

Stability Operations and the Colombian Army: A case for implementation of new doctrine

**A Monograph
by
LTC Juan C. Correa
Colombian Army**



**School of Advanced Military Studies
United States Army Command and General Staff College
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas**

AY 2010

Approved for Public Release; Distribution is Unlimited

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE				Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing this collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Department of Defense, Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports (0704-0188), 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to any penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number. PLEASE DO NOT RETURN YOUR FORM TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.					
1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 28-APR-2010		2. REPORT TYPE SAMS Monograph		3. DATES COVERED (From - To) July 2009 – May 2010	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Stability Operations and the Colombian Army: A Case for Implementation of new Doctrine				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S) Lieutenant Colonel Juan C Correa (Colombian Army)				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) School of Advanced Military Studies (SAMS) 250 Gibbon Avenue Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2134				8. PERFORMING ORG REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Foreign Military Studies Office & Command and General Staff College Director, FMSO 731 McClellan Ave. Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-1350				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S) SAMS	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for Public Release; Distribution is Unlimited					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES					
14. ABSTRACT Colombia has been involved in an internal conflict since 1949 following the assassination of the popular liberal political leader, Jorge Eliecer Gaitan. Afterward, the two radical political parties, liberals and conservatives, began a bloody struggle that grew systematically creating today's narco-terrorist organization FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) and some other smaller ones. When Alvaro Uribe Velez assumed the presidency of Colombia in 2002, he developed the Democratic Defense and Security Policy (DDSP), which for the first time involved all of elements of national power to fight narco-terrorism. Colombian Military Forces in the last decade have achieved a high degree of success in military combat operations. The kidnappings and terrorist attacks have decreased while cocaine seizure and international investments have increased. But this success is not enough if the state as a whole does not help to develop all regions, the conflict will persist. Therefore, Military Stability Operations become very important for Colombia because the military is the element of national power that ensures state presence in every region of Colombia to include those with some actual threat by terrorist organizations to bring to Colombia long-standing peace. By implementing in other countries the proposed model for stability operations in Colombia, the U.S. and allies could reduce their military presence abroad and focus on economic support and development. Home country military and governmental agencies would be the "face" of the operations in their own countries and therefore the transition would be easier than the actual transition in Iraq.					
15. SUBJECT TERMS FARC, Columbia, Stability Operations, Full Spectrum Operations, civil-military relations, provincial reconstruction teams, insurgency, counterinsurgency,					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF: (U)			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT (U)	18. NUMBER OF PAGES 43	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON Stefan J. Banach COL, U.S. Army
a. REPORT (U)	b. ABSTRACT (U)	c. THIS PAGE (U)			19b. PHONE NUMBER (include area code) 913-758-3302

SCHOOL OF ADVANCED MILITARY STUDIES

MONOGRAPH APPROVAL

LTC Juan Carlos Correa

Title of Monograph: Do Stability Operations and the Colombian Army: A case for implementation of new doctrine

Approved by:

_____	Monograph Director
Andrew M. Johnson, LTC, SF	

_____	Monograph Reader
James Tennant, COL, SF	

_____	Monograph Reader
Daniel G. Cox, Ph.D.	

_____	Director, School of Advanced Military Studies
Stefan Banach, COL, IN	

_____	Director, Graduate Degree Programs
Robert F. Baumann, Ph.D.	

Disclaimer: Opinions, conclusions, and recommendations expressed or implied within are solely those of the author, and do not represent the views of the US Army School of Advanced Military Studies, the US Army Command and General Staff College, the United States Army, the Department of Defense, or any other US government agency. Cleared for public release: distribution unlimited.

Abstract

STABILITY OPERATIONS AND THE COLOMBIAN ARMY: A CASE FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF NEW DOCTRINE by LTC Juan C Correa, Colombian Army, 43 pages.

Colombia has been involved in an internal conflict since 1949 following the assassination of the popular liberal political leader, Jorge Eliecer Gaitan. Afterward, the two radical political parties, liberals and conservatives, began a bloody struggle that grew systematically creating today's narco-terrorist organization FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) and other smaller as ELN (National Liberation Army). When Alvaro Uribe Velez assumed the presidency of Colombia in 2002, he developed the Democratic Defense and Security Policy (DDSP), which for the first time involved all of elements of national power to fight narco-terrorism. In 2006, Alvaro Uribe elected for his second term, continued the DDSP and his Minister of Defense Juan Manuel Santos developed the Policy for the Consolidation of Democratic Security (PCDS).

Colombian Military Forces in the last decade have achieved a high degree of success in military combat operations. The kidnappings and terrorist attacks have decreased while cocaine seizure and international investments have increased. But this success is not enough if the state as a whole does not help to develop all regions, the conflict will persist. Therefore, Military Stability Operations become very important for Colombia because the military is the element of national power that ensures state presence in every region of Colombia to include those with some actual threat by terrorist organizations. By executing stability operations, the military would support state agencies to ensure the population well being and therefore be able to bring to Colombia long-standing peace.

Establishing Colombian stability operations doctrine based on successful U.S. doctrine, and modified by the Colombian environment and experience, could create synergy in the Colombian government's efforts towards meeting the needs of security and state governance. The importance of stability operations is more noticeable in current conflicts not only the one in Colombia but also the ones faced by the U.S. and coalition Forces. Today's conflicts are among the population and not only against a well-structured and defined enemy. The essence of stability operations is because they bring safety and security to a beleaguered populace. Executing stability operations will support to restore basic public order and a semblance of normalcy to life and time to rebuild the institutions of government and market economy that provide the foundations for enduring peace and stability.

By implementing in other countries the proposed model for stability operations in Colombia, the U.S. and allies could reduce their military presence abroad and focus on economic support and development. Military support would focus on equipment, intelligence and advisers. Home country military and governmental agencies would be the "face" of the operations in their own countries and therefore the transition would be easier than the actual transition in Iraq.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iii
ILLUSTRATIONS.....	iv
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Background.....	1
Methodology.....	7
LEGAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	8
Colombian Political Constitution.....	8
Democratic Defense and Security Policy.....	10
Policy for the Consolidation of Democratic Security.....	12
Legal Considerations Analysis.....	16
DOCTRINAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	18
Colombian Doctrine.....	18
Military Forces Campaign Manual.....	18
Manual 3-10 Counter Guerrilla Operations.....	19
United States Doctrine.....	21
Field Manual 3-0 Operations (FM 3-0).....	21
Field Manual 3-07 Stability Operations (FM 3-07).....	22
Doctrine Analysis.....	23
HISTORICAL U. S. AND COLOMBIAN STABILITY OPERATIONS EXPERIENCES.....	27
U. S. Experiences.....	27
Colombian experiences.....	33
Analysis of Historical U. S. and Colombian Stability Operations Experiences.....	35
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	37
Conclusions.....	37
Recommendations.....	39
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	42

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: Juan Manuel Santos, "Consolidation Strategy"	2
Figure 2: Logros De La Politica De Consolidacion De La Seguridad Democratica	5
Figure 3: Elements of Full Spectrum Operations	23
Figure 4: Full Spectrum Operations	25
Figure 5: Civil/Military Roles in Stability Operations	31
Figure 6: United States Operations in Iraq November 2004	32

INTRODUCTION

Background

Colombia has been involved in an internal conflict since 1949 following the assassination of the popular liberal political leader, Jorge Eliecer Gaitan. Afterward, the two radical political parties, liberals and conservatives, began a bloody struggle that grew systematically.¹ Because of this struggle, insurgent movements such as the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) began, which Russia and Cuba supported during the Cold War in a fight for the people of Colombia. When the FARC began their insurgent movement, their base for popular support was to establish a class struggle for fair socioeconomic development in Colombia. External support ended with the end of the Cold War and the FARC had to look for another source of financing in order to sustain its capability and structure. In the late 1980s, the guerrilla movement began to employ drug trafficking and kidnapping to finance their activities: They gradually lost their core ideology and became a narco terrorist organization. In the late 1990s, the FARC achieved numerous successes in attacking and defeating isolated battalion-sized units of the Colombian Army. During this period, the FARC transitioned from a war of movement to a war of position and the Government Armed Forces were not prepared for this transition. When Alvaro Uribe Velez assumed the presidency of Colombia in 2002, he developed the Democratic Defense and Security Policy Democratic Defense and Security Policy (DDSP), which for the first time involved all of elements of national power to fight narco-terrorism. One of the achievements of the DDSP was an increase in military capabilities, especially in end strength, equipment and intelligence. With this increase in military capabilities, the state was able to provide better

¹ Juan Correa, "Colombian Strategies and Operational Concepts Used in Today's Counterterrorism Warfare" (Master's thesis, Command and General Staff College, 2009), 5.

security in the entire country, further enabling local authorities to reestablish control and influence.

Besides being able to provide security for the population and infrastructure, the Colombian Armed Forces began a series of military campaigns that resulted in the death of some key FARC leaders and the reduction of their guerrilla communications network. These campaigns forced the FARC to move towards the border areas, especially in the south and east of Colombia. In order to show that they retained military capability, the FARC conducted some small level attacks on isolated military and police units and terrorist attacks on urban areas. By the end of President Uribe's first term in 2006, the military and police forces had reduced the influence and capabilities of the terrorists. In 2006, Alvaro Uribe was elected for his second term, and one of his most important issues was to continue the DDSP. His Minister of Defense Juan Manuel Santos was in charge of developing a policy to consolidate the achievement from the prior policy.



Figure 1: Juan Manuel Santos, "Consolidation Strategy"²

²Juan Manuel Santos, "Policy for the consolidation of democratic security" (Government Policy, Bogotá, Colombia, 2007), 31.

In 2007, the Colombian Ministry of Defense established the Policy for the Consolidation of Democratic Security (PCDS). This “Consolidation Strategy” consisted of three phases to continue the fight against all terrorist organizations (see fig 1). The first is the *territorial control* phase. This phase was implemented in zones where illegal armed groups, drug trafficking structures, and criminal bands were still active, and in zones where illegal self-defense groups had demobilized³. This phase is offensively and defensively oriented in order to neutralize all criminal organizations, break up drug trafficking networks and protect the state infrastructure in the zones.

The second phase, which is the focus of this monograph, is the *stabilization* phase. This phase is to be implemented in those zones where the Colombian military had established the requisite conditions from phase one. The objective is to establish security conditions in order to begin the process of institutional recovery. This phase is oriented on satisfying the local population’s most basic, immediate needs through state democratic institutions, agencies, while military, and police forces continued to maintain order, security, and peaceful co-existence in the community.

The third and final phase is the *consolidation* phase and is oriented on those regions where the state was performing its security duties. Efforts in the third phase would be oriented on the political, economic, and social elements of national power while the military and police forces would continue to maintain the underlying security conditions⁴.

Stability operations depicted in the “Consolidation Strategy” are not included in military doctrine. To integrate stability operations into current Colombian Military doctrine is important

³ Ibid, 31.

⁴ Ibid, 32.

to define what these operations are. The U.S. Army Field Manual 3-07 (FM 3-07) *Stability*

Operations defines these operations as:

An overarching term encompassing various military missions, tasks, and activities conducted outside the United States in coordination with other instruments of national power to maintain or reestablish a safe and secure environment, provide essential governmental services, emergency infrastructure reconstruction, and humanitarian relief.⁵

This definition is important and should be the basis for the Colombian military definition because it represents the latest doctrine in stability operations of one of the most experienced military forces in these operations, the U. S. Military. The U.S. has conducted stability operations in different countries of the world, and today it is currently executing them in Iraq and Afghanistan with a high degree of success. Based on Colombian legal considerations for the employment of military forces, stability operations might be defined as those military missions, tasks, and activities conducted by the Colombian Military Forces in coordination with other instruments of national power to maintain or reestablish a safe and secure environment, and provide essential governmental services, emergency infrastructure reconstruction, and humanitarian relief. This definition involves the objectives established by the third phase of the PCDS.

The “Consolidation Strategy” states that security force operations must continue to contribute to a climate of confidence and stability that will attract private investment and produce economic growth and social development, reducing unemployment and poverty. The PCDS has gained important achievements by the employment of the military forces in offensive operations against all internal threats. Military operations have reduced terrorist actions against the population and limited their economic support. (see fig 2).

⁵ Department of the Army, Field Manual (FM) 3-07, *Stability Operations* (Washington, DC: Government Printing office, 2008), G09.

With the establishment of security, conditions are set for state social action to benefit the entire populace. Further, military doctrine must define the military's role in the process. By integrating stability operations in military doctrine and then execute those operations greater government synergy might be achieved. As stated in US Army doctrine, stability operations are part of Full Spectrum Operations⁶, and may complement and reinforce offensive, defensive, and support operations, or they may be the decisive operation. They may take place before, during, or after offensive, defensive, and support operations.

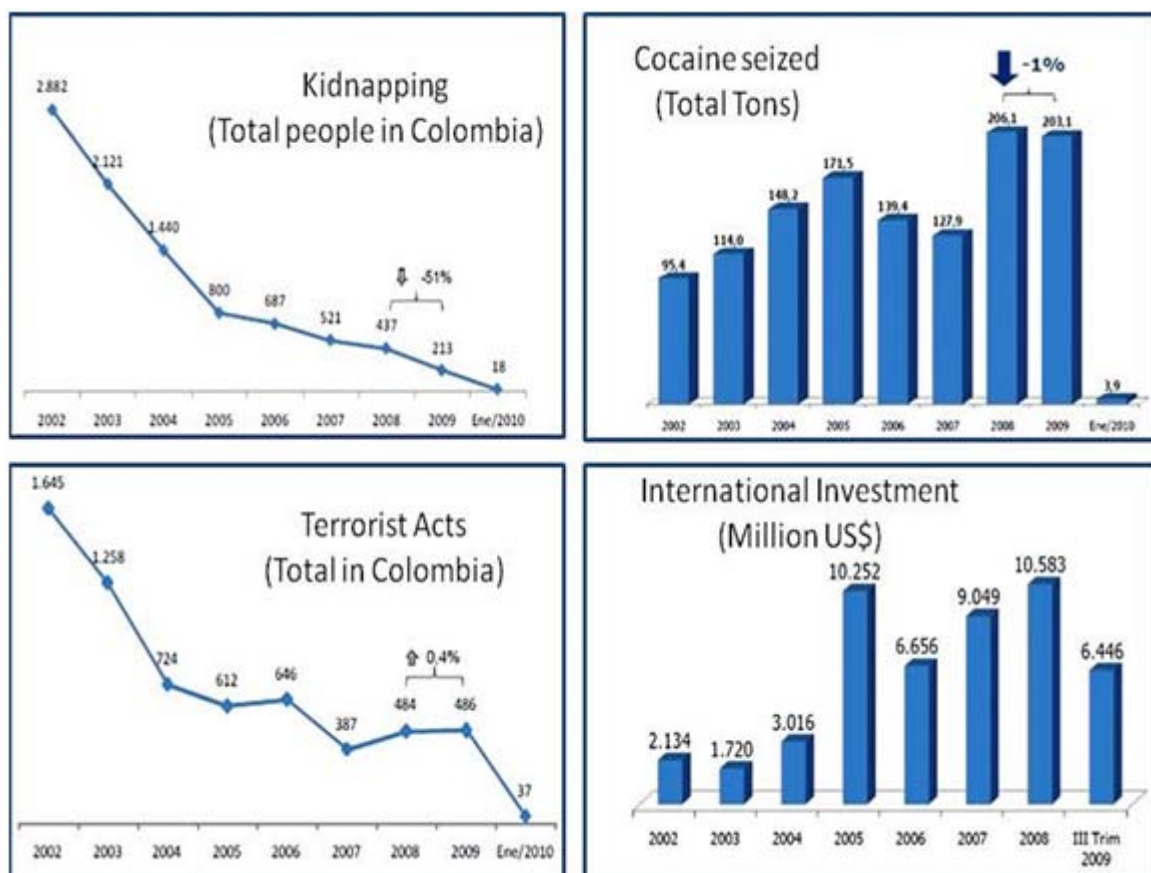


Figure 2: Logros De La Política De Consolidación De La Seguridad Democrática⁷

⁶ Department of the Army, Field Manual (FM) 3-0, *Operations* (Washington, DC: Government Printing office, 2008), 3-1.

⁷ Colombian Ministry of Defense, *Logros De La Política De Consolidación De La Seguridad Democrática*, (Bogotá, Colombia, 2010), 12-50

Establishing Colombian stability operations doctrine based on successful U.S. doctrine, and modified by the Colombian environment and experience, could create synergy in the Colombian government's efforts towards meeting the needs of security and state governance. Colombian Military should integrate stability operations across the government through joint and interagency efforts. The importance of stability operations is more noticeable in current conflicts not only in Colombia but also those faced by U.S. and Coalition Forces. Today's conflicts are among the population and not only against a well-structured and defined enemy. The essence of stability operations is the safety and security it provides to a beleaguered populace. Executing stability operations will support the restoration of basic public order and a semblance of normalcy and time to rebuild the institutions of government and market economy that provide the foundations for enduring peace and stability.⁸

As seen in figure 2, Colombian Military Forces in the last decade have achieved a high degree of success in military combat operations. Kidnappings and terrorist attacks have decreased while cocaine seizures and international investments have increased. However, this success is not enough if the state as a whole does not assist in developing all regions. Therefore, military stability operations become very important for Colombia because the military is the element of national power that ensures state presence in every region of Colombia, to include those regions affected by terrorist organizations. By executing stability operations, the military would assist state agencies in ensuring the population's well-being and be able to bring to Colombia long-standing peace.

⁸ Field Manual 3-07, vi.

Methodology

In order to establish whether or not the Colombian Armed Forces should conduct stability operations in its internal conflict against terrorist groups, this monograph discusses how stability operations are applicable to Colombian counter-terrorism efforts through examinations of Colombian legal considerations, Colombian and American doctrine and Colombian and American experiences in stability operations.

Chapter one summarizes the background of the conflict in Colombia and establishes the thesis and methodology for this monograph. Chapter two discusses the current Colombian legal considerations for the viability of implementing stability operations. Chapter three establishes the doctrinal background in both the U. S. and Colombian armies that allows for the implementation of these operations in future Colombian Army doctrine. Chapter four analyzes American and Colombian experiences of in stability operations to determine how armed forces should integrate with other organizations to conduct stability operations. It will include advantages and disadvantages of implementing U.S. stability operations doctrine in Colombia. Chapter five presents the conclusions drawn from the previous chapters which supports recommendations for stability operations' development and application in Colombia in chapter six.

Since this monograph is unclassified, it will have some limitations in the access to restricted strategic documents both from the Colombian and U. S. militaries. The information based on open source documents, Field Manuals, books and web sites, among others will provide the enough information to support the importance of stability operations in Colombia.

LEGAL CONSIDERATIONS

Colombian Political Constitution

The *constitución política de Colombia* (Colombian Political Constitution) is the highest legal document in Colombia. It establishes the rights and mandates for every citizen. For the purpose of this monograph, the focus will be on Articles 216, 217 and 250 that establish the roles of the Armed Forces. Article 216 states “The Public Force will be comprised exclusively by the Armed Forces and National Police. All Colombians are mandated to take up arms when public needs require it to defend national independence and public institutions.”⁹ This article defines the Public Force as consisting of the Armed Forces and National Police. According to Article 216, the primary role of the Armed Forces is to defend national independence from foreign aggression seeking to subjugate or control its territory. However, following this line, the Article states that the Armed Forces are also to defend public institutions. This part of the Article is one of particular interest for this monograph. Public institutions are all of the legal, constitutional institutions that provide governance capability to a country. A critical task is to defend these institutions not only from foreign threats to sovereignty but also from local threats to internal stability, which can weaken sovereignty.

Article 217 provides the Public Force’s mission. It states in part that, the nation will maintain for its defense permanent military forces made up of the army, navy, and air force. The armed forces will have as their primary purpose the defense of the sovereignty, independence, and integrity of the national territory and of the constitutional order.¹⁰

⁹ Republic of Colombia, *Political Constitution of Colombia* (Asamblea Nacional Constituyente, Bogotá D.C. Colombia, 1991), 53.

¹⁰ Ibid, 53.

Besides defending the sovereignty of the nation, the Public Force defends the nation's territorial integrity and constitutional order. In order to achieve this, the Armed Forces have to provide security throughout the country to allow the governmental institutions to provide their services to the population. If these interagency organizations cannot have the necessary security to execute their mandates because of instability, the Armed Forces must ensure the integrity and constitutional order in the country.¹¹

Another constitutional Article of interest is Article 250. This Article states in its second paragraph:

To combat terrorism and crimes against public security, and in the locations of the country where there is no judicial authority which may come immediately or where the access of ordinary judicial police officers is not possible for exceptional circumstances of public order, the Attorney General's Office will form special units of the Judicial Police with members of the Armed Forces under his direction and coordination. For the development of work specific to this function, members of the unit belonging to the Armed Forces shall be governed, without exception, by the same principles of responsibility as other members of the special unit.¹²

The importance of Article 250 is that for judicial purposes, the constitution provides a framework to develop interagency partnerships to ensure the reach of the judicial branch throughout the country. It provides a framework that allows the creation of special units to provide justice throughout the country and is a legal basis to constitute other interagency teams not limited to judicial missions but to provide the services required to ensure the integrity and constitutional order in the country.

¹¹ Ibid, 67.

¹² Ibid, 60.

Democratic Defense and Security Policy

The analysis of this policy is partially borrowed from the author's thesis "Colombian Strategies and Operational Concepts Used in Today's Counterterrorism Warfare."¹³ The military situation in Colombia has improved in the last decade because of the government's commitment to use all of its government institutions to fight terrorist threats. President Uribe established his Democratic Defense and Security Policy (DDSP) soon after he reached the presidency in 2002. Within the framework of this policy, he established five strategic objectives in order to improve the situation in Colombia, each of which relates to stability operations. The first strategic objective of the DDSP was state territorial control. To achieve this objective, President Uribe ordered an increase in the number of military and police personnel to have the capability to be in almost all parts of Colombia executing offensive, active military control, and consolidation operations. Once this condition was achieved, the state began new programs to provide health, shelter and economic development and provide basic service to all regions of the country.¹⁴

The second strategic objective was population protection. Without security, there cannot be economic development. In order to achieve this objective, the government supported the growth of the military, particularly its response capability. This meant not only increasing the number of soldiers but also procuring new equipment to gain the required flexibility to respond to emerging threats in a timely manner. In addition, the military and police forces focused on deploying a large number of units to safeguard lines of communication and key infrastructure.

¹³ Correa, "Colombian Strategies and Operational Concepts Used in Today's Counterterrorism Warfare," 24.

¹⁴ Alvaro Uribe Velez, "Democratic Defense and Security Policy" (Ministry of Defense, Bogota Colombia, June 16, 2003), 32.

Once the population felt safe to travel anywhere in Colombia, the economy and living standards began to improve.¹⁵

The third strategic objective was the elimination of the illicit drug trade in Colombia. To achieve this policy, the government established reward policies for those who gave information or to those who deserted the illegal organizations. This reward policy led to the capture of drug lords such as “Don Diego,” the most important drug lord in Colombia. In addition, there has been increased international cooperation to find and target financing and trafficking networks. To ensure a higher interdiction capability along Colombian coasts and borders, the air and sea capacities of the Colombian Air Force and Navy Aviation had equipment and technology improvement. The fourth strategic objective was to maintain a dissuasive capacity. Once security was achieved in Colombia’s internal regions, it became important to protect land, sea, and air sovereignty. This strategic objective focused on, but was not limited to, external threats. By maintaining a dissuasive capacity, the government may be able to focus on meeting the population needs rather than focusing on external threats. To accomplish these priorities, the President established the fifth objective: efficiency and transparency. This objective supports confidence in the government and its military and police forces. Transparency in all activities would legitimize the use of the military force and the correct employment of national and international resources. It had to ensure efficiency in order to be able to achieve all the objectives with the resources available and according to the population’s needs and the government’s goals.¹⁶

The DDSP is important because it connects all of the state agencies and institutions towards a common goal, which is to defeat terrorism. This common goal established within the

¹⁵ Uribe, “Democratic Defense and Security Policy,” 32.

¹⁶ Ibid, 33.

presidential policy constitutes a first step for the creation of interagency teams to reach the farthest regions of Colombia and meet their needs.

Policy for the Consolidation of Democratic Security

As was the case with the previous analysis of the Democratic Security Policy, this analysis also borrows from the author's thesis "Colombian Strategies and Operational Concepts Used in Today's Counterterrorism Warfare."¹⁷ Upon completion of President Uribe's first term in 2006, the Minister of Defense, Juan Manuel Santos, established another policy to continue the efforts of the initial *DDSP*. The Policy for the Consolidation of Democratic Security (PCDS), was part of the National Development Plan 2006-2010, "Community State: Development for Everyone." The policy articulated the strategic objectives that focus on each one of the institutions in the defense sector,¹⁸ and similar to the *DDSP*, established five strategic objectives.

The first strategic objective of the *DDSP* was to consolidate territorial control and strengthen the rule of law across the entire nation. When the military and police forces established territorial control and security, the judicial branch and all other government institutions were able to reach those territories. The government, through its institutions, ensured the accomplishment of all goals and the free exercise of citizens' rights. In order to achieve this objective, the Ministry of Defense (MOD) developed a territorial control strategy that focused on ensuring the presence of security elements across the country. In addition, MOD developed an integrated action doctrine to coordinate and synchronize all of the actions of government and military institutions in Colombia.¹⁹

¹⁷ Correa, "Colombian Strategies and Operational Concepts Used in Today's Counterterrorism Warfare," 28.

¹⁸ Santos, "Policy for the Consolidation of Democratic Security," 5.

¹⁹ Ibid, 29.

The second objective was to protect the public and maintain the strategic initiative against all threats to national security. This was an offensive objective focused on locating and neutralizing all illegal elements in the society. It focused on population security and building confidence in national institutions. Through military offensive operations, the government attempted to reduce the strength of illegal organizations including terrorist organizations, drug cartels and organized crime organizations.²⁰

The third objective was to increase the cost of trafficking drugs in Colombia. Military and police forces would use specialized units to attack and destroy the entire drug trafficking network's supply chain. Eradication of illicit crops with the support of the farmers was the initial effort. Interdiction supported this eradication strategy, not only of the drug itself, but also of materials needed to process it. Reinforcing territorial control to deter the growth of new illicit crops and the neutralization of illegal armed groups and drug trafficking structures reduced the cartel and independent trafficker's capability, allowing the government to reduce drug production and trafficking.²¹

The fourth objective was to keep public security forces modern and effective, with a high level of legitimacy based on public confidence and support. Special investments increased military and police capabilities. The goal was to increase mobility, intelligence capabilities, and establish a standing force with increased combat capabilities to search and destroy terrorist organization's leadership and lines of communications.²²

The last objective of the PCDS was to maintain the downward trend in all crime rates in the country's urban centers. Since Colombia has a large urban society, significant efforts have

²⁰ Ibid, 34.

²¹ Ministry of Defense, *Logros De La Política De Consolidación De La Seguridad Democrática* (Ministry of National Defense, Bogota Colombia, January 2010), 36.

²² Santos, "Policy for the Consolidation of Democratic Security," 38.

been made to ensure the security of the population. The main effort to achieve this security was through the National Police. Because of the DDSP, by 2004, the National Police had already established police stations in all of the 1,099 municipalities of Colombia.²³

As depicted in the introductory chapter, The PCDS has three phases differentiated according to the threat as depicted in the. The first one was the *territorial control* phase. This phase implemented and oriented towards the zones where illegal armed groups, drug trafficking structures or criminal bands were still active required a strong military presence. It is an offensive-oriented phase developed to neutralize criminal organizations and break up drug trafficking networks in order to achieve total control of an area denying the threat any ability to conduct attacks against the population, infrastructure and institutions. Once achieved this level of control of the Public Force, the Armed Forces could transition to the second phase, the *stabilization* phase. The process of institutional recovery was intended to begin with state democratic institutions and agencies satisfying the local population's needs under the military protection. Once achieved the required level of security and the constitutional institutions and agencies were in place, the Armed Forces could transition to the last phase of this strategy, the *consolidation* phase. During this phase, the Public Force was to continue to provide security in the regions while the constitutional institutions provided assistance and development with the political, economic, and social elements of national power.

The Colombian Army developed organizational strategy according to these phases dividing the territory into different types of regions following a “traffic light” pattern. The organization of the units would vary in each region especially in the type of soldiers employed to conduct different missions. In the Colombian Army, there are three different types of soldiers.

²³ Ibid, 15.

“Regular Soldiers” are those that upon turning eighteen years old are called to service in the Army for a compulsory period of twelve months for high school graduates or eighteen months for non- high school graduates. “Hometown Soldiers,” are drafted from rural towns with the mission to serve in a platoon located in their hometown to protect it and support the police force. They are very useful because of their knowledge of the region and its habitants. The last types of soldiers are the Professional Soldiers. After completing their mandatory service as “Regular Soldiers” or as “Hometown Soldiers,” the soldiers decide if they want to continue their service for a prolonged time. These soldiers may remain in service up to twenty years and are thus considered “Professional”. In the traffic pattern strategy, the first type of region considered as “red,” corresponds to the territorial control phase of the policy. In these “red” areas, the Army is operating with approximately 75% of its force consisting on professional soldiers organized in Counter-Guerilla Battalions and Mobile Brigades and 25% consisting on regular soldiers and Hometown Soldiers organized in territorial units. Mobile and Counter –Guerrilla units are light infantry units with small staffs that were deployable anywhere in the territory without special infrastructure needed. These special units executed offensive operations against all threats in the region while the remaining 25% of forces consisting of “regular soldiers” conducted defensive operations, particularly guarding urban centers and infrastructure.

The second type of region considered as “yellow” is related to the *stabilization* phase. In this type of region, the Army conducts operations on a 50% basis. This mean that half of the soldiers deployed in this region are “professional soldiers” and the other half are a mix of “regular soldiers” and “Hometown Soldiers”. Professional soldiers conduct offensive operations against the remainder of terrorist and drug-trafficking networks while the regular soldiers and Hometown Soldiers conduct defensive operations by providing security in controlled areas. The final type of regions is “green” and may be related to the *consolidation* phase of the strategy. In these types of regions, 75% of the Army’s forces, consisting of regular soldiers, conduct operations to provide

urban and infrastructure protection while the remaining 25% of the effort, consisting of the professional force continue executing offensive operations in critical areas and any remaining illegal structures.

All phases established in this policy were important for establishing security and stability throughout the country; however, the second, or stabilization, phase provides the impetus for establishing an effective stability operations doctrine in the Colombian Army. It is this phase, which focuses military efforts on supporting regional development through offensive and defensive actions conducted in concert with inter-governmental stability operations. This phase highlights the need for developing stability operations in Colombian Army doctrine in order to be able to synchronize the efforts of different agencies and institutions.

Legal Considerations Analysis

The Armed Forces have a well-defined mission in Article 217 of the Colombian Political Constitution. Their primary mission is the defense of sovereignty, independence, national territorial integrity and constitutional order. In order to accomplish the stated mission the Army, as part of the Public Force, conducts offensive and defensive operations against current internal threats and is ready to execute them against any foreign threat when called upon. However, interagency activities supported by Army Stability Operations would be useful to preserve territorial integrity and constitutional order. The current constitution allows and encourages the employment of this type of military operations as depicted in Article 250 of the National Political Constitution. In this article, the constitution states that the Attorney General's Office may form special units to combat different threats under his direction and coordination where there is no judicial authority. This very important and clear statement allows conducting stability operations in coordination with interagency organizations.

The second phase of PCDS states that military forces will conduct stability operations by providing security in the areas already under control of the military forces. During this phase, the

military forces would support interagency organizations conducting activities in the area oriented on satisfying the needs of the local population. However, in Colombia there is currently no military doctrine for stability operations, creating a gap in conducting joint and interagency operations with other government agencies. The lack of knowledge on stability operations among military personnel can create friction in its execution. This is one of the most important reasons to establish such doctrine.

DOCTRINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This Chapter analyzes U.S. and Colombian military doctrine in order to establish the viability of incorporating the U. S. Army's Stability Operations doctrine into the Colombian Army.

Colombian Doctrine

Military Forces Campaign Manual

“This manual guides the functioning of the military operational level, on strategic, tactical, logistical, administrative, technical and training to achieve the objectives of a campaign.”²⁴ The first chapter of the campaign manual describes the strategic, operational and tactical environment to conduct campaigns and the legal constitutional basis described in chapter two of this monograph. The manual details the Colombian Army organization in chapter two. In chapter three, it depicts the role of the army in joint and combined operations but does not include any mention supported of or supporting interagency organizations. However, Chapter six states that, “in joint and combined operations, the Army will operate with other government institutions. This happens not only when the application of military force is the preferred method from a strategic viewpoint as in war, but also when those government institutions are the dominant method, being the military only force providers.”²⁵ This statement depicts the viability of the military forces to conduct interagency activities as the main effort or as a supporting effort to other government institutions by applying smart power. In the following chapters, the manual describes the doctrinal operations conducted by the army. It includes offensive, defensive and

²⁴ Military Forces General Command, *Campaign Manual* (Army National Press, Bogotá D.C. July 15 2003), 1.

²⁵ Ibid, 59.

retrograde operations. However, the doctrine fails to address stability or civil support operations. Chapter eight describes offensive operations, conducted to defeat enemy forces, impose our will on the enemy, capture critical or decisive terrain, deprive the enemy of certain resources, get information, deceive and divert the enemy, immobilize the enemy, defeat an enemy attack and consolidate the favorable pattern of the campaign.²⁶ Chapter nine explains defensive operations which are conducted only until the necessary combat power is achieved to begin offensive operations.²⁷ Finally, chapter ten addresses retrograde movements operations, which are a deliberate toward the rear of the area of operations by a force that wants to get away from the enemy. Retrograde movement operations is a compulsory or voluntary operation to save time, preserve forces, avoid combat under unfavorable conditions or draw the enemy into unfavorable positions. It allows the own troops to harass, resist, delay and disrupt the enemy and to reposition forces, shorten lines of communication or to allow the withdrawal of another force for use elsewhere.²⁸

The Campaign Manual does not describe stability operations, but it clearly states that the military could conduct operations in coordination with or in support of intergovernmental agencies as one of its roles.

Manual 3-10 Counter Guerrilla Operations

Manual 3-10 Counter Guerrilla Operations establishes the operational and tactical aspects of irregular warfare employed by the Army against internal threats. This manual describes the origins and process of a guerrilla movement and specifically focuses on Colombian narco-terrorist groups. It describes different operational concepts, tactics and maneuvers to conduct

²⁶ Military Forces General Command, *Campaign Manual*, 102.

²⁷ Ibid, 139.

²⁸ Ibid, 159.

irregular warfare operations against internal threats, including occupation operations, search operations, area military control operations, destruction operations and offensive redeployment operations.²⁹

Occupation operations are those conducted to infiltrate military units from locations outside of the area of operations in order to conduct further operations. It ends when the regular troops have gained a position from which to start other operations such as register, control, destruction or offensive redeployment. The primary purposes are to gain tactical contact with the enemy and to protect civilians by enforcing constitutional and international humanitarian law, take possession of the area to conduct irregular combat maneuvers to neutralize or subdue the enemy, and finally, to conduct intelligence, psychological action and civil cooperation.³⁰

Search operations are a series of activities conducted by the Regular Force in the combat area to neutralize illegal organizations members and confiscate war materiel, by locating and seizing cache points, supplies and documents. Other operations derive from the results of a search operation.³¹

Area military control operations separate the enemy from the civilian population and ensure the human rights of the population. They comprise a series of efforts to prevent direct or indirect communications between the enemy and civilian populations and prevent material support or shelter between the people and the enemy. Control operations are time demanding and are aimed at preventing the mobility of the enemy, denying him access to strategic and tactical areas and separating them from civilian population.³²

²⁹ National Army Command, Manual 3-10 *Counter guerrilla Operations* (National Army Press, Bogotá D.C.. 15 June, 2001), 80.

³⁰ Ibid, 80.

³¹ Ibid, 85.

³² Ibid, 90.

Destruction operations are those offensive operations carried out in order to locate, neutralize or subdue the enemy by the employment of force.³³ Finally, the last type of operation conducted by the Colombian Army against narco-terrorist threats in its internal conflict is offensive redeployment operations. This operation conducted when a Regular Force or a part of it has to break contact from a subversive group, allows planning for future destruction operations after reinforced in an organized manner. Its purpose is to deploy the unit from an area of operations in order to use it in another area, preserve the integrity of the unit, drive the enemy to a position of disadvantage, reorganize the unit for combat and finally, avoiding contact under unfavorable conditions.³⁴ This Field Manual does not include stability operations or anything similar to it. Because of its tactical focus, the manual also fails to include interagency activities or operations.

United States Doctrine

Field Manual 3-0 Operations (FM 3-0)

Field Manual (FM) 3-0 is the most important doctrinal publication in the United States Army and presents overarching doctrinal guidance and direction for conducting operations. In order to understand the applicability of FM 3-0 to the Colombian Army, it is necessary to analyze its components. Chapter three of FM 3-0 explains the importance of Full Spectrum Operations as the overarching operational concept of the U. S. Army. This concept states that the “Army forces combine offensive, defensive, and stability or civil support operations simultaneously as part of an interdependent joint force to seize, retain, and exploit the initiative, accepting prudent risk to create opportunities to achieve decisive results. They employ synchronized action—lethal and

³³ Ibid, 107.

³⁴ Ibid, 109.

nonlethal—proportional to the mission and informed by a thorough understanding of all variables of the operational environment.”³⁵ Field Manual 3-0 constitutes the Army’s view of how it conducts prompt and sustained operations on land and sets the foundation for developing the other fundamentals and tactics, techniques, and procedures detailed in subordinate field manuals.³⁶

Field Manual 3-07 Stability Operations (FM 3-07)

Field Manual 3-07 is subordinate to FM 3-0 and depicts the foundations and characteristics of both stability and support operations. Stability operations encompass various military missions, tasks, and activities conducted outside the United States in coordination with other instruments of national power to maintain or reestablish a safe and secure environment, provide essential governmental services, emergency infrastructure reconstruction, and humanitarian relief.”³⁷ “Support Operations”; on the other hand, support domestic civil authority in the US.

Stability operations consist of five primary tasks: establish civil security, establish civil control, restore essential services, support governance, and support to economic and infrastructure development (see fig 3). These primary simultaneous or independent stability tasks are fundamental to Full Spectrum Operations and are conducted across the spectrum of conflict, from stable peace to general war, before, during, or after conflict, and executed throughout the framework of five broad technical areas often referred to as stability sectors. These areas may be

³⁵ FM 3-0 *Operations*, 3-1.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, v.

³⁷ FM 3-07, *Stability Operations*, G09

involved in an intervention: security, justice and reconciliation, humanitarian and social well-being, governance and participation, and economic stabilization and infrastructure.³⁸

Offensive Operations Primary Tasks • Movement to contact • Attack • Exploitation • Pursuit Purposes • Dislocate, isolate, disrupt, and destroy enemy forces • Seize key terrain • Deprive the enemy of resources • Develop intelligence • Deceive and divert the enemy • Create a secure environment for stability operations	Defensive Operations Primary Tasks • Mobile defense • Area defense • Retrograde Purposes • Deter or defeat enemy offensive operations • Gain time • Achieve economy of force • Retain key terrain • Protect the populace, critical assets, and infrastructure • Develop intelligence
Stability Operations Primary Tasks • Civil security • Civil control • Restore essential services • Support to governance • Support to economic and infrastructure development Purposes • Provide a secure environment • Secure land areas • Meet the critical needs of the populace • Gain support for host-nation government • Shape the environment for interagency and host-nation success	Civil Support Operations Primary Tasks • Provide support in response to disaster or terrorist attack • Support civil law enforcement • Provide other support as required Purposes • Save lives • Restore essential services • Maintain or restore law and order • Protect infrastructure and property • Maintain or restore local government • Shape the environment for interagency success

Figure 3: Elements of Full Spectrum Operations³⁹

Doctrine Analysis

U.S. Stability Operations mainly apply to U.S. Army operations conducted outside of U.S. territory, but may be adapted to deal with Colombian internal threats. It is important now to analyze how the Colombian Army already employs U.S. doctrine to deal with its internal conflict based on its own legal structure.

³⁸ Ibid, 2-9, 2-5.

³⁹ Department of the Army, “Elements of Full Spectrum Operations,” *Field Manual 3-07 Stability Operations* (Department of the Army Headquarters, October 2008), 3-7.

As stated in the introduction, the second phase of the Policy for the Consolidation of Democratic Security (PCDS) established in 2007 is *stabilization* phase. This phase implemented in regions where the Army has reduced the threat and has almost total control, needs little focus on offensive operations. The concept of full spectrum operations is useful; while forces are still conducting offensive operations that other forces may be conducting other operations at a lower level. Figure 4 depicts the different elements of full spectrum operations that applied simultaneously as required in each operational area or theater according to the threat and mission. While part of the government's forces continues to conduct offensive operations against any redoubts of narco-terrorist groups, the rest of the military force may conduct stability and defensive tasks.

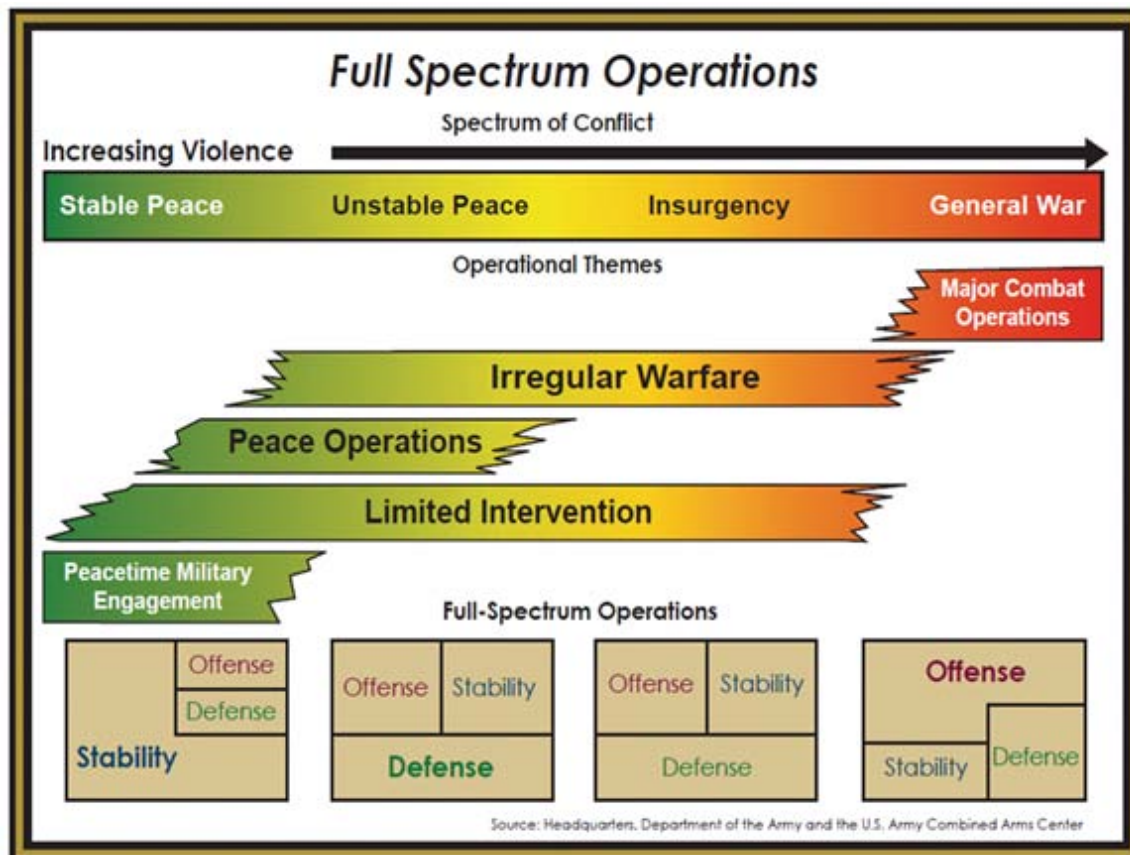


Figure 4: Full Spectrum Operations⁴⁰

The level of effort in each type of operation is determined in conjunction with interagency organizations to stabilize the region and satisfy the local population's most basic and immediate needs by state institutions and agencies. One method of protecting National interests is promoting peace and deterring aggression from narco- terrorist organizations and any other internal or external threat. The state as a whole accomplishes this objective by providing basic needs for the population, and the military increasing the population's trust in the military forces. If the Colombian Army provides protection for the population and ensures basic human rights

⁴⁰ Association of the United States Torchbearer, "Full Spectrum Operations" *The U.S. Army's Role in Stability Operations*, (Torchbearer National Security Report Field, October 2006), 13.

throughout the territory, it also provides a security situation such that other state institutions can meet other needs. The result can be a wholesale rejection by the population of the insurgent organization it seeks to intimidate. By conducting operations in coordination with other agencies, the Army can reinforce friendly relationships and support of local governments and agencies. In addition, the presence of the state with its military and civilian institutions working together will help to prevent, deter, or respond to terrorism by gathering information and disrupting their support cells and lines of communication. Finally, these actions will prevent the population or region from falling under the influence of narco-terrorist elements by eliminating any political or ideological discourse intended to undermine state development. At the same time that the Army is supporting the development of these areas, it is conducting other military operations dictated by the level of conflict or violence (see fig 4).

This chapter depicted how Colombian Army doctrine fails to establish an operational framework such as the U.S. Army's full spectrum operations where all military operations might be simultaneous. Even though the Colombian Army conducts various operations simultaneously in some regions, some leaders plan and conduct different operations in isolation and not as part of an operational or strategic campaign. Most importantly, Colombian Army doctrine does not include stability operations to reinforce the offensive efforts against internal threats. In order to mitigate the causes and support of insurgency or terrorist organizations and to establish a long-standing peace after the conflict, it is necessary to conduct stability operations as part of the state's efforts.

HISTORICAL U. S. AND COLOMBIAN STABILITY OPERATIONS EXPERIENCES

After analyzing current U.S. and Colombian Army doctrine and the legal issues that support the viability of establishing stability operations in Colombian Army doctrine, it is important to examine some historical examples of U.S. and Colombian military employment of stability operations. In the analysis of Colombian experiences, the focus would be on the most important offensive operations conducted in the history of the conflict where a lack of stability operations and interagency activities allowed terrorist organizations to regain partial control of some areas. These lessons learned during the conflict are narrated in the book “*Hablan los Generales*” (Generals Talk). This book is very important because it is written by the actual operational commanders at that time. The U.S., on the other hand, has many great experiences in stability operations. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Army led or participated in more than fifteen stability operations, such as Haiti, Liberia, Somalia, and the Balkans. The most current stability operations conducted by the U. S. Military are the current operations in Afghanistan and Iraq where the experience acquired during previous operations assisted in countering today’s non-state terrorist organizations. Therefore, the focus on the latest American experiences provides the most refined examples of effective stability operations.⁴¹

U. S. Experiences

The U.S. has been involved in many different stability operations. One of the recurrent interventions conducted in the region is Haiti. From 1857 to 1994, the United States had mounted

⁴¹ FM 3-07, Stability Operations, 1-2.

over a dozen serious interventions in Haitian affairs.⁴² During that period, U.S. Marine Corps conducted an operation in Haiti in 1915 to establish a stable and democratic regime. The country's instability could have become an issue for European intervention in the region, something the U.S. government wanted to avoid. In order to mitigate this risk, the United States sent in the Marines when the Haitian government underwent a period of political disorder.⁴³

After gaining control of Port au Prince, the U.S. forces began a series of reforms in Haiti's political and administrative institutions. A new constitution was written to support a democratic government appointed by Haiti National Assembly and influenced by the U.S. command. After ensuring democratic governance, the U. S. government began two programs to bring civic improvements to Haiti. The initial project was to improve the Haitian infrastructure such as bridges, harbors, airfields, road network and construction of new hospitals and clinics. The other was the establishment of a Haitian constabulary. An insurrection in the northern part of the nation made necessary U.S. military support for the maintenance of order.⁴⁴

In 1934 President Franklin D. Roosevelt recalled the Marines. During a 19-year occupation, the U. S. created a more stable country with an improved physical infrastructure. Once the marines departed, however, the Haitians abandoned many of the programs and institutions established by the Americans, including most importantly the political stability the Marines had instilled.⁴⁵

This intervention in Haiti as well as the others mentioned at the introduction of this chapter left the U.S. with many lessons learned. These lessons learned have reinforced U. S. doctrine and capabilities in this type of warfare. As of April 2010, the U.S. has been conducting

⁴² Lawrence Yates, *The US Military's Experience in Stability Operations, 1789-2005*. (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2006), 69.

⁴³ Ibid, 69.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 69.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 70.

full spectrum operations in Iraq for more than seven years, to include stability operations.

Because it is a current operation reinforced by prior experiences, U.S. stability operations in Iraq are the most important to be analyzed for the purpose of the monograph, and will be the focus of the analysis of U.S. experiences.

“Money is my most important ammunition in this war.”⁴⁶ This quote is attributed to one of the most experienced U.S. Army General Officers in the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) and especially in counterinsurgency and stability operations in Iraq, General David Petraeus, and was featured in the monograph “Stability Operations: Learning from Operation Iraqi Freedom” by Colonel Troy Anthony Clay. Colonel Clay describes the importance of economic influence in building a long-standing peace in support of military lethal and non-lethal operations. Resources are vital for initial development of the local economies and in the establishment of an adequate infrastructure. In his monograph, Colonel Clay analyzes U.S. strategy in Iraq after the removal of Saddam Hussein. He examines some of the failures and shows the importance of security in establishing an economic framework during the initial stages of post-conflict operations to facilitate reconstruction and economic recovery efforts in order to achieve lasting results.⁴⁷

In chapter three of his monograph, Colonel Clay argues that stability operations involve both coercive and cooperative measures and include actions to establish a safe and secure environment, provide or help facilitate the provision of essential basic services, reconstruct key infrastructure, and provide humanitarian relief in order to enable the transition to legitimate, local civil governance. The main objective of stability operations is to set the conditions that will enable a government to provide for its own security, rule of law, basic services, and economic prosperity.

⁴⁶ Troy Clay, *Stability operations: Learning from Operation Iraqi Freedom* (U. S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. 30 March 2007), 1.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 3.

An important issue that the author highlights is the importance of beginning the planning of post-conflict operations in parallel with combat operations. The commander must develop a vision of the environment after combat operations are over as well as how to transition to a stable local government. The lack of envisioning stability operations prior to the operation will create a gap in transition and as result could give opportunity for new threats to emerge in the region because of the lack of governance or security. Conducting stability operations is a complex task because every region is different in its cultural context. Another important issue is establishing or maintaining local leadership during stability operations. Through ensuring a local face on operations, the military force gains trust and support from the local population to reduce the friction between the military, state agencies, and the local population.

Stability operations must include effective planning and coordination between the military and the interagency throughout all phases of operations in order to set the conditions for successful reconstruction and economic recovery operations.⁴⁸ As stated before, stability operations must be planned in conjunction with combat operations. This planning must be accomplished in coordination with the local and national organizations and institutions.

The U.S. Army with its experience has learned that stability operations are not only a military effort. To effectively conduct stability operations the military have to be able to transfer the responsibility to civilian institutions (See fig 5). Some “phases” could guide the transition from military to civilian responsibility as seen in Iraq, stabilization, security, transition and reconstruction. *Stabilization* involves all military and civilian activities conducted to prevent or halt the deterioration of security and the existing systems while setting conditions for further phases. *Security* involves the development a secure environment not only for the local population

⁴⁸ Ibid, 3.

but also for the military and organizations involved in different activities or operations in the region. *Transition* involves the shifting the lead responsibility from the military to civilian organizations to establish essential services, economic development and political governance. Finally, *Reconstruction* is the process of rebuilding the political, socioeconomic and physical infrastructure of a country or territory. This is likely to be a civilian-led effort and includes addressing the root causes of the conflict to achieve sustainable peace.⁴⁹

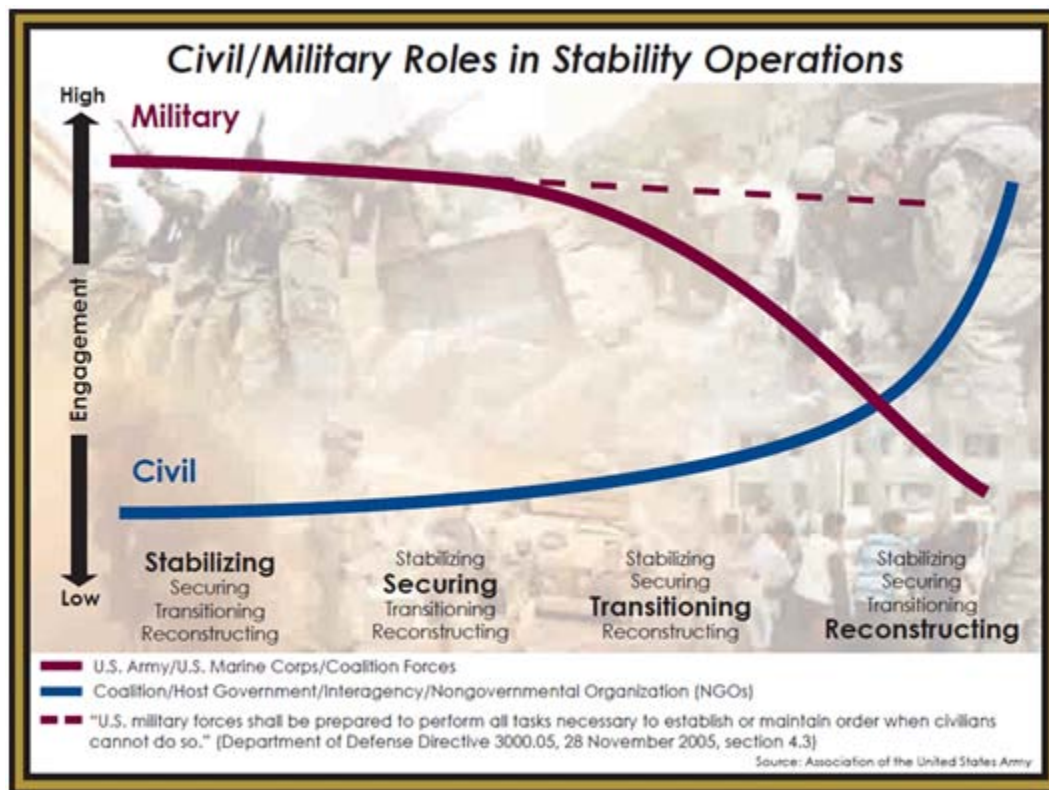


Figure 5: Civil/Military Roles in Stability Operations⁵⁰

Another lesson learned is that in order to develop stability operations capability in the Army, the force needs to be organized, trained, equipped and have enough funds to develop that

⁴⁹ The U.S. Army's Role in Stability Operations, Torchbearer National Security Report Field, (Association of the United States Torchbearer issue, October 2006), 20.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 8.

capability and execute those operations. With these capabilities, the U.S. Army was able to accomplish counterinsurgency operations employing the full spectrum operation simultaneously in different regions of Iraq. Stability operations had different emphasis in different regions according to the threat. Since the west region of Iraq was still at that time highly threatened by terrorists, the focus was offensive operations. In the central and eastern regions of Iraq the threat was lower and the focus was stability operations. (See fig 6)

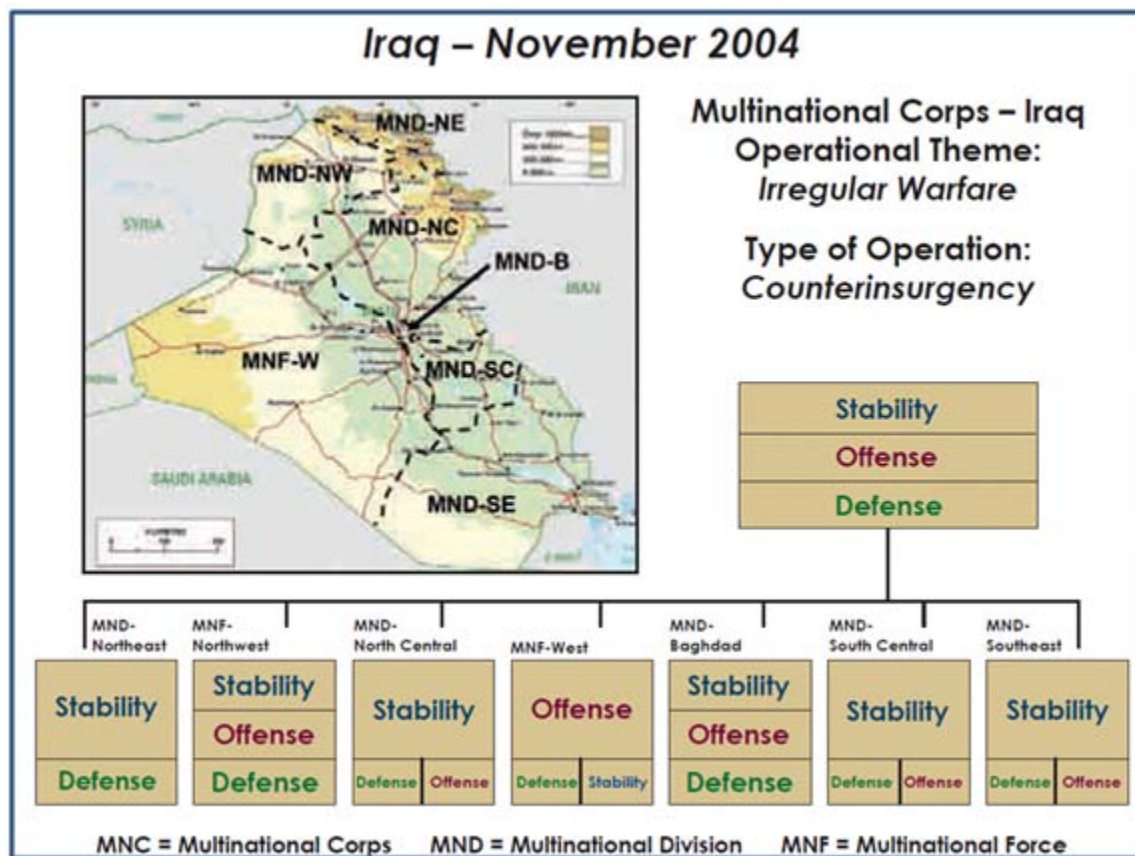


Figure 6: United States Operations in Iraq November 2004⁵¹

After analyzing some elements depicted in different studies regarding U.S. Army stability operations in Iraq, it is important to analyze some experiences where the Colombian Army has

⁵¹ Ibid, 20.

employed or failed to employ some type of stability operations with and without coordination with government agencies.

Colombian experiences

The book *Hablan los Generales* (General's Talk) is a compilation of Colombian military and police experiences on various operations. Some of them have been military victories but have failed to incorporate operations other than war (OOTW) to exploit those military victories and achieve state victories. This monograph analyzes experiences from this book that depict how the lack of stability operations after successful military operations conducted against former FARC sanctuaries. Failure to execute stability operations after offensive military operations conducted against FARC "independently controlled territories" set the conditions for the FARC to reestablish influence in the area. The FARC were defeated in these operations by government forces, but the lack of state development and permanent presence allowed them to return and reestablish their presence, not as a sanctuary but still with a high level of influence on the population, local government, and local economic resources.

One experience in failing to conduct stability operations was Operation "Marquetalia," an operation executed by the Army against the main FARC sanctuary in 1962. After the demobilization of former liberal and conservative guerrilla groups granted by former General and President of Colombia Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, the FARC established four "independent republics" in Colombian territory: Marquetalia, Rio Chiquito, El Pato and Guayabero.⁵² Operation Marquetalia was the first directly coordinated joint operation involving the Army and Air Force towards a common objective. This operation was a military success; the Army penetrated this "independent republic" and gained control of it. After the military campaign, the military and

⁵² Glenda Martinez, *Hablan los Generales* (Ed Norma. Bogota, Colombia. April 2006), 103.

civilian leadership raised the Colombian flag in a formal ceremony in the middle of the former guerrilla camp. This ceremony was conducted on June 18, 1964 and attended by the Government Minister, War Minister, Development Minister, Joint Chief of Staff, and Army and Air Force commanders, among others.⁵³

The ceremony attendees raised the expectations of the population through promises of state development programs in the region. Soon afterwards, the Colombian military left, turning over the region to state agencies; however, there was no longer any presence of the government representatives. This situation gave an opportunity to the guerrillas to return and gain population support in the area by exploiting the lack of government presence. The Army and the state left but “Tirofijo,” the former FARC leader, returned to the region to stay.⁵⁴ After this operation, the guerrilla group moved through the Andes Central mountain chain towards the plains of Colombia and established a new sanctuary called Casa Verde. (Green House).

For more than twenty years, the FARC considered the Casa Verde sanctuary their political and military center. The Colombian military and government considered Casa Verde unassailable; therefore, there was no state presence in the region. Operation Colombia began on December 9, 1990 against this sanctuary. Planned and executed by former General Luis Humberto Correa Castañeda, Commander of the Army’s Seventh Brigade, the operation employed two Special Forces battalions, two Counter-Guerrilla battalions, an artillery battery, and air support. Two of the objectives of this operation were the recovery of the state sovereignty in this region and the disruption of the FARC plan “*Bolivarian Campaign for a new Colombia.*”

⁵³ Martinez, *Hablan los Generales*, 111.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 113.

This plan, developed by the FARC secretariat, planned to overthrow the central government and take power by 1996.⁵⁵

Operation Colombia was launched against the main camps in the sanctuary especially Casa Verde, the headquarters for former FARC leader Manuel Marulanda Velez aka “Tirofijo” where all political and military actions against the Colombian government were planned, ordered and controlled. The FARC knew the political necessity of this sanctuary but were confident that government forces were never going to attack it. As Jacobo Arenas (the most important ideological and political leader in FARC history) used to say: “Casa Verde is a myth, a legend and therefore has allies and it is hated. There are reactionaries that in their delirium would like to see it destroyed, but they will fail because it is not anymore the mystic cabin lost in the jungles of the oriental mountain chain.”⁵⁶

Just as in 1990, this operation was a military success. The Army occupied the former political and military sanctuary and the FARC had to retreat to other jungle areas of Colombia. It was such a military success that this terrorist group has never again been able again to establish a sanctuary inside of Colombian territory. Unfortunately, the lack of stability operations by government agencies to redevelop the region allowed the region to once again fall under the influence of the FARC. Although government forces continue to conduct operations in this area, it is still a strategic corridor for the FARC.

Analysis of Historical U. S. and Colombian Stability Operations Experiences

This chapter presented stability operations experiences of the United States and Colombian Armies. Even though U. S. forces have made some mistakes during the planning and

⁵⁵ Ibid, 205.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 187.

execution of stability operations in Iraq and elsewhere, it is still the most experienced military force in stability operations, and can provide excellent lessons learned for analyzing the applicability of using stability operations doctrine in the Colombian Army. Colombian military operational successes against various threats diminished because of the lack of state influence after those operations. The lack of stability operations conducted in coordination with other state institutions gave the FARC the opportunity to reestablish their influence. This gap is another important reason to develop stability operation doctrine in the Colombian military, and U.S. stability doctrine is the best model to follow, as it has evolved from practical experience.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

Colombian Armed Forces should conduct stability operations as part of its internal operations against terrorist groups.

The primary purpose of the Colombian Armed Forces is the defense of sovereignty, independence, national territorial integrity and constitutional order.”⁵⁷ Implementing stability operations as a complement to offensive and defensive operations will ensure prolonged territorial integrity and constitutional order. The five primary tasks of Military Stability Operations in accordance with U.S. doctrine, (establish civil security, establish civil control, restore essential services, support governance, and support economic and infrastructure development) should be conducted in support of other government agencies’ activities to develop the region through local organizations to reinforce national cohesion, provide a democratic environment, and ensure protection by the constitutional Public Force.

The National Constitution already provides the legal basis for the military to work in coordination with government agencies, particularly in support of the Attorney General. In Article 250, the National Constitution of Colombia provides for the establishment of special units of the Judicial Police to combat terrorism and criminal organizations. These special units, established with members of the Armed Forces, are under the Attorney General’s direction and coordination. This means that the military is already legally able to interact directly with some interagency organizations in order to maximize the influence of the state in all regions.

The President of Colombia and the Minister of Defense established the framework from which the military conduct stability operations. The Democratic Defense and Security Policy

⁵⁷ Republic of Colombia, Political Constitution of Colombia, 53.

established by President Uribe established the importance and roles of all elements of national power in the fight against terrorism and illegal activities in Colombia. The Policy for the Consolidation of Democratic Security (PCDS) established three phases in conducting interagency operations against internal threats. By allowing for stability operations as the PCDS's second phase, the precedent allowed for conducting military full spectrum operations in conjunction with other national agencies. During and after this stability phase the area is under the control of the Public Forces while other government organizations and agencies conduct institutional recovery under military protection.

Even though Colombian Army doctrine does not address stability operations, the Campaign Manual allows the military to conduct interagency activities while conducting joint operations. The lessons learned from the failure to conduct stability operations in Colombia in 1990 and 1996 contrast with the success of U.S. military operations in Iraq. This highlights the importance of conducting such operations in Colombia in order to establish a more enduring stability in the regions where the threat has diminished.

Finally, it is important to conclude that Colombia should conduct stability operations as part of the transition from the internal conflict to a long-standing peace. The other Colombian elements of national power should reinforce the Colombian Public Force's success in the military arena. The economic element of national power should seek economic development in those areas where Public Forces have established an adequate level of security. By economically developing those regions, the population will be able to be self-sufficient and produce an adequate standard of living. In addition, the economic development must be oriented to develop the required infrastructure to meet the basic needs. The institutions of the social element of national power should focus in developing a sustainable health and education systems. The political element of national power should ensure a democratic and stable government with equal opportunities to all political parties. These and other activities developed by the military, economic, politic and social

elements of national power conducted as part of stability operations will ensure Colombian success in the war against internal terrorism and will ensure a long term peace.

Recommendations

Colombian Army doctrine must provide enough flexibility to adapt to different types of warfare and levels of war by adopting U. S. Full Spectrum Operations doctrine to support interagency efforts towards a long-standing peace. As described in U.S. Army doctrine, full spectrum operations simultaneously combine offensive, defensive, and stability or civil support operations. Modern warfare is dynamic. In the same theater, a military commander may employ different types of operations simultaneously to seize, retain, and exploit the initiative. These synchronized operations may employ lethal and nonlethal activities proportional to the mission.⁵⁸ Colombian doctrine covers offensive and defensive operations, but does not describe stability operations.

Even though the Colombian conflict is ongoing, it is also valid that in some regions the reduced threat has a local criminal behavior. In these regions, the Army, along with other state agencies, should begin to conduct stability operations to help to build strong local environments that may prevent or deter the development of new insurgent or terrorist elements. By doing this the Armed Forces will focus their offensive capabilities in those regions where the threat is still high.

Colombian military forces must acquire the capability and training required to perform stability operations, both alone and in coordination with other governmental agencies. The military forces, as an element of Colombian national power, always deploy to conduct operations in the most remote regions of the country. Many times military personnel are involved directly

⁵⁸ Department of the Army, *Field Manual 3-0 Operations*, 3-1.

with the population as the sole state representatives. By being able to establish an adequate relationship between the citizens and the military, the confidence in the state itself will increase and support for terrorist or insurgent ideals will mitigate.

It is important to develop working teams, perhaps along the lines of the American Provincial Reconstruction Teams in coordination with other government agencies in different regions of Colombia. Provincial reconstruction team (PRT) is an interim civil-military organization designed to operate in an area with unstable or limited security. The PRT leverages all the instruments of national power—diplomatic, informational, military, and economic—to improve stability.⁵⁹ By establishing this working relationship, the military will reinforce legitimacy in their actions in support of the communities and ensure direct government participation in the solution of local problems. These relationships would be more effective if there is a relationship with local agencies and if those agencies are the “face” of the operations.

Military forces and government agencies must be prepared to conduct long-term stability operations, based on the previous examples of U.S. and Colombian operations. By learning from the experience gained by the U.S. military, the Colombian military will increase its probability of successful in stability operations. By effectively integrating U.S. stability operations doctrine, Colombia can achieve a long-standing deterrence against terrorist and criminal threats.

This model of conducting stability operations by an army that is still in the middle of a conflict could become a model to follow by other countries involved with internal conflict. The United States and its allies are currently involved in conducting Stability operations in different countries all over the world. For those countries involved in this type of operation, the sustainment of their own force abroad has a big economic impact on their military and national budgets. By implementing in other countries the proposed model for stability operations in

⁵⁹ FM 3-07, Stability Operations, F-1

Colombia, the U.S. and allies could reduce their military presence abroad and focus on economic support and development. Military support would focus on equipment, intelligence and advisers. Home country military and governmental agencies would be the “face” of the operations in their own countries and therefore the transitions from combat to peace would be easier than the transition in Iraq.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Arcenaux, Craig and David Pion-Berlin. Transforming Latin America: The International and Domestic Origins of Change. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005.
- Axelrod, David and Michael D. Cohen. Harnessing Complexity: Organizational Implications of a Scientific Frontier. New York: Basic Books, 2000.
- Bar-Yam, Yaneer. Making Things Work: Solving Complex Problem. Cambridge: Knowledge Press, 2004.
- Chiarelli, Peter W. Winning The Peace The Requirement For Full-Spectrum Operation. Military Review (July-August 2005)
- Clay, Troy A. United States Army Stability operations: Learning From Operation Iraqi Freedom, 2007
- Colombia, Republic of. *Political Constitution of Colombia*. Bogota D.C.: Republic of Colombia , 1991.
- Colombia. "The Uribe Administration's Democratic Security and Defense Policy." Embassy of Colombia. http://www.presidencia.gov.co/sne/visita_bush/documentos/security.pdf
- The Economist. "Facing Down the FARC: Public Sentiment Turns Against the Hostage Takers." The Economist (February 2008),
http://www.economist.com/world/americas/displaystory.cfm?story_id=10650741
- Galula, David. Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice. 1964, Reprint, St. Petersburg: Hailer Publishing, 2005.
- Gubler, Justin . Reconciling Counterinsurgency with Civil War: a Strategy for Stabilizing Iraq.
- Marcella, Gabriel. American Grand Strategy for Latin America in the Age of Resentment. Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, 2007.
- Marks, Thomas A. "A Model Counterinsurgency: Uribe's Colombia (2002-2006) vs FARC." Military Review (March-April 2007): 49-64.
- , Sustainability of Colombian Military/Strategic Support for "Democratic Security." Shaping the Regional Security Environment in Latin America Special Series. Carlisle, Strategic Studies Institute, 2005.
- Mejia, Alberto. "Colombia's National Security Strategy, A New 'COIN' Approach." Strategy Research Project, U.S. Army War College, 2008.
- Santos, Juan . "Policy for the consolidation of democratic security". Government Policy, Bogotá, Colombia, 2007.
- Torchbearer, Association of the United States, "The U.S. Army's Role in Stability Operations.," Torchbearer National Security Report Field Issue, October 2006), 20
- U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. "Colombia." World Fact Book.
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/co.html> (accessed January 8, 2009).
- U.S. Department of Defense. Joint Publication 5-0, Joint Operation Planning. Washington, DC: December 2006.
- , National Defense Strategy. Washington, D.C: June 2008.

- U.S. Department of the Army. Field Manual 3-0: Operations. Washington, D.C.: February 2008.
- , Field Manual 3-7: Stability operations. Washington, DC: December. 2006.
- , Field Manual 3-24: Counterinsurgency. Washington, D.C.: December 2006.
- U.S. Department of Defense. . Directive 3000.5, Military Support for Stability, Security, Transition, and Reconstruction (SSTR) Operations. Washington, DC:
- , 2008Joint Publication 3-28, civil Support. Washington, DC: February 2008.
- U.S. Department of State. Colombia: An Opportunity for Lasting Success. Bureau of Public Affairs. Washington, DC, November 6, 2008.
- , “Comprehensive List of Terrorists and Groups Identified under Executive Order 13224.” Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism.
<http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/fs/2001/6531.htm>
- U.S. Southern Command. Command Strategy 2018: Partnership for the Americas. June, 2008,
<http://www.southcom.mil/AppsSC/files/0UI0I1177092386.pdf>
- Uribe, Alvaro. Política de Defensa y Seguridad Democrática. Government Policy. Bogota, Colombia, 2003.
- Wood, William. “U.S. Support for Colombia’s National Strategy for Defense and Democratic Security.” Speech, Georgetown University, September 20, 2004.
<http://www.ciponline.org/colombia/040920wood.htm>