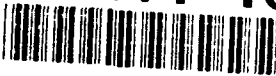


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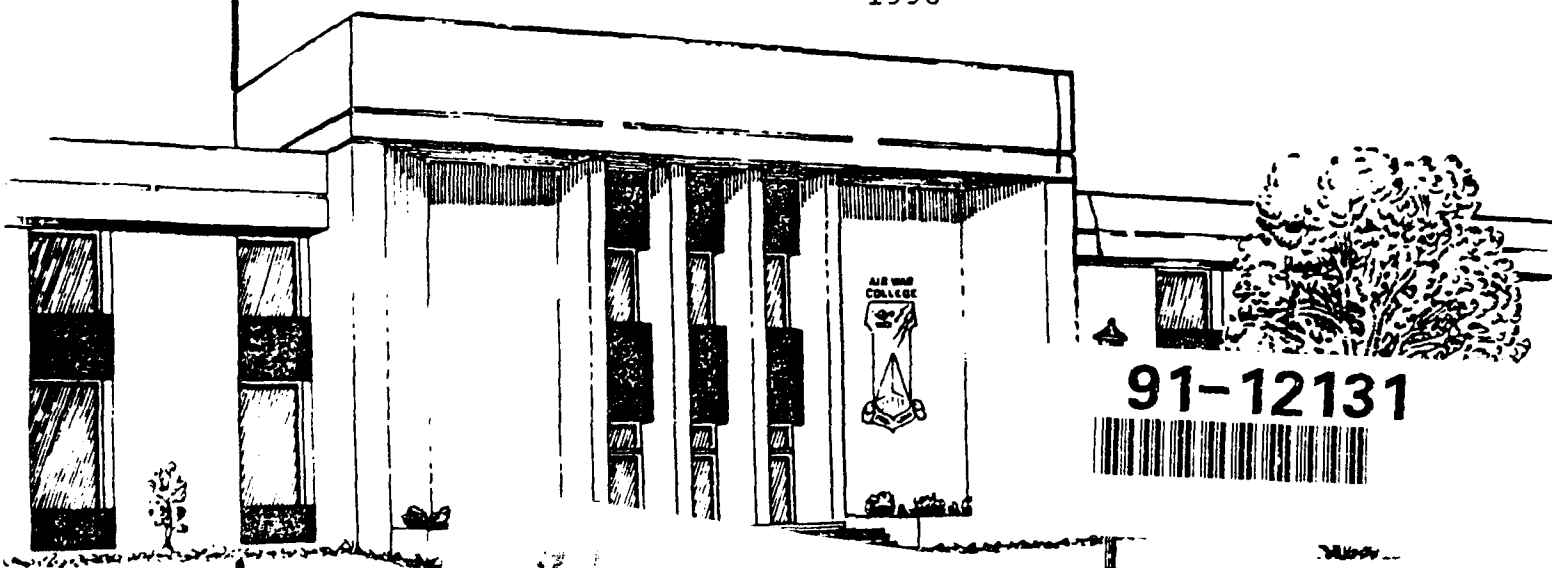
RESEARCH REPORT

THE DEFENSE OF THE AMERICAS--SOLE RESPONSIBILITY
OF THE UNITED STATES?

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LIEUTENANT COLONEL ARTURO J. GARCIA, VAF

1990



AIR UNIVERSITY
UNITED STATES AIR FORCE
MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE, ALABAMA

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THE DEFENSE OF THE AMERICAS... SOLE RESPONSIBILITY OF
THE UNITED STATES ?

by

Arturo J. Garcia
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A DEFENSE ANALYTICAL STUDY SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY

IN

FULFILLMENT OF THE CURRICULUM
REQUIREMENT

Advisor: Colonel (USA) John Murray

MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE, ALABAMA

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D I S C L A I M E R

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

TITLE: The Defense of The Americas... Sole Responsibility of
The United States?

AUTHOR: Arturo J. Garcia, Lieutenant Colonel, VAF

From the time of the Americas' Independence up to now, the defense of the hemisphere has been the responsibility of the United States; and from time to time, of the countries that have been exposed to any external or internal threat.

The Monroe Doctrine and the Rio Treaty had been called only when were needed to solve any particular problem on a determined country. Most of the Americas' countries have been driven by a lack of understanding and common objectives referred to the hemispheric relations and its further defense.

Today, presence of communism, lack of development, huge external debts, drugs, extreme poverty and low levels of literacy and public health are eroding the bases of the nascent Latin American democracies.

The defense of the Americas requires the conscious participation of all the countries aiming toward a common goal: to maintain democracy, peace and regional stability through a clear definition of the general interest and under similar basic principles of cooperation and understanding among each other.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Lieutenant Colonel Arturo J. Garcia graduated from the Venezuelan Air Force Academy in 1971. He is a fighter pilot and has been an F-5 and F-16 Squadron Commander, and an F-16 Wing Operations Officer. He is a graduate of the Venezuelan Air Force Squadron Officer School and the Staff College at the same institution. Lieutenant Colonel Garcia is also a graduate of the Air War College, class of 1990.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Latin American and Caribbean countries have left the defense of the Americas for many years to the United States. Each of those countries has put its attention on internal security, while in the international arena, many problems threatening hemispheric security have arisen.

Subversion and terrorism derived from communism and drugs are increasing every day and the countries involved in those problems are unable to solve them without foreign assistance.

The external debt is eroding their Gross Development Product (GDP) and their overall economies, which is an important reason to divert attention from regional security in order to solve the social problems.

The Organization of American States (OAS), the main organism used to control and advise the Americas' countries, has lost power and credibility over the years. The differing interests and objectives of the OAS countries resulted in a group of separate nations with a single link: A weak democracy

and an ineffective legal framework to face regional common problems.

The Americas have sufficient forces to repel any conventional aggression and to solve any problem against their security. Through the unity of efforts of the Armed Forces of each country, the defense of the Americas would be an easier task to accomplish. The U.S. would be released from the responsibility of being the sole defender of the hemisphere. Many problems and disagreements among South American countries would be solved; and subversion and drugs should be defeated in a very short term.

In order to defend the Americas it won't be necessary to build a N.A.T.O.- type military organization, nor to have U.S. or other countries' Armed Forces permanently deployed. But it will be necessary to train these forces under the same principles and doctrines in accordance with hemispheric needs and interests.

The final outcome to the unity of efforts of the Americas' countries for their defense will be, among others: Consolidation of democracy, increase of the free market idea, economic and social development, better response to any aggression and more rapid integration of forces, when and if needed. In sum mutual understanding to solve the problems of regional security will decrease tensions among friendly countries and will be a big step in obtaining peace, welfare and hemispheric political, social and economic objectives.

CHAPTER II

LEGAL SUPPORT FOR HEMISPHERIC COOPERATION.

The need of defense for the Americas against armed aggressions is based on the idea of inviolability of their territory, a belief they have held since the times of their independence almost two centuries ago. Lately the idea of democracy as the most acceptable system to rule the lives and destiny of the American people has become widespread. In this particular, many accords and treaties have been made, and some organizations and doctrines have been implemented to solve the problem of defense in the event of any type of aggression.

The Organization of American States

The first attempt to create an American organization came from The Liberator, Simon Bolivar, as the ideal of a single continental unit which was embodied in the Treaty of Union signed at the Congress of Panama in 1826. Later The International Union of American Republics was established at

the First International Conference of American States, held in Washington on April 14, 1890 with the purpose of collecting and distributing commercial information. In 1948 the inter-American system was reorganized during the Conference of American States and was given the name of the Organization of American States (OAS), with the Pan American Union as its permanent secretariat.(1)

The essential purposes of the OAS are proclaimed in article 4 of its charter:

- (a) To strengthen the peace and security of the continent
- (b) To prevent possible causes of difficulties and ensure the pacific settlement of disputes that may arise among the Member States;
- (c) To provide for common action on the part of those states in the event of aggression;
- (d) To seek the solution of political, juridical and economic problems that may arise among them; and
- (e) To promote by cooperative action, their economic, social and cultural development.(2)

In this article we note clearly the American nations' interest in consolidating the regional peace, security and well being of their peoples. However, the role of United States as a superpower and her interest in controlling the communist expansion over the world, has made the U.S. deviate its attention to outside the hemisphere, with the objective of detaining Marxism-Leninism by helping those countries that are closer to the Soviet Union, the source of this ideology. So, the U.S. in the interest of preserving democracy in the world

has supported a considerable number of countries and has relatively forgotten Latin America. Because U.S. attention was focused elsewhere Latin American countries have been penetrated by Soviet ideology in our territories by means of Cuba and later Nicaragua. Once established communism is not easy to eradicate, and trying to expel it from America is even harder because of support for international laws and the principle of self determination of the people, well established in most of the Latin American countries by their respective governments.

The ties of the U.S. with the European and the Middle East countries is by now an ineluctable compromise in order to keep the stability of regions more threatened by communism. An example of these ties with other nations, was shown by the past war over the Falklands, when the U.S. had to make a very uncomfortable and tough decision about the support to give to an allied country in the event of a confrontation in the American hemisphere. In this particular case the alliance with England was stronger than that with Argentina. The reasons are clear enough, the United Kingdom is the main supporter of the U.S. in N.A.T.O.. On the other hand, Argentina at that moment had a military government trying to divert the attention of the people from the current economic and social problems, and created a "patriotic action" to recover the Malvinas which had been in the possession of

England for many years. Argentina underestimated the will of the British government to defend its territories, and did not pay attention to the recommendations of the U.S. and the rest of countries signatory to the OAS to solve the situation by pacific means. The result was a decision by the U.S. to support England while some of the South American countries provided political and military support to Argentina. This fact made more distant the North-South relations, and the old anti-U.S. feeling of the Latin Americans reemerged and many countries found more reasons to stay further from the U.S. and do not support some of her policies.

This example gives the idea of the lack of consistency and value of the OAS and its Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of 1947 (Rio Treaty), to mediate in case of conflict with other non-American, non-communist countries. Some questions have to be made in light of the Falklands conflict and the situation in Central America: Is it necessary to reorganize and adapt the OAS to the actual interest of each country in its own security or adapt it to the general security of the Americas?. As a regional agency of the United Nations (UN), should the OAS be more concerned with global problems, or focus more toward the region with a clear reference to the interest of other countries in keeping peace and stability? Or should this organization focus unilaterally on the region's specific problems without involving the rest of the world in the peace

arena?

The OAS has been through the years an organization with no power to control or intervene in disagreements among American nations or to seek peaceful solutions to those disagreements. Then, the legal basis for an effective defense of the Americas is too weak and unreliable, that a profound reorganization is needed with full support of every country and the supervision of the United Nations. But to do this the South American countries have to be more concerned with the policies and strategies of those countries from the North. Try to broaden their own international relations, mainly with their own neighbors, and then build an acceptable level of credibility in the international arena with countries of this and other hemispheres.

Monroe Doctrine

Another legal foundation for defense and cooperation among American countries was the Monroe Doctrine, that told the European colonial powers in the early 18th century and later, "to keep their hands off this hemisphere and vowed support for the nascent democratic republics of Latin America" (3). But this doctrine lost its value when the threats in other hemispheres and the results of WWI and WWII, forced the U.S. to keep part of her Armed Forces in other continents, and as we stated before, divert U.S. attention to other less secure

areas than Latin America.

The refusal of the Latin American countries to deal with the United States, and the disinterest of the latter in the hemisphere made the doctrine weak to the point of death.

Today, no legal basis except for the one from the U.N., and bilateral treaties and accords are valid to build a healthy defense for the Americas with the total contribution of all the countries that are part of them. In theory America is relatively safe, but the world is evolving with new problems, so that a close and joint effort is needed to solve them in order to live in a peaceful and wealthy way. The threats to the region are increasing with time; drugs, debt, extreme poverty and communism among others are the problems that represent a great challenge to the nascent democracies of Latin America.

CHAPTER III

THREATS TO REGIONAL STABILITY

The Americas had been a relatively stable part of the world until 1958 when Fidel Castro and his revolution took control of Cuba, allowing the Soviets to step firmly in this continent. At the same time in other countries like Colombia and Venezuela, democracy was being established after the deposition of the military regimes that had been ruling as in other countries of Latin America, the destiny of their nations.

The idea of communist expansionism was already present in this hemisphere when Castro and Khrushchev tried to take advantage of the instability produced by those recent changes of governments and political systems. They introduced subversion to emulate the Cuban Revolution with the objective of spreading that ideology in this area, and to counterbalance U.S. presence in Europe since the time of WWII.

Soviet Union, Cuba, and Nicaragua

The decade of the 1990s, will be a period of considerable uncertainties about the future of communism in the world; the Soviet Union seems to have lost control of the situation over the countries of the Warsaw Pact and some Republics of the Soviet Union are demanding independence and self determination of their own affairs.

The profound economic and social problems of the Soviet Union are constraining instead of expanding communism around the world. The countries that were oppressed and dominated for a long time by communism are now changing rapidly to the democratic system as is the case of Rumania, Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Last February, free elections were held in Nicaragua, and to the surprise of many international agencies, Violeta Chamorro the opposition candidate to Ortega's Regime won the presidency of that country. One step forward in the progressive withdrawal of communism on the world, and especially in the Americas. The big loser of the cold war apparently is Marxism-Leninism. But will it be the same situation with Cuba? Will the Soviet Union be willing to lose that strategic country in America? Could the democratizing of that country be a tradeoff for the reduction of the presence of the U.S. in Europe? These questions are part of the unclear situation of the Soviet Union and the urgent search for the solution of her very deep problems.

In a few more years we will know the actual course of communism, and with it, the situation of Cuba and her role as the forward front of the USSR to implement her ideology over the weaker and less stable countries of Latin America. So, while the Soviets do not have a definition of their new strategies, based in their real capabilities to support other countries, the threat of communism will be in the Americas in the form of Low Intensity Conflicts (LIC) and recognized socialist and communist parties running for presidencies, governorships, congress and other important chairs in the governments of each Latin American country.

Narcotics Trafficking

One of the major threats to regional stability in the past five years has been drug production, trafficking, and consumption. In this particular the United States, more than other countries, has been the affected one due to the growing popularity of narcotics in many sectors of her society, and the excellent market that this country represents. In the recent past the Americans expend about \$100 billion per year on drugs, a sum that is almost equal to the US Air Force budget for FY 1990. (1) The next table will show the value of the cocaine business showing why many people are involved in it. (2)

While in the U.S. the rate of consumption is

C O C A I N E P R I C E S , 1 9 8 6
(per pure kilogram equivalent)

Farmgate	US \$ 1,000
Export, Colombia	7,000
Import, Miami	20,000
Wholesale (one kg/unit)	40,000
Retail (one gr/unit)	250,000

TABLE 2-1. Cocaine's price differential

considerably high, and major efforts have been made to eradicate this problem, in some countries of Latin America, the laxity of their governmental enforcement has permitted the growing and production of those narcotics. Actually the traffickers think that they have all the rights to do whatever they want in this matter, because they were allowed to do so in the recent past. Their power grew to the levels of total control of some towns and areas, that those traffickers became the lords and problem solvers of many poor people in the region under their control.

An example of this type of control occurred in Peru and Colombia:

In 1984 and 1985, in Peru's Upper Huallaga Valley—where coca accounts for nine-tenths of local income—local cocaine dealers provided Army commanders with intelligence of "Sendero Luminoso". The Colombian government, for instance, by and large tolerated marijuana-growing in the 1970s. This precedent made it more difficult to deal with the more deadly cocaine trade in the 1980s.(3)

Today, when considerable aid from U.S. has been extended to Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia to fight drug trafficking, widespread resistance has been confronted, mainly from guerrillas and groups paid by the "drug lords" in exchange for security. Even when many plans have been devised to control the drug's export out of the source countries and then into the U.S., the idea of becoming richer in a short time will be still in the minds of many people at different levels. This could result in drug producers moving their production bases from one country to another in order to avoid capture by government authorities.

The decision of Latin American and U.S. Presidents to control this problem is a major step in the fight against drugs, that if not corrected would undermine our youth, and of course our future manpower to defend the region from external and internal threats.

Foreign Debt

"Six years after the debt crisis began, Latin America remains mired in depression. Most Latin Americans are worse off

today than they were a decade ago." (4)

The surplus in the economies of the more developed countries during the 1970s decade gave them the opportunity to invest that surplus in less developed countries. That was a very plausible action, but the problem was that they did not give the technical and professional advice of how to use those huge amounts of money to help their economies to grow. The experience of the Third World countries in managing their economies to required growing levels was very poor; today the result is obvious, that mismanagement sank those countries in a difficult problem to solve, at least in the 1990s decade.

The service costs of the debt are so great that the marketing capability of most of these countries is unable to produce enough resources to pay them back in a short term. The extra efforts and self limitations imposed in trying to expand their economies while also paying the debt and its services, are really futile if the international banks continue to raise interest rates. The more developed countries do not see that this problem boomerangs on them by foreign third world countries into illegal and legal immigration, drug trafficking, anti-free market economy feelings, and the partial reduction of trade with the developed countries. "The abrupt halt in Latin America's growth has cost U.S. exporters \$ 20 to \$ 30 billion in sales annually".(5)

Latin America, like most of the Third World countries is suffering extreme internal poverty at levels that were not seen before, considerable increase of crime and violations of private property, decrease of the capability to support education and health (two of the most important aspects of the national development) and what is more important, the decrease of the people's confidence in the democratic government. Together these problems could bring in the near future a profound political crisis because of the loss of credibility and authority of governments to manage the actual situation.

The not as yet achieved minimum standards of living have led the people to protest and demonstrate asking for better treatment and sometimes, in moments of desperation, for the imposition of military or leftist governments. An example of the evolving protests against the mandatory and necessary economic decisions to pay part of the debt servicing was initiated in Caracas, Venezuela, in February 1989 and then spread to most of her cities. Later the same situation occurred in Argentina.

Hunger, unemployment, no education and poor health care are considerable threats to any consolidated democracy. Healthy and prosperous neighbors are not a considerable problem, but what would happen if our neighbors are very poor and unable to solve their own economic and social problems. For more details of the Latin American economy and external debt, see table 2-2.

LATIN AMERICA'S LOST DECADE:									
Some figures									
	(Est.)								
	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Real per capita GDP (% Change)	3.7	-1.9	-3.5	-4.7	1.4	1.4	1.6	0.3	-1.5
Consumer price level (% Change)	56	58	85	131	184	275	65	199	473
Investment (% of GDP)	23	22	21	17	17	18	18	18	18
Exports (\$ Billion)	94	100	90	92	102	98	80	91.4	104.2
Imports (\$ Billion)	97	105	85	64	65	63	64	71.6	77.5
External Debt (\$ Billion)	231	288	333	344	362	371	382	411	413
Debt as % of Exports	183	210	273	292	277	296	351	340	309
Debt service as % of exports	34	42	51	40.8	40.9	40.3	45	35.5	42.8
Net Capital Transfers* (\$ Billion)	12	10	-19	-32	-27	-33	-24	-21	-29

* New lending minus payments of interest and principal.

TABLE 2-2 Latin America's lost decade.

Subversion

Subversion is closely related to the threats explained before; the best way for communism is to enter in countries with social, economic or political problems. The environment of Latin America has been favorable to certain masses of people that are unable to gain the control of the government in a democratic way; so, they try to go underground in order to destabilize democracy and its freely elected institutions and then implement Marxism-Leninism ideology through a revolution.

For the "Narco-traficantes" armed subversion and guerrillas are the best way for protecting their interests; they interact almost freely, one to get security and to guarantee the flow of production and traffic in each country;

the others to obtain the necessary resources to buy the supplies and weapons to make the revolution. For subversion, the more the poverty and political uncontrol of a nation, the better the environment to feed that revolution. That is the case of Colombia, El Salvador, Peru, and Guatemala.

In this particular, the U.S. and most of the countries of Latin America have fought to find the solution to the problems of insurgency, subversion, drugs and terrorism. The Contadora Group composed of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela; the Group of Eight, or support group to Contadora, composed of the above named countries plus Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Peru; and the Central American countries, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua met most recently at Esquipulas in 1987 (Esquipulas II). All of the presidents of these nations agreed that the problem in this region must be solved as soon as possible.

All these conversations, meetings, and accords have been in vain, the situation continues and subversion is growing in Central America. Again the pacific means to solve the problems have been inefficient and worthless. Once the presidents return to their countries, conversations with the insurgents are initiated, but they are finished soon because of disagreements and no acceptance of the conditions imposed by the governments.

A bit of hope and peace is floating in the region with

the new Bush administration, the shifts in the Soviet foreign policy, the relative closeness of U.S and U.S.S.R relations, and a greater West European, Canadian and Japanese willingness to become involved in Central America (7). Now is the time to solve the critical situation of the Central and South American countries facing subversion by using the power of diplomacy, and the OAS, including its new member, Canada, which joined the Organization in November 1989.

Border Problems Within Latin American Countries

The decreasing expansionism of communism has reduced the threat to the United States and to the Western countries. Now that the potential reduction of the U.S Armed Forces is a reality, the armament industry will have a considerable shortage in its production and with it a considerable reduction in labor force.

Potentially, Latin America is not a secure region, the border disagreements of some limiting countries have closed many opportunities for a real integration as is the case of the Andean Pact that never has started its activities seriously, because of the prevailing differences. Instead of regional disarmament the Latin American countries will seek more weapons to be used in their territorial defense.

L. Ronald Scheman, former Assistant Secretary for

Management at the Organization of American States, in the Fall 1987 issue of Journal of Interamerican Studies, states:

In the 19th century, excluding the general turmoil of the revolutionary period, when armies crossed borders as a matter of course there were 19 significant disputes among the Latin American nations.... In the 20th century, the region has been cited as one of the most incident-prone areas outside of the Middle East. The tensions continue. Aside from the obvious one in Central America, the last decade has seen continuing rivalries between ...; Bolivia and Chile over the waters of the Lauca river and access to the sea; Peru and Chile over borders; Peru and Ecuador over borders; Venezuela and Colombia over maritime demarcation; Colombia and Nicaragua over the San Andres Islands; Venezuela and Guyana over territory...(8)

These tensions are considerable threats to the region, which joined to the interest of the armament industries of the Western countries to keep their productivity at acceptable economic levels, might induce those industries to try to sell their products to potentially antagonist countries in Latin America and the Third World. In general this could create a possible new environment for future conventional wars.

The U.S. is well aware of this situation, and a general idea in some important levels of the political and defense sectors is growing about the future participation of this country in "Third World Wars". It would be interesting and healthy to review closely this situation, and try by all pacific and diplomatic means to solve these border disagreements before further conflicting situations appear.

CHAPTER IV

THE AMERICAS' DEFENSE STRUCTURE

The defense of the Americas has been a task accomplished internally by each country according to its own interests. In this task the Latin American countries, the U.S. and Canada are well apart in the goals and procedures to follow for the eradication of the major problems of the continent. Unilaterally the major responsibility of regional security has been carried out by the U.S. in her fight against communism's expansion outside the Cuban and lately the Nicaraguan borders. The self sufficient and reliable Armed Forces of this country are reasons enough for her government to believe that the participation of other Armed Forces, instead of helping to solve the problem, could be an obstacle for the safe and secure execution of any plan involving more than one country.

Today, with the constraints in the economy and as consequence of it in the defense budgets of all of the Americas' countries, the need for a total participation in the

hemispheric problems is present. There are many of them that can be solved with a more decided action by the region's governments after they have a clear understanding of those problems, the national interests and the position of each other in the international arena.

Military Structure

Almost all of the countries in America have democratic governments, including Chile, which changed her policy and on 1990 had elections and a new president, since Pinochet took the control from Allende. So the closeness to dialogue and exchange of ideas should be open very soon in a multilateral way and not in a bilateral one like has been traditionally managed. The union of republics, as called for Simon Bolivar, today can be a reality through a strong and sincere union of political thinking, common market type economies, military training and most importantly, reinforcement of democratic principles. To defend the hemisphere the military structure of the Americas has enough forces at this time for self defense against conventional threats posed by Low Intensity Conflicts and drugs trafficking. See table 3-1, to have an overall idea of the size of the Armed Forces of each country, and the manpower available for the defense of the Americas, if they were trained to meet the objectives to keep

objectives to keep this region secure and peaceful.

FORCE SUMMARY

	ARMY	NAVY	AIR FORCE	PARAMILIT.	TOTAL	RESERVE
Argentina	55,000	25,000	15,000	18,000	113,000	377,000
Bolivia	20,000	3,600	4,000	21,000	48,600	
Brazil	218,000	50,500	50,700	243,000	562,200	1,115,000
Chile	57,000	29,000	15,000		101,000	100,000
Colombia	111,400	12,000	7,000	80,000	210,400	116,900
Costa Rica				9,500	9,500	
Domin. Rep	13,000	4,000	3,800	1,000	21,800	
Ecuador	33,000	4,000	3,000	6,800	46,800	150,000
El Salvad.	43,000	1,500	2,500	24,000	84,500	
Guatemala	38,000	1,500	700	736,500	776,700	
Guyana	5,000	225	200	3,500	8,925	
Haiti	7,000	300	300		7,600	
Honduras	14,600	850	1,500	5,000	21,950	50,000
Mexico	105,000	26,000	7,000		138,000	300,000
Panama	6,000	900	400		7,300	
Paraguay	12,500	2,500	1,000		16,000	36,300
Peru	80,000	23,000	15,000	71,600	89,600	188,000
Uruguay	17,200	4,200	3,000	5,400	29,800	
Venezuela	34,000	10,000	6,500	20,000	70,500	
TOTAL	981,700	224,675	161,600	2,825,500	4,193,475	2,283,700

TABLE 3-1 Latin America's Force Summary

Training and Assistance Programs

In the issue of September/October 1989 the Department of Defense in its publication DEFENSE 89, states that:

The security of our friends and allies contributes directly to the security of the United States. For more than 30 years, the United States has made available materials, services and training to friendly countries to enable them to improve their own defense capabilities.(2)

Through the Military Assistance Program (MAP), Foreign

Military Sales (FMS) and International Military Education and Training (IMET), the United States has trained a considerable number of allies. Many courses in different areas are offered each year to enhance the capabilities of other countries to defend themselves from the threats present in their regions, and to help military personnel to understand the basic doctrine and the important role that they play in the security and survival of the democratic system and its institutions.

During F.Y. 1988, the U.S. granted to Latin America \$ 10.5 million in IMET programs and \$ 133.8 million in MAP.(3) Most of this assistance was given to Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Peru and Bolivia, with the idea of eradicating subversion and drug problems from these countries.

Every year a number of combined training operations are held; these operations include: Unitas, an Atlantic Command Exercise with the maritime powers of South America; Halcon Vista, a joint/combined coastal surveillance exercise conducted by Caribbean nations, supported by USSOUTHCOM.(4) Some other exercises are done in a bilateral basis by the Army, Navy or Air Force of some Latin American Countries and their counterparts from the U.S.. This training has demonstrated to be very useful for each country separately; but, is it what we need to support this hemisphere, their democracies and regional peace from external and internal aggressions?.

Joint/Combined forces the Solution ?

The doors are open to closer North-South relations in the Americas. In the recent past the South American countries were reluctant to maintain the regional pacts due to a fairly good economic situation in some of them like Venezuela, Ecuador and Colombia with the very high prices of the oil during the decade of the 1970s. On the other side are the very poor countries like Peru, and Bolivia whose economies were distant from those of the other countries; this difference delayed use of the Andean Pact, their best possible means of development.

In the region of Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and Argentina the Amazonic Pact was not a reality because of the differences emerging from border disagreements. In the Caribbean area many efforts had been made to unify the economy of those countries with the support of the U.S. and Venezuela on some occasions.

Today, most of the countries of Latin America and The Caribbean have decided to support their regional economic pacts in order to bring to the region a clear and necessary development. During the meeting of the five presidents of the Andean Pact, (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia) held on December 17th and 18th 1989 at the Galapagos Islands (Ecuador), an accord to revive the Pact was made. The

presidents expressed their willingness to solve the problems peacefully, to fight narcotics trafficking together, to increase the collaboration of their respective Armed Forces and to adopt actions to create a favorable environment for integration. (5)

In the military area, improved understanding between countries could help to build wealthy relations, more concern about regional stability and to stop the armament race in Latin America, with the consequent diversion of funds to more critical areas in each of the countries, like health, education, public services and the important area of investment for development at least over the medium to long term.

Some Latin American militaries normally participate in different aspects of their social and economic life like, agriculture, industries, public services, education, civic actions etc.. In Brazil and Venezuela for example the military participate actively in the development of their industries, education, supporting the security of customs, building important highways, and on occasions managing some public services . Today the Armed Forces of Latin America are more conscious of their role in democratic society, even when most of those democracies are still very young in comparison to the ones from the U.S. and most of Western Europe. However, there is a need for training and formation. It is necessary to

have a combined and joint doctrine to interact in conventional and more complex war theaters, in low intensity conflicts, drugs, environmental protection and disaster preparedness.

The United States and Canada, the countries with major background, experience and capability should direct this training, after the civilian authorities have agreed to open a real and sincere hemispherical cooperation in political, economic and military aspects, and after each country realizes what should be its role in that defense. To do this a strong and positive leadership should be exerted by those countries with more experience and credibility in the international arena to renew the principles of the O.A.S. and its Rio Treaty in relation to defense affairs.

Having the Armed Forces of each country trained under the same concepts and doctrines will help the military budgets of all those countries. On the one hand the U.S. and Canada would train their people in environments similar to those that the war predictors state, i.e., Third World, short, conventional conflicts. On the other hand, the countries of Latin America would be prepared to interact with the forces of U.S. and Canada in the event of any regional combined defense. The unity of efforts would save much more money to solve the common problems.

Latin America needs more support, training and advice from the more developed countries in her hemisphere; the

defense of the Americas should be done by the Americas and not only by the United States. A NATO type structure is not needed; neither is a great economic expenditure by the U.S., because each country would train its own Armed Forces with the units and personnel already present in their lines. The solution is relatively simple; more advice from the United States and Canada in military affairs, more intraregional exercises and regional training with participation by all the countries in different theaters and environments, eg. sea operations on the Caribbean sea, Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; jungle operations in Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela and Peru; low intensity conflict exercises in any selected country, etc. So, now when the economies are more constrained, the individual idiosyncracies and talents of the peoples from the American republics should be used in an overall effort for the common objectives of peace, security and welfare.

CHAPTER V

OUTCOMES OF THE UNION OF EFFORTS

Once the decision is made, to unify efforts, there are many problems that can be solved in the short to medium term by the total participation of the Americas' countries, having as a final objective, regional peace and a positive impulse toward the growth of the GDP of those countries who now have a negative economic growth rate.

The sincere desire of peace and well being of all the Americans, if consolidated, would bring important advances in many aspects to the region.

Closeness to Democracy

Even when major steps have been made in support of democracy in Latin America, there is still a feeling of weakness and a lack of confidence in some countries toward this system. As was stated by Howard J. Wiarda and Ieda Sequeira Wiarda, Professor and lecturer respectively in political

science, University of Massachusetts:

As President Bush starts his administration, the signs are already unmistakable that many Latinos view their experience with democracy as disillusioning. Many feel that theirs has become an empty freedom; democracy seldom works to bring about greater social justice, less corruption, more economic development, or sturdier institutions. If this fragile and disappointing democracy represents a daily disappointment for South Americans as they face the pressures of hyperinflation, the emptiness of politicians' promises, and the scourge of drugs, debts and terrorism, it presents a daunting challenge to the incoming Bush administration. (1)

Canada and the U.S. have a long history and experience with the democratic system; on the other hand Latin America has a very new democracy, inexperienced leaders to manage and conduct their countries, and a general fear of a possible military desire to take control of the governments of some countries. It is very clear the differences among the Americas' democracies.

The combined support to defend the two continents would give more confidence to the leaders of each democracy, and over the years increase confidence to better support their countries and the hemisphere. One school for democratic leaders could be the union of efforts and the exchange of ideas to solve the common and individual problems. The reorganization of the OAS should be the first step to reach a positive understanding among the Americas' leaders, and a big step for consolidation of the democracy in the region.

In the military field those countries from the north are pretty sure of the willingness of their military sector to support democracy. Their military doctrine is coherent with the interest and objectives of their role in that democracy. To the Latin Americans the professional schools in the U.S. and Canada at every level in the military area are very useful. Those schools are the perfect environments to exchange ideas and to organize their minds in support of democracy and the political decisions which are the bases for carrying out the interest of their countries.

The most important aspects for the security of any democracy is that the Armed Forces understand the important role that they play in it; defenders and not rulers of the countries. Also, Latin American politicians should understand their role of serving the people who believed in them as the more appropriate rulers, and by not betraying that confidence given to them by the people through free elections.

In Latin America these two aspects are getting enough importance in both sectors, the politicians and the armed forces. Each of them is trying to do its best, even with the appreciable poor economic and social situations spread over the whole region.

Solution to Social and Economic Problems

Any relation among countries with extremely different

social and economic levels is a real problem for both of them. On the one side, the trading capabilities of the poorer countries are very uneven, due to the inability to buy the necessary goods for their development. On the other side, for the wealthier countries, the people from the poorer ones in search of better levels of life for their families, bring with them in many cases, the problems associated with a different culture, education and the threat of competition for work power at lower costs.

The defense of the Americas from the threats stated in chapter III, would require decided mutual efforts in many fields, including the social and economic areas. But the point to this is not to give money to the less developed countries, but to teach them how to work, and especially how to manage different areas like education, health, industry, agriculture and the one important aspect attached to successful democracies, the idea of free markets.

Investment in the region would be another important aspect to help raise the economy, mainly because in these countries labor is cheaper and the currency exchange rate is favorable to the more developed countries. Having assembly plants in the Latin American and Caribbean countries could contribute to the teaching process and to the GDP growth. Also, investment would help to open the frontiers for trading throughout the continent. A decided support to the Caribbean

Basin countries will be given by President Bush, as he ordered:

The creation of an inter-departmental task force, chaired by U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills, to chart a new push for legislation - known as CBI/2 - to make the duty free program a permanent feature of U.S. trade policy and to give preferential trade treatment to Caribbean and Central American exports currently excluded from the CBI.(2)

The decision of Canada to join the OAS should be an important step to extend Bush's policy more to the south; with her help all the Latin American countries could be included in the plans and programs of regional trade and later development.

Reduction/Solution to Border Problems

Consolidation of the commercial and trade treaties, like the Amazonic Pact, the Andean Pact, CBI-2, Central American Common Market, will bring better political and economic understanding to the Americas' countries. It is a reality that some of these countries need the assistance of the others to improve their economies, and most of them to survive from the big depression in which they are sunk. The closeness of relations would have an extraordinary impact in the solution of borders problems. A fluent trade exchange can not be possible with closed borders, and the feeling of distant or cool relationships due to disagreements over

territories not well delineated or because that delineation is not accepted by one of the litigant countries.

If the Latin Americans want to preserve peace in the region, this aspect has to be solved very soon, as part of the whole plan to increase the probability of economic, political and social survival. So, the borders will be more secure if the solution to disagreements is found in the short term. The combined armed forces would operate better to defend their territories against subversion and drugs, the common enemies of democracy and stability.

Stronger and Better Prepared Regional Defense

The union of efforts should be the solution to defeat the common threats in the region: Communism, subversion, terrorism and drugs. With armed forces trained under the same programs, principles and doctrines, the defense of this hemisphere should be an easier task. The immediate action of any country against any aggression of the mentioned threats could be carried out initially by that country, and later, if support is needed, the other countries could intervene more rapidly without the need to understand the strategy, tactics or the techniques of fighting of the attacked allied.

The combined exercises and training planned in a multilateral way, should strengthen the capabilities of the

Americas' Armed Forces to defend their territories and to deploy in less time if the conditions dictate so, making the transition to joint/combined operations smoother, and the reason is because the relations among countries are more open and the situation has been jointly practiced before.

CHAPTER VI

STRATEGIES TO FOLLOW FOR THE AMERICAS' DEFENSE

In the last chapters were noted the problems of the regional organizations and their legal foundation to solve common troubles and threats to regional security. The defense structure of the Americas' countries was noted, showing a number of forces that can afford, with no major problems, to provide/assist regional defense against those common threats. Finally, the overall outcomes that can be obtained in the region if those defense structures train and act together as imposed by the situation were explained.

This chapter will point out strategies that should be followed by all the Americas' countries to solve the regional defense task, and how they should interact in support of peace, democracy and the well being of the Americas.

Solution of the Political Differences

The people from Latin America, U.S., Canada and the

Caribbean Basin are very different and distinct; their roots are from different cultures. The way to solve the problems and conduct their nations is also different in many ways. Today that difference in thinking and behavior is decreasing gradually because of two important tasks, strengthening democracy and the desire to live in peace.

There is an important closeness of most of the Americas' countries toward democracy, but there still exists a lack of direction in international politics. Some countries are bouncing between organizations that some times could bring problems to them, because of the different ideologies and objectives of those organizations. This is the case of the Non Aligned Countries which have communist countries like Cuba who is well known for her alliance and alignment with the Soviet Union.

Most of the countries of Latin America really need to establish a course toward a clear and sane democracy, they need political advice from those who have more experience and interest in the economic, social and military aspects. This advice of course should come from countries of the same region like Canada and the U.S.

Not a New N.A.T.O. in The Americas

With the probable reduction of communism in the world

the threat to the democratic system is declining gradually, and the possibility of a major global war will remain as a past issue. The Americas do not need to have a big force structure to deter the potential enemy, like in the N.A.T.O. case. With the actual force structure of each country, it will not be necessary to maintain part of the Canadian or U.S. forces deployed through the region. What will be necessary is to train those Latin American and Caribbean Forces to operate together under the same principles and techniques of those with better and major experience in war affairs and the use of forces in combined and joint operations.

How to Do It ?

The U.S. Southern Command stationed in Panama should be the ambassador of the U.S. Armed Forces in the region, and also the main coordinator for training and combined operations. The six tasks derived from its mission give an idea of the importance and value of this command if the forces of the Americas were more cooperative and related among themselves to accomplish regional defense:

- . Maintain the security of the canal and its southern approaches to the United States.
- . Support counterinsurgency in El Salvador and help other Latin American militaries combat insurgency, terrorism and narcotics trafficking.
- . Reverse Soviet, Cuban and Nicaraguan influence and their attempts to destabilize democratic process in Latin America.
- . Plan for contingencies in the theater and be prepared to conduct operations in consonance with U.S. interests.
- . Advance U.S. foreign policy objectives.
- . Enhance U.S. military influence in the theater and strengthen it with and among our allies.(1)

The last task supports the thesis of this chapter; actually, the USSOUTHCOM is acting and participating with the Latin American Forces in their training, but in a bilateral way, except for the Unitas and sometimes Halcon Vista exercises.

The forces of Central, South America and the Caribbean should be able to operate together in a combined/joint operation at any moment should the situation call for it. For example, the Air Forces of this area have never operated together in a multicombed way. They have been excluded from exercises involving the participation of more than two countries. Only as was stated before in the Unitas exercises, surface ships have been involved but not other Air Forces.

The Caribbean and Latin America have excellent and very adequate areas for combined training exercises with more than two countries. For example if the forces need to be trained in Low Intensity Conflict operations, Brazil, Colombia, Peru and Venezuela offer an excellent environment to conduct very realistic training. If the training is in drug trafficking interception, the Caribbean is the best area to do so, with plenty of participation of each country in the area.

When training is made unilaterally, it is almost sure that there will be political turmoil in the countries around the exercise areas; the strategy to follow should be to extend an invitation to those countries to participate, explaining

to them the future benefits to their own interests. An example was the exercises conducted by U.S. Navy north of Colombia in January 1990. Even when her territorial waters were not navigated, some sectors of the Colombian government were very upset and considered the exercises as an act of violation of Colombia's national integrity; but, what would have happened if the exercise had been done as a combined operation ?

More diplomacy and less showing of forces by the U.S. will help to accomplish step by step the training and preparation for a hemispheric defense with the willingness of each country's participation without reluctance, and toward a common objective: Peace and Stability.

Sharing Responsibilities

The defense of the Americas can be carried out by zones, giving the lead responsibility of each to countries who are part of these zones. One proposed division is as follows:

Zone No 1: Alaska, Canada and United States.

Zone No 2: U.S., Mexico, Central America, Caribbean Countries, Venezuela and Colombia.

Zone No 3: Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Brazil, Peru, Guyana, Suriname and French Guiana.

Zone No 4: Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay.

In the event of any global confrontation, where U.S. and Canada have to participate, the forces of this hemisphere could get together and stop or at least deny the advance of the enemy until support comes from other areas if feasible. To keep and maintain secure these zones, the countries with major experience in defense affairs should meet in order to establish the plans for a new regional defense doctrine that involves a thorough training with the weapons and armament already in existence in the inventory of each country. The obsolescence of some weapons does not matter if they are used according to their capabilities. Mixing them with other more advanced and sophisticated weapons, a strong defense able to deny any conventional threat could be achieved.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The defense of the Americas is a task that should be accomplished by all of her countries. Today communism is losing terrain in the international arena, but still it is not known what will be the final outcome resulting from this decadent ideology around the world. Subversion and terrorism are well connected in some cases to drug production and trafficking. Extreme poverty is touching some countries like Bolivia, El Salvador, Peru. The borders between some countries are still not defined, creating a potential cause for conflicts among Latin Americans.

These threats to the stability and peace of the Americas can be reduced and even more, eradicated, if all the countries realize their roles and their importance in supporting stability and peace.

Some strategies should be followed in different areas to accomplish successfully the defense, development and the stability of the Americas.

Political Area

The differing policies of the U.S., Canada, and the Latin American and Caribbean countries in support of their national interests and objectives have resulted in those countries criticizing each other for the strategies used, and the actions taken in favor of those interests and objectives. This is the case of Operation Just Cause in Panama, where the U.S. was acting in protection of her own and also Panama's national interest. All the American countries, except Cuba and Nicaragua, agreed with Noriega's removal from power and with the reestablishment of democracy in that country, but most of them did not support a military intervention.

These political differences among the American countries are keeping them apart. The maximum regional organism, the OAS, has been a non useful apparatus to unify the regional interests of those countries. Many of the decisions to solve regional problems have been taken unilaterally without consulting or taking recommendations from the OAS. Argentina's attempt to recover The Falklands in 1982, and the U.S. support to England are examples of those unilateral decisions.

The restoration of confidence in the OAS is the immediate action that should be adopted by all its signatories. Once it is reorganized it should be the organism of consultation for the solution of the Americas' problems. The national interest of each country should be reviewed, then

after that, the regional interest as an overall result of the compilation of those countries' needs and objectives can be established. The governments should make arrangements to teach their future politicians in areas like international relations and political science through short assistance courses and programs offered by the U.S. and Canada and sponsored by the Department of State of these countries, similar to the IMET programs in the military area. This last recommendation will bring good results in the political area over the short and long term, reflected in the unification of democratic thinking and the understanding of each country's position and value in the international context.

Social Area

The unstable social situation of most of the Americas' countries is putting an enormous amount of uncertainty in their future. Working manpower is being reduced gradually and the capabilities of the nations to survive this hard moment of economic "depression" is in consequence also decreasing.

Health, education, family stability and public services are the social aspects that need immediate attention, before new turmoil happens in protest to the chaotic situation.

The example of Caracas, Venezuela, and Rosario, Argentina, in 1989 should alert our governments of the oncoming

problems of a discontent population. Immediate actions should be taken in order to make the people believe again in democracy. Programs like civic action, health, education, and public services advice should be accomplished by those countries with better social and economic capabilities.

We must not forget the beginning of communism in Russia. The people were tired of being the Czars' slaves, and leaders like Marx and Lenin, with a powerful influence over the masses, conducted them to their revolution. Currently the situation in Latin America is not like that in Russia in the beginning of the 20th century, but has to serve us as an example of the results of discontented and oppressed people added to the participation of opportune leaders to conduct them against the established government systems.

Today the countries' leaders must control corruption and must work for a clean administration of funds, that can be then used for the benefit of the people who voted for them. The social stability of any country is a key point in its overall capability to succeed in any area of its development.

Economic Area

The external debt of \$ 416 billion, the continuously increasing annual inflation rate from 57.5 percent in 1981 to 994.2 percent in 1989 (1), and the negative per capita growth

rate of the gross domestic product of - 6.55 between 1981 and 1989 (2). show that:

The Latin American countries appear to be reaching the limit of their ability to adjust to outside constraints by expanding the production of either traditional or non traditional exports sufficiently to pay their external debt or invest in new production processes. It adds that the heavy debt burden is disrupting their fiscal and financial systems, creating inflation or recession, and further undermining growth and investment possibilities. (3)

It is extremely important for those countries to reorient their economies. First, by receiving preferential treatment to pay the service and the external debt. Second, by establishing new taxes on the products to and from Latin America. Third, by providing incentives to regional commercial pacts, having as a final objective the reactivation of one economic organism in the OAS to control trade and to give preference to the region's products. Fourth, incentives to the industrials and traders to invest in the region, especially in Latin America. Fifth, recognition by the U.S. and Canada of the importance of this area for their security, trade, supply of raw materials and support of their interest around the world. And sixth, one of the most important for the Latin Americans and Caribbean, to get opportune advice for investment and development, before making any false movement toward reduction of the external debt or any other policy related to the economy's management.

Military Area

The military and diplomacy are responsible for keeping the values, interest and credibility of a nation in the international environment. They are the right and left arms of policy to accomplish national objectives. Internally, each country in the Americas has defined the roles for military and diplomacy as the supporters of their security. Externally, those roles have not been well established, and the security of the hemisphere currently is the responsibility of U.S. and of the countries where specific problems exist.

Subversion, terrorism, drugs and communism are the main threats to the regional security. To eradicate them the unity of efforts of every country in the Americas is required.

The division of the continents by zones of defense and the joint/combined training of the Armed Forces of those zones should be done promptly; initially at a high rate of periodic training and then at least every six months. The military schools in the U.S. and Canada should increase their offers of training and formation courses for the Latin American and Caribbean Armed Forces, as a mean of military consolidation of ideas and their role in support of democracy and its institutions.

Another important aspect would be the provision of constant advice and assistance to Latin American and Caribbean combatant units and supply organizations, using operational and technical assistance with Mobile Training Teams (MTT) for

short periods of time each year.

Finally, we must revive the continental defense pacts, treaties and accords, channeling them through the OAS after a clear understanding of the interests and objectives of each country, and consequently the need for a unity of forces to defend our integrity as a democratic and peaceful region.

Final Remarks

In general the defense of the Americas is not the sole responsibility of the U.S., it is the responsibility of all countries to defend their hemisphere not only against military threats, but against those that threaten the security, peace and welfare of their citizens. So the defense is against communism, subversion, drugs, extreme poverty, corruption, external debt, illiteracy and bad health. This very serious task has to be solved soon with the total participation of all of the "Americans from the Americas".

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