



## **V CONFERENCIA DE MINISTROS DE DEFENSA DE LAS AMERICAS**

SANTIAGO DE CHILE 18 AL 22 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2002

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### **THEMATIC LINE 1: REGIONAL SECURITY AT THE ONSET OF THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY**

#### **SUB-THEME 1A: NEW THREATS TO REGIONAL SECURITY**

##### **CHALLENGES FOR THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM**

##### **SPEAKER: UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

The new century has taught us that in securing our democracies, there is no safety in distance, or comfort in mere military power. Afghanistan showed how weak and faraway states can spawn threats as deadly as those from strong and nearby states. In a world driven by the dynamics of globalization, with constant flows of people, capital, and information across borders, no nation is immune from the new threats of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Even relatively small, isolated countries, organizations, and individuals can have global reach, and inflict destruction on our peoples and our way of life. We have learned that in this new security environment, no nation is too remote to pose a threat, and a threat against one can unexpectedly become an attack felt by all.

We have learned that when terrorists are driven from their sanctuaries ---as they were in Afghanistan---they scatter to places where they hope to operate beyond the reach of free nations. We have learned that this threat extends to both physical and virtual space, and it is as true of those who would threaten the peace in the New World, as in the Old. In this hemisphere, those who would threaten the peace are drawn to areas they believe to be beyond the reach of government --- using them as bases to destabilize democratic governments and societies. To the degree that they do this with impunity, democracy in this hemisphere cannot be secure.

We have learned, in short, that there are no unimportant parts of the world, and there can be no ungoverned spaces.

##### **1. Effective Sovereignty vs. Ungoverned Spaces**

Rather than ungoverned spaces, there must be effective sovereignty. In a democracy, the citizen is sovereign, and confers legitimate authority through the ballot box. It is the duty of the state to exercise effectively the authority thus conferred throughout its entire national territory. Consistent with the democratic process and its international obligations, the United States pledges itself to helping democratic nations in their efforts to exercise effective sovereignty over their national territories.



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This pledge is explicitly made with regard to Colombia in the new *National Security Strategy of the United States*, published by the White House in September 2002. The most violent challenge to the democratic solidarity of this hemisphere is to be found in Colombia, whose people are in a valiant campaign to preserve their democratic government from narcoterrorists.

The Colombian people have recognized the nature of this challenge, and have called for a national strategy which addresses both the political and military aspects of the violence. This requires strengthening Colombia's civil society and institutions, to include its security structures, and pursuing policies that will extend the rule of law in territories now exposed to lawless violence. The challenge to Colombia's neighbors and friends is to find ways to work together to support the Colombian people in this struggle.

The United States stands by Colombia in this effort. It will continue to work within the Inter-American system to find a peaceful resolution to the violence in Colombia. It will continue to assist the Colombian people in order to defeat the twin threats of terrorism and narcotics trafficking that are inextricably linked in Colombia today. Our policies recognize that the FARC, ELN, and AUC, which are designated under US law as terrorist organizations, threaten not just Colombians, but people throughout the entire region through the drug trade, illegal arms trafficking, kidnapping, extortion, sabotage, and terrorism.

Terrorism is no stranger to this hemisphere and did not begin on September 11<sup>th</sup>. Acts of terror have accompanied internal conflicts of the region for decades and continue to plague some of our hemispheric allies today.

What has changed is the pervasiveness, the diverse origin, and the destructive potential of the new transnational threats, to include terrorism. This makes defining regional security today an extremely complex task. What might constitute a threat to smaller states may seem insignificant to large ones. Conversely, one state may unwittingly provide sanctuary or free passage to non-state actors who pose a grave threat to another, without being itself a target of attack. There is no bright line that separates terrorists from narco-traffickers, or transnational criminals, or local mafias, extortionists, and gangsters, or the smugglers of illegal arms, ammunition, and explosives.

In this hemisphere, we face ancient threats, such as piracy and the slave-trade, once believed extinct but which linger on in the shape of human smuggling and the sex trade. We face familiar threats, such as terrorism, drugs, organized crime, and illegal arms trafficking. We face new threats, such as cybercrime and money-laundering, that arise in the new spaces being pioneered by technology. And undoubtedly we shall face threats for which there is as yet no name. All of these threats are inter-related and mutually-reinforcing. All of these threats are real.



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### **2. Transforming National Security Architecture**

Real threats must be countered with real capabilities. As we have learned, this requires a transformation of each country's capabilities, for it is the nation-state that remains the ultimate unit of political accountability in international affairs. Yet government cannot counter these new threats alone. Nor can any single state counter them alone. We need a whole that is more than the sum of the parts.

Those who would threaten the peace have built their own network of networks to elude the authority of the nation-state. If we are to defeat them, we must to expand our "hypercapabilities" -----the ability to make our individual capabilities work together. Success in this enterprise will depend upon an unprecedented unity of effort.

It is evident that we are, all of us, individually and as a region, at a defining moment in the transformation of our institutions and capabilities.

This process was underway in the United States even prior to September 11. Shortly after his election, President Bush directed a fundamental reappraisal of US defense strategy. This effort, consummated in our *Quadrennial Defense Review*, a publicly available document, questioned whether changes in the world were creating a mismatch between our military capabilities of the US and the new threats presented by these changes. In the same vein, we also asked questioned whether the capabilities of the US still were able to complement adequately those of our friends, partners, and allies.

During those pre-September 11<sup>th</sup> deliberations, the US Department of Defense determined that, unlike the highly structured and in many ways predictable security environment of the last fifty years, uncertainty and surprise would be defining characteristics of this new century.

We had no clear, obvious, central threat, as we had in the Cold War, to base our strategies on. Therefore, we needed a more flexible and imaginative approach.

A capabilities-based model—one that focuses on how an adversary might fight, rather than on who that adversary might be or where a war or conflict might occur—broadens our strategic perspectives. It requires identifying the resources, structures, systems, and processes needed to deter and defeat adversaries who will rely on surprise, deception, unconventional techniques and asymmetric warfare to achieve their objectives.



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September 11, 2001 put this new US defense and security concept to the test. The ink was hardly dry on the *Quadrennial Defense Review* when the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon and the anthrax mailings confirmed homeland security as the primary mission of the Defense Department. How to secure our “domestic battlespace” is now our highest priority. Indeed, our homeland security initiatives represent *our* answer to the challenge of achieving effective sovereignty.

The Department of Defense has already revised the US Unified Command Plan, which prescribes the disposition and organization of all our forces and commands, in order to reflect this imperative. A new structure has been created: the United States Northern Command (NORTHCOM). The Combatant Commander of this structure is responsible for US homeland defense, with authority over US forces that operate within the United States, and in support of civil authorities in response to attacks and natural disasters. This commander serves as head of the North American Aerospace Defense Command, a US-Canada partnership. The new commander is responsible for land, sea, and aerospace, and defenses of the United States. And since good relations with our neighbors are the *sine qua non* of homeland security, this commander’s mandate also includes the task of communicating and cooperating on defense issues with Canada, Mexico, and parts of the Caribbean.

This responsibility to secure our homeland of course goes beyond the Department of Defense, for US security strategy does not involve our military forces alone. The people of the United States are at this moment engaged in a vigorous discussion over the best way to reconfigure their entire administration of government to meet this new challenge, through the creation of a Department of Homeland Security. Once completed, this will be the largest reorganization of the United States Government since the creation of the National Security Council, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Department of Defense in 1947.

This effort encompasses a constellation of agencies: from the US Departments of Energy, of Transportation, and of Justice, to the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Federal departments and agencies, state and local governments, the private sector and individual citizens are working with unprecedented closeness, in increasingly integrated networks and systems of strategic, operational and tactical level tasks.

### **3. New Threats and the Inter-American System**

Even as the United States has set out on these far-reaching institutional reforms, we recognized that they alone are not sufficient. Changes in how we look at and work with the rest of the world are also required.



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Clearly the stakes have become so much higher. Formerly a terrorist strike would take a single life, or a score, or even a hundred. The scale now is of thousands in a single strike, with a foreshadowing of tens, or even hundreds of thousands, or millions killed in an attack with weapons of mass destruction.

Another change concerns our sense of urgency. The attacks of September 11 taught us that our timelines are much shorter than we imagined. The alert, for example, of the hijacking of the aircraft that ultimately crashed in Shanksville, Pennsylvania on September 11, was to be measured scarcely in minutes---not enough time to react.

These two facts--- higher stakes and shorter timelines--- mean that our margin for error has gotten much, much smaller.

Our traditional approach to security, in fact, had somehow failed us. The strategic concept that guided the United States for over two centuries conceived of homeland, hemispheric, and global security as somehow distinct and separable spheres. But what replaces it?

One conclusion the President Bush has drawn is that countering these new threats will require international cooperation. That cooperation may take place in the context of traditional alliances, or the United Nations context, or "coalitions of the willing". The goal should be to work together not simply to counter threats, but to create a worldwide security environment that is toxic to tyrants and terrorists alike.

The fundamental building blocks of this effort are political will and trust.

The response of the countries of the Americas since the attacks of September 11 has been most encouraging in that regard. The prompt, unanimous resolution by the democratic nations of this hemisphere, in invoking the Rio Treaty and declaring that an attack against one American state is an attack against all, was a historical milestone in the development of this trust. The United States is especially grateful for Brazil's leadership in this effort, which adds a new chapter to the history of solidarity between our two countries, and builds on the legacy of a previous generation, when our soldiers fought side by side in Europe to defeat Nazism and Fascism.

Since September 11, the countries of the region have worked together in combating terrorism: sharing information, freezing terrorist assets, and providing technical expertise in areas such as money laundering and illicit arms trafficking. The United States is grateful for this cooperation, which is only a hint of the vast potential for closer cooperation in the future.



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Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay have provided another model ---particularly in the difficult area of information development and sharing--- of the sort of cooperation that will be needed to deter future threats. They have worked together to identify and suppress entities engaged in criminal activity, with special emphasis on their common border. The United States has cooperated closely with these countries in order to identify potential linkages to extremists and terrorist groups elsewhere in the world. All of us have learned much from this cooperative experience, and the results make us optimistic that making this hemisphere secure for democracy is in fact a realistic goal.

This spirit of reciprocity and cooperation among democracies is at the heart of hemispheric security today. These principles of our collaboration are set forth in the preamble to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (the Rio Treaty), and in the Charter of the Organization of American States (OAS). They are: mutual respect for sovereignty, the peaceful settlement of disputes, fulfillment of obligations derived from international law, and the protection of human rights. On September 11, 2001 the OAS took a historic step in strengthening this system when it adopted the Inter-American Democratic Charter, which commits the region to defend and promote democracy through preventive measures to head off ruptures in democratic constitutional order.

History offers few examples of systems of international relations as rich in experience and achievement ---at the bilateral, multilateral, and regional level--- as the Inter-American system. The fortunate fact that our hemisphere is largely at peace, and that the Americas have historically been one of the least militarized regions of the world is a tribute to this system. The Inter-American system, which revolves around the OAS (the world's oldest regional organization) and its specialized and technical agencies, has proven its ability to adapt and respond to both new and traditional threats.

Since 1995, the OAS has built an impressive record of achievement in security issues. Over 90 resolutions have been adopted by consensus on defense policy and technical issues such as regional arms control, demining, nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and confidence and security building measures.

The work of the OAS members in combating the threat of terrorism is yet another model of cooperation. The Inter-American Committee Against Terrorism (CICTE) was established in October 1999 to coordinate Member States' activities against terrorism. This includes coordination of special training and information exchanges. In January, CICTE developed an ambitious agenda of actions to strengthen inter-American cooperation to prevent, combat, and eliminate terrorism. This was an important step forward in harmonizing our countries' policies in combating this threat.





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This effort bore fruit in the Inter-American Convention Against Terrorism, signed on June 3, 2002 in Bridgetown under the stewardship of Barbados. The OAS has repeatedly condemned terrorism as one of the most serious threats to societies in the region and vowed to defeat it. Member states have agreed that terrorist violence undermines national institutions, impairs peaceful and civilized coexistence, and imperils democracy.

These lessons should be applied to other areas. Let us strengthen our institutions of cooperation and adapt them to the new tasks and new conditions.

The Defense Ministerial of the Americas is one of the essential components of this system. It should be continued and strengthened. Soon the Foreign Ministers of the Americas also will have an opportunity to carry this process yet further, at the Special Conference on Security in the Americas, to be hosted by Mexico in May 2003.

The United States approaches this process in the spirit of the vision offered by President Bush at the Quebec Summit of the Americas, a three-part vision premised on “democracy, prosperity, and security”. We, at this gathering know that security is the foundation that makes democracy and prosperity possible. If we are to ensure economic and social advances for our peoples, and strengthen the architecture of democracy in the Americas, then we must strengthen the hemisphere’s security architecture as well.

In this regard, Secretary Rumsfeld has proposed two initiatives on which we are eager to consult with our partners. These initiatives would function ideally within the framework of the Inter-American System. One is a proposal for multilateral naval cooperation. The other is a cooperative peacekeeping initiative, to enhance the hemisphere’s combined capability to participate in peacekeeping mandates.

### **4. Two Initiatives for Regional Security Cooperation**

#### *Multilateral Naval Cooperation Initiative*

Naval cooperation has long been a distinctive feature of our hemisphere. The UNITAS maritime exercise is but one example, albeit one universally recognized as a pioneering model. Another example is the Regional Security System of the Caribbean. Yet another is the Conference of the American Navies.

The United States is prepared to work with regional partners that would be interested in strengthening regional capabilities to conduct combined maritime operations in this hemisphere. We have just conducted an exhaustive review of what we could contribute to such a common effort. There appear to be opportunities to strengthen the operational and planning capabilities of partner nations, upgrade national command and control systems, and improve regional information-sharing. The nations of the hemisphere already have a broad array of capabilities, but these could doubtlessly work together in better ways to counter threats of common concern, such as illegal arms trafficking and piracy.



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This concept could potentially include cooperation among Coast Guards, customs, and police forces, in a synergistic approach that could greatly enhance the security of all of us.

A round-table on how to strengthen regional naval cooperation within the framework of the Inter-American system, would seem to be a good way to launch this initiative. Each country will have its own interests and concerns, and its own unique perspective to contribute.

### *Cooperative Peacekeeping Initiative*

We are blessed in that this hemisphere is largely at peace. This precisely is what has allowed so many nations of the hemisphere to dispatch peacekeepers to global hot spots. From the sands of Sinai, to the cobblestones of the Balkans, to the rivers of the Congo, peacekeepers from the nations of the Americas have stood shoulder to shoulder with comrades from every other continent in this increasingly important responsibility of global citizenship. The demand for this skill far outruns the supply, and will continue to do so in the future. Simply put, the world needs more peacekeepers.

Argentina, Bolivia, Canada, Chile, Colombia, and Uruguay have played widely acknowledged role in this field. Many other countries of the Americas have developed specialized capabilities that enable them to contribute unique and highly-prized value-added to peacekeeping mandates.

The application of these capabilities is not limited to military operations, or even to “peacekeeping” in the strict sense, but can serve a broad spectrum of humanitarian assistance and stability operations generally. Disaster relief is a very important example. The necessary skill sets run the gamut from medical and legal services to policing, civil affairs, search and rescue, and engineering. Chile’s successful hosting of the CABAÑAS exercise last month, which involved 9 countries and over 1,200 participants, is testimony to this collective expertise.

Apart from logistical support, the United States currently contributes to the common effort through a variety of programs, initiatives, exercises, and training to promote increased interoperability and foster shared doctrine. Our Enhanced International Peacekeeping Capabilities program is a proven vehicle for cooperation with hemispheric partners. We also provide training at a variety of institutions in the United States, and support analogous institutions throughout the world.

A longstanding goal of the United States is to encourage cooperative and regional approaches to peacekeeping and stability operations. At a minimum, countries should not be barred from contributing simply on account of the scale of their capabilities.





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A cooperative approach is certain to enhance every country's ability to plan and lead operations; to fund them; to get to the places where peacekeepers are needed; and to operate in ways that are successful, sustainable, and safe.

The United States would be interested in exploring the benefits of integrating specialized capabilities into larger regional capabilities. One possible outcome might be to aim at creating a realistic option for participating ---as a region--- in global peacekeeping mandates and stability operations, when agreed upon by the OAS. Clearly, in order for this to proceed, the technical advisory resources of the OAS would have to be strengthened. This is a rapidly developing field, and many nations have a wealth of experience and insight to contribute to the discussion. We look forward to discussing this concept further.

### **Conclusion**

The new threats of the 21<sup>st</sup> century are a challenge not only to each and every democracy in this hemisphere, but to the Inter-American system itself. The need for our nations to work together has not diminished with the end of the Cold War. Rather it has grown, as has the need for creative thinking.

The security architecture of this hemisphere, which is such a distinctive feature of the Inter-American system, arose to counter the threat posed by totalitarian dictators who threatened peace among nations. Today, as President Bush has said, the age of tyrants is past. The totalitarian temptations of the last century have been defeated. Nowhere is this more evident than in the Americas, where democracy and freedom have found a true home.

It has often been said that the history of the Americas is the history of the progress of freedom. This accomplishment was purchased over generations through many sacrifices. As with anything good for which men and women have unselfishly pledged their lives, this inheritance has a sacred quality. Our challenge is to secure that legacy, so there can never again be, in this hemisphere, an age that the enemies of democracy and freedom can call their own.