New items in the security agenda for South America
Climate change and environmental security

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Introduction

There are different perspectives on the concept of security, some that favor
the individual and others States. However, the overall focus is on the per-
ception that they are not subject to threats that could jeopardize its exis-
tence. With regard to the debate that has been generated in recent years,
there are two fundamental points to ponder.

First, the perspective especially in the Southern Cone and Central America,
which seeks to clearly delineate between the notions of defense and security.
This distinction between security and defense is based on confronting sit-
uations in which the boundaries between them have been blurred, leading
to a militarization of security and a lack of separation between the fields of
military and civilian authorities. The lack of clear distinction between these
fields has led to the perception that national security is an eminently mili-
tary issue, in response to which it has been raised that defense should apply
only to the external security of a country.

The second point to be discussed is the increasing dangers of "securitiza-
tion" of various problems, assuming that they should not be dealt with mil-
itary responses. Warns have been voiced on the growing trend in addressing
issues or events as if they were part of the security agenda and, therefore,
faced through mechanisms that go beyond the procedures of regular public
policies and pre-established   rules of the game. This second situation often

occurs in several areas such as social and economic development, public safety or environmental risks and access to natural resources

In the last two decades two basic perspectives have been outlined (Jácome, 2006). From 1994 to September 11, 2002 (9/11), the dominating phase posed a concept of security not restricted to interstate conflicts prompting the emergence of proposals in terms of human democratic and regional security. With a predominant redefinition of concepts, agendas and strategies focused not only on conventional threats but incorporating non-conventional ones such as drug trafficking, terrorism, environmental problems, among others, including non-state actors as participants in the discussions on security. In general terms, the aim was to contribute towards a democratic perspective of security.

It has been reported (Romero, 2010) that the Copenhagen School thesis prevailed in the analysis mainly focused on promoting peace, human security and human rights and the need for supranational institutions. In this context, within the American continent, the Organization of American States (OAS) was strengthened, the Andean Community of Nations (CAN) began a process of renewal that sought to insert and strengthen itself in the new regional initiative setting the stage for a Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR). Similarly, these innovations put forward a vision of international relations in which States were not the only actors, but recognized that internationally there are a number of non-state actors that contribute to more complex and enriching global interaction.

These initiatives were a turning point with the events of 9/11 when, under the leadership of the U.S. government, there was a trend towards returning to the narrow perspective that leads to a reformulation process incorporating non-conventional threats and favors national security as a return to a predominantly statist and militarist vision, what has been considered as an authoritarian view when it comes to security, reintroducing the realistic perspective of international affairs (Romero, 2010) and, even more, in security issues. From the abovementioned perspective based on the idea of designing and strengthening cooperation mechanisms considered an idealist position, within the traditional schools of analysis of international relations, there was a shift to a paradigm based on a vision of troubled relationships and struggle for power.

 On that basis, there was a return to the perspective of national security as a fundamental aspect which leads to deepening a bilateral vision of security and defense relations, despite recent initiatives to resume regional agendas such as the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) and the conformation of the South American Defense Council (CDS). Additionally, the issue revolves around conflicts whether external or internal-, with the emphasis on the military and defense aspects as well as the predominant role of the Executive Branch and the armed forces.

. In this scenario, notions focused on conflict prevention, the role of non-state actors, the promotion of a culture of peace and support for the construction of regional cooperation mechanisms are displaced, in which mutual trust mechanisms play a fundamental role A particular concern has been a renewed focus in concepts regarding the traditional National

Security Doctrine that supported military dictatorships in the Southern Cone and Central America, having the presence of not only external threats but also "internal enemies" as key areas. We should be mindful of the fact that in time, such doctrine led to repression and violation of human rights.

In this framework, the first decade of the XXI century has led to changes in the South American security agendas. Based on this, three points are to be considered. Firstly, the main aspects that have been changed in the Latin American and Caribbean security agendas. Secondly, the main trends and changes in priorities in the areas of cooperation in the major blocks such as ALBA and UNASUR and, finally, some preliminary considerations on the very recent introduction of subjects such as climate change and environmental security.

Changes in the security agenda in Latin America and the Caribbean

The political dynamics in the Americas have reinforced this view. The first decade of the century has been marked by a growing process of disintegration produced largely by different political-ideological and even antagonistic projects that have led to important divisions within the continent (Benitez / Celi / Jácome, 2010). In general terms, the beginning of the second decade of the XXI century faces a reality that clearly differentiates the countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. On the one hand, the Caribbean, Central America and Mexico clearly looked to the north. On the other hand, South America as a region that wants to reaffirm itself yet with important differences between the countries pertaining to the Andean region and the Southern Cone.

In terms of security, the Andean countries are involved in issues related to the production and trafficking of drugs and the presence of armed non-state actors play an important role, especially in the case of the Colombian illegal groups. We should also ponder that the Southern Cone countries are focused on ways to strengthen cooperation in security and defense, especially in regard to peacekeeping missions, currently underway is the case of Haiti. A further aspect to be added to this scenario is the internal political dynamics of some Andean countries (Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador) that have led to the establishment of a set of "alternative" projects geared to the apparent construction of the "socialism of the XXI century" vis a vis other projects of a reformist left that favors social issues but considers economic growth as essential. We can t fail to mention other government led projects, such as the ones in Peru and Colombia, which follow the path of liberal policies
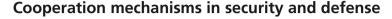
To this project, we need to add relations with extra regional actors such as China, Russia and Iran with their sharp differences. It was noted that in the first decade of this century the so called "Pacific Rim" emerged as a group of countries facing the Pacific and considered as an area for expanding their relations, especially in the cases of Chile, Peru, Colombia and Mexico On that basis, in 2010 the so called Latin American Pacific Rim Forum was re-launched, operating as an informal meeting point since 2007, until in January 2011 a Pro Tempore Secretariat was set up. On the other hand, especially the Caribbean and the Southern Cone countries seek to deepen their relations with the European Community. Undoubtedly the case of Brazil is particular since it has become the quintessential global player in the region. Is an actor who has become an active participant in the global scenario, for example as member of the BRIC group of emerging countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa).

 Similarly, the scenario turns increasingly more complex with the presence of other extra-regional actors such as China, Russia and Iran, which also exert their influence on the relationship between Latin American and the Caribbean countries and the perspectives on defense and security.

On that basis, the most recent debates on security have focused (Tulchin, 2009) on the concept that insists in the need of developing security communities through cooperation to deal with multiple threats under the perspective that they are "intermestic", which include both domestic, international and transnational aspects stemming from state and non-state actors. In this sense, Raúl Benítez has proposed (Apud Tulchin, 2009) that the analysis and cooperation mechanisms for each threat should be dealt with in different levels, internal, sub- regional , regional, hemispheric and global.

Cooperation mechanisms in security and defense

Hemispheric:
- *Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance* (TIAR) and the Inter American defense Board (IADB)
- Summits of the Americas y and Annual OAS Assembly Meetings
- Meetings of Ministers of Defense
- Inter American Drug Abuse Control Commission
- OAS Peace Keeping Programs
- Convention against illicit manufacturing and trafficking of firearms, ammunitions, explosives and other related materials (OAS-2001)
- Inter American Convention against Terrorism (OAS-2002)
- Special OAS Conference on Security (OAS-2003)

Subregional:
- Framework Agreement for Democratic Security in Central America (1995)
- Regional Security System (RSS) for the Caribbean (1984)
- CARICOM Regional task Force on Crime and Security (2002)
- Decision 505 by CAN: the Andean Cooperation Plan for the Fight against Illegal Drugs and Related Crimes (2001)
- The Lima Commitment - Andean Charter for Peace and Security-Restrictions and Control of Targeted Expense for External Defense (CAN-2002)
- Decision 587 by CAN: General Lines of the Andean Common External Security Policy that established the Andean Security Network (2004)
- Declaration of San Francisco de Quito on the Establishment and Development of the Andean Zone of Peace (CAN-2004)
- General Lines of the Common External Security Policy (CAN-2004)
- Decision 552 by CAN: Andean Plan on Prevention, Fight and Eradication of Illicit Trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons (CAN-2003)
- Commitment for Strengthening Coordination in the Fight against Terrorism and the International Problem of Illicit Trafficking of Drugs and Related Crimes (CAN-2003)
- South American Defense Council of Unasur (2008)
- Permanent Committee on Sovereignty and Defense of ALBA (2009)

However, other analysts (2010 Romero) argue that recent developments in Latin America and the Caribbean have shown the need for a new paradigm of analysis better suited for the present reality. As a result of the crisis in Honduras in 2009, four key issues are to be addressed.

First, revisiting the theme of civil-military relations since the latter is still an important actor in society and its subordination to the civil power has not actually occurred. Secondly, democracy should be on the table, since there are clear differences in conceptions manifested basically through visions of traditional representative democracy vs. participatory democracy. Another aspect that has to be tackled is development, since clearly there are conflicting views especially between the capitalist and socialist perspectives. Finally,

the issue of international relations, mainly in terms of links with the United States, integration and trade relations that generate cracks due to ideological differences.

Current trends and changes in the agenda: UNASUR and ALBA

The first decade of the 21st century has seen prevailing changes in multilateralism with the shift from what has been considered (Sanahuja, 2011) as an open regionalism, focused on economic integration, to a "post-liberal" perspective oriented mainly to the political sphere. It has innovative features different from traditional integration processes previously developed. An important feature to underscore (Sanahuja, 2011) is the return to agendas that prioritize political affairs, development and social aspects as well as the fact that *vis a vis* the market priority it is rather set on actions by the State. In addition, they seek cooperation and consultation in non-commercial areas moving towards issues related to infrastructure and communications as well as energy security in the region.

Firstly, when considering the role of sub-national actors, it is important to highlight that the new initiatives of Unasur and especially of the Bolivarian Alliance for the peoples of our America (ALBA) are agreements between Governments which in the Venezuelan case and its partners in ALBA, favor only the participation of State-owned enterprises. In this sense, Legler and Santa Cruz. (2011: 12) argue that current multilateralism has three distinctive characteristics: "(1) a marked presidentialism (2) (an emphasis on the construction of spaces for political dialogue and cooperation, and 3) the construction of weak institutions."

In his official speeches, the Brazilian and Venezuelan administrations have emphasized the complementarity and the establishment of partnerships in the regional arena. "However, some actions by President Chávez could lead to a certain gap, at least with regard to regional relations in South America, especially since 2007, when radicalization of his Bolivarian revolution and the construction of the "socialism of the 21st century", are implemented.

In this sense, certain differences can be observed in the sphere of consultation and regional cooperation between both Governments and their regional leadership goals. These are clearly manifested in face of the increasing fragmentation and weakening of traditional bodies, such as the Andean Community and MERCOSUR and in recent years two proposals come to play. Unasur, spearheaded by Brazil and ALBA energized by Venezuela. In spite of the fact that a formal agreement could resemble a relationship of complementarity in some areas, security and defense have been marked by different perspectives on certain issues. The differences are rooted in distinctive perspectives regarding the perception of the main vulnerabilities faced by the countries in the region and based on this, on responses that can be built from multilateral levels of cooperation.

 Within this context, the argument could be made that such divergences in national views on Security and defense might lead to the possibility of an overlap of institutions between Unasur and ALBA. The first one established the South American Defense Council and the

Centre for Strategic Defense Studies (CEED). In terms of ALBA, as of 2009 the Standing Committee on sovereignty and defense was approved (with the exception of the Caribbean's of English-speaking countries) with the purpose of defining a common defense strategy and as of 2011 the defense school of ALBA was set up in Bolivia. Similarly, in its 11th Summit in Caracas on February 2012, President Morales of Bolivia proposed the establishment of a Defense Council of ALBA which is being examined (www.alianzabolivariana.org).

Since its inception, Unasur emphasized that it was neither a military alliance nor a military operational body. This is in contrast to the Venezuelan proposal within the framework of ALBA, which raised such alliances to address possible foreign interventions limited today to the United States. This difference is reflected in the framework of the South America Defense Council – CDS, which has privileged the subject of measures of mutual trust, especially under the Pro Tempore Secretariat of Ecuador and more recently of Paraguay.

Accordingly, in the framework of the 1st extraordinary meeting held in November 10/11 2011 in Lima, the "final report for the design of a common methodology to measure the cost of defense" prepared by a working group with the participation of the Ministry of defense of Venezuela (www.unasurcds.org) was adopted. The first commitment from Governments was to submit to the CEED the 2006-2010 South American Report on Expenditures in Defense. Currently this body is performing an analysis of this information, which is not yet publicly available nor so far are the reports submitted by the Governments of each country.

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This same extraordinary meeting of 2011 agreed to give greater importance to the area of strengthening industry and technology for regional defense, an item considered crucial for Brazil. In the same vein, decision was reached to incorporate two task forces to the CDS 2012 Working Plan(www.unasurcds.org). The first one to design, develop and produce a South American basic training aircraft and the other to assess the feasibility of developing unmanned aircrafts. Consensus was reached on analyzing the feasibility of establishing a South American Space Agency, but the feasibility of these projects is in question.

However, in what appears to be an effort to find consensus among the member countries, a short term agenda has been outlined that gives priority to the issues related to natural resources and the environment. In June 2011, in an interview to the general Secretariat of Unasur by the newspaper El País from Spain and in the inaugural address from the new director of the CEED in May 2011 (www.unasurcds.org), it was stated that the fundamental issues pointed out would be:

- Development of a new concept of sovereignty in which the protection of natural resources occupies an increasingly important role.
- Protection of food reserve.
- Defense of democracy. (Can be a point of controversy given the different definitions of democracy, and that this is often a topic that leads to the nationalist approaches and of non-intervention in internal affairs).
- Joint effort in case of natural disasters, area in which the creation of a regional military   unit to assist in emergency situations has been proposed.

In the case of ALBA (Jácome, 2011), the agenda includes sovereignty and food security, natural disasters as new issues as well as considerations on climate change, the environment and the use of natural resources. Despite the fact that there is an area of work on environment and climate change, currently there are no projects or specific programs being developed with this purpose.

Under the leadership of Venezuela this asymmetric cooperation scheme (with its supreme expression to be found in Petro Caribe), is based on energy resources, but not from the same perspective that has been raised in Unasur, which is based on the perspective that these resources should be used as a geostrategic instrument, an element of confrontation with the United States, transnational companies and other powers of the North. Thus, favoring a political and ideological discourse that is rooted in the idea that countries should collaborate, especially in the political and defense areas, with a view to jointly face common external threats

The fundamental difference lies in the fact that while Unasur raises the need of developing mechanisms to ensure the sovereignty over energy and natural resources and their use for economic and social development, in ALBA the focus is on the (military) defense against possible interventions by the United States. In this case, Libya and the string of processes developed in the Middle East and the North of Africa are cited as emblematic examples.

Therefore it seems to be a tendency towards giving priority to the issue of the protection of natural resources and energy sovereignty and it has been expressed that the main threat in this area comes from outside including climate change in the agenda. Based on these plans one cannot lose sight of the greater importance to be given to the Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization (ACTO).

Yet, one can argue that the debate could be deepened in the area of defense and security, especially in contrast to the development of strategies aiming at strengthening measures of mutual trust, supported by Brazil, since several member countries, for example Venezuela, focus their strategies on traditional perspectives revolving around nationalism and defense of their sovereignty.

A few preliminary considerations on climate change and environmental security

Today the importance of social and environmental risks is growing in the context of national, regional and global security agendas, namely those related to climate change. Latin America and the Caribbean should put an emphasis on those causing particular regional impact such as episodes of floods and droughts as a consequence of the phenomena of el Niño y la Niña, hurricanes, which have expanded their coverage as well as desertification. In addition to these serious climate related problems, the main natural threats posed on the region (De Lisio, 2011) are earthquakes and epidemiological contagion (yellow fever, dengue and malaria).

Several of these phenomena are of a trans-boundary nature, indicating the need of developing strategies and mechanisms for consultation to deal with increasing impacts. Based on this, some joint responses have been raised to counter these threats, which have basically revolved around two axis (De Lisio, 2011): mitigation of impacts and the development of actions in the framework of proposals on alternative models of development.

Impact mitigation

- CAN: Andean Regional programme for the prevention and reduction of risks caused by disasters (Preandino)
- Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO): epidemiological care for emerging and re-emerging diseases
- Regional disaster information center (CRID), created by PAHO; the Secretariat of the UN international strategy for disaster reduction; National Commission for risk prevention and emergency care from Costa Rica; International Federation of national societies of the Red Cross and Red Crescent; Focal point for the prevention of natural disasters in Central America; and Regional emergency office from Doctors Without Borders.
- Risk Emergency and Disaster Task Force for Latin America and the Caribbean.

Despite these initiatives of coordination among different multilateral organizations as well as civil society organizations, important challenges still prevail, being that the notorious climate change is of such magnitude "that the until recently exalted mitigation plans are completely insufficient." (De Lisio,2011 p. 11). Consequently, one reaches the conclusion that everything points towards the implementation of alternative development initiatives which are in their embryonic phase at present.

Initiatives of alternative development models

- ACTO Program 2004-2012.
- The Regional Bio-diversity strategy for the Andean tropic countries of CAN.
- Mercosur Framework Agreement on the Environment.

However, despite these emerging initiatives, neither regional programs nor bi-national projects take into account the environmental impacts and the effects on already existing threats as a result of climate change. For example, such is the case of some projects that are developed based on greater integration, as the initiative for the integration of regional infrastructure in South American (IIRSA), that has become part of Unasur, as well as several bilateral initiatives especially in the exploitation of the mining-energy sector. These appear to be rather smoky to the approaches of ACTO. Therefore, there is evidence of a lack of coordination among regional bodies that turns out to be counterproductive for the approaches on how to deal with the effects of climate change and other natural hazards.

On this basis, Antonio De Lisio (2011) proposes an examination on the way they can be transformed into catalysts of structural changes. Accordingly, an important contribution is prospects on the need for a cross-border eco-political articulation in the region and the approach on the need for political will to implement practical models of sustainable development that are often found in the discourses of the political elites but seldom do they materialize in real terms.

On the contrary, many government led strategies rather increase the deterioration of the environment and lead to greater vulnerability. The insistence on traditional notions, centered on sovereignty and nationalism threaten the development of effective tools that can deal with these transnational threats which have increasing social and economic impacts on the population of the region. In addition to everything that has been laid out, there is a growing displacement of people, problems with water supply and electricity, mobility issues, as well as growing precarious conditions vis a vis food security.

Conclusion

There is consensus that the new political coordination initiatives being set up such as Unasur and the newly created community of Latin American and Caribbean states (Celac) are positive, potentially leading to overcoming the security agenda of the "North" focused on terrorism, drug trafficking and migration, besides having created a space for the prevention and resolution of conflicts without the interference of extra regional actors. However, although nascent, there is concern in terms of the little attention that is being given to climate change, other natural threats and the need to strengthen regional cooperation for environmental security.

In Latin America and the Caribbean significant evidence can be found on climate vulnerability, endangering the environmental safety conditions of the inhabitants in different countries. It is expected that these vulnerabilities may increase in the future, in response to forecasts for the region. So far, the capacity to respond to climate change has been unsustainable, insecure and fostered greater climate vulnerability. Based on this, with the purpose of including sustainable regional cooperation, seven basic proposals have been introduced to assist in changing the sense of uncertainty brought about by climate change:

1 *Greening the national economies in the framework of the environmental renewal of regional cooperation.*
2 *Economic re-engineering for greening economies under a perspective of cooperation and regional complementarities.*
3 *Synergies against deforestation and the expansion of unsustainable agriculture:*
- National social and environmental capacity building and training programs.
- Design and implementation of training and capacity building programs for green work and working green, responsible consumption and eco political leadership needed to sustain changes in consumption and production protocols and in life styles in general.
4 *Network of centers of excellence and pertinence to climate change.* This is one of the most dynamic areas of scientific and technological development in the world. Latin America should be prepared through different bodies and spaces not only to participate in the search, generation and experimentation of new options, but to disseminate them in an updated format to the population as a whole.
5 *Observatory social and climate conflict prevention.* As we saw in the diagnosis of the current situation, the number of people affected by rains and migration driven by drought has been on the rise in Latin America and the Caribbean. There have been major migratory displacement movements especially because of desertification, however, in face of forecasts showing countries that tend to benefit and others that are on the losing end because of climate change, migrations should be viewed as an issue that goes beyond borders. On the same vein, in countries that share more than one sub regional area, climate displacement situations can arise, leading to a scenario of increased social conflicts within and beyond national borders.
6 *Regional network of cities and climate change.* Different cities in the region have been moving forward in these initiatives of adaptation and reduction of vulnerabilities to climate change
7 *Establishment of the Commission for climate change in Latin America and the Caribbean (3CALC).* The ensemble of proposals outlined requires institutions with coordinating power to strengthen their realization, in this regard the setting up of the Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean on Climate Change (3CAL) is proposed as a regional body entrusted with advisory and follow up capabilities at national and subnational levels.

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