CHILEAN NATIONAL SECURITY

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NATIONAL SECURITY

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International relations · Security · Defense
CHILE

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0.1

Chilean National Security

The State of Chile is currently facing a volatile, uncertain and ambiguous international scenario, marked by competition between great powers, and in which new threats and risks emerge at an increasingly frequent pace. Faced with unpredictable contexts, a State that does not have an adequate security architecture will face these problems without the required strategic perspective and, fundamentally, will have no choice but to improvise and react.

In this sense, and with a multidimensional approach to security, the spectrum of problems that the State must solve varies from the extreme of an external armed aggression, to the adverse effects of climate change, cyber attacks, the action of transnational criminal organisations and the problems that affect the country's interests in other parts of the world.

The main purposes of the State are to promote the common good, provide security for citizens, ensure the independence and self-determination of the population, and maintain the territorial integrity of the Republic — all necessary and indispensable conditions to achieve the development and well-being of citizens. Therefore, it is imperative to have a permanent structure, at the highest level, to ensure these desired conditions.

It is also worth considering that the very concept of national security sparks a certain resistance from some people and groups, who argue that it is obsolete or in disuse. However, the international evidence indicates the contrary, confirming that both the function and the nomenclature are still of transversal and universal use.

This work intends to clarify doubts about the validity of the concept of national security and, in turn, about the need to assume a basic function of the State, namely security, through a structure and key official documents. In order to do so, in the first place, this study will review the origin and definition of the concept of national security and, secondly, its use at the international level. In this regard, it gleaned information on use of the concept at the main universities worldwide, as well as by various States in particular, including democracies that constitute a benchmark for Chile. In this sense, it verified which countries have some type of national security structure and which have issued official documents on the matter. Finally, this paper presents some proposals on the characteristics that a possible national security architecture should have and the corresponding key documents.

0.2

Origin and definition of the concept of National Security

Regarding the use of the concept of national security, different approaches coexist in Chile, ranging from the denial of the current validity of the term to the total endorsement of its usage and utility. In general, the concept of security is the subject of broad debate, influenced by ideological perspectives and different interpretations in the theory of international relations, with a clear evolution from the end of World War II to the present day.[1] It is true that there is no precise and broadly accepted notion of national security, since by definition it is an ambiguous concept that arises from a public policy of decision makers in particular circumstances. Nevertheless, at the international level, the use or validity of the term is not questioned.

The term first appeared in academic publications and official documents a couple of years before the Second World War,[2] and its oldest official use is found in the United States National Security Act of 1947. This regulation's direct background is the paradigm shift that occurred with the end of World War II, and the appearance of atomic bombs, which greatly influenced the strategic relationship of the two emerging powers (the Soviet Union and the USA).[3] The father of the doctrine of containment in the Cold War, George Kennan, stated that the fundamental objectives of foreign policy should always be to protect the security of the nation (which he defined as the ability to pursue the development of its internal life), and to advance the welfare of the people.[4]

This notion and its conceptualisation have been part of the debate in academic and political environments for a long time. In the period up to the end of the Cold War, national security focused on the external defence of States, with a decisive military component. However, in the period that began in the last decades of the 20th century, the

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1   John Griffiths, *Theory of Security and Defense in the American Continent* (Santiago: RIL editors, 2011), 175.
2   See Earle Mead Edward. "American Military Policy and National Security". In Political Science Quarterly. (Vol. 53. No. 1. 1938). This author organised – before the Second World War – a seminar on military affairs and foreign policy at the Princeton Institute for Advanced Studies, in which the term "national security" became the articulating element between both instruments of national power. Another example is Pendleton Herring's publication, The Impact of War: Our American Democracy Under Arms (Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. New York, 1941). In this text, written only months before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the author expresses that national security is no longer a phenomenon that can be taken for granted. Additionally, Daniel Yergin locates the political origin of this notion around World War II in his work Shattered Peace: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State (Houghton Mifflin Company, Harvard University, 1977). Other publication that coincides with the above is "The Cold War and the Discourse of National Security" (Emily Rosemberg), in *Diplomatic History. The Journal of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations* (Vol. 17, No. 2. 1993).
3   *Op cit.* Griffiths, p. 23.
4   John Lewis Gaddis. *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy.* Oxford University Press. 1982, p. 27.

concept of security was extended to include the international and human spheres.[5] This expansion meant moving away from the almost exclusively military or State defence realm, and evolving towards a multidimensional concept, so that a much broader range of phenomena that affect international, national and human security were considered,[6] as reflected in the "Declaration on Security in the Americas" of October 2003. In that document, security was defined as a term with a multidimensional scope "to encompass new and nontraditional threats, which include political, economic, social, health, and environmental aspects".[7] This definition is very similar to what Barry Buzan had established in 1983. Although an intellectual effort to expand the notion of security can be noted, its definition has not necessarily been examined at more depth, which certainly constitutes the main challenge today.

In terms of its value, it is possible to say that national security is a tool of the State with the purposes of safeguarding its territorial integrity and protecting its interests and citizens. It is true that its interpretation depends on the context and the reality of each State; nonetheless, its relevance is universally accepted.[8] In the same way, it should be clarified that it is not an exclusive area or function of the Armed Forces or even the Defence sector, although they significantly contribute to it.

It is worth mentioning the "National Security Doctrine", which affected Latin American countries in the 1960s and 1970s. This can be identified as "such doctrine that emerged at the beginning of the 1960s, in order to carry out the containment of communism in the [western] hemisphere",[9] referring to the American continent, as a result of the arrival of Fidel Castro to power in Cuba (in 1959) and the emergence of revolutionary groups in the region.

Unfortunately, sometimes the concept of national security tends to be conflated with the aforementioned "National Security Doctrine". Even though there is some coincidence in the words, the first responds to a need of the State and its basic functioning, while the second entailed a conjunctural, local State policy in Latin America, which decisively affected the stability of a significant number of countries in a given context. These two concepts should not be confused, as they are clearly different issues.

When defining the concept of national security, as stated in the article "Security and the Chilean State"[10] published by AthenaLab in June 2022, it is necessary to take into account that not just any phenomenon that affects the State and its inhabitants can be labeled as a national security issue. If this were the case, everything would end up being approached from the point of view of national

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5   It is relevant to cite the attempts to broaden the notion of security developed under the auspices of the United Nations. One of the first documented efforts to modify and expand the traditional notion of security was carried out by what was known as the Brandt Commission, which in 1980, commissioned by the UN, produced a comprehensive report called "North-South: A program for survival". Another attempt to broaden the notion of security was the report Common Security: A Blueprint for Survival (Simon and Schuster, 1982), prepared by the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, chaired by Olof Palme. The above actions coincide with the academic efforts in the same vein such as Richard H. Ullman's article "Redefining Security" (*International Security Journal*, MIT, 1993, Vol. 8, No. 1) and Barry Buzan's book *People, States, and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations* (University of North Carolina Press, 1983).

6   *Op. cit*. Griffiths, p. 215.

7   Organization of American States, "Declaration on Security in The Americas" (Mexico: OAS, 2003) Available at: https://www.oas.org/en/sms/docs/DECLARATION%20SECURITY%20AMERICAS%20REV%201%20-%2028%20OCT%202003%20CE00339.pdf

8   On the concept of security, the idea of security for the nation and the administration of the State, the text "La seguridad y el Estado de Chile" (AthenaLab) is recommended, available at: https://athenalab.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Seguridad-y-el-Estados-de-Chile.pdf

9   *Op cit.*, Griffiths, p. 96.

10   John Griffiths & Marcelo Masalleras, "La seguridad y el Estado de Chile" (AthenaLab: Santiago, 2022), available at: https://athenalab.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Seguridad-y-el-Estados-de-Chile.pdf

security, which ultimately does not contribute to the aim of safeguarding the State and its citizens. On the one hand, there are phenomena that affect the country and the people from the perspective of development and well-being, such as poverty, which should not be treated as national security problems.[11] As Kim R. Holmes argues, "Perceptions of social injustice or inequality are domestic concerns, not national security matters."[12] On the other hand, those phenomena or actions characterised by the use of violence — in all its forms, areas and dimensions — that follows an intention, and whose effects lead to actual or potential loss of human life or material damage to critical infrastructure, must be recognised as a national security problem.[13] By way of presenting a definition of national security (or state security, in this case) this study suggests that which is proposed in the book *Theory of Security and Defense in the American Continent*:

"State security is the condition of the absence of violent conflict that directly affects the State, whether in its external or internal dimension. This type of security is expressed primarily in these two dimensions, giving rise to external security and internal security, respectively. The first is a function of National Defence through the use of the Armed Forces, while the second is a function of the Law Enforcement and Public Security Forces".

Finally, it is important to insist that national security is an evolving concept that can adopt different perspectives and approaches, depending on the level of analysis, context, and experience of whoever uses it. However, in no case could it be affirmed, on any factual basis, that it is obsolete or – even less – in disuse.

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11   Conceptualisation based on the proposal of John Griffiths in "Teoría de la seguridad y defensa en el continente americano", p. 572.
12   Kim R. Holmes, "What is National Security?", in *2015 Index of U.S. Military Strength: Assessing America's Ability to Provide for the Common Defense* (Heritage Foundation, 2015), p. 21.
13   *Op cit.,* Griffiths, p. 591.
14   Ibid, p. 597.

0.3

Current validity of the concept of National Security

To assess the current validity of the term, this work will approach it from three points of view. First, determining if it is a concept used internationally by the academia in a transversal way; second, reviewing whether national security is a function assumed by the States, with that nomenclature and with recognisable structures; and third, establishing whether the term is present in official documents.

FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE ACADEMIA

In order to demonstrate that the use of the term national security is not a peculiarity of a group of people in Chile, nor that this concept has already been abandoned, this study analysed whether it is commonly used in the international academic environment. To do so, it reviewed the information available from a group of 30 international universities. The selected institutions are those that, in the ranking prepared in 2019 by Chile's National Commission for Scientific and Technological Research, were best evaluated in the area of Social Sciences, and more specifically Political Science, among the countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-op-

eration and Development (OECD).[15] The search prioritized the use of the term "national security" in programs, courses, seminars, workshops, research or study areas, conferences, or any other explicit use of this term. The fact that no results were found in some institutions does not necessarily mean that they do not use the term, but merely that this investigation did not detect specific references in this regard in the available information.

Table 1[16] shows that of the 30 academic institutions (many of them among the most prestigious in the world), 76.7% openly and specifically use the term "national security". Furthermore, the use of the concept, in addition to being broad and transversal, responds to a reality, which is the need for States to address this public function, for which professionals and experts who understand it are required. In other words, given that there is a need for people trained in the management of national security, there is a significant educational offer to satisfy it. In summary, if the concept were invalid or obsolete, the current academic offer would hardly exist.

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15 For the selection of universities to be reviewed, the CONICYT 2019 foreign university ranking was chosen, within the framework of the postgraduate scholarship application process in Chile and abroad. Within the different lists, the area of Political Sciences (within Social Sciences) was chosen. See: https://www.conicyt.cl/becasconicyt/files/2019/02/5.06-Ciencias-Pol%C3%ADticas.pdf

16 It should be noted that although there are universities in which no programs or courses with the specific name of "national security" were found, practically all of them present subjects associated with the concept of security, such as: security and politics, security and international law, human security, global security, international security and terrorism, or security studies.
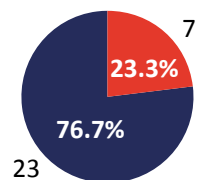
TABLE 1: NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE BEST UNIVERSITIES IN THE WORLD
Source: Prepared by the authors with information available on official websites.

UNIVERSITIES	YES-NO	ACADEMIC OFFER	TYPE OF ACTIVITY
Harvard University	●	Senior Executives in National and International Security	Program
University of Oxford	●	National Security and Human Rights	Talk Series
London School Economics & Political Science	●	Security and Statecraft	Research Cluster
Princeton University	●	National Security Policy (SPI 549)	Course - Center for International Security
Standford University	●	International and National Security Policy	Concentration- Public Policy Program
University of Amsterdam	●		
Columbia University	●	National Security Law Program	Law Program
New York University	●	National Security Decision Making Processes: Applied Theories	Requiered Class - Center for Global Affairs
Yale University	●	National Security and Defense	Area of Study
Australian National University	●	National Security College	College- Crawford School of Public Policy
University of Michigan	●	National Security Affairs / Preparation for Active Duty I	Class- Aero
University of Manchester	●	MA Security and International Law	Master's
University of Edinburgh	●	CJS Seminar- Private Security and National Security: The Case of Estonia	Seminar
University of Texas Austin	●	Intelligence and National Security, LBJ School of Public Affairs	Teaching Area
Georgetown University	●	U.S. National Security Policy	Concentration
Kings College London	●	National Security Studies MA	Master's
Aarhus University	●	Human Security MA	Master's
European University Institute	●	The evolving relationship between geoeconomics, innovation and national security	Conference
Leiden University	●	Intelligence and National Security (MSc)	Master's
Duke University	●	Master of National Security Policy	Master's
University of California Berkeley	●	U.S. National Security Policy	Course- Center for Security in Politics Certificate in Security
University College London	●	Aspects of National Security Law (LAWS0150)	Course
University of Toronto	●	Global Security	Part of Master's of Global Affairs
Indiana University Bloomington	●	Homeland Security and Emergency Management with National Security and Defense Partnerships	Partnerships
University of Cambridge	●	National Security Council crisis meeting	Strategic simulation
George Washington University	●	The George Washington University National Security Studies Program (GW NSSP)	Program
University of Nottingham	●	International Security and Terrorism MA	Master's
University of Zurich	●	Center for Security Studies	Center
Utrecht University	●	Military procurement and national security	PhD Research Project
University of Pennsylvania	●	National Security Society	Society

NATIONAL SECURITY STRUCTURES OF OTHER STATES

Secondly, this work reviewed whether the states are aware of the need to address this basic function and if they reflect it in any way in their structure. To do so, it examined 60 countries to find out if they have a particular and specialised architecture that assumes the direction and control of national security. These countries belong to three groups: OECD; North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); and nations of Central and South America.

The OECD was chosen because it brings together an important group of democracies with a high level of development and is permanently used as a benchmark by Chilean academics, politicians and NGOs. Of the 38 member countries, which include four from Latin America, 71% have a defined structure to address national security. As can be seen in Table 2, the types of institutions are diverse (ranging from a council to a committee, an office, and even a national security advisor), but the clear fact is that seven of every ten of these democracies have established specialised bodies, which they have clearly and unequivocally named with the label of national security. Furthermore, if the four Latin American countries (none of which has this type of structure) are subtracted from the list, the percentage rises to 79.4% of States with a national security architecture.

TABLE 2: NATIONAL SECURITY ARCHITECTURE IN OECD COUNTRIES
Source: Prepared by the authors with information available on official websites.

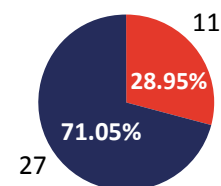| OECD	YES-NO	ARCHITECTURE
Germany	●	Federal Security Council
Australia	●	National Security Division of PM&C
Austria	●	National Security Council
Belgium	●	National Security Authority
Canada	●	National Security Adviser Jody Thomas, Public Safety Canada
Chile	●	
Colombia	●	National Security Council
South Korea	●	Office of National Security
Costa Rica	●	
Denmark	●	
Slovenia	●	National Security Council
Spain	●	National Security Council
USA	●	National Security Agency (NSA)
Estonia	●	
Finland	●	
France	●	Secretariat-General for National Defence and Security (SGDSN)
Greece	●	
Hungary	●	National Security Service
Ireland	●	
Iceland	●	National Security Council
Israel	●	Ministerial Committee on National Security
Italy	●	
Japan	●	National Security Council
Latvia	●	National Security Adviser to the President of Latvia
Lithuania	●	State Security Department of Lithuania
Luxembourg	●	High Commission for National Protection
Mexico	●	
Norway	●	Norwegian National Security Authority (NSM)
New Zealand	●	National Security Group (NSG)
Netherlands	●	National Coordinator for Counter-Terrorism and Security
Poland	●	National Security Bureau
Portugal	●	
United Kingdom	●	National Security Council
Czech Republic	●	National Security Council
Slovak Republic	●	Security Council of the Slovak Republic (SRB)
Sweden	●	Swedish Security Service
Swiss	●	
Turkey	●	National Security Council

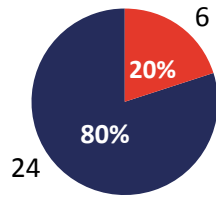## TABLE 3: NATIONAL SECURITY ARCHITECTURE IN NATO COUNTRIES

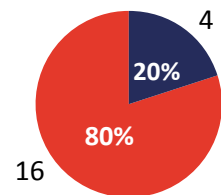Source: Prepared by the authors with information available on official websites.

On the other hand, twenty-four of the 30 NATO countries — that is, 80% — have formal structures to assume the direction of national security. As in the previous case, the names vary, but the term "national security" is used transversally (Table 3).

As for the Latin American countries of Central and South America, the result is different: only 4 of 20 States (20%) have adopted a permanent architecture to assume the national security function (Table 4).

NATO	YES-NO	ARCHITECTURE
Albania	●	
Bulgaria	●	Consultative Council for National Security
Croatia	●	National Security Council
North Macedonia	●	Security Council
Montenegro	●	National Security Authority
Romania	●	Department of National Security
Germany	●	Federal Security Council
Belgium	●	National Security Authority
Canada	●	National Security Adviser Jody Thomas, Public Safety Canada
Denmark	●	
Slovenia	●	National Security Council
Spain	●	National Security Council
USA	●	National Security Agency (NSA)
Estonia	●	
France	●	Secretariat-General for National Defence and Security (SGDSN))
Greece	●	
Hungary	●	National Security Service
Iceland	●	National Security Council
Italy	●	
Latvia	●	National Security Adviser to the President of Latvia
Lithuania	●	State Security Department of Lithuania
Luxembourg	●	High Commission for National Protection
Norway	●	Norwegian National Security Authority (NSM)
Netherlands	●	National Coordinator for Counterterrorism and Security
Poland	●	National Security Bureau
Portugal	●	
United Kingdom	●	National Security Council
Czech Republic	●	National Security Council
Slovak Republic	●	Security Council of the Slovak Republic (SRB)
Turkey	●	National Security Council

TABLE 4: NATIONAL SECURITY ARCHITECTURE IN LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

Source: Prepared by the authors with information available on official websites.

LATAM	YES-NO	ARCHITECTURE
Argentina	●	
Belize	●	Belize Ministry of National Security
Bolivia	●	
Brazil	●	
Chile	●	
Colombia	●	National Security Council
Costa Rica	●	
Ecuador	●	
El Salvador	●	
Guatemala	●	Technical Secretariat of the National Security Council
Guyana	●	
Honduras	●	Security Secretary
Mexico	●	
Nicaragua	●	
Panama	●	
Paraguay	●	
Peru	●	
Suriname	●	
Uruguay	●	
Venezuela	●	

Finally, consolidating all 60 States into one list, the results are the following: 61.7% (37 countries) have specialised structures for national security, while 38.3% do not. Among the latter (23 countries), 16 are Latin American states. This is relevant when considering that in AthenaLab's May 2022 survey "Perceptions on Foreign Policy and National Security", the general public did not mention any Latin American state as a model for Chile. In contrast, the four most mentioned countries – the United States, Canada, Sweden and New Zealand[17] – do have a national security architecture.

USE OF THE TERM IN KEY OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY FUNCTION

As a third element of analysis, this study reviewed the official documents of the aforementioned States, in order to detect whether, in one way or another, both the function in general and the term "national security" in particular were in common use. In the results presented, in the same way and order as the previous section, it can be seen that a significant majority of countries understand the concept and use it unapologetically. The review included different documents, which mostly correspond to national security policies, national security strategies, or even "white papers", whose content exceeds the exclusive scope of Defence and addresses matters of State security as a whole.

Applying the same method used to analyze each country's national architecture, the information collected about these documents was obtained from their respective official websites, therefore the mere absence of one or more documents from this study does not necessarily mean that they do not exist – it just means they were not found by the researchers. On the other hand, although there is great correlation between the States that have a national security architecture and those that have official documents of the function, there are some exceptions: countries with architecture but for which an official document was not found, or vice versa.

Regarding the OECD, 73.7% of the democracies that comprise it have official documents on national security. And if the four Latin American states are subtracted from the list, the percentage increases to 82.35%. In summary, a large majority recognises the concept and enshrines it in different official documents, through public policies or national security strategies (Table 5).
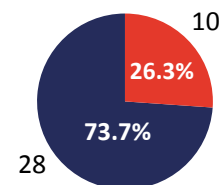
When reviewing the States that make up NATO, a categorical 80% (again, 24 countries) have official documents (Table 6). It must be mentioned that this alliance, as a whole, has several instruments and documents that explain the position, purpose, principles, objectives and tasks that the members of the group set for themselves, and account for the importance they assign to the idea of security, both national and collective.

In Latin America, four States —though not the same four that have an architecture— have an explicit national security policy or strategy, which amounts to 20%. This is paradoxical, given the real situation of insecurity that the region is experiencing in multiple dimensions of the concept (Table 7), with countries that present a low level of institutional organisation in the majority of the rankings that express the level reached in the process of State consolidation.

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17   AthenaLab, Survey of Perceptions on Foreign Policy and National Security (Santiago, 2022), p. 20.

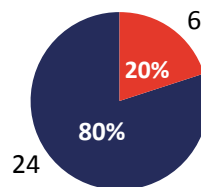## TABLE 5: OFFICIAL NATIONAL SECURITY DOCUMENTS IN OECD COUNTRIES
Source: Prepared by the authors with information available on official websites.

OECD	YES-NO	NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY OR POLICY
Germany	●	White Paper on German Security Policy and the Future of the Future Bundeswehr (2016)
Australia	●	A Strategy for Australia's National Security (2013)
Austria	●	Austrian Security Strategy (2013)
Belgium	●	National Security Strategy (2022)
Canada	●	Securing an Open Society: Canada's National Security Policy (2004)
Chile	●	
Colombia	●	
South Korea	●	Defense White Paper
Costa Rica	●	
Denmark	●	Foreign and Security Policy Strategy (2022)
Slovenia	●	Resolution on the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Slovenia (2019)
Spain	●	National Security Strategy (2021)
USA	●	National Security Strategy (2017); Interim National Security Strategic Guidance (2021)
Estonia	●	National Security Concept (2017); National Defence Strategy Estonia (2021)
Finland	●	Security Strategy for Society (2017)
France	●	Strategic Review of Defence and National Security (2017)
Greece	●	
Hungary	●	Hungary's National Security Strategy (2012); Government Resolution 1163/2020
Ireland	●	
Iceland	●	Parliamentary Resolution on a National Security Policy for Iceland (2016)
Israel	●	Israel's National Security Doctrine (2019)
Italy	●	White Paper for International Security and Defence (2015)
Japan	●	National Security Strategy (2013)
Latvia	●	National Security Concept (2019)
Lithuania	●	National Security Strategy of the Republic of Lithuania (2017)
Luxembourg	●	
Mexico	●	
Norway	●	
New Zealand	●	National Security Policy (2021)
Netherlands	●	National Security Strategy (2019)
Poland	●	National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland (2020)
Portugal	●	
United Kingdom	●	National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review (2015)
Czech Republic	●	Security Strategy of the Czech Republic (2015)
Slovak Republic	●	Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic (2005)
Sweden	●	National Security Strategy (2017)
Switzerland	●	Swiss Security Policy (2021)
Turkey	●	

10
26.3%
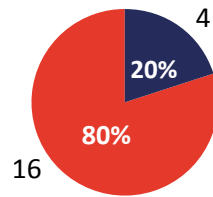73.7%
28

TABLE 6: OFFICIAL NATIONAL SECURITY DOCUMENTS IN NATO COUNTRIES

Source: Prepared by the authors with information available on official websites.

NATO	YES-NO	NATIONAL SECURITY DOCUMENT
Albania	●	The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Albania (2004)
Bulgaria	●	National Security Strategy of the Republic of Bulgaria (2011)
Croatia	●	The Republic of Croatia: National Security Strategy (2017)
North Macedonia	●	
Montenegro	●	Strategy of National Security of Montenegro (2006)
Romania	●	The National Security Strategy of Romania (2007)
Germany	●	White Paper on German Security Policy and the Future of the Bundeswehr (2016)
Belgium	●	National Security Strategy (2022)
Canada	●	Securing an Open Society: Canada's National Security Policy (2004)
Denmark	●	Foreign and Security Policy Strategy 2022
Slovenia	●	Resolution on the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Slovenia (2019)
Spain	●	National Security Strategy (2021)
USA	●	National Security Strategy (2017); Interim National Security Strategic Guidance (2021)
Estonia	●	National Security Concept (2017), National Defense Strategy Estonia (2011)
France	●	Strategic Review of Defence and National Security (2017)
Greece	●	
Hungary	●	Hungary's National Security Strategy (2012); Government Resolution 1163/2020
Iceland	●	Parliamentary Resolution on a National Security Policy for Iceland (2016)
Italy	●	White Paper for International Security and Defence (2015)
Latvia	●	National Security Concept (2019)
Lithuania	●	National Security Strategy of the Republic of Lithuania (2017)
Luxembourg	●	
Norway	●	
Netherlands	●	National Security Strategy (2019)
Poland	●	National Security Strategy of The Republic of Poland (2020)
Portugal	●	
United Kingdom	●	National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review (2015)
Czech Republic	●	Security Strategy of the Czech Republic (2015)
Slovak Republic	●	Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic (2005)
Turkey	●	

LATIN AMERICA	YES-NO	NATIONAL SECURITY DOCUMENT
Argentina	●	
Belize	●	The National Security Strategy of Belize
Bolivia	●	
Brazil	●	
Chile	●	
Colombia	●	
Costa Rica	●	
Ecuador	●	National Comprehensive Security Plan 2019-2030 (2019)
El Salvador	●	
Guatemala	●	National Security Strategy 2020-2024
Guyana	●	
Honduras	●	
Mexico	●	
Nicaragua	●	
Panama	●	
Paraguay	●	
Peru	●	Security Policy and National Defence (PSDN)
Suriname	●	
Uruguay	●	
Venezuela	●	

At the end of this section, it is possible to conclude that the term "national security" is not an alien concept in the academic community of the world's leading universities, on the contrary: it is part of a wide educational offer, in different modalities, which accounts for its validity and relevance as a discipline that is building its theoretical body. In the same way, a significant majority of the democracies that are part of the OECD, as well as of the States that are members of NATO, not only widely use the term in question, but also recognise the importance of the national security function and support it, which comes to fruition by both having a national security architecture, and issuing relevant official documents. Considering all this, the logical conclusion is that the concept of national security is not exclusive to a group of people in Chile, nor is it obsolete or outdated, and that the intention to install the function of national security in our country is not artificial. On the contrary, it is more necessary than ever at the State level, and a powerful support in the decision-making process at the political level.

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Current importance of the National Security Function

Security is an issue that has rightly become the focus of the international agenda and discussion. Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the exercises carried out by the Chinese armed forces in the waters surrounding Taiwan in August 2022 show that the international system is under high stress, remains unstable and has a high level of conflictivity. The competition between great powers, expressed in the transition from a unipolar world to another conformation of the distribution of power, only reaffirms the instability and changes in the international order.

Over the last few years, Chile has presented a better security situation compared to other countries in the region. Certainly, interstate war ceased to be the only and most recurrent threat to the security of the countries, given the emergence of other violent phenomena that abound in this part of the world. The problem is that there is no condition of absolute security, and the insecurity of neighboring states will most definitely end up affecting the country.[18]

When reviewing the regional scenario, the manifestations of armed violence are multiple: terrorism, insurgency and transnational organised crime are the most representative. The three largest producers of cocaine are in this part of the world (Colombia, Peru and Bolivia). Similarly, some countries' homicide rates are among the highest in the world, with averages of 40.9 in Venezuela, 38.6 in Honduras, or 26.8 in Colombia. In Chile, the national rate is significantly lower (3.6), but there is

reason for concern: as of 2021, some regions have shown worryingly higher rates, such as Tarapacá (9.7), and Arica & Parinacota (6.27). Even worse, if the data is revised in smaller geographical units, such as municipalities, some rates scale even higher.[19] This comes in addition to other risks for the State, such as those derived from climate change, natural phenomena or humanitarian crises.

This Analysis must consider Chile's geographic characteristics, with presence and sovereignty on three continents and extensive maritime zones. Chilean sovereign territory (in South America, Polynesia and Antarctica) has not been and will not be free from the aspirations that other States have shown.

To complete the picture, Chile has presented a sustained deterioration in other indices related to security. According to the information provided by the World Bank, since 2015 the measurements of "political stability and absence of violence", "government effectiveness", "corruption control" and "rule of law" show a clear downturn that undermines the State consolidation process itself.[20]

Similarly, the Global Terrorism Index, prepared by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP), indicates that between 2017 and 2022, Chile went from 63rd to 18th place (the higher the position, the worse the situation). As for the Global Peace Index by the same institute, Chile fell from 28th place to 55th place in the same period (the lower the position, the worse the situation).

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18   Dan Caldwell & Robert E. Williams. *Seeking Security in an Insecure World* (Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), p. 1-2.
19   InSight Crime, Balance de Homicidios 2021. Available at: https://es.insightcrime.org/noticias/balance-insight-crime-homicidios-2021/
20   Information available at: http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/Home/Reports

Just to finish, it is necessary to point out that for a significant number of Chileans, security has become their main concern.[21] Uncontrolled immigration in the north of the country, violent actions in the Southern Macrozone, as well as other manifestations of armed violence by criminal gangs, configure a complex security scenario.

Considering all this, it can be said that the regional scenario (and Chile in particular) is not optimal, and has tended to worsen over the years. This obliges the State to face these and other threats and risks, as well as take advantage of the opportunities that arise, in accordance with the definition of national objectives and interests. In *Securing the State and its Citizens*, a recent publication by the Royal United Services Institute in London (RUSI), it is argued that States need to be able to harness the capabilities of different government components to address national security (an aspect described as critical), which has accelerated in recent decades. Similarly, it is established that the configuration of the national security system is based on the way in which each country interprets the threats, risks and opportunities.[22]

Consequently, empirical evidence and common sense indicate that Chile must assume that both the concept of national security and the function it refers to, are still in force, and are irremediably necessary for the State. In the same way, along with recognising this reality, the country must equip itself with an architecture that provides the tools to the political level, in order to face security challenges with a greater possibility of success.[23] Finally, the corresponding State entities must issue the official instruments that make explicit both public policies and national security strategies,

among other contents. It is necessary to do so not just because a significant number of countries have — particularly developed democracies — but because it is imperative and unavoidable for the very security of the Republic.

The necessity mentioned above, is also related with the demand to coordinate various state actors of different positions and nature, as well as to forecast scenarios, to identify threats and risks on time, and to take advantage of opportunities. To do so, experience indicates that improvising can be highly costly (including the loss of human lives or national critical infrastructure), and therefore there must be permanent collegiate bodies, located at the highest level of political leadership of the State, that concern themselves with conducting an exhaustive analysis of the international environment — in all areas — identifying priorities and making recommendations on options and alternatives for action. All of the above is required to achieve the objectives and protect the permanent interests of the State.[24]

This body should watch over, coordinate, and integrate efforts to resolve matters that affect both the interests and the security of the Republic. It should have a political, eminently civil nature, as well as a permanent, modern structure, adequately advised by the best experts in each area, adaptable and flexible to the circumstances of the national and international scenario. With all this, this institution will be in charge of ensuring the political leadership over the instruments of national power.

This entity would give the State greater chances of success by acting in a coordinated and synergistic manner, while at the same time giving it the ability

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21   *Op. cit.,* AthenaLab, survey "Perceptions on Foreign Policy and National Security", p. 20.

22   Paul O'Neill, "Introduction", in *Securing the State and its Citizens* (London, Bloomsbury, 2022), p. 2.

23   The relevance of having a national security architecture has been previously presented by AthenaLab in different instances. For more information, review Workbook No. 10 "Pensando la Defensa Nacional", January 2021. Available at: https://athenalab.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/DT.10-PENSANDO-LA-DEFENSA-NACIONAL.pdf

24   Richard A. Best Jr., *The National Security Council: An Organizational Assessment* (Congressional Research Service, Washington DC, 2009), p. 1.

to anticipate risks, detect threats and identify opportunities, protecting the population and its permanent interests, generating the conditions that allow for the achievement of development and well-being.[25] In short, it allows the integration of different agencies and functions, facilitating a level of coordination that is normally absent in political action.

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25   For more details on the definition and conceptualisation of national interests, see AthenaLab's Working Document No. 8: "Aproximación a una política exterior basada en intereses nacionales", June 2020. Available at: https://athenalab.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Doc.8-Intereses-Nacionales.pdf

0.5

Propositions

REGARDING THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SECURITY

National security is a concept of current and universal use, both by States and by academic instances at a global level. In this sense, there should not be limitations to the use of this concept because, in addition to its still clear relevance, mere common sense indicates that. If there are no problems in using the concept of *international security* when referring to the global sphere, and there is no rejection when the expression *human security* is used to address aspects that affect people, there should be no discomfort either in calling it *national security* when referring to the security of the nation or the State. It must not be forgotten that both international security and human security require the existence and organisation of the State as the main political actor for their implementation.

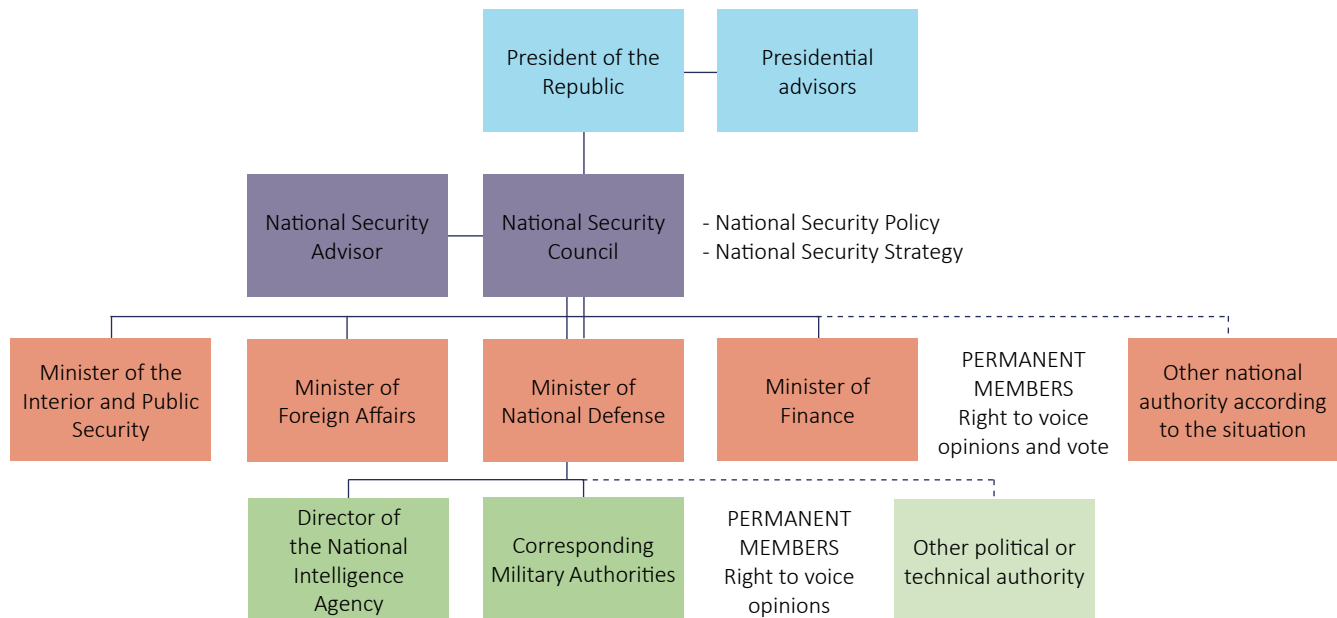### REGARDING THE SECURITY ARCHITECTURE

As for having a special and permanent structure to manage national security, the conclusion is that said body should have the following characteristics:

✦ It must be permanent, of a political nature, eminently civil and at the highest level of the political leadership of the State, being called to advise the decision-making of the highest national authority.

✦ It must guarantee the political conduction of the instruments of national power and the development of the required public policies, and in no case should it be limited to a solely military- or defence-related interpretation of the concept of security.

✦ It must make provisions to face different scenarios and the essential coordination and collaboration of diverse state actors, in order to carry out a synergistic and integrated action of the State, in terms of objectives, purposes, and means, thus strengthening national resilience.

✦ Its structure must include, at least, the heads of the Ministries of the Interior (Homeland), Foreign Relations, Defence, and Finance (with rights to express their opinions and to vote). Its core structure must also include the intelligence community[26] and the corresponding military authorities as advisers (with the right to express their opinions).

✦ Nonetheless, it is necessary to evaluate having a permanent national security advisor, who would act as secretary of the organisation, provide continuity to the work, organise the administrative functions, and integrate and coordinate different institutions that are part of the architecture of national security.

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26   The national intelligence architecture must serve the national security agency, as is the case in the US, the UK, Japan, Germany and others. More background information can be found in Working Paper No. 3 "Propuestas para un nuevo sistema de inteligencia nacional", by AthenaLab, August 2019. Available at: https://athenalab.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/athenalab_doc_3.pdf

PROPOSED STRUCTURE FOR A NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Source: Prepared by the authors.

On the other hand, considering the main proposals obtained by the study carried out by RUSI already cited in this publication (*Securing the State and its Citizens*), it is possible to propose that, whatever the body concerned with national security, it should be:

✦ **Congruent** across three areas: the nature of the threats, the characteristics of Chile's national security system, and the role and purpose that society expects from this new organisation.[27]

✦ **Capable**, in terms of the individuals that comprise it, the organisation itself, the national security system, and their relationships as a whole.[28]

✦ **Credible**, both by the members of the national security system and by external agents, generating trust through their work.[29]

In addition to these three characteristics, the body should be **Accountable**, in terms of the monitoring that it must undergo, and of the ability to make responsibilities effective. In this matter, this body must be regulated by law and overseen by the Legislative Branch (through the Security, Defence and Foreign Relations committees of both chambers of Congress), the Judicial Branch (by the legality of actions or omissions being monitored) and the Executive Branch (on which it directly depends, being accountable to the Head of State)

Regarding its characteristics, following the conclusions obtained by the aforementioned study, its main qualities should be the following:[30]

✦ **Horizontal** in its organisation, relations and operation.

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27   Paul O'Neill, "The orchestration of National Security Systems: The NSC as conductor", in *Securing the State and its Citizens* (London, Bloomsbury, 2022), p. 214-218.

28   Ibid., pp. 218-221.

29   Ibid., pp. 221-223.

30   Paul O'Neill, "Case Study Analysis", en *Securing the State and its Citizens* (Londres: Bloomsbury, 2022), 194-195.

✦ **Networked**, both internally (fundamental core of the organisation) and externally (with other institutions or agencies of the State), working as a network.

✦ **Tiered**, to ensure that the lower levels and subordinate bodies make the appropriate decisions (for which they must be empowered accordingly), leaving the main issues to the top management of the State.

✦ **Strongly supported by the executive**, in particular by whoever serves as Head of State.

✦ **Supported and staffed** by a team that ensures its functions, according to the national needs and reality.

✦ **Open** to receive and request contributions from outside the organisation.

Finally, the implementation of a national security structure, in addition to facilitating the integration and coordination of different bodies and agencies, appears to be an advantage for the State, since it will be able to provide specialised, permanent and timely high-level advice to deal with contingencies or even to promote reforms in the national security sector.[31]

REGARDING KEY SECURITY DOCUMENTS

Along the same lines, the State of Chile must prepare and issue at least two types of key documents in relation to this matter. **First,** a national security policy, which would assume the responsibility of satisfying the basic need of the security of the State and its citizens. Said official and formal policy – which should not contain particular solutions to specific problems – must:

✦ Evaluate the global context in which Chile operates, identifying trends;

✦ Describe, in general terms, the principles, values and national interests that are intended to be ensured;

✦ Define political objectives for national security;

✦ Establish priorities, desired level of coverage and accepted risk;

✦ Identify the risks, threats and opportunities for the security of the State;

✦ Establish the role of each element of national power with respect to security;

✦ Serve as a basis for developing a National Security Strategy;

✦ Present itself as a flexible element that can adapt to a dynamic and constantly evolving national and international context, and;

✦ Be developed through transparent political and technical discussion, transversal in all senses, with a comprehensive, broad and long-term vision.

Secondly, and as a result of the above, Chile must develop a national security strategy. This official document must be able to articulate the means available to the State in order to protect its interests and citizens, fulfilling the objectives defined by the national security policy. In other words, having defined the context (national and international), identified the risks and threats, and specified the public assets to be protected, the strategy must direct, integrate and coordinate the instruments of national power, establishing the way in which they will be used, at a desirable and achievable level of coverage. Said document must establish actions and priorities for the different elements of national power, ideally having to be published within the first year of each presidential term.

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31   Arthur Chan, *Overcoming Challenges Arising from the Creation of National Security Councils* (RAND, Santa Mónica, 2018), p. 42.

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Final considerations

✦ Chile is inserted in a region that faces security problems in various areas, which have transnational characteristics and are having a local impact.

✦ The concept of national security is fully valid, both at the level of the most prestigious academic institutions worldwide, and by the main democracies that serve as an example and reference for Chile.

✦ The most appropriate denomination to refer to this basic function of the State is "national security". In every discipline, the term and the notion are distinctive features of the phenomenon to be addressed or analyzed.

✦ The issue of national security cannot be left to improvisation or good personal intentions, but must rely on an organisation that permanently evaluates the international scenario, projecting situations of conflict or risk for the nation and adopting measures in a timely and anticipated manner.

✦ It is essential that the State of Chile preemptively equip itself with an architecture that serves as the basis and core of the national security system. Said structure, regardless of its name and specific characteristics, must ensure greater possibilities of success when it comes to identifying and facing risks and threats, and take advantage of opportunities for Chile and its citizens.

✦ As part of the basic activities of the national security public function, it is necessary to prepare and issue a national security policy, as well as the subsequent national security strategy, once the corresponding architecture has been established.

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