WARS WITHOUT BORDERS

3RD KINGSTON CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
ASYMMETRIC ARMED CONFLICTS
THE SOUTH AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

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WARS WITHOUT BORDERS

• INTERNATIONAL AND TRANSNATIONAL THREATS.
• ASYMMETRIC WARFARE.
• TWO STRATEGIES IN CONFLICT:
  THE STRONG ATTACKS THE WEAK.
  THE WEAK ATTACK THE STRONG.
• THE WEAK HAVE THE ADVANTAGE BECAUSE IT HAS A STRATEGIC THEORY THAT INCLUDE ALL POSSIBLE FORMS OF ACTION.
• ON THE OTHER HAND THE STATE DOES NOT HAVE A STRATEGIC THEORY TO FACE THIS KIND OF MULTIDIMENSIONAL/ASYMMETRIC AGGRESSION.
THE ASYMMETRIC AGGRESSOR

- CONSIDERS ALL MEANS AND FORMS OF ACTION TO OBTAIN THEIR GOALS.
- CONSIDERS PEACE AS A TIME OF WAR.
- ACTIONS AND OBJECTIVES ARE INDISCRIMINATE AND UNLIMITED.
- PROVIDES FREEDOM OF ACTION AND SURPRISE.
WHAT CAN WE DO?

- The basic concepts to face this asymmetric threat are in the grand strategy (US) or total strategy (Europe) written in the 1960s.

- Successful when it accumulates effects in:
  - Social and political sphere.
  - International sphere.
  - Military sphere.
IMPERATIVES OF A STRATEGY FOR THE STATE

• TO RECOGNIZE THAT ONE IS A WAR.
• THAT THIS WAR IS TOTAL FOR THE STATE, AND ABSOLUTE FOR THE ENEMY.
• THAT IT IS A PROBLEM OF ALL SECTORS OF SOCIETY.
• ITS SUCCESS DEPENDS OF IT POPULAR LEGITIMACY AND DEMOCRATIC TRANSPARENCY.
PRINCIPAL CHALLENGES

• WHAT KINDS OF ENEMIES PRODUCE THE ASYMMETRIC THREAT. WHAT IS THEIR CENTER OF GRAVITY?
• WHERE IS THE ENEMY AND WHAT IS HE DOING IN ALL ITS MANIFESTATIONS AND DIMENSIONS?
• WHAT AND WHERE ARE THE SOURCES OF ITS POLITICAL, SOCIAL, JUDICIALLY, CULTURAL, IDEOLOGICAL, AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT?
• HOW DO ITS INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT NETS FUNCTION?
• WHERE IS THE FRONT, BACK AND SIDES OF ITS COMBAT CELLS? WHERE ARE ITS LINES OF COMMUNICATION?
THE SOUTH AMERICAN CASE

• THE CURRENT PRINCIPAL ASYMMETRIC THREAT IS THE STRATEGIC TRANSNATIONAL ALLIANCE BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZED CRIME, NEO-COMMUNIST SUBVERSION, AND DRUG TRAFFICKING.

• THE FARC IN COLOMBIA FORMS THE CENTRE OF THIS ALLIANCE.

• ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF SUPPORT FOR THIS IDEOLOGICAL SUBVERSION IS THE BOLIVARIAN PROJECT.
Continuation:

- **COLOMBIA IS THE PRINCIPAL POLITICAL BATTLEFIELD OF THE ASYMETRIC AGGRESSION IN THE ANDEAN REGION.**
- **SOCIAL MARGINALIZATION, EXTREME POVERTY AND EMPTY SPACES PROVIDE ADDITIONAL REGIONAL RISKS.**
- **THE AGGRESSOR HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL CREATING A CULTURE THAT IS:**
  - **ANTI USA**
  - **ANTI DEMOCRATIC**
  - **ANTI GLOBALIZATION**
- **IT IS BASED IN TRANSNATIONAL INDIGENOUS MOVEMENTS AND TRADITIONAL COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY.**
Continuation:

- COLOMBIA HAS CREATED A TOTAL STRATEGY TO FACE THE ASYMMETRIC AGGRESSION.
  - COORDINATES INTERIOR, EXTERIOR, AND MILITARY ACTIONS
  - CREATES LONG-TERM ACTIONS AND POLICIES
  - ADDRESSES ALL DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE.

- THE BASIS OF THIS SUCCESS IS:
  - TRANSPARENT AND DEMOCRATIC CONDUCT OF THE GOVERNMENT
  - CONVINCING THE PEOPLE THAT THE WAR IS A PROBLEM OF ALL MEMBERS OF SOCIETY.

- THIS APPROACH IS DIFFERENT FROM OTHER COLOMBIAN ADMINISTRATIONS.
THE GREAT OR TOTAL STRATEGY AND THE ANDEAN CRISIS OF MARCH OF 2008

A case study of a transnational and asymmetric war
CONVERGENCIA DE MANIOBRAS

**Figura 3**

- **Núcleo Violento**
  - **Cerco Internacional**
  - **Maniobra Exterior**
    - **Cerco Político y Social**
  - **Maniobra Interior**
    - **Maniobra Militar Clásica**
    - **Military Non-Conventional Maneuver**

**Maniobras Asimétricas**

- **Internacional Isolación del Enemigo**
  - **Outer Maneuver**
  - Complementary Political/Strategic Maneuvers

- **Viole nt Asymmetric Centre**

**Figura 3**

- Captura del canciller de FARC.
- Comienzo de la mediación humanitaria.
- Fin de la mediación.
- Reconocimiento de la FARC como belligerente.
- Amenazas de FARC a Panamá.
- Ataque en Ecuador.
- Crisis Andina.
- Soporte de FARC en evidencia.

**Complementary Political/Strategic Maneuvers**

- Cambio a la teoría de guerra total.
- Subversión es un problema nacional.
- Recuperación de espacios públicos.
- Control de tierra y líneas de comunicación.
- No más impunidad para criminales.
- Reintegración social de desertores.
CONCLUSIONS

• CREATION OF A SUCCESSFUL TOTAL STRATEGY TO FACE A TRANSNATIONAL ASYMMETRIC THREAT.

• HOW TO SYSTEMATIZE THE STRUCTURE BY CODIFYING THE BASES AND CONCEPTS OF THIS STRATEGY.

• PROVIDES PROOF OF TRANSNATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE ASYMMETRIC AGGRESSOR AND ITS INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT.

• THIS CRISIS IS THE BIGGEST CHALLENGES FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES (OAS) SECURITY SYSTEM.