



# **Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation**

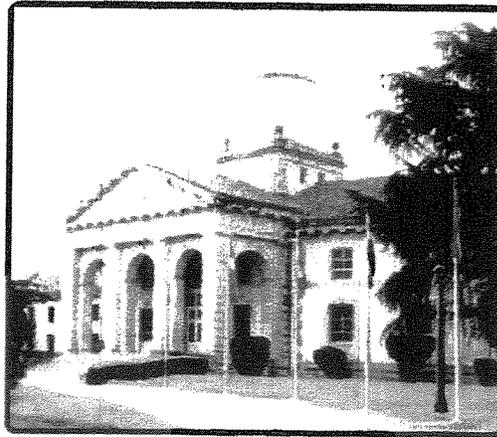
**WHINSEC Occasional Papers Series**

**#6**

**The 2nd Annual Hemispheric Security Conference**

**19-20 September, 2002**

**WESTERN HEMISPHERE  
INSTITUTE FOR  
SECURITY  
COOPERATION**



**THE 2nd ANNUAL  
HEMISPHERIC  
CONFERENCE**

**SEPTEMBER 19-20, 2002  
Fort Benning, Georgia**



**COL Richard D. Downie**, United States Army, was born in New York and commissioned in 1976. After graduation from the United States Military Academy (USMA) at West Point, he served in the Infantry and subsequently qualified as a Foreign Area Officer for Latin America. He attended Airborne School, Infantry Officer Basic and Advanced Courses, Ranger School, the LANCERO Course (International Ranger in Colombia), the U.S. Army Command and General Staff Course, the Defense Strategy Course and the U.S. Army War College. He has a Bachelor of Science Degree from USMA, West Point; a Master of Arts Degree and Ph.D. in International Relations from the University of Southern California; and was an Army Fellow in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Seminar XXI Program. Colonel Downie assumed the position of Director of the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation on January 17, 2001. He has served in a variety of command and staff positions in mechanized infantry, light infantry, and airborne infantry units. Colonel Downie has authored the book Learning from Conflict: The U.S. Military in Vietnam, El Salvador and the Drug War Greenwood Press, 1998; and several articles including, "Low Intensity Conflict Doctrine and Policy: Old Wine in a New Bottle?" Studies in Conflict and Terrorism (Vol. 15, No.1, Jan-Mar, 1992, pp. 53-67, Military Review. His awards and decorations include the Defense Meritorious Service Medal, Meritorious Service Medal, Joint Service Commendation Medal, Army Commendation Medal, Army Achievement Medal, National Defense Medal, Army Expeditionary Medal, Army Service Ribbon, Overseas Service Ribbon, Inter-American Defense Board Medal, Orden Mérito Académico (Colombia), Bosnia/Former Yugoslavia NATO Medal, and Humanitarian Service Medal.

### Purpose of the Hemispheric Conference

The Annual Hemispheric Conference at Fort Benning focuses on key issues affecting regional security and contributes to the professional education of officers and enlisted soldiers, security and police personnel, and civilian governmental officials and non-governmental organizations throughout the Western Hemisphere. The Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation carries out these overall goals through the medium of its annual Conference:

1. Provide a productive dialogue on Security Issues in the Western Hemisphere.
2. Define and exemplify Security Forces roles and missions supporting responses to legitimate national, transnational, and multilateral challenges.
3. Promote the support of democratic principles by both the Security Forces and the civilian government
4. Assist in an integrated response to transnational threats.
5. Achieve closer military-to-military and military-to-civilian ties and promote long-term working relationships
6. Foster expansion of the Officer and Noncommissioned officers' role in Western Hemisphere forces and the interactivity between the military and their civilian counterpart and control.
7. Establish a forum for United States and Western Hemisphere officers, Civilian Government officials, and non-Governmental Organizations to exchange ideas regarding the roles, missions and interactivity of sovereign resources.

**The Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC)  
Presents**

**The 2nd Annual Hemispheric Conference**

**"National Security Factors for the Western Hemisphere"**

**Participating Institutions**

**University of Alabama  
Calgary University, Canada  
California University, Irvine  
University of El Salvador, Buenos Aires, Argentina  
Emory University  
University of Florida  
Florida International University  
University of Georgia  
Manhattan College  
University of Miami  
National University, Colombia  
University of Notre Dame  
Rhodes College  
University of Santiago, Chile**

**Special Presentations**

**Dr. Luis A. Abella, National University of Colombia  
Dr. Bruce M. Bagley, University of Miami  
Dr. Lawrence Clayton, University of Alabama  
Dr. Michael L. Conniff, University of South Florida  
Dr. Juan del Aguila, Emory University  
Dr. Fahey Joseph, Manhattan College  
Dr. Ivelaw Griffith, Florida International University  
Dr. Gustavo Gutierrez, University of Notre Dame  
Mr. Tony Interlandi, U.S. Department of State  
Dr. Carlos Maldonado, University of Santiago, Chile  
Dr. Frank O. Mora, Rhodes College  
Dr. Jose Paz, University El Salvador, Buenos Aires, Argentina  
Dr. Dennis M. Rempe, Calgary University, Canada  
Dr. Cesar Sereseres, University of California  
Dr. Thomas Whigham, University of Georgia**

**19-20 September 2002  
Ridgway Hall, Historic Bldg #35  
Fort Benning, Georgia 31905**

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

DATES/	EVENTS	TIMES
19 SEP		
0800-0805	Invocation	MAJ Molina
0805-0815	Opening Remarks	COL Downie
0815-0845	Key note speaker address	Dr. Fernandez
0845-0945	Panel A	Caribbean Region: Movement Control vs. Freedom
	"Cuban Security Issues", Dr. Frank Mora "Cuba and Caribbean Security Politics" Dr. Juan del Aguilá "Caribbean Security Issues", Dr. Ivelaw Griffith "Arab Terrorism and the Hemisphere", Dr. José Paz	
0945-1000	Break	
1000-1100	Roundtable # 1	Q&A
1100-1130	Conference Photo	In front of WHINSEC
1130-1330	Lunch	Engineer Dining Facility
1330-1430	Panel B	Mexico and Central America Security Issues
	"Panama and Regional Security", Dr. Michael Conniff "Origins of Human Rights Doctrine", Dr. Lawrence Clayton "Liberation Theology and Security", Dr. Gustavo Gutierrez "Economic Aspects of Military Security", Dr. Carlos Maldonado	
1430-1445	Break	
1445-1545	Roundtable # 2	Q&A
1545-1700	Tour Museum	LTC Rios
1900-2100	Reception/Dinner (Country's BBQ)	COL Downie's home

20 SEP

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0800-0900      Panel C                      Andean Region and the Politics of  
Security

"Andean Drug War Policies", Dr. Dennis Rempe  
"Andean Regional Security Issues", Dr. Cesar Sereseres  
"Drug War Policy Options", Dr. Bruce Bagley

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0900-0915      Break

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0915-1015      Roundtable # 3 Q&A

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1015-1030      Break

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1030-1130      VIP Visit to Conference

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1130-1330      Lunch    Golf Course

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1330-1430      Panel D                      Security and Economic Nexus-  
Southern  
Cone

"Conflicts in the Northern Cone", Dr. Thomas Whigham  
"Neo-Liberal Economics", Mr. Tony Interlandi  
"Law Enforcement and Security", Dr. Luis A. Abella  
"Catholic Pacifist Doctrine", Dr. Joseph Fahey

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1430-1445      Break

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1445-1545      Roundtable # 4 Q&A

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1545      Departures

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ZELL MILLER  
GEORGIA

*United States Senate*

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

August 27, 2002

Colonel Richard D. Downie  
Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation  
Building 35, Ridgway Hall  
Fort Benning, Georgia 31905

Dear Colonel Downie:

It is a pleasure to send greetings and best wishes to you for a successful second Hemispheric Conference. I commend you and the other participants for the hard work and dedication which has put forth to make this conference possible.

I am also grateful to see the involvement of other Hemispheric countries which are involvement in this effort to bring democracy and security to the Americas. The time has come when we must all realize how important the WHINSEC mission is to our security and I thank you and all involved for your insight into this serious situation.

With Kindest personal regards, I remain

Sincerely,

\\Original signed\\

Zell Miller

ZM/mg

Opening Remarks, 2d WHINSEC Conference on Western Hemispheric Security  
September 19 and 20, 2002, Pratt Hall

Colonel Richard D. Downie, Ph.D.  
Commandant, Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC)

Ladies and Gentlemen, welcome to the 2d Annual WHINSEC Conference on Hemispheric Security. I can scarcely express my pleasure in extending to you this opportunity to be part of what has become a tradition in the pursuit of peace, freedom, and cooperation in our Hemisphere.

In 1826, Don Simon Bolivar organized the 1<sup>st</sup> Inter-American Ministerial Conference at Panama, when the region was in revolutionary turmoil. The Conference was poorly attended, yet Don Simon's idealism poured forth and governs our actions here today. He said, "Let there shine forth from the Isthmus of Panama, the spirit of freedom and democracy...like a lighthouse that illumines the Hemisphere...for all its people. Let us live in a new world that does not tolerate tyranny." In a few moments, the winner of our Bolivar Award will offer her views as the opening speech for this Conference, and tomorrow I shall be honored to present the award with the Hon. Saxby Chambliss, 8<sup>th</sup> District, Georgia, US House of Representatives. The spirit of Don Simon shines forth from a lighthouse that today embraces our Speakers, our Conference Participants, and indeed our entire freedom loving family minus the Cubans, who still groan under tyranny.

In 1940, the Isthmus of Panama was threatened by means of subversive agents, terrorists, and U-Boats all sent by the Third Reich, which was Adolph Hitler's regime in Germany. US President Franklin D. Roosevelt negotiated quickly with the twenty Latin American Republics the right to defend the Hemisphere, collectively, against this subversion, and against possible invasion. Each country welcomed a US Military Advisory Group under bi-lateral treaty. In the fall of that year, right here in this auditorium, was held the 1<sup>st</sup> Western Hemispheric Defense Conference. Lt. Gen. John Le Moyne, Assistant Chief of Staff for Personnel, US Army, presented this beautiful memory plaque to me as the Commandant of WHINSEC right here last year to commemorate the first Conference. General Le Moyne's father was one of the US Army officers who participated in that Conference.

All during World War II, and then across the forty-three years of the Cold War, Conferences on Hemispheric Defense were held in this Auditorium. When the United States made a considerable investment in defending the Hemisphere against subversive penetration by the former Soviet Union and its satellite state Cuba, a number of military training and education programs were formalized and executed here at Ft. Benning. A tradition of Conferences featuring the finest academic authorities in the region was born in this era, and we continue that tradition today.

We will hear from ten U.S. professors who are senior and prestigious academics, authors, and Latin American experts from the finest universities in the land. We will hear

from four professors representing Argentina, Canada, Chile, and Colombia, each of these much published and distinguished by being Research Fellows here at WHINSEC. Our Conference leader, Dr. Russ Ramsey of Troy State University, has directed seventeen large Conferences on Hemispheric topics related to security and democracy, and has presented lectures on this topic at every senior defense college in the United States and many in Latin America. Our audience consists of the annual Command and General Staff College Class, officers who will receive a diploma equivalent to that presented at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas. Six will also receive their Master of Science degree from Troy State University in a nationally unique agreement under which part of their WHINSEC course is accredited as university post-graduate study. We have the distinguished Liaison Officers from several countries to the United States Army Infantry Center. We are most honored to have some twenty guests who came here at their own expense because they share our belief that freedom and democracy must be protected against all forms of aggression.

I encourage all of you for form friendships among the Conferees and Distinguished Speakers. I look forward to seeing many of you at the program of social events on your schedule. Every participant is a member of the WHINSEC community, for we are, in sum, no more nor less than the people who love freedom expressed as law in Constitutions, freedom that comes from true democracy where the rights of all are honored and protected by soldiers, sailors, airmen, and police who answer to civilian jurisdiction, chosen by the ballot box, and accountable to the courts.

Dr. Ramsey will present our Distinguished Bolivar Award Recipient, who will open our Conference. I wish you each a meaningful, productive, and unforgettable experience here.

**An Article taken from:  
Columbus Ledger-Enquirer, Thursday, September 19, 2002  
Section C3**

### ***HEMISPHERIC CONFERENCE STARTS***

#### **Officials to tackle security issues**

The Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation kicks off its second annual Hemispheric Conference today at Fort Benning.

Panels led by government officials from Canada, Colombia and Chile, among others, along with scholars from universities that include Notre Dame, the University of California, Irvine, and the University of Georgia, will discuss regional security issues during the two-day conference.

The conference is open to the public. Today's panel groups include "Caribbean Region: Immigration Issues," at 8:45 a.m. and "Mexico: Central America," at 1:30 p.m. Key-note speaker, Dr. Aura Celeste Fernandez Rodriguez, this year's recipient of the institute's annual Simon Bolivar Award for Democracy and Human Rights, will address the conference at 8 a.m.

Friday's panel discussions include "Andean Region and the Politics of Security" at 8 a.m. and "Security and Economic Nexus – Southern Cone" at 1:30 p.m.

U.S. Rep. Saxby Chambliss, R-Moultrie, will present the Simon Bolivar award to Fernandez during a 10:30 a.m. ceremony Friday.

For information, contact Lee Rials at 545-1923 or [rials@benning.army.mil](mailto:rials@benning.army.mil)

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S. Thorne Harper



## **Cuba and Future Security Threats in the Caribbean**

By Frank O. Mora, Ph.D.

Research Associate

Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies

University of Miami

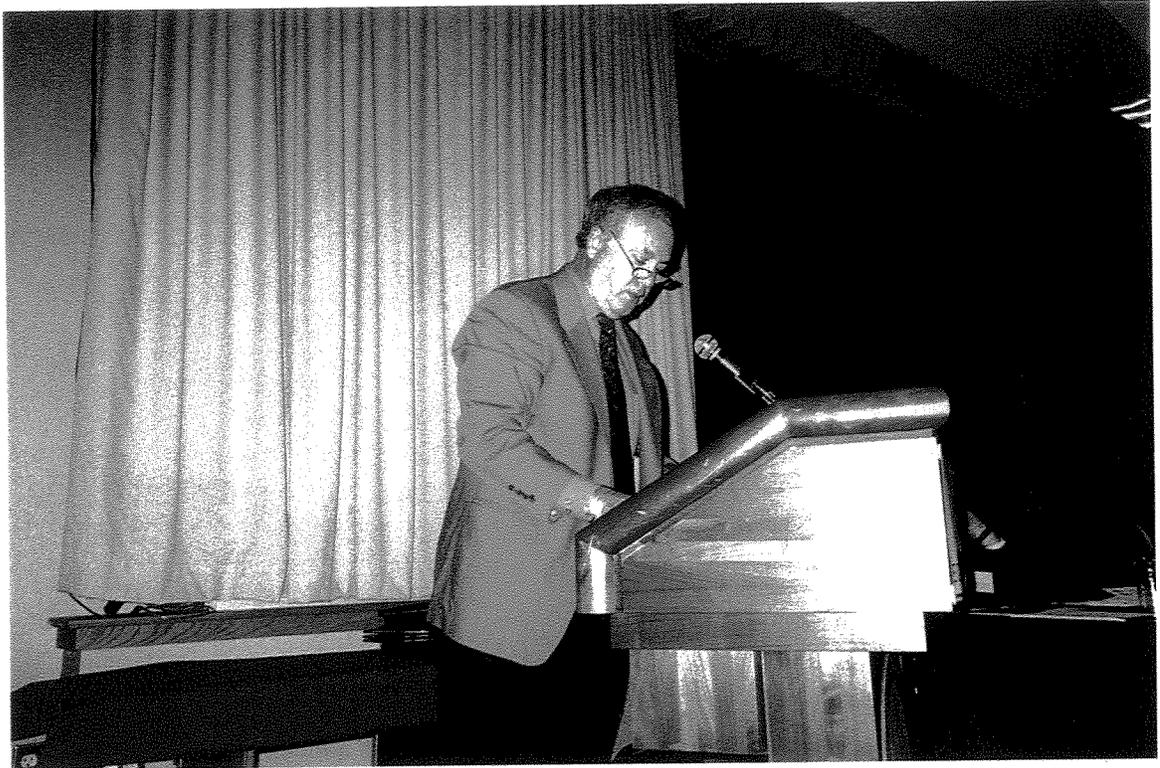
This presentation will examine potential threats to U.S. and Caribbean security that may arise from a conflict between the US and Cuba or from internal strife caused by the potential for instability and violence in a post-Fidel Castro Cuba. In May 1998 the Pentagon presented Congress with an intelligence assessment of the threat that Cuba posed to US national security. The report was prepared by the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA). The report assessed conventional and unconventional threats Cuba posed to the US and to neighboring Caribbean states. The DIA's study concluded that Cuba did not represent a significant military threat to the US or other countries in the region, largely because of its limited military capability and "little motivation to engage in military activity beyond defense of its territory and political system." However, more recently, Under Secretary of State John Bolton raised the issue of Cuba's unconventional threat when he stated, "the United States believes that Cuba has at least a limited offensive biological warfare research and development effort...and has provided dual-use technology to other rogue states."

The conventional threat is negligible. The deterioration of the Soviet bloc in 1989 triggered a profound deterioration of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR), transforming the institution from one of the most active militaries in the Third World into a defensive force with minimal conventional fighting ability. The end of Soviet economic and military subsidies forced Cuba to reduce the FAR's size and budget by 50 percent after 1989. Moreover, whether from conviction or from necessity imposed by the loss of military and economic assistance from the former USSR, Cuba has not only publicly renounced, but, in fact, is no longer providing material support for violent revolutionary movements. There are some, however, that argue that Cuba may return to being a regional troublemaker, supporting anti-US states and non-state actors (drug traffickers, terrorists, and criminal organizations) in the Caribbean in order to undermine US influence.

In an era of globalization and new millennium threats, Cuba's unconventional threats have raised some concern in the US and Caribbean. The focus of this presentation is to provide a laundry list and assessment of the new unconventional threats that Cuba may pose. The first potential threat is widespread civil unrest caused by a desire for greater economic and political freedom and weariness with continuing hardship, deprivation and repression. A more likely scenario is internal strife caused by the uncertain political consequences of Fidel Castro's death. In addition to potential for civil war 90 miles from the US, such an event would trigger massive refugee flows. Second, officials involved in the drug trade may represent a significant threat to U.S. and Caribbean security. There is evidence the island is used as a transit point for drugs destined to the US and Europe. The collapse of the social and political order in a post-Fidel Cuba will facilitate and expand Cuba's role as a bridge for drugs into the US.

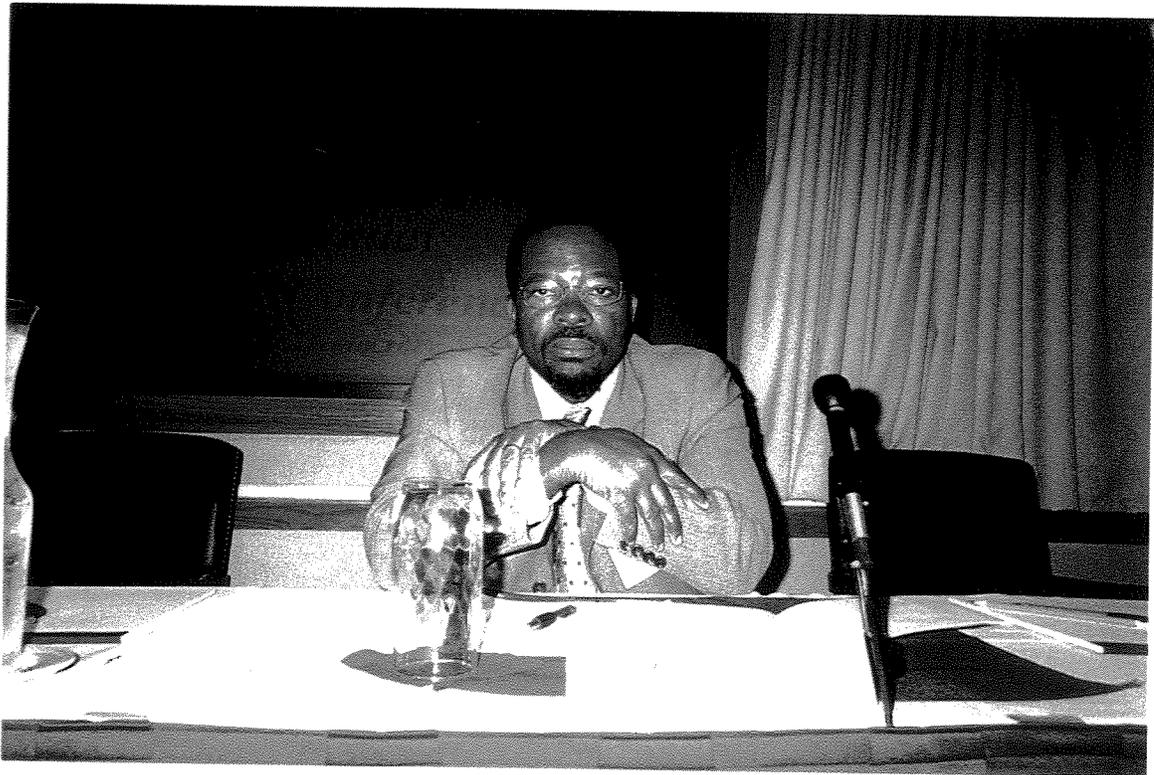
Finally, in addition to possibly providing safe haven to terrorist groups, some analysts have provided some evidence that Cuba produces chemical and biological weapons at five plants throughout the island. According to former Secretary of Defense William Cohen, the U.S. is concerned with Cuba's potential to develop and produce biological and chemical agents and the environmental health risks posed to the U.S. by potential accidents at the Juragua nuclear power plant. Undersecretary Bolton's May 6 allegation not only noted Cuba's WMD capacity, but emphasized that the 1998 Pentagon report "underplayed the threat Cuba posed to the United States" because its principal author, DIA analyst Ana Belen Montes, pleaded guilty to charges of spying for Cuba. A complete assessment of these risks to U.S. and Caribbean security will be articulated and analyzed in this presentation.

**Dr. Frank O. Mora** is Associate Professor and Chair of International Studies at Rhodes College in Memphis, Tennessee. He also holds the Latin American Studies Research Fellowship at Rhodes College. Some of the publications include *US Arms Transfer Policy for Latin America: Lifting the Ban on Fighter Aircraft*, *Airpower Journal*; *International Involvement in the Americas: Latin American and Caribbean Engagement with Extra-Hemispheric Actors*, forthcoming chapter in a volume published by the National Defense University press; from *Fidelismo to Raulismo: Civilian Control of the Military in Cuba, Problems of Post-Communism*; *Readjusting Civilian Control of the Military in Cuba: A Comparative Study of the Effects of Bingshang on Civil-Military Relations in Cuba and China, Armed Forces and Society*; and *Raulismo and the Technocrat-Soldier: The Economic Role of the FAR and Its Implications for Transition in Cuba*, in the *The Cuban Military and Transition: The politics of Military Extrication in Comparative Perspective* (edited by Eusebio Mujal Leon). Professor Mora is a contributing editor for the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, Library of Congress, and has worked as a consultant to the United States Air Force, Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS) of the National Defense University, and the Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Inter-American Affairs.



**Dr. Juan Del Aguila** is a professor in the Latin American Political Science Department at Emory University, associated with the Carter Center, Atlanta. Born in Cuba, he is the resident expert on the Emory University Faculty in the Caribbean region. The author of two books, Dr. Del Aguila has written extensively on security issues in the Caribbean. Dr. Del Aguila is known in political-science circles as one of the leading authorities on Cuban politics.

**Dr. Ivelaw Griffith** is a professor of Political Science and Dean of The Honors College at Florida International University (FIU). A specialist on Caribbean and Inter-American security and narcotics issues, he has published six books, most recently *Drugs and Security in the Caribbean: Sovereignty Under Siege* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997) and *The Political Economy of Drugs in the Caribbean* (Macmillan, 2000). He has also written articles in several journals including: *Journal of Inter-American Studies & World Affairs*, *Caribbean Studies*, *Dickinson Journal of International Law*, *Caribbean Affairs*, *Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, *Caribbean Studies*, *University of Miami Law Review*, *International Journal*, *Mershon International Studies Review*, *Caribbean Perspectives*, *Latin American Research Review*, *CARICOM Perspective*, *Caribbean Quarterly*, *Naval War College Review*, *The Round Table*, *International Journal*, *Tirad World Quarterly*, *Low-Intensity Conflict & Law Enforcement*, and *Joint Force Quarterly*.



“Security Challenges in Panama, mid-2002”

Michael Conniff for the WHINSEC Conference, 19 September 2002

No major new threats to Panama’s security have emerged in 2002, so the post-September 2001 situation continues largely unchanged. This can be summarized as:

1. Vulnerability of Panama Canal, which is difficult to defend from sabotage
  - a. external terrorist attack, targeting the canal as a remnant of U.S. imperialism.
  - b. Regional subversive attack, as spillover from Plan Colombia.
  - c. General decline of operations due to corruption, inadequate safety measures, and poor maintenance.
2. Increased crime in urban areas, due in part to displacement of Colombian refugees to the Isthmus and continued flow of drugs and illegal cash through Panama.
3. Gradual rise in citizen discontent due to perceived government unresponsiveness, high unemployment graft, and inflation. This could accelerate when the parties choose candidates for the May 2004 elections, due to campaign accusations.

I should emphasize that I do not see any of these scenarios as likely in the next twelve months—they represent only the general types of threats that could arise.

In fact, the canal continues to be led by Ingeniero Alemán, who enjoys respect from the technical community and shipping associations. Appointed by Pérez Balladares in the late 1990s, Alemán has pushed ahead with channel-widening and bank stabilization programs and is following the maintenance regime in place before 1999.

Public security also appears acceptable. The National Police answers to the Minister of Justice, and little evidence of insubordination has surfaced. The past summer crime rates were reported up somewhat, and public complaints arose, but nothing approaching a crime epidemic appears likely.

Finally, public commitment to democratic procedures and civil liberties seems as strong as in the mid-1990s, so it is hard to imagine a general breakdown in the constitutional order arising from the 2004 elections. President Moscoso cannot succeed herself, so a number of pre-candidates have surfaced. Their candidacies and campaign programs will not solidify until late next year, however, so political predictions are speculative at best. The country remains largely at peace.

**Dr. Michael L. Conniff** directs the Latin American and Caribbean Studies program at San Jose State University, California. He is also a professor in the History Department.

Previously, he has taught at Auburn University and at the University of New Mexico. Conniff is a specialist on the modern history of Central America, Brazil, and the Caribbean, where he has lived for over a decade. His books include *Africans in the Americas* (1994); *Black Labor and a White Canal* (1985); *Modern Brazil* (1991); *Panama and the United States* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed 2001); *Urban Politics in Brazil* (1981); *A History of Modern Latin America* (1999); and *Populism in Latin American* (1999). He has recently begun working on *Cuban politics and history*. Dr. Conniff served as a Peace Corps volunteer in Ecuador and a Fulbright professor in Panama and Brazil. He is fluent in Spanish and Portuguese. He delivers many invited lectures each year at universities and conferences throughout the Americas. His degrees are from the University of California at Berkeley (B.A., 1968) and Stanford (M.A., 1969, Ph.D., 1976)





**Dr. Cesar Sereseres** is Associate Dean for Undergraduate Studies in the School of Social Sciences at the University of California at Irvine. He holds a faculty position as Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science. Dr. Sereseres received his Ph.D. and M.A. in Political Science from the University of California, Riverside; a B.A. from the University of California at Santa Barbara. He also attended the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico in Mexico City. He was awarded a PEW Fellowship in International Affairs from The Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (1991).

Dr. Jose Paz  
San Salvador University in Buenos Aires, Argentina

## **La lucha contra el terrorismo y la crisis de los derechos civiles.**

El terrorismo es sin duda uno de los más directos enemigos de la libertad, de la vida y de la paz social, por ser una practica radical absolutamente alejada del respecto al sistema democrático y a los más elementales derechos del hombre.

La profunda perturbación en el sistema de vida, en los valores y en los conceptos de justicia y de seguridad de la sociedad afectada, se ve reflejada en numerosos ámbitos de la vida de los individuos.

La sociedad necesita creer en el Estado y en su sistema jurídico, necesita recuperar la confianza en la garantía de seguridad que le brinda, quiere asegurarse la implacable persecución de los que generan la destrucción y el crimen, pero aceptan que eso se logre aun a consecuencia de perder parte de sus derechos civiles.

Sin duda uno de los mayores problemas que se suscita, al de la ambivalencia del reclamo social al Estado.

Por un lado surge la exigencia de perseguir e imponer el mayor castigo a los culpables, y donde la sanción que la sociedad exige probablemente escape al establecido por sistema jurídico vigente en esa misma sociedad.

Por otro lado, el Estado para cumplir con su tarea, -satisfacer el clamor de la sociedad y recomponer la seguridad y la ley vulneradas-, debe para ello enmarcarse en el sistema legal existente, o de lo contrario, crear un nuevo sistema que garantice el cumplimiento de cometido, esto es que le permita atrapar y castigar a los autores e ideólogos de los actos terroristas, y prevenir la producción de nuevos atentados.

Ninguna autoridad ejecutiva, ningún déspota, ningún rey, esta encima de la ley.

La historia demuestra que en momentos de grave crisis nacional, y en particular ante la guerra, el Estado trata de aumentar sus propias atribuciones. Pero como actúa la justicia frente a esto? Los tribunales se muestran muy reacios a intervenir, y cuando lo hacen, su intervención evidencia grandes limitaciones.

Debemos revisar la historia de la participación de los países en las diversas guerras, para entender que existe de alguna manera un hilo conductor que permite avizorar una forma de acción, y que en casi todos los casos demuestra que frente a la guerra se valora mas la seguridad del Estado que el respeto a las libertades individuales.



Dr. Jose Paz  
San Salvador University in Buenos Aires, Argentina

**Dr. Jose Paz** holds joint appointments as a faculty member, San Salvador University in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and as a National Security Professor with the Defense Department of Argentina. He recently was a Guest Speaker at the WHINSEC Conference for Distinguished Argentine Visitors on the topic of "Terrorism and its Environment." Dr. Paz has published and lectured in several countries on a variety of national and regional security topics. He was selected for the position of Fellow at WHINSEC, where his duties included research, lectures, and public speaking on hemispheric defense issues.

## **RESUMEN PONENCIA FUERO MILITAR**

Abogado Luis Alfonso Abella  
Research Fellow

A partir de un análisis de la naturaleza del fuero penal militar, su razón de ser y él por qué es inherente a las fuerzas armadas, se quiere mostrar cómo en algunas legislaciones se encuentra muy limitado o casi no existe.

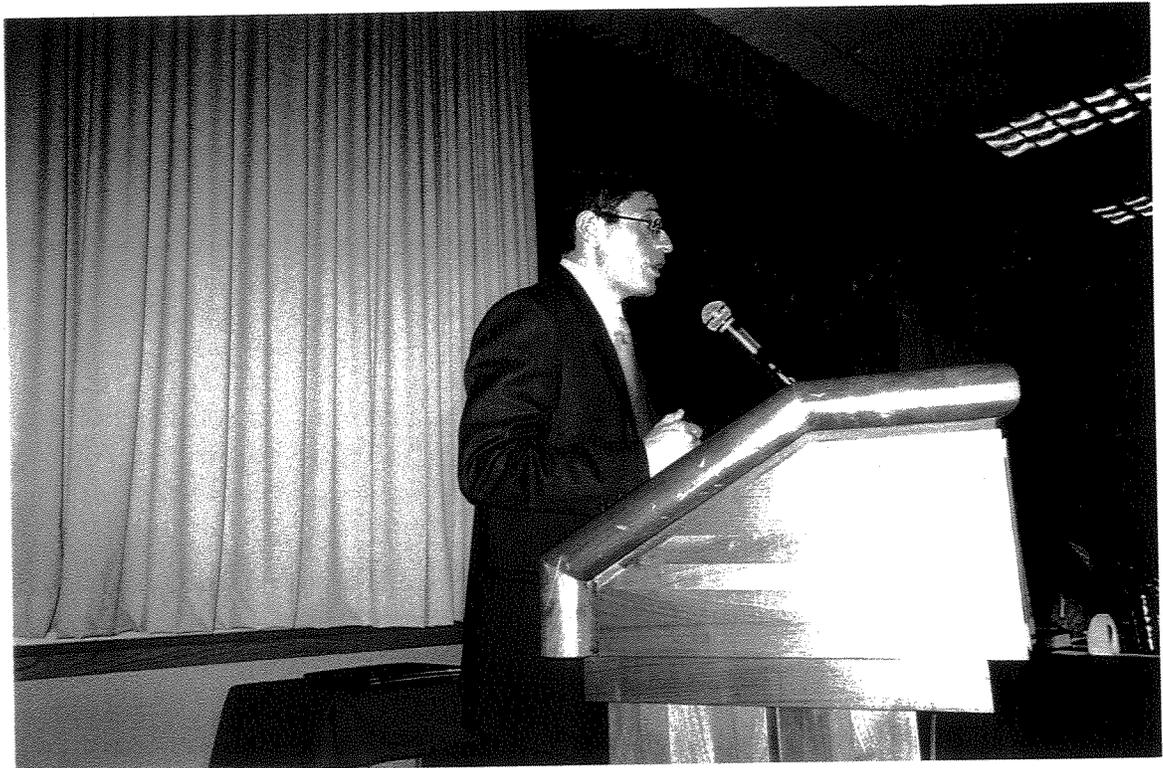
Se toma como base algunos países de Europa y Latinoamérica para mostrar como allí se ha restringido dicho fuero pero por las singulares condiciones especiales en que se desempeñan sus fuerzas militares y de policía que no demanda que las mismas estén permanentemente involucradas en actividades diferentes a las que su misión constitucional les asigna.

Se pretende mostrar que el fuero penal militar no es sinónimo de impunidad sino que es una herramienta indispensable para procesar y juzgar a los militares y policías que cometan hechos punibles militares en el ejercicio de sus funciones. También se resalta que esta jurisdicción especial ha contribuido, inclusive, a someter a la ley a civiles involucrados en casos de subversión, terrorismo y narcotráfico; y que esta especial jurisdicción se nutre de los principios democráticos que se derivan de las constituciones políticas de cada país; destacando que cuando el militar se desvía de su función y atenta contra la dignidad del hombre, debe caerle todo el peso de la ley de la justicia ordinaria pues se establece que su acción desbordó los cauces de su misión constitucional.

La recomendación final es el permitir que el fuero penal militar se mantenga y se fortalezca en países en conflicto como Colombia, donde el sistema judicial aun no está preparado para juzgar a los miembros de la Fuerza Pública y además que se pueda pensar que bajo especiales circunstancias pueda conocer de causas criminales contra personal civil involucrado en delitos que atentan contra la existencia y seguridad del Estado y que afecten a la humanidad como lo son el narcotráfico y el terrorismo.

El cuestionamiento final va dirigido a plantear el por qué hay la tendencia, en los países de América, a eliminar el fuero militar.

**Dr. Luis A. Abella** a Colombian citizen, is currently serving as a Fellow for WHINSEC, charged with creating an operational justice program. He is a lawyer specializing in Penal Justice and Criminology and is certified in criminal justice management. During the last 20 years, he has worked with the Colombian Department of Defense serving as a Military Penal Judge and Judge Advocate. He also was juridical advisor for several Army Commanders at battalion and brigade level regarding military justice issues and also as a professor of military criminal law, human rights, and international humanitarian law.



Bruce Michael Bagley  
School of International Studies  
University of Miami

Introduction: Globalization, Weak States and Transnational Organized Crime

The purpose of this paper is to examine the scope and impact of the post-Cold War wave of Russian transnational organized crime in one region of the global system: Latin America and the Caribbean. Although the evidence currently available in the public realm is primarily journalistic and often anecdotal, it is, despite these limitations, sufficient to support the conclusion that the linkages or “strategic alliances” between various Russian organized crime groups and major transnational criminal organizations in Latin America and the Caribbean in 2001 were already substantial and expanding rapidly. Moreover, it raises the specter that, at least in some key countries in the region (e.g., Colombia, Mexico and Brazil), the alliances between home-grown and Russian criminal organizations may provide domestic criminal and/or guerrilla groups with access to the illicit international markets, money-laundering facilities and illegal arms sources that could convert them into major impediments to economic growth and serious threats to democratic consolidation and long-run stability at home.

Initial developments in the international arena in response to the devastating September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States suggest that a new momentum behind greater multilateral cooperation might materialize in coming months and years. Specifically, the additional impetus given by the United States to the multilateral aspects of law enforcement in its prosecution of the “war” on global terrorism could ultimately usher in a new era of international coordination against terrorism and organized crime. To combat this new stage of global terrorism effectively will unquestionably require the construction of new, multilateral mechanisms for the international monitoring and policing of terrorist movements, illegal weapons sales, illicit capital flows and money laundering.

The two common elements shared by global terrorism and transnational organized crime – money laundering and proliferation – may finally catalyze serious and sustained multilateral coordination in international law enforcement. The current enthusiasm for multilateral efforts could, however, quickly evaporate. The real key to success in both the “war” on terrorism and the fight against transnational organized crime will be whether or not the international community has the will and capacity required to design and institutionalize effective systems of multilateral coordination and cooperation over the long haul. The states of Latin America and the Caribbean will be called upon to play major roles in this process. Failure to act promptly and effectively is likely to carry a high price tag in terms of the erosion of domestic prosperity and stability within individual nation-states and the imposition major costs on recalcitrant states via international pressures and sanctions applied either unilaterally by the United States or multilaterally by the international community.



**Dr. Bruce M. Bagley** received his Ph.D. in Political Science, from the University of California, Los Angeles in 1979. He is a professor who has conducted research in United States-Latin American relations, with an emphasis on drug trafficking and security issues. From 1991 to 1995 he served as Associate Dean of the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Miami. Prior to his appointment at UM, he was Assistant Professor of Comparative Politics and Latin American Studies at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at Johns Hopkins University and Director of the Andean Republics Course at the Foreign Service Institute, United States Department of State. He is the editor of *Drug Trafficking Research in the Americas: A Bibliographic Survey*, (North-South Center, 1997); coeditor of *Drug Trafficking in the Americas* (North-South Center, 1995); and the author of more than forty other publications, including numerous book chapters and articles in U.S. and Latin American journals, such as *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, and the *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, and *World Affairs*.

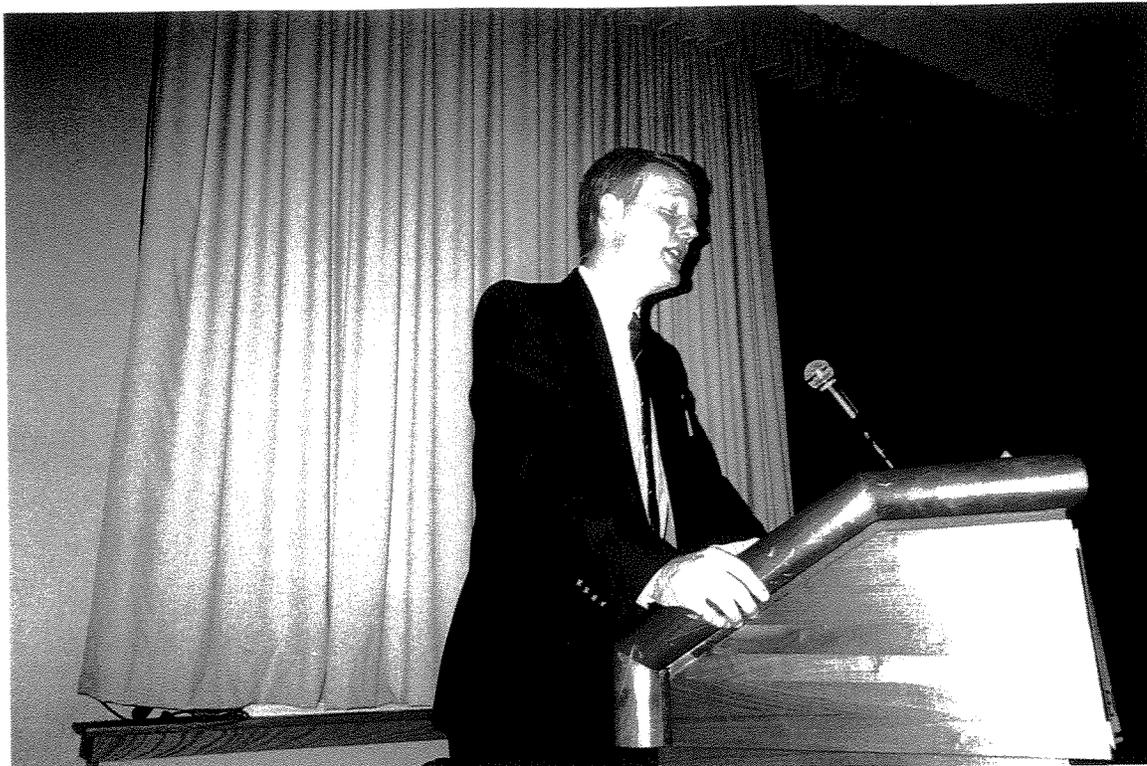
## US COUNTERINSURGENCY POLICY IN COLOMBIA, 1958-1966

Dr. Dennis M. Rempe

Issues surrounding internal security make Colombia the most complex foreign policy problem facing US policymakers in the Western Hemisphere today. Narcotics trafficking, guerrilla warfare, and collusion between drug cartels and insurgent groups have raised concerns that Colombian democracy is disintegrating, that the nation is ripe for dirty war, and that the fragmentation of the state might require US intervention to restore stability.

Remarkably, despite these considerable difficulties, Colombia has seen much worse this past century. Modern problems evolved from the dynamics of a period in Colombian history known simply as *la Violencia* (the Violence)-a period marked by terror and near anarchy in the countryside, partisan political warfare, and finally military dictatorship in its early phases; guerilla-bandit violence and the rise of Colombia's contemporary insurgent movements during its last phase, 1958 through 1966.

This presentation examines US counterinsurgency policy during the latter phase of the *Violencia* period, offering an historical analysis that has implications for policymakers confronting the current crisis in Colombia. It investigates the key role played by the United States in constructing Colombia's unconventional warfare capabilities, analyzing how US policy initiatives expedited the ability of Colombia's security forces to undertake offensive counterinsurgency operations in an effort to liquidate guerrilla-bandit organizations and restore stability to the countryside. Ultimately it establishes the unique role played by the United States in facilitating the development of all aspects of Colombia's internal security infrastructure in order to contain this extensive and complex internal war.



**Dr. Dennis M. Rempe** recently completed his Ph.D. on U.S.-Colombian internal security issues at the University of Miami's School of International Studies, receiving the national "Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges' award from the University of Miami. Rempe served as an infantry officer in the Canadian Armed Forces (Reserve) and was an member of the Canadian National Team-Military Pentathlon. He has written numerous articles on counterinsurgency, intelligence, and foreign internal defense including "*Guerrillas, Bandits and Independent Republics: U.S. Counterinsurgency Efforts in Colombia, 1959-1965;*" "*An American Trojan Horse? Eisenhower, Latin America, and the Development of U.S. Internal Security Policy 1954-1960;*" and "*The Origin of Internal Security in Colombia: Part I – A CIA Special Team Surveys la Violencia, 1959-1960.*" Most recently, he completed a monograph for the US Army War College –*Plan Colombia Special Series* entitled "*Past as Prologue? A History of U.S. Counterinsurgency Policy in Colombia, 1958-1966,*" and a chapter entitled "*The information Challenge in the Global Security Environment*" for the forthcoming Max G. Manwaring and Edwin G. Corr edited volume, *The search for Security: US Grand Strategy in the Twenty-First Century*. He is currently completing "*The Origin of Internal Security in Colombia, Part II: Containing la Violencia- "Nuts and Bolts" Counterinsurgency, A CIA Special Team View-1960*" as well as his first book entitled *Counterinsurgency in Colombia: A U.S. National Security Perspective 1958-1966*.

## The Path to Peace

Joseph J. Fahey

Peaceful relations between states exist under six conditions. The first three of these are informal or citizen based initiatives: (1) athletic competition, (2) communication among intellectuals, and (3) celebrations between artists. The next three are formal or government based actions: (4) trade agreements, (5) diplomatic recognition, and (6) international alliances.

This formula for peace is compiled from data collected on the experience of preliterate, ancient, medieval, and contemporary societies. The configurations vary according to time and culture but peace between societies cannot exist without most of them being in place.

Hence, if a state wishes to have peaceful relations with another state it must initially permit the exchange of athletes, scholars, and artisans. It can then encourage mutual trade, pursue diplomatic recognition, and form interstate alliances. Communication is the first stage of peace.

Conversely, if a state wishes to pursue a path of war with another nation, it can deny both informal (citizen) and formal (diplomatic) relationships with that nation. A military attack can then easily take place since there are no peaceful constraints in place to hold it back. The refusal to communicate is the first stage of war.

A case study is illustrative: the close ties between the United States and China. What had been an extremely hostile relationship – the U.S. was involved in a *de facto* with China during the Korean War – changed dramatically when the Chinese invited an American ping-pong team to visit China in 1971. (The use of athletic exchanges as a symbol of peace has a long history that includes the Olympic Games.)

Following that, exchanges between intellectuals, artisans, and conflict resolution specialists increased while formal trade and diplomatic ties were established. Today, although China possesses weapons of mass destruction and is not a democracy, it maintains good relations with the United States and even enjoys most favored nation trading status. China, because of its sheer size and power can be a far greater threat to the United States than, for example, Iraq, but the six conditions for peace discussed above act as a real guarantor of peace and a deterrent to war.

Can the people of government of the United States follow a China type policy with Iraq, or Iran, or any other state it defines as an enemy? Of course, we can. Indeed, we must.

We *can* follow a more peaceful path because peace and nonviolence are, in Gandhi's words, "as old as the hills." Rather than being an aberration in human history, peaceful societies, dominate our known experience as a species. Even today, despite

rumors of war, the vast majority of the world's 190 nations live in harmony. We are history-making animals and, as such, the future is in our hands. Peace is possible.

We *must* follow a peaceful path for three reasons:

First, very few wars in human history have actually led to peace. On the contrary, wars sow the seeds for future wars and the "eye for an eye" law of retaliation. A war against Iraq will surely result in chaos in the Middle East and retaliation against the people of the United States is as inevitable as night follows day. History tells us that war starters lose wars far more often than the nations they attack. An attack against Iraq by the United States may win a battle but lose a far larger war.

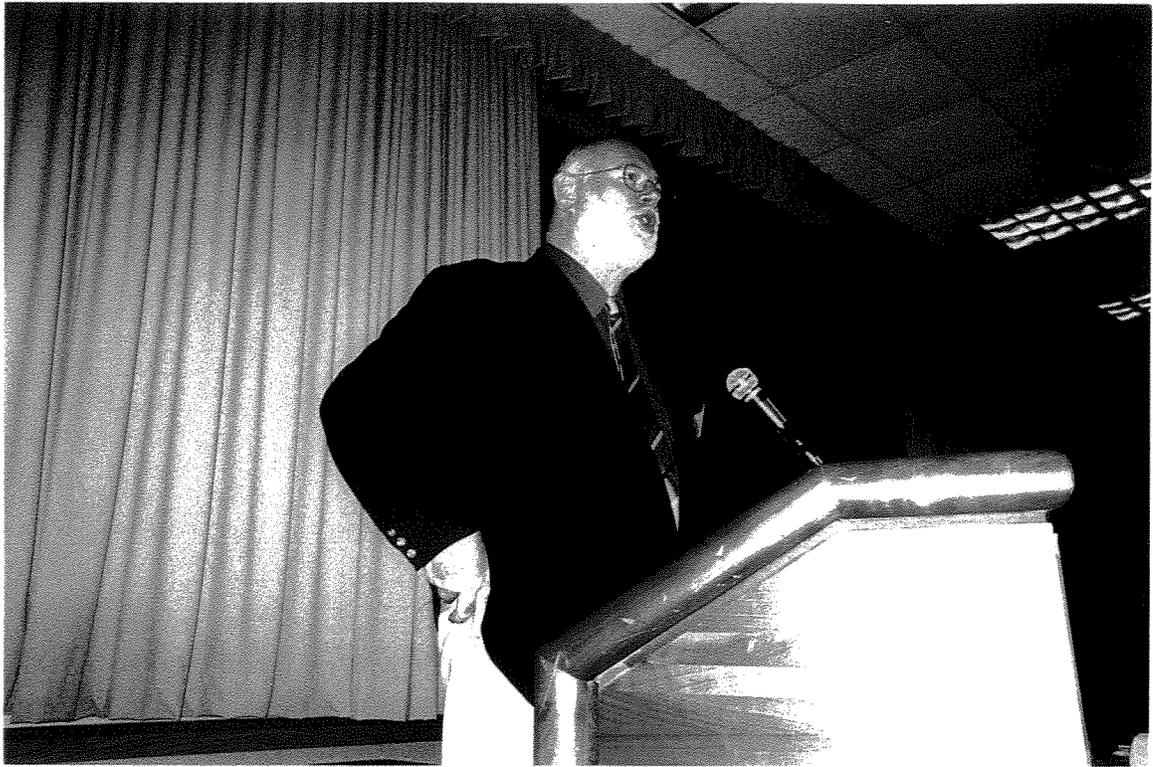
Second, all that is decent, all that is good, all that is moral in human civilization demands that the richest and most powerful nation in history treat lesser nations with respect and justice. Our policy of isolating dictators actually keeps them in power and makes conditions worse for the very people we claim we are trying to help: our adversary's citizens. A foreign policy that includes so-called "rogue" states in the international arena will do far more to weaken totalitarian power than policies that exclude these nations from world community.

Third, we must follow a peaceful path because civilized societies follow the rule of law rather than the rule of the brute. There already exists a body of international law and a plethora of international institutions – the United Nations being the foremost – that have proven a remarkable resource in stopping and preventing wars. Just as wars are best fought with alliances, so peace must be pursued in like manner. Further, in pursuit of its enemies, the United States is dangerously flirting with losing its own civil liberties at home. A lack of respect for international law inevitably results in a loss of freedom at home.

The lesson of this discussion is profound, yet simple: nations must play together, think together, sing together, share together, and unite together for authentic peace to exist. This is no pipedream. It has happened for many thousands of years. There is hope.

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Joseph J. Fahey is Professor of Religious Studies and a member of the Peace Studies faculty at Manhattan College.



**Dr. Joseph Fahey** received his B.A. in Philosophy and his M.A. in Theology from Maryknoll Seminary. His Ph.D. is in religion and Social Ethics from New York University. He is the author *Peace, War and the Christian Conscience; Irenology: The Study of Peace; Reinhold Niebuhr on Human Nature and World Peace; A Peace Reader: Essential Readings on War, Justice, Non-Violence and World Order* along with numerous articles, essays, and reviews. He serves on the Advisory Board of *Peace Review: A transnational Quarterly*. Dr. Fahey is Professor of Religious Studies at Manhattan College and is co-founder and former Director of the it's B.A. degree in Peace Studies. He has also taught at Fordham University, Vassar College, and The Maryknoll School of Theology. He has served as Honorary Research Fellow at Queens University, Belfast and as a Scholar-in-Residence at New York University. He has serve on the National Councils of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Peach Studies Association, and the Consortium on Peace Research, Education, and Development.

## **The Human Rights Bridge:**

### **Bartolomé de las Casas and the Evolution of Human Rights**

Prepared by Lawrence a. Clayton, Department of History, University of Alabama for  
Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation, Sept. 19, 2002,  
Ft. Benning, Ga. And  
51<sup>st</sup> International Congress of Americanists, July 2003, Santiago, Chile

In studying the history of human rights, and in writing a biography of Father Bartolomé de las Casas (1495-1566), it seemed to me that the subjects sometimes took on a mutually exclusive tone. That is to say, human, or natural, rights histories only mention Las Casas in passing, while Las Casas' prior biographers and students of his life and times do not usually focus as forcefully as possible on his role as a human rights pioneer.

There exist, of course, exceptions to both of the above generalizations, which we shall draw upon in this essay.<sup>1</sup>

If any role is emphasized in Las Casas' life, it is protector of American Indians, a title bestowed upon him by the dying King Ferdinand in the winter of 1516. Las Casas also enjoyed, or was pilloried, with other labels over the years: historian, proto-anthropologist, theologian, activist, imperialist, chronicler, traitor, polemicist, self-aggrandizing, paranoid, and suffering from delusions of grandeur.

Furthermore, contemporary-or late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century scholars-are probing him applying their own research agendas and paradigms. We thus see Las Casas the imperialist, Las Casas being "reimagined" by literary scholars, and Las Casas through the cause of the Indians sat well on the conscience of Charles V. Calling the claims of his grandfather and grandmother (Ferdinand and Isabella) to the Indies false and illegal patently made his own claims to sovereignty, jurisdiction, and authority weak and theoretically untenable.

Coming full circle, we return to the beginnings of this short consideration of Las Casas as a bridge in the history of human rights. He claimed for the American Indians- and was supported by some of the most celebrated theologians and intellectuals of the time such as Francisco de Vitoria-that they not only possessed sovereignty and exercised dominion over their lands in all possible ways except for worshipping the true Christ, but they also possessed the inherent rights of all mankind. In fact, this latter principle, one could argue, led them to the manifestations of true sovereignty and dominion.

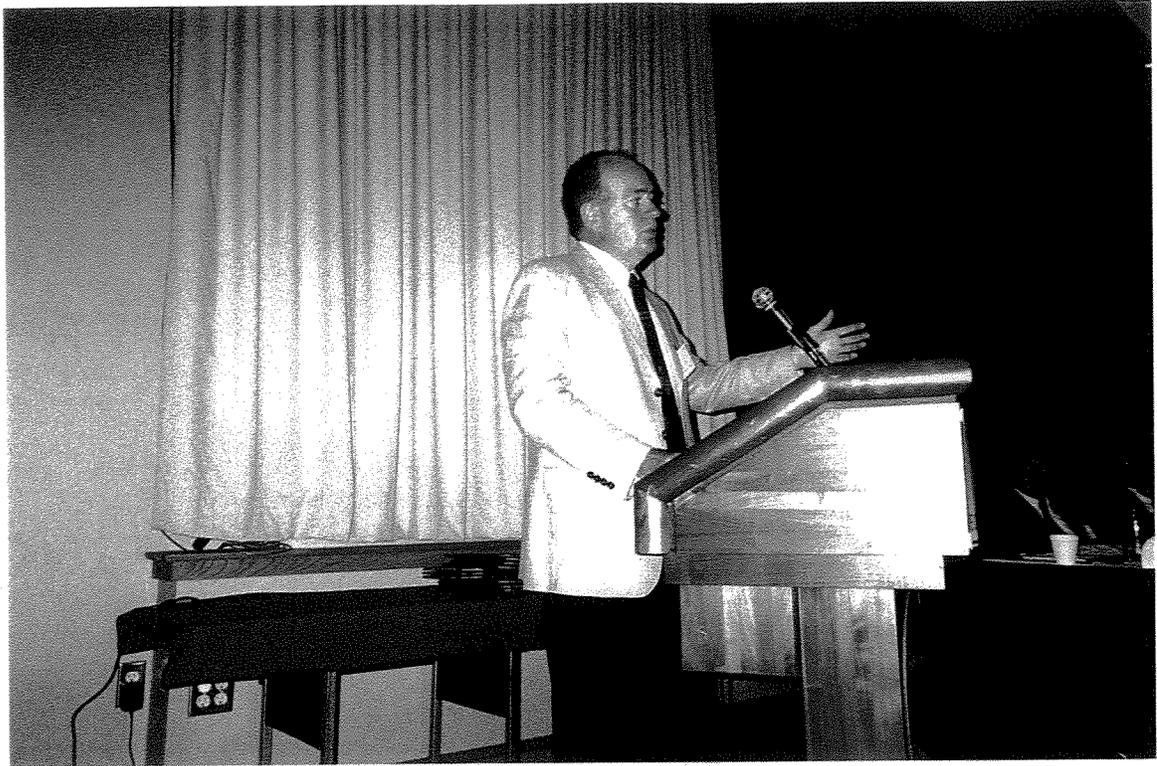
What does this all mean for us today? And, perhaps more important, for how we handle the tomorrows of our lives, individually and collectively, in the light of these fascinating, but remote, arguments in the sixteenth century?

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<sup>1</sup> For example, see Lewis Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indian*; Mauricio Beuchot, *los fundamentos de los derechos humanos en Bartolomé de las Casas* (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1994), with an introduction by Silvio Zavala; a compilation of previously published articles, such as "fundamentos Filosóficos de las Justicia. Las Casas en Seguimiento de Vitoria y Santo Tomás;" P. González Casanova Henríquez and August G. Ruiz Bonifacio, editors and contributors, *El pensamiento lascasiano en la conciencia de América y Europa* (Chiapas; Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Centro de Investigaciones Humanísticas de Mesoamérica y el Estado de Chiapas, 1994), articles focusing on the modern echoes and resonances of las Casian thought and actions.

Without pontificating too much, we need to understand what in fact has been the historic-and accepted-definition of human rights. In some instances and places, these have been expanded and distorted by modern political polemicists, so they bear little relation to what they truly mean. When you are faced with either supporting or violating human rights, you need to know where you stand in this great philosophical and moral stream.

And finally, as soldiers and politicians-for in Latin America the two professions have historically gone hand in hand-you are called upon to take initiatives in your national interests. If we agree that democracy and human rights are basic to any justification for our actions in this Western Hemisphere of American peoples and nations, then it stands to reason that we need to know what democracy means and how human rights are defined. Thank you.



**Dr. Larry Clayton** is currently the Chairman, Department of History at the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa. He holds a B.A. Degree from Duke University and an M.A. and Ph.D. from Tulane University. Dr. Clayton served in the United States Navy from 1964-1966. He has written numerous articles and books on Latin America, including *The Bolivarian Nations; A History of Modern Latin America*, and, most recently, *Peru and the United States: The Condor and the Eagle*. He is currently working on *BARTHOLOMEW: A Biography of Bartolome de las Casas*. His articles have appeared in such journals as the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, *the Journal of Latin American Studies*, and the *Christian Science Monitor*. He is the former director of the Latin American Studies Program at the University of Alabama and has held two Fulbright Awards at the University of Costa Rica and the University of Lima.

## Adonde Va el Cono Sur? Cuestiones de Economía, Política, y Sociedad

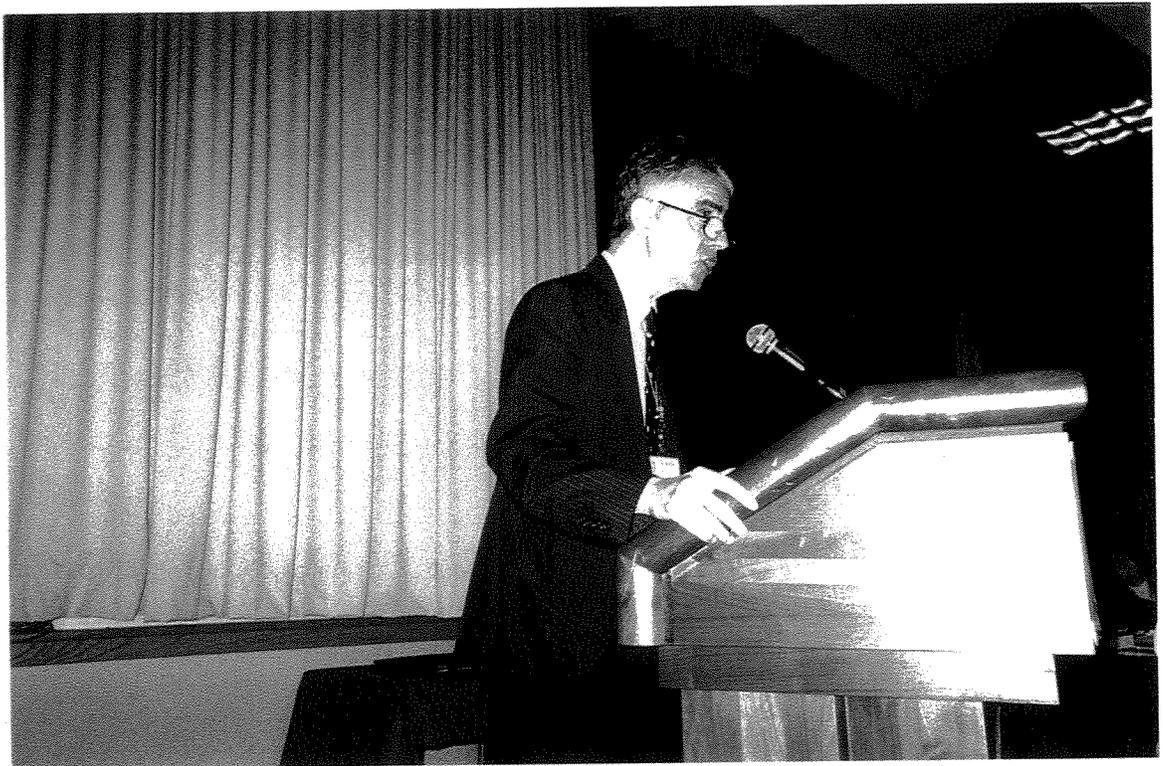
Thomas Whigham, professor de historia, Universidad de Georgia

- I. The current economic downturn in the Southern Cone countries (Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay) has reached crisis proportions yet has received insufficient attention outside the region. The situation is in point of fact quite shocking, with the middle class losing most of its savings over the last few months and the poor encountering not only increased desperation but real hunger.
- II. The most frequently cited cause of this distress comes from the application of an ill-conceived neo-liberal economic model. While initially praised as the answer to the region's endemic problems in the early 1990s, neo-liberalism has failed to generate a better life for most of the inhabitants of the Cono Sur. Its failure must be understood within a broader historical framework that links the regional economy to foreign, especially European, markets. European demand for the region's products has had certain irregular features over the years, and these in turn explain the ups and downs of the Cono Sur's entire economy.
- III. They also explain the periodic appeal of a populist political agenda, which has sometimes delivered significant reforms, and sometimes set the stage for fundamental destabilization. Such populist sentiments may be on the rise once again in the Cono Sur with unpredictable effects for the society and economy.
- IV. When all is said and done, and bearing in mind historical precedent, there is reason to suppose that the Cono Sur will recover from its current difficulties, though with little thanks owed to the present generation of political leaders. Some areas will recover sooner than others.
- V. In terms of security threats, the chief problem in the short term would appear to lie in Paraguay, where there has been a noticeable rise in the level of violence and social disorder in the countryside. This disorder has already engendered some unhealthy interest on the part of drug traffickers, who seek to benefit from Paraguay's woes. There also exists the possibility that ex-general Lino Oviedo will somehow reenter the country's political scene and bring about the fall of the constitutional government with the help of disaffected campesinos. If such a golpe does occur, military intervention by Brazil, Argentina, the OAS, or the United States might follow-a most dangerous eventuality that would doubtlessly be accompanied by heavy loss of life and increased trouble for the region as a whole. The problems in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay will probably not bring about any comparable destabilization.



**Dr. Thomas Whigham** is currently a professor of History at the University of Georgia. Dr. Whigham teaches colonial and modern Latin America, and specializes in the social and economic history of Argentina and Paraguay in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He has worked as a Fulbright scholar in both of those countries, and was the recipient of the Le Conte Memorial Research Award for 1996. His published books include *The Politics of River Trade: Tradition and Development in the Upper Plata, 1780-1870* (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1991), *La Yerba Mate del Paraguay* (Asuncion: CPES, 1991), and *El Paraguay bajo el Dr. Francia. Ensayos sobre la Sociedad Patrimonial* (Asuncion: "El Lector," 1996) (with Jerry W. Cooney). He has just completed *The Paraguayan War, Causes and Early Conduct* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska press, 2002), The first volume of a comprehensive study of the 1864-1870 conflicts.

**Mr. Tony Interlandi**  
**United States Department of State**  
**Visiting Professor to WHINSEC**



**Mr. Tony Interlandi;**  
**The Chilean Economy (Synopsis)**

**The Welcome Mat for Foreign Investors**

The exposure to competition took away comfortable domestic markets for the wine industry, which increasingly had to think internationally...this meant both regionally, to North America and Europe.

Much the same trend occurred in the fishmeal industry and in Chile's staple: copper.

Key markets were opened to foreign and domestic competition; both long distance and domestic service were opened to business. These policies created efficiencies, lowered cost for households and businesses, created high growth jobs in the new economy and robust imports of satellites and cables. BellSouth was a major investor in Chile.

Unemployment has remained elevated and is being addressed mainly through government-supported job programs. The staff recognizes the need for such measures, at least on a temporary basis. Nevertheless, the persistence of high unemployment over a number of years raises the question of whether labor markets are operating as well as they might. In this context, staff has expressed concern over the extent of the cumulative increase in the minimum wage, as well as over the higher expected labor costs implied by the labor reform package. It would be important to use caution in future adjustments to the minimum wage and to look for ways to support labor market flexibility more generally.

The authorities are developing a range of initiatives to enhance growth prospects over the medium term. These are of an essentially microeconomic nature, and include encouraging the development of venture capital, strengthening the framework for resolving anti-monopoly cases and other economic disputes, and adjusting the regulation of several sectors. The staff encourages the authorities to press ahead in developing and implementing these reforms.

Chile's medium-term outlook remains favorable, with the main issue being the restoration of a high rate of growth. The slowing of growth in recent years is largely related to temporary factors. While the beneficial effects of some past reforms may be winding down, the country's fundamentals remain solid and in a number of respects have been improving in recent years, including in the development of sound frameworks for macroeconomic policies. The pace of growth over the medium term will depend partly on new policy initiatives, some now underway. Other possibilities, which should be considered, include bringing private capital into state-owned companies and increasing labor

market flexibility. External payments sustainability will revolve largely around the performance of the nonfinancial private companies that owe most of Chile's external debt. At an aggregate level, debt sustainability seems assured, as it is likely that growth of the economy will tend to be broadly similar to the real interest rates paid on foreign debt, while the current account deficit remains moderate in the medium term. Assuming the consistent implementation of the macroeconomic policy and financial regulatory frameworks already in place, Chile should be able to cope with shocks that might plausible arise in the years ahead.

The data received by the staff are timely and broadly adequate for surveillance purposes. Last years ROSC data module provided a positive overall assessment of Chile's data dissemination practices and data quality, and since then the authorities have made progress in several areas. The authorities should persevere in these efforts, and it would be particularly useful to widen the coverage of fiscal and external statistics to fully capture military transactions, and to complete the estimation of direct trade credits to be included in the official short-term external debt statistics.

# **STRATEGY FOR HIGHER MILITARY EDUCATION**

Julio Cesar Maldonado Leoni

## **INTRODUCTION**

The majority of Latin American nations are fully engaged in facing the realities and challenges of the New Millennium. Committed to confronting them responsibly and with knowledge of the root causes of the issues, they are adopting a series of modernization measures, which are constitutional, economic, political, judicial, social, and military in nature; one of these measures from the societal realm is educational reform, which has been initiated by most all the countries on the American Continent.

Consequently, reforming the educational system also involves reforming all its subsystem components. For this reason, the military establishment is involved in the modernization process and the reform of the military educational system, as part of the National Education System, to which it is both legally and operationally associated.

For the purpose of presenting sound insights based on experience, the goals of this study are, first, to establish the different subsystems that comprise the military system of higher education, and, second, within the military framework, formulate initiatives that can be undertaken to reform the military system of higher education in each of the subsystems.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

The military educational system is not the result of teaching and learning processes; it is no longer a system whose center of gravity revolved around the efforts and work of instructors. It is now the combination, interrelation, and synchronization of several subsystems whose performance is the driving force behind the educational apparatus as a whole.

One cannot consider independently a philosophical basis for education without integrating it into the planning and administration subsystems; likewise, instructors and students alike would be left in an indeterminate state without these two elements. However, there is a quality control element and one responsible for results that evaluates, authorizes, and certifies the results produced by the educational process; all of these components with the

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The Military Distance-Learning System is seen as one of the vital needs and challenges of Higher Military Education; this system would avail itself of Teleconferencing technology and an Internet Military Education Database, thereby facilitating the distance-learning process. The only step remaining is to establish the responsibility for its implementation, administration, and oversight.

physical and electronic base of educational technology are what join together to make this process a “well-oiled machine” that runs efficiently.

Additionally, it must be restated that a common ingredient exists that has come up again and again in the majority of the subsystems-research. Individuals who are not proficient in correctly performing scientific research are practically illiterate in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

# PROYECCIONES DE LA EDUCACIÓN MILITAR SUPERIOR

Julio Cesar Maldonado

## INTRODUCCIÓN

La mayoría de los Estados Latino Americanos están compenetrados de las realidades y desafíos del nuevo milenio. Convencidos de enfrentarlos con responsabilidad y conocimiento de causa están adoptando una serie de medidas de modernización, de carácter constitucional, económico, político, judicial, social y militar, una de ellas, propia del campo social es la Reforma Educativa, asumida por la mayoría de los países del continente americano.

En este sentido, la reforma de un sistema educativo, incluye también la reforma de todos los sub sistemas componentes. Por esta razón, el factor militar esta involucrado en el proceso de modernización, con la reforma del Sistema Educativa Militar, como parte del Sistema Educativo Nacional, al cual pertenece legal y funcionalmente.

Con la intención de proporcionar elementos de juicio propios de la experiencia, las metas que se pretenden alcanzar con este estudio son, primero establecer los diferentes sub sistemas que componen le sistema educativo militar superior y segundo, dentro del marco castrense, formular iniciativas que se pueden tomar para reformar el sistema educativo militar superior, en cada uno de los subsistemas.

Seria una incoherencia histórica, no involucrar a las Instituciones militares en los procesos de reformas y de modernización, para lo cual, los planteamientos en cada uno de los sub sistemas: Filosófico, planificación, administración, docente, discente, evaluación, acreditación y certificación, y de tecnología, educativa, constituyen desde el punto de vista del pensamiento científico, propuestas viables, factibles y aceptables.

Recordemos que la Educación en la función praria de los Estados ye se educa conforme a los resultados que se quieren alcanzar en el desarrollo económico y social. Sin una sólida educación, las estructuras de las sociedades son débiles e inestables, de ahí la importancia de la Educación, como base y factor social multiplicador, tarea para la cual, la Institución Armada llega sa ser una de las mas fundamentales del Estado.

## SISTEMAS EDUCATIVOS

Si la Educación es le esfuerzo primario de los Estados y este representa un esfuerzo intelectual, físico, y económico, debe ser estudiada en todas las dimensiones de la actividad humana, para lo cual el enfoque sistémico permite una clara y completa comprensión de la educación como un sistema.

De ahí que el sistema educativo llega a ser el resultado de las Reformas Educativas que los Estados están asumiendo como parte del proceso de modernización, dentro de la corriente de la Globalización y del Nuevo Orden Mundial.

Si partimos de la premisa que la información y el conocimiento son los elementos del centro de actividad y del poder en el nuevo milenio, se deduce que las reformas educativas están orientadas a ese fin. Esta es la primera característica del Sistema Educativo y la reforma.

Otro ingrediente de la premisa es el carácter vertiginoso y acelerado que asumen la información y el conocimiento, esto marca las diferencias, las condiciones sociales y formas de educación, que en otrora podían ser desarrolladas en forma secuencial y paulatina, considerando inclusive objetivos a largo plazo. Esta es la segunda característica del Sistema Educativo.

En la actualidad, no se puede pretender conocer todo y tener acceso a la mayoría de las fuentes de información como antaño, por lo que el conocimiento se hace más holístico y sistémico. Esto llega a ser la condición inevitable del Sistema Educativo y la tercera característica.

En base a esta tendencia, la educación general, ha dejado de ser considerada como un simple proceso de enseñanza y aprendizaje. Bajo el enfoque sistémico, la educación es considerada como un gran sistema que se relaciona con otros grandes sistemas (económico, político, social, seguridad y otros) que a su vez, forma otros subsistemas que integran aspectos físicos, teóricos e institucionales. Bajo la teoría de los sistemas, específicamente, las Fuerzas Armadas forman parte del Sistema Educativo Nacional bajo el rotulo de Sistema Educativo Militar, que tiene una base legal y una estructura de larga existencia, inversión de tiempo en un sistema de educación presencial, pero en la actualidad, con la explotación de los recursos tecnológicos, ya no será necesario que el docente o el alumno este físicamente en un aula, será la tecnología que permita este gran avance educativo con el sistema educativo militar a distancia, a este fenómeno, se lo esta denominando el aula del futuro, aula virtual o aula cibernética.

## CONCLUSIONES

El sistema educativo militar ya no es el resultado de los procesos de enseñanza y de aprendizaje, ya no es el sistema que tenía como centro de gravedad a la fuerza y trabajo del profesor. Es la conjunción, interrelación y sincronización de varios sub sistemas cuyo funcionamiento permite el movimiento de toda la maquinaria educativa.

No se puede pensar por separado en una base filosófica de la educación sin que este integrada a una planificación y administración educativa; las mismas que sin los actores docente y discente, quedarían vagando en la nebulosa de lo irreal: pero también hay un elemento de control de la calidad y de los resultados, que evalúa, acredita o certifica los resultados de la labor, todo esto sobre la base física y electrónica de la tecnología educativa que hace posible el funcionamiento de la maquinaria como un todo.

Pero sobre ello, se debe recalcar, que existe un ingrediente común que se ha estado repitiendo en la mayoría de los sub sistemas, es la investigación.

Persona que no maneja el instrumento de la investigación científica en forma correcta, este cerca de ser un analfabeto en el Siglo XXI.

*“La educación es el camino para alcanzar la excelencia y la competencia profesional”*





*Simon Bolívar Lecture Series for  
Democracy and Human Rights*

*Dra. Aura Celeste Fernandez Rodriguez  
September 20, 2002*

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FOR SECURITY COOPERATION  
SIMON BOLIVAR FREEDOM & HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD**

The Simon Bolivar Freedom and Human Rights Award from the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation is an annual award given to a citizen of the Americas whose words and deeds in the opinion of the Secretary of Defense and Board of Visitors of the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security and Cooperation personifies the spirit of the "Great Liberator" Simon Bolivar. It is the most prestigious award and highest recognition bestowed by the Institute and seeks to honor each year a person who has made a significant contribution to hemispheric freedom and/or human rights.

The purpose of the Simon Bolivar Freedom and Human Rights Award shall be to emphasize and demonstrate WHINSEC's commitment to the US policy of freedom and human rights and to draw attention to those persons who have a made significant contribution to hemispheric freedom and/or human rights as recommended by the Director and determined by the Board of Visitors of WHINSEC.

The Simon Bolivar Award for Freedom and Human Rights is presented at a conference, symposium, graduation ceremony, dinner or other formal event at which the recipient may deliver remarks of acceptance and is then recognized before a significant audience including Spanish and English speaking military professionals and civilian leaders from the local community and throughout the hemisphere. Guests at the presentation may include representatives of military and law enforcement organizations, academia, religious groups, civic bodies, international organizations, media, along with elected officials, international visitors, and prominent citizens from Georgia.



**20 September 2002  
1045-1145  
Pratt Hall, Ridgeway Hall  
Fort Benning, Georgia**



### **Simon Bolivar Award Ceremony Program**

- Command Party enters Pratt Hall (March Song)
- Representative Saxby Chambliss speaks
- Presentation of Award Introduction by COL Downie
- Dr. Fernandez remarks
- Command Party departs Pratt Hall (Hymn is played)



**Aura Celeste Fernández Rodríguez** is actively engaged in several areas of human rights, including the campaign against the torture of detained minors. She has publicly condemned and worked against the violation of fundamental human rights occurring within the prison system. To this end she has worked to reform the prison system, particularly in its treatment of minors.

She has been very active in the leadership of teams working to reform and modernize the code of laws of her country, acting as the Coordinator for the Judicial Reform and Modernization Support Commission. As part of this effort, she has authored and edited a number of books and articles concerning the constitutionally established state, the judicial system, legal reform, the prison system and the protection of children and adolescents. She has been widely recognized for her contributions in these areas and has been chosen on numerous occasions to represent her country at important international events in Europe and Latin America.

Dra. Fernandez developed and directed a Public Defense Program which handled the legal actions and proceedings of over 3,000 prisoners. In these efforts she worked with the National Police, establishing offices within the National Police Headquarters and in three courthouses in the country, to protect the constitutional rights of prisoners, children and adolescents. She has also worked on legislation governing the Justice Department with the objective of attaining functional independence from the political sector.

From October 1994 to May 1997, Dra. Fernandez served as a regular member (judge) on the Central Electoral Board. Since May 1998, she has been the producer and director of a weekly television program called "En Plural." Currently, she holds the position of Director, Graduate Studies Division, School of Judicial and Political Science and Publications Manager for the Ibero-American University (UNIBE), while continuing her activities as a legal consultant.

(COL Downie)

And now I would like to welcome Representative Saxby Chambliss today who will join me in making the presentation to our honoree, Dr. Fernandez. Rep Chambliss is an active member of the House Armed Services Committee. He was selected by Speaker Dennis Hastert to be Chairman of the House Intelligence Subcommittee on Terrorism and Homeland Security. Rep Chambliss represents the 8<sup>th</sup> district in Georgia and is currently serving his 4<sup>th</sup> term in Congress.

This is the second member of the Agricultural Committee we've had recently. Representative Marcy Kaptur, from Ohio, was here just the other day. Taking congressional oversight to a new level, we appreciate the close scrutiny the Institute has received from members of the agricultural committee as well as our distinguished board of visitors. He understands the importance of civilian control of the military and having an atmosphere where human rights can flourish under the rule of law, protected by a military steeped in professionalism and democratic values. So today we're very pleased that the Congressman could be with us to help make this presentation to today's honoree.



**Colonel Richard D. Downie**



**Saxby Chambliss** represents Georgia's 8th District as a member of the 107th Congress. He was elected to his fourth term in November 2000.

At home, Saxby's "a representative with political courage as well as integrity," says *The Cordele Dispatch*. And *The Warner Robins Daily Sun* says "[Chambliss shows] the kind of common sense we like to see... in Washington. Recognizing his pledge to place his constituents' concerns first, *The Waycross Journal-Herald* declares "Chambliss is working hard to represent the people of Georgia's Eighth District."

Growing up the son of an Episcopal minister, Saxby learned the importance of hard work, community service and traditional values at an early age. He put himself through college working at a bakery in Athens, Georgia, and after graduation married his college sweetheart, Julianne Frohbert of Thomasville, Georgia. Even as an active small businessman and attorney in Moultrie, Saxby volunteered for more than 20 years as a Little League baseball and YMCA basketball coach.

Strengthening Georgia's military tradition is a chief concern for Saxby. To achieve this goal, he has been an active member of the House Armed Services Committee. Saxby's commitment to our men and women in uniform is illustrated by his decision to tour every military installation in Georgia.

**THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY  
COOPERATION, HEREBY PRESENTS THIS  
SIMON BOLIVAR AWARD FOR DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS  
TO DOCTOR AURA CELESTE FERNANDEZ**

**FOR HER DEMONSTRATED COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLES OF  
DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, AND JUSTICE THAT HAVE  
CONTRIBUTED TO MAKING THIS HEMISPHERE A MORE SECURE,  
PEACEFUL, AND DEMOCRATIC HOME AND WHOSE ACTIONS  
SERVE AS AN INSPIRATION TO US ALL.**

**GIVEN THIS 20<sup>TH</sup> DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 2002, AT THE WESTERN  
HEMISPHERE INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY COOPERATION,  
FORT BENNING, GEORGIA**



**DOCTOR AURA CELESTE FERNANDEZ**

**(Presentation Speech, Bolivar Award, August 20<sup>th</sup>, 2002)**  
**(Award Recipient, Dr. Aura Celeste Fernandez-Rodriguez)**  
**(Presented by, Colonel Richard Downie, Ph.D., Commandant)**

“Ladies and gentlemen, it is my great honor at this time to extend the highest award presented by this Institution to a most distinguished recipient. Dr. Aura Celeste Fernandez Rodriguez has a distinguished career as an attorney, as an author, as a publishing academic, as a high-ranking public administrator, and, most of all, as a champion of human freedom in her beloved country, the Dominican Republic. She has made tremendous contributions to the quality of freedom through law in both the international environment, and in the domestic environment, of a Caribbean nation close to the United States, and progressing rapidly in its democratization. It is altogether fitting and proper that she should receive this award here at the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation, at a moment when sixteen distinguished academics from the finest universities in the Hemisphere are engaged in serious dialogue with military and law enforcement students from the sister Hemispheric Republics.

It is now my humble but pleasant task to show to this audience the several areas in which the career of Don Simon Bolivar is connected to Dr. Fernandez’ arduous labors on behalf of human freedom under law. I will examine three visits by the Liberator to Caribbean America, the region of our distinguished honoree here today recognized.

In 1812, temporarily defeated by Spaniards and their colonial collaborators, Don Simon went to the Dutch island of Curacao to regroup. He learned there the lesson about determining who are the friends of liberty, and who professes liberty in public but refuses to fight for it when the time is at hand. Dr. Fernandez learned early in her judicial career, like Don Simon, that one must have allies who love and believe in constitutional democracy if one wants to effect reforms. Her later success shows that she learned this lesson well.

In 1814, again temporarily defeated by powerful Spanish forces, Don Simon fled once more, first to Curacao and then to the British Caribbean colony in Jamaica. There he wrote his Letter from Jamaica, one of history’s most quoted statements about the march to freedom. “We have already seen the light,” he said, “and it not our desire to be thrust back into darkness.” He favored then the creation of several small republics in the former Spanish colonies, because “small Republics enjoy longer lives. Only Rome existed as a large republic for a long time.” He explained, “I seek perfection for the government of my country...wrongs now existing must be righted...and smaller republics with a powerful champion have a possibility of surviving.” Virtually all Constitutional processes, and democratic reform process, in Latin America makes reference in some way to Don Simon’s thoughts from this bitter time in his life. Dr. Fernandez mastered the principles of Constitutional law during arduous years of study at two of the most distinguished juridical universities in the world.

Finally, in 1826, the 1<sup>st</sup> Inter-American Conference at Panama, the western flank of the tumultuous Caribbean region, was Don Simon's handiwork, a little-remembered part of his glory. While attendance was miserably bad, Bolivar's vision on international law and the peaceful settlement of disputes was so eloquent that today, in a more cynical age, few people even know that his concepts are the foundation for the Organization of American States, which in turn was the functional model for the United Nations. Again, Dr. Fernandez marched in Don Simon's footsteps early in her legal career by serving in important roles on international tribunals. It is here that she established her position as a freedom fighter before taking on the challenging scene of domestic legal reform within her own country, the Dominican Republic.

Madame Aura Celeste, recipient of the highest award this Institute can present; you are a true champion of human rights and freedom. You are a worthy daughter of the freedom and justice tradition established by the incomparable Don Simon Bolivar. Your name belongs in the company of great champions for justice such as George Washington, Abraham Lincoln and the late Dr. Martin Luther King, of the United States. You are doing your work in a time when legal reform is more technical, less well understood, and less likely to capture the attention of the news media than those who create demonstrations against democratic authority that have little beneficial effect. You are a defender of the Americas, a lover of liberty, and a woman in whose company we are all enriched and ennobled.

May God bless you and honor your work. May you remain strong in your course of action. May you never forget that upon this day, men and women in the armed forces and police of countries having democratically elected governments considered you their champion. As the political democracies learn to defend themselves against new forms of tyranny such as terrorism that pretends to be a liberating force, leaders like you will chart the course for us, a course of Constitution and law over the rule of force and emotion. Your work and your life are the materials of freedom to which we in this auditorium have devoted our lives. You honor us today as we make our modest presentation to commemorate your work among people who understand its importance.

Discurso de Presentación: Premio Simón Bolívar, 20 de octubre del 2002.

Receptora del Premio: Dra. Aura Celeste Fernández Rodríguez

Presentado por: Coronel Richard D. Downie, Doctor en Filosofía, Comandante, Instituto de Cooperación para la Seguridad Hemisférica, Auditorio Pratt Hall,

En ocasión de la 2ª Conferencia Anual de Seguridad Hemisférica.

“Damas y caballeros, es para mí un gran honor otorgar el mayor premio que concede esta institución a una receptora sumamente distinguida. La Dra. Aura Celeste Fernández Rodríguez profesa una encomiable carrera como jurista, autora, escritora académica, administradora pública de alta jerarquía, y, sobre todo, como defensora de la libertad humana en su querida patria: la República Dominicana. Ella ha hecho sobresalientes contribuciones a través de las leyes en pro de la libertad, tanto en el ámbito internacional como en el nacional de una nación caribeña cercana a los Estados Unidos que avanza rápidamente en su proceso de democratización. Es justo y apropiado que ella deba recibir este premio aquí en el Instituto de Cooperación para la Seguridad Hemisférica en un momento en que dieciséis distinguidos académicos de las mejores universidades en el hemisferio convergen en un intenso diálogo con estudiantes militares y de orden público de nuestras repúblicas hermanas.

Es ahora mi humilde aunque placentera tarea mostrar a este auditorio las diversas áreas en que la carrera de Don Simón Bolívar guarda relación con la ardua labor de la Dra. Fernández en beneficio de la libertad humana, amparada por la ley. Analizaré tres visitas realizadas por el Libertador al Caribe, la región de la distinguida doctora objeto de este homenaje.

En 1812, temporalmente derrotado por los españoles y sus colaboradores coloniales, Don Simón fue a la isla holandesa de Curacao para reagrupar sus fuerzas. Allí aprendió una lección sobre la determinación de quiénes son amigos de la libertad, y quiénes profesan la libertad en público pero rehúsan luchar por ella cuando se presenta la ocasión. La Dra. Fernández aprendió desde temprano en su carrera judicial, al igual que Don Simón, que hay que tener aliados que amen y crean en la democracia constitucional si deseamos efectuar reformas. Su éxito demuestra que ella aprendió muy bien esta lección.

En 1814, nuevamente derrotado temporalmente por las poderosas fuerzas españolas, Don Simón escapó una vez más, primero hacia Curasao y luego hacia la colonia británica caribeña en Jamaica. Allí escribió su famosa Carta desde Jamaica, una de los escritos más citados en la historia de la marcha hacia la libertad. “Ya hemos visto la luz”, dijo, “y no es nuestro deseo regresar a la oscuridad.” Favoreció entonces la creación de varias repúblicas pequeñas en las antiguas colonias españolas, porque “las repúblicas pequeñas disfrutaban de una vida más extensa. Sólo Roma existió como una república grande por largo tiempo.” Explicó: “Busco la perfección para el gobierno de mi país... los males que ahora existen se deben corregir... y las repúblicas pequeñas con un poderoso paladín tienen la posibilidad de sobrevivir.” Virtualmente todos los procesos constitucionales y de reforma democrática en América Latina hacen referencia en alguna forma a los pensamientos de Don Simón que datan de este tiempo amargo en su vida. La Dra. Fernández dominó los principios de la ley constitucional durante difíciles años de estudio en dos de las más prestigiosas universidades jurídicas en el mundo.

Por último, en 1826, la Primera Conferencia Interamericana en Panamá, flanco occidental de la tumultuosa región caribeña, fue obra de Don Simón, una pequeña parte recordada de su gloria. Aunque la asistencia fue considerablemente baja, la visión de Bolívar sobre la ley internacional y la solución pacífica de disputas fue tan elocuente que hoy día, en una era más cínica, pocas personas saben que sus conceptos son la base de la Organización de los Estados Americanos, que a su vez fue el modelo funcional para la Organización de las Naciones Unidas. Nuevamente, la Dra. Fernández marchó sobre las huellas de Don Simón temprano en su carrera legal desempeñando importantes funciones en los tribunales internacionales. Es aquí donde cimentó su posición como defensora de la libertad antes de tomar bajo su tutela el desafiante escenario de la reforma legal interna en su propio país, la República Dominicana.

Madame Aura Celeste, receptora del más alto galardón que este Instituto puede otorgar, usted es un verdadero paladín de los derechos humanos y de la libertad. Es una hija meritoria de la libertad y la tradición de justicia establecida por el incomparable Don

Simón Bolívar. El nombre suyo debe estar junto a los grandes defensores de la justicia, como el difunto Dr. Martin Luther King, en Estados Unidos. Usted está realizando su labor en un período en que las reformas legales son más técnicas, menos comprendidas y tienen menor posibilidad de captar la atención de los medios noticiosos que aquellos que crean demostraciones contra la autoridad democrática con pocos efectos beneficiosos. Usted es una defensora de América, una amante de la libertad, y una mujer cuya compañía nos enriquece y ennoblece.

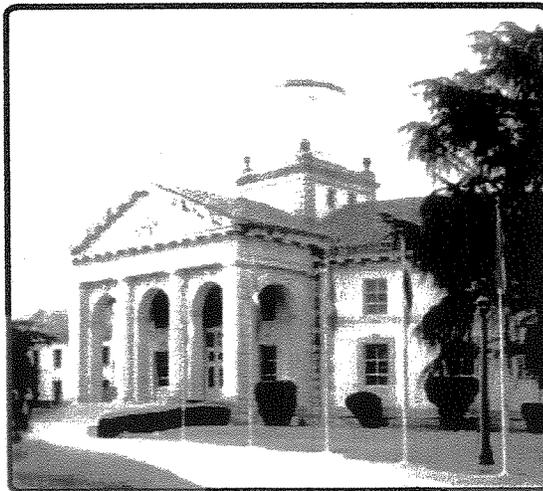
Dios la bendiga a usted y honre su labor. Que usted permanezca firme en su curso de acción. Que jamás olvide que a partir de este día, hombres y mujeres en las fuerzas armadas y la policía de los países que tienen gobiernos democráticamente elegidos la consideran su propio paladín. A medida que las democracias políticas aprenden a defenderse ellas mismas contra nuevas formas de tiranía, como el terrorismo que pretende ser una fuerza liberadora, líderes como usted trazarán el curso para nosotros, un curso de Constitución y Ley sobre el imperio de la fuerza y la emoción. Su labor y su vida son la fibra de la libertad a la que nosotros, en este auditorio, hemos dedicado nuestras vidas. Usted nos honra hoy aquí mientras nosotros hacemos esta modesta presentación para conmemorar su labor entre personas que comprenden su importancia.

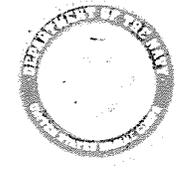
**Closing Remarks; COL Jorge W. Rosales, Uruguay, Deputy  
Commandant.**

Congratulations, Dr. Fernandez! On behalf of the Institute and COL Downie, our Commandant, I would like to thank everyone for attending; especially Rep. Chambliss. Now I'd like to present Rep Chambliss with an Institute coin to remember his visit here today.

Finally, I want to thank the organizers of this conference: Dr. Ramsey, Dr. Harrington and LTC Anderson for the dynamic and in depth discussions which address some of the many important challenges which face our hemisphere over the past days. Thanks to all of you for being part of the WHINSEC family and we hope to see you at future Institute events

**ABOUT THE INSTITUTE**





# WHINSEC HIMNO DEL INSTITUTO

Por la amistad que une a nuestros pueblos,  
por la amistad que une a nuestros hermanos  
se creó en este gran Continente Americano  
un glorioso Instituto para nuestros Estados.

Es símbolo de la hermandad,  
defenderá nuestra seguridad,  
los derechos del hombre cuidará  
y a América Latina sus puertas abrirá.

Pasaran por sus aulas estudiantes,  
de todo el Continente Americano,  
soldados y civiles como hermanos  
para juntos lograr lo que anhelamos.

Paz, libertad, fraternidad  
es lo que todos anhelamos alcanzar.  
Y cómo más lo podremos lograr  
que unidos todos en confraternidad.

Por la amistad que une a nuestros pueblos,  
por la amistad que une a nuestros hermanos...  
vivan la libertad, paz y fraternidad  
en nuestro Continente Americano.

Letra por Rosa M. Medina  
Música por Sgto. Selcuk Yagci  
2001

