IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA

Jesús Cabrera Jaramillo, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estate of Alma Rosa Jaramillo, **Sara González Calderón, in her individual capacity, and** **Alonso Estrada Gutierrez, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estate of Eduardo Estrada,** **Plaintiffs,** **v.** **CARLOS MARIO JIMÉNEZ NARANJO, also known as "Macaco," "El Agricultor," "Lorenzo González Quinchía," and "Javier Montañez,"** **Defendant.**	**CASE NO: 1:10-cv-21951-CIV-TORRES**

EXPERT REPORT OF LUIS VAN ISSCHOT

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EXPERT REPORT OF LUIS VAN ISSCHOT

I. INTRODUCTION

A. SCOPE OF REPORT

1. I have been retained by counsel for Sara González Calderón and Alonso Estrada Gutierrez (collectively, "Plaintiffs") to provide expert testimony regarding the use of violence against civilians by the Colombian paramilitary group *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia* ("AUC") and its constituent *bloques*, including the Bloque Central Bolívar ("BCB").

2. Specifically, Plaintiffs' counsel requested that I independently assess and opine on two issues:

(1) Whether the AUC and its constitutive *bloques*, including the BCB, engaged in a campaign of violence, including torture and extrajudicial killings, against perceived opponents within the civilian population in the Middle Magdalena region in and around 2001; and

(2) Whether there was a relationship between Colombian state actors and the AUC, including its constitutive *bloques*, in the paramilitaries' campaign of violence against perceived opponents in the civilian population in the Middle Magdalena region in and around 2001.

3. According to documents produced by the Defendant, Carlos Mario Jiménez Naranjo ("Defendant" or "Jiménez"),[1] high-ranking BCB commanders have acknowledged that

[1] The Defendant's full name is Carlos Mario Jiménez Naranjo. In this Report, the Defendant will be referred to as Jiménez, following the Spanish naming convention of using the person's "first" or paternal surname. The same convention will be followed for all other individuals named in this report.

BCB paramilitaries were responsible for the 2001 murder of Eduardo Estrada.[2] As a community leader in San Pablo, a key location for the BCB in the strategic Middle Magdalena region, Eduardo Estrada was a prime civilian target for the BCB, which carried out widespread extrajudicial killings. In his own confessions (*versiones libres*) to the Colombian Justice and Peace proceedings, Jiménez acknowledges that upwards of 1,300 murders were committed by BCB paramilitaries under his command.[3] In my opinion, based on my expertise and for the reasons detailed below, the murder of Eduardo Estrada fits squarely into this broader pattern of paramilitary violence carried out by the AUC, including the BCB, against perceived opponents within the civilian population in the Middle Magdalena in and around 2001.

4. Further, it is my opinion that in carrying out this campaign of violence, the AUC, including the BCB, benefited directly from the active support and willful blindness of Colombian state agents, including military personnel and government officials, who viewed the paramilitaries as allies in their fight against guerrillas and their perceived sympathizers. The Middle Magdalena region in particular, where Eduardo Estrada was killed, has been ground zero for military-paramilitary collaboration in Colombia. The symbiotic relationship between paramilitaries and state actors includes the joint commission of massacres, intelligence sharing, training, the provision of weapons and the turning of a blind eye by state actors to paramilitary atrocities. In his *versiones libres*, for example, Jiménez recounts that BCB paramilitaries made arrangements with members of the military for the purchase and provision of weapons.[4] Jiménez

[2] República de Colombia, Rama Judicial, Iván Roberto Duque Gaviria ("Ernesto Báez Versiones Libres"), December 12, 2016; República de Colombia, Rama Judicial, Rodrigo Pérez Alzate ("Julián Bolívar Versiones Libres"), November 13, [year unknown].

[3] República de Colombia, Rama Judicial, Carlos Mario Jiménez Naranjo ("Jiménez Versiones Libres").

[4] Jiménez Versión Libre, November 21, 2007, para. 33.

also describes the extent to which the BCB exercised political control in the region: "We were the authority, we took care of everything, we were everything, we were the State."[5]

5. My qualifications and opinions are set out in greater detail below. A copy of my *curriculum vitae* is attached as Exhibit 1. I have not received, nor will I receive, any compensation from Plaintiffs or their counsel for serving as an expert in this case. Should I incur reasonable expenses tied to the provision of my services in this case, I may be reimbursed for such costs. I came to the conclusions set forth in this Report independently. I have provided expert reports in support of asylum applications, including on behalf of individuals fleeing paramilitary violence in Colombia. I have not testified as an expert witness at trial or by deposition personally in any previous case.

6. In forming my opinions, I rely on my expertise, education, and professional experience as set forth below. In addition, I have based my observations and conclusions in this Report mainly on the following sources: (i) Colombian legal proceedings, including but not limited to investigations by the offices of the Attorney General and Solicitor General on paramilitary violence, (ii) the reports of Colombia's National Center for Historical Memory on armed conflict and human rights violations, (iii) Colombian and international academic research on the history and politics of Colombia, (iv) United States government reporting on Colombia, especially from the Department of State, Central Intelligence Agency, and the US Embassy in Bogotá, (v) reports by international non-governmental human rights organizations, including Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, as well as reports by Colombian civil society organizations, including the Program for Development and Peace of the Middle Magdalena

[5] Jiménez Versión Libre, June 13, 2007, 48 ("Nosotros éramos la autoridad, nosotros arreglábamos todo, nosotros éramos todo, el Estado éramos nosotros").

(PDPMM), (vi) reports by intergovernmental organizations, including the Inter-American Court of Human Rights of the Organization of American States, as well as the agencies and working groups of the United Nations, (vii) paramilitary confessions, also known as *versiones libres*, including those of Carlos Mario Jiménez Naranjo, and (viii) press reports from Colombia and the United States. The consultation of such sources of information is accepted practice within the international human rights community and is consistent with my experience as a scholar of human rights, social movements, and political violence. I have also relied on the sources listed in Exhibit 2 or referenced in the text or notes of this Report.[6] I understand that discovery is still ongoing and I will supplement this Report if needed pending the discovery or production of relevant materials in the case.

B. QUALIFICATIONS AND EXPERIENCE

7. I am an Assistant Professor of History at the University of Toronto, where I perform research as a historian of modern Latin America, specializing in the study of human rights, social movements, and political violence. My expertise on the issues addressed in this Report is based on my education and career as a research historian, particularly with respect to Colombia, as indicated in my *curriculum vitae*. My *curriculum vitae*, including a full list of publications, is attached as Exhibit 1.

8. I obtained a Bachelor of Arts with Honours in History from the University of British Columbia in 1993. I then completed a Masters in Spanish and Latin American Studies at Simon Fraser University in 1997. For both my Bachelors and Masters programs, I studied the histories of insurgency, counterinsurgency, and social movements in Peru.

[6] Where I have included direct quotations from sources that were published in Spanish, the translations are mine. I am fluent in Spanish, and have been translating sources into English for publication for many years.

9. During the period following my Masters degree, I worked for international human rights organizations, mainly on issues pertaining to events in Latin America. I served as an observer in the Middle Magdalena region for 12 months in 1998 on behalf of Peace Brigades International (PBI). From 1999 through 2002, I was the North American Representative of PBI, focusing on advocacy and training. During these three years, I travelled four times to the Middle Magdalena region of Colombia, as well as multiple times to Washington, DC, and Ottawa to meet with State Department, Global Affairs, congressional, and parliamentary representatives to discuss the Colombian crisis. In 2003, I worked for a Canadian federal government agency, the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, where I directed their Latin American initiatives focused on Haiti, Mexico, Peru, and Colombia. In 2005 and 2006, I worked as a consultant conducting human rights research in the Great Lakes Region of Africa (*i.e.*, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Burundi). In 2008, I was Coordinator of a $1 million research project at Concordia University in Montreal, focused on recording life story interviews with victims of genocide and other mass violence, including individuals from Latin America, Cambodia, Haiti, Rwanda, and Holocaust survivors.

10. I received a Ph.D. in History in 2010 from McGill University, where I studied human rights in the war-torn Middle Magdalena region of Colombia, under the supervision of Catherine LeGrand, a leading expert on agrarian conflict in Latin America. Following my Ph.D., I became a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, performing research under Mary Roldán, a leading expert on violence in Colombia. I was Assistant Professor of History and Human Rights at the University of Connecticut from 2012-2014, during which time I was appointed to the university's Human Rights Institute. Since 2014, I have served as Assistant Professor in the Department of History at the University of Toronto.

11. In relation to my academic qualifications, I have authored numerous publications relating to human rights and political violence and have presented on these issues more than forty times, including conference papers and invited lectures. More than half of my presentations and publications deal directly with human rights violations and social movements within Colombia, focusing specifically on the Middle Magdalena region. My book entitled, *The Social Origins of Human Rights: Protesting Political Violence in Colombia's Oil Capital, 1919-2010*, published by the University of Wisconsin Press in 2015, entailed field research in the Middle Magdalena from 2005-2007, during which I collected and studied extensive archival material on the problem of paramilitary violence. I further conducted oral history interviews, with an emphasis on the history of counterinsurgent violence and attacks against social movements in rural and urban contexts. Over the past decade, I have regularly taught both undergraduate and graduate students the history of human rights in Latin America. My current research includes work on the history of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, focused on cases of violence against rural populations.

12. I am currently a member of three professional associations. I am on the Board of Directors for the Canadian Association of Latin American and Caribbean Studies (CALACS). I am also a member of the American Historical Association (AHA), and the Latin American Studies Association (LASA).

13. In tandem with these professional and academic commitments, I have served as a public consultant on numerous issues pertaining to Latin America. I provided testimony at hearings organized by the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General on the Situation of Human Rights Defenders in both Mexico and Colombia. I have been interviewed in both English and French by Canadian national news broadcasters on Latin American current

events, most recently on the refugee crisis in Venezuela. I have also provided testimony on human rights in Colombia to the Canadian Parliamentary Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, as well as to the Canadian Department of Global Affairs with respect to the Canada-Colombia Free Trade Agreement. I continue to dialogue with Canadian Department of Global Affairs officials on human rights in Colombia, most recently drafting an urgent appeal on attacks on social and community leaders that was endorsed by more than 100 prominent Canada and US-based scholars specializing in Latin America. Since 2016, I have served on the Board of Directors for Peace Brigades International's Canadian office.

II. EXPERT REPORT FINDINGS

14. I understand that Plaintiffs have brought suit against Defendant, for the 2001 murder of Eduardo Estrada by paramilitaries in the Middle Magdalena region of Colombia. I understand that Plaintiffs allege that Defendant, a high-ranking member of the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC) and commander of one of the AUC's constitutive *bloques*, the *Bloque Central Bolívar* (BCB), is liable for Eduardo Estrada's killing by virtue of, among other things, his role and actions as a paramilitary leader.

15. This Report provides necessary context for understanding the extrajudicial killing of a civilian in the Middle Magdalena region of Colombia during the time of the BCB's control of that region, including at the time of Eduardo Estrada's death in 2001, namely by examining, in Section III, the paramilitaries' pattern and practice of violence against perceived opponents within the civilian population in the Middle Magdalena region in and around 2001 and, in Section IV, the relationship between Colombian state actors and the AUC, including its constitutive *bloques*, in the paramilitaries' campaign of violence against perceived opponents within the civilian population in the Middle Magdalena region in and around 2001.

III. THE AUC AND ITS CONSTITUTIVE *BLOQUES*, NAMELY THE BCB, ENGAGED IN A PATTERN AND PRACTICE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST PERCEIVED OPPONENTS WITHIN THE CIVILIAN POPULATION IN THE MIDDLE MAGDALENA REGION IN AND AROUND 2001

16. This section details (A) the civilian nature of the victims of paramilitary violence, (B) the significance of the Middle Magdalena region to the paramilitaries, and (C) the pattern and practice of torture and extrajudicial killings of civilians used by paramilitaries in the region.

17. The Colombian armed conflict between leftist guerrillas and state security forces began in 1964. The largest of the guerrilla groups were the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, or "FARC") and the *Ejército de Liberación Nacional* (National Liberation Army or "ELN"). In December 1965, the Colombian government signed into law Decree 3398 authorizing Colombians to engage in "civil defense" activities in coordination with the armed forces, essentially authorizing paramilitary activities.[7] In 1969, the Colombian military approved new "Regulations for Counter Guerrilla Combat Operations," permitting the creation of armed "civilian defense committees," to be monitored by the Army.[8] Since then, Colombia has been the site of a brutal armed conflict pitting leftist guerrillas against state security forces and their paramilitary allies.

18. Colombia's conflict is an irregular one, characterized by a majority of violence being perpetrated against civilians, not enemy combatants. Paramilitary groups have been responsible for widespread violence against civilians, including targeted assassinations and mass killings, as well as torture, death threats, displacement, and enforced disappearances. Attacks by paramilitary groups such as the BCB led by Jiménez peaked in and around 2001 – the year

[7] Gobierno de Colombia, Ministerio de Defensa Nacional, Decreto Legislativo 3398 de 1965, Diario Oficial No. 31.842, January 25, 1966, https://www.minjusticia.gov.co/portals/0/MJD/docs/pdf/decreto_3398_1965.pdf.

[8] Inter-American Court of Human Rights, Case of the Rochela Massacre v. Colombia (Merits, Reparations, and Costs), May 11, 2007, at 27.

Eduardo Estrada was killed. According to National Center for Historical Memory statistics, there were more than 220 mass killings committed in Colombia in 2001, the vast majority at the hands of paramilitary groups affiliated with the AUC, including the BCB.[9] As I explain in Section IV, *infra*, of this Report, in this period paramilitary groups were routinely supported by Colombian state actors, including military and government officials, who both actively collaborated with their paramilitary allies and turned a blind eye to their targeting of opponents within the civilian population.

19. In the late 1990s, paramilitary power in Colombia greatly expanded. In 1997, paramilitary groups unified under the banner of the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia, or AUC, led by Carlos Castaño. At that time, the Middle Magdalena region in Colombia was a major focal point of paramilitary activity in the country. The *Bloque Central Bolívar*, or BCB, led by the Defendant, was a group within the AUC that emerged at the end of the 1990s and became one of the most violent constitutive *bloques* of the AUC, with an estimated 7,000 armed combatants in its ranks.[10] As the head of the BCB, Defendant was one of the top leaders of the AUC.[11]

20. Over the next several years, the BCB established control over the small sub-region of the Middle Magdalena known as southern Bolívar, centered around San Pablo. The BCB was active in this area from 1998 until it demobilized in and around 2005, during which

[9] "Bases de datos ¡Basta ya!" Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, http://www.centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/micrositios/informeGeneral/basesDatos.html (accessed September 23, 2018).

[10] U.S. Department of Justice, "Colombian Paramilitary Leader Sentenced to 33 Years in Prison for Drug Trafficking and Narco-Terrorism," November 9, 2011, https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/miami/press-releases/2011/colombian-paramilitary-leader-sentenced-to-33-years-in-prison-for-drug-trafficking-and-narco-terrorism.

[11] *Ibid.*

time it was responsible for thousands of killings. The events that took place in southern Bolívar were emblematic of wider trends that impacted all of Colombia.

21. In and around 2001, paramilitaries associated with the BCB in the Middle Magdalena region demanded submission from ordinary citizens, including small business owners, elected officials, teachers, priests, healthcare workers, and other community leaders. The cost of opposing the paramilitaries for these civilians was often death. The BCB and other paramilitary groups explicitly sought to secure and expand their legal and illegal business interests, especially drug trafficking in the region. This meant displacing the leftist guerrillas. It also meant sweeping aside anyone perceived to be opposed to the paramilitaries or in favor of human rights. In his *versiones libres* the Defendant acknowledged his responsibility for upwards of 1,300 murders committed by BCB paramilitaries,[12] a number that undoubtedly falls short of the true total of killings committed by those under his command. By some estimates, the forces of the *Bloque Central Bolívar* were responsible for as many as 14,000 murders at the national level.[13]

A. Historically, Civilians are the Primary Victims of Paramilitary Violence in Colombia

22. Colombia's paramilitary organizations serve two closely interrelated purposes: counterinsurgency and drug trafficking. The AUC and its constituent *bloques* pursued these twin goals by attacking individuals and communities they suspected of aiding and abetting the guerrillas, as well as others whom they perceived to oppose their interests in a given region. In order to advance their purposes, paramilitary groups have long practiced varied means of violent political, economic, and social control. Examples of paramilitary attacks include targeted

[12] Jiménez Versiones Libres.

[13] Harvey F. Kline, *Historical Dictionary of Colombia* (Lanham Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2012), 79.

assassinations and mass killings, as well as death threats, torture, displacement, and forced disappearance. Since the 1980s, paramilitary leaders have found ready allies amongst military officials who share their abhorrence of the guerrillas.[14] Paramilitary groups working with the military have long competed with the guerrillas for control over territory and trade routes used for legal and illegal businesses, including but not limited to the production and export of cocaine, which provide significant financial resources for their counterinsurgency operations. However, the paramilitary and guerrillas only rarely met in open combat. Instead, the conflict between paramilitary and guerilla forces resulted in a wave of civilian casualties. Colombian government researchers have estimated that 81% of the 220,000 dead in Colombia's armed conflict between 1958 and 2012 were civilians. Of the few soldiers, paramilitaries, and guerrillas that have been killed, most were killed outside of combat.[15]

23. The paramilitaries' use of violence has never been limited to attacks on suspected guerrillas. Paramilitary commanders have cast a much wider net, and often attacked individuals who investigate or denounce their actions, including community leaders. Many former paramilitaries have confessed to these actions, and detailed how they received support from state actors. The broader category of victims has included journalists, judges, priests, academics, doctors, students, attorneys, teachers, and elected officials. As a matter of AUC policy, critics of the paramilitaries, including those who initiated legal processes against the AUC, were designated as military targets.[16] They have also regularly targeted business owners and farmers for refusing to pay protection money, or other perceived acts of non-cooperation. Paramilitaries

[14] *See* Section IV below for in-depth discussion of relationship between paramilitary and military.

[15] "Infografía: Conflicto armado en Colombia dejó más de 260.000 muertos," *El Tiempo*, August 2, 2018, https://www.eltiempo.com/justicia/conflicto-y-narcotrafico/cifras-del-conflicto-armado-en-colombia-251228.

[16] Deposition transcript of Francisco de Roux ("Francisco de Roux Dep."), Sept. 5, 2018, 36.

have also exacted collective punishment or reprisals against entire communities who resist their impositions. Such actions have included the imposition of codes of conduct on all residents within a particular area, as well as massacres, and forced mass displacements of whole villages. A number of former AUC commanders have admitted to having ordered the slaughter of non-combatants with the help of state forces.[17]

24. Beginning in 1997, paramilitary groups organized by the AUC experienced exponential growth, fueled by the profits of drug trafficking and facilitated by the actions of Colombian military commanders who disapproved of the national government's rapprochement with the FARC guerrillas. The United Nations Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances notes the occurrence of a marked increase in paramilitary attacks on ordinary citizens in Colombia beginning in 1998, which is the time period I was asked to focus on.[18] New paramilitary fronts were opened up across the country over the next couple of years, including the BCB under the command of the Defendant, Jiménez. Colombian government statistics show that more than 1,000 massacres were committed in Colombia between 1997 and 2002, around 70% of which were attributable to the AUC and other paramilitaries, including joint operations with the military.[19] Several thousand people were killed by paramilitaries in the Middle Magdalena region alone during these years, with the worst violence concentrated in the city of Barrancabermeja and the rural areas of southern Bolívar. In response to mounting evidence of

[17] *See, e.g.*, Sibylla Brodzynski, "Colombian Militia Leader Confesses to Massacres," The Guardian, January 17, 2007. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/jan/17/colombia.sibyllabrodzinsky; "El Alemán, Fredy Rondón Herrera," Verdad Abierta, January 7, 2009, https://verdadabierta.com/perfil-freddy-rendon-herrera-alias-el-aleman/.

[18] United Nations Commission on Human Rights, *Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances*, 12 January 1998, E/CN.4/1998/43, January 12, 1998, paras 135–147.

[19] Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, "Masacres 1980-2012," Bases de datos ¡Basta ya!, http://www.centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/micrositios/informeGeneral/basesDatos.html (accessed September 23, 2018).

AUC crimes, the United States Department of State named the AUC organization to its list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations on September 10, 2001,[20] as well as a "Specially Designated Global Terrorist Organization" in October 2001,[21] a "Significant Foreign Narcotics Trafficker" on May 29, 2003,[22] and a "Foreign Narcotics Kingpin" on May 29, 2003.[23] By the end of this period, it is believed that the AUC had between 10,000 and 12,000 fighters at their disposal.

25. In sum, paramilitary groups have a consistent record of threatening, harassing, and killing anyone who stands in their way, including but not limited to perceived guerrilla supporters and local community leaders. Colombia's leftist guerrilla groups are of course guilty of many of the same crimes as the paramilitaries, although their rationale and modus operandi differ. Colombia's conflict is a fundamentally irregular one, and most of the violence perpetrated on all sides has been directed at civilians like Eduardo Estrada, not enemy combatants.

B. The importance of the Middle Magdalena region to the paramilitaries

26. The Middle Magdalena is a hot and humid lowland territory that extends over an estimated 20,000 square miles and includes parts of seven Colombian provinces, or

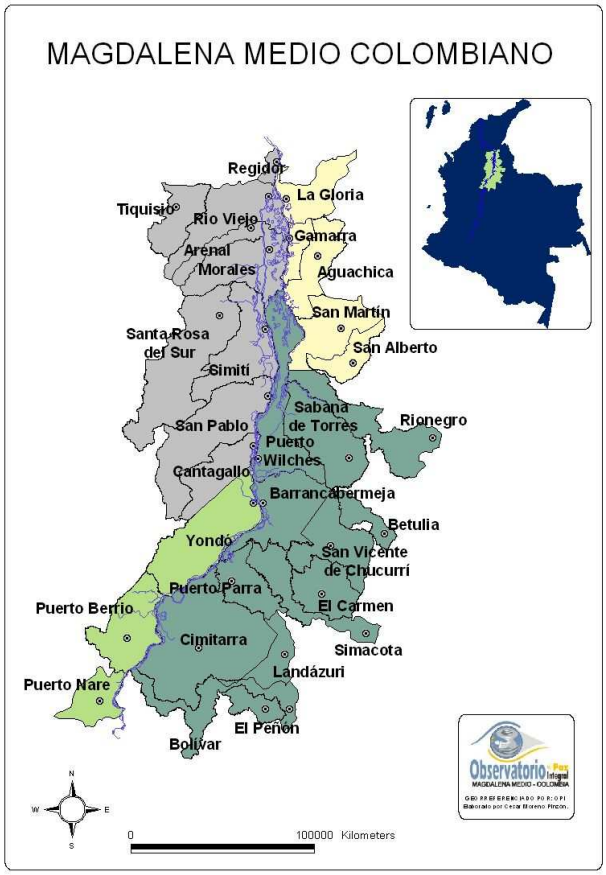
[20] U.S. Department of State, "Foreign Terrorist Organizations," accessed September 24, 2018, https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm.

[21] U.S. Department of the Treasury, "Treasury takes action against FARC/AUC Narco-Terrorist Leaders in continued effort to Halt Narcotics Trafficking," February 19, 2004, https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/js1181.aspx; U.S. Department of State, "Designation of the AUC As a Foreign Terrorist Organization," September 10, 2001, https://2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/former/powell/remarks/2001/4852.htm.

[22] U.S. Department of the Treasury, "Treasury takes action against FARC/AUC Narco-Terrorist Leaders in continued effort to Halt Narcotics Trafficking," February 19, 2004, https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/js1181.aspx; U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, "AUC Paramilitary Leader Sentenced To 15+ Years In Prison For International Drug Trafficking," March 6, 2017, https://www.dea.gov/press-releases/2017/03/06/auc-paramilitary-leader-sentenced-15-years-prison-international-drug; U.S. Department of the Treasury, "Foreign Narcotics Kingpin Designation Act - Tier II: United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC)," February 2004, https://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/Programs/Documents/auc_chart0204.pdf.

[23] Federation of American Scientists, "Text of a Letter from the President to the Chairmen of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence," July 1, 2003, https://fas.org/irp/news/2003/07/wh070103.html.

departamentos (*see* Map 1 below). The region is of great strategic importance as a corridor connecting the country by river and road, and due to highly lucrative investments in natural resources and agriculture. Since the middle of the twentieth century, the Middle Magdalena has been the staging ground for insurgency and counterinsurgency operations. Despite the fact that much wealth is produced in the Middle Magdalena, it has been estimated that up to 70% of the area's one million residents live in poverty, nearly double the national average. Commercial interests in the region include oil drilling and refining, gold mining, cattle ranching, logging, fishing, and farming, as well as the cultivation of coca for the manufacture of cocaine. More than half the population of the Middle Magdalena lives in rural areas. The largest city of Barrancabermeja is home to around 300,000 people. Barrancabermeja is the site of Colombia's largest oil refinery, and is surrounded by drilling fields.



Map 1[24]

27. There are also a number of towns with a population of 10,000 or more, including San Pablo, where Eduardo Estrada lived and worked. San Pablo is located on the Magdalena River in a small sub-region of the Middle Magdalena known as southern Bolívar[25], which is an important area of coca cultivation. (*see* Map 2 below). Southern Bolívar was of special strategic interest to the paramilitaries in and around 2001 because it is an area of longstanding guerrilla presence. Southern Bolívar is comprised of just a handful of municipalities, which include Cantagallo, San Pablo, Simití, and Santa Rosa del Sur.[26]

28. San Pablo itself has a population of more than 34,000 people, most of whom live in the town center. The town center is the site of all of the major social and cultural institutions in the area, including churches, schools, hospitals, banks, restaurants, stores, and post offices. The town of San Pablo is also a hub for commerce. The most profitable business in the region is the cultivation, production, and exportation of coca and cocaine. That said, cattle ranching occupies the largest swathes of arable land in southern Bolívar, and gold mining is common at higher elevations.[27] The events described in this Report thus unfolded in an area that is sparsely populated, yet hotly contested for its strategic and commercial value.

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[24] Observatorio de Paz Integral, https://www.opi.org.co/Cartografia/18.jpg.

[25] Usually referred to in Spanish as, "*Sur de Bolívar*."

[26] Municipalities, or *municipios*, are comparable in size to a county or parish in United States terms. Some authors identify other municipalities as part of southern Bolívar, including Morales, Tiquisio, Arenal, Montecristo, and San Jacinto del Cauca. In this Report I use the term "southern Bolívar" to refer mainly to the most southerly municipalities, as mentioned in the body of the text, above. This is where the main paramilitary actions of the BCB were concentrated in the period under consideration, and which are most clearly considered part of the larger Middle Magdalena region.

[27] Colombian government statistics from 2004 show that around the time of the events in this case, just 5.09 % of the land in the department was dedicated to crops, and 85 % was dedicated to pasture. As quoted in Alejandro Reyes Posada, *Guerreros y campesinos. Despojo y restitución de tierras en Colombia* (Bogotá, Colombia: Ariel, 2016), 226.

Map 2[28]

29. After paramilitary forces were consolidated under the AUC in 1997, they embarked on an aggressive campaign of expansion across the Middle Magdalena, including southern Bolívar. As is detailed elsewhere in this Report, paramilitary groups have been present in the Middle Magdalena since the early 1980s, where they engaged in systematic attacks against civilians, often with the direct support of state actors. The show of force by paramilitaries under AUC leadership starting at the end of the 1990s and carrying through into the early 2000s, when Eduardo Estrada was killed, was unprecedented in terms of scale, intensity and audacity. In Barrancabermeja and San Pablo, for example, the paramilitaries announced themselves as a permanent presence by massacring dozens of civilians in well-populated areas that were closely monitored by state security forces.

[28] Verdad Abierta, https://verdadabierta.com/images/mapa-violencia-sur-de-bolivar.jpg.

30. Paramilitary expansion in the Middle Magdalena was driven by interconnected political and economic goals. Barrancabermeja and southern Bolívar were of specific political importance because they were considered to be historical strongholds of the ELN guerrillas. At the time of the BCB-led offensive, the Colombian government was engaged in peace talks with Colombia's largest leftist insurgency, the FARC. The ELN, a smaller yet still significant organization with thousands of combatants, was excluded from this process. While the FARC was present in the city of Barrancabermeja at this time and commanded urban militia capable of harassing police and Army positions, the ELN had a larger presence in the city. Southern Bolívar was likewise a stronghold of the ELN. In the late 1980s, the ELN had been from rural parts of the department of Santander. In response, they moved their central command to southern Bolívar. The ELN's main bases were located upland in the remote San Lucas Mountains.[29] Towns such as San Pablo and villages such as Cerro de Burgos were key to controlling travel in and out of this zone. It is for this reason that San Pablo and other towns were well defended by the Colombian military and national police.

31. Control over the Middle Magdalena region also provided paramilitaries with access to significant resources, which fueled their counterinsurgency operations. Concretely, the ELN guerrillas in this region had for years been a major beneficiary of legal and illegal business interests, including extortion, drugs, and gold mining.[30] When paramilitary groups moved to

[29] The northern *frente de guerra* of the ELN was established in 1984 during a period of significant expansion of the organization that would last for five years, during which they declared themselves dedicated to fighting a "protracted people's war" on the Colombian state. Mario Aguilera Peña, "ELN: entre las armas y la política," in *Nuestra guerra sin nombre: Transformaciones del conflicto en Colombia*, ed. Francisco Gutiérrez (Bogotá, Colombia: Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales, IEPRI and Editorial Norma, 2006), 209–266.

[30] Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, *El derecho a la justicia como garantía de no repetición, vol I. Graves violaciones de derechos humanos: luchas sociales y cambios normativos e institucionales, 1985–2012* (Bogotá, Colombia: CNMH, 2015), 28,

capture the oil refining city of Barrancabermeja, they seized control of protection rackets previously held by the guerrillas. In this industrial city, power over the retail, service, and small-scale industrial sectors was key to capturing rents and gaining influence. In southern Bolívar, the paramilitaries were keen to take-over the drug trade. Southern Bolívar is strategically located at the crossroads of major trafficking routes north to the Caribbean coast, west to the Gulf of Urabá, and east towards Venezuela. Southern Bolívar was also a well-known area of artisanal or subsistence gold mining. While most of the mining in southern Bolívar was carried out on a small scale, the region was nevertheless one of the more productive in Colombia, ranking consistently in the top three amongst Colombian departments in gold production as of the late 1990s.[31] As the paramilitaries entered southern Bolívar, Jiménez himself it is believed to have invested in gold mining.[32] Small business owners, peasant farmers, and small-scale miners were all very vulnerable to guerrilla and paramilitary pressure, as were local elected officials and public sector workers such as teachers, health care workers, and judicial officials. By the end of the 1990s, when the area was under paramilitary control, southern Bolívar was one of the top five coca producing areas of Colombia, accounting for around 5% of total production for the country. As a direct consequence of the paramilitary takeover of southern Bolívar, coca production boomed, doubling in 1999 alone. The size of coca plantations and the concentration of land increased dramatically during this same period.[33]

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http://centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/descargas/informes2016/derecho-justicia/el-derecho-de-justicia-como-garantia-de-no-repeticion-tomo-1.pdf.

[31] Gold is the most important mineral export from Colombia. Southern Bolívar was one of the first areas opened by the Spanish to the mining of gold in the 1530s.

[32] Tribunal Superior del Distrito Judicial de Bogotá, Sala de Justicia y Paz, Sentencia Rodrigo Pérez Alzate, Homicidio en persona protegida y otros, August 30, 2013, 207.

[33] For further information about this period of economic transformation in southern Bolívar under the BCB, *see* United Nations Development Programme report on the region: Daniel Fonseca, Ómar Gutierrez, Anders Rudqvist, *Cultivos de uso ilícito en el sur de Bolívar: aproximación desde la economía*

C. Paramilitaries' pattern and practice of extrajudicial killings of civilians in the Middle Magdalena region

32. The Middle Magdalena has been the site of a long-standing campaign of violence against civilians, which reached its apogee during the BCB's control over the region in and around 2001, when Eduardo Estrada was killed. In pursuit of its twin political and economic goals, the BCB sought to displace guerrillas from the zone and gain access to legal and illegal economic opportunities, including coca growing operations, which helped fund their counterinsurgency operations.[34] In order to further these ends, the BCB targeted civilians who they believed might oppose them. The murder of Eduardo Estrada illustrates the rationale and modus operandi of paramilitaries in the Middle Magdalena region at the turn of the twenty-first century. This section is divided into two parts. Firstly, I will (1) briefly review some historical context, before describing in greater detail paramilitary actions against civilians, including the offensive carried out by the BCB in southern Bolívar under the command of Jiménez in and around 2001. Secondly, I will (2) closely examine the class of civilians who the paramilitaries attacked, including community leaders like Eduardo Estrada.

1. The paramilitaries' strategic use of violence against civilians in the Middle Magdalena region

33. Paramilitary violence against civilians in the Middle Magdalena has been the subject of international legal proceedings for more than 30 years. The Inter-American Court of Human Rights of the Organization of American States has issued more than a dozen rulings condemning Colombian state security forces for their support of paramilitaries dating back to the

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política (Bogotá, Colombia: Asdi, UNDP, 2005), 79–80, http://www.mamacoca.org/docs_de_base/Cifras_cuadro_mamacoca/DanielFonseca_OmarGutierrez_AndersRudqvist_Cultivos_de_uso_ilicito_en_el_sur_del_Bolivar_desde_economia_politica_Asdi-UNDP_abril2005.pdf.

[34] República de Colombia, Rama Judicial, Tribunal Superior del Distrito Judicial de Bogotá, Sala de Justicia y Paz, Estructura Paramilitar: Bloque Central Bolívar, August 11, 2017, 115.

1980s.[35] Two of these rulings – on the *19 comerciantes* and La Rochela massacres – demonstrate the direct involvement of the Army with paramilitaries in patterns of extreme violence against civilians in the Middle Magdalena. The *19 comerciantes* massacre was committed on October 6, 1987, under orders from General Farouk Yanine Díaz, commander of the Army's XIV Brigade in Puerto Berrío, Antioquia. This case of torture and killing of a group of 19 people in Puerto Araujo, Santander, was carried out at a ranch owned by Henry de Jesús Pérez Durán, the so-called "father of paramilitarism" in Colombia, an associate of the Medellín Cartel. In the wake of *19 comerciantes*, the Inter-American Court ordered the Colombian government to investigate paramilitarism in the Middle Magdalena. Colombia's national Office of the Inspector General then organized a commission to travel to the region. On January 18, 1989, 12 members of that commission were gunned down near the town of La Rochela, Santander. The La Rochela massacre was carried out by mixed group of military and paramilitary fighters, planned in coordination with the XIV Brigade. Over the next decade, paramilitary and military forces would cooperate closely in attacks against civilians in the Middle Magdalena, killing hundreds.

34. The AUC and its constituent *bloques* committed attacks against civilians in Colombia during the late 1990s and early 2000s on a scale that greatly exceeded the levels of violence of the previous three decades of armed conflict. In the Middle Magdalena, this began with the siege of the city of Barrancabermeja.[36] On May 16, 1998, in the city of Barrancabermeja, paramilitary troops carried out a massacre of 32 people with the cooperation of the Army and the National Police. It was the single worst act of violence against civilians ever

[35] Luis van Isschot, "Assessing the record of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in Latin America's rural conflict zones (1979–2016)," *The International Journal of Human Rights* 22, no. 9 (October 19, 2017): 1144–67.

[36] Adam Isacson, The New Masters of Barranca: A Report from *CIP's* Trip to Barrancabermeja, Colombia, March 6–8, 2001 (Washington, DC: Center for International Policy, April 2001), https://adamisacson.com/files/old_cip_colombia/0401barr.pdf.

committed in the region and marked the start of an all-out offensive by the AUC. Barrancabermeja is a city of 300,000 people built around the oil industry. It is by far the largest urban center in the Middle Magdalena and has, since the 1980s, been disputed between leftist insurgents and state security forces. The story of how the paramilitaries conquered the city of Barrancabermeja by 2001 helps to understand the patterns of paramilitary violence against civilians in the region as a whole.

35. On May 16, 1998, at 9:00 p.m. on a Saturday, three trucks carrying approximately 40 heavily armed men dressed in black and green fatigues, their heads covered to conceal their identities, drove past an Army post at the southern entrance to Barrancabermeja. The trucks were brought to a stop at a soccer field that served as a central meeting place in the area, where a large community party was underway. Most of the people in attendance were youth from the neighborhood. The paramilitaries jumped down from the trucks, brandishing guns, and started rounding people up, separating the men and boys from the women and girls. Seven people were killed and twenty-five people abducted in less than one hour. Around 10:00 p.m., the men got back onto the trucks with the people they had taken hostage and left by the same route from which they had arrived. They passed a military checkpoint on their way out of town and proceeded along the main highway headed east. Over the next few days, the hostages would be tortured and killed. Responsibility for the massacre was claimed by Camilo Morantes, commander of a regional paramilitary group linked to the AUC.[37]

36. The Barrancabermeja massacre is emblematic of state actors' complicity with paramilitary violence against civilians in the Middle Magdalena. An investigation conducted by the Office of the Inspector General in June 1998 concluded that Barrancabermeja's security

[37] The United Self-Defense Forces of Santander and Southern Cesar (AUSAC).

forces had received timely and detailed information about the events leading to the massacre and failed to act. Earlier in the day, the commander of the Army's Nueva Granada Battalion located in central Barrancabermeja had issued "Operations Order 100" to Army field commanders, warning of possible paramilitary maneuvers. It ordered armed forces personnel to "carry out military operations to neutralize or destroy the actions of narcobandits and private justice groups" and "undertake searches of people and vehicles."[38] The soldiers at the checkpoint by the entrance to the city would have been aware of the massacre, as would have soldiers stationed in the southeastern part of the city just a few hundred yards from where the massacre was carried out. At around 10:00 p.m., relatives of the victims had rushed to National Police headquarters. They gave detailed reports of the paramilitary attack and requested immediate assistance. But Lieutenant Colonel Joaquín Correa did not respond. No police were mobilized to investigate, secure the area, or pursue the fleeing perpetrators. The commander made no phone calls to the Army. No investigator or coroner was sent to the scene. In fact, a funeral home owner overwhelmed by the task of having to collect the bodies of the dead himself called the police in the middle of the night to see if they were even aware of what had happened.

37. The takeover of Barrancabermeja by combined paramilitary and state forces was carried out over the next few years and was as methodical as it was ruthless. It entailed military, economic, and political controls. Carlos Castaño, former leader of the AUC, described the siege of Barrancabermeja as having been accomplished in two stages. The paramilitaries began by commandeering protection rackets run by the guerrillas in Barrancabermeja's downtown core. They then set about to demoralize the residents of guerrilla-dominated poor suburbs through targeted killings and massacres.[26] Castaño boasted that his men were carrying out "[b]etween

[38] Comisión Especial Disciplinaria, Procuraduría de la Nación, Bogotá (December 7, 1998), 47.

two and three executions every week. For sure. Counting those who really were subversives."[28] Simultaneous to these processes, the paramilitary gained influence over the city government, including the mayor. Government Human Rights Ombudsman for the Middle Magdalena, Jorge Gómez Lizarazo, described the paramilitaries' strategy to achieve dominance of the region: "The paramilitary take control of territory militarily, but also from social, political, and economic points of view. Their project also entails control over the political sphere, financing political campaigns."[39] As the AUC tightened their grip on Barrancabermeja, guerrilla fighters either fled or switched sides.[40] By the end of 2001, the city of Barrancabermeja was firmly under the control of a combination of paramilitaries and state forces.

38. Simultaneous to the siege of Barrancabermeja, the AUC undertook attacks against civilians in southern Bolívar. The paramilitaries proceeded to carry out much the same kind of "political cleansing" in southern Bolívar that they were undertaking in Barrancabermeja, including selective assassinations and massacres. The AUC chief Carlos Castaño then proceeded to reorganize his forces in the area. This reorganization entailed the formal establishment of the BCB and a surge in overall paramilitary troop numbers. By 2001, Jiménez was in command of BCB operations in the Middle Magdalena. He then led a carefully coordinated military offensive that involved hundreds of paramilitary fighters. All the while, access in and out of the region was strictly controlled by the Colombian Army, Navy, and National Police. As was the case in Barrancabermeja, BCB operations in southern Bolívar would have been impossible without the complicity of state actors.

[39] Municipal officials would become directly involved in paramilitary crimes during this time. In 2003, Barrancabermeja's Mayor Julio César Ardila Torres paid paramilitaries $50,000 U.S. to assassinate the local radio journalist Emeterio Rivas.

[40] Juan Forero, "Colombian Paramilitaries Adjust Attack Strategies," *The New York Times*, January 22, 2001, https://www.nytimes.com/2001/01/22/world/colombian-paramilitaries-adjust-attack-strategies.html.

39. The massacre at Cerro de Burgos announced the paramilitary offensive into southern Bolívar. On June 11, 1998, a massacre of 9 people was committed by a force of an estimated 100 paramilitary fighters in the small village situated about 50 miles north of San Pablo.[41] To reach Cerro de Burgos, the paramilitaries travelled by boat.[42] Cerro de Burgos is a settlement of mostly fishing families. The town consists of just a couple of streets and a few dozen houses. Though small, the village is of strategic importance because it serves as an entry point to road and river routes that lead to the larger centers of Simití (pop. 20,000) and Santa Rosa del Sur (pop. 40,000). In mid-June of 1998, I travelled to San Pablo, Cerro de Burgos, and Simití as part of a delegation of diplomatic officials and human rights activists, including the Ambassador of Switzerland, the Political Counsellor of the Canadian Embassy in Bogotá, and United Nations staff.[43] On that visit, we first observed large numbers of people from Cerro de Burgos camped out in the main square in San Pablo. We spoke with the mayor of San Pablo, as well as local police officials, and various other community leaders. We learned from them that Cerro de Burgos had been completely vacated by the resident population in the hours following the massacre. The next day, we travelled to Cerro de Burgos. In the center of the empty village, there was a large hole where a private home had been blown apart by some kind of high-powered explosives by AUC paramilitaries. We then continued by boat to nearby Simití to meet with more local officials. Everyone we spoke with said they were deeply concerned about the likelihood of more paramilitary violence.

[41] Roughly two hours by car on a dirt road, or by water taxi downstream along the Magdalena River.

[42] Indeed, boat is the most common form of transportation in the Magdalena River watershed, which consists of hundreds of small tributaries, marshes and lakes.

[43] Nicholas Coghlan, *The Saddest Country: On Assignment in Colombia* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 31–36.

40. The fears expressed by the residents of southern Bolívar in June 1998 were well founded.[44] Paramilitary massacres were carried out in San Pablo on October 30, 1998, as well as January 8, April 19, August 8, and November 1 of 1999. Paramilitary massacres were also committed in Simití on November 26, 1998, as well as July 25, August 7, and October 19, 1999, and February 26, 2000. The Colombian Army committed a massacre in a small village located halfway between San Pablo and Simití on October 16 and 17, 1999. A second paramilitary massacre was carried out in Cerro de Burgos on July 25, 2000. In total, these events claimed at least 85 lives and provoked the displacement of many thousands of people.[45] While the purported rationale for paramilitary crimes is counterinsurgency, it is worth noting here that during this period the guerrillas in the region were not particularly active. No guerrilla massacres were recorded in the period of 1998–2001 in the municipalities of Cantagallo, San Pablo, Simití and Santa Rosa.

41. Amongst these many acts of paramilitary violence, the massacre in San Pablo committed by paramilitaries in January 1999 was perhaps the most brazen. In January 1999, paramilitary forces attacked the town of San Pablo and massacred 14 people.[46] The massacre was part of a broader pattern of drug-fueled counterinsurgency violence that targeted anyone the paramilitaries considered their ideological opponents. As the Washington Post reported at the

[44] Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, *Comunicar en medio del conflicto: el asesinato de Eduardo Estrada y el silenciamiento de la comunicación comunitaria y el periodismo regional en Colombia* (Bogotá, Colombia: CNMH, 2014), at 29, http://www.centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/descargas/informes2015/EduardoEstrada/INFORME-EDUARDO-ESTRADA.pdf.

[45] According to Colombia's government registry of victims, nearly 250,000 people in the department of Bolívar were forcibly displaced from their homes due to the actions of threats and attacks by armed groups from 1998 through 2001. *See* "Desplazamiento," Unidad para las Victimas, accessed October 1, 2018, https://cifras.unidadvictimas.gov.co/Home/Desplazamiento.

[46] República de Colombia, Rama Judicial, Tribunal Superior del Distrito Judicial de Bogotá, Sala de Justicia y Paz, Estructura Paramilitar: Bloque Central Bolívar, August 11, 2017, 70.

time: "Few people here in San Pablo were surprised by the killings."[47] In Colombia, this is sometimes referred to as a "massacre foretold," after the 1981 Gabriel García Márquez novel *Chronicle of a Death Foretold*.[48] In the Washington Post retelling of the events, a large group of up to 40 paramilitaries arrived in the riverport town of San Pablo by boat on the evening of January 8 and proceeded to a pool hall, where they removed customers into the street and summarily gunned them down. The massacre was foretold because it had been preceded by a series of death threats, including flyers distributed warning alleged guerrilla collaborators that an attack was imminent. In the weeks prior to the massacre, tensions rose to unbearable levels for community leaders. Amongst the individuals singled out as likely targets were the local parish priest and a high school teacher who also served as a member of the local human rights committee. Both men were forced to leave San Pablo two weeks prior to the massacre. I personally attended meetings with community leaders in San Pablo at which these threats were discussed. The teacher and rights activist, Marco Tulio Torres, reported being targeted by acts of intimidation, including a man firing a gun right outside of his family's house.[49] Despite the fact that there was a large police presence in San Pablo at the time, there were no attempts made to stop the massacre.[50]

42. The preceding examples of paramilitary violence against the civilian population in the Middle Magdalena are emblematic of a wider pattern and practice that devastated the lives of

[47] Douglas Farah, "Massacres Imperil U.S. Aid to Colombia," The Washington Post, January 31, 1999, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1999/01/31/massacres-imperil-us-aid-to-colombia/c8ecb0d0-1ed5-4bc2-a062-7ca86dc8dd96/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.14019747ecdd.

[48] Gabriel García Márquez, *Chronicle of a Death Foretold*, trans. Gregory Rabassa (New York: Vintage: 2003).

[49] Amnesty International, En Primera *Línea*: Red de *Acción* Regional sobre Defensores de los Derechos Humanos, AMR 01/01/99/s, November 1998–February 1999, https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/140000/amr010011999es.pdf.

[50] Francisco de Roux Dep., 30–31.

thousands who were perceived as opponents by the paramilitaries. Mancuso, the former head of the AUC, has stated that the paramilitaries were ready to kill 20 civilians to be sure that one guerrilla fighter was killed, or 400,000 civilians in order to kill the 20,000 guerrillas he claimed were in Colombia.[51] In his *versiones libres* to the Colombian Justice and Peace proceedings, Jiménez acknowledges that upwards of 1,300 murders were committed by BCB paramilitaries under his command, including mass killings and the murder of women and children.[52] That translates to roughly one murder every three days for close to a decade by Jiménez's troops based on the timeline he provides in his *versiones libres*.[53] The total number of murders committed by BCB paramilitaries is likely far greater given that not all BCB members provided information through the Justice and Peace process, nor were all their crimes actually divulged. Jiménez himself, for example, was expelled from the Justice and Peace process for failing to provide a true and full account of his own criminal activities.[54]

2. Paramilitaries specifically targeted a class of civilians, like community leaders, who might interfere with their control of a region

43. Paramilitary groups in Colombia in the late 1990s and early 2000s sought military and political control over the areas in which they operated by targeting civilians. The paramilitaries demanded the loyalty of community leaders, whether clergy, teachers, business owners, or government officials. As I explain below, the murder of Eduardo Estrada fits into this broader pattern of violence directed at those who might oppose the paramilitaries' control over a region.

[51] Francisco de Roux Dep., 32–33.

[52] Jiménez Versiones Libres.

[53] Jiménez Versiones Libres.

[54] República de Colombia, Rama Judicial, Corte Suprema de Justicia, Sala de Casación Penal, Carlos Mario Jiménez Naranjo, Radicación N° 48.942, AP7617-2016, November 2, 2016.

44. The story of Eduardo Estrada's social and political involvements at the time of his murder is detailed in a 2014 report from the Colombian government-run National Center for Historical Memory.[55] In their report, the Center's researchers describe the means used by the BCB to exert control over San Pablo and its surrounding region. The overlap between political and economic goals is evident in the paramilitaries' support for protests against the ELN guerrillas, which came in the form of the "*No al Despeje*" ("No to the Ceasefire Zone") movement opposing peace talks between the Colombian government and the insurgents. Through such means, the BCB sought to involve itself in local politics and to supplant independent community-based groups.[56] Beyond these interventions in public life, the paramilitaries issued threats against individuals, who they accused of being supportive of the guerrillas, and anyone refusing to pay protection money, including Eduardo Estrada.[57] As the Superior Court of Bogotá concluded in 2017, the BCB sought political recognition at this time precisely because they planned to take part in the paramilitaries' own talks with the Colombian government.[58] Involvement in the "*No al Despeje*" process thus bolstered the BCB's claims that they deserved a seat at the table.

45. In response to these intense pressures, a number of community leaders in southern Bolívar joined the Program for Development and Peace of the Middle Magdalena (PDPMM). By working under the banner of this well-regarded organization, threatened individuals in San Pablo could have reasonably expected to enjoy some measure of protection from the paramilitaries.

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[55] Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, *Comunicar en medio del conflicto: el asesinato de Eduardo Estrada y el silenciamiento de la comunicación comunitaria y el periodismo regional en Colombia* (Bogotá, Colombia: CNMH, 2014).

[56] *Ibid.*, 38–39.

[57] *Ibid.*, 40–41.

[58] República de Colombia, Rama Judicial, Tribunal Superior del Distrito Judicial de Bogotá, Sala de Justicia y Paz, Estructura Paramilitar: Bloque Central Bolívar, August 11, 2017, 544.

The case of the PDPMM is important to highlight here because of the unique position that this organization occupies in the region as a whole, and San Pablo in particular, as a neutral presence. The PDPMM is dedicated to the alleviation of poverty and the protection of human rights. It brings together some the most important government and non-government agencies in the region, including the state oil company (*Empresa Colombiana de Petróleos*, Ecopetrol), the Roman Catholic Diocese of Barrancabermeja, and the oil workers' union (*Unión Sindical Obrera*, USO). The PDPMM has received financial support from the US Agency for International Development, the World Bank, and the European Union.[59] Uniquely, the PDPMM functions in nearly every corner of the extensive Middle Magdalena region, *e.g.*, in areas of paramilitary and guerrilla presence alike. By cultivating strong relationships with community leaders, they have been able to carry out important social and economic development projects, such as radio broadcasting, fish farming, and civic education, amongst many others. Their director at the time of the 2001 murder of Eduardo Estrada was Father Francisco de Roux, a Jesuit priest named in 2017 by the president of Colombia to lead a national Truth and Reconciliation process.[60] Despite the relative protection afforded by being associated with the organization, numerous PDPMM members were still targeted by the paramilitaries and at least 12 were killed during the period.[61] The head of the PDPMM, Father de Roux, has testified that

[59] *See* "El Programa," Programa de Desarrollo y Paz – Magdalena Medio, accessed October 1, 2018, https://www.pdpmm.org.co/index.php/el-programa.

[60] Officially called the "Commission for the Clarification of Truth, Coexistence and Non Repetition," this is a national government body that will serve to provide victims and others a platform for sharing their stories and seeking redress, analogous to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in post-Apartheid South Africa. *See* Oficina del Alto Comisionado para la Paz, accessed November 26, 2018, http://www.altocomisionadoparalapaz.gov.co/Documents/informes-especiales/comision-verdad-proceso-paz/index.html.

[61] Francisco de Roux Dep., 16:20–17:10 and 43:9–44:18.

Jiménez acknowledged to him that Jiménez had wanted to have Father de Roux killed but was ultimately dissuaded from doing so by another paramilitary.[62]

46. Eduardo Estrada was 53 years old when he was gunned down on a busy street in San Pablo on July 15, 2001. Both Rodrigo Pérez Álzate (alias Julián Bolívar) and Iván Roberto Duque Gaviria (alias Ernesto Báez), the BCB's military and political commanders respectively, have acknowledged the BCB's responsibility for the killing.[63] Estrada was a respected community leader, the owner of a popular restaurant, a city councilor, and a volunteer with several community organizations, including the PDPMM. Estrada served as a city councilor on behalf of the Conservative Party, and had worked for the city planning department. Despite having received the highest number of votes of any candidate in municipal elections, Estrada expressed frustrations about political life. Seeking other ways of contributing to local development, he planned to establish a community radio station and created a not-for-profit organization for the purposes of advancing the idea. Estrada was considered by some to be a potential candidate for mayor of San Pablo. His restaurant served members of the local police detachment, peasants from the surrounding countryside, and just about everyone else from the town. While some of the details of Estrada's community activism are well known, it is important to stress that he was by all accounts exactly the kind of prominent individual that paramilitaries in the region would have sought to turn or eliminate.[64] The fact that he was planning to launch a radio station with PDPMM support to share cultural and political news with the local community

[62] *Ibid.*, 48:1–25.

[63] Ernesto Báez Versiones Libres; Julián Bolívar Versiones Libres.

[64] The story of Estrada's social and political involvements at the time of his murder is detailed in Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, *Comunicar en medio del conflicto: el asesinato de Eduardo Estrada y el silenciamiento de la comunicación comunitaria y el periodismo regional en Colombia* (Bogotá, Colombia: CNMH, 2014).

is particularly significant. According to the human rights group, Reporters Without Borders, Colombia was one of the most dangerous countries in the world to work as a journalist in 2001.[65] Estrada's plan to establish a community radio station has yet to be revived. By working with the PDPMM, Eduardo Estrada and others like him were positioning themselves clearly on the side of democratic development and building alternatives to armed conflict, which ultimately rendered them paramilitary targets.

47. The paramilitaries targeted and killed civilians for a host of reasons. On the one hand, these killings were used to announce the most ruthless intentions of groups such as the BCB. Violence thus broadcasts messages to both local and wider communities. Here, we see civilians killed to broadcast the intention of the BCB to "takeover" the southern Bolívar sub-region and eliminate competing spheres of power. On the other hand, such killings were used to eliminate their perceived opponents. By targeting particular individuals, they also sought to silence potential witnesses who could testify to the actions of the paramilitaries. Attacks such as the one on Eduardo Estrada are not at all random. They are calculated to have certain impacts. Below, I emphasize how they fit into broader and historical patterns of attacks on civilians.

[65] Reporters Without Borders's first worldwide press freedom index ranked Colombia 114th out of 139 countries surveyed for freedom of the press. *See* Reporters Without Borders, "Reporters Without Borders publishes the first worldwide press freedom index (October 2002)," accessed September 26, 2018, https://rsf.org/en/reporters-without-borders-publishes-first-worldwide-press-freedom-index-october-2002.

IV. THE AUC AND ITS CONSTITUTIVE BLOQUES, INCLUDING THE BCB, BENEFITTED DIRECTLY FROM THE ACTIVE SUPPORT AND WILLFUL BLINDNESS OF GOVERNMENT ACTORS IN THEIR CAMPAIGN OF VIOLENCE AGAINST PERCEIVED OPPONENTS IN THE CIVILIAN POPULATION IN THE MIDDLE MAGDALENA REGION IN AND AROUND 2001

A. Historical Relationship between Colombian State Actors and Paramilitary Organizations

48. In this section, I will provide a brief historical overview of the close relationship that has existed between state actors and the paramilitary in combatting leftist guerrillas. Paramilitarism refers to a varied set of phenomena. Perhaps best known to scholars of Europe are organizations with direct ties to state armed forces. These have included legal groups such as the Hitler Youth (Germany) and illegal groups such as Arkan's Tigers (Serbia). Scholars of Latin America have written extensively about both legal and illegal paramilitary organizations, most of which have been dedicated to counterinsurgency, such as the Civil Defense Patrols (Guatemala) and the White Guard (Mexico). In the Colombian context, the term "paramilitary forces" or simply "paramilitaries" refers to private armed organizations that carry out counterinsurgency functions in support of regular security forces, funded mainly through drug trafficking and extortion rackets. Colombian academics have developed a number of ways of understanding paramilitaries, depending on sources of funding, relationship to the state, command structure, ideology, and scope of influence.[66]

[66] The academic literature on paramilitarism is summarized in Winifred Tate, "Paramilitary Forces in Colombia," *Latin American Research Review* 46, no. 3 (2011): 191–200, https://lasa.international.pitt.edu/LARR/prot/fulltext/vol46no3/Tate_191-200_46-3.pdf. *See also* Edwin Cruz Rodríguez, "Los estudios sobre el paramilitarismo," *Análisis Político* 20, no. 10 (May/June 2007): 117–134; Gustavo Duncan, *Los señores de la Guerra: De paramilitares, mafiosos y autodefensas en Colombia*. (Bogotá, Colombia: Planeta–Fundación Seguridad y Democracia, 2007), http://anif.co/sites/default/files/duncan.pdf.

49. Colombian paramilitary organizations are self-governing structures, with varying degrees of connection to the state. In most cases, paramilitary groups enjoy the support of the Colombian Army, Navy, and National Police at the local and national levels. Paramilitary groups also generally demand the support of local public officials, from city councilors to members of congress. The connections that exist between paramilitaries and a range of state actors ensure these groups operational assistance as well as political cover. Historically, paramilitary actions have also been carried out by clandestine units organized directly by Colombian's security forces.[67] Notably, a paramilitary group called AAA appeared in 1978 as a "death squad," supported by then Colombian Army commander General Harold Bedoya.[68] A second wave of paramilitary groups then appeared in the early 1980s, funded by drug traffickers and rural elites in the southern Middle Magdalena, and also supported by the Army. The first such group to join forces with the military was the Middle Magdalena-based and Pablo Escobar-backed Death to Kidnappers, or MAS (*Muerte a Secuestradores*). The MAS worked in close coordination with the XIV Army Brigade in the town of Puerto Boyacá. Over the next few years, similar paramilitary groups were mobilized in conjunction with local Army commanders in other regions, including Córdoba and Urabá, Santa Marta, and in the southern departments of Meta, Caquetá, and Putumayo. In 1983, a special commission of the Inspector General, created by then President Belisario Betancur to investigate rural political violence in the Middle Magdalena, described the relationship between Colombia's armed forces and paramilitary groups: "The MAS is a genuine paramilitary movement...it is composed essentially of state officials who commit

[67] As elsewhere in the Report, here "[state] security forces" refers to the Army, Navy, Air Force, National Police, and the Administrative Department of Security (DAS).

[68] Michael Evans, "La verdad sobre la Triple A: documento del gobierno de Estados Unidos involucra a ex y actuales comandantes del Ejército en operaciones terroristas," *Semana*, (June 30, 2007), https://www.semana.com/opinion/articulo/la-verdad-sobre-triple/86849-3.

excesses when faced with the temptation to increase their capacity by making use of private forces."[69] The special commission's report stated that 59 of 193 MAS paramilitary members under investigation were in fact active duty Colombian military or national police personnel.[70] As recently as 1987, the Colombian military manual Regulations for Counterinsurgency Combat still encouraged the organization of paramilitary units or "self-defense committees." comprised of armed civilians.[71] At the time, the newspaper *El Tiempo* counted eight paramilitary groups with national coverage, as well as more than a hundred smaller localized groupings.[72] Among these were nine in the Middle Magdalena with names such as Rambo and Death to Revolutionaries, in addition to the MAS.[73]

50. In response to international and national human rights pressure, the Colombian government declared paramilitary groups illegal in 1989. But by then it was too late to reverse the process of delegation of violent coercion from state to private actors. In 1994, the government of President César Gaviria used emergency powers to again allow for the formation of paramilitary groups to "protect citizen security."[74] In 1994, the Colombian government passed

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[69] Carlos Medina Gallego, *Autodefensas, Paramilitares y Narcotráfico en Colombia: Origen, desarrollo y consolidación: el caso "Puerto Boyacá"* (Bogotá, Colombia: Editorial Documentos Periodísticos, 1990), 189.

[70] Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, *El derecho a la justicia como garantía de no repetición, vol I. Graves violaciones de derechos humanos: luchas sociales y cambios normativos e institucionales, 1985–2012* (Bogotá, Colombia: CNMH, 2015), 18.

[71] In 1994 several founding members of MAS would establish the Peasant Self-Defense Forces of Córdoba and Urabá (ACCU). In 1997 the leaders of the ACCU would establish the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC), a national paramilitary movement that claimed to have thousands of men at arms. For in-depth reading on the origins of the AUC, *see* Mauricio Aranguren Molina, *Mi confesión: Carlos Castaño revela sus secretos* (Bogotá, Colombia: Oveja Negra, 2001).

[72] "Grupos identificados y áreas de asentamientos," *El Tiempo*, October 1, 1987.

[73] *Ibid.*

[74] *See* Article 3, "Permiso del Estado," of the decree creating these private security units. Presidencia de la Républica, Julio César Trujillo, Ministerio de Defensa Nacional, Rafael Pardo Rueda, Decreto número 356 de 1994 (February 11, 1994), "Por el cual se expide el Estatuto de Vigilancia y Seguridad Privada."

legislation authorizing the creation of paramilitaries to carry out counterinsurgency activities. These new groups would become known as Vigilance and Private Security Cooperatives, usually referred to as Convivir.[75] In 1997, when the right of private militia to bear arms was declared unlawful by the Constitutional Court, some 414 Convivir were already in existence.[76] Most of the Convivir went underground soon thereafter, joining the ranks of the broader paramilitary movement.[77] By the late 1990s, paramilitary networks of varied provenance from different regions of the country, some tracing their origins to the early 1980s, others to the mid-1990s, had banded together under a national organization, known as the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia, or AUC. The AUC and its constituent *bloques* were commanded by veterans of the 1980s campaigns carried out in the Middle Magdalena, and most had longstanding ties to both military commanders and to the drug trade.

B. State Actors' Support of Paramilitaries' Campaign of Violence in Middle Magdalena Region

51. Since the 1980s, the Middle Magdalena has been ground zero for military-paramilitary collaboration in Colombia. While paramilitary groups were formed in other parts of the country, notably in Córdoba and Urabá in the 1990s, the links between military and paramilitary forces, and their influence over local politics, have been particularly close in the Middle Magdalena. As has been documented by the sociologist Mauricio Romero, in regions of Colombia where the state is less present, paramilitary groups developed more of the

[75] *Ibid.*

[76] "*¿Convivir o no convivir*?" *El Tiempo*, March 27, 1997, https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-649395.

[77] It is noteworthy that former AUC commander Salvatore Mancuso had himself previously worked as a legal representative of a Convivir.

characteristics of autonomous armed actors.[78] Conversely, the interlocking of state and paramilitary power in the Middle Magdalena was highly visible to local area residents. The relationship between the AUC and the state in the Middle Magdalena was symbiotic, both militarily and politically. This relationship was visible in three ways. First, state forces in the region used paramilitary-style tactics more flagrantly than in most other parts of the country. Second, state forces in the Middle Magdalena carried out joint operations with paramilitaries. Third, state forces routinely turned a blind eye to the presence of, or coexisted alongside, their paramilitary "cousins" (*e.g.*, Army commanders allowed AUC fighters safe passage, ignored threats, failed to investigate attacks, and denied the existence of paramilitary bases).

52. *First*, the case of the Middle Magdalena illustrates how state security forces themselves directly engaged in paramilitary actions.[79] As such, we have to speak here of paramilitarism as a state-sponsored counterinsurgency strategy, rather than an autonomous phenomenon.[80] Paramilitary expansion in Colombia during the late 1990s engendered an extension of the dirty war against social activists that had begun two decades prior. The term "dirty war" has been used by Colombian activists since the mid-1980s to describe a pattern of state-sponsored terrorist actions targeting civilians. A "dirty war" can be defined as a covert military campaign carried out by state forces or their proxies against political dissidents. Practices such as arbitrary detention, torture, enforced disappearance, and extrajudicial execution

[78] Mauricio Romero, "Changing Identities and Contested Setting: Regional Elites and the Paramilitaries in Colombia," *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 14, no. 1 (2000): 51–70.

[79] Rodrigo Uprimny and Alfredo Vargas, "La palabra y la sangre: violencia, legalidad y guerra sucia en Colombia" in *La irrupción del paraestado: Ensayos sobre la crisis colombiana,* ed. Germán Palacio (Bogotá, Colombia: ILSA/ CEREC, 1990), 131–133.

[80] Julie Mazzei, *Death Squads or Self-Defense Forces: How Paramilitary Groups Emerge and Threaten Democracy in Latin America* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 17.

were employed by Colombian military and paramilitary forces against social and political activists, but also against guerrillas, suspected guerrillas, or perceived guerrilla sympathizers. Paramilitarism in Colombia has been correctly associated with counterinsurgency operations in rural frontier zones, where the presence of the national government and social movements was weak.[81] Under such circumstances, paramilitary groups have worked closely with local command structures of the state security forces. The early impetus for paramilitaries organizing in the Middle Magdalena came from the counterinsurgency nexus of drug traffickers, landholders, and armed forces commanders in the countryside. These networks of actors were essential to the spread of paramilitarism into the city of Barrancabermeja as well. The most important point in terms of the Middle Magdalena region's distinctiveness, however, is the extent to which national security forces themselves directly carried out clandestine attacks on nonmilitary targets in an effort to suppress the region's strong grassroots social movements.

53. For example, in the 1990s, the Colombian Navy employed a clandestine system of assassins known as the Navy Intelligence Network 7. The Navy's employment of *sicarios*, or paid assassins, has been well documented by Colombian human rights organizations.[82] In 1991, the Colombian government, through the Ministry of Defense, signed Order 200 05/91 authorizing the creation of "Intelligence Networks" whereby the armed forces could make use of civilian informants prepared to inform on alleged guerrilla members. Navy Colonel and intelligence chief Rodrigo Quiñónez Cárdenas was assigned to oversee the activities of one such

[81] *See* Carlos Medina Gallego, *Autodefensas, Paramilitares y Narcotráfico en Colombia: Origen, desarrollo y consolidación: el caso "Puerto Boyacá"* (Bogotá, Colombia: Editorial Documentos Periodísticos, 1990); Mauricio Romero, *Paramilitares y autodefensas: 1982–2003* (Bogotá, Colombia: Editorial Planeta Colombiana, S.A., Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales, 2003).

[82] Human Rights Watch, *The "Sixth Division": Military-paramilitary Ties and U.S. Policy in Colombia*, October 4, 2001, 74, https://www.hrw.org/report/2001/10/04/sixth-division/military-paramilitary-ties-and-us-policy-colombia.

network, based in the Middle Magdalena region in Barrancabermeja. Over the next three years, according to figures collected by the Attorney General's office, 68 people were killed by operatives paid by the Colombian Navy in that city. Ten Colombian naval officers and non-commissioned officers have been accused of ordering or carrying out these crimes.[83] Despite his alleged complicity in these crimes, Quiñónez himself was promoted to the position of General. While serving in another region, Quiñónez would be accused of having allowed paramilitaries to carry out the massacre of 31 people in Chengue, department of Sucre, on January 17, 2001.[84] The Chengue massacre was carried out by a group of 50 or more paramilitary fighters with the help of state armed forces.[85] In 2002, charges against Quiñónez for events in Chengue were dropped, and in 2004 the investigation was officially closed. However, he was later denied a visa to enter the United States on the basis of his apparent links to drug trafficking.[86] In 2007, lawyers for the victims' families petitioned the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in Washington, DC, to investigate the complicity of state agents with the events at Chengue.[87] In 2009, a

[83] Corporación Colectivo de Abogados "José Alvear Restrepo" and Corporación Regional para la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos (CREDHOS), *Hoy, como ayer, persistiendo por la vida: Redes de inteligencia y exterminio en Barrancabermeja* (Bogotá, Colombia: Corporación Colectivo de Abogados "José Alvear Restrepo" and Corporación Regional para la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos, 1999), 142-143, 167.

[84] There is extensive documentation detailing accusations of Quiñónez in a massacre committed by paramilitaries in El Salado, department of Sucre. Larry Rohter, "Colombians Tell of Massacre, as Army Stood By," *The New York Times*, (New York, United States: July 14, 2000). *See* extensive reports by United States government officials on the El Salado massacre, collected by the National Security Archive at George Washington University: Michael Evans, "Conspiracy of Silence? Colombia, the United States and the Massacre at El Salado," *The National Security Archive*, September 24, 2009, https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB287/index.htm.

[85] Human Rights Watch, *Breaking the Grip? Obstacles to Justice for Paramilitary Mafias in Colombia*, October (New York: 2008), 64, https://www.hrw.org/report/2008/10/16/breaking-grip/obstacles-justice-paramilitary-mafias-colombia.

[86] "Quiñónez salió de la armada," *El Tiempo*, (Bogotá, Colombia), November 27, 2002, https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-1322331.

[87] Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Organization of American States, Report No. 45/07, Petition 1268-05, Admissibility, Chengue Massacre (Washington, DC: July 23, 2007).

Colombian judge ruled that the government of Colombia had to pay restitution to the victims' families, and in 2011 the Attorney General reopened the case, arguing that the massacre constituted a crime against humanity, and that the charges against Quiñónez had to be reconsidered.[88]

54. *Second*, state security forces provided active support for the paramilitaries' own attacks against perceived opponents in the civilian population in the Middle Magdalena through intelligence sharing, training, and the provision of weapons. The fact that state actors themselves participated in extrajudicial killings demonstrates the correlation between state and para-state forces' interests. In conjunction with their participation in the paramilitary demobilization process, former AUC leaders, including former AUC commander Salvatore Mancuso, have admitted to planning several of the most egregious massacres in Colombian history with the active support of Colombian armed forces and other state actors.[89] The Inter-American Court of Human Rights of the Organization of American States has also issued more than a dozen rulings condemning Colombian state security forces for their support of paramilitaries, including in massacres carried out in the Middle Magdalena region.[90] Declassified U.S. government documents acknowledge the long-standing relationship between state security forces and the paramilitaries.[91] Indeed, the relationship between paramilitaries and Colombian state security

[88] "Masacre de Chengue es delito de lesa humanidad: Fiscalía," *El Espectador*, (Bogotá, Colombia), March 15, 2011, https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/masacre-de-chengue-delito-de-lesa-humanidad-fiscalia-articulo-256994).

[89] *See supra*, Section III.b.1.

[90] Luis van Isschot, "Assessing the record of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in Latin America's rural conflict zones (1979–2016)," *The International Journal of Human Rights* 22, no. 9 (October 19, 2017): 1144–67.

[91] *See* March 12, 2001 Central Intelligence Agency, "Relocation of United Self-Defense Groups of Colombia Southern and Central Bolivar Bloc in Response to Colombian Army Operations in Southern Bolivar," March 12, 2001 Report (reporting that following Army raids of AUC paramilitary locations, the AUC members were subsequently released, along with their weapons, by the Army); March 23, 2007

forces is so pervasive that the paramilitaries have been referred to as the "Sixth Division", a reference to their close integration with the five official divisions of the Army.[92] According to a 2001 Human Rights Watch report, the relationship between state actors and paramilitaries extended to "active coordination during military operations between government and paramilitary units; communication via radios, cellular telephones, and beepers; the sharing of intelligence, including the names of suspected guerrilla collaborators; the sharing of fighters, including active-duty soldiers serving in paramilitary units and paramilitary commanders lodging on military bases; the sharing of vehicles, including Army trucks used to transport paramilitary fighters; coordination of Army roadblocks, which routinely let heavily-armed paramilitary fighters pass; and payments made from paramilitaries to military officers for their support."[93]

55. Such patterns of state support for paramilitaries were especially evident in the Middle Magdalena. In August of 1998, for example, a commander of the Colombian military at the regional level, Fernando Millán, was indicted for his active support of paramilitary

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Cable from U.S. Embassy in Bogotá, Cable: "New criminal groups remain decentralized, but GOC officials concerned Vicente Castaño trying to recreate AUC network," March 23, 2007 Bogotá, Colombia (reporting that former AUC commander Carlos Castaño still enjoys significant collaboration from elements in the police and military); U.S. Department of Defense, "Cashiered Colonel talks freely about the army he left behind," December 24, 1997 Information report (reporting that military collusion with paramilitaries has been happening for years); U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research – Intelligence Assessment, "Colombia: A Violent Backdrop (U)," January 6, 1998 (noting that despite official policy many officers turn a blind eye to paramilitary activities in their areas of responsibility); March 4, 1998 Cable from U.S. Embassy in Bogotá, Cable: "Former Army Officer: Colombian Army crippled by corruption, inefficiency, and a lack of political will," March 4, 1998 Bogotá (reporting that the commander of the Army's 17th Brigade told his subordinates to cooperate with paramilitaries in his absence and diverted a planeload of weapons and ammunitions to paramilitaries in the Middle Magdalena region).

[92] Human Rights Watch has documented abundant, detailed, and compelling evidence that certain Colombian Army brigades and police detachments, including specifically Colombian armed forces in the Middle Magdalena region, promoted, worked with, supported, profited from, and tolerated paramilitary groups, treating them as a force allied to and compatible with their own. *See* Human Rights Watch, *The "Sixth Division": Military-paramilitary Ties and U.S. Policy in Colombia*, October 4 (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2001), https://www.hrw.org/report/2001/10/04/sixth-division/military-paramilitary-ties-and-us-policy-colombia.

[93] *Ibid.*

organizations.[94] In the late 1990s, Millán was commander of the Fifth Brigade of the Colombian Army, comprised of thousands of soldiers deployed to half a dozen battalions across the Middle Magdalena.[95] Millán was accused of having personally overseen the formation and equipping of paramilitaries. Investigations by the Attorney General's office into his actions revealed that Millán had applied for a license to set up a private security operation under the terms of presidential Decree 365 of 1994, but was turned down. General Millán was said to have gone ahead anyway and supported the formation of a paramilitary group. United States Embassy officials expressed private concerns in 1999 about the willingness of then-President Andrés Pastrana to investigate paramilitary ties between the military and paramilitary, citing the case of General Millán. They wrote: "All indications are that paramilitarism has continued to grow during the Pastrana administration, and that the government has done little to confront them."[96] General Millán's case was remanded to the military justice system after it was determined that his alleged crimes constituted acts of service. Although he was subsequently forced to retire, General Millán has never been put on trial by civilian or military justice. I personally interviewed General Millán in early 1998 and can testify to the fact that he openly accused well-known community leaders in the region of being "bandits," which I understood to mean "subversives,"

[94] "Convivir Encarta a un general," *El Tiempo*, (Bogotá), August 16, 1998, http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-747102.

[95] United States officials have long been wary of the links between the paramilitaries and high-ranking Colombian military. One of the most significant cases of this same era emerged out of Urabá. Ambassador Curtis Kamman wrote in 1999: "His systematic arming and equipping of paramilitaries was pivotal to his military success at the time". Kamman notes that General del Rio had been promoted multiple times, and allowed to stay in regional command for longer than is customary, despite having been investigated multiple times for paramilitary crimes, dating back at least to 1985 when he was based in the Middle Magdalena. *See* August 13, 1998 Cable from U.S. Embassy in Bogotá, Cable, "General Ramirez Lashes out at State Department; Two More Generals Under Investigation for Paramilitary Links," August 13, 1998 Bogotá.

[96] Secretary of State, "Official Informal for Ambassador Kamman from WHA/And Director Chicola and DRL DAS Gerson" (Washington, DC: January 25, 1999).

an accusation that is consistent with the paramilitary point of view. The case of General Millán is hardly unique.[97]

56. The close relationship that existed between the paramilitary groups and the military in the Middle Magdalena has also been described in detail by Israeli defense contractor Yair Klein, who first travelled to Colombia in 1988 to work as an instructor in counterinsurgency tactics. In his interviews with respected Colombian journalist Olga Behar, Klein describes joint meetings with paramilitary and military officers, as well as with the president of the Colombian Ranchers Association and elected officials in the Middle Magdalena. Amongst the individuals who helped to brief him on the local context were the commander of the Army battalion in Puerto Boyacá, Luis Arsenio Bohórquez, and several high-ranking members of the national intelligence service, or Administrative Department of Security (DAS).[98] Consistent with what is known about the formation of paramilitary groups in this region, Klein recalls being greeted on arrival by the mayor of Puerto Boyacá and taken to view paramilitary recruits on their training grounds located in the town. A number of prominent paramilitary commanders, including Carlos Castaño and Alfonso de Jesús Baquero, acknowledged that they had been trained by Klein.[99] Klein also observed the delivery of weapons including machine guns and hand grenades to the paramilitary camp by military personnel.

[97] In the 1990s and 2000s a number of Colombian generals were formally investigated and accused of aiding and abetting illegal paramilitarism. These include Jaime Humberto Uscátegui, Rito Alejo del Rio, Álvaro Hernán Velandia Hurtado, Marino Gutiérrez Isaza, amongst others. All of these individuals were dismissed from military service.

[98] The DAS was disbanded in 2010 following a lengthy investigation into the illegal wiretapping of human rights organizations. Simon Romero, "A Scandal Over Spying Intensifies in Colombia," *The New York Times* (New York, United States), September 16, 2009.

[99] For full details on this episode *see* Olga Behar and Carolina Ardila Behar, *El Caso Klein: El origen del paramilitarismo en Colombia* (Bogotá, Colombia: Icono Editorial, 2012), 43–48.

57. Likewise, in his *versiones libres*, Jiménez recounts that BCB paramilitaries made arrangements with members of the military for the purchase and provision of weapons.[100] Father de Roux, the head of the PDPMM, has also testified that information he provided to state actors was quickly turned over to high-ranking BCB paramilitaries, who in turn threatened him for trying to stem their activities in the Middle Magdalena region.[101] Father de Roux describes a "relationship of communication" between the local police and paramilitaries, including specifically in San Pablo.[102]

58. *Third*, state security forces in the Middle Magdalena routinely turned a blind eye to paramilitary presence and activities, including the targeting of perceived opponents. As described above, the nature of the relationship between paramilitary and military forces in the Middle Magdalena was such that it resembled a close partnership with the shared goal of combatting guerrillas, including their perceived bases of support within the civilian population. It is important to understand that the Middle Magdalena region is one of the most highly militarized anywhere in Colombia, and has been for decades, owing first and foremost to the presence of the oil industry. I can personally attest to the fact that travel in the Middle Magdalena during the period under consideration was tightly controlled by state security forces. It was common to be subjected to physical searches at military checkpoints within Barrancabermeja's city limits, on rural roads, and along the Magdalena River, and to have your name registered in a logbook. Although I was made aware of guerrilla forces present in both the low-income suburbs of Barrancabermeja and in the surrounding countryside, I never personally saw any armed insurgents. It was well known that paramilitary troops were active in the area, and on one

[100] Jiménez Versión Libre, November 21, 2007, para. 33.

[101] Francisco de Roux Dep., 27-29.

[102] Francisco de Roux Dep., 30-31.

occasion the bus I was travelling passed a paramilitary checkpoint less than 10 miles from an Army battalion base in the town of San Vicente. The checkpoint was manned by more than a dozen heavily-armed fighters displaying AUC armbands.[103]

59. In the period of 1998-2002, during the very worst paramilitary violence, there were military bases in Barrancabermeja, Yondó, Cantagallo, San Pablo, Simití, Santa Rosa del Sur, San Vicente de Chucuri, Sabana de Torres, Puerto Wilches Puerto Berrio, Puerto Boyacá, and Aguachica, among other locales. Security forces bases were thus present in all of the municipalities of the southern Bolívar sub-region in and around 2001 when Eduardo Estrada was killed.[104] Oil drilling operations and pumping stations across the region were often protected by additional military personnel. Barrancabermeja itself was home to two Army battalions, a naval battalion, and the regional headquarters of the National Police. The nearby departmental capital of Bucaramanga, less than three hours by car from Barrancabermeja, was the location of the command centers of the Fifth Brigade and the Second Division of the Colombian Army, both of which had responsibility for counterinsurgency activity in the Middle Magdalena. From Bucaramanga, mobile counterinsurgency brigades were regularly deployed to the region by road, boat, and helicopter. Tellingly, the BCB's principal base in the Middle Magdalena in San Blas, about 40 kilometers from San Pablo, was accessible by road through a military checkpoint that

[103] I was en route to a meeting with the commanding officer of the Luciano D'Luyar Battalion, who I informed of the presence of the AUC checkpoint. He shrugged in response.

[104] According to the website of the Colombian Army, mobile brigades exist to undertake "extensive and complex tactical operations," and to "undertake offensive operations in different regions of the country to counter terrorist actions." *See* "Ejército Nacional," accessed October 11, 2018, https://www.ejercito.mil.co/?idcategoria=262. Besides entering into rural areas to carry out specific tasks, mobile brigades are sent to reinforce existing stationary Army units. In the late 1990s several of these units operated in the Middle Magdalena and southern Bolívar, including the 2nd Mobile Brigade, consisting of more than 1,000 soldiers, which first undertook operations in this region in the early 1990s. *See* "Soldados Regulares a la Brigada Móvil," *El Tiempo*, February 23, 1991, https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-30366.

the paramilitaries were free to transit through.[105] The BCB base in San Blas, which housed several hundred paramilitaries, helicopters, and torture centers, would have been obvious to those in the region, including the military.[106]

60. Within that militarized context, and in light of the security forces' own participation in paramilitary violence, it is my opinion that targeted killings on the scale acknowledged by BCB leaders could have only taken place with the active support, or at the very least the willful blindness, of state actors. The BCB's assassination of Eduardo Estrada, a respected community leader, fits squarely within the pattern of killings carried out by paramilitaries in the Middle Magdalena with the assistance of state actors.

C. Paramilitary Control Over State Actors

61. The long-standing relationship between state actors and paramilitaries extended beyond the former's support of the latter. It also entailed the infiltration and control of state functions by the paramilitaries, particularly at the local level. The strategy used by the BCB in southern Bolívar followed a pattern of paramilitary violence that resulted in the displacement and replacement of community leaders elsewhere in the Middle Magdalena.[107] Drug money, threats, and official support ensured that paramilitary groups were able to find compliant elites. Within a few months of paramilitaries arriving in any given town, activists in the area who were carrying out human rights work were either killed or forced to flee, and there would often be nobody left to document or denounce the violence. As the paramilitary offensive produced results in terms of

[105] Francisco de Roux Dep., 25–28.

[106] Francisco de Roux Dep., 25–28, 34.

[107] Jacobo Grajales, "The Rifle and the Title: Paramilitary Violence, Land Grab and Land Control in Colombia," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 38, no. 4 (2011): 771–792.

the consolidation of control over town centers, their efforts to the control town councils grew.[108] This emphasis on local power is crucial to understand and pertains to the ways in which the paramilitaries have grown and exerted themselves over time. Narcotraffickers' interests did not align easily with those of traditional political parties in Bogotá. The paramilitary strategy thus meant a fairly complete level of control over life in a given locale, especially during the process of conquest and consolidation, as in southern Bolívar.

62. The Justice and Peace Tribunal designated San Pablo a "zone of intervention" of the BCB from 2000-2006, which meant that the paramilitary group exercised control over the civilian population.[109] In my interview with Jorge Gómez Lizarazo in 2005, then Defensor del Pueblo (Ombudsman, or People's Defender) for the Middle Magdalena region, responsible for the oversight of human rights on behalf of the Colombian national government, he observed the following: "The paramilitary take control of territory militarily, but also from social, political, and economic points of view. So they begin to control the flow of gasoline, they start to control drug trafficking, they control the selling of coca paste coming out of the south of the department of Bolívar, they begin extorting businesses and industries, they extort contract workers for the

[108] William Ramírez Tobón, "*Autodefensas y poder local*," in *El poder paramilitar*, ed. Alfredo Rangel (Bogotá: Planeta–Fundación Seguridad y Democracia, 2008), 137–204.

[109] República de Colombia, Rama Judicial, Tribunal Superior del Distrito Judicial de Bogotá, Sala de Justicia y Paz, Estructura Paramilitar: Bloque Central Bolívar, August 11, 2017, 105. The Justice and Peace Tribunal created three levels of control that the BCB had over different geographic areas. The highest level of control was "zone of intervention," indicating that the BCB held a hegemonic position, followed by "zone of influence," indicating that they competed for dominance with other groups, and "zone of incursion," indicating that they carried out sporadic actions, but did not have a permanent presence. *Ibid.*, 101.

city and for *Ecopetrol*, and they create in this way an economic empire of great proportions. Their project also entails control over the political sphere, financing political campaigns."[110]

63. In order to better comprehend the nature of the paramilitaries' relationship with Colombian state agents, it is important to understand the functions of the state at the local level. It would be inaccurate to describe southern Bolívar as being beyond the reach of the state. To begin, there is the strong military presence detailed above. We can also speak of government. Municipal councils have varied responsibilities, including the oversight of basic services, such as water, sewage, roads, electrical power, healthcare, and education. Below the municipal government is a network of smaller elected community councils knowns as *Juntas de Acción Comunal*. These provide neighborhoods and rural areas with representation at the municipal level and are responsible for implementing small economic development or social service projects.[111] In the Middle Magdalena region, the BCB exercised control over the state functions at all levels as it sought to consolidate its influence over the region. In an interview with leading political scientist Gutiérrez Sanín, the political commander of the BCB, Iván Roberto Duque, explained paramilitary forces' power over elected officials: "We penetrate the structures of local power, we penetrate the structures of regional power, we penetrate the structure of national power… if you aspire to elected office, you want the people of a region to vote for you, we were the masters over life and death… you want to run? Come on, sit down, we can talk."[112] Father Francisco de Roux confirms that the BCB controlled who ran for local offices in the Middle

[110] Jorge Gómez Lizarazo, interview wtih Luis van Isschot (Barrancabermeja, March 8, 2006), cited in Luis van Isschot, The Social Origins of Human Rights: Protesting Political Violence in Colombia's Oil Capital, 1919-2010 (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2015), at 183.

[111] Created in 1953, the *Juntas de Acción Comunal* have always been contested spaces, utilized for partisan ends by political parties, and subject to pressure by illegal armed groups.

[112] As quoted in Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín, "Conexiones coactivas: paramilitares y alcaldes en Colombia," *Análisis Político*, Volume 28, no. Issue 85 (September–December 2015): 131–157.

Magdalena, and that those who ran without the paramilitaries' support would become targets.[113] In his *versiones libres*, Jiménez himself describes the extent to which the BCB exercised political control in the region: "We were the authority, we took care of everything, we were everything, we were the State."[114]

V. CONCLUSION

64. As we consider the patterns of paramilitary violence described in this Report, we need to bear in mind that violence in Colombia is strategic and purposeful. Violence is measured to achieve certain ends and deliver certain messages. Social movement activists and local elected officials have been amongst the principal targets of paramilitaries seeking to control local land, commerce, and politics. These attacks have been carried out with the active support and, in other instances, the willful blindness of state actors who have a long-standing and symbiotic relationship with paramilitaries. The murder of Eduardo Estrada, a community leader in San Pablo, by BCB paramilitaries in 2001 fits squarely within this pattern of violence against civilians.

Executed on: Jun 22, 2019 by: _____
Luis van Isschot

[113] Francisco de Roux Dep., p. 24-25, 33-34.

[114] Jiménez Versión Libre, June 13, 2007, 48 ("Nosotros éramos la autoridad, nosotros arreglábamos todo, nosotros éramos todo, el Estado éramos nosotros").

Appendix I: Chronology of Colombian Armed Conflict

The Colombian armed conflict between leftist guerrillas and state security forces began in 1964. While rightist paramilitaries have always been a presence in the conflict, their numbers and actions multiplied between 1980 and 2000. By the turn of the twenty-first century, what Colombians usually refer to simply as "*el conflicto*," or "the conflict," was being waged fought on multiple fronts in virtually every corner of the country between guerrillas, on the one side, and a combined force of state security forces and paramilitaries, on the other.

1948-1958 – The Colombian Liberal and Conservative parties fought a civil war known as The Violence, during which more than 200,000 people were killed, mostly civilians.[115] Torture was widely practiced by both sides during this period, as was the desecration of the bodies of the dead. Both Liberals and Conservatives made use of regular and irregular troops, and established citizen militia. In some rural areas, regional politicians loyal to President Laureano Gómez deployed paramilitaries known as *contrachusmas* to carry out violence against Liberal Party members. The violence was most intense in frontier zones.

1958-1964 – During this break between The Violence and the contemporary period of armed conflict, the paramilitary groups such as the *contrachusmas* continued to exist. Paramilitaries carried out political cleansing or "mopping up" operations through the inter-war years, as well as revenge killings. There remained small groups of men-at-arms on all sides, including members of the Communist Party that had fought in alliance with the Liberal Party. However,

[115] Mary Roldan, *Blood and Fire: la Violencia in Antioquia, Colombia 1946–1953* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 5.

Conservative paramilitaries did not directly engage Communist Party forces. Rather, most paramilitary activity was directed at soft targets, in areas where local strongmen sought to reinforce their political and economic power.

1964-1980 – Low intensity armed conflict between the state and leftist guerrilla groups begin in 1964. The largest of these groups were the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the Army of National Liberation (ELN). In December 1965, the Colombian government signed into law Decree 3398 authorizing Colombians to engage in "civil defense" activities in coordination with the armed forces, essentially authorizing paramilitary activities.[116] In 1969, the Colombian military approved new "Regulations for Counter Guerrilla Combat Operations," permitting the creation of armed "civilian defense committees," to be monitored by the Army.[117] There is limited evidence of paramilitary activity during most of this period. However, in the late 1970s, the Colombian military engaged in clandestine activities, including extrajudicial killings in the name of the Anti-Communist Alliance of America (AAA).[118]

1980-1997 – The steady growth of paramilitary networks, and their spread across much of Colombia, was funded by wealthy drug traffickers including Pablo Escobar and his associates in coordination with the Colombian military. Paramilitary operations were often conducted jointly

[116] Gobierno de Colombia, Ministerio de Defensa Nacional, Decreto Legislativo 3398 de 1965, Diario Oficial No. 31.842, January 25, 1966, https://www.minjusticia.gov.co/portals/0/MJD/docs/pdf/decreto_3398_1965.pdf.

[117] Inter-American Court of Human Rights, Case of the Rochela Massacre v. Colombia (Merits, Reparations, and Costs), May 11, 2007, 27.

[118] Evidence has surfaced that the AAA never existed as such, but the name served as a front for military covert operations. *See* Michael Evans, "The Truth About Triple-A," The National Security Archive, July 1, 2007, https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB223/index.htm.

with the military. Military support for the paramilitaries increased during peace talks between the government and the guerrillas in the mid-1980s. This period was also characterized by the steady expansion of leftist guerrillas. Both sides captured new territories and expanded their revenues. The Middle Magdalena was the main theatre of conflict between the paramilitaries and guerrillas at this time. Most of these groups' victims were in fact civilians. The paramilitaries' growth culminated in 1997 with the unification of more than a half dozen separate organizations under the banner of the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC), led by Carlos Castaño.

1997-2002 – Period of exponential growth of paramilitaries, and continued growth of guerrillas, concurrent with failed peace dialogue between the FARC and the government of Conservative Party president Andrés Pastrana. This was by far the most violent period of the Colombian armed conflict, and paramilitary groups dramatically widened the extent of their attacks on civilians. Thousands of people were killed by the paramilitary, military, and guerrillas, with the AUC responsible for a majority of these crimes. During this period, Colombian paramilitary and military forces combined to commit hundreds of mass killings or massacres.[119] The Middle Magdalena continued to be an area of major paramilitary activity. Several thousand people were killed by paramilitaries in the region alone during these years, with the worst violence concentrated in Barrancabermeja and southern Bolívar. The United States Department of State

[119] Statistics compiled by the Colombian government show that more than 1,000 massacres were committed in Colombia between 1997 and 2002, around 70 % of which were attributable to AUC and other paramilitaries, sometimes in joint operations with the military. *See* "Bases de datos ¡Basta ya!" Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, Masacres 1980-2012, http://www.centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/micrositios/informeGeneral/basesDatos.html (accessed September 23, 2018.

named the AUC to its list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations on September 10, 2001.[120] By the end of this period, it is believed that the AUC had up to 12,000 fighters at their disposal.

2002-present – This period has been characterized by the formal demobilization of the AUC, which began in 2002, and accelerated in 2005 following the signing of the Justice and Peace Law that guaranteed clemency or immunity for most paramilitary commanders and fighters. The demobilization process was marred by the formation of new paramilitary groups.[121] Paramilitaries in this period continued to carry out targeted killings, threats, and mass killings, especially in rural areas. In the Middle Magdalena region, paramilitaries remained engaged in drug trafficking. Most guerrillas have either demobilized or fled the region. In the time since the signing of a Peace Accord between the government and the FARC in November 2016, paramilitary activity in Colombia has continued, resulting in a new wave of attacks against social leaders and hundreds of murders of community activists. According to the United Nations, a majority of the nearly 100 killings of human rights defenders in 2017 were committed specifically in rural areas (62%) and in areas where the now-demobilized FARC had a historical presence (64%).[122] The ELN has been engaged in peace talks with the Colombian government since 2017, with little progress made to date.

[120] U.S. Department of State, "Foreign Terrorist Organizations," accessed September 24, 2018, https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm.

[121] These new paramilitary groups are sometimes referred to as neoparamilitaries, paramilitary successor groups, or simply as Criminal Bands (Bandas Criminales, BACRIM), or by their individual names, such as the Gaitanistas Self-Defence Forces of Colombia, Urabeños, etc.

[122] *See* United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Annual Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on the situation of human rights in Colombia*, A/HRC/37/3/Add.3, March 2, 2018, 3, http://www.hchr.org.co/documentoseinformes/informes/altocomisionado/A-HRC-37-3-Add_3_EN.pdf.

Exhibit 1

CURRICULUM VITAE

LUIS VAN ISSCHOT
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Canada M5S 3G3

Languages: English, French and Spanish (all fluent written and spoken)

CURRENT POSITION

Assistant Professor of the History of Modern Latin America, University of Toronto

RESEARCH AND TEACHING

Modern Latin America; social movements; human rights; peace and conflict; law and society; international institutions; transitional justice; insurgency and counterinsurgency.

EDUCATION

2012 **Postdoctoral Fellow**
Graduate Center, City University of New York (New York, New York)
Supervised by Mary Roldán

2010 **PhD, History**
McGill University (Montréal, Québec)
"The Social Origins of Human Rights: Popular Responses to Political Violence in a Colombian Oil Refinery Town, 1919-1993".
Supervised by Catherine C. LeGrand

1997 **MA, Spanish and Latin American Studies**
Simon Fraser University (Burnaby, British Columbia)
"*Pacificación y Desarrollo*: Clientelism, Community Kitchens and the Articulation of Social Policy in Peru".
Supervised by Geoffrey Spurling

1993 **Honours BA, History**
University of British Columbia (Vancouver, British Columbia)
"Community Organizing and the Roots of Peru's *Sendero Luminoso*".
Supervised by William E. French

Doctoral Comprehensive Exams
History of the Andean Region – Catherine C. LeGrand
Atlantic History – Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert
International Human Rights – Stephen J. Toope

FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

June 1, 2018-May 30, 2022 – Co-Applicant
- Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), Insight Grant, Principal Investigator, Marie-Christine Doran, University of Ottawa, *Violence et démocratie : la criminalisation de la lutte pour les droits en Amérique latine*, $291,838

June 1, 2016-May 30, 2019 – Principal Investigator
- Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), Insight Development Grant, Putting Human Rights on Trial, $39,082

January 1, 2016-March 31, 2016 – Principal Investigator
- University of Toronto, SIG Award, *When the Courts Make History: International Justice and Human Rights in Latin America*, $1,500

June 1, 2015-May 31, 2017 – Principal Investigator
- University of Toronto, Connaught New Researcher Award, *When the Courts Make History: International Justice in Latin America*, $10,000

March 30, 2015-March 29, 2016 – Principal Investigator
- Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), Connection Grant, *Land, Memory and Justice: Challenges for Peace in Colombia*, $13,262

January 1, 2015-March 31, 2015 – Principal Investigator
- University of Toronto, SIG Award, *When the Courts Make History: International Justice and Human Rights in Latin America*, $1,000

June 1, 2013-May 31, 2014 – Principal Investigator
- University of Connecticut, Research Foundation, Faculty Grant, *Understanding the Impact of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in Latin America's Conflict Zones*, $7,764

January 1, 2013-May 31, 2013 – Organizer
- University of Connecticut, Human Rights Institute Program Award, to organize event on *Human Rights and Transnational Solidarity in Cold War Latin America*, $1,500

January 1, 2013-May 31, 2013 – Principal Investigator
- University of Connecticut, Social Sciences, Humanities, and Arts Research Experience Grant, *When the Courts Make History: International Justice in Latin America*, $5,000

April 1, 2010-March 31, 2012 – Principal Investigator
- Postdoctoral Fellowship, Fonds québécois de la recherche sur la société et la culture (FQRSC), based at Graduate Center, City University of New York, $64,000

January 1, 2010-April 30, 2010 – Principal Investigator
- Department of History, McGill University, Dissertation Completion Grant, $5,000

January 1, 2009-March 31, 2010 – Principal Investigator
- McGill University, Huntley Sinclair Dissertation Completion Grant, $7,500

September 1, 2006-April 30, 2009 – Principal Investigator
- McGill University Centre for Developing Area Studies Student Fellowship, $4,000

September 1, 2005-April 30, 2009 – Principal Investigator
- Doctoral Fellowship, based at McGill University, Fonds québécois de la recherche sur la société et la culture (FQRSC), $40,000

RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS

Books

Los orígenes sociales de los derechos humanos: protestando la violencia política en la capital petrolera de Colombia, 1919-2010. Bogotá, Colombia: Editorial Universidad del Rosario (in press).

The Social Origins of Human Rights: Protesting Political Violence in Colombia's Oil Capital, 1919-2010. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press (2015).

Journal Articles

"Assessing the Impact of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in Latin America's Rural Conflict Zones (1979-2015)" in *International Journal of Human Rights* Vol. 22, No. 9 (2018), 1144-1167.

Catherine LeGrand, Luis van Isschot and Pilar Riaño-Alcalá. "Land, Memory and Justice in Colombia", *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studie*s, Vol. 42, No. 3 (2017), 259-276.

Special Issue of Journal

Luis van Isschot, Catherine LeGrand and Pilar Riaño-Alcalá, eds. "Land, Memory and Justice in Colombia", *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (2017).

Book Chapters

"Rural Colombia: The Architecture of State-Sponsored Violence and New Power Configurations" in Liisa North and Timothy D. Clark, eds., *Dominant Elites in Latin America*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan (2017), 119-148.

"The Heart of Activism in Colombia: Reflections on Activism and Oral History Research in a Conflict Area", in Anna Sheftel and Stacey Zembrzycki, eds. *Off the Record: Unspoken Negotiations in the Practice of Oral History*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan (2013), 239-254.
Off the Record won the 2013 Oral History Association Book Award.

Occasional Paper

Tremblay, Philippe, with Madeleine Desnoyers and Luis van Isschot. "Haïti : un bicentenaire au goût amer", Rights and Democracy, International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development. Montréal: January 2004, 62 pp.

Book Reviews

Lynn Stephen. *We are the Face of Oaxaca: Testimony and Social Movements*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press), *Oral History Review* Vol. 44, No. 1 (Winter/Spring 2017), 165-168.

Jasmin Hristov. *Blood and Capital: The Paramilitarization of Colombia*. (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2009), *Labour / Le Travail*, Vol. 66 (Fall 2010), 281-283.

Pierre Beaucage and Martin Hébert, eds. *Images et langages de la violence en Amérique latine*. (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2008), *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 68, (2009), 232-234.

Doug Stokes. *America's Other War: Terrorizing Colombia*. (London and New York: Zed Books, 2005), *The International History Review*, Vol. XXVIII (November 2006), 664-665.

OTHER RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

2008 Project Coordinator – "Life Stories of Montrealers Displaced by War, Genocide, Violence, and other Human Rights Violations"
Coordination of $1 million oral history project, principal investigator Steven High, Canada Research Chair in Public History, Concordia University.

2005-2006 Research Consultant – Peace Brigades International and FrontLine
Field research and consultations on security of human rights defenders in the Great Lakes Region of Africa (Rwanda, Burundi, DR Congo).

2004-2006 Research Officer – Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation (Montréal, Québec)
Conducted research on candidates for all major academic awards.

RESEARCH AFFILIATIONS

2014-2015 Member, Working Group on Energy in the Humanities, Jackman Humanities Institute, University of Toronto
2011-2013 External Member, Réseau d'études sur l'Amérique latine, Centre d'études et de recherches internationales, Université de Montréal
2008-2010 Fellow, "Life Stories of Montrealers Displaced by War, Genocide and other Human Rights Violations", Department of History, Concordia University
2004-2009 Fellow, McGill University Centre for Developing Area Studies

TEACHING AT UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Graduate Supervision

Doctoral Committees

- Mónica Espaillat Lizardo, *Transversive Moments: A Trans History of Hispaniola, 1930-2013*
- Cathleen Clark, *Transnational Indigenous Rights Advocacy in Canada, 1969-1982*
- Shenella Charles, *Indigenous Rights in Guyana*
- Danijel Matijevic, *Genocide and Population Cleansing in Croatia, 1939-47: Regional and Temporal Variations*
- *Cathleen Clark, Transnational Indigenous Rights Advocacy in Canada, 1969-1982*

Masters Thesis

- Ben Falconer, *Building Democracy in Post-Apartheid South Africa: The Evolving Role of the Judiciary under Transformative Constitutionalism* (complete 2018)

Graduate Teaching

2018-2019	External examiner on PhD dissertation, Bethan Fisk, *The Wilderness Within: African Diasporic Religion in New Granada, 1690-1790*
2017-2018	Supervision of minor field in Modern Latin American History (Juan Carlos Mezo González) Supervision of PhD exam field in the History of the State in Colombia, at Colegio de Michoacán, Mexico (John Jairo Bedoya). Global Rights: A Critical History (seminar)
2016-2017	Supervision of minor field in State, Politics and the Law (Shenella Charles) Global Rights: A Critical History (seminar)
2015-2016	Supervision of minor fields in Modern Latin American History (Katie Davies, Monica Espaillat Lizardo and Danijel Matijevic). Independent Research Study on Historical Memory and Human Rights, Shenella Charles

Undergraduate Teaching

2019	Latin America in the National Period (lecture course) Histories of Violence (lecture course) Political Violence and Human Rights in Latin America (lecture course) Historical Memory and Transitional Justice in Latin America (seminar) Honours thesis supervisor, Mira Pijselman, *Digital Drugs: The Resilience of Colombian Coca(ine) in the Information Age*
2018	Histories of Violence (lecture course) Latin America in the National Period (lecture course) Honours thesis supervisor, Tara Moulson, *Remembrances: Examining Sites of Memory in Spain and Chile*

2017 Latin America in the National Period (lecture course)
Political Violence and Human Rights in Latin America (lecture course)
Historical Memory and Transitional Justice in Latin America (seminar)
2016 Latin America in the National Period (lecture course)
Historical Memory and Transitional Justice in Latin America (seminar)
Independent Research Study, Memory and Human Rights in Colombia, Natalia Valencia Caquimbo
2015 Political Violence and Human Rights in Latin America (lecture course)
Latin America in the National Period (lecture course)
International Justice in Latin America (seminar)
2014 Political Violence and Human Rights in Latin America (lecture course)

TEACHING AT UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT

Graduate Teaching and Supervision

2013-2014 Committee member, Masters Thesis, *Photographic Representations of the Peruvian Conflict and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Andrea Chunga Celis
2013 Supervision of Masters Exam, "History of Human Rights in Latin American-United States Relations", Elena Nora Lunt

Undergraduate Teaching

2014 Colonial Latin America (lecture course)
Violence and Human Rights in Latin America (undergraduate seminar)
2013 Introduction to Human Rights (lecture course)
Colonial Latin America (lecture course)
Human Rights in Latin America (undergraduate seminar)

OTHER TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Concordia University

2009 Introduction to Oral History (community/faculty training program)

McGill University

2008 Individual supervision of internship and major research paper for senior student, with Equitas-International Centre for Human Rights Education.
2007 Instructor – Human Rights in Latin America (seminar course)
2006 Instructor – History of Latin America to 1825 (lecture course)
2005 Teaching Assistant – History of Latin America since 1825
2004 Teaching Assistant – History of Latin America to 1825
Teaching Assistant – History of Latin America since 1825
2003 Teaching Assistant – History of Latin America to 1825

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

2018-2019 Graduate Admissions Committee
2016-2017 Search Committee, Department of History
2014-2017 History, University of Toronto, Undergraduate Program Committee
2013-2014 Human Rights Institute, UConn - Monday Seminar Series Organizer
History, UConn - Chair's Advisory Committee
2012-2013 Human Rights Institute, UConn - Program Funding Committee

CONFERENCE PAPERS

"The Anti-War Roots of Canadian Solidarity with Latin America: Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and Human Rights in the 60s", *Canadian Association of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, Montreal, QC, May 13, 2018

"Rural Colombia: The Architecture of State-sponsored Violence and New Power Configurations", conference paper, *Canadian Association of Latin American and Caribbean Studies Conference*, Guelph, ON, June 2017.

"The Colombian Peace Accord: Realistic Responses to Colossal Challenge", conference paper, *Canadian Association of Latin American and Caribbean Studies Conference*, Guelph, ON, June 2017.

"Transnational Human Rights in Latin American Conflict Zones: Peruvian and Colombian Experiences in Comparative Perspective, 1979-2015", Conference paper, *Latin American Studies Association Congress*, Lima, Peru: April 2017.

"The Human Rights Frontier: Mapping and Claiming Colombia's Rural Conflict Zones", Conference paper, *Latin American Studies Association Congress*, New York City: June 2016.

"The Human Rights Frontier: Mapping and Claiming Colombia's Rural Conflict Zones", Conference paper at *Historical Materialism Toronto*, York University: May 2016.

"The Impact of the Inter-American Human Rights System in Colombia's Rural Conflict Zones", at *Land, Memory and Justice: Challenges for Peace in Colombia*, Colloquium at the University of Toronto, Toronto: October 2-3, 2015.

"The love and commitment of crusaders": The Mission of the Inter-American Human Right System in Historical Perspective", Conference paper, *Latin American Studies Association Congress*, Chicago: May 2014.

"Justice in Times of War: Civil Society, Armed Conflict, and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights", Conference paper, *Latin American Studies Association Congress*, Washington, DC: May 2013.

"Guerrillas, Paramilitaries and the Hidden Transcripts of Social Activism", Conference paper at *Oral History Association Conference*, Cleveland, Ohio: October 2012.

"This Doesn't Leave this Room: War Secrets and Confidence, from Activist to Academic", Conference paper at *Off the Record: Unspoken Negotiations in the Practice of Oral History*, hosted by Concordia University, Montréal: April 2011.

"Bullets, Ballots and Protests: Social Movements and the Political Wing of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, the Patriotic Union (1985-1993)", Conference paper, *Latin American Studies Association Congress*, Toronto: October 2010.

"Human Rights Defenders Respond to Catastrophic Change: Reflections on Oral History Research in Conflict Areas", Conference paper, *Latin American Studies Association Congress*, Rio de Janeiro: June 2009.

"L'Histoire de vie, entre communautés et universités; Histoires de vie des Montréalais déplacés par la guerre, le génocide et autres violations aux droits de la personne**"**, Presentation at *En faire toute une histoire! L'engagement social en histoire et en muséologie*, hosted by the Université du Québec à Montréal, Montréal: October 2008.

"Social Movements and Repression in the Magdalena Medio, Colombia", Conference paper at *Conflict and Political Change in Venezuela and Colombia*, hosted by the University of Liverpool, Liverpool: November 2007.

"Inner City Front: Towards a Social Theory of Human Rights Movements in Urban Conflict Areas", Conference paper, *Latin American Studies Association Congress*. Montréal: September 2007.

"The Social Origins of Human Rights: The Politics of Violence in Barrancabermeja, Colombia, 1970-1990", Conference paper, *Canadian Association for Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, University of Calgary, Calgary: September 2006.

"The Intimacy of Power: Building Effective Networks for Human Rights Protection in Conflict Areas", Conference paper at *Pierre Trudeau Public Policy Conference: Sharing Knowledge Across Cultural Boundaries and Security Barriers*, Montréal: October 2004.

"Defending Human Rights Defenders", Conference paper at *Forum on Democracy, Political Representation, Social Exclusion and Security in the Andes*, Symposium hosted by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Ottawa: October 2003.

"International Accompaniment and the Protection of Human Rights Defenders in Colombia, 1998-2002", Conference paper, *Canadian Association for Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, Université du Québec à Montréal, Montréal: October 2003.

ACADEMIC EVENTS AND PANELS ORGANIZED

"Ciencias Sociales, Sensibilidades y Sociedades", Co-organizer of seminar with Argentina's *Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Sociológicos*, papers by 23 scholars, University of Toronto, July 13-14, 2018.

"Le Canada, le Québec et l'Amérique latine : Pour une nouvelle approche de l'histoire de la solidarité interaméricaine" Pt. I and II, Co-organizer of two panels with Geneviève Dorais, *Canadian Association of Caribbean and Latin American Studies Congress*, Université du Québec à Montréal, May 17, 2018.

"Transnational Resistance: Politics, Migration, and Rights in 20th Century Latin America", Co-organizer of panel with Geneviève Dorais (Université du Québec à Montréal) and Mireya Loza (National Museum of American History). Sponsored by University of Toronto (Department of History, University of Toronto-Mississauga, Latin American Studies). University of Toronto, March 14, 2018.

Facilitation of two 3-hour workshops on Oral History Interviewing for participants in Social Science and Humanties Research Council Partnership Grant project "The Family Camera Network", University of Toronto (May 2016 and July 2017).

"Land, Memory and Justice in Colombia: Regional Perspectives", organizer and chair of panel for Latin American Studies Association Congress. Papers by María Clemencia Ramírez (Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia); Ingrid Johanna Bolívar (University of Wisconsin-Madison); Daniel Tubb (Yale University); John Jairo Bedoya (Colegio de Michoacán). New York City, June 2016.

"Land, Memory and Justice: Challenges for Peace in Colombia", Organizer of two-day colloquium at the University of Toronto St. George Campus, featuring 20 papers on 6 panels, plus keynote public event "Conflict and Historical Memory in Colombia, Launch of Basta Ya! Memories of War and Dignity", final report of Colombia National Historical Memory Centre, October 2-3, 2015.

"Colombia: Peace from the Ground Up", Community conference with Berenice Celeita, Winner of the RFK Human Rights Award and Founder of Nomadesc Colombia; Moira Birss of Peace Brigades International Colombia; Monica Gutierrez, Director of *Crude Gold: Stories of Justice Denied in Colombia*; and Pat Van Horne of the United Steelworkers, at Beit Zatoun, Toronto, June 8, 2015.

"Colombia's Search for Justice in the Time of Conflict", Organizer of panel discussion, with Kimberly Theidon (Harvard University), Pilar Riaño-Alcalá (University of British Columbia), Adam Isaacson (Washington Office on Latin America) and Winifred Tate (Colby College), University of Connecticut, Human Rights Institute, *10th Anniversary Conference: Contexts of Human Rights*, September 21, 2013.

"Human Rights and Transnational Solidarity in Latin America", Organizer of seminar, with Brenda Elsey (Hofstra University), James N. Green (Brown University), Jessica Sites Mor (University of British Columbia), Ernesto Capello (Macalester College), University of Connecticut, April 10, 2013.

SELECTED INVITED PRESENTATIONS

"Historians Facing a Contentious Present in Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela, and Panama", invited participation in roundtable, Gran Colombia Section, Conference on Latin American History, American Historical Association, Chicago, January 5, 2019.

"Activism and the Latin American Working Group Collection", presentation at Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean 40th Anniversary Event, York University, Toronto, November 8, 2018.

"El amor de las barricadas: la historia afectiva de los derechos humanos en Colombia", conference paper at **"**Ciencias Sociales, Sensibilidades y Sociedades" seminar, hosted by University of Toronto and *Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Sociológicos*, University of Toronto, Toronto, July 13-14, 2018.

"Los orígenes sociales de los derechos humanos: la protesta popular en Barrancabermeja", invited 60 minute public lecture at Universidad Industrial de Santander, Bucaramanga, Colombia, April 10, 2018.

"El Rincón de la social-bacaneria: el movimiento de derechos humanos entre el duelo y la esperanza en Barrancabermeja", invited 60 minute lecture at Doctoral Colloquium series, Universidad de los Andes Faculty of Law, Bogotá, Colombia, April 6, 2018.

"Crusaders and Heretics: Towards a New History of Liberal and Radical Movements for Human Rights in Latin America", paper for symposium, *Reconciliation and Resistance: Literatures and Cultures of Human Rights*, Stanford University, May 11-12, 2017.

"Activist Archives", Presentation at Opening of Latin American Working Group Archive organized by Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean, York University, Toronto: February 2017.

"Understanding the Colombian Plebiscite", Participant in Expert Panel on Peace Process in Colombia organized by Canadian Colombia Professional Association, Albany Club, Toronto: October 3, 2016.

"Human Rights Organizing in Colombia's Rural Conflict Zones: The Possibilities and Limitations of Transnational Advocacy", presentation at conference *Historical Conflicts and the Prospects for Peace in Colombia*, Vanderbilt University: March 25, 2016.

“Human Rights and Public Memory in Latin America: Colombia’s Basta Ya”, presentation at *The Politics and Poetics of Public History Interactions Seminar*, University of Toronto-Scarborough: March 18, 2016.

“The Social Origins of Human Rights: Protesting Political Violence in Colombia’s Oil Capital”, presentation at meeting of Science for Peace, University of Toronto: March 16, 2016.

“Revolution and Rights”, presentation at University of Toronto History Students’ Association Conference, The Brutalities of Progress: Revolution, Resistance, and Social Movements, University of Toronto: January 16, 2016.

“Methods and Ideas Workshop: Oral History”, hosted by Department of History, University of Toronto: October 18, 2015.

"The Love and Commitment of Crusaders: The Inter-American Human Rights System in Latin America's Conflict Zones", presentation hosted by Latin American Studies, University of Toronto, Luncheon Series, March 4, 2015.

“International Accompaniment for Human Rights in Colombia”, presentation at the Department of History, Eastern Connecticut State University, Willimantic, Connecticut: April 2014.

“*The Love and Commitment of Crusaders*: the Mission of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in Historical Perspective”, presentation at Human Rights Institute, University of Connecticut: October 2013.

“Focus on Internal Armed Conflict: The Unintended History of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights", at El Instituto: Institute for Latina/o, Caribbean, and Latin American Studies, University of Connecticut: February 2013

“When the Courts Make History: International Justice in Latin America’s Conflict Zones”, Works in Progress in Latin American Society and History series, hosted by New York University, New York: April 2012.

“Colombian Human Rights Struggles: Historical Dimensions and Main Actors”, Presentation/briefing hosted by Rights and Democracy, International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, Montréal: October 2009.

“Oral/Public History Research and Human Rights”, Lecture hosted by Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling, Concordia University, Montréal: March 2009.

“Intercultural Interviewing”, Workshop hosted by Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling, Concordia University, Montréal: November 2008.

"End of Conference Summary Comments", Presentation at *Sharing Authority: Building Community-University Alliances through Oral History, Digital Storytelling and Collaboration*, hosted by Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling, Concordia University, Montréal: February 2008.

"Oil and Human Rights in Colombia", Invited lecture hosted by Latin American Students Association, McGill University, Montréal: December 2007.

"Human Rights Research in Colombia", Invited lecture hosted by Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Gatineau: October 2007.

"Security Management Strategies for Human Rights Defenders in Conflict Areas", Invited lecture at *East and Horn of Africa Human Rights Defenders Conference*, hosted by York University and Amnesty International**,** Entebbe, Uganda: October 2005.

"Consensus-Building and Collective Governance in Non-Profit Organization", Invited lecture in management course, Professor Nidhi Srinivas, Milano School of International Affairs, Management, and Urban Policy, The New School, New York: October 2000.

"Fuerzas Armadas y Derechos Humanos en Colombia", Invited lecture hosted by Pablo de Olavide University and Amnesty International, Seville, Spain: March 1999.

"Guerrillas y paramilitares en Colombia", Invited lecture hosted by the Department of American History, University of Seville, Seville, Spain: March 1999.

PUBLIC CONSULTATIONS

Provided testimony to Consultation on Canada-Colombia Free Trade Agreement, Canadian Department of Global Affairs (2016)

Preparation of three expert affidavits pertaining to Colombians seeking political asylum Canada, for Refugee Law Office of Legal Aid Ontario (2005)

Provided testimony to *Canadian Parliamentary Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade* on human rights in Colombia (1999 and 2002), and *Canadian Government Human Rights Consultations* (2001 and 2002).

Provided testimony to hearings organized by Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General on the Situation of Human Rights Defenders, Dr. Hina Jilani in Bogotá, Colombia (2002).

Provided testimony to hearings organized by Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General on the Situation of Human Rights Defenders, Dr. Hina Jilani *First Latin American Human Rights Defenders Conference* in Mexico City, Mexico (2001).

OTHER RELEVANT EXPERIENCE

2016-2019 Board of Directors, Peace Brigades International (Canada)

2002-2005 Executive Committee, International Council
Peace Brigades International

2003 Americas Regional Program Officer
International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development

1999-2002 North America Representative
Peace Brigades International Colombia Project

1999 Communications Director
Common Frontiers Canada

1998-1999 Human Rights Observer
Peace Brigades International Colombia Project

MEDIA WORK

Interview with CTV New regarding Venezuela refugee crisis in Colombia (March 2018)

Interviews with CTV News regarding peace negotiations and plebiscite in Colombia, Toronto (October, November 2017).

Consultant and bilingual (French and English) interview for Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) television documentary series “Love, Hate & Propaganda”, special episode on Latin America during the Cold War, Toronto (March 2011).

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Canadian Association of Latin American and Caribbean Studies (CALACS)
- Board of Directors
- Conference Committee
- Partnerships Committee Chair

American History Association (AHA)
Latin American Studies Association (LASA)

Exhibit 2

Materials Reviewed and Considered

Books

Harvey F. Kline, *Historical Dictionary of Colombia* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2012)

Alejandro Reyes Posada, *Guerreros y campesinos. Despojo y restitución de tierras en Colombia* (Bogotá, Colombia: Ariel, 2016)

Mario Aguilera Peña, "ELN: entre las armas y la política," in *Nuestra guerra sin nombre: Transformaciones del conflicto en Colombia*, ed. Francisco Gutiérrez (Bogotá, Colombia: Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales, IEPRI and Editorial Norma, 2006)

Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, *El derecho a la justicia como garantía de no repetición, vol I. Graves violaciones de derechos humanos: luchas sociales y cambios normativos e institucionales, 1985–2012* (Bogotá, Colombia: CNMH, 2015)

Daniel Fonseca, Ómar Gutierrez, Anders Rudqvist, *Cultivos de uso ilícito en el sur de Bolívar: aproximación desde la economía política* (Bogotá, Colombia: Asdi, UNDP, 2005)

Nicholas Coghlan, *The Saddest Country: On Assignment in Colombia* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004)

Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, *Comunicar en medio del conflicto: el asesinato de Eduardo Estrada y el silenciamiento de la comunicación comunitaria y el periodismo regional en Colombia* (Bogotá, Colombia: CNMH, 2014), http://www.centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/descargas/informes2015/EduardoEstrada/INFORME-EDUARDO-ESTRADA.pdf

Gabriel García Márquez, *Chronicle of a Death Foretold*, trans. Gregory Rabassa (New York: Vintage: 2003)

Gustavo Duncan, *Los señores de la Guerra: De paramilitares, mafiosos y autodefensas en Colombia*. (Bogotá, Colombia: Planeta–Fundación Seguridad y Democracia, 2007)

Carlos Medina Gallego, *Autodefensas, Paramilitares y Narcotráfico en Colombia: Origen, desarrollo y consolidación: el caso "Puerto Boyacá"* (Bogotá, Colombia: Editorial Documentos Periodísticos, 1990)

Mauricio Aranguren Molina, *Mi confesión: Carlos Castaño revela sus secretos* (Bogotá, Colombia: Oveja Negra, 2001)

Rodrigo Uprimny and Alfredo Vargas, "La palabra y la sangre: violencia, legalidad y guerra sucia en Colombia" in *La irrupción del paraestado: Ensayos sobre la crisis colombiana,* ed. Germán Palacio (Bogotá, Colombia: ILSA/ CEREC, 1990)

Julie Mazzei, *Death Squads or Self-Defense Forces: How Paramilitary Groups Emerge and Threaten Democracy in Latin America* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2009)

Mauricio Romero, *Paramilitares y autodefensas: 1982–2003* (Bogotá, Colombia: Editorial Planeta Colombiana, S.A., Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales, 2003).

Corporación Colectivo de Abogados "José Alvear Restrepo" and Corporación Regional para la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos (CREDHOS), *Hoy, como ayer, persistiendo por la vida: Redes de inteligencia y exterminio en Barrancabermeja* (Bogotá, Colombia: Corporación Colectivo de Abogados "José Alvear Restrepo" and Corporación Regional para la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos, 1999)

Olga Behar and Carolina Ardila Behar, *El Caso Klein: El origen del paramilitarismo en Colombia* (Bogotá, Colombia: Icono Editorial, 2012)

William Ramírez Tobón, "*Autodefensas y poder local*," in *El poder paramilitar*, ed. Alfredo Rangel (Bogotá: Planeta–Fundación Seguridad y Democracia, 2008)

Luis van Isschot, *The Social Origins of Human Rights: Protesting Political Violence in Colombia's Oil Capital, 1919–2010* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2015)

Mary Roldan, *Blood and Fire: la Violencia in Antioquia, Colombia 1946–1953* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002)

Maps

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Deposition Transcripts

Deposition transcript of Francisco de Roux, Sept. 5, 2018

Articles

Luis van Isschot, "Assessing the record of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in Latin America's rural conflict zones (1979–2016)," *The International Journal of Human Rights* 22, no. 9 (October 19, 2017)

Adam Isacson, The New Masters of Barranca: A Report from *CIP's* Trip to Barrancabermeja, Colombia, March 6–8, 2001 (Washington, DC: Center for International Policy, April 2001), https://adamisacson.com/files/old_cip_colombia/0401barr.pdf

Winifred Tate, "Paramilitary Forces in Colombia," *Latin American Research Review* 46, no. 3 (2011), https://lasa.international.pitt.edu/LARR/prot/fulltext/vol46no3/Tate_191-200_46-3.pdf

Edwin Cruz Rodríguez, "Los estudios sobre el paramilitarismo," *Análisis Político* 20, no. 10 (May/June 2007)

Mauricio Romero, "Changing Identities and Contested Setting: Regional Elites and the Paramilitaries in Colombia," *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 14, no. 1 (2000)

Jacobo Grajales, "The Rifle and the Title: Paramilitary Violence, Land Grab and Land Control in Colombia," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 38, no. 4 (2011)

Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín, "Conexiones coactivas: paramilitares y alcaldes en Colombia," *Análisis Político*, Volume 28, no. Issue 85 (September–December 2015)

News Reports

"Infografía: Conflicto armado en Colombia dejó más de 260.000 muertos," *El Tiempo*, August 2, 2018, https://www.eltiempo.com/justicia/conflicto-y-narcotrafico/cifras-del-conflicto-armado-en-colombia-251228

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"Masacre de Chengue es delito de lesa humanidad: Fiscalía," *El Espectador*, (Bogotá, Colombia), March 15, 2011, https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/masacre-de-chengue-delito-de-lesa-humanidad-fiscalia-articulo-256994)

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Simon Romero, "A Scandal Over Spying Intensifies in Colombia," *The New York Times* (New York, United States), September 16, 2009

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Other Documents

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U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, "AUC Paramilitary Leader Sentenced To 15+ Years In Prison For International Drug Trafficking," March 6, 2017, https://www.dea.gov/press-releases/2017/03/06/auc-paramilitary-leader-sentenced-15-years-prison-international-drug

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March 4, 1998 Cable from U.S. Embassy in Bogotá, Cable: "Former Army Officer: Colombian Army crippled by corruption, inefficiency, and a lack of political will"

August 13, 1998 Cable from U.S. Embassy in Bogotá, Cable, "General Ramirez Lashes out at State Department; Two More Generals Under Investigation for Paramilitary Links"

Secretary of State, "Official Informal for Ambassador Kamman from WHA/And Director Chicola and DRL DAS Gerson" (Washington, DC: January 25, 1999)

Michael Evans, "The Truth About Triple-A," The National Security Archive, July 1, 2007, https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB223/index.htm

United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Annual Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on the situation of human rights in Colombia*, A/HRC/37/3/Add.3, March 2, 2018, http://www.hchr.org.co/documentoseinformes/informes/altocomisionado/A-HRC-37-3-Add_3_EN.pdf