

PALACKÝ UNIVERSITY IN OLMOUC

FACULTY OF SCIENCE

DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Jana ŠRÁMKOVÁ

**The US Foreign Policy towards Colombia:
Its Impacts and Motivations**

Diploma thesis

Supervisor: Mgr. Lenka Dušková

Olomouc 2012

I declare in lieu of oath that I wrote this thesis myself. All information derived from the work of others has been acknowledged in the text and in a list of references given.

Olomouc, 1. 5. 2012

.....

Signature

Acknowledgement

I am heartily thankful to my thesis supervisor Mgr. Lenka Dušková for her exceptional patience, guidance, support and helpful advice.

UNIVERZITA PALACKÉHO V OLOMOUCI
Přírodovědecká fakulta
Akademický rok: 2010/2011

ZADÁNÍ DIPLOMOVÉ PRÁCE

(PROJEKTU, UMĚLECKÉHO DÍLA, UMĚLECKÉHO VÝKONU)

Jméno a příjmení: **Bc. Jana ŠRÁMKOVÁ**
Osobní číslo: **R10002**
Studijní program: **N1301 Geografie**
Studijní obor: **Mezinárodní rozvojová studia**
Název tématu: **Zahraníční politika Spojených států vůči Kolumbii: Motivace a dopady**
Zadávající katedra: **Katedra rozvojových studií**

Z á s a d y p r o v y p r a c o v á n í :

The aim of the thesis is to analyze the US foreign policy towards Colombia with the emphasis on the recent decades. The thesis will focus on the main motivations of the US intervention to Colombia via Plan Colombia justified by the war on drugs. Author will further assess how such policies affect Colombia and the development of its violent civil conflict.

Rozsah grafických prací: **dle potřeby**
Rozsah pracovní zprávy: **20 - 25 tisíc slov**
Forma zpracování diplomové práce: **tištěná/elektronická**
Seznam odborné literatury: **viz příloha**

Vedoucí diplomové práce: **Mgr. Lenka Dušková**
Katedra rozvojových studií

Datum zadání diplomové práce: **26. ledna 2011**
Termín odevzdání diplomové práce: **27. dubna 2012**

Prof. RNDr. Juraj Ševčík, Ph.D.
děkan

L.S.

Doc. RNDr. Pavel Nováček, CSc.
vedoucí katedry

V Olomouci dne 28. ledna 2011

Príloha zadání diplomové práce

Seznam odborné literatury:

- BLECHMAN, Barry. KAPLAN, Stephen. Force without war: U.S. armed forces as a political instrument. Brookings Institution Press, 1978. 584 p. ISBN 978-08157-098-55
- CARPENTER, Ted. Bad neighbor policy: Washington's futile war on drugs in Latin America. Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. 282 p. ISBN 978-14039-613-72
- CHALK, R. ? Rabasa, A. (2001): Colombian Labyrinth: The Synergy of Drugs and Insurgency and Its Implications for Regional Stability, Washington, RAND. COTTAM, Richard, Foreign policy motivation: a general theory and a case study. University of Pittsburgh Pre, 1977. 374 p. ISBN 978-08229-332-36
- CRANDALL, Russel. Driven by drugs: U.S. policy toward Colombia. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002. 193 p. ISBN 978-15882-608-95
- DOMÍNGUE, Jorge; DE CASTRO, Rafael. Contemporary U.S.-Latin American relations: cooperation or conflict in the 21st century? Taylor & Francis, 2010. 252 p. ISBN 9780415879996
- FISH, Jefferson. Drugs and society: U.S. public policy. Rowman & Littlefield, 2006. 228 p. ISBN 978-07425-424-57
- FRIESENDORF, Cornelius. US foreign policy and the war on drugs: displacing the cocaine and heroin industry. Taylor & Francis, 2007. 230 p. ISBN 978-04154-137-56
- GRAHAM, Bob. Toward greater peace and security in Colombia: forging a constructive U.S. policy : report of an independent task force. Council on Foreign Relations, 2000. 41 p. ISBN 978-08760-926-82
- LIVINGSTONE, Grace. Inside Colombia: drugs, democracy and war. Rutgers University Press, 2004. 253 p. ISBN 978-08135-344-35
- LOVENTHAL, Abraham; PICCONE, Theodore; WHITEHEAD, Laurence. Shifting the Balance: Obama and the Americas. Brookings Institution Press, 2010. 190 p. ISBN 9780815705628
- LOVEMAN, Brian. Addicted to failure: U.S. security policy in Latin America and the Andean Region. Rowman & Littlefield, 2006. 367 p. ISBN 978-07425-409-89
- MARCELLA, Gabriel; Army War College (U.S.). Strategic Studies Institute, Dante B. Fascell North-South Center. Strategic Studies Institute, 2001. 29 p. ISBN 978-15848-704-70
- McPHERSON, Alan. Anti-Americanism in Latin America and the Caribbean. Berghahn Books, 2006. 301 p. ISBN 978-18454-514-24
- MURILLO, Mario; AVIRAMA, Jesús Rey . Colombia and the United States : war, unrest, and destabilization. Seven Stories Press, 2004. 232 p. ISBN 978-15832-260-63.
- PALACIOS, Marco. Between legitimacy and violence: a history of Colombia, 1875-2002. Duke University Press, 2006. 299 p. ISBN 978-08223-376-76
- RANDAL, Stephen. Colombia and the United States: hegemony and interdependence. University of Georgia Press, 1992. 325 p. ISBN 9780820314020
- ROSIN, Eileen. Drugs and democracy in Latin America: the impact of U.S. policy. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005. 414 p. ISBN 978-15882-625-47
- SCHULZ , Donald, MARCELLA, Gabriel. COLOMBIA'S THREE WARS: : U.S. STRATEGY AT THE CROSSROADS. Larry M. Wortzel. USA : Strategic Studies Institut, 1999. 41 s. U.S. ARMY WAR COLLEGE Dostupný z WWW: <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB34.pdf>
- STOKES, Doug. America's Other War: Terrorizing Colombia. Canadian Dimension July [online]. 2005, vol. 39, no. 4 [cit. 2009-05-02], s. 1-26. Dostupný z WWW: <http://bailey83221.livejournal.com/54324.html>
- THOUMI, Francisco. Political economy and illegal drugs in Colombia. United Nations University Press, 1995. 320 p. ISBN 978-15558-753-67
- TOLEDO, Rebeca; International Action Center (New York) War in Colombia: made in U.S.A. International Action Center, 2003. 297 p. ISBN 978-09656-916-97 United States. Congress. House.

Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee on Crime. Efforts of the U.S. government to reduce the flow of illegal drugs into the United States from foreign countries: hearing before the Subcommittee on Crime of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, One Hundred First Congress, first session, April 12, 1989. Knihovna Kongresu, 2007. 280 p.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	8
List of figures and tables	10
List of Abbreviations	11
Abstract	13
Key Words	13
Abstrakt	13
Klíčová slova	13
Introduction	14
Topic Outline	14
Aims of the Thesis	15
Methodology	16
1 US Involvement and Interventionism in LA and Colombia until the end of Cold War.....	17
1.1 Introduction	17
1.2 The History of US Policies towards Latin America	17
1.3 The Cold War and US Counterinsurgency Policies	19
2 Colombian Internal Development and US Colombian “pre-Plan of Colombia” Relations..	26
2.1 Introduction	26
2.2 Colombian Violence, Guerrilla Genesis and the US Engagement	26
2.2.1 La Violencia and the Initial US Military Cooperation	26
2.2.2 The Genesis of Counter-insurgency and Plan Lazo	30
2.3 The Rise of the Coca Cultivation and the Guerrilla Upraise	34
2.3.1 The Initial US-Colombia Counter-drug Strategies and its Consequences	35
2.3.2 Narco-trafficking: Guerrillas and Paramilitaries.....	39
2.3.3 Peace Attempts during the 80’s and US Continuous Counter-insurgency Policy	40
2.3.4 1990’s: Dealing with the Conflict Intensification and Rise in the Narco-trafficking	
and Crisis of the US-Colombia Relations.....	44
3 The Issues in Colombia from the US Perspective.....	48
3.1 Narco Trafficking and Terrorism as a National Security Threat	48
3.1.1 Cocaine Issue on the US Ground.....	50
3.2 General Strategies to Combat Drug Trafficking	52
3.3 United States and the “War on Drugs”	54
3.3.1 US Foreign Policy Interests in Colombia	55

3.3.2	US Approaches to the Drug Control.....	56
3.3.3	US Institutional Drug Policy-Making	59
4	Plan Colombia	63
4.1	Introduction	63
4.2	Colombian Internal Situation in 1999	63
4.3	Introduction and Adoption of Plan Colombia	64
4.4	Progression of Plan Colombia	66
4.5	Strategies and Components of Plan Colombia.....	72
4.5.1	Eradication of Coca Plantations	74
4.5.2	Army and Policy Training and the Drug Seizure.....	75
4.5.3	The Alternative Development.....	77
4.5.4	Strengthening of Democratic Institutions.....	78
4.6	The Plan Colombia Funding and Budget	79
	<i>Source: Plan Colombia Progress Report, 1999-2005: edited by the author</i>	<i>81</i>
5	Critique of the Plan Colombia and Impact of the US Policies on the Colombian Internal Situation.....	83
5.1	Introduction	83
5.2	The Outcomes of the Plan Colombia	83
5.2.1	Reducing Drug Production in Colombia	84
5.2.2	Improving Security Situation in Colombia.....	86
5.2.3	Outcomes of Alternative Development	89
5.2.4	Democracy and Rule of Law Promotion.....	90
5.3	Critique and Controversies of the Plan Colombia.....	91
5.3.1	Aerial Herbicide Spraying and Fumigation of Coca Crops.....	91
	Conclusion.....	97
	Literature.....	101
	Appendices.....	115
	Appendix A: Chapter II from the Text of the 106th US Congress Public Law 246, 2001 (Concerning Plan Colombia).....	116
	Appendix B: Program Assistance Objectives in Colombia, 2000–2013	123
	Appendix C: Alternative Development Projects and Coca Cultivation in Colombia	124

List of figures and tables

<i>Figure 1: Sketch of Independent Republics of Colombia (1950's – 1960's)</i>	32
<i>Figure 2: Map showing the general coca cultivations areas in Colombia</i>	35
<i>Figure 3: Map showing percentual incidence of the poor in Colombia by department</i>	35
<i>Figure 4: Coca Cultivation in the Andean Region, 1988-2000</i>	37
<i>Table 1: US economic/security and anti-narcotic assistance (1962-1979)</i>	38
<i>Table 2: Table 2: US Total Military Assistance to Colombia (1975 – 1992)</i>	43
<i>Table 3: Colombian Military Expenditures</i>	45
<i>Table 4: US Anti-narcotic assistance and total grant aid to Colombia</i>	46
<i>Figure 5: Graph showing estimated cocaine consumption (1988-2008)</i>	50
<i>Figure 6: Map of Colombia, demilitarized zones from Pastrana Peace talks</i>	66
<i>Figure 7: Coca Fumigation and Manual Eradication 1998-2007</i>	73
<i>Table 5: 5: US Assistance Provided to the Colombian Military and National Police, 2000-2008</i>	75
<i>Table 6: US Nonmilitary Assistance to Colombia Programmed 2000-2004 (dollars in millions)</i>	76
<i>Table 7: Amount of U.S. Assistance Appropriated to Colombia, Fiscal Years 2000-2004 (dollars in millions)</i>	79
<i>Figure 8: Distribution of US Resources in Plan Colombia 1999-2005</i>	80
<i>Figure 9: Coca Cultivation in Colombia (in hectares)</i>	84
<i>Figure 10: Map of Colombia's Main Areas of Coca Cultivations</i>	86
<i>Table 8: Measures of Violence</i>	88
<i>Figure 11: GDP Growth in Colombia 2001-2007</i>	89
<i>Figure 12: Coca Fumigation and Manual Eradication 1998-2007</i>	92
<i>Table 9: Reported Executions in Brigade Jurisdictions after Increases in U.S. Aid</i>	93
<i>Table 10: Attacks on Oil Pipelines 2001 – 2004</i>	95

List of Abbreviations

AD	Alternative Development
ARI	Andean Regional Initiative
ACI	Andean Counter-drug Initiative
ATPA	Andean Trade Preference Act
ATPDEA	Andean Trade Preference and Drug Eradication Act
AUC	<i>Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia</i> (United Self-Defense Forces)
CI	Counter-insurgency
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CRS	Congressional Research Service
DAS	<i>Departamento Administrativo de Seguridad</i> (Administrative Department of Security)
DEA	Drug Enforcement Agency
DoD	Department of Defense
ECLA	Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean
ELN	<i>Ejército de Liberación Nacional</i> (National Liberation Army)
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
EPL	<i>Ejército Popular Liberación</i> (Popular Liberation Army)
EU	European Union
FARC	<i>Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia</i> (Revolutionary Forces of Colombia)
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FDI	Foreign Direct Investments
FMS	Foreign Ministry Sales

FTA	Free Trade Area
FTAA	Free Trade Area of Americas
GAO	General Accounting Office
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
IATRA	Inter-American Treaty on Reciprocal Assistance
ILEAs	International Law Enforcement Agencies
INL	International Narcotics and Law Enforcement
IMET	International Military Education and Training
M-19	<i>Movimiento 19 de Abril</i> (19 th of April Movement)
MDAA	Mutual Defense Assistance Act
MSA	Mutual Security Act
NAS	Narcotics Affairs Section
OAS	Organization of American States
ONDCP	Office for National Drug Policy
PIRA	Provisional Irish Republican Army
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UN	United Nations
UP	<i>Unión Patriótica</i> (Patriotic Union)
US	United States
USAID	US Agency for International Development
USD	United States Dollar

Abstract

The thesis disserts on the Foreign Policies of the United States applied in Colombia. It focuses particularly on the US involvement in Colombia through the policy known as “war on drugs”. However, the historical context of the US engagement in Colombia, as well as in the whole Latin America, is also presented in this Paper. The author asserts to illustrate the motivations behind the counter-narcotics efforts - the principal contents of the Colombian initiative called Plan Colombia, to which the US has largely contributed on various levels. The thesis points out the strategies adopted by the United States in order to combat the illicit drug imports from Colombia, as well as the US counter-insurgency assistance to the Colombian government since the 1960’s. The impacts of the Plan Colombia, with the emphasis on the US part of contribution, are further discussed in this work.

Key Words

United States, Colombia, Foreign Policy, Coca, Counter-narcotics, Counter-insurgency

Abstrakt

Práce pojednává o zahraniční politice spojených států v Kolumbii. Soustředí se především na přítomnost spojených států v Kolumbii skrze politiku známou jako “válka proti drogám”. Práce však představuje také historický kontext zapojení Spojených Států v Kolumbii a v celé Latinské Americe. Autorka se snaží objasnit motivace stojící za protidrogovými snahami – hlavní náplní kolumbijské iniciativy zvané Plán Kolumbie, ke které Spojené Státy přispěly (finančně i technicky) velkým dílem. Práce poukazuje na strategie přijaty Spojenými Státy za účelem boje proti dovozu nelegálních drog z Kolumbie do Spojených států, a také na protipovstaleckou pomoc, již Spojené Státy Kolumbii od 60. let 20. století aktivně poskytovaly. V práci jsou taktéž diskutovány dopady Plánu Kolumbie, s důrazem na přispění Spojených Států.

Klíčová slova

Spojené Státy Americké, Kolumbie, Zahraniční politika, koka, protidrogové politiky, protipovstalecké politiky

Introduction

Topic Outline

Through its Foreign Policy, the United States is a greatly influential actor on the international stage. Although the US often pursues its policies worldwide, only few other regions in the world enjoy such complex relations with the US as Latin America.¹ The foreign policies of every Latin American country are shaped and constrained by its ties with the US. The countries in Latin America that belong under the US sphere of influence² have throughout the history constituted a problematic region regarding the political stability and willingness to cooperate. For the United States, however, controlling the western hemisphere has been a matter of national security.³

Nowadays, Colombia enjoys a pivotal status within the US interest in the region. As Henry Kissinger said in 2001, “*Colombia is the most menacing foreign policy challenge in Latin America for the US.*”⁴ The mutual relationship between Colombia and the United States dates back to the Colombian independence. The US was one of the first countries to recognize the Colombian republic in 1822, and the countries have had - with certain setbacks⁵ - pleasant relations since then.⁶

Since the 1960's, after the emergence of leftist guerrilla movements, the US has provided Colombia with military assistance to combat the newly organized insurgents. Soon after the drugs had evolved, and, in the context of the consequent drug trade development, the US have gradually engaged in Colombian counter-narcotics efforts by providing Colombia with the relevant technical support and trainings.⁷

The US intensive involvement in Colombia during the last thirty years has been justified by the so-called “war on drugs”. With the implementation of the Colombian counter-narcotics initiative Plan Colombia, the United States furthermore intensified the assistance and, in 1999, Colombia became the third largest recipient of the US military aid in the world.⁸ The common understanding of the US motivation for participation in

¹ Cameron, 2002

² Since the declaration of Monroe Doctrine

³ Manwaring, 2001

⁴ Cameron, 2002. Pp 165

⁵ The relations were temporarily strained in the beginning of twentieth century due to the involvement of President Theodore Roosevelt administration in the Panama revolt. Despite the strain, however, the economic ties with the US continued even during this period.

⁶ The Library of Congress

⁷ Crandal, 2008

⁸ Colombia lost its position in 2005, when it slipped to the 7th place. *ibid*

the Plan Colombia is that it primarily aims at combating the narco-trafficking. However, there are other factors determining the US foreign policy towards Colombia apart from drugs, and some of them are possibly even more fundamental for the explanation of the US engagement in the country.

Aims of the Thesis

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the US foreign policy towards Colombia and to discuss its impacts and driving factors. The central question that is attempted to be answered in this thesis is *what are the main determinants of the US involvement in Colombia and to what extent is the narco-trafficking pivotal when explaining such intensive involvement*. The thesis assumes three main assumptions.

The first assumption suggests that *Colombia, as well as the Latin American region as a whole, represents for the United States a strategically important region, and the US has, therefore, always attempted to remain influential in this country, resp. region*. This assumption is based on the US historical intensive and continuous engagement in Latin America and Colombia, and on the nature of the foreign policies pursued. The first chapter focuses on the US involvement and interventionism in Latin America from its beginning until the end of the Cold war. Relations between the United States and the Latin American countries, as well as the agreements signed between them and the US direct and indirect interventions, are discussed in this chapter. The second chapter follows particularly development of the US – Colombian relations. It presents the development of the internal situation in Colombia, including the evolution of guerrillas and drug trade, and the US policies adopted in order to deal with these issues.

The second assumption asserts that *the US counter-drug policy, focused on reduction of drug supply directed to the United States, have not resulted in significant easing of the drug issue in Colombia, as the US strategy adopted was unsuitable for this matter*. This issue will be explored in the third chapter, which provides a brief analysis of the general counter-drug strategies, as well as the strategies mostly adopted by the United States. This chapter also offers the institutional setting of drug policy making in the US. Furthermore, the US policies applied in Colombia during the Plan Colombia is analyzed in detail in the fourth chapter. In the last chapter, the results and impacts of the US intervention in Colombia during the last 11 years, as well as the critiques and

controversies associated with the Plan Colombia initiative and the US participation, is discussed.

The third assumption is the hypothesis that *solving the drug problem in Colombia - the putative principal goal of the US policy in Colombia, has not been the primary determinant for the US involvement in this country*. Such assumption is based particularly on the findings indicated in the third chapter, which present the US interests in Colombia other than the drug issue. The fourth chapter, where the crucial strategies applied by the US during the Plan Colombia are described, also provides a groundwork for this hypothesis.

Methodology

The thesis is a research-Compilation work. The information for the study has been taken mostly from literature available in the English language. However, the study also stems from some Spanish sources, particularly Colombian government declarations and reports.

In order to ensure an unbiased statement, a variety of sources were used when evolving the thesis. The work is based on public documents and statements, official governmental reports, organizational assessments or reports, and independent, mostly Colombian sociologist, journalist and political scientist and analyst works. With respect to the most recent information, the study draws on the online articles from various world periodicals. Many of the written sources have been retrieved from the Internet, such as from official websites and electronic archives. Nevertheless/furthermore, some observations and comments presented in this work, as well as the thesis conclusion, are of the author alone.

In this work, both direct and indirect quotations have been used. The direct quotations are distinguished by the quotation marks and the text is written in italics. All the citations used in the thesis are presented in the form of footnotes. The quote is never applied to a text longer than one paragraph. If no quotation appears in the paragraph, it means that the text is of the author alone. Appendices then serve as a source of more detailed information that was used in the text.

1 US Involvement and Interventionism in LA and Colombia until the end of Cold War

1.1 Introduction

The United States has engaged in the affairs of Latin American countries since the nations' inception. Starting with the Monroe Doctrine, the US has perceived this region as its sphere of influence and attempted to pursue here its interests. The context of the US historical interventionism in Latin America is crucial for better understanding its involvement in Colombia itself. Therefore, this chapter briefly analyzes the historical development of Latin American countries in context of the US foreign policies until the end of the Cold War. The time settings used in this chapter is not to suggest, that the US policies shifted significantly with end of the bipolar world.⁹ It is rather that the epoch indicated is sufficient for the purposes of this thesis. The development after 1989 is than discussed foremost in the US-Colombian context, in following sections of the thesis.

1.2 The History of US Policies towards Latin America

According to Hobsbawm, the history of the United States is the "History of Success".¹⁰ The US approach to the foreign policy has been founded on *universality* and *republican principles*.¹¹ After the breakdown of the Spanish colonial rule in Latin America in the first half of 19th Century, the US Congress expressed its full support to emerging countries in this region. In 1823, President James Monroe sent his seventh annual speech to the Congress. The content of this speech has later become known as the Monroe Doctrine:

"American continents in the future should not be considered as an object for colonization by any European power. (...) any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. If any European power attempts to gain control over territories whose independence was

⁹ There has been an extensive debate on whether the US foreign policy shifted significantly with the disintegration of the USSR, which is the orthodox assumption, or whether it has in fact remained more or less continuous, which is the premise of revisionists. This issue is, however, not discussed in this thesis.

¹⁰ Hobsbawm, 2003

¹¹ Nieto; Stoller. 2007

recognized by the United States, then this behavior will be regarded as an act of hostility against United States."¹²

The reasons for the United States to make such statement consisted in attempt to confirm its position as a major power, and also clearly define their sphere of influence. Monroe Doctrine was primarily supposed to support the independence of the newly evolved states. However, it eventually became the basis for US interfering in Latin American affairs. The doctrine made Latin America effectively the proverbial "US backyard".¹³

In the late 19th century it was clear that the United States became a superpower that will have big impact not only on events in the Western Hemisphere, but also worldwide. The US intervened in the matters of Chile, Brazil, Venezuela and the Hawaiian Islands, as well as of number of islands in the Pacific Ocean and Caribbean Sea.¹⁴ In 1909, Theodor Roosevelt came with the concept of "Big Stick", associated with his statement: "*Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far*".¹⁵ The core of this policy was for the United States to virtually pursue the role of police in the Americas, control the actions of the local incumbents and to act against the "bad" Latin American Governments.

In 1933, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected US president and came up with a completely new concept of foreign policy, the "Good Neighbor Policy". It was designed around the US attempt to be a good neighbor to other nations and to respect their rights.¹⁶ The policy was a response to growing anti-Americanism in Latin America caused by constant US interventionism in their internal matters. Principles of Good Neighbor Policy were confirmed in the Declaration signed in 1933 at the Pan-American Conference in Montevideo: "*... no state has the right to intervene in the internal affairs of another.*"¹⁷ It basically meant rejection of any military intervention in Latin America. After taking place of number of other Pan-American Conferences, concept of "continental solidarity" was adopted on Inter-American conference in Panama in 1939. It recommended states of the Western Hemisphere to "*take the necessary measures to rid the Americas of propaganda by doctrines which imperil the [region's] common*

¹² Monroe, 1823

¹³ Nieto, Stoller, 2007

¹⁴ Opatrný, 1998

¹⁵ Rosevelt, 1900

¹⁶ Smith, 2005

¹⁷ Ibid

democratic ideals“, meaning against communism and fascism.¹⁸ Security was the predominant aspect of US strategy towards dominance in Latin America and its common relations. During the Second World War Latin American countries further deepened dependence of their economies on the United States, which provided them with economic assistance in exchange for tariff reductions and opening their markets.¹⁹ Those were measures that allowed even greater US penetration into these economies. Until the end of World War II, the economies of Latin American countries became vitally dependent on the US.

1.3 The Cold War and US Counterinsurgency Policies

The end of the World War II brought significant change in the world order. Sharpening contradictions between the US and the Soviet Union led to the division of the world into Western and Eastern bloc. In 1947, National Congress passed National Security Act, which introduced the “national security state”, with CIA and National Security Council. The *containment doctrine*²⁰ was implemented.²¹ The same year, another important conference took place in Rio de Janeiro, where the US along with Latin American states signed the Inter-American Treaty on Reciprocal Assistance (IATRA), the first US defense agreement on a multilateral basis that guaranteed joint response on potential external aggression.

„In the name of their Peoples, the Governments represented at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security, desirous of consolidating and strengthening their relations of friendship and good neighborliness and considering... that the obligation of mutual assistance and common defense of the American Republics is essentially related to their democratic ideals and to their will to cooperate permanently in the fulfillment of the principles and purposes of a policy of peace...“²²

¹⁸ Nieto, Stoller, 2007

¹⁹ Krenn, 1990

²⁰ US policy using numerous strategies to prevent the spread of communism abroad.

²¹ Nieto, Stoller, 2007

²² OAS, 1947

In practice, however, the military superiority allowed the US to decide on what represents danger, and moreover it limited the Latin American states, as it obliged them to consult any security questions with the US, before submitting them to the UN.

The agreement was later considered as a complement of the Charter of the Organization of American States (OAS). The OAS Charter was signed in 1948 in Bogota. Main objectives were in accordance with those of IATRA, aiming to strengthen peace and security, to find solutions to political, legal and economic problems, promote and consolidate democracy, peaceful settlement of disputes between members of the OAS, implementation of joint action against aggression, economic support, social and cultural development, poverty eradication and reduction of conventional weapons.²³ The OAS has its headquarters in Washington, D.C.

The process of the conference constituting the OAS was partially influenced also by the current situation in Colombia. Strong civil unrest took place in Bogota.²⁴ The head of the American delegation, George Marshall, then also the US Secretary of State, “placed the blame publically for the revolution on world Communism and thus indirectly on Moscow, which directs that international movement.”

“This situation must not be judged on a local basis... the occurrence goes far beyond Colombia. It is the same definite pattern as occurrences which provoked strikes in France and Italy [reference to threat posed by Communist Parties in France and Italy in 1947 resp. 1948; author’s note]... we must keep clearly in mind the fact that this is a world affair...”²⁵

General Marshall thus contributed to the adoption of an additional *Resolution on the Preservation and Defense of Democracy in the Americas*, which denoted communism and any potential totalitarian doctrine as incompatible with the ideals of American democracy.²⁶ This became the first anticommunist declaration confirmed by Latin American countries.

The United States continued with the Policy of Containment also during the fifties. In 1950, UN Security Council approved the initiative of the US military action against North Korea, and Council of the OAS expressed its full support for this action

²³ OAS, 1974

²⁴ Bogotazo, see Chapter 2

²⁵ Marshall, 1948

²⁶ Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Cuba, 2009

(Colombia was, however, the only country to provide their troops).²⁷ Another anticommunist step in the fight against communism was the Mutual Security Act (MSA) adopted by the US Congress as a successor of Mutual Defense Assistance Act (MDAA). Gradually, on its basis, agreements on mutual defense strategy were signed with the individual states (in 1952 with Colombia). The act was extended each year until the early 1960's.²⁸

The divergence between Latin America and US became more distinct during the Truman administration. Latin American countries expected continuation of US assistance in their postwar economic and social development as hitherto, while United States emphasized the political stability in the Western Hemisphere and the mutual defense against communism, and between 1945 and 1950, less than 2% of the total US assistance was flowing to the region of Latin America.²⁹

The beginnings of Cold War led to the return to the “big stick” policy in Central America and Caribbean. The United States initiated or backed the government overthrow in Guatemala and established military dictatorship in Cuba and Nicaragua. During 1950's people in Latin America, particularly in Colombia, Venezuela and Cuba increased the pressure on the establishment of democracy in their countries. The victory of insurgents in Cuba factually meant the redeployment of anticommunist fight to the Caribbean and gave rise to an epoch of even stronger US interventionism in Latin America aimed against the leftist insurgents.³⁰

In 1953 Dwight Eisenhower became the new US president. He claimed to be strongly concerned of the matters in Latin America and in 1953 sent his brother dr. Milton Eisenhower for a five week fact-finding tour around the region. Milton Eisenhower was supposed to explore the real situation in the countries of South America, and suggest proper policy to be applied by the US in order to improve mutual relations. In his report, Milton Eisenhower concluded that economic cooperation was the main precondition for improving relations between the US and southern states of America.³¹ Despite these recommendations, however, President Eisenhower decided to implement a similar policy in Latin America as his predecessor. In his speech to Congress Eisenhower announced that “*Military assistance must be continued. Technical*

²⁷ Smith, 2005

²⁸ U.S. House of Representatives, undated

²⁹ Bethell; Roxborough.

³⁰ Nieto, Stoller, 2007

³¹ Time Magazin, 1953

assistance must be maintained. Economic assistance can be reduced.”³² He then advanced the mission of Latin America military from “hemispheric defense” to “internal security”.³³

The US disinterest in economic and social problems of Latin American countries and the support to military dictatorships gave rise to the growing anti-Americanism and nationalism. When in 1958 Vice President Richard Nixon went on an official visit to Latin America, his journey was accompanied by numerous anti-American demonstrations. The worst demonstrations took place in Peru and Venezuela, however, Colombia experienced some demonstrations of lower intensity itself. These unexpected demonstrations made it clear for the US that it was necessary to change fundamentally its policy towards Latin America. It feared that the bad economic situation and growing discontent of the local population could eventuate in leftist shift of the political regimes in some Latin American countries. Subsequently, the US shifted the policy into a combination between “big stick” and “good neighbor” approach.³⁴ The situation gave birth to so-called Commission 21, a commission that formulated new measures for economic cooperation. As the first step of the Commission 21, the Inter-American Development Bank was designed.³⁵ At its last meeting the commission adopted a Bogota Agreement, in which the United States promised to provide 500 million USD for Latin American countries. This increasing willingness to economic cooperation meant a serious progress in US-American relations.³⁶ President Kennedy further developed the idea of economic cooperation via the Alliance for Progress.

Alliance for Progress was introduced in March 1961 at the Assembly of Latin American heads of embassies. The alliance was a part of a new Foreign policy of Kennedy administration called New Frontiers. It emphasized the need to abandon old dogmas of US foreign policies and was regarded as an ambitious plan for both economic and social development in Latin America.³⁷ The alliance of the United States emphasized the distance from all military dictatorships in Latin America and conversely expressed its willingness to cooperate with civil governments. The program was developed in collaboration with experts from the UN, particularly from the Economic

³² Eisenhower, 1954

³³ Chomsky, 1993

³⁴ Smith, 2005

³⁵ Krenn, 1990

³⁶ Smith, 2005

³⁷ Kennedy, 1960

Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). The program should have provided capital and assistance for development of countries in Latin America. 20 billion USD were supposed to be earmarked for 10 years period. Colombia was supposed to get 14 million USD as military aid and 203 million USD as economic assistance during the first two years.³⁸ Alliance, however, did not yield expected results. During the sixties the military track of US involvement in Latin America continued to prevail. That, along with the increasing use of illegal methods, such as torture or the rise of paramilitaries, allegedly being conducted or contributed by the US (e.g. School of Americas) ultimately led to even greater resistance against the United States.³⁹ The significant causation of this set-back was also the fact that the United States played a major role in allocation of the funds and strongly influenced their distribution toward the purchase of products from the United States.⁴⁰ The alliance was consecutively abolished after the assassination of President Kennedy.

During the 1960's, President Johnson tried to restore the alliance and promote a single market in Latin America. This effort, however, failed because of the Latin American fears of potentially greater control over their economies by US companies. In 1965, the National Security Doctrine was introduced in Latin America. According to Noam Chomsky, the doctrine indicated:

“... the right [of governments] to combat the internal enemy, as set forth in the Brazilian doctrine, the Argentine doctrine, the Uruguayan doctrine, and the Colombian doctrine: it is the right to fight and to exterminate social workers, trade unionists, men and women who are not supportive of the establishment, and who are assumed to be communist extremists. And this could mean anyone, including human rights activists...”⁴¹

The National Security Doctrine emphasized rather the security of state, than of its citizens. It promoted notion of “internal enemy”, rather than conventional “external enemy”, and enabled the US to retain military control over the states, whether directly through military regime or by means of civilian governments dependent on military assistance, as it was the case in Colombia after 1958.⁴²

³⁸ Krenn, 1990

³⁹ Nieto, Stoller, 2007

⁴⁰ Smith, 2005

⁴¹ Chomsky, 2011

⁴² Nieto, Stoller, 2007

With the outbreak of the Vietnam War, the United States decreased its focus on the region and at the beginning of Richard Nixon administration Latin America seemingly lost again its importance for the US Foreign Policy. As Henry Kissinger, then the President Nixon's advisor, declared in regard of the national security in his statement to the Chilean foreign minister Gabriel Valdes in 1969:

*"Nothing important can come from the South. History has never been produced in the South. The axis of history starts in Moscow, goes to Bonn, crosses over to Washington, and then goes to Tokyo. What happens in the South is of no importance."*⁴³

Despite this assertion that marginalized Latin America in the question of US strategic interest, Nelson Rockefeller was as former head of agency for Latin American Affairs delegated by President Nixon to visit this southern region. The visit was again accompanied by strong anti-American riots. The Governments of Chile, Peru and Venezuela even refused to admit him to their territories.⁴⁴ Riots took place also in Colombia, where the government brutally intervened to calm the situation (about 100 people were injured).⁴⁵ Surprisingly, Rockefeller's recommendation for the United States was to leave Latin America as it is, not to intervene and not to try to transform the political structure in US image and rather to refinance the region's foreign debt and remove bureaucratic impediments that prevented the efficient use of US aid. President Nixon did, however, little to implement these recommendations.⁴⁶ Instead, the most important aspect of Richard Nixon's administration happened to be the introduction of the concept of *war on drugs*, designed around the Nixon's statement that fight against illegal drugs is a "functional and moral equivalent of war".⁴⁷ For Nixon, this war constituted one of his priorities.

President Nixon's successor Gerald Ford had little interest in the region, as his attention was focused rather on Southeast Asia and the Middle East, and so by this period, US–Latin American relations had reached a very low point. Also James Carter, who took office of US President in 1977, did not consider the war on drugs as a priority. Instead, President Carter focused his Foreign Policy on human rights issues and

⁴³Smith, 2005

⁴⁴ibid

⁴⁵ibid

⁴⁶Krenn, 2007

⁴⁷Carpenter, 2003

promised to reject cooperation with military dictatorships.⁴⁸ He also stopped financing governments that violated human rights (e.g. Argentina, El Salvador and Nicaragua).⁴⁹

The advent of Ronald Reagan into the office entailed the return of hard-line in US foreign policy towards Latin America. The United States began once again to support the pro-American dictators and intervene against the leftist forces in the region.⁵⁰ Ronald Reagan said 1983 in his speech on Annual Meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers:

*“Central America is simply too close, and the strategic stakes are too high, for us to ignore the danger of governments seizing power there with ideological and military ties to the Soviet Union.”*⁵¹

During his mandate, the US implemented invasion of Grenada, supported anti-Sandinista rebel movement in Nicaragua known as Contras, backed the right-wing military and paramilitary in Guatemala and the government of rightist Napoleon Duarte in El Salvador. Also Colombia continued to except constant and significant military aid that was partially given to local paramilitary groups.⁵² The US virtually attempted to take military control over the area of Central America.

⁴⁸ Nieto, Stoller, 2007

⁴⁹ McPherson, 2006.

⁵⁰ Carpenter, 2003

⁵¹ Reagan, 1983

⁵² STOKES, 2005

2 Colombian Internal Development and US Colombian “pre-Plan of Colombia” Relations

2.1 Introduction

The historical development in Colombia presents determinant role in shaping its current situation. Although (or maybe because of that), Colombia has a great potential for becoming a wealthy developed country,⁵³ its history of violent conflicts, strengthened by the drug trade, inadequate internal policies as well as outside (particularly US) involvement brought this country into a position with the largest internal refugee problem, the largest drug trafficking problem and one of the most brutal human rights violations.⁵⁴ There are no simple answers on what had the strongest impact on the Colombian internal development. In this chapter the author briefly presents the conflict development, including the emergence of insurgence group and coca trade. Furthermore I focus on the policies adopted by the Colombian government to deal with the internal problems, as well as the policies applied on the insurgents-narco issues by the United States throughout the Colombian history until the 1999.⁵⁵

2.2 Colombian Violence, Guerrilla Genesis and the US Engagement

2.2.1 La Violencia and the Initial US Military Cooperation

In 1948, during the government of President Mariano Ospina Pérez (1946-1950), massive riots took place in Colombian capital – Bogota, known as *Bogotazo*. Despite the US accusation of Bogotazo being a planned attempt for a communist revolution,⁵⁶ as mentioned above, generally, the Bogotazo is believed to have rather a spontaneous response of frustrated Colombian people, disappointed by the death of Eliciere Jorge Gaitán, a political figure in whom they put so many expectations.

⁵³ Primarily due to its geographical situation (potentially attractive for the tourism sector) and rich store of natural resources (ranging from minerals to energy resources, agricultural products and fuels)

⁵⁴ Egeland, 2004

⁵⁵ In 1999 was adopted a complex initiative to fight the drug trafficking – Plan Colombia - which will be viewed at large in the chapter 4.

⁵⁶ Fidel Castro was presented in Colombia at the time of Bogotazo, as was later revealed by the CIA, and was even close friend of Gloria Gaitán – daughter of Jorge Gaitán, the then main leftist politician, leader of Liberal Party and second most prominent politician in the country, whose assassination gave rise to the massive riots

Bogotazo gradually resulted in so-called *La Violencia* (the violence), period of civil unrest and fights between Liberal and Conservative supporters that lasted almost 10 years (1948 - 1957). According to some estimates, more than 200 000 people were killed.⁵⁷ *La Violencia* is an important milestone in Colombian history, especially regarding the development of the insurgent groups and subsequently also the drug trade. *La Violencia* signified culmination of discontent within rural population with their social conditions and land situation in Colombia. The period of *La Violencia* is most generally seen as the beginnings of guerrilla movements,⁵⁸ during the sixties leading to formation of the FARC, ELN and in response also to the emergence of the rightist paramilitaries.

The Civil War of the fifties resulted in the displacement of Colombian peasants into the Amazon region, in search of refuge from violence. In early 1970's these peasants eventually found the source of their livelihood in coca cultivation. As Noam Chomsky indicates:

*“the areas, where the coca is being produced... are the areas where the peasants were forced and driven off their lands by armies and paramilitary forces of the land owners, and others, who by now have taken over most of the productive land in Colombia... and so there is not a lot things they can do here... [but] planting coca for which there is a steady market...”*⁵⁹

La Violencia was terminated in December 1957 by signing an agreement called *Frente Nacional* - National Front (1958 – 1974) between the Liberal and Conservative parties. The agreement distributed the executive and legislative power between these two parties and established a rotation system of the Liberal and Conservative presidents. The Communists, however, were excluded despite controlling various guerrilla ruled “independent republics” (see Map 2).⁶⁰

While the political situation in Colombia worsened during the fifties, the Colombian external relations with United States by contrast significantly improved. Colombia never really dovetailed into the discourse of the Cold War. As Stokes⁶¹ and

⁵⁷ Smith, 2005

⁵⁸ Smith, 2005

⁵⁹ Chomsky, 2011

⁶⁰ Němec, 2010

⁶¹ Stokes, 2005

Rabasa⁶² argue, the Foreign policy of the US had in fact little to do with the Cold War. Yet, since the start of la Violencia until the election of President Alfonso López Michelsen in 1974, Colombia was the second largest recipient of US aid,⁶³ having the US as a partner in the fight against the guerrilla-communist threat.

Despite high levels of violence, Colombia was due to its institutional stability and economic growth a model country in the region. The main threat to the established system in Colombia that fitted well the US interest was the very evolution of guerrillas. The potential rise of their power and influence over the Colombian people could have possibly led to a social change. Therefore, with the outset of guerrilla movements during La Violencia the country constituted a testing ground for the US counter-insurgency (CI) strategies.⁶⁴ Throughout the Cold War the principal means for US coercive statecraft in Colombia was CI warfare designed to internally police US-backed leadership. In 1952 these two states entered into an Agreement on mutual military assistance, and the US provided Colombia with financial support, trainings and weapons for Colombian Armed forces.⁶⁵

As mentioned in the Chapter 1, United States carried out a number of interventions in the name of anti-communist containment policy in Latin America. The interventions often meant backing a dictatorial form of government. The Cold War situation, which shaped the public opinion in an anti-communist favor, the US did not have to make any attempt to conceal such actions. George Kennan, the influential advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the creator of the policy of Containment wrote, that:

*“...we [the United States] should not hesitate before police repression by the local government. This is not shameful since the Communists are essentially traitors....It is better to have a strong regime in power than a liberal government if it is indulgent and relaxed and penetrated by Communists”*⁶⁶

As such approach was tolerated in whole Latin American region and Colombia was no exception. Although throughout the modern history, Colombia had not have a

⁶² Rabasa, 2001

⁶³ Tickner, 2003

⁶⁴ Nieto, Stoller, 2007

⁶⁵ Smith, 2005

⁶⁶ Kennan, 1950

dictator ruling the country (at least not officially)⁶⁷, the US had been making constant attempt to maintain the political status quo in the country. The guerrillas certainly provided it with ideal grounds for getting involved militarily, by the means of its CI strategy. Also Walt Rostow, then a national Security Advisor in the Kennedy administration, came up with a model as part of modernization theory, which presumed certain stages of development on the way of country to modernity. Part of the theory suggested, that strong internal security arrangements were necessary to ensure the development process from popular reforms during the crucial stage of “take off”.⁶⁸

Because of ongoing guerrilla-bandit problems, the National Front’s first president Alberto Lleras Camargo (1958-1962) strove to gain internal security assistance from the United States. Eisenhower’s administration sent a Special Survey Team to investigate Colombia’s internal security situation. The Special Team recommended to the Colombian government to find again a special counter-guerrilla combat force from the Colombian Army and institute an effective military intelligence service. Also the Government should have initiated so-called “attraction” program, in an effort to rehabilitate public opinion of Colombia’s security forces and reorganize, train, equip, and deploy the National Police and rehabilitate their public image.⁶⁹

US national interests in Colombia stemmed from the fact that Colombia is located in strategic Caribbean region. Therefore the US could not allow it to sink into turmoil and revolution that might lead to a government hostile to the United States. And there was a threat of potential Communist victory outcome of the conflict. Besides losing a strategic ally, the victory of the Communist Party would have jeopardized US investments (e.g. the United Fruit Company)⁷⁰ in the region.⁷¹ The aid program offering assistance and guidance to the Lleras administration best fitted the US national interest.

⁶⁷ Although Colombia under president Alvaro Uribe was still considered presidential representative democratic, critics of Uribe administration had been pointing out the fact that in 2005, Uribe changed the constitution to be allowed to candidate for the second term of his office. He moreover sought to change the constitution again in 2009. This time, however, constitutional court rejected a referendum to be held in order to allow Uribe to run for the third term and president Uribe terminated his 8 years lasting office as president in 2010.

⁶⁸ Rostow, 1959

⁶⁹ Rempe, 2002

⁷⁰ US corporations with deep and long lasting impact on the economic and political development in several countries in Latin America. In 1984 the corporation was transformed into today's Chiquita Brands International. The Company was involved in the „Santa Marta Massacre“, when in 1928, the workers of the United Fruit on strike demanding better working conditions. An army regiment from Bogotá was brought in by United Fruit to crush the strike. Between forty-seven to 2,000 workers were killed in this massacre.

⁷¹ Yuen, 2003

2.2.2 The Genesis of Counter-insurgency and Plan Lazo

In 1961 the new Kennedy administration completed the process of reorientation towards Colombia and placed it on a steady internal defense posture. In 1961, with Kennedy's authorization of the Foreign Assistance Act, the counter-insurgency became mightily embodied in US foreign security goals in Colombia⁷² and in 1962, the original US Special Warfare Center team was sent to Colombia to organize Colombian military for counter-insurgency. The team was led by Brigadier General William Yarborough and its objective was to study the violence problem, evaluate the effectiveness of the Colombian counterinsurgency effort, and make recommendations for the US policies. The team identified lack of central planning and coordination as the biggest threat to the counterinsurgency effort in Colombia. Inadequate dissemination of intelligence at both army at furthermore national level, as well as lack of counterintelligence training, were also stated issues for the internal security operations.⁷³ Therefore, the Yarborough team recommended that the Colombian government institute corrective measures with greater collaboration among the Administrative Department of Security DAS (Departamento Administrativo de Seguridad), National Police and armed forces in the fields of intelligence and counterintelligence. It also recommended the United States to provide guidance and assistance aspects of counter-insurgency.

When Lleras handed over power to his successor Guillermo León Valencia Muñoz (1962-1966), the situation required special treatment. Thus, in his final report to the Kennedy Administration's Special Group, Yarborough added a special secret supplement. According to this supplement, "positive measures" were to be implemented in case of further deterioration of the internal situation in Colombia. Civilian and military personnel were to be covertly selected and trained in resistance operations, in order to develop an underground civil and military structure.⁷⁴ In the secret supplement the report explicitly stated that:

"A concerted country team effort should be made now to select civilian and military personnel for clandestine training in resistance operations in case they are needed later. This should be done with a view toward development of a civil and

⁷² Stokes, 2002

⁷³ Rempe, 2002

⁷⁴ Yarbrough, 1962

military structure for exploitation in the event the Colombian internal security system deteriorates further. This structure should be used to pressure toward reforms known to be needed, perform counter-agent and counter-propaganda functions and as necessary execute paramilitary, sabotage and/or terrorist activities against known communist proponents. It should be backed by the United States... rather than depending on the Colombians to find their own solution.”⁷⁵

In practice, the report called for policing and disciplining of various sections of armed as well as unarmed civil society, as the notion of “subversion” and consequent labeling of person as “communist proponent” was defined very broadly. Therefore, unarmed progressive social forces were linked to subversion through the equation of their social identities with communism.⁷⁶ Although Colombia was repressive to some of its population also prior to US involvement,⁷⁷ the counter-insurgency strategy then served as a tool to legitimate and entrench actions that are by some scholars identified as state terror.⁷⁸ The US counter-insurgency strategy included special manuals for the trained Colombian Army and police forces. The manuals among other things contained recommended special psychological approach of the unarmed civilian population. The manual for instance indicated that:

“Civilians in the operational area may be collaborating with an enemy occupation force ... The psychological objectives will be the same as those for the enemy military. An isolation program designed to instill doubt and fear may be carried out ... If these programs fail, it may become necessary to take more aggressive action in the form of harsh treatment or even abductions. The abduction and harsh treatment of key enemy civilians can weaken the collaborators’ belief in the strength and power of their military forces.”⁷⁹

In a response on the Yarborough Report, the Colombian Army with US assistance implemented Plan Lazo (1962 – 1965). One of the main objectives of this plan was to erase the so-called independent republics that were created by the leftist insurgents in Upper Magdalena Valley in the south of Colombia (see Figure 1). In this region, US intelligence estimated some 1,600 to 2,000 guerrilla members and another

⁷⁵ Yarborough, 1962

⁷⁶ Stokes, 2005

⁷⁷ For example during the period la Violencia and also after, the Colombian Army acted strongly and repressively against the insurgents and other problematic groups

⁷⁸ Stokes; Petras. 2005

⁷⁹ US Department of the Army, 1962

4,000 in the southern and central departments of Colombia,⁸⁰ who remained there since the times of la Violencia. These former combatants had supposedly no broader political project, and rather focused on farming the land.⁸¹ However, these groups, although largely inactive, due to its independence from Colombian state control posed a potential threat to the National Government and for the US interest.

In 1964, President Guillermo León Valencia (1962–66) declared a “state of siege” and thus gave the Colombian military a free hand in its CI campaign, when the government transferred judicial and political powers to the military. The siege has significantly inspired the subsequent Colombian law, as the decrees passed during this period were later incorporated into the law. One example could be the law 48, which authorized the executive to create civil patrols and to provide them with weapons restricted to the exclusive use of the armed forces.⁸² The law 48 was also often cited as legal foundation for the support for paramilitaries. Although this legislation authorized only the president to create such groups, military commanders frequently ignored civilian authorities and used Law 48 to create their own groups. The first uses of paramilitary forces within the CI strategy occurred with the Plan Lazo.

The Plan Lazo major offensive against peasants took place in Marquetalia region⁸³, which was ruled by Manuel Marulanda, the soon-to-be leader and the boldest member of the guerrilla group Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). The offensive was called the “Operation Marquetalia”, and involved 16,000 US supplied troops, which was the equivalent of over the third of the Colombian military.

The military action was successful in geographical terms, as the independent republics were again placed under the Colombian authority. However, the insurgents from attacked regions escaped and merged into a collective self-defence organizations called “the block of South”,⁸⁴ from which was later in 1965 formed the FARC. The FARC essentially enjoyed a great deal of support within the Colombian population, as it acted as a defensive organization and provided basic social services in the absence of Colombian state. Also, as mentioned above, Marulanda, known amongst the people as “Tirofijo”, and widely respected for his leadership in earlier battles against the Colombian army, was made Chief of Staff of the newly reorganized guerrilla group.

⁸⁰ Rempe, 2002

⁸¹ Pearce, 2001

⁸² Laplante; Theidon. 2007

⁸³ Today a municipaliti in the Caldas departement (see picture 1)

⁸⁴ Stokes, 2005

Already two years before, in 1963, another guerrilla group, smaller and more connected to the leftist intellectual urban population, (consisted mostly of students, Catholic radicals, and left-wing intellectuals that hoped to emulate Fidel Castro's communist revolution in Cuba) evolved, known as the People's National Liberation Army (ELN).

Figure 1: Sketch of Independent Republics of Colombia (1950's – 1960's)



Source: Map Sources

The emerged Colombian communist guerrillas called for land reform and for the nationalization of strategic industries. They both stated that they represent the rural poor against Colombia's wealthy classes and oppose the US influence in Colombia, the privatization of natural resources, multinational corporations, and rightist violence.

With the continued existence of an increasingly coordinated guerrilla movement the USA sustained its CI military aid for the CI war and the suppression of civil unrest. By 1967, total US military aid to Colombia was 160 million USD, biggest amount provided to Latin American country by the US until the 80's and the conflict in

Salvador.⁸⁵ Yarborough's recommendations ultimately formed the core of a US-aided reorganization of Colombian military troops. This reorganization of Colombia's intelligence organizations, however, contributed to the containment of the violence problem. Doug Stokes sees the US policies towards Colombia and Latin America already during the fifties and sixties as follows:

“US support took a number of forms, including extensive security assistance, the legitimization of the repressive Latin American states through US contact and the training of Latin American military personnel in a number of US training academies... [such as] the School of the Americas (SOA),... [in order] to prevent indigenous social forces from challenging a status quo geared towards what were perceived to be core US interests: the maintenance of pro-US governments and national economies open to US capital penetration.”⁸⁶

2.3 The Rise of the Coca Cultivation and the Guerrilla Uprise

Coca has been considered the sacred leaf of the Andes and has been used by the indigenous people in Colombia for centuries. By the mid-1970's, rural poverty in Colombia that reached 67 percent of the population, led many landless peasants to migrate to regions of southern Colombia to cultivate coca. Consequently, also the illegal coca-trade developed. During the seventies, primarily Peru and Bolivia were the producers of coca paste, which was then transported to Colombia to be refined and processed into cocaine. The final product was then smuggled into the United States and Europe.

During the 1970's, the drugs became a significant concern of the US policies. It was one of the important “three Ds” concerns, meaning democracy, development and drugs.⁸⁷ First crucial step in escalating or militarizing the international side of the anti-drug effort was made under the Reagan's administration. US have been fighting in Latin America the supply-side “war on drugs” since then, as Richard Nixon labeled it in 1973. This “war” was placed mainly in Colombia, at that time the only country in the region that had an additional component to the drugs problem, the guerrillas, who use the drug trade to fuel the protracted conflict.

⁸⁵ Pearce, 2001

⁸⁶ Stokes 2005, p. 58

⁸⁷ Hesselroth, 2003

2.3.1 The Initial US-Colombia Counter-drug Strategies and its Consequences

In 1974, the sharing power agreement in Colombia came to its end with the first elected president Alfonso López Michelsen (1974-1978). López was the first Colombian president, who had to face all the three Colombian problems that have been hindering every administration since then - the economy, the guerrillas and the drug trade. Although López Michelsen did not view drug trafficking as a serious threat at the beginning of his administration, by 1978 he recognized the corruptive and baleful impact that the drug industry was having on the political and economic structures of Colombian society. In some areas, prominent drug traffickers became so powerful that they were able to even get themselves elected to local or state offices.

The narcotics industry contributed to a foreign exchange surplus and generated employment. It thus, in compliance with the Ross' theory about lootable resources,⁸⁸ generated considerable income for the poor population in rural areas of Colombia.⁸⁹ As apparent from figure 2 and 3, departments with significant coca cultivation have generally lower percentage of poor population, although those are mostly the rural areas of Caqueta, Meta, Nariño and Norte de Santander.

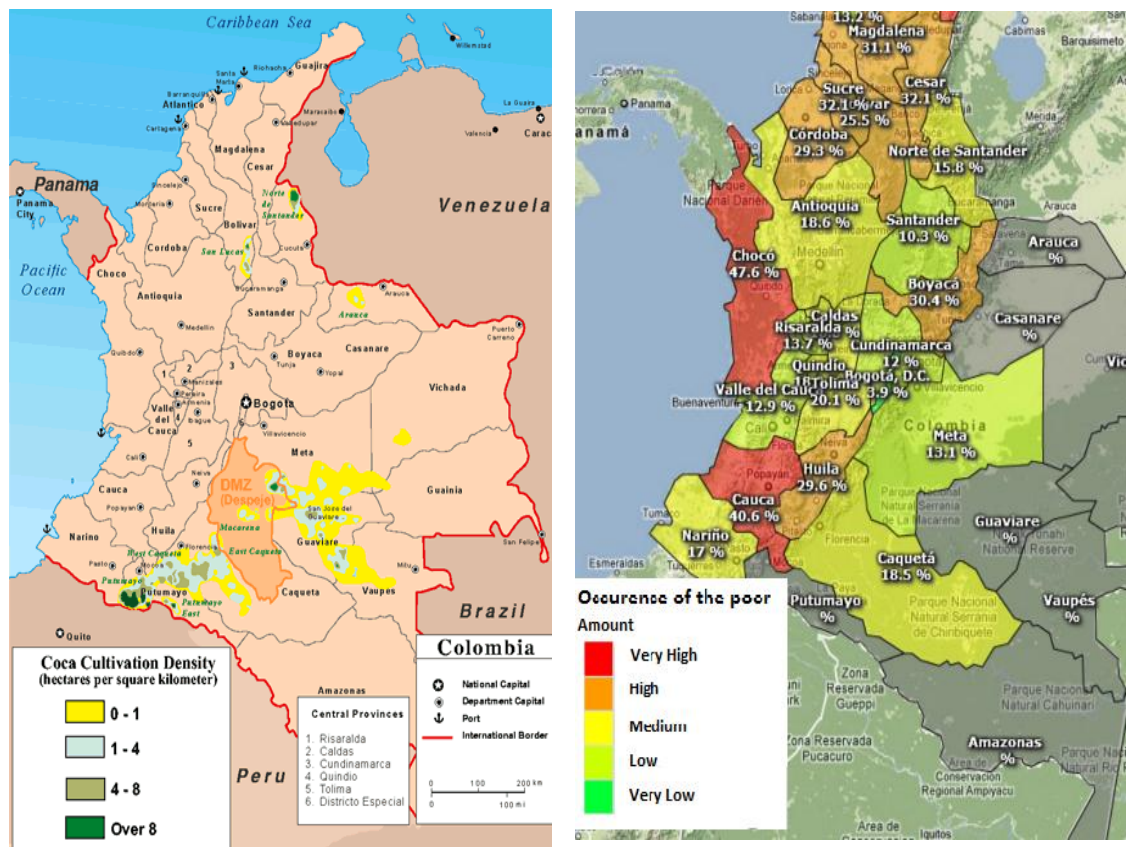
However, the overall impact of increasing drug trafficking was detrimental to the national economy. The income provided by the drug industry was used primarily for consumption rather than for productive investment. Drug traffickers controlled a large portion of the illicit economy and a significant amount of the official economy. Under these conditions, the government efforts at national economic planning were being undermined. Moreover, expenditures that were spent by the government to combat drug trafficking were emptying funds that could have been used more productively elsewhere.

⁸⁸ Michale Ross assumes that the more lootable the resource is, the more likely it is to benefit local peoples and the poor.

⁸⁹ Ross, 2003

Figure 2: Map showing the general coca cultivations areas in Colombia

Figure 3: Map showing percentual incidence of the poor in Colombia by department



Source: *Maps of Colombia, Nation Master, 2010; Incidencia de Pobreza por Departamento. Target Map, 2004 – edited by author*

In terms of the mutual relations between Colombia and United States, the situation worsened during the mandate of President López. López was the first Colombian president, who refused to accept a financial assistance from the US Agency for International Development (USAID), arguing that American economic aid only had caused Colombia an unhealthy dependence on the US economy.⁹⁰

The successor of President López, Liberal Jorge Turbay Ayala, attempted to maintain the independent foreign policy. However, the Cuban support for the M-19⁹¹ and Nicaraguan effort to claim the islands in the Caribbean belonging to Colombia, the country once again turned itself in favor of the United States. Also shortly after taking office, Turbay gave top priority to combating guerrilla activity and narcotics trafficking

⁹⁰ Country Studies, 2003-2011

⁹¹ 19th of April Movement – then the Colombian guerrilla movement

and signed an *Extradition Treaty with the United States* in 1979.⁹² The extradition treaty:

*“... provides for the extradition of fugitives who have been charged with or convicted of any of thirty-five offenses listed in the schedule annexed to the treaty... including those relating to narcotics, aircraft hijacking, bribery, and obstruction of justice...”*⁹³

The extradition treaty consequently intensified the campaign of bombings and assassinations, as it was viewed by many as American neocolonialism and was opposed by both the drug cartels as well as the rebel groups.⁹⁴ Although the institution of a state of siege and the National Security Statute of 1978 were designed allegedly to counteract drug trafficking, they substantially enhanced the government’s ability to act against guerrillas. Although Colombian government affirmed that such measures were needed to counter leftist guerrillas, critics avouched that repression resulted from the worsening economic situation. Further criticism led Turbay to lift the state of siege and nullified the security statute while finishing his office in 1982.

Despite the hard measures that Turbay during his administration adopted, guerrilla activity increased and reached a peak and FARC expanded its operations, especially in Cauca and Caldas departments during this period. The drug traffickers in addition continued to exert increasing economic and political power in Colombia.

In the line with the US anti-narcotic strategy, the drug issue has been presented as the central concern of Colombian-American relations since the 70’s, and its intensity grew constantly (See Tab 1). Consequently, the United States Government has been directly or indirectly involved in the intensification of the conflict caused by its anti-drugs policies. Especially the Ronald Reagan administration promoted an aggressive form of anti-drugs/counter-insurgency policies, putting North-South issues into the framework of East-West, and thus the fight against communism.⁹⁵ In 1980’s the US helped to implement programs to cut down the coca cultivation in Bolivia and Peru. In 1990, George Bush Sr. responded to continuous increase of imported cocaine by enforcing the Andean initiative, five-year coca eradication program focused on Peru,

⁹² Country Studies, 2012

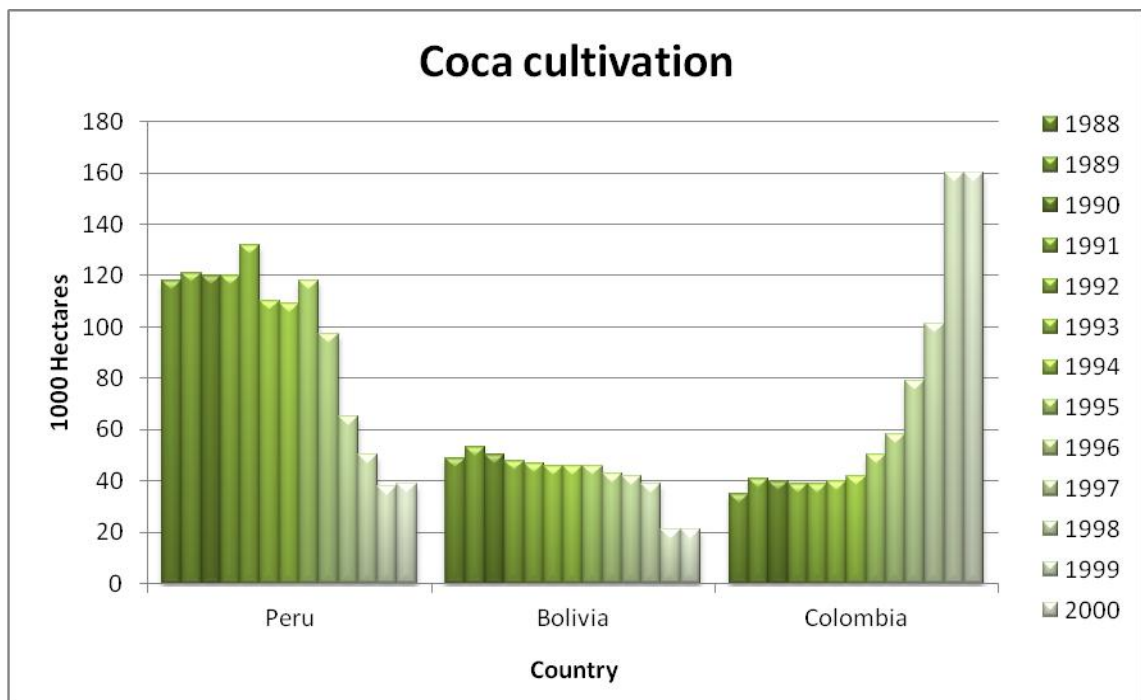
⁹³ International Extradition Lawyers, 1979

⁹⁴ Hylton, 2002

⁹⁵ Renssaler, 1989

Bolivia and Colombia. The budget was 2.2 billion USD.⁹⁶ The program primarily intended to prevent the transport of coca leaves, chemicals needed for cocaine fabrication and the cocaine itself within Latin American countries.

Figure 4: Coca Cultivation in the Andean Region, 1988-2000



Source: *Just the Facts. UNODC Coca Data for the Andean Region, 2008 – edited by the author*

Another important element of this strategy was to destroy the very production and distribution networks. The US policy was successful in disruption of transit routes and also a significant decrease of area coca plantation in Peru and Bolivia. As a result, however, the situation called “balloon effect” occurred.⁹⁷ Consequently, both the cultivation and production was almost entirely transferred to Colombia, as shown on the graph above.

The initiative made the Andes the leading recipient of U.S. military aid in the Western hemisphere. In the context of the end of the Cold War, it was yet another sign that the US focus had reoriented from communism to drugs.

⁹⁶ Rabasa; Chalk. 2001

⁹⁷ Balloon effect is an affect of erradication efforts, when a cultiovation of illicit crop is reduced in certain area, but is de facto only moved to a different area.

Despite the economic obstructions associated with the drug trafficking, the Colombian economy during the sixties and seventies managed to grow constantly. However, the growth had not had effect on the vast majority of Colombian population. According to Colombia's National Administrative Bureau of Statistic, in 1986, 40% of Colombians lived in relative and 18% in absolute poverty. Meanwhile, the top 3% of Colombia's landed elite owned more than 71% of arable land, leaving 57% of the poorest farmers with less than 3% of arable land.⁹⁸ As the poverty was more acute among rural inhabitants, a large rural-to-urban migration occurred in Colombia. The poor conditions and the rise of an urban underclass led to an escalation of support for Colombian guerrilla movements.

Table 1: US Economic/security and Anti-narcotic Assistance (1962-1979)

PROGRAM/YEAR ⁹⁹	1962	1963	1966	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Economic support Fund/Security Support Assistance /1000 USD ¹⁰⁰	140,770	1,150	8,206	-	-	-	-	-	-
Colombia Narcotics Control/1000 USD ¹⁰¹	-	-	-	1,133	2,051	2,870	183	6,624	9,913

Source: USAID. Data Files: Economic Assistance 1946-2010 – edited by author

2.3.2 Narco-trafficking: Guerrillas and Paramilitaries

In the beginning of 1980 some evidences appeared about linkages of drug traffickers with Cuban government and M-19, the most active guerrilla group during the Turbay administration. Yet, in mid-80's, the connection between drug traffickers and guerrillas was still not clear. They were reportedly accused of owning their own coca plantations, of accepting drug traffickers' support for financing certain illegal operations, or of being hired by the narco-traffickers to guard the laboratories for cocaine fabrication. Also positive kind of link appeared between the drug problem and

⁹⁸ WOLA, 1988

⁹⁹ Data for Economic/Security assistance resp. Narcotic Control between the years 1974 and 1979, resp. 1962 and 1966 are not available.

¹⁰⁰ Data are given in constant dollar value for 2010

¹⁰¹ Data are given in constant dollar value for 2010

rebel groups. The guerrillas were for example given credit for helping coca farmers whose livelihoods were deteriorated by drug eradication programs.

In the beginning of the coca boom the drug lords and the guerrillas worked together. The guerrillas allegedly controlled many of the coca growing regions while the cartels managed much of the cocaine production and trafficking. Soon, however, this alliance collapsed. The prominent leaders of the drug cartels in Cali and Medellín began to invest their drug income in property, mostly large cattle ranches. A somewhat “reverse land reform” occurred and lands in rural areas that were formerly inhabited by peasant were being taken over by drug warlords, who used the land to cultivate coca crops. Thereby they became the guerrillas’ enemy. The new narco-landowners soon began organizing their own paramilitary armies in order to fight and defend themselves against the guerrillas and the alleged guerrilla sympathizers. In one of his interview, Pablo Escobar, one of the most well known and prominent drug lords in Colombia and Latin America in general, went on record: *“You can accuse me of being a narcotics dealer, but to say that I’m in league with the guerrillas, well, that really hurts my personal dignity.”*¹⁰²

During the period of early 80’s more paramilitary groups began to emerge, including one especially significant one - Death to Kidnappers (Muerte a Secuestradores - MAS). This paramilitary group was a prototype of a new kind of a paramilitary tied closely to the drug trade. The group also had undisputed links to the Colombian military and powerful sectors of Colombian society. Large number of the group members had been trained in the School of Americas.¹⁰³

2.3.3 Peace Attempts during the 80’s and US Continuous Counter-insurgency Policy

In response to the failure of Colombian military to eliminate the guerrillas and to rise popularity that these groups had gained, Belisario Betancur (1982-1986) unlike his predecessor promoted *moderate* approach to the guerrillas. Betancur continued the fight against narco-trafficking, however, he did not see any analogy between that fight and the fight between the rebels armed groups. Betancur initiated peace negotiations with

¹⁰²Renssealer, 1985

¹⁰³ School of Americas, SOA (since 2001 Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation, WHISC) is a US founded training school for Latin American soldiers. It is famous for training its soldiers to especially brutal counter-insurgency tactics, including torturing, and had a number of infamous dictators and suppressor of human rights graduate this school.

the insurgents and even managed to conclude a truce in 1984. The amnesty freed a number of jailed guerrilla fighters and provided financial credits, land and housing for the guerrillas to re-enter civilian life. Betancur's strategy gained at that time significant popularity among Colombian populations, and conversely managed to weaken the popular support base for guerrillas.¹⁰⁴ The military expenditures were also slightly abridged during Betancur administration. In 1986 it only represented an estimated 1 % as a proportion of the Colombian GDP, in comparison to the average of 1.7 % of GDP during the 1970's. As a proportion of the GNP, military spending also remained relatively constant through the mid-1980. In 1985 military expenditures were estimated at 1.2 % of GNP.¹⁰⁵

The political scene was simultaneously made more accessible in Colombia during the first half of 80's. A political wing of FARC, the Patriotic Union (Unión Patriótica) gained its place in the Colombian political arena.¹⁰⁶ By the means of this political movement, the left could have been represented and peasant and working-class interests could have been articulated within a democratic framework. As Ricardo Vargas Meza in one of his articles opined:

*“By incorporating some of the FARC's socio-economic demands and extending the cease-fire, the accords opened the possibility of a political resolution to the conflict. Betancur's position was a radical departure from that of his predecessors, for he recognized that guerrilla violence was the product of real social conditions and he understood the relationship between those conditions and the demands of the insurgents”*¹⁰⁷

Being formed in 1985, the UP managed to secure 5 % of the votes in the 1986 national elections. However, since its inception, the UP members and supporters were persecuted, tortured and murdered by groups that were against the Patriotic Union participation in the political arena and potential consequent societal change. By the mid-1990's, over 3,000 UP members were murdered mostly by Colombian paramilitary forces.¹⁰⁸ According to Doug Stokes, *“this repression, particularly against the UP, has*

¹⁰⁴ EIR, 1984

¹⁰⁵ Country Data, 1988

¹⁰⁶ Stokes, 2005

¹⁰⁷ Meza, 1998. p. 24

¹⁰⁸ Restrepo; Vargas, 2003

served to perpetuate the violence in Colombia and insulate Colombia's political system from reformist pressures."¹⁰⁹

In terms of foreign policy, Betancur aspired for greater autonomy. In 1983, Colombia became a member of the Non-Aligned Movement.¹¹⁰ Despite the extradition treaty with United States Betancur refused the US requests to extradite.¹¹¹ The government did nevertheless prosecute the leaders of drug cartels. Particularly Minister of Justice Rodrigo Lara Bonilla emphasized the fight against drug trafficking and corruption penetrating into politics. In 1984, Minister Lara was assassinated, which was an impulse for Betancur to elaborate the cooperation with the US in the war on drugs. In spite of the ongoing peace process, the Colombian military and paramilitaries, backed by the United States, carried on the CI offensives against the guerrilla groups and often also Colombian civilians. In addition, number of new paramilitary groups emerged during the peace process.¹¹² Colombian Government later initiated the extradition of Colombians to the United States and started aerial spraying of marijuana fields with the US financial support.¹¹³

The United States supported Colombian Military significantly throughout the peace process by the arms supply and counter-insurgency training. Between 1984 and 1990, the US led School of Americas trained 4,844 in counter-insurgency.¹¹⁴ United States military assistance funds scheduled under the Military Assistance Program (MAP) in 1986 included 20 million USD in Foreign Military Sales (FMS) credits and 950,000 USD provided under the International Military Education and Training (IMET) Program.¹¹⁵ Also the total military assistance to Colombia continued to flow in Colombia in high amounts, when only year after concluding the truce the US military assistance to Colombia reached its peak of 47 million USD (See Tab 2). Such policies had been logically undermining the peace process.¹¹⁶

In addition, during the 80's, profit from drug trafficking reached a level where certain restructuring in the business was inevitable. Over time, considerable amount of finances from drugs started to concentrate in the hands of so called "drug lords". The

¹⁰⁹ Stokes, 2005. p. 77

¹¹⁰ Group of states that consider themselves not aligned formally with or against any major power bloc

¹¹¹ Rabasa, Chalk, 2001

¹¹² Stokes, 2005

¹¹³ Velez, 1995

¹¹⁴ Lesley, 2004

¹¹⁵ Country Data, 1988

¹¹⁶ Country Data, 1988

cocaine trade created number of organized groups, however, particularly two very well organized and numerically large cartels gained a privileged position. These cartels were based in Medellin and Cali. They both teemed with their enormous impact on the economic, social and political structure of the country. Colombian drug cartels in this period were characterized primarily by their ability and willingness to use violence, against both their enemies and opponents and also to the Colombian population in general, to create an atmosphere of fear. President Betancur, faced with the increasing power of cartels, in 1988 declared that Colombia “*is facing an organization stronger than the state itself*”.¹¹⁷

During the administration of the following Colombian President Virgilio Barco Vargas (1986-1990), Colombia continued the joint struggle against drug trafficking. The government installed, with the support of the US, radar system in order to improve the detection of drug smuggling aircrafts. The results were however not as high as expected. There is no evidence that during the first two years of his mandate, the anti-drug effort was any stronger than previously.¹¹⁸

Virgilio Barco, as well as Betancur, showed only a little interest in the issue of narco-guerrillas connection. However, in the late 80’s, guerrilla activities increased and the rise of power and influence of Colombian narco traffickers posed a significant threat to national security. As a consequence, Colombian government had to increase its military expenditures. For instance, in 1988, the military expenditures of Colombian central government were 827 million USD,¹¹⁹ more than twice as much as in 1980 (See Tab 3).

¹¹⁷ Filippone, 1994

¹¹⁸ Velez, 1995

¹¹⁹ Constant dollar value for 1995

Table 2: US Total Military Assistance to Colombia (1975 – 1992)

<u>PROGRAM/ Year</u>	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
Total Military Assistance - 1000 USD ¹²⁰	2,270	65,710	1,546	2,068	144,882	33,330	610	530	20,836
<u>PROGRAM/ Year</u>	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Total Military Assistance – 1000 USD ¹²¹	1,151	46,976	1,386	1,759	2,345	7,000	96,725	140,365	81,169

Source: USAID. Data Files: Military Assistance 1947-2010 – edited by author

2.3.4 1990's: Dealing with the Conflict Intensification and Rise in the Narco-trafficking and Crisis of the US-Colombia Relations

With the end of the Cold War, US national security was no longer preoccupied by the Soviet threat. Therefore, the newly elected Bill Clinton's liberal administration rather focused on domestic treatment programs. Overall funding for national drug control rose from roughly 12 billion USD in 1993 to 15 billion USD in 1997.

“The results of this partnership [between the US and Andean countries in the drug control] have been mixed, and the policy question facing the Clinton Administration should have been whether those results can be improved and, if so, how. But the “new” Clinton approach says little about this issue. . . . Other nations are unlikely to take seriously a “new initiative” that has neither the interest of senior foreign policy makers nor significant resources behind it.”¹²²

In Colombia, meanwhile, the state was headed by César Gaviria Trujillo (1990-1994). In his office, Trujillo adopted new constitution that strengthened the position of Parliament, reformed the judicial system, expanded charter of rights and freedoms and established new institutions.¹²³ He also started a policy of “submission to justice” to

¹²⁰ Data are given in constant value of dollars for 2010

¹²¹ Data are given in constant value of dollars for 2010

¹²² Walters, 1994

¹²³ Němec, 2010

drug traffickers, which offered reductions of judicial penalties. At the same time applying government pressure via security and intelligence forces.¹²⁴ This required large-scale transnational trafficking of coca paste. During his administration, the large Colombian drug cartels were successfully banished. However, to compensate this demise of organizational structure, Colombian traffickers themselves began to organize the coca production process and Colombia emerged as the world's largest coca leaf producer in 1997. Meanwhile, FARC and ELN succeeded in strengthening their position and intensifying their military activities, due to considerable income from drug trafficking and kidnapping.¹²⁵

Table 3: Colombian Military Expenditures

PROGRAM/YEAR	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Military Expenditures/ mil USD ¹²⁶	474	461	535	580	528	766	753	827
PROGRAM/YEAR	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Military Expenditures/ mil USD ¹²⁷	987	1171	1480	1620	1481	1708	1335	2000

Source: U.S. Department of State. 1964-1997 – edited by author

Significant shift in mutual relations occurred in 1994, when Ernesto Samper Pizano (1994-1998) became a president. This former supporter of marijuana legalization had to face an accusation of his election campaign being backed by Cali drug cartel. The accusation was later taken as a fact, however, the Colombian political system necessitates the Congress consent to dismiss President from his office,¹²⁸ and the majority in Congress consisted of Samper's supporters. Thus, Samper managed to remain in the office.

This allegation nonetheless deteriorated relations with the United States significantly. Moreover, Colombia refused to extradite suspected dealers to the US, and jail sentences for traffickers were considered too lenient by US officials. As the US policy towards Colombia was designed on the principle of eradication of narco-

¹²⁴ Velez, 1995

¹²⁵ Manwaring, 2002

¹²⁶ Data are given in constant dollar value for 1995

¹²⁷ Data are given in constant dollar value for 1995

¹²⁸ Némec, 2010

trafficking, the US obviously could not continue to provide assistance to such publicly discredited government as before. Colombia was often referred to as a “narco-democracy” or “narco-state” during this period. The United States, at that time under the Bill Clinton’s administration, even abandoned the direct contacts with the whole Colombian executive branch and in March 1996, Colombia was decertified as a partner in the “drug war”.¹²⁹ As a consequence, Colombia was rendered no longer eligible for US foreign Aid. Ernesto Samper regarded the decertification as an unjust act from the US side with unpleasant consequences. In the interview only two weeks after the announcement of the decertification he commented that:

*“Above all, it [the decertification] means the destruction of the alliance we have had for more than 15 years between Colombia and the United States to combat drug trafficking. I believe this is one of the main and more concerning effects. Of course, it may have some economic effects, which we are trying to counteract, but to me, the most important effect is that it breaks the alliance we have had for 15 years in the fight against drug trafficking.”*¹³⁰

Nevertheless, no sanctions were ever applied to Colombia, and oddly, neither the narco, nor the total assistance provided by the US to Colombia, had dropped after the act of decertification, as apparent from the table 4 below.

In 1994, however, still under Clinton administration, Republican Party won the majority in both US houses of Congress. The administration soon refocused both its domestic and foreign policies, and, calling the drug situation in United States growing national crisis, practically speaking brought the “war on drugs” back to Colombia and Latin America in general.¹³¹

Therefore, there was a continuance of anti-drug cooperation despite the disruption of mutual, which could be further explained by the fact that Samper administration was after the scandal widely discredited, which let him no other choice but to cooperate obediently to accommodate the US efforts. In addition, the United States was enabled to freely imply its efforts both inside and outside Samper

¹²⁹ Krause, 1996

¹³⁰ Samper, 1996

¹³¹ The decision making and its determinants will be more detailed in the Chapter 3.

administration. Paradoxically, the period under the Samper rule, the Colombian antidrug policies are alleged to be the most effective.¹³²

Table 4: US Anti-narcotic Assistance and Total Grant Aid to Colombia

PROGRAM/YEAR	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Colombia Narcotics Control /1000 USD ¹³³	29,739	33,887	35,445	27,769	21,754	21,342	43,814	55,616
All Grant Aid to Colombia, All Programs/1000 USD ¹³⁴	-	-	-	-	-	65,086	86,563	115,681

Source: USAID, . Data Files: Economic Assistance 1946-2010 ; Just the Facts. U.S. Aid to Colombia, All Programs, 2006-2011 – edited by the author

¹³² Crandall, 2001

¹³³ Data are given in constant dollar value for 2010

¹³⁴ Data are given in constant dollar value for 2011

3 The Issues in Colombia from the US Perspective

This chapter attempts to introduce the concept of drug trafficking in the political security context. The United States has, until recently, presented its policy towards Colombia as being based primarily on the Colombian narco-trafficking issue. Drugs, particularly cocaine, were considered as one of the serious threats to the US national security. Therefore the author finds it essential to put the problem into a theoretical framework. In this chapter, the general apprehension of the drug trafficking as a potential national security threat is discussed. Further, the cocaine issue in the United States is presented, to assess, how serious the threat of drug trade is in terms of domestic security. In the chapter three, the US interests in Colombia, other than drugs, are discussed. The author then puts a brief image of the conventional, as well as the US strategies to deal with the drug issue. In order to understand the process and main determinants of drug and foreign policy making well, the US principal foreign policy components and drug control institutions are also presented.

3.1 Narco Trafficking and Terrorism as a National Security Threat

During the last two decades, globalization has internationalized what was before only a regional or local organized crime. Thus, the United States has since the 80's considered drug cultivation, production and international trade as a *National Security Threat*.¹³⁵ It is so, primarily, because the drug industry is undoubtedly linked to the international crime and many terrorist organizations.¹³⁶ In the 1990's the United States turned more attention to both domestic and transnational threats of non-governmental character, such as organized crime, illegal immigration, money laundering, human trafficking, smuggling weapons and drugs and terrorism. All these threats have been causing social pressures that undermine the sovereignty, democracy, stability and security of all countries affected, including the United States. Smuggling of drugs is associated with the crime and undermines stability in all the countries involved in the drug trafficking process,¹³⁷ meaning the producer, the transit country and the country of consumption, being the United States in this case.

¹³⁵ Manwaring, 1994

¹³⁶ National Intelligence Council, 2010

¹³⁷ US National Security Strategy, 1998

In 2010, the US National Intelligence Council (NIC) compared the Colombian situation of Transnational Organized Crime with the situation in Afghanistan.

*“The proceeds from poppy/coca farming and heroin/cocaine production continue to provide insurgent and extremist groups with stable sources of financing beyond the reach of governments. Afghanistan’s and Colombian democratic future is threatened by terrorist groups that derive funding from the drug trade and kidnapping.”*¹³⁸

In the case of Colombia, US sees clear link between long-lasting violence and the trafficking of cocaine, which is then imported into the United States. The narco trafficking in Colombia is considered as the main source of income for criminal organizations, including the rebellious left-wing guerrillas (FARC particularly).¹³⁹ There is an obvious and close linkage between the licit and illicit activities. Business owners and bankers have been reportedly involved in money laundering, and employees of legitimate companies have been used to conceal smuggling operations. For instance, in 2008, Russian arms broker Victor Bout was charged with and later in 2011 found guilty for trying to sell a significant amount of weapons to the FARC.¹⁴⁰

Drug issue and narco-trafficking itself is more likely to be taken as an essential security threat by the neo-liberalist branch of US policy makers, because the drug trafficking poses a threat to the social security agenda, with potential health and criminal issues.¹⁴¹ Such issues have been used to gain support for more US military presence in Colombia. In the 1980’s the American public expressed large concern for the drug problem with almost 40% marking it the biggest problem facing the United States. Nevertheless, the drug issue lost its significance over the years, as today it is only considered a biggest problem by 5% of Americans.¹⁴² Therefore, in order to gain public support for further involvement in Colombia matters, it was necessary to focus on other issues such as terror.

A security threat with such a label then becomes more profound also for the neorealist side of foreign policy concern. As for the neo-realists, the military conflict is much more crucial menace to the national security. After the September 11th, terrorism

¹³⁸ National Intelligence Council, 2010

¹³⁹ Pearce, 2001

¹⁴⁰ Harris; McVeig. 2011

¹⁴¹ Ericson, 2007

¹⁴² Open Society Foundation, 2012

became an issue number one for the United States regarding the outside threat to national security. As George Bush Jr. declared in his speech at the White House in 2002, “*defending our Nation against its enemies is the first and fundamental commitment of the Federal Government.*”¹⁴³ Since then, the FARC and ELN have also been referred to as “narco-terrorists”¹⁴⁴. The Colombian non-state armed groups, labeled since 2003 as terrorist organizations, are also by the US government defined as international terrorist and enemies to the United States. However, both the guerrillas and paramilitaries, even if they commit terrorist acts, should not, according to Angel Rabasa, be automatically identified as international terrorists, as the groups do not operate on an international level.¹⁴⁵ Generally, the actions taken by insurgent groups have only had a national or regional impact, and therefore should not be referred to as an international terrorism. Thus, the neo-realism may not really explain US foreign policy towards Colombia, as Colombia does not pose a military threat to the US.¹⁴⁶

According to Rebeca Haugevik, who analyzed a number of Congressional hearings from 1999 to 2004 in order to detect any obvious differences in the wording pre- and post-September 11th, the September 11th simply justified a formalization of an already established foreign policy. The terrorist issue was also an issue in pre-September 11th US foreign policy towards Colombia, but the incident made it easier for the government to vindicate the money spending on military assistance to this country and also weakened the opposition voices against the Plan Colombia in Congress. Most importantly, there was also much more focus on the drug issue as a cause of terror and instability than as a social problem.¹⁴⁷

3.1.1 Cocaine Issue on the US Ground

In the United States, cocaine trafficking is considered as a national security threat that undermines the US economy, values and identity. According to Sayaka Fukumi, cocaine trafficking is for the US a hybrid of traditional and nontraditional security threats. It affects both its identity and quality of its functions as a state, but at the same time, it is caused by a foreign infliction.¹⁴⁸ USA represents the

¹⁴³ The White House, undated

¹⁴⁴ Bjoernehed, 2004

¹⁴⁵ Rabasa, Chalk. 2003

¹⁴⁶ Rabasa, Chalk. 2003

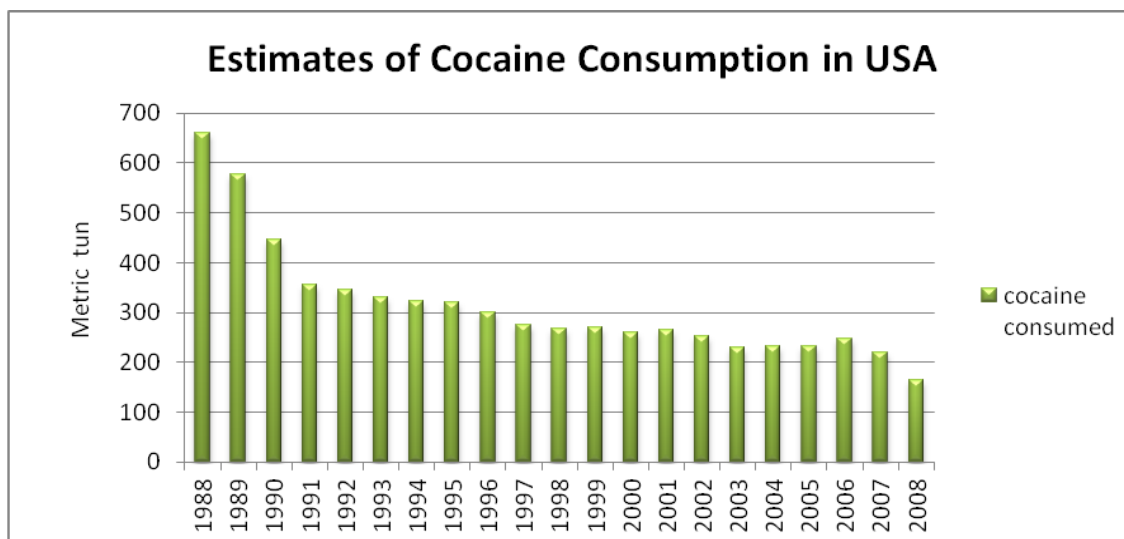
¹⁴⁷ Haugevik, 2004

¹⁴⁸ Fukumi, 2008

largest national cocaine market in the world, with close to 6 million annual users, accounting for nearly 30% of the global user population. Nonetheless, the market has been in decline since the 1990's (see graph 2). In 1982, it was estimated that there were 10.5 million cocaine users in the US. This number had fallen to 5.3 million by the 2008. The cocaine trade has thus had to adjust to a loss of 50% of users in its main market. Yet, in 2009 the US Drug Threat Assessment declared that “*Cocaine trafficking is the leading drug threat to the United States.*”¹⁴⁹

During 1990's the drug consumption caused 100,000 deaths.¹⁵⁰ According to the estimates of the Office for National Drug Policy (ONDCP), there were more than 4 million cocaine users in the US in 1997, approximately one sixth of the total number of all drug users in United States. More than 340 tons of cocaine flowed annually into the United States at that time and according to the estimates, more than 275 were actually sold in the US market¹⁵¹. The total societal cost is estimated at 300 billion USD annually, due to lost productivity, crime, policing, rehabilitation and hospital care.¹⁵² The decline of cocaine use in the USA over the last 25 years has, according to UNODC, appeared due to “social learning” that led to a decline in demand. Therefore, in this case, the domestic factors on the demand side surpassed the development in the supply country.

Figure 5: Graph showing estimated cocaine consumption (1988-2008)



Source: UNODC, 2009

¹⁴⁹ National Drug Intelligence Center, 2008

¹⁵⁰ The data for cocaine has not been specifically collated yet, deaths definitely attributed to cocaine seem to account around 500 per 100,000 population per year worldwide.

¹⁵¹ The difference was withheld either at the brothers or on its way.

¹⁵² Marcella; Schulz. 1999

In the late 1990's, 70% of the cocaine entering the United States originated from Colombia, amounting to 300 metric tons with a street value of \$30 billion. In 2008, according to UNODC, the major portion of the cocaine that entered the United States still originated in Colombia. Furthermore, 90% of the seized or purchased cocaine samples have come from Colombia, having by far overtaken both Peru and Bolivia.¹⁵³

3.2 General Strategies to Combat Drug Trafficking

There is an important question to be posed regarding the possible ways to deal with the drug problem. *First*, is the primary guilt of intensive drug trafficking on the supplier side? In Colombian case - do Colombian illegal groups continue their drug production and distribution and the smuggling into the US, and as consequence, there is a negative impact on the health and social situation in the United States; or, *second*, is the generator rather the demanding population of the United States, who encourage the Colombian drug producers to take a significant risk in this illegal business and provide them with the coveted good? Similarly, another ambiguity could be, what kind of National threat it is that the Colombian drug production poses. Is the primary concern the threat to social and health situation in the consumer country (as is the perception of US liberals),¹⁵⁴ or is it instead the potential destabilization of producer country, terror stimulation and hence threat to the national interests of the destination country (the US), that prevail as the decisive factor?¹⁵⁵

These questions are especially crucial while evaluating the strategies adopted in order to fight the drug trafficking. The strategy focused on the producer country rather suggests, that the problem is supposedly on the supplier side, respectively that the threat is being seen more as the risk of the country's destabilization.

It is possible to distinguish two basic strategies of drug policy to be implied in the country of supply, the *soft* and the *hard* approach. The main distinction between these strategies is the share of the three main constituents of the fight against drugs, by which they are composed. The first one is the either chemical or mechanical eradication of coca plantations; the second main component is based on arrests of drug criminals

¹⁵³ World Drug Report ,2009

¹⁵⁴ See the Chapter 2.2.4 – The liberal president Bill Clinton administration focused more on the *domestic* anti-drug policies, in comparison to his predecessor and successor administrations.

¹⁵⁵ In the case of Colombia - the later being US interests in oil and US companies and worker's interest located in Colombia. As mentioned in the chapter 3.1, the former has rather been the case during the *pre*, the later during the *post*-September 11th Era.

and seizures of drugs or their precursors; and the third is composed of alternative development programs.¹⁵⁶ The preponderance of the last named within the strategy is considered as an attribute of the soft approach. The European Union's drug policy is predominantly composed of the soft approach, through social actions. The United States, in contrast, employs itself with rather hard policy approaches.

The ideal policy should involve and adequately combine all three instruments. For instance, if drug growing area is managed only by aerial spraying eradication programs, as a consequence, only the farmers are strongly affected. Due to lack of alternatives remaining for them to grow, they are simply forced to move their illegal cultivation to another place, or possibly also to become members of the illegal armed groups, as it is the case of Colombia. On the other hand, the reliance on alternative development and social improvements lasts disproportionately longer. Crops, which can replace the cultivation of coca, such as cocoa or coffee, often need several years to yield. In order to generate profit from these alternative crops, it is also necessary to build the infrastructure and new business capacities, which is not only time but also money consuming.¹⁵⁷

Another possible approach division is based on the economic terms, depending on whether the intervention into the drug industry takes place in the country of supply or of demand. The economy assumes a correlation and causal relationship between demand and supply. The strategy focused on reducing demand is based on the assumption that if the demand for drug significantly decreases, the drug price falls and the producers are no longer motivated to continue the drug production.¹⁵⁸ Contrarily, the supply-side intervention, reducing the production, aims to limit the availability of drugs until its price for the final consumer rises to such level, where the demand, and ultimately also the consumption, falls.¹⁵⁹

All these approaches can partially penetrate, but they always need to complement each other. Procedure with an excessive emphasis on the "hard" side could cause social unrest and hatred towards the proponent of such policy. The selected approaches and instruments are therefore crucial for the sustainability of any drug program.

¹⁵⁶ Felbab-Brown, et al. 2009

¹⁵⁷ Schaffer Library of Drug Policy, 1993

¹⁵⁸ Latinte ligence, 2011

¹⁵⁹ Dion; Russler. 2008

3.3 United States and the “War on Drugs”

In the war on drugs, the United States tries to prevent the problem to enter its territory. It therefore uses the concept of supply reduction, focusing on eradication and interdiction of coca cultivation in Colombia.¹⁶⁰ The US applies an approach which assumes that there if there is no supply, there is no demand. This ironically contradicts the capitalist concept of supply-demand interaction, presuming automatic arise of supply in order to meet the demand.¹⁶¹

The US drug policy can be divided into two groups. First there are the policies of control, with the certification policy being the most significant. The second group is classified as the policies of aid. These policies are mainly composed of provision of preferential trade conditions for the given countries and of alternative development programs. The United States has been using its political and economic influence through the economic assistance and annual narcotics certification. Andean states willing to cooperate with the US in its drug control strategy enjoy significant assistance and also trade preferences. By contrast, the unwillingness can lead to reduction of the aid, through the certification policy.¹⁶² As the Andean states are generally economically weak, such strategy provides the US with significant influence.¹⁶³ The decision of the US Congress is much more powerful than the decision of the government of the country of origin,¹⁶⁴ thus the assistance is often delivered regardless the country’s needs and interests. Such policy is therefore not accepted by the local population. It is rather viewed as a military operation, than an attempt to cooperate and help. This approach was particularly distinctive for the counter-insurgency policies of Reagan’s and Bush’s senior administrations. Yet, according to Fukumi, the military law enforcement is necessary for the fight against drug trade, as means to deter and punish.¹⁶⁵

In general, the US drug strategies have not been apprehended positively. The approach is overly realistic and thus the policy is conducted mainly in a self-interested way, ignoring the needs, interests and laws of the host country. The question of drug problem within the US foreign policy has been in the past ten years securitized to such an extent, so it can no longer be longer be called a “war on drugs” but already

¹⁶⁰ Miller; 2008

¹⁶¹ Interaction of Supply and Demand

¹⁶² See charter 3.3.3 for more detailed description of the certification policy

¹⁶³ Fukumi, 2008

¹⁶⁴ see Chapter 2.2.4

¹⁶⁵ Fukumi, 2008

declaredly “war on terror”.¹⁶⁶ In a CRS Report to the Congress form 2003, the former US administration proclaimed that the United States faces not only a threat from drug production and trafficking in the Andean region, but also from the increasing instability fueled by the drug trade, and that the assistance is needed to help a democratic government besieged by drug-supported leftist and rightist armed groups.¹⁶⁷

3.3.1 US Foreign Policy Interests in Colombia

The US interests in Colombia may be viewed as disputable. Although the strategies towards Colombia had changed over time, the US foreign policy has remained constant. The main US interests in the region seem to shift between *anti-narcotics*, *anti-terror* and *oil* interests.

As mentioned in the text above, according to the State Department, the anti-narcotics has been long time the crucial concern in Colombia. However, the potential destabilization of Colombia and the region, rather than the drug problems on the ground of United States, seem to pose the main threat. Otherwise, the emphasis of the drug policy would be rather put on the domestic, demand side of the drug issue, as according to most experts, this would be a much more efficient strategy.¹⁶⁸

The anti-terror interest, alongside with the war on terror, has been in the last years increasingly mentioned within the Colombian drug trafficking context. As obvious, however, from the previous chapters, the US assistance has been, directly or indirectly, oriented on the counterinsurgency strategies already since the sixties, when the organized guerrilla groups have first emerged. As mentioned in the Chapter 3.1, the shift from “war on drugs” to “war on terror” seen nowadays within the US foreign policy towards Colombia, is more or less rhetorical.

The third main range of US interests is related to the Colombian oil reserves. The importance of the Colombian (and also Venezuelan) oil as the US strategic interest is apparent within the US economic policies towards Colombia and the level of US

¹⁶⁶ Stop the Drug War, 2003

¹⁶⁷ Congressional Research Service, 2003

¹⁶⁸ In 1988, the nonprofit research think tank RAND was commissioned by the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) to conduct a study on possible drug problem solution. The United States were then facing problem of increasing drug trafficking and decreasing dug prices. RAND was supposed to determine, what should be the most efficient strategy. The assumed solution was the greater military deployment, presuming that the more difficult and dangerous the smuggling gets, the higher will be the expenses for trafficking, and the supply of the drug will eventually decrease. However, as the demand for drugs is relatively stable and insensitive on the price, the producers’ incomes in Colombia and other Andean countries will presumable rise.

investments in Colombia. In 2001, Colombia was the seventh largest oil supplier and Latin American fourth largest trading partner to the United States. The country was believed to possess 2.6 billion barrels of untapped petroleum and about ten times this amount in possible reserves.¹⁶⁹ Since the Gulf War in 1991, US has sought to lower its dependence on the middle east oil reserves and increase the importance of western hemisphere oil. The White House report in 1997 declared access to the Colombian and Venezuelan supplies a “vital interest” of the United States. Thus, it also became essential for the US to assure the long-term safety of these supplies.¹⁷⁰ Although Venezuela possesses significantly larger oil reserves, as long as its government is rather hostile to cooperation with the United States, Colombia with its allied government poses more suitable oil supplier. Moreover, in 2001, more than 40% of Colombia Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) was provided by the US.¹⁷¹ In 2010, according to President Obama’s National Export Initiative, Colombia was still one of the six priority export markets for US.¹⁷²

The strategic importance of Colombia for the United States was sententiously expressed in the US General Accounting Office (GAO) report:

*“Colombia is a long-time ally and significant trading partner of the United States and, therefore, its economic and political stability is important to the United States as well as to the Andean region. Colombia’s long-standing insurgency and the insurgents’ links to the illicit drug trade complicate the country’s efforts to tap its natural resources and make systemic economic reforms. Solving these problems is important to Colombia’s future stability.”*¹⁷³

3.3.2 US Approaches to the Drug Control

One of the instruments that show the privileged position of the President in the US Foreign policy and also in the US counter drug efforts is the so-called presidential certification, which consists in an annual denomination of drug countries, usually referred to as “drug majors”.¹⁷⁴ It is primarily a policy to reduce drug flow into the

¹⁶⁹ Klare, 2000

¹⁷⁰ Klare, 2000

¹⁷¹ Serafino, 2001

¹⁷² The White House, 2010

¹⁷³ GAO, 2009

¹⁷⁴ Drug majors are statutorily defined in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as a countries in which 1,000 hectares or more of illicit opium or coca is cultivated or harvested during a single year; 5,000 hectares or more of illicit cannabis is cultivated or harvested; there is a significant direct source of illicit narcotic or psychotropic drugs or other controlled substances significantly affecting the United States.

United States but at the same time a way to urge the Latin American states to commit to drug control. President of the United States has the competency to partially reduce the assistance into these countries, when they are considered not to exert enough effort in the fight against drugs. If the President determines a country that clearly fails in the fight against drugs, the country loses the opportunity to draw from other funds of the United States.¹⁷⁵ The only exception to this rule is when the US President declares the assistance as “vital” to national interests. Also the Congress itself can reduce or even remove the assistance in defiance of the presidential certification.¹⁷⁶ As mentioned in the Chapter 2, this policy was applied on Colombia, when it was decertified in 1996 after the corruption scandal of Ernesto Samper administration. However, the decertification is only applied on certain types of bilateral foreign assistance, not including counter-narcotics assistance.¹⁷⁷ Since its inception, the certification has been a source of disputes. Its proponents consider it as a useful diplomatic tool because it keeps countries in an effort to achieve the best possible results and as it also makes them publicly accountable for their actions, which are then a subject to international control. However, the possible downward side of such policy could be the one-sidedness of the decision process, as the countries are not subject to objective scrutiny, an international community.¹⁷⁸ Also over the time, the policy has lost its significance as diplomatic tool.¹⁷⁹

In order to improve the international and domestic counter-narcotics policy, the US congress has recently taken an interest in domestic initiative to counter drug demand. Nevertheless, the US drug control strategy has rather emphasized the supply-side programs, with the focus on the crop eradication, interdiction and domestic law enforcement efforts.¹⁸⁰ Also in case of the Colombia and the cocaine trafficking, United States allocated bulk of the expenses assigned to the fight against drug trade on the actions taking place in Colombia. As mentioned above, the focus on eradication and extradition, as well as police and military training and support, was the major part of US anti-drugs strategy. According to the Congressional Research Center, the funding for supply side has increased by 65% during the last decade, whereas the share of funding

¹⁷⁵ Spencer, 1998

¹⁷⁶ Seelke, Wyler, Beittel, 2010

¹⁷⁷ Ibid

¹⁷⁸ Hesselroth, 2005

¹⁷⁹ Fukumi, 2008

¹⁸⁰ Seelke, Wyler, Beittel, 2010

for solving the issue of domestic demand has only increased by 9% during the same period of time. Overall, the budget earmarked for the drug control is from two thirds enlisted to the supply-side programs.¹⁸¹

As for the supply-side operations, the coca eradication, both chemical and mechanical, has been a significant part of the US narco-strategy. In cooperation with the Colombian government, the US government has conceived a plan for Colombia in which the coca plant eradication has taken precedence over the eradication of the drug lords and cartels. The assistance is provided through the financing of Colombian military.¹⁸² With the funds and some other resources provided by the US it uses its helicopters and airplanes to spray putative coca plantations with an herbicide called glyphosate.¹⁸³ This chemical is proclaimed to be ideal coca eradication and environmental friendly as it does not react with common soil and is water soluble, and thus is not harmful to the environment. Thus the Colombian government, with the US support began to use its aerial spraying techniques without any worry of a harmful environmental impact. However, upon the recent studies conducted by the Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, some concerns appeared about the immediate and long term effects of such spraying.¹⁸⁴

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, extradition, police and military training and counter-insurgency support, have been the historic pillar of US anti-drug efforts. During the 1990's, the extradition cooperation between the US and Colombia managed to banish the main net of narco-trafficker cartels. The consequences of such achievement were however disputable and will be discussed in the Chapter 4.

There are also policies indirectly affecting the drug control, which cannot be identified as foreign aid. *The International Trade Incentives to the Andes* is a set of trade regimes potentially providing benefits to the Andean partners. It has been primarily targeted on four Andean countries – Colombia, Bolivia (until 2009), Peru and Ecuador. The signed Acts are the Andean Trade Preference Act (ATPA) from 1991, replaced by the Andean Trade Preference and Drug Eradication Act (ATPDEA) from 2002.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Seelke, Wyler, Beittel, 2010

¹⁸² Miller, 2008

¹⁸³ Pena, 2004

¹⁸⁴ See Chapter 4. Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement, 2003

¹⁸⁵ Seelke, Wyler, Beittel, 2010

3.3.3 US Institutional Drug Policy-Making

3.3.3.1 Office for National Drug Policy (ONDCP)

The most important body within the drug control institutions is the *Office for National Drug Policy* (ONDCP). ONDCP, which is a component of the White House Executive Office of the President of the United States, was founded in 1988 under the Ronald Reagan administration, by law against drug abuse. Its mission is to develop national strategies against the drug trafficking. It aims not only at the reduction of the US drug consumption and combating related health and criminal consequences, but it also prevents the smuggling of drugs into the United States and the drug production in the countries of origin.¹⁸⁶

The Director of ONDCP is, due to its privileged position in the fight against drugs, informally called the “drug czar”. Among other things, he is responsible for issuing National drug control strategy and coordination, evaluation and supervision of national and international efforts to combat drugs.¹⁸⁷ The creation of this institution is considered the product of bipartisan support.¹⁸⁸

3.3.3.2 Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA)

Charged with the drug smuggling and use of drugs within the United States, the *Drug Enforcement Administration* (DEA), is another political body involved in the control of narco trafficking. It is a federal law enforcement agency under the *United States Department of Justice*. It is responsible for coordinating and pursuing US drug investigation abroad. The DEA budget is focused on three major areas. Firstly it is the *demand reduction*, which is composed of law enforcement, anti-drug education and youth drug awareness programs. On this policy is however spent only a negligible portion of the budget, being 3.3 million USD in 2010. The second focus is aimed on the *reduction of drug-related crime*, consisting in funding local enforcement teams. The funds directed toward this strategy comprise roughly 181.8 million. By far the largest

¹⁸⁶ The White House, undated

¹⁸⁷ Maitland, 1982

¹⁸⁸ Bipartisan support means that both of the two major political parties (the Democrats and Republicans) agree about all or many parts of a political choice.

part of the budget, 1.015 billion USD, is dedicated to break foreign and domestic sources of supply.¹⁸⁹

The impact of the DEA policies on the drug trade, mostly directed on the supply-side problem, is being impugned. According to some experts, demand for drugs is inelastic.¹⁹⁰ That means, that people buying drugs will continue to buy them with only a little regard to price, and they would even often turn to crime in order to be able to accommodate the drug prices increase.

3.3.3.3 US Agency for International Development (USAID)

An important component in the drug policy making, particularly in terms of funding, is *US Agency for International Development (USAID)*. It provides funding for long-term programs of economic and social development. Within the drug policy it is in charge of foreign directed to the alternative development in compliance with the soft approach. Regarding this strategy, the main objective of USAID is to improve living conditions and create new livelihoods for the population affected by the eradication campaigns. The Alternative development program in Latin America was established in 2000 in order to protect natural resources, to strengthen state institutions, to promote legal job creation and to provide the farmers and peasants better access to the global market for the legal crops.¹⁹¹

The USAID states, that “*US foreign assistance has always had the twofold purpose of furthering America’s interests while improving lives in the developing world.*”¹⁹² However, it has been noted that significant portion of aid has gone back to donor countries through awarding contracts at inflated costs.¹⁹³ USAID has been also accused of being overly influenced by the US political and economical interests. In 1996, then the USAID director James Atwood pointed out in his testimony for Congress, that:

“USAID helps to create and expand new markets for the U.S. economy ... Most of the growth in U.S. exports continues to come from countries in the developing world and countries in transition... This growth supported roughly 1.9 million jobs in the

¹⁸⁹ Office of National Drug Control Policy, 2012

¹⁹⁰ Friedman, undated

¹⁹¹ USAID, 2006

¹⁹² USAID, undated

¹⁹³ Samarasinghe, 2004

*United States. That translates into over 4 million jobs for Americans. Developing countries are particularly good customers for our high-value exports...*¹⁹⁴

3.3.3.4 The US State Department

Another relevant component determining the US policy, including the drug policy, towards Colombia is *The State Department*. It defines a drug policy as one of its key interests. Secretary of State is responsible for coordinating all international anti-drug programs and for providing international support in the fight against drugs led by the US government. The main office is the *Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs* (INL), which advises the President, Secretary of State and other departments and agencies within the US Government on policies and programs to combat international narcotics and crime. The main objectives are to reduce the entry of illegal drugs into the United States; and to minimize the impact of international crime on the United States and its citizens.¹⁹⁵ The bureau annually publishes a report on international drug strategy for dealing with key countries in the fight against the drug trafficking and money laundering for the previous year. To fulfill these strategies, INL established local offices, known as Narcotic Affairs Section (NAS) in some of these countries. These offices are then responsible for the management of drug policy in the country of the drug origin. The largest office of NAS worldwide is based in the US Embassy in Bogota.¹⁹⁶ INL also manages and finances the international trainings of units performed by the members of the FBI, DEA, Coast Guard and other units. The training of foreign troops is conducted in close cooperation between the INL and international organizations such as UNODC (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime) or OAS (Organization of American States).

3.3.3.5 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

There are more agencies and institutions having an influence on the drug control policies. Their significance in this matter is, nevertheless, rather limited. There is however one more influential government agency, with a considerable impact on the drug trafficking and war on drugs that later developed into war on terror. Within the *Central Intelligence Agency* (CIA), there is a *Crimes and Narcotics Center*, whose task

¹⁹⁴ House of Representatives, 1996

¹⁹⁵ US Department of State, undated

¹⁹⁶ Embassy of the United States, Bogota, undated

is to collect and analyze information to assist the operations against drug-related crimes. The CIA has been particularly important in the counter-insurgency strategies. The CIA planning guide of the intelligence role in the counterinsurgency proposes following in “national liberation” wars:

“When the insurgents get to operating in battalion strength in two or more large regions... and when a guerrilla-killer force of battalion size is no longer adequate, then covert war is in full swing, exceeding the scope of a civilian agency's paramilitary capability. This means that the U.S. military establishment must begin to provide the government forces with large amounts of equipment and send out advisers to work with them at company level.”¹⁹⁷

The agency has been reportedly and repeatedly accused of being involved in illegal narco trafficking. CIA allegedly assisted the illicit drug activities of local leaders in return for their assistance.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ Central Intelligence Agency, 1994

¹⁹⁸ Solomon, 1997

4 Plan Colombia

“Today, a peaceful Colombia, progressive and free of drugs is an invisible ideal, but we are committed to make it happen in the future.”¹⁹⁹

Andrés Pastrana

4.1 Introduction

The Plan Colombia has been the main counter-narcotics initiative in Colombia and gradually also in its neighboring countries, supported by the United States. It can therefore provide a good example of the US foreign policy through the war on drugs and the consequent war on terror, which has been the primary concern of the US policies in Colombia and the whole Andean region. This chapter is focused on the Plan Colombia in the context of US foreign policy towards Colombia and Colombian internal development since 1999. It also analyzes the implementation of the Plan, emphasizing the US contribution, to see, whether the portion of the hard approach has really been prevalent, as it is alleged for the US drug policies. Results of the Plan, as well as its brief evaluation is also presented in this Chapter, however, it is at large discussed in the following Chapter 5.

4.2 Colombian Internal Situation in 1999

On 21st June 1998, Andreas Pastrana won elections and became the Colombian president. In 1999, Colombia appeared in a difficult situation, with the worst economic crisis in the past 30 years.²⁰⁰ There was a sharp decline in GDP inflation reaching 10.9%. The unemployment rate was close to 20%.²⁰¹ More than a half of the population was living below the poverty line²⁰² and 26.8% of the Colombian population in extreme poverty²⁰³.

The economic crisis of 1999 was accompanied by worsening security situation in the country. The guerrillas were gaining more supporters, due to the general dissatisfaction with the government policies and the social conditions of life. The rebels

¹⁹⁹ „Hoy, una Colombia en paz, progresista y libre de drogas es un ideal invisible; pero estamos comprometidos en hacerlo una realidad en el futuro“ Pastrana, 1999

²⁰⁰ International Monetary Fund, 2005

²⁰¹ International Monetary Fund, 2002

²⁰² The income is insufficient to provide basic needs, United States measure based solely on the cost of food

²⁰³ Since 2011, meaning surviving on less than 1.50 USD

gained a substantial part of the national territory under their control. Conflicts between guerrillas and Colombian military, the kidnappings and assassinations occurred widely. Only in 1999, 24,306 people were killed in Colombia.²⁰⁴ Fearing their lives, many people left their rural homes and migrated to the cities, or completely left the country for the United States or other countries. State apparatus was losing control over its own territory and failing to meet basic rights and freedoms of its citizens.²⁰⁵

The conflict in Colombia had many adverse consequences for national economy. It had increased spending on health care, military and police. Other hidden costs had rested in the outflow of human capital from the country. Also potential alternatives to raise additional capital income, such as tourism, had been highly limited, due to the unfavorable security situation. Sector of the oil industry had been, moreover, affected by the attacks on oil pipelines by the illegal armed groups.²⁰⁶

In such situation, it was inevitable for the Colombian president to elaborate some strategy to show the Colombian people efforts to settle the conflict situation.

4.3 Introduction and Adoption of Plan Colombia

As follows from the preceding text, the United States had been financially involved in numerous projects and initiatives in Colombia before the 1999 initiative. However, it had never reached such scale or complexity, as the Plan Colombia initiative.

The election of Colombian Conservative Party candidate Andrés Pastrana as president provided Bill Clinton with the opportunity to restart US relations with Colombia. Pastrana himself requested an international support for a new “Marshal Plan”²⁰⁷ to help Colombian farmers to find and grow an alternative crop to coca, as he saw the roots of the long lasting civil conflict in drugs, and the money coming from them.²⁰⁸ Thus, in 1999, he designed the Plan Colombia. It was suggested that not only the fight against drugs would be emphasized, but the overall improvement of Colombian internal situation and increased security in the country should be achieved. The plan explicitly included ten strategies - job creation, combating drug trafficking, the

²⁰⁴ Vicepresidencia de la República, 2008

²⁰⁵ Haugevik, 2004

²⁰⁶ Restrepo; Spagat; Vargas. 2004

²⁰⁷ Andrés Pastrana used this term in his speech at Bogotá's Tequendama Hotel on June 8, 1998.

²⁰⁸ BBC Mundo, 2000

peace negotiation, restructuring and modernization of the armed forces and police, strengthening of justice and respect for human rights, alternative development in coca growing areas, and education and health aid to those displaced by the conflict and other vulnerable groups.²⁰⁹ The Plan was from the beginning intended to be multilateral and that is allegedly why it was at first released in English. It was therefore targeted more at the international community and international organizations and appealed particularly to the principle of shared responsibility. Colombian Government suggested a multi-dimensional scheme in order to meet the interests of each side concerned in the Plan, especially the United States, but also the European Union in a large extent.

The plan was 7.5 billion USD “Marshall-style plan”, and was supposed to “bring peace to the country”, as according to Pastrana, only a peaceful solution was to be sustainable.²¹⁰ Thus, initially, the main objective of the Plan Colombia was to restore peace between the Colombian government and the insurgent groups, mainly FARC and ELN. The Strategy was supposed to focus on both the economic and social development. The central part of the plan was, however, dedicated to the drug control supported by the United States.²¹¹

President Clinton formally presented his proposal for the Plan Colombia to the US Congress on 11 January 2000. Before granting the financial support to such project, some Congressmen, both Republican and Democrat, expressed certain concerns of potential “vietnamization” of the conflict. They alerted that United States cannot afford another potentially unwinnable and expensive war. Rand Beers opined, that: *“We have no intention of becoming involved in Colombia’s counterinsurgency, but we do recognize that given the extensive links between Colombia’s guerrilla groups and the narcotics trade, that counter-narcotics forces will come into contact with the guerrillas and must be provided with the means to defend themselves.”*²¹² The concerns about the US being actively involved in Colombian civil war were so strong, that the State Department had to distribute a fact sheet called “Why Colombia Is Not the Next Vietnam”,²¹³ in order to tranquilize both the Congress and the American public. Also Bill Clinton declared during a joint news conference with Andres Pastrana in Cartagena, on 30th August 2000: *“We are not going to get into a shooting war. This is not Vietnam.*

²⁰⁹ USIP, 2000

²¹⁰ Acevedo; Bewly-Taylor; Youngers. 2008

²¹¹ USIP, 2000

²¹² Beers, 1999

²¹³ US Department of State, 2000

Neither is it Yankee imperialism."²¹⁴ Furthermore, the US military trainers were officially prohibited from direct engagement in combat situations.

Despite some concerns, however, the Plan was passed without major problems. It was so due to the fact that the Plan Colombia was initially introduced to the US Congress as an *emergency supplemental* attached to the Military Construction Appropriations Act 2001, which provided funding for all military construction and family housing programs of the Department of Defense (DoD).²¹⁵ Thus the enlisted 1.3 billion USD for this program was relatively low figure in comparison to the entire funding for counter-narcotics operations.²¹⁶ The Plan became an official policy on 13th July 2000, with the signing of the Public Law 106-246.²¹⁷

The counter-insurgency side of the US funded part of Plan Colombia was however denied, and the Plan remained entirely drug focused initiative.²¹⁸ The remaining part of the original design was then composed mainly of robust drug actions, aimed primarily on the eradication and forced capturing of criminals and drug manufacturers. A mere quarter of the resources were allocated for the instruments of soft approach. A major part of expenses was spent on purchasing of military equipment, helicopters, aircraft and personnel training.²¹⁹

4.4 Progression of Plan Colombia

When Andrés Pastrana proposed the Plan, he imagined it as, primarily, negotiating with insurgents, supported by improving economic conditions, institutional reforms and addressing the drug problem. In contrast, the US Government approach consisted in the production and trafficking eradication, which was supposed to limit the access to money for the insurgent organizations, and eventually end the violence in Colombia. The peace process itself was pushed into the background by the United States, as it has not provided support for such attempts. Therefore, the Pastrana peace efforts were not very successful. The process with ELN, initially, had seemed auspicious. Nonetheless, after the highly unpopular proposal of a safe zone in the north

²¹⁴ Reuters, 2000

²¹⁵ American Presidency Project, 2000

²¹⁶ Buckwalter; Struckan; Gvosdev. 2010

²¹⁷ See appendix A. Executive office, 2001

²¹⁸ There was however supposed indirect impact on the insurgents as a consequence of reduction of their resources

²¹⁹ Buckwalter, Struckman, Gvosdev. 2010

of Colombia (see Figure 6), which aroused numerous protests within residents of that area,²²⁰ Pastrana eventually announced the suspension of peace talks with the ELN in August 2001. He claimed the reason of ending the peace talks to be the continuous attacks and obstinate position of the ELN.²²¹

Figure 6: Map of Colombia, demilitarized zones from Pastrana Peace talks



Source: Map Sources

The peace negotiation with the other and stronger guerrilla group, FARC, went did not go well either. In August 2001, three bomb-making experts from Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) were captured in the zone of *despeje*²²² (see Figure 6), allegedly training the FARC guerrilla members in using plastic explosive. This was

²²⁰ Buckwalter, Struckman, Gvosdev. 2010

²²¹ CNN World, 2001

²²² The demilitarized safe zone created for the negotiations with the FARC in January 1999

another impulse for Colombian government to view the peace process as a failure and to shift the policies into more military based strategies.²²³ Pastrana resigned to his efforts and rather focused on strengthening of Colombian security forces, by signing the first reform of Colombian security law since 1965.²²⁴

When George Bush Jn. was about to become new US president, he declared that his administration would focus strongly on the Latin America. In 2000, he said that as president, he will “*look south, not just as an afterthought but as a fundamental commitment of my presidency.*”²²⁵ Due to his critique of national security strategy and foreign policy of Bill Clinton administration, it was expected that these policies would be reversed or downgraded by the new administration.²²⁶ However, at the summit of Americas in 2001, George Bush supported the Plan Colombia.²²⁷

After the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001, the United States began to focus more on the international fight against terrorism and there was an expected loss of interest in the Colombian “war on drugs”. However, Colombia, unlike other South American countries, has remained in the centre of the US interest.²²⁸ Although the event itself did not lead to a shift in US policies towards Colombia, as analyzed in the previous chapter, it did change how the situation was viewed by the US politicians. Along with the IRA terrorist scandal in the *despeje*, and the rising ELN attacks on the Colombian pipelines, the United States began to perceive Colombian guerrilla groups as “narco-terrorists”.²²⁹ The reason for US engagement was officially no longer just about the drugs. Congress as well as President Bush lifted the previous Clinton administration restrictions on the funds being allocated also to the counter-insurgency in order to support Colombia in its fight against rebels.²³⁰ Therefore the George Bush administration meant eventually a significant shift in the US policy. Since then, the US “war on drug” in Colombia could, and often is, referred to as “war on terror”.²³¹

The successor of President Pastrana, Álvaro Uribe Vélez (2002-2010) identified himself with this policy and began to use the assistance provided directly to the fight

²²³ Buckwalter, Struckman, Gvosdev. 2010

²²⁴ *ibid*

²²⁵ Diamond, 2000

²²⁶ Crandal, 2008

²²⁷ Buckwalter, Struckman, Gvosdev. 2010

²²⁸ Varela, 2008

²²⁹ Bjoernehed, 2004

²³⁰ Ramírez, 2005

²³¹ Vaicius; Isaacson; Adam. 2003

against insurgents.²³² He attempted to force the rebels from populated areas into the highlands. Coca started to be perceived only as a source of income for the insurgents. Uribe strongly focused on revamping Colombian army and police forces and on the increase of military capability for security in general.²³³ The new Colombian president was also very favored by George Bush due to his strong support for US foreign policy, particularly the Iraq war and the fact that under Uribe, Colombia presented an important counterweight to the growing regional influence of the leftist Venezuela's President Hugo Chávez. President Uribe.²³⁴ President Bush expressed his good relations with Álvaro Uribe also at Joint Press Availability in Bogota 2007: "*We've had good relations, we're friends, we've worked very closely on the extraditions.*"²³⁵

The Plan Colombia and US support for Colombian counter-insurgency and counter-drugs policies was affirmed by George Bush in November 2004, when he claimed to ask the Congress to renew its support so that "*this courageous nation can win its war against narco-terrorists.*"²³⁶ The US Congress then approved the increase of limits of US military personnel in Colombia to 800 military and 600 contractors.²³⁷ The mutual cooperation and relations were, however, endangered by the so called "Para-gate" scandal in 2006. There were allegations that appeared in connection with the Uribe administrations, that some elected officials, members of Colombian Congress as well as regional leaders has supported and funded paramilitary actions. The investigation later revealed the level of collusion between the Colombian economic and political elite and the paramilitaries.²³⁸

As the Plan Colombia was initially presented as a six-year plan, and, by some, considering the partially discredited Colombian administration it was expected that the US involvement in this initiative would be finished in 2006. The Government Accountability Office (GAO) report from 2004 however opined that the Colombian Army and Police had not had the capability to continue the counter-narcotics programs

²³² Uribe was strongly dedicated to the fight against rebels, as his father was allegedly killed by the FARC members. Crandall, 2002

²³³ Buckwalter, Struckman, Gvosdev. 2010

²³⁴ The White House, 2007

²³⁵ Ibid

²³⁶ Presidential Documents, 2004

²³⁷ Executive Office, 2004

²³⁸ In 2009, it was learned that the paramilitaries had also been conducting illegal wiretapping and surveillance not only of political opposition, but also of journalists, scholars, civil society leaders and Supreme Court Justice involved in the Para-gate investigations. Domínguez; Fernández de Castro. 2010

without the US funding and contractor support.²³⁹ It was thus decided that the US would continue the Plan Colombia programs through the Andean Counterdrug Initiative (ACI), as it had no statutory ending date.²⁴⁰

The Bush second administration decided to focus more on economic issues as part of the US Colombia policy. Condoleezza Rice declared that the US plans to “*explore with Colombia its economic development*” and that this has obviously been seen in the context of what the US is trying to do with the Free Trade Area (FTA) of the Americas.²⁴¹ The negotiations about the Free Trade Agreement began in 2004. According to President Bush, such agreement was a “*critical tool to provide licit jobs and economic alternatives to violence.*”²⁴² In November 2006 the US-Colombia Free Promotion Agreement was signed, and only a year later ratified by Colombia. On the US side, however, occurred some concerns.

The Colombian involvement in Free Trade Area of Americas (FTAA), which seeks to link the economies of all the Latin American countries into a single block, is a long-term stated objective, as it has been “*widely viewed as beneficial for both [US] economic and foreign policy reasons.*”²⁴³ According to Doug Stokes, through such agreement, the US can challenge the national law of the country, if the policies of given Latin American country are deemed harmful to the interests of transnational institutions.²⁴⁴ Yet, it is the United States, who times out the ratification of this agreement with Colombia. It is so primarily due to labor-unions, environmental and human rights activists’ objections, which are base on the concerns of weak standards to protect the rights of workers and environment. There have been even stronger concerns of the labor unions and US industries about the potential loss of jobs.²⁴⁵ During the period of Bush administration, when there was a Republican majority in Congress and the Republicans governed the White House, it was easier for Bush and his close team to pursue desired policies. However, after the midterm elections in 2006, the Congress became controlled by Democratic Party, and approval of some policies was conditioned by persuasive reasoning.²⁴⁶

²³⁹ GAO. 2004

²⁴⁰ Buckwalter, Struckman, Gvosdev. 2010

²⁴¹ MSNBC, 2005

²⁴² Executive Office. 2008

²⁴³ Hornbeck; 2011

²⁴⁴ Stokes, 2005

²⁴⁵ Buckwalter, Struckman, Gvosdev. 2010

²⁴⁶ *ibid*

When President Barack Obama came to power in 2009, some significant changes of the policies towards Colombia were expected, since the Bush administration strategy was generally perceived as unsuccessful.²⁴⁷ Already during his campaign, Obama had expressed his position towards the Plan Colombia as rather negative and often adverted to the human rights abuses. Although he acknowledged that the Plan had had some successes, it was stressed, that his administration would try a different approach to this issue and to develop a new integrated strategy.²⁴⁸ Obama was also particularly opposed to the FTA with Colombia, as proposed by the Bush administration, because the labor unions constitute a significant entity of support for any Democratic administration.²⁴⁹

In spite of the anticipated shifts in the US foreign policy, it soon became clear that President Obama administration was not going to abolish the Plan Colombia. Julia Sweig, senior fellow for Latin American Studies and director for Latin American Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations opined that although the two main candidates for the presidential post during the presidential campaign presented different approaches to the Colombian issue,²⁵⁰ there was perhaps greater bipartisan consensus on this matter, than it would be assumed from the election rhetoric of the Republican and Democratic Presidential candidate.²⁵¹ The budget for the Plan Colombia decreased only by 4.7 million USD from 242.5 million USD in 2009, to 237.8 million USD in 2010. In the Drug Control Strategy report, the White House revealed, that “*the FY 2010 budget will continue to consolidate progress achieved under Plan Colombia Assistance will continue to support eradication, interdiction, humanitarian and high-value target operations, and provide the Colombian military and police the capability to operate in remote regions.*”²⁵²

The military cooperation with Colombia was initially even deepened under the Obama administration, when it signed an agreement on the US military personnel

²⁴⁷ Crandal, 2008

²⁴⁸ Lowenthal; Piccone; Whitehead. 2010

²⁴⁹ *ibid*

²⁵⁰ Republican candidate in 2008 was John McCain- he lost the presidential election with Barack Obama from Democratic Party. John McCain assumed continuation of the current policies towards Colombia under his administration, whereas democratic Obama called for easing the involvement and lowering the military assistance.

²⁵¹ Sweig, 2008

²⁵² Executive Office, 2009

presence in seven military bases in Colombia. The Act was marked unconstitutional in 2010, a year after its signing, as it was not approved by the legislators.²⁵³

Nevertheless, the Uribe administration met with greater critique from president Obama, than it was used to envisage when George Bush was in the office. Obama moreover focused on rebuilding ties with other Latin American nations, in order to decrease US strategic dependence on Colombian alliance. Thus, although there were no *significant* distinctions with the preceding policies, it seemed that Obama was making only small changes to the constituted policies towards Colombia, which will, however, over time lead to a major shift.²⁵⁴ In 2010, Obama administration and members of the US Congress have moreover signaled their intention to eventually turn over the majority of “Plan Colombia” responsibilities to the Colombian government.

These changes, however, might not have appeared only due to the differences between democratic and republican policies. The Obama administration had to deal with the economic recession, the wars in Afghanistan and also increasing allocated resources to Mexican drug issue. The US has provided overall almost 8 billion USD for the Plan Colombia.²⁵⁵ It might have been therefore just trying to find other, cheaper strategy how to pursue its interests in Colombia and the Andean region. This argument was strengthened by the US ratification of the Free Trade Agreement in 2011,²⁵⁶ which ensures the mutual economic relationships with no additional overheads.²⁵⁷ Also in regards to the Plan Colombia, according to the Obama’s 2011 budget proposal, Colombian military aid was to be reduced by 20% down to 228 million USD. However, also the economic aid was to be slightly diminished to 239 million USD.²⁵⁸

4.5 Strategies and Components of Plan Colombia

The constituent premise determining the US strategy of Plan Colombia was that drug money feeds the guerrillas, whose attacks give rise to self-defense groups - the paramilitaries. If the money from drug production and narco trade went away, the guerrillas could not afford military campaigns against Colombian state and society, and

²⁵³ Guardian, 2008

²⁵⁴ Buckwalter, Struckman, Gvosdev. 2010

²⁵⁵ GAO, 2008

²⁵⁶ Noto, 2011

²⁵⁷ Colombia Government allegedly did improve the labor rights, however, the situation has been soon worsening again, due to the lack of pressure.

²⁵⁸ Al Selma, 2010

would become less threatening.²⁵⁹ However, in 1988, the ineffectiveness of US cocaine and marijuana interdiction attempts led the US government to commission the RAND Cooperation, a non-profit research think tank to elaborate a study on the likely effects of increased military involvement in the drug interdiction efforts on the drug imports to United States. The RAND concluded that the interdiction probably cannot reduce the availability of cocaine much further.²⁶⁰ Also it stated that the cocaine smugglers are rich enough to adapt the increase demands of the smuggling process. The increased costs may be passed to the final users with no significant impact on the narco market. The final demand for cocaine is according to the study “*very inelastic with respect to the costs of importation.*”²⁶¹

Regarding the impact of the military support on the drug eradication, RAND also uncovered rather negative relationship. If focused on the guerrilla groups (as it is the case in Colombia) the military assistance contributes to reducing the number of rebels involved in the drug production process. As a result of enforced eradication of coca cultivation, the incomes of insurgency movements experienced a significant drop. However, although, there is a positive correlation between the coca eradication and the guerrilla group membership lowering, the same does not apply inversely. The study concluded no significant causal relationship between the guerrilla oppression and drug trafficking.²⁶² Such conclusion is consistent with the assumption that drug demand is inelastic and will eventually boost the supply side to produce sufficient amount. According to Ted Galen Carpenter, senior fellow for defense and foreign policy studies at the Cato Institute,

*“The brutal reality is that, as long as drugs are illegal, there will be a huge black-market premium, a lucrative potential profit that will attract producers. Plan Colombia cannot repeal the economic laws of supply and demand.”*²⁶³

Nevertheless, as for the Plan Colombia, the major objectives set by the United States were to reduce the flow of illicit narcotics, improve security and to promote

²⁵⁹ Marcela, 2002

²⁶⁰ That does not mean, that the interdiction can never be effective, the nature of the targeted activity is crucial in this matter. Interdiction of smuggling of bulky commodities from very distant location will probably succeed.

²⁶¹ Reuter; Crawford; Cave. 1988. p. 123

²⁶² *ibid*

²⁶³ Carpenter, 2001

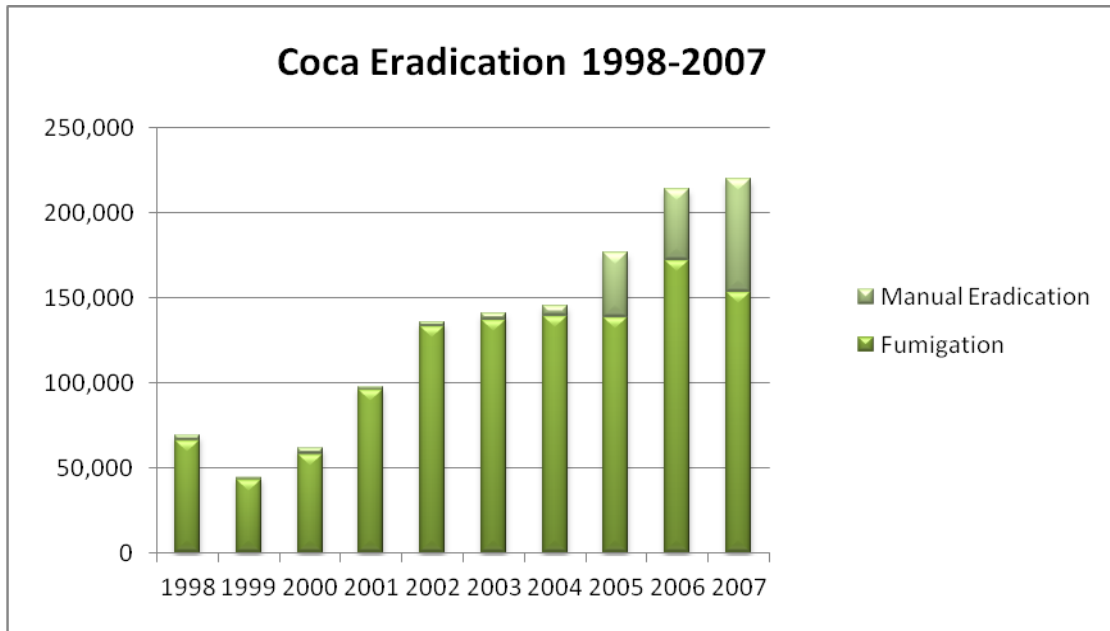
social and economic justice and the rule of law.²⁶⁴ These objectives were attempted to be achieved by following programs.

4.5.1 Eradication of Coca Plantations

The eradication of coca plantations can be implemented by three main approaches, by fumigation, voluntary manual eradication and enforced manual eradication. The enforced manual approach can be often hampered by the presence of plantations guards. Thus, this option is time-consuming and highly demanding on human resources. Preferable, although more expensive, is rather the aircraft fumigation, as apparent from the figure 7. This is the main content of the strategic Plan Colombia.²⁶⁵

Eradication of the source itself might seem as the best approach. Financially, the US State Department considers the eradication of illegal crops best fitted for the supply reduction. When there is no drug grown, there is also no need to spend more money on its seizure during the trafficking process. The coca plantation is obviously easier to locate than package of pure cocaine.²⁶⁶

Figure 7: Coca Fumigation and Manual Eradication 1998-2007



Source: UNDCP, 2007- edited by author

²⁶⁴ GAO, 2004

²⁶⁵ Acevedo, Bewly-Taylor, Youngers. 2008

²⁶⁶ Seelke, Wyler, Beittel. 2010

However, the spraying and fumigation was included in the Plan Colombia despite the questionable effects and the protests of farmers. In 2000, the Congress approved the first and the largest package of such assistance. In this year, roughly 24,000 hectares of coca field was extirpated by fumigating, increasing steadily until 2006, when such eradication reached its peak at 172,000 hectares. Also the area of the fields being eradicated from the ground has been increasing steadily (see Figure 6), reaching 60,000 hectares in 2010.²⁶⁷

The problem of coca aerial spraying is however problematic in the aspect that it cannot always avoid the possibility of affecting also other areas nearby the targeted fields. The possible negative impacts of the eradication strategy will be at large described in the Chapter 5.

4.5.2 Army and Policy Training and the Drug Seizure

The international training conducted by the United States is in Colombia coordinated by the INL. Its main objective is to increase the professionalism of army and police units in Colombia. Through the trainings, the US attempts to improve technical skills of personnel of such units and increase the capacity and degree of cooperation between US and foreign officials in the fight against drugs. The main idea is to support the units and their ability so that they are able to obstruct the drug supplies from leaving the country of drug origin. The unit trainings are conducted either on a bilateral basis or as a regional cooperation within the International Law Enforcement Agencies (ILEAs).²⁶⁸

One of the main goals of the US military assistance in Colombia was to enable the cooperation between different components of the Colombian Army and Police. The Ministry of Defence and Foreign Affairs provided Colombian Army with 3,441 million USD, and the police with additional 1,417 million USD between the years 2000 and 2008 (see Table 5). The subsidies were directed particularly to improve the Colombian Air Force capabilities and to create army brigade and mobile units, which were supposed to be responsible for provision of drugs and counterinsurgency operations.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁷ The amount includes also the fields destroyed voluntarily by their owners. UNODC, 2010

²⁶⁸ Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, 2011

²⁶⁹ The counterinsurgency operations were added in 2002.

The funds were also partially allocated for eradication and creation of new units called “Carabineros”.²⁷⁰

Table 5: US Assistance Provided to the Colombian Military and National Police, 2000-2008

Service/ fiscal year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Total
Army	683.5	192.8	257.1	443.4	445.5	394.7	382.8	373.5	268.4	3,441.7
Police	134.3	40.0	138.8	164.5	172.2	190.9	204.5	217.6	155.0	1,417.8
Total	817.8	232.8	395.9	607.9	617.7	585.6	587.3	591.1	423.4	4,859.5

Source: GAO, 2008 - edited by author

The trainings of Pilots and Pilot logistics have been materially supported by the “Joint Air Bridge Denial”.²⁷¹ Its objective is to search aircrafts suspected of smuggling drugs and force them to land to be explored. If the pilot does not respond to repeated calls, the airplane may be shot down by the command of the commander of the Colombian Air Force. When an aircraft with two innocent victims was accidentally shot down in April 2001,²⁷² the program was suspended until the better control and security would be ensured.²⁷³

The United States are, primarily through DEA, involved in international operations to combat international drug trafficking. A good example represents the “Cohesion Project”. Its mission is to prevent the uncontrolled international trade in chemicals used for cocaine, heroin and amphetamine manufacturing. In addition to the operating in Colombia, the United States also participates on programs in the transit countries, encouraging local units and training special police units.²⁷⁴ The strategy focused on training foreign troops in the supply country is particularly beneficial for the US as there is obviously much higher concentration of the drug. Thus the drug is easier to locate and a single action of seizure is potentially more effective.

²⁷⁰ The Cabineros represented the Police in 162 municipalities with no former Police representation. Their task is also to detention operations and destruction of cocaine laboratories on its production Manwaring, 2001

²⁷¹ GAO, 2008

²⁷² An American missionary Veronica Bowers and her seven-month old daughter

²⁷³ Seelke, Wyler, Beittel. 2010

²⁷⁴ Ibid

4.5.3 The Alternative Development

The purpose of the alternative development (AD) is to discourage farmers and peasants from growing the illegal plants, by providing them with another option for obtaining income. It has been implied in Colombia and the Andean region since the 1980's.²⁷⁵ The AD policy as a strategy of Plan Colombia has been funded and conducted primarily by the State Department and USAID.²⁷⁶ Ideally, this strategy should complement the eradication approach and law enforcement, and therefore compensate the hard approach, offering a program based on voluntary cooperation.

However, when mixing the AD with enforced counter-drugs activities, the results can be contradictory. The population then tends to associate AD with repressive activities such as fumigation and military repression.²⁷⁷

Table 6: US Nonmilitary Assistance to Colombia Programmed 2000-2004 (dollars in millions)

Program	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Alternative Development	43	0	52	56	56	207
Vulnerable groups	30	0	24	57	38	149
Democracy/institutional building	51	88	28	19	24	210
Total	124	88	104	113	118	566

Source: GAO, 2004 - edited by author

The alternative development is in military terms fully non-violent and potentially permanent solution. Also, except for the 2000 and 2001, largest portion of the budget for US nonmilitary assistance to Colombia was allocated to this strategy (see Table 6). For the success of such policy, it is however necessary to first convince the farmers to decide for themselves to grow the legal crops. This is highly limited by the significantly lower income resulting from such a decision and by a practical impossibility to realize income from the legal crops in remote areas of Colombia.²⁷⁸ In

²⁷⁵ Acevedo, Bewly-Taylor, Youngers. 2008

²⁷⁶ Seelke, Wyler, Beittel. 2010

²⁷⁷ Acevedo, Bewly-Taylor, Youngers. 2008

²⁷⁸ Ibid

2000, the demand for cocaine was so high that one hectare of coca plantations, produced drug at the final price²⁷⁹ of between 800,000 and 1.8 million USD. The very effort to replace the coca by alternative legal crop is thus obviously not efficient in the fight against drugs.²⁸⁰

Unlike the European Union, the US does not view the alternative development as the most important strategy in the fight against drugs. In real terms, within the Plan Colombia, such opportunity is provided only to compensate those peasants, who grow coca in small quantities (up to five hectares) and whose fields had been destroyed by force.²⁸¹

The USAID programs have focused particularly on the prevention of coca cultivation in the areas where the coca is not grown yet, but where the optimal conditions for its cultivation can be found. Its aim is thus to discourage people from future coca growing by offering them new opportunities. It moreover lures farmers from the coca cultivated provinces. The evaluation and monitoring of the loss of illegal crops cultivation is, however, very difficult.

According to Beatriz Acevedo, the Colombian researcher on Drug Policy,

“..these initiatives are bound to fail because they are not linked to wider development plans to assure their continuity. Neither do they seem to be proportional to the eradication initiatives, particularly when considering the effects of fumigation and the forced eradication of peasants’ livelihood.”²⁸²

In recent years, USAID has begun to emphasize the sustainability of the projects. In 2002, it revised its strategy to support rather long-term, income generating activities, and to encourage the private sector. It has therefore focused on the areas under the government control, usually northern and western part of the country (see Appendix 2), where the goals are more likely to be achieved.²⁸³

4.5.4 Strengthening of Democratic Institutions

The strengthening of democratic institutions is a non-military part of Plan Colombia funded by USAID. The main objective of the institutional building in

²⁷⁹ Regardless the transport costs and potentially confiscated amount

²⁸⁰ Acevedo, Bewly-Taylor, Youngers. 2008

²⁸¹ Ramírez, 2005

²⁸² Acevedo, 2004

²⁸³ GAO, 2008

Colombia is to ensure security throughout the country, respect for human rights and international humanitarian law. The USAID has provided over 150 million USD mainly through creation of conflict resolution centers, training of public defenders and human rights protection between the years 2000 and 2008.²⁸⁴

An important component is reformation of the legal system, desirably resulting in an impartial and fair judiciary.²⁸⁵ This part of the Plan Colombia initiative has been funded in most by the Departement of Justice. It has provided more than 114 million USD between 2000 and 2007, and has sought to modernize the judicial system of criminal justice in Colombia, as well as assist to investigate human rights crimes. It consists in construction of new courtrooms to conduct oral trials and training of judges in the new procedural law. In general, the central objective has been to promote human rights, strengthen local government and increase transparency.²⁸⁶

4.6 The Plan Colombia Funding and Budget

For the initially six-years' projected Plan Colombia was assigned 7 billion USD. Colombia was supposed to provide 4 billion USD and the remaining 3.5 billion were to be divided between the United States and the international community. Pastrana himself did not expect the drug eradication process to be a matter of six years, which was for how long the Plan Colombia was enlisted. He assumed 15 to 20 years continuous cooperation of with annual contributions of about 500 million USD. Colombian government presumed that each state and organization involved would undertake certain components of the project that best fit their positions and strategies. Colombia, however, did not succeed to elaborate specific component plans to be submitted to the international community. Therefore, the plan was in the end only financed by the Colombian government itself and the United States.

Pastrana eventually allocated 4.864 billion USD in 1999 and Clinton administration added 1.3 billion USD for the program in 2000. The subsidy was in fact not assigned exclusively for Colombia. 260 million USD was allocated to the US drug control agencies and 180 million USD was destined for the Colombian neighboring

²⁸⁴ GAO, 2008

²⁸⁵ USIP, 2000

²⁸⁶ Veillete, 2005

countries.²⁸⁷ The largest portion of the subsidy was provided by the State Department (see Table 7).

Table 7: Amount of U.S. Assistance Appropriated to Colombia, Fiscal Years 2000-2004 (dollars in millions)

Agency	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Total
State	774.9	48	275.4	516.6	495.8	2,110.7
USAID	123.5	0	104.5	122.2	122.2	472.4
Defence	128.5	190.2	119.1	165.0	122.0	724,8
Total	1,026.9	238.2	499.0	803.8	740.0	3,307.9

Source: GAO, 2004

In April 2001, President Bush proposed an Andean Regional Initiative (ARI). It was supposed to ease the critique of Plan Colombia being too militarily focused and too focused on Colombia. The proposal asked for 882 million USD, with 45% directed for Colombia and the rest for the neighboring countries, in order to avoid the spillover effect of violence and the drug industry from the 1990's.²⁸⁸ The proposal was also supposed to nearly evenly divide the funds between the social and economic development and the counter-insurgency policies.²⁸⁹ The approved version issued by the US Congress in December 2001 allowed for a 783 million USD to be allocated for the ARI. Only 215 million USD was however destined for the USAID and its economic development and social programs. The fight against narco traffickers remained the main component of the Plan Colombia funded by the US, consisting of 79% of the Plan Colombia budget (see Figure 8). The new budget also assumed a maximum of 800 military and civilian personnel from the US citizens to be presented in Colombia to fulfill the program. In the following three years, the program was funded by a 731 million USD and the maximum number of military and civil staff members was raised to the 1400.²⁹⁰

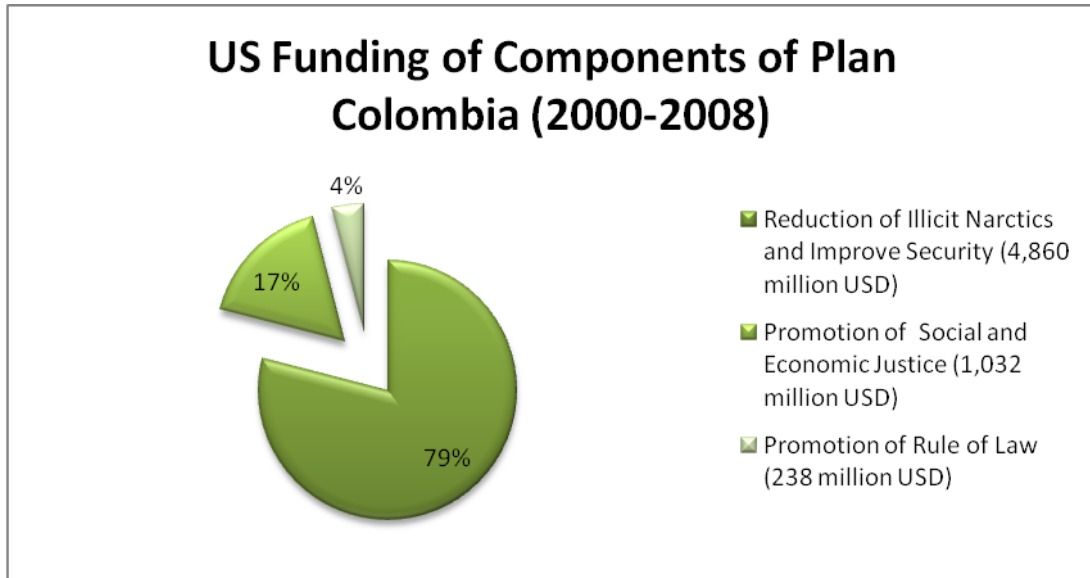
²⁸⁷ Ramírez, 2005

²⁸⁸ See Chapter 2

²⁸⁹ Buckwalter, Struckman, Gvosdev. 2010

²⁹⁰ Perl, 2005

Figure 8: Distribution of US Resources in Plan Colombia 1999-2005



Source: Plan Colombia Progress Report, 1999-2005: edited by the author

Financing of the Plan has been managed directly through the US departments or the agencies. State Department and the Ministry of Defence have participated in programs that aim at reducing the amount of drugs produced and at combating organized crime through cooperation with the Colombian army and police. The Ministry of Justice has been involved in judicial reform and USAID has funded programs to improve social and economic situation in the country.²⁹¹ The United States has provided over 6 billion USD of both military and nonmilitary assistance between the years 2000 and 2008. Most State assistance has been managed through the Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL), whose section NAS oversees the daily program process. Both the Defense counter-narcotics support and International Military Education and Training (IMET) are managed by the Military Group in the US Embassy in Bogotá. The Plan Colombia is moreover supported by an extensive US-funded contract workforce, which provides a range of services for all the components of the Plan Colombia.²⁹²

The overall financing of the Plan is hardly traceable and the data often differ significantly. This is particularly due to the fact that in United States, in terms of the budget, it is only the largest subsidy from 2000 that is considered as the Plan Colombia.

²⁹¹ GAO, 2008

²⁹² Ibid

In the subsequent years, the program in Colombia, along with other Andean countries, was funded under the ARI/ACI.²⁹³ In addition, part of the funding is provided by external programs, through the State Department and Ministry of Justice separate funds. Another problem making the financing ambiguous is that the Plan is being funded by a large number of entities, and part of the funds is also assigned for the internal processes within the institutions.²⁹⁴

²⁹³ Buckwalter, Struckman, Gvosdev. 2010

²⁹⁴ Therefore, the data stated above in this chapter should not be taken as one hundred percent reliable. GAO, 2004

5 Critique of the Plan Colombia and Impact of the US Policies on the Colombian Internal Situation

“Plan Colombia was supposed to reduce Colombia's cultivation and distribution of drugs by 50 percent, but 6 years and \$4.7 billion later, the drug control results are meager at best.”

Jan Schacowsky

5.1 Introduction

Plan Colombia has been exposed to a great criticism already since its inception. Many controversies appeared in relation to this initiative and the United States became a “favorite” target of countless critics focused on the US foreign policy, its reasons to engage in Colombia and the (negative) impacts of such engagement. It is not simple to distinct to what extent the US policies have influenced the conflict development in Colombia and the progression of the Plan Colombia. This chapter seeks to point out both the positive and negative the outcomes of the Plan Colombia, with the emphasis on the US participation. The author also seeks to analyze the rather controversial side and critique of the Plan Colombia in the second part of this section. The information, however, is based on multiple sources, i.e. both government and organization reports, as well as academic and other specialist analyses.

5.2 The Outcomes of the Plan Colombia

When evaluating the accomplishment of the Plan Colombia, it is crucial to realize, what standards are to be applied. As stated in the previous chapter, the principal objectives set by the United States were to reduce the flow of illicit narcotics and improve security, promote social and economic justice and to promote the rule of law. However, not all of the given objectives were fulfilled successfully. According to Derek Reveron, a Professor at the Naval War College, the Plan is a failure in terms of stemming the flow of drugs. On the other hand, if judged by preventing state and supporting a fragile democracy, it might be considered as a success.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁵ Reveron. 2010

5.2.1 Reducing Drug Production in Colombia

The US objective on reducing drug production in Colombia has been fulfilled only partially. During the first six years, the poppy and opium cultivation decreased by half. The coca cultivation, however, increased by 15% and the cocaine production by 4% (see Figure P), as coca farmers moved to more remote areas to avoid the eradication efforts.²⁹⁶ Therefore, In Colombia, the balloon effect²⁹⁷ has been noticeable on a regional scale. The effect has also appeared at a international level, however, it has not nearly reached the extent, to which it appeared during the 1990's in the Andean region. When the eradication campaign was being conducted in Peru and Bolivia, the amount of coca grown in Colombia rapidly increased. The increase in production in Bolivia and Peru during the Plan Colombia has been on a much smaller scale (see Figure 4 p. 34).

Another reason for unsuccessful attempts to reduce the coca cultivation is the improving coca-growing capabilities of the farmers in Colombia. With the inception of the Plan Colombia, the farmers started to increasingly use industrial fertilizers and pesticides, and managed to improve the process of extracting the coca paste from coca leaves. As a consequence, until 2009, the amount of cocaine that could be obtained from one hectare of cultivated coca increased by more than 50%.²⁹⁸

The attempts to reduce the illicit narco-trafficking were evident particularly with regard to the amount of cocaine, that the Colombian authorities managed to seized. Since 2001, Colombia has seized more cocaine than any other country in the world. In 2000, Colombian troops managed to capture 105 tons of cocaine and this amount doubled by 2005.²⁹⁹ After a slight decline between 2006 and 2007, there was again an increase to 257 tons of cocaine seized in 2008.³⁰⁰ This indicator therefore seems to speak strongly in favor of Plan Colombia, as the drug seizure is part of the drug interdiction program. However, as the RAND report from 1988 argues, the effectiveness of drug interdiction is only poorly measured by the quantities or share of import seized. It is so because the quantity seized is a function of many factors besides

²⁹⁶ GAO, 2008

²⁹⁷ Balloon effect is an affect of eradication efforts, when a cultivation of illicit crop is reduced in certain area, but is de facto only moved to a different are. See chapter 2.3.1

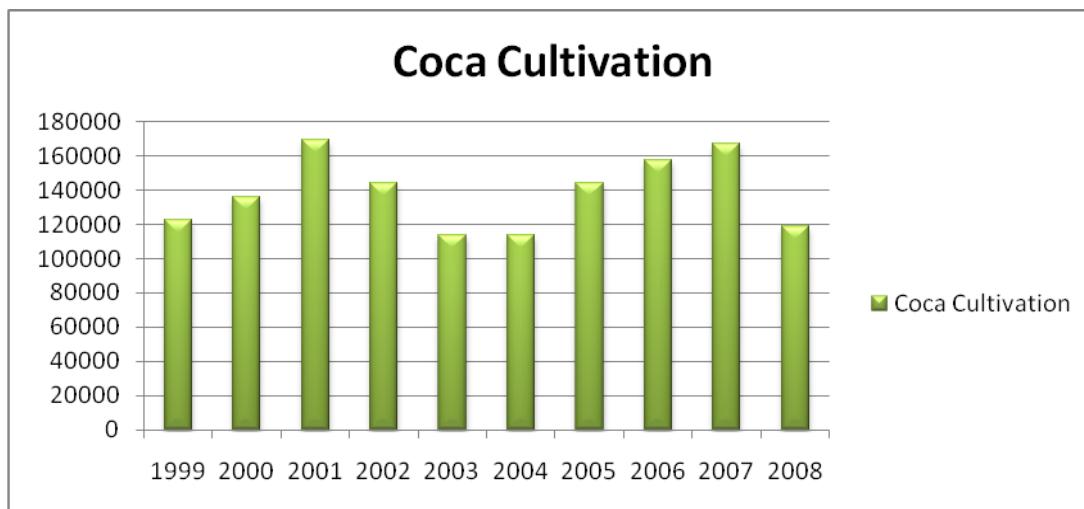
²⁹⁸ UNODC, 2007

²⁹⁹ UNODC, 2010

³⁰⁰ UNODC, 2007

intensity and effectiveness of interdiction, such as the quantity shipped, replacement cost of drug and the amount drug produced.³⁰¹

Figure 9: Coca Cultivation in Colombia (in hectares)



Source: US Government Estimate, 2008

Also the cocaine price did not comply with the expected results. The price of cocaine on the streets in the US is a good indicator to evaluate, whether the war on drugs in Colombia has or has not been successful. If the cocaine is getting cheaper, it means that supply is satisfying demand more than it did before. Consistently falling prices are a sign of a failing anti-drug policy. The price of cocaine on the US market has fallen from the original 147 USD per gram of cocaine in 2000 to 104 USD in 2005. Although there was again an increase of the cocaine price to 174 USD per gram in 2009, it has not been reflected on the final price of the product (sold “on the street”), as the rise of the price per gram was accompanied by the rise in the cocaine purity.³⁰² As Colombia supplies the United States from 90% of its cocaine imports, such data suggest that the counter-narcotics efforts in Colombia have failed.

³⁰¹ RAND, 1988

³⁰² The higher the purity (de facto quality) of cocaine, the higher the price. Cocaine is imported to the US market in the form of chloride alkaloid. The distributors make it a mixture (with flour, sugar, talc, etc.), where the pure cocaine composes only about a half of the mixture. Therefore, the substance purity presents an important role when determining the final price. UNODC, 2010

5.2.2 Improving Security Situation in Colombia

According to the GAO report that evaluated the situation in Colombia shortly before the termination of George Bush administration, the internal security climate improved, through the intensive military and police engagement with the insurgent groups. During the period prior to Plan Colombia, there was no government security presence on nearly 50% of the Colombian territory.³⁰³ Due to the Colombian and US efforts during the course of the Plan, the police gained secure and permanent presence in each Colombian municipality, which suggests better security conditions also in the areas formerly strictly under the control of guerrillas. According to the State Department, until 2009, 9,176 police officers have been trained to find employment in rural areas of Colombia.³⁰⁴ The Colombian state has been strengthened, particularly its Army and Police forces, which have nearly doubled its personnel, to a combined 500,000 members.³⁰⁵

In the end of the 1990's, the membership of the Colombian largest guerrilla group consisted of some 18,000 illegal combatants. Through the Plan Colombia initiative, Colombia with the US assistance has managed to weaken the operational capabilities of FARC and other illegal armed groups, and lower the membership to estimated 8,000 in 2008.³⁰⁶ Military offensives into FARC controlled territory became more frequent in several southern Colombian departments.³⁰⁷ The number of FARC combatants and its capabilities has been reduced particularly due the continuous offensive efforts against its top leadership.³⁰⁸ As Juan Carlos Hidalgo, Latin American analyst for the Cato Institute notes, *“a decade ago, Colombia was close to being a failed state, with the FARC controlling large swathes of territory and threatening major cities. Today they are terribly weak and on the run, and much of their leadership has been killed.”*³⁰⁹

³⁰³ Romo, 2011.

³⁰⁴ Veillette, 2005

³⁰⁵ Smith, 2011

³⁰⁶ Isaacson, 2009

³⁰⁷ Ibid

³⁰⁸ For instance Raul Reyes, the contemporary FARC second in command killed during the military action against the guerrilla camps in Ecuador in summer 2008

³⁰⁹ Smith, 2011

Figure 10: Map of Colombia's Main Areas of Coca Cultivations



Source: United Nations Environment Programme

In 2007, the Colombian Ministry of Defense reported that it had captured or killed approximately 4,600 FARC members and more than 2,500 had demobilized.³¹⁰ Yet, FARC continues to represent a national security threat. As it controls the Meta department, it has a strategic position with the respect to the key transport corridor linking many of the coca cultivation areas to the Pacific ports that are used for transporting cocaine out of Colombia (see Figure 10).³¹¹

Also the second most significant insurgent group in Colombia has been recorded to drop in numbers. In comparison to its membership of approximately 5000 combatants in 2000, it comprised of about 1500 to 2000 members in 2008.³¹²

³¹⁰ GAO, 2008

³¹¹ Ibid

³¹² Rochlin, 2007

Although it was not ranked among the US major concerns and aims, during the implementation of Plan Colombia, Colombian president Uribe managed to enter into a peace accord with the paramilitary AUC. According to USAID, approximately 32,000 paramilitary soldiers and support staff entered the demobilization process from 2003 to 2006. In 2007, the paramilitary members eventually reported to demobilize the centers around the country. In 2003, the Colombian Congress passed rather controversial “alternative punishment” law promising immunity for the lower ranked paramilitaries and the crimes they committed during their operations. The Demobilized AUC commanders, who voluntarily admitted their crimes, were in accordance to this law guaranteed only reduced sentences of up to eight years.³¹³ Fifty AUC former leaders were placed in a prison with sentences of up to 8 years. Thirteen of these leaders and drug barons were extradited to the United States for prosecution on drug smuggling charges in 2008.³¹⁴

During these processes, Colombian government had to face a serious problem regarding the judicial system. It was incapable of handling the mass guerrilla and paramilitary arrests. It was not possible to handle all of the captured combatants. In this context, the Uribe administration law on immunity for the AUC might seem more as reasonable decision.

According to the Department of Defence, the violence and overall criminality has fallen. Until 2004, number of homicides decreased by 15%, kidnappings by 34% and number of massacres even by 52%, in comparison to 2000 (see Table 8).³¹⁵ According to USAID, also the number of oil pipeline bombing has dropped from 184 in 2003 to only a little over 40 in 2007.³¹⁶

Table 8: Measures of Violence

Crime	2000-2004
Homicides	- 15%

³¹³ Arson, 2005

³¹⁴ USAID, 2009

³¹⁵ Veillette, 2005

³¹⁶ USAID, 2009

Massacre Events	- 52%
Massacre Victims	- 48%
Kidnappings (total)	- 34%
Kidnappings for Extortion	- 49%
Illegal Road Blocks	- 62%

Source: Ministry of Defence, Government of Colombia

5.2.3 Outcomes of Alternative Development

The USAID had provided over 500 million USD for the AD programs between 2000 and 2008. Regarding the overall socio-economic development, Colombian economy has been growing steadily during the last ten years. Colombian GDP growth rate increased from 2% in 2001 to over 8% in 2007 (see Figure 11).³¹⁷ The high inflation from 1998 (16.7%) dropped to a more acceptable rate of 4.5% in 2007.³¹⁸ However, such development has neither had an impact on the deep poverty conditions of the rural areas, nor on the inequality. The problem of the Plan is that it has only provided alternative development assistance to the areas that were fully under the Colombian government control. It has therefore omitted the guerrilla controlled and most coca cultivated southern and central areas (see Appendix 2), which were, however, the most affected areas by the Plan Colombia eradication programs.³¹⁹ The USAID rather focused on the economic corridors in western part of Colombia with larger access to markets, existing infrastructure and state presence and security. Such areas have greater potential for success of the AD programs.³²⁰

According to a GAO research from 2007, overall, the beneficiaries of the AD programs evaluated, that their quality of life had improved due to reduced intimidation by FARC and due to better access to schools and social services. However, they also stated that they had “generally earned less money compared with cultivating and trafficking in illicit drugs.”³²¹ Therefore, however, the livelihoods of some of the rural

³¹⁷ Trading Economies; undated

³¹⁸ The impressive economic growth might be, however, exaggerated due to the economic crisis, which scourged Colombia at the time of Plan Colombia initial implementation, as the economic recession is usually followed by subsequent growth.

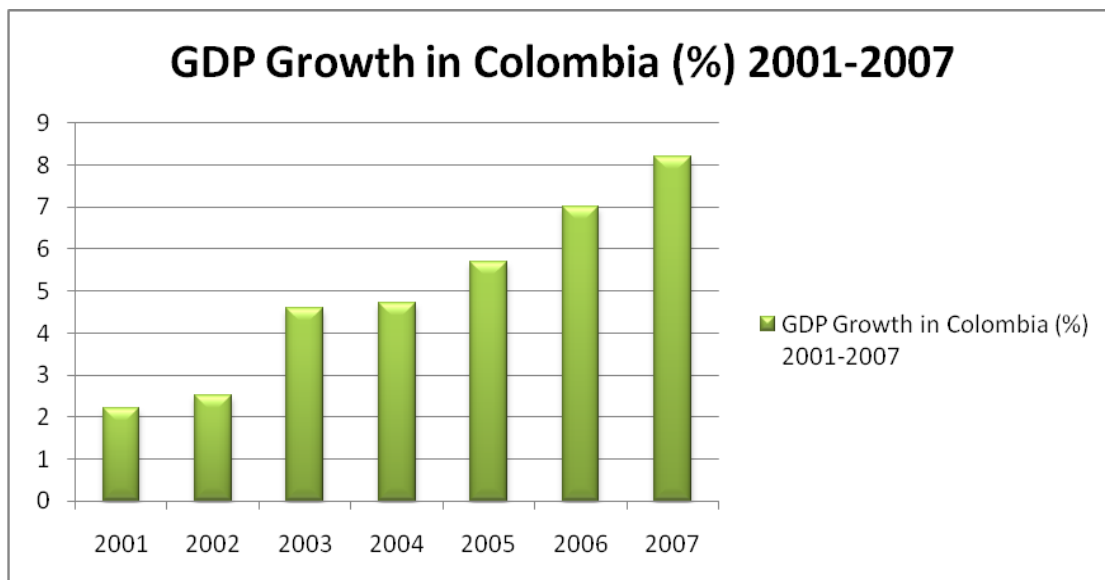
³¹⁹ Stokes, 2001

³²⁰ GAO, 2008

³²¹ GAO, 2008. p. 49.

households worsened significantly due to the eradication programs. In 2006, rural poverty was still estimated at 46.1%.³²²

Figure 11: GDP Growth in Colombia 2001-2007



Source: National Statistic Department Colombia, 2008

5.2.4 Democracy and Rule of Law Promotion

In terms of strengthening the democratic institutions, USAID had provided protection assistance such as trainings and equipment for over 4,500 human rights workers until 2008. It has also funded programs that protect union leaders, journalists and leaders of civil society organizations. By the end of 2007, 45 Justice Houses (justice sector institutions) were established in order to provide legal awareness and simplify the access to justice for people living in remote communities. The USAID trained 1,600 public defenders between the years 2003 and 2008.³²³ Due to the programs supported by the US Justice Department, the average length of judicial proceedings dropped from five years previous to the program implementation to one year under the current system.³²⁴

However, there is also a downside of the USAID program. The 45 newly created Justice Houses in Colombia are located mainly in the large cities in the western half of

³²² USAID, 2009

³²³ USAID, 2009

³²⁴ GAO, 2008

the country, and there are almost no in the southern-east of Colombia, where the highest rates of crime occur.³²⁵

5.3 Critique and Controversies of the Plan Colombia

5.3.1 Aerial Herbicide Spraying and Fumigation of Coca Crops

Most commonly criticized component of the Plan Colombia is the aerial herbicide spraying. This is primarily due to inaccuracy of such spraying, questionable health consequences, and environmental consequences of continual coca plantations shifting in an effort to escape the chemical spraying. The local governments and humanitarian organizations argue that the chemicals used by the program destroy not only the coca, but also legal crops cultivated in the fields close to the coca cultivated areas.³²⁶ The aerial spraying affects wider areas, as the aircrafts are flying too high and the sprayings and fumigation uses allegedly also other substances, than usual herbicides. The biggest critics of Plan Colombia warn that the chemicals used could cause serious health problems, comparing the situation in Colombia to the contamination during the Vietnam War and its infamous health consequences. Tom Driver, Assistant Professor of Chemistry at the University of Illinois in Chicago claims that:

“It [the chemical used for fumigation in Colombia] is manufactured by Monsanto Chemicals, the firm that made Agent Orange for use in the Vietnam War. Although the principal toxin in regular Roundup is glyphosate, in Colombia something called Cosmo-flux has been added to make it stick to the leaves of the coca plant. The combination is thought to increase the danger to animal and human life.”³²⁷

The US Government agencies have been denying these critiques, and the Colombian authorities have not openly admitted such problem as well.³²⁸ However, it is important to note that the US State Department sought in 2002 to defuse some of the controversy and requested a study by the US Environmental Protection Agency on the effects of the chemical fumigant in Colombia. The US EPA *Office of Prevention, Pesticides and Toxic Substances as part of the US Department of State report* stated that

³²⁵ Ibid

³²⁶ Acevedo; Bewley-Taylor; Youngers. 2008

³²⁷ Driver, 2001

³²⁸ Isaacson, 2009

the chemicals applied to coca fields did not pose a significant threat to human population or the environment.³²⁹ In accordance with these conclusions, on 4th September 2002, the State Department delivered to Congress a “Report on Issues Related to the Aerial Eradication of Illicit Coca in Colombia”, in which it claimed that the conditions for adequate fumigation in Colombia had been satisfied. However, two weeks later, as a response, Ivette Perfecto and John Vandermeer, professors at the University of Michigan, presented to the Congress conflicting document, in which they concluded that:

*“The EPA report does not provide an adequate assessment of the environmental risks posed by the use of glyphosate in the eradication program in Colombia. In our professional opinion there is enough scientific evidence that the chemicals used in the aerial fumigation of coca in Colombia, in the manner in which they are being applied, pose risks and have adverse effects on the environment, and should be stopped immediately before causing irreversible damage.”*³³⁰

Yet, as apparent from the Figure 12 (see below), the coca fumigation continued to constitute the major component in coca eradication, although portion of manual coca eradication increased conspicuously.

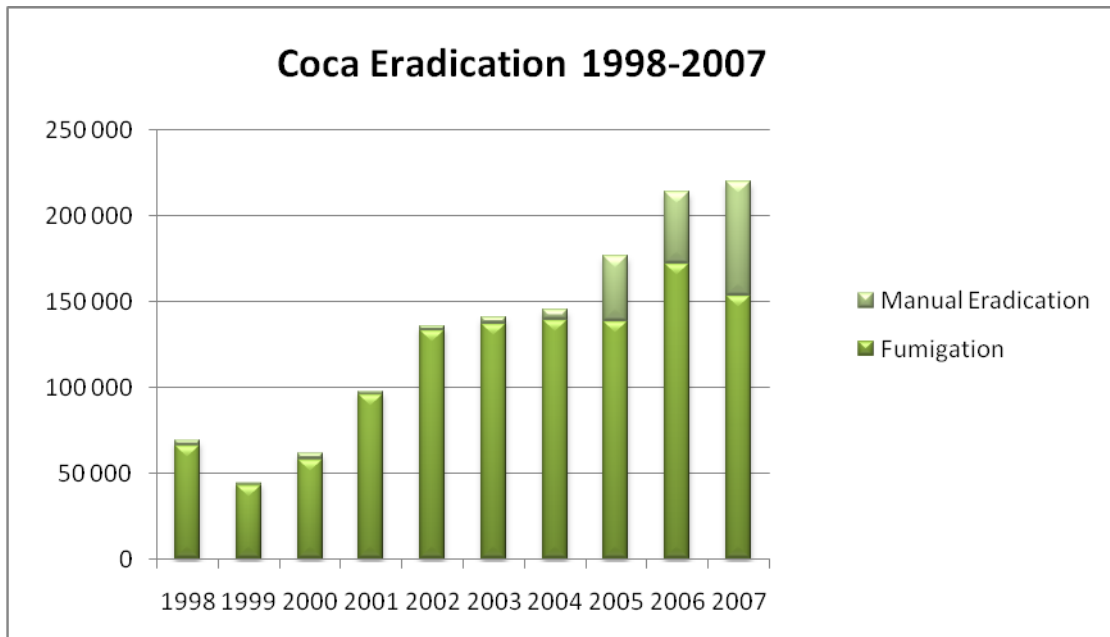
Despite the frequent criticism of potential health risks, only minimal health consequences have been so far detected within the Colombian rural population. The risks were allegedly no higher than the risks that farmers take by the herbicides spraying or fertilization of their own fields. Much greater risk also seems to be posed by extracting the cocaine from coca leaves. During this process, the extractors come in contact with other chemicals, such as sulfuric acid and ammonia.³³¹

Figure 12: Coca Fumigation and Manual Eradication 1998-2007

³²⁹ Office of Prevention, Pesticide and Toxic Substances, 2002

³³⁰ Perfecto; Vandermeer, 2002

³³¹ Solomon, et al. 2005



Source: UNDCP, 2007- edited by author

The criticism of US policies in Colombia is frequently directed against the military approach of combating the drug trade. Primarily, there are some direct evident negative effects of the US military aid on the human rights situation in Colombia. According to the report “Military Assistance and Human Rights: Colombia, U.S. Accountability, and Global Implications” released by the US Office on Colombia in June 2010, the massive military training, equipment and intelligence provided under the Plan Colombia have violated US human rights law and contributed to the killing of civilians by the Colombian Army.³³²

One of the most controversial areas of US military involvement has been its assistance to the counter-narcotics and mobile brigades. The brigades were initially established in 1999 in order to interdict the drug production and trafficking in South Colombia. However, their significance rose widely after the US started to support the brigades operations by providing them with training, equipment and infrastructure support (by the US Defence Department) and weapons and ammunition (from the State Department).³³³ The brigades have focused both on the manual and aerial coca eradication, as well as on the guerrilla elimination. The GAO report from 2008 stated that according to a senior US Military Group official, “*the mobile brigades’ effectiveness can be seen in the number of combatants from illegal armed groups*

³³² US Office on Colombia, 2010

³³³ GAO, 2008

captured and killed or who have surrendered.”³³⁴ Joint Task Force-Omega³³⁵ documentation shows that, as of February 2008, the task force had captured over 1,000 leftist combatants and killed almost 100 of the rebels. There is an obvious positive correlation between the US involvement and the brigades “effectiveness”, as the reported executions in brigade jurisdictions increased in average by 56% after the increase in US aid (see Table 9). Since 2007, the brigades have been gradually starting to provide their own trainings and most of the equipment.

Table 9: Reported Executions in Brigade Jurisdictions after Increases in U.S. Aid

Brigade Jurisdiction	Years of Increase	Reported EJs previous year & 1st year	Reported EJs 2d year & year after	Percentage change
2	2007-08	8.5	1	-88,24%
6	2007-08	26,5	10,5	-68,38%
6	2008-09	24,5	0	-100,00%
7	2005-06	13,5	95,5	607,41%
9	2007-08	30,5	25	-18,03%
9	2004-05	4	15	275,00%
11	2004-05	6,5	30,5	446,15%
12	2004-05	13,5	24	77,78%
13	2007-08	4,5	0	-100%
16	2004-05	5,5	18	227,27%
23	2008-09	0	0	0,00%
26	2007-08	0	0	0%
27	2007-08	30,5	6	-88,24%
28	2007-08	2,5	0,5	-80%
30	2006-07	16	60,5	278,13%
Navy Pacific	2008-09	1	1	0%
	TOTAL	188	293	56%

Source: US Office on Colombia, 2010 – edited by author

Another problematic issue of the US military assistance is the fact that it has primarily focuses only on the support of Colombian actions directed against the guerrilla groups, and has rather omitted the paramilitary units. Although the guerrillas have been involved in the human rights abuses (e.g. kidnapping, murders...) According

³³⁴ GAO, 2008

³³⁵ Joint Tasked Forces Omega was established in 2004 to coordinate the efforts of the Colombian Army, Air Force, and Marines against FARC in central Colombia. It comprised of about 10,000 soldiers.

to the US State Department, the paramilitaries have been responsible for estimated 80% of the human rights abuses in Colombia.³³⁶ President Uribe administration managed to conclude a peace accord with the AUC paramilitaries that have been consequently officially demobilized, the paramilitaries continue to represent a significant contributor to the violations of human rights in Colombia and to the narco-trafficking. In fact, according to some experts on the Colombian drug trade, the AUC are much more substantial in the narco-trafficking process than the guerrillas.³³⁷ The AUC under the Caros Castaño grouped in order to protect the interests of drug cartels. Later on, after the largest cartels had been annihilated by the US-Colombian mutual efforts, the narco-trafficking had been gradually moved within the competencies of the AUC. The DEA testimony before Congress in 1998 called Castaño “a major cocaine trafficker” and linked him directly to one of the most significant cocaine traffickers in Colombia of those days – to Montoya Sanchez.³³⁸ According to UNODC report on “Regions Under Stress” from 2010, the drug traffickers and drug trafficking finance up to 70% of the AUC activities.³³⁹ In spite of these factors, as noted earlier, there have been reported linkages between the Colombian government officials and the paramilitary members. The United States continued to support the Colombian Government programs.³⁴⁰

There has been a lot of controversy over the participation of private armies and US security companies in the Plan Colombia initiative. Noam Chomsky argues that the main objectives of strategies of war on drugs are as follows:

“The drug war is perfect because with it, Americans are willing to accept authority and power, and it provides the cover of the policy carried out abroad for years under another pretext. The main lobbyists are the military industry and the oil corporations. They want U.S. taxpayers to buy military helicopters, chemical weapons, and biological weapons and send arms.”³⁴¹

There are indeed some evident corporate interests within the US involvement in the Colombian counter-narcotics and counter-insurgency programs. For example, DynCorp, a United States-based private military contractor, began supporting the eradication programs in Colombia in 1994, and signed a five year, 200 million USD,

³³⁶ US State Department, 1999

³³⁷ Krauss, 2008

³³⁸ US Drug Enforcement Administration, undated

³³⁹ UNODC, 2010

³⁴⁰ Dominígue, Fernández de Castro. 2010

³⁴¹ Chomsky, 2001

contract with the State Department for the fumigation effort.³⁴² Also the Mellman Group poll, a strongly influential element of the Clinton administration, had been commissioned by the Lockheed Martin, the manufacturer of P-3 radar planes that have been used in numerous counter-drug operations. Mellman September 1999 poll stated that more than half of the respondents “would support a 2 billion USD increased in funding for tracking planes to be flown in drug producing areas.” And “over 60 percent of respondents were in favor of spending more money in order to stem the flow of illicit drugs into the US.”³⁴³ Thus, the purchase of the most sophisticated helicopters for the Colombian government qualified as the expenses on technology.³⁴⁴ There has been also some lobbying by other companies, such as Triple Canopy, Blackwater USA or United Technologies, whose Sikorsky Aircraft division manufactures the Black Hawks, being part of the equipment provided for the Colombian Army.³⁴⁵ The oil companies, particularly the US Occidental Petroleum, which had been losing profits due to guerrillas frequent attacks on the oil pipelines, were also seen as lobbying in favor of Plan Colombia.³⁴⁶ In 2001, there were 263 attacks on the oil pipelines in Colombia, thereof 170 were directed on the *Caño Limón Coveñas*, which is jointly owned by the Colombian Ecopetrol, and the Occidental Petroleum. During the first three years after the US involvement in the Plan Colombia initiative, the attacks have decreased impressively, mainly as regards the *Caño Limón Coveñas* pipeline (see table 10).

Table 10: Attacks on Oil Pipelines 2001 – 2004

PIPELINE	2001	2002	2003	2004
All Pipelines	263	74	179	103
Caño Limón Coveñas	170	41	34	17

Source: Ministry of Defense, Government of Colombia, 2005 – edited by author

³⁴² Buckwalter; Struckman; Gvosdev. 2010

³⁴³ Neumann, 2004

³⁴⁴ Ibid

³⁴⁵ It has also appeared that Senator Christopher Dodd supported the Plan Colombia because the Clinton’s proposal called for 30 new Black Hawk helicopters (manufactured in Connecticut – senator’s state) to be sent to Colombia, although administration officials admitted that the Colombian army lacked enough hangars and pilots to handle so many new aircraft. Acevedo; Bewley-Taylor; Youngers. 2008

³⁴⁶ Buckwalter; Struckman; Gvosdev. 2010

The examples mentioned above suggest not only that there can be certain corporate interests found within the implementation process of the Plan Colombia, but that it also can influence its focus. Taking into account also the growing power of local warlords, such reality indicates an evident process of “marketisation”³⁴⁷ of the conflict in Colombia.³⁴⁸

Conclusion

³⁴⁷ Concept, when conflicts are interlinked with market dynamics in which certain actors may benefit from the conflict itself.

³⁴⁸ Acevedo; Bewley-Taylor; Youngers. 2008

The United States has played an important role throughout the history of whole Latin America. In the Andean region, particularly in Colombia, the US engagement has been even more significant. In the last thirty years, the justification for such involvement has been the “war on drugs”. Many analysts disagree with the US participation and policies applied in Colombia, most recently through support of Plan Colombia. The main question in this thesis has been *what are the main determinants of US involvement in Colombia and to what extent is the narco-trafficking pivotal when explaining such intensive involvement?* To answer this question, the thesis took into account the context of US historical involvement in Latin America and in Colombia; the general strategies to fight the drug trafficking and the strategies implemented by the US on the Colombian drug problem; US interests and concerns in Colombia other than drugs; and finally the results and impacts of US involvement in the country.

First assumption of this thesis asserted that *Colombia, as well as the Latin American region as whole, represents for the United States strategically important region, and the US has, therefore, always attempted to remain influential in this country, resp. region.* Starting with the Monroe Doctrine, the US made it clear that Latin America belonged within its sphere of influence. During the following period, most apparently during the Cold War, the US has constantly interfered into the matters of Latin American countries. Whether it was through official economic and political arrangements and agreements, or the US pursued its interest by rather controversial means of direct support to desired government, even at the price of subversion or direct military intervention.

Colombia represents an important, long term political ally within otherwise rather instable Andean region composed of leftist oriented and (with regards to the US) less cooperative regimes. It also becomes increasingly important trade partner for the US, with significant oil reserves. In Colombia, United States has never backed an attempt to coup, neither has it intervene to this country by directly using its own military forces in order to restore preferable order within Colombian society. However, it has always ensured its influence and political stability in Colombia. Since the 1960’s through its assistance for the counter-insurgency efforts of Colombian government against the leftist guerrilla movements, since the 1980’s through its “war on drugs” and most recently, since 2001 through the Plan Colombia. These historical realities seem to strengthen the assumption.

The thesis furthermore discussed the assumption that *US counter-drug policy, focused on reduction of drug supply directed to the United States, have not reset in significant easing of the drug issue in Colombia, as the US strategy adopted was unsuitable for this matter.* In terms of drug strategies, the United States uses in general rather hard approach aimed at the country where the drug is cultivated and produced. Strategies focused primarily on the supply side of the problem tend to be, however, less effective, as the demand side is crucial in drug trade problem. The US policies implemented in Colombia have historically provided assistance of predominantly military nature. Also The Plan Colombia was from 80% in average composed of military aid supporting Colombian military and police in counter-narcotics and counterinsurgency operations. Contrarily, the focus on the Alternative Development and Social programs that could provide the farmers an alternative livelihood to the coca cultivation, represented less than 10% of the total US aid package during the first five years of the Plan implementation. Thus, the results of the US support of the Plan Colombia were after 11 years since its inception satisfactory regarding the insurgency reduction and strengthening of the Colombian State's control over its territory. However, respecting the coca cultivation and cocaine production, the outcomes have been markedly less satisfiable, as the Plan had not provide enough resources to target the initial problem – the coca cultivation as crucial (and often the only) livelihood source.

The third assumption suggested that *solving the drug problem in Colombia, the putative principal goal for the US policy in Colombia has not been the primary determinant of US involvement in Colombia.* This statement is the most problematic one, as the thesis does not indicate any direct proof for such conclusion. The confirmation of such hypothesis is thus conditioned by limitations of information available for the author and would also require more complex and detailed analysis.

Nevertheless, the circumstances of US involvement in Colombia (with evident parallel with US historical engagement in whole Latin America), and its policies applied in this region, strengthen the assumption. For instance, the fact that the United States military involvement in Colombia began well before the drugs evolvement. Although the US policies intensified with development of narco-trafficking, such intensification was also a response to the strengthening of Colombia's guerrilla movements, which

occurred due to increased income from the drug trade. This argument is strengthened by the nature of US policies implied in Colombia, as already since the 1960's the US provided or supported in the country training programs for counter-insurgency operations. Also, as mentioned earlier, the US part of Plan Colombia initiative is focused and has achieved remarkable results particularly in the area of security development in Colombia. Moreover, although the drug problem is far from resolved, the US has lately lowered the level of assistance provided, and rather focused on consolidating the mutual economic relations by finally ratifying the Free Trade Agreement with Colombia.

Taking into consideration all the findings about the US foreign policy towards Colombia, in context of its motivations and impacts, the thesis concludes that although the drug issue in Colombia and narco trafficking in general does play a role when determining the US involvement and formation of its strategies, the US primary interest in Colombia is of rather strategic geopolitical and economic fundamentals.

Literature

„A qué juega Pastrana?“ BBC Mundo, 30.8.2000 (online) Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/spanish/extra0008colombiaintro.shtml> (20.4.2012)

ACEVEDO, Beatriz; BEWLY-TAYLOR, Dave; YOUNGERS, Colleta. 2008. “Ten Years of Plan Colombia: An Analytic Assessment.” *The Beckley Foundation Drug Policy Programme*. (online; pdf) Available at: http://www.beckleyfoundation.org/pdf/BriefingPaper_16.pdf (5.3.2012)

ACEVEDO, Beatriz. 2004. „Drug Policy In Colombia – In the Ship of Fools.“ *Mama Coca* (online) Available at: http://www.mamacoca.org/FSMT_sept_2003/en/abs/acevedo_drug_policy_abs_en.htm (23.2.2012)

Al SEMA, Adrian. „Plan Colombia not mentioned in US 2011 budget proposal“ *Colombia Reports*, 1.2.2010. (online) Available at: <http://colombiareports.com/colombia-news/news/7975-plan-colombia-unmentioned-in-us-2011-budget-proposal.html> (25.3:2012)

„Agency Budget Summaries: Drug Enforcement Administration". *Office of National Drug Control Policy*, (online). Available at: <https://www.ncjrs.gov/ondcppubs/publications/policy/budget98/agency-09f.html> (13.4.2012)

ARNSON, Cynthia. 2005. „Peace Process in Colombia with Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia – AUC“ *Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*. (online; pdf) Available at: <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/PeaceProcColAUC.pdf>. (12.3.2012)

BEERS, Rand. 1999. „Colombia: Counterinsurgency vs. Counter-narcotics“ *Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs*. (online) Available at: <http://drugcaucus.senate.gov/colombia99beers.html> (18.4.2012)

„Betancurs War on Drugs under Fire.“ September, 1984. *EIR*, 33 (11). Available from: https://www.larouchepub.com/eiw/public/1984/eirv11n33-19840828/eirv11n33-19840828_037-betancurs_war_on_drugs_under_fir.pdf (4.3.2012)

BETHELL, Leslie; ROXBOROUGH, IAN. 2005. *Origins of the Cold War*. New York: Routledge. Googlebooks (online). Available from: <http://books.google.cz/> (30.1.2012)

BJOERNEHED, Emma. 2004. “Narco-Terrorism: The Merger of the War on Drugs and the War on Terror” *Global Crime*, 6 (3-4), Pp 305-324, (online;pdf). Available at: http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/docs/publications/2005/Emma_Narcoterror.pdf (20.4.2012)

BUCKWALTER, David; STRUCKMAN, Dana; GVOSDEV, Nikolas. „Continuity and Change in U.S. Policy toward Colombia, 1999–2009“ In: “Case Studies in Policy Making.” Eds. ALVI, Hayat; GVOSDEV, Nikolas. 2010. (online; pdf) Available at:

<http://www.usnwc.edu/Departments---Colleges/National-Security-Decision-Making/Documents/CaseStudiesInPolicyMaking12thEd.pdf> (18.4.2012)

„Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs“ *US Department of State*, (online). Available at: <http://www.state.gov/j/inl/index.htm> (14.4.2012)

CAMERON, Fraser. 2002. *US foreign policy after the Cold War: global hegemon or reluctant sheriff?* London and New York: Routledge.

CARPENTER, Ted Galen. 2003. *Bad Neighbor Policy: Washington's Futile War on Drugs in Latin America*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan

CARPENTER, Ted. 2001. „Plan Colombia: Washington's Latest Drug War Failure.“ *CATO Institute*. (online). Available at: <http://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/plan-colombia-washingtons-latest-drug-war-failure> (21.4.2012)

“Charter of The Organization of American States.” *Organization of American States* (online; pdf). Available from: http://www.oas.org/dil/treaties_A-41_Charter_of_the_Organization_of_American_States.htm#ch1 (26.1.2012)

CHOMSKY, Noam. 2011a. “The Responsibility of Intellectuals: Redux Using Privilege to Challenge the State.” *Boston Review* (online). Available from: http://www.bostonreview.net/BR36.5/noam_chomsky_responsibility_of_intellectuals_r_edux.php (31.1.2012)

CHOMSKY, Noam. 2011b. *An American addiction: Drugs, Guerrillas and Counterinsurgency in US intervention in Colombia*. (audio) Oakland: AK Press

CHOMSKY, Noam. 1993. *What Uncle Sam Really Wants*. Berkeley: Odonian Press.

“Coca Cultivation and Cocaine Processing” 1993. *Schaffer Library of Drug Policy*, (online). Available at: <http://druglibrary.net/schaffer/GovPubs/cocccp.htm> (12.4.2012)

“Cocaine” 2008. *National Drug Intelligence Center*, (online, pdf) Available at: <http://www.justice.gov/ndic/pubs31/31379/cocaine.htm> (10.4.2012)

“Colombia Extradition Treaty with the United States.” 1979. *International Extradition Lawyers* (online). Available from: <http://internationalextraditionblog.com/2011/04/14/colombia-extradition-treaty-with-the-united-states/> (31.1.2012)

“Colombia – AUC“ *Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*. (online; pdf) Available at: <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/PeaceProcColAUC.pdf>. (14.3.2012)

“Colombia aid is not "Yankee imperialism" – Clinton” 2000. *Reuters*. (online). Available at: <http://about.reuters.com/newsml/language/language.asp> (18.4.2012)

“Colombian Military Expenditures.” 1988. *Country Data* (online). Available from: <http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-3119.html> (4.3.2012)

„Colombia GDP Growth Rate“ *Trading Economics*. (online) Available at: <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/colombia/gdp-growth> (22.4.2012)

„Colombian agreement over US military bases 'unconstitutional'“ 2008. *Guardian*. (online) Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/aug/18/colombia-us-bases-unconstitutional> (12.3.2012)

„Coverage of the Condoleezza Rice confirmation hearings“ 2005. *MSNBC*. (online) Available at : http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/6844063/ns/msnbc_tv-about_msnbc_tv/t/coverage-condoleezza-rice-confirmation-hearings/#.T5LJNLMZTfI (20.3.2012)

CRANDAL, Russel. 2008. *Driven by drugs: US Policy Towards Colombia*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner

CRANDALL, Russel. 2001. “Explicit Narcotization: U.S. Policy toward Colombia during the Samper Administration.” *Latin American Politics and Society*, 43 (3). Available from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3177145> (2.3.2012).

„Critique of USAID Democracy Initiative“ In: SAMARASINGHE, A. 2004. „Democracy and Democratization in Developing Countries“ *International Centre for Ethnic Studies*, (online;pdf). Available at: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/83149124/47/Critique-of-USAID-Democracy-Initiative> (14.4.2012)

„Demand Side Policies in the U.S. War on Drugs“ 2011. *Latintelligence*, (online). Available at: <http://www.latintelligence.com/2011/09/06/demand-side-policies-in-the-u-s-war-on-drugs/> (13.4.2012)

DIAMOND, John. „Clinton's Successor Will Inherit Major Drug War“ 2000. *Chicago Tribune*. (online) Available at: http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2000-12-03/news/0012030494_1_plan-colombia-marxist-revolutionary-armed-forces-national-liberation-army (20.4.2012)

DION, Michelle; RUSSLER, Catherine. 2008. “Eradication Efforts, the State, Displacement and Poverty : Explaining Coca Cultivation in Colombia during Plan Colombia.” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 40 (3), Pp 399-421, (online;pdf). Available at: <http://michelledion.com/files/2008-Dion%20and%20Russler-JLAS.pdf> (13.4.2012)

DOMÍNGUE, Jorge, FERNÁNDEZ DE CASTRO, Rafael. 2010. *Contemporary U.S.-Latin American Relations: Cooperation Or Conflict in the 21st Century?* Googlebooks (online). Available from: <http://books.google.cz/> (20.4.2012).

DRIVER, Tom. 2001. „Colombia’s War: Drugs, Oil and Markets“ *Christian Century*. (online) Available at: <http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title=2117> (22.4.2012)

- EGELAND, Jan. 2004. "Colombia has biggest humanitarian crisis in Western Hemisphere, UN says." *UN News Centre*. (online). Available at: <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=10691&Cr=colombia&Cr1> (20.4.2012)
- EISENHOWER, Dwight. 1954. "Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union." *Dwight Eisenhower Presidential Library & Museum* (online). Available from: <http://stateoftheunion.onetwothree.net/texts/19540107.html> (31.1.2012)
- ERICSON, Richard. 2007. „Crime in an Insecure World“ *Polity Press*. Googlebooks.com (online). Available at: <http://books.google.cz/> (12.4.2012)
- Executive Office. 2008. "The Case for the U.S.-Colombia Free Trade Agreement," *Office of the U.S. Trade Representative fact sheet* (online; pdf) Available at http://www.ustr.gov/webfm_send/1027 (20.4.2012)
- FELBAB-BROWN, Vanda, et al. 2009. „Assessment of the Implementation of the United States Government's Support for Plan Colombia's Illicit Crop Reduction Components” *USAID*, (online;pdf). Available at: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACN233.pdf (12.4.2012)
- Executive Office. 2009. „Drug Control Strategy: FY 2010 Budget Summary“ *The White House*, (online; pdf) Available at: <http://www.whitehousedrugpolicy.gov/publications/policy/10budget/fy10budget.pdf> (20.4.2012)
- Executive Office. 2004. „108th Congress Public Law 108–375“ *U.S. Government Printing Office* (online). Available at: <http://www.dod.gov/dodgc/olc/docs/PL108-375.pdf> (12.3.2012)
- FILIPPONE, Robert. 1994. The Medellin Cartel: Why we can't win the drug war. In: *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. 34, p 324. Oxford: Routledge
- FRIEDMAN, David. „Drugs, Violence and Economics.“ (online). Available at: http://www.daviddfriedman.com/Academic/drugs_and_violence/Drugs_and_violence.html (13.4.2012)
- FUKUMI, Sayaka. 2008. "Cocaine Trafficking in Latin America: Eu and Us Policy Responses” *Ashgate Publishing Limited*. Googlebooks.com (online). Available at: <http://books.google.cz/> (10.4.2012)
- HARRIS, Paul; MCVEIGH, Karen. 2011. „Russian arms dealer Viktor Bout found guilty of selling weapons to Farc rebels“ *The New York Times*. (online). Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/nov/02/viktor-bout-arms-trade> (12.4.2012)
- HAUGEVIK, Renate. 2004. *U.S. Foreign Policy towards Colombia in the Post-Cold War Era*. Oslo: University of Oslo
- HESSELROTH, Alba. 2005. „Struggles of Security in US Foreign Drug Policy

Towards Andean Countries“ (online,pdf). Available at:
<http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/StrugglesofSecurity.PDF> (14.4.2012)

HESSELROTH, Alba. 2003. *Struggles Of Security In US Foreign Drug Policy Towards Andean Countries*. Peace, Conflict & Development (online). Available from:
<http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/StrugglesofSecurity.PDF> (2.3.2012)

HOBSBAWM, Eric. 2003. *Interesting Times: A Twentieth-Century Life*. New York: Pantheon Books

HORNBECK, Jeffrey. 2011. „U.S.-Latin America Trade: Recent Trends and Policy Issues“ *Congresional Research Service*. (online; pdf) Available at:
<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/98-840.pdf> (20.4.2012)

„Hoy, una Colombia en paz, progresista y libre de drogas es un ideal invisible; pero estamos comprometidos en hacerlo una realidad en el futuro“ PASTRANA, Andrés. In: “El Plan Colombia” *Official Text of the Embassy of the United States, Bogota, Colombia*. 1999. (online). Available at: <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/cahier/ameriquelatine/plancolombieux> (18.4.2012)

Interamerican Treaty on Reciprocal Assistance. Department of International Law, OAS (online). Available from: <http://www.oas.org/juridico/english/treaties/b-29.html> (26.1.2012)

„International Crime Control Strategy“ 1998. *US National Security Strategy*. (online) Available at: <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/iccs/iccsi.html> (10.4.2012)

International Monetary Fund. 2002. “Colombia 2002 Article IV Consultation and Request for Stand-by Arrangement – Staff Report” *IMF Country Report No. 03/19*, (online; pdf) Available at: <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2003/cr0319.pdf> (18.4.2012)

International Monetary Fund. 2005 “Colombia 2005 Article IV Consultation and Forth Review Under the Stand-by Arrangement” *IMF Country Report No. 05/154*, (online; pdf). Available at: <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2005/cr05154.pdf> (18.4.2012)

“Interaction of Supply and Demand.“ (online). Available at:
<http://www.blacksacademy.net/content/3400.html> (18.4.2012)

„Into the Morass: Green Berets in Colombia as „War on Drugs“ Morphs into „War on Terror“ 2003. *Stop the Drug War*, (online). Available at:
<http://stopthedrugwar.org/chronicle-old/274/intothemorass.shtml> (23.3.2012)

ISAACSON, Adam. 2009. „After Plan Colombia: Evaluating "Integrated Action," the next phase of U.S. assistance“ *Just the Facts*. (online) Available at:
<http://justf.org/content/after-plan-colombia> (21.4.2012)

“Issues Related to the Aerial Eradication of Illicit Coca in Colombia.” 2003. *Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement*. (online). Available at: <http://www.state.gov/g/inl/rls/rpt/aeicc/26598.htm> (14.4.2012)

KENNAN, George. „Report to Latin America.“ 1950. *Foreign Relations of the United States* (online). Available from: <http://www.russilwvong.com/future/kennan/latinamerica.html> (21.3.2012)

KENNEDY, John Fitzgerald. 1960. “Democratic National Convention Nomination Acceptance Address.“ *Online Speech Bank* (online). Available from: <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/jfk1960dnc.htm> (31.1.2012).

KLARE, Michael. 2000. „The Real Reason for US Aid to Colombia“ *Mother Jones*, (online). Available at: <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2000/04/real-reason-us-aid-colombia> (24.4.2012)

KRAUSS, Caroline. 2008. „Columbia's critical role in marijuana, cocaine and heroin production and trade is investigated“ *International Relations and Security Network*. (online) Available at: <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Current-Affairs/ISN-Insights/Detail?lng=en&ots627=fce62fe0-528d-4884-9cdf-283c282cf0b2&id=123022&tabid=123967&contextid734=123022&contextid735=123967> (23.4.2012)

KRAUSE, Charles. 1996. „Colombia’s Samper and the Drug Link.“ *Online Newshour* (online). Available from: http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/latin_america/colombia_3-20.html (19.3.2012)

KRENN, Michael. 1990. *U.S. policy toward economic nationalism in Latin America*. Wilmington: SR Books.

LAPLANTE, Lisa; THEIDON, Kimberly. 2007. *Transitional Justice in Times of Conflict: Colombia’s Ley de Justicia y Paz*. Michigan Journal of International Law (online). Available at: <http://students.law.umich.edu/mjil/uploads/articles/v28n1-laplante-theidon.pdf> (25.3.2012)

„Latin America and the Caribbean: Issues for the 108th Congress.“ 2003. *Congressional Research Service*, (online;pdf). Available at: <http://www.iwar.org.uk/news-archive/crs/24043.pdf> (13.4.2012)

LESLEY, Gill. 2004. *The School of the Americas: military training and political violence in the Americas*. Durham: Duke University Press

LOWENTHAL, Abraham; PICCONE, Theodore; WHITEHEAD, Laurence. 2010. *Shifting the Balance: Obama and the Americas*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press

MAITLAND, Leslie. 1982 „US Plans a New Drive on Narcotics“ *The New York Times*. (online). Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/1982/10/09/us/us-plans-a-new-drive-on-narcotics.html> (14.4.2012)

MANWARING, Max G. 2002. *Nonstate Actors in Colombia: Threat and Response*. Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute

MANWARING, Max. 2001. *U.S. Security Policy in the Western Hemisphere : Why Colombia, Why Now, and WhatIs To Be Done?* Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute

MANWARING, Max. 1994. „National Security Implications of Drug Trafficking for the USA and Colombia“ *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 5 (3) Pp 379-408

MARCELA, Gabriel. 2002. “Colombia Alert: Plan Colombia: An Interim Assessment” *Hemisphere Focus* (online; pdf) Available at:
http://csis.org/files/media/isis/pubs/hf_v10_02.pdf (19.4.2012)

MARCELLA, Gabriel ; SCHULZ, Donald. 1999. *Colombias Three Wars: U.S. Strategy at the Crossroad*. Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute

MARSHALL, George. 1948. „Marshall Blames World Communism for Bogota Revolt“. *Philadelphia Inquirer* (online). Available from:
<http://www.icdc.com/~paulwolf/gaitan/inquirer13april1948.htm> (26.1.2012)

MCPHERSON, Alan. 2006. “Intimate Ties, Bitter Struggles: The United States and Latin America Since 1945” *Potomac Books, Inc.* Googlebooks.com (online). Available at: <http://books.google.cz/> (12.4.2012)

MEZA, Vargas. 1998. *The FARC, the War and the Crisis of State*. Report on the Americas, March/April. New York: NACLA, p. 24

MILLER, Gilbert. 2008. *The Original Long War*. Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute

MONROE, James. 1823. “Monroe Doctrine”. *Annals of Congress, 18th Congress, 1st Session* (online). Available from: <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llac&fileName=041/llac041.db&recNum=2> (25.1.2012).

„Narcotic Affairs Section.“ *Embassy of the United States, Bogota*, (online). Available at: <http://bogota.usembassy.gov/nas.html> (14.4.2012)

“National Security Council” *The White House*, (online). Available at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nssall.html> (12.3.2012)

NĚMEC, Jan. 2010. “politické systémy Latinské Americe” Praha: Nakladatelství Oeconomica

NEUMANN, Vanessa. 2004. „The (In)Coherence of U.S. Foreign Policy in Colombia“ *Graduate Institute of Development Studies*. (online; pdf) Pp. 268. Available at: http://doc.rero.ch/record/3636/files/these_NeumannV.pdf (13.4.2012)

NIETO, Jaime; Zuluanga; STOLLER, Richard. 2007. *U.S. Security Policies and United States-Colombia Relations*. *Latin American Perspectives* 34 (1), 112-119. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org/> (25.1.2012).

- NOTO, David. 2011. „US-Colombia Free Trade Agreement: Allies Get Closer“ Fox News Latino. (online) Available at: <http://latino.foxnews.com/latino/news/2011/10/13/us-colombia-free-trade-agreement-powerful-relationship-just-got-stronger/> (24.3.2012)
- “OAS: Yankee Ministry of Colonies.” 2009. *Minarax. Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Cuba* (online). Available from: <http://www.cubaminrex.cu/english/OAS/Articles/Chronology/inicio.html> (28.1.2012)
- OPATRŇY, Josef. 1998. *Amerika v proměnách staletí*. Praha: Libri
- „Office of National Drug Control Policy“ *The White House*, (online). Available at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/ondcp> (14.4.2012)
- „Pastrana cuts off talks with ELN rebels“ 2001. *CNN World*. (online) Available at: http://articles.cnn.com/2001-08-07/world/colombia.talks_1_eln-second-largest-rebel-force-colombian-president-andres-pastrana?s=PM:WORLD (21.4.2012)
- PEARCE, Jenny. 2001. *Complex Violences in Latin America: The Case of Colombia*. London: Institute of Latin American Studies
- PENA, Julian. 2004. “The Effects of Coca Eradication in Colombia.” *Ethics for Development in a Global Environment*
- PERFECTO, Ivette; VANDERMEER, John. 2002. „Comments on the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency “Ecological Risk Assessment For the Use of Glyphosate Herbicide As Part of the U.S. Supported Aerial Eradication Program of Coca in Colombia Submitted as part of the U.S. Department of State Report on Issues Related to the Aerial Eradication of Illicit Coca in Colombia“ (online; pdf) Available at: <http://www.glifocidio.org/docs/plan%20colombia%20doc/pc3.pdf> (10.3.2012)
- PERL, Raphael. 2005. „Drug Control: International Policy and Approaches.“ *CRS Issue Brief for Congress* (online; pdf) Available at: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/61518.pdf> (12.3.2012)
- PETRAS, James. 2010. *Colombia: State Terror in the Name of Peace*. Dissident Voice (online). Available at: <http://dissidentvoice.org/2010/05/colombia-state-terror-in-the-name-of-peace/> (26.3.2012)
- „President Bush and President Uribe of Colombia Participate in a Joint Press Availability“ 2007. *The White House*. (online) Available at: <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2007/03/20070311-1.html> (20.4.2012)
- “Psychological Operations FM33-5.” 1962. *US Department of the Army* (online). Available at: <http://www.enlisted.info/field-manuals/fm-33-1-psychological-operations.shtml> (18.3.2012)
- RABASA, Angel; CHALK, Peter. 2001. *Colombian Labyrinth : The Synergy of Drugs and Insurgency and Its Implications for Regional Stability*. Santa Monica : RAND

- RAMÍREZ, María. 2005. "Aerial Spraying and Alternative Development in Plan Colombia : Two sides of the same coin or two contested policies?" *ReVista: Harvard review of Latin America* (online; pdf) Available at: <http://www.drclas.harvard.edu/revista/articles/view/844> (20.4.2012)
- REAGAN, Ronald. 1983. "Remarks on Central America and El Salvador at the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers" (online). Available from: <http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1983/31083a.htm> (20.4.2012)
- "Relations with the United States 2003 – 2011." *Country Studies* (online). Available from: <http://countrystudies.us/> (31.1.2012)
- REMPE, Dennis. 2002. *The Past as Prologue? A History of US Counterinsurgency policy in Colombia, 1958-66*. Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institut
- RENSSALAER, Lee. 1989. *The white labyrinth: Cocaine and Political Power*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers
- RENSSELAER, Lee. 1985. "U.S. The Latin American Drug Connection." *Foreign Policy* 61, p. 148. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1148706> (2.3.2012).
- RESTREPO, Jorge, SPAGAT, Michael; VARGAS, Juan. 2004. „The Dynamics of the Colombian Civil Conflict: A New Data Set.“ *Homo Oeconomicus*, 21 (2) Pp. 396–428, (online; pdf) Available at: <http://www.cerac.org.co/es/assets/files/articulos/TheDynamicsoftheColombian.pdf> (18.4.2012)
- REUTER, Peter; CRAWFORD, Gordon; CAVE, Johnatan. 1988. *Selling the Borders: The Effects of Increased Military Participation in Drug Interdiction*. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, p. 123
- REVERON. Derek. 2010. *Exporting Security: International Engagement, Security Cooperation, and the Changing Face of the U.S. Military*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press
- ROCHLIN, James. 2007. *Social forces and the revolution in military affairs : the cases of Colombia and Mexico*. Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan
- ROMO, Rafael. 2011. „Plan Colombia revisited: Mixed results for U.S. anti-drug initiative.“ *CNN World*. (online) Available at: http://articles.cnn.com/2011-01-17/world/colombia.us.drugs_1_balloon-effect-drug-traffickers-peru-and-colombia?s=PM:WORLD (12.3.2012)
- ROSEVELT, Theodore. 1900. "Letter to Henry L. Sprague." *Library of Congress* (online). Available from: <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/treasures/images/at0052as.jpg> (26.1.2012)
- ROSS, Michael. 2003. *Oil, Drugs and Diamonds*. In: *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers

ROSTOW, Walt. 1959. "The Stages of Economic Growth." *Economic History review*. 1 (12) (online). <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-0289.1959.tb01829.x/abstract> (22.3.2012)

SAMPER, Ernesto. 1996. „Colombia’s Samper and the Drug Link.“ In: Interview of Charles Krause with Ernesto Samper. *Online Newshour* (online). Available from: http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/latin_america/colombia_3-20.html (19.3.2012)

"Secret Supplement, Colombian Survey report." *U.S. Army Special Warfare School*, 26.2:1962.(online). Available at: <http://www.icdc.com/~paulwolf/colombia/surveyteam26feb1962.htm> (22.3.2012)

SEELKE, Clare; WYLER, Liana; BEITTEL, June. 2010. "Latin America and the Caribbean: Illicit Drug Trafficking and U.S. Counterdrug Programs" *CRS Issue Brief for Congress*. (online, pdf). Available at: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/142364.pdf> (22.3.2012)

SERAFINO, Nina. 2001. "Colombia: Conditions and U.S. Policy Options" *The Library of Congress: Congressional Research Service*. (online; pdf). Available at: <http://www.iwar.org.uk/news-archive/crs/6573.pdf> (22.4.2012)

SMITH, Joseph. 2005. *The United States and Latin America: a history of American diplomacy, 1776-2000*. Oxon: Routledge

SOLOMON, Kieth; et al. 2005. „Environmental and Human Health Assessment of the Aerial Spray Program for Coca and Poppy Control in Colombia“ *Report for Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission*. (online; pdf) Available at: <http://scm.oas.org/pdfs/2007/CP17420E.pdf> (22.4.2012)

SOLOMON, Norman.1997 „Snow Job: The Establishment's Papers Do Damage Control for the CIA“ *Web archives*. (online; pdf). Available at: http://web.archive.org/web/20050211194420/http://www.datafilter.com/mc/c_fairContr aCrackCiaDamageControl.html (12.2.2012)

SPENCER, Bill. 1998. „Drug Certification“ *Foreign Policy in Focus*, (online). http://www.fpif.org/reports/drug_certification (14.4.2012)

SMITH, Phillip. „Plan Colombia: Ten Years Later“ *Stop the Drug War*, 15.7.2011. (online) Available at: http://stopthedrugwar.org/chronicle/2010/jul/15/plan_colombia_ten_years_later (22.4.2012)

“Statement on Signing the Military Construction Appropriations Act, 2001, Emergency Supplemental Act, 2000, and Cerro Grande Fire Supplemental Read more at the American Presidency Project” 2000. *The American Presidency Project*. (online) Available at : <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=1604#axzz1sW0OvJUB> (18.4.2012)

STOKES, Doug. 2005. *America's Other War: Terrorizing Colombia*. London: Zed books Ltd.

STOKES, Doug. 2001. „Better Lead than Bread? A Critical Analysis of the Plan Colombia“ *Civil Wars*, 4 (2), Pp. 59-78. (online). Available at: http://kent.academia.edu/DougStokes/Papers/1202009/Better_Lead_Than_Bread_A_Critical_Analysis_of_the_USs_Plan_Colombia (29.4.2012)

SWEIG, Julia. „Why Colombia?“ *The Washington Independent*. 2.7.2008. (online) Available at: <http://washingtonindependent.com/719/why-colombia> (12.3.2012)

The Mutual Security Act of 1951. U.S. House of Representatives (online). Available from: <http://artandhistory.house.gov/highlights.aspx?action=view&intid=175> (28.1.2012)

“The Americas: Milton’s Progress.” 1953. *Time Magazin* (online). Available from: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,822833,00.html/> (30.1.2012)

„The Intelligence Role in Counterinsurgency“ 1994. *Central Intelligence Agency*, (online). Available at: https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol9no4/html/v09i4a06p_0001.htm (20.2.2012)

“Tackling Drug Addiction” *Open Society Foundation*, (online) Available at: http://www.soros.org/initiatives/baltimore/focus_areas/drug_addiction

“The Liberal Tenure.” *Country Studies* (online) Available from: <http://countrystudies.us/colombia/29.htm> (10.3.2012)

„The Threat to U.S. National Security Posed by Transnational Organized Crime“ *National Intelligence Council*, (online). Available at: http://www.dni.gov/nic/NIC_toc.html (10.4.2012)

„The President's foreign assistance budget request for fiscal year 1997 hearing before the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, One Hundred Fourth Congress, second session, April 25, 1996“ *House of Representatives*, (online). Available at: http://www.archive.org/stream/presidentsforeig00unit/presidentsforeig00unit_djvu.txt (14.4.2012)

„This Is USAID“ *USAID*, (online). Available at: http://www.usaid.gov/about_usaid/ (10.4.2012)

„The President's news conference with President Alvaro Uribe of Colombia in Cartagena, Colombia“ 2004. *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*. (online) Available at: http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2889/is_48_40/ai_n9487209/ (20.4.2012)

„Transnational Organized Crime“ 2010. *National Intelligence Council*, (online; pdf) Available at: http://www.dni.gov/nic/NIC_toc_foldout.pdf (11.4.2012)

“Trafficking and U.S. Counterdrug Programs.” *Congresional Research Service*, (online;pdf). Available at: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/142364.pdf> (14.4.2012)

United States Department of State. 2011. “International Narcotics Control Strategy Report: Volume I Drug and Chemical Control” *Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs*, (online; pdf) Available at: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/137411.pdf> (20.4.2012)

United States Office on Colombia. 2010 „Military Assistance and Human Rights: Colombia, U.S. Accountability, and Global Implications“ *Fellowship of Reconciliation*. (online; pdf) Available at: <http://forusa.org/sites/default/files/uploads/militaryaid100729web.pdf> (22.4.2012)

United States General Accounting Office (GAO). 2009. “Drug Control U.S. Nonmilitary Assistance to Colombia Is Beginning to Show Intended Results, but Programs Are Not Readily Sustainable”. *Report to the honorable Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Caucus on International Narcotics Control, U.S. Senate*. (online;pdf). Available at: <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d04726.pdf> (22.4.2012)

United States Accounting Office (GAO). 2008. „Plan Colombia: Drug Reduction Goals Were Not Fully Met, but Security Has Improved; U.S. Agencies Need More Detailed Plans for Reducing Assistance“ *Report to the Honorable Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate* (online; pdf) Available at: <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d0971.pdf> (20.4.2012)

United States Accounting Office (GAO). 2004. „Drug Control: U.S. Nonmilitary Assistance to Colombia Is Beginning to Show Intended Results, but Programs Are Not Readily Sustainable“ *Report to the Honorable Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, Caucus on International Narcotics Control, U.S. Senate* (online; pdf) Available at: <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d04726.pdf> (20.4.2012)

United States Institute for Peace (USIP). 2000 “Plan Colombia: Plan for Peace, Prosperity, and the Strengthening of the State.” *Peace Agreements Digital Collection* (online; pdf) Available at: http://www.usip.org/files/plan_colombia_101999.pdf (29.4.2012)

United States Department of State. 2000. “Why Colombia Is Not the ‘Next Vietnam’” *Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs fact sheet* (online) Available at: http://www.state.gov/www/regions/wha/colombia/fs_000328_notvietnam.html (18.4.2012)

United States Department of State. 1999. „Country Report: Colombia“ (online; pdf). Available at: www.state.gov/www/global/human_rights/1999_hrp_report/colombia.html (29.4.2012)

United States Environmental Protection Agency. „U.S. Environmental Protection Agency Office of Pesticide Programs Details of the Consultation for Department of State Use of Pesticide for Coca Eradication Program in Colombia“ 2002. *Office of*

Prevention, Pesticide and Toxic Substances. (online) Available at:
<http://www.state.gov/j/inl/rls/rpt/aeicc/13237.htm> (12.3.2012)

Executive Office of the US Government. 2001. "106th Congress Public Law 246" *U.S. Government Printing Office* (online). Available at:
<http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-106publ246/html/PLAW-106publ246.htm>
(18.4.2012)

US Drug Enforcement Administration. 1998. „DEA Congressional Testimony“ (online)
Available at: <http://www.justice.gov/dea/pubs/cngrtest/ct980622.htm>

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. 2010. „Regions Under Stress: When TOC Threatens Governance and Stability.“ (online; pdf) Available at:
http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tocta/11.Regions_under_stress.pdf
(20.3.2012)

United Nations Office on Drug and Crime . 2007. „World Drug Report: Seizures.“ (online; pdf) Available at: <http://www.unodc.org/pdf/research/wdr07/seizures.pdf>
(12.3.2012)

VAICIUS, Ingrid; ISACSON, ADAM. 2003. „The War on Drugs meets the War on Terror“ *The Center for International Policy's Colombia Program* (online; pdf)
Available at: <http://usregsec.sdsu.edu/docs/VaiciusIsacsonFebruary2003.pdf>
(20.4.2012)

VARELA, Nancy. 2008. „Arquitectura de las Relaciones Internacionales del Estado Colombiano a Comienzos del Siglo XXI en un Escenario Globalizado“ *Contraloría Delegada para la Gestión Pública e Instituciones Financieras* (online; pdf) Available at :
http://200.93.128.205/c/document_library/get_file?&folderId=16364875&name=DLFE-21330.pdf (20.4.2012)

VEILLETE, Connie. 2005. „Plan Colombia: A Progress Report“ *CRS Report for Congress* (online; pdf) Available at:
<http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/crs/rl32774.pdf> (24.4.2012)

Vicepresidencia de la República. 2008. “Impacto de la Política de Seguridad Democrática: Sobre la confrontación armada, el narcotráfico y los derechos humanos” *“Impact of the Democratic Security Policy: On the armed conflict, drug trafficking and human rights.”*(online). Available at:
http://www.derechoshumanos.gov.co/observatorio_de_DDHH/publicaciones/estu_tematicos/impacto_pol_i_segdemocratica.pdf. (18.4.2012)

WALTERS, John. 1994 „How the Clinton Administration Is Abandoning the War against Drugs“ *The Heritage Foundation*, (online) Available at:
<http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/1994/06/bg989nbsp-how-the-clinton-administration> (23.2.2012)

„What We Do and How We Do It“ 2006. *USAID*, (online;pdf). Available at:
http://www.usaid.gov/about_usaid/PDACG100.pdf (10.4.2012)

„White House Releases Report to the President on the National Export Initiative“ 2010. *The White House*, (online). Available at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2010/09/16/white-house-releases-report-president-national-export-initiative> (14.4.2012)

WOLA: 1988. *Colombia Besieged: Political Violence and State Responsibility*. Washington: WOLA

YUEN, Michelle. 2003. *Illuminating the Obscurity of U.S. Foreign Aid Distribution: Are Economic Interests the Unaccounted Factor?* Available from: http://politics.as.nyu.edu/docs/IO/4600/yuen_prop.pdf (25.3.2012)

Appendices

**Appendix A: Chapter II from the Text of the 106th US Congress Public
Law 246, 2001 (Concerning Plan Colombia)**

CHAPTER 2

BILATERAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

Funds Appropriated to the President

Department of State

assistance for counternarcotics activities

For necessary expenses to carry out section 481 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to support Central and South America and Caribbean counternarcotics activities, \$1,018,500,000, to remain available until expended: Provided, That of the funds appropriated under this heading, not less than \$110,000,000 shall be made available for assistance for Bolivia, of which not less than \$85,000,000

[[Page 114 STAT. 572]]

may be made available for alternative development and other economic activities: Provided further, That of the funds appropriated under this heading, not less than \$20,000,000 may be made available for assistance for Ecuador, of which not less than \$8,000,000 may be made available for alternative development and other economic activities: Provided further, That of the funds appropriated under this heading, not less than \$18,000,000 shall be made available for assistance for other countries in South and Central America and the Caribbean which are cooperating with United States counternarcotics objectives: Provided further, That of the funds appropriated under this heading not less than \$60,000,000 shall be made available for the procurement, refurbishing, and support for UH-1H Huey II helicopters for the Colombian Army: Provided further, That of the funds appropriated under this heading, not less than \$234,000,000 shall be made available for the procurement of and support for UH-60 Blackhawk helicopters for use by the Colombian Army and the Colombian National Police: Provided further, That procurement of UH-60 Blackhawk helicopters from funds made available under this heading shall be managed by the United States Defense Security Cooperation Agency: <<NOTE: President.>> Provided further, That the President shall ensure that if any helicopter procured with funds under this heading is used to aid or abet the operations of an illegal self-defense group or illegal security cooperative, then such helicopter shall be immediately returned to the United States: Provided further, That of the amount appropriated under this heading, \$2,500,000 shall be available for a program for the demobilization and rehabilitation of child soldiers in Colombia: Provided further, That funds made available under this heading shall be in addition to amounts otherwise available for such purposes:

Provided further, That section 482(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 shall not apply to funds appropriated under this heading: Provided further, <<NOTE: Deadline. Reports.>> That the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Secretary of Defense and the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development, shall provide to the Committees on Appropriations not later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of this Act and prior to the initial obligation of any funds appropriated under this heading, a report on the proposed uses of all funds under this heading on a country-by-country basis for each proposed program, project or activity: Provided further, That at least 20 days prior to the obligation of funds made available under this heading the Secretary of State shall inform the Committees on Appropriations: Provided further, That the entire amount is designated by the Congress as

an emergency requirement pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(A) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended: Provided further, That the entire amount provided shall be available only to the extent an official budget request that includes designation of the entire amount of the request as an emergency requirement as defined in the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended, is transmitted by the President to the Congress.

GENERAL PROVISIONS--THIS CHAPTER

Sec. 3201. Conditions on Assistance for Colombia. (a) Conditions.--

[[Page 114 STAT. 573]]

(1) Certification required.--Assistance provided under this heading may be made available for Colombia in fiscal years 2000 and 2001 only if the Secretary of State certifies to the appropriate congressional committees prior to the initial obligation of such assistance in each such fiscal year, that--

(A) (i) the President of Colombia has directed in writing that Colombian Armed Forces personnel who are credibly alleged to have committed gross violations of human rights will be brought to justice in Colombia's civilian courts, in accordance with the 1997 ruling of Colombia's Constitutional court regarding civilian court jurisdiction in human rights cases; and

(ii) the Commander General of the Colombian Armed Forces is promptly suspending from duty any Colombian Armed Forces personnel who are credibly alleged to have committed gross violations of human rights or to have aided or abetted paramilitary groups; and

(iii) the Colombian Armed Forces and its Commander General are fully complying with (A) (i) and (ii); and

(B) the Colombian Armed Forces are cooperating fully with civilian authorities in investigating, prosecuting, and punishing in the civilian courts Colombian Armed Forces personnel who are credibly alleged to have committed gross violations of human rights;

(C) the Government of Colombia is vigorously prosecuting in the civilian courts the leaders and members of paramilitary groups and Colombian Armed Forces personnel who are aiding or abetting these groups;

(D) the Government of Colombia has agreed to and is implementing a strategy to eliminate Colombia's total coca and opium poppy production by 2005 through a mix of alternative development programs; manual eradication; aerial spraying of chemical herbicides; tested, environmentally safe mycoherbicides; and the destruction of illicit narcotics laboratories on Colombian territory; and

(E) the Colombian Armed Forces are developing and deploying in their field units a Judge Advocate General Corps to investigate Colombian Armed Forces personnel for misconduct.

(2) Consultative process.--The Secretary of State shall consult with internationally recognized human rights organizations regarding the Government of Colombia's progress in meeting the conditions contained in paragraph (1), prior to issuing the certification required under paragraph (1).

(3) Application of existing laws.--The same restrictions contained in section 564 of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2000 (Public Law 106-113) and section 8098 of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2000 (Public Law 106-79) shall apply to the

availability of funds under this heading.

(4) Waiver.--Assistance may be furnished without regard to this section if the President determines and certifies to the appropriate committees that to do so is in the national security interest.

(b) Definitions.--In this section:

(1) Aiding or abetting.--The term ``aiding or abetting'' means direct and indirect support to paramilitary groups,

[[Page 114 STAT. 574]]

including conspiracy to allow, facilitate, or promote the activities of paramilitary groups.

(2) Appropriate congressional committees.--The term ``appropriate congressional committees'' means the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on International Relations of the House of Representatives.

(3) Paramilitary groups.--The term ``paramilitary groups'' means illegal self-defense groups and illegal security cooperatives.

(4) Assistance.--The term ``assistance'' means assistance appropriated under this heading for fiscal years 2000 and 2001, and provided under the following provisions of law:

(A) Section 1004 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1991 (Public Law 101-510; relating to counter-drug assistance).

(B) Section 1033 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1998 (Public Law 105-85; relating to counter-drug assistance to Colombia and Peru).

(C) Section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act (Public Law 90-629; relating to credit sales).

(D) Section 481 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (Public Law 87-195; relating to international narcotics control).

(E) Section 506 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (Public Law 87-195; relating to emergency drawdown authority).

Sec. 3202. <<NOTE: Deadline. President.>> Regional Strategy. (a) Report Required.--Not later than 60 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall submit to the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate, the Committee on International Relations and the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, a report on the current United States policy and strategy regarding United States counternarcotics assistance for Colombia and neighboring countries.

(b) Report Elements.--The report required by subsection (a) shall address the following:

(1) The key objectives of the United States' counternarcotics strategy in Colombia and neighboring countries and a detailed description of benchmarks by which to measure progress toward those objectives.

(2) The actions required of the United States to support and achieve these objectives, and a schedule and cost estimates for implementing such actions.

(3) The role of the United States in the efforts of the Government of Colombia to deal with illegal drug production in Colombia.

(4) The role of the United States in the efforts of the Government of Colombia to deal with the insurgency and paramilitary forces in Colombia.

(5) How the strategy with respect to Colombia relates to and affects the United States' strategy in the neighboring countries.

(6) How the strategy with respect to Colombia relates to and affects the United States' strategy for fulfilling global counternarcotics goals.

[[Page 114 STAT. 575]]

(7) A strategy and schedule for providing material, technical, and logistical support to Colombia and neighboring countries in order to defend the rule of law and to more effectively impede the cultivation, production, transit, and sale of illicit narcotics.

(8) A schedule for making Forward Operating Locations (FOL) fully operational, including cost estimates and a description of the potential capabilities for each proposed location and an explanation of how the FOL architecture fits into the overall Strategy.

Sec. 3203. <<NOTE: Deadline.>> Report on Extradition of Narcotics Traffickers.--(a) Not later than 6 months after the date of the enactment of this title, and every 6 months thereafter, during the period Plan Colombia resources are made available, the Secretary of State shall submit to the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Committee on the Judiciary, and the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate; and the Committee on International Relations, the Committee on the Judiciary, and the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives a report setting forth--

(1) a list of the persons whose extradition has been requested from any country receiving counternarcotics assistance from the United States, indicating those persons who--

(A) have been surrendered to the custody of United States authorities;

(B) have been detained by the authorities and who are being processed for extradition;

(C) have been detained by the authorities and who are not yet being processed for extradition; or

(D) are at large;

(2) a determination whether authorities of each country receiving counternarcotics assistance from the United States are making good faith efforts to ensure the prompt extradition of each of the persons sought by United States authorities; and

(3) an analysis of--

(A) any legal obstacles in the laws of each country receiving counternarcotics assistance from the United States regarding prompt extradition of persons sought by United States authorities; and

(B) the steps taken by authorities of the United States and the authorities of each country receiving counternarcotics assistance from the United States to overcome such obstacles.

Sec. 3204. Limitations on Support for Plan Colombia and on the Assignment of United States Personnel in Colombia. (a) Limitation on Support for Plan Colombia.--

(1) Limitation.--Except as provided in paragraph (2), none of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available by any Act shall be available for support of Plan Colombia unless and until--

(A) the President submits a report to Congress requesting the availability of such funds; and

(B) Congress enacts a joint resolution approving the request of the President under subparagraph (A).

(2) Exceptions.--The limitation in paragraph (1) does not

apply to--

[[Page 114 STAT. 576]]

(A) appropriations made by this Act, the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2001, the Military Construction Appropriations Act, 2001, the Commerce, Justice, State and the Judiciary Appropriations Act, 2001, the Treasury and General Government Appropriations Act, 2001, or the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2001, for the purpose of support of Plan Colombia; or

(B) the unobligated balances from any other program used for their originally appropriated purpose to combat drug production and trafficking, foster peace, increase the rule of law, improve human rights, expand economic development, and institute justice reform in the countries covered by Plan Colombia.

(3) Waiver.--The limitations in subsection (a) may be waived by an Act of Congress.

(b) Limitation on Assignment of United States Personnel in Colombia.--

(1) Limitation.--Except as provided in paragraph (2), none of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available by this or any other Act (including funds described in subsection (c)) may be available for--

(A) the assignment of any United States military personnel for temporary or permanent duty in Colombia in connection with support of Plan Colombia if that assignment would cause the number of United States military personnel so assigned in Colombia to exceed 500; or

(B) the employment of any United States individual civilian retained as a contractor in Colombia if that employment would cause the total number of United States individual civilian contractors employed in Colombia in support of Plan Colombia who are funded by Federal funds to exceed 300.

(2) Exception.--The limitation contained in paragraph (1) shall not apply if--

(A) the President submits a report to Congress requesting that the limitation not apply; and

(B) Congress enacts a joint resolution approving the request of the President under subparagraph (A).

(c) Waiver.--The President may waive the limitation in subsection (b)(1) for a single period of up to 90 days in the event that the Armed Forces of the United States are involved in hostilities or that imminent involvement by the Armed Forces of the United States in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances.

(d) Statutory Construction.--Nothing in this section may be construed to affect the authority of the President to carry out any emergency evacuation of United States citizens or any search or rescue operation for United States military personnel or other United States citizens.

(e) <<NOTE: Deadline. President.>> Report on Support for Plan Colombia.--Not later than June 1, 2001, and not later than June 1 and December 1 of each of the succeeding 4 fiscal years, the President shall submit a report to Congress setting forth any costs (including incremental costs incurred by the Department of Defense) incurred by any department, agency, or other entity of the executive branch of Government during the two previous fiscal quarters in support of Plan Colombia.

Each such report shall provide an itemization of expenditures by each such department, agency, or entity.

(f) <<NOTE: Deadline. President.>> Bimonthly Reports.--Beginning within 90 days of the date of the enactment of this Act, and every 60 days thereafter, the President shall submit a report to Congress that shall include the aggregate number, locations, activities, and lengths of assignment for all temporary and permanent United States military personnel and United States individual civilians retained as contractors involved in the antinarcotics campaign in Colombia.

(g) Congressional Priority Procedures.--

(1) Joint resolutions defined.--

(A) For purposes of subsection (a)(1)(B), the term ``joint resolution'' means only a joint resolution introduced not later than 10 days of the date on which the report of the President under subsection (a)(1)(A) is received by Congress, the matter after the resolving clause of which is as follows: ``That Congress approves the request of the President for additional funds for Plan Colombia contained in the report submitted by the President under section 3204(a)(1) of the 2000 Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act.''

(B) For purposes of subsection (b)(2)(B), the term ``joint resolution'' means only a joint resolution introduced not later than 10 days of the date on which the report of the President under subsection (a)(1)(A) is received by Congress, the matter after the resolving clause of which is as follows: ``That Congress approves the request of the President for exemption from the limitation applicable to the assignment of personnel in Colombia contained in the report submitted by the President under section 3204(b)(2)(B) of the 2000 Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act.''

(2) Procedures.--Except as provided in subparagraph (B), a joint resolution described in paragraph (1)(A) or (1)(B) shall be considered in a House of Congress in accordance with the procedures applicable to joint resolutions under paragraphs (3) through (8) of section 8066(c) of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1985 (as contained in Public Law 98-473; 98 Stat. 1936).

(h) Plan Colombia Defined.--In this section, the term ``Plan Colombia'' means the plan of the Government of Colombia instituted by the administration of President Pastrana to combat drug production and trafficking, foster peace, increase the rule of law, improve human rights, expand economic development, and institute justice reform.

Sec. 3205. (a) Denial of Visas for Persons Credibly Alleged To Have Aided and Abetted Colombian Insurgent and Paramilitary Groups.--None of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available in this Act for any fiscal year for the Department of State may be used to issue visas to any person who has been credibly alleged to have provided direct or indirect support to the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the National Liberation Army (ELN), or the United Colombian Self Defense organization (AUC), including conspiracy to allow, facilitate, or promote the illegal activities of such groups.

(b) Exemption.--Subsection (a) shall not apply if the Secretary of State finds, on a case-by-case basis, that the entry into the

United States of a person who would otherwise be excluded under this section is necessary for medical reasons, or to permit the prosecution of such person in the United States, or the person has cooperated fully

with the investigation of crimes committed by individuals associated with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the National Liberation Army (ELN), or the United Colombian Self Defense organization (AUC).

(c) Waiver.--The President may waive the limitation in subsection (a) if the President determines that the waiver is in the national interest.

Sec. 3206. Limitation on Supplemental Funds for Population Planning.--Amounts appropriated under this division or under any other provision of law for fiscal year 2000 that are in addition to the funds made available under title II of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2000 (as enacted into law by section 1000(a)(2) of Public Law 106-113) shall be deemed to have been appropriated under title II of such Act and shall be subject to all limitations and restrictions contained in section 599D of such Act, notwithstanding section 543 of such Act.

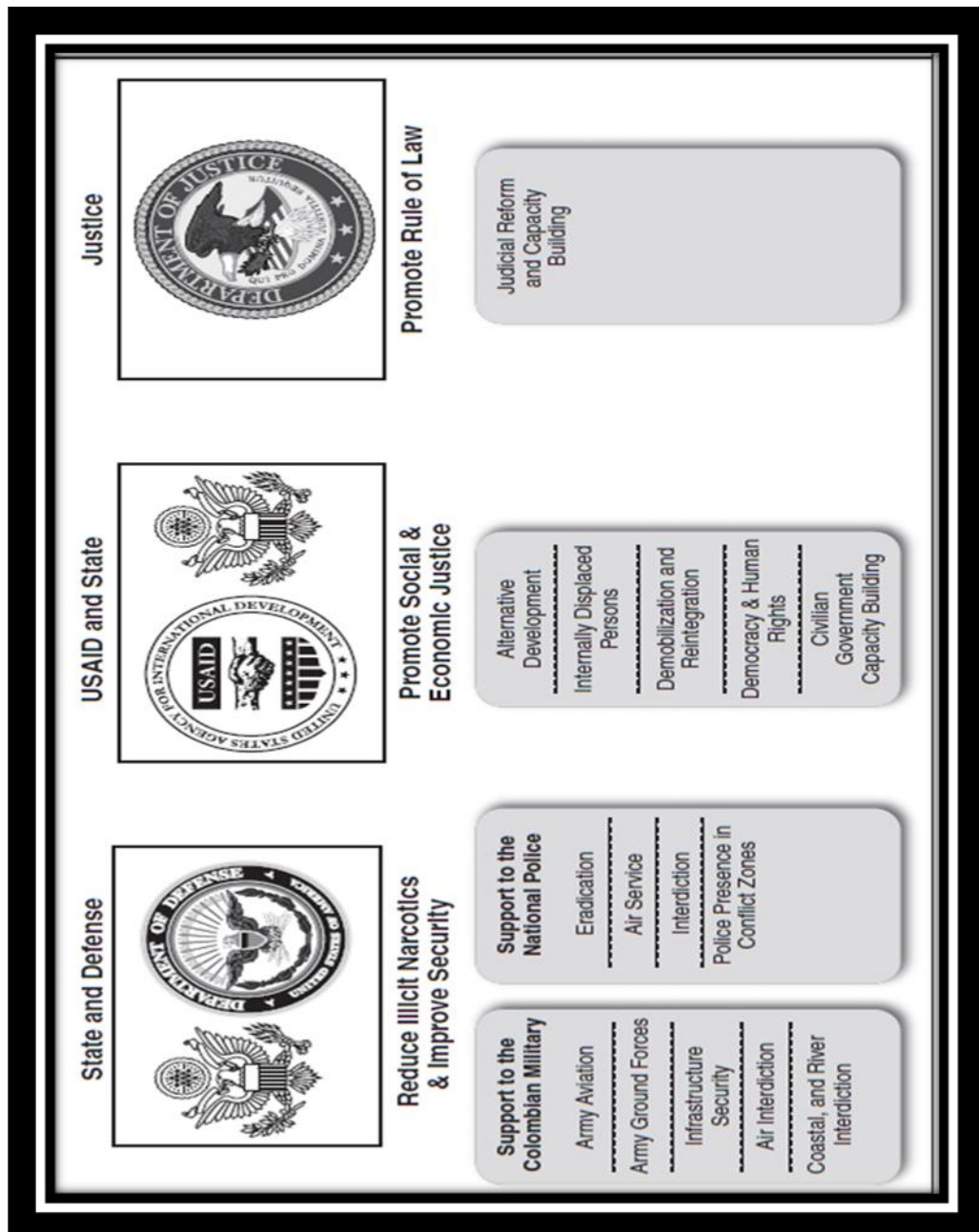
Sec. 3207. Declaration of Support. (a) Certification Required.-- Assistance may be made available for Colombia in fiscal years 2000 and 2001 only if the Secretary of State certifies to the appropriate congressional committees, before the initial obligation of such assistance in each such fiscal year, that the United States Government publicly supports the military and political efforts of the Government of Colombia, consistent with human rights conditions in section 3101, necessary to effectively resolve the conflicts with the guerrillas and paramilitaries that threaten the territorial integrity, economic prosperity, and rule of law in Colombia.

(b) Definitions.--In this section:

- (1) Appropriate committees of congress.--The term ``appropriate committees of Congress'' means the following:
 - (A) The Committees on Appropriations and Foreign Relations of the Senate.
 - (B) The Committees on Appropriations and International Relations of the House of Representatives.
- (2) Assistance.--The term ``assistance'' means assistance appropriated under this heading for fiscal years 2000 and 2001, and provided under the following provisions of law:
 - (A) Section 1004 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1991 (Public Law 101-510; relating to counter-drug assistance).
 - (B) Section 1033 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1998 (Public Law 105-85; relating to counter-drug assistance to Colombia and Peru).
 - (C) Section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act (Public Law 90-629; relating to credit sales).
 - (D) Section 481 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (Public Law 87-195; relating to international narcotics control).
 - (E) Section 506 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (Public Law 87-195; relating to emergency drawdown authority).

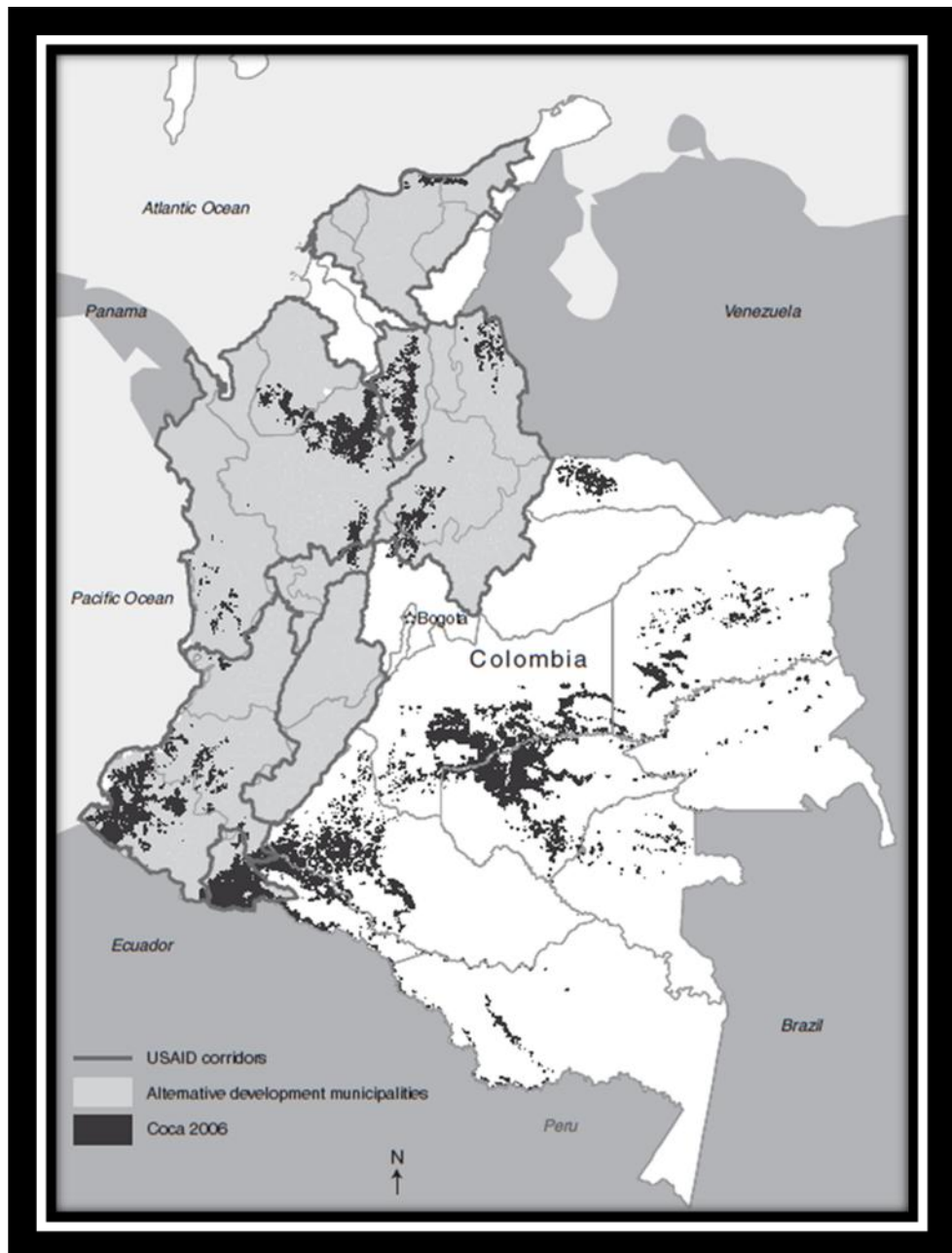
Source: United States Government. 2001. "106th Congress Public Law 246" U.S. Government Printing Office (online). Available at: <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-106publ246/html/PLAW-106publ246.htm>

Appendix B: Program Assistance Objectives in Colombia, 2000–2013



Source: United States Accounting Office (GAO). 2008. „Plan Colombia: Drug Reduction Goals Were Not Fully Met, but Security Has Improved; U.S. Agencies Need More Detailed Plans for Reducing Assistance“ Report to the Honorable Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate (online; pdf) Available at: <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d0971.pdf>

Appendix C: Alternative Development Projects and Coca Cultivation in Colombia



Source: United States Accounting Office (GAO). 2008. „Plan Colombia: Drug Reduction Goals Were Not Fully Met, but Security Has Improved; U.S. Agencies Need More Detailed Plans for Reducing Assistance“ Report to the Honorable Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate (online; pdf) Available at: <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d0971.pdf>