²	Geographic area: 1,098,580 km ²	Geographic area: 8,514,880 km ²	Geographic area: 756,100 km ²	Geographic area: 1,141,750 km ²
GDP (in US dollars): 404,483,000,000	GDP (in US dollars): 33,616,000,000	GDP (in US dollars): 2,215,953,000,000	GDP (in US dollars): 263,115,000,000	GDP (in US dollars): 387,692,000,000
Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 9,682	Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 3,172	Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 10,997	Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 14,825	Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 7,911
Armed Forces Personnel: 77,066	Armed Forces Personnel: 34,078	Armed Forces Personnel: 333,973	Armed Forces Personnel: 59,031	Armed Forces Personnel: 268,160
Defence budget (in US dollars): 4,219,130,969	Defence budget (in US dollars): 490,559,378	Defence budget (in US dollars): 31,629,440,741	Defence budget (in US dollars): 5,511,299,093	Defence budget (in US dollars): 8,416,388,574
% GDP: 1.04	% GDP: 1.46	% GDP: 1.43	% GDP: 2.09	% GDP: 2.17
Costa Rica	Cuba	Dominican Republic	Ecuador	El Salvador
				
Population: 4,920,000	Population: 11,287,000	Population: 10,416,000	Population: 16,020,000	Population: 6,365,000
Geographic area: 51,100 km ²	Geographic area: 109,890 km ²	Geographic area: 48,670 km ²	Geographic area: 256,370 km ²	Geographic area: 21,040 km ²
GDP (in US dollars): 52,968,000,000	GDP (in US dollars): 3,351,052,833	GDP (in US dollars): 62,790,000,000	GDP (in US dollars): 101,322,000,000	GDP (in US dollars): 25,495,000,000
Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 11,470	Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 297	Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 7,070	Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 6,325	Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 4,005
Public Force Personnel: 14,201	Armed Forces Personnel: -	Armed Forces Personnel (2014): 56,022	Armed Forces Personnel: 40,242	Armed Forces Personnel: 24,799
Security Budget (in US dollars): 963,059,548	Defence budget* (in US dollars): 299,345,833	Defence budget (in US dollars): 417,072,353	Defence budget (in US dollars): 2,773,004,221	Defence budget (in US dollars): 149,455,885
% GDP: 1.71	% GDP: 8.93	% GDP: 0.66	% GDP: 2.74	% GDP: 0.59

* Defence, Internal Order and Administration budget.

Guatemala	Haiti	Honduras	Mexico	Nicaragua
				
Population: 15,790,000	Population: 10,386,000	Population: 8,228,000	Population: 120,607,000	Population: 6,152,000
Geographic area: 108,890 km ²	Geographic area: 27,750 km ²	Geographic area: 112,490 km ²	Geographic area: 1,964,380 km ²	Geographic area: 130,370 km ²
GDP (in US dollars): 58,464,000,000	GDP (in US dollars): 8,980,000,000	GDP (in US dollars): 19,567,000,000	GDP (in US dollars): 1,287,557,000,000	GDP (in US dollars): 11,946,000,000
Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 3,703	Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 865	Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 2,378	Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 10,676	Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 1,942
Armed Forces Personnel: 22,326	National Police Personnel: 13,321	Armed Forces Personnel (2014): 15,550	Armed Forces Personnel (2014): 265,812	Armed Forces Personnel (2014): 10,358
Defence budget (in US dollars): 257,962,025	Defence budget (in US dollars): 5,504,997	Defence budget (in US dollars): 252,646,424	Defence budget (in US dollars): 7,299,439,730	Defence budget (in US dollars): 82,888,983
% GDP: 0.44	% GDP: 0.06	% GDP: 1.29	% GDP: 0.57	% GDP: 0.69
Panama	Paraguay	Peru	Uruguay	Venezuela
				
Population: 3,927,000	Population: 6,888,000	Population: 30,647,000	Population: 3,418,000	Population: 30,831,000
Geographic area: 75,420 km ²	Geographic area: 406,750 km ²	Geographic area: 1,285,220 km ²	Geographic area: 176,220 km ²	Geographic area: 912,050 km ²
GDP (in US dollars): 44,789,000,000	GDP (in US dollars): 29,550,000,000	GDP (in US dollars): 216,674,000,000	GDP (in US dollars): 58,283,000,000	GDP (in US dollars): 342,067,000,000
Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 11,405	Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 4,290	Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 6,130	Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 17,052	Per capita GDP (in US dollars): 11,095
Security Forces Personnel: 23,105	Armed Forces Personnel (2014): 14,284	Armed Forces Personnel (2014): 78,296	Armed Forces Personnel (2014): 22,563	Armed Forces Personnel (2014): 194,744
Defence budget (in US dollars): 1,198,251,784	Defence budget (in US dollars): 440,752,612	Defence budget (in US dollars): 2,819,591,821	Defence budget (in US dollars): 650,718,647	Defence budget (in US dollars): 5,567,765,086
% GDP: 2.68	% GDP: 1.49	% GDP: 1.30	% GDP: 1.12	% GDP: 1.63

Source: See section "The Countries" of this Edition (dates as to 2014 except for the cases listed there). Population (projected 2014): Statistical Yearbook for Latin America and the Caribbean 2013, ECLAC. GDP (projected 2014): IMF, World Economic Outlook Database. Territory: ECLAC website.

Analysis

Time of Constant Change

Juan Rial

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On more than one occasion I have expressed that decisions taken on institutional functioning come late. They are adequate for a context and situation that has already been overcome. It is due in part to the time required by complex bureaucratic organizations that adjust poorly to the current “liquid society”, as Zygmunt Bauman calls it, to produce decisions. The same often occurs with the reflections and information provided by the academic field to those who have to carry out state policy in the area.

When RESDAL published the first *Comparative Atlas of Defence in Latin America* in 2005, nine years ago, most countries in the region were still in political processes in which representative liberal democratic regimes dominated, although institutional change in Venezuela was already being produced, the origin of others who followed in the region.

At that time, almost all countries had military forces subordinate to popularly elected governments, there were no threats of interstate conflict, the prolonged operation of UN peacekeepers in Haiti was just beginning (which involved many South American countries as well as Guatemala), and the participation of Central American countries and the Dominican Republic in the Iraq conflict had culminated.

In many countries women had already graduated as officers from the various military academies and schools, and a significant number of women were already present in NCO ranks.

Many countries published White Papers on defence, which in addition to serving as an instrument of mutual trust between States, should also serve to promote changes or for the announcement of possible reforms. Most, however, only included descriptions of the sector, and a minority converted them into instruments with any legal value.

Ministries of defence functioned across the region, although in some of these the minister was an active member of the military force. Many ministries issued regulations, but the majority of the changes among armed corporations emanated from within themselves and the need to avoid becoming isolated from rapidly transforming societies.

Many Latin American military forces dragged their feet

-and continue to do so- on the heavy load of human rights abuses committed during internal conflicts against persons that were established as enemies and not adversaries. Recently they have had to walk the path of tolerance and accommodation with civilian leaders who had previously fallen into the category of enemies. It is true that many of them engaged in “negative integration”, accepting the capitalist socioeconomic system they had fought, maintaining a leftist rhetoric and increasing social welfare policies in a very strong manner.

Inter-ministerial contacts between countries in the region increased. In 1995, a first meeting of ministers of the area promoted by the United States Secretary of Defence was held in Williamsburg. The meeting has been held regularly since and in this year has reached the eleventh edition, with a much reduced schedule, a product of the substantial change in concepts of defence and of military bodies, and the recent distrust among Latin American countries towards the United States and its close ally, Canada. The same applies, in terms of both the agenda and the relevance, to the regular conference of hemispheric armed forces chiefs that have been carried out from the 60s through to the 21st Century.

Little is the relevance of coordination bodies such as the South American Defence Council, while that of CFAC (Conference of Central American Armed Forces) is limited, as is that of the Caribbean security forces.

The Comparative Atlas, published by RESDAL, refocuses on the political aspects of the conduct of defence, reporting on the fundamentals of institutional structures, the mission of military missions, and budgetary resources for the area. It is not easy to obtain the information; although in most countries the old secrecy has been overcome, responses refusing to provide official data for “reasons of national security” are still seen.

Almost all of the data comes from official sources although on more than one occasion inconsistencies are detected. It is preferred to publish budget data in “raw” form without intervention, or pass them to a constant currency, or make them “equivalent” according to their “purchasing power parity”. It is not advisable academically, but it matters as a measure of confidence for data

providers. Of course, to not take into account this data may lead to the false appearance of a steady growth of expenditure, something that even occurs in countries with fully “dollarized” economies.

In a time of great change in the international arena, war is a phenomenon that is disappearing in the face of a steady increase in violence. Let’s clarify. Major military confrontation between large military organizations with complex organizational structures and specialties is something that is ever more unlikely to occur. Recent major conflicts have been asymmetric with the defeated absent from battle, as occurred in Afghanistan or Iraq, and neither is there, as in past, formal negotiations between the winner and the loser. Many conflicts are peripheral, develop in under-developed areas, and increasingly depend on media coverage for their termination.

Although much of the violence still occurs in rural areas, its most devastating effects occur in urban areas. The number of professional military combat victims is no longer measurable in millions of lives, but there are hundreds of thousands and even millions of civilian casualties (or of people who engage in occasional violence, such as militiamen, or occasional militants) and enormous swells of refugees, whether inside or outside the country in conflict.

It is difficult to see conflicts between States, violence at sea is mainly confined to forms of piracy and there are virtually no air battles. However, the results of conflicts are terrible. To cite only two examples from South America, according to Colombian newspaper *La Semana*, between 1984 and late 2013 there were over 6 million casualties recorded in the internal Colombian conflict, which is still not yet settled, while it begun back in 1964. In Peru, in the report of the Truth Commission on the conflict between the State and the Shining Path, it is estimated that death and disappearances between 1980 and 2000 reached between 61,000 and 71,000 persons, 46% of which were the responsibility of the Shining path.

Time “*pasa, pesa y pisa*” (goes by, it influences you, and it can step right over you), the director of a Dominican newspaper recently told me. This is known by politicians who only see in the military a useful instrument or something that should at least be tolerated, and the military commanders who know they have to transform themselves in order to survive. This edition of the Atlas displays the permanence and the change, but the significance of secondary missions over the supposedly primary missions says a lot.

Analysis

21st Century Defence in Latin America and the Caribbean

Gabriel Aguilera Peralta

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According to the traditional definition, the essence of the Armed Forces anywhere and anytime is to build a State apparatus that can use military force to fulfil political objectives at the service of the Nation. Its existence presupposes the possibility of war. The international framework created after World War II, especially in relation to the UN Charter, places limits and conditions on the use of this recourse, although that norm has clear limits in practice.

In the 90s, and within the same optimistic conceptualization that led Francis Fukuyama to his famous statement on the “end of history”, it was planted that humanity was entering a phase in which the possibility of war could be disappearing. It was probably Charles Moskos, with his concept of “Warless Society”, who

best argued the issue.

But in the two decades that followed the end of the Cold War, reality has demonstrated that historical developments continue, as do the wars.

However, is it possible to think that in Latin America and the Caribbean we are closing in on a “Warless Society”? There are facts that encourage this consideration. The last interstate-armed conflict was the Cenepra war in 1995. Despite tense situations between some countries and occasional bellicose statements in some of these cases, the mechanisms of mutual trust and cooperation in defence have been consolidated in instances such as UNASUR and the Central American Integration System (SICA). Longstanding contentions have been resolved through negotiations or through

decisions taken by the International Court of Justice. While some Latin American military contingents have participated symbolically in conventional wars such as that in Iraq, these are better defined as expressions of international politics.

Intrastate-armed conflicts have tended to decrease. The largest of these, the internal war in Colombia, has entered into a peace process that has the possibility of resulting in its termination.

What then are the roles of the Armed Forces of the region? If there are no foreseeable scenarios of interstate armed conflict in this part of the world, one might consider the abolition of armies, as carried out by Costa Rica and Panama, in order to set up a situation of “Army-less Societies”?

The traditional role that remains is the contribution to United Nations peacekeeping. Although they constitute positions of “war deterrence” rather than of “war readiness”, they refer to the possibility of military action.

Greater complexity is found in the increasing use of the military in internal security, in support activities, or in direct action against international organized crime, particularly drug trafficking. This trend has been gaining ground despite the resistance that has existed in several major Latin American armies in recent years. Explanation of the change is found in the increasing threat that organized crime poses to the security of the State and its citizens in several countries, a threat that may exceed the resources available to the police. Theoretical analysis of this situation states that given the transnational nature of organized crime it falls in the category of threats to intermestic security, complex threat relationships that are at once both internal and external. While not politically motivated, organized crime can affect the state’s ability to fulfil its essential functions and the welfare of its citizens. Moreover, variations of organized crime may become linked to politically motivated groups, as seems to have happened with the remnants of the Shining Path in Peru.

Linked to the previous case but with another explanation is the use of the Armed Forces to support the fight against common crime, as in the case of actions to control the activity of youth gangs known as “maras” in Central America. Although in essence this criminal phenomenon has explanations in social and family policy, their excessive number and the fact that they mainly affect the quality of neighborhood life has led the State to look to the Armed Forces as an available resource, with its discipline and organization that can be adapted to that purpose.

The same logic applies to the use of armies in functions that have no direct relation to the use of weapons, but instead to the use of their organization and the availability of the qualified human element to organize and manage crisis situations, as well as the availability of material resources (such as is the case in the provision of assistance in cases of natural disasters, environmental protection and natural resources).

In relation to this function, it should be remembered that the 2003 OAS Declaration on Security in the Americas defines a very broad security agenda, defined as diverse and multidimensional, in which economic, social and health policy are areas of attention for security actors in confronting these new non-traditional threats.

The inclusion of environmental protection in the missions assigned to the Armed Forces is probably the most relevant for their non-traditional roles in the future, to the extent that the perception of a serious threat to human survival is consolidated by increased global warming and climate change. By 2050 – which is a very close date in historical terms – the global economy, water resources and food production – as well as the survival of Small Island States - would be highly affected by the temperature increase of 3 degrees Celsius that has been predicted by the estimates of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, affecting the lives of millions and leading to the destruction of small States.

It would constitute a non-military threat but one which would force States to employ all of their resources, including the Armed Forces.

These reflections lead us to the comment on whether the major changes in the visions of security and defence in the XXI century should involve reviewing the role and existence of the military as they are today. In the case of Latin America and the Caribbean, should this lead to their mutation into mixed armed-police bodies, such as a Gendarmerie or National Guard, which are more appropriate for handling new threats?

We think not. The fact that the Americas are now a region characterized by peace does not guarantee that in the future these States may not see themselves associated with traditional global conflicts. But beyond that, as R. D. Hooker would say, “The tragedy of history is that man cannot free himself from war”. It is the duty of democratic States to maintain Armed Forces in a position to respond to any traditional conflicts, as well as preparing them and using them in new roles in benefit of the common good.