Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada

Responses to Information Requests

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COL105467.E

Colombia: Activities of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia, FARC), including information on criminal activities, and particularly in Bogotá and Cali; state response, including new strategies (2012-April 2016)
Research Directorate, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, Ottawa

1. Overview


An academic research project entitled Mapping Militant Organizations, based at Stanford University, characterizes FARC as "a Marxist-Lenin[ist] guerrilla group founded in the 1960s to overthrow the Colombian government and seize control of the country" (Mapping Militant Organizations 15 Aug. 2015). Insight Crime, a foundation dedicated to studying organized crime in Latin America and the Caribbean (Insight Crime n.d.a), describes FARC as "the biggest irregular army in Colombia" and the "oldest and most important guerilla group in the Western Hemisphere" (ibid. n.d.b). The same source notes that FARC is involved in a "50-year-old war against the government," financed through "kidnapping, extortion, and participating in the drug trade" (ibid.). Similarly, El Tiempo, a Bogotá-based newspaper, characterizes FARC as the largest guerilla group in Colombia, stating that it has engaged in attacks against civilians, including killings, kidnappings and bombings (n.d.).

According to a media source, Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos indicated in March 2013 that FARC had 7,800 members (AP 12 March 2013) and, according to another media source, said in September 2013 that it had [translation] "less than 7,000 men" (Semana 24 Sept. 2013). RCN Televisión, a Colombian television network of national reach, reports that according to an estimate by military intelligence, FARC had 6,700 combatants in 2014, a 66% reduction since 2002 (n.d.). Corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

Insight Crime indicates that FARC is "a complex group with a well-defined structure and line of command... the geography and size of Colombia has made it nearly impossible for the central command, known as the Secretariat, to exercise control over the whole organization, which is broken up into fronts" (n.d.b). The International Crisis Group similarly states that in FARC, "[i]nternal dynamics... constrain the control leaders... can exercise over their troops on the ground" (2 July 2015, 9). For more information on FARC's military structure, see Response to Information Request COL103709. For maps of the geographic zones that FARC military structure covers, see Attachments 1, 2 and 3.

Sources indicate that the leader of FARC is Rodrigo Londoño Echeverry [Echeverri], aliases Timochenko (InSight Crime n.d.b.; El Tiempo n.d.) and Timoléon Jiménez (ibid.). For more information on Timochenko and other members of FARC Secretariat, see Response to Information Request COL103910.
2. Peace Process

Sources indicate that in 2012, the Colombian government and FARC started peace negotiations (Insight Crime n.d.b; UN 25 Jan. 2016; BBC 24 Sept. 2015). Sources also report that the parties have reached agreement on land reform, political participation of the rebels, illicit drugs, transitional justice (ibid.; UN 25 Jan. 2016) and victims' rights (ibid.). Sources further indicate that in January 2016, the negotiating parties agreed to ask the UN to mandate a political mission to monitor a bilateral ceasefire and the laying down of arms after a peace agreement is reached (RCN Radio 19 Jan 2016; Milenio 20 Jan 2016; BBC 19 Jan. 2016). A UN News Centre article reports that the Security Council approved this plan on 25 January 2016 (UN 25 Jan. 2016).

Sources indicate that the agreed-upon deadline for reaching a final peace agreement was 23 March 2016 (El Universal 23 Sept. 2015; AFP 17 Nov. 2015; BBC 24 Sept. 2015). However, sources report that on 23 March 2016, the chief negotiator for the Colombian government stated that important differences between the parties remained, and that the peace agreement could not be signed by the set date (El Heraldo 24 March 2016; RCN Radio 23 March 2016; BBC 24 March 2016). BBC notes that the parties "said they would strive to reach a deal by the end of the year" (ibid.). Corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

2.1 Ceasefires and De-escalation

Sources report that a unilateral ceasefire announced by FARC in December 2014 was followed by a de-escalation, and a suspension of air strikes by the government; air strikes were resumed when FARC killed 11 soldiers (BBC 8 July 2015; International Crisis Group 2 July 2015, 3) in Buenos Aires, department of Cauca, on 14 April 2015 (ibid.). El Universal, a Cartagena-based daily newspaper, indicates that approximately 20 soldiers were injured during the attack (16 Apr. 2015). International Crisis Group reports that in May 2015, an army bombardment in retaliation to FARC's killing of 11 soldiers in Cauca in April 2015 killed 26 FARC members (International Crisis Group 2 July 2015, 3). BBC reports that FARC responded by suspending its ceasefire on 22 May 2015 (BBC 8 July 2015). The same source noted on 8 July 2015 that both FARC attacks and offensives by government forces had since then intensified (ibid.).

Sources indicate that FARC announced a unilateral ceasefire starting on 20 July 2015, the sixth one since the start of the peace negotiations (AP and Agencia EFE 20 July 2015; Semana 19 July 2015). The Peace and Reconciliation Foundation (Fundación Paz y Reconciliación), a Bogotá-based not-for-profit organization that aims to generate knowledge to contribute to public debates (Fundación Paz y Reconciliación n.d.), notes that of the six unilateral ceasefires, two were indefinite, namely those that started on 20 December 2014 and 20 July 2015, while four had fixed beginning and end dates (ibid. 25 Nov. 2015, 4). Sources report that after FARC's announcement of a sixth ceasefire, the Colombian government stated that military actions would de-escalate, provided FARC upheld its ceasefire (Reuters 12 July 2015; AP and Agencia EFE 20 July 2015). Sources indicate that on 25 July 2015, President Santos announced a suspension of air strikes on FARC camps (BBC 26 July 2015; El Heraldo 26 July 2015).

The Conflict Analysis Resource Center (Centro de Recursos para el Análisis de Conflictos, CERAC), a Bogotá-based "independent" non-profit research center focused on the analysis of armed violence and conflict (CERAC n.d.), monitored the [translation] "bilateral de-escalation" and reports that the period between 20 July 2015 and 20 March 2016 has been "the least intense period in the 51-year history of the conflict" (ibid. 22 March 2016, 1–2). On 22 March 2016, the same source reported that 113 consecutive days without offensive action by FARC had passed, and the previous day had marked 110 consecutive days without clashes between security forces and FARC (ibid., 1). The Peace and Reconciliation Foundation indicates that, based on the data collected by the organization, the average number of armed activities by FARC has reduced from 179 per month in 2011 to 98 per month in 2014 and to 50.7 per month in 2015, noting that 2014 has been [translation] "one of the most peaceful years in recent history, [and] 2015 has pretty much been the year with the lowest armed conflict intensity in 35 years" (Fundación Paz y Reconciliación 25 Nov. 2015, 10). Without providing further details, the US Department of State's Country Reports on Terrorism 2014 notes that according to Colombian government statistics, the number of FARC attacks decreased in 2014 compared to 2013 (US June 2015, 266).

3. FARC Activity

Foundation Ideas for Peace (Fundación Ideas para la Paz, FIP), a Bogotá-based "independent think tank" that seeks to generate knowledge and ideas for peace in Colombia (FIP n.d.), states that FARC no longer has the capacity to affect major cities and the political and administrative centres in Colombia, and that their activities are focused on [translation] "the periphery" (ibid. 18 Nov. 2013, 1, 4). Similarly, the International Crisis Group notes that "the conflict's direct impact has been fading [in major urban areas] as hostilities move
further into the periphery” (2 July 2015, 11). The New Rainbow Corporation (Corporación Nuevo Arco Iris, CNAI), a Bogotá-based organization that produces analysis and initiatives for peacebuilding (CNAI n.d.), noted in March 2013 that FARC hostilities in the periphery increased after government offensives forced FARC to retreat and concentrate in the departments of Cauca, Meta, Caquetá, Arauca and Norte de Santander, and stated that FARC [translation] "is losing the war in the centre of the country" (ibid. 7 Mar. 2013).

3.1 Human Rights Abuses and Attacks Against Civilians

In its Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2014, the US Department of State reports that in 2014, FARC was implicated in unlawful killings; kidnapping; killing, threatening and displacing educators; child recruitment; threatening and killing of government officials; forced conscription and forced labour, particularly in coca cultivation and illegal mining (US 25 June 2015, 4-5, 21, 23, 27, 35, 58). Similarly, in its annual report for 2015, Human Rights Watch indicates the following:

FARC guerrillas continue to attack civilians, although credible evidence suggests that abuses decreased during two unilateral ceasefires agreed on with the government starting in late 2014. There are credible reports that FARC continued to engage in serious abuses, including killings, forced displacement, and threats against civilians in the municipality of Tumaco [department of Nariño] in 2015. (Human Rights Watch 27 Jan. 2016, 2).

Human Rights Watch also states having "documented a wide range of abuses" in 2013 and 2014 in Tumaco, including "killings, disappearances, kidnapping, torture, forced displacement, attempted forced recruitment, planting landmines, extortion, death threats against community leaders," with "compelling evidence" that these were committed by FARC, and notes that "[o]fficial data" indicates that sexual violence was committed by FARC in Tumaco over the same period (ibid. 30 July 2014). Sources also report on alleged forced abortion for female FARC members (US 25 June 2015, 23, 42; Thomson Reuters Foundation 11 Dec. 2015).

In its annual report for 2015, Amnesty International (AI) similarly indicates that "[g]uerrilla groups" were responsible for human rights abuses in Colombia in 2015, "including unlawful killings and indiscriminate attacks that placed civilians at risk" (AI 23 Feb. 2016). The same source notes an incident in which an "Afro-descendant community leader" was killed by the FARC in Tumaco on 3 August 2015; FARC had threatened in October 2014 that they would kill him if he continued to be the leader of a community council (ibid.). AI also indicates that "[l]andmines, mostly laid by the FARC, continued to kill and maim civilians and members of the security forces" in 2015 (ibid.). Corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

Country Reports on Terrorism 2014 indicates that "civilian casualties occurred throughout" 2014 during attacks by militant groups, including by FARC (US June 2015, 266). According to sources that reported on the day of the incident, on 16 January 2014, a FARC bomb exploded in Pradera [department of Valle del Cauca], killing 2 people and injuring "more than" 56 (Colombia Reports 16 Jan. 2014) or killing 1 and injuring 56 (El Espectador 16 Jan. 2014). El Espectador, a Bogotá-based newspaper, adds that amongst the injured were two "uniformed" people and three minors (ibid.). Corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response. Sources also report on the killing on 5 November 2014 of two indigenous leaders by FARC in Toribío [department of Cauca] for opposing the installation of a sign honouring a late FARC leader (ibid. 5 Nov. 2014) or for taking it down (Semana 5 Nov. 2014; US June 2015, 267).

3.2 Attacks Against Security Forces

Country Reports on Terrorism 2014 indicates that in 2014, FARC's "most common" targets were security forces and government buildings (ibid., 266). On 2 June 2015, Semana, a Bogotá-based weekly news magazine, reported that FARC had been carrying out attacks against security forces in the department of Cauca under the name "Pistol Plan" (Plan Pistola).

Sources report the following incident of an attack against the military attributed to FARC:

- an attack on 19 December 2014, following a bombing of a highway in the department of Cauca, killed five soldiers and wounded seven (Reuters 19 December 2014).

Sources also report incidents of attacks against the police attributed to FARC, including the following:

- a 17 July 2015 assault with explosives and guns on a police station in the northern part of Cauca department, which left two police officers wounded (El Espectador 17 July 2015);
- a killing of a police officer in Miranda, department of Cauca, on 2 June 2015 (Semana 2 June 2015);
• an attack on 22 November 2014 on Gorgona Island, 35 kilometers off the Colombian Pacific coast, which killed the island's police commander and injured six police officers (US June 2015, 267);
• an attack on 16 September 2014 on a patrol in the department of Córdoba, killing seven police officers and injuring five (ibid., 266);
• a bomb attack on a police patrol in Guapi, in the department of Cauca, during the night from 24 to 25 March 2014, which killed one police officer and injured eight (El País 24 Mar. 2014) or nine (Colombia Reports 24 Mar. 2014);
• a kidnapping and killing of two police officers near Tumaco on 22 March 2014 (US June 2015, 266; Colombia Reports 24 Mar. 2014). Sources indicate that FARC admitted responsibility for this incident (ibid.; US June 2015, 266);
• a grenade attack on a police patrol in Tumaco in November 2013 that injured 11 people, including four girls who were leaving school (RCN Televisión 7 Nov. 2013).

Information on attacks against security forces in Bogotá could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response. Information on FARC attacks against security forces in Cali was scarce among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response. On 19 July 2015, Radio RCN, a Colombian radio network with national coverage, reported on an attack with an explosive device in Cali against the army's third brigade base; according to military sources, this attack [translation] "seemed" to have been perpetrated by two FARC members (RCN Radio 19 July 2015).

3.3 Attacks Against Infrastructure

The Peace and Reconciliation Foundation gives the opinion that since 2008, FARC's military strategy changed to [translation] "sabotaging" energy infrastructure such as oil pipelines and electricity towers (Fundación Paz y Reconciliación 25 Nov. 2015, 11-12). In a report that provides an overview of illegal activities in Colombia in 2013 and 2014, the Free Country Foundation (Fundación País Libre), a Bogotá-based NGO dedicated to [translation] "preventing and combatting kidnapping, extortion, forced disappearance, and other abuses against personal freedom" (Fundación País Libre n.d.), indicates that FARC was responsible for 26 attacks against the oil infrastructure between January and September 2013 and 34 such attacks between January and September 2014 (ibid. Dec. 2014, 38). International Crisis Group similarly notes that after ending the ceasefire in May 2015, FARC used attacks against the oil and energy infrastructure (2 July 2015, 3-4). Sources report FARC attacks on infrastructure, including the following incidents:

• an attack on an electricity tower in Tumaco on 2 June 2015 (Semana 2 June 2015; El Tiempo 3 June 2015);
• an attack on an oil pipeline in Tumaco in June 2015 (ibid. 9 July 2015; Human Rights Watch 27 Jan. 2016, 2);
• a bombing of an electricity tower near Buenaventura [department of Nariño] on 31 May 2015 (El Espectador 31 May 2015; El Tiempo 31 May 2015; Semana 2 June 2015);
• a bombing of the Pan-American highway in Caldono, department of Cauca, on 19 December 2014 (Colombia Reports 19 Dec. 2014);
• a bombing of the Pan-American highway in Caloto, department of Cauca, on 4 December 2014 (ibid. 5 Dec. 2014).

Colombia Reports, a Medellín-based English news source (Colombia Reports n.d.), further notes that the Pan-American Highway was targeted by FARC "several times" in 2014 (ibid. 5 Dec. 2014). Corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

Information on FARC attacks against infrastructure in Bogotá could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response. Information on FARC attacks against infrastructure in Cali was scarce among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response. On 18 July 2015, El Espectador reported that an army general stated that the army had disabled a FARC bomb placed to destroy an electricity tower located in the southwestern part of Cali (El Espectador 18 Jul. 2015).

3.4 Extortion

The Wilson Center, a US-based "non-partisan policy forum" on global issues (Wilson Center n.d.), indicates that FARC engages in extortion against energy companies and their contractors as well as other businesses (ibid. Nov. 2014, 10). In a report on gold, organized crime and guerrillas in the Quibdó region [department of Chocó], FIP notes that an attack by FARC in the first half of 2014 suggests that the militant organization is involved in extortion against people working in the gold trade (July 2015, 4). According to
CERAC, the organization continues to register reports of extortion by FARC during the bilateral de-escalation period from 20 July 2015 until 20 March 2016 (22 Mar. 2016, 3). Similarly, on 1 November 2015, Caracol Radio, a Bogotá-based radio station, quoted the Colombian Minister of Defense as stating that, in spite of the unilateral ceasefire, FARC had continued to engage in extortion (1 Nov. 2015). Sources report alleged incidents of extortion, including the following:

- On 19 February 2016, RCN Televisión cited a report by the Chamber of Commerce of Florencia that states that FARC has extorted money from farmers and milk producers in the department of Caquetá in 2015 (RCN Televisión 19 Feb. 2016);
- On 12 December 2014, Semana cited the mayor of San Vicente del Caguán as stating that FARC extorts money from the population (Semana 12 Dec. 2014);
- On 27 September 2015, Noticias RCN noted that according to the Chamber of Commerce in Caquetá, FARC engages in extortion in Caquetá, specifically targeting state contractors and medium-sized businesses (RCN Televisión 27 Sept. 2015);
- Radio RCN reports that in July 2015, two alleged FARC members were captured for attempting to extort money from the mayor of Campamento, department of Antioquia (RCN Radio 14 July 2015).

Without providing further details, Free Country Foundation reports that data from the Ministry of National Defense (Ministerio de Defensa Nacional) indicates that FARC engaged in 419 cases of extortion in 2013, and 408 in 2014 (Fundación País Libre Dec. 2014, 15). Corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

Information on FARC activities involving extortion in Bogotá or Cali could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

3.5 Drug Trade

In its 2015 National Drug Threat Assessment, the US Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) notes that "[i]nvestigative reporting indicates a working relationship between multiple FARC fronts and Mexican [transnational criminal organizations] to smuggle ton quantities of cocaine into the United States" (US Oct. 2015, 5). According to reports by the DEA, there is "a business relationship" for cocaine trafficking between the criminal group Los Urabeños and FARC (ibid., 5). El Tiempo quotes a Colombian army commander as stating that drug trafficking is one of the main sources of income for FARC (El Tiempo 19 Aug. 2015). Similarly, in a 2013 article, El Colombiano, an Antioquia-based newspaper, reports that Colombian and US governmental sources have accused FARC of using the drug trade to finance its operations (El Colombiano 25 Sept. 2013). The same source notes that the Colombian antinarcotics police accused FARC of involvement in all stages of the drug trade, from coca production, to synthesis, to distribution, including with trafficking cartels (ibid.). However, in the same article, a FARC representative is cited denying FARC's involvement in the drug trade (ibid.). Insight Crime indicates that FARC denies direct involvement in the cocaine production and trade, but does admit to "taxing" it (26 May 2014). On 16 May 2014, a joint press release by FARC and the Colombian Government stated that as part of the peace negotiations, both parties had agreed to a program to combat drug trafficking, including crop substitution and public health education to prevent drug addiction, and that FARC had committed to cut all ties to the drug trade once a peace agreement is in place (Colombia and FARC 16 May 2014).

Information on FARC activities involving the drug trade in Bogotá and Cali could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response. For information on the Urabeños, see Response to Information Request COL105044.

3.6 Kidnapping

Sources indicate that in February 2012, FARC announced that it was abandoning its practice of kidnapping for ransom (Reuters 27 Feb 2012; BBC 27 Feb, 2012; Semana 26 Feb. 2012). However, the Wilson Center indicates that although FARC "largely gave up" kidnapping in 2012, the Colombian National Police attributed 14 kidnappings, between January and July 2014, to FARC (Wilson Center Nov. 2014, 10). Without providing further details, the Free Country Foundation notes that data from the Ministry of National Defense indicates that FARC kidnapped 23 people in 2013 and 22 in 2014 (Fundación País Libre Dec. 2014, 9).

Sources report that on 16 November 2014, in the department of Chocó, FARC kidnapped army general Rubén Darío Alzate along with two others (AFP 22 Nov. 2014; The Guardian 17 Nov. 2014; El Tiempo 17 Nov. 2014). Sources report that in response to the general's kidnapping, President Santos suspended the peace talks (ibid.; The Guardian 17 Nov. 2014; El Colombiano 17 Nov. 2014). Sources further report that FARC released the general and the other two hostages two weeks later, and that the parties agreed to resume peace talks in December 2014 (El Espectador 3 Dec. 2014; The Economist 6 Dec. 2014). Sources note that in
addition, two soldiers were kidnapped in the department of Arauca on 9 November 2014 (El Tiempo 17 Nov. 2014; AFP 22 Nov. 2014). The Economist notes that the two soldiers were released earlier than the general (6 Dec. 2014).

Information on FARC activities involving kidnapping in Bogotá and Cali could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

4. State Response

Agence France-Presse (AFP) indicates that President Santos has stated that military offensives against FARC would continue until a peace agreement is reached (AFP 14 July 2014). Similarly, according to sources, President Santos has referred to this strategy as negotiating in the midst of conflict (AFP 30 Nov. 2014; El Espectador 24 May 2015; BBC 30 Nov. 2014).

The President's office reports that between 21 May and 17 June 2015, 278 guerrilla members were [translation] "neutralized," 184 captured, 40 demobilized and 54 killed (Colombia 18 June 2015). Further information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

Sources report several incidences of Colombian military activities against FARC, including the following:

- in mid-July 2014, 14 FARC members were killed in fighting that was part of a "sustained and continuous operation" in the northwest of Colombia (AFP 14 July 2014);
- in late January 2014, the Colombian military announced that in operations in Valle del Cauca and Antioquia, it had killed two and injured three FARC members thought to be the perpetrators of the January 2014 bomb attack in the city of Pradera (Colombia Reports 27 Jan. 2014).
- On 21 January 2014, "at least" seven FARC members were killed and five captured in an operation in the department of Tolima, in central Colombia (AFP 21 Jan. 2014);
- on 19 January 2014, 11 FARC members were killed by an air force bombardment in Tame, Arauca (Colombia Reports 20 Jan. 2014);
- on the weekend of 18 and 19 January 2014, 14 FARC members were killed near the Venezuelan border (AFP 21 Jan. 2014).

CERAC indicates that since the start of the de-escalation, on 20 July 2015, no state activities violating the de-escalation commitments were registered (22 Mar. 2016, 1). Corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

Information on the state response to FARC's criminal activity was scarce among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response. AFP indicates that on 15 March 2016, authorities announced the capture of eight FARC members, wanted in connection to crimes including drug trafficking, extortion, arms trafficking and handling of explosive devices (AFP 15 March 2016). Corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

Information on state response to FARC activity in Bogotá could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response. Information on the state response to FARC activities in Cali was scarce among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response. Sources report that after a two-year investigation, security forces announced the arrest of two members of a support network of FARC in Cali (Caracol Televisión 16 Oct. 2015; El País 15 Oct. 2015) on 15 October 2015 (ibid.). The same sources note that the authorities identified one as the head of the terrorist support network for FARC, and the other as the coordinator of FARC terrorist actions in Cali (ibid.; Caracol Noticias 16 Oct. 2015).

This Response was prepared after researching publicly accessible information currently available to the Research Directorate within time constraints. This Response is not, and does not purport to be, conclusive as to the merit of any particular claim for refugee protection. Please find below the list of sources consulted in researching this Information Request.

Note

[1] FARC is also known as "Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo, FARC-EP), National Finance Commission (Comisión Nacional de Finanzas) and Coordinadora Nacional Guerillera Simon Bolivar (CNSGB)" (Canada 20 Nov. 2014).

References


_____. 22 November 2014. "FARC to Free Colombian General, Others Next Week." (Factiva)


_____. 21 January 2014. "Seven Guerillas Killed Colombia Clash: Military." (Factiva)


_____ 5 December 2014. David Wing. "Pan-American Highway Closed After 'FARC Bombing'." (Factiva)

_____ 24 March 2014. Larisa Sioneriu. "9 Injured, 1 Police Officer Dead Following Alleged FARC Bombing in Southwestern Colombia." (Factiva)

_____ 27 January 2014. Mimi Yagoub. "Western Colombia Bomb Attackers Captured and Killed by Armed Forces." (Factiva)


Additional Sources Consulted

**Internet sites, including:** Colombia – Ministerio de Defensa Nacional, Policía Nacional; ecol.net; *El Diario Nacional*; Factiva; Freedom House; Institute for War and Peace Reporting; Instituto de Estudios para el Desarrollo y la Paz; IRIN; *Jane’s Intelligence Review*; *La República*; Latin America Weekly Report; Minority Rights Group International; North American Congress on Latin America; Transparency International; UN – Development Program, High Commissioner for Refugees, Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Office on Drugs and Crime, Refworld, Reliefweb, UN Women; Washington Office on Latin America.

**Attachments**

