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	SGHD-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRM-01	DRL-02	G-00	SAS-00

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P 291903Z DEC 98
 FM AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6567
 INFO SECDEF WASHDC
 USCINCSO MIAMI FL
 DIRONDCP WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY QUITO
 AMEMBASSY LIMA
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS
 AMEMBASSY PANAMA
 AMEMBASSY MEXICO

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE, REVIEW AUTHORITY: DAVID W COX, CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(D), DECLASSIFY AFTER: 28 DEC 2023, DATE/CASE ID: 21 APR 2009 200604183
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SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

APPEALS PANEL ACTION: RELEASED IN PART 1.4(D),B6
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E.O. 12958: DECL: X6(1.6)
 TAGS: PINS, SNAR, PTER, ECON, PHUM, MASS, ASEC, PGOV, PINR, CO
 SUBJECT: THE PARAS FIGHT BACK AGAINST GUERRILLAS AND NARCOS
 (PART II OF TRIP REPORT TO MONTERIA, A COLOMBIAN "PARA"-DISE)

REF: BOGOTA 13823

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR CURTIS W. KAMMAN. REASONS: 1.5(B&D).

1. (c) SUMMARY: DURING A RECENT POLOFF TRIP TO THE OPENLY PRO-
 PARAMILITARY TOWN OF MONTERIA (CORDOBA DEPARTMENT), COLOMBIAN
 RANCHERS, BUSINESSMEN, ACADEMICS AND OTHERS EXPLAINED TO POLOFF

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HOW THE LOCAL "SELF-DEFENSE FORCES OF CORDOBA AND URABA" (I.E., THE "ACCU" PARAMILITARIES) WERE ORIGINALLY ESTABLISHED DURING THE 1980S, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE ARMY AND POLICE, AS A REACTION TO YEARS OF UNCHECKED GUERRILLA DEPREDATIONS. USING BRUTALLY EFFECTIVE TACTICS, ACCU FIRST DISMEMBERED THE EPL GUERRILLAS (THOUSANDS OF EPL HAVE SINCE SURRENDERED), AND, IN MORE RECENT YEARS, HAS MOVED AGAINST THE FARC AND ELN. POLOFF ALSO LEARNED SOMETHING OF THE PARAMILITARIES' INTERNATIONAL TIES -- INCLUDING ALLEGATIONS OF HAVING RECEIVED MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM U.S. AND OTHER FOREIGN MULTINATIONALS, AND TRAINING BY FOREIGN MERCENARIES (MORE ON THIS VIA SEPTTEL). THE ENTRANCE OF NARCO-TRAFFICKERS INTO THE REGION WAS ALSO DISCUSSED, AS WAS THE PARAMILITARY ROLE IN THE WAR AGAINST PABLO ESCOBAR OF THE MEDELLIN CARTEL. A NUMBER OF INTERLOCUTORS ADVOCATED THAT "THE CORDOBA MODEL" BE ADOPTED BY COLOMBIA NATIONWIDE. (THIS IS PART II IN A SERIES OF CABLES REPORTING ON RECENT POLOFF TRIP TO MONTERIA, CORDOBA.)

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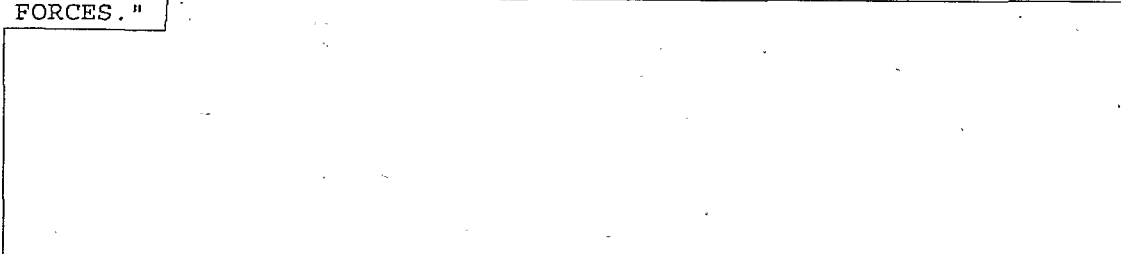
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END SUMMARY.

2. (C) POLOFF TRAVELED TO THE BASEBALL-PLAYING, CATTLE-RAISING AND COTTON-GROWING TOWN OF MONTERIA, CORDOBA ON DECEMBER 11-13. NESTLED ALONG THE FERTILE BANKS OF THE SINU RIVER (WHICH FEEDS INTO THE CARIBBEAN 40 MILES AWAY), THE TOWN OF 365,000 IS THE CAPITAL OF CORDOBA DEPARTMENT -- AND PERHAPS THE MOST SOLIDLY PRO-PARAMILITARY BURG IN ALL COLOMBIA. EVERY LOCAL INTERLOCUTOR WITH WHOM POLOFF SPOKE -- POLITICIANS, RANCHERS, JOURNALISTS, ACADEMICS AND OTHERS -- FREELY ADMITTED (SOME PRIVATELY, OTHERS PUBLICLY) THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE PARAMILITARIES. "AS BAD AS THEY ARE," THESE PERSONS ASSERTED, THE PARAMILITARIES ARE "LESS BAD" THAN THE GUERRILLAS WHICH PREVIOUSLY LAID WASTE TO CORDOBA AND THE URABA REGION. THE GUERRILLAS SIMPLY HAD TO GO -- "AT ANY COST." AND BECAUSE OF THE PARAMILITARIES, MOST OF CORDOBA NOW ENJOYS A PEACE A NUMBER OF COLOMBIANS WOULD LITERALLY KILL FOR. "AFTER ALL," ONE SAID, "WE DID."

THE CAST OF CHARACTERS

=====

3. (S) IN THE WAKE OF THE DECEMBER 11 PEACE CONFERENCE (REF A), POLOFF MET WITH A VARIETY OF PERSONS IN TOWN, ALL OF WHOM MORE OR LESS OPENLY INDICATED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE "SELF-DEFENSE FORCES."



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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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CORDOBA, YESTERDAY....

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5. (S) CORDOBA IS AN ISLAND OF RELATIVE PEACE TODAY. FIVE TO EIGHT YEARS AGO, GUERRILLAS OF THE EPL (AS WELL AS OF THE ELN AND FARC) HAD THE REGION ON ITS KNEES.

[Redacted]

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P 291903Z DEC 98
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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6568
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 AMEMBASSY LIMA
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 AMEMBASSY MEXICO

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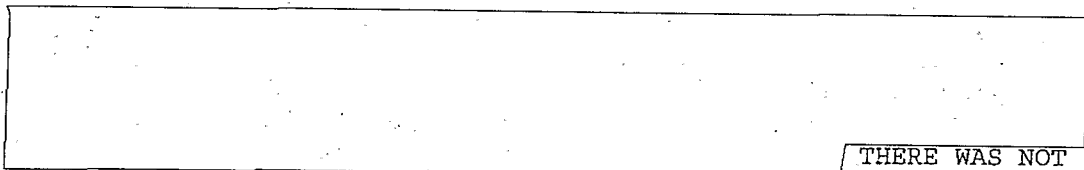
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SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12958: DECL: X6(1.6)
 TAGS: PINS, SNAR, PTER, ECON, PHUM, MASS, ASEC, PGOV, PINR, CO
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THERE WAS NOT
 A FAMILY IN TOWN, PEOPLE REPEATEDLY SAID, THAT HAD NOT HAD
 SOMEONE KIDNAPPED OR KILLED BY THE GUERRILLAS.

6. (S) BUT NO MORE. [REDACTED] SPOKE OF DRIVING
 FOR HOURS INTO THE COUNTRYSIDE [REDACTED] WITHOUT BODYGUARDS
 AND WITHOUT FEAR OF GUERRILLA ATTACK. THE TOWN IS FREE OF
 ROADBLOCKS OR POLICE PATROLS, AND POLOFF DROVE INTO THE BRIGADE
 HEADQUARTERS UNCHALLENGED (A FIRST ANYWHERE IN COLOMBIA).
 INDEED, THE LOCAL ELITES SEPARATELY SPOKE SO POSITIVELY OF THEIR
 SUCCESSES AGAINST THE GUERRILLAS THAT MANY URGED THE PASTRANA
 GOVERNMENT TO ADOPT "THE CORDOBA MODEL" AS THE BASIS FOR THE

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COUNTER-INSURGENCY WAR NATIONWIDE. [REDACTED]

1.4(D)

[REDACTED] TOLD POLOFF THAT IT ALL BEGAN JUST LIKE THE MEL GIBSON MOVIE, "RANSOM". VICTIMS' FAMILIES DECLARED A MORATORIUM ON PAYMENTS, DECIDING IT WAS BOTH CHEAPER AND A MORE PERMANENT SOLUTION TO USE THE SAME MONEY TO FIGHT THE GUERRILLAS THAN TO

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PAY-THEM EXTORTION.

7. (S) [REDACTED] THAT THE COLOMBIAN ARMY HELPED ESTABLISH THE LOCAL PARAMILITARY STRUCTURE (WHAT BECAME THE ACCU) IN THE LATE 1980S AND EARLY 1990S, SUPPLYING TRAINING, WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION, AS WELL AS LOGISTICAL AND INTELLIGENCE SUPPORT. BUT THE REAL CHANGE, [REDACTED] ARGUED, CAME IN THE EARLY 1990S, WHEN THE ARMY AUGMENTED THE LOCAL MILITARY PRESENCE FROM A BATTALION TO A BRIGADE (THE 11TH BRIGADE), AFTER THE KILLING OF COLONEL DIAZ, THE BATTALION'S COMMANDER. THE LOCAL PRIVATE SECTOR, HE RECOUNTED, BOUGHT LAND, TOOLS, VEHICLES, AND GAS, AND PAID THE SALARIES FOR COUNTER-GUERRILLA POLICE AND ARMY UNITS TO BE DEPLOYED. THE POLICE, THE ARMY'S FIRST MOBILE BRIGADE, AND THE PARAMILITARIES THEN PUSHED SOUTH ACROSS THE DEPARTMENT, IN A VERY COORDINATED FASHION. AFTER THE ARMY MOVED THROUGH, THE POLICE AND PARAMILITARIES ESTABLISHED PERMANENT OUTPOSTS.

1.4(D)

1.4(D)

8. (S) THE TACTICS EMPLOYED WERE BRUTALLY EFFICIENT: IMMEDIATE AND MASSIVE RETALIATION. WHEN THE EPL KILLED A WELL-KNOWN KIDNAPPED RANCHER, 15 LOCAL LABOR LEADERS WERE KILLED THE VERY NEXT DAY. (THE BANK TELLERS UNION, FOR EXAMPLE, WAS EPL-AFFILIATED, TELLERS ALLEGEDLY IDENTIFIED PERSONS WHO WERE LOOKING TO ABANDON THE AREA AFTER HAVING DEPOSITED LARGE SUMS OF CASH FROM THE SALES OF THEIR FARMS; THE EPL THEN KIDNAPPED THEM.) EVERY TIME THE EPL KIDNAPPED, [REDACTED] AND OTHERS EXPLAINED, 15 TO 20 PRESUMED EPL SUPPORTERS DIED. PRETTY SOON, THE EPL SAW THE DIMINISHING RETURNS AND CEASED, MOVING TO CATTLE-RUSTLING INSTEAD -- ONLY TO GIVE UP ON THAT AS WELL WHEN THE RANCHERS PURSUED A "ZERO TOLERANCE" POLICY WITH ANYONE WHO BOUGHT STOLEN CATTLE.

1.4(D)

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9. (S) THE 1990-92 WAR AGAINST THE EPL CAME "AT A VERY HIGH SOCIAL COST", [REDACTED] "WITH LOTS OF DEATHS AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ON ALL SIDES." IN THE END, THOUGH, UPWARDS OF 1500 ARMED EPL SURRENDERED IN CORDOBA DEPARTMENT ALONE WHEN A PEACE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED IN 1992. ON ITS OWN INITIATIVE, THE CORDOBA RANCHERS ASSOCIATION ("FEGACOR"), THROUGH THE FOUNDATION FOR PEACE IN CORDOBA ("FUNPAZCOR"), FREELY

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PROVIDED 10,000 HECTARES OF FARM AND CATTLE-GRAZING LANDS TO THE "REINSERTED" EPL. WHERE ARE THEY NOW?, ASKED POLOFF. SOME ARE NOW IN THE POLICE AND SOME ARE IN THE ARMY; OTHERS HAVE JOINED THE PARAMILITARIES. STILL OTHERS ARE FARMERS, CATTLEMEN OR HAVE GONE INTO PRIVATE BUSINESS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE DEPARTMENT. MOST RECENTLY, ANOTHER 225 EPL "DISSIDENTS" SURRENDERED -- NOT TO THE GOVERNMENT, BUT DIRECTLY TO [REDACTED] - IN EARLY 1998.

1.4(D)

... AND TODAY

10. (S) BUT THE FARC HAS YET TO BE TAUGHT THE SAME LESSON. (NOTE: AFTER BEING ROUTED FROM THE REGION IN THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, THE FARC IS CURRENTLY ATTEMPTING A RETURN TO THE DEPARTMENT, WITH SEVERAL MILITARY FRONTS PUSHING BACK INTO SOUTHWESTERN CORDOBA FROM ANTIOQUIA DEPARTMENT. END NOTE.) THE RANCHER CONFESSED MATTER-OF-FACTLY THAT HE AND FELLOW RANCHERS WERE BEHIND THE RECENT KILLINGS OF SIX LOCAL BUTCHERS, WHO HAD SLAUGHTERED STEERS RUSTLED BY THE FARC. "ZERO TOLERANCE", HE SAID (IN ENGLISH). PEOPLE NEED TO KNOW, HE EXPLAINED DRILY, THAT BUSINESS DEALINGS INVOLVING STOLEN PROPERTY, THE FARC, OR BOTH, ARE JUST NOT ACCEPTABLE.

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AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY MEXICO

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SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12958: DECL: X6(1.6)

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11. (S) [REDACTED] NOTED THAT THE LAST TIME THE FARC INITIATED LOCAL URBAN TERRORISM WAS IN 1996. THERE WERE A HIGH NUMBER OF CIVILIAN CASUALTIES, HE SAID, WHEN THE CATTLEMAN'S ASSOCIATION WAS CAR-BOMBED, AS WAS THE DEPARTMENTAL ASSEMBLY BUILDING. FUNPAZCOR'S HEADQUARTERS (DIRECTLY ACROSS THE STREET FROM THE MAIN POLICE STATION) WAS BOMBED TWICE.

1.4(D)

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] THE "AUTO-DEFENSAS" SUBSEQUENTLY TRACKED DOWN AND KILLED 14 PRESUMED FARC EXPLOSIVES EXPERTS -- AND THE TERROR CAMPAIGN CEASED.

1.4(D)

12. (S) URBAN MONTERIA HAS BEEN QUIET EVER SINCE. [REDACTED] EXPLAINED (AND OTHERS CONFIRMED) THAT BUSINESS GROUPS KILLED OFF THE FARC'S URBAN "MILICIANOS," AND THAT SOME "SOCIAL CLEANSING" HAD BEEN CONDUCTED (AND CONTINUES OCCASIONALLY) AGAINST BEGGARS AND OTHER "UNDESIRABLES." THE PROOF IT HAS WORKED, HE NOTED WITH CIVIC PRIDE, IS THAT DESPITE 40,000 URBAN INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS (WHO HAVE FLED TO MONTERIA TO ESCAPE VIOLENCE IN OTHER DEPARTMENTS), DEPRESSED COTTON PRICES, LITTLE LOCAL INDUSTRY, 60

1.4(D)

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PERCENT OF THE POPULATION "LIVING IN MISERY", AND AN 18 PERCENT UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, THERE IS VERY LITTLE CRIME -- AND ZERO BEGGING -- IN TOWN. STILL, HE ARGUED, THESE ARE NOT "DEATH SQUADS IN THE CLASSICAL SENSE". THAT, HE SAID, IS USUALLY THE POLICE

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THEMSELVES: SUCH AS IN THE RECENT KILLINGS OF ALL MEMBERS OF A GANG THAT ROBBED HOUSES -- "AND NO ONE COMPLAINS."

THE PARAS' INTERNATIONAL TIES

13. (S) THE PARAMILITARIES HAVE ALLEGEDLY RECEIVED MATERIAL, TRAINING AND IDEOLOGICAL SUPPORT FROM A VARIETY OF FOREIGN SOURCES, INCLUDING AMERICANS. [REDACTED] NOTED THAT, WHILE MUCH ATTENTION HAS BEEN FOCUSED ON TRAINING PROVIDED IN THE LATE 1980S/EARLY 1990S BY [REDACTED]

1.4(D)

1.4(D)

[REDACTED] THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL "MORE IMPORTANT" ROUNDS OF FOREIGN TRAINING SINCE THEN. TWO OTHER ISRAELI TEAMS HAVE TRAINED THE PARAMILITARIES IN THE PAST FEW YEARS, HE SAID, AS HAD A TEAM LED BY A RETIRED FRENCH ARMY GENERAL. (NOTE: THE FORMATION OR TRAINING OF PARAMILITARY GROUPS IN COLOMBIA HAS BEEN ILLEGAL EVER SINCE THE PROMULGATION OF DECREE 180 OF 1988, IF NOT BEFORE. END NOTE.)

1.4(D)

14. (S) CARLOS CASTANO WAS AN AVID READER OF MILITARY HISTORY, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WHILE [REDACTED] THAT TWO AMERICAN MERCENARIES ("FROM 'SOLDIER OF FORTUNE' MAGAZINE, BOULDER, COLORADO") HAD JOINED THE "PEPES" ORGANIZATION DURING THE EARLY 1990S FIGHT AGAINST PABLO ESCOBAR, HE STATED THAT HE WAS UNAWARE OF ANY CURRENT U.S. MERCENARY INVOLVEMENT WITH ACCU. "BUT THEN, I'M NOT PRIVY TO EVERY SINGLE THING ACCU DOES." HE

1.4(D)

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RECOMMENDED POLOFF READ 'SOF' MAGAZINE, WHOSE JOURNALISTS HAVE COME THROUGH REPEATEDLY IN RECENT MONTHS; THERE COULD WELL BE U.S. CITIZEN TRAINERS, HE SURMISED, THAT HE WAS UNAWARE OF.

15. (S) DURING A TIRADE AGAINST THE "REACTIVE AND INEFFECTIVE COLOMBIAN ARMY", [REDACTED]

1.4(D)

ANGRILY LAMENTED THAT "NOT ONE GODDAMNED HELICOPTER WE HAVE BEEN USING IN THE SOUTH OF BOLIVAR (IN THE ACCU FIGHT AGAINST THE ELN) HAS COME FROM THE ARMY. NOT ONE." (NOTE: THE ACCU/AUC FORCES HAVE BEEN USING HELICOPTERS TO GREAT EFFECT IN THEIR FIGHT TO CONQUER THE ELN'S SANCTUARIES IN SOUTHERN BOLIVAR. THE HELOS HAVE BEEN USED CHIEFLY FOR WEAPONS AND AMMO RESUPPLIES, COMMAND MOBILITY, AIRBORNE SURVEILLANCE AND MEDEVAC PURPOSES. END NOTE.)

16. (S) INSTEAD, [REDACTED] THE HELICOPTERS "HAVE EITHER BEEN COMMERCIALY CONTRACTED LOCALLY, [REDACTED]

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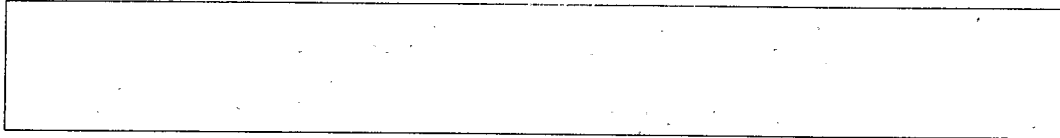
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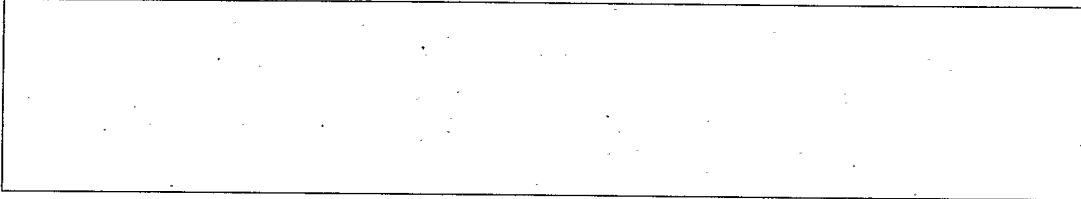
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 AMEMBASSY LIMA
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS
 AMEMBASSY PANAMA
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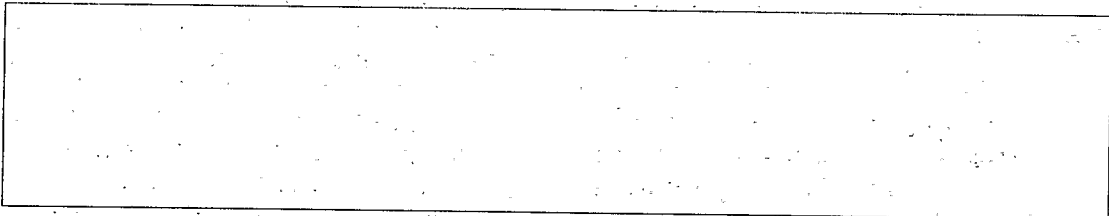
SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12958: DECL: X6(1.6)

TAGS: PINS, SNAR, PTER, ECON, PHUM, MASS, ASEC, PGOV, PINR, CO

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(PART II OF TRIP REPORT TO MONTERIA, A COLOMBIAN "PARA"-DISE)

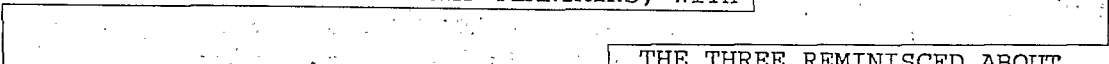
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1.4(D)

PABLO ESCOBAR AND THE NARCO WARS

18. (S) POLOFF WAS A FLY ON THE WALL FOR A SURREAL ENCOUNTER, OVER SCRAMBLED EGGS AND FRIED PLANTAINS, WITH



1.4(D)

THE THREE REMINISCED ABOUT PAST BATTLES, SWAPPING "WAR STORIES" (LITERALLY), AND, FROM THEIR VARIOUS PERSPECTIVES, ATTEMPTING TO EDUCATE POLOFF ABOUT THE HISTORY OF THE LOCAL CONFLICTS AND THE ROLE OF NARCOTICS IN THOSE CONFLICTS.

19. (S) THE GUERRILLA WAR IN CORDOBA FACILITATED THE ARRIVAL OF NARCO-TRAFFICKERS TO THE REGION. AS THE GUERRILLA VIOLENCE INCREASED IN THE LATE 1980S AND EARLY '90S, LOCAL FARMERS AND

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RANCHERS ABANDONED THE AREA IN DROVES, SELLING CHEAP TO RICH NARCOS WHO WERE ALL TOO HAPPY TO LEGITIMIZE THEMSELVES, IN THE COLOMBIAN TRADITION, BY BECOMING LARGE LANDOWNERS. THE OCHOA FAMILY (OF MEDELLIN CARTEL INFAMY) BOUGHT EXTENSIVE LAND-HOLDINGS AND OTHER INVESTMENTS IN THE AREA, AS DID RANCHER AND NARCO FIDEL CASTANO (THE OLDER BROTHER, NOW GENERALLY PRESUMED DEAD, OF ACCU'S CARLOS CASTANO).

20. (S) THE NARCO-TIES OF MANY WERE NOT KNOWN DEFINITELY WHEN THEY FIRST MOVED TO THE AREA, BUT THEIR WEALTH MADE THEM A NATURAL TARGET FOR THE GUERRILLAS -- AND ALLIES OF THE ALREADY-FORMED LOCAL "AUTO-DEFENSAS". THE DISPLACED RANCHERS, HOWEVER, CLEARLY HAD -- AND HAVE -- THEIR DIFFERENCES WITH THE NEWLY-ARRIVED NARCO-RICH. WHILE THERE IS LITTLE COCA CULTIVATION IN THE AREA, MANY OF THE NARCOS USED THEIR RANCHES FOR CLANDESTINE

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AIRSTRIPS, MOVING COCAINE OUT OF COLOMBIA ON ITS WAY TO U.S. AND WORLD MARKETS.

21. (S) BUT THERE ARE NARCOS, AND THEN THERE ARE NARCOS. PABLO ESCOBAR'S ALL-OUT WAGING OF WAR AGAINST THE STATE WAS SIMPLY UNACCEPTABLE BY ANY MEASURE TO THE CONSERVATIVE-MINDED FOLK OF CORDOBA (INCLUDING THE CASTANO BROTHERS). ESCOBAR HEAVILY TAXED ALL THE OTHER NARCOS, KILLING THOSE WHO REFUSED TO PAY. HE HIRED THE ELN FOR EIGHT YEARS TO WAGE WAR FOR HIM, PLANTING BOMBS, WORKING WITH MEDELLIN BASQUE DESCENDANTS AND THE SPANISH "ETA" TERRORIST GROUP, AND EVEN WORKING JOINTLY WITH NARCO-PARAMILITARIES IN ASSAULTS AGAINST THE STATE.

[REDACTED]

1.4(D)

HE ALSO HIRED THE INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST "CARLOS, THE JACKAL," SAID [REDACTED] TO KILL PRESIDENT

1.4(D)

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PAGE 04 BOGOTA 14108 04 OF 04 291944Z GEORGE BUSH AND TO BOMB THE UN HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK. WHILE "THE JACKAL" VISITED MONTERIA TWICE, [REDACTED] SAID, THE PLOTS WERE NEVER CONSUMMATED.

1.4(D)

22. (S) BY THIS TIME, FIDEL CASTANO, AFTER HAVING ALREADY BEATEN THE EPL, HAD 2,000 PARAMILITARIES WORKING FOR HIM IN THE CORDOBA AND URABA REGIONS. SAYING "ENOUGH IS ENOUGH," HE TURNED HIS SIGHTS AGAINST PABLO ESCOBAR, HIS FORMER NARCO-ASSOCIATE, AND BECAME THE MILITARY LEADER OF "THE PEPES", "THOSE PERSECUTED BY PABLO ESCOBAR". (YOUNGER BROTHER CARLOS -- NOW HEAD OF THE ACCU -- SERVED AS "PEPES" CHIEF OF INTELLIGENCE.) "EVERYONE WORKED WITH THE PEPES," THE THREE TOLD POLOFF, "THE AUTO-DEFENSAS, THE POLICE, THE ARMY, THE DEA, TWO MERCENARIES RECRUITED VIA 'SOLDIER OF FORTUNE' MAGAZINE, EVERYONE." FIDEL CASTANO TURNED ESCOBAR'S RULES AGAINST HIM, DECLARING A MORATORIUM ON ASSISTANCE TO ESCOBAR. "ANYONE WHO PAYS TAXES TO ESCOBAR, I KILL." HE THEN PROCEEDED TO DO SO. WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE POLICE, FIDEL WIPED OUT ALL THE ESCOBAR-RELATED NARCOS IN MONTERIA AND CORDOBA.

ISSUES IN PART III

23. (S) IN THE NEXT INSTALLMENT: REGIONAL ISSUES ALONG COLOMBIA'S NORTH COAST, INCLUDING, NARCOTICS-TRAFFICKING TODAY; THE ROLE OF THE ARMED FORCES AGAINST NARCOS, PARAMILITARIES AND GUERRILLAS; THE PARAMILITARY OFFENSIVES IN THE REGION, AND THE REASONING BEHIND THEIR CALL FOR NATIONAL PEACE ACCORDS. KAMMAN

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