

## The conceptions of security in selected countries of former, dictatorial, regimes in Latin America.

**Karolina Baraniak**

PhD candidate University of Wrocław (Poland)

[karolinabaraniak@interia.pl](mailto:karolinabaraniak@interia.pl)

### Abstract:

*The article focuses on the security's conceptions in selected, former dictatorial countries of Latin America- Argentina, Chile and Colombia. It touches upon a question of national and international security as well as distinctive for chosen states problems connected with this topic.*

In social and political sciences the security is treated as a condition opposing to danger, as a lack of threats<sup>1</sup>. It is seen as a subjective need, explaining that it can refer to all kinds of subjects, from individuals to social groups. It is also perceived as an existential necessity, linked to the existence of a particular subject<sup>2</sup>. It includes satisfying such specific needs as survival (self-sufficiency), totality, identity (identity), independence, calmness, possession and certainty of functioning and development<sup>3</sup>.

Latin America is considered one of the safer regions in the world, taking into account both the past and modern times. During the rivalry of the superpowers in Asia or Africa there were many conflicts, in which the USA and the USSR were involved either directly or indirectly. Europe was divided by the iron curtain which separated the interests of the two powers<sup>4</sup>. Latin America, located in the USA sphere of influence, it remains somewhat off the beaten track for global military action. This does not mean, however, that it is not worthwhile to try to analyze the concepts of national and international security created by Latin American countries, focusing on the ideas of the counter-state of threats posed by the three states of the former Latin American dictatorships: Argentina<sup>5</sup>, Chile<sup>6</sup> and Colombia<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> R. Zięba, *Pozimnowojenny paradygmat bezpieczeństwa międzynarodowego*, [in:] R. Zięba (ed.), *Bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe po zimnej wojnie*, Warszawa 2008, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>4</sup> M. F. Gawrycki, *Regionalne koncepcje bezpieczeństwa w Ameryce Łacińskiej*, Warszawa 2005, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Ruled by a junta in 1976-1982.

<sup>6</sup> Administered by general Augusto Pinochet in the period from September 11, 1973 to December 14, 1989

<sup>7</sup> Remained in the hands of general Gustavo Rojas Pinilla from 1953 to 1957.

## ARGENTINA

### National security

Argentina is currently focusing on solving its social problems - economic and not occupy the most important place in reforming the architecture of regional security. It is interesting to note, that in the years of Carlos Menem's 1989-1999 presidency

Argentina has approached the US in terms of conception "new realism", which assumed surrendering globalization, expanding economic integration, promoting the free market, defending democracy, and adopting Washington's leadership.<sup>8</sup> Even the issue of Argentina's accession to the statute of the extraordinary associate member of NATO was considered, when it became impossible, the Menem's administration proposed in 1999 the adoption of Argentina to this grouping under full membership rights, which was strongly criticized by the Argentinian opposition. The case was explained by the negative response of NATO's then Secretary General Javier Solana as for the possibility of accepting Argentina for this organization<sup>9</sup>. The economic crisis of 2001 brought about a

cooling of Argentinian-American relations, and more attention was paid to Mercosur's integration, but Argentina is still enjoying a status as a special ally of the United States outside of NATO<sup>10</sup>.

Speaking of the national security of Argentina, it is impossible not to mention the conflict of the Falkland Islands, which reached its roots until 1833, when the English seized the islands, displacing them from the Argentinians. Since then, the return of the islands to the rule of the Argentine state has been one of the most important issues in Argentina's foreign and internal politics, as can be attested by an act of attachment of the Falkland Islands by the Argentine army in 1982<sup>11</sup>. The state junta hoped the short-lived victorious war would contribute to long years of peaceful rule. The lost battle for the Falkland Islands, caused by the expulsion of the Argentinian troops from these islands by the arrival of the British expeditionary force from Europe, resulted in the collapse of the junta, but the newly elected Argentine democratic authorities were of the opinion that the Falkland Islands should return to Argentina, in which they were included in the first half of the nineteenth century.

<sup>8</sup> M. F. Gawrycki, op. cit., p.95.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>11</sup>J. Spyra, *Spory terytorialne w Ameryce Łacińskiej*, [in:] M.F. Gawrycki (ed.) *Ameryka Łacińska we współczesnym świecie*, Warszawa 2006, p. 84.

This view is supported by all countries of Latin America<sup>12, 13</sup>.

According to Argentina, building subregional structures between countries, that combine common historical experiences or a similar level of socioeconomic development, is an important complement to the regional security architecture. At present it is not possible to speak in Latin America of the existence of traditional security threats, perceived as a threat to collective aggression in any country<sup>14</sup>. It was noted that subregional institutions have a positive impact on peace and security. The example of Mercosur has confirmed, according to Argentina, the positive impact of economic integration on defense issues - there has been a strengthening of confidence in other countries, began to see them as friends rather than enemies. Hence, it is hardly surprising that Argentina attaches great importance to the regional consultation

mechanisms established in Chile in 1995 (Comité Permanente de Seguridad) and Brazil in 1997 (Mecanismo de Consulta sobre Defensa y Seguridad Argentino Brasileño)<sup>15</sup>.

### International security

Apart from membership in Mercosur<sup>16</sup>, Argentina also belongs to such organizations as

- ❖ **G-20** - In 2010 Argentina ranks 28th place in the ranking of the 50 largest economies in the world<sup>17</sup>, in April 2017 won 21st place in this ranking<sup>18</sup>
- ❖ **Latin American Economic System** (*Sistema Económico Latinoamericano y del Caribe, SELA*) – member since 17 October 1975,
- ❖ **Organization of American States** (*OAS, Organización de los Estados Americanos*) – member since 30 April 1948. In November 2005 the 4th OPA summit was held

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>13</sup> Censorious criticism of the British invasion has, among others. Cuba, which openly admitted Argentina's right to its jurisdiction over the archipelago. Argentine general Reynaldo Bignone thanked Fidel Castro for this gesture during the summit of non-aligned states in New Delhi, March 1983.

See more in: R. Pereira Carrero, *Polityka zagraniczna Argentyny*, [in:] M.F. Gawrycki (ed.), *Polityka zagraniczna państw Ameryki Łacińskiej*, Warszawa 2006, p. 112.

<sup>14</sup> M. F. Gawrycki, op. cit., p. 96.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>16</sup> Since 26 March 1991.

<sup>17</sup> R. Burda, *Ranking 50 największych gospodarek świata 2011*, [in:] Official website of Polish portal Energetyka.Inżynieria.com, <http://energetyka.inzynieria.com/cat/86/art/26261/ranking-50-najwiekszych-gospodarek-swiate-2012> (access: 23.09.2017)

<sup>18</sup> *List of Countries by Projected GDP*, [in:] Official website of Statistics Times: <http://statisticstimes.com/economy/countries-by-projected-gdp.php> (access: 23.09.2017)

in the Argentine Mar del Plata, Within which the leaders of the Member States were concentrating on the main problems of the region concerning job creation

and strengthening democratic governance in American countries. 52 postulates derived from the Declaration and the Mar del Plata Action Plan have been grouped into thematic areas such as Employment Development, Poverty Reduction, Employee Training, Micro, Small and Medium Sized Enterprises as a driver of job development, Strengthening democratic governance. The Mar Del Plata Action Plan considers each of these three areas from three perspectives: national commitments, hemispheric co-operation, and international organizations<sup>19</sup>.

❖ **Union of South American Nations** (*Unión de Naciones Suramericanas* (UNASUR)) – member since 8 December 2004<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> *Summit of the Americas*, [in:] Official website of Summit of the Americas: [http://www.summit-americas.org/iv\\_summit.html](http://www.summit-americas.org/iv_summit.html) (access: 23.09.2017)

<sup>20</sup> K. Baran, *Południowoamerykańska Wspólnota Narodów*, [in:] Official website of Polish informational portal E-polityka: [http://www.e-polityka.pl/a.7859.Poludniowoamerykanska\\_Wspolnota\\_Narodow.html](http://www.e-polityka.pl/a.7859.Poludniowoamerykanska_Wspolnota_Narodow.html) (access: 23.09.2017)

❖ **Latin American Integration Association** (*Asociación Latinoamericana de Integración, ALADI*) – member since 12 August 1980.

### **Nuclear security**

The National Atomic Energy Commission was established in Argentina in 1950. In 1958 Argentine scientists succeeded in obtaining radioisotope, the beginning of 1957 brought the decision of the state authorities to build their own nuclear reactor<sup>21</sup>. Thanks to Canadian and West German assistance, Argentina was able to develop a nuclear program that resulted in the construction of atomic centers: Atucha I, working since 1974, and Embalse, operating since 1984<sup>22, 23</sup>. In October 1979, the German company Kraftwerk Union (KWW), a subsidiary of Siemens, won the bid for the construction of a new Argentine nuclear reactor Atucha II<sup>24</sup>. The decision to

<sup>21</sup> M. F. Gawrycki, op. cit., p.138.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>23</sup> Atucha I has a netto power of 335 MW and Embalse a netto power of 600 MW. See more in: T. Surdel, *Ruszyła kolejna elektrownia atomowa w Argentynie*, [in:] Official website of Polish informational portal Tierralatina, <http://www.tierralatina.pl/2011/09/elektrownia-atomowa-argentina/> (access: 23.09.2017)

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem.

complete it was taken over in 2006 by then President Néstor Kirchner and the inauguration of the object<sup>25</sup> on 29 September 2011, opened Argentina's President Cristina Fernández Kirchner, announcing the start of work on another nuclear power plant, Atucha III<sup>26</sup>.

Argentina has one of Latin America's largest uranium deposits, mined since 1953, so it should come as no surprise that the ruling Argentine state in 1976-1982 sought to achieve self-sufficiency in nuclear technology. Uranium enrichment capability, achieved by the Argentinians in 1983, it was recognized by the world as the first step towards the creation of nuclear weapons by this country<sup>27</sup>.

Despite improvements in its nuclear program, Argentina has been skeptical about international disputes prohibiting proliferation of this weapon, in particular, opposed the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NTP).

Argentinian state pointed to its discriminating nature as it provided the nuclear states with a monopoly on nuclear technology, reinforced by the asymmetric definition of their obligations.<sup>28</sup>.

Another Argentinean view was presented to the Treaty of Tlatelolco, noting that it does not contain discriminatory provisions and equally divides the obligations between atomic and non-atomic states<sup>29</sup>.

## CHILE

### National security.

Chile, linked by political and economic ties with the United States and the states of its region, says that the concept of hemispheric security should protect respect for international law, sovereignty and independence, and the principle of non-interference

<sup>25</sup> Atucha II has a capacity of 700 MW, independent calculations estimate the cost of its construction at up to \$ 4 billion. Atucha I and Atucha II are located next to each other in Lima, 115 km north of Buenos Aires.

See more in: T. Surdel, *Ruszyla kolejna elektrownia atomowa w Argentynie*, [in:] Official website of Polish informational portal Tierralatina, <http://www.tierralatina.pl/2011/09/elektrownia-atomowa-argentyna/> (access: 23.09.2017)

<sup>26</sup> T. Surdel, *Ruszyla kolejna elektrownia atomowa w Argentynie*, [in:] Official website of Polish informational portal Tierralatina,

<http://www.tierralatina.pl/2011/09/elektrownia-atomowa-argentyna/> (access: 23.09.2017)

<sup>27</sup> M. F. Gawrycki, op. cit., p. 138.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, p. 139.

<sup>29</sup> However, taking into account the ongoing war on the Falkland Islands, conducted with the British with nuclear weapons, Argentina has not decided to join the treaty but has made this in the 90's.

See more in: M. F. Gawrycki, *Regionalne koncepcje bezpieczeństwa w Ameryce Łacińskiej*, Warszawa 2005, p. 139.

in internal affairs. Its tasks should also include strengthening democratic systems and ensuring respect for human rights<sup>30,31</sup>.

The Chilean idea is being implemented in terms of Bolivia's access to the Pacific. Problem This refers to Bolivia and Chile, as well as to the Chilean-Peru agreement, signed

in 1929, to some extent to Peru. Bolivia urgently demands sovereign and territorial access

to the Pacific coast, thus regaining access to the sea<sup>32</sup>, necessary for the proper economic and social development of the country. It

was going to internationalize the conflict and Chile's commitment to make concessions through the pressure of international public opinion

and international organizations. The Chilean state, in turn, treated the issue as a bilateral one and opposed the proposals for mediation or the involvement of international organizations

in its solution<sup>33</sup>.

Chile aims to facilitate Bolivia's access to the Pacific through transit facilities, infrastructure construction, or

even long lease periods in Chilean ports, but does not want to leave Bolivia part of its territory, to provide Bolivian independent access to the ocean.

It sees this problem as the culmination of a long process of repair and development of bilateral relations<sup>34</sup>. Peru will still have to accept the agreement reached in this regard by Chile and Bolivia as a result of the fact that the only sensible course of a possible Bolivian corridor is through the former Peruvian areas. Bypassing these lands would bring with it the consequences of determining a corridor that breaks the territorial continuity of Chile, which in any case Chilean government does not want to allow<sup>35</sup>.

Chilean capital comes to the conclusion that each region and subregion has the right to identify its own threats and to use appropriate preventive measures<sup>36</sup>.

The TIAR- the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, which came into force in 1948, in keeping with the opinion of the Chilean authorities, is still an

<sup>30</sup> Ibidem, p.97.

<sup>31</sup> For Chile, as for one of the few Western countries, a major threat for security is among others cybercrime.

<sup>32</sup> Bolivia lost access to the Pacific due to the lost war with Chile in 1884, the so-called. "war on saletra"

See more in: Spyra J., *Polityka zagraniczna Chile*, [in:] M.F. Gawrycki (ed.), *Polityka zagraniczna państw Ameryki Łacińskiej*, Warszawa 2006, p. 139.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem, p. 82.

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem.

effective tool for ensuring safety, but needs to be complemented by elements that are related with new threats<sup>37</sup>.

### **International security.**

Chile is part of or cooperates with such international organizations as:

- ❖ **Asia- Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)** – member since 1994,
- ❖ **Mercosur (*Mercado Común del Sur*)** – associated state since 1996,
- ❖ **Organization of American States (OAS, *Organización de los Estados Americanos*)** – member since 30 April 1948. Third, in terms of frequency, the issue discussed during the American summits during the 1990s was security issues, seen from the beginning as widely as possible, taking into account the so-called new threats or unconventional threats. The first step in the process of rebuilding the region's security system was the 1991 Santiago Declaration on Democracy<sup>38</sup>. American states have accepted the fact that for security and stability on the continent they must defend democracy. This decision made the security

issues to be interpreted with new issues, both internal and external, e.g. the fight against terrorism, drug trafficking, organized crime, and thus the threat to the security of the region could flow not only from the activities of states but also from the activities of non-state actors - international and local terrorist organizations, drug mafia<sup>39</sup>.

- ❖ **Latin American Economic System (*Sistema Económico Latinoamericano y del Caribe, SELA*)** – member since 17 October 1975,
- ❖ **Central American Integration System (*Sistema de la Integración Centroamericana, SICA*)** - status of observer.
- ❖ **Latin American Integration Association (*Asociación Latinoamericana de Integración, ALADI*)** – member since 12 August 1980,
- ❖ **Union of South American Nations (*Unión de Naciones Suramericanas, UNASUR*)** – member since 8 December 2004.

### **COLOMBIA**

#### **National security.**

<sup>37</sup> M. F. Gawrycki, op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>38</sup> J. Spyra, *Problemy bezpieczeństwa w Ameryce Łacińskiej*, [in:] M.F. Gawrycki (ed.). *Ameryka*

*Łacińska we współczesnym świecie*, Warszawa 2006, p.53.  
<sup>39</sup> Ibidem.

Colombia - a country in which civil war has lasted for nearly 60 years - sees the safety of the Western Hemisphere in a similar way to the United States. It places great emphasis on the fight against terrorism and the need to introduce mechanisms to counteract this phenomenon<sup>40</sup>. It assumes that the hemispherical safety system should be based on universalism (covering all countries), cooperation, shared responsibility, respect for human rights and progressive institutionalization. The definition of threats should be highly flexible so that each country can focus on the most important threats from its point of view<sup>41</sup>.

The militancy of the security concept in Colombia took place in 2002 after the election of Alvar Uribe as president. The concept of "democratic security", however, differed from the earlier Central American vision. This idea too weakly accentuates the social issues that form an integral part of the Colombian armed conflict and deals with military solutions<sup>42</sup>. At the end of 2003, after a very long

discussion, the Colombian Congress accepted President Uribe's "Antiterrorist Statute," severely judged among others by the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. This project was seen as an attempt to reduce fundamental human rights and the rights of the citizen; it would contribute to the amendment of Articles 15, 24, 28 and 250 of the Colombian Constitution on basic civil rights and the role of investigative bodies.<sup>43</sup> It would force citizens to inform the authorities about their place of residence and place of work, would allow the Colombian armed forces to use wiretapping and correspondence control. The Colombian Constitutional Court opposed the introduction of this controversial act on August 30, 2004, and explained, that procedural errors were committed at the time of passing it<sup>44</sup>.

The Colombian authorities enjoy strong financial and military support of the USA. The Americans helped the Colombians through intelligence and logistical support, among others during the Patriot Plan launched in 2004<sup>45</sup>. President Bush urged the Congress

<sup>40</sup> M.F. Gawrycki, op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>41</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>42</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>45</sup> Patriot Plan- military operation, conducted in the years 2004-2006 by the Colombian government with financial support from the US, aimed at fighting the guerrilla groups of Colombia, especially with FARC and ELN

of the USA to agree to increase the presence of US troops in Colombia<sup>46</sup>.

Colombia strives for the internationalization of Colombian conflict - together

with the United States she appeared at the Sixth Conference of Defense Ministers of America in Quito with the proposal of creating multilateral forces for possible intervention

in Colombia, However, other Latin American countries strongly opposed it<sup>47</sup>.

Colombia assumes such modernization of TIAR and the Inter-American system<sup>48</sup>,

so that this system can respond effectively to both external and internal threats. It stresses

the importance of Latin American security cooperation in order to increase the exchange

of intelligence, increase border control

efficiency, and cooperate more closely in the interception of small aircraft transporting narcotics<sup>49</sup>.

### **International security.**

Colombia has the status of member or observer in such organizations as:

❖ **Caribbean Development Bank (CDB)** – member since 18 October 1969.

Colombia has joined to this organization as one of the first countries, significantly increasing

its trade with the Caribbean<sup>50</sup>,

❖ **Latin American Economic System (Sistema Económico Latinoamericano y del Caribe, SELA)** – member since 17 October 1975,

❖ **Mercosur** -associated state since 2004,

❖ **Organization of American States (OAS, Organización de los Estados Americanos)**

– member since 30 April 1948.

See more in: A.Isacson, A. Poe, *After Plan Columbia: Evaluating „Integrated Action”, the next phase*

*of U.S.assistance*, [in:] Official website of Just the Facts: <http://justf.org/content/after-plan-colombia> (access: 23.09.2017)

<sup>46</sup> M. F. Gawrycki, op. cit., p. 98.

<sup>47</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>48</sup> The favorable development of the US-Latin American cooperation during the Second World War caused them to be interested in continuing and strengthening these relations and postulating their institutionalization.

The ground for a new inter-American system was the Conference on War and Peace in Chapultepec (1945),

and later met in Rio de Janeiro and Bogotá. The new

regional order was based on two documents: the Mutual Assistance Treaty (Rio Treaty) of September 2, 1947 and the Charter of the American States, approved on May 2, 1948 in Bogotá. At the same time, in the Colombian capital the American Settlement of Dispute Resolution (the Bogota Pact) was signed. The construction of the Inter-American Security System culminated in the adoption of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America of 14 February 1967 (Treaty of Tlatelolco). See more in: M. F. Gawrycki, op. cit., s. 111.

<sup>49</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>50</sup> Oberda A., *Polityka zagraniczna Kolumbii*, [in:] M.F. Gawrycki (ed.), *Polityka zagraniczna państw Ameryki Łacińskiej*, Warszawa 2006, p.162.

On May 2, 1948, during the Pan American Conference in Bogota, the Charter of the Organization of American States and the Treaty about Peaceful Resolution of Disputes were signed<sup>51</sup>.

❖ **Union of South American Nations** (*Unión de Naciones Suramericanas* (UNASUR)) – member since 8 December 2004.

❖ **Latin American Integration Association** (*Asociación Latinoamericana de Integración, ALADI*)- member since 12 August 1980,

❖ **Andean Community (Comunidad Andina)** -member since 26 May 1969.

Colombia's greatest rapprochement with the states of South America took place in the 1960s and 1970s, thanks to the adoption at that time by the Colombian state of the new political doctrine - Respite Similia. This idea assumed that Colombia would regain its place on the political map of Latin America and

revive contact with its immediate surroundings<sup>52</sup>.

Reflecting this concept was the signing of the agreement on Andean subregional integration

of 26 May 1969 - The Andean Pact - of which Colombia was the initiator<sup>53</sup>.

### **The problem of drugs.**

Colombia is defined as a multidrug country - a country of many drugs, with the main role of cocaine. Favorable geographical position of the state and long traditions of smuggling (e.g. emerald trade) caused, that the Colombian mafia attained a monopoly in mediating in the world cocaine trade<sup>54</sup>. The weakness of the Colombian state, the lack of control over certain parts of the country, and the possession of arms by all citizens, resulting from the "permanent civil war" in Colombia since 1948, played a big role in this process. Colombian cartels<sup>55</sup> have become deceptively similar to the Italian mafia, and

<sup>51</sup> Spyra J., *Problemy bezpieczeństwa w Ameryce Łacińskiej*, [in:] M.F. Gawrycki (ed.). *Ameryka Łacińska*

*we współczesnym świecie*, Warszawa 2006, p.47.

<sup>52</sup> Oberda A., op. cit., p.161

<sup>53</sup> Ibidem

<sup>54</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>55</sup>The cartel of Medellin, led by Pablo Escobar, is considered the first cartel in Colombia. Since 1986 he has fought both with his competitors and with Colombia itself. The murders made by members of the cartel for President Luis Carlos Galana, the bombing of Colombian airliner Avianca, the bombing of El

Espectador,

and other acts of violence helped the Medellin cartel to enforce the 1990-1991 constitution with no extradition

to the US for committing a drug offense. Pablo Escobar, who has still been loved by today's poorer part

of Medellin's society, has been murdered in December 1993 under unclear circumstances.

See more in: Ługowska U., *Problem narkotykowy w Ameryce Łacińskiej*, [in:] M.F. Gawrycki (ed.). *Ameryka Łacińska we współczesnym świecie*, Warszawa 2006, p. 200.

family ties are very important (typical Colombian family - large and solid). Thanks to massive job migrations to the United States, natural family relationships have developed, spanning the outermost regions of Colombia to all states of the United States.<sup>56</sup>

In the 1970s, Colombia was identified with a major marijuana producer. In 1974 six large marijuana traffickers turned to more favorable cocaine trade, more condensed, and thus easier to transport. Thanks to its stimulating properties, this drug enjoyed great popularity in the 1980's and 90's.<sup>57</sup> Outside of the Colombians, the biggest drug dealers were among others. Cuban and Venezuelan people. In the Colombian state, up to now, clean cocaine' laboratories have been established<sup>58, 59</sup>.

The Latin American security system currently exists in the creation and reconstruction phase. Certainly this process will be long-lasting, full of unexpected

"turnarounds".

The United States, in the past the originator of a collective security system, today focuses primarily on global fighting policy with terrorism<sup>60</sup>. As a result, Latin American countries are creating their own security strategies themselves.

Argentina is poised to support the multipolar international order by launching various initiatives in global and regional international organizations, such as the United Nations and OAs. Besides, the Argentine state belongs to the main members of the strongest economic organization – the Mercosur, working vigorously for its expansion and development. Argentina is also seeking a permanent seat in the UN Security Council, subject to the introduction of rotational exchanges in this position with Brazil.<sup>61</sup>

Chile considered the main directions of its activities as: strengthening democracy, especially in neighboring

<sup>56</sup> Ibidem, p. 199.

<sup>57</sup> The bloom of coca cultivation in Colombia fell at the end of the 80's, its peak gained in the second half of the 90's. Clear development of cocaine production has been observed since the mid-1990s. In 1991, Colombia produced 13.7% of coca in the world, and in October 2006 was the source of about 70% of coca leaf and cocaine in the world..

See more in.: Krauss C., *Handel narkotykami w Kolumbii*, *Stosunki Międzynarodowe*, [in:] Official website

of Polish informational portal [StosunkiMiedzynarodowe.info](http://StosunkiMiedzynarodowe.info):

[http://stosunkimiedzynarodowe.info/artykul,965,Handel\\_narkotykami\\_w\\_Kolumbii](http://stosunkimiedzynarodowe.info/artykul,965,Handel_narkotykami_w_Kolumbii)

<sup>58</sup> U. Ługowska, op. cit., p. 200.

<sup>59</sup> In 2004, the Colombian authorities seized nearly 150 tons of cocaine, a one-third increase in comparison against 2003. At the same time, 1900 cocaine laboratories were abolished, an increase of 42% against 2002.

See more in: U. Ługowska, op. cit., p.205.

<sup>60</sup> J. Spyra, op. cit., p. 63.

<sup>61</sup> R. Pereira Carrero, *Polityka zagraniczna Argentyny*, [in:] M.F. Gawrycki (ed.). *Polityka zagraniczna państw Ameryki Łacińskiej*, Warszawa 2006, p. 101.

countries, opposing coups and violations of the law and the constitutional system; economic development - foreign policy, according to Chile, must serve the economic interests of the country; complicity In creating a safe, stable and peaceful international order<sup>62</sup>.

President Uribe's administration qualified Colombia's most important strategic objectives for defense of national sovereignty, the overall development of borders, the consolidation of strategic bilateral relations, the defense and promotion of national and national development agenda in the international arena, raising awareness of the real state situation, ties with Colombian communities abroad<sup>63</sup>. The basis for these assumptions is the principles of democratic governance, shared responsibility, and the solidarity of the international community in solving the key problems of the state<sup>64</sup>.

An important role in creating a new security system is attributed to the "new threats", displacing classical threats of weakening. It should be borne in mind, however, that the construction of a new security system will not take place without political

will of the USA and countries of Latin America.

#### Bibliography:

- [1] Baran K., *Południowoamerykańska Wspólnota Narodów*, [in:] Official website of Polish informational portal E-polityka: [http://www.e-polityka.pl/a.7859.Poludniowoamerykanska\\_Wspolnota\\_Narodow.html](http://www.e-polityka.pl/a.7859.Poludniowoamerykanska_Wspolnota_Narodow.html)
- [2] Burda R., *Ranking 50 największych gospodarek świata 2011* [in:] Official website of Polish portal Energetyka.Inzynieria.com, <http://energetyka.inzynieria.com/cat/86/art/26261/ranking-50-najwiekszych-gospodarek-swiata-2012>
- [3] Gawrycki M.F., *Regionalne koncepcje bezpieczeństwa w Ameryce Łacińskiej*, Warszawa 2005.
- [4] Isacson A., Poe A., *After Plan Columbia: Evaluating „Integrated Action”, the next phase of U.S. assistance*, [in:] Official website of Just the Facts: <http://justf.org/content/after-plan-colombia>
- [5] Krauss C., *Handel narkotykami w Kolumbii, Stosunki Międzynarodowe*, [in:] Official website of Polish informational portal StosunkiMiędzynarodowe.info: [http://stosunkimiedzynarodowe.info/artypk/ul,965,Handel\\_narkotykami\\_w\\_Kolumbii](http://stosunkimiedzynarodowe.info/artypk/ul,965,Handel_narkotykami_w_Kolumbii)
- [6] *List of Countries by Projected GDP*, [in:] Official website of Statistics Times: <http://statisticstimes.com/economy/countries-by-projected-gdp.php>
- [7] Ługowska U., *Problem narkotykowy w Ameryce Łacińskiej*, [in:] M.F. Gawrycki (ed.). *Ameryka Łacińska we współczesnym świecie*, Warszawa 2006.

<sup>62</sup> J. Spyra, *Polityka zagraniczna Chile*, [in:] M.F. Gawrycki (ed.), *Polityka zagraniczna państw Ameryki Łacińskiej*, Warszawa 2006, p. 133.

<sup>63</sup> Oberda A., op. cit., p.148.

<sup>64</sup> Ibidem.

- [8] Oberda A., *Polityka zagraniczna Kolumbii*, [in:] M.F. Gawrycki (ed.), *Polityka zagraniczna państw Ameryki Łacińskiej*, Warszawa 2006.
- [9] Pereira Carrero R., *Polityka zagraniczna Argentyny*, [in:] M.F. Gawrycki (ed.), *Polityka zagraniczna państw Ameryki Łacińskiej*, Warszawa 2006.
- [10] Spyra J., *Polityka zagraniczna Chile*, [in:] M.F. Gawrycki (ed.), *Polityka zagraniczna państw Ameryki Łacińskiej*, Warszawa 2006.
- [11] Spyra J., *Problemy bezpieczeństwa w Ameryce Łacińskiej*, [in:] M.F. Gawrycki (ed.), *Ameryka Łacińska we współczesnym świecie*, Warszawa 2006.
- [12] Spyra J., *Spory terytorialne w Ameryce Łacińskiej*, [in:] M.F. Gawrycki (ed.), *Ameryka Łacińska we współczesnym świecie*, Warszawa 2006.
- [13] *Summit of the Americas*, [in:] Official website of Summit of the Americas: [http://www.summit-americas.org/iv\\_summit.html](http://www.summit-americas.org/iv_summit.html)
- [14] Surdel T., *Ruszyła kolejna elektrownia atomowa w Argentynie*, [in:] Official website of Polish informational portal Tierralatina, <http://www.tierralatina.pl/2011/09/elektrownia-atomowa-argentina/>
- [15] Zięba R., *Pozimnowojenny paradygmat bezpieczeństwa międzynarodowego*, [in:] R. Zięba (ed.), *Bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe po zimnej wojnie*, Warszawa 2008.