SECRET

RELEASED IN PART
1.4(D), 1.4(B)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: APPEALS REVIEW PANEL
APPEAL ACTION: ADDITIONAL INFORMATION
RELEASED
REASON(S): 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DATE/CASE ID: 23 JAN 2012 200604183

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
CLASSIFIED BY DEPT. OF STATE, L. HEDGBETH, DAS, A/ISS
REVIEW AUTHORITY: DAVID W COX
CLASSIFICATION: SECRET REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 3 DEC 2022
DATE/CASE ID: 28 APR 2009 200604183

SECRET

READER AUTHORITY: DAVID COX
CLASSIFICATION: SECRET REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 3 DEC 2022
DATE/CASE ID: 28 APR 2009 200604183

SECRET
SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD
DEA FOR OP. OFL, OC, AX
JUSTICE FOR CRIM. WARREN, RICHARD AND NDDS/VAN VLIET
FBI FOR CID/IRS/IRU2
USIA FOR AR, I/GAR
TREASURY FOR FINCEN

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/31/07
TAGS: PHUM, SNAR, MASS, PTER, PCOV, PINS, CO

SUBJECT: (S) MAPIRIPAN AND MIRAFLORES: INCREASED SIGNS OF ARMY
FACILITATION OF PARAMILITARIES

REF: A) BOGOTA 11039 (AND PREVIOUS) B) BOGOTA 10407 (AND
PREVIOUS) C) BOGOTA 9709 D) BOGOTA 10988

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE O.P. GARZA. REASONS 1.5(B&D).

1. (S) SUMMARY: THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE JULY
MASSACRE AT MAPIRIPAN IS PROCEEDING APACE;

PARAMILITARY LEADER "CLODOMIRO AGAMI"

THAT HIS FORCES PERPETRATED THE OCTOBER
MIRAFLORES KILLINGS, WITH ARMY FOREKNOWLEDGE AND FACILITATION.
THE "DANTI" ANTI-NARCOTICS POLICE APPEAR TO HAVE HAD NO ROLE IN
THE MAPIRIPAN INCIDENT;

END SUMMARY.

MAPIRIPAN UPDATE

SECRET

PAGE 03 BOGOTA 11430 01 OF 03 041517Z

2. (S) EMBASSY CONTINUES TO PUSH COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT CIVILIAN,
POLICE AND MILITARY OFFICIALS FOR A THOROUGH INVESTIGATION INTO
POSSIBLE OFFICIAL COMPPLICITY IN THE JULY MAPIRIPAN TAKEOVER (REF
A) AND THE OCTOBER PARAMILITARY KILLINGS IN MIRAFLORES (REF B).
DURING THE DECEMBER 1 RECEPTION FOR MEMBERS OF VISITING CODEL
MCCOLLUM,

THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION IS PROCEEDING VERY QUICKLY -- ALTHOUGH IT
HAS BEEN COMPLICATED SOMEWHAT BY ALL THE RECENT PUBLICITY SURROUNDING THE CASE.

3. (S) THE FISCALIA'S INVESTIGATIONS HAD LED THEM TO IDENTIFY SEVERAL ARMY OFFICERS AS HAVING BEEN COMPPLICIT IN FACILITATING THE ARRIVAL OF THE PARAMILITARIES AT SAN JOSE DEL GUAVIARE AIRPORT.

MIRAFLORES

4. (S) THE FISCALIA HAD NOT OPENED ANY INVESTIGATION INTO THE OCTOBER 18-20 PARAMILITARY INCURSION INTO MIRAFLORES.

AFTER BEING BRIEFED ON WHAT

SECRET

5. (S) PARAMILITARY LEADER

"CLODORIRO AGAMI" HAD FREELY ADMITTED THAT HE AND MEN UNDER HIS COMMAND WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE OCTOBER 18-20 KILLINGS IN MIRAFLORES. (NOTE: CLODORIRO IS THE HEAD OF THE "LLANOS ORIENTALES" PARAMILITARIES, ONE OF A NUMBER OF PARAMILITARY ARMIES GROUPED UNDER THE UNITED AUTODEFENSAS OF COLOMBIA, OR "AUC", BANNER. SEE REF C FOR MORE ON AGAMI. END NOTE.)
6. "CLODOMIRO" also told the army was so infiltrated by paramilitaries and their supporters that he and his colleagues felt no concern about ever being arrested; he claimed that they were always warned in advance of any possibility of capture. "CLODOMIRO" made no mention of police awareness or involvement in MIRAFLORES; nor did he specifically ask CLODOMIRO. "CLODOMIRO" was also responsible for the November 21 La Horqueta/Tocaima massacre two hours south of Bogota in Tolima Department. (See Ref C).

GENERAL SERRANO'S TAKE
NAS DIRECTOR Pressed Police Director Major General Rosso Jose Serrano December 2 for information on his own investigations into the Mapiripan and Miraflores incidents. Serrano swore up and down that the "Danti" anti-narcotics police had no foreknowledge nor participation in facilitating Mapiripan. Asked about the departmental police responsible for airport security at San Jose del Guaviare, Serrano commented that they are low-level recruits "incapable" of doing much beyond being told what to do.

9. (f) (Note: NAS Deputy Director heard in mid-November from Danti officers that Gallego had held a special staff meeting on 12 November and had been "extremely tough" in getting across the point that Danti does not cooperate with paramilitary forces, and that his orders were to "treat paramilitaries the same as guerrillas."
1. The officers also recounted they had no idea why Gallego was suddenly reading them the Riot Act; they were apparently unaware of President Samper's own meeting in days previous to read the Riot Act to key military and police commanders on the same subject. (End Note.)

10. (S) Asked about Miraflores, Serrano stated he had nothing substantive to add. (Note: Serrano had previously provided charge with a copy of a CNP internal report on Miraflores, which had only concluded that it might have been paramilitaries, it might have been narco-guerrillas and it might have been common delinquents. End Note.)
SECRET

PAGE 01  BOGOTA  11430  03 OF 03  041518Z
ACTION ARA-01

INFO  LOG-00  ACDA-08  ACDE-00  INLB-01  AID-00  ACQ-01  INL-01
OASY-00  SRPP-00  DS-00  EB-00  OIGO-01  TEDE-00  INR-00
ADS-00  MMP-00  PM-00  SCT-00  ASDS-01  PMB-00  DSCC-00
DRL-04  /018W

O 041511Z DEC 97
FM AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0195
INFO DIA WASHDC
CIA WASHDC
DIRONDCP WASHDC
USCINCSo MIAMI FL
NSC WASHDC
USIA WASHDC 3583
DEPT OF TREASURY WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC
DEA WASHDC
NDIC JOHNSTOWN PA
SECDEF WASHDC//OCDEPS//
DIRNSA FT GEORGE G MEADE MD
FBI WASHDC
DEPT OF JUSTICE WASHDC

SECRET  SECTION 03 OF 03 BOGOTA 011430

STATE FOR ARA/AND, INL, DRL
NSC FOR JAMES DOBBINS

SECRET

PAGE 02  BOGOTA  11430  03 OF 03  041518Z
ONDCP FOR JANET CRIST
SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD
DEA FOR OF, OPL, OC, AX
JUSTICE FOR CRIM. WARREN, RICHARD AND NDDS/VAN VLIET
FBI FOR CID/IRS/IRU2
USIA FOR AR, I/GAR
TREASURY FOR FINCEN

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/31/07

SECRET  9 of 12
TAGS: PHUM, SNAR, MASS, PTER, PCOV, PINS, CO

SUBJECT: (S) MAPIRIPAN AND MIRAFLORÉS: INCREASED SIGNS OF ARMY FACILITATION OF PARAMILITARIES

COMMENT

11. (S) NAS DIRECTOR, RECENTLY RETURNED TO POST AFTER EXTENDED ABSENCE, WAS HIMSELF AT SAN JOSE DEL GUAVIARE ON SATURDAY, JULY 12 -- THE DAY THE TWO PARAMILITARY FLIGHTS ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE LANDED (IN ADVANCE OF PROCEEDING TO MAPIRIPAN). HE DISTINCTLY REMEMBERS NOTICING A GREATER THAN NORMAL ARMY PRESENCE AT THE AIRSTRIP THAT DAY, AND, AT THE TIME, PRESUMED IT WAS SIMPLY RELATED TO SOME PENDING OR ONGOING MILITARY OPERATION IN THE AREA. NAS DIRECTOR ALSO OVERNIGHTED AT THE SAN JOSE DEL GUAVIARE DANTI POLICE BASE THE NIGHT OF MONDAY, JULY 21, THE DAY WHEN THE FIRST REPORTS OF THE MAPIRIPAN MASSACRE BEGAN FILTERING OUT. HIS RECOLLECTIONS ARE THAT IT WAS IN MANY WAYS A "NORMAL" DAY, ALTHOUGH THE POLICE BECAME INCREASINGLY UPSET BY THE THEN-

SECRET

12. (S) AT THE JOAQUIN PARIS ARMY BATTALION HEADQUARTERS THE NEXT DAY (JULY 22), HOWEVER, BOTH NAS DIRECTOR AND POLOFF SENSED THAT THINGS WERE NOT NORMAL. CONFUSION AND DELAYS WERE SUCH THAT, EVEN AFTER AN INITIAL LATE-MORNING OFFER TO FLY THE JUST-ARRIVED PRESIDENTIAL AND FISCALIA INVESTIGATORS (AND POLOFF) INTO MAPIRIPAN "RIGHT NOW," TRANSPORT WAS NOT FINALIZED UNTIL SO LATE IN THE DAY THAT THE OFFER WAS NOW ACCOMPANIED BY AN ARMY RECOMMENDATION -- SUBSEQUENTLY HEeded -- AGAINST ANY TRAVEL AT ALL, DUE TO APPROACHING DARKNESS AND THE ATTENDANT SECURITY RISKS.

SECRET

PAGE 04  BOGOTA 11430 03 OF 03 041518Z
ON OCTOBER 18, THE PARAMILITARIES DID ARRIVE IN MIRAFLORES, BY AIR. AND, AFTER KILLING AT LEAST SIX PEOPLE, THEY SUBSEQUENTLY FLEW OUT.

GARZA