1. (C) SUMMARY: DURING A TWO-DAY TRIP TO VILLAVICENCIO, META DEPARTMENT, POL/ECON OFFS SAW EVIDENCE OF EXTENSIVE NARCO, GUERRILLA AND PARAMILITARY ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING INFILTRATION OF GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS. COCA CULTIVATION, PROCESSING AND TRANSPORTATION IS A MAINSTAY OF THE REGIONAL ECONOMY, WITH MULTIPLE ARMED ACTORS ALL FIGHTING FOR A PIECE OF THE ACTION. EVEN AS THE GOVERNMENT IGNORES THE PROBLEMS OF THOSE INTERNALLY DISPLACED BY THE VIOLENCE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE ANTI-NARCOTICS PROSECUTORS CONTINUE TO DO THE NECESSARY (THOUGH HARDLY SUFFICIENT) SPADE-WORK TO PROTECT HUMAN RIGHTS, REDUCE THE VIOLENCE AND PROMOTE LAW AND ORDER. INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS PRESSURES HAVE PERVERSELY FORCED THE ARMY TO RETREAT FROM THE FIELD OF BATTLE, RESULTING IN A WAR BETWEEN THE GUERRILLAS AND PARAMILITARIES. FEARED, HOWEVER, THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT WILL NOT COME SOON ENOUGH TO PROTECT FROM A
COMING "PARA" COUNTER-ASSAULT ON THE GUERRILLAS AND THEIR PRESUMED CIVILIAN SUPPORTERS. END SUMMARY.

2. (C) POL/ECONOFFS TRAVELED TO VILLAVICENCIO, THE CAPITAL OF META DEPARTMENT, ON JANUARY 25-26. AMONG THOSE EMBOFFS SPOKE WITH WERE:

"VILLAVO": GATEWAY TO THE COLOMBIAN "LLANOS"

3. THE LLANOS (OR "PLAINS") REGION OF COLOMBIA -- META, GUAVIARE, GUAINIA, VICHADA, CASANARE, AND ARAUCA DEPARTMENTS -- IS OFTEN DESCRIBED AS COLOMBIA'S ANSWER TO THE WILD WEST OF NORTH AMERICAN HISTORY. IN MANY RESPECTS, IT IS NOT AN UNFAIR

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AN ECONOMY BUILT ON FOODSTUFFS -- AND COCA

4. (C) EXPLAINED THAT "NARCOTRAFFICKING DRIVES THE ECONOMY." HE PROUDLY ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT "IT DOES NOT DOMINATE THE ECONOMY. THIS IS NOT CALI OR MEDELLIN." INDEED, AFTER THE BOGOTA VALLEY ITSELF, VILLAVO HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT SUPPLIER OF MEAT, GRAINS AND VEGETABLES FOR THE CAPITAL CITY. INCREASED COSTS DUE TO THE
AREA'S UNPREDICTABLE WEATHER AND UNDERDEVELOPED INFRASTRUCTURE, HOWEVER, HAVE CUT DEEPLY INTO PROFIT MARGINS FOR MOST SMALLER...
FARMERS. MANY HAVE GIVEN UP FARMING ENTIRELY TO RAISE CATTLE, GENERALLY CONSIDERED TO BE LESS PROFITABLE BUT MORE STABLE. AS CONDITIONS HAVE DETERIORATED IN THE REGION, THE CITY HAS FALLEN ON HARD ECONOMIC TIMES. THE COST OF LIVING IN VILLAVICENCIO IS THE THIRD HIGHEST IN COLOMBIA. INFLATION HAS RECENTLY RUN TWO OR THREE PERCENTAGE POINTS HIGHER THAN THE NATIONAL AVERAGE, LARGELY DUE TO THE INFLUX OF NARCO-MONEY.

5. (C) [_________PREDICTED THAT THE LONG-AWAITED COMPLETION OF THE UPGRADE TO THE VILLAVICENCIO-BOGOTA HIGHWAY WILL BE THE KEY TO ECONOMIC HEALTH FOR THE CITY. GRANDIOSE PLANS HINGING ON THIS UPGRADE INCLUDE MAKING VILLAVICENCIO THE CENTERPIECE OF A HIGHWAY LINKING VENEZUELA TO THE PACIFIC AND A SCHEME TO MAKE VILLAVICENCIO'S AIRPORT AN ALTERNATIVE TO BOGOTA'S. GIVEN THAT THIS UPGRADE HAS SUFFERED A NUMBER OF DELAYS DUE TO COST OVERRUNS AND SECURITY ISSUES, [_________] AS TO THE PROBABLE TIME FRAME FOR COMPLETION OF THESE PLANS. (IN NOVEMBER, FOR EXAMPLE, THE BRAZILIAN CONSTRUCTION CONGLOMERATE SPEARHEADING THE ROAD REPAIRS ABANDONED THE CONTRACT -- AND COLOMBIA ENTIRELY -- AFTER REPEATED GUERRILLA KIDNAPPINGS OF ITS ENGINEERS AND TECHNICIANS.) "WELL, THEY'RE LONG-TERM PLANS, [_________] MAYBE WITHIN THE NEXT 20 TO 25 YEARS."

6. (C) AGRICULTURAL INSTABILITY AND LOWER PROFITABILITY IN THE LLANOS HAVE BROUGHT A NEW INDUSTRY INTO ASCENDANCY IN RECENT YEARS -- COCA CULTIVATION AND NARCOTRAFFICKING. DISCOURAGED BY HIGH COSTS, SOME CAMPESINOS HAVE TURNED TO GROWING COCA FOR ITS HIGHER PROFIT MARGINS AND RELATIVELY LOW ECONOMIC RISKS.

[_________] MOST COCA GROWERS RECEIVE THEIR CHEMICALS, SEED AND FERTILIZER FROM TRAFFICKING ORGANIZATIONS FOR FREE. [_________] IN HIS OPINION, THE USG WOULD END COCA CULTIVATION "INSTANTLY" JUST BY TAKING MONEY EARMARKED FOR ERADICATION AND USING IT TO SUBSIDIZE SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT FOR COLOMBIAN RICE FARMERS. OTHERS ARGUED THAT THE KEY WAS IMPROVING THE TRANSPORTATION INFRASTRUCTURE. THE GOVERNMENT'S "PLANTE" CROP SUBSTITUTION PROGRAM WAS ACTUALLY
MAKING INROADS IN SOME PLACES, SUCH AS MAPIRIPAN. BUT IT WAS ALL
FOR NUGHT, THEY POINTED OUT, IF SUCH PROJECTS WERE NOT
COORDINATED WITH OTHER GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS THAT COULD GET
LEGITIMATE CROPS TO MARKET.

7. (C) NARCOTRAFFICKERS HAVE ALSO MADE THEIR MARK ON CATTLE

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RANCHING. THE IMAGE OF THE RICH GANADERO (CATTLEMAN) -- A MAN
WITH A HUGE TRACT OF LAND, CATTLE AS FAR AS THE EYE CAN SEE, BIG
CARS, GOLD JEWELRY. AND SURROUNDED BY BEAUTIFUL WOMEN -- IS A
POWERFUL ONE IN RURAL COLOMBIA. THIS CULTURAL ICON HOLDS GREAT
SWAY AMONG SOME OF THE PEOPLE WHO MAKE THEIR MONEY OFF THE DRUG
TRADE. IN RECENT YEARS, THE LLANOS HAS BEGUN TO SERVE AS THE
SETTING FOR THESE PEOPLE TO LIVE OUT THEIR FANTASY. RETIRED (AND
NOT-SO-RETIRED) NARCOTRAFFICKERS HAVE BEEN MOVING INTO THE
LLANOS, BUYING THE VERY BEST FARM AND GRAZING LAND, AND
PUSHING/PRICING OUT SMALLER FARMERS AND RANCHERS.

THE DELICATE BALANCE

8. (C) IN THIS SETTING, GUERRILLAS, NARCOTRAFFICKERS AND
PARAMILITARIES HAVE CO-EXISTED FOR YEARS. THE GUERRILLAS OF THE
FARC HAVE OPERATED IN META AND GUAVIARE FOR DECADES, AND OF THE
ELN MORE TO THE NORTH IN CASANARE AND ARAUCA (ALTHOUGH THE FARC
HAVE ALSO MOVED IN TO THESE DEPARTMENTS, FOLLOWING THE OIL
REVENUES). SINCE THE 1970S, LOCAL PARAMILITARY LEADERS,
DEFENSIVE IN NATURE, HAD PURSUED A "GO ALONG TO GET ALONG"
STRATEGY WITH THE GUERRILLAS, CUTTING DEALS SO THAT EACH COULD GO
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COLOMBIA'S SECRETIVE, AND VIOLENT, EMERALD INDUSTRY, AND NOW DOMINATES THAT NATIONAL MARKET (WHICH, IN TURN, DOMINATES THE WORLD EMERALD MARKET). "DINERO", COLOMBIA'S ANSWER TO FORBES MAGAZINE, ANNUALLY NAMES HIM ONE OF COLOMBIA'S MOST POWERFUL MEN. ON DECEMBER 2, HOWEVER, HE BECAME A WANTED MAN WHEN THE FISCALIA ISSUED A WARRANT FOR HIS ARREST, CHARGING HIM WITH THE FORMATION OF ILLEGAL PARAMILITARY GROUPS.

THE PROSECUTORS: IN SEARCH OF AN ELIOTT NESS

10. (C) EXPRESSED FRUSTRATION WITH HOW THE GOVERNMENT WAS ORGANIZED FOR THE ANTI-NARCOTICS FIGHT IN HER AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY. 12 REGIONAL PROSECUTORS TO COVER ALL NARCOTICS AND TERRORISM CASES FOR ALL THE "LLANOS" DEPARTMENTS (TOTAL POPULATION: JUST UNDER ONE MILLION). THEY CURRENTLY HAVE MORE THAN 1300 ARREST WARRANTS OUTSTANDING. YET THEIR OFFICE HAS ONLY A FEW CARS AND A TOTAL OF THREE OUTSIDE PHONE LINES (ALL BELIEVED TO BE TAPPED BY THE NARCOS, IF NOT ALSO BY THE PARAMILITARIES).

11. (C) MEANWHILE, THE "DANTI" COUNTER-NARCOTICS POLICE BASE AT SAN JOSE DEL GUAVIARE -- AS GOOD AS IT IS OPERATIONALLY -- HAS NOT A SINGLE INTELLIGENCE OFFICER ASSIGNED TO IT TO CAPITALIZE IMMEDIATELY ON WHATEVER INFO THE COPS DISCOVER DURING RAIDS. IN FACT, THERE ARE ONLY FOUR ANTI-NARCOTICS INTEL INVESTIGATORS IN ALL THE EASTERN REGION -- AND THEY ARE BASED IN VILLAVO. THESE MEN ARE HEROES. WITH THEM HAVE BROKEN UP SIX MAJOR COCAINE DISTRIBUTION RINGS. BUT WE NEED MORE OF THEM.
WHAT OTHER GOC CONTACTS HAVE INFORMALLY TOLD EMBOFFS. END NOTE.)

WHAT'S SOLUTION? AN INTEGRATED "SEARCH BLOC", INCORPORATING FISCALIA PROSECUTORS, CTI INVESTIGATORS AND DANTI TROOPS, BACKED UP BY THE NECESSARY AIR TRANSPORT AND SUPPORT. AND THE ARMY?
"NOT HELPFUL," THEY JUST DON'T KNOW THE TERRAIN OR THE PEOPLE."

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STATE FOR ARA, DRL, EB, INL, PRM, DS
NSC FOR JAMES DOBBINS
ONDCP FOR JANET CRIST
SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD
DEA FOR OF, 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: 03/06/08
TAGS: PHUM, SNAR, ASEC, PTER, ECON, PREF, PINS, CO
SUBJECT: LAW, ORDER & MONEY IN THE GATEWAY TO COLOMBIA'S "LLANOS" (VILLAVICENCIO TRIP REPORT, PART I)  
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COMPUND IN PUERTO LOPEZ, EQUIPPED WITH CLOSED CIRCUIT TV, ELECTRIC FENCES, SCORES OF GUARDS, ETC. (NOTE: CARRANZA WAS SUBSEQUENTLY ARRESTED ON FEBRUARY 24 IN BOGOTA, WHERE HE HAD GONE TO HOST THE FIRST WORLD EMERALD EXPO (REF A).)

PERSONAL LAWYER WAS ASSASSINATED IN BOGOTA ON MARCH 2. END NOTE.)

13. (C) PARAMILITARIES ALSO INFLICTED THE FISCALIA ITSELF, JUST THE PREVIOUS FRIDAY, A FISCALIA RAID ON A PARAMILITARY GROUP BELIEVED FINANCED BY NARCO-MONEY WAS SABOTAGED BY SOMEONE USING THE FISCALIA'S OWN RADIO NET TO ANNOUNCE, "THEY'RE ON THEIR WAY; CLEAR OUT." (SEVERAL OF THE FISCALIA'S CRIMINAL INVESTIGATORS ("CTI") ARE UNDER SUSPICION AS CONFIDENTIAL

14. (C) BUT IT IS NOT JUST THE PARAS TO LOOK OUT FOR, THE FARC ALSO CONTROLS A NUMBER OF VILLAVO TAXIS. THE FARC'S BOLIVARIAN MILITIAS ARE ALSO VERY ACTIVE IN TOWN, PARTICULARLY THE SLUM AREAS WHERE NEW ARRIVALS CONGREGATE. THEIR ROLE? PRIMARILY SOCIAL-POLITICAL, AS WELL AS PROVIDING INTEL ON POTENTIAL TARGETS FOR FARC KIDNAPPINGS. AND A STREET VENDOR LONG-ESTABLISHED IN FRONT OF THE FISCALIA WAS ARRESTED ONLY DAYS PREVIOUSLY AND CHARGED WITH SPYING FOR THE FARC ON FISCALIA HAPPENINGS.
15. (C) AS IF ALL THIS WERE NOT ENOUGH, MEMBERS OF THE LOCAL "GAULA" ANTI-KIDNAPPING TASK FORCE HAD THEMSELVES BEEN INVOLVED IN KIDNAPPINGS-FOR-PROFIT. (AMONGST THESE [ ] WAS THE HEAD OF THE GAULA, WHO DIED IN THE OCTOBER 17 NARCO ATTACK ON A FISCALIA CONVOY WHICH LEFT 18 DEAD AND 4 WOUNDED. THIS CONFORMS WITH REPORTING THAT SOME OF THOSE KILLED WERE THEMSELVES "DIRTY"). [ ] CONCURRED WITH ASSESSMENT THAT THE NUMBER OF KIDNAPPINGS IN VILLAVO IS FAR GREATER THAN THE NUMBER FORMALLY REPORTED. FAMILIES ARE OFTEN "RELIEVED," THEY STATED, TO HEAR THAT A FAMILY MEMBER HAS BEEN TAKEN BY THE FARC, RATHER THAN BY CONFIDENTIAL

THE (LOSING) STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS


17. (C) [ ] TERMED IT IRONIC -- AND A CAUSE FOR CONCERN -- THAT INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE ON THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT TO REIGN-IN ARMY HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES HAD LED DIRECTLY TO THE ARMY'S "ABANDONING THE FIELD OF BATTLE" AND THE RISE OF UNCONTROLLABLE PARAMILITARIES. HE TERMED THE COLOMBIAN ARMY OF
TODAY "INCAPABLE AND INDOLENT", TOTALLY MARGINALIZED FROM META'S CONFLICTS. HEAVY INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE ON HUMAN RIGHTS WAS STILL HELPFUL, HE ARGUED, BUT ONLY IN A FEW SELECT CASES. "GOES THROUGH THE MOTIONS" OF DENOUNCING TO THE GOVERNMENT ANY HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IT BECOMES AWARE OF, HE SAID, NOT BECAUSE IT HAS ANY FAITH THAT CORRECTIVE MEASURES WILL BE TAKEN AGAINST ANYONE), BUT SIMPLY, "SO THAT THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT DENY WHAT IS HAPPENING." IF NOTHING ELSE, MORAL OBLIGATION TO ENSURE THAT EVENTS BE PUT ON THE OFFICIAL, HISTORICAL RECORD.

18. (C) THE CATHOLIC CHURCH MAINTAINS THE ONLY HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION LEFT IN THE REGION. THE META CIVIC COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WAS DESTROYED FOLLOWING THE OCTOBER 1996, ASSASSINATION OF ITS LEADER, JOSUE GIRALDO. AFTER MORE THREATS CONFIDENTIAL
IN ADVANCE THAT JOSUE WAS MARKED FOR DEATH, AND THAT "ALL THE COPS KNEW IT." GIRALDO WAS ASSASSINATED IN HIS FRONT YARD ON OCTOBER 14, 1996, AS HE PLAYED WITH HIS CHILDREN IN THE Company OF A VISITING U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYER.


20. (C) THE PARAMILITARY MAKEUP ELSEWHERE IN THE DEPARTMENT IS DIFFERENT. THE CONVIVIR IN THE TOWNS OF ACACIAS AND GRANADA ARE NOTHING MORE THAN THE LEGALIZATION OF PRE-EXISTING GANGS OF "SICARIOS" (HIRED KILLERS), WITH A COPY OF A FORMAL PUBLIC COMPLAINT BY A FORMER MEMBER OF THE ACACIAS CONVIVIR, NOW UNDER PROTECTION, DENOUNCING THE SICARIOS' ACTIVITIES -- AND THE POLICE'S ACTIVE ROLE IN SUPPORTING THEM.

21. (C) WAS SHOT "PISTOLEROS" WHO WAITED FOR HIM "WHO KILLED HIM?"
Said, "The local people are convinced that it was the FARC, and I believe them. But frankly, the narcos and paramilitaries had reason to kill him, too. He was equally, and unspARINGLY, frank and direct with all sides." Asked if this was the first such threat or attack on the Church, "Oh, no." Others have been killed in years past. And "all sides spy on the Church -- the guerrillas, the paras, the army, the police. All sides try into showing partiality towards one side or another, either directly in favor of their own side or by impersonating someone from another side." After detailing a few such recent attempts to and maintain the balance -- come what may."

The "desplazados"

22. (C) Stated baldly that the government (at all levels) does not investigate, much less respond to, the IDP problem. More than 1500 IDP's arrived in

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VILLAVICENCIO PROPER IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1997, HELPED ORGANIZE 80 MAPIRIPAN IDP'S TO GO THROUGH THE HORRIBLY COMPLICATED REGISTRATION PROCESS ("WHERE IS YOUR NOTARIZED LETTER FROM YOUR TOWN'S MAYOR CERTIFYING THAT YOU HAVE FLED IN FEAR OF YOUR LIFE?") AND FORMALLY REGISTER JUST SO THE GOVERNMENT COULD NOT DENY THE PROBLEM ENTIRELY.

NOTED BITTERLY THAT, DESPITE REPEATED REQUESTS, IT TOOK THREE MONTHS FOR THE GOVERNOR TO ACCEDE IN THE WAKE OF THE MAPIRIPAN MASSACRE AND THE DISPLACEMENT OF HUNDREDS TO VILLAVICENCIO.

BLUNTLY SAID THE LOCAL POLITICIANS HAVE "NO DEDICATION, WILL OR SKILL" AND "ARE IN IT ONLY FOR THE PERKS AND WHATEVER THEY CAN SKIM OFF." WOULD ONLY SAY THAT THEY WERE "VERY WEAK AND INEFFICIENT" LIKE MOST WE HAVE MET, RESERVED SPECIAL CONTEMPT, HOWEVER, FOR HIM A "GRANDSTANDER" AND "THE SOURCE OF NO END OF EXASPERATION", FLEW INTO MAPIRIPAN IN THE WAKE OF THE PARAMILITARY TAKEOVER, A KEY WITNESS WHO WAS UNDER SERIOUS AND CONTINUING THREATS AND NEEDED IMMEDIATE EVACUATION FROM TOWN.
EVEN THOUGH HE CLEARLY HAD SPARE SEATS ON HIS PLANE, EVAC'ED THE WITNESS ON AN THE NEXT DAY.

24. (C) MEANWHILE, THE EMBITTERED, UNEMPLOYED TEENS OF THE IDP'S, NOW LIVING IN THE "BELTS OF MISERY" SURROUNDING VILLAVO, HAVE BECOME EASY RECRUITS FOR THE NARCOS, THE GUERRILLAS AND THE PARAS. THE PARAS IN PARTICULAR, SAID MOST INTERLOCUTORS, NOW FIND THE SLUMS "RIPE PICKINGS" FOR RECRUITING THOSE SEEKING VENGEANCE AGAINST THE FARC. ALSO EXPRESSED FRUSTRATION WITH EUROPEAN UNION AID POLICIES -- WHICH PROHIBIT REQUIRING AID RECIPIENTS TO WORK IN EXCHANGE FOR ASSISTANCE. REFERRING TO THE FARM FAMILIES WHICH HAVE FLED TO THE CITY, "THESE PEOPLE DON'T WANT HANDOUTS. THEY WANT TO WORK, TO RECOVER THEIR DIGNITY AND TO GET ON WITH THEIR LIVES." INSTEAD, THEY ARE FORCED TO BE IDLE IF THEY WANT TO FEED THEIR FAMILIES.

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THE VIEW FROM

25. (C) HAD MOVED TO THE 4TH DIVISION'S VILLAVICENCIO BASE ONLY A FEW WEEKS BEFORE, WHILE WERE DOWN IN RECENT MONTHS, ESPECIALLY AFTER THE LAST SEPTEMBER TO PARTICIPATE IN THE "DESTRUCTOR II" COUNTER-GUERRILLA OPERATION. IN FACT, ENCOUNTRED "ONLY ONE HOUSE" DURING ALL THE TIME HAD TRAMPED THROUGH THE JUNGLE IN SEARCH OF THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE FARC'S NATIONAL SECRETARIAT. ASKED WHAT WOULD BE FOR 1998, WOULD BE DEPLOYED AROUND THE MACARENA MESA (WESTERN META) AGAIN. HE MADE NO MENTION OF COUNTER-NARCOTICS AS ALTHOUGH HE CLEARLY SAW GOING AFTER THE FARC AS PART OF THE LONG-TERM SOLUTION TO NARCO-TRAFFICKING IN COLOMBIA.
THAT IT APPEARED THAT IT WAS THE

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26. (C)

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PARAMILITARIES, NOT THE ARMY, THAT WAS NOW PUNISHING THE GUERRILLAS. THINGS ARE CALM WHEREVER THE BRIM WAS STATIONED.

AND DO YOU SEEK OUT OR COMBAT THE PARAS, ASKED POLOFF. "WE FOLLOW THE ORDERS WE ARE GIVEN AS DICTATED BY THE 4TH DIVISION, TO WHOM WE ARE CURRENTLY 'OPCONNED'." HE STATED CAUTIOUSLY. BUT DO YOU HAVE ANY SUCH ORDERS? "NO," WAS THE SHEEPISH, IF HONEST, RESPONSE.

IS THERE A WAY OUT?
28. (C) Argued strongly that the only way to defend human rights, a legal order and just plain civility in Colombia today is to push for a peace accord. That meant including the paramilitaries at the table, he argued. They have earned that right by their clear political-military presence and actions. Localized negotiations may well yield results at the local level (where it counts), he argued, even if national-level talks remain stymied. The META church had pursued local negotiations several years ago -- only to have priests charged by the government for their contacts with the guerrillas. Will not enter into any mediation efforts without a written, formal official GOC policy. (Note: such a written GOC policy, authorizing local negotiations under certain circumstances, was issued after Poloff's trip. END NOTE.)

29. Echoing what worried aloud over what he believed will befall in the meantime, before any peace accord could be reached by the next president under even the most favorable of timelines, operational focus now is on what he termed "the coming battle." The arrival of the "ACCU"-style paramilitaries from northern Colombia had brought to META new ways of fighting the guerrillas and their supporters. A "scorched earth" war was coming to META, he feared, "and right now there is nothing to stop it."

30. (C). SEPTEL will focus on how the arrival of this new breed of paramilitaries has already upset META's "delicate balance" of narcos, guerrillas and "old-line" paramilitaries, and what it portends for META's near-term future.

GARZA