

CHAPTER 4

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The past three chapters have covered the broad spectrum concerning the key issues around security, human security and, particularly, the security relations within the American Continent. It is now the moment to recover, in this last section, the specific and solid links among the previous set of ideas and discussions in order to prove my hypotheses, realize the justifications of the proposal, gather some recommendations, and determine the reach and limitations of the project.

a) JUSTIFICATIONS

Up to here, this paper has sought to present the bases upon which the current Hemispheric Security System is constructed, both theoretically and in practical terms. It has also analyzed how the changing nature of international forces have compelled such system to transform itself as little as possible in order to survive but without necessarily remaining suitable to the majority of its countries' necessities and aspirations. It corresponds now to layout the current international and regional conditions that demand a deep structural shift that could allow the countries in the Americas to take advantage of the world processes (such as globalization) and redefinitions (especially after 9/11). The following is a compilation of ideas addressed during the body of the project that describe how the concept of security has changed in the last decade and justify why implementing a Hemispheric Security System based on human security would bring more and better benefits to the American states, and their people, instead of the current traditional one:

- i. The concept of security has entered a new phase of debate and evolution as a result of the vanishing of the bipolar international system, the involvement of new actors and the intense presence of phenomena that threaten world security and stability in a non-traditional manner.
- ii. An insecurity dilemma based on states suffering a non-cohesive society, a lack of support for the state regime and a lack of institutional capabilities to maintain internal order and peace has appeared in developing countries, provoking a generalized state of domestic insecurity and vulnerability. This can be fully observed in regions like Latin America.
- iii. People living in developing countries do not tend to believe that protecting their state's sovereignty implies an effective capacity of their state institutions to provide them with security or a sustainable welfare. The crescent problem of insecurity is trans-national, the reason why borders and sovereignties start losing importance while intra and inter-state cooperation starts becoming a fundamental element for enhancing all levels of security.¹
- iv. The changing nature of security threats in the last decade has become more complex, multidimensional, and interdependent. This does not mean that traditional security has ceased to be important but, nowadays, the current international and regional context has showed the necessity to broaden the conception of security to include political, social, economic, environmental and cultural issues as well as improving the mechanisms, or designing new ones, needed to enhance it.

¹ Refer to footnote number 36 of Chapter one.

- v. The people, rather than the state, have become the direct target of the so called new threats and their security has been introduced as a fundamental element in any theoretical or practical study in many of the current conflicts in different regions of the world. In this respect, one of the main elements contributing to the shift towards the protection of the person could be closely related to the growing tendency of ‘universalizing’ the values and principles established in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the gradual acknowledgment of the individual as the subject of International Law.
- vi. The suggestion that, as Buzan, Weaver and de Wilde argue, regional security is made up of the sum of individual national securities.² Under this line of thought, America’s security should therefore be based on its countries’ national security policies and common aspirations –established through a process of interaction between the different parts at stake within a country. Development and multidimensional security (meaning this the assurance of individual freedom from want and fear but also the territorial protection of the country and the state’s continuity) have been established as the most important national aspirations of the countries conforming the Latin American region. Hence, the Hemispheric Security System should try to address and give priority to these main concerns.
- vii. The human security holistic approach intends not to replace the traditional model of security but to complement it by including a new level of analysis and implementation where a much more integral agenda might be established. It is especially important to note that military strategy is not to be dismissed but complemented with parallel actions in order to fulfill people’s necessities and

² Refer to footnote number 58 in Chapter one.

therefore avoid internal tensions and vulnerabilities. From this perspective, security is to be achieved from the inside to the outside of the state.

- viii. Human security can be understood as a condition that provides the adequate environment for human development, the social peace and freedom from fear that can make development a practical matter and the necessary framework for the protection of essential human rights.
- ix. Human security is linked to democratic elements by establishing that every person becomes a contributor in the accomplishment of their own minimum level of security and development. Human security is thus understood as a component of participatory development. The state is no longer the only actor capable of providing the needed provisions for enhancing individual security. The current role that non-state actors play in the achievement of this very important task, especially under a human security perspective, could be said to be fundamental.
- x. Human security's preventive character seeks to address non-traditional threats by attacking their social, political and economic causes. It is better and less costly in the long run to cut the problem at its roots and not to focus solely on reacting to their consequences.
- xi. State Members of the OAS have recognized that the basis and purpose of security is the protection of the individual.³

³ As it was established during the Special Conference on Security in the Americas. For more information visit Organization of American States, "Declaration on Security in the Americas," *OAS Documents* (Oct. 2003 [cited 29 Nov. 2005]): available from http://www.oas.org/documents/eng/DeclaracionSecurity_102803.asp

- xii. Latin America is generally considered a free zone of inter-state conflicts.⁴ Security threats and concerns in the region come mainly from governance crises and are of diverse nature and multidimensional scope. Hence, traditional approaches and instruments must be expanded or redesigned in order to encompass new and nontraditional menaces. In regards to the Treaty of Rio and the American Treaty on Pacific Settlement, a consensus has been reached in terms of continuing the process of evaluating both instruments' suitability to the current Western Hemispheric conditions.
- xiii. All threats perceived by Latin American subregions as the most important menaces affecting their countries are embedded in the targets of human security. This implies that addressing human security schemes would eventually help avoiding these threats in America.

b) RECOMMENDATIONS

The success of adopting a human security agenda depends widely on the ability of states to build international coalitions and construct close cooperation with like-minded governments, international organizations, NGOs and members of the policy and research communities. In this sense, a number of recommendations have been given in order to advance the human security project in the Americas.

⁴ As Juan Carlos Puig suggests, "It is probable that on few regions of the world [as in Latin America] have been so many praises sung to peace, to understanding among brother countries, and to the need of avoiding war in every possible way. No other regional group has produced so many treaties, conventions and resolutions with the objective of promoting conciliation and understanding among states, and no other group possesses such a diversified and, at times, sophisticated panoply of juridical resources."

Juan Carlos Puig, "Controlling Latin American Conflicts: Current Judicial Trends and Perspectives for the Future," in *Controlling Latin American Conflicts. Ten approaches*, eds. Michael Morris and Victor Millán (Boulder: Westview Press, 1983), 11-12.

i. Recommendations for Governments and political Intergovernmental Organizations in Latin America⁵:

- To strengthen the role of state institutions and cooperative multilateralism while promoting the participation of other actors.
- To design coordination mechanisms between regional and subregional security regimes. To define what priorities are intended to be protected, and who are in charge of doing so.
- To promote the exchange of information and transparency in matters of traditional security and new dimensions. To design standardized forms to measure the insecurity.
- To increase the inter-sectorial coordination of the state. To extend the bonds with civil society organizations, to incorporate other actors into the debate.
- To implement compatible legislation of trans-national crimes and other matters that affect security.

ii. Recommendations for Academic Centers and Scientific Institutions⁶:

- To continue the elaboration of the notion of human security in order to reinforce the coherence between the different already existing approaches, by improving a

⁵ These recommendations are a compilation of proposals coming from diverse workshops and panels outcomes, such as the Report on conclusions and Recommendations of the Policy Briefing Session presented to the IVth Ministerial Meeting of the Human Security Network (Presented by the Permanent Mission of Chile, 12 Sept. 2003, Washington D.C.); the Executive Summary and Recommendations of the Workshop on Human Security of Minorities: Improving development and security (26 November 2003, Dublin, Ireland); the Final Recommendations of the UNESCO-ISS Expert Meeting on Peace, Human Security and Conflict Prevention (23-24 July 2001, Pretoria, South Africa.); the Final Recommendations Summary of the First International Meeting of Directors of Peace Research and Training Institutions on the theme: What Agenda for Human Security in the Twenty-first Century? (27-28 November 2000, Paris, France); UNESCO-FLACSO Chile's workshop on Peace, Human Security and Conflict Prevention in Latin America and the Caribbean (26-27 November 2001, Santiago, Chile); and the International Symposium on Human Security: 'Human Security - Its role in an era of various threats to the international community' (25 February 2003, Japan).

⁶ Refer to footnote number five.

definition of the high-priority areas of focalization and the promotion of comparative analyses.

- With regards to the identification and evaluation of the main risks and threats, redouble efforts to identify key areas that would reinforce cooperation on a sub-regional scale, elaborate prospective approaches and promote comparative studies of the learned lessons. Conduct specialized research to explore the bonds between poverty and violence within the framework of globalization.
- To study, evaluate and describe the evolution and characteristics of the new international system and the weight of traditional and emergent actors.
- To continue the studies on the role of the state in the 21st century, emphasizing the social functions (protection), the supportive character of development (economic promotion and sustainability) and the functions of prevention.
- To promote and develop, on behalf of academic centers and scientific institutions, formation and knowledge update activities, especially those referring to the prevention of conflicts, conflict resolution and post conflict situations, placing particular emphasis on the design of solutions and operative abilities.

iii. Plan of action

If the idea of implementing a human security agenda in the Americas is being considered seriously by any country or group of countries, a set of tasks has to firstly be sketched so that an effective line of policies can actually be put into practice. Under a

scheme of subregional implementation, the following could be some useful recommendations⁷:

- Define the particular collective benefits upon which specific policies are to be designed.
- Identify the most important risks faced by a community that impede them in enjoying such benefits.
- Determine who the most vulnerable groups are and how they handle such threats.
- Establish concrete and detailed actions to address such high priority risks.
- Point out the actors that can get involved on putting into practice those actions.

c) CONCLUSIONS

i. General Conclusions

As I mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, arguments questioning traditional security approaches and their suitability to the current international context have started to emerge in the last years. This can be clearly observed in the case of developing countries and Latin America is not an exception. One of the claims I have attempted to show throughout this study was that a large and controversial debate surrounding the prospects of enhancing security has been undergoing at a hemispherical level, although a single common stand has not been reached. The concept of human security, which has been slowly pushed into the international debate by countries such as Canada and Chile, has gained little but not enough acknowledgement in the Americas. Traditional definitions and instruments, supported mainly by the United States, have prevailed. This is perhaps why the lack of

⁷ Based on The Trust Fund for Human Security for the "Human-centered" 21st Century's 'Three As policy' for granting financial support to human security projects. The Trust Fund for Human Security For the "Human-centered" 21st Century, ([cited 27 March 2005]): available from http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/human_secu/t_fund21/fund.html

academic and policy research focusing in sufficient depth on adopting a human security approach in Latin America is therefore unsurprising. I have nevertheless attempted to provide several arguments demonstrating that it is crucial that Latin American policymakers take the human security proposal seriously and develop studies assessing the possibility of adopting it in the region, if not in the hemisphere. In this sense, my arguments have at least attempted to provide solid justification of why human security should have a more decisive role in public, academic and governmental discussions in the Western Hemisphere.

I hope to have contributed to raising the importance of the concept of human security in a few small but important ways. Firstly, it is hoped that this thesis has helped to collect enough information and literature for any person interested in having a first approach with the topic. This study was intended to gather and comment on the crucial issues on this realm that could be used in extending the debates, both academically and politically. Secondly, my arguments have hopefully contributed to a better understanding of this recent concept, which could then allow someone to construct a new model of hemispheric security based on it. Finally, I have attempted to provide a plausible justification of why the topic should be placed at a higher position in the regional and hemispheric agenda despite the obvious difficulties related to implementing it.

The central hypothesis I have defended is that *the Latin American region develops itself within a security system that does no longer correspond to its interests and does not satisfy its necessities. The shift towards a human security model, based not only on military actions, but that could seek the integration of the social, economic and political spheres, has therefore become a vital priority in the exercise of hemispheric security in the American Continent.* I attempted to verify this hypothesis in the following way.

ii. Summary of the arguments

In the introduction I provided a general perspective of the topics and approaches that could be expected to be analyzed during the study. I presented the main problem upon which the project is founded and how it would be narrowed down in the present thesis. I mentioned that one of the current tendencies occurring in regional security relations is the shift towards the emphasis on the internal threats arisen from domestic lack of governance and basic needs dissatisfaction. A main argument was the fact that even though the U.S. supports a traditional Inter-American Security System, it does not mean that the rest of the countries in the continent believe it is the best way to fulfill their (in)security needs. Brazil's claim on the Western Hemisphere being considered a peaceful region in traditional terms and King and Murray's note on the failure of many attempts to ensure nation-states safety by traditional means helped supporting such argument.

Chapter one had the task of providing the conceptual groundwork that could debrief the rest of the study. Devoted mainly to examining the concept of security, it had the first aim of providing evidence of why it is considered a contested concept. A revision of some theoretical approaches to International Relations left it clear that depending on where the author or scholar is standing, certain security perspective and definitions could be expected. Security was also proven contestable by evidencing that when it comes to the analysis of how it is perceived in different countries or regions, the results may vary widely depending on their political and historical backgrounds, social aspirations and state interests. The 'Security' and 'Insecurity Dilemmas' were used to demonstrate this by explaining how countries conceive insecurity to be different depending on whether they perceive threats coming from internal or external conditions.

Chapter one also had the objective of introducing the reader to the complexity of the concept of security. By addressing four different levels of security, this segment

provided evidence of how such levels (individual, national, regional, collective) are directly interrelated and how they may be at stake at the same time. The key argument behind this was that a lack of agreement with regards to whose security should be addressed has made the concept more complex. Simultaneously, this complexity has added a higher level of contestability to the concept. The main conclusions for chapter one were therefore that detailed examination of the concept of security should be treated with much caution (considering its complexity and contestability) and that assessing this concept is certainly warranted right now, given that security issues are at the top of national and international agenda.

Underlying the approach in Chapter two was the general assumption that one of the main trends in the present time relies on placing the person at the center of all national and international security policies. Therefore, this chapter had the main aim of assessing human security, both as a concept and as a proposal addressing this new shift seeking the protection of the individual and not only of the state. I began by presenting this concept's origins and key premises departing from the argument that it aims to address two main problems: a) a generalized perception of insecurity within states, and b) their people's condition of basic needs dissatisfaction. Such argument was strengthened by the UNDP's design of a multidimensional human security conception based on 'freedom from want' and 'freedom from fear' and the Commission on Human Security's contribution by suggesting the protection of a specific set of human activities and values known as 'vital core'.

In the second segment of the chapter, my arguments attempted to reinforce my hypothesis by collecting evidence on the new conditions and antagonisms that states must face in order to remain secure from the outside and stable and safe in the inside. A statistic showing a high shift from external to internal conflicts (97 out of 103) during the nineties

had already helped me to introduce this point at the beginning of the chapter, but a thorough analysis of the renewed presence of the so called non-traditional threats signified a strong support for such argument. Here I demonstrated that, in the aftermath of the Cold War, new menaces emerging from domestic conditions (different to the traditional military inter-state threats), began coming from actors that were no longer the states, and gained a higher position in the national security agenda of the majority of the regions, especially those integrated by developing countries. This argument was strengthened by introducing a chart with direct and indirect threats to human security and by examining Dr. Jorge Nef's proposal on 'Mutual Vulnerability' which clearly stated the (in)security relations between systems and subsystems. Another important element supporting my hypothesis in this chapter was the assessment of the role that state and non-state actors play in providing the individuals with security. Here I attempted to demonstrate that the military and state institutions are not the only ones interested in helping achieve security goals, and that a security model based on the concept of human security would require the increased participation of non-state actors in order to promote and enhance initiatives addressing more dimensions of human security

Chapter two focused at the end on human security's practical issues such as its feasibility and operationalization. The central intention of this project was to contribute to the debate of why shifting to a Western Hemisphere Security System based on the concept of human security is crucial. This is why it became important for the project to explore the possibilities of actually implementing such model in the Americas. Interesting proposals of applying the model by subregions and using the notion of the individual's vital core as a base were briefly discussed.

In chapter three I reinforced the central hypothesis that Latin American countries are subjected to a security system that does not fulfill their necessities and interests, by

exposing how the current regional security relations and threats are developing and how they are different from those in the time when the Inter-American Security System, which is still based on traditional instruments, was firstly sketched. Here I claimed that the United States, the strongest country in the continent, has been able to shape the collective security system to its own best interest, placing those of Latin America on a second plane as a result. The analysis of some historical events evoked throughout the chapter provided overwhelming evidence of this. In this last chapter I also argued that the Latin American region has made important attempts to discuss the different security issues it is concerned with at a hemispheric level. This claim was supported by a thorough revision of the topics discussed during the Summits of the Americas and their outcomes. Another comprehensive examination of the Special Conference of Security helped providing strong support to the following argument: it is of crucial importance to redefine the traditional security definitions and, above all, the instruments that function as the base of the Inter-American Security System in order for the continent, and its different subregions, to adapt to the current international context. In particular after identifying what the Latin America subregions consider to be the most important threats jeopardizing their stability and security.

The third chapter ended by assessing the stands of four of the leading countries in America in terms of hemispheric security: Brazil, Canada, Mexico and the United States.

I concluded in this chapter that the U.S.' role as a global hegemony has granted it the capacity to influence and negotiate with other countries from the continent and obtain the highest benefits. However, hemispheric security has gradually become a matter of weighs and counterweighs where bilateral and subregional relations are starting to play big roles and gain thoughtful meaning. A common tendency that can be identified at a hemispheric level is the recognition that the main threats that Latin American countries

face nowadays come from within the states. This undoubtedly represents a first step toward a change of paradigms in the long run. However, in order to make the next steps and achieve this shift toward protecting the state from the inside out, large structural changes must be made with every country's collaboration, especially from the United States. More and deeper debates reflecting this point have to be undertaken seriously.

iii. Final Conclusions

The final conclusion that stemmed from this thesis was that compared to the current traditional security system in the Americas, the human security proposal has more elements to guarantee the Western Hemisphere's individuals a more integral protection by providing them with freedom from want and freedom from fear.

The arguments I identified in each chapter may be debatable since security, and more specifically human security, can be approached in very dissimilar manners by different authors depending on which theoretical assumptions they feel more compatible with. Besides that, understanding human security is also complicated since, as it has been seen throughout this thesis, there are many diverse factors interrelated to it, including political, economic, environmental, social and cultural spheres. On the issue of how to conceptualize human security, this project merely attempted to present some basic elements to show that it is an important and highly contestable notion that demands further study from a number of different perspectives. My argument though was that, in spite of its complexity, it should not be left aside until it gets too late. Human security seeks to address different kinds of threats that require immediate action.

This paper does not claim to have a very definitive answer to the security issues present in the Western Hemisphere. On the contrary, it is hoped that this thesis has gone a small way to promoting the debate on human security and to encourage much further study

in the area. It is also hoped that the importance of this thesis lies in its attempt to provide alternatives to a situation that no longer holds today circumstances and needs a new interpretation, or at the very least, contribute to an academic and political debate in which such alternatives might later be formulated. To return to the quotation included at the very beginning of this study and just as this project has demonstrated, it is important for this debate to be undertaken outside the ruling position of the United States, where the needs and insecurities arise from very different conditions, and where a definition of collective security compatible with the national objectives of each of the countries that make up the Inter-American Security System could be established. Human lives and the continuity of the state are at stake in many of them.
