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# Participation of the Military Forces of Colombia in peacekeeping operations 2019-2023

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## Participation of the Military Forces of Colombia in peacekeeping operations 2019-2023

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Participación de las Fuerzas Militares de Colombia en operaciones de mantenimiento de paz 2019-2023

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**ABSTRACT.** Over more than 50 years of armed conflict, the Colombian Military Forces have obtained relevant experience in understanding the dynamics of violence and the factors that intensify conflict. Thus, in a new post-conflict scenario, the objective emerges to internationalize the capabilities of the Armed Forces through their participation in peacekeeping operations (PKO), making the evaluation relevant of the prospective advantages and disadvantages of this participation between 2019 and 2023. To this end, a conceptual framework on the military role in this field was developed, the main capabilities of the Military Forces were defined, according to the Military Strategic Plan 2030, and the scenarios of interest at the international level were identified (prioritizing those of irregular conflict). Lastly, the factors that can increase or decrease the role of the Military Forces in PKO scenarios are evaluated using a prospective methodology.

**KEYWORDS:** advantages; disadvantages; military capabilities; Military Forces; peacekeeping; United Nations; military capabilities.

**RESUMEN.** Las Fuerzas Militares de Colombia, a lo largo de más de 50 años de conflicto armado, han obtenido una experiencia relevante en la comprensión de las dinámicas de la violencia y los factores que potencian la conflictividad. Por esta razón, en un nuevo escenario de posconflicto surge como objetivo la internacionalización de las capacidades de las Fuerzas Militares mediante la participación en operaciones para el mantenimiento de la paz (OMP). Resulta relevante, en consecuencia, evaluar las ventajas y desventajas de esta participación de forma prospectiva, entre 2019 y 2023. Para ello, se desarrolla un marco conceptual sobre el rol militar en este campo, se definen las principales capacidades de las Fuerzas Militares de acuerdo con lo planteado en el Plan Estratégico Militar 2030 y se identifican los escenarios de interés a nivel internacional (con prioridad para aquellas zonas de conflicto irregular). Finalmente, mediante la implementación de una metodología prospectiva, se evalúan aquellos factores que pueden aumentar o disminuir el protagonismo de las Fuerzas Militares en escenarios de OMP.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** capacidades militares; Fuerzas Militares; mantenimiento de la paz; Naciones Unidas; ventajas y desventajas.

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## Introduction

Participation in peacekeeping operations (PKO) has been an objective of the Military Forces of Colombia (FFMM in Spanish) for many years. In the current context, as a result of the capacities acquired in the matter of irregular conflicts and after the signing of the *Peace Agreement* between the national government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC in Spanish), the possibility of encompassing this regulated international military scenario opens up for the United Nations.

It is worth noting that Colombia has little experience and high expectations in this area; therefore, its performance could be a determinant for its military positioning in the international system. This situation gives rise to the following question: What advantages and disadvantages would the Military Forces of Colombia have in participating in PKO between 2019 and 2023?

To determine the advantages and disadvantages of the FFMM in this scenario, first, a conceptual framework was developed in which the basic concepts were explained following the stipulations of the United Nations. Second, the capacities of the FFMM that result in preponderant factors to the development of PKO were established. Then, the possible role of the FFMM in current PKO operations was identified. Finally, an evaluation of the advantages and disadvantages with the projection of temporality between 2019 and 2030 is completed.

The importance of this thematic development is based on the concept of peacebuilding coined by the UN in 1992, which describes it as “effort that seeks to strengthen peace and prevent the conflict from resuming” (Naciones Unidas, 2017). Besides determining the ongoing development of PKO, the UN classifies them into five categories: observation, interposition, transition support, security, and humanitarian aid, and forced peace enforcement.

In line with the previous, the need to identify the international context in which the FFMM would perform optimally is relevant, as well as how they would obtain successful PKO results and experience.

## Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework to determine the advantages and disadvantages of the FFMM's participation in PKO between 2019 and 2023 is based on Johan Galtung's Theory of Conflict, considered by the United Nations as one of the fundamental bases for the establishment of a conceptualization of *peacekeeping*, *peacebuilding*, and *peacemaking*. To the author, “man is a being with the capacity for peace” (Calderón, 2012, p. 64). Thus, the preservation of peace lies in the human being's need to approach and fulfill his or her evolutionary goal.

In this line, the author states that “conflict has its own life cycle; like any living organism, it appears, grows until it reaches its point of maximum tension, declines, and disappears, and often, reappears” (García, 2000, p. 128). In other words, a conflict is a cyclical dynamic that implies a possible reappearance in the majority of the cases. Therefore, efforts towards its resolution result extensive, complicated, and complex insofar as it is a matter of mediating between the parties. Thus, the following can be stated:

The author divides conflicts, for study, in three levels, micro, meso, and macro level. The first occurs within and between people; the second arises in society within each state or nation; and, the third includes the conflicts between states and nations. (García, 2000, p. 129)

For Galtung, the theory of conflict “should not only recognize if the conflict is good or bad; it must fundamentally offer mechanisms to understand them logically, scientific criteria to analyze them as well as methodologies” (Calderón, 2012, p. 67). This means that, based on a classification of the conflicts, the author can determine the means to resolve them; this becomes a determinant for the structuring of the PKO in which the Military Forces participate.

Galtung’s Theory of Conflicts establishes three dimensions to locate the definition of *conflict*; these are attitudes, behaviors, and contradictions. These can be interpreted as follows:

Attitudes (motivation aspect) refer to how the parties to a conflict feel and think about, how they perceive the other (for example, with respect and love or contempt and hatred), and how the other reflects their own goals and conflict. Behaviors (objective aspect) refers to how the parties act during the conflict, whether they seek common interests and creative and constructive action or if they try to harm and cause pain to the other. Contradictions (subjective aspect) refers to the real issue or premise of the conflict and how it manifests. (Calderón, 2012, p. 69)

Therefore, three elements, based on those already mentioned, are outlined as measures or factors of implication to address the conflict. Each one is coherently focused and involves various solutions aimed at peace education, problem solution, and social re-engineering. In this sense, it is important to take into account the elemental composition or “atoms” of the conflicts, which, according to the author, are “Dispute: two people or actors pursuing the same goal that is scarce (among people). Dilemma: a person or actor that pursues two incompatible purposes (within people)” (Calderón, 2012, p. 71).

Once these elements are identified, Galtung indicates the need to execute a process of awareness to attain an image of the conflict and direct the transformation towards the

benefit of those directly affected. As a result of the above, the author classifies the types of violence involved in the conflict into the following three categories: direct, structural, and cultural; these are explained in Table 1.

**Table 1.** The three types of violence and their impacts on human needs, according to Galtung

|                            | <b>Need for survival</b>  | <b>Need for well-being</b>  | <b>Identity needs</b>                                       | <b>Needs of freedom</b>          |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|---|---|----------------------------------|
| <b>Direct violence</b>     | Death                     | Mutilations, harassment, sanctions, mining                                  | Desocialization, re-socialization, second-class citizenship | Repression, detention, expulsion |
| <b>Structural violence</b> | Exploitation (Starvation) | Exploitation (maintain the population in a situation of permanent weakness) | Penetration, segmentation                                   | Marginalization, fragmentation   |
| <b>Cultural violence</b>   | Relativism                | Conformism  | Alignment, ethnocentrism                                    | Disinformation, illiteracy       |

**Source:** Created by the author with data by the Instituto de la Paz y los Conflictos (2012, p. 74).

For its part, the terminology of the conflict defines various approaches to participation and intervention in these situations and identifies four in terms of peace operations: imposing, establishing, maintaining, and building peace. In this case, the last three will be defined concerning the FFMM's possible work projected from 2019 to 2023:

Peacemaking operations: Reduce violence and ensure peace by separating opposing parties. Operation by military forces or armed forces with coercion power to the parties. [...]PKO Peace-keeping: Create peace through negotiations, through diplomatic channels and dialogue even if a military presence or armed force is considered necessary to maintain peace. [...] Peacebuilding: Consolidate peace and promote stability by addressing the underlying context of the conflict with long-term programs. Peacebuilding is a form of intervention carried out mainly by civil society, as well as by non-governmental organizations, although the UN also claims to do so, and sometimes, it names its interventions with this term. (Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung, 2008, p. 15)

Thus, according to conflict theory, “The real test of peace, according to Galtung, is the ability to deal with conflict, managing it creatively, transcending (3) the incompatibilities and acting on it without using the resource of violence” (García, 2000, p. 122). That is, peace is a system that needs different conditions to achieve a balance in which the use

of violence is not involved; this implies the use of accurate methods because, according to the author's conception, this task is one of the most difficult for humanity, as much as it can be for the FFMM.

Therefore, it is important to understand, from a theoretical perspective, the dynamics and factors that motivate the evolution of conflicts to formulate a method or action whose development is successful in establishing peace between the parties involved. In this case, Colombia must evaluate, from its military experience, which of these scenarios could be more favorable for its participation as an actor in the international positioning race and also for the success of the mission.

## Methodology

To determine the FFMM's advantages and disadvantages in this area, a methodological framework is developed with two components. The first one consists of a review to establish which of the FFMM's capabilities are significant factors to the development of a PKO and identify which of these global operations could be suitable to the performance of Colombia (prioritizing those that present favorable scenarios). The second component is a structural analysis based on the use of the MicMac tool, which facilitates the evaluation of advantages and disadvantages with the 2019-2023 projection.

Regarding the first component, it is important to mention that "the review of the literature is handled as a set of techniques that are part of the methodology of scientific research, and that it is not limited to a disorderly collection of information" (Calle, 2016, p. 2). To clarify, the information collected was relevant to the case study that responds to the specific and general objectives set for this study, with academically viable and reliable sources.

As an initial step, a "systematic review (scientific articles, indexed journals, and books on research methodology of recognized international publishers) as an exploratory and analytical technique to collect the relevant information on existing procedures" (Calle, 2016, p. 3) is carried to identify the authors, articles, reports, and institutions, as well as the pertinent, current figures to adequately sustain the research. Searching by keywords, approximately 200 records were found and reviewed for the period from 2000 to 2018.

A descriptive review was carried out because it "provides the reader with an update on useful concepts in areas in constant evolution. These types of revisions are very useful in teaching and will also interest many people in related fields" (Ferrandis, Goris, & Salas, 2008, p. 6). This established the necessary bases for the final diagnosis to assess the advantages and disadvantages of FFMM participation in PKO.

Finally, the MicMac method was used, which "seeks to qualitatively analyze the relationships between the variables that make up a system within a company, organization,

society, country, etc.” (Cortez & Garza, 2011, p. 373). In this case, the aim is to analyze the relationship that the variables of interest may have in the participation of the FFMM in PKO.

The phases of the method proposed by Godet and Arcade (1999) were fulfilled; these are: “Phase 1: list of system variables; Phase 2: the description of relationships between system variables; and Phase 3: the identification of key variables and their categories and interpretation” (Cortez & Garza, 2011, p. 336). To complete the exercise, between 10 and 15 variables were identified, fully conceptualized and categorized between advantages and disadvantages. Subsequently, a qualification matrix was created. Once the results were obtained, the position of the variables and their dynamics were analyzed to identify the most significant challenges and abilities. This procedure was based on the statements by Godet, who states that

We apply the prospective to explore the possible and/or probable future developments of companies, groups, sectors, organizations, institutions, issues or problems of all kinds (political, economic, technological, sociological, etc.) in the medium and long-term, through the analysis of the variables that will most influence the evolution, and taking into account the behavior of the actors involved. (Godet & Arcade, 1999, cited by Cuevas & Morales, n.d., p. 3)

In this way, the variables that can become an obstacle or a bridge for the Military Forces in the period 2019-2023 in the matter of PKO were prospectively visualized.

## Results

### **Conceptual framework on the participation of the Military Forces in PKO**

The Military Forces, throughout history, have had a very similar role aimed at the defense of the territory and national sovereignty, this includes the protection and preservation of peace from its internal and external scope. That is, “the definition of the role of the Armed Forces refers to a traditional concept of defense articulated to the objective of maintaining internal territorial security in the face of possible threats or actions from abroad” (Zurbriggen, 2005, p. 102).

Peacekeeping is defined, according to the United Nations, as “an operation involving military personnel but without coercion powers, undertaken by the United Nations to help maintain or restore international peace and security in areas of conflict” (2015, p. 158). In this order of ideas, the role of the Armed Forces in this type of task unfolds under the premise of the non-use of force, that is, to act as a mediator or neutral entity in areas of conflict. Three main roles are defined for the performance of the Military Forces in peacekeeping:

The role of conflict control offered by an essential level activity for the maintenance of peace and precedes the application of one of the other two roles; To create an atmosphere conducive to negotiations and arrangements and, in the long-term, to move towards a solution; Promote a real process of arrangements and solutions. (Naciones Unidas, 2015, p. 157)

For the development of these roles, the Military Forces, as participants in PKO, must act based on three principles: the consent of the parties, impartiality, and the non-use of force except in self-defense and defense of the mandate (Naciones Unidas, 2018e). This means that peacekeeping work, suited to the military position, implies the fulfillment of a series of requirements, most of them in the field. Such requirements are necessary for the sound coexistence of the multinational component in areas of conflict.

It should be noted that, in many cases, the “participation of the states in PKO, as an expression of their foreign policy, has increased” (Prado, 2000, p. 1). Therefore, their actions must be as carefully defined as that of any diplomatic official because its participants not only represent an international organization but the interests of a country.

The development of peacekeeping, on a multilateral basis, includes the participation of political or public administration and humanitarian actors and finally military actors, which may be armed or unarmed troops. Therefore, the United Nations determines a series of tasks for the military component, such as the following:

Supervision and verification of fire cease; Cantonment, disarmament, and demobilization of combatants; Monitoring of the withdrawal of foreign forces; Education on the problem of mines and demining; Taking measures for the security of the activities of the United Nations and other actors to support the peace process. (Naciones Unidas, 2015, p. 160)

Lastly, the development of PKO requires the military component to maintain neutrality in the face of conflict, attain the approval of the international community represented by the UN Security Council, implement a flexible mandate and coherent or normative of the actors, and have a command unit capable of responding to all specific military problems that may arise (Llop & Llosa, 2013).

### **Preponderant capabilities of the FF MM in the development of PKO**

In the case of Colombia, the *capability* of the military structure can be defined as “the ability to perform a task under certain standards through a combination of different means and modes. This ability is obtained from the conjunction of five variables, which are: doctrine, organization, material and equipment, and personnel and infrastructure” (Colombia, Ministerio de Defensa, 2016, p. 26).

In this order of ideas, it can be affirmed that the FFMM's capabilities are the following: command and control, intelligence, cyber defense, electronic warfare, strategic and tactical mobility, disaster relief, support, terrestrial space control, airspace control, maritime and fluvial space control, and special forces (Comando General FF. MM., 2015). These capabilities are adapted to the different characteristics and functions for their implementation in the required areas (geographical, social, environmental, and technological, among others).

It is worth noting that, in the Colombian case, the endorsement to participate in peacekeeping operations is provided by the framework agreement between the United Nations and the Republic of Colombia regarding contributions to the system of agreements of the Reserve Force of the United Nations for PKO, signed in January 2015 and approved by the Congress of the Republic in July 2016. According to this agreement, Colombia "may provide personnel and/or equipment concerning the following types of resources: 1) Army units, 2) Naval units, 3) Air Force units, and 4) Police units" (Quintero & Vásquez, 2018, p. 193).

For its part, the Office of Military Affairs of the United Nations is in charge of military deployment in peacekeeping missions. This office establishes three services and two teams in which the support of the armies for the fulfillment of the mission is divided: force generation service, military planning service, in-course military operations service, and evaluation team, and policy and doctrine team (Naciones Unidas, 2018d).

The purpose of the *force generation service* is to lead the "force generation process, in particular, the generation and rotation of all military officers and contingents, and to support the selection process for the appointment of senior United Nations military commanders" (Naciones Unidas, 2018c). In other words, this service selects the contingents that will be sent to a mission. The selection is made according to the capabilities required for their performance, making the following capacities significant for the selection of the FFMM: command and control, strategic and tactical mobility, disaster response, terrestrial space control, airspace control, maritime and fluvial space control, and special forces.

The United Nations determines that "the countries that contribute military and police contingents (TCC/PCC) provide: essential equipment and self-sustaining logistics, including vehicles, generators, and others, and meal, laundry, and internet services, as well as medical and engineering services at the organic level" (Naciones Unidas, 2018a). This means that, in addition to the capacities needed for the terrain, it is important to have advanced support in strategic and tactical mobility, as well as logistical support.

It should be noted the United Nations provides its contingents with fuel, water, lodging, food, offices, equipment, vehicles, and essential services, as well as information and communications technology for military observers, Staff Officers, United Nations Police,

and civilian personnel. The UN also provides the air transport of goods and passengers, and medical facilities for the entire mission (Naciones Unidas, 2018a).

According to the Colombian Presidency, the military projection regarding its military troops in peacekeeping operations increase from 500 men as a military contingent in 2017 to 5,000 men in 2018 (Colombia, Presidencia de la Republica, 2015). According to this projection, it is worth noting that, given the Colombian experience and the processes transpiring with the implementation of the peace agreement, the functions to be performed in the first deployment should involve military observation to better understand the nature of these operations and train components in this regard.

Subsequent to 2018, Colombia must project support missions that involve activities aligned with their military capabilities, such as humanitarian and natural disasters assistance, and demining, disarmament, reincorporation, as well as clearance of areas with improvised explosive devices, eradication of illicit crops, presence of irregular forces, and logistics and transport (Reyes, 2015). Some of the activities considered in peacekeeping missions by the United Nations are the protection of civilians within the framework of its mandate, focusing on minors and sexual violence; conflict prevention focused on the impact on communities and conflicts over natural resources; strengthening the rule of law, emphasizing on surveillance, mining activities, disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, reforms to the security and justice sector; promotion of human rights; empowerment of women; and logistic support (Naciones Unidas, 2018b).

### **Performance of the FFMM in current PKO of interest**

Para determinar cuál podría ser el desempeño de las FF. MM. en las actuales OMP, se realiza una evaluación de cada operación de acuerdo a su ubicación y mandato; posteriormente, se establece cuál podría ser el desempeño de las FF. MM. en tales escenarios. Actualmente, las Naciones Unidas tienen en curso 15 misiones (tabla 2), de las cuales solo una corresponde a territorio americano. Así mismo, se destaca que Uruguay, Argentina y Perú se posicionan como los países latinoamericanos que mayor aporte dan a las misiones de mantenimiento de la paz.

An evaluation of each operation was carried out, according to its location and mandate, to determine the roles that the FFMM could fulfill in existing PKO scenarios. Currently, the United Nations has 15 missions in progress (Table 2), only one in the American territory. Uruguay, Argentina, and Peru are positioned as the Latin American countries that provide the greatest contribution to peacekeeping missions.

**Table 2.** Role of the FFMM in current PKO

| <b>United Nations Disengagement Observer Force - UNDOF</b>                |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| <b>Location</b>   | <b>Mandate</b>   | <b>Role of Colombian FFMM</b>  |
| Golan   | Maintain the ceasefire between Israel and Syria; oversee the separation of Israeli and Syrian forces, and monitor the areas of separation and limitation, as contemplated in the Separation Agreement of May 1974.   | Contribution in the observation and maintenance of the ceasefire based on the previous experience with the Multinational Force of Peace and Observers of Sinai.  |
| <b>United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon - UNIFIL</b>                   |  |  |
| <b>Location</b>   | <b>Mandate</b>   | <b>Role of Colombian FFMM</b>  |
| Líbano  | Supervise the cessation of hostilities; accompany and support the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF) as they deploy throughout the south, while Israel withdraws its armed forces from Lebanon; coordinate these activities with the government of Lebanon and the government of Israel; expand its assistance to guarantee the access of humanitarian aid to the civilian population and the voluntary return and security of displaced persons; help the LAF to adopt measures to establish a freezone of all armed personnel, goods and arms; and help the Government of Lebanon to secure its borders and other entry points. | Contribution in monitoring the cessation of hostilities based on the experience of the Multinational Peace and Observer Force of Sinai and the implementation of the peace agreement with the FARC.<br><br>Humanitarian support for the voluntary return of displaced persons, based on their experience of internal displacement during the armed conflict. |
| <b>United Nations Missions for Referendum in Western Sahara - MINURSO</b> |  |  |
| <b>Location</b>   | <b>Mandate</b>   | <b>Role of Colombian FFMM</b>  |
| Western Sahara  | Oversee the ceasefire; reduce the threat of mines and unexploded ordnance; and support confidence-building measures.   | Contribution in the observation and maintenance of the ceasefire based on the previous experience with the Multinational Force of Peace and Observers of Sinai.<br><br>Support in the field of humanitarian demining and explosives deactivation based on the experience of the Colombian armed conflict.  |

Table continues...

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**United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic - MINUSCA**


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| <b>Location</b> | <b>Mandate</b>  | <b>Role of Colombian FFMM</b>   |
|-----------------|---|---|
| Bangui          | Protection of civilians; support for the implementation of the transition process; facilitation of humanitarian assistance; protection of the United Nations; promotion and protection of human rights; support for national and international justice and the rule of law; disarmament, demobilization, reintegration (DDR) and repatriation (DDRR). | <p>Based on the capabilities acquired in the armed conflict and experience in the implementation of the peace agreement, the opportune collaboration in measures to protect civilians, contribution in civic-military coordination for humanitarian assistance, security services for United Nations personnel and support in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration tasks (specifically, in those that involve regrouping, confiscation, and destruction of weapons and ammunition).</p> <p>It is noteworthy that the National Army of Colombia already contemplates its participation in this mission.</p> |

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**United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali - MINUSMA**


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| <b>Location</b> | <b>Mandate</b>   | <b>Role of Colombian FFMM</b>   |
|-----------------|--|---|
| Mali            | Support, monitor, and supervise the implementation of the ceasefire agreement and confidence-building measures; support the implementation of the Agreement for Peace and Reconciliation in Mali; interject their good offices; protection of civilians and stabilization; promotion and protection of human rights; humanitarian assistance and stabilization projects; protection and security of United Nations personnel; support for the preservation of cultural heritage. | <p>Contribution in the observation and maintenance of the ceasefire based on the previous experience with the Multinational Force of Peace and Observers of Sinai.</p> <p>Based on the experience of implementing the peace agreement with the FARC, it is planned to support the implementation of the defense and security measures provided for in the Mali Agreement, protect civilians and cultural heritage assets, support security United Nations personnel and provide humanitarian assistance to civilians displaced by the armed conflict.</p> |

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Table continues...

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**United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti - MINUSTAH**

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| <b>Location</b> | <b>Mandate</b>   | <b>Role of Colombian FFMM</b>   |
|-----------------|--|---|
| Haiti           | Support the transition government to establish a safe and stable environment; assist in the supervision and reform of the Haitian National Police; provide assistance through comprehensive disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration programs; provide assistance in the restoration and maintenance of the rule of law, public safety and public order; protect United Nations personnel, services, facilities, and equipment, as well as protect civilians; support the political and constitutional process; assist in the task of organizing, supervising, and holding municipal, parliamentary, and presidential elections; support the transitional government and Haitian organizations in their efforts to promote and protect human rights; and monitor the human rights situation. | Colombia already participates in this mission with humanitarian support and logistical assistance.<br><br>Its functions can be extended to DDR processes, as well as protection and security. |

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**United Nations Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo - MONUSCO**

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| <b>Location</b> | <b>Mandate</b>  | <b>Role of Colombian FFMM</b>  |
|-----------------|---|--|
| Congo           | Protection of the civilian population, humanitarian personnel, and human rights defenders under imminent threat of physical violence; and support the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in its stabilization and peacebuilding activities. | Support the protection of the civilian population and humanitarian personnel, based on the experience in the internal armed conflict in Colombia.<br><br>Note that the National Army of Colombia already contemplates its participation in this mission. |

Table continues...

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**United Nations Truce Supervision Organization - UNTSO**


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| <b>Location</b> | <b>Mandate</b>   | <b>Role of Colombian FFMM</b>  |
|-----------------|--|--|
| Middle East     | Supervise the General Armistice Agreements of 1949 between Israel and its Arab neighbors; the observance of the ceasefire in the Suez Canal area and in the Syrian Golan Heights after the Arab-Israeli war of June 1967; and help the United Nations Interim Force in South Lebanon to fulfill its mandate. | Contribution to the monitoring of the ceasefire and peacekeeping based on the experience of the Multinational Force of Peace and Observers of the Sinai. |

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**United Nations African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur - UNAMID**


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| <b>Location</b> | <b>Mandate</b>   | <b>Role of Colombian FFMM</b>   |
|-----------------|--|---|
| Darfur          | Establishment of security conditions; protection of the civil population; verification of the application of ceasefire agreements; assistance to the political process; support for the displaced population; protection of human rights; promotion of the rule of law; surveillance of the border situation with Chad and the Central African Republic. | <p>Contribution in the monitoring of the ceasefire and peacekeeping based on the experience of the Multinational Force of Peace and Observers of Sinai.</p> <p>Humanitarian support for the voluntary return of displaced persons, based on the experience of internal displacement during the armed conflict in Colombia.</p> <p>It is noteworthy that the National Army of Colombia already contemplates its participation in this mission.</p> |

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**United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus - UNFICYP**


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| <b>Location</b> | <b>Mandate</b>  | <b>Role of Colombian FFMM</b>   |
|-----------------|---|---|
| Chipre          | Monitor ceasefire lines, maintain a buffer zone, carry out humanitarian activities and support the mission of good offices. | <p>Contribution in the monitoring of the ceasefire and peacekeeping based on the experience of the Multinational Force of Peace and Observers of Sinai.</p> <p>Support in carrying out humanitarian activities based on the experiences of the armed conflict in Colombia and the MINUSTAH.</p> |

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Table continues...

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**UN Interim Security Force for Abyei - UNISFA**

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| <b>Location</b> | <b>Mandate</b>   | <b>Role of Colombian FFMM</b>  |
|-----------------|--|--|
| Abyei           | Protection of civilians and stabilization; promotion and protection of human rights; humanitarian assistance and stabilization projects; protection and security of United Nations personnel; assistance in border security. | Support in carrying out humanitarian activities based on experiences in the armed conflict in Colombia and MINUSTAH.<br><br>Support in the protection of civilians and humanitarian personnel, based on the experience in the internal armed conflict in Colombia. |

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**United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo - UNMIK**

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| <b>Location</b> | <b>Mandate</b>   | <b>Role of Colombian FFMM</b>   |
|-----------------|--|---|
| Kosovo          | Promote security, stability, and respect for human rights in Kosovo with the participation of all the communities of this country. | Support in the contribution to civic-military coordination to guarantee security, based on the experience of implementation of the peace agreement. |

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**United Nations Mission in Liberia - UNMIL**

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| <b>Location</b> | <b>Mandate</b>   | <b>Role of Colombian FFMM</b>   |
|-----------------|--|---|
| Liberia         | Protection of civilians; support for humanitarian assistance; reform of justice and security institutions; promotion and protection of human rights; protection of United Nations personnel. | Support in the contribution to civic-military coordination to guarantee security, humanitarian assistance and the protection of civilians, based on the experience of implementing the peace agreement. |

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**United Nations Assistance Mission in South Sudan - UNMISS**

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| <b>Location</b> | <b>Mandate</b>  | <b>Role of Colombian FFMM</b>   |
|-----------------|---|---|
| South Sudan     | Peacebuilding, protection of civilians, enabling of humanitarian assistance, monitoring of the human rights situation and protection of the displaced population. | Support in the contribution to civic-military coordination to guarantee humanitarian assistance and the protection of civilians, as well as the return of displaced persons, based on the experience in the internal armed conflict.<br><br>It is noteworthy that the National Army of Colombia already contemplates its participation in this mission. |

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Table continues...

**United Nations Military Observers Group in India and Pakistan - UNMOGIP**

| Location           | Mandate   | Role of Colombian FFMM  |
|--------------------|---|---|
| India and Pakistan | Observe and monitor the ceasefire between India and Pakistan. | Contribution in the observation and maintenance of the ceasefire based on his previous experience with the Multinational Force of Peace and Observers of Sinai. |

Source: Created by the author with data by the Naciones Unidas (2018b).

**Evaluation of the advantages and disadvantages of the participation of the Military Forces in PKO 2019-2030**

A list of the variables with the highest significance for PKO efforts, as well as the necessary capacities for their development was created, based on the Colombian experience, to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages (Table 3).

**Table 3.** List of variables

| Variable                                    | Acronym | Description   |
|---|---------|---|
| Force generation capability                 | CGF     | Variable that groups the Colombian capabilities of command and control, strategic and tactical mobility, disaster attention, control of the terrestrial space, control of the air space, control of the maritime and fluvial space, and special forces. |
| Logistic capability                         | CLG     | Variable that groups the Colombian capabilities of strategic and tactical mobility, and logistic support  |
| Experience implementing the peace agreement | EIAP    | Experience of the FFMM in the implementation of the peace agreement between the national government and the FARC.   |
| Experience in internal armed conflict       | ECAI    | Experience of the FFMM in internal armed conflicts.   |
| Experience in irregular combat              | ECI     | Experience of the FFMM in irregular war and guerrilla warfare.  |

Table continues...

| Variable                                      | Acronym | Description   |
|---|---------|---|
| Supervision of cease fire                     | SCF     |   |
| Humanitarian Assistance                       | AH      |   |
| Protection of civilians                       | PC      |   |
| Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration | DDR     |   |
| Promotion of human rights                     | P_DDHH  | Functions projected by the FFMM to integrate a military contingent into peace-keeping operations. |
| Assistance in border security                 | ASF     |   |
| Demining and deactivation of explosives       | DDE     |   |
| Security in United Nations missions           | SM_ONU  |   |
| Consolidation of peace agreements             | CAP     |   |

Source: Created by the author.

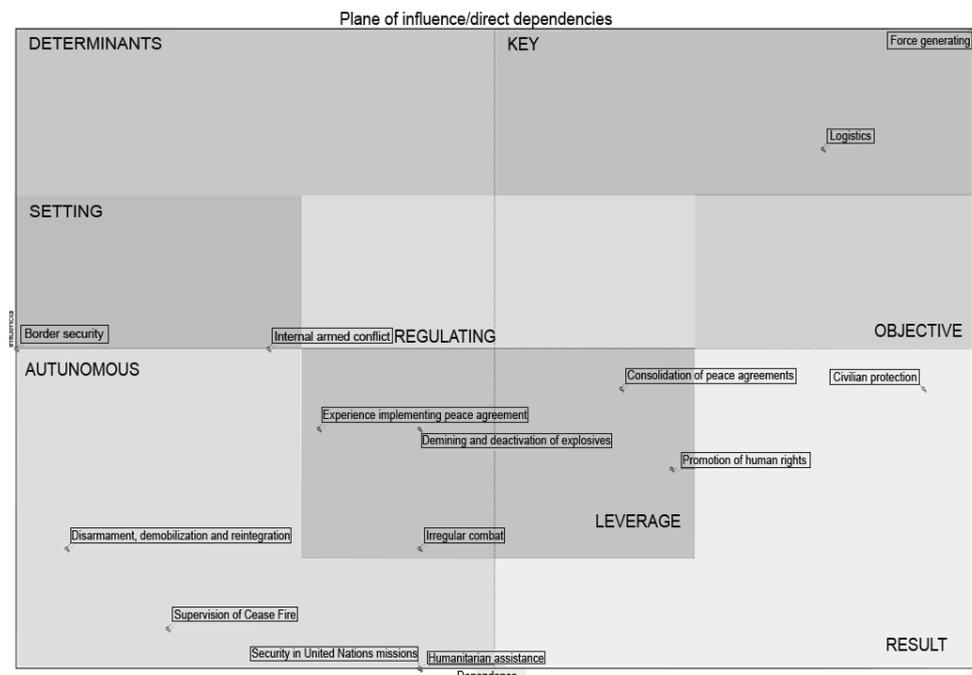
Subsequently, the rating of the variables (Table 4) was carried out with a group of experts including six professionals in international relations and military sciences, with specialties in the areas of national security and defense, geopolitics, geostrategic, resolution of conflicts, strategic intelligence, and management of international relations at the military level.

**Table 4.** Rating of variables

|            | 1: CGF | 2: CLG | 3: EIAP | 4: ECAI | 5: ECI | 6: SCF | 7: AH | 8: PC | 9: DDR | 10: P_DDHH | 11: ASF | 12: DDE | 13: SM_ONU | 14: CAP |
|------------|--------|--------|---------|---------|--------|--------|-------|-------|--------|------------|---------|---------|------------|---------|
| 1: CGF     | 0      | 2      | 3       | 3       | 3      | 3      | 3     | 3     | 2      | 3          | 3       | 3       | 3          | 2       |
| 2: CLG     | 3      | 0      | 3       | 3       | 2      | 2      | 3     | 2     | 1      | 3          | 2       | 3       | 3          | 3       |
| 3: EIAP    | 3      | 3      | 0       | 0       | 0      | 1      | 2     | 3     | 3      | 1          | 3       | 1       | 3          | 3       |
| 4: ECAI    | 3      | 3      | 3       | 0       | 3      | 1      | 2     | 3     | 1      | 2          | 1       | 3       | 3          | 0       |
| 5: ECI     | 3      | 3      | 1       | 3       | 0      | 1      | 1     | 3     | 1      | 1          | 0       | 3       | 3          | 0       |
| 6: SCF     | 3      | 1      | 1       | 1       | 0      | 0      | 0     | 3     | 0      | 3          | 2       | 1       | 3          | 3       |
| 7: AH      | 2      | 3      | 1       | 1       | 1      | 0      | 0     | 3     | 0      | 3          | 1       | 0       | 0          | 3       |
| 8: PC      | 2      | 3      | 2       | 3       | 2      | 3      | 3     | 0     | 1      | 3          | 1       | 0       | 0          | 3       |
| 9: DDR     | 3      | 3      | 2       | 0       | 0      | 0      | 1     | 2     | 0      | 2          | 1       | 3       | 3          | 3       |
| 10: P_DDHH | 3      | 2      | 1       | 3       | 3      | 2      | 3     | 3     | 1      | 0          | 0       | 1       | 0          | 3       |
| 11: ASF    | 3      | 3      | 2       | 0       | 2      | 3      | 2     | 2     | 1      | 3          | 0       | 1       | 3          | 3       |
| 12: DDE    | 3      | 2      | 1       | 1       | 3      | 0      | 1     | 3     | 1      | 3          | 2       | 0       | 3          | 3       |
| 13: SM_ONU | 3      | 3      | 1       | 2       | 3      | 1      | 1     | 1     | 1      | 1          | 1       | 2       | 0          | 0       |
| 14: CAP    | 2      | 2      | 2       | 2       | 0      | 3      | 3     | 3     | 3      | 3          | 1       | 3       | 0          | 0       |

Source: Created by author using MicMac software.

Lastly, the results of the rating were interpreted by obtaining the direct plane of influence and direct dependence yielded by MicMac (Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** Direct plane of influence and direct dependence  
Source: Created by the author using MicMac software.

According to Figure 1, it is evident that variables such as the Colombian FFMM’s force generating and logistic capabilities are elements that would determine its adequate performance in the development of peacekeeping operations, in comparison with other armies.

To enhance the capabilities of the Military Forces and create an advantage over other armies, it is necessary to develop or strengthen their actions in areas of peace consolidation, such as irregular combat, protection of human rights, demining, deactivation of artifacts and explosives, and the implementation of the peace agreement with the FARC, based on the location of the variables in the “leverage” quadrant. An added value or advantage (regardless of the performance of the Military Forces in peacekeeping) is in the support for border security during the development of these missions, as well as their experience in internal armed conflict.

The autonomous variables that need to be aligned with the strategy or that represent a weakness for the Military Forces in the development of peacekeeping missions are humanitarian assistance, and disarmament, demobilization, and reincorporation, as well

as acting in the eventual supervision of ceasefire, and providing security for members of UN missions.

## Conclusions

The Military Forces can play an essential role in the development of peacekeeping operations. Moreover, these efforts serve as a platform for the internationalization of the Army under the international standards of the United Nations, making the professionalization essential to fulfilling the mission adequately.

The FFMM capabilities identified as preponderant in the development of PKO are the following: command and control, strategic and tactical mobility, disaster response, terrestrial and airspace control, as well as maritime and fluvial space control and special forces.

After an evaluation of the current peacekeeping missions and FFMM projections, it was determined that their role in these would be directed towards the observation, humanitarian attention, protection of civilians, demining and deactivation of explosive devices, as well as contributions in the consolidation of peace in certain territories.

Based on the identification and intersection of the preponderant variables for the participation of the Colombian FFMM in PKO it was evidenced that adequate performance in this scenario depends on the development of force generating and logistics capabilities in the field, using the experience acquired over 54 years of conflict and the current implementation of the peace agreements.

Finally, in response to the research question posed, the FFMM's experience in internal armed conflicts and security, as well as their force generating and logistic capabilities is their source of highest potential for the participation in PKO from 2019 to 2030. On the other hand, there are disadvantages or aspects to be strengthened to yield an excellent performance; these are peace consolidation, irregular combat, protection of human rights, demining, and deactivation of explosive devices, as well as the implementation of the peace agreement with the FARC.

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