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The evolution of security concepts and security governance mechanisms in Latin America — based on the perspective of regionalism

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Abstract: The Global Security Initiative and its "Concept Paper" attach great importance to regional security governance and its mechanism construction. Latin America is one of the key cooperation regions proposed in the "Concept Paper". This article explores the evolution of security concepts and security governance mechanisms in Latin America. ÿ It aims to provide a reference for the region's theoretical research and practical exploration of global security governance, and to provide reference for China and Latin America to cooperate under the framework of the global security initiative. From the perspective of the evolution of security concepts, Latin America has experienced a transition from traditional security concepts to new security concepts. The transformation of the security concept can be further divided into four main stages: the security concept stage mainly based on geopolitical factors, the security concept stage mainly based on ideological factors, the democratic security concept stage, and the expanded security concept stage. Each stage of security The connotation of the concept not only has the basic characteristics of the mainstream connotation of the international society at that time, but also has its own uniqueness. The core principles contained in these security concepts are consistent, including the principle of autonomy, the principle of peaceful coexistence and non-interference, and the settlement of disputes through international mechanisms. principles, and the principle of state-centrism. From the perspective of the construction of security governance mechanisms, collective security mechanisms are the pillars of security governance in Latin America. Building a security community is the goal of security governance in Latin America. Complexity is a distinctive feature of security governance mechanisms in Latin America. The future More research and attention need to be given to the following aspects to effectively promote cooperation between China and Latin America under the framework of the Global Security Initiative: First, the important impact of the security concepts of regional powers on the security situation and pattern of the region; Second, the role of sub-regional organizations in The importance of security governance. The third is the

driving role of the priority of security issues in the security governance mechanism in Latin America. Keywords: Latin American security concept, security

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What kind of security concept does the world need? How can countries achieve common security? At the opening ceremony of the Boao Forum for Asia Annual Conference in April 2022, President Xi Jinping proposed a global security initiative on the theme of global security governance. In February 2023, The Chinese government officially released the "Global Security Initiative Concept Paper" (referred to as the "Concept Paper"), which elaborated on the core concepts and principles of the initiative, determined key cooperation directions, and clarified the main cooperation platforms and mechanisms, thereby comprehensively and systematically clarifying the global China's solution for security governance. The proposal of this initiative has important theoretical, practical and academic significance.

The Global Security Initiative attaches great importance to regional security governance and its mechanism construction. Regional security governance is an important part of global security governance. Regional security governance mechanisms are an important supplement to global security governance mechanisms such as the United Nations. Latin America and the Caribbean (referred to as "Latin America") ") Due to its unique security environment, security status, and some innovative practices in regional security governance, it has always been an important region for research and attention on global security governance. Latin America is one of the key cooperation regions proposed in the "Concept Paper". The "Concept Paper" clearly states that China supports Latin America in actively implementing its commitment to peace zones and supports regional and sub-regional organizations, including CELAC, in playing an active role in maintaining regional peace and security and properly handling regional hotspot issues. This article explores The evolution of security concepts and security governance mechanisms in Latin America aims to provide reference for theoretical research and practical exploration of global security governance in the region, and to provide reference for cooperation between China and Latin America under the framework of global security initiatives.

The evolution of security concepts in Latin America

Security is the core interest and concern of every country, and is also the core issue of international relations. The international community has a series of security factors such as the objects and implementation subjects of security protection, the sources of security threats, the areas involved in security, and the ways and means to achieve security. Different understandings and cognitions have formed different security concepts. And security concepts will change with changes in time, conditions and cognition. So far, human security concepts have experienced from traditional to non-traditional, from single to pluralistic. Evolution process: \tilde{y} The evolution of security concepts in Latin America has also experienced a transformation from traditional security concepts to new security concepts. However, affected by its unique historical, geographical, political, economic and social factors, the evolution of security concepts in Latin America has It can be further divided into four main stages, two of which are in the period of the traditional security concept, and the other two stages are in the period of the new security concept. The connotation of the security concept in each stage has the basic characteristics of the mainstream connotation of the international society at that time, and also has the characteristics of the mainstream connotation of the international society at that time, and also has the

ÿ Yang Guanghai: «The Evolution of Security Concepts: Transformation from Traditional to Non-traditional», published in «Teaching and Research», Issue 3, 2008, Page 72.

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(1) Traditional security concept period

From the early 19th century after the War of Independence to the late 1970s and early 1980s, Latin America generally followed the traditional security concept, that is, the state was the main protection object and provider of security, and security was mainly limited to the military field. etc. However, driven by factors such as the international structure, the balance of power in the Western Hemisphere, and changes in the political situation in Latin America, the security concept in the region during this period can be divided into two main stages.

1 The stage of security concept mainly based on geopolitical factors. Latin America has a vast territory and rich natural resources. Since its "discovery", it has been a fiercely contested area by European and American imperialist countries. It has been controlled or influenced by all hegemonic countries in the modern history of the world. Therefore, from the early 19th century to the Second World War, the security concept in the region was deeply influenced by geopolitical factors, and was later combined with the incoming geopolitical theory, eventually forming the mainstream security concept at this stage. First, The country faces severe external threats. At the international level, Latin American countries must safeguard their independent status and sovereignty, prevent European countries from recolonizing attempts, and respond to territorial occupation (such as the U.S.-Mexico War), military invasion and armed intervention by European and American countries. At the regional level, Latin American countries often have conflicts or even wars due to conquering neighboring countries, grabbing resources and rich no-man's land, etc. Border disputes and territorial issues have therefore become the core of regional relations. Second, countries need to be fully expanded and effective . Occupation. A country is a "living entity" with interests and needs, struggling to survive in a world of power. In the competition for survival with other countries, it must respond to geographical, political, military, economic, demographic and psychological pressures. External expansion and projection are needed to survive, and they need to be cultivated to make them strong. The third is to pursue a power balance policy. Based on the above point of view, the "zero-sum" concept of relations between countries has been emphasized, which makes countries in the region tend to adopt checks and balances at the international level. , alliances and other strategies, while at the regional level they tend to adopt competition, deterrence and ot

2 The stage of security concept mainly based on ideological factors. After World War II, the world entered the Cold War period when the United States and the Soviet Union competed for hegemony. Latin America became a major battlefield in the Cold War. In order to protect the region from the so-called "Soviet ideology and military power" "Invasion and Influence", the United States strengthened its control over Latin America and instilled the "communist threat theory" from a security perspective. At the same time, after the 1960s, military governments came to power in major Latin American countries one after another. These military governments implemented The right-wing dictatorship brutally suppresses domestic left-wing progressive forces. The "communist threat theory" in the United States is related to Latin American geopolitical thought and

ÿ Arlene B Tickner and Mônica Herzÿ "No Place for Theory? Security Studies in Latin America", in Arlene Tickner and David L Blaney (ed) Thinkin gInternational Relations Differentlyÿ Londo n: Routledge ÿ 2012ÿ p

The combination of the right-wing ideology of the military government formed the dominant security concept in Latin America at this stage. First, security threats mainly originated from within. The threat of communism did not come from the Soviet Union but from the national armed rebellions and left-wing governments in the regionÿ, the popular class The potential destruction of domestic order is a threat to state power, and "internal enemies" have become the central goal of security policy. The second is that national security is higher than individual rights. To some extent, personal security and freedom are inconsistent with national security, and it is necessary to Being sacrificed in the name of "greater interests". Development is closely related to national security. Without a high degree of economic development, there cannot be internal security. Development is defined by national defense issues rather than the material needs of the people. Third, based on the above point of view, countries The junta has implemented widespread domestic repression and

persecution, strengthen military and security cooperation in the region, and join the then US-Western camp at the international level.

(2) The New Security Concept

Period Since the 1970s, due to the emergence of international cooperation theory and interdependence theory, the traditional security concept has undergone tremendous changes, thus giving rise to a new security conceptÿ, which believes that security threats have expanded from a single military to politics, economy, environment and other fields. Security objects and subjects have expanded from a single country to individuals, international systems and even the entire human society. Security methods and means have expanded from confrontation and exclusive defense, coercion and deterrence to consultation and inclusiveness. dialogue, coordination and cooperation. ÿ Latin America has also begun to transform towards a new security concept since the late 1970s and early 1980s, and formed two main stages.

1 The stage of democratic security concept. From the late 1970s to the 1990s, military governments in Latin American countries gradually fell from power, and democratically elected civilian governments came to power. The Cold War came to an end and ended in the early 1990s. Western countries promoted the "democratic peace theory", and transnational Non-state actors such as criminal groups have begun to become increasingly prominent in regional and international security interactions, causing Latin America to face new security challenges. Out of reflection on the military government period and thinking about new security challenges, as well as being influenced by Western security thought of the same period Influenced by development, Latin America has put forward the concept of democratic security. First, it is believed that the sources of security risks in the region are multifaceted and non-traditional. They are not limited to traditional threats such as military, and are not affected by military solutions. Second, they believe that Security is a human need rooted in freedom from economic, social, political, military, cultural, judicial and ecological threats. Therefore, while paying attention to national security, we should strengthen the emphasis and protection of "human security". Three He believes that democracy and regional integration are the keys to ensuring national and regional security and peace. At the national level, he advocates strengthening institutional development, democracy, respect for human rights, and civilian control of the military.

ÿ Zhou Piqi: "Security concept, security mechanism and regional security in the Asia-Pacific after the Cold War", published in "World Economy and Politics", 1998 Issue 2, page 58

ÿ Yang Guanghai: "The Evolution of Security Concepts: Transformation from Traditional to Non-traditional", published in "Teaching and Research", Issue 3, 2008, No.
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ÿ In January 1959, the Cuban revolution achieved victory and established the first socialist country in Latin America.

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system, and an economy that meets basic needs. At the regional level, it emphasizes the "democratic" nature of each country, regional cooperation and integration, advocates the design of regional security arrangements, and replaces the emphasis on deterrence with cooperative security.

2 The stage of expanded security concept. Since the beginning of the 21st century, the world pattern has further transformed from the unipolar pattern of global dominance of the United States after the Cold War to a multipolar pattern. The failure of neoliberal reforms in Latin America has triggered serious economic and social crises. Economic globalization and information The rapid development of communications and other technologies has triggered global issues such as the environment, climate change and network security. In addition, the war on terrorism launched by the United States after the "9 11" terrorist attacks in 2001 has made the security threats faced by Latin America more multifaceted and complex. ÿ With the strong promotion of the United States and within the framework of Western Hemisphere cooperation, the security concept in Latin America has been further transformed and expanded. First, security threats have further expanded to include terrorism, transnational organized crime, poverty and social exclusion, natural and man-made disasters, diseases and other health risks, environmental degradation, human trafficking, cyber attacks, leaks of dangerous substances, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery vehicles. Second, the objects of security protection are further expanded beyond the country to protect human beings, through full respect for human beings. dignity, human rights and fundamental freedoms, promote social and economic development, social inclusion, education and the elimination of poverty, disease and hunger, so as to improve human security conditions. The third is to further emphasize regional security cooperation because of new threats, concerns and other challenges. Issues that are transnational and cross-cutting in nature require multi-faceted responses from different national organizations and, in some cases, partnerships between governments, the private sector and civil society. The fourth is to actively participate in global security governance. Through Participate in various international and regional mechanisms to clarify Latin American regions and countries' views on changes in global governance mechanisms and on climate change, environmental protection, network security a Global non-traditional security governance issues

2. Core Principles of Security Concept in Latin America

As can be seen from the above, the security concepts in Latin America have undergone great changes since its independence and are still changing. However, no matter how they change, the core security principles contained in these concepts have remained consistent. change

^ÿ Arlene B Tickner and Mônica Herzÿ "No Place for Theory? Security Studies in Latin America", in Arlene Tickner and David L Blaney (ed) Thinkin gInternational Relations Differentlyÿ Londo n: Routeledgeÿ 2012ÿ pp 100 - 101ÿ Arlene B Ticknerÿ Sec ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ David R Mares and Ar ie M Kacowicz (ed)Routeledge Handbook of Latin American Security

Organization of American States n on Security in the Americas October 28, 2003 Articleÿ.
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(1) Principle of Independence

After independence, Latin America has had a subordinate relationship with the United States and Western powers in many aspects. This is also true in the military field. ÿ Western countries, especially the United States, have adopted strategic doctrines and security concept dissemination, weapons and technology transfers, and security cooperation mechanisms. It dominates the evolution of security concepts, security capacity building and security governance processes in Latin America. Despite this, Latin American countries have still been doing their best to pursue independence in the security field. 1. Theoretically independent attempts. The security concepts in Latin America are greatly

influenced by Western security theories. Deep down, the United States has always defined the security threats in the region, and established a "necessary" model through its long-established institutional mechanisms. However, Latin America has not stopped thinking about security issues in the region, and out of its own development process In particular, the reflection of the military government's rule led to the emergence of the concept of "democratic security" in the late 1980s. Latin American security research during this period also attempted to express its independent stance through independence from previous security doctrines and its main supporter, the United States.ÿ Although the concept of "democratic security" ultimately failed to establish a solid conceptual framework for understanding regional security in Latin America, it was an independent practice of its security

theory. 2. Independently solve regional security issues. Since independence, most of the wars between Latin American countries have been influenced by The Central American crisis that broke out in the early 1980s was also deeply affected by the struggle for global hegemony between the United States and the Soviet Union. However, with the gradual resolution of border issues between Latin American countries and the gradual improvement of their national power, they independently resolved regional security. The awareness of the problem continues to increase. In response to the Central American crisis, the Contadora Group, formed by Mexico and other four countries, actively mediates and promotes the peaceful resolution of the Central American crisis. This is the first time in history that Latin American countries have united to become independent of the United States and to Actions taken to oppose the United States to a certain extent. 4 After that, Latin American countries became accustomed to handling regional issues, including security issues, more independently. After the armed rebellion broke out in Haiti in 2004, the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti was established by the United Nations. Brazil's leadership and members are mainly composed of military and police personnel stationed in Latin American countries.

3. Seeking military independence. From the end of the 19th century to before the Second World War, France, Germany and other European countries

ÿ Security Conce rns in the Emerging Global Order"ÿ in India Quaa rterlyÿ

Vol 60ÿ No 1 / 2ÿ 2004ÿ p 210

ÿ Arlene B Tickner and Mônica Herzÿ "No Place for Theory? Security Studies in Latin America", in
 Arlene Tickner and David L Blaney (ed) Thinkin gInternational Relations Differentlyÿ Londo n: Routledgeÿ 2012
 ÿ p 99

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The country has carried out professional training for the military of some Latin American countries. ÿ Since World War II, all European military delegations have withdrawn from Latin America, and the United States has always monopolized the military affairs of Latin American countries (except Cuba). ÿ The United States has adopted the Inter-American System, Mechanisms such as bilateral military agreements and security assistance plans, as well as institutions such as the U.S. Southern Command, the Navy's Fourth Fleet, and military bases in Latin America, have established and maintained strong military ties and control with Latin America. Although the U.S. military in Latin America has experienced a decline in recent years, Its military presence has shrunk, but its military superiority remains "rock-solid". Although it is unrealistic for Latin American countries to deviate from the independence of the United States on traditional security issuesÿ, they have never given up the pursuit of military autonomy, such as Brazil and Argentina during the Cold War. Nuclear programs carried out by countries such as the United States and Europe in order to reduce their dependence on the United States and Europe. 5 Since the 21st century, with the rise of left-wing governance in Latin America, some left-wing governments have sought greater security and military autonomy and strengthened military cooperation with Russia and other countries. And actively emphasizes independent research and development of weapons. For example, Brazil's 2008 National Defense Strategy clearly states that the Brazilian defense industry should be "reconstructed to ensure that the equipment needs of the armed forces

are based on domestically mastered technologies"ÿÿ (2)

The principles of peaceful coexistence and non-intervention Latin American countries have The common experience of being colonized, and facing common threats from the international system dominated by great powers after independence, thus sharing common values and rules on issues of peace and security, such as the peaceful settlement of disputes or the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, all regional multilateral forums and national security strategies also emphasize the peaceful nature of international relations. The overall diplomatic practices of Latin American countries based on consultation and friendship have made the political trend in the region move in the direction of negotiated solutions rather than the use of violence. The principle of non-interference is the basis of the foreign relations of Latin American countries . cornerstone and one of the core security principles of Latin American countries of the core security principles of Latin American countries of the core security principles of Latin American countries and principles of Latin American countries of the core security principles of Latin American countries of the core security principles of Latin American countries and principles of Latin American countries of the core security principles of Latin American countries of the core security principles of Latin American countries of the core security principles of Latin American countries of the core security principles of Latin American countries of the core security principles of Latin American countries of the core security principles of Latin American countries of the core security principles of Latin American countries of the core security principles of Latin American countries of the core security principles of Latin American countries of the core security principles of Latin American countries of the core security principles of Latin American countries of the core security principles of Latin American countries of the core security principles of Latin American countries of t

ÿ Frederick M Nunnÿ "Effects of European Milita" ryTraining in Latin America: The Origins and N
 Nature of Professional Militarism in Argentin aÿ Brazil ry Affairsÿ Vol ÿÿÿ ÿÿ 1ÿ 1975ÿ ÿ 1 ÿ Edwin Lieuween ÿ
 "Survey of the

ÿ Juan Gabriel Tokatlianÿ "No One's Supplementing" U.S. Military Information in Latin America"ÿ Sept ember 5ÿ 2018 https: // www defenseone com/ideas/2018 / 09 / no-ones-supplying-us-military-influe nce latin - america / 151029 / [2023-09-09]

ÿ Priti Singhÿ "Latin America's Security Concert ns in the Emerging Global Order"ÿ in India Quar terlyÿ
 Vol 60ÿ No 1 / 2ÿ 2004ÿ p 197

ÿ Ministry of Defense National Strategy of Defense: Peace and Securi ty for Brazil 2008

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1 Put forward the concept of non-interference. Since their independence, countries in Latin America have been subject to various interferences from the United States and Western countries. In addition to political and economic manipulation, the United States and Western countries have frequently carried out military operations under the pretext of protecting expatriates and extorting debts. Threats and armed invasions. For example, in 1862, France launched a large-scale armed intervention in Mexico on the pretext that Mexico had not repaid its debts in full and violated the interests of expatriates. In 1902-1903, Britain and Germany sent warships on the pretext of claiming debts and economic losses. Blockade of Venezuelan ports, etc. There are countless such examples, which have seriously violated and threatened the sovereignty, independence and national security of Latin American countries. In this regard, Latin American countries have proposed a number of non-interference concepts, such as the famous Calvo Doctrine and Drago Doctrine. ÿ The principle of non-interference proposed by it has had a wide-ranging impact around the world. It has not only been used by Latin American countries to defend national sovereignty in the past, but also has practical significance for world peace and development today.ÿ

2. Promote the establishment of the principle of non-intervention. Although Latin American countries have proposed many principles of nonintervention, the principle of non-intervention is only an abstract concept and can only be transformed into concrete reality through the implementation of actors. ÿ Since the 20th century, the main interveners faced by Latin American countries It is the United States. Therefore, since the United States tried to bring Latin American countries under its control in the name of the Pan American System, Latin American countries have also used the Pan American System to restrict and constrain the United States. Since the first Pan American Conference was held in 1889, Latin American countries strongly demanded that the principle of non-interference be incorporated as a basic principle of the American system. It was not until the adoption of Article 15 of the Charter of the Organization of American States in 1947 that Latin American countries finally made this principle a reality after decades of unremitting struggle. It has become one of the most important basic principles in the American system of countries. In addition, the principles of sovereignty and non-interference that have been repeatedly emphasized by Latin American countries have also been recognized by the "United Nations Charter". A series of principles of the Calvo Doctrine have also been written into many United Nations General Assembly Among the important decisions

3. Adhere to the principle of non-intervention. Since the principle of non-intervention was proposed, Latin American countries have always been its staunch

ÿ The Calvo Doctrine was proposed by Argentine scholar Carlos Calvo in 1868. Its main content is to oppose European countries' interference in other countries in the name of protecting expatriates. The Drago Doctrine was proposed by Argentine Foreign Minister Luis Mariadra It was proposed by Luis Maria Drago in 1902. Its main content is to oppose the intervention or occupation of Latin American countries by major powers on the grounds of debt collection. See He Shuangrong: «Building a "community of shared future" between China and Latin America: Necessity, Possibility and Challenges» ÿ Published in "Latin American Studies", Issue 4, 2016, Page 14. Wang

Xiaode: "The Establishment and Role of the Non-Interference Principle in the Americas", Published in "Journal of Shanxi Normal University" (Social Science Edition), 1991ýPage 3 Issue,

page 95. Article 15 of the Charter of the Organization of American States stipulates: No country or national organization has the right to interfere directly or indirectly for any reason in the internal affairs of any other country. The above principles apply not only to the armed forces, but also to Any other form of interference or threat to the national personality or its political, economic and cultural

ÿ factors. Wang Xiaode: "The establishment and role of the principle of non-interference in the Americas", published in "Journal of Shanxi Normal University" (Social Science

ÿ Edition), 1991 Issue 3, 2010, page 94. Wang Xuan, Zhao Yunyong: "The Development Process of Calvo Doctrine and Its Enlightenment", published in "Cooperative Economy and Technology", Issue 1: Page 108y

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This principle is strictly observed at the regional level, and has formed inter-state relations in Latin America based on it, maintaining regional peace. For example, since 2015, although Latin American countries have had serious differences over the Venezuelan issue, most of them have All countries are firmly opposed to the "possible option" of armed intervention proposed by the United States. In addition, Latin American countries are generally opposed to the establishment of "conflict prevention instruments", "collective security mechanisms" or "collective security mechanisms" that intervene in the name of protecting democracy or combating drug trafficking and terrorism. "Multilateral Armed Forces" and other regional multilateral projects. ÿ At the international level, Latin American countries strongly oppose other countries' interference in regional affairs. At the same time, they also resolutely refuse to interfere in other countries' internal affairs. After the end of the Cold War, the United States and Western countries have taken the responsibility of humanitarian intervention and protection The "new interventionism" proposed by Latin American countries have taken the responsibility of humanitarian intervention and protection The "new interventionism" proposed by Latin American countries. On the issue of United Nations peacekeeping, Latin American countries have regional traditions and experiences in peacefully resolving disputes. It is considered that it should be an important participating force in international peacekeeping operations, but it has always had strict restrictions on its participation in peacekeeping operations. For example, it has only performed tasks stipulated in Chapter 6 of the "United Nations Charter" for a long time. The constitutions of Mexico and other countries stipulate that participation in peacekeeping operations requires Obtained approval from the Senate.

(3) Principles of resolving disputes through international

mechanisms. As mentioned above, autonomy, peaceful coexistence, and non-interference have always been core principles in the security concepts of Latin American countries. Since most Latin American countries are small countries, they are in a relatively marginal position in the international system. It lacks the material strength to directly compete with Western countries, so it relies heavily on international multilateral mechanisms, and limits and restrains the behaviors and attempts of the United States and European powers by legitimizing these principles into the norms of international multilateral mechanisms to achieve the purpose of safeguarding its own national sovereignty and security. ÿ Therefore, multilateralism and legalism are also one of the core security principles of Latin American countries. As far as multilateralism is concerned, Latin American countries have always actively participated in various international and regional organizations and other multilateral mechanisms, and especially regard the United Nations as the guarantor of collective security.ÿ

ÿ Kai Michael Kenkel w: Source America and Peace Operations "ÿ in ÿÿyÿyÿyÿyÿyÿyÿyÿyÿyÿyVol 1ÿÿ ÿ5ÿ 2010ÿ p 586

ÿ Melisa Deciancio and Diana Tussieÿ "Globaliz ing Global Governance: Peripheral Thoughts fr om Latin ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ Anities and Social Sciences

As far as legalism is concerned, rules-based systems and legal and peaceful resolution of conflicts are seen as safeguarding the sovereignty of countries that lack important power resources. Therefore, Latin America as a whole tends to work globally and globally on the basis of common principles and institutions. Develop and implement formal and informal procedures at the regional level to avoid interference and domination by a single power. ÿ At the international level, Latin American countries mainly legitimize these security principles by incorporating them into the charters of international organizations, international law, international treaties and agreements, etc. ÿ At the regional level, Latin American countries have long been committed to codifying principles such as non-intervention as an integral part of inter-American international law in order to determine the illegality of interference and to show that the correct principle of international law for them is not interference, but noninterference. ÿ By incorporating Legalizing these principles, Latin America has played an important role in peacebuilding, security and international cooperation.ÿ

(4) The principle of state-centrism. Since

the independence of Latin American countries, the state has always been regarded as the most important area of political, social and economic regulation, the main expression of "nation" and the key symbol of national sovereignty. In the field of security The same is true. No matter how the dominant security concept in the region evolves, its core is always the state. The state is not only the main reference object that needs protection, but also the provider of territorial and personal security protection. In the period dominated by geopolitical doctrines, the state is regarded as Organic entities are objects that need to be protected and cultivated. During the Cold War, national security doctrine emphasized that individual rights can be sacrificed in order to ensure national security. After the end of the Cold War, concepts such as democratic security and human security emerged or were introduced in the region, but democratic security also Although Latin America is opposed to the national security doctrine, in view of the fact that a certain type of political regime (i.e., authoritarianism) is the main threat to national and regional insecurity, it also regards the country as its main reference object. And, The domestic challenges (such as citizen insecurity) and transnational challenges (such as organized crime, illegal flows of drugs and weapons) faced by Latin American countries during this period were at least partly related to the institutional fragility of Latin American scolars, so the above trends were further Strengthening human security has never been widely accepted by Latin American scholars, indicating that it is essentially inconsistent with the region's nationalist path tradition. ÿ Entering the 21st century

ÿ Melisa Deciancio and Diana Tussieÿ "Globaliz ing Global Governance: Peripheral Thoughts fr om Latin ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ Anities and Social Science

ÿ Arlene B Tickner and Mônica Herzÿ "No Place for Theory? Security Studies in Latin America", in Arlene
 Tickner and David L Blaney (ed) Thinkin gInternational Relations Differentlyÿ Londo n: Routledgeÿ 2012ÿ PP 104
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Since then, especially in the fight against terrorism led by the United States, the logic of "national security" has become more prominent and important. Currently, the most concerning security issue in Latin America is still public security, such as drug trafficking, organized crime, legacy issues of civil war, and political factors. The problem is that the state remains at the center.

3. Construction of Security Governance Mechanism in Latin America

Security governance in Latin America has the following characteristics: First, the paradox of "external peace - internal violence" indicates that Latin America's internal security risks are greater than external threats; second, based on common interests, values and institutional norms, it is conducive to taking collective action in regional security governance ÿ The third is that the region has taken the lead in building a security community on a path with Latin American characteristics. The fourth is that the security governance mechanism in Latin America has the distinctive feature of being complex.

(1) The collective security mechanism is the pillar of security governance in Latin America.

1 Pan-Americanism is the ideological root of the formation of the collective security mechanism in Latin America. Pan-Americanism emphasizes the identity of the Americas and advocates the establishment of a cooperative community for all American countries. The basis of the "Monroe Declaration" It proposed the principle of emphasizing the "American System", and its exclusivity to a certain extent ensured that American countries would not be interfered by external forces. The "Declaration on the Unity of American Countries" adopted by the Eighth Pan-American Conference in 1938 (the "Lima Declaration")), reaching a consensus among American countries on the issue of maintaining unity and jointly opposing all external threats. In 1947, the "American Conference on the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security" was held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The United States and 18 Latin American countries signed the "Pan-American Mutual Assistance Treaty" » (the "Rio Treaty"), established the principle of collective security in the Americas. In addition to stipulating that member states shall not resort to force against each other, the treaty also emphasized that "an armed attack by any country on one country in the Americas shall be deemed as an attack on all of the Americas." "An armed attack by a State", other States Parties shall jointly take joint actions.

2. The Organization of American States is the executor of the collective security mechanism in Latin America. The Organization of American States is the executor of the collective security mechanism in Latin America. The Organization of American States is the principle of collective security. Its charter stipulates: to maintain regional peace and security, to ensure the peaceful settlement of disputes among member states, and to take action when member states are invaded. Acting together. Over the years, the role and operations of the Organization of American States have been changing. Centering on the actions of the Organization of American States, the United States and Latin American countries have continued to engage in intervention and counter-interference struggles. Some scholars believe that by the mid-1980s, ÿ The Organization of American States has "become an anti-American forum." Therefore, "the entire American mechanism established over decades is now under threat."ÿ However, it is undeniable that the Organization of American States plays an important role in safeguarding the security of the Western Hemisphere and

ÿ Priti Singhÿ "Latin America's Security Conce rns in the Emerging Global Order"ÿ in India Quaa rterlyÿ Vol 60ÿ No 1 / 2ÿ 2004ÿ p 199

played an important role in promoting joint action.

3. The Organization of American States is the coordinator of the security strategy for the Western Hemisphere. The Organization has always taken collective action against various threats and challenges faced by the Western Hemisphere, including actively mediating the Central American crisis in the 1980s and promoting the Central American peace process. For decades, the Western Hemisphere has The security strategy has been continuously adjusted. One of the noteworthy ones is the 1991 "Santiago Declaration", which further strengthened the reasons for collective regional intervention when the democratic process of member states breaks down. After the Cold War, in response to the new regional security situation, the organization's response to the Western Hemisphere The security strategy of the region has undergone new adjustments. In 2003, the Organization of American States held a special security conference in Mexico. The "Inter-American Security Declaration" signed after the conference made the first adjustment to the regional security strategy since World War II: First, it redefined the challenges faced by the Americas after the Cold War. new security threats, and pay more attention to threats in non-traditional security fields such as violent poverty, AIDS, terrorism, organized transnational crime, drug trafficking, corruption, arms smuggling and human trafficking. The second is to re-evaluate the Pan-American Mutual Assistance Treaty. Latin American countries believe that military threats and ideological differences are no longer the main security risks faced by American countries. The third is to clarify the functions of the Inter-American Defense Council, emphasizing that the Council does not have the power to independently exercise military operations and only provides military reference to the Organization of American States. Suggestionsÿ

(2) Building a security community is the goal of security governance in Latin America.

Currently, there are two ways to build a security community: one is a "tightly coupled" security community, which shows a strong commitment to cooperation, a high degree of military integration, internal security coordination, Common governance forms and decision-making rules, as well as the trend of free movement of personnel. The other is a "loosely coupled" security community, which shows a less institutionalized and less intense commitment to cooperation. Latin America has taken the lead in the practice of building security communities. It has embarked on a path with Latin American characteristics. Its practice is mainly related to three factors: first, the region has a heritage of mediating disputes in compliance with international law; second, the recognition and institutionalization of democracy; third, diplomacy is an important political tool for maintaining security. ÿ These three factors represent the characteristics of the interactive model of security governance among Latin American countries, which is to resolve threats and achieve security through peaceful means such as negotiation and diplomacy. 1. Take the lead in achieving regional denuclearization.

During the Cold War, the nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union made the world aware of Under the cloud of nuclear threats, this is especially true in Latin America. The Cuban Missile Crisis that broke out in October 1962 put them at the forefront of an imminent nuclear war. After the Cuban Missile Crisis, Latin American countries realized that although they were not the two countries between the United States and the Soviet Union, Direct participants in conflicts between major camps may be affected by the destructive consequences of nuclear confrontation. Therefore, the presidents of Brazil, Mexico and other five countries issued a statement in April 1963, requiring Latin American countries to conclude multilateral agreements so that Latin America could become a nuclear power as soon as possible. Nuclear-weapon-free zone. In February 1967, the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean was opened for signature. After the treaty came into effect in April 1969, the Latin American Organization for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons was established, making Latin America the first country

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ÿ During the Cold War, while the United States and the Soviet Union were engaged in nuclear competition, Brazil and Argentina, traditional rivals in Latin America, also launched a nuclear arms race in their quest to master nuclear weapons and nuclear technology. The two countries and even the entire region were once faced with a nuclear arms race. The risk of nuclear security dilemma. However, the main purpose of developing nuclear programs by both parties is to improve the international image and retain the nuclear option when necessary, rather than to introduce nuclear weapons into the defense strategy. Therefore, there is always an element of cooperation. In the late 1970s, In the early 1980s, the two countries began the nuclear reconciliation process, and eventually signed the "Agreement between Argentina and Brazil on the Exclusive Use of Nuclear Energy for Peaceful Purposes" in 1991. Later, the Argentina-Brazil Nuclear Material Audit and Supervision Agency was established to supervise the implementation of the agreement. In 1992, the two countries signed an agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency, allowing it to implement comprehensive safeguards and supervision of domestic nuclear issues no longer possible. It has caused suspicion and has become the core pillar of trust and cooperation in the strategic relationship between the two countries. ý Argentina and Chile also actively advocated the denuclearization of Antarctica and became original parties to the "Antarctic Treaty". The denuclearization efforts of Latin American countries are important for maintaining regional peace and stability. and world peace, international nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

zone. A peace zone usually refers to an area that isolates wars and threats of war, or is designed to prevent the occurrence of war, in order to ensure peace and stability in the region. A peace zone can be located within a country. It can also be established between countries in a certain geographical area, or it can be established jointly by countries in a certain region to oppose the war threats and blackmail policies of foreign powers and maintain national independence, peace and security. During the Cold War, in order to maintain In order to achieve independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as freedom from militarization, arms race, the presence of foreign military bases, especially nuclear weapons, the countries in the South Atlantic region established the South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Area, with Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay as its members. Cold War After the end of the war, Latin American countries continued to work to consolidate regional peace, establishing the Mercosur, Bolivia and Chile Peace Zones in 1998ÿ, the South American Peace and Cooperation Zone in 2002, and the Latin American and Caribbean Peace Zone in 2014. The establishment of these peace zones It is conducive to maintaining peace in Latin America, promoting trust and security cooperation among regional countries, and responding to new regional security issues such as transnational crime, drugs, and illegal arms trade.

ÿ The Antarctic Treaty signed in 1959 made Antarctica the first nuclear-free zone. Since the Antarctic continent is an uninhabited land, Latin America has no nuclear weapons.
The nuclear zone is the world's first nuclear-free zone established in a densely populated area.

ÿ Hector Timmelman, Antonio Patriota: "Twenty Years of Strategic Cooperation in the Field of Nuclear Energy", United Nations Conference on Disarmament Document, August 15, 2011, http://documents-dds-n y un org / doc / UNDOC/ GEN/ G11 / 630 / 58 / PDF / G1163058 pdf? OpenE element [2023-09-05]

ÿ United Nations Nationsÿ Fifty - seventeenth General Assem blyÿ "General Assembly Welcomes Declaration of South America as Zone of Peace and Cooperation n "ÿ Press Release ÿ org / en / 2002 / ga10099 doc htm [2023-09-14]

It has made important contributions to international peace and security by banning the proliferation of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction. (3)

Complexity is a distinctive feature of Latin American regional security governance

mechanisms. After the Cold War, especially since the beginning of the 21st century, Latin American regional security has Governance has always been driven by hybrid security governance. Due to the overlay of collective security mechanisms and security community practices, the regional security governance mechanism architecture shows the characteristics of diversity and compounding. This is because a set of systems, mechanisms, norms or concepts cannot completely replace Another set of systems, resulting in coexistence in space and time and functional overlap. In this regard, the 2003 "Inter-American Security Declaration" called for the establishment of a flexible security architecture. This architecture should integrate security mechanisms of different levels, different functions and different functions. Sub-regional organizations are included. Currently, the security governance mechanism in Latin America can be structured from the four dimensions of time, space, function and relationship. Analysisÿ

1 Time dimension. The Rio Group is the first Latin American regional organization composed entirely of Latin American countries. Its main goal is to expand and systematize security and political cooperation among member states, and to formulate appropriate measures to solve regional problems. Although it has not reached the It has the expected results, but its survival as a purely Latin American regional organization is a unique achievement. ÿ After entering the 21st century, regional organizations such as the Union of South American Nations and the Bolivarian Alliance of Americas have established security mechanisms, such as South American The establishment of the Defense Council promoted regional security community-oriented development.

2. Spatial dimension. Different geographical sub-regions in Latin America show different security governance tendencies. Mexico, the United States and Canada established the "North American Security and Prosperity Alliance" to build a three-country security community in North America and promote common prosperity. Argentina and Brazil gave up the nuclear race. ÿ And taking integration measures through the Southern Common Market to replace past economic competition is a major transformation of security governance in the region from a balance of power orientation to a security community

orientation. 3 Functional Dimensions: In terms of resolving regional conflicts, the Latin American regional security governance mechanism plays a major role For example, in the 1980s, in order to peacefully resolve the Central American problem, the four core countries of Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama formed the Contadora Group. This was a peaceful effort by Latin American countries to resolve the Central American crisis. ÿIn order to "end the Venezuelan crisis through peaceful means", 14 Latin American countries formed the "Lima Group" in August 2017ÿ, and aimed at the committee meeting held in advance in May 2018.

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 Priti Singhÿ "Latin America's Security Concert ns in the Emerging Global Order"ÿ in India Quar terlyÿ

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ÿ The "Lima Group" was established in August 2017 at the initiative of Peru to peacefully resolve the Venezuelan crisis. It consists of Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, and Guyana. It is composed of 14 countries including Saint Lucia.

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Venezuela issued an announcement on the election, questioning the legitimacy of the election, objecting to and not recognizing the election results. The member states of the Bolivarian Alliance of Americas recognized and supported the Maduro government. In addition, non-military threats such as immigration, environmental degradation, and poverty and community divisions, drug production and trafficking, and terrorism, etc., are of vital significance in current security governance. Latin America has established corresponding cooperation mechanisms for this. For example, the Organization of American States will adopt the "Inter-American Convention on Narcotics Control" to combat Organized crime has been included in its work agenda. At the Summit of the Americas held in June 2022, 20 American countries signed the "Los Angeles Declaration on Immigration and Protection" on immigration issues to seek a way forward to solve the root causes of irregular migration. In addition to humanitarian In addition to providing humanitarian aid, the declaration also committed to expanding legal immigration channels, cracking down on human smuggling networks, and coordinating joint actions to respond to natural disasters and epidemics to solve immigration problems.

4. Relationship dimension. The armed forces of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru and other countries provide training programs for their counterparts in the region, such as the training provided by the Brazilian Army Command to military personnel from other Latin American countries every year. These cooperation projects promote the exchanges between military personnel from various countries. Communication and trust have weakened the image of geopolitical confrontation in the past. As Amorim, the former Brazilian Foreign Minister and former Defense Minister, pointed out, the same behavior against the international system is based on deterrence practices, while against the region it is based on deterrence practices. It is based on cooperationÿ ÿ

Four Conclusions

As can be seen from the above, the security concept and security governance mechanism in Latin America have three main characteristics: First, its security concept has obvious characteristics of the security concept of developing countries; second, its security governance practice has the ultimate goal of building a security community. This is particularly prominent in South America. Third, its security governance is greatly restricted by the power of major powers. For example, the Organization of American States, the region's main security governance mechanism, has long been controlled by the United States.

In view of this, there are both opportunities and challenges for China-Latin America cooperation under the framework of the Global Security Initiative. On the one hand, the security concepts of China and Latin American countries are highly consistent. Both sides are developing countries and both emphasize sovereignty, independence, and Adhere to the principles of peaceful coexistence and non-interference, and advocate strengthening the role of international multilateral mechanisms such as the United Nations in resolving international disputes. The security practices and tendencies of Latin American countries in building a security community are also consistent with the global security initiative's vision of building a human security community. Another On the other hand, due to the traditionally close security ties between Latin America and the United States and European countries, as well as the rejection of global security initiatives by the United States and European

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It is difficult to promote global security initiatives in Latin America. In the future, more research and

attention need to be paid to the following aspects to effectively promote the "global security initiative" between China and Latin America.

The first is the impact of the security concepts of regional powers on the regional security situation and pattern. The three major powers in Latin America, namely Brazil, Mexico and Argentina, are all firm supporters of the principles of sovereignty, independence and non-interference, and have become members of many international or regional countries. The initiators of peace mechanisms and peace initiatives play an important role in the formation and maintenance of the overall peace and security pattern in Latin America. In the future, with the change of regimes in various countries, will their security concepts change and what impact will it have on the regional security situation? The impact is

worthy of attention. The second is the role of sub-regional organizations in security governance. Chapter 8 of the "United Nations

Charter" gives regional organizations the status and role in maintaining international peace and security. The logic of its creation is due to similar interests and traditions. , values, neighboring countries are more inclined to quickly resolve security threats and challenges in the region. Latin American sub-regional organizations such as the Union of South American Nations have made successful attempts. With Lula being re-elected as President of Brazil and committed to promoting South America With the revival of the Alliance of Nations, it is worth paying attention to whether the organization will further strengthen its emphasis on regional security governance. In addition, due to the different rankings of security threats faced by different sub-regions, the security agendas of various sub-regional organizations are also different. Therefore, Latin American countries How sub-regional organizations strengthen coordination and cooperation on regional security governance in the future also deserves attention.

Finally, the priority of security issues drives the regional security governance mechanism. Although the Charter of the Organization of American States lists the collective defense of democracy, national sovereignty, non-intervention, peaceful settlement of disputes, inter-state consultation and representative democracy as priorities, but In the post-Cold War period, the connotation of security has continued to deepen and its extension has continued to expand. Currently, an important security conclusion in Latin America is that new security threats do not come from a country's military power and geopolitical ambitions, but to a large extent result from national weakness. , lack of political legitimacy, failure to provide minimum public order conditions and the inability to effectively control internal violence. Among them, drugs and drug crimes as well as the new generation of rebellion and political violence in many Latin American countries have exacerbated social violence. Although these threats appear as Although it has transnational characteristics, it is essentially intra-state rather than inter-state. How Latin America can build a more diversified security governance mechanism based on new priorities to deal with these threats also deserves attention.

(Editor Shi Peiran)