

MARKUS HOCHMÜLLER AND MARKUS-MICHAEL MÜLLER

The Myth of Demilitarization in Costa Rica

Following the abolition of the Army, narratives celebrating Central America's most peaceful nation have masked a militarized policing model shaped by U.S.-sponsored counterinsurgency.

Costa Rica is regularly depicted as Central America's Switzerland to the extent that it has become a cliché. This image is the result of a decades-long self-fashioning effort through which the Costa Rican state has sought to make itself known as a place of stability, safety, and peace. And indeed, the country's record is outstanding, especially when compared to its Central American neighbors.

Yet since the abolition of the Army 75 years ago, the longstanding military pedigree of local law enforcement reveals the idea of "demilitarized" Costa Rica is more of a myth than reality.

Once its 44-day-long civil war concluded in April 1948, Costa Rica outperformed other Central American countries on the economic front and built a welfare state that is second to none in the region. Not unrelated, Costa Rica, together with Colombia, exhibits the longest democratic track record in Latin America. Maybe even more remarkably, the country has been an enclave of peace. This makes Costa Rica an outlier in a region whose recent past was tainted by violent internal strife and military dictatorships, infamous for their unaccountable state repression, severe human rights violations, and terrorizing of entire societies, at times with genocidal proportions.

Costa Rica's exceptional record of historical peacefulness and political stability is widely believed to have originated in a December 1, 1948 decision, when

a junta under the leadership of José Figueres Ferrer abolished the Costa Rican Army. Demilitarization, the story goes, ruled out the possibility of military coups and bloodshed. Decades later, President Óscar Arias Sánchez became a key player in resolving the Central American conflicts of the 1980s, receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 1987 and bolstering Costa Rica's reputation as an island of peace.

"Costa Rica has made itself a center for the study of conflict resolution and prevention," said the World Bank's former chief economist Joseph Stiglitz in 2018. As Stiglitz praised the country's "progressive legacy," other voices noted that this legacy had come under increasing pressure. As crime rates mounted from the mid-2010s onwards, Costa Rica appeared to be catching up with Central America's violent norm. Some observers attribute the start of the country's security woes to Central America's 2007 free trade agreement with the United States, which allowed illicit economies to expand against the backdrop of neoliberal globalization and mounting social inequalities.

By 2015, local drug gangs, many allegedly with ties to Mexican and Colombian cartels, were clashing in Costa Rica, leaving 399 people dead that year. Costa Rica's homicide rate reached 11.5 per 100,000 residents in 2015—nearly double what it was in 2000. Then Deputy Chief of the Public Ministry Celso Gamboa stated that criminal groups had the

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Robert Harding II



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Altered States Adam Isacson,1997 **Contributions to the Study of Peacemaking** United States Institute of Peace,1991 Contributions to the Study of Peacemaking ,1995 **Contributions to the Study of Peacemaking** Amy Smith,1999 *Militarization, Democracy, and Development* Kirk S. Bowman,2010-11-01 Do Third World countries benefit from having large militaries or does this impede their development Kirk Bowman uses statistical analysis to demonstrate that militarization has had a particularly malignant impact in this region For his quantitative comparison he draws on longitudinal data for a sample of 76 developing countries and for 18 Latin American nations To illuminate the causal mechanisms at work Bowman offers a detailed comparison of Costa Rica and Honduras between 1948 and 1998 The case studies not only serve to bolster his general argument about the harmful effects of militarization but also provide many new insights into the processes of democratic consolidation and economic transformation in these two Central American countries National Insecurity Craig Eisendrath,2000-11-28 Practical solutions for the reform of national security operations **Military Foundations of Panamanian Politics** Robert Harding II,2019-01-22 This is a comprehensive examination of the evolution of the politicization of the Panamanian military and the legacy of this transformation in modern Panamanian politics It addresses the fundamental role that the Panamanian military played in influencing and molding the modern day Panamanian political system structurally legally and constitutionally and chronicles the corporate and political growth of the Panamanian military filtering its analysis through civil military theory to achieve its two primary goals **Global Good Samaritans** Alison Brysk,2009-03-17 In a troubled world where millions die at the hands of their own governments and societies some states risk their citizens lives considerable portions of their national budgets and repercussions from opposing states to protect helpless foreigners Dozens of Canadian peacekeepers have died in Afghanistan defending humanitarian reconstruction in a shattered faraway land with no ties to their own Each year Sweden contributes over 3 billion to aid the world s poorest citizens and struggling democracies asking nothing in return And a generation ago Costa Rica defied U S power to broker a peace accord that ended civil wars in three neighboring countries and has now joined with principled peers like South Africa to support the United Nations International Criminal Court despite U S pressure and aid cuts Hundreds of thousands of refugees are alive today because they have been sheltered by one of these nations Global Good Samaritans looks at the reasons why and how some states promote human rights internationally arguing that humanitarian internationalism is more than episodic altruism it is a pattern of persistent principled politics Human rights as a principled foreign policy defies the realist prediction of untrammelled pursuit of national interest and suggests the utility of constructivist approaches that investigate the role of ideas identities and influences on state action Brysk shows how a diverse set of democratic middle powers inspired by visionary leaders and strong civil societies came to see the linkage between their long term interest and the common good She concludes that state promotion of global human rights may be an

option for many more members of the international community and that the international human rights regime can be strengthened at the interstate level alongside social movement campaigns and the struggle for the democratization of global governance

Aid, Power and Privatization Benedicte Bull, 2005-01-01 This is an important and thought provoking book for the understanding of privatisation The author perceptively identifies contradictions that emerge from the process and outcome of privatisation and attempts to explain these through a comparative analysis of telecommunications reform in three Central American countries The result is a carefully researched book that provides new insights into the politics of privatisation It will be compelling reading for the student and practitioner alike Paul Cook University of Manchester UK This book provides a comparative study of the telecommunication reform process in three Central American countries Costa Rica Guatemala and Honduras focusing on the roles of the local private sector and international financial institutions

Peace in World History Peter Stearns, 2014-04-03 In *Peace in World History* Peter N Stearns examines the ideas of peace that have existed throughout history and how societies have sought to put them into practice Beginning with the status of peace in early hunter gatherer and agricultural societies and continuing through the present day the narrative gives students a clear view of the ways people across the world have understood and striven to achieve peace throughout history Topics covered include Comparison of the pax Romana and pax Sinica of Rome and China Concepts of peace in Buddhism Christianity and Islam and their historical impact The place of peace in the periods of expanding empires The emergence starting in the 19th century of formal schemes to promote peace amid increasingly destructive technologies for warfare Moving away from the view of history as a series of military conflicts *Peace in World History* offers a new way of looking at world history by focusing on peace Showing how concepts of peace have evolved over time even as they have been challenged by war and conflict this lively and engaging narrative enables students to consider peace as a human possibility

From Soldiers to Cops Charles T. Call, 1999 [Repression, Resistance, and Democratic Transition in Central America](#) Latin American Studies Association. International Congress, 2000 For Central America the last third of the 20th century was a time of dramatic change in which most countries shifted from dictatorships to formal political democracy This study demonstrates how revolt and revolution served as the motors of political change in Central America The book examines the various ways in which democratic transition has taken place all of which have been distinct from countries in South America where democratization was relatively sudden and peaceful It analyzes the major forces shaping change in the region and provides the recent political history of all six Central American countries Nicaragua El Salvador Guatemala Honduras Costa Rica and Panama Each country's particular transition should add to the reader's understanding of democratization

Demilitarization in the Contemporary World Peter N. Stearns, 2013-11-16 Contemporary world history has highlighted militarization in many ways from the global Cold War and numerous regional conflicts to the general assumption that nationhood implies a significant and growing military Yet the twentieth century also offers notable examples of large scale demilitarization both imposed and

voluntary Demilitarization in the Contemporary World fills a key gap in current historical understanding by examining demilitarization programs in Germany Japan Honduras Guatemala El Salvador and Costa Rica In nine insightful chapters this volume s contributors outline each nation s demilitarization choices and how they were made They investigate factors such as military defeat border security risks economic pressures and the development of strong peace cultures among citizenry Also at center stage is the influence of the United States which fills a paradoxical role as both an enabler of demilitarization and a leader in steadily accelerating militarization Bookended by Peter N Stearns thought provoking historical introduction and forward looking conclusion the chapters in this volume explore what true demilitarization means and how it impacts a society at all levels military and civilian political and private The examples chosen reveal that successful demilitarization must go beyond mere troop demobilization or arms reduction to generate significant political and even psychological shifts in the culture at large Exemplifying the political difficulties of demilitarization in both its failures and successes Demilitarization in the Contemporary World provides a possible roadmap for future policies and practices

European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies ,1999 **International Policy Report** ,1994 *Repertorio Mundial de Instituciones de Investigación Y de Formación Sobre la Paz* ,2000 Basic information on more than 580 international institutions which through education and research play an essential role in building a culture of peace

El papel de los actores externos en la contención de la violencia en Colombia Sabine Kurtenbach,2004 Desde comienzos de la d cada de 1960 la guerra m s antigua de Am rica Latina ha cambiado de escenarios y de niveles de intensidad La guerra qued fuera del inter s de actores externos hasta mediados de los a os 1990 S lo con la escalada de la violencia y la intensificaci n de la crisis humanitaria la comunidad internacional ha empezado a reaccionar El presente estudio analiza c mo y en qu condiciones los actores externos pueden intervenir a partir de diferentes puntos de partida para contribuir a la reducci n de la violencia Para ello se analizan primero las diferentes reas conflictivas que determinan las causas y la din mica de la guerra en Colombia as como la percepci n de los actores relevantes La segunda secci n analiza los intentos de pacificaci n del pa s y pregunta si esas experiencias permiten extraer conclusiones con respecto a la reducci n de la violencia y si los actores participantes han extra do algunas ense anzas La tercera secci n enfoca las posibilidades y l mites fundamentales de la actuaci n de los actores externos a favor de la contenci n de la violencia Luego se estudian las pol ticas que los EEUU la ONU la UE los pa ses vecinos latinoamericanos Comunidad Andina y Grupo de R o y Alemania han puesto en marcha hasta ahora El estudio concluye con consideraciones sobre prioridades de acci n de los distintos actores externos y sobre la posibilidad de desencadenar una din mica positiva hacia la reducci n de la violencia Como elementos centrales se nombran tanto la modificaci n de las causas centrales como una pol tica de cambiar la din mica del conflicto y medidas de confianza mutua En la situaci n actual ser a necesario un programa de di logo para romper la polarizaci n existente Deutsche Version erh ltlich

Gewalteindämmendes Engagement externer Akteure in Kolumbien Sabine Kurtenbach,2004 In Kolumbien findet der lteste Krieg Lateinamerikas statt Er wird

seit den 60er Jahren mit unterschiedlichen regionalen Schwerpunkten und wechselnder Intensität ausgetragen. Lange Zeit blieb der Krieg jenseits der Aufmerksamkeit externer Akteure. Erst mit der Eskalation der Gewalt und der humanitären Krise seit den 90er Jahren wird er in der Weltöffentlichkeit verstärkt wahrgenommen. Die vorliegende Studie zeigt auf, wie und unter welchen Voraussetzungen externe Akteure an verschiedenen Stellen ansetzen und dadurch zur Gewaltreduzierung beitragen können. Dazu werden zunächst die Ursachen und die Dynamik der Gewalt sowie deren Perzeption durch die maßgeblichen Akteure dargestellt. Im zweiten Abschnitt werden dann die verschiedenen Versuche zur Befriedung sowohl in Kolumbien selbst als auch in Zentralamerika analysiert und gefragt, inwieweit aus diesen Erfahrungen Konsequenzen für die Gewaltreduzierung gezogen werden können und ob die beteiligten Akteure hieraus gelernt haben. Im dritten Abschnitt stehen dann zunächst die prinzipiellen Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Aktivitäten externer Akteure zur Gewalteinbindung im Vordergrund. Anschließend werden die bisherigen Politiken der USA, der UNO, der EU, der Gruppe der Freunde der lateinamerikanischen Nachbarn, Andengemeinschaft und Rio-Gruppe sowie Deutschlands skizziert. Die Studie schließt mit Überlegungen dazu, welche Ansatzpunkte es für die verschiedenen externen Akteure gibt und wodurch eine positive Dynamik zur Gewaltreduzierung in Gang gesetzt werden könnte. Als zentrale Elemente werden hierzu neben der Bearbeitung der zentralen Konfliktursachen auch Politiken zur Umkehr der Konfliktdynamik sowie vertrauensbildende Maßnahmen identifiziert. In der aktuellen Lage seien allerdings vor allem Dialogprogramme notwendig, um die gegenwärtige Polarisierung aufzubrechen. Auch spanische Version erhältlich.

NACLA Report on the Americas, 1997 **Multiple Unsicherheit**

Matthias Basedau, 2005

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Table of Contents Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America

1. Understanding the eBook Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America User Reviews and Ratings
 - Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America Free and Paid eBooks

- Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America Public Domain eBooks
- Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America eBook Subscription Services
- Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America Budget-Friendly Options
- 6. Navigating Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America eBook Formats
 - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America Compatibility with Devices
 - Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America
 - Interactive Elements Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America
- 8. Staying Engaged with Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America
 - Setting Reading Goals Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Altered States Security And Demilitarization In Central America
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
- 13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development

- Exploring Educational eBooks

14. Embracing eBook Trends

- Integration of Multimedia Elements
- Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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