

*The Hemispheric Security Agenda:  
Prospects for Cooperation*

Margaret Daly Hayes

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# *5 Questions in 15 Minutes*

- **How should the hemispheric security agenda, based on a broad multidimensional concept of security, be understood? What is security in this context?**
- **Does the Latin American and Caribbean view of the concept differ from the North American view? How/Can these different perspectives be reconciled?**
- **Can the tendency to militarize the agenda for lack of alternatives be minimized?**
- **What role should the OAS and the Inter-American System play in the cooperative management of the hemispheric security agenda?**
- **What is required to move the region's international organizations from arcane debates to concrete actions?**

# 1. *The Agenda:*

## *Insecurities in our Hemisphere*

### **Traditional Military Threats**

**Armed threats to the State**

**WMD**

**Guerrillas/insurgency**

**Mafia Criminality**

**Drug trafficking**

**Organized crime**

**Arms trafficking**

**Money laundering**

**Human Trafficking**

**Illegal migration**

**Environment**

**Terrorism**

**Structural Problems**

**Poverty, human rights**

**Corruption/transparency**

**Political and institutional  
instability**

**Contagious disease**

**Economic instability**

**Population growth**

**Social unrest**

**Joblessness**

**Indigenous demands**

**Returned deportees**

**Natural Disasters**

**Nuclear/biological accidents**

# *Evolution of Thinking on Security*

- **Adam Smith - Obligation of the Sovereign to protect citizens from enemy states and from internal violence**
- **Security is “liberty” - “natural rights of man;” a social contract; the right to “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.”**
- **Security is Humanitarian Order – protection against genocide, displacement**
- **Security is “social justice” – safety of the individual; economic and social rights**

# *Incorporates the Human Security Agenda*

- **Economic security – right to incomes and remunerative work**
- **Food Security – access to food, always**
- **Health security**
- **Environmental security**
- **Personal security**
- **Community security – safety of groups**
- **Political security – basic rights (Hobbes)**
  
- ***Individual security contributes to State and International security***
  - **Failed states; civil conflicts; genocides, etc**
  - **Greed and Grievance**

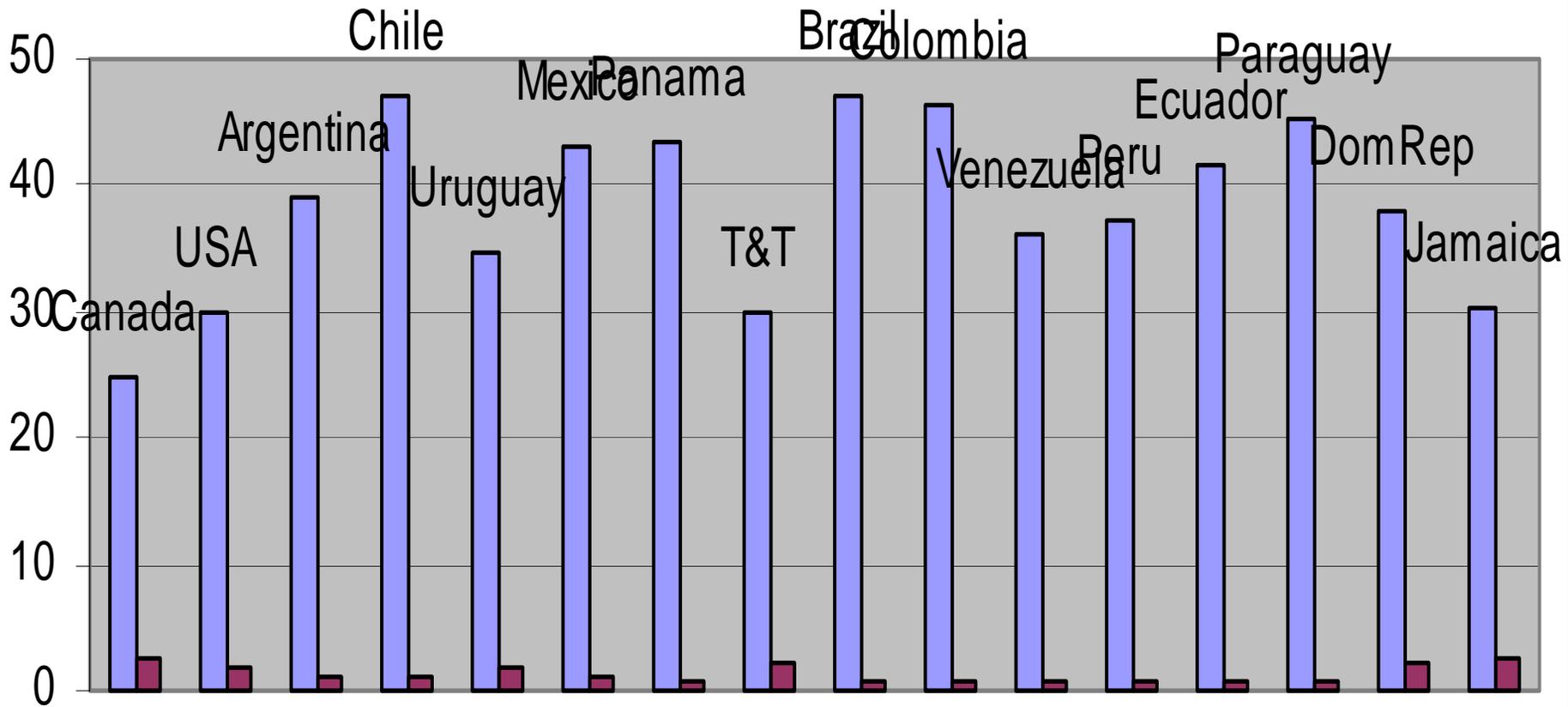
## *2. How do our concepts of security differ?*

- **Our concepts of threat have different emphases**
  - Threats – New and Old
  - Challenges
  - Other concerns
- **Emphasis is on Latin American concerns:**
  - Crime, delinquency, drugs and arms traffic, jobs
  - Political and economic instability and competitiveness
  - National and regional concerns vs global concerns
  - Generally not subject to military solutions
- **US historically has not embraced this economic focus**
  - Implications for funding – this is development
  - Westphalian “Security of States” vs of Individuals
  - Perspective of powerful vs less powerful and powerless
  - Stove-piped approach to the 3-Ds – Diplomacy, Defense Development

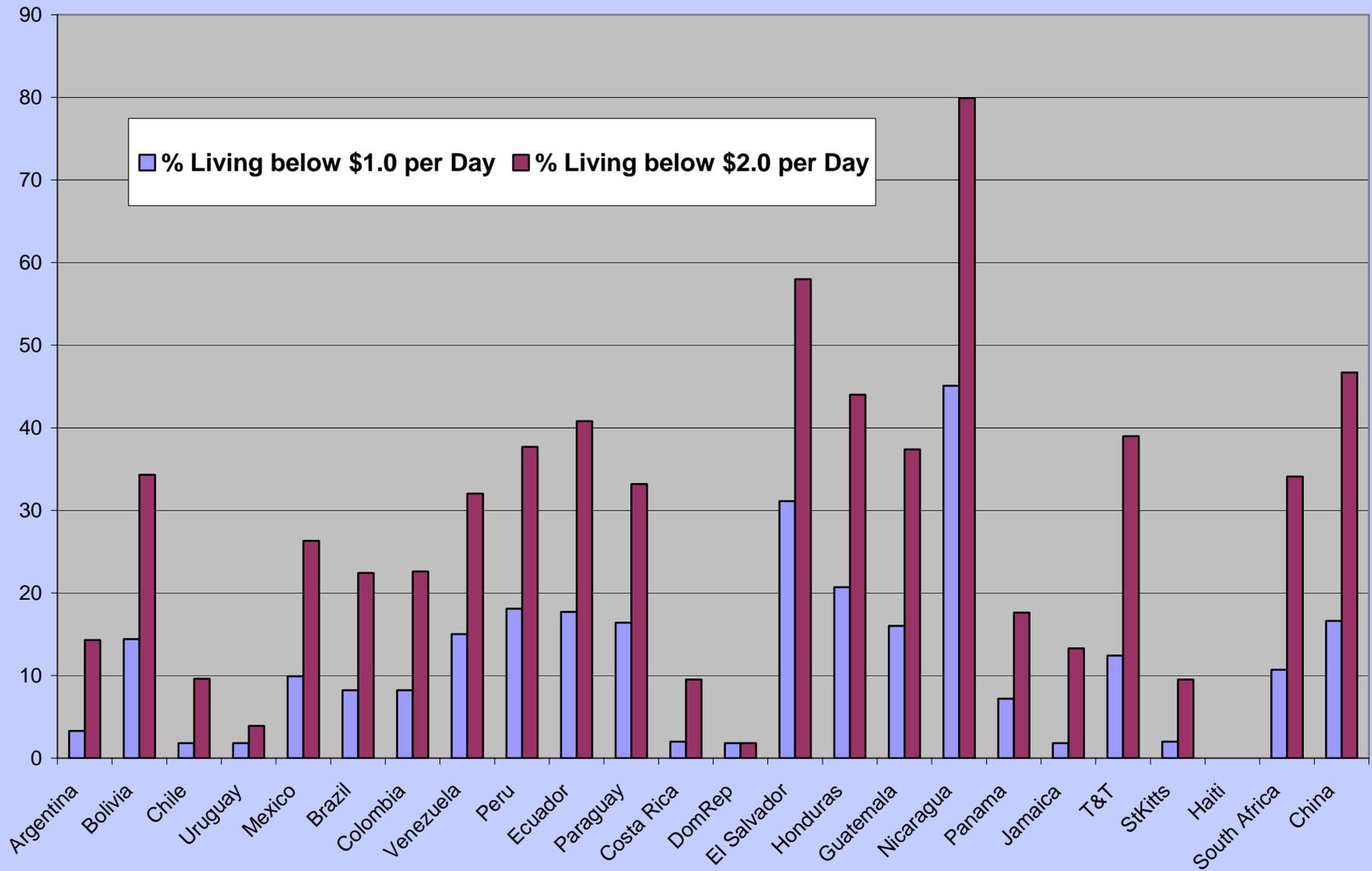
*The Latin American problem in a nutshell:*  
*Message from the Secretary-General*

- **An Economic Window of Opportunity**
  - 2004 was best year in 25 years
  - 2005 the best year in 30 years
- **Region has Growth without Employment**
- **Inequality has increased**
- **Deficits to be attended:**
  - Institutions, Presence
  - Infrastructure
  - Market opening, Employment
  - Low savings rate (18% vs 25%)
  - Income Distribution, Extreme Poverty
- **Governance**
  - Our institutions are not working
  - We suffer from “A lack of the State”
  - The State is the ultimate provider of order and service

# Richest and Poorest 10% shares of Income/Consumption



# Poverty and Absolute Poverty in Latin America



# *Risk Factors for Delinquency and Gangs*

- **Marginalized and Underdeveloped Urban Environment**
- **High Population Density**
- **High number of Minors and youth**
  - 40% of population under 25.
  - Youth join gangs at avg age 13 years...
- **High expectations for work, but no jobs**
  - Youth unemployment; informality, crime and gangs
- **Low levels of Education**
  - Avg years completed low; secondary school drop outs
- **Access to fire arms**
- **Repression by the State—police violence**

# *The Cost of Violence and Insecurity*

- **IDB estimates costs of violence at 14% of GDP**
  - Days of work lost
  - Costs of public and private security
  - Lost investment and productivity;
  - Lost consumption and jobs
  - Transfers
- **UNDP-EI Salvador – 11.5% of GDP**
  - Twice the budget for education and health
  - Three times cost of social security protection for all
  - Private Security is 5% of GDP and 1/3 total private sector Investment
- **Bogotá – Security costs consume 1/2 the budget of the Federal District**

# *Can Differences be Reconciled?*

- **Can we agree on the multidimensional agenda and its implications? If we do, what do we do?**
- **Latin America's failure to thrive economically impacts the US**
  - Immigration and Transnational crime
  - Globalization provides alternatives
- **Different countries and regions have different security priorities; they should pursue them.**
  - Differences should not hinder moving ahead
  - There is no single solution
- **Politicians have been reluctant to engage the full security agenda in an integrated way**
  - We need a "Whole of Government" approach, led at the political level and focuses on development

### 3. *Minimizing the Tendency to Militarize*

- **Do we “militarize *for lack of alternatives*”?**
  - There are plenty of alternatives! But they are harder.
- **The problem is not the military, but the police!**
- **The focus on “securitization” and “militarization” has distracted all of us from addressing institutions that need more attention: police, justice, discrimination, education, social risk factors, JOBS**
- **Security is a necessary but not sufficient condition for sustainable democratic growth;**  
Everything is related

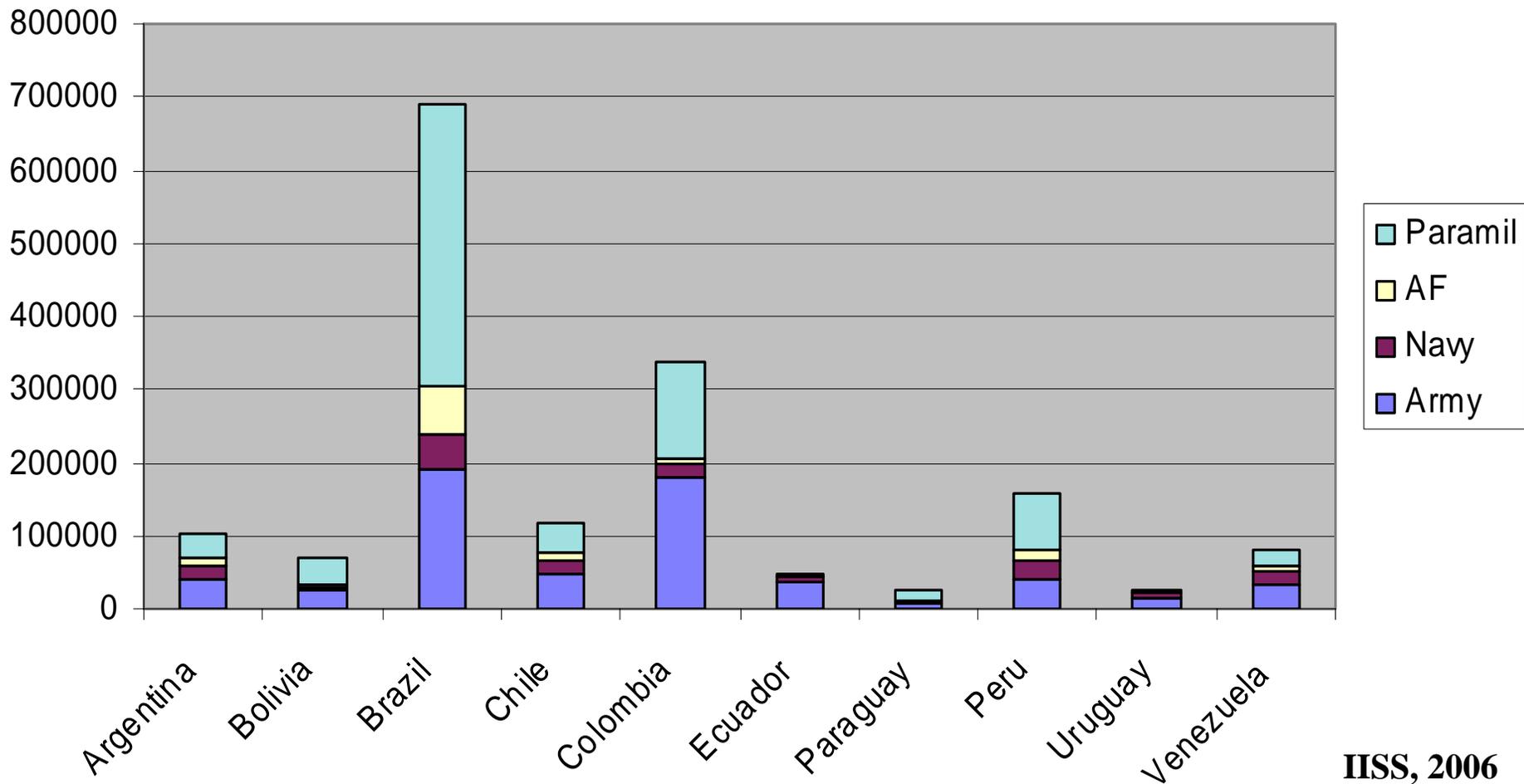
# *Topics of the Cmte on Hemispheric Security*

- **Action against antipersonnel mines**
- **Arms Trafficking**
- **Confidence and Security Building**
- **Cooperation for Hemispheric Security**
- **Fighting trafficking in persons**
- **Follow-up to the Special Conference on Security**
- **Military spending and transparency in arms acquisition**
- **Natural disaster reduction**
- **Nuclear weapons**
- **Other topics**
- **Security of small island states**
- **Transnational organized crime**

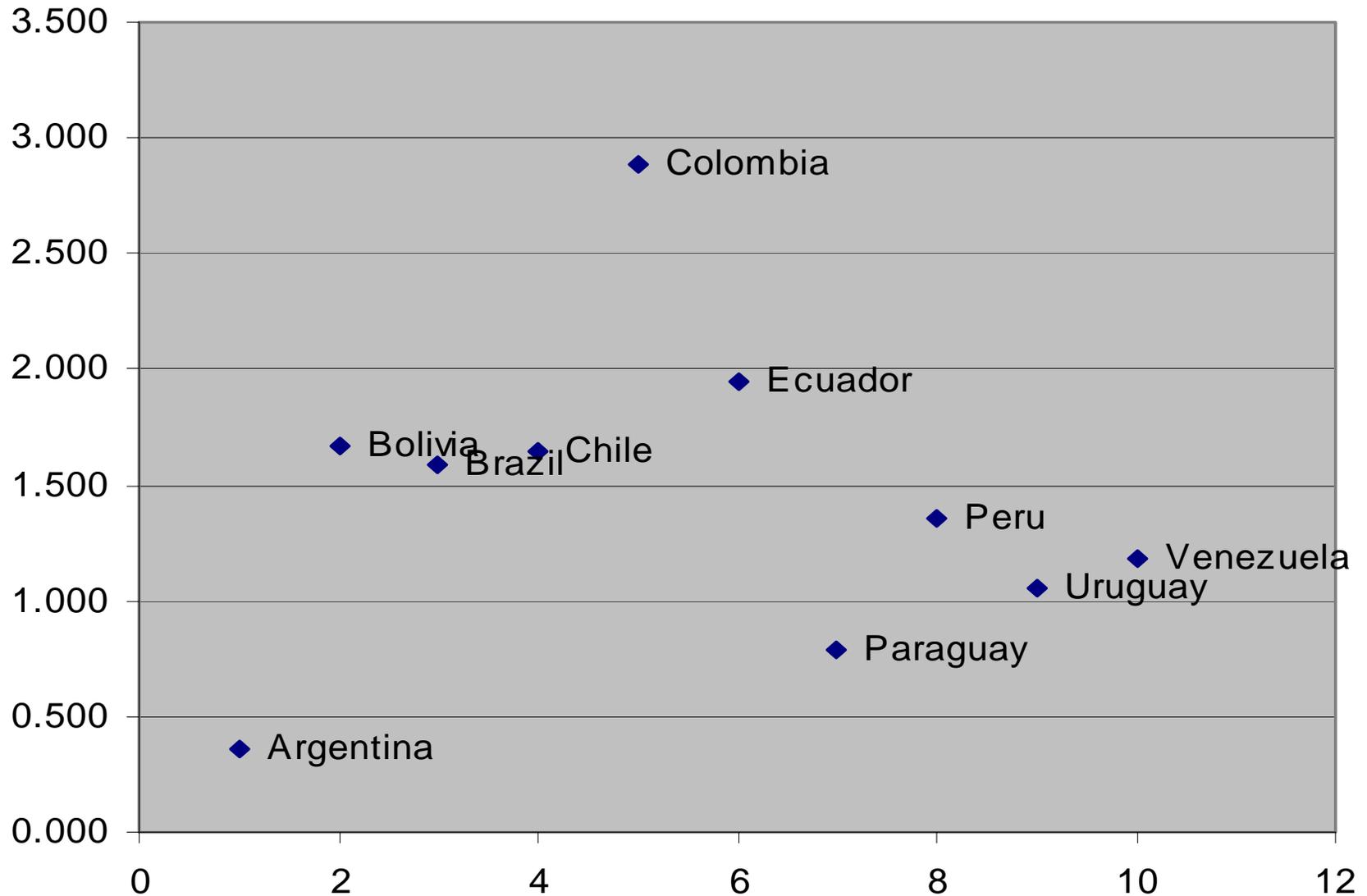
**Focus on REAL priorities  
and on what CAN be done**

# Comparing Armed Forces - Size

## Comparison of Armed Forces



# Defense Spending as %GDP



# *What is required to get on with it?*

- **POLITICAL WILL !!!**
- **Resources ...**
- **Recognize that insecurities are a collection of problems and NOT just a military problem**
- **No single organization has the whole agenda**
  
- **Attitude change on the part of many elites**
  - **Commit to the multidimensional security agenda, a human security agenda – a whole nation approach**
  - **Close the chapter on military past; write a new one**
- **Collaborate across foreign affairs, defense, interior, development**
  - **Central American SICA model**
  - **Promote civilian leadership of the security agendas and work with capable military leaders**
  - **Requires that the Armed Forces be open to these changes, as well**

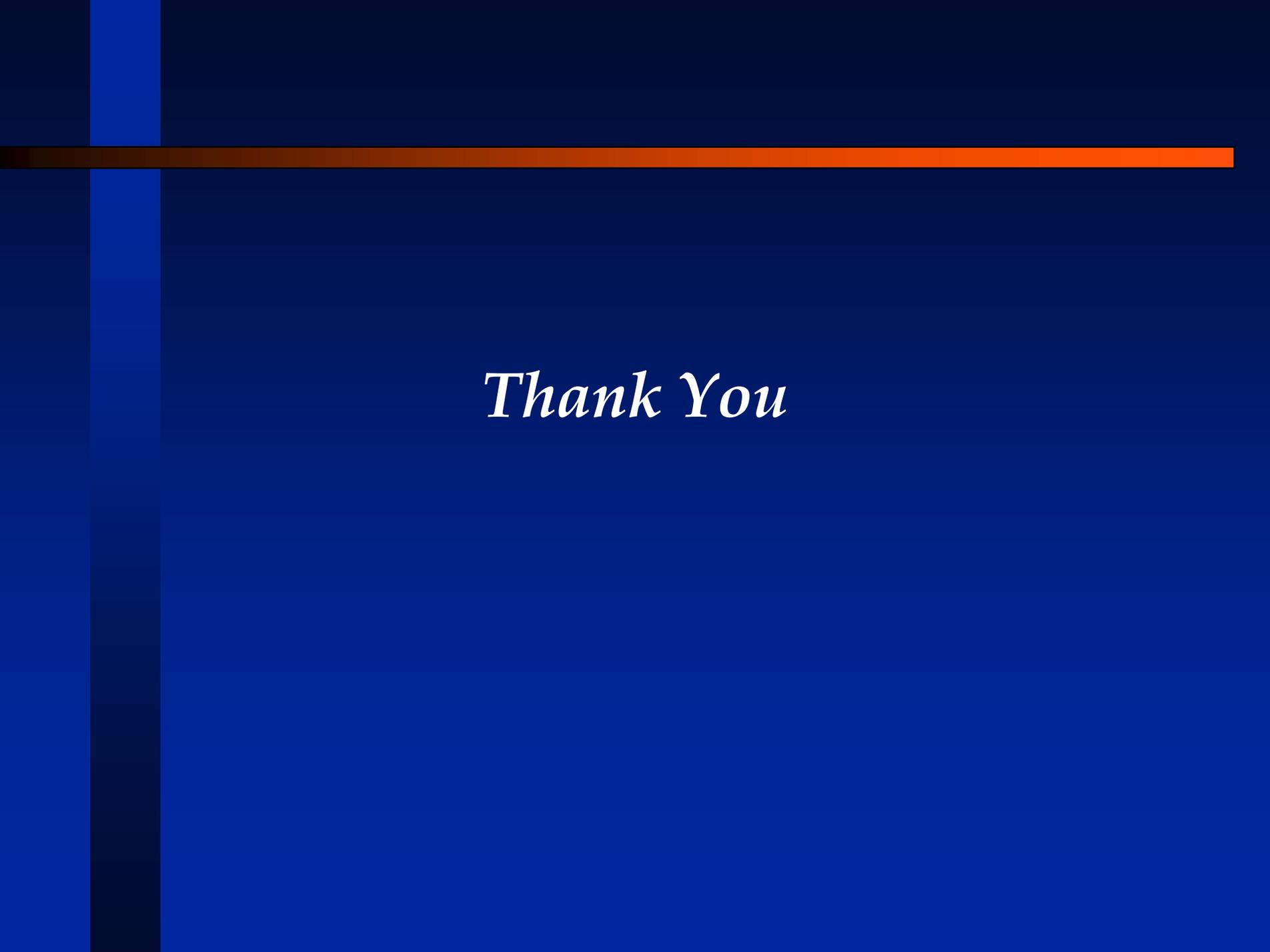
# *What Roles for OAS and the Inter-American System?*

- **OAS promotes CONSENSUS, but not necessarily actionable agendas**
- **OAS promotes standards, model codes, coordination and communication, sharing of lessons learned**
- **The Inter-American System is a complex mix of regional and sub-regional agencies (24) that don't necessarily coordinate agendas**
- **Organize to focus on sub-regional agendas**
  - **Central America, Caribbean, Southern Cone, Andean agendas are different, but overlapping.**
  - **Empower and delegate to sub-regional organizations**
  - **Report on progress!**
  - **Use the Inter-American Defense Board**
- **OAS promote coordination/integration of agendas across multiple agencies (eg., Summit Secretariat)**

## For more reading

*Margaret Daly Hayes*  
*“Building Consensus on Security:  
Toward a New Framework”*  
*in*  
*Gordon Mace*  
*Jean-Philippe Thérien*  
*Paul Haslam*

*Governing the Americas:  
Regional Institutions at the Crossroads*  
*Boulder: Lynne Reiner Publishers, 2006 (forthcoming)*



*Thank You*