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OFFICE OF THE
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

NATIONAL SECURITY PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTIVE/NSPD-18

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT
DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE
DIRECTOR, NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY
AFFAIRS
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT
CHIEF OF STAFF AND ASSISTANT TO THE VICE
PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR ECONOMIC POLICY
CHAIRMAN, COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISORS
DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
COMMANDANT, U.S. COAST GUARD
DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DIRECTOR, NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY
DIRECTOR, DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
COMMISSIONER, U.S. CUSTOMS SERVICE
ADMINISTRATOR, DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION
PRESIDENT'S FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE ADVISORY BOARD

SUBJECT: Supporting Democracy in Colombia (C)

Background

The United States has a strong national security interest in a secure, democratic, and economically viable Colombia free from the grip of terrorist and narcotics trafficking groups. Those interests go well beyond the problem of illicit drug exports to the United States. Colombia is the third most populous nation in Latin America, and its oldest democracy. Its location on the

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Reason: 1.5(b)(d)

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northwest of the South American continent, astride the Pacific Ocean and Caribbean Sea, makes it geostrategically significant. It is South America's fourth largest economy and our fifth largest regional commercial partner with two-way trade in excess of \$10 billion per year. Colombia is a major producer of fossil fuels and an important supplier of oil to the United States. A severe setback for Colombian democracy, therefore, would directly affect important U.S. national security and economic interests. Further, such a disruption would radiate violence, corruption, drugs, and ecological damage to the fragile neighboring democracies of the Andean region, Central America, as well as south to Brazil. (U)

At the 2001 Quebec Summit, the 34 freely elected hemispheric leaders forged a common vision of democratic governance and free trade. This hemispheric vision is under assault in Colombia by a lethal combination of three narcoterrorist groups with a combined force of 30,000 combatants who routinely engage in massacres, kidnappings, and attacks on Colombia's infrastructure. These three groups -- the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the National Liberation Army (ELN), and the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC) are designated as Foreign Terrorist Organizations by the Department of State. The FARC and AUC derive between 30 and 60 percent of their revenue from the drug trade, while the ELN is involved to a lesser extent. We estimate these groups receive more than \$300 million per year from the illicit drug trade. The narcoterrorists control transnational criminal networks that supply 90 percent of the cocaine consumed by Americans and an increasing share of the heroin. The activities of these designated organizations, and of successor and breakaway groups and other illegal armed groups, and narcotics trafficking organizations, threaten to create a crisis in Colombia which will undermine our goal of promoting a peaceful, democratic, and economically prosperous hemisphere. (U)

The United States is committed to helping Colombia in its fight against narcoterrorism through the robust assistance outlined in this directive. Nevertheless, it is Colombia's fight and Colombians themselves must take the lead in the struggle. The newly-elected Colombian Government has a strong popular mandate to deal decisively with this national crisis. The United States expects the Colombian Government to implement its stated policy to defeat the narcoterrorists by devoting increased government resources to the security forces, developing a national strategy aimed at establishing the rule of law throughout its national territory, assisting its internally displaced, and waging an

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aggressive and comprehensive campaign against illicit drugs. (C)

Since 2000, the United States has provided Colombia with over \$1.7 billion in assistance to combat narcotrafficking, strengthen democratic institutions, provide humanitarian assistance, and foster socio-economic development. Although much remains to be done, United States "Plan Colombia" assistance, in support of Colombian efforts, has resulted in numerous successes to date, including enabling:

- Deployment of the Colombian Army's counternarcotics brigade, which, under U.S. training, has been free of human rights abuse allegations;
- Record coca crop eradication spraying in 2001 and USAID and Colombian alternative development assistance;
- Unprecedented cooperation in extraditing Colombians to the United States on serious criminal charges;
- Protection of threatened human rights workers, labor activists and journalists and assistance to Colombians displaced by violence and creation of human rights abuse prosecution units;
- An Early Warning System, to help Colombia avert massacres and other human rights abuses;
- Funding teacher training through the United Nations and working to demobilize child soldiers;
- Colombian justice reform programs; and
- Improved financial management and corruption reduction for municipalities. (C)

Nature of the Evolving Threat and Response

The FARC, ELN, and AUC, and other illegal armed groups, are well entrenched and continue to pose a grave and fundamental threat to the stability of Colombia, the region and U.S. national security interests. The activities of these designated terrorist organizations and other illegal armed groups include all aspects of narcotics production, trafficking and money laundering, murder, bombing, assassination, extortion, kidnapping, and weapons trafficking. As part of their strategy to weaken the Colombian Government, these groups also attack elements of the country's critical economic infrastructure, commit gross violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, and attack and displace unarmed civilians. Colombian terrorist organizations' access to the immense profits generated by the drug trade and their willingness to engage in widespread violence and extortion enable them to challenge the

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government's programs to establish the rule of law, discourage foreign investment, and weaken the confidence of the general public. (C)

Narcotics trafficking and terrorism and other criminal activities, including money laundering and extortion, by designated terrorist organizations, other illegal armed groups, and narcotics traffickers, can no longer be meaningfully separated. Some statutes providing counterdrug funds for assistance to Colombia were unclear about the extent to which providing assistance against some activities of designated terrorist groups would be permissible. This uncertainty inhibited unified assistance against narcoterrorists. (C)

In recognition of the increasingly seamless interaction between the narcotics trafficking and terrorism activities of Colombian terrorist groups, and as part of the Administration's commitment to work closely with Congress on Colombia policy, the Administration obtained new statutory authorities from Congress for FY 2002 and is working with Congress to extend these authorities beyond FY 2002. These new authorities are intended to allow training, use of equipment, and intelligence support for the GOC's effort to combat U.S.-designated terrorist organizations without the necessity for case-by-case analysis of the groups' specific activities as either terrorist or narcotics trafficking in nature. Other legal authorities, still in effect for assistance to Colombia, are not limited to designated terrorist organizations. All U.S. assistance programs to Colombia, including those not discussed specifically in this NSPD, will be undertaken within existing statutory requirements, statutory ceilings on military and civilian personnel, and in accordance with the human rights related statutory provisions for assistance to foreign security forces. (C)

Policy

United States policy is to help the Colombian Government strengthen its democracy, respect human rights and the rule of law, and reduce the threat of narcotics trafficking and terrorism. The United States will assist the Colombian Government in regaining control and asserting legitimate authority over its national territory, establishing the rule of law throughout the country, and improving its ability to defeat the designated terrorist organizations, other illegal armed groups, and narcotics trafficking organizations. (C)

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This is Colombia's fight, and the Colombian Government and people must assume the ultimate responsibility for defending their freedom. In this context, the achievement of U.S. policy goals requires a concerted Colombian strategy and effort -- backed by sustained, substantial U.S. assistance -- to confront terrorism and the drug trade and to regain and maintain control over Colombian national territory. (c)

Our intention is to enhance support for a broad range of Colombian efforts to destroy or weaken significantly the ability of the designated terrorist organizations and other illegal armed groups and narcotics trafficking organizations to undermine Colombia's democracy and national security; however, Colombia is ultimately responsible for resolving its decades-long civil conflict. (c)

The new Colombian Government is committed to a series of decisive policy actions. Its approach is premised on recognition that ultimate success or failure hinges on Colombians and their elected representatives. The Colombian policy actions include:

- Increasing resources for the security forces;
- Waging a comprehensive counterterrorism campaign;
- Waging a balanced and comprehensive counter-narcotics campaign;
- Improving the performance of its security forces in protecting human rights and in taking effective measures to sever ties with paramilitary organizations;
- Maintaining adequate funding for rule of law, humanitarian assistance, and socio-economic development programs; and
- Promoting economic progress through support for open markets, a favorable investment climate, and structural reform. (c)

Objectives

The primary objectives of U.S. assistance to Colombia are to:

- Increase institutional development, professionalization, and growth of force structure of Colombian security forces to permit the exercise of governmental authority throughout the national territory;
- Continue appropriate assistance programs to Colombia, to combat illicit drugs and terrorism, defend human rights, promote economic, social and alternative development

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initiatives, reform the administration of justice, and assist the internally displaced;

- Improve and support Colombian intelligence capabilities, advise and assist Colombian intelligence organizations, and collect and share intelligence with the Colombians to facilitate their successful planning and operations against narcotics trafficking, designated terrorist organizations and other illegal armed groups;
- Substantially reduce the production and trafficking of cocaine and heroin from Colombia by: strengthening counter-narcotics programs; advising and assisting counterdrug organizations and units; dismantling drug trafficking organizations; interdicting drugs; disrupting the transportation of precursor chemicals; addressing major cultivation regions; and responding rapidly to shifts in cultivation regions, including establishing the second counter-narcotics brigade;
- Enhance counterterrorism capability by providing advice, assistance, training, and equipment to the Colombian Armed Forces and the Colombian National Police through implementation of ongoing programs as well as initiatives funded under the new congressional authorities and the infrastructure protection program; and
- Promote economic growth and development through support for market-based policies and implementation of the Free Trade Area of the Americas and the Andean Trade Preferences Act.

(C)

Implementation and Oversight

The Western Hemisphere PCC will develop a political-military implementation plan for consideration by Deputies and Principals. This plan will be based on Colombia's national security strategy, and will employ all elements of U.S. national power (diplomatic, intelligence, military, justice, and economic), identify and sequence recommended taskings for each United States Government agency over time, integrate United States Government activities with those of the Colombian Government and other key governments in pursuit of U.S. national interests, including clear measures of effectiveness, and describe a desired end-state. Ongoing coordination and implementation of policy will be ensured by the Western Hemisphere PCC and through the political-military implementation plan. (C)

The Deputies Committee will review U.S.-Colombian policy implementation on a regular and continuing basis, with referral to the Principals Committee as appropriate. Through this

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process, Departments and Agencies will develop and coordinate planning, budgets, and resources to ensure that they are complementary and mutually supportive. (C)

The Western Hemisphere PCC will conduct policy oversight, at a general level. Without exercising operational control, the PCC will provide overall guidance to ensure that all available assistance, which is determined by appropriate legal officers to be permissible, is provided, as appropriate, including guidance to ensure that:

- Assistance from funding sources limited by Congress to Colombia's efforts against U.S.-designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTOs) is provided only for efforts against such groups. To the extent legally permissible, such assistance will be used against successor and breakaway components of these designated groups;
- Assistance to Colombia's efforts against illegal armed groups not designated as terrorist organizations is provided against groups which are: engaged in criminal activities, under either Colombia or U.S. law; armed and have demonstrated a willingness to use violence to advance their ends; and engaged in activities with the potential to create a significant threat to Colombia's efforts to strengthen its democracy, respect for human rights and the rule of law, and reduce the threat of narcotics trafficking and terrorism to public safety and national security in Colombia. For purposes of U.S. assistance not limited by Congress to FTOs, "illegal armed groups" also includes successor and breakaway groups, to the extent such groups are not, themselves, FTOs; and
- Assistance to Colombia's efforts against narcotics trafficking organizations is provided for efforts against activities of groups with the potential to: create a significant threat to Colombia's efforts to strengthen its democracy, respect for human rights and the rule of law; create a significant threat to public safety and national security in Colombia; or contribute to the significant amounts of narcotics being exported to the United States. (C)

Lead Agency Roles and Responsibilities

In view of the significant implications for United States national security interests of the threat against Colombia's efforts to build and sustain a stable democracy, it is a matter of national priority that U.S. Departments and Agencies shall provide such increased support and assistance, consistent with the policy, objectives, roles, and responsibilities stated

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herein, as is otherwise permissible by law, to Colombia's unified campaign against narcotics trafficking and terrorism. (e)

State, in consultation with the National Security Council (NSC), the Departments of Defense (DOD), Justice (DOJ), Treasury, Commerce (DOC), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Office of Management and Budget (OMB), and other agencies as appropriate, as well as the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP), United States Trade Representative (USTR), United States Interdiction Command (USIC), and National Economic Council (NEC), will have responsibility through the PCC process for overall policy and program coordination. The State-led Western Hemisphere PCC, will prepare on an expedited basis, for review and approval by the Deputies Committee, a comprehensive, fully integrated political-military implementation plan to reflect appropriate U.S. support for Colombia's National Security Strategy and to include: the overall mission; goals; objectives; performance standards; timelines; measures of effectiveness; and desired end-state and outcomes. The Chief of Mission will be responsible for day-to-day in-country implementation and regular program assessments. (e)

State, in coordination with other agencies as appropriate, will develop and implement aggressive public diplomacy and public affairs plans and a management structure to:

- increase understanding and support for Colombia internationally from the European Union, Japan, Latin America, and others in the international community;
- broaden understanding by the American public of U.S. policy by articulating the significant political, economic, social, and humanitarian interests and goals we have in Colombia; and
- support the Colombian Government's programs to develop and implement effective domestic and international information programs. (e)

State will report periodically to the Western Hemisphere PCC on the implementation of these plans. (e)

Defense, in consultation with NSC, State, Justice, Treasury, ONDCP, USIC, OMB, and other agencies as appropriate, will develop those elements of the political-military implementation plan related to the military aspects of support to Colombia's unified campaign against narcotics trafficking and terrorist activities, including military aspects of assistance against

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activities of the groups identified under the guidance of the Western Hemisphere PCC. Defense will have the lead, working through the Chief of Mission and the Bogota country team in coordinating military support for Colombia. (C)

The Intelligence Community, consistent with the authorities of Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) and other applicable authorities, will develop a comprehensive program to collect and share information with the Colombian Government and to enhance the capacity and capabilities of Colombia's intelligence community to gather, evaluate, refine, synthesize, and distribute intelligence on narcotics trafficking and designated terrorist organizations and other illegal armed groups for use by Colombian law enforcement and military authorities. The DCI, in coordination with the Secretary of Defense, will periodically review the U.S. intelligence effort in Colombia, including resources available, as well as Colombian intelligence capabilities, with the aim of ensuring that both can adequately support U.S. objectives. (C)

This National Security Presidential Directive supersedes Presidential Decision Directive/NSC-73 (U.S. Colombia Initiative) of August 3, 2000. (C)

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'G. R.', is located in the lower-left quadrant of the page.

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