

THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE ARMED FORCES AGAINST NON-STATE
AGGRESSIONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ARGENTINE ARMY
ACCORDING TO THE RECENT CHANGE IN THE LEGAL
FRAMEWORK OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army
Command and General Staff College in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE
Strategic Studies

by

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2019

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE				<i>Form Approved</i> <i>OMB No. 0704-0188</i>	
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1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 14-06-2019		2. REPORT TYPE Master's Thesis		3. DATES COVERED (From - To) AUG 2018 – JUN 2019	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE The Employment of the Armed Forces against Non-state Aggressions: Implications for the Argentine Army According to the Recent Change in the Legal Framework of National Defense				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S) Alfredo Marcelo Garcia Serrano				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) U.S. Army U.S. Army Command and General Staff College ATTN: ATZL-SWD-GD Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2301				8. PERFORMING ORG REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for Public Release; Distribution is Unlimited					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES					
14. ABSTRACT In 2018, the Argentine executive branch updated the law regulating National Defense, expanding the situations in which the Armed Forces can act against external origin threats. In the last 20 years, the world has seen the emergence of new forms of threat by non-state organizations, including terrorism, transnational crime and cyber-attacks, which together threaten the pillars of democratic governments. This situation made it necessary to improve the ways in which the country protects its sovereignty. The purpose of this investigation is, in light of the change in the framework of Argentine defense law, to analyze the current situation of doctrine, training and organizations in the Argentine Army , the new threats that Argentina may face and, according to this, what changes have to be made to face effectively the new threats.					
15. SUBJECT TERMS Defense Law – Argentine Army – New threats – Non-state aggressions -					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT	b. ABSTRACT	c. THIS PAGE			19b. PHONE NUMBER (include area code)
(U)	(U)	(U)	(U)	91	

Standard Form 298 (Rev. 8-98)
Prescribed by ANSI Std. Z39.18

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

Name of Candidate: Alfredo Marcelo Garcia Serrano

Thesis Title: The Employment of the Armed Forces against Non-state Aggressions:
Implications for the Argentine Army according to the Recent Change in
the Legal Framework of National Defense

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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

ABSTRACT

THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE ARMED FORCES AGAINST NON-STATE AGGRESSIONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ARGENTINE ARMY ACCORDING TO THE RECENT CHANGE IN THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, by Maj Alfredo Marcelo Garcia Serrano, 91 pages.

In 2018, the Argentine executive branch updated the law regulating National Defense, expanding the situations in which the Armed Forces can act against external origin threats. The Argentine Republic built its legal and defense system under the concept that military forces should be used only in case of state aggression. However, in the last 20 years, the world has seen the emergence of new forms of threats by non-state organizations, including terrorism, transnational crime and cyber-attacks, which together threaten the pillars of democratic governments. This situation made it necessary to improve the ways in which the country protects its sovereignty. In addition, Argentina had already suffered terrorist attacks on its territory perpetrated by an international terrorist organization, and there is not a single country in the world exempt from these terrorist threats.

The purpose of this investigation is, in light of the implications of the change in the Argentine defense law, to analyze the current situation of doctrine, training and organizations in the Argentine Army, the new threats that Argentina may face and, according to this, what changes have to be made. In addition, I will consider the experiences of U.S. Army reorganization, concluding with recommendations for the Argentine Army to be a coherent institution that can effectively operate under the new framework of the Defense Law.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank all the members of my thesis committee, for the patience they have had for me in this project and for the assistance they have given.

I must make a special mention of my sponsor at Fort Leavenworth, Todd Wood. From the first moment that I took on this task he has dedicated himself to helping me, not only in research work, but also in all the demands of the CGSC.

It is necessary to recognize the support of my classmates of Staff Group 18B, for all the advice and help that has enlightened me making this path much easier

I would like to thank my Student Ambassador, Major Steven Robinson, who gave me strength every day to continue with the work. In addition for his understanding for when I bombarded him with my complicated questions about American military culture.

Finally, I cannot help but appreciate the constant support of my family throughout all these years, my wife Julieta and my children Agustín, Felicitas and Pedro who have suffered the absence of their father due to this task.

I close this brief acknowledgment by making a special prayer of gratitude to our Lord Jesus Christ and to his blessed mother the Blessed Virgin Mary for all the graces that have been granted to me and for giving me the gift of faith that has helped me to persevere in the face of adversity.

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ACRONYMS

CAAE	Comando de Alistamiento y Adiestramiento del Ejército. (Army Training and Enlistment Command)
ROB 00-01	<i>Reglamento Operacional Básico 00-01</i> (Basic Operational Regulation No. 00-01)
MoD	Ministry of Defense
UN	United Nations
UNPKO	United Nations Peacekeeping Operations
NSS	National Security Strategy
LSCOL	Large Scale Combat Operations
CBRN	Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear
COIN	Counterinsurgency
WMD	Counter Weapons of Mass Destruction

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Topic

The employment of the Argentine armed forces against non-state actor aggressions. Implications for the Argentine Army with regards to the recent change in the legal framework of national defense.

Thesis Statement

In 2018, the Argentine government issued a new presidential decree that enables the Argentine armed forces to operate against different types of external aggression. Previously, the military was limited to operations solely against a formal state actor. This new order now allows the Argentine armed forces the flexibility of taking action against a variety of threats to include non-state actors. To adequately fulfill the role assigned by the government, the army must have a corresponding doctrinal body, derived from the new legal framework, as well as the organization and the means that allow it to develop the necessary options to face the new possible aggressions.

The Research Purpose

The purpose of this investigation is to identify which aspects of the doctrine and if required, what kind of resources and organizations are necessary for the Argentine army to be a coherent institution that can effectively contribute to the national defense against threats and challenges of the 21st century that exist in South America and the world.

The Research Question

What doctrinal, training, and organizational changes must the Argentine army implement in order to operate effectively against non-state aggression?

Subordinate Questions

1. What were the recent changes in the Argentinean defense law that modified the roles and employment of the armed forces?
2. What are the consequences of these changes?
3. Does the status of the doctrine, resources and organizations of the Argentine army support this mission expansion?

Additional Questions

1. What are the roles of the Argentinean armed forces regarding national defense?
2. Does the new role of the Argentine armed forces adjust to the security situation in South America?
3. Does the new role of the Argentine armed forces meet the requirements of international organizations such as the UN in light of international peace and security threats?
4. What is the doctrine of the U.S. Army regarding its role in national defense?
5. What are the resources of the U.S. Army regarding its role in national defense?
6. What is the organization of the U.S. Army regarding its role in national defense?

7. Are there any other countries in South America that share the same situation as Argentina?
8. What is the role of the U.S. armed forces, especially the army, regarding its support to civil authorities?
9. What capabilities does Argentina need to establish in order to cope with the threats of the 21st century?

Background or Context of the Problem and the Research Question

The role of the Argentine armed forces (AAF) has been unchanged since 1988 when Congress issued its national defense law. In 2006 a complementary regulation narrowed the role, establishing that the armed forces can only act against the external aggression committed only by the armed forces of another state. Since then, the security situation of the world has changed significantly, with new unconventional threats, such as transnational crime, terrorism, and cyber wars. Consequently, there were several reasons to update the central role of the AAF. Among these updates, is to provide an adequate response to new threats, support international community requirements, such as UN operations and provide better support to domestic assistance.

In June 2018, the Argentine executive branch updated the presidential decree that regulates the national defense law. In the Argentine legal system, the regulation of law specifies how the provisions established by the Congress are implemented and executed. Therefore, the recent changes in this regulation specify in what situation the Argentine government may use the armed forces to defend the vital interests established by the Argentine constitution.

These changes allow the armed forces to intervene against aggressions of external origin, regardless of the configuration of the actor who commits them. Therefore, the Argentine army must prepare to face a new spectrum of actors that threaten the interests of the country; not just state actors, as specified by the previous legal regulations.

This small change in the law has such a profound implication to the entire armed forces that the Argentinean army's doctrine, training, and organizations should be adapted to be more effective in confronting these varying forms of aggressions.

Assumptions

For this research, it is assumed that it is possible to obtain experiences and examples from other countries, particularly from the United States, as to how they shape their doctrine, their organizations and their resources so that they are capable of facing future threats and being able to defend their interests correctly.

A second assumption is that due to the recent presidential decree's changes that refers to the role of the AAF, the Argentine army will work on the areas that must be adapted or modified in order to achieve the necessary capabilities and will acquire the necessary resources to make these modifications.

The third assumption is the actors that may affect the national interest are non-state agents since Argentina does not have any current conflict with neighboring countries. Within the range of different threats is assumed that the most probable are terrorist organizations with religious motivations, drug trafficking and weapons trafficking criminal bands. Today, the region around Argentina does not represent a scenario of high priority targets for terrorist organizations, but in the past few years, certain organizations had committed those kinds of attacks, which means that they could

do the same in the future. Drug trafficking is one of the main concerns regarding transnational security issues. The characteristics of the operational environment makes the role of the Ministry of Defense (MoD) essential in interagency security and support of the State.

It is assumed that arrived conclusions will be feasible and acceptable for future implementation. This is taking into account the real capacities of Argentina and the particularities that the Argentine law specifies for armed forces action.

Definitions

According to Argentine law national defense is defined as “the integration and the coordinated action of all the forces of the nation for the solution of those conflicts that require the use of the armed forces, in a dissuasive or practical way, to face the aggression of external origin¹. Immediately after this statement, the law continues by explaining the reasons why the nation will use its national defense. These reasons include the protection of vital interests, defined as “the sovereignty and independence of the Argentine nation, defend the territorial integrity and self-determination capacity; and to protect the life and freedom of its inhabitants.”²

Each nation of the world has a different perception of how to use its armed forces. Therefore, it is necessary to define what is the scope or domain that encompasses the Argentine national defense. This is also needed to achieve a more complete and precise

¹ Argentine Republic, National Congress, Argentine National Defense Law No. 23.554, April 13, 1988, art. 2, accessed January 23, 2019, <http://www.saij.gob.ar/23554-nacional-ley-defensa-nacional>.

² Ibid.

understanding of the particularities of the concept of the Argentine national defense. The National Defense Law details the areas under the Argentine military's responsibility: "the continental spaces, the Malvinas Islands, the South Georgia Islands, the South Sandwich Islands, and other islands, maritime and air spaces of the Argentine Republic". It is also stated that the National Defense includes "the Argentine Antarctic Sector with the particularities assigned by international organizations and the norms and treaties signed or to be signed by the Nation, without prejudice to the provisions of article 28 of the National Defense law. Finally, it covers citizens and national assets in third countries, in international waters and international airspaces."³

Once the law defines its scope, then it is necessary to define the tool that characterizes the national defense, which is the Armed Forces. However, it is necessary to clarify that in Argentina the National Defense is considered as a holistic system that includes all the instruments of national power: Diplomatic, Informational, Military and Economic. This comes to practice when we see that the composition of the National Defense council includes all the ministers of the government. The AAF are defined as "the military instrument of the national defense and are integrated with human and material resources organically structured to enable their use in a dissuasive and effective manner. Their members are subject to a regime of internal discipline and will adjust their behavior to the national and international law applicable to armed conflicts."⁴

³ Argentine Republic, National Congress, Argentine National Defense Law No. 23.554, art. 5.

⁴ Ibid., art. 20.

In Argentina, there are three armed forces, the Argentine Army , the Navy of the Argentine Republic and the Argentine Air Force. The organization of the armed forces in Argentina is defined based on a study carried out by the defense ministry that considered the needs of the country based on territorial protection, the defense of resources, and took into account the maximization of joint functions. Following these concepts, the AAF are deployed throughout the national territory in small garrisons of battalion size or larger brigade level. Large naval bases are organized by different fleet types and are located along the coast of the Atlantic Ocean, and some inland rivers like the Paraná River and the Uruguay River.

The decree that regulates and specifies the actions of the armed forces in the national defense defines that they will frame their planning and employment in the following types of operations: “Operations in defense of the vital interests of the nation; operations organized within the framework of the United Nations (UN), and alternatively, other international organizations”. It also includes that “the armed forces can carry out operations framed in the internal security law Number 24.059 and support operations for the national and international community.”⁵ To carry out all these operations, the armed forces comply with the defense laws, in addition to those complementary regulations.

Lastly, National Decree No 727/2006 explains “the forces that make up the military instrument will have as a mission to recruit, train and sustain the resources placed at their disposal, as well as those functions and responsibilities assigned by the

⁵ Argentine Republic, National Congress, Regulation of the National Defense Law No. 23,554, Argentine National Decree No. 727, June 12, 2006, art. 3, accessed January 25, 2019, <http://www.saij.gob.ar/727-nacional-reglamentacion-ley-defensa-nacional-23554>.

current regulations, in order to guarantee their effective use within the framework of military planning.”⁶

Scope

This research paper will focus on the doctrine of the Argentine Army that is obviously framed in Argentine law. The framework of action of the armed forces is given by the Argentine legal system, which takes into account the theory of Kelsen’s law.⁷ This legal theory explains that there is a legal hierarchy of possible rules that are issued in a nation. In Argentina it is given in a pyramidal form where, in the cusp symbolizing the most important, we find the national constitution. This is followed by the federal laws issued by the Congress which is then followed by the presidential decrees. The national regulations or standards that cover the effective compliance of all the provinces are located next. Below all the federal norms are the norms issued by the different provinces, according to their executive, legislative and judicial powers.

These different levels of the legal hierarchy frame the Argentine national defense towards external threats and distinguishes it from internal security. These internal security activities belong to security forces such as the national gendarmerie, the prefecture, the federal police and the provincial police. Thus, the national defense is limited to the protection of the vital interests defined by the Constitution: sovereignty,

⁶ Argentine Republic, National Congress, Regulation of the National Defense Law No. 23,554, Argentine National Decree No. 727, art. 23.

⁷ Andrei Marmor, “The Pure Theory of Law,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Spring 2016, accessed December 18, 2018, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2016/entries/lawphil-theory/>.

territorial integrity, political independence, life and freedom of the inhabitants of the Argentine Republic against external aggressions. This is an essential point in the scope of our work, since the “aggression of external origin” includes a range of possible actors that go from the nation-state to criminal or terrorist organizations, through transnational organizations and other non-state actors that can affect the vital interests of the country.

Given this new situation of possibilities, the armed forces must reconfigure themselves to act, not only against the armed force of a state actor but also against non-traditional actors. Therefore, this research will focus first on defining the possible actors that the armed forces will be required to face, within the concept of national defense and the South American context. It will then clarify what kind of operations the armed forces can perform. On that basis, it will corroborate what capabilities the army has to fulfill in its mission, resources, organization, and doctrine.

Limitations

One limitation facing this research is that it is not possible to establish all the specific international actors that may affect national interests. I am also limited by my access to classified data on those threats. Therefore, those threats to the Argentine national defense will be taken as valid assumptions.

Delimitations

This research will be limited to the AAF and, in particular, to the army. The areas on which the project will focus on are the doctrine, the organization, structure, and the required materials necessary to fulfill its mission.

Within the doctrinal aspects, I will limit myself to verify if there is a connection between the capstone doctrine of the Argentine army and the consequent field manuals. Also, if the new operations are contemplated on the doctrine, according to the required capabilities. This also implies that certain types of organizational structures that enable active development have the necessary elements to conform.

The Significance of the Study

Acting under the current law, the army should prevent and secure the nation from a non-state organization threat. What is more, the new forms of war, such as cyber-attacks, might affect vital facilities for the country, such as nuclear power plants. For this reason, the armed forces must be organized and capable of dealing with those issues as well. Political and military leaders realize that the key to success is to adapt an approach to the problem that provides a valid response, which means changes at the national-political, operational and tactical level.

Another central role of the AAF is to contribute to international security through United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKO). Nowadays, there is more demand for complex operations to prevent and resolve conflict in the world. The tradition of UNPKO involvement of the AAF since the foundation of United Nations obligate the country to maintain a good armed forces readiness state in order to participate in UNPKO when it is required.

The armed forces are also given the mission to assist local governments and the general population in case of natural disaster. This mission was recently executed when heavy rains caused flooding in certain regions of Argentina.

Situations like crime, natural disasters, readiness to deploy all around the world, and protecting vital interest requires the AAF to be organized, trained and legally capable of satisfying the challenges of today's world. The military must be able to ensure the safety of its inhabitants, not only in their own country, but also around the world. To fulfill this mandate, there should be more coordination within regional organizations due to the fact that the situations described above are seen all around the world.

If the Argentine army does not adapt to its new role, the process to prepare it for the new challenges will not be complete in a timely manner. When the trumpet sounds a call for action, it will be too late to look for solutions.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The purpose of this research is to determine if the Argentine army is capable of following the requirements spelled out in the presidential directive, in terms of doctrine, organization and resources. This recent change permitted the armed forces to act against any external aggression, and because of that, it is necessary to carry out a detailed inspection of the Argentine legal framework concerning national defense.

Under the purpose mentioned above, and the subsequent research of the legal framework and doctrine, it is necessary to analyze how the doctrine is structured and linked with the national defense policies. In addition, we need to have a parameter of comparisons in all this process and this will be done by comparing the policies of United States of America. The U.S. has had a large number of conflicts throughout its history and those actions have caused changes in the defense policy and consequently in the doctrine of its army. That is why the case of the United States is an excellent example of comparison.

Within the literature related to national defense we will focus attention on those authors who referred to the changes in the army and the armed forces, before a change in defense policy. I will examine official documents, such as national laws and other legal requirements that govern national defense matters, books related to the issue of national defense and its implementation, as well as others that cover the concepts of change in the armed forces and their adaptation to defense policies. Some examples are:

Law and Strategic Guidance and Policies

1. Constitution of the Argentine Republic
2. U.S. Constitution
3. Charter of the United Nations
4. National Argentine Defense Law, No 23.554
5. National Argentine Internal Security Law, No 24.059
6. National Argentine Restructuring of Armed Forces, No 24948.
7. National Argentine Presidential Decree, No 683/2018
8. Organization and Functioning Directive of the Armed Forces (approved by Decree 1691 / 2.006).
9. The National Security Act of 1947, as amended.
10. Titles 10 and 32, USC, as amended.
11. Title 14, USC, Sections 1, 2, and 141.
12. The Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986.
13. Posse Comitatus Act (Title 18, USC, Section 1385).
14. Guidance for Employment of the Force.
15. Joint Strategic Capabilities Plan.
16. The National Security Strategy of the United States.
17. National Strategy for Homeland Security.
18. National Strategy for Combating Terrorism.
19. National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction.
20. Unified Command Plan.

21. National Response Framework.
22. DOD Strategy for Homeland Defense and Civil Support.

Argentine Doctrine

1. Basic Doctrine for Joint Military Action - Project (PC - 00 - 01 / Ed. 2.014).
2. Planning for Joint Military Action - Strategic Military Level - Project (PC 10 - 04 / Ed. 2.014).
3. Planning for Joint Military Action - Operational Level - Project (PC 20 - 01 / Ed. 2.015).
4. Glossary of terms of military employment for the Joint Military Action (PC 00 - 02 / Ed. 2.010 and Project Ed. 2.014).

U.S Doctrine

1. JP 1. Doctrine for the Armed Forces of the United States. 2 May 2007.
2. JP 3-0. Joint Operations. 11 August 2011.
3. ADP 3-0. Unified Land Operations 10 October 2011.
4. ADP 6-0. Mission Command. 17 May 2012.
5. ADRP 3-0. Unified Land Operations. 16 May 2012.
6. ADRP 6-22. Army Leadership. 1 August 2012.
7. Army Regulation 10-87, Army Commands, Army Service Component Commands, and Direct Reporting Units. 4 September 2007.
8. Field Manual 27-10. The Law of Land Warfare. 18 July 1956. `

Public Literature

1. *Terrorism Versus Democracy, The Liberal State Response*, written by Paul Wilkinson. The main topic of this book is the implications of terrorism and associated forms of political violence for liberal democratic practice. The research will be useful in that chapter 6 addresses particularly the role of the military in combating terrorism. This is important because it can provide experiences from countries that had the necessity to employ their armed forces against the terrorism like the UK forces in Northern Ireland and the intervention of Special Forces on the rescue of hostages in the Iranian Embassy on 1980.
2. *The Challenge of Change*, written by Mets, David R., and Harold R. Winton, This book has considerable utility when it comes to the factors that make change possible in large institutions. The advantage is also based on explaining that improvement is motivated by strategic demands, as what happened in Argentina.
3. *Military Leadership, Institutional Change, and Priorities in Military Spending*, by Flynn, Michael E. This book is based on how the U.S. military high command determines decisions about the budget and the structure of the force, while examining how these decisions have been affected by changes in the institutions that govern civil-military relations. The importance for research is that we can understand how external demands influence the organization and how leaders must know how to avoid economic adversity to keep the institution operational and able to fulfill its mission.

4. *The History and Politics of Defense Reviews* by Raphael S. Cohen, this report examines three main issues: First, how the defense strategy process developed and the causes of the ineffectiveness of new policies. It will help the investigation because it shows how the law and defense policy are related to having coherent employment of the armed forces.
5. *Change in Military Organization* by David R. Segal and Mandy Wechsler Segal. This article considers several consequences of the rationalization of the military including potential changes in willingness to fight, military unionization, changes in professionalism, the substitution of management for leadership, increased utilization of women, and dependence on research, including social science research.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In the first chapter, I explained why it is important to research about the changes in the mission and future tasks of the AAF. The recent change in the presidential decree that regulates the National Defense Law now makes it possible for the armed forces to respond to any external threat. With this new legal framework, it is necessary to see what the implications are for the forces, especially in the army. This work intends to analyze if the army has the proper doctrine to carry out operations for a variety of new possible threats to the nation. Likewise, I will identify any need for change or adjustment in that doctrine and consequently in the organizations that comprise the necessary means for the effective fulfillment of the mission.

In this chapter, I will explain how I will research to obtain information and data that can help reach the appropriate conclusions that could be used to propose change in the army. To fulfill this purpose, I must first explain how the central question of the research will be answered, and how I will address the complementary questions. In all cases, the qualitative research technique will be used and, correctly, the content analysis.

I will later explain what documents will be used to focus the search for information that allows me to carry out synthesis and obtain conclusions. Among the documents that I will use are those corresponding to the legal framework that describes the Argentine national defense. I will also examine the Argentine joint doctrine and the specific doctrine of the Argentine Army . These documents describe the concept of

employment and the development of operations. As a comparison, I will use as an example of the legal framework of the United States and the doctrine of the U.S Army.

The Qualitative Research Used on Military Studies

All military problems are located within the area of the social sciences. To study a change in one organization we first need to describe how that organization and all of its cultural, economic, political and social backgrounds help us to understand and have a clear definition of our research subject. To study a military organization, in this case, the Argentine Army , the best way is to analyze the doctrine, the internal memorandum and all the official documentation related to our topic. Doing this process, we can then categorize our research as qualitative research. This is the kind of research that focuses on a constructivist perspective.

Beyond the Questions

First, to answer the main question “What are the needed changes regarding army doctrine and, is it necessary for the organizations and primary resources, to allow the Argentine army to operate effectively against any external aggression? I will explain what the reasons are to make the changes in the Argentine Army doctrine, and the background behind the employment of the armed forces against any external aggression. Part of this explanation is covered in the first chapter, so here I will focus on the procedure to obtain the information. I will also analyze the Argentine legal framework, starting with the national constitution, and then explain the hierarchy of the national law and national defense. I will then analyze if the doctrine of the Argentine Army regarding

its concept of employment, and how the army should operate to address different kinds of aggression.

Once I have concluded this first step, I will determine if the army has the proper organizations to conduct those operations, if it is compliant with the doctrine, and does it have the necessary material.

After that, I will conduct the second phase of the research and compare the Argentine system with the U.S. system, taking into account organization, doctrine and resources with regard to the legal framework.

Criteria Used to Determine the Feasibility of the Methodology

The primary parameter to test if this research method is feasible is the possibility to obtain access to the information regarding the law and the doctrine, not only from Argentina but also from the United States. To measure the literature, we focus on the topic as the initial guidance, like the change of the army, changing an organization, and how the institutions adapt to the change and evolution of the security situation of the world.

We can use as an example how the U.S. modified its national policy regarding the national defense following the 9/11 attacks, and how the U.S Army responded in terms of doctrine and procedures.

CHAPTER 4
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ARGENTINE ARMY ON THE NEW
LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

Introduction

2018 was transcendental for the AAF, not for marvelous deeds or great feats, but for a small change of words in a Presidential Decree that regulates the implementation of the national defense law. The modification in the decree has had a profound implication in terms of the actions and operations that are developed by the armed forces in relation to national defense. Not only are there modifications but also the decree allows the development of new military operations. It also makes it necessary to modify or implement new doctrine that supports the forms of employment and the new organizations.

In this chapter, I will explain in detail what the use of the armed forces means in non-state aggressions and what the threats to the vital interests of Argentina are. Before doing that, I will explain what the change in the Argentine Defense Law was that causes the different employment of the armed forces. I will also describe the role of the armed forces in the national defense, focusing on the army in terms of its mission, and types of operations for which it is preparing to execute.

Lastly, this research will provide examples of what doctrine, training and types of organizations are required for the army to comply efficiently with deterrence or effective action against non-state threats. During this process I will also take into account the experiences of the U.S. Army.

The Legal Construction of the National Defense in Argentina

First, to understand the complexity and possible implications of the operations of the armed forces against non-estate aggression that could damage the vital interest of Argentina, it is necessary to explain what the legal framework of the national defense in Argentina is.

First, the national constitution issued in 1853 and updated later in 1994, established the rights and guarantees of the Argentinean citizens and the responsibilities of each branch, executive, legislative and judicial regarding the national defense. Most important is the detail that the constitution's preamble states that one of the objectives of having a national constitution for all the Argentinean federal provinces is to "provide a common defense."⁸ That statement shows the importance of an organized defense of the nation integrating all the efforts of the provinces towards common and vital objective, which is the survival and protection of shared common values. Additionally, the constitution states in article 21 the obligation for every Argentinean citizen to arm himself in defense of the homeland, and the defense of the national constitution, in accordance with the laws dictated by the congress and by the decrees of the executive branch.

As a federal republic, each of the separate government branches, executive, legislative and judicial, have different responsibilities regarding the national defense. For example, "The executive power of the president is the commander in chief of all armed forces. The executive branch organizes the armed forces, and is responsible for its

⁸ Argentine Republic, National Constitution, Preamble.

operations according to the needs of the nation. Commander in chief of all the armed forces, arranges the armed forces and runs its organization and distribution according to the needs of the nation. It also, with the approval of Congress, declares war and orders retaliatory operations.”⁹ The legislative branch with its two chambers, deputies and senators, “has the responsibility to fund the armed forces in time of peace and war. It also dictates the law affecting the armed forces and government.”¹⁰

As studied, the legislative branch dictates the laws to organize the national defense, which was done through the approval of the National Defense Law, whose latest version dates from 1988 under law number 23.554. This law, as we mentioned in the previous chapter, establishes the fundamental legal, organizational and functional bases for the preparation, execution and control of national defense.¹¹ Here the congress is fulfilling its responsibilities giving the broad parameters to execute the national defense. A national decree issued by the president determines the precise way the national defense law is executed. This document is the Regulation of the National Defense Law, National Decree No. 727, issued on December 6, 2006 and is the particular document I will focus on in this research because it states the situations in which the armed forces will or will not intervene.

National Decree 727 was the legal document updated in 2018 by another National Decree, Number 683 issued on 23 July 2018. With this update, the armed forces became

⁹ Argentine Republic, National Constitution, art. 99, point 14.

¹⁰ Ibid., art. 75, point 27.

¹¹ Argentine Republic, National Congress, Argentine National Defense Law No. 23.554, art. 1.

empowered to fulfill their duties not only against a nation aggression, but also against any external threat, to include non-state actors, that could affect the vital interests of the Argentinean Republic. To expand the information about how the National Defense is organized by Law 23.554, and is executed by Decree 727, I will now explain the Argentinean National Defense System, in order to display how the armed forces are organized and what its place is in the entire system. This will assist in the understanding of the implications that have been made in Decree 727.

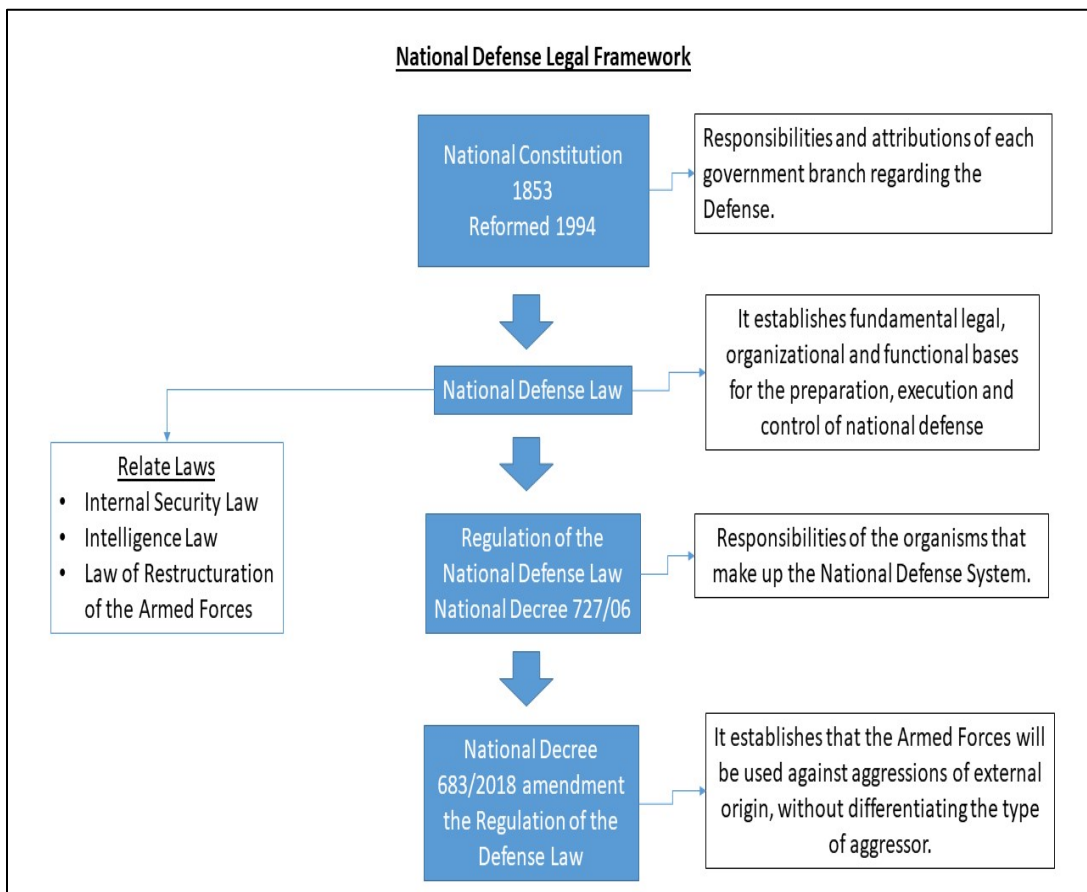


Figure 1. Legal Framework of the Argentine National Defense

Source: Created by author.

Organization of the National Defense System in Argentina

The Argentine legal framework establishes a National Defense System composed of the President, the National Security Council, the Congress, the Minister of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the armed forces. Regarding the congress, it exercises the powers granted by the national constitution in the defense committees composed by members of both chambers, senators and deputies. The branches of the armed forces are the Argentine Army , Argentine Republic Navy and the Argentine Air Force, which together make up the military instrument of the Argentine nation.



Figure 2. Organization of the National Defense System according to Law No. 23554 Promulgated in Buenos Aires on April 26, 1988

Source: Created by author.

In Argentina it is understood that the concept of national defense is “the integration and the coordinated action of all the forces of the nation for the solution of those conflicts that require the use of the armed forces, in a dissuasive or effective way, to face aggressions of external origin”¹². It is important to remark for a better understanding of the legal framework, which creates the foundation of the national defense, that Argentine law makes a strong separation between internal security and national defense. This is in order to make it clear that the armed forces are not involved in the responsibilities of internal law enforcement, such as: “to guarantee the internal situation of security where the rights of freedom, life and patrimony of the inhabitants are safeguarded, while the full validity of the institutions of the representative, republican and federal system established by the national constitution”.¹³ In Figure 3 below it is possible to see the differences regarding the missions and organizations between defense and internal security.

¹² Argentine Republic, National Congress, Argentine National Defense Law No. 23.554, art. 1.

¹³ Argentine Republic, National Congress, Argentine Internal Security Law. 24.059, January 17, 1992, art. 2, accessed March 3, 2019, <http://www.saij.gob.ar/24059-nacional-ley-seguridad-interior-lns0003762>.

	DEFENSE SYSTEM	INTERNAL SECURITY SYSTEM
Main Missions	Repeal aggressions of external origin against the sovereignty, the capacity for self-determination, territorial integrity	Prevent and prosecute offenses defined in the Penal Code and other special laws. Obtain and preserve evidence as auxiliary of the Judicial Power
Forces	<u>Armed forces</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Argentine Army • Argentine Navy • Argentine Air Force 	<u>Security forces</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Argentine National Gendarmerie • Naval Prefecture Argentina • Airport Security Police • Argentine Federal Police • Provincial Police and CABA

Figure 3. Differences between Defense and Internal Security

Source: Created by author based on Argentine Republic, *2015 Defense White Book* (Buenos Aires: Defense Ministry, 2015), 57, http://ceed.unasursg.org/Espanol/09-Downloads/Info-Pais/Arg/LB/Libro_blanco_2015.pdf.

Along this line, the law establishes a clear course on how the armed forces can be employed, such as; conventional operations to protect the vital interest, operations under the UN mandate, operations to support the security forces, operations to support the national and international community.

Additionally, the Argentine Republic, through its laws, limit the use of its armed forces. More specifically, for example, by limiting the participation of the Army, Navy and Air Force only in conventional operations, which excludes any type of situation

where irregular forces are used. This is important, since for example, U.S. doctrine understands that irregular war is “an armed confrontation between a state and a non-state organization that seeks to achieve objectives of domination over a certain population.”¹⁴

The Role of the Argentine Army in the National Defense – Current Situation

One of the purposes of this research is to identify what are the necessities that the Argentine army should change in order to fit with the new possibilities of intervention that National Decree No. 683/2018 produced. A good start to analyze an institution is looking at the missions, its vision and objective that announce clearly who it is and what it does for the nation.

The mission of the Argentine army states “the Argentine army will serve the country to contribute to the national defense in order to protect its vital interests, independence and sovereignty, the capacity for self-determination, territorial integrity and natural resources, the protection of the property, life and freedom of the inhabitants.”¹⁵ Here it is shown that the attitude of the army is defensive since it imposes a protective action and safeguards the vital interests. If we compare with the mission of the United States army “to fight and win the wars of the nation,” we see a marked

¹⁴ Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication 1, Change 1, *Doctrine for the Armed Forces of the United States* (Washington, DC: Department of Defense, July 2017), I-4 to I-7.

¹⁵ Argentine Government Official Web Site, “Mission, Vision and Objective. Argentine Army,” accessed March 14, 2019, <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/ejercito/mision-vision-objetivo>.

difference that guides the actions of the army, not only in the field of defense but also in proactive action.

The vision of the Argentine army, which shows us the future actions and how and where it commits, establishes: “A modern army based on the values of San Martin, democratic and republican, enlisted, trained and equipped to defend the vital interests of the nation, integrated with the armed forces of the country and the region, committed to national development and solidarity support to all Argentines, and a model of public ethics and transparency.”¹⁶ This vision expands the range of action of the army, not only to the national level with the joint action with the other forces, but also to the possibility of interacting with foreign forces. It also shows that the army is committed to the protection of its citizens in a framework of good procedures in accordance with the national laws.

The last concept of these central statements that tells us what the army should do is the objectives. This establishes the steps to be gradually achieved, which in the long term will contribute to realizing the vision of the institution. These are “to constitute an armed force with the ability to defend the interests of the nation, contribute to its scientific, technological, economic and social development, and cooperate for the achievement of the general welfare of its inhabitants.”¹⁷ This objective of the Argentine Army is an endorsement of the main purpose and a sign of the will and consciousness that the institution has to fulfill its tasks, since it stipulates step by step how to obtain

¹⁶ Argentine Government, “Mission, Vision and Objective. Argentine Army,” accessed March 15, 2019, <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/ejercito/mision-vision-objetivo>.

¹⁷ Ibid.

milestones that, with the continuity in achieving them, allow the Army to fulfill the main mission.

The first impression made by the Argentine Army is to constitute an armed force dedicated primarily to defend the vital interests established by the Argentine National Constitution. However, it has been shown that it is not only a passive attitude, but also at the national level the army is committed to helping the citizens and developing the country. This shows us that in addition to the primary defense tasks, other subsidiary duties that help to fulfill the main mission are already contemplated. This is important to highlight for our investigation, since the army is not only destined to repel external aggressions, but also it shows us that it has other capabilities that could be applied or expanded with the legal change in the regulations.

Organization of the Argentine Army to Fulfill its Mission

The following is an analysis of the Argentine army's organization and structure. Beginning with the organization of the Argentine army, the structure and peacetime deployment that it has currently be attributed to several factors, some of them come from a historical tradition, and others respond to criteria such as the characteristics of the operational environment where Argentina is located.

The Argentine army is organized with a force composed of personnel voluntarily distributed in the corps of officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers, as well as civilian personnel for administrative tasks. This force is fully active, and currently there is no reserve force. Unlike the U.S. military, there is not a national guard, because provincial governors in Argentina cannot form armed bodies, only the federal government can.

The mission, the available means, along with the characteristics of the geography and the possible threats make it important to maintain criteria that satisfy the probable demands imposed by the law. Such means, are organized, equipped, and trained, according to strict and clear concepts of employment, in order to fulfill the functions that, due to their essential characteristics, it corresponds to develop.

Like in all the armies of the world, the organizations of the Argentine army are developed to satisfy the needs of combat, and are represented by the combat functions. As in the U.S. army, in Argentina we identify the following functions: Command and Control, Fire, Movement and Maneuver, Intelligence, Sustainment and Protection. In turn, the Argentine army identifies different types of organizations according to their participation in combat. With this organizational conception, we identify three main bodies of elements that will later be integrated by the different branches and services. See figures below for a complete view of the operational organizations.

These three groupings are: Command Elements, Combat Elements and Logistic Elements. Command elements are understood as the commander or chief, his staff and all other elements necessary to facilitate the exercise of his functions, in the conduct of the forces placed at his disposal. They represent the elements of command, the HQ of the Divisions and the Brigades, as well as units that form for the conduct of large battle units.

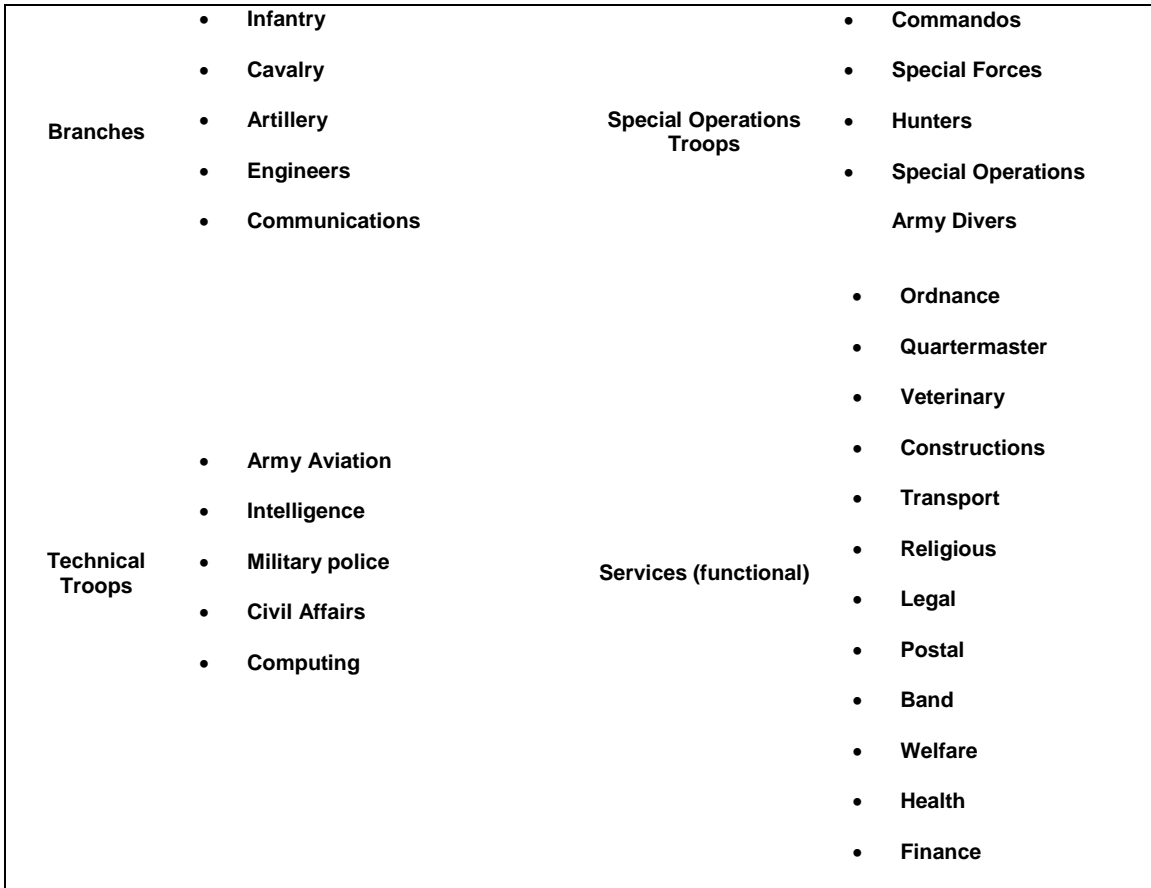


Figure 4. Means that Integrate the Argentine Army

Source: Argentine Army, Doctrine Department, *ROB 00-01 Conduction for the Ground Forces* (Buenos Aires: Argentine Army, 2015).

The Elements of Combat are organizations constituted by branches, troops of special operations and technical troops that participate in combat by fulfilling certain functions. The elements of combat are classified in basic elements of combat, represented by units of infantry and cavalry; fire support elements, mainly artillery units; elements of combat support, among which we identify the signals units and engineers and finally elements for special operations.

COMMAND ELEMENTS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Operational Theater Land Component Command • Command of Large Units 	
COMBAT ELEMENTS	Basic Combat Elements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Infantry • Cavalry
	Elements for Special Operations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commandos • Special Forces • Hunters • Special Operations Army Divers
	Fire Support Elements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field Artillery • Air Defense Artillery
	Combat Support Elements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engineers • Communications • Army Aviation • Intelligence • Military police • Computing • Civil Affairs
LOGISTIC SUPPORT ELEMENTS	Personal Logistics Support Elements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health • Religious • Legal • Band • Postal • Welfare
	Elements of Logistic Support of Material	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ordnance • quartermaster • Veterinary • Construction • Transport
	Financial Logistics Support Elements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finance

Figure 5. Operational Elements of the Argentine Army

Source: Argentine Army, Doctrine Department, ROB 00-01 Conduction for the Ground Forces (Buenos Aires: Argentine Army, 2015).

Finally, another main component is the organizations constituted by the Services whose central function is the support that allows for maintaining the combative aptitude of the different elements, (Health, welfare, postal, etc.).

For this research, I consider it essential to explain all of the concepts under which the army is organized. This has the purpose of showing that the Argentine army has a conventional and traditional configuration, in which there is no type of structure involved or related to the fulfillment of internal security functions. In other countries where the armed forces intervene in matters of internal security, whether constitutionally established as such or by presidential orders, the armies present elements of operations destined to the tasks of combating different crimes. An example of this is the case of the Mexican armed forces that have unique bodies for the fight against drug trafficking and collaboration with federal police forces. Moreover, Mexican law, states that that the mission of their army is also “guarantee the internal security situation.”¹⁸ In Brazil, there is a more prolific case, and it is the Brazilian Military Police. This organization is an element designed to fulfill security functions in the Brazilian federal states. Its organization and legal authority comes from the president of the country. They have a functional relationship with the army in the sense that they constitute an “auxiliary corps of the army forces that can be mobilized quickly to augment the armed forces in an emergency.”¹⁹ Bearing in mind, it is clear that Argentina does not have any kind of military police, irregular or paramilitary forces to fight crime. The only police or federal authorities that fight crime are the forces that come from Ministry of Security.

¹⁸ Mexican Republic, Army Organization Law, amendment June 06, 2018, accessed April 24, 2019, http://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/pdf/169_210618.pdf.

¹⁹ Global Security, “Brazilian Military Police,” accessed January 24, 2019, <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/brazil/military-police.htm>.

Current Deployment of the Argentine Army

Of those aspects mentioned before about the concept of organizing the operational elements, the peacetime deployment of the Argentine Army is influenced by the geographical environment, which exerts a conditioning on the means to be used. Currently the army has three conventional divisions and a rapid deployment division (called QRF). These organizations, given that our country is not in a situation of war, are controlled by a command element called the Army Training and Enlistment Command (CAAE for its Spanish acronyms), which is responsible for all functional and administrative aspects. The Argentine Army describes the CAAE as:

Created in 2010, it is responsible for the training and preparation of the Army's operational force. He has his seat in Campo de Mayo, province of Buenos Aires. The CAAE advises and assists in the planning and operational use of the land means both to the leadership of the Army and the Joint Staff of the Armed Forces and determines the operational capacity of the Force. He is the main person in charge of Operational Education, he must plan, direct and budget everything related to the execution of specific, joint and combined exercises in which the Army participates. It is also responsible for the preparation of the fractions that will be deployed in Military Peace Operations and the operational training of the Reserves, in case of conformed.²⁰

The three divisions are deployed throughout Argentine territory, that is, they have their seat of peace, under a concept of specialization by geographical region. Thus, I Division covers the northern Mesopotamian coastal sector; II Division in the center-west of the country and III Division in the Patagonian-southern sector of Argentina. The figure below shows the deployment mentioned above. In APPENDIX A there is more detailed chart of the Composition and Command Structure of the Argentine army.

²⁰ Argentine Government, "Organización del Ejército," accessed February 17, 2019, <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/ejercito/organizacion/comando-adiestramiento-alistamiento>.



Figure 6. Deployment in the Argentine Territory of the Three Army Divisions

Source: Created by author.

It is important to note that every region has particular geographical conditions. This makes more favorable to employ certain military resources to certain areas. For example, I Division is located in a geographical environment characterized by its unremarkable terrain with the presence of large and important rivers such as the Uruguay and the Paraná. In the north, the terrain elevates with a significant height difference. The climate is mostly warm and comfortable but with a drier and more temperate winter, that makes the north of the region present more jungle type vegetation. Towards the south, the temperatures and humidity decrease therefore the density of the vegetation also

decreases. This Mesopotamian zone implies that the military elements have special training to perform in jungle and forest terrain. With that in mind, the brigades that make up the Division have the specificity of “MONTE” which means a special training to operate in the jungle. Towards the south, where plains predominate with low vegetation, the use of armored vehicles is possible, which is why an armored brigade is also included in the formation.

II Division is responsible for a large sector of the central and northwest portion of the country. This large area presents a variety of landscapes and climates. Towards the west and along the Andean mountain range that constitutes the geographical limit with the sister republic of Chile, we find an environment of pre-mountain range, and then a mountain environment. From the center to the north, the mountain range presents an average height of 5000 meters, constituting a high mountain area. From the center, more specifically in the region of Cuyo to the south, the heights of the mountain range decreases, showing more moderate peaks and forest vegetation, which constitutes a low mountain area. In these regions mountain special training is indispensable, with its two variants, high and low, which requires a different training for each of them. The geographical environment presents great differences, besides the elevation, such as the amount of rivers, the presence of trees or just shrub vegetation, fauna or inhospitable conditions for life. The brigades that make up II Division have the responsibility to protect the vital interests in this particular geographic environment.

III Division is the last that is located geographically in Argentina and is mainly in the Patagonia region. This region is mostly a plateau that has a morphology, which is varied and complex. Towards the west the Cordillera de los Andes is found, which

continues its journey to the south. In the eastern sector, it presents stepped plateaus, in addition to, mountainous areas, low depressions and wide fluvial valleys. The nearby rivers constitute a great natural obstacle. They have their source in the Mountain range of the Andes, and they run West-East ending at the Atlantic Ocean. The most important are the Colorado River, Negro, Chubut, Santa Cruz, and Río Gallegos. The plateaus end in high cliffs on the coast, and this does not allow the installation of ports, which is why most of the cities in Patagonia are not on the coast, except for some in the northern sector. With a very continental climate (still near the ocean) and therefore with little rain, its typical vegetation is shrubby steppes. The North Patagonia is characterized by having less intense winds and being at sea level are much warmer than the “Southern Patagonia” which is highlighted by strong winds, especially in the summer. These geographic particularities make this region special for the use of mechanized and armored vehicles, so the brigades under this Division have this specialty. Having now an overview of the organization of the Argentine army it is necessary to know how the main pillars of the doctrine are.

In terms of doctrine, I will not evaluate the complete doctrinal compendium, but describe what type of doctrine is required. As stated by one of the main Manuals of the Army, the ROB 00-01 “Conduction for the Ground Forces” establishes the bases of the doctrine of terrestrial combat:

The doctrine in the Argentine Army is an ordered and systemic set of general principles, norms and essential procedures that guide the effective use of specific military capacity within the framework of joint military action.

The basic doctrine is defined as a set of fundamental principles and concepts that guide the performance of the Argentine army to fulfill its mission. It will be based on the cultural heritage and sustenance of the institution and must be

able to guide harmonious, coherent, systemic and integrally the actions of its constituent parts.

In spite of its authority or guiding nature, it does not imply a series of rules and norms that with prescriptive character must be applied without thought or prior judgment, requiring the criteria for its effective application.

ROB 00-01 aims to establish the doctrinal foundations for the conduct of the military operations of the land forces and provide the conceptual guideline and frame of reference for the elaboration of the derived doctrine and procedures of the Argentine army.

The Argentine army is an institution that has a doctrinaire body from which its organization, equipment, preparation, and employment in military operations are based.

From these postulates, the present publication conceives systemically the principles, guidelines and guiding concepts to efficiently face the demands of the contemporary battlefield and lay the foundations to adequately address the needs of its probable future employment.

Consequently, ROB 00-01, aims to establish the doctrinal foundations for the conduct of land forces and, at the same time, to provide conceptual bases for the elaboration of the derived doctrine and procedures that may take place.

This doctrine, within the framework of established political-strategic guidelines, is integrated into the joint doctrine of the higher level. It provides the institution with a suitable and necessary tool, in keeping with the current situation of the Force and that allows facing with challenges and efficiency the challenges of the near future.

To be an effective doctrine, ROB 00-01 must be read, understood, interpreted and put into practice with criteria, skill and practicality.

Man will continue to be the central axis of a modern and efficient army. The harmonious and integral correspondence between the doctrine, the human and material resources, the organizations, the professional education and the operational training, both individual and collective, remains as a priority objective of the Institution.²¹

²¹ Argentine Army, Doctrine Department, *ROB 00-01 Conduction for the Ground Forces* (Buenos Aires: Argentine Army, 2015), Preface.

What operations the manual establishes are considered conventional operations in a traditional warfare framework. Consequently, within all the doctrinal body of the Argentine army, we cannot find doctrine related to terrorism, counterinsurgency (COIN), counterterrorism, counter weapons of mass destruction (WMD), Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) management or hybrid threats.

Given that this basic doctrine was prepared before the changes in the decree that regulates what type of aggression the Argentine armed force must respond to all of this principles, norms, concepts and procedures used by the army for the resolution of conflict in which the military power must be used, are focused on external state aggression only. Its content reflects essential aspects related to the performance of tactical operations, whose main purpose is to contribute to the achievement of the objective of winning the conventional war between states. Therefore, no doctrinal source can be found that specifies the use of the army against a non-state aggressor. In spite of this, the doctrine does include how support operations, that are not directly related to the main mission, such as the subsidiaries, are carried out.

Defining Non-State Aggressions

The recent change in the decree regulating the National Defense Act of Argentina explicitly states that the armed forces will be used against external aggressions. This means that any aggression committed by state or non-state entity that originates outside the territory of Argentina, shall be deemed external aggression. As the Argentine armed forces are already configured to repel state aggressions, in terms of their organization and doctrine, I will now focus on explaining what the group of unconventional aggressions mean, i.e. those committed by non-state actors.

Non-state aggression is action committed by non-state international actors that affect the vital interests of a nation. In the theory of international relations, a non-state actor is defined as those entities with the capacity to influence other international actors, but they don't have the capabilities or conditions to be considered a state. The influence they wield can be economic, political, social, or diplomatic. There is a large number of criteria in the definition of which entities have this capacity, but it is usually the custom to identify among the non-state actors the following:

1. Multinational companies are companies that develop their commercial activities in at least two countries. "The traditional multinational is a private company with headquarters in one state and subsidiaries in others, which have an economic purpose, that is to say that its main characteristic is the search for an economic benefit".²² These companies distributed around the world operate under a coordinated global strategy to gain market share and achieve cost efficiencies.
2. NGOs (non-governmental organizations) "are private, autonomous, voluntary organizations, whose main difference with multinational companies is that they operate non-profit and oriented to the task or interest"²³. There is a great variety of parameters for the classification of the different types of NGOs, but some examples are the end they pursue, the scope where they operate, the

²² National Intelligence Officer for Economics and Global Issues (NIOEGI), *Non-state Actors: Impact on International Relations and Implications for the United States*, National Intelligence Council, August 2007, accessed February 20, 2019, https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/nonstate_actors_2007.pdf.

²³ Ibid.

members that make it up. They can implement projects, provide services, defend or promote specific causes, or try to influence policy.

3. International personalities: those persons who, as individual actors, due to their prestige, position within a state or role that they perform internationally, can be attributed a degree of inflexibility towards the other international actors. The “archetypes” include the owners or managers of icon companies, criminals, financiers, media moguls, as well as famous activists, religious leaders and terrorists. The way in which they exert their influence (money, moral authority, experience) is as varied as their field of work. “As limited by the participants in the seminar, this category excludes holders of political office (although some people with a higher power eventually achieve political office), those with hereditary power or simply rich or famous”²⁴.

The discussion at the academic level, as well as in the diplomatic, political and mainly in the armed forces spheres, is if an action committed by an international organization, such as multinational corporations or NGOs, against the vital interest of a nation, could be considered an external aggression. Logically if any of these entities commit a criminal act that threatens the interests of a country, they would be considered as a criminal or terrorist organization.

The logical question that follows is what aggressions of external origin affect the interests of a country? To clarify this, we go to U.S doctrine, especially Joint Publication (JP) 3-26, which defines transnational threats as “any individual or group activity

²⁴ NIOEGI, *Non-state Actor*.

unrelated to a particular country or a region that operates across borders, and threatens the security and interests of a country.” Here we see two essential factors in the requirements to be considered a transnational threat. The first is that it does not recognize borders, that is, it may originate in any country or region, but it extends its field of action to other places. It has to affect the national interests, since the interests of a country can be numerous, to take an example we will remember the vital interests of Argentina, which are the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence, life and freedom of the inhabitants. A hypothetical case that could be presented is a violation of the territorial integrity committed by one of the social groups that claim to be the original indigenous peoples of America, claiming part of a territory within the Argentine Republic. Supported by an international NGO that promotes separation and the creation of an independent state, the NGO intends to fight for the rights of indigenous peoples and therefore affecting Argentina’s vital interest. Beyond the fact that this is a hypothetical case, an NGO does not have the purpose of judging whether a state has rights has sovereign capacity over a particular territory. That is why the National State, in this case, Argentina, could consider that NGO as a threat.

The other level of discussion is whether, prior to a flagrant external aggression is committed by an NGO, a state can preemptively use military action. Logically and with regard to international law and international provisions issued by the UN, there is a principle of proportionality that prevents a disproportionate military response. Prior to this, there are international legal measures available to protect vital interests that can be carried out under the concept of national defense. Additionally, the state can use other

instruments of national power, such as economic, diplomatic before relying on its armed forces.

Other transnational threats to the vital interests of a country are easier to identify. This is the case of terrorism, which is the planned use of violence or the threat of violence inculcating fear with the intention of coercing or intimidating governments, societies or individuals, seeking to fulfill political, ideological or religious objectives. The legal compendium of the United States also extends the concept of international terrorism, detailing three characteristics. First, it involves violent acts that have the clear objective of harming human life, which is contrary to any state law. Secondly, it seeks to generate pressure under threats of harm in order to reduce the freedom of decision of a population or government. This pressure affects vital interests, such as the capacity for self-determination and sovereignty that represent the free decision making of a government to exercise its functions without the influence of outside agents. The last and third factor that characterizes terrorism as a transnational threat is that it originates in other territories other than the country where the act is perpetrated and foreign and national means are used for its purpose. Two terrorist attacks that occurred in Buenos Aires, Argentina in 1992 and 1994 personify these characteristics. The first attack occurred at the Israeli embassy. This attack killed 22 people and left 250 others wounded. The second attack was against another building of the Jewish community: The Argentine Israelite Mutual Association. This attack was more deadly and left 85 people dead and 200 others wounded. A judicial investigation was conducted and it was determined that these attacks were committed by the terrorist group Hezbollah with the support from the Islamic Republic of Iran.

These examples of attacks on the representations of Israel in Argentina are good examples for analysis of the possible actions that a government must take to defend itself. (See Figures 10 to 14 at Illustration Section) When the events occurred, the Argentine National Defense Law and regulations ruled out the use of military instrument of power as a means to respond. That is why the actions that the state undertook at the time were only judicial actions for the investigation of the perpetrators and the actions of the security forces, both of the police and of the state intelligence agency. Interpol was also necessary to locate the alleged perpetrators because no Argentine agency had the legal backing to do so. The investigation is still ongoing and up to this point, due to interference by some Middle Eastern countries such as Iran, it has not been possible to capture the identified terrorists.

What Argentina is currently considering, due to this change in the legal framework of the National Defense Law, is that if these terrorist attacks had occurred after the legal modification, the resources of the AAF could be brought to bear. This would have provided the Argentine government with an additional tool to use in the protection of the inhabitants and the other vital interests of the country in the face of external aggression committed by a terrorist group that is not originally from our country. Similarly, with the catastrophic events tied to the 9/11 attacks, the United States of America used all of its national instruments of power (diplomatic, information, economic and especially military) as a response to capture and neutralize the perpetrators. With this, it initiated not only a campaign against terror with its own armed forces but also garnered the support of a majority of the entire international community. This was

possible because the United States had the legal framework that allowed for the use of the armed forces in the face of a flagrant threat.

The Threats to the Argentine Defense System

Just after the modification of the legal framework of the National Defense in Argentina, the executive branch issued another presidential decree, No. 703/2018 consisting of the approval of the National Defense Policy, which establishes the guidelines and strategic priorities in matters of defense for the Argentine nation

Moreover, the importance of this national defense policy directive lies in the fact that from the point of view of the civil defense leadership by the executive branch, an assessment is made of the threats that the Argentina may suffer, both in the global as in the regional one and what impact they have in our country.

The national defense directive visualizes a world situation where scenarios are generated characterized by the check of interests between the great powers, such as the U.S., Russia and China, and by the interaction of other international, state and other non-state actors.

The Argentine executive power foresees that these situations of tension between the various international actors will have an impact on the interests that the Argentine Republic maintains internationally. However, from these influences, we must anticipate what will be the challenges, opportunities, threats and risks, which would involve taking action with all the elements of national power. Clearly, Argentina does not perceive direct threats in relation to neighboring countries (Chile, Brazil, etc). However, the instability of the global community always generates a risk and uncertainty about the intentions of the different countries in the international arena. That is why to maintain the

prosperity of the Argentine Republic security is needed, and for this, the military instrument, that is, the armed forces must be able to fulfill its primary mission, that is to repel any external aggression that threatens the vital interests. This includes non-state actors.

The National Defense policy directive in its study on the regional situation highlights that although South America is a region of low conflict and “has been consolidated as a zone of peace”²⁵, there are other problems that threaten the security of the states that can affect the vital interests by the magnitude of the impact that these disorders can generate. Among the possible threats that influence national defense, the current crisis in Venezuela is highlighted as a destabilizing factor in the northern region of South America. Transnational crime that includes drug trafficking, human trafficking, arms trafficking and eventually terrorism are also a potential threat.

The situation in Venezuela is a very negative factor for the region and for the Argentine Republic. It is disheartening to see the people of Venezuelan suffer the human rights violations instigated by a totalitarian regime that denies its people the basic civil liberties in order to avoid the clamor of a change in their internal policies. This crisis also has consequences for South American regional security, since the associated

²⁵ Argentine Republic, National Congress, National Decree No. 703, July 30, 2018, Annex 1, chap. 2, accessed January 15, 2019, <http://www.saij.gob.ar/703-nacional-aprobacion-directiva-politica-defensa-nacional-dn20180000703-2018-07-30/123456789-0abc-307-0000-8102soterced?q=%28numero-norma%3A703%20%29&o=0&f=Total%7CTipo%20de%20Documento/Legislaci%F3n/Decreto%7CFecha%7COrganismo%7CPublicaci%F3n%7CTema%7CEstado%20de%20Vigencia%7CAutor%7CJuridicci%F3n/Nacional&t=18>.

humanitarian crisis generates migrations and the possible movement of criminal gangs that take advantage of the opportunities.

These threats have a possible direct impact on the internal security of the countries in the region to include the Republic of Argentina. Governments of the region must continuously observe and analyze the situation in Venezuela for the possibility of that crisis spilling over into other countries and possibly reaching a point where police and local security forces are overwhelmed requiring the intervention of the national armed forces. This could initially manifest itself with something mundane such as logistical support to the local municipalities. It could however develop into a much more dangerous situation which would require the use of the armed forces to conduct direct security operations if so required.

The second threat that by its discreet actions constitutes a serious problem today is transnational crime. An example of this is the proliferation and increase of drug trafficking in recent years, characterized by the establishment of drug trafficking organizations that do not hesitate to use extreme armed violence as a means to an end. This form of crime is manifested without respect to international borders due to the ability of the criminal organization to exploit the security vulnerabilities of the various countries in order to move and operate freely. The Argentine Defense policy addresses the problem of transnational crime and shows the position of the ministry:

There the country assesses the threat to our national interest. It is stated there that the absence of military conflicts in the region is opposed to the increase in the transnational security problems. The dynamics of these challenges are not homogeneous, but vary according to the geographic, political, social and economic particularities of the States. However, these challenges are increasingly interconnected. Criminal organizations participate in multiple criminal activities, such as drug trafficking, money laundering, human trafficking and eventually

terrorism. The cross-border nature of these phenomena requires greater international cooperation, without ignoring the way in which these problems manifest themselves at the local level. This situation also shows the importance of strengthening coordination between the Ministry of Defense and other State agencies.²⁶

There are factors in South America that facilitate this proliferation of transnational crime. Some examples are the large territorial sizes of the countries, the extreme geographical environments such as jungle, the mountains, and the desert, that all combine to make border control and security challenging. To this is also added the political and social corruption, the lack of satisfaction of basic needs and a lack of education in values. Like drug trafficking, other crimes such as human trafficking or arms trafficking operate along similar lines and enhance each other. How to address these issues is a current topic of discussion at the decision making levels of the governments affected. Of important concerns is how to properly apply the military instrument of power in addressing these issues. The defense policy continues in that way:

The trafficking of illicit drugs constitutes one of the main problems of transnational security that affects the region. The permeability of borders, the links with other organizations of organized crime, the corruption of government control bodies and the shortcomings of Criminal justice systems have contributed to the expansion of drug trafficking in Latin America. In recent years, this phenomenon has promoted a permanent review of state policies aimed at addressing the problem of trafficking of drugs. Anti-drug strategies are an object of debate in the region, particularly with regard to the way in which the conflict should be approached and to the agencies that should intervene in the prevention, conspiracy and investigation of this criminal phenomenon.²⁷

Terrorism is a global threat to the peace and security of nations. Although the southern region of South America is not currently a focus of violence of this type, the

²⁶ Argentine Republic, National Congress, National Decree No. 703, ch. 1, 10.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, ch. 1, 11.

ongoing lack of control in regards to the establishment of migrants, especially from war torn countries in the Middle East going to other continents such as Europe, presents numerous challenges in detecting the infiltration of extremist organizations. Argentina is not exempt from the suffering inherent to a terrorist attack. That is why it must be prepared and on alert to provide an immediate response.

Despite all of these issues, the Argentine Republic does identify risks to the national defense, since the possible evolution of these problems can negatively affect the nation's vital interests.

An example of a current risk is the action of economic companies that seek the use of strategic resources. In the case of Argentina, there is a constant threat from fishing companies, mainly from Asia, which deplete the resources of the sea in Argentina's Economic Exclusive Zone (EEZ). This problem is open for interdiction by the military instrument of power in that the EEZ in the Atlantic Ocean is obviously uninhabited, and the Argentine Navy is close by.

With regard to international terrorism, the Argentine Republic has known the impact of this scourge on the attacks perpetrated against the Embassy of the State of Israel and the Asociación de Mutuales Israelitas Argentinas [(AMIA) Argentine Association of Israelite Mutual] in 1992 and 1994. Currently our region would not represent a high priority scenario for the projection and direct action of terrorist organizations, especially those associated with Islamic extremism. However, the countries of South America collaborate closely in the control of hot zones and critical points; among them the Triple Frontier between the Argentine Republic, the Federative Republic of Brazil and the Republic of Paraguay. The main security concern in this border area refers to the financing flows for organizations linked to Islamic terrorism, or in its role as a transit scale and training of terrorist cells. Despite the low probability of terrorist attacks in South America, political organizations that have appealed to this type of tactics in the past still persist in the region. The peace agreement and the demobilization of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) could constitute a historical antecedent that would facilitate the definitive dismantling of this type of organizations. However, this process of demobilization could also generate

adverse effects on regional security, as it would encourage struggles between armed groups linked to drug trafficking for the control of the territory and the supply routes. Finally, it is noticed that the international traffic of light and small arms constitutes one of the most important problems at the regional level. At the global level, the vast majority of ongoing armed conflicts are developed through the use of this type of weapon. As far as the region is concerned, trafficking in this type of weaponry is not associated with armed conflicts but with the phenomena of organized crime and drug trafficking. In this framework, it is fundamental to deepen regional cooperation aimed at regulating and controlling the circulation of this type of weapon, in order to avoid the proliferation of illicit markets.²⁸

The Approach of Other Countries towards the Change in the Defense Strategy

Throughout the history of the United States, there are several examples of how the U.S. armed forces had to adapt to world historical changes that implied a change in the national objectives to be achieved and therefore had to rethink its national defense strategy. Among these cases, we can mention the restructuring of the U.S. Army after the end of World War II and the beginning of the Cold War, the change of the world order caused by the fall of the Berlin Wall and dissolution of the Soviet Union, and finally, the reaction to the events of 9/11 and long duration missions in Afghanistan and Iraq.

In many cases, the U.S. military has had to find a role and adapt to changes in the national defense strategy. Since the end of the Second World War, many structural transformations have taken place to reduce organizations, but the most important were those in which the army had to adapt its mission to a new strategy. The setbacks and failures were also circumstances for learning. This happened at the beginning of the Cold War and the mishaps suffered by the Chiefs of Staff to adapt the armed forces to the requirements of the policy. General Maxwell Taylor in the years 1955 and subsequent

²⁸ Argentine Republic, National Congress, National Decree No. 703, ch. 1, 10-13.

had the heavy burden of transforming the army and giving it a sense that fits the demands of the new international order. These demands were to give the army a vision of the future, as well as to develop new structures, organizations, make new doctrine, logistics and acquire new equipment. Brilliant people and the most capable made the plans that General Taylor developed to carry out all this work for it. But the lack of a good political dialogue and relations with congress meant that budgetary factors failed many of these plans and therefore made the imposed objectives impossible to achieve.

With the fall of the Berlin Wall, a global change took place that required a new strategy of defense and therefore a new requirement to change by the U.S. Army . Budget constraints are always present but in this case, the army was successful in passing this new obstacle in its history. Beginning in 1990, the Army was able to write a new doctrine based on the interventions in Iraq. Organizations were modernized and new equipment was acquired, which was characterized by applied technology, and precision munitions that minimized collateral damage and lessened the chance of friendly forces casualties.

The foundation for additional change was directly tied to the national defense strategy and the adaptation of the U.S. Army to new threats to the security of the United States based on the 9/11 attacks. This violent and unexpected attack on the United States by a terrorist organization, committed on American soil, generated such a great shock, that it produced an impulse throughout the U.S. government to reconsider all the procedures related to the defense of the country. This was the impetus for the implementation of a new national security strategy and an overhaul of the national intelligence system. The National Command Authority, most notably the Joint Chiefs of

Staff, began to foresee how they could simultaneously fight a new unconventional threat, without losing sight of the conventional challenges, with the means that they possessed.

The centers that develop the doctrine of each force, as for example in the Army the Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC), initiated the studies and compilations to establish the parameters and general lines for the operations to develop, that had little to do with those carried out in the years prior to 1990.

One of the results of these processes that began in 2001 was on the structure and organization of the U.S. Army. The new organizations became “Brigade Centric” as opposed to “Division Centric” as they had been during the Cold War. The modular brigades manifested in the forms of brigade combat teams (BCTs), multi-functional brigades (Fires Brigade and Sustainment Brigade), and the traditional Functional Brigades (Military Police). The concept of modularity allowed a commander to have the flexibility to configure the brigade units in a manner that would be allow them to deploy with more complex functions in various operational environments characterized by a combination of conventional and irregular warfare. In this way, the capacities of the brigades were increased and the logistical support was improved, since the modularity allowed the type of support to be decentralized and particularized according to the needs.

From the campaigns of Iraq and Afghanistan emerged in the doctrinal field the need to reveal old concepts and techniques to face the terrorist threat linked to the counterinsurgency combat. That is why the armed forces, particularly the U.S. Army structured and implemented a coherent and deregulated doctrine that allowed the leaders in the field to develop their operations. An example of this doctrinal evolution can be seen in the figure seven below which manifest the hierarchical relationship of the U.S.

Army U.S. Army doctrine and how the most detailed manuals are supported by broader concepts that focus on different levels of command.

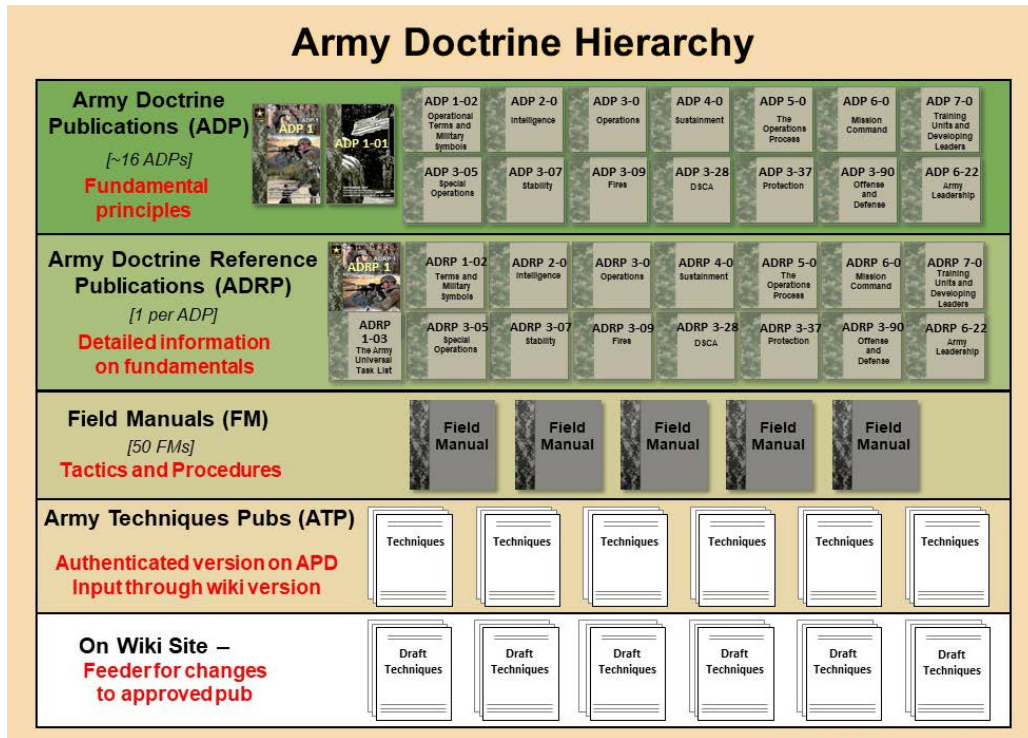


Figure 7. Army Doctrine Hierarchy

Source: Ruan Watson, "Welcome to the US Army Doctrine Lesson," (PowerPoint Presentation, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, July 2018), UCombined Arms Doctrine Directorate, *Doctrine Smart Book* (Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 2018), slide 6.

With respect to the threats to the vital interests of the nation, the United States establishes in its National Security Strategy that in order to properly protect the American people along with its territorial integrity, the U.S. Government must secure its borders. The National Security Strategy goes on to state that it will be necessary to act with all available instruments of national power of the nation to defend itself against the threat of

an attack with weapons of mass destruction (WMD), as well as combat biological threats and pandemics.

Here the strategy clearly identifies that the threats are a possible attack against its territory and its inhabitants using weapons of mass destruction, which may be chemical, biological and nuclear. It also specifies that the actors that can carry out these actions against the United States can be nation states that can be considered hostile, and non-State actors such as a terrorist organizations. One example is Syria, a state actor that under the actions of the Bashar al Assad regime has recently used chemical weapons in its internal conflict. ISIS, as a terrorist organization has also used chemical weapons. Therefore, these two examples are clear examples that there is a real threat by both state and non-state actors. Faced with this situation, the National Security Strategy provides certain general actions to neutralize threats and thus protect vital interests.

Vital Interest	Protect the American People, the Homeland, and the American Way of Life
Actions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Secure U.S. Borders and Territory <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defend Against Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) • Combat Bio threats and Pandemics • Strengthen Border Control and Immigration Policy 2. Pursue threats to their Source <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defeat Jihadist Terrorists • Dismantle Transnational Criminal 3. Organizations Keep America Safe in the Cyber Era. 4. Promote American Resilience

Figure 8. Vital Interest and Actions against the Threats

Source: Created by author using data from US President, *The National Security Strategy of the United States* (Washington, DC: The White House, 2017).

Among the actions that the strategy establishes for the defense against multiple threats, is the importance of active measures. Furthermore, in addition to actions that by their nature are defensive, offensive actions must be carried out to neutralize the threats. That is why it establishes that the terrorist threat must be eliminated from its source, as well as the dismantling of transnational criminal organizations. Once the threat is identified and the general guidelines established, each area of state power must study the implications it has for its responsibilities and from there take the actions that are

necessary to meet the national objective. These actions can always be preemptive in nature.

In the case of the military, as an element of the national power, the Department of Defense and the Joint Chief of Staff, begin to perform the analysis to carry out their task and to fulfill the mission when the National Command Authority requires it. In order to carry out these activities for the defense of vital interests, the armed forces need clear procedures and a language that standardizes all their actions. That is why the armed forces need a special doctrine in order to carry out the required actions. For example, to fulfill the objective of pursuing the threat from its source and to defeat Jihadist terrorism, the Joint Chiefs of Staff published a series of Joint Doctrine Publications, referred to fighting terrorism. Consequently, the respective armed forces issued their supporting doctrine and other technical references so that their forces can carry out this task. (The detail of this example of doctrinal hierarchical structure can be seen in figure 9). In the last 15 years, the doctrinal body was updated with the lessons learned and the experiences of the Combatant Commanders. These actions meet all the requirements that the troops requested to operate safely in the Area of Responsibility. The important thing to keep in mind is that there is a nested relationship between the National Strategy, which fixes the national objectives and the national agencies of power, such as the armed forces and particularly the United States Army that materializes in a chain of legal documents, such as the aforementioned NSE, the plans and the doctrine. This gives strength to the nation and ensures that it can meet the intent that comes from the highest level of government to guide the path of the nation.

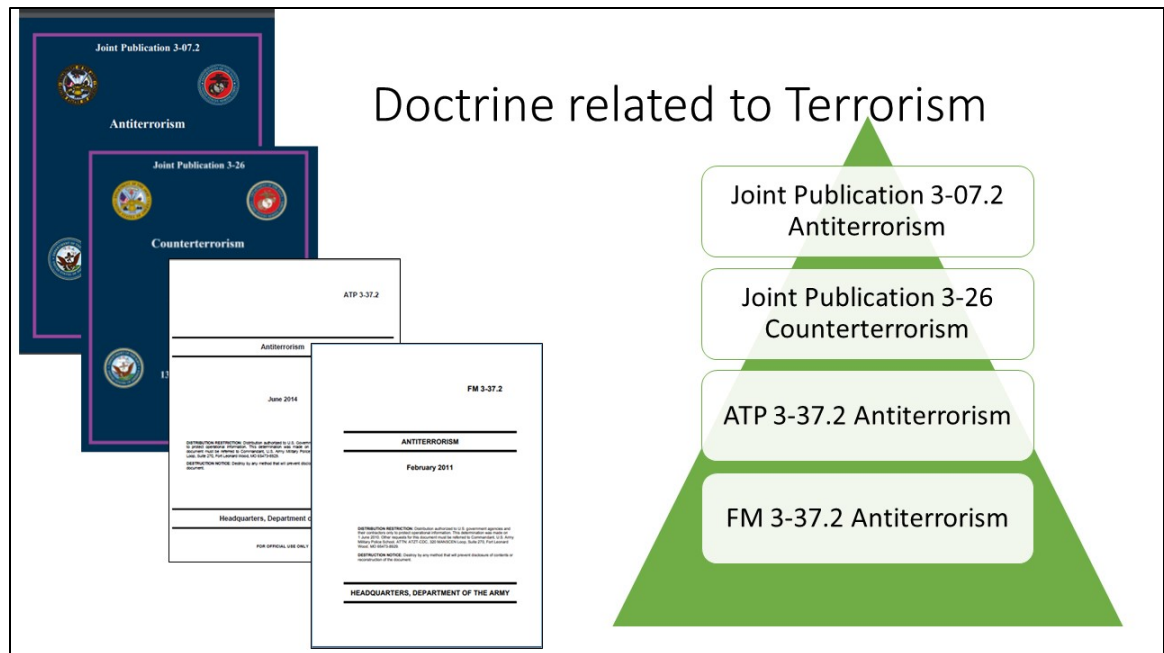


Figure 9. Example of Hierarchy of Doctrine Regarding the Fight against Terrorism

Source: Created by author.

In addition to the coherence between ends (goals) and ways (actions), and the supporting doctrinal foundations to execute this, the armed forces need another fundamental element that is considered the means that enable the fulfillment of actions. Without going into the detail of the infinity of resources that are needed to meet the national objectives, it is necessary to remark that the armed forces of the United States possess the necessary structure and functionality of their organizations required for this. Regarding the structure, for example, there is a functional Command of Special Forces and Special Forces units in each of the Services, whose missions among many others, are unconventional war, foreign internal defense, special reconnaissance, direct action and counterterrorism. Other tasks include combat search and rescue (CSAR), counter-

narcotic, counter-proliferation, hostage rescue, humanitarian assistance, humanitarian demining, information operations, peacekeeping operations and psychological operations. Thus, it can be seen that there are means, specifically organizations or units that can fulfill the tasks mentioned in the National Security Strategy (NSS) to protect vital interests of the nation. In addition to this force structure is the concept of brigade centric modularity that exists in the U.S. Army . By changing it into a brigade-based force, military leaders are allowed the flexibility to construct forces with different types of brigades according to their capabilities and the operational environment. That gives the brigade's higher headquarters a more complete synergy to be able to adapt it from different sources. Therefore, in order to accomplish the objectives of the NSS that implies defeating complex threats, a large conventional army can be organized with elements that have the capabilities to combat terrorism, drug trafficking and transnational crime. All this within the framework of national defense without getting involved in the jurisdictions of Homeland Security.

The preceding paragraphs are some examples of how a country develops and materializes the fundamental elements of its national strategy (Ends, Ways and Means) into concrete actions through documents and processes that includes organizational development of conventional and Special Forces elements in each branch of the US armed forces.

Currently, with the growing threat personified by Russia and China, the U.S. is again experiencing a new change in doctrine, towards Large Scale Combat Operations. Possibly in a couple of years, the aforementioned processes will be applied by adapting the means, constituted by the military organizations, its doctrine and its procedures to

carry out successfully the fulfillment of the military mission that contributes in part to the achievement of national objectives.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The opportunity to provide professional opinions on changes that the Argentine Ministry of Defense and its Army should consider, given the modification of the Regulation of the National Defense Law, National Decree Number 727 of June 13, 2006, is the underlying motivation of this research. The modification in the legal framework of the Argentine National Defense should not go unnoticed due to the fact that a simple change of words can have dramatic consequences. Taking into account the high level of national and military strategy decisions done at the Ministry of Defense a contextual change of simple verbs and nouns is significant.

This change in the legal framework of defense is also important because it includes a change in the theoretical paradigms that guide international relations. Specifically the concepts of a state actor in relation to another state actor and a state actor in relation to a non-state actor. The first of these concepts can be found in the realist theory of international relations. Although these theoretical origins are as old as Thucydides and Machiavelli, they are recently represented in contemporary political figures such as U.S. President Richard Nixon; and U.S. National Security Adviser and U.S. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger²⁹. This theory is reflected in the fact that the original 727 Decree in 2006 mandated that the AAF would be employed only in case of

²⁹ Joseph Nye, *Understanding International Conflicts: an Introduction to Theory and History* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2007).

aggression by another state's armed forces. In simple terms only when the armed forces of another nation state attacked or invaded the sovereign territory of Argentina. What draws ones critical attention is that this scenario, as stated in 2006, is very unrealistic because the neighboring countries that border Argentina have maintained a peaceful coexistence for over 20 years. The second concept, whose characteristic is based on granting non-state entities a greater preponderance and ability to influence other types of actors, is called Liberalism. It is represented in the fact that the modification of the 727 decree opened the possibility of actions that the armed forces can take against any type of external aggression, whether committed by a state or by a non-state actor such as an international terrorist organization or a transnational criminal organization that threatens the vital interests of Argentina.

What must be highlighted, regarding the security situation in the current world, is the high probability that the Argentine Republic will be required to militarily engage a non-state organization in the near future. This is more highly probable than any other scenario. This particular scenario has unfortunately happened in Buenos Aires already. Twenty years ago, terrorist attacks targeted political-religious objectives in the Argentine Republic and left lasting effects on its inhabitants. The bloody attacks on the Israeli embassy and the Association of Mutualist Israelites left in its wake more than 150 killed and thousands injured.

The changes in the defense legal framework opened a new paradigm within the armed forces since they must now analyze possible actions in a more complex environment. Today's environment includes non-state organizations. Different approaches must be considered. One cannot rely on conventional approaches such as the

engagement during the Malvinas/Falklands War. The possibility that an armed force must face a non-state opponent opens a range of questions. Relevant questions include: Is there in existence operational doctrine? Are units, institutions and organizations correctly organized? Are resources available and necessary? The investigation conducted in this research has tried to answer these questions, taking into account that it is a field that can be overly extended, and that there are many more questions to ask. Therefore, the experiences and conclusions obtained here are only a small contribution to the study of this problem and recognize that it is necessary to continue analyzing the implications that the changes in the legal framework generated in the Argentine Army .

Contributions

Among the first impacts that this legal change produced are several possible threats to the vital interests of the nation. Fortunately, the National Defense Policy Directive, expressed in the 2008 National Decree 703 studied the global and regional security situation and identified and specified the most likely threats to Argentine vital interests. It is worth mentioning that the National Defense Policy Directive specifies that it does not envision a direct conventional threat. However, there are situations that could be considered as risks, which, due to their possible development, may affect vital interests. First, they are violations of the national sovereignty of geographical space motivated by the acquisition of natural resources. Second, the actions of transnational criminal gangs and their relation to the trafficking of drugs, weapons and human beings. Third, it recognizes the possible actions of terrorist organizations, which always act in an unexpected way. It is also mentioned that in all these situations the security forces have the main responsibility in confronting these threats. However, due to the severity of the

criminal act roles, missions and resources may be exceeded. Therefore, according to law the executive branch can order the intervention of the army to provide logistical support.

In light of these scenarios this research made a logical process to analyze what means the armed forces have. In the case of the Argentine army to act when a threat like international terrorism arise. Considering the parameters of analysis that can be taken into account, the research focused on army doctrine, military organizations and the necessary means to confront the threats.

By analyzing the Argentine army's mission, vision and organization, it was observed that it is a conventional military force, capable of facing conventional threats. Its current deployment responds to the defense of the territorial integrity of Argentina. Its mission is specialized by necessity due to the challenges of diverse geographic regions that create unique conditions impossible to replicate in other areas of the country. It has an organization based on the Division level as a fundamental echelon for maneuver. Although these divisions are composed of brigades as the smallest combined arms element, these units are also specialized in a particular geographical environment. Any operational mission outside their usual geographical environment would be limited. For example, a mechanized brigade could not operate at 100% of its capability in a mountain or jungle environment.

A second aspect of this analysis consisted of doctrine. It is known in the Argentine army that the only authorized doctrine conforms to regulation and focuses on conventional operations. The 2015 Argentine doctrine publication "Conduct of Land Forces" recognizes that there are unconventional operations such as operations with local resistance forces (OFRL), operations in an insurgent environment and Special Forces

operations. There are no specifics about the actions of the Argentine Army against a non-state actor. Neither in the doctrinal body of the army nor any other publication embraces operations against a non-state actor. For example, if there is a regulation that covers cyber defense operations, it is considered as a confrontation between regular, conventional forces.

Reflected partly in its doctrine and in its employment, the Army conducts its preparation and training with means that respond to conventional threats, not with the means to face irregular or non-state actors. These threats are characterized by wearing civilian clothes and weapons. Therefore, the army does not train in the identification of these types of complex targets and objectives that require complex procedures.

Upon analysis of the Argentine Army, some examples of the United States Army were taken into consideration. Specifically how an army should act and how an army should structure its means to face the threats. First, the National Security Strategy was taken into account and it was observed that a large number of threats to the vital interests of the United States are recognized. From there, general activities are arranged to neutralize the action of the possible threat and mitigate threats to vital interests. Then, it was observed that there is a doctrinal military compendium that regulates and guides the actions of the forces to combat the threats. One example is the set of regulations to combat terrorist actions defined in the National Security Strategy as a specific threat and that must be eliminated from the source. This doctrinal compendium ranges from joint publications to technical and procedural ones, including those that cover the levels of superior management of organizations and units, as well as planning. Appendix B shows

a comparison of the key factors that we considered regarding the U.S. National Security Strategy and the Argentine National Defense Policy.

As a third aspect, it is recognized that the U.S. Army has an organization based on the Brigade as a modular element that, due to its capabilities, can be combined with other types of brigades in a modular way, to a division sized element possessing unique combat capabilities according to the operational environment in which it is necessary to operate. It was also noted that in the aforementioned case of having to take action to face a terrorist threat outside the continental United States, the Armed Forces and the army have Special Forces units whose mission, among many is to combat terrorism. This added to the particular doctrine, gives coherence to the organization since all the necessary aspects are contemplated. Because of the breadth of the subject and complexity, it has not considered the technical means, such as weapons, nor specific training, since the United States Army has a very extensive and detailed training system. For reasons of the scope of this research, this topic was not addressed, but it remains as a question to be developed in another timely investigation.

Recommendations

In the light of the knowledge obtained in this research, regarding the comparison between the Argentine and the U.S. Army of current capabilities to confront modern-day threats including non-state actors, certain recommendations stated below can be made to the senior leadership of the Argentine Army. In addition, this research provides the additional conclusion that, now the legal framework has a correct articulation between what was established by the National Defense Law published in 1988 and its regulatory decree of 2006.

1. Request the Joint Staff of the Armed Forces carry out the plans, studies and other coordination activities between the armed forces in order to draw up joint doctrine which follows the guidelines as defined by the National Defense Policy Directive. Additionally, taking it as a reference, each force can continue with the preparation of the doctrine that ensures the correct use of each respective force.
2. To recommend to the Argentine Army that in parallel to efforts mentioned in the preceding paragraph, they should begin studies for the production of army-centric doctrine that ensures the particular required current needs of the army. For this, it would be very useful to study the doctrines of countries that already have the same threats. In the case of the United States, it has great similarities with the Argentine legal framework because it is a federal system with separation of responsibilities and jurisdictions between Defense and Internal Security.
3. To recommend to the Argentine Army the study of the concept of modularity, not only at the brigade level, but also at the lower level. For example, in the formation of battalion task forces, as well as the application of this concept to logistics services. This would be beneficial since the possibilities of interoperability between geographical regions could be multiplied. The study will have to contemplate the disadvantages of executing this effort taking into account the security situation of our country and the demands imposed by the particular geographical environment. Perhaps in all cases the concept cannot be applied but a detailed study can obtain insights into future possibilities.

4. Recommend to the Army a study on the organizations necessary to confront threats mentioned in the National Defense Policy Directive. They should consider such subjects as reorienting the missions of existing elements, such as the Special Forces units, or creating new organizations outright. An example of this could be a specialized detachment in combating terrorism or weapons of mass destruction (chemical, biological or radiological).
5. Study the need of necessary material and equipment, that differs from what the army currently has. For this, a comparative study is also necessary between the material available in the commercial market and the material that would be used taking into account the characteristics of the Argentine operational environment.

Epilogue

Surely, this research does not cover all the logical questions that can arise from analyzing the legal changes in a complex and delicate issue such as national defense. The author is also aware that, given the different points of view on the subject, there may be certain interpretations that do not coincide with the opinion of the experts. But, it is necessary to clarify that this research may constitute a small contribution, like a grain of sand in an ocean. However, it has the effort of many men and women committed to national defense, and with the disinterested collaboration of civilian and military personnel of armed forces of friendly countries, the research also contributes to achieve in the future a better army to serve to the Argentine nation.

GLOSSARY

Operations subsidiaries. They are those whose ultimate goal is the reestablishment of pre-existing living conditions, altered by an armed conflict, some natural or man-made catastrophe, or by the existence of a situation of vulnerability of the security forces in the face of large-scale criminal acts.³⁰

Paramilitary. A paramilitary is a semi-militarized force whose organizational structure, tactics, training, subculture, and function are similar to those of a professional military, but which is formally not part of a government's armed forces.³¹

³⁰ Argentine Army, Doctrine Department, *ROB 00-01 Conduction for the Ground Forces* (Buenos Aires: Argentine Army, 2015), chap IV, 1.

³¹ Wikipedia, "Paramilitary," accessed January 3, 2019, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paramilitary>.

ILLUSTRATIONS

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Figure 10. Attack on the Israeli Embassy in Argentina – 1992

Source: News Agency TELAM, “Attack on the Israeli Embassy in Argentina, 1992,” accessed February 3, 2019, https://www.google.com/search?q=imagenes+del+atentado+a+la+embajada+de+israel+en+argentina&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi4-t6sr-XiAhVNd6wKHUxJCc4Q_AUIECgB&biw=1366&bih=657#imgdii=DVjSifcHmASx0M:&imgsrc=7Yw7EdrO5ZDowM.



Figure 11. View from the Port of Buenos Aires to the Downtown and Financial District

Source: El Independiente, “VIDEO: Acto para recordar a las víctimas del atentado a la embajada de Israel,” accessed February 3, 2019, <http://www.elindependiente.com.ar/pagina.php?id=105214>.



Figure 12. Original Building of the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires

Source: Buenos Aires en Foco, “Original Building of the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires,” accessed February 18, 2019, <http://buenosairesenfoco.com.ar/2018/01/18/mansion-lastra-en-suipacha-esquina-arroyo-embajada-de-israel-demolida-en-atentado/>.



Figure 13. The Israeli Embassy after the Attack

Source: El Diario de Misiones, “El atentado contra la Embajada de Israel: se vivió como si hubiera sido en otro país,” accessed May 15, 2019, <http://www.primeraedicion.com.ar/nota/242289/el-atentado-contra-la-embajada-de-israel-se-vivio-como-si-hubiera-sido-en-otro-pais/>.

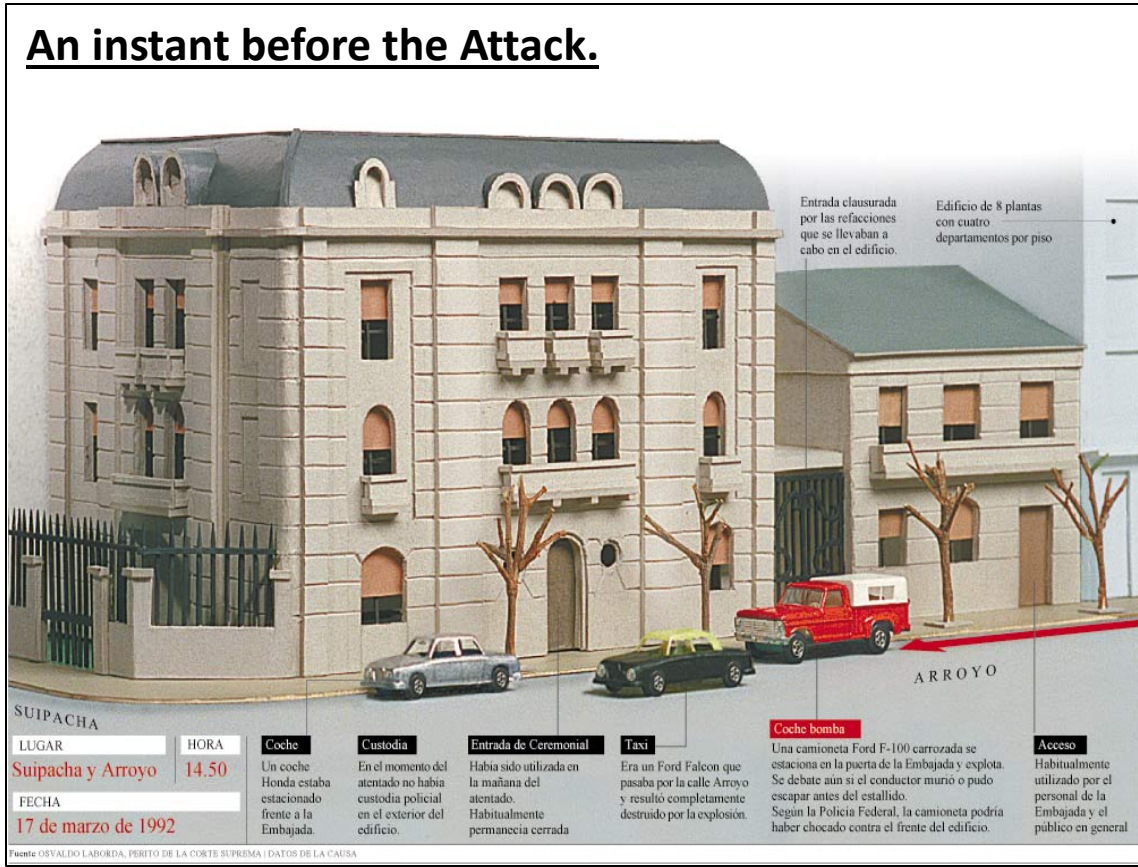


Figure 14. Sequence of the Attack

Source: Monografias, “Atentado embajada del estado de Israel, Buenos aires, Argentina,” accessed May 14, 2019., <https://www.monografias.com/trabajos89/atentado-embajada-del-estado-israel-buenos-aires-argentina/atentado-embajada-del-estado-israel-buenos-aires-argentina.shtml>.

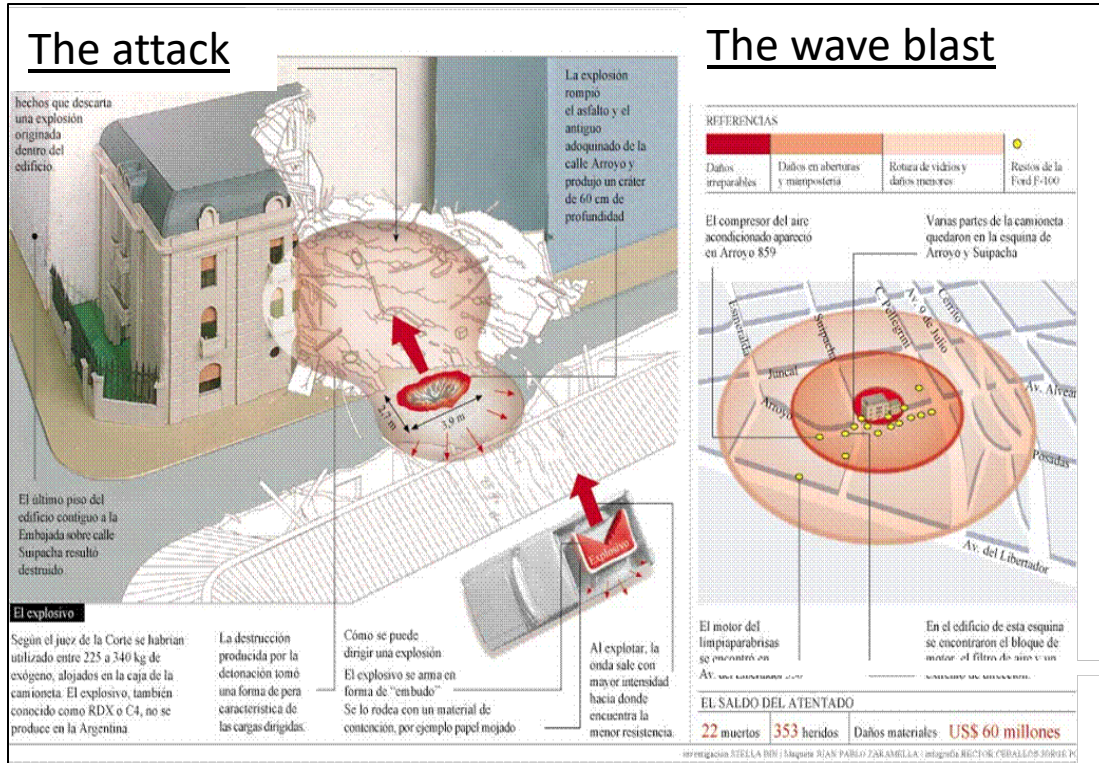
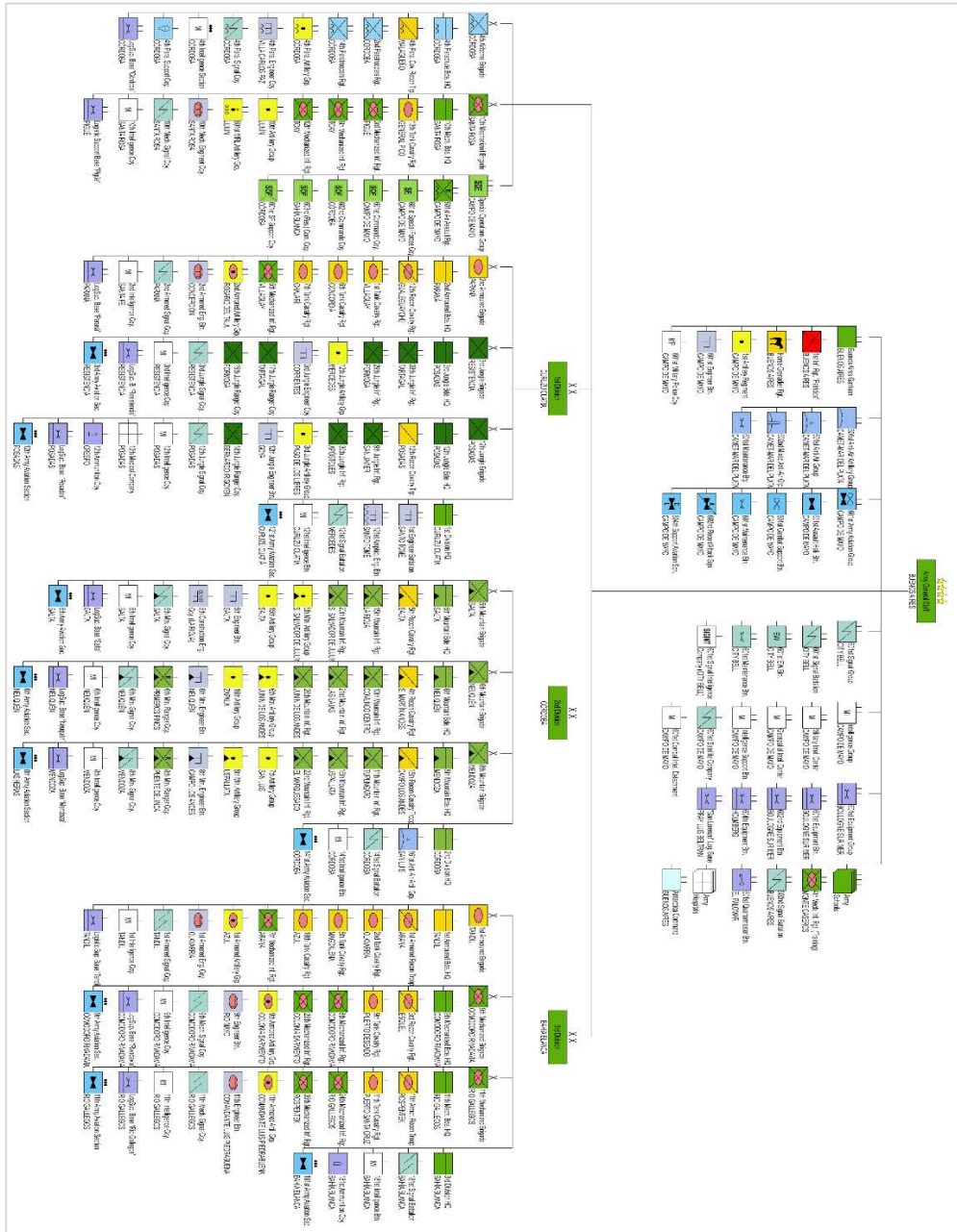


Figure 15. Second Part of the Sequence

Source: Monografías, “Atentado embajada del estado de Israel, Buenos aires, Argentina,” accessed May 14, 2019, <https://www.monografias.com/trabajos89/atentado-embajada-del-estado-israel-buenos-aires-argentina/atentado-embajada-del-estado-israel-buenos-aires-argentina.shtml>.

APPENDIX A

ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE ARGENTINE ARMY



Source: Noclador, “Structure of the Argentinian Army,” Wikipedia, accessed May 31, 2019, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Argentina_Army_2019.png.

APPENDIX B

COMPARISON US NSS AND ARGENTINE DEFENSE POLICY

Argentine Republic	United States of America
Argentina Defense Law	NSS
<p>Vital Interest</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Independence and sovereignty. 2. The capacity for self-determination. 3. Territorial integrity. 4. Natural resources. 5. The protection of the property, life and freedom of the inhabitants. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Protect the American People, the Homeland, and the American Way of Life. 2. Promote American Prosperity 3. Preserve Peace through Strength 4. Advance American Influence
<p>Threats /Risks</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Competence for strategic resources. 2. External attacks on strategic objectives. 3. Use of Cyberspace for military purposes. 4. Impact of transnational crime. 5. Challenges: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Use of Space for military purposes b. Weakening of multilateralism. c. Malvinas situation 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. China 2. Russia 3. North Korea (WMD) 4. Iran ' (WMD) 5. Terrorist Organizations 6. Transnational Crime
<p>Mission of the Army</p>	<p>The Argentine Army will serve the country to contribute to the national defense in order to protect its vital interests.</p>
	<p>To deploy, fight and win our nation's wars by providing ready, prompt and sustained land dominance by Army forces across the full spectrum of conflict as part of the joint force.</p>

Operations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Surveillance and control of sovereign spaces 2. Protection of Strategic Objectives. 3. Support for Foreign Policy. 4. Support for Internal Security. 5. Support to the community 6. Support for the generation of scientific knowledge. 	<p><u>- For the First Vital Interest -</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Secure U.S. Borders and Territory <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defend Against Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) • Combat Bio-threats and Pandemics • Strengthen Border Control and Immigration Policy. 2. Pursue Threats to their Source <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defeat Jihadist Terrorists • Dismantle Transnational Criminal Organizations 3. Keep America Safe in the Cyber Era 4. Promote American Resilience
Doctrine	<p>The Capstone Doctrine Contemplate the main Operations as a concept.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There is no Doctrine for specific operations. 	<p>From Joint Publications until Technical, all the doctrine contemplate the Development of the Operations, for example Terrorism.</p>
Organization	Conventional	Conventional and Unconventional
Resources	Limited	All the necessary to fulfill the requirements of the Operations.

Source: Created by author.

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