

gates the President be clean.” General Urbina’s name also appears in *State Terrorism in Colombia*.

### History of the project

With Urabá, the history of Panama may be repeated. In 1903, Panama “won” its independence from Colombia thanks to the intervention of U.S. Marines, deployed by the British-run President of the United States, Teddy Roosevelt. Immediately afterwards, Panama signed a treaty with the United States in which Panama granted a chunk of its territory for the United States to build an interoceanic canal.

The Gulf of Urabá is one of the only routes possible for a new, sea-level interoceanic canal. Only 100 kilometers separate Urabá on the Atlantic Ocean from the Pacific. It also borders on the Darién National Park of Panama, a narco-terrorist refuge. Urabá has some of the most fertile land in Colombia, and is also a natural sea outlet for Medellín, Colombia’s most industrialized city. However, there is currently no decent highway between Medellín and Urabá, much less a railroad.

In the late 1960s, Urabá was converted into banana plantations under United Fruit Co. *EIR*’s book *Dope, Inc.* identifies United Fruit, later United Brands, as a front for the international drug trade. United Fruit invented the technique of transporting cocaine to the United States packed in banana skins.

During the 1970s, United Fruit decided to sell its Urabá land, to dedicate itself exclusively to banana transport. That period precisely coincides with the creation of the so-called Medellín Cartel, which got its start stuffing cocaine into bananas for export. Since that time, violence has grown in the area, until it now serves as the pretext the United Nations needs to dismember Urabá from Colombia.

### Creating an ‘ethnic’ flank

Apart from committing massacres in Urabá, the FARC has poured finances and manpower into trying to create an “ethnic guerrilla” force in Chocó, the neighboring department to Antioquia which shares the Urabá region. Ninety percent of Chocó’s inhabitants are black. Chocó is also a region which is physically separated from the rest of the country by a lack of roads, and its poverty is dramatic. While the FARC is trying to create a guerrilla front made up exclusively of blacks, the better to promote separatism (à la Chiapas), a theology of liberation faction inside the Catholic Church has tried to promote a “black theology of liberation,” with the absurd concept that each race requires a different “gospel.”

The FARC has been helped along in this endeavor by the *New York Times*, which last year devoted a prominent story to the supposedly spontaneous emergence of a black ethnic movement in Chocó, which the *Times* portrayed as a possible “next Chiapas.”

## FARC: Colombia’s ‘Third Cartel’

**Name of group:** Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC).

Also known as Communist Revolutionary Armed Forces.

Also known as Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces—People’s Army (FARC-EP).

Also known as Bolivarian Militias.

Also known as the “Third Cartel.”

**Headquarters and important fronts:** The general headquarters were in La Uribe (Meta), Colombia, until the Army uprooted them from that area in December 1990. Today, it is believed that the headquarters where the “joint chiefs of staff” of the FARC operate, is somewhere in the eastern mountain range, in the Páramo region, possibly in El Sumapaz, 100 kilometers southeast of Bogotá. It is also suspected that the FARC has a “mobile headquarters” which moves within the departments of Meta, Guaviare, and Caquetá, and possibly Cundinamarca and Huila.

**Founded:** officially, on May 20, 1964 in Marquetalia (Tolima), but the decision to form the FARC and its founding nucleus was created at the full plenum of the Colombian Communist Party (PCC) in 1947.

**Locations of operations, areas active:** They operate in virtually all of Colombian national territory, but especially in the rural regions, perhaps with the exception of Amazonas, Vaupés, and Guainía. The FARC’s greatest area of control is in El Guaviare and El Meta, as well as in the eastern mountain range which embraces Huila, Tolima, Cundinamarca, Boyacá, Caquetá, Santander, and North Santander departments.

**Major terrorist actions:** Rather than spectacular terrorist actions, the FARC carries out terrorist actions daily, with the intent to impose their “authority” on the inhabitants of a certain region through assaults on police and Army targets. They impose a kind of “war tax” or “vaccination” (*vacuna*) (payment of monthly dues to the guerrillas allowing the residents to work), carry out kidnappings, and forcibly recruit the children of farmers who cannot pay. In late 1995, they are planning to lay siege to the capital city of Bogotá de Santa Fé, which would include attacks on transportation infrastructure, airports, water reservoirs and pipelines, and electricity generating plants.

**Modus operandi:** Some of their members are “guerrillas” who are farmers by day, but at night can be called on to carry out some action in a nearby town. Others are permanent

terrorists who travel in groups of 30. Sometimes these groups join forces to carry out attacks of 100-300 men. They seize small towns in which they overwhelm the defense capacity of the local police, they assassinate policemen, steal their weapons, and rob the local banks, especially the local Agriculture Unions. Sometimes they force the inhabitants of a town to meet, to hear their "revolutionary" harangues. Later, if they do not leave, they may lie in wait for Army or police reinforcements, to ambush them with dynamite and other explosives, and then disperse.

Before carrying out their "occupations," they conduct intelligence, so that during the action, they can point out someone to accuse of collaboration with the Army or the paramilitaries, whom they "execute" as a "lesson" to the town. In some parts of the country, they distribute leaflets in the form of "wanted posters," in which they offer rewards to anyone in the area who can deliver or denounce the commander of a battalion or a professional soldier. In the city of Cali, the FARC has been offering rewards of \$1,000 to anyone who murders a soldier or policeman, a technique that was used by Medellín Cartel drug trafficker Pablo Escobar Gaviria.

The FARC has people who specialize in kidnappings, from which they not only derive part of their income, but which also weakens the national economy by affecting company management structures. It is estimated that the FARC and the National Liberation Army (ELN) combined carry out 700 kidnappings a year. Foreigners are the favorite target. Kidnappings of both Colombians and foreigners rely on the active collaboration of the "human rights" non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as Pax Christi, whose representatives come to Colombia to "receive" the kidnap victims after their ransoms are paid. The International Red Cross plays the same role, and is currently the leading mediator agency in these kidnappings.

Non-payment of ransom means death for the kidnap victim. In some cases, despite having received ransom, the victim is not delivered and a new ransom is demanded. In other cases, when the family or the company pays the ransom, they receive the dead body of their employee or family member in return.

Recruitment to the FARC is usually forced, not voluntary. Farmers are forced to contribute their children to the "revolution." The Communist Party (PCC) has also sent cadres who serve as political representatives to their armed wing. In all cases, the first lesson of new recruits is how to assassinate alleged traitors. Discipline is maintained through cruel punishment and the constant threat of death if rules are violated.

The FARC also maintains a death squad to murder "enemies of the revolution" both within and outside their own organization. There are suspicions that the FARC assassinated Bernardo Jaramillo, who was president of the PCC's electoral front, Patriotic Union, in 1990, and Carlos Pizarro

León-Gómez, Presidential candidate of the M-19, which had been recently legalized, also in 1990. The FARC has also murdered at least 1,000 activists of the Hope, Peace, and Freedom movement (EPL), a faction of the People's Liberation Army (EPL), which was legalized through a peace agreement with the government, primarily based in the Urabá (Antioquia) region.

**Leaders' names and aliases:** Pedro Antonio Marín, best known by his alias Manuel Marulanda Vélez (a.k.a. *Tirofijo*, or "Sureshot"), is the general commander of the FARC. However, the ideological leader is Alfonso Cano. Also part of the leadership staff are Rigoberto Losada (a.k.a. Joselo), Elmer Briceño Suárez (a.k.a. "El Mono Jojoy"), Iván Márquez, Raúl Reyes, and Jaime Guaraca. The true political leader of the FARC until August 1990 was Luis Alberto Morantes Jaimes, a.k.a. Jacobo Arenas. According to the FARC, he died of a heart attack, but other sources say he murdered a guerrilla in front of his "troops" for having stolen a couple of loaves of sweet bread from the storehouse, and that the victim's brother, also a member of the FARC, shot him in revenge.

**Allied groups nationally or internationally:**

*Nationally:* Colombian Communist Party, Patriotic Union, Permanent Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, Communist Youth of Colombia (JUCO), National Liberation Army (ELN), People's Liberation Army (EPL), Simón Bolívar Guerrilla Coordinating Group (CGSB), National Pro-Housing Organization, Unified Workers Federation (CUT).

*Internationally:* São Paulo Forum member.

**Religious/ideological/ethnic motivating ideology:** classic Marxism-Leninism, with particular admiration for Joseph Stalin. They combine Marxism with demands for "agrarian reform." More recently, they have added the "ecological" and "ethnic" ingredient to their actions. The FARC helped create the Quintín Lamé Command, an indigenous group in which drug trafficker Carlos Lehder Rivas was an active figure. They recruit black people from across the country to bring them to the Chocó, where they promote ethnic separatism. They also justify the kidnapping of engineers who build dams with the argument that they are defending ecology and the habitat of the Indians.

**Known controllers/mentors/theoreticians:** The Colombian Communist Party (PCC), backed at the time by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Jacobo Arenas, Manuel Cepeda, Alvaro Vásquez del Real, all members of the PCC central committee, and Gilberto Vieira, the secretary general of the PCC for 30 years. Also brothers Nicolás (Center for Social Studies and Investigations, CEIS) and Enrique Buenaventura (Experimental Theater of Cali, TEC).

**Number of cadres:** estimated at about 8,000 men under arms.

**Training:** Guerrillas recruited during the so-called *La*

*Violencia* (the undeclared civil war between Liberal and Conservative parties) between 1947 and 1953, were trained in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and East Germany. In the 1980s, they grew closer to the Fidel Castro regime and established an alliance with their old factional rival, the ELN, from which point they also began to train in Cuba. Inside Colombia, the FARC maintains various training camps.

**Known drug connections/involvement:** The FARC is known as the “Third Cocaine Cartel,” after the better-known Medellín and Cali cartels. They defend cocaine laboratories in Guaviare, Caquetá, Meta, Casanare and Putumayo. They control at least 70% of the production of coca leaf in the country. They also have their own cocaine laboratories, but it is not known if the FARC directly exports to the United States or simply sells the drug to networks of allied drug traffickers. They also have agreements with the two other cartels, and collect quotas which range from between 10% and 30% of the value of cocaine produced at laboratories under their protection, and for the protection of airstrips, per landing and unloading of each narco-plane, and they also collect a tax, which they call *gramaje*, that ranges between 10% and 30% of the estimated value of coca leaf production, depending upon the size of the plantation. The networks of assassins who were left temporarily unemployed with the death of the drug trafficker Pablo Escobar, were turned into the FARC’s or ELN’s Bolivarian Militas in urban centers.

**Known arms suppliers/routes:** The bulk of the FARC’s weapons are of U.S., Israeli, German (east and west), and Russian origin. In certain cases, the drug traffickers pay their “taxes” to the FARC with weapons they buy primarily in the United States. The FARC also inherited arms trafficking networks out of Europe from the Liberal guerrillas of the *Violencia* period.

**Political defenders and supporters:** Alfredo Vásquez Carrizosa, former foreign minister; Alvaro Leyva Durán, “Conservative” politician; Alberto Mendoza Morales, who was the Patriotic Union’s Presidential candidate in 1994; Augusto Ramírez Ocampo, former director of the U.N. mission in El Salvador, ONUSAL; Carlos Andrés Pérez, who, as Venezuelan President in 1990, offered to serve as intermediary in negotiations between the FARC and the Colombian government. The FARC also has the invaluable collaboration of the national Attorney General’s office.

World Organization Against Torture (OMCT), American Association of Jurists, Andean Commission of Jurists, Latin American Federation of Associations of Disappeared (Fedefam), Pax Christi International, Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, Rechtvaardigheid en Vrede, Comision Justice et Paix, Centre National de Cooperation au Développement (CNCD), National Centrum Voor Ontwikkelingsamenwerking (NCOS), Justice and Peace Service—Latin America (Serpaj-AL), Amnesty International, Interna-

tional Red Cross.

**Known funding:** They finance themselves through the *vacuna*, a protection “tax” paid by the large majority of landowners in the rural zones, and also by the mayors of many rural towns from local and municipal budgets. Also through bank robberies, kidnappings of businessmen and ranchers, and, of course, through drug trafficking. They also have extensive investments in real estate, in the stock market, in legal enterprises ranging from goldmining to cattle raising, hotels, pharmacies, and businesses overseas. Defense intelligence estimates are that approximately \$1.6 million enters the coffers of the Simón Bolívar Guerrilla Coordinating Group, the combined FARC/ELN forces, on a daily basis, more than the income of Colombia’s most profitable company, the National Coffee Fund.

**Thumbnail historical profile:** The Colombian Communist Party created the FARC at a full plenum in 1947, where it approved “the use of all forms of struggle.” Jacobo Arenas, Alvaro Vásquez del Real, and Manuel Cepeda were assigned to recruit to communism the Liberal guerrilla leaders involved in the *Violencia* civil war. The Communists were further considered the allies of the Liberal faction allied with Alfonso López Pumarejo (President from 1932-38, and 1942-45), father of former President Alfonso López Michelsen. After the 1953 coup d’état by Col. Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, which initiated the “pacification” of the country and the surrender of Liberal guerrilla forces through the pact known as the National Front, the guerrillas organized by the Communists did not surrender, but instead remained in the mountains and formed the base of the FARC. This occurred in Marquetalia, a place which was dubbed an “independent republic” under guerrilla control. On May 20, 1964, the FARC was officially created. In 1968, they almost disappeared from the map because of a tactical error, in which they began to operate as a regular army, with all the visibility of a regular army. In battles in Tolima and Caldas, the FARC lost 70% of its forces. Manuel Marulanda Vélez and Jacobo Arenas, two of the few “commanders” who did not participate, decided to reorganize the FARC as a mobile guerrilla force dispersed in various parts of the country.

Their power was relatively small and manageable, until the peace process launched by President Belisario Betancur in 1982. In 1984, an agreement was officially sealed in a pact between the FARC and the government, which provided for an amnesty for FARC members and the release from prison of their captured members. At the time, FARC leaders were presented by the media as “statesmen.” They organized the Patriotic Union as their electoral front. From that moment forward, the FARC has grown like a kind of “Wallenstein’s Army.”

Its links to the drug trade trace back to the black market in weapons. The known direct collaboration between the FARC and the drug trade surfaced in the department of Ca-

quetá in the late 1970s. The first coca crops in the Amazon jungle were planted in inaccessible areas. The FARC, familiar with the terrain, lent their men to transport the bundles of coca leaf through the jungle to the traffickers' airstrips. Later, the FARC collaborated in the construction of airstrips closer to the areas of coca cultivation, and later, in the same areas, hired out to build entire "cocaine cities," including cocaine laboratories, dormitories for the "workers" and "guards," and airstrips. Experts in guerrilla warfare, the FARC designed means of camouflaging the installations by using huge movable pots planted with typical jungle trees to hide the sophisticated drug production centers. Despite all of these efforts, the anti-narcotics police, using satellite information and triangulated radio signals, succeeded in locating and raiding the laboratories of Tranquilandia and Villacoca in 1983 and 1984, when Rodrigo Lara Bonilla was justice minister. Those laboratories were under FARC protection. Today, with the Cali and Medellín cartels nearly dismantled, it is feared that the FARC could appropriate the drug-trafficking routes used by the two cartels.

The César Gaviria government, in international coordination with the United Nations and its NGOs, attempted to carry out a "peace process" with the FARC and ELN in 1990, 1991 and 1992. However, these efforts were completely discredited nationally by the FARC's insistence on continuing kidnapping, assassinations, and terrorist attacks against national infrastructure. Current narco-President Ernesto Samper Pizano continues to hope for a negotiated peace agreement, on the El Salvador model—a policy which has the support of members of the Washington-based Inter-American Dialogue.

## ELN: Fidel Castro's personal project

**Name of group:** National Liberation Army (ELN); Revolutionary Camilista Union (UCR), Camilista Commandos, Camilista Brigades, To Fight.

**Headquarters and important fronts:** Mobile headquarters in Santander department, sometimes meeting in Bucaramanga, sometimes in Barrancabermeja, the latter considered Colombia's "oil capital."

**Founded:** 1963, in Simacota, Santander.

**Locations of operations, areas active:** Mainly in Santander department, and following the route of Santandean migration in the rest of the country. Starting with the discovery of oil in Caño Limón (Arauca department), ELN began to grow along the Caño Limón-Coveñas pipeline.

The ELN carries out operations in Arauca, Casanare,

Boyacá, Norte de Santander, Cesar, Bolívar, Sucre, Córdoba, and Antioquia. Recently, it has spread toward Venezuela, taking advantage of the migration of Colombians to that country.

### Major terrorist actions:

- In 1991, the ELN attacked the main port of Coveñas with explosives and other weapons. A great quantity of fuel is stored there, and a huge fire was set off; had there been an explosion, it could have caused at least 3,000 deaths.

- Bishop of Arauca was kidnapped and assassinated for "collaborating with the Army." There have been at least ten attempts to abduct and "try" Cardinal Alfonso López Trujillo.

- Feb. 26, 1995, assault on the naval post at Cararabo, in the Venezuelan border state of Apure, sadistically executing eight sailors.

**Modus operandi:** More than 90% of the ELN's operations are attacks on oil installations, primarily the Caño Limón-Coveñas pipeline, which runs 1,500 kilometers and crosses the country from east to west. They always attack Colombian installations (of the State oil company Ecopetrol), and almost never those of Occidental Petroleum or the other multinationals that operate in the country. They also kidnap political leaders, mayors, governors, priests, businessmen, and ranchers. They ambush soldiers and police patrols.

When they set out to control a region, they begin with leaflets that tell property and business owners and industrialists that the ELN plans to collect a monthly protection fee. If they refuse to pay for the "vaccination," as it is called, they are fair game for kidnap or some other violent attack. Under threat of terror, the ELN imposes its candidates and determines what percentage of the municipal budget will be channeled to the ELN forces.

**Leaders' names and aliases:** The best known is that of the Spanish "priest" Manuel Pérez, a.k.a. "Poliarco." However, different sources suggest that the real leader of the ELN is Nicolás Rodríguez Bautista Pérez, alias "Gabino," who controls the organization's financial structure, handles relations with the press and with political movements and factions, and directly handles contact with Fidel Castro.

Others include Antonio García and Gerardo Bermúdez (a.k.a. Francisco Galán), the latter a prisoner in the maximum-security Itaguí jail, but who maintains contact with the ELN's 33 fronts by means of a high-powered radio and cellular telephone in his cell.

**Groups allied nationally or internationally:** National Guerrilla Coordinator (CGSP), Center of Popular Education Research (CINEP), São Paulo Forum; Occidental Petroleum Co.

**Religious/ideological/ethnic motivating ideology:** Fidelista-Guevarista; theology of liberation. They cite Ernesto "Che" Guevara, who said that one cannot be "dogmatic" against the Catholic faith that prevails in the region. A