

# CRS Report for Congress

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## **Colombia: Summary and Tables on U.S. Assistance, FY1989-FY2003**

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### **Summary**

In early 2002, the Bush Administration requested \$573.2 million for Colombia (\$538.2 million in FY03 State Department foreign operations funds and \$35.0 million in FY2002 emergency supplemental funds). This request builds on the programs developed during the Clinton Administration, whose centerpiece counternarcotics (CN) program was "Plan Colombia," through which Congress provided funding of \$860 million in FY2000 emergency supplemental funds and \$257 million in related FY2001 funds. These programs were continued by the Bush Administration's FY2002 Andean Regional Initiative (ARI). President Bush's FY2002 supplemental request also seeks to expand the circumstances under which funding for the Colombian security forces can be used, however, lifting the longstanding restrictions limiting it to CN efforts. U.S. funding for Colombian CN efforts dates back to at least the 1970s. Funding for the decade FY1989 to FY1998 totaled some \$692.7 million, as calculated from available figures. Funding from FY1999 through FY2002 has totaled over \$2 billion.

### **Pre-Plan Colombia Funding FY1989-FY1999**

While the United States has been providing counternarcotics (CN) assistance to Colombia at least as far back as the mid-1970s, former President George H.W. Bush dramatically increased CN aid to Colombia through his 1989 "Andean Initiative." Grant aid to Colombia had increased gradually, albeit not evenly, through the 1980s, as Colombia evolved from a major supplier of marijuana to the United States, to nearly the sole supplier of cocaine. By the end of the 1980s, with coca leaf cultivation and cocaine production rising in the Andean region, and Colombia suffering increased political violence from the Medellin drug-trafficking cartel, the former Bush Administration established its new CN program. Under this region-wide initiative, the United States substantially increased State Department support for Colombian counternarcotics efforts, and provided Colombian security forces, primarily the police, with equipment through foreign military financing grants and DOD equipment drawdowns. As part of the effort to bring military resources to bear on the "war against drugs," in 1991, Congress enacted "Section 1004" of the 1991 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) (P.L.101-510),

which provides authority for the Department of Defense (DOD) to fund or transfer – for CN purposes – transportation, reconnaissance, training, intelligence, and base support at the request of foreign law enforcement agencies.

Funding for Colombia dropped in the first two years of the Clinton Administration budgets. It began to increase in FY1997, with increased attention to eradication efforts. Until FY1998, however, the numbers fell short of the Bush years.<sup>1</sup> In 1998, Congress established a new authority, Section 1033 of the 1998 NDAA (P.L. 105-85), for the U.S. military to provide non-lethal equipment, and to maintain and repair counter-drug equipment. **Table 3** details funding from FY1989 - FY1998, which totals \$692.7 million.

### **“Plan Colombia” and ARI Funding, FY2000-FY2001**

The 1998 election of a new Colombian president, Andres Pastrana, led to a reevaluation of U.S. policy and greater cooperation. During Pastrana’s October 1998 state visit, President Clinton announced that the United State would provide nearly three times more assistance to Colombia during FY1999 than it had the previous year. Much of this, however, was the \$173.2 million in congressionally-mandated supplemental appropriations funding (P.L. 105-277) for helicopter and aircraft upgrades, radar, and police assistance that the Administration had not requested. In FY2000, the funding again rose substantially with the “Plan Colombia” legislation (P.L. 106-246).

In July 2000, Congress approved \$1.3 billion in FY2000 emergency supplemental appropriations for the region-wide “Plan Colombia,” of which \$860.3 was earmarked for Colombia. Nearly half of the Colombia funding was dedicated to the “Push into Southern Colombia” program to set up and train two new Colombian Army Counternarcotics battalions (CACBs), which combined with an existing one set up earlier by the United States to form a brigade of some 2,700. The brigade assists the Colombian National Police (CNP) in the fumigation of illicit narcotics crops and the dismantling of laboratories, beginning with coca fumigation in the southern provinces of Putumayo and Caquetá, where coca cultivation was spreading rapidly. Congress also provided substantial assistance for economic development, displaced persons, human rights monitors, and administration of justice and other governance programs, all intended to help Colombia counter the many threats to its stability and integrity from the trafficking of illegal narcotics. Plan Colombia programs have been problematic for several reasons, one of which has been perceived delays in the delivery of non-military funds.

For FY2001 and FY2002, the Bush Administration expanded the scope of Clinton’s “Plan Colombia” policy through its Andean Regional Initiative (ARI). The ARI substantially increased U.S. activities in state bordering or close to Colombia, and continued to support existing “Plan Colombia” programs in Colombia.

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<sup>1</sup> From mid-FY1996 through sometime in FY1997, the United States cut off certain categories of assistance, including foreign military financing, which had been a large part of U.S. assistance to Colombia. The cutoff was mandated by President Clinton’s decision to “decertify” Colombia in March 1996 and March 1997, in the annual evaluation as to whether drug-producing and transit countries are fully cooperating with the United States on counternarcotics efforts.

**Table 1** shows aid to Colombia from FY1999 through the FY2002 supplemental and FY2003 requests. It separates out the amount of State Department funding appropriated for Plan Colombia in FY2000, all of which was obligated that year. DOD funding for Plan Colombia is not separated out in Table 1, but is included under FY2000 and FY2001 Section 1004, Section 1033, and Sections 124/1004 obligations. **Table 2** shows the amounts of obligations and expenditures for this funding by the State Department and by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), which administers part of the State Department funding. [For further information on amounts and conditions of Plan Colombia and FY2002 funding, see CRS Report RL30541, *Colombia: Plan Colombia Legislation and Assistance (FY2000 and FY2001)*, and CRS Report RL31016, *Andean Regional Initiative (ARI): FY2002 Assistance for Colombia and its Neighbors*.]

## **Bush FY2003 and FY2002 Supplemental Requests**

In a marked departure from current policy, President Bush seeks, through the FY2003 annual budget request and the FY2002 emergency supplemental appropriations request, to expand the scope of U.S. military assistance to Colombia beyond the current counternarcotics limits. The requests include \$6 million in FY2002 emergency supplemental funds and \$98 million in FY2003 funds to train and equip Colombian soldiers to defend oil pipelines and other infrastructure from attacks by leftist guerrillas. The supplemental also seeks \$25 million to train Colombian security forces in anti-kidnapping techniques and \$4 million for police post support in areas of weak government control. The FY2003 request for ARI support includes \$439 million in State Department assistance to continue previous CN programs in Colombia. (For a breakdown of those funds by purpose, see Table 1, Footnote a.) In the supplemental request, submitted March 21, 2002, the Bush Administration also seeks authority that would allow State and Defense Department funds (including FY2002 and FY2003 assistance and unexpended Plan Colombia FY2000 supplemental assistance) to be used to assist the Colombian government counter any threat to its national security. (For further information on these requests, see CRS Report RL31383.)

## **General Notes for Tables 1 and 3**

Tables 1 and 3 include direct U.S. foreign assistance (i.e., the categories usually counted as U.S. foreign aid, which are in *italics*) as well as the costs of goods and services provided to Colombia from other U.S. government programs supporting CN efforts there. These figures were taken from publically-available documents or provided directly by the Departments of State and Defense. The United States also provides a small amount of DOD Excess Defense Articles (EDA) to Colombia.

These charts provide as comprehensive a picture as possible of U.S. assistance to Colombia, but there are limitations. For instance, some funds are spent in Colombia on counternarcotics and other activities that are considered part of U.S. programs: for instance, the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) spends its own funds on joint operations in Colombia. Other funds are provided through regional programs of USAID and other programs which are not counted as assistance on a country-by-country basis. No attempt was made to estimate such funds. Also, there are inconsistencies among various sources. Because of these, and other constraints on gathering data, the amount of assistance provided to Colombia may be larger than the amounts cited in these tables.

**Table 1. U.S. Assistance to Colombia FY1999-FY2003**

(Obligations and authorizations, \$ millions)

Programs	FY1999	FY2000 Regular Approps.	Plan Colombia (P.L. 106-246) FY2000 Suppl.	FY2001	FY2002 Allocations	FY2002 Supplemental Request	FY03 Request
<b>Economic</b>							
<i>USAID Grants<sup>a</sup></i>							
<i>Development Aid</i>	3.0		–		–	–	–
<i>Economic Support Funds (ESF)</i>		4.0		4.0			
<i>Disaster Assistance</i>	10.0						
<b>Counternarcotics</b>							
<i>State Department/INC account<sup>a</sup></i>	205.9	50.0	768.5	48.0	380.5	4.0	439.0
<i>State Department INC Air Wing</i>	30.0	31.3		35.0 (estimate)	41.8 (estimate)	–	45.0 (estimate)
DOD/Section 1004	35.9		90.6	150.0	83.2	–	NA
DOD/Overlapping Sections 1004/124	NA		6.6	4.6	5.0	–	NA
DOD/Section 1033	13.6		7.2	22.3	4.0	–	NA
Administration of Justice	1.8		–	–	–	–	–
<b>Anti-Terrorism</b>						25.0	–
<b>Military</b>							
<i>International Military Education and Training (IMET)</i>	0.9	0.9	–	1.0	1.2	–	1.2
<i>Foreign Military Financing/Grant</i>		–	–	–	–	6.0	98.0
<b>Drawdowns</b>							
Department of Defense/Section 506 drawdown authorized	58.1		–	NA	NA	–	–
Other Section 506 drawdowns (i.e., Departments of Transportation, Justice, State, and the Treasury) authorized	14.5						
<b>TOTALS (of available numbers)</b>	<b>374.0</b>		<b>958.2</b>	<b>264.9</b>	<b>515.7</b>	<b>35.0</b>	<b>583.2</b>

**Notes:** NA = Not Available. Figures on State Department INC (International Narcotics Control) account's funding from State Department Congressional Presentations, and budget justification documents. Figures on INC Air Wing provided directly to CRS by the State Department: figures current as of May 1, 2002. Figures on DOD Sections 1004, 1004/124, and 1033 funding provided April 11, 2002. DOD Sections 124, 1004, and 1033 funding is taken from regional accounts and the FY2002 allocations are estimates, and can be shifted to respond to developing needs in other areas.

<sup>a</sup> FY2000 non-DOD Plan Colombia supplemental funds were all assigned to the State Department INC account; the State Department is transferring them to the other agencies carrying out programs in Colombia with those funds. The USAID. FY2000 and FY2001 figures are Economic Support Funds (ESF). These USAID figures do not include funds provided to USAID from the INC account. In the Bush Administration's FY2003 budget request, the Administration estimates that of the \$380.5 million allocated for FY2002, \$243.5 million will be used for interdiction, and \$137.0 for alternative development and institution building. For the FY2003 request, the anticipated breakdown of the requested \$439 million is \$275.0 million for the former and \$164.0 million for the latter. [<http://www.state.gov/m/rm/rls/iab/2003/7809.htm>]

**Table 2. Plan Colombia (P.L. 106-246) Funding - State Department and USAID**  
(\$ millions)

Agency	Program	FY2000 Supplemental Appropriation	Commitments	Expenditures	% Spent of Appropriation
<b>State Department</b>			(as of 4/4/02)	(as of 4/4/02)	(as of 4/4/02)
	<b>Push Into Southern Colombia<sup>a</sup></b>	372.5	367.2	306.6	82%
	<b>Interdiction</b>	59.4	50.0	26.8	45%
	<b>Colombia National Police</b>	115.6	95.0	70.7	61%
	<b>Human Rights and Judicial Reform</b>	94.5	2.9	1.9	63%
	<b>Alternative Development</b>	3.0	93.3	6.0	6%
<b>State Department Totals</b>		<b>645.0</b>	<b>608.4</b>	<b>412.1</b>	<b>64%</b>
<b>U.S. Agency for International Development</b>			(as of 3/31/02)	(as of 3/31/02)	(as of 3/31/02)
	<b>Democracy and Human Rights</b>	47.0	43.2	18.1	39%
	<b>Alternative Development/Environment</b>	42.5	40.7	10.1	24%
	<b>Internally Displaced Persons</b>	30.0	29.6	27.7	92%
	<b>AID Administrative Expenses</b>	4.0	4.0	3.1	78%
<b>USAID Totals</b>		<b>123.5</b>	<b>117.5</b>	<b>59.0</b>	<b>48%</b>
<b>Grand Totals State Department and USAID</b>		<b>768.5</b>	<b>725.9</b>	<b>471.1</b>	<b>61%</b>

**Sources:** Department of State figures provided by the Department's Bureau of International Narcotics and Legal Affairs on April 9, 2002. USAID numbers were compiled from information provided by USAID's Western Hemisphere office, May 2001 and April 22, 2002.

**Notes:** Some totals may not add due to rounding. Commitments are the amounts obligated through contracts, grants, purchase orders and reimbursable agreements between U.S. government agencies. Amounts spent are payments for goods and services actually received.

<sup>a</sup> This line includes \$328 million for helicopters. Under this Plan Colombia funding, Colombia was scheduled to receive 16 UH-60 (Blackhawk) and 33 UH-1N helicopters, and 34 helicopters that were to be modified to Huey II specifications. As of April 1, 2002, all 16 Blackhawks (14 for the army, two for the police) and 33 UH-1Ns have been delivered. Four of the Huey IIs for the Colombian National Police (CNP) have been delivered. The CNP is itself modifying five helicopters to that configuration, two of which have been completed. Of the 25 helicopters modified to a Huey II configuration for the Colombian Army, six had been delivered as of April 1, 2002. Eight are scheduled for delivery in May-June, and 11 in August-September 2002.

**Table 3. U.S. Aid to Colombia FY1989-FY1998**

(Obligations and Authorizations, \$ millions)

U.S. AID TO COLOMBIAN PROGRAMS	FY1989	FY1990	FY1991	FY1992	FY1993	FY1994	FY1995	FY1996	FY1997	FY1998
<b>Economic</b>										
<i>U.S. AID</i>	–	–	–	–	23.8	0.2	– <sup>a</sup>	–	–	0.5
<i>Food Aid Grants</i>	0.1	0.2	–	–	0.8	–	–	–	–	–
<i>Other</i>	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.6	1.2	1.4	1.3	0.6	–	–
<b>Counternarcotics</b>										
<i>State Department INC</i>	10.0	20.0	20.0	23.4	25.0	20.0	16.0	16.0	33.5	46.3
<i>State Department Air Wing</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	2.5	6.6	10.9	37.8
Defense Department Section 1033	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2.2
Defense Department Section 1004	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	10.3	11.8
Administration of Justice	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1.8	2.0
<b>Military</b>										
<i>IMET</i>	1.5	1.5	2.8	2.3	2.6	0.9	0.6	– <sup>a</sup>	–	0.2
<i>Foreign Military Financing Grants</i>		69.7	27.1	47.0	27.0	7.7	10.0	–	–	–
<i>Foreign Military Financing Loans<sup>b</sup></i>			(19.9) <sup>c</sup>							
<i>MAP Merger Funds</i>	7.1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
<b>Drawdowns</b>										
Department of Defense	65.0	20.0	–	7.0	–	–	–	14.5	9.4	18.8
<b>TOTAL/U.S. Aid to Colombian Programs</b>	<b>84.7</b>	<b>112.2</b>	<b>50.6</b>	<b>80.3</b>	<b>80.4</b>	<b>30.2</b>	<b>30.4</b>	<b>37.7</b>	<b>66.6</b>	<b>119.6</b>

**Sources:** Data is drawn from a number of sources, not all of which are consistent. These include: various editions of the U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants and Assistance from International Organizations “Green Book,” prepared by the US AID budget office; various editions of the Foreign Military Sales, Foreign Military Construction Sales, and Military Assistance Facts book, prepared by the Department of Defense Security Cooperation Agency; information provided directly by the departments of State and Defense that are not recorded in these publications; and by the General Accounting Office (GAO) for 1996-1998. (See GAO-01-26) Where contradictions existed, GAO data was preferred. Because of a possible lack of data or inaccuracies, some yearly totals may be understated or overstated, particularly prior to FY1997.

<sup>a</sup> In these years, there was assistance in this category of less than \$50,000.

<sup>b</sup> Although it is likely that Section 1004 assistance was provided to Colombia as far back as FY1992, there is no public breakdown of such assistance until FY1997. That is the first year in which DOD provided a publically-available breakdown by country and authority for funding from its central counternarcotics account.

<sup>c</sup> Not included in totals.