

**Refugee Review Tribunal  
AUSTRALIA**

**RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE**

**Research Response Number:** COL33340  
**Country:** Colombia  
**Date:** 19 May 2008

Keywords: Colombia –Bolivarian Movement – Uribe government – FARC – Paramilitary groups

This response was prepared by the Research & Information Services Section of the Refugee Review Tribunal (RRT) after researching publicly accessible information currently available to the RRT within time constraints. This response is not, and does not purport to be, conclusive as to the merit of any particular claim to refugee status or asylum. This research response may not, under any circumstance, be cited in a decision or any other document. Anyone wishing to use this information may only cite the primary source material contained herein.

---

**Questions**

- 1. Please advise on the current attitude of the Colombian government and paramilitary groups towards the Bolivarian Movement?**
- 2. Please advise whether there are any reports about the treatment of known supporters of the Bolivarian Movement within Colombia?**

**RESPONSE**

**Background**

For political background on the overall situation in Colombia at present; including the Colombian government's recent offensive strikes against the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo* (FARC or FARC-EP; Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People's Army) which resulted in the death of "two members of the central command in March 2008, including second-in-command Raúl Reyes", see the International Crisis Group's most recent report supplied as Attachment 1. This source also provides information on the strained relations between the government of Colombian President Alvaro Uribe Velez and the government of Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez. Background on the nature of Chávez's association with the pan-American Bolivarian Movement is supplied as Attachment 29 and background on the most recent allegations of the Chávez government's funding and support of FARC is supplied as Attachment 30. Background on the current status of paramilitary groups in Colombia is provided in Attachment 31 in an International Crisis Group report which finds that new paramilitary groups are emerging to take the place of those the government has disarmed (International Crisis Group 2008, *Colombia: Making Military Progress Pay Off*, Latin America Briefing no.17, 29 April – Attachment 1; International Crisis Group 2007, *Venezuela: Hugo Chávez's Revolution*, Latin America Report no.19, 22 February – Attachment 29; Carroll, C. 2008,

‘Chavez linked to Colombian guerillas’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 May <http://www.smh.com.au/news/world/chavez-linked-to-colombian-guerillas/2008/05/16/1210765174202.html> – Accessed 19 May 2008 – Attachment 30; International Crisis Group 2007, *Colombia’s New Armed Groups*, Latin America Report No.20, 10 May – Attachment 31).

- 1. Please advise on the current attitude of the Colombian government and paramilitary groups towards the Bolivarian Movement?**
- 2. Please advise whether there are any reports about the treatment of known supporters of the Bolivarian Movement within Colombia?**

## **Introduction**

Reports were located on a number of groups in Colombia whose titles employ the Bolivarian Movement mantle. Significant among these is the *Movimiento Bolivariano para la Nueva Colombia* (Bolivarian Movement for a New Colombia; MBNC) which was launched in 2000 as the political wing of the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo* (FARC or FARC-EP; Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People’s Army). Named after “the Bolivarian Movement after the South American independence hero, Simon Bolivar” the title would also appear to associate itself with the Bolivarian politics championed by Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez. According to the ICG FARC’s new Bolivarian Movement was “[h]eaded by Alfonso Cano”; “an early interest in participating in the October 2000 municipal elections did not materialise, and the Bolivarian Movement has operated clandestinely”. In October 2003 the UK Home Office reported that the “movement remain[ed] clandestine, so its members will not suffer the same fate as those of the leftist Patriotic Union (UP), which was formed in 1985. The FARC’s political wing participated in the UP, which virtually disappeared toward the end of 1992, after more than 3,000 of its members were assassinated by right-wing paramilitaries or death squads”. In March 2005 “[a] close observer of the FARC told Crisis Group that although there are many Bolivarian Movement political cadres in cities, the ‘spectre of the *Union Patriótica* is still alive’, making higher profile political activity difficult”. This same source informed the ICG that: “Bolivarian Movement cadres are basically political sympathisers, to be distinguished from the urban militias, who are trained to fight, such as the Red Urbana Antonio Nariño (RUAN). However, Cano indicates they are an “organic” part of the FARC structure, i.e. of a military structure” (FARC or FARC-EP; Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People’s Army) in 2000 (for information on the launch of FARC’s Bolivarian movement in 2000, see: International Crisis Group 2005, *Colombia: Presidential Politics and Peace Prospects*, Latin America Report no.4, 16 June, pp.16-17 – Attachment 2; UK Home Office 2003, *Colombia Country Report October 2003*, October – Attachment 22).

In May 2005 an article appeared in *Socialism & Liberation Magazine*, authored by a James J. Brittain, which claimed that FARC’s Bolivarian Movement for a New Colombia (MBNC) had proven “widely popular” and that: “Thousands of small furtive groups called ‘Bolivarian cells’ have been established throughout rural Colombia”. The report also stated that: “FARC-EP plans to remain fully linked to the MBNC so that its full revolutionary potential can be realized”; and that: “As a result of the close relationship between the two groups, along with the security measures and the clandestine model, the sustainability of the MBNC shows important signs of viability”. By contrast, A June 2005 report by the ICG listed, “[a]mong FARC weaknesses”, “the very limited resonance of its political discourse, including difficulties in expanding its Bolivarian Movement, especially in urban centres” (Brittain, J.J. 2005, “Bolivarian Movement for a New Colombia” Clandestine politics and bottom-up

organizing in Colombia', *Socialism & Liberation Magazine*, May <http://www.socialismandliberation.org/mag/index.php?aid=367> – Accessed 16 May 2008 – Attachment 9; International Crisis Group 2005, *Colombia: Presidential Politics and Peace Prospects*, Latin America Report no.4, 16 June, pp.16-17 – Attachment 2).

In a May 2004 interview published by the activist *Green Left Weekly*, the then FARC spokesperson Raul Reyes told his interviewer that Bolivarian Movement members cannot “come out publicly, because they would be immediately murdered, or at the very least jailed”. In November 2004 another article appeared in *Green Left Weekly*, authored by a James J. Brittain, which referred to: “The implementation of political genocide (for example, the assassinations of members of the Patriotic Union (UP)); and violent intimidation aimed at restricting political opponents (for example murders of members of the Colombian Communist Party, and the Bolivarian Movement for a New Colombia)”. Few specific reports of arrests for this period could be located but an August 2006 report located on the website of the *Fuerza Aérea Colombiana* (FAC; Colombian Air Force) refers to the capture of “Ellyke Diaz Kalozdi, member of the thematic committee and commandant of the MBNC”. And in 2002 Medellín’s *El Colombiano* reported that “President Alvaro Uribe Velez” had “asked for citizens’ collaboration in capturing [a] guerrilla, who is thought to be behind mass kidnappings committed on the roads of Viejo Caldas”. The guerrilla was named as “Nelly Avila Moreno...known among the rebels’ ranks as ‘Karina’ ...the commander of the 47th Front of the FARC”. It was also noted that she had “presented the FARC’s Bolivarian Movement [the MBNC – Bolivarian Movement for the New Colombia; the political wing of the FARC, the launch of which they announced on 29 April 2000] in the plaza of the municipality of Narino” (Interview with Raul Reyes: ‘Colombia: Is the FARC a terrorist outfit?’, *Green Left Weekly*, 19 May <http://www.greenleft.org.au/2004/582/32502> – Accessed 16 May 2008 – Attachment 10; Brittain, J.J. 2004, ‘Colombia: Who is committing the abuses?’, *Green Left Weekly*, 3 November <http://www.greenleft.org.au/2004/605/31437> – Accessed 16 May 2008 – Attachment 11; ‘Captured guerilla that participates in the peace dialogs in Caguan’ 2006, *Fuerza Aérea Colombiana* website, *El Tiempo*, source: *Associated Press*, 2 August [http://www.fac.mil.co/index.php?idcategoria=13357&facmil\\_2007=fe2958d2bfc1a59](http://www.fac.mil.co/index.php?idcategoria=13357&facmil_2007=fe2958d2bfc1a59) – Accessed 19 May 2008 – Attachment 27; ‘Government offers 1m dollars reward for capture of female guerrilla’ 2002, *BBC Monitoring Americas*, source: *El Colombiano* website (Medellin, in Spanish 24 September 2002), 26 September – Attachment 28).

In August 2007 Brasilia’s *Correio Braziliense* reported of FARC’s Bolivarian Movement for a New Colombia that: “None of its members is authorized to organize any public demonstration, in an attempt to avoid the wave of repression that decimated the Patriotic Union a’ in the second half of the 1980s”. The report also made claims about the suspected role of the movement should FARC ever successfully assume national power. A *Correio Braziliense* report of February 2007 provided further details claiming that FARC was planning to “to concentrate efforts on their political front” by “reinforcing the so-called Bolivarian Movement for the New Colombia. That movement is responsible for making possible the creation of the Clandestine Communist Party of Colombia (PC3), with the mobilization of supporters and the structure of Bolivarian cells”. According to this report FARC’s policy intended that “PC3’s board of directors would be directly connected with a leftist party, which would launch a candidate for the presidency in Colombia’s next elections in 2010” (‘Rebel group plans parallel Colombian government – Brazilian daily’ 2006, *BBC Monitoring Americas*, source: *Correio Braziliense* website (Brasilia, in Portuguese 16 August 2006), 19 August – Attachment 8; ‘FARC seeking resources to launch Colombian

presidential candidate in 2010' 2007, *BBC Monitoring Americas*, source: *Correio Braziliense* website (Brasilia, in Portuguese 23 February 2007), 28 February – Attachment 6).

Within the short time frame in which this research was completed no reports could be located which made specific mention of any members of FARC's Bolivarian Movement for a New Colombia being arrested or harmed since the 2006 incident noted above. Nor could claims of any adverse treatment be located on the website of the *Movimiento Bolivariano por la Nueva Colombia*. The websites of Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch were searched for mention of the phrases: "Movimiento Bolivariano" or "Bolivarian Movement" or "Movimiento Bolivareano". No results were returned addressing the mistreatment of any members of such a group in Colombia. Nonetheless, recent reports were located of FARC personal being killed or captured and of the arrest of FARC sympathisers. Reports of paramilitary groups targeting persons associated with a range of left-wing associations were also located, with HRW calling for greater levels of state protection for such victims and noting that government figures had made statements associating left wing activists with FARC (the website of the *Movimiento Bolivariano por la Nueva Colombia* is available at: *Movimiento Bolivariano por la Nueva Colombia* website (undated) <http://www.bolivarsomostodos.org/> – Accessed 16 May 2008 – Attachment 3; for information on the casualties, arrests and desertions thought to have been inflicted on FARC by the Uribe government's most recent offensives, see: 'Colombia's FARC seen as considerably weakened but not defeated' 2007, *BBC Monitoring Americas*, source: *Cambio* website (in Spanish 29 November 2007), 5 December – Attachment 7; for information on the arrest of FARC sympathizers, see: 'Colombia: Mayor arrested for Farc links' 2007, *Latinnews Daily*, 23 April – Attachment 17; 'FARC Supporters Convicted After US Sting Operation' 2007, *Scoop*, 9 December <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/WO0712/S00557.htm> – Accessed 16 May 2008 – Attachment 18; 'Seven dead, 38 injured in Colombia blast, rebels attack oil pipeline' 2003, *Agence France Presse*, 25 August – Attachment 19; 'Colombia: Unprecedented anti-Farc march in Cali' 2007, *Latinnews Daily*, 13 April – Attachment 20; for information on paramilitary groups targeting persons associated with a range of left-wing associations, see: Human Rights Watch 2008, 'Colombia: NGOs Press Uribe to Address Wave of Violence Against Rights Defenders, Unionists', 26 March <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2008/03/26/colomb18353.htm> – Accessed 16 May 2008 Attachment 13; Human Rights Watch 2007, 'Colombia: New Killings of Labor Leaders', 7 November <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2007/11/07/colomb17269.htm> – Accessed 16 May 2008 – Attachment 14; Human Rights Watch 2007, 'Colombia: Murders Undermine Credibility of Paramilitary Demobilization', 1 February <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2007/02/01/colomb15246.htm> – Accessed 16 May 2008 – Attachment 15; Human Rights Watch 2006, 'Colombia: Uribe Must End Attacks on Media', 17 April <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2006/04/17/colomb13196.htm> – Accessed 16 May 2008 – Attachment 16).

Information on other parties using the Bolivarian Movement mantle was also located. Articles appearing in late 2008 reported that Bolivarian Movement parties were contesting elections. The UK Communist Party's *Morning Star* noted the running of candidates by *Corriente Bolivariano de Colombia* (Colombian Bolivarian Current) and the *Movimiento Bolivariano de Colombia S A (sin armas)* (Colombian Bolivarian Movement (without arms)). The report refers to claims of "persecution", "press attacks and pressure", which reportedly refers to: "newspaper articles claiming that prominent candidates had criminal records, unsigned leaflets claiming that the parties were promising Venezuelan identification cards so that Colombians could claim free medical care across the border and even deportation threats

from Colombia's DAS intelligence service". A *Miami Herald* report refers to the electoral participation of the "Bolivarian Movement of Colombia Without Weapons" relating that the group's title is intended to "differentiate itself from the Bolivarian Movement for a New Colombia, a pseudo-political arm of the country's largest guerrilla group, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, or FARC". The same article reports on a member of the Colombian Bolivarian Current running as a "candidate for the Polo Democrático because his Colombian Bolivarian Current, or CBC, a nascent political movement that follows the tenets of Chávez's self-styled socialist revolution, did not qualify to register its own candidates". The question of whether the Colombian Bolivarian Current is associated with FARC is not unequivocally addressed but information was located which would seem to suggest that the CBC is a union and Polo Democrático combine rather than a FARC vehicle. A March 2008 *States News Service* report relates that: "union organizers and some members from the Polo Democrático left opposition have united to form the Corriente Bolivariana Colombiana (Colombian Bolivarian Current)" (Haste, P. 2007, 'Bolivar's back in Colombia', *Morning Star Online*, 11 December – Attachment 4; Brodzinsky, S. 2007, 'Colombian candidates embrace Chávez's ideals', *Miami Herald*, 24 October – Attachment 5; 'Colombia-Ecuador-Venezuela: A Close Call' 2008, *States News Service*, 11 March – Attachment 26).

A request for expert advice on the situation of persons associated with the Bolivarian Movement has been attached to *Research Response COL33365*.

An overview of the available sources covered above follows below. The sources are presented, for the most part, in reverse chronological order of publication.

### Source information overview

The website of the *Movimiento Bolivariano por la Nueva Colombia* (the Bolivarian Movement for a New Colombia) was located online. Its content was entirely in Spanish and a Spanish reader from the Research Service was engaged to explore the site. The reader advised that the website contained information on the movement's beliefs and activities but no information could be found on mistreatment, such as campaigns for the release of prisoners or against arrests (the website of the *Movimiento Bolivariano por la Nueva Colombia* is available at: *Movimiento Bolivariano por la Nueva Colombia* website (undated) <http://www.bolivarsomostodos.org/> – Accessed 16 May 2008 – Attachment 3).

On 11 December 2007 the UK Communist Party's *Morning Star Online* reported that the Colombian Bolivarian Movement, and other Bolivarian organisations in Colombia, "stood almost 50 candidates in six states in the October elections"; and that "these Chavista parties won almost 12,000 votes on the Caribbean coast and in states on the frontier with Venezuela". The report refers to claims of "persecution", "press attacks and pressure", which reportedly refers to: "newspaper articles claiming that prominent candidates had criminal records, unsigned leaflets claiming that the parties were promising Venezuelan identification cards so that Colombians could claim free medical care across the border and even deportation threats from Colombia's DAS intelligence service". The entire report is supplied as Attachment 4. Pertinent extracts follow:

A LITTLE-noticed detail in Colombia's recent local elections was the fact that leftist parties inspired by Venezuela's Bolivarian revolution have started to emerge on the political scene.

The Corriente Bolivariano de Colombia (Colombian Bolivarian Current), which organises on the Caribbean coast, and the Movimiento Bolivariano de Colombia S A (sin armas) – in

English, the Colombian Bolivarian Movement (without arms) – which organises on the Venezuelan frontier, stood almost 50 candidates in six states in the October elections.

Stirring up an excitable and often irrational response from Colombia's right-wing press and politicians aligned with President Alvaro Uribe Velez, these Chavista parties won almost 12,000 votes on the Caribbean coast and in states on the frontier with Venezuela.

As it takes as little as 6,000 votes to elect a governor in some Colombian states and often less than one thousand votes to elect a representative to a state assembly, these parties' total vote is "a respectable figure for Chavista politics in conservative Colombia," according to political journalist Cristina Acevedo, "and an indication that a Bolivarian candidate could be elected to Congress in the next elections."

The best results were on the Caribbean coast.

One candidate in Atlantico, Oscar Manduca, gained 4,000 votes. Other candidates, Ramiro Chamorro in Sucre, Orlando Carrascal in Norte de Santander and Luis Acuna in Cartagena, took a thousand votes each.

Still more Bolivarian candidates stood for local juntas in La Guajira and other states on the frontier and support was given to the victorious leftist opposition Polo Democratico in Colombia's capital, Bogota.

"Despite the press attacks and pressure, we have achieved a representative vote," Corriente Bolivariana de Colombia leader Jorge Urueta said. "I think with what we have achieved we will go far."

Movimiento Bolivariano de Colombia leader Carlos Felipe Florez added: "Despite the persecution against us, Colombians are taking the first steps towards a Bolivarian revolution."

The "press attacks and pressure" and the "persecution" that these leaders refer to include newspaper articles claiming that prominent candidates had criminal records, unsigned leaflets claiming that the parties were promising Venezuelan identification cards so that Colombians could claim free medical care across the border and even deportation threats from Colombia's DAS intelligence service.

"There was no attempt at combating our arguments," says Florez. "Instead, the press just lied, but, despite the dirty war against us, our candidates on the frontier, Carlos Delgado and Esperanza Contreras, won almost 3,000 votes."

The more serious threats to deport "Venezuelans who interfere in Colombia's politics," as local DAS director Santiago Vasquez put it, had an effect because many Colombians have dual nationality with their Bolivarian neighbour.

As several Venezuelan congressional representatives have recently visited elected mayors and local assembly deputies in Colombia, the intelligence service's deliberate attempt to blur the distinctions between these politicians and Colombian citizens who might support the Bolivarian parties, raised tensions during the election campaign.

Vasquez claimed that Venezuelans were "infiltrating Colombia, keeping a low profile" and were "illegally interfering in politics" (Haste, P. 2007, 'Bolivar's back in Colombia', *Morning Star Online*, 11 December – Attachment 4).

A 24 October 2007 report published in *The Miami Herald* refers to the situation of the "Bolivarian Movement of Colombia Without Weapons", and other Bolivarian political

groups, in the lead up to the 2007 elections. The former group's title is reportedly an attempt to "differentiate itself from the Bolivarian Movement for a New Colombia, a pseudo-political arm of the country's largest guerrilla group, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, or FARC". Some pertinent extracts follow:

Officially, Oscar Manduca is running for a seat on the legislature of Colombia's Atlantico province for the left-of-center Polo Democrático party. The party's official color is bright yellow, but at campaign rallies Manduca can more often be seen wearing bright red.

It is the red of Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez's Bolivarian revolution, which Manduca and dozens of the 86,233 candidates around the country in Colombia's regional elections Sunday want to bring.

...Manduca says in fact he is a candidate for the Polo Democrático because his Colombian Bolivarian Current, or CBC, a nascent political movement that follows the tenets of Chávez's self-styled socialist revolution, did not qualify to register its own candidates.

...The CBC claims to have 50 candidates running for town councils, provincial legislature and local committees throughout Colombia, but mostly in the northern coastal provinces of Atlantico, Guajira and Arauca.

The northeast province of Santander, known for its progressive politics, has a separate Chavista group, the Bolivarian Movement of Colombia Without Weapons, founded last year by retired army Sgt. Carlos Felipe Florez.

That group says it feels the need to stress the lack of weapons to differentiate itself from the Bolivarian Movement for a New Colombia, a pseudo-political arm of the country's largest guerrilla group, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, or FARC.

Florez's group has fielded three candidates for the provincial assembly and four for city councils in Santander. "We want to have the first Chavista deputies in Colombia," he said in a telephone interview.

The group is not linked to Manduca's CBC except by their ideological leader in Caracas. But like the CBC, its candidates are running under the banner of another political group, the Indigenous Authorities Movement.

"The alliance is one of convenience," Florez said, a way to get around Colombia's election laws. Colombia's election laws require candidates to have the backing of an established political party or movement, unless they get enough signatures on a petition to have their group recognized.

...But Jairo Clopatofsky, a pro-government senator in the national legislature, said he suspects that the Chávez government or Venezuelan political organizations are funneling cash to some candidacies or Bolivarian movements in Colombia.

To limit Venezuelan influence in Colombian elections, Clopatofsky had considered proposing a bill eliminating dual citizenship in a bid to prevent an estimated two to three million Colombian Venezuelans from voting in Colombian elections.

"But if I did that it wouldn't be fair to the Colombian Americans or Colombian Spaniards. They'd be all over me," he said.

Esperanza Contreras is member of the Bolivarian Movement and is running for a seat on the city council of Bucaramanga, a mid-size city in north eastern Colombia. "It would be great if

Colombian-Venezuelan citizens were to come to vote for us here, but we're certainly not counting on it," she said.

"If we win, we will win for our Bolivarian ideals," Contreras said (Brodzinsky, S. 2007, 'Colombian candidates embrace Chávez's ideals', *Miami Herald*, 24 October – Attachment 5).

In February 2007 *BBC Monitoring Americas* published the following information sourced from Brasilia's *Correio Braziliense* website:

In a sudden change of tactics for gaining power, the guerrilla Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) have decided to concentrate efforts on their political front. That policy line, inspired by the recent electoral successes of leftist leaders in Latin America, establishes the guerrilla movement's close relations with leftist politicians in Colombia and various other countries of the region as a priority. Yesterday, the Colombian newspaper *El Pais* published excerpts from a kind of work agenda in preparation for the FARC-EP [People's Army] Ninth National Guerrilla Fighters' Conference (considered the guerrillas' most important ideological and military meeting), which was to have been held this past January.

The 21-page document confirms information revealed by *Correio* in July 2006, regarding the guerrillas' plan of action. In it, the FARC's commander in chief, Manuel Marulanda, instructs the 21 members of his secretariat on the necessity for reinforcing the so-called Bolivarian Movement for the New Colombia. That movement is responsible for making possible the creation of the Clandestine Communist Party of Colombia (PC3), with the mobilization of supporters and the structure of Bolivarian cells. The latter are urban units similar to the Bolivarian cliques promoted by Hugo Chavez beyond the borders of Venezuela.

In the Colombian case, the cells are responsible for coopting "100 members of the association" who have been outstanding "for their actions, capacities, and honours." That group would form the base of the PC3's national board of directors, under the presidency of Raul Reyes, another FARC commander. Twelve leaders would be selected from among those chosen. In the document obtained by *Correio*, Marulanda explains: "They will be contacted individually, and informed about their position in the parallel government and the structure that the FARC has available for taking power." The PC3's board of directors would be directly connected with a leftist party, which would launch a candidate for the presidency in Colombia's next elections in 2010 ('FARC seeking resources to launch Colombian presidential candidate in 2010' 2007, *BBC Monitoring Americas*, source: *Correio Braziliense* website (Brasilia, in Portuguese 23 February 2007), 28 February – Attachment 6).

In February 2007 *BBC Monitoring Americas* published the following information sourced from Bogota's *Cambio*. The report mentions the Bolivarian Movement for the New Colombia only incidentally in the course of reporting claims that FARC's ranks have suffered heavily from government inflicted casualties, from captures and from desertion.

On 29 April 2000, Jacinto Bermudez, third in the line of command of FARC [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia] Front 36 in Antioquia, arrived in San Vicente del Caguan, Caqueta, to attend the launching of the Bolivarian Movement for the New Colombia, where he was met by two smiling and impeccably uniformed guerrillas who offered him a hot cup of coffee. Once he was at the site where Alfonso Cano gave the main speech, Bermudez commented to his brothers in arms, "Hell, now we really are going to take power."

The guerrilla's enthusiasm for the future of the illegal armed organization had to do with the fact that for the first time he saw 5,000 armed men, with modern rifles, brand new fatigue uniforms, and decked out with all kinds of equipment and ammunition. The impressive sight

of the parade and the military might deployed in the demilitarized zone convinced Bermudez that his old dream of shaping Colombia's destiny was right around the corner.

The guerrilla's impression was not far off the mark, because at that time the FARC had reached the incredible number of 16,900 armed men, distributed in 67 fronts throughout the country, and backed by 20,000 militia members in the towns. The efforts that the Military Forces and the Police had made so far to cover the entire national territory appeared to be insufficient, given that 199 municipalities were at the mercy of the subversives. "It was not that the Military Forces were incapable of beating back the enemy: it was that we did not have the resources or enough troops to fight them and defeat them," a high-ranking official who was in charge of a battalion in 2000 told Cambio.

A lot of water has passed under the bridge since 2002, when Andres Pastrana broke off the peace process in February and Alvaro Uribe swept the May elections with his platform of defeating the guerrillas by military means. Now, five years later, the public forces have buffeted some of this guerrilla group's structures and several attempts at progress towards a humanitarian agreement have failed, including the most recent one with Hugo Chavez and Piedad Cordoba, and it seems that every day the FARC's primary objective that they set forth over 40 years ago, that of taking power through might, is slipping further away.

...The period when the FARC were living high on the hog began to decline when Uribe launched the democratic security policy in the jungles of the southern part of the country, with close to 18,000 men implementing Plan Patriot whose final objective was to take away the control that the FARC exercised at will in Caqueta, Putumayo, Guaviare, Cauca, and south Meta.

...The loss of territorial control, as the result of the growing number of policemen and soldiers and the improvement of the air fire capacity, has affected the FARC in most of the country. The most clear phenomenon in this sense is related to guerrilla desertions: between August 2002 and this year, 8,221 FARC fighters have deserted, of whom 118 held important positions within the organization, and they opted to leave the militias.

The figures concerning the deaths of guerrillas killed in combat are also significant. An official report indicates that 1,891 subversives were killed in 2005, and in 2006 that number went up to 2,184. The same report says that as of mid-November this year the number of guerrilla fighters killed has been 2,717 ('Colombia's FARC seen as considerably weakened but not defeated' 2007, *BBC Monitoring Americas*, source: *Cambio* website (in Spanish 29 November 2007), 5 December – Attachment 7).

In February 2007 *BBC Monitoring Americas* published the following information sourced from Brasilia's *Correio Braziliense*. The report makes claims about FARC's plans for forming a provisional government and the role of the national directorate of the Colombian Clandestine Communist Party (PCCC) and the Bolivarian Movement for a New Colombia. The article reports of the Bolivarian Movement that: "None of its members is authorized to organize any public demonstration, in an attempt to avoid the wave of repression that decimated the Patriotic Union a' in the second half of the 1980s". Extracts follow:

The most active guerrilla group on the continent seeks politicians and prominent figures to form a provisional cabinet in its plan to seize power. After the revolution, the elected would be eliminated.

The Colombian secret service is facing one of its biggest challenges in the fight to neutralize the political activities of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia [FARC]. It must identify 12 collaborators who have been secretly selected by the guerrilla group from among

the country's prominent figures. Informally dubbed the "apostles," they are the ones chosen to form a provisional government as part of the strategy to seize power elaborated by the continent's largest guerrilla movement. Correio gained exclusive access to a copy of this plan, taken from the computer of Rodrigo Granda, the "former Foreign Minister" of FARC who was arrested in Caracas on 13 December 2004.

The document is signed by FARC commander-in-chief Manuel Marulanda. It contains important details about how the group operates in the circles of power, which is quite different from its military activities. In an email message sent in January 2004 to the 21 members of the FARC secretariat, Marulanda explains that the coopting of authorities should obey rigid rules regarding confidentiality in order to avoid placing the existence of the armed organization – now in its 42nd year – "at risk." In this context, the guerrilla commander said at the time, "100 members of society" with prominent roles in political, economic, social, union, cultural and ecclesiastical life would be selected initially.

This group forms the base of the national directorate of the Colombian Clandestine Communist Party [PCCC], under the presidency of Raul Reyes. The 12 candidates would then be picked. "contacted individually and told of their position in the parallel government and the structure FARC has at its disposal to assume power," explains Marulanda. He cautions that those elected should not be introduced to each other, preventing any form of communication or contact. In addition, the political strategy should always be presented to the apostles from a positive perspective, that respects the institutional structure of the State. Its involvement in the social sector and behaviour should be extolled.

#### Trial

Marulanda's idea is to keep the group under wraps until the day that the so-called National Military Plan, the seizure of power itself, is executed – which the FARC is calling the "general revolution." This cabinet, with its moderate political profile, has the job of temporarily taking over the country's administration. But the political ploy to give legitimacy to the transition and avoid undesirable pressure, including from international public opinion, reveals itself to be a crafty stratagem. Once the time comes for handing power over to the secretariat members, the 12 apostles would be "neutralized and accused of turning against the people." The same fate would be in store for the other 88 members of the PCCC.

...So far, Colombian intelligence has been unable to identify the guerrilla movement's collaborators, but it has clues that point to important politicians, including former presidents. Raul Reyes, head of the group's international front, has commented in public about launching a candidate to the Colombian presidency. But little was known about the expendable nature of this cabinet and the subsequent trial of its members. In recent statements, Reyes tried to sell the version according to which the 12 would be responsible only for "elaborating a battle platform and a government programme in line with the interests of the majority of Colombians."

**...The fact that Raul Reyes is presiding over the PCCC surprised Colombian intelligence, which believes Alfonso Cano to be the political boss. In fact, Cano directs the "Bolivarian Movement for a New Colombia," responsible for making the party's creation viable through the mobilization of followers and the creation of Bolivarian cells – its basic unit. None of its members is authorized to organize any public demonstration, in an attempt to avoid the wave of repression that decimated the Patriotic Union a' in the second half of the 1980s. The PCCC, says Marulanda, is one of the "most important" structures "for the taking of power."**

"The enemy knows little or nothing of this structure and links it directly to the Colombian Communist Party. They do not know that it is just a tool for getting closer to political

leaders,” he concludes. He also expresses his satisfaction over the support found in the region. “It is a source of pride when our brother Bolivarian countries are prepared to confront any interference in our revolutionary freedom” (‘Rebel group plans parallel Colombian government – Brazilian daily’ 2006, *BBC Monitoring Americas*, source: *Correio Braziliense* website (Brasilia, in Portuguese 16 August 2006), 19 August – Attachment 8)

An August 2006 report located on the website of the *Fuerza Aérea Colombiana* (FAC; Colombian Air Force) refers to the capture of “Ellyke Diaz Kalozdi, member of the thematic committee and commandant of the MBNC”.

A communication of the SNE said the captured of Ellyke Diaz Kalozdi, member of the thematic committee and commandant of the MBNC

As per the inform the captured represent and was spokeswomen in condition of commandant of this rebel group in the dialogs of San Vicente del Caguan promoted by the president in that time Andres Pastrana with the Farc in the demilitarized zone. The negotiation was broken in the 2002

...As per the inform the MBNC is a movement of politic character instituted and created by the Farc in San Vicente del Caguan in the 2000... act in clandestine form and is the politic arm of the Farc

The operation was done by the judicial police and the attorney that at the moment of the captured confiscate around 5000 dollars that the authorities affirms will serve to finance the terrorist actions.

San Vicente del Caguan is a town at 280 kilometers south of Bogota which control was cede by the government to the Farc to execute a peace process that failed when the rebels kidnap a commercial aircraft in the 2002 and break one of the agreements signed in the negotiation process.

The Farc is the powerful guerrilla in the country that for 42 years fight to obtain the power for the instauration of the leftists regimen (‘Captured guerilla that participates in the peace dialogs in Caguan’ 2006, *Fuerza Aérea Colombiana* website, *El Tiempo*, source: *Associated Press*, 2 August

[http://www.fac.mil.co/index.php?idcategoria=13357&facmil\\_2007=fe2958d2bfc1a59](http://www.fac.mil.co/index.php?idcategoria=13357&facmil_2007=fe2958d2bfc1a59) – Accessed 19 May 2008 – Attachment 27).

A June 2005 report by the ICG, *Colombia: Presidential Politics and Peace Prospects*, provides the following background on the Bolivarian Movement and its relationship with FRAC. The report notes that “FARC’s Bolivarian movement (*Movimiento Bolivariano para la Nueva Colombia*) was launched in April 2000” as a replacement for the *Union Patriótica* vehicle which had been decimated in previous years. According to the ICG the new organisation was “[h]eaded by Alfonso Cano”, and “an early interest in participating in the October 2000 municipal elections did not materialise, and the Bolivarian Movement has operated clandestinely”. In March 2005 “[a] close observer of the FARC told Crisis Group that although there are many Bolivarian Movement political cadres in cities, the ‘spectre of the *Union Patriótica* is still alive’, making higher profile political activity difficult”. This same source informed the ICG that: “Bolivarian Movement cadres are basically political sympathisers, to be distinguished from the urban militias, who are trained to fight, such as the Red Urbana Antonio Nariño (RUAN). However, Cano indicates they are an “organic” part of the FARC structure, i.e. of a military structure”. Pertinent extracts follow:

Among FARC weaknesses that could become important are underestimation of the

government's growing military strength, the loss of an effective urban militia base, and the very limited resonance of its political discourse, including difficulties in expanding its Bolivarian Movement, especially in urban centres. In the effort to overcome its political isolation, it cannot count on the smaller ELN, which is more aware that time is against it, and so has sought to associate with the legal and democratic Left. For the FARC this is a non-issue, because "of its organisational solidity, it seeks to achieve that the circumstances adapt to the organisation, without concerning itself with adapting to the way in which circumstances evolve". (p.14)

...The FARC clearly states support for Venezuela's "Bolivarian revolution" and admiration for President Hugo Chavez, an "anti-imperialist, a patriot and a revolutionary". Ideological affinities can be inferred from statements made by senior Venezuelan military officers that Washington's Plan Colombia aims to destabilise the region economically, socially, politically and militarily so as to make Venezuela ungovernable by Chavez. However, recent Chavez statements indicate he is distancing himself from the FARC. Venezuela deported FARC member "El Chiguiro" to Colombia in May 2005. (p.15)

...The FARC's Bolivarian movement (Movimiento Bolivariano para la Nueva Colombia) was launched in April 2000 during the peace talks with the Pastrana administration. Headed by Alfonso Cano, the secretariat member viewed as the most "political" of the seven commanders, it is the political organisation the insurgents had been planning since 1993 and the decimation of the UP. The project aims at "creating a political option that is different from traditional parties"

At the time, the emergence of the Bolivarian Movement was welcomed by both members of the Liberal Party and centre-left political forces, such as the Frente Social y Politico, which saw in it the possibility of FARC incorporation into democratic politics. However, an early interest in participating in the October 2000 municipal elections did not materialise, and the Bolivarian Movement has operated clandestinely. A close observer of the FARC told Crisis Group that although there are many Bolivarian Movement political cadres in cities, the "spectre of the Union Patriotica is still alive", making higher profile political activity difficult. Perhaps more importantly, the FARC sees political work as only one element of the "combined forms of struggle". In reaction to the Uribe administration's hardline approach, the military struggle has priority. This is reflected in Cano's relatively low standing in the leadership, Crisis Group was told.

It must be asked to what degree the Bolivarian Movement was influenced by Hugo Chavez's rise to power in Venezuela, and whether it is any part of a plan to expand his Bolivarian revolution across the Andean region. However, it would be unwise to assume without proof any direct causal relationship. A Bolivarian Congress is held annually in Caracas, which is widely attended by leftist parties from across Latin America, including FARC observers. Recently members of the Partido de los Trabajadores de Brazil of President Lula tried to ban FARC participation. The proposal was not accepted, reflecting continued support for the FARC from some parts of the Latin American Left.

The FARC's Bolivarian movement has not extended significantly beyond Colombia. The insurgency has traditionally had links with communist parties in Europe, which openly supported Latin American guerrilla groups in the 1960s and 1970s. However, circumstances have changed and very few groups openly support the FARC now, in part because of its ties with drug trafficking. When a Danish NGO, Rebellion, donated \$8,500 in October 2004, eighteen European NGOs and 125 Colombian social organisations distanced themselves from it, stating they categorically rejected the financing of guerrilla organisations.

The FARC gets less and less of a hearing in Europe, particularly after the failed talks with the Pastrana government, but it does carry out a sort of “indirect diplomacy” through former Union Patriótica members now in exile who attend seminars and move in academic circles. In 2002, Mexican authorities closed the FARC office in Mexico City.

Nonetheless, diplomacy remains important for the FARC. From statements of the spokesman, Reyes, it can be inferred that the arrest of “Rodrigo Granda” was a serious loss. The head of Colombia’s secret police (Departamento Administrativo de Seguridad, DAS) claims this was mainly because “today they mix the political with the criminal”, and there is some truth to the argument that the FARC assigns more importance to maintaining an international network to sell cocaine and buy weapons and ammunition.

There are clear indications that some FARC fronts have international connections.<sup>160</sup> For example, when “Sonia” was captured, her laptop contained information about links to Panama. In Honduras in March 2005, two people with suspected FARC ties were arrested for drugs and arms trafficking. According to police, they are linked to Honduran drug trafficker Pedro García Montes, who was killed in Colombia in 2004 and was considered the FARC contact in Honduras. In May 2005, the Colombian army seized eighteen assault rifles from a FARC unit allegedly belonging to the Nicaraguan military. (pp.16-17)

...Bolivarian Movement cadres are basically political sympathisers, to be distinguished from the urban militias, who are trained to fight, such as the Red Urbana Antonio Nariño (RUAN). However, Cano indicates they are an “organic” part of the FARC structure, i.e. of a military structure (p.16, n.152) (International Crisis Group 2005, *Colombia: Presidential Politics and Peace Prospects*, Latin America Report no.4, 16 June – Attachment 2).

In May 2005 the *Socialism & Liberation Magazine* published the following article by James J. Brittain on the Bolivarian Movement in Colombia:

In 2000, the FARC-EP launched a clandestine political party called the Bolivarian Movement for a New Colombia (MBNC). The party has been underground due to the outcome of past attempts made by the FARC-EP to enter into the national political arena. “No other way is possible at the present time,” they announced.

In the 1980s, a peace process involving the insurgency and the Colombian government took place. The FARC-EP took part in creating a political party known as the Patriotic Union (UP), whose goal was to lead Colombia without arms to a peaceful democratic juncture in which all people of the Andean country could be represented and heard.

However, the political and economic needs of the ruling class took precedence over popular desires for representation. Between 4,000 and 5,000 members of the UP were assassinated by government death squads.

From this, the guerrilla movement concluded that no solution other than armed conflict could be applied in the Colombian situation. The state had demonstrated that it would not allow change to be implemented peacefully. Currently, between 3,000 and 4,000 Colombians are killed each year due to their political beliefs.

Given these circumstances, the FARC-EP decided that clandestine activity is currently the most efficient method for organizing political activity. The insurgency’s strategy is to establish a broad-based movement to respond to the existing capitalist state in Colombia, thus indirectly hampering the U.S. empire in one region of Latin America.

The FARC-EP established the MBNC with the aim of providing the political groundwork and foundation needed to contend with the present two-party bourgeois political scene that has

dominated Colombia for decades. While there has been much attention paid to supposedly “independent” candidates in Colombian elections over the past several years, these “independent” candidates still come from the Liberal and Conservative party-dominated structures. They are entrenched in ruling class ideology, supporting the counter-insurgency war, and fulfilling the economic interests of the elite minority within domestic circles and their imperialist supporters abroad.

To demonstrate the revolutionary climate within the country, the FARC-EP has addressed past elections by encouraging their supporters not to support the present political structures within the elections. The response can be seen in the minimal turnout rate for recent presidential and municipal elections. In the 2002 presidential elections, the abstention rate was over 62 percent of eligible voters—the highest percentage abstaining in Colombian history. Within territory dominated by the FARC-EP the abstention rate was between 80 percent and 100 percent. (It should be noted that people in many rural areas of Colombia were directly threatened by the paramilitary death squads if they did not vote for Alvaro Uribe. The incredible abstention rate in these areas illustrates extensive support for the FARC-EP.) The result: Uribe was elected president, but with the support of a miniscule 24 percent of those eligible to vote.

The structure of the MBNC is the opposite of “democratic” political structures that dominate capitalist and imperialist states. It is based on a strategy of formation “from below.”

While Alfonso Cano and Iván Ríos, both members of the FARC-EP Secretariat, were intimately involved in overseeing the creation and execution of the political movement, the MBNC has maintained itself through grass-roots efforts that create a voice for the people. In addition to providing a political space for popular participation, it gives a mechanism for bringing concerns to the FARC-EP. This is aimed at discouraging top-down policies. Creating such a program is designed to ensure that the FARC-EP responds to the people and not vice versa.

Such practices have proven widely popular. Thousands of small furtive groups called “Bolivarian cells” have been established throughout rural Colombia. In the last four years, every major urban city in the country has seen an increase in “cell” formation. Millions are estimated to belong to one of these cells, according to research I have conducted with R. James Sacouman. Members of cells have developed processes allowing easy communication, while secretly organized meetings present political positions to communities throughout the country without being detected. This has allowed groups and community leaders protection from the kind of violence that was seen in the UP experience of the 1980s and 1990s.

This structure has allowed a broad range of supporters from all vocations, educational backgrounds, and ethnicities to become actively involved in solidarity with the FARC-EP. In turn, the insurgency maintains a protective shield in case of state-sponsored paramilitary violence.

FARC-EP Commander-in-Chief Manuel Marulanda Vélez stated that Colombians “must make changes to the government through the Bolivarian Movement in cities and the countryside with the help of the FARC to avoid what happened to the UP.” The connection between the FARC-EP and the Bolivarian Movement is more direct and is both ideological—maintaining its socialist position—and material. The UP, by contrast, was ideologically close to the FARC-EP but materially separate.

The FARC-EP plans to remain fully linked to the MBNC so that its full revolutionary potential can be realized. As a result of the close relationship between the two groups, along with the security measures and the clandestine model, the sustainability of the MBNC shows important signs of viability.

The FARC-EP is playing a different role in organizing the people of Colombia. It is promoting a revolution from below. As stated by the Secretariat, “What must really change are the Regime and the State, which are deeply rooted in the corrupt and anti-democratic customs that have submerged Colombia in the present.”

The MBNC is a very interesting process of undogmatic political change. It is a different model from many existing political movements, while simultaneously maintaining that state power continues to be the most important avenue to constructively implement subjective and objective societal transformation (Brittain, J.J. 2005, “Bolivarian Movement for a New Colombia” Clandestine politics and bottom-up organizing in Colombia’, *Socialism & Liberation Magazine*, May <http://www.socialismandliberation.org/mag/index.php?aid=367> – Accessed 16 May 2008 – Attachment 9).

In May 2004 interview published by the activist *Green Left Weekly*, FARC spokesperson Raul Reyes told his interviewer that Bolivarian Movement members cannot “come out publicly, because they would be immediately murdered, or at the very least jailed”.

*The Bolivarian Movement [a broad, left, social movement] was launched in April 2002. Has it been successful?*

The Bolivarian Movement is an expression of the people, and has strong support in the country’s academic, political and social sectors. For many years, the political space for Colombia’s progressive forces, other than those in armed struggle, has been closed off. These forces now find political expression within the Bolivarian Movement, which is fighting for its social and political demands.

This movement is growing. But because it’s an underground movement, none of those who are part of it can come out publicly, because they would be immediately murdered, or at the very least jailed. Still, despite its clandestine nature, it is growing among intellectuals, teachers, students, and among sectors of workers and the unemployed, both in the country and the city. We hope that when the movement is large enough and has greater impact in the country’s political and social life, it will be able to come out publicly and participate in everyday political life (Interview with Raul Reyes: ‘Colombia: Is the FARC a terrorist outfit?’, *Green Left Weekly*, 19 May <http://www.greenleft.org.au/2004/582/32502> – Accessed 16 May 2008 – Attachment 10).

A James J. Brittain article was published on the Bolivarian Movement in *Green Left Weekly* in November 2004 stating: “The implementation of political genocide (for example, the assassinations of members of the Patriotic Union (UP)); and violent intimidation aimed at restricting political opponents (for example murders of members of the Colombian Communist Party, and the Bolivarian Movement for a New Colombia)” (Brittain, J.J. 2004, ‘Colombia: Who is committing the abuses?’, *Green Left Weekly*, 3 November <http://www.greenleft.org.au/2004/605/31437> – Accessed 16 May 2008 – Attachment 11).

The websites of Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch were searched for mention of the phrases: “Movimiento Bolivariano” or “Bolivarian Movement” or “Movimiento Bolivareano”. No results were returned addressing the mistreatment of any members of such a group in Colombia. A 2003 HRW report on child soldiers in Colombia refers to the Bolivarian militias (*milicias bolivarianos*) and notes:

The FARC-EP is Latin America’s oldest guerrilla group. According to the U.S. State Department, FARC-EP guerrillas now count over 16,500 trained and armed fighters among their fighting force.<sup>21</sup> That number is more than double the 1998 estimates of the group’s size.

Not included in this figure are the FARC-EP urban militias: known as Bolivarian militias (milicias bolivarianos) and popular militias (milicias populares). The Bolivarians alternate between civilian and military attire and receive military training. Members of popular militias dress in civilian clothes, often live at home, and engage in civilian activities even as they gather intelligence, sabotage, assassinate, kidnap, collect “taxes,” obtain supplies, and recruit. They do not normally receive military training, and are usually provided with handguns rather than combat weapons. Together, the FARC-EP’s militias are believed to number about 10,000, bringing its total force to around 26,500 (Human Rights Watch 2003, “*You’ll Learn Not to Cry*” *Child Combatants in Colombia*, September – Attachment 12).

Human Rights Watch has, however, published numerous statements and reports expressing concern over the targeting, by paramilitary groups, of labour leaders, human rights workers, journalists and other leftist political organisations like the People’s Housing Organization (Human Rights Watch 2008, ‘Colombia: NGOs Press Uribe to Address Wave of Violence Against Rights Defenders, Unionists’, 26 March <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2008/03/26/colomb18353.htm> – Accessed 16 May 2008 Attachment 13; Human Rights Watch 2007, ‘Colombia: New Killings of Labor Leaders’, 7 November <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2007/11/07/colomb17269.htm> – Accessed 16 May 2008 – Attachment 14; Human Rights Watch 2007, ‘Colombia: Murders Undermine Credibility of Paramilitary Demobilization’, 1 February <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2007/02/01/colomb15246.htm> – Accessed 16 May 2008 – Attachment 15; Human Rights Watch 2006, ‘Colombia: Uribe Must End Attacks on Media’, 17 April <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2006/04/17/colomb13196.htm> – Accessed 16 May 2008 – Attachment 16).

Some reports were located of incidents in which Colombian authorities had arrested various persons, including a politician, suspected of having links to FARC. And in April 2007, following a bombing in Cali, it was reported that “Uribe promised more troops and more government money to tempt Farc sympathisers into betraying their leaders”; and that: Uribe promised a reward of Col\$1bn (US\$464,000) for anyone who provided the information that led to the arrest of the bombers”. Nonetheless, it should also be noted that the Uribe government has also reportedly arrested politicians suspected of having links to right wing paramilitary groups (‘Colombia: Mayor arrested for Farc links’ 2007, *Latinnews Daily*, 23 April – Attachment 17; ‘FARC Supporters Convicted After US Sting Operation’ 2007, *Scoop*, 9 December <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/WO0712/S00557.htm> – Accessed 16 May 2008 – Attachment 18; ‘Seven dead, 38 injured in Colombia blast, rebels attack oil pipeline’ 2003, *Agence France Presse*, 25 August – Attachment 19; ‘Colombia: Unprecedented anti-Farc march in Cali’ 2007, *Latinnews Daily*, 13 April – Attachment 20; Joynes, K. 2006, ‘Court Orders Arrest of Colombian Lawmakers Accused of Paramilitary Links’, *Global Insight Daily Analysis*, 10 November – Attachment 21).

In its October 2003 report on Colombia the UK Home Office advises:

To demonstrate their willingness to enter the political arena, in April 2000 the FARC launched the Bolivarian Movement for the New Colombia, which they said offered an alternative to the country’s traditional parties. The movement remains clandestine, so its members will not suffer the same fate as those of the leftist Patriotic Union (UP), which was formed in 1985. The FARC’s political wing participated in the UP, which virtually disappeared toward the end of 1992, after more than 3,000 of its members were assassinated by right-wing paramilitaries or death squads (UK Home Office 2003, *Colombia Country Report October 2003*, October – Attachment 22).

On the occasion of the launch of the Bolivarian Movement a 2000 *BBC News* report noted: “During peace moves in the 1980s, an estimated 2,000 members of the FARC’s political wing were killed by death squads” (‘Colombia rebels create political party’ 2000, *BBC News*, 30 April <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/731055.stm> – Accessed 16 May 2008 – Attachment 23).

## Previous Research

Previous Research Responses have been completed on Colombia’s Bolivarian Movement and links to these follow below:

- *Research Response COL15629* of 19 December 2002 provides information on the Bolivarian Movement’s ideology, history, organisation and activities (RRT Country Research 2002, *Research Response COL15629*, 19 December – Attachment 24).
- *Research Response COL15182* of 14 June 2002 provides information on the Bolivarian Movement’s activities in Australia (RRT Country Research 2002, *Research Response COL15182*, 14 June – Attachment 25)

## List of Sources Consulted

### Internet Sources:

AlltheWeb search engine <http://www.alltheweb.com/>

Exalead search engine <http://www.exalead.com>

Google search engine <http://www.google.com.au>

Internet Archive WaybackMachine <http://www.archive.org/index.php>

StaggerNation Google API Proximity Search (GAPS) <http://www.staggernation.com/cgi-bin/gaps.cgi>

### Databases:

FACTIVA (news database)

BACIS (DIAC Country Information database)

REFINFO (IRBDC (Canada) Country Information database)

ISYS (RRT Research & Information database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of State Reports)

RRT Library Catalogue

## List of Attachments

1. International Crisis Group 2008, *Colombia: Making Military Progress Pay Off*, Latin America Briefing no.17, 29 April.
2. International Crisis Group 2005, *Colombia: Presidential Politics and Peace Prospects*, Latin America Report no.4, 16 June.
3. *Movimiento Bolivariano por la Nueva Colombia* website (undated) <http://www.bolivarsomostodos.org/> – Accessed 16 May 2008.

4. Haste, P. 2007, 'Bolivar's back in Colombia', *Morning Star Online*, 11 December – (FACTIVA)
5. Brodzinsky, S. 2007, 'Colombian candidates embrace Chávez's ideals', *Miami Herald*, 24 October. (FACTIVA)
6. 'FARC seeking resources to launch Colombian presidential candidate in 2010' 2007, *BBC Monitoring Americas*, source: *Correio Braziliense* website (Brasilia, in Portuguese 23 February 2007), 28 February. (FACTIVA)
7. 'Colombia's FARC seen as considerably weakened but not defeated' 2007, *BBC Monitoring Americas*, source: *Cambio* website (in Spanish 29 November 2007), 5 December. (FACTIVA)
8. 'Rebel group plans parallel Colombian government – Brazilian daily' 2006, *BBC Monitoring Americas*, source: *Correio Braziliense* website (Brasilia, in Portuguese 16 August 2006), 19 August. (FACTIVA)
9. Brittain, J.J. 2005, "'Bolivarian Movement for a New Colombia' Clandestine politics and bottom-up organizing in Colombia', *Socialism & Liberation Magazine*, May <http://www.socialismandliberation.org/mag/index.php?aid=367> – Accessed 16 May 2008.
10. Interview with Raul Reyes: 'Colombia: Is the FARC a terrorist outfit?', *Green Left Weekly*, 19 May <http://www.greenleft.org.au/2004/582/32502> – Accessed 16 May 2008.
11. Brittain, J.J. 2004, 'Colombia: Who is committing the abuses?', *Green Left Weekly*, 3 November <http://www.greenleft.org.au/2004/605/31437> – Accessed 16 May 2008.
12. Human Rights Watch 2003, "You'll Learn Not to Cry" *Child Combatants in Colombia*, September.
13. Human Rights Watch 2008, 'Colombia: NGOs Press Uribe to Address Wave of Violence Against Rights Defenders, Unionists', 26 March <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2008/03/26/colomb18353.htm> – Accessed 16 May 2008.
14. Human Rights Watch 2007, 'Colombia: New Killings of Labor Leaders', 7 November <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2007/11/07/colomb17269.htm> – Accessed 16 May 2008.
15. Human Rights Watch 2007, 'Colombia: Murders Undermine Credibility of Paramilitary Demobilization', 1 February <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2007/02/01/colomb15246.htm> – Accessed 16 May 2008.
16. Human Rights Watch 2006, 'Colombia: Uribe Must End Attacks on Media', 17 April <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2006/04/17/colomb13196.htm> – Accessed 16 May 2008.
17. 'Colombia: Mayor arrested for Farc links' 2007, *Latinnews Daily*, 23 April. (FACTIVA)
18. 'FARC Supporters Convicted After US Sting Operation' 2007, *Scoop*, 9 December <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/WO0712/S00557.htm> – Accessed 16 May 2008.

19. 'Seven dead, 38 injured in Colombia blast, rebels attack oil pipeline' 2003, *Agence France Presse*, 25 August. (FACTIVA)
20. 'Colombia: Unprecedented anti-Farc march in Cali' 2007, *Latinnews Daily*, 13 April. (FACTIVA)
21. Joynes, K. 2006, 'Court Orders Arrest of Colombian Lawmakers Accused of Paramilitary Links', *Global Insight Daily Analysis*, 10 November. (FACTIVA)
22. UK Home Office 2003, *Colombia Country Report October 2003*, October.
23. 'Colombia rebels create political party' 2000, *BBC News*, 30 April  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/731055.stm> – Accessed 16 May 2008.
24. RRT Country Research 2002, *Research Response COL15629*, 19 December.
25. RRT Country Research 2002, *Research Response COL15182*, 14 June.
26. 'Colombia-Ecuador-Venezuela: A Close Call' 2008, *States News Service*, 11 March. (FACTIVA)
27. 'Captured guerilla that participates in the peace dialogs in Caguan' 2006, *Fuerza Aérea Colombiana* website, *El Tiempo*, source: *Associated Press*, 2 August  
[http://www.fac.mil.co/index.php?idcategoria=13357&facmil\\_2007=fe2958d2bfc1a59](http://www.fac.mil.co/index.php?idcategoria=13357&facmil_2007=fe2958d2bfc1a59)  
– Accessed 19 May 2008.
28. 'Government offers 1m dollars reward for capture of female guerrilla' 2002, *BBC Monitoring Americas*, source: *El Colombiano* website (Medellin, in Spanish 24 September 2002), 26 September. (FACTIVA)
29. International Crisis Group 2007, *Venezuela: Hugo Chávez's Revolution*, Latin America Report no.19, 22 February.
30. Carroll, C. 2008, 'Chavez linked to Colombian guerillas', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 May  
<http://www.smh.com.au/news/world/chavez-linked-to-colombian-guerillas/2008/05/16/1210765174202.html> – Accessed 19 May 2008.
31. International Crisis Group 2007, *Colombia's New Armed Groups*, Latin America