

REGIONAL SECURITY DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA: DEMOCRATIZATION TRENDS

The article is dedicated to regional security development in Latin America and, in particular, the democratization trends. The topic of regional security development in Latin America appears to be an urgent problem to research in order to trace the security development tendencies in the region, identify current challenges of security development and, in particular, analyze democratization trends. Regional security of Latin America is closely related to security agenda of the Western hemisphere and, thus, the global security. Therefore, it should be paid particular attention. It is necessary to analyze the economic, political, cultural and ecological dimensions of regional security in Latin American countries and its relation to democratization tendencies in the region.

The current state of regional security development is characterized by global development trends and challenges, such as climate change, economic turmoil, food security, health protection issues and nuclear weapons proliferation. Thus, the goal of this article is to study regional security development in Latin America in terms of further democratization trends. The objectives of the article are to analyze the current state of regional security development in Latin America, trace democratization trends and define prospects for further strategic alliances development, as well as regional leadership shaping up.

One can conclude that regional security is a highly important aspect on foreign policy agenda of Latin American countries. The countries of the region need to face a number of regional security challenges, first of all, stemming from social and economic development aspects. The prospects are to enhance international cooperation in the region and promote effective social, economic and educational development projects.

Prospects of further research are related to more detailed examination of various security types in the Latin American region. In particular, it is worthwhile researching the aspects of ecological security, food security and human security in the region. These aspects have gained more resonance in the world security studies of the end of the 20th – beginning of the 21st century and their relevance for the Latin American region needs to be further explored.

Keywords: *Latin America, regional security, international security, conflict resolution, international development, international integration, the U.S., Brazil, Argentina, Ukraine*

Latin America is one of the most vibrantly developing regions of the world. The countries of South America, Central American and the Caribbean region are characterized by considerable natural resources, vast human capital and potential for innovations. The countries share common legacy of decolonization and in terms of political development most countries of the region are democracies.

In line with the Monroe doctrine, Latin America and the Caribbean countries (LAC) are traditionally considered as a part of the United States' foreign policy interests. A special message from James Monroe to the Senate of March 8th, 1822 became the basis for the «Monroe Doctrine» (12/02/1823) that

contained a warning to the European states and Russia that any recolonization or purchasing colonies in Latin America will be viewed as a threat to the United States security [1, p. 45]. On the other hand, Monroe made efforts that the United States stayed away from the European matters, including existing colonies in the Caribbean Sea and South America [1, p. 45]. The doctrine, based on the principles of isolationism and non-interference propagated by the founding fathers of the United States, G. Washington and T. Jefferson, has long remained the unchanging conceptual basis of the country's diplomacy and foreign policy [10, p. 72].

Problem of research. The topic of regional security development in Latin America appears to be an **urgent problem** to research in order to trace the security development tendencies in the region, identify current challenges of security development and, in particular, analyze democratization trends. Regional security of Latin America is closely related to security agenda of the Western hemisphere and, thus, the global security. Therefore, it should be paid particular attention. It is necessary to analyze the economic, political, cultural and ecological dimensions of regional security in Latin American countries and its relation to democratization tendencies in the region.

Analysis of literature sources. The analysis of foreign and Ukrainian literature on the selected topic demonstrates interest of researchers in the Latin American regional security issues and, in particular, democratization trends. These aspects have been analyzed by N. Khoma, V. Boyko, Z. Zazuliak, P. Ihantiev, A. Kyrudon, O. Aladina, O. Huseinova, M. Knysh, Y. Gaber, S. Korsynsky, H. Shelest, V. Kosmyna, I. Lukach, A. Lavut, A. Roy, O. Stoliar, C. Arnold, B. Rittberger, E. Arratia Sandoval, C. Brigagão, S. Burges, T. Fischer, S. Huntington, F.

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Goal of the research. The current state of regional security development is characterized by global development trends and challenges, such as climate change, economic turmoil, food security, health protection issues and nuclear weapons proliferation. Thus, the **goal** of this article is to study regional security development in Latin America in terms of further democratization trends.

Objectives of the research. The **objectives** of the article are to analyze the current state of regional security development in Latin America, trace democratization trends and define prospects for further strategic alliances development, as well as regional leadership shaping up.

This qualitative study was conducted with the help of comparative and historical **methods**. These methods are deemed appropriate for analyzing complex political and social phenomena in depth. The comparative and historical methods allow to describe the current state of security development in Latin American region, trace respective similarities and differences among various countries and subregions, as well as identify relevant democratization trends.

The main part. Regional security development is largely shaped by economic growth trends. In Latin America, economic associations – Mercosur, the Andean Pact, the tripartite pact (Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela), the Central American Common Market – take on a new life, reaffirming the point demonstrated most graphically by the European Union that economic integration proceeds faster and further when it is based on cultural commonality [19, p. 127]. At the same time, the United States and Canada attempt to absorb Mexico into the North American Free Trade Area is a process whose long-term success depends largely on the ability of

Mexico to redefine itself culturally from Latin American to North American [19, p. 127]. Joining NAFTA gave Mexico the opportunity to attract significant foreign direct investment to the country, which allowed Mexican products to increase competitiveness on the world stage, thereby increasing the influx of scientific knowledge and technology in Mexico, the ability to modernize production processes of domestic firms and more [13, p. 130]. Thus, such processes of economic integration also promote democracy advancement in the region.

Latin American countries today are furthering their own regional political agenda and strategic interests. One of the trends is growing regional integration.

The Central American Common Market, the Andean Community of Nations, the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), the Latin American Integration Association (ALADI), established in the 1960s and 1970s, received a new impulse; and the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR, 1991) intensified its activities, the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA, 2004), the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR, 2008) were set up [9, p. 55]. In 2011 a regional organization was formed - the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), which united 33 countries of the Western Hemisphere, except the U.S. and Canada [9, p. 55].

It should be noted that one of local centers of integration and security enhancement that challenges the United States' supremacy in the region is Brazil. At the beginning of the 21st c. protecting national sovereignty, ensuring Brazil's growing weight in the international arena, and deepening South American integration were fundamental principles for the formation and implementation of the foreign policy of the Lula da Silva government [2, p. 11]. The country's foreign policy priorities were as follows: support for integration processes in

South America and the Latin American region as a whole (MERCOSUR, UNASUR, CELAC); development of cooperation with the countries of the South and within the BRICS [2, p. 11].

However lately most of UNASUR member states left it and joined PROSUR organization initiated by Colombia and Chile (The Forum for the Progress and Development of South America (FPDSA; Spanish: Foro para el Progreso y Desarrollo de América del Sur, PROSUR). In terms of ideology, while most of UNASUR states are characterized by leftist political views, PROSUR states lean toward right-wing ideology. A. Tkach and O. Tkach analyzed and identified peculiarities of the security dimension of LAC foreign policy under the influence of operating conditions of security environment at national, regional and international levels [24, p. 77]. Practical and systematic methods were used to analyze relations in the Caribbean region from such perspectives, as the United States — the Caribbean, the United States — regional foreign policy influence, as well as relations between the Caribbean countries [24, p. 77]. As part of the current international policy becomes «soft power» — complex instruments resolve foreign policy problems using the capabilities of civil society, information, communication, humanitarian and other alternative methods of classical diplomacy [24, p. 77]. In this regard one can also witness an example of the region democratization.

Recent developments in the relations of the United States with Latin American countries demonstrate moderate progress. A. Tkach further analyzes the priorities of the Obama's administration in the region and the Latin American states' actions in rebuilding the existing system of relations at the global and regional levels [23, p. 83]. LAC represents one of the power centers of the multipolar world, but it yet has to possess proper political and military mechanism for

regulation of international relations [23, p. 83]. The U.S. policy steps in the region can be characterized as stereotypical, except for «semi-recognition» of new regional responsibility of Brazil [23, p. 83].

Regarding further democratization trends in LAC, it should be noted that the countries of the region face a number of serious challenges related to economic, social and political growth. Illegal narcotics, the proliferation of guns, and other transnational threats, combined with undergoverned space and the weak state syndrome, generated an extraordinary crime wave, which gives the region the highest murder rate in the world [22, p. 1]. Moreover, crime imposes a heavy cost on economic growth and democratic governance - this insecurity crosses international borders, and the institutions of public security--police, military, and judicial systems--are hard pressed to meet the challenge [22, p. 1].

At the same time the countries of the region are making efforts in order to address this challenge. There is a growing consensus in support of common action, as evidenced by the international coalition that is operating under Operation Martillo - the antinarcotics effort in the Caribbean and Central America [22, p. 1]. Moreover, a number of Latin American countries contribute to international peace operations, and the new strategic consensus among Latin American countries should be a cause for common action [22, p. 2].

Regional security cooperation in Latin American is being further enhanced. On 21 September 2001, the Organization of American States (OAS) passed resolution that condemned the terrorist attacks of 9/11 in support of the United States [22, p. 2]. This initiative would be the last collective security action under the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of 1947, also known as the Rio Treaty: the assumption in 1947 was that threats would come from outside

the Hemisphere [22, p. 2]. Today - compared with other regions of the world - Latin America is a zone of relative peace in terms of state-to-state conflict, yet, it might be premature to herald the arrival of a «democratic peace», because the retreat from democracy in some countries could endanger peace in the future [22, p. 2].

Democracy development requires a solid economic, social and political foundation. There are two main clusters of problems in domestic security which are associated with (i) state actors (securitization & militarization, misuse of force, lack of monopoly of force in certain areas) and (ii) non-state violent actors («privatization» of force, state capture by organized crime, anti-state violence) [20, p. 2]. Future discussions of the monopoly on the use of force in the region must also address three new issues: (i) the rise of authoritarian governments, (ii) rising defense spending (iii) ideological rivalries [20, p. 2].

Among potential hot spots in Latin American region one can name Colombia, Peru-Chile, Argentina-the UK, Nicaragua-Honduras, Salvador-Honduras. A «broken windows» theory of international relations threatens to prevail, whereby inattention to minimal security can lead to the deterioration of both public and international security [22, p. 2]. Yet, small defense budgets are the norm; cooperative security is the guiding principle in the ministries of foreign relations and defense; and a number of countries participate in international peacekeeping [22, p. 2].

Regarding further democratization trends, Latin American countries need to further address pertinent economic and social development issues. A new form of warfare is emerging: war without borders, waged by non-state actors against society, the state, and the international order [22, p. 3]. Indicators include: absence of state institutions, lack of physical infrastructure, corruption and the prevalence of the informal

economy, illegal armed groups, criminal networks, a population with access to arms, lack of border controls, external interference, and the invisibility of criminals or terrorists [22, p. 3].

Besides, one of serious regional security challenges in Latin America is new information security threats and, in particular, cyberthreats. To combat cybercrime, Brazil announced the creation of a nationwide defense system to be coordinated by the general staff of the armed forces [22, p. 3]. Poverty, social exclusion, prevalence of official corruption multiply the problem of crime rate in the region - one of the consequences is the privatization of security [22, p. 3]. The privatization of security reached unparalleled proportions in Colombia, where the absence of state security and profits from the illegal narcotics economy allowed operational space for the FARC and the smaller Army of National Liberation (ELN) to wage war against the state and society [22, p. 3].

Latin American and Caribbean countries have traditionally been active in peacekeeping initiatives participation. These countries are motivated by prestige as well as a desire to contribute to international peace and security, support multilateralism (in order to enhance the democratization of global governance), and provide professional development and financial benefits for military personnel [22, p. 3]. Regional leaders such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru, Mexico, Caribbean and Central American countries that have the political will and welcome the opportunity to build more capacity within a structure of regional security deepen security partnerships with the United States [22, p. 3]. History will show whether this generation of leaders in the Americas will be able to promote peace, economic development, and democracy [22, p. 3].

One of the important aspects of democratization is attention to community development and, in particular, ecology protection. C. Sattler, B. Schröter, A. Meyer, G. Giersch, C. Meyer, B. Matzdorf, analyze four case studies from Latin America using the concept of multilevel governance to assess at what vertical and horizontal levels and in what roles various state, market, and civil society actors interact for successful community-based environmental management (CBEM) [21, p. 1].

Regarding relations of Ukraine with Latin American and Caribbean countries, there is still a large potential for further growth. The LAC region is one of the most underestimated areas of Ukraine's foreign policy - cooperation with the region has never been a priority of Ukrainian foreign policy, it has been almost ignored compared to other regions of the world [8, p. 26]. By neglecting cooperation with countries outside the EU and NATO, in particular from regions such as the LAC, which have significant development potential, Ukraine may in the medium term lose large markets for high-tech products and, in the short term, political support for international level [8, p. 26]. The latter is connected, first of all, with the activity of the Russian Federation, which is trying to oust Ukraine from all markets using political and financial and economic levers: there are numerous cases of the Russian Federation selling products of Ukrainian industry (aviation, military-industrial complex) [8, p. 26].

Conclusions. One can conclude that regional security is a highly important aspect on foreign policy agenda of Latin American countries. The countries of the region need to face a number of regional security challenges, first of all, stemming from social and economic development aspects. The prospects are to enhance international cooperation in the region and

promote effective social, economic and educational development projects.

Prospects of future research. Prospects of further research are related to more detailed examination of various security types in the Latin American region. In particular, it is worthwhile researching the aspects of ecological security, food security and human security in the region. These aspects have gained more resonance in the world security studies of the end of the 20th – beginning of the 21st century and their relevance for the Latin American region needs to be further explored.

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