

ANDEAN ABYSS

Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Colombia

COIN Series,
Volume I

by
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PLAYBOOK

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Andean Abyss Tutorial

by Joel Toppen

First-time players should start here!

Welcome to *ANDEAN ABYSS*! Because this game employs some innovative new game mechanics, we thought it would be easiest to learn if we included an interactive tutorial to teach new players how to play the game with a minimal amount of fuss. In this interactive tutorial we will use a more conversational style of writing. Occasionally we will ask the reader to read certain rules from the rulebook before continuing the tutorial.

The first thing you will need to do if you haven't already is unfold the game's mapboard. Place it on a clean surface, making sure to have ample space around the perimeter of the board so as to have room for game pieces. (Three to five inches of room should suffice nicely.)

Next, punch out all the game's cardboard pieces (we call them "counters") and sort them by type. Place them within easy reach because we're going to set up the game shortly.

Now sort the wooden pieces by color and shape. Place them in sorted piles near the mapboard. We'll put them on the mapboard shortly.

Finally, unwrap the game's playing cards. There are basically two different type of cards in the game: Event Cards (the vast majority) and Propaganda Cards (there are four of these). Put the four Propaganda Cards in one pile, and all the Event Cards in another pile. We will construct the game's deck in just a moment.

STOP. Please pause just a moment and read section 1.1 through section 1.3.4 of the rulebook. When you're finished, we'll begin setting up the game.

All done? Great! You should now have a decent understanding of the game's map. With this knowledge in hand, let's begin setting up the game:

- Place the "Aid" counter on the "9" space of the General Records Track that runs around the perimeter of the gameboard.
- Place the Government Resources cylinder (large blue cylinder) on the "40" space; and the the FARC, AUC, and Cartel Resources cylinders (large red, yellow, and green respectively) on the "10" space.
- Place the "Total Support" counter on the "50" space.
- Place the "Opposition + Bases" counter on the "20" space.
- Place the "El Presidente" counter on the "Samper" box of the "El Presidente" display on the map.
- Place the remaining four large cylinders (Eligibility cylinders) into the "Eligible" box on the "Sequence of Play" display.
- Collect 2 "Active Support" counters and place one into the "Neutral" boxes inside the departments of Atlántico and Santander on the map.
- Collect 10 more "Active Support" counters and place one into each city *except Cali*. (Cali begins Neutral.)
- Collect 7 "Active Opposition" counters and place one into the "Neutral" boxes inside the departments of Chocó, Arauca, Meta East, Meta West, Guaviare, Putumayo, and Nariño.

Ok, we're off to a great start! The next thing we need to do is put the forces of the four factions onto the map.

STOP. Please pause just a moment and read section 1.4 through section 1.4.3 of the rulebook. When you're finished we'll continue setting up the game.

Now that you've read about the different forces available to the players, we can begin putting those pieces on the map. But first, we should do an inventory of the wooden pieces you sorted earlier. It's likely that you will have one or two extra pieces so let's find those and get those out of the way first. Your game should have:

- 30 dark blue cubes
- 30 light blue cubes
- 3 dark blue discs
- 12 green octagonal cylinders
- 15 green discs
- 18 yellow octagonal cylinders
- 6 yellow discs
- 30 red octagonal cylinders
- 9 red discs

Place any extra blue, green, yellow, and/or red wooden pieces into the box; they are extra pieces. (But don't throw these away! These extra bits may come in handy if you accidentally lose a piece.)

Ok, now that any extra bits have been removed from the mix, let's begin the setup (note that all Guerrillas start embossed side down):

- Collect a total of 12 dark blue cubes, which you now know as "Troops." Place 3 Troops in each of Bogotá, Medellín, Cali, and Santander.
- Now collect 2 light blue cubes—Police: place both in the city of Bogotá.
- Collect 10 more Police and place one in each of the remaining Cities which do not already have Police.
- Collect a single dark blue disc—a Government Base. Place it into one of the "base" spaces in the department of Santander.
- Place all remaining cubes (18 Police AND 18 Troops) into the "Government Troops & Police" display.
- Place the two remaining Government Bases into the "3" and "2" circular spaces of the Government Bases track.
- Collect 12 red cylinders—FARC Guerrillas. Place one into each of Nariño, Chocó, Santander, Huila, Arauca, and Meta East; place two into each of Meta West, Guaviare, and Putumayo.
- Place the remaining 18 FARC Guerrillas into the "FARC Guerrillas" box on the map.
- Collect 6 red discs—FARC Bases. Place one into a "base" space in each of the departments of Chocó, Huila, Arauca, Meta East, Meta West, and Guaviare.
- Place the remaining 3 FARC Bases into the "7", "8", and "9" circular spaces of the FARC Bases track.
- Now collect 6 yellow cylinders—AUC Guerrillas. Place one into each of Atlántico, Antioquia, Santander, Arauca, Guaviare, and Putumayo.
- Place the remaining 12 AUC Guerrillas into the "AUC Guerrillas" box on the map.
- Collect 1 yellow disc—an AUC Base. Place it into a "base" space

in the department of Antioquia.

- Place the remaining 5 AUC Bases into the “6”, “5”, “4”, “3”, and “2” circular spaces of the AUC Bases track.
- Next, collect 2 green cylinders—Cartel Guerrillas. Place one into each of Cali and Putumayo.
- Place the remaining 10 Cartel Guerrillas into the “Cartel Guerrillas” box on the map.
- Now collect 6 green discs—Cartel Bases. Place one into Cali; place one into the empty “base” space in each of Meta East, Meta West, and Guaviare. Place 2 Cartel Bases into the “base” spaces of Putumayo.
- Place the remaining 9 Cartel Bases into the “7”, “8”, “9”, “10”, “11”, “12”, “13”, “14”, and “15” circular spaces of the Cartel Bases track.
- Finally, place the four circular “Shipment” counters into the empty spaces available for them in the “Shipments” box.

Important: Deck construction instructions are found in the rulebook. For the purposes of this tutorial, however, we will be creating a special, stacked deck.

Well done! The map is now set up. One last thing needs to be done: we need to construct the deck. Place 3 Propaganda Cards face down in a row from left to right.

Now remove the following Event Cards and set them aside: #1 *1st Division*, #12 *Plan Colombia*, #19 *General Offensive*, #21 *Raúl Reyes*, #26 *Gramaje*, #28 *Hugo Chávez*, #29 *Kill Zone*, #44 *Colombia Nueva*, #45 *Los Derechos Humanos*, #48 *Unión Sindical Obrera*, #50 *Carabineros*, #68 *Narco-Subs*, #72 *Sicarios*, and #76 *Propaganda*.

Next, shuffle the remaining Event cards together. Deal 15 Event Cards on top of each of the 3 Propaganda cards so that three stacks of 16 cards is created. Shuffle each stack separately, then place each stack on top of one another, creating a single deck.

Now draw two more Event cards and place them face-down on top of the deck. Finally, place the cards we set aside earlier face down on top of the deck. Place them in this EXACT order (from bottom to top): #21, 45, 76, 44, 50, 19, 26, 72, 1, 48, 68, 29, 28, and 12 (top-most card). Note that 12 cards are not used in each game. Place these unused cards back into the box.

STOP. Please pause just a moment and read section 1.5 through section 1.7 of the rulebook. We'll start playing when you're done!

Tip: For your first competitive game, we recommend you only reveal the card being resolved. Being able to see one card into the future may produce “analysis paralysis” in new players and slow gameplay down.

The one thing that makes *ANDEAN ABYSS* a unique game is the role that cards play in the game. Cards will be played from the deck created at game start. Players do not maintain a “hand” of cards as in other card-driven games. Instead, cards are played from the top of the deck. Ordinarily, two cards are always visible to the players: the card being resolved, and the next card to be resolved. In other words, players get to look one card into the future.

Go ahead and draw the topmost card from the deck: Card #12, *Plan Colombia*. Place it face-up on a “played cards” pile near the game board. Next, reveal the topmost card on the deck but leave it on top

of the deck face-up: Card #28, *Hugo Chávez*.

Plan Colombia is the card to be resolved first. Knowledge of the upcoming *Hugo Chavez* event may influence the decisions players make.



Each Event Card has four symbols across the top, one for each faction in the game. The order of these symbols dictates which faction has initiative on that card.

In order to be eligible to execute an Operation or carry out the card’s Event, a Faction must have its Eligibility cylinder in the “Eligible” box on the Sequence of Play display. Eligible factions may either play or pass. At this time, all four factions are eligible.

To determine who gets to choose first, look at the order of the eligibility symbols. The faction with the leftmost symbol gets to choose what to do first and becomes the 1st Eligible Faction. In the case of *Plan Colombia*, the Government player is the 1st Eligible Faction.

The 1st Eligible Faction—the Government in this case—may do one of four things: (1) he may execute the card’s event; OR (2) he may conduct a single type of Operation without any supplemental Special Activity; OR (3) he may conduct a single type of Operation with a single Special Activity; OR (4) he may pass.

If the 1st Eligible Faction chooses to Pass, he remains eligible to play on the next card; if he does anything other than pass, he becomes ineligible to play on the next card. The corollary of this is that a faction usually may only play on every other card.

If the 1st Eligible Faction chooses to pass, then the faction who’s symbol is to the immediate right of his symbol on the card being resolved becomes the 1st Eligible Faction. In the case of *Plan Colombia*, if the Government passes, the AUC would become 1st Eligible. It is possible that all factions could pass on a given card and thus remain eligible on the next card.

Hint: Events in the unshaded portion of the card typically are favorable to the Government; events in the shaded portion are typically antagonistic to the Government.

Here, however, the Government player decides to act. Some Event Cards have one event; others, like *Plan Colombia* have two ver-

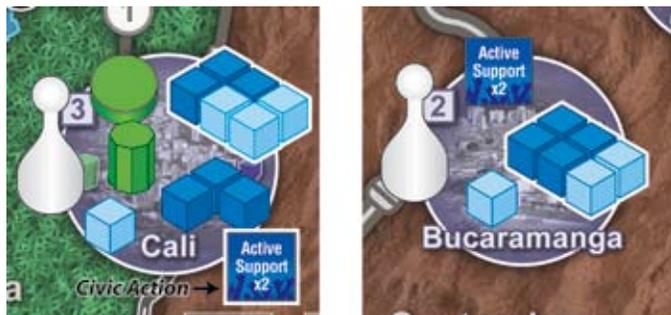
sions of the event—called dual-use events. If a player executes an Event, he must execute either one or the other, never both versions of the event.

The Government would like to execute the event, but at this time, due to Samper being El Presidente, the effects of the event are not as immediately helpful. Instead, the Government will conduct an Operation.

Operations do most of a player's "heavy lifting" in the game. Operations, however, are not free. They cost Resource Points. Furthermore, the player may only conduct ONE type of Operation; he may not mix two different Operations.

Please take one of the Faction Operations Foldouts. Look at the panel for the Government player. As you can see by the left column, he can do one of four things: (1) he can Train in order to get more cubes on the board; OR (2) he can Patrol in order to protect his Lines of Communication (hereafter known as LoCs)—vital to his Resource income; OR (3) he can conduct Sweeps in order to detect Guerrillas; OR (4) he can Assault in order to destroy detected (i.e. Active) Guerrillas. The Operation the active faction carries out dictates what Special Activities may accompany it (if eligible to conduct a Special Activity).

The Government chooses to **Train**. This Action allows the Government player to select any Cities or Departments. Each selected City or Department will cost 3 Resources. In any City or in a Department with a Government Base the Government player may place up to 6 cubes of any type.



For now, the Government will select Cali and Bucaramanga. Place a white pawn in each location to mark these locations. In Cali, the Government player places 3 Police and 3 Troops. There are now 6 Troops and 4 Police in Cali. In Bucaramanga, the Government places 4 Troops and 2 Police.

As a part of the Training Operation, the Government may also pick one selected space (which has been marked with a pawn) and either remove 3 cubes from that space in order to place available Government Base into that space; OR he can choose to conduct something known as a Civic Action in that space.

Reminder: Remember that there can only be 2 bases of any combination of factions in ANY City/Department.

In our case here, the Government will choose to do a Civic Action in Cali. A Civic Action has two requirements: the Government player must have more pieces in the space than any other combination of factions combined, and it must have both Troops and Police. In Cali, the Cartels have 2 pieces; the Government has 10, including both Troops and Police giving the Government Control and ability to conduct a Civic Action. Civic Actions allow the Government player to spend 3 Resources to shift the level of Opposition and/or

Support, one level in his favor. The Government player will spend 6 Resources total to shift Cali from Neutral to Passive Support, and then from Passive Support to Active Support (3 Resources per shift). Adjust Government Resources from 40 to 34 on the General Records Track and place an Active Support counter on Cali.

Cali has a Population value of "3." Since Cali is marked with Active Support, Cali's Population times two is added to the Government's Total Support. Adjust the "Total Support" counter by +6, from 50 to 56.

The Government player could supplement his Training Operation with either an Airstrike or Eradicate Special Activity. This, however, would enable the 2nd Eligible Faction to be allowed to execute one of the events on *Plan Colombia*. Not willing to chance the AUC player executing the event in the shaded portion (which would be most hurtful to the Government), the Government player chooses to only execute an Operation.

We'll finish the Government's Operation by spending 3 Resources per space selected for Training (i.e. per space marked with a white pawn). Adjust the Government Resources from 34 to 28. Finally, place the blue Government Eligibility cylinder into the "1st Faction Op Only" box on the Sequence of Play display.

Hint: Civic Actions may only be conducted during a Training Operation or during the Resolution of a Propaganda Card.

STOP. Please stop here and read section 3.0 through 3.2.1 in order to reinforce your understanding of what we've done so far.

After the 1st Eligible Faction has acted, the next eligible faction becomes known as the 2nd Eligible Faction. Looking back at *Plan Colombia*, we see that the AUC is the 2nd Eligible Faction.

Just what the 2nd Eligible Faction may do is determined by what the 1st Eligible Faction did (see Sequence of Play display). Since the 1st Eligible Faction conducted an Operation Only (no Special Activity), the 2nd Eligible Faction may either execute a Limited Operation—a single Operation in ONE and only ONE space; OR he may pass.

Passing does have its benefits. By choosing to Pass, the Government player will gain +3 Resources; Insurgent players will gain +1 Resource.

Looking at the next card, *Hugo Chávez*, the AUC player feels confident that the FARC (1st Eligible on *Hugo*) will take the event. This would then give the AUC more freedom of action as the 2nd Eligible Faction on that card. And so with a smug look, the AUC chooses to Pass. Place the AUC Eligibility cylinder on the "Pass" box on the Sequence of Play display and adjust the AUC Resources from 10 to 11.



STOP. Please stop here and read section 2.0 through 2.4.1. This will give you an excellent understanding of the sequence of play.

All done? Excellent! Let's proceed: With the AUC passing, the Cartels now may become the 2nd Eligible faction. Looking at the next card, *Hugo Chávez*, it is apparent that FARC and the AUC will both act on that card leaving the Cartels without an action, because only two actions occur each card. Knowing this, the Cartels see no reason not to at least take a Limited Operation here.

All three Insurgent factions (FARC, AUC, and Cartels) have the same Operations available to them. There are, however, some subtle yet important differences.

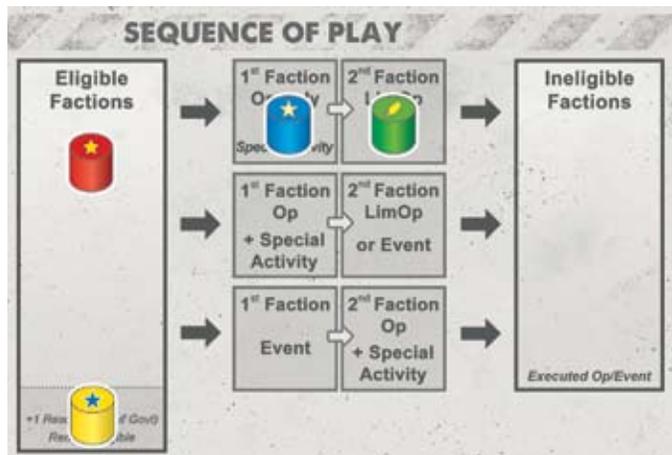
The Cartels decide to conduct a **Rally Operation** in Huila. Since this is the only space where the Operation is taking place we won't need to place a pawn. Looking at the Cartel's panel of the Operations Foldout, we see it will cost 1 Resource and we will be able to place 1 Cartel Guerrilla into Huila. Always place new Guerrillas face-down (with embossed side downward).



1 Guerrilla is placed in Huila

Bases greatly empower the Rally Operation, but it takes Guerrillas in order to create a base. Thus the Cartel's decision to merely place a single Guerrilla into Huila. Later on, the Cartels can build up their presence in the region.

This will conclude the Cartel Limited Operation. Please adjust Cartel Resources from 10 to 9 and place the Cartel Eligibility cylinder into the "2nd Faction LimOP" box (to the right of the Government's cylinder) in the Sequence of Play display.



Since both the 1st and 2nd Eligible Factions have executed their activities on this card, we will now adjust eligibility on the Sequence of Play display: All factions that executed an Event, Operation, or Limited Operation now have their eligibility cylinder placed into

the "Ineligible" box on the Sequence of Play. Factions that did not execute an Event, Operation, or Limited Operation will either remain in, or slide back to the "Eligible" box.

In our case, both the Government and the Cartels will slide to the "Ineligible" box. The FARC cylinder will remain in the "Eligible" box. The AUC cylinder will slide back to the "Eligible" box.

Draw *Hugo Chávez* off the deck onto *Plan Colombia* and reveal the next card to be played: card #29 *Kill Zone*.

FARC is 1st Eligible on *Hugo Chávez* and chooses to execute the shaded Event. The Event text reads, "Place a FARC Base in a Dept next to Venezuela. Sabotage each empty LoC touching Cúcuta." Go ahead and place a "Sabotage" counter on the two pipeline LoCs touching Cúcuta. This will hurt the Government's ability to gain Resources when the next Propaganda card is resolved. Next, take the FARC base off of the "7" space of the FARC Bases track and place it into the Department of Arauca. Note that Arauca may not receive any other bases since there are now two bases there.



The *Hugo Chávez* event allows the FARC to place two Sabotage markers and a Base.

The FARC has as its victory condition, the goal of having a level of Opposition plus on-map bases greater than 25. Since the FARC just added a base, adjust the "Opposition + Bases" counter from 20 to 21, then place the FARC Eligibility cylinder in the "1st Faction Event" box on the 1st Eligible column of the Sequence of Play.

Now only the AUC is eligible. The next card, however, is a very attractive event for the AUC and it passes again. Adjust the AUC Resources from 11 to 12.

With the *Hugo Chávez* card fully resolved, we adjust eligibility: All cylinders in the "Ineligible" box go back to the "Eligible" box—they did not carry out an Event, Operation, or Limited Operation. The AUC will also go back to "Eligible." Only FARC's cylinder slides to the "Ineligible" box.

Draw *Kill Zone* off the deck onto *Hugo Chávez* and reveal the next card: Card #68, *Narco-Subs*.

FARC would be 1st Eligible on *Kill Zone*, but is in the Ineligible box, so the AUC now becomes 1st Eligible. The AUC wants to execute the shaded portion of the Event. The Event text reads, "FARC or AUC in a space executes two free Ambushes with any of its Guerrillas without Activating."

An "Ambush" is a Special Activity that can only accompany an Attack Operation (see the Faction Operations Foldout). Only the FARC

and the AUC may carry out an **Ambush Special Activity**. Unless otherwise indicated by Event text, the executing Faction decides how to carry out the Event. In this case, the AUC chooses to have the AUC Guerrillas execute two Ambushes. (If another faction like the Cartels executed this event, it could choose either the AUC or the FARC to Ambush—and the chosen Faction would then decide where to execute the Ambush.)

The word “free” on the card tells us that these Ambushes will not cost any Resources. Ordinarily, an Attack that an Ambush accompanies costs 1 Resource. Also, ordinarily only ONE Ambush may be executed per Operation (so even if you were carrying out five Attacks, only one Attack could have an Ambush). In this case, however, it is an event and events trump the ordinary rules.

The AUC decides to Ambush in Arauca twice so no need to mark the space with pawns. To carry out an Ambush Attack, one Guerrilla is activated (flipped over to show its embossed side) and two enemy pieces are destroyed and returned to their holding box (Guerrillas/Troops/Police) or track (bases). As a bonus, however, the Ambushing player may place one available Guerrilla into the space where the Ambush occurred. In this situation, the event stipulated that no Guerrillas activate so we won't activate the single Guerrilla. The AUC would like to kill both FARC Bases as his victory conditions are to have more bases on the map than the FARC. But before a base can be eliminated in any Attack, Ambush or Assault, all Guerrillas of the same faction as the base must first be eliminated. The AUC therefore eliminates the lone FARC Guerrilla and one of the bases in Arauca. Place the Guerrilla back into the Available Guerrillas box and the base onto the “7” space of the FARC Bases track. Adjust the “Opposition + Bases” counter from 21 to 20. Place 1 more AUC Guerrilla into Arauca. This concludes the first Ambush from the event.



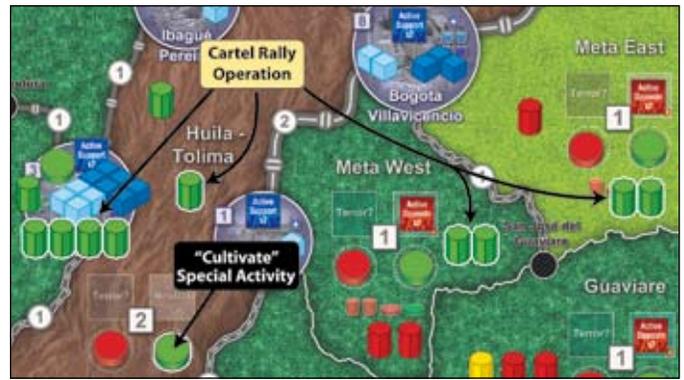
AUC uses the Kill Zone Event to conduct two Ambushes

For the second Ambush, the AUC will hit Arauca again; the newly-placed Guerrilla from the first Ambush will be the attacking Guerrilla. Only 1 FARC piece remains in Arauca, a single base. Return this base to the “6” space of the FARC Bases track. Adjust the “Opposition + Bases” counter from 20 to 19. Place 1 more available AUC Guerrilla into Arauca.

This concludes the AUC's Event. Place the AUC Eligibility cylinder into the Event box on the 1st Faction column of the Sequence of Play display.

STOP. Please stop here and read section 4.4.1, then 4.3.2. This will reinforce your understanding of the Ambush mechanic.

When we last left things the AUC had just finished carrying out the *Kill Zone* event. Now the Cartels are the 2nd Eligible on this card.



Cartel places 9 Guerrillas with the Rally Operation and then uses a Special Activity to “Cultivate” a Base in Huila.

The Cartels need to establish bases in order to achieve their two-fold victory condition: have more than 10 bases on the map, and have more than 40 Resources. With this end in mind, the Cartels choose to carry out a Rally Operation.

Because the AUC carried out an Event, the 2nd Eligible Cartels may carry out an Operation and a Special Activity. The Cartels choose to Rally in Cali, Meta East, Meta West, and Huila. Place a white pawn in each of these four spaces.

Most of these spaces contain a Cartel base. In such spaces, the number of Guerrillas that may be placed is equal to the number of Cartel bases in that space plus the Population value of that space.

Starting in Cali, the Cartels will place 4 Guerrillas from their Available Forces (population 3 + 1 Cartel base). Place the Guerrillas there now. Next, place 2 Guerrillas into Meta West (population 1 + 1 base) and 2 more into Meta East. The last available Cartel Guerrilla will be placed into Huila.

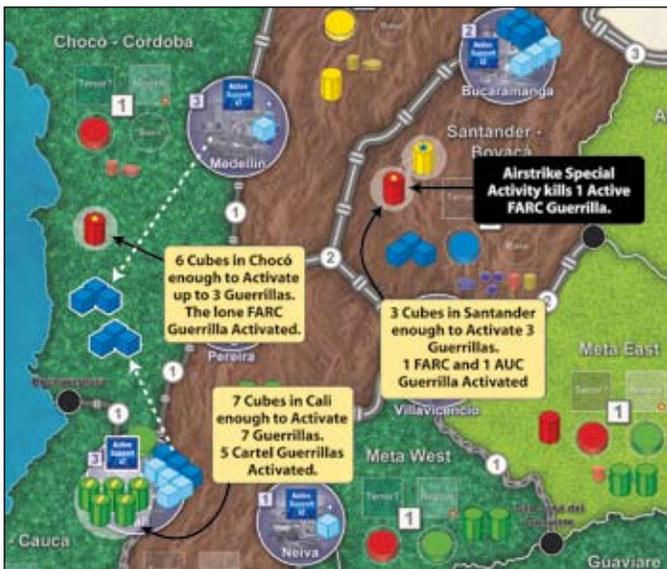
Next, since the Cartels chose to Rally, and are eligible for a Special Activity, the Cartels will execute a “**Cultivate**” Special Activity (see Cartels panel of the Operations Foldout). To do so they must choose a space with a population greater than zero and where Cartel Guerrillas outnumber the number of Police. There also needs to be room to place a base. The Cartels choose Huila.

With the space chosen, the Cartel player may either move a base from anywhere on the map to that location (whether city or department), OR place a new base into a department (not a city) where he conducted a Rally Operation. The Cartel player will place a new base into Huila. Place a Cartel base from the “7” space of the Cartel Bases track into the empty “base” space in Huila.

This Operation cost 4 Resources so reduce the Cartel Resources from 9 to 5 and remove the white pawns. Place the Cartel Eligibility cylinder into the “2nd Faction Op + Special Activity” box on the Sequence of Play.

Next, we adjust Eligibility: The AUC and Cartels are now Ineligible; the Government and FARC are Eligible. Draw *Narco-Subs* off the deck on top of *Kill Zone* and reveal the next card: #48, *Unión Sindical Obrera*.

STOP. Please stop here and read section 3.3 through 3.3.1 and 4.5.1. This will reinforce your understanding of the Rally Operation and Cultivate Special Activity.



Government Sweeps and an Airstrike take out Guerrillas.

Ready to continue? Let's go!

The *Narco-Subs* event is pretty much useless at the present time—both the unshaded and shaded portions have no effect since there are no Cartel pieces in coastal spaces. The Government is the 1st Eligible since both Cartels and AUC are in the Ineligible box. The Government decides to Conduct a **Sweep Operation** and an **Airstrike Special Activity**.

STOP. Please stop here and read section 3.2.3 before continuing.



The target areas for the Sweeps will be Cali, Santander, and Chocó. Mark each space with a white pawn.

For the Sweep into Chocó, move all 3 Troops from Medellín and 3 Troop cubes from Cali into Chocó.

Because Chocó is a Forest space, it takes 2 cubes to Activate 1 Guerrilla. The Government sent more than enough cubes to get the job done. Flip the single FARC Guerrilla in Chocó to Active (embossed side up).

For the Sweep into Santander, the Government Troops in the department will Sweep in place. There are 3 cubes in Santander, more than enough to Activate both the AUC and the FARC Guerrillas. Flip both Guerrillas to Active.

For the Sweep in Cali, the Government will again Sweep in place. Note that while only Troops can move in a Sweep—Troops in Cali for example could move as far as Pasto, via the Cali-Pasto LoC if Pasto was a target for a Sweep Operation—ANY cube in the target location is counted for implementing the effects of the Sweep. The Government has 3 Troops and 4 Police. The 7 cubes in Cali will be enough to Activate all 5 Cartel Guerrillas.

Next, the Government will execute its Special Activity. We've already conducted one Special Activity in this tutorial, but there are some things you need to understand about Special Activities before we go further.

STOP. Please stop here and read section 4.1 through 4.2.3 before continuing.

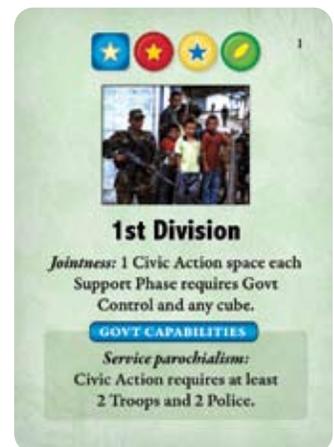
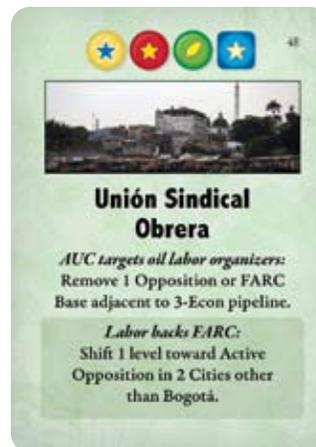
Ok, now you should know how Special Activities work and how they can work in conjunction with an Operation. Theoretically, the Government could have done the Airstrike at the start of the Operation rather than at the end of the Operation. But as you no doubt read, an Airstrike can only destroy an Active Guerrilla, or an unprotected base.

Of the Active Guerrillas on the map, the FARC Guerrilla in the mountains of Santander is the most juicy. It takes 2 Troop cubes to kill 1 Guerrilla in the mountains. Killing the FARC Guerrilla with an Airstrike is very efficient. The Government chooses to do just this, so remove the FARC Guerrilla from Santander. (The AUC Guerrilla could also have been targeted, but the AUC can Rally in Santander so it wouldn't have been gone for long whereas the FARC cannot Rally in Santander due to the department's Support for the Government.)

Adjust the Government Resources by -9 (it cost 3 Resources for each Sweep), from 28 to 19. Place the Government Eligibility cylinder into the "Op + Special Activity" box on 1st Faction column of the Sequence of Play.

FARC is then left with an unfortunate decision: either take a Limited Op or execute the *Narco-Subs* event (which is useless). Not wishing to waste an OP, FARC instead Passes. Adjust FARC Resources from 10 to 11. FARC will enjoy 2nd Eligibility, and better opportunities on the next card, *Unión Sindical Obrera*.

Adjust Eligibility: Government is Ineligible; all other factions are Eligible. Draw *Unión Sindical Obrera* off the deck on top of *Narco-Subs*, and reveal the next card: #1, *1st Division*.



The AUC is the 1st Eligible Faction on *Unión Sindical Obrera*. Take a moment to look at the "Rally" Operation's requirements on the AUC's panel of a Operations Foldout. You'll quickly notice that in order to Rally, the target space cannot have "Opposition." The AUC would like to carry on its momentum in the department of Arauca, but cannot Rally there at the present time because of the "Active Opposition" marker. The unshaded version of the *Unión Sindical Obrera* event appears to be just the ticket. The event text reads, "Remove 1 Opposition or FARC Base adjacent to 3-Econ pipeline."

Conveniently, Arauca is adjacent to the 3-Econ pipeline LoC that connects the town of Arauca with the city of Cúcuta, making it an eligible space for the event. There's no longer any FARC base in Arauca, but there is an Opposition counter in the department. The AUC chooses to remove the "Active Opposition" counter, thus making Arauca Neutral—and thus eligible for AUC Rally Operations later on in the game. Note that the AUC could also have removed an Opposition counter if it was on its "Passive Opposition" side since the event did not specify either Passive or Active Opposition.

The effects of this event also cause the "Opposition + Bases" counter to move from 19 to 17 on the numbered track since Arauca's Population of 1 is no longer under any level of Opposition (under Active Opposition a space with a Population of "1" would contribute a factor of 2 Opposition on the track).



Place the AUC's Eligibility cylinder into the Event box on the 1st Faction column of the Sequence of Play display. Now FARC is the 2nd Eligible Faction.

FARC needs guerrillas on the map so FARC will take the opportunity to Rally across the map. As you read earlier, FARC can only Rally in cities/departments without Government Support. This means they cannot Rally in Santander to replace the guerrilla eliminated by the Government Airstrike. FARC chooses to Rally in the following departments: Cesar, Antioquia, Chocó, Arauca, Huila, Nariño, Meta West, Meta East, Guaviare, Putumayo, Vichada, and Guainía—12 spaces. Place a pawn in each space to mark the locations.

But wait! You may have noticed that there's not enough Resources available to the FARC to Rally in 12 spaces! FARC only has 11 Resources. Fortunately for FARC, since the 1st Eligible Faction executed an Event, the 2nd Eligible Faction may carry out a Special Activity. Special Activities, as you read earlier, can be carried out at any one time during an Operation. FARC will execute an "Extort" Special Activity as it Rallies in order to gain the Resources necessary to carry out the Operation.

STOP. Please stop here and read section 4.3 through 4.3.3 before continuing.

Now that you know more about the FARC Special Activities, we can continue. For this Operation, we will pay the Resources necessary as we move along.

FARC begins Rallying in Cesar: place 1 available FARC guerrilla into the department. FARC could choose to **Extort** here since FARC has an underground guerrilla now and outnumbers all enemy pieces, but chooses not to do so at this time. Adjust FARC Resources from 11 to 10.

Next, FARC conducts a Rally Op in both Antioquia and Arauca, placing 1 available guerrilla into each department. FARC will be unable to Extort in either space since they do not outnumber all enemy

pieces in either department. Adjust FARC Resources from 10 to 8.

FARC will Rally in Nariño next and place 1 available guerrilla into the space. Here, FARC now has two underground guerrillas and outnumbers all enemy pieces so FARC will extort here. Flip one of the two FARC guerrillas over to its Active side. The Resource cost for the Rally Operation here will be offset by the 1 Resource gained by the Extort Special Activity.

In Putumayo, FARC could remove two Guerrillas in order to place a base, but the newly-placed base would be vulnerable to enemy attack or a Government airstrike. Knowing this, FARC places 1 available guerrilla. FARC outnumbers the AUC in Putumayo, but does not outnumber all the enemies in Putumayo put together so they cannot Extort here. Adjust FARC Resources from 8 to 7.

In Chocó, FARC has a single base and the department has a Population of 1. FARC, therefore, places 2 available guerrillas into the department. This safeguards the FARC base from the Government troops prowling the Chocó forests. FARC cannot Extort here though, so adjust FARC Resources from 7 to 6.

Huila has a population of 2 and a single FARC base. FARC will, therefore, place 3 available guerrillas Huila. FARC now outnumbers all enemies in Huila so FARC will Extort. Flip one FARC guerrilla in Huila over to its Active side. The Resource cost for the Rally Operation here will be offset by the 1 Resource gained by the Extort Special Activity.

Meta East, Meta West, and Guaviare each have a Population of 1 and a single FARC base. FARC places 2 available guerrillas into each department. Each of these spaces also now qualifies for the Extort Special Activity so flip 1 FARC guerrilla in each space over to its Active side. The Resource cost for each space will thus be offset by the Resource gained by the Extort Special Activity.

Vichada, and Guainía are 0-population departments. This fact doesn't preclude Rally or Extortion! FARC will Rally in each and Extort in each location. Place 1 available FARC guerrilla into each space and flip it over to its Active side. The Resource cost for each space is thus offset by the Resource gained by the Extort Special Activity.

Wow! That was a LOT of Rallying! FARC ends the Operation with only 2 guerrillas in its "Available Guerrillas" box. Thanks to the Extort Special Activity, FARC ends the Operation with 6 Resources. Please remove all the pawns from the board.

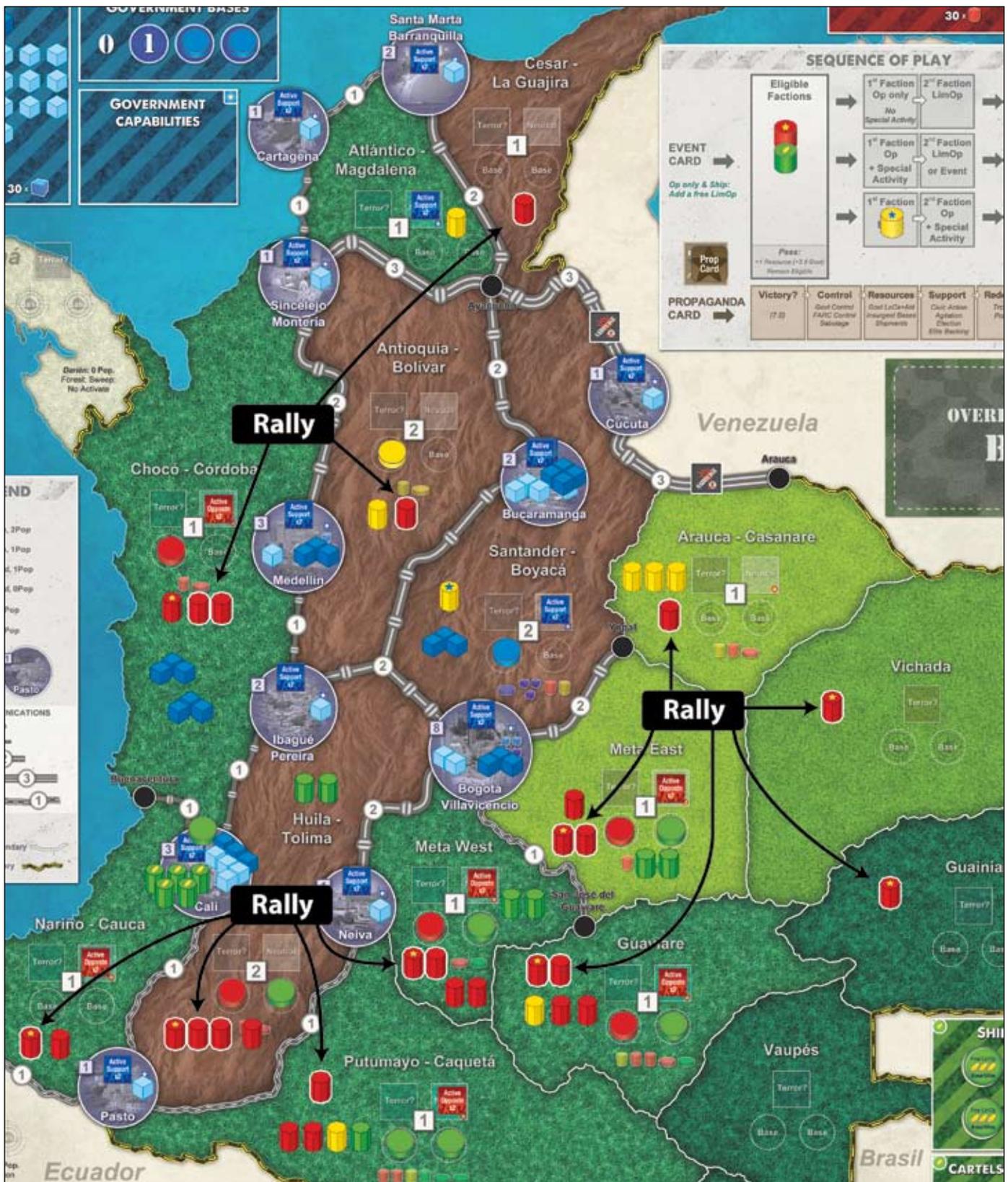
We'll finish the card by adjusting Eligibility. Both FARC and the AUC cylinders move to the Ineligible box on the Sequence of Play display. The Government and the Cartels remain eligible to act on *1st Division*. Draw *1st Division* off the deck on top of *Unión Sindical Obrera*, and reveal the next card: #72, *Sicarios*.

1st Division is one of several Event Cards which when played as an event will produce long-lasting results known as "Government Capabilities." In addition to these, there are also cards with "Insurgent Momentum" in the game.

STOP. Please stop here and read section 5.3 through 5.4 before continuing.

Now that you know all about Government Capabilities and Insurgent Momentum we can continue.

The Government is now cast upon the horns of a dilemma: They can execute the event, but would lose the opportunity to follow-up their Sweeps in Cali—the Cartels will almost certainly have their



FARC Rallies 18 Guerrillas in 12 different departments.

Active guerrillas go Underground in Cali. On the other hand, if the government wipes out the Cartels in Cali and chase the Operation with a Special Activity, the Cartels might play the event against the Government. The 1st Division event's unshaded version gives the Government the powerful capability of engaging in Civic Actions

without the need of Police and Troops—only one cube and control is needed! But if the shaded version is played, the Government would require 2 Troops and 2 Police for Civic Actions—a very tough task to achieve!

As nice as the event's permanent effect would be, the Government decides that the opportunity to inflict a terrible wound to the Cali Cartel is one which must not be deferred. The Government decides to execute **Assault Operations**. To protect against *1st Division* being played against them, however, the Government chooses not to undertake any Special Activities—leaving the 2nd Eligible Cartels with only the option of executing a Limited Operation on this card.

STOP. Please stop here and read section 3.2.4 before continuing.

Ok, now that you know the rules for Assault Operations we will proceed with the Government's operation. Currently, there are three spaces where the Government could Assault: Chocó, Santander, and Cali. But because it costs 3 Resources per space to execute, the Government will conserve its Resources and only Assault in Cali.



Since Cali is a city space, any cube can be used to eliminate an enemy piece. The Government has 3 Troops and 4 Police, a total of 7 cubes. These each eliminate one Cartel piece, eliminating all 5 Cartel guerrillas and the single Cartel base. Place the guerrillas back into the Cartel's Available Guerrillas box. Place the base into the "7" space on the Cartel Bases Track. Adjust the Government's Resources from 19 to 16.

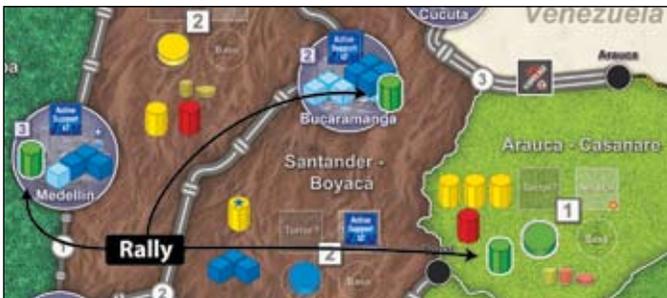
Place the Government's Eligibility cylinder into the "Op Only" box on the Sequence of Play display.

The Cartel player is now facing a dilemma similar to that which the Government faced. The upcoming *Sicarios* event could be played against them. Cartels, being 1st Eligible on *Sicarios*, therefore, opt to Pass. Adjust Cartel Resources from 5 to 6.

The Cartel player is now facing a dilemma similar to that which the Government faced. The upcoming *Sicarios* event could be played against them. Cartels, being 1st Eligible on *Sicarios*, therefore, opt to Pass. Adjust Cartel Resources from 5 to 6.

That concludes the *1st Division* card. The Government Eligibility cylinder moves to the Ineligible box while all other Factions move to the Eligible box on the Sequence of Play. Draw *Sicarios* off the deck on top of *1st Division*, and reveal the next card: #26, *Gramaje*.

Seeing the *Gramaje* card on the horizon, the Cartel player resolves to eschew frugality with his Resources. The Cartel player wants to get reestablished in a City so as to hold some leverage over the Government (and be safe from Eradication Special Activities). The Cartels decide to Rally in Medellín, Bucaramanga, and Arauca, placing a single available guerrilla in each space. The Cartels will also execute a Cultivate Special Activity to place a base (from the 7 space of the Cartel Bases track) into Arauca. Note that neither Medellín nor



The Cartel uses the Rally Action to bring on 3 more Guerrillas and uses the Cultivate Special Activity to place a Base.

Bucaramanga are eligible for a Cultivate Special Activity since the number of Cartel guerrillas does not exceed the number of Police in those spaces.

Adjust the Cartel Resources from 6 to 3 and place the Cartel Eligibility cylinder into the "OP + Special Activity" box on the Sequence of Play display.

Now the AUC is 2nd Eligible to play on *Sicarios*. The AUC opts to execute the unshaded portion of the *Sicarios* event. Two Cartel guerrillas are removed from Meta West and replaced with 2 AUC guerrillas. Two more Cartel guerrillas are removed from Meta East and likewise replaced with 2 AUC guerrillas. The AUC now have guerrillas in two more Opposition areas where they can wreak more havoc on the FARC. This ends the *Sicarios* card. Both Cartel and AUC Eligibility cylinders move to the Ineligible box. Draw *Gramaje* off the deck on top of *Sicarios*, and reveal the next card: #19, *General Offensive*.

FARC is the 1st Eligible Faction on *Gramaje* and decides to conduct a **March Operation** without a Special Activity. Place FARC's Eligibility Pawn on the appropriate box of the Sequence of Play display.

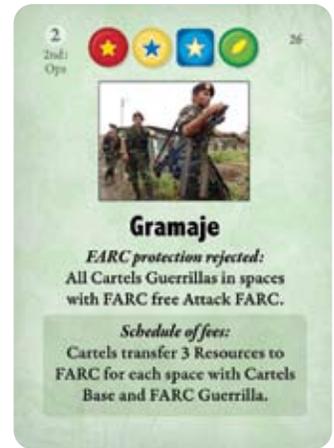
STOP. Please stop here and read section 3.3.2 before continuing.

Now that you know how the March Operation works, let's proceed:

- FARC will March all 3 guerrillas in Putumayo. One will go into Pasto; 1 will go into Neiva; and 1 will go onto the Pasto-Neiva road. None of these will activate since there are not enough cubes + moving guerrillas in any of these three spaces to cause the guerrillas to activate (the total must exceed 3 to cause the moving guerrillas to go Active). Adjust FARC Resources from 6 to 4—this cost 2 Resources (Marching onto LoCs does not cost any Resources).
- Two underground guerrillas will March from Meta West: one onto the Neiva-Bogotá pipeline and one onto the Bogotá-San José road.
- One underground guerrilla from Meta East will March onto the Bogotá-Yopal pipeline.
- One underground guerrilla from Chocó will March onto the Sincelejo-Medellín pipeline.
- One underground guerrilla from Nariño will March onto the Cali-Pasto road.
- Finally, one guerrilla from Huila will March onto the Ibagué-Bogotá-Bucaramanga pipeline.

The Government is the now eligible to play, but will need more than a Limited Operation to deal with the multiplicity of threats to his LoCs and cities! The Government, therefore, passes and collects 3 Resources. Adjust the Government's Resources from 16 to 19.

Now adjust Eligibility: only FARC goes to the Ineligible box; all other Factions go to the Eligible box on the Sequence of Play display. Draw *General Offensive* off the deck on top of *Gramaje*, and reveal the next card: #50, *Carabineros*.





FARC March Actions

The Government is the 1st Eligible Faction to play on *General Offensive*. With so many FARC guerrillas on LoCs, the Government decides to launch a **Patrol Operation**.

STOP. Please stop here and read section 3.2.2 before continuing.

Now you know what the Patrol Operation does. The Government begins its Patrol Operation with the Police cube in Cartagena moving onto the Cartagena-Sincelejo pipeline. Since there are no guerrillas on this LoC, the Police cube continues moving into Sincelejo (also guerrilla-free) and then onto the Sincelejo-Medellín pipeline where it must stop. The Police cube then activates one guerrilla—the only guerrilla on the LoC belonging to the FARC.

Next, the Police cube on Cúcuta moves onto the Cúcuta-Ayacucho pipeline. The fact that this LoC is sabotaged does not impede the Police cube’s ability to Patrol so it continues to the Ayacucho-Santa Marta pipeline where it stops. It will protect this important Pipeline from any future FARC mischief.

One Police cube from Bucaramanga moves onto the Bucaramanga-Ibagué-Bogotá pipeline where it stops and activates the FARC guerrilla. Note that the Cartel guerrilla does not keep a cube from leaving the space during a Patrol.

In Bogotá, one Troops cube will move into the Bogotá-Neiva pipeline and activate the FARC guerrilla. Another Troops cube will move from Bogotá onto the Bogotá-Yopal pipeline and activate the FARC guerrilla. One more Troops cube will move from Bogotá onto the Bogotá-San José road and activate the FARC guerrilla.

The Police in Neiva could Patrol onto the Neiva-Pasto Road, but this would leave Neiva vulnerable to FARC Kidnapping, so the Police cube there will remain where it is and do nothing. The only type of space where guerrillas can be activated during a Patrol is a LoC.

Next, one Police cube in Cali will move onto the Cali-Pasto road and activate the FARC guerrilla.

Thus far the Government has been able to activate all FARC guerrillas on LoCs except one: the guerrilla on the Neiva-Pasto road. To deal with this, the Government executes an **Airlift Special Activity** in the middle of the Patrol Operation. 3 Troop cubes Airlift from Chocó to Neiva. Then, one Troop cube in Neiva moves onto the Neiva-Pasto road and activates the FARC guerrilla.

Finally, as a part of the Patrol Operation, the Government may execute a free Assault on any one LoC. The Government chooses to eliminate the FARC Guerrilla on the Ibagué-Bogotá-Bucaramanga pipeline. This Operation cost the Government 3 Resources so adjust the Government Resources from 19 to 16 and place the Government Eligibility cylinder on the “Op + Special Activity” box on the Sequence of Play.

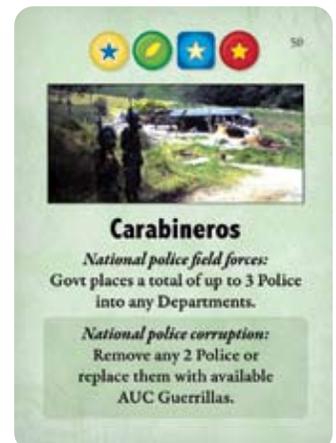
The AUC is now the 2nd Eligible player on *General Offensive*. The AUC, however, does not feel as though the event would be of great use, so the AUC will pass. Adjust the AUC’s Resources from 12 to 13 and place the AUC’s Eligibility cylinder into the Pass box on the Sequence of Play.

The Cartels decide that the *General Offensive* event isn’t for them either. They too decide to pass and collect a Resource—adjust from 3 to 4.

Adjust Eligibility: only the Government goes to the Ineligible box; all other Factions go to the Eligible box on the Sequence of Play display. Draw *Carabineros* on top of *General Offensive*, and reveal the next card: #44, *Colombia Nueva*.

The AUC is the 1st Eligible player on *Carabineros*. The AUC has two overarching goals: kill FARC bases; and building their own bases. And so the AUC, flush with Resources, opts to forgo the Event and instead Rally across the map. Place white pawns into the departments of Atlántico, Antioquia, Santander, Arauca, and Huila.

Place 1 available AUC guerrilla into Atlántico. Place 3 available



AUC guerrillas into Antioquia (base + Population). Place 1 available AUC guerrilla into Santander. Place the last available AUC guerrilla into Huila.

In Arauca, the AUC has a couple choices: they could replace two guerrillas with a base; or they could remove any one of their guerrillas from elsewhere on the map and place it back into the available Guerrillas box in order that they might Rally that guerrilla into Arauca. Not needing their guerrilla in Putumayo, the AUC removes this guerrilla to the AUC Available guerrillas box. The AUC player then completes his Rally action by placing the newly-available guerrilla into Arauca.

To defray the cost of this Operation, the AUC chooses to Extort in each of Atlántico, Antioquia, and Arauca (don't forget to mark 1 guerrilla in each Extort space as Active). This brings the total cost of the Operation down to -3 Resources. Adjust the AUC Resources from 13 to 10. Place the AUC Eligibility cylinder into the "Op + Special Activity" box on the Sequence of Play display.

The Cartels are now the 2nd Eligible Faction. The Cartels opt to take a Limited Operation in order to Rally in Medellín. Place 1 available Cartel guerrilla in Medellín. Adjust Cartel Resources from 4 to 3.

Both the Cartel and AUC cylinders move into the Ineligible box; the FARC cylinder moves back into the Eligible box on the Sequence of Play display. Draw *Colombia Nueva* on top of *Carabineros*, and reveal the next card: a *Propaganda* card!

Only the Government and the FARC are eligible to take immediate advantage of the knowledge of the upcoming Propaganda card.

FARC is the 1st Eligible player on *Colombia Nueva*. FARC chooses to conduct a **Terror Operation**.

STOP. Please stop here and read sections 3.3.4 and 4.3.3 before continuing.

Ready to continue? Excellent! As you no doubt read, Terror is a powerful tool in the hands of the Insurgents. It is especially useful to FARC because it either degrades Support or builds Opposition. All other Insurgent Terror causes Support or Opposition to gravitate towards Neutral.

Here, the FARC will engage in Terror and combine it with the **Kidnapping Special Activity!** Place a white pawn in each of Cesar, Antioquia, Huila, Arauca, and the cities of Pasto and Neiva. FARC



FARC Terror in the cities of Pasto and Neiva, and in the Department of Huila.

would like to wage Terror on LoCs because it is both free and it causes Sabotage, but cannot since Terror requires underground guerrillas and all guerrillas on LoCs were Activated by the Government Patrol operation.

FARC will start its Terror Operation in Huila. Flip one guerrilla to show its Active side. Find and place a "Terror" counter into the department. Next, place a "Passive Opposition" counter to cover the "Neutral" box in Huila. Adjust the "Opposition + Bases" from 17 to 19 (Huila has a population of 2). Next, for the Kidnapping Special Activity in Huila, the FARC targets the Cartel base and rolls a die—our first die roll of the game! The die roll result is a "2". Subtract 2 Cartel Resources (from 3 to 1) and add 2 FARC Resources (from 4 to 6). Then subtract 1 FARC Resource for the cost of the Operation in that space (back from 6 to 5).

FARC's next target for Terror is the department of Cesar. Flip the guerrilla to show its Active side, place a Terror and a Passive Opposition counter. Adjust "Opposition + Bases" from 19 to 20 and FARC Resources from 5 to 4.

FARC next targets Antioquia. Flip the guerrilla to show its Active side, place a Terror and a Passive Opposition counter. Adjust "Opposition + Bases" from 20 to 22 (Population of 2 in Antioquia) and FARC Resources from 4 to 3.

Next up for Terror is Arauca. Flip the guerrilla to show its Active side, place a Terror and a Passive Opposition counter. Adjust "Opposition + Bases" from 22 to 23 and FARC Resources from 3 to 2. FARC will also Kidnap in Arauca, targeting the Cartel base. A die is still rolled even though the Cartels have only 1 Resource because if a "6" is rolled, an AUC guerrilla may be placed in the area. The die roll is a "4", however, so the only effect is the Cartels lose their last Resource and FARC gains that one Resource (from 2 to 3)—FARC doesn't gain 4 even though a 4 was rolled because the Cartels don't have 4 Resources to give.

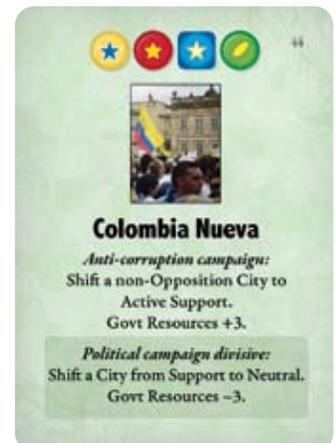
FARC turns its attention to the city of Neiva. Flip the guerrilla to show its Active side, place a Terror counter and flip the Active Support counter over to its Passive Support side. Adjust the "Total Support" from 56 to 55 and FARC Resources from 3 to 2.

Finally, FARC resolves a Terror Operation in Pasto. Flip the guerrilla to show its Active side, place a Terror counter and flip the Active Support counter over to its Passive Support side. Adjust the "Total Support" from 55 to 54 and FARC Resources from 2 to 1.

FARC would like to carry out Kidnapping against the Government, but can only do so in a City or LoC where FARC guerrillas outnumber Police. Neither Pasto nor Neiva qualify.

Place FARC's Eligibility counter into the "Op + Special Activity" box on the Sequence of Play display.

The Government will now carry out the unshaded portion of the *Colombia Nueva* event. The Government shifts Pasto back from Passive Support to Active Support and gains +3 Resources (from 16 to 19). Adjust the "Total Support" from 54 back to 55. Place the Government Eligibil-



ity cylinder into the “LimOp or Event” box on the Sequence of Play display.

Draw *Propaganda!* on top of *Colombia Nueva*, and reveal the next card: #45, *Los Derechos Humanos!*

Important: Unless using the “No Reveal Option” (2.2), only Limited Operations may be conducted when resolving the card immediately preceding the final Propaganda Card of the game (2.3.9)!



STOP. Please stop here and read sections 6.0 through 7.3 before continuing.



Place the “Prop Card” counter on the “Victory?” space of the Propaganda Card track on the Sequence of Play display. During this phase, we check to see if any faction has won the game. At this time no faction has met their victory condition. Just for grins, let’s look at the current victory margin for each faction (how close the Factions are to winning):

The Government has 55 Total Support for a victory margin of -5 ($55 - 60 = -5$). The Cartels have 0 Resources and only 7 bases on the map for a victory margin of -40 ($0 - 40 = -40$)—not even close! The AUC has 1 base on the map compared with 5 FARC bases for a victory margin of -4 ($1 - 5 = -4$). FARC has 23 Opposition + Bases for a victory margin of -2 ($23 - 25 = -2$). So right now, FARC is in first place; AUC is a close second; Government is not far behind in third place; and the Cartels lag far behind in fourth place.

Move the “Prop Card” counter to the next space on the Propaganda Card track, the “Control” space. Control only matters for the FARC and the Government. FARC controls a space that has more FARC pieces than all other factions put together. Similarly, the Government controls all spaces where the Government has more pieces than all other factions. Furthermore, control is mainly applicable in departments and cities with a population of 1 or more—not LoCs or 0-Population departments.

Currently the Government controls the following spaces: Santa Marta, Sincelejo, Bucaramanga, Santander, Bogotá, Ibagué, Neiva, and Cali. Place a control counter on the “Government Control” side in each of these spaces.

FARC currently controls: Cesar, Nariño, and Guaviare. Place a control counter on the “FARC Control” side in each of these spaces. Next, if FARC controls any cities, a Sabotage counter is placed on each un-sabotaged LoC connected to those cities. FARC, however, does not control any cities at this time. Similarly, a Sabotage counter is placed on each un-sabotaged LoC with more guerrillas (of any combination of factions) than cubes. Right now there is no such LoC.

Move the “Prop Card” counter over to the “Resources” space of the Propaganda Card track on the Sequence of Play display. During this phase, each faction will collect Resources:

The Government will collect 1 Resource for each un-sabotaged LoC. The sum total economic value of all LoCs is 30 so the easy way to calculate this is simply to subtract the economic value of each sabotaged LoC from 30. There are two 3-Econ LoCs which are marked with a Sabotage counter so the Government gains +24 Resources ($30 - 6 = 24$). Increase the Government’s Resources from 19 to 43. Ordinarily the Government would also gain a number of Resources equal to the number the “Aid” counter is covering on the numbered track (currently the Government has 9 Aid). But when Samper is *El Presidente*, the Government does not receive Aid.

FARC and the AUC receive 1 Resource for each base they have on the map. AUC, therefore, receives 1 Resource. Increase the AUC’s Resources from 10 to 11. FARC has 5 bases on the map so adjust FARC Resources from 1 to 6.

The Cartels gain 3 Resources for each base they have on the map. Cartels have 7 bases on the map so the Cartels gain 21 Resources. Adjust Cartel Resources from 0 to 21.

Move the “Prop Card” counter over to the “Support” space of the Propaganda Card track on the Sequence of Play display. During this Phase, the Government and FARC can engage in Civic Actions and Agitation (respectively) in order to improve Support and degrade Opposition(Government), or degrade Support and improve Opposition (FARC). In order to conduct Civic Actions, the Government must have control, troops, and police. In order to conduct Agitation, FARC must have control.

First, the Government will conduct Civic Actions in Neiva. It costs 3 Resources (from 43 to 40) to remove the Terror counter. Once all Terror counters are removed, the Government can spend more Resources to adjust Support. The Government spends 3 more Resources (from 40 to 37) to improve Support in Neiva from Passive to Active Support. Adjust “Total Support” from 55 to 56.

Next, FARC Agitates in Cesar. It costs 1 Resource for FARC to remove each Terror counter. FARC spends 1 Resource (from 6 to 5) to remove the single Terror counter from Cesar. FARC will spend 1 more Resource (from 5 to 4) to improve Opposition from Passive to Active Opposition. Adjust the “Opposition + Bases” counter from 23 to 24.



The next thing we do in the Support phase is conduct the Election. Support is less than 60, so move the El Presidente counter one box to the right to show the new Presidente is Pastrana. One effect of Pastrana’s election is that a FARC Zone counter must be placed. FARC Zone counters must be placed into the space containing the most FARC pieces. Guaviare has the most FARC pieces so the

FARC Zone counter is placed into that department. Any Government pieces in a space receiving a FARC Zone counter must immediately redeploy. Presently there are no Government pieces in Guaviare so no redeployment is necessary. The Government will not be able to place any of its pieces into the department of Guaviare so long as a FARC Zone counter is in that space.

The last thing we do in the Support Phase is conduct “Elite Backing” (see 6.4.4). The AUC now has the opportunity to conduct a free Rally in any one space that is not marked with an Opposition (Active or Passive) nor a Control counter (Government or FARC). The AUC will opt to remove two of its Guerrillas from Atlántico and place one AUC Base into one of the two empty “Base” spaces in that department. Take the AUC Base from the “2” space on the AUC Bases track. Place the removed Guerrillas back into the Available AUC Guerrillas box. This does not cost the AUC any Resources since this is a “Free” Operation.

Move the “Prop Card” counter over to the “Redeploy” space of the Propaganda Card track on the Sequence of Play display. During this phase all Government Troops (not Police) on LoCs or in departments without a Government base must redeploy to either a Government-controlled city or a Government-controlled department containing a Government base. If no such space exists, Troops can Redeploy to Bogotá. All 3 Troops in Chocó Redeploy to Ibagué. The Troop cube on the Pasto-Neiva road Redeploys to Neiva. All 3 Troop cubes on the LoCs connected to Bogotá Redeploy to Bogotá. Finally, one Troop cube from Bucaramanga will Redeploy to Santander (this is an optional Redeployment; not a mandatory one like the previous series of Re-deployments).

During the Redeploy phase, any and all Police cubes on the map may Redeploy to any LoCs or Government-controlled spaces. One Police cube in Cali Redeploys to the Pasto-Neiva road. One Police cube in Cali Redeploys to the Neiva-Bogotá pipeline. One Police cube in Bogotá Redeploys to the Bogotá-Yopal pipeline. All other Police remain in place.

Move the “Prop Card” counter over to the “Reset” space of the Propaganda Card track on the Sequence of Play display. During this phase all factions have their Eligibility cylinder placed into the Eligible box on the Sequence of Play. All Terror, Sabotage, and Control counters are removed from the map. Any Insurgent Momentum cards in play are discarded (none are currently in play). Finally, all guerrillas on the map are flipped to their underground side.

Draw *Los Derechos Humanos* on top of the Propaganda card and reveal the next card: #45, *Raúl Reyes*.

We’ll conclude this tutorial by resolving the *Los Derechos Humanos* card. The AUC is the 1st Eligible faction on this card. Wanting to

reestablish neutrality in several spaces as well as harm the FARC bases, the AUC decides to conduct a Terror Operation in Antioquia, Arauca, and Huila. The AUC will also conduct an **Assassinate Special Activity**.

STOP. Please stop here and read section 4.4.2 before continuing.

The first AUC target is Antioquia. Flip 1 AUC guerrilla in Antioquia over to its Active side. Place 1 Terror counter and remove the Passive Opposition counter from the department. Adjust the “Opposition + Bases” from 24 to 22. Next, the AUC Assassinate in Antioquia, killing the lone FARC guerrilla.

Next, the AUC conducts Terror in Arauca. Flip 1 AUC guerrilla in the department over to its Active side. Place 1 Terror counter and remove the Passive Opposition counter from the department. Adjust the “Opposition + Bases” from 22 to 21. Next, the AUC Assassinate in Arauca, killing the lone FARC guerrilla.

Finally, the AUC conducts Terror in Huila. Flip the AUC guerrilla in the department over to its Active side. Place 1 Terror counter and remove the Passive Opposition counter from the department. Adjust the “Opposition + Bases” from 21 to 19. Next, the AUC Assassinate in Huila. For this Assassination Special Activity the AUC will remove the lone FARC Base. Note that this IS possible even though there are FARC guerrillas in the space—ANY enemy piece in the location where an Assassination takes place can be eliminated! Place the FARC base back on the “5” space of the FARC Bases track. Adjust the “Opposition + Bases” from 19 to 18.

Because the AUC conducted Terror in more than 1 space, the Government loses 5 Aid points (adjust from 9 to 4). Finally, the AUC has to pay for all this destruction! Adjust AUC Resources from 11 to 8. Place the AUC Eligibility cylinder into the “Op + Special Activity” box on the Sequence of Play display.

By this time, you should have a pretty good understanding of the game. There are a few rules, however, that we were unable to address in this tutorial. We recommend that you read rule section 4.5 through 4.5.3 and all of section 5.

Section 8 of the rulebook contains the Non-Player rules for solitaire play or for games with less than four players. We strongly recommend that you learn the game’s core mechanics (sections 1-7) before attempting to implement the Non-Player rules.

GO! Please feel free to continue the game from this point! FARC is 2nd Eligible to play on “Los Derechos Humanos.” Have fun!

GUIDE TO COIN OPERATIONS

Strategy Notes for the Government

by Joel Toppen

Here is an introduction to the forces and some key actions available to the Government Faction.

Troops



Troops are your workhorses. They're going to do all the heavy lifting for you. Essentially, Troops are your pieces that can be moved into spaces to search (Sweep) and destroy (Assault) Insurgent Guerrillas and Bases.

Troops are brought into the game through the Train Operation. Troops can move via:

- **Sweep Operation**—into an adjacent City or Department to find (Activate) Insurgent Guerrillas.
- **Patrol Operation**—into and/or along LoCs to find (Activate) Insurgent Guerrillas and perhaps kill them in one such space.
- **Airlift Special Activity**—any 3 troops (unlimited with *Blackhawks* Government Capability) move from anywhere to anywhere on the map. Do not underestimate the effectiveness of this Special Activity!

Troops kill Insurgent Guerrillas via the Assault Operation, but only Active guerrillas.

Guerrillas must be Activated by a Sweep (or some action they themselves undertook) before Government Troops can eliminate them.

Also, through their presence, Troops can project Government control of a space in a Control Phase of a Propaganda card. But, and this is important, by themselves, Troops cannot alter Support/Opposition status in an area. They need Police support to effect that. In the Redeploy Phase, Troops in a LoC or Department space without a Government Base must deploy out of that area (even if that space is Government controlled). Thus their staying power outside a City is limited.

Lastly, Troops, by their presence in a space, can inhibit the ability of the AUC and FARC to make use of the Extort Special Action. Also, when positioned with Support or on a LoC, Troops can spot (Activate) marching Guerrillas.

Police



Police are very, very important Government pieces. While much less mobile than Troops, Police give the Government player crucial positional staying power.

Here's what Police do for you:

- Police cannot move with Troops on a Sweep (unless the *National Defense & Security Council* Government Capability is in play). But they can, if already positioned in the space, assist the Troops in the space being swept. Police cubes count when factoring the effect of a Sweep.
- Police inhibit the ability of the Cartels to use the Cultivate Special Action. Police can also inhibit FARC from using the Kidnapping Special Action. Like Troops, Police on LoCs or in spaces with Support can spot (Activate) marching Guerrillas (very important to protect the Cities), and inhibit FARC and the AUC from Extorting in a space.
- Police can be used to Patrol LoCs to activate Guerrillas on LoCs,

and even conduct an Assault on a LoC as a part of the Sweep.

- Within Cities, Police can participate in an Assault.
- Police, like Troops, can protect a Government Base from Attack (cubes must be removed before a Base is removed).

So far they probably don't sound terribly useful to the player. There is, however, one crucial role Police have that makes them indispensable: Police enable the Government player to conduct Civic Actions during a Propaganda card, and also as part of a Train Operation.

Civic Action is the means by which the Government player degrades Opposition and/or adds/improves Support—necessary to fulfill the Government victory conditions. At least 1 Police cube is required to conduct Civic Action in a Propaganda Phase or as a postscript to a Train Operation.

Police cannot move by Airlift or (usually) Sweep. They can only be moved onto LoCs and/or Cities from an adjacent space during a Patrol. If LoCs are free of Insurgent Guerrillas, Police can continue to move from LoC to LoC and City to LoC, etc., until a guerrilla is encountered or the player chooses to stop moving. But getting Police into Departments is not quite as simple and requires some planning. So how do you get Police to where you need them without using a Patrol Operation? There are two methods principally:

Training—You can get Police into a space where they are needed by simply undertaking the Train Operation and Training Police in that space. For Cities, this is not a problem as you can Train in any City. Training in a Department, however, requires a bit of planning.

In order to place cubes by Training in a Department, you must have a Base there. In order to get a Base into that Department, you must first have three cubes in that Department. OK, so how do you get cubes into a Department so you can place a Base? Typically, you will undertake a Sweep Operation to move Troops into a Department. You could also use the Airlift Special Activity to fly an additional 3 Troops there. Then, in a subsequent turn, you undertake a Train Operation in that Department, only you don't place cubes; instead, you remove 3 cubes and place a Base.

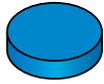
Once you have a Base, in a future turn, you can Train and place Police into that Department. If you have Troops and Police and more Government pieces than any other Faction in that Department, you may also pay for Civic Action in order to improve Support (even without a Base).

Redeploy—During the Redeploy Phase of a Propaganda card, the Government player can reposition any and all of his Police to any LoCs or any space with Government Control.

Adjacency does not apply during this Phase, so this is a very powerful opportunity to move otherwise less-mobile Police around the board. The player must plan very carefully here lest he be forced to waste Resources and Operational tempo later on.

And so, in short, the Government player may reposition his Police preemptively and for free during the Redeploy Phase. The Government player may place new Police reactively and for a considerable cost in Resources when undertaking a Train Operation during an event card play. Police enable the Government to gain precious support necessary to fulfilling his victory conditions. This then, will likely free up Troops to deploy elsewhere against Insurgents. Police give the Government player staying power.

Bases



Bases are crucial to Government success in that they provide the only means by which the Government player can maintain a constant Troop presence in the countryside. The Government player has only three Bases they can establish. Don't waste them!

Where do you need Bases? You need them in Departments. You do not need them in Cities. Why? Cities, are de facto Bases. Bases enable the player to Train Troops and/or Police in that space. Since you already do that in a City, you do not need to give up three cubes and use one of your three Base pieces there! The only good a Base will do the Government in a City is deny the ability to place a Base in that City to one of the Insurgent Factions. But since the Government only has three Bases with which to work, this seems to be a wasted use of a Base.

Why do you need Bases? You need Bases in order to Train Police and Troops in a Department. In order to decrease Opposition and increase Support for the Government, the Government player must undertake Civic Actions either in conjunction with a Train Operation or during a Propaganda card. In order to undertake a Civic Action, one or more Police must be in that space. In order to get Police into a Department where there are presently no Police, they must usually be Trained there. To be Trained there, you need a Base.

Bases also allow Troops to remain in a Department during the Redeploy Phase of a Propaganda card. And so if the Government player is still fighting to wrest control of a Department from an Insurgent faction when a Propaganda card is resolved, the presence of a Base in that Department allows the Government player to keep his Troops in the field.

So there you have it! Bases are one more important cog in the Government's machinery.

ROLE SUMMARIES

Government



Situation. Colombia is at the edge of abyss. Illegal armed groups—flush with drug money—are multiplying in the countryside. Terror, sabotage, assassination, and kidnapping have reached alarming rates, and little of the rural population supports the national Government. Only a full-out, whole-of-Government counterinsurgency (COIN) campaign can restore law and order to your nation.

Goal. Expand the Government's legitimacy throughout the country. The more population that supports you, the greater your chance to win.

Tools. You can train forces to outnumber and assault the enemy with fearsome firepower. But guerrillas must first be flushed out from underground by sweeping cities or rural departments where they hide. Your troops are highly mobile by ground or air lift but must return to bases or city garrisons. Police—once established in a department—can stay. Police and troops together can conduct civic action to build your popular support. But COIN requires resources—be sure to control the country's cities, pipelines, and other lines of communications and cultivate foreign aid to ensure your war chest remains full.

Deals. It's tempting to single-mindedly hammer the FARC and let the cartels and AUC do their thing, since FARC's political interests directly oppose yours. But the smaller insurgents can quietly gain

momentum and win. Imagine a temporary truce in which you leave FARC free to fight off the dread paramilitaries, while your eradication of the Cartels' fields helps FARC politically and fills your aid coffers.

Tip. COIN is a gradual campaign—plan your territorial control and civic action several operations ahead.

FARC



Situation. Colombia's popular revolution is ready to transition to the mobile phase. The Government has abandoned the countryside. Your revolutionary movement—the FARC—is drawing resources from Colombia's drug economy. It's time to move: rally your People's Army and march on the strongholds of reaction!

Goal. Build opposition to the Government to prepare its collapse. The more of the country's population you can swing from support to opposition while sustaining your logistics, the better chance you'll win.

Tools. That probably will mean infiltrating cities with your guerrillas to agitate the bourgeoisie into uprising. Wherever you control the population by outnumbering all enemy forces with your fighters and logistical bases, you can agitate. Even where you can't control territory, you can terrorize the populace into resenting Government fecklessness. To operate, you'll need resources: extort controlled areas or kidnap and ransom resources away from wealthy drug lords or Government collaborators. If the Government or the reactionary paramilitaries come after you, ambush them first!

Deals. You share the countryside with the cartels and can protect drug Bases by making the areas dangerous for troops or police. You share with your Insurgent enemies an interest in a weak Government—their terror can erode Government support and aid; you in turn can limit the growth of your logistical bases to placate the AUC. Even the Government may help you—giving you a pause to trim the AUC or Cartels when too strong or doing so itself.

Tip. Strike the country's lines of communications—they are the arteries of Government resources and maneuver.

AUC



Situation. Colombia's Government has proven incapable of controlling the leftist scourge of the FARC. You will step into the security vacuum and use the terrorists' own tactics against them. Funded by landowners who have suffered an epidemic of FARC kidnapping, you will rally the autodefensa militias under the AUC banner and cleanse the land of leftist infrastructure—or at least provide a counterweight.

Goal. Eliminate FARC logistical bases while building your own. The more disparity in AUC's favor, the closer you are to winning.

Tools. Your guerrillas are every bit as effective as the FARC's, though often less numerous, and can ambush to guarantee a successful attack. Your terror operations enable you to eliminate even protected FARC logistical bases through assassination, neutralize local opposition to the Government to allow you rally forces, and even trim back popular support of and foreign aid for the Government when it's getting too strong. You can rally your forces in relatively safe Government areas and extort there for resources, then march a guerrilla army into a FARC stronghold to attack or infiltrate individual units to terrorize.

Deals. You can help the Government by going where it can't: Your informants enable you to attack underground guerrillas, your terror instantly dampens FARC-based popular opposition, and you can take on FARC within demilitarized zones. But don't dismiss handshakes with other Insurgents. FARC rallying directly affects your victory—offer truce. And your assassinations can easily target the Cartels' business—extract drug shipments for "protection".

Tip. You're a remora on the Government shark. Swim along, but be ready for the day it shakes you off and bites.

Cartels



Situation. You have taken over Colombia's illegal narcotics industry. The bad news is that the Government is gearing up its "war on drugs", and the more it eradicates your drug production bases, the more gringo aid it gets. The good news is that the country is at the height of a civil war, and there are plenty of other illegal groups around to keep the Government busy and off your back.

Goal. Make money. And grow your productive base to make sure that you can keep making money. The more resources and bases you accumulate, the more likely you are to win.

Tools. You are a commercial insurgency and can attack and terrorize your enemies like the rest. But your gunmen are less numerous and can't protect everything you own. Your strength is that you are the fastest growing enterprise in the country: cultivate and process until you're rich. Then bribe to neutralize whatever enemy guerrillas, police, or bases stand in your way. Process drugs and use profits from the shipments to grease your operational skids and grow even faster.

Deals. You got the drugs and the money, so you can get the deals. Resources are transferable, and—sooner or later—you should have garnered more than you need. Use them to buy friends. Or offer to process shipments for other Insurgents—or even for a staged Government drug bust! Or agree to bribe away whatever threatens your enemy—anything to keep the heat off your coca fields.

Tip. The potent Medellín gang just got shot up, so you are starting weak. Try to get a lot of bases and shipments ready to earn resources—but not so many as to draw unwanted attention!

1-PLAYER EXAMPLE OF PLAY

Once you have gone over the tutorial starting on page 2, we recommend trying out this step-by-step run through part of a solitaire game: it will help you learn how Non-player Factions work for 2- or 3-player games as well. Follow along, referring to the illustrations, or set up the game board and conduct the moves described. You can fish out each card as it is named, or preset the deck with the card order provided in the shaded box at right. A numbered paragraph begins each new card played. Italicized shaded text adds comment.

The player decides to use no optional rules and sets up the board and deck (rule 2.1). Playing *ANDEAN ABYSS* solo, the player is the Government, trying to beat the 3 Insurgent Factions run by Non-player rules (section 8).

1) The player flips the first card to be played and reveals the next: they are *Op Millenium* and *Raúl Reyes*. The Cartels are 1st Eligible on *Op Millenium*, so the player consults the gray (Non-player) text on the Sequence of Play aid sheet, which indicates that a 1st Eligible Non-player executes an Operation (Op), unless it has the leftmost

symbol on the card (8.1, 1st bullet). The Cartels on this card are leftmost, so they will play the Event.

Non-players always use the shaded portion of dual-use Events (8.4.1). This shaded text says to replace 2 Police with Cartels pieces: because there are some Police to replace and some Cartels pieces available, the Event will have an effect and so will be executed. (For an Event with no effect, Cartels would have reverted to Ops, per the 3rd bullet of 8.1). The player checks the Cartels panel of the Non-Player foldout (because *Op Millenium* has the Cartels symbol leftmost) to see if there are any special instructions for Non-player execution of the event (8.4.4). There are: Police in random Cities will be replaced before any in Departments.

The player next must determine the 2 random Cities where Cartels pieces will replace Police. The player rolls the three colored dice and obtains red 1, yellow 3, green 1. Referring to the Random City or Department chart on the Non-Player foldout (8.2), red 1 yields the left column of boxes, yellow 3 the middle row, and green 1 the space at the top of that box, Medellín. Medellín is a City with Police in it, so it will be the first space affected by the Event. It has only 1 Police, so a second space is needed.

The roll to select the second space is red 6, yellow 1, green 2—the Department of Amazonas. Amazonas does not qualify because it is not a City, so the player tracks down the column on the Random City or Department chart (or finds Amazonas on the Planning Map aid and follows the arrows) until a City (light purple) with Police is reached: Neiva.

So the Non-player Cartels will replace 1 Police cube each in Medellín and Neiva. Non-players always place Bases instead of Guerrillas, if

Preparing the Deck for This Example

If you want to set up the game to follow along with this example, prepare the deck as follows:

Stack the following cards face down, in order from top to bottom.

- Op Millenium
- Raúl Reyes
- Soldados Campesinos
- Gramaje
- Air Bridge
- Former Military
- Fuerza Aérea Colombiana
- Senado & Cámara
- Misil Antiaéreo
- **Propaganda!**
- Pipeline Repairs
- Sucumbíos
- Narco-War
- National Coordination Center
- Limpieza
- Oil Spill
- Deserters & Defectors
- Ayahuasca Tourism
- **Propaganda!**

Divide the remaining Event cards into 3 roughly equal piles and shuffle a Propaganda card into 2 of the piles. Stack the 3 piles face down under the above cards, with the Propaganda cards in the bottom 2 piles.

possible (8.1.2, 1st bullet). The Cartels do have Bases available, and there is stacking room for the Bases in each City. The Police cubes in Medellín and Neiva are placed into the Government's Available Forces box and an available Cartels Base is placed into each City, bringing the total number of Cartels Bases to 8.

The Cartels have put down an off-shoot in Pablo Escobar's old territory!

The Government is 2nd Eligible and can execute an Operation and Special Activity. The player decides to respond to the Cartels' threat by Training to add 3 Troops and 3 Police each to Medellín and Cali, 4 Troops and 2 Police to Neiva, and—looking ahead to fighting other insurgents—2 Troops and 4 Police to Santander-Boyacá. Following up with Civic Action to bring Cali to Active Support, the Government brings Total Support up to 56 and has spent 18 Resources, down to 22. Positioning for future operations in the Llanos interior, the player then Air Lifts 3 of the Government's now abundant Troops from Cali to Guaviare.



Government training responds to the Cartels' infiltration of Medellín and Neiva.

2) Now *Raúl Reyes* is played (the top card of the deck, to be played next, is revealed to be *Soldados Campesinos*). The Non-player FARC is 1st Eligible and will execute the Event (8.1). There are instructions for *Raúl Reyes* on the Non-Player FARC aid panel, which are to place the FARC Base in a space with FARC Guerrillas and with Support, if possible. Santander-Boyacá has both a FARC Guerrilla and (Active) Support and has room for a Base, so the FARC slips in a new Base there: Opposition + Bases to 21. The battle for the Colombian Andes is on! In addition, the Event grants the FARC +6 Resources, to 16.

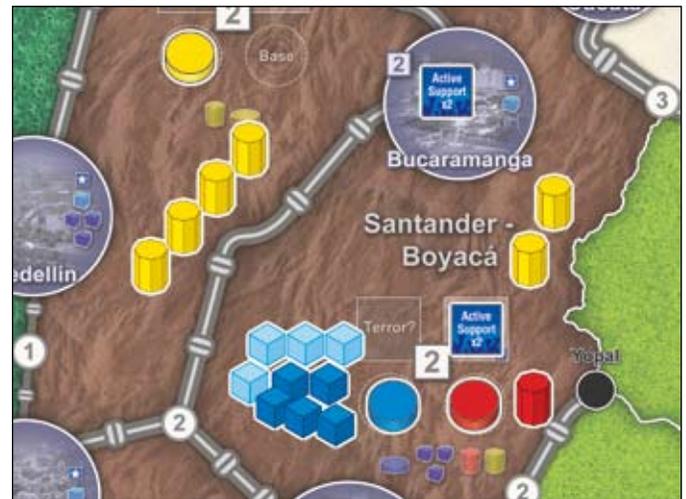
Only the AUC remains Eligible. Because the 1st Eligible Faction (FARC) executed the Event, the AUC as 2nd Eligible must execute Ops. The player consults the Non-Player AUC aid (8.6). The first question on the flowchart is whether the AUC has 6 or more Guerrillas available or could place a Base (if it Rallied). It could not place a Base, which would require removing 2 Guerrillas from a space, but it does have at least 6 Guerrillas available. The answer to the flowchart's question is "Yes", so the AUC will Rally.

Per the Rally box on the Non-Player AUC aid (8.6.1), the AUC will Rally in up to 3 non-Opposition spaces by the following priorities:

- First, placing Bases wherever there are at least 2 AUC Guerrillas. That is nowhere.
- Next, flipping Guerrillas Underground in certain spaces with Active AUC Guerrillas. There are no Active AUC Guerrillas, so again nowhere.
- Finally, placing AUC Guerrillas wherever possible with FARC Bases, then with AUC Bases, then randomly. Santander-Boyacá and Huila-Tolima each have a FARC Base but no Opposition, so each of those 2 spaces receives an AUC Guerrilla. Only Antioquia-Bolívar has an AUC Base, so it is the third AUC Rally space, receiving 3 AUC Guerrillas. AUC has spent 3 Resources down to 7.

The flowchart's "then" arrow takes us to the Extort box for the Non-player AUC's Special Activity (8.6.1). The box says to Extort everywhere that AUC outnumbered enemies and has underground Guerrillas—in other words, everywhere possible. Only Antioquia-Bolívar and Atlántico-Magdalena qualify: an AUC Guerrilla is flipped to Active in each and the AUC receives +2 Resources, back to 9.

The AUC is girding for assassination in FARC base areas, but its addition to the growing guerrilla presence in pro-Government Santander-Boyacá is unwelcome to the Government.



The Andes heat up as Left and Right gird for a fight.

3) The next played card is *Soldados Campesinos*, and the upcoming Event will be *Gramaje*. With the AUC Ineligible, the player decides to take advantage of *Soldados Campesinos* to quickly establish some effective policing of the countryside. The Government places 1 Police each into Chocó-Córdoba, Nariño-Cauca, Putumayo-Caquetá, Guaviare, Meta East, and Cesar-La Guajira.

Only the Cartels remain Eligible, and so, after the Government's Event, they conduct Ops and a Special Activity. Consulting the Non-Player Cartels flowchart, the Cartels with at least 10 pieces—Guerrillas plus Bases—available will Rally (8.5).

The Cartels Rally box's first 2 bullets do not apply, so the Cartels' 3 Rally spaces will begin where Cartels Bases have no Cartels Guerrillas. There are 5 such spaces, so those which will receive Cartels Guerrillas will be determined randomly. The first roll—2 red, 4 yellow, 2 green—hits Medellín, which happens to have a lone Cartels Base.

The next roll—6, 3, 6—is Huila, which does not have a Cartels Base. So the player follows the arrows on the Planning Map (or the Random City or Department chart) until a candidate Rally space is reached: Huila to Pasto, Ecuador, Nariño, Chocó, Cali, Ibagué, Antioquia, then Medellín. Medellín has a Base but has already been selected for Rally, so the player continues along the arrows from there, arriving eventually at Meta East for the second Rally.

The player could determine the third Rally space with the same process, but decides it would be easier to randomly select among the 3 remaining candidates with a single, equal chance die roll (see 8.2 Play Note). Assigning 1-2 to Neiva, 3-4 to Meta West, and 5-6 to Guaviare, the player rolls a 3. The third Cartels Rally will occur in Meta West.

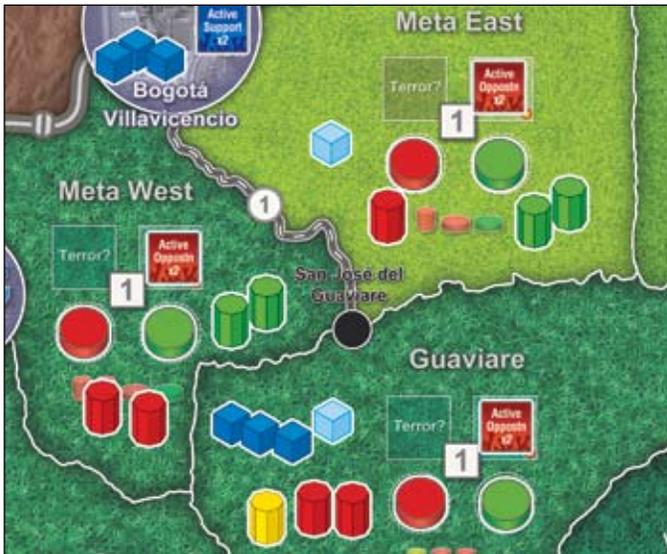
As reminders, the player places white Ops pawns into Medellín, Meta East, and Meta West (3.1.1). Medellín receives 4 Cartels Guerrillas and Meta East and Meta West get 2 Guerrillas each. The Cartels have spent 3 Resources for the Rallying, down to 7.

The Non-Player Cartels flowchart indicates that the Cartels will now Cultivate in a space with more than 0 Population and more Cartels Guerrillas than Police. The first priority (1st bullet of the Cultivate box) is to place a Base in a Department where the Cartels just Rallied. Medellín is not a Department, and neither Meta East nor Meta West has room to place a Base.

The next priority (bullet) is to move a Cartels Base to a space with no Cartels Base. Because a Cultivate space must have more Cartels Guerrillas than Police, and all spaces with Cartels Guerrillas already have a Cartels Base, this priority similarly does not apply.

Per the final bullet, the Cartels therefore do not execute a Special Activity. The Cartels' actions and the card are completed, and the player removes the 3 Ops pawns.

The Cartels have protected much of their businesses from Government Assault—and Medellín is again a kingpin haven!



Government and Cartels build strength in the central lowlands.

4) *Gramaje* is played, revealing *Air Bridge*. The FARC, leftmost on the *Gramaje* card, executes the Event, taking the Cartels' remaining 7 Resources to give itself a total of 23 Resources.

The FARC is well-resourced for the long term, but its leeching off the Cartels may slow the latter's growth down and ease pressure on the Government in the short term.

AUC Ops and Special Activity are up next. With 7 AUC Guerrillas available (and the ability to place a Base in any event), the Non-player AUC Rallies. By the AUC Rally box's 1st bullet, AUC replaces 2 Guerrillas in Antioquia-Bolívar with a new Base. (There are 2 AUC Guerrillas in Santander-Boyacá, but no room for a Base.) Non-players remove their Active before their Underground Guerrillas (8.1.2, 4th bullet), so the Active AUC Guerrilla in Antioquia is one of those replaced.

The 2nd bullet of Rally does not apply, because the remaining space with an Active AUC Guerrilla—Atlántico—has no cube. The 3rd bullet results in placing AUC Guerrillas again in Santander and Huila—the only 2 spaces with FARC Bases where AUC can Rally. AUC then Extorts again in Antioquia—the only space where it can—having spent 3 Resources and earned 1 back, ending with 7.

5) *Air Bridge* played reveals *Former Military*. The Cartels execute the *Air Bridge* Event to place 3 Bases, one each into a Department without Cartels pieces. (The Cartels being out of Resources does not stop the Event.) With many candidate spaces, the player rolls on the random spaces chart: 4, 3, 6 yields Meta East—already hosting Cartels pieces and in any event fully stacked, so the first Cartels Base goes to Vichada. Next, the rolls 1, 4, 5 yield Santander, again already hosting 2 Bases, so placing the Cartels Base into the next open Department along the chart sequence (or Planning Map arrows), Atlántico. Finally, 1, 2, 1 leads (eventually) to Cesar for the third Cartels Base.

Coca cultivation is exploding, even with the Cartels tapped out of operating funds.

The Government player—seeing an opportunity to shut the FARC out of the next card and to pocket some resources—decides to pass (Government Resources to 25).

6) *Former Military* played reveals *Fuerza Aérea Colombiana*. Executing the *Former Military* Event, the AUC will free March and then Ambush.

The Non-Player AUC sheet instructs to use AUC's March and Attack priorities for the Event, so the AUC will first free March into 1 space per the March box on the Non-Player AUC panel. The candidate space must have FARC—a FARC Base, if possible—and no AUC Guerrillas. Such space into which AUC Guerrillas could March and remain Underground must be chosen first. Also, the candidate spaces must have AUC Guerrillas adjacent that would March, even though only AUC Guerrillas in excess of 1 will leave spaces with AUC Bases or with any FARC pieces (8.6.2).

A random space roll of 5, 3, 2 yields Meta West. The space has a FARC Base, no AUC Guerrillas, and will allow 1 AUC Guerrilla to slip in Underground. The adjacent AUC Guerrillas in Guaviare and Putumayo will not March out because they are alone with FARC pieces, but there are 2 AUC Guerrillas in Huila—one of which could March into Meta West, Underground. All priorities are met, so no further looking is needed: the AUC Guerrilla Marches from Huila to Meta West.

Next, per the Event, the AUC Ambushes in Meta West per its Attack priorities (8.6.3). There are no Shipments to target, so FARC is Ambushed, losing its 2 Guerrillas in Meta West. The Ambushing AUC

Guerrilla there goes Active and is joined by a fresh, Underground AUC Guerrilla (4.3.2, 4.4.1).



Led by former military officers, AUC guerrillas strike into Meta West.

The player, seeing a number of attractive targets for the free Air Strikes with the next Event, again passes and after all gives the FARC its move. Government Resources rise to 28.

Per the Non-Player FARC flowchart, the FARC will Rally because it has at least 9 Guerrillas available (8.7.1). The first 2 bullets in the Rally box do not apply—the FARC cannot place any Bases with Rally, nor are there any Active FARC Guerrillas. So FARC first will Rally to place Guerrillas wherever it has Bases (and there is no Support). A total of 13 FARC Guerrillas appear among 6 Departments: 2 each in Chocó, Arauca, Meta East, Meta West, and Guaviare, and 3 in Huila.

But the FARC is not finished building. Its final Rally priority is to place a Guerrilla into 1 additional, random space. A roll of 4, 1, 2 designates Atlántico—ineligible for FARC Rally because it has Support—leading to Cesar, which receives a FARC Guerrilla.

By the flowchart (or 8.7.1), the FARC now Extorts where it can and it has at least 2 Underground Guerrillas: in Chocó-Córdoba, Arauca-Casanare, and Huila-Tolima. It spent 7 Resources to Rally and earned 3 by Extortion, ending the card with 19 total.

The FARC finally launches operations, quickly raising an impressive force and covering its exposed Meta West base against the pending Government air strikes.

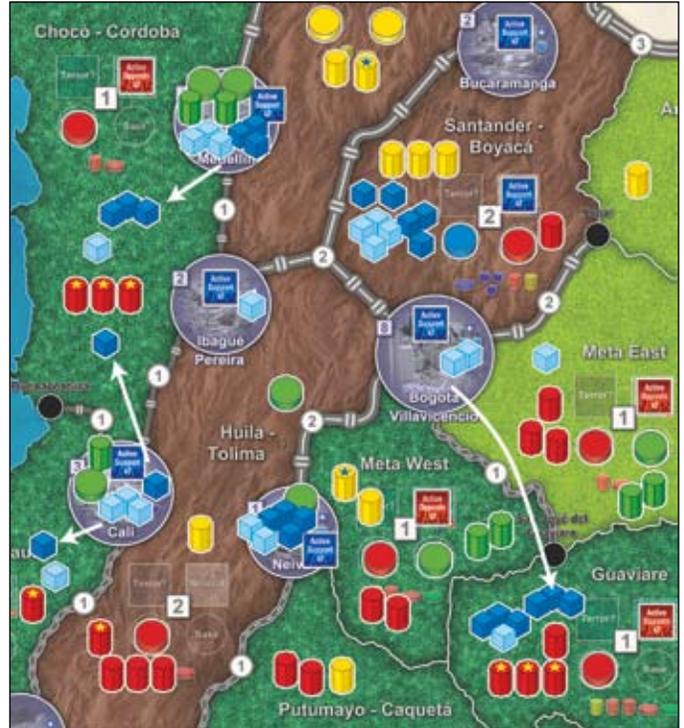
7) *Fuerza Aérea Colombiana* is up; *Senado & Cámara* will be next. The Government player decides to employ the Colombian Air Force to trim the cocalers, striking exposed Cartels Bases in Cesar-La Guajira, Atlántico-Magdalena, and Guaviare. The only other Eligible Faction is the Cartels. They are to Operate but have 0 Resources, so they Pass instead (8.1, 4th bullet), gaining 1 Resource.

8) The AUC executes *Senado & Cámara*, protecting itself from Government Sweep and Assault. The Cartels will Operate: they have fewer than 10 pieces available, but they can use Rally to place a Base in Medellín, replacing 2 of their Guerrillas to do so (8.5.1). Since the Cartels then again reach 0 Resources, they conduct no further Rally (8.1, 4th bullet). No Cultivate priorities are met, so the Cartels conduct no Special Activity (8.5.1).

9) *Misil Antiaéreo* is the next card played, revealing *Propaganda!* thereafter. The FARC executes the Event, sharply if temporarily constraining Government Special Activities. (Per 8.1, Insurgent

Momentum always counts as an effect for Non-player execution, no matter how briefly it will remain in play.)

The player takes advantage of the Government receiving the final move before the Propaganda Round to position for Civic Action in 3 Departments: 3 Troops from Bogotá use the empty Road to Guaviare; 1 Troop from Cali Sweeps Nariño-Cauca; and 1 other Troop from Cali and 3 from Medellín Sweep Chocó-Córdoba. The Government then Eradicates the Cartels Base in Vichada, placing a FARC Guerrilla there. Government Resources drop to 19 and Aid rises to 13.



Government troops sweep into FARC regions in the west and east.

10) The first *Propaganda!* card proceeds as follows:

- **VICTORY:** No Faction has met its Victory condition (and even if the Government had, per 8.8, this 1-player game would continue).
- **CONTROL:** The player puts Govt Control markers in Chocó-Córdoba, Nariño-Cauca, Guaviare, and Santander-Boyacá (and decides just to keep in mind that all Cities also are Govt Controlled). The player marks FARC Control in Huila-Tolima, Arauca-Casanare, and Vichada.
- **RESOURCES:** Government Resources increase to 49, FARC to 26, AUC to 9, and Cartels to 24.
- **SUPPORT:** The player decides to increase Support with as much Civic Action as possible—obtaining 4 shifts each in Chocó, Nariño, and Guaviare, for a whopping expenditure of 36 Resources, down to 13.
- With plenty of money, FARC similarly Agitates to the maximum extent possible (8.7.5). It shifts Huila-Tolima to Active Opposition, spending 2 Resources, to 24.
- Between the Civic Action and Agitation, Total Opposition + FARC Bases has dropped a net 2, to 19. Total Support is 62, and Samper remains in power.
- The AUC's free Rally with Elite Backing cannot place a Base, so its places Guerrillas by its priorities, adding 4 Guerrillas to its

Bases in Antioquia-Bolívar (8.6.1).

- REDEPLOY: The player Redeploys 2 Police each from Cali to Nariño, Medellín to Chocó, and Santander to Guaviare, and the Troops from each of those 3 destination Departments 1 each to Medellín and Cali and the remaining 9 to Bogotá-Villavicencio.

The Government has risked committing most of its resources to rural development while still facing substantial insurgent forces. And with Samper still in, foreign aid will remain scarce.

- RESET: The board is Reset: the two Momentum Events are discarded, all Guerrillas go Underground, and all Factions are Eligible.

11) The next card played is *Pipeline Repairs*, revealing *Sucumbíos* thereafter. The AUC plays the Event (regardless of whether or not doing so directly benefits that Faction). *Pipeline Repairs* sabotages 3 Pipelines with or adjacent to FARC Guerrillas. The highest-Econ Pipelines are chosen first (8.3, 1st bullet). All three 3-Econ Pipelines are adjacent to FARC Guerrillas, so each is Sabotaged, further constraining future Government Resources.

The Cartels have 11 pieces available, so Rally. They cannot place a Base, nor do they have any Active Guerrillas. But they do have an unprotected Base in Neiva, so they Rally to place 2 Guerrillas there (8.5.1, 3rd bullet).

The Cartels then Rally in 1 more space (only: 8.5.1, 4th bullet), in a Department where they could then Cultivate. A roll of 6 red, 1 yellow, 3 green starts the search for a candidate Department at Putumayo, already stacked full. The Planning Map arrows pass through Guaviare—where there are too many Police to Cultivate with the 1 Guerrilla that the Cartels would receive there—Meta West, Neiva, and finally Huila, where Cultivation will be possible. The Cartels Rally to place 1 Guerrilla in Huila-Tolima and then Cultivate there to place a Base (8.5.1). The Cartels have spent 2 Resources to 22.



Huila-Tolima-Meta-Guaviare: 4-way contest.

12) FARC executes *Sucumbíos*, placing both of its available Bases into Ecuador (8.4.2) and increasing Opposition + FARC Bases to 21. The next card revealed is *Narco-War*.

With intelligence that a *Narco-War* is brewing and the Government on a shoestring, the player decides to Pass, and thereby be Eligible to spark an Event that will whittle down and expose the competing Cartel networks.



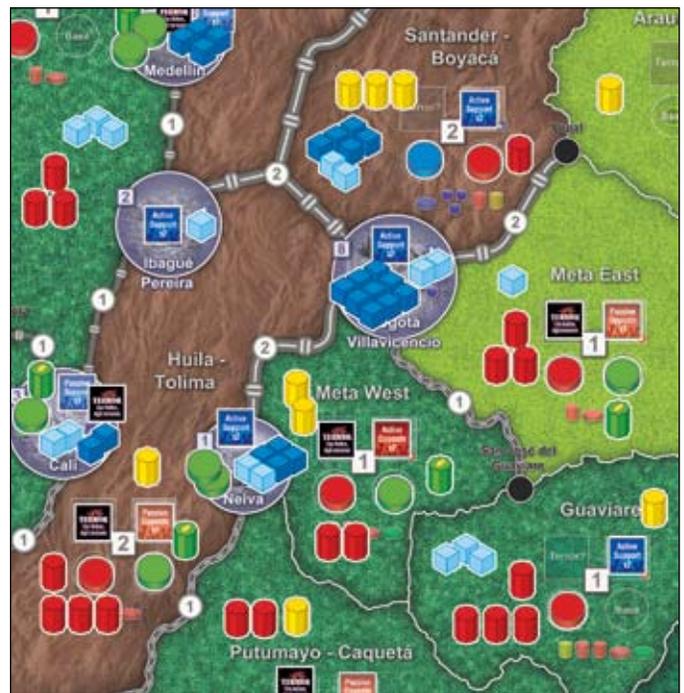
The FARC finds a sanctuary.

13) *Narco-War* is played, and *National Coordination Center* will be the next card. The Cartels are leftmost and would execute the Event by 8.1. However, checking the instructions for *Narco-War* on the Non-player Cartels sheet, the player sees that Non-player Factions always choose Ops on that card.

Rally by the Cartels could place a Base in Neiva, so that is what they do, replacing their 2 Guerrillas there. A random space roll then determines that their Rally and Cultivate occur in Atlántico-Magdalena, which receives a Cartels Guerrilla and Base. The cost of Rally in 2 spaces drops Cartels Resources to 20.

The Government then plays the Event, hoping that a renewed narco-war between the Cali and Medellín Cartels—albeit at the cost of a spasm of terror—will finally break their power. Each of the several spaces hosting 2 Cartels Guerrillas is stripped to just 1. All Cartels Guerrillas execute free Terror, going Active, and sinking Total Support to 55 and Opposition + FARC Bases to 16.

The Government will have to jump on the opening against the Cartels by Assaulting their exposed networks before they duck back Underground.



Eve of the Cartels' downfall? An internecine narco-war may provide an opening for a Government counter-drug assault but leaves cities and countryside ravaged.

14) The AUC is up to execute the *National Coordination Center* Event (*Limpieza* will be next), but the event would have no effect because all AUC Guerrillas are already Underground. Therefore, the AUC will execute Ops instead (8.1, 3rd bullet).

The AUC does not have 6 Guerrillas available, nor is it in position to place a Base, so it will not Rally (8.6.1).

Per the Non-Player AUC flowchart, the player next checks to see if the AUC has Guerrillas in at least half the spaces with FARC Bases. There are 8 spaces with FARC Bases (Chocó, Santander, Huila, Arauca, Meta West, Meta East, Guaviare, and Ecuador). Five of the 8 spaces have AUC Guerrillas, so the answer is “Yes”, and AUC therefore will not March (8.6.2).

Finally, the player checks whether any Underground AUC Guerrilla is in a space with a FARC Base. There are several, so the answer is “Yes”, and thus the AUC will execute Terror rather than Attack (8.6.3-4).

According to the Non-Player AUC Terror box (8.6.4), the AUC will execute Terror in up to 3 spaces with its Underground Guerrillas. The first space is one with a FARC Base. There are 5 candidate spaces, so the player rolls the dice: 1 red, 3 yellow, 2 green yields Medellín, pointing to Bucaramanga, and then to Santander—where there are Underground AUC Guerrillas and a FARC Base.

The next priority (2nd bullet in the Terror box) is 1 City or Department with any FARC piece. A roll of 6, 4, 5 yields Huila, which qualifies.

The final priority is in random Cities or Departments. A roll of 3, 6, 2 yields Vichada, leading eventually to Putumayo—where there is an Underground AUC Guerrilla—as the third Terror space.

For its Special Activity, the AUC will Assassinate in each of the Terror spaces where its Guerrillas exceed Police (8.6.4). So it will Assassinate in Santander-Boyacá (3 AUC Guerrillas, 2 Police) and Huila-Tolima (no Police) and execute Terror without Assassination in Putumayo-Caquetá (1 AUC Guerrilla and 1 Police).

The Terror-Assassination in Santander removes the FARC Base (8.6.4 and 8.1.2) and shifts the space to Passive Support, and in Huila removes another FARC Base and shifts the space to Neutral. Terror in Putumayo shifts that space to Neutral. Total Support drops to 53, Opposition + FARC Bases to 11, and Aid to 8. The AUC has spent 3 Resources, down to 6.

The only Eligible Faction remaining is the FARC, so it is 2nd Eligible. The player must determine whether it will execute the Event or Operations. The situation on the map has changed: the Terror caused some AUC Guerrillas to go Active in spaces with cubes (Santander and Putumayo). The shaded Event is no longer Ineffective and therefore can be chosen by Non-player Factions for execution (8.1, 3rd bullet). The FARC nevertheless will execute Ops instead of the Event because the card bears the gray “2” symbol, meaning 2nd Eligible Non-player Factions will choose Ops rather than the Event (8.1, 2nd bullet). The FARC will not use its action simply to help its AUC adversary!

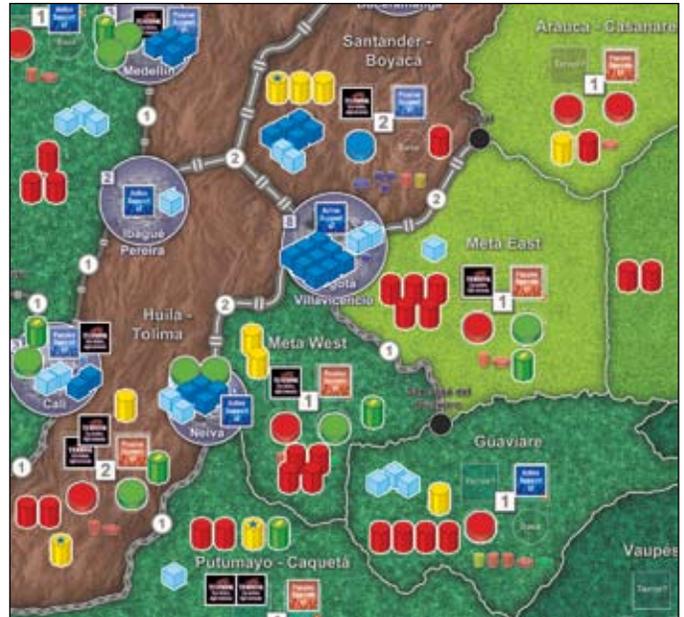
The FARC can place Bases, so will Rally (8.7.1). While a player Faction’s Operation following the AUC Ops would have to be Limited, the Non-player FARC is not so restricted (8.1, 5th bullet).

Following the Non-player FARC Rally box (8.7.1), FARC first replaces Guerrillas with Bases. There are 2 spaces, Huila-Tolima and

Arauca-Casanare, where FARC could place Bases, and FARC has 2 Bases available to place there. Opposition + Bases rises to 13.

Continuing to follow the bullets in the Rally box, there are no Active FARC Guerrillas, so the FARC next Rallies wherever it can place Guerrillas with its Bases: in Meta West and Meta East, placing 4 Guerrillas total. (It cannot place any more pieces in Ecuador because of the *Sucumbios* Event text.)

Finally, the FARC Rallies to place a Guerrilla in a random space. A roll of 4, 4, 1 makes that space Vichada, where the new Guerrilla unit joins a FARC Guerrilla already there. FARC has spent 5 Resources, down to 19.



Cartels—AUC terror wave and partial FARC recovery.

For its Special Activity, the FARC now Extorts in each space where it has more forces than all enemies and at least 2 Underground Guerrillas (only, since it has no forces on LoCs: 8.7.1). Its Resources rise again to 24.

Cartels and AUC terror ravaged the FARC politically, but the FARC’s army has now grown almost to its maximum and still has plenty of cash.

15) Playing *Limpieza* (next card will be *Oil Spill*), the Cartels are 1st Eligible but not leftmost, so will execute Ops (8.1, 1st bullet). They have fewer than 10 pieces available and could not replace 2 Guerrillas with a Base, so the answer to the question in the first diamond on the Non-Player Cartels flowchart is “No”, pointing to the next diamond down. That question asks if there is a Shipment available: there are 4, so the answer is “Yes”, indicating that the Cartels should March.

By the March box’s 2nd bullet, however, the Cartels would March only with Guerrillas beyond 1 in each space with a Cartels Base. The player realizes that the Cartels will not be able to execute any March, because they have only 1 Guerrilla per space (after the recent narco-war), all already protecting their Bases. So the player follows the flowchart’s “If none” arrow back up to the Rally box (8.1.1). The Cartels will Rally after all!

The Rally cannot place Bases (1st bullet) but will flip Guerrillas Underground (2nd bullet) in 3 of the 4 spaces with Active Cartels

Guerrillas, cubes, and a Cartels Base: Medellín, Cali, Putumayo, and Meta East. Die rolls determine that Rally flips the Guerrillas in Medellín, Cali, and Meta East. The Cartels spend 3 Resources, down to 17—having protected their urban Bases from Assault.

By the flowchart, the Cartels then Cultivate. They cannot execute the 1st bullet of the Cultivate box, to place a Base in a Department just selected for Rally: the only such Department was Meta East, where there is no stacking room and as many Police as Cartels Guerrillas. By the 2nd bullet, the Cartels would move a Base to a space with no Cartels Bases, but that is also not possible: Cartels Guerrillas in the destination space must outnumber Police, and all Cartels Guerrillas on the map are already with Cartels Bases. So, by the 3rd bullet, the Cartels execute no Special Activity.

The Government is 2nd Eligible and—because the 1st Eligible Cartels executed Operations only—may only execute a Limited Operation or Pass. Frustrated in not being able to strike a greater blow at the recently exposed Cartels, the player decides at least to Assault and remove the 2 unprotected Cartels Bases in Neiva. The Government spends 3 Resources, down to 13.



Neiva cleaned up, but the Medellín and Cali Cartels remain securely in business.

16) The FARC is up, 1st Eligible with Oil Spill (Deserters & Defectors will be next). It is not leftmost, so executes Ops. While the FARC has Guerrillas positioned to place a Base in Vichada, it has no Bases available, so will not Rally (8.7.1).

The next question (next diamond-shaped box down on the Non-Player FARC flowchart) is whether a space with Support or a LoC has 3 or more FARC forces or an Underground FARC Guerrilla (8.7.2). No LoCs host FARC pieces, but several spaces with either Active or Passive Support do. So the answer is “Yes”, leading down the flowchart to the next diamond question.

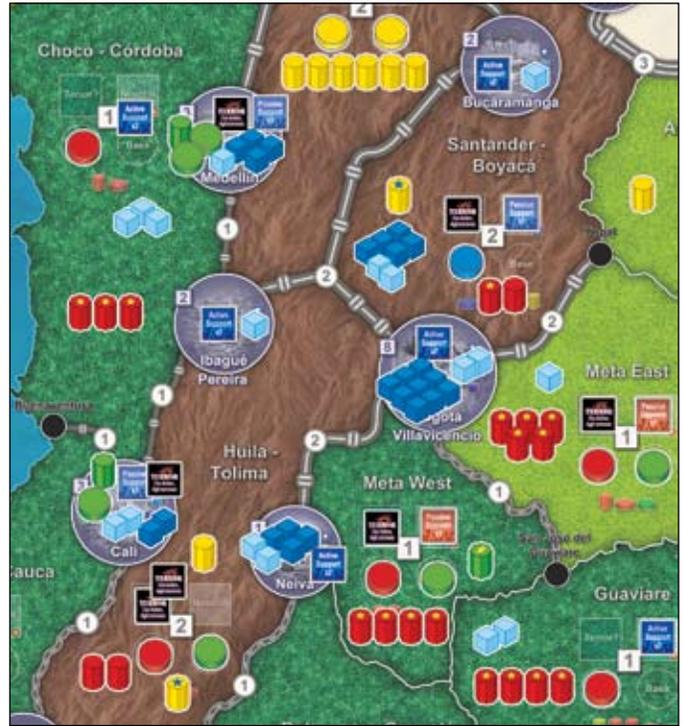
That question is whether the FARC has more Resources than the Government. The FARC has 24 Resources compared to the Government’s 13, so the answer is “Yes”, and so the FARC will Attack (8.7.3).

According to the Attack box, the FARC will Attack enemies in all spaces with at least 3 FARC Guerrillas, plus in 1 other space where the FARC could Ambush. The player marks Chocó-Córdoba, Meta West, Meta East, and Guaviare with Ops pawns, then rolls 2, 3, 3 to determine that Santander will be the 1 other space—a total of 5 Attack spaces. FARC Resources drop to 19.

For its Special Activity, the FARC will Ambush in the Attack space with the fewest FARC Guerrillas: Santander-Boyacá.

All Attacking FARC Guerrillas go Active. There are no Shipments to target, so Attacks will remove AUC, then Government, then Cartels pieces (8.7.3). The Attack rolls and results are: 6 in Chocó—failing; 2 in Meta West—removing 2 AUC Guerrillas; 2 in Meta East—removing 1 Police and 1 Cartels Guerrilla; and 4 in

Guaviare—removing 1 AUC Guerrilla and 1 Police. The Ambush in Santander removes 2 Underground AUC Guerrillas, leaving 1 Active AUC Guerrilla in the space (8.1.2, 3rd bullet) and places a new Underground FARC Guerrilla.



Central Colombia after the FARC counter-offensive.

The FARC's attacks have preempted potential AUC Assassinations and solidified its forces' control of several Departments where later Agitation can re-generate Opposition.

The AUC is 2nd Eligible. Because the FARC used a Special Activity (Ambush)—and because the Oil Spill card has no gray “2nd: Ops” symbol—the AUC executes the shaded Event (8.1, 2nd bullet).

The first instruction on the Event is to Sabotage a Pipeline. Random LoC selection (8.3) begins with the highest Econ: all 3-Econ Pipelines are already Sabotaged, so the player must randomly select a 2-Econ Pipeline to receive a Sabotage marker. The next step is to find a LoC candidate adjacent to a random City (8.3, 2nd bullet). A roll of 6, 6, 3 turns up first the City of Cali—it has no 2-Econ LoCs adjacent—and then leads to Ibagué—which does. The player places a Sabotage marker on the central Ibagué-Bucaramanga-Bogotá Pipeline.

The Event next says to shift a Department adjacent to the selected Pipeline 1 level toward Active Opposition. Non-player shifts of Support or Opposition via Event text first select spaces with the greatest impact on Total Support and Total Opposition (8.4.3)—typically meaning wherever the greatest Population resides. All three Departments adjacent to the affected Pipeline have 2 Population, so that a 1-level shift in any would affect either Support or Opposition totals by 2. So the player rolls to select a space among them: 6, 6, 6 points from Chocó to Antioquia—the AUC heartland—which shifts to Passive Opposition. Total Opposition + FARC Bases is now 15.

17) Play of *Deserters & Defectors* reveals *Ayahuasca Tourism*. The Cartels Rally to flip their Active Guerrilla in Putumayo and to place 2 Guerrillas each into Meta East—to cover their exposed Base there—and in the randomly-selected Atlántico-Magdalena, to

set up a Cultivation that places a second Base there as well. Cartels Resources drop to 14.

The player contemplates a Limited Operation, but wants to save the Government's diminished Resources for an Op with a Special Activity. With no options on the next card, a Pass is also uninviting. So the Government executes the *Deserters & Defectors* Event in a bid to hang on to the Active Support in Guaviare. The player replaces 2 FARC Guerrillas in Guaviare with (Underground) Cartels Guerrillas, robbing FARC forces of Control there.

18) Play of *Ayahuasca Tourism* reveals a *Propaganda!* card beneath. The AUC, 1st Eligible but not leftmost on *Ayahuasca Tourism*, will execute Ops. After taking losses in the recent FARC Attacks, the AUC again has at least 6 Guerrillas available, so will Rally in up to 3 spaces (8.6.1). Its first 2 Rally bullets do not apply. But the first priority within the 3rd bullet—to place Guerrillas at all FARC Bases—applies to 4 spaces where the AUC could Rally: Chocó-Córdoba, Huila-Tolima, Ecuador, and Guaviare. Random space rolls determine that the 3 of the 4 spaces to receive AUC Guerrillas are Huila, Ecuador, and Guaviare: each receives 1 Underground AUC Guerrilla.

The AUC then Extorts (8.6.1) in Antioquia. AUC Resources end the move at 4.

The FARC, 2nd Eligible, then executes the Event, because *Ayahuasca Tourism* has no 2nd: Ops symbol. Although the FARC is executing the Event, the relevant special instructions are on the Non-Player Cartels sheet, because the Cartels symbol is leftmost on the *Ayahuasca Tourism* card. Per the instructions, it will be the FARC's Guerrillas that execute free Terror, Active Guerrillas before Underground (since "any" Guerrillas can be used).

FARC Terror hits Chocó-Córdoba, Nariño-Cauca, Putumayo-Caquetá, Meta West, and Guaviare. Each of those Forest Departments adds a Terror marker and shifts 1 level toward Active Opposition. Total Support drops to 50, and Opposition + Bases rises to 17. The Underground FARC Guerrilla in Nariño-Cauca goes Active. FARC adds +15 Resources to 34.

Government efforts to generate Support in the lowlands have proven vulnerable to the continued presence of FARC guerrillas. The amply resourced leftist rebels will generate even more Opposition by Agitating in the coming Propaganda Round.

19) The second *Propaganda!* card proceeds as follows:



"Ayahuasca Terrorism" strikes the southern forests.

VICTORY: Again, no Faction has met its Victory condition.

CONTROL: The player puts Govt Control markers in Santander-Boyacá, Nariño-Cauca, and the 2 Cities where Civic Action will be possible: Medellín and Cali (mentally noting for possible Redeployment that all other Cities also are Govt Controlled). The player marks FARC Control where Agitation will be possible: Chocó-Córdoba and Meta East.

RESOURCES: Government Resources—crimped by pipeline disruptions and lack of aid—increase by only 19, to 32. The FARC's grow to 43, the AUC's to 6, and the Cartels' to 44.

SUPPORT: The player decides that the Government is too poor to create Support everywhere it has established Control—especially before the political effects of terror have faded. Civic Action could bump Support in Santander-Boyacá, but FARC and especially AUC Guerrillas there are likely to execute Terror again, so the player decides to wait. Nariño-Cauca is Controlled by Police but has no Troops positioned for Civic Action. Only the populous Medellín and Cali seem like defensible venues for Civic Action, bringing Total Support from 50 to 56 and spending 12 Resources down to 20.

Flush, the FARC again Agitates wherever it can (8.7.5). Spending 6 Resources (down to 38), it removes Terror from and shifts Chocó-Córdoba and Meta East each to Active Opposition. Opposition + Bases grows to 20, while Total Support drops back 1 point to 55.

An Election finally removes Samper in favor of Pastrana. The player places a FARC Zone where the FARC has the most pieces, in Meta East.

Elite Backing still cannot place a Base, but the AUC can place a Guerrilla with a FARC Base (8.6.1). By random selection, the new AUC Guerrilla is placed in Guaviare—putting the AUC in a 3-way race to establish the next Insurgent Base there.

The Cartels are coming on strong despite the Government-sponsored narco-war, and the FARC has accomplished a resurgence. Removal of Cartels and FARC Bases should be a Government priority next campaign.

Had this been the final Propaganda Round, the outcome would have been as follows. Victory margins:

Government -5
FARC -5
AUC -7
Cartels 0.

The Government's margin would be 5 below (5 worse than) the highest Insurgent margin, the Cartels'—a score of less than 0 for a result of "COIN Failure" (8.8).

Fortunately for the player, this was not the final round. Nevertheless, here ends our example (a game played by the designer), having introduced most routines used in solitaire play. You can continue from here against the Insurgents: reveal the next card after *Propaganda!*, Redeploy Government Forces per 6.5, Reset per 6.6, and play the next card. ... Or start a new game on your own. Best of luck!

Non-Player FARC March Example

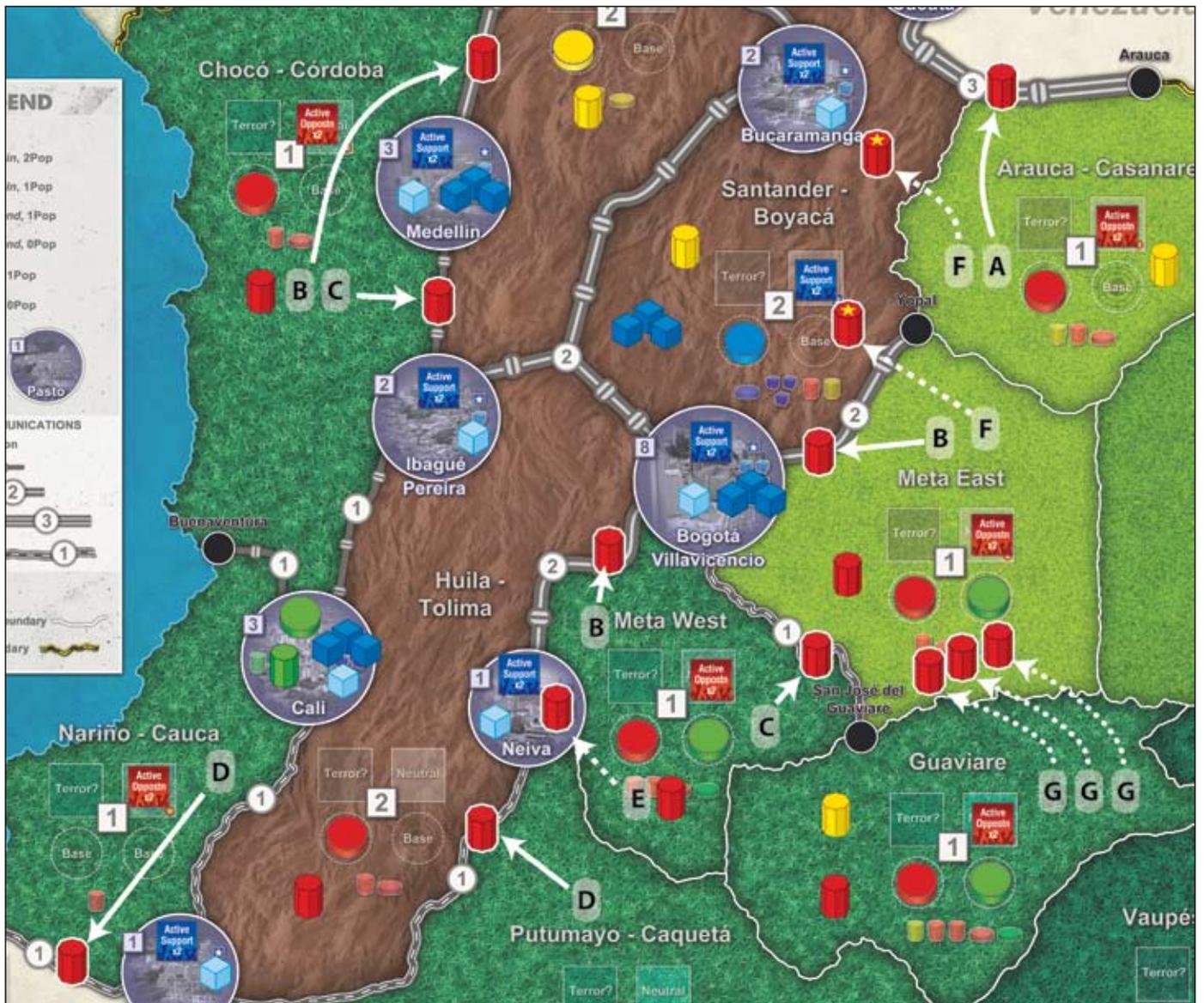
The occasional March by FARC can be the most intricate Non-player Operation to implement. To follow this example, first set up the map as if for a new game (2.1), then place 2 more FARC Guerrillas in each space with a FARC Base except Huila-Tolima (5 spaces). Or simply refer to the nearby illustration.

It is early in a 1-player game, and the FARC is to March. Follow along the bullet lists in the March box of the Non-Player FARC flowchart sheet, referring as needed to Rules section 8.7.2.

Non-player FARC will March between all applicable adjacent spaces until it runs out of Resources or candidate Guerrillas. It is easiest to begin by determining which spaces have FARC Guerrillas that can March by the bottom 2 bullets of the March box (8.7.2). The FARC will March only from spaces already at Active Opposition, spaces with 0 Population, or LoCs already Sabotaged. As an added stricture, the FARC must leave 1 Guerrilla in each space where any Faction has a Base. In the example, all spaces with FARC Guerrillas qualify as origins for March except Santander-Boyacá and Huila-Tolima (each with Population not in Active Opposition, as well as having only 1 FARC Guerrilla with a Base).

By the 1st bullet in the March box (8.7.2), because the next Propaganda will not be final, the FARC Marches 1 Guerrilla onto each unSabotaged LoC that the FARC can reach and that does not already have a Guerrilla.

- A. The FARC selects highest Econ LoCs first (8.3), so 1 Guerrilla Marches from Arauca-Casanare onto the adjacent 3-Econ Pipeline—the only 3-Econ LoC that FARC can reach.
- B. Among 2-Econ LoCs, the FARC can reach only Sincelejo-Medellín, Bogotá-Neiva, and Bogotá-Yopal. A Chocó Guerrilla Marches onto the Sincelejo Pipeline, and a Meta West Guerrilla onto Bogotá-Neiva. The FARC can reach Bogotá-Yopal from either Arauca or Meta East: an equal-chance roll (8.2, 8.7.2 note) determines that a FARC Guerrilla Marches from Meta East.
- C. Guerrillas can reach several 1-Econ LoCs, so the player selects destination LoCs in random order: the random-selected City Medellín has a 1-Econ LoC to the south, onto which a Guerrilla Marches from Chocó. On another Random City roll, the first City adjacent to an unoccupied 1-Econ LoC that the FARC can reach is Bogotá, so a Guerrilla will March onto the San José del Guaviare Road. A roll determines that the FARC Guerrilla moves from Meta West.



- D. The only other reachable LoCs that do not already hold FARC Guerrillas are those adjacent to Nariño and Putumayo. (Chocó's 1 remaining Guerrilla in will not March away from the Base there.) One of the 2 Putumayo FARC Guerrillas enters the Neiva-Pasto Road (the only way for FARC to reach that LoC). A roll selects the Pasto-Tumaco Road as destination for the lone Guerrilla from Nariño (where there is no Base).
- E. By the 2nd bullet in the March box (8.7.2), the FARC will now March into up to 3 spaces at Support or Neutral where Agitation (6.4.2) is not yet possible, selecting first those spaces where a March that keeps Underground Guerrillas Underground (3.3.2) is possible. Spaces meeting those priorities include Antioquia-Bolívar and all the Cities with just 1 cube—a good reason to garrison your Cities as the Government! (Huila-Tolima—though Neutral—does not qualify because Agitation is already possible; Santander-Boyacá and the larger Cities are lower priority because any FARC Guerrillas Marching in would go Active.) No remaining candidate Marching Guerrillas are adjacent to Antioquia, any northern Cities, nor Pasto. So the remaining highest-priority destination—Neiva—receives an Underground FARC Guerrilla from Meta West, leaving a last FARC Guerrilla with the Bases there (costing FARC 1 Resource, down to 9).
- F. Only 3 origin spaces remain: Arauca-Casanare, Meta East, and Guaviare. Arauca can reach the lower-priority destination of Santander-Boyacá, and Meta East either Santander or Bogotá. A roll selects Santander: a Guerrilla each from Arauca and Meta East enter Santander and go Active (Resources to 8).

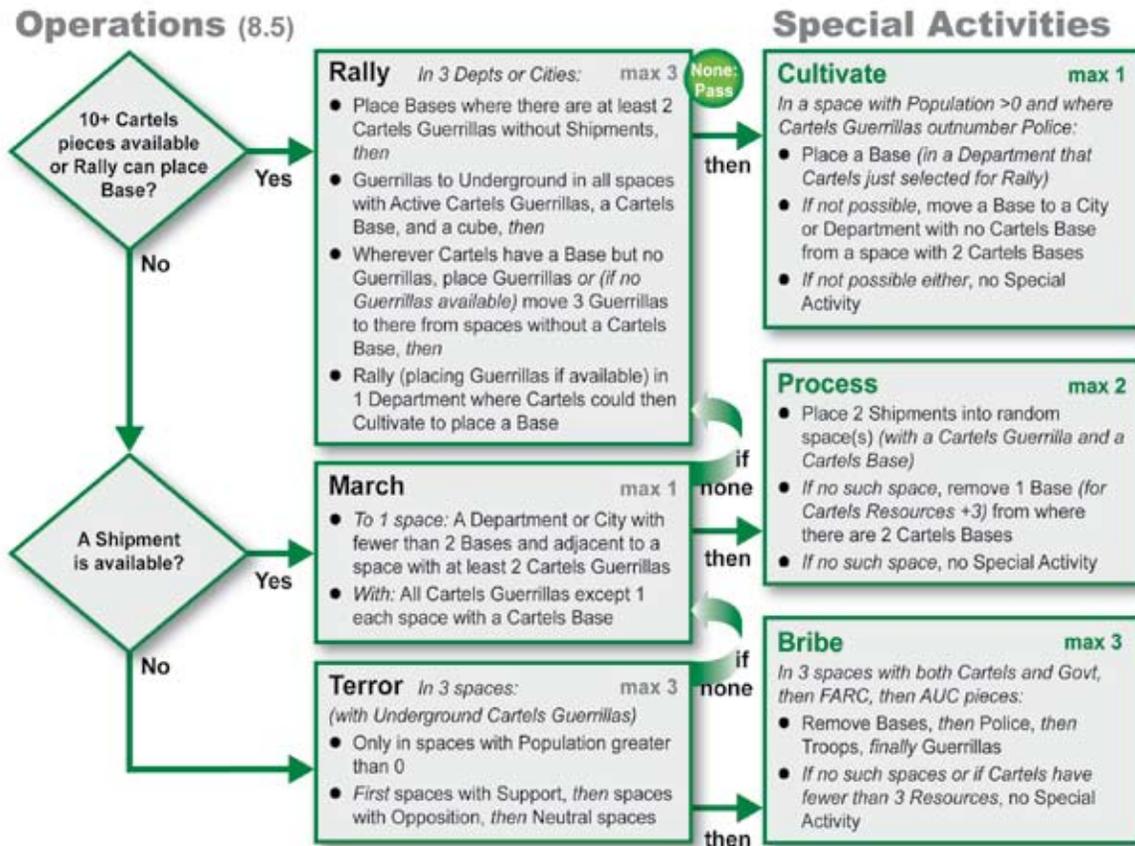
- G. Only Guaviare remains as an origin, and it cannot reach a 3rd space for the March box's 2nd bullet. So the player consults the final "March To" bullet: March to a space with greater than 0 Population from the space with the most FARC Guerrillas that could still move. Guaviare will be the origin and either Meta East, Meta West, or Putumayo-Caquetá the destination. A roll selects Meta East, and so 3 Guerrillas March there from Guaviare (Resources to 7). March priorities are at an end—FARC will now Extort (8.7.1).

What if a Non-Player Faction Cannot Execute its Assigned Operation?

Rarely, a Non-player flowchart will lead to a type of Operation that that Faction cannot execute in the given situation on the board, even though it has Resources. In such a case, rule 8.1.1 "OP NOT POSSIBLE" kicks in: follow the curved "if none" arrow up one box and execute that next higher Operation (and then Special Activity) on the chart instead. If Rally is assigned but impossible, Pass instead.

Examples that can arise include:

- Cartels March when Cartels Guerrillas are spread 1 per Cartels Base space.
- AUC Attack when the AUC has only 1 or 2 Active Guerrillas in each target space.
- FARC Terror when FARC Guerrillas are all Active or they occupy only already-Sabotage LoCs and no Kidnap targets or spaces that could be shifted toward Active Opposition.





DESIGN NOTES

ANDEAN ABYSS seeks to depict Colombia's recent struggle in a game that captures key principles of insurgency and counterinsurgency (COIN). Such principles include a focus on legitimacy (popular support or opposition), the contest between government firepower and guerrilla information advantage, and multiparty warfare. I aimed to present the topic via rules no harder to learn than *Labyrinth: The War on Terror* and with enthralling gameplay spanning multiplayer, 2-player, and solitaire. These Notes go into some of the reasoning and history behind the game and its mechanics.

Origins

Why a COIN Series?

Insurgency is the most widespread form of warfare today. Indeed, though military establishments persist in regarding it as "irregular" or "unconventional", guerrilla war has been the commonest of conflicts throughout history, occurring in one variety or another in almost all known societies.

—David Kilcullen, *Counterinsurgency*, 2010

Much like the study of warfare (in my country at least), board wargaming traditionally has focused on conventional conflict. Even within the realm of modern conflict, designers often choose hypothetical conventional wars rather than real, ongoing insurgencies.

This fact leaves fields of virgin snow for the game designer who would venture into the complicated topic of insurgency—the effort of armed groups to use both violent and non-violent means to affect political affairs within a state. I design and play wargames in part to grapple with historically relevant issues, and the frequency of insurgency in our life-times surely makes it among the most relevant sorts to conflicts to us today.

Perhaps because insurgency (like terrorism) so intimately blends politics with the use of force, too few boardgames have succeeded in adequately representing even the fundamentals of counterinsurgency (or COIN), such as the complex relationship between area control and political legitimacy, to name just one.

The first board wargame that I came across that delved substantially into COIN was Nick Karp's *Vietnam 1965-1975* (Victory Games, 1984), and once I played it, I was hooked on gaming guerrilla ambushes in the jungle, airborne sweeps, pacification, and the rest. But, for all its merits in depicting COIN, *Vietnam* still focused on the maneuvers and clashes of big military units, with political affairs as a backdrop, and in any event took several hundred hours to play if its political-strategic aspects were to be included.

The greatest recent advances in boardgaming COIN, in my view, are to be found in the designs of Canadian Brian Train. Brian's wargames feature insurgency itself (rather than a hex-and-counter tradition) as their starting perspective, then build accessible simulations from there. His *Algeria: The War of Independence, 1954-1962* (Fiery Dragon, 2006) more than any other game, provided the conceptual basis for *ANDEAN ABYSS*. *ANDEAN ABYSS*'s mechanics rendering

asymmetric Operations, Troops and Police, Underground Guerrillas, Government Redeploy and Guerrilla March, Civic Action, territorial Control, Terror and political Support all have starting points in *Algeria*.

The menu of topics for future volumes in the COIN Series is rich. For Volume II, *Cuba Libre*, *ANDEAN ABYSS* playtester Jeff Grossman and I adapted the Colombia game to Fidel Castro's 1957-1958 insurgency. *Cuba Libre* exploits the same core system for ease of learning, but portrays a far different insurgency and four factions that each plays quite differently from those in *ANDEAN ABYSS*. I plan the COIN Series in future to visit Africa, East Asia, and the Mid-East—design time and gamer interest being the only limits.

Why Colombia?

With the wide menu of topics available, I chose Colombia for COIN Volume I both because it is among those topics under-treated in conflict simulation and because of the remarkable richness of its story. As far as I know, only one other boardgame about Colombia's recent insurgency exists, *Crisis Games: Colombia* by Karsten and Kaarin Engelmann, (published in 1990, coincidentally, from my own town of Vienna, Virginia). And that, printed over 20 years ago, predates the period that *ANDEAN ABYSS* depicts.

The violence has worsened in Colombia, as the insurgent armed struggle has become more entrenched and widespread. The most violent zones of the country are those where two or more of the actors involved in social conflict—guerrillas, drug cartels, and illegal self-defense (paramilitary) groups—are active.

—*Colombian Labyrinth*, RAND Project Air Force, 2001

Colombia's recent history features a full array of combatants of different objectives and tactics, ample to fuel a 4-way asymmetric multiplayer game. The Colombian state in the mid-1990s faced several simultaneous and well-resourced insurgencies—the FARC and its ally ELN, the Cali Cartel and its successors, and the AUC. By the mid-2000s, the state had contained each of them as significant threats to governance. How? I wanted to explore that.

It was in the period chosen for the game that the Colombian Government learned how to do COIN—jointly by military and civil institutions, extending state presence throughout the national territory, building legitimacy by taking on all illegal armed groups. (See "Why does only the Government get permanent events?" below.) According to some researchers, Colombia is a model COIN success, and indeed the Colombians are now teaching other states.

Why multiplayer?

My previous designs, *Labyrinth* and *Wilderness War*, feature 2-way asymmetry of roles as a central theme. I wished my next design to take asymmetry to a new level: 4-way, including a solitaire experience that would bring home the complex interplay of many interests that is COIN.

Counterinsurgency is fundamentally a competition between many groups, each seeking to mobilize the population in support of its agenda—counterinsurgency is always more than two-sided.

—Kilcullen, "Twenty-eight Articles", reproduced in *Counterinsurgency*

In *ANDEAN ABYSS*, the 4-way contest allows exploration, for example, of the ambiguous, multi-faceted relationships between Colombia's Government and the right-wing AUC paramilitaries, and between the FARC and the drug cartels. How long do such

uncomfortable bedfellows cooperate? When do they turn on each other? Such decision points become key features of the game's narrative, as they were in history.

As in *Labyrinth*, ends (victory conditions) differ among roles just as do ways and means (operations and forces). I had played Joe Miranda's *Battle for Baghdad* (MCS Group, 2010) and was taken with its 6-way, overlapping victory conditions: each player constantly has to watch the progress of every other against the unique conditions of each, and more than one player can be making progress without directly impeding the other. The play tension and diplomatic depth offered thereby are tremendous. *ANDEAN ABYSS* attempts something similar (if more modest, with just four factions).

The greatest design challenge was to render such a multi-faction contest in a solitaire system. *ANDEAN ABYSS* provides multiple, asymmetric algorithms for solitaire play—I hope in an accessible enough form that solo players, once used to the play aids, will find the non-player routines well worth the effort of implementing. They generate a kaleidoscopic narrative, in which “bots” react to one another as well as to the player. At the same time, the separate non-player algorithms allow two or three players to represent Colombia's 4-way conflict in a variety of player combinations.

An incidental benefit of *ANDEAN ABYSS*'s role-specific non-player system is that any player but the Government can leave a game in progress, and that game can continue with the system smoothly taking over the departed player's role (a benefit revealed to good effect during pre-publication demonstrations of *ANDEAN ABYSS* at game stores and conventions).

Core Mechanics

Why no hands of cards?

ANDEAN ABYSS is not in the Card-Driven Game (CDG) family. But it does draw from CDG tradition the exemplary ability of cards with choices between operations and events to bring detailed political and economic occurrences into a wargame's narrative without fuss.

Instead of dealing hands of cards, *ANDEAN ABYSS* offers events one at a time from a face-down deck. This puts the focus not on “what's in my hand” but on “what's happening on the map,” which seems a more direct representation of managing an insurgent or counter-insurgent campaign. Meanwhile, the unique design of the game's event card sequence of play interweaves the event and operations choices with the exertion of influence by a faction with the initiative over the options of an adversary or ally.

With both the current and upcoming event card exposed, and mechanics such as lingering “Govt Capabilities” events, *ANDEAN ABYSS* retains the painful tradeoffs between short- and long-term benefits of great CDGs. But player interaction and development of board position dominate rather than hand or deck management. Insurgency and COIN are long-term strategies, and players who build their position on the map of Colombia toward the endgame tend to succeed.

Why so many dual-use events?

In the development of *Labyrinth*, Joel Toppen and I found ourselves adding more and more events that featured effects that differed depending on which side played them. Because of *Labyrinth*'s mechanic of card play triggering an enemy event, and therefore the need to have a majority of events dedicated to only one side or the other, these dual-use events had to be limited in number. But they appeared so useful to represent alternative historical paths and the

ambiguous nature of real-world occurrences, that I set dual-use events as the norm for *ANDEAN ABYSS*.

Dual-use events proved particularly helpful in representing the historical and ideological controversy over Colombia's struggle prevalent in the sources that I had available (see “Fantasy of the Right—or Left?” below). But these event cards represent not only alternative interpretations, but also alternative history (that which did not occur, but could have) and double-edged swords (uncertainties over which of two effects might most influence the course of conflict).

Where dual-use events at least in part represent alternative interpretations, I have sought to provide representatives of both views in the event background notes and their sourcing in this playbook.

Why different sets of operations?

Beyond giving each faction its own historical identity and flavor, *ANDEAN ABYSS* tries to model the asymmetric contest between insurgent guerrillas and government security forces. The most central distinction in this regard is the pitting of the insurgents' information advantage against the counterinsurgents' firepower advantage—and the nature of insurgent and COIN operations in the game reflects this distinction.

Government forces must sweep to expose (find) underground guerrillas before organizing a strike upon them—often giving the insurgents a chance to escape first. Guerrillas know who and where their enemies are, but their attacks are weak compared to government troop assaults.

Since the insurgents get their information advantage from melding with the local population, a hostile population can undo that advantage by reporting on (exposing) guerrillas that march into their area. Even a neutral population will quietly tolerate armed forces in their midst, so allowing guerrillas to move safely.

These game mechanics represent the real-life cat-and-mouse characteristic of COIN engagement, whether in an army “search and destroy” mission against guerrilla columns in the jungle hinterland or a police investigation of an urban underground.

Why does only the Government get permanent events?

In *ANDEAN ABYSS*, the Government alone may receive potent improvements to capability that last the remainder of the game. The insurgents, in contrast, can achieve only a momentum that dissipates after a single campaign. This difference represents the fact that, as mentioned above, the period of Colombian conflict portrayed was fundamentally characterized by a steady building of the Government's COIN skill and capacity.

That building capacity rested on unifying COIN into one effort by the whole government: national political leadership from president to legislature, the joint military services, national police and judiciary, and economic development orchestrated as never before to win the war. It also included a better understanding of the nature of the enemy's strategy, so that military operations could be more effective and supportive of a counter-strategy. The game's Govt Capabilities events *National Defense & Security Council*, *1st Division*, *Tapias*, *Ospina & Mora* and others represent this organizational and strategic development of a potent Colombian COIN.

Uribe pursued an aggressive plan to address Colombia's decade-long conflict with the country's leftist guerrillas and rightist paramilitary groups and to reduce the production of illicit drugs. ... [Colombia]

has made significant progress in reestablishing government control over much of its territory, combating drug trafficking and terrorist activities, and reducing poverty.

—Congressional Research Service *Report for Congress*, 2011

With increasing US training and equipment assistance during the period, first under the “War on Drugs” then the “War on Terror”, and with Uribe’s full-force war effort against illegal groups, material COIN capacity built along with skill and strategy. So we have *Blackhawks* for air mobility, *High Mountain Battalions* for Andean operations, *7th Special Forces* for US training, and so on.

This treatment of a building COIN versus more ephemeral insurgent capabilities contrasts with that in Volume II, *Cuba Libre*. There, to represent the growth of insurgent potency contrasted with the Batista regime’s failure to adapt its means, the game reverses mechanics and instead presents lasting “Insurgent Capabilities” and temporary “Govt Momentum”.

Why include lines of communication?

The game’s mechanics surrounding lines of communication (LoCs) represent the dependence of the country’s economy, government revenues, and therefore COIN operations tempo on railways, roads, powerlines, and—in Colombia especially—pipelines delivering energy exports.

A guerrilla sabotage and kidnapping campaign against the LoCs of a government that is already resource-limited can spike a COIN campaign. But insurgent players will find that sabotage is not cake: LoCs are dangerous places for guerrillas, as security forces can reach them quickly and tend to defend them aggressively.

What does the Propaganda Round represent?

ANDEAN ABYSS’s Propaganda Rounds punctuate insurgency-COIN campaigns at irregular and not precisely predictable moments. They represent less a given moment or time period distinct from the general course of the conflict and more an accounting of various matters that are really progressing concurrently with the game’s events and operations: tax collection, export earnings, the political effects of ongoing and steady FARC propaganda activities (agitation) and government investment (civic action), relocation of forces among relatively quiet or controlled areas, and the development of effective local police forces.

Knowing only with very little warning exactly when this accounting will take place adds to play tension and represents the real-world uncertainties in war regarding the outcomes of these larger, cumulative processes (how much revenue will we collect? how popular will our political and military efforts be? and the like).

COIN History in the Game:

Local Security as a Key

Establishing local security for the population in order to deny support to guerrillas is another key aspect of counterinsurgency represented *ANDEAN ABYSS*’s mechanics. US COIN scholar Tom Marks describes the local security situation in the Colombian countryside as of the mid-1990s—a good description of the challenge for the Government player at the beginning of the game:

Domination of local areas was the linchpin of the counterinsurgent effort, and a variety of imaginative solutions were tried to maintain state presence in affected areas... But in the absence of local forces, which had fallen afoul of constitutional court restrictions and thus were disbanded, it was difficult to consolidate gains. As areas were

retaken, they could not be garrisoned with home guards. Instead, regular units rotated in and out in a perpetual shell game designed to keep FARC off balance.

—*Military Review*, March-April 2007

Troops and Police. In the game, Troops represent the Government’s regular forces: highly mobile across the countryside and hard-hitting against enemy forces, but eventually forced to return to garrison in cities or bases. Police represent the local security forces: time-consuming to build to effectiveness in contested areas, but essential to day-to-day law and order and therefore to the Government’s legitimacy and popular support.

In *ANDEAN ABYSS*, Government troops can sweep into an enemy area and locate and assault guerrilla forces. As troops establish control, police eventually can deploy into the area to stay. Or the troops can establish a Government base to more quickly train local police. Only once both troops and effective police forces are in place, can the Government invest in local development through civic action, thereby building popular support and countering the insurgency.

“Imaginative Solutions”—Help for the Government to Stay in Local Areas

The above process is time-consuming and uncertain for the Government. However, several events can help it establish effective day-to-day security in the countryside more quickly. One example is the establishment of local forces platoons called *Soldados Campesinos*: forces that blend the advantages of regular troops and regional police.

Whether these opportunities become available is not entirely up to the Government COIN strategist: Will the talent to discover and implement imaginative solutions emerge? Will politics and bureaucracy allow them to bear fruit? In the game, the event card may or may not come up, and the Government player may or may not be eligible to play it when it does, or may decide that other operations are more urgent.

The Other Edge of the Sword—Military and “Paramilitary”

In light of Colombia’s tradition of local self-defense militias and the evolution of those “autodefensas” into anti-FARC illegal armed groups (labeled “paramilitaries”) eventually under the leadership of Carlos Castaño’s AUC, there historically was concern that new local forces platoons would simply augment the AUC’s reactionary insurgents. In the game, the AUC is more likely than the Government to get the first crack at the *Soldados Campesinos* event (because of the order of the faction symbols on the card). And the AUC player (or non-player, if run by the game system) would almost certainly implement the card’s shaded, pro-insurgent effect, turning defecting rural police into AUC guerrillas.

And so what is the FARC doing about it?

Beyond such special occurrences as defections, the Government’s rural forces will have to weather the more routine threats that are within the capabilities of the insurgent factions: FARC ambushes, AUC assassinations, Cartels Bribes, and the like. Insurgent players on the ball will be gunning for any newly established rural police before Government civic action can gain the populace’s support and make local insurgent operations that much more difficult: once populations support the Government, they block FARC from rallying new forces and (as discussed above) report on any guerrillas entering the area, flushing them from underground status and thereby blocking their ability to terrorize, ambush, and extort.

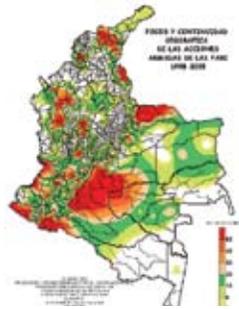
FARC History in the Game:

Nation Held Hostage

Insurgencies, like governments, need resources to operate, but the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 left the world's leftist movements largely on their own. In their 2010 book about Colombian hostages, journalists Victoria Bruce, Karin Hayes, and Jorge Enrique Botero describe how Colombia's revolutionary FARC insurgency turned to the drug trade for financing—contributing by the mid-1990s both to its development of a kidnapping industry and to the rise of the autodefensas that later merged into the FARC's right-wing AUC enemy:

The FARC ... controlled many of the coca-growing regions in central and southern Colombia, while the cartels managed much of the cocaine production and trafficking. The guerrillas operated by taxing the cartels and drug producers for protection and services. ... This economic alliance began to collapse when the leaders of the cartels ... began investing their newfound wealth in property, primarily large cattle ranches which placed them firmly in the ranks of the guerrillas' traditional enemy—the landowning elite. ... In turn, the guerrillas began a policy of kidnapping and extortion of the cartel members. For protection and retaliation, the drug lords organized and financed their own paramilitary armies.

—*Hostage Nation: Colombia's Guerrilla Army and the Failed War on Drugs*, 2010



Map from official Colombian sources showing intensity of FARC guerrilla activity during the period covered by the game. Western Meta and Caquetá Departments are a hotbed containing the sites of famous captures of both Colombian presidential candidate Betancourt and of three US DoD contractors.

FARC Kidnapping, Cartels and Government Victims, and AUC Growth

Colombian analysts in 1998 estimated that kidnappings by the FARC and its sister group, the ELN, accounted for 20 to 30 percent of all kidnappings in the world (RAND, *Colombian Labyrinth*, p32). The FARC held hundreds of hostages at a time—a large-scale ransoming enterprise for them and a tragedy for the country that developed into a political issue and a cause for national hatred of the guerrillas.



FARC guerrillas

ANDEAN ABYSS depicts the enterprise through the kidnapping special activity that the FARC faction may add to its terror operations. It also depicts the impact of FARC hostage-taking on politics and military affairs through a series of event cards.

In the game, FARC can use underground Guerrillas to terrorize local populations into opposing the Colombian government. If the terrorized region has a drug cartels base or is a city or line of communication—and if FARC guerrillas outnumber local police—FARC may kidnap as well to forcibly transfer a die roll's worth of resources (or a drug shipment) in ransom from the Cartels or Government faction to FARC. As reaction to FARC kidnapping historically contributed to growth of the right-wing “paramilitaries”, a particularly costly kidnapping (a die roll of “6”) mobilizes a local AUC guerrilla unit or base.

Defense Against Kidnapping

To avoid a grievous drain of resources from the counterinsurgency, the Government will have to protect the populace from FARC kidnapers with police patrols of the country's roads and cities. The Cartels often can better afford the drain, but it may at some point have to turn on the FARC parasite, relocate to FARC-free areas, or just pay off the FARC player. The latter option illustrates how *ANDEAN ABYSS* explores the multifaceted relations among the contenders for control of 1990s Colombia through varied avenues for player diplomacy.

AUC History in the Game:

Right-Wing Army

Colombia in the mid-1990s saw the leftist FARC insurgency building its strength dramatically as it transitioned from small-unit terror tactics to military attacks on the Colombian Army. But the Government was not yet on a war footing and still tacitly conceded immense areas of countryside to the guerrillas. To protect themselves from FARC terror, landowners in several localities raised self-defense forces, autodefensas, that would use the FARC's own tactics against it. By 1996, these local anti-FARC units formed a nationwide force under the Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia or AUC) umbrella.

Over the next decade, the AUC grew to an estimated 17,000 fighters, approaching the FARC's strength. Journalist Mario Murillo describes this illegal armed power:

Along with the ongoing collaboration between elements of the army and the AUC, [as of 2004] there are approximately 1,000 active AUC members who have served in the Colombian military, including fifty-three retired military officers who have served as advisors to the AUC. They have up to fourteen state of the art helicopters, a dozen small planes, and countless speed-boats with mounted machine guns to use in their war against the guerrillas. Indeed, they are a full-fledged army, operating almost with complete impunity throughout the country.

—*Colombia and the United States: War, Unrest, and Destabilization*, 2004



Logo of the AUC

Potent Anti-FARC Faction

In *ANDEAN ABYSS*, the AUC faction can build an army rivaling the FARC's in the number of guerrilla pieces—and an army as militarily effective and typically not under the pressure that Government forces place on the FARC. Both FARC and AUC guerrillas can use an ambush special activity that guarantees a successful attack and the capture of materiel and recruits to form a new underground unit. And a variety of event cards depict additional AUC capacities, both military and terrorist.

AUC Aces in the Hole: Death Squads and Assassination

More than on military attacks, the AUC relied on terror and massacres as its principal means of taking control of FARC-dominated areas. They mimicked FARC terror, but on a more brutal level, including mass-murders of suspected FARC sympathizers and other undesirables—so-called “limpizas” that resembled the “ethnic cleansing” that the same period featured in the Balkans. In the game, the AUC can accompany its terror operations with assassination special activities. Provided the AUC can position underground guerrillas in a target area, AUC terror can eliminate an enemy base even when protected by enemy guerrillas. Because the AUC wins by reducing FARC bases to fewer in number than its own, assassination of FARC base pieces is a key AUC tactic.

Double-Edged Sword for the Government

The AUC as blood enemy to the FARC would seem an unalloyed friend to the Government, able to strike the enemy in ways that legal Government forces cannot. But the AUC nevertheless remains an insurgency—an illegal armed group that challenges Government law and order and must in the end be suppressed.

In the game, too many AUC forces in a region block Government control and thus the ability to build popular support—the Government's victory condition. AUC terror wrecks not only FARC's political base but support for the Government, as victimized populations resent the Government's failure to protect them. And international suspicion of Colombian Army complicity in AUC atrocities costs the Government foreign aid resources. This interplay of capabilities and victory conditions poses the question every game: when will the Government turn on its brutal AUC helpmate—as it ultimately did historically—to trim its control of the countryside?

Cartels History in the Game: Chess Player of Cali

[Cali cartel co-founder Gilberto Rodríguez.] became known as the “Chess Player” for his ruthless and calculating approach to the drug business. ... The Rodríguez brothers ... controlled Cali in the way that feudal barons once ruled medieval estates. ... Buy Colombia, rather than terrorize it, became their guiding philosophy. ... The cartel built dozens of high-rise offices and apartment buildings as a way of laundering their money. The Cali skyline changed, and thousands of jobs were created. Their money permeated the city's economy, and the natives became addicted to laundered cash and conspicuous consumption.

—Ron Chepesiuk, *Drug Lords—The Rise and Fall of the Cali Cartel*, 2003

Along with Government security forces, FARC rebels, and AUC paramilitaries, *ANDEAN ABYSS* also depicts the Colombian drug cartels. While the illegal drug industry does not care much about legitimacy, it is an insurgency nevertheless. By definitions laid out by National War College scholar Bard O'Neill, the cartels are “com-



Cali skyline

Photo by D.A. Rendón

mercialist insurgent” groups—contesting political power purely to aid their acquisition of material resources (*Insurgency & Terrorism: From Revolution to Apocalypse*, 2005).

In the game, the Cartels faction wins not through popular support or opposition but by building its criminal organization (expanding its bases) and amassing resources. But its presence can get in the way of other factions' objectives of territorial control and political support. The Cartels, for example, start the game within one rally action of controlling Cali, which begins politically neutral rather than supportive of the Government.

As a result of the dismantling of the drug cartels, trafficking has experienced radical changes in structure. ... There are [now] between 250 and 300 trafficking organizations in Colombia. Their leaders are some of the former cartels' second-rank members ... The new organizations are smaller, closed, and secret ... [They] have developed strategies, methods and techniques aimed at making the business more dynamic, sneaking away from law enforcement and blending in better in their respective regions.

—Álvaro Camacho and Andrés López, “From Smugglers to Drug Lords to Traquetos—Changes in Illicit Colombian Drug Organizations,” in *Peace, Democracy, and Human Rights in Colombia*, 2007

War of Weeds

The historical period of game—mid-1990s to mid-2000s—saw the sunset of Colombia's flashy, politically active drug cartels, but not of the illicit drug industry that the game's Cartels faction represents. And so, in *ANDEAN ABYSS*, the Cartels can reconstitute themselves, able to slip readily out of areas of danger and regrow elsewhere.

Unlike other insurgents, the Cartels can recruit forces anywhere: battalions of hired guns—sicarios—await among the poor. But the Cartels' guerrilla force pool is the smallest: it cannot organize



One way to get drugs to US market: a narco-submarine, designed to evade detection while it carries its load of product on the passage northward.

campaigns on the scale of the more military FARC or AUC. And the Cartels do not have the other insurgents' potent battle tactics.

The Cartels faction wins by accumulating resources (money) and bases (the coca and poppy fields, processing labs, and distribution infrastructure needed to continue making money). It will find it hard to protect its bases with its smaller number of guerrillas, and rural Cartels bases are vulnerable to aerial spraying (the Government's eradication action).

But the Cartels also can place new bases more easily than any other faction, quickly through special cultivation actions or with delay but cheaply through processing actions to ready drug shipments. Shipment markers represent major caches of processed cocaine or heroin awaiting delivery to market outside Colombia—they are vulnerable to seizure by the other factions: any insurgent faction can liquidate them to accelerate operations. But if defended and held long enough to get to market (in the Propaganda Round), they yield resources or a free base.

Cartels terror can hurt the Government or FARC politically, but the Cartels' most potent weapon is corruption: they can bribe to expose, hide, or neutralize enemy forces—anywhere. Bribes are expensive, however, and so only become a true threat once the Cartels are well above their victory goal in resources. And so the other factions face a choice: dedicate precious time and resources early on to trim the Cartels weeds, or risk the Cartels growing so rich that they can block any offensive by bribing their way out.

Fantasy of the Right—or Left?

English language studies of the Colombian conflict read so differently from one another that they seem to be describing multiple countries. Is Colombia a thriving democracy, with a popular government that has brought economic prosperity and relative peace to its people in the face of vicious terrorist and criminal threats? Or is Colombia a harsh dictatorship by an economic elite, dressed up as democracy but in fact using state-sponsored terror to keep its ever more impoverished masses under heel, and the FARC simply the people's defense? You can find either thesis in North American scholarship.

ANDEAN ABYSS does not attempt to settle these questions. I took care to draw from writers (necessarily, for me, in English) who view Colombia's conflict from a range of political perspectives (see Selected Sources). No one view seems able to tell the full story, and I hope that players of a variety of persuasions will find something relevant in the game's design.

The game does take some positions. For example, it does not fully buy the Left's thesis of the AUC as an "extension" of the Government in that both defend elite interests against the rest of the people (see Murillo somewhat and Hristov especially). Yes, the Colombian Government and AUC shared a core interest in suppressing the FARC, and *ANDEAN ABYSS* accounts for this shared interest in the factions' victory conditions. Indeed, Government and AUC players often will collaborate.

But the Government under Uribe developed and executed a plan to extend its writ throughout the country—a true and, by the far-Left model, unnecessary departure—including against AUC. Casualties caused the AUC, extraditions of its leaders, and its imperfect but not false demobilization show a real parting of Government and AUC ways. And Colombia's vigorous electoral politicking and, under Uribe, undeniable and widespread popular enthusiasm for President, government, and army seemed to gainsay the Leftist model of Co-



lombia as an exploitative oligarchy defended from its people by force of terror. So *ANDEAN ABYSS* has the Government seeking popular support to win, rather than the exploitation of the country's poor by the violence-backed rich, as the far Left might have it.

As for the nature of the FARC, the game does not depict the group as mere "narco-terrorists" who have left people's revolution behind and continue mainly for personal drug profit (as some on the Right argue). An insurgency may at once benefit from the drug trade and provide much needed services to rural under-privileged. *ANDEAN ABYSS* models the latter aspect with the FARC Agitation mechanic and the effects of events such as *Crop Substitution*, *Unión Sindical Obrera*, and others.

The persistence in hard times of the FARC's leaders and fighters demonstrates ideological commitment—dedication to something larger than self. Purely commercialist insurgent leaders at some point wish to live the high life. In contrast, Reyes, Mono Jojoy, Cano, and the rest carried on in the face of the hardships of lethal Government pursuit—and despite opportunities for reconciliation. In the game, FARC victory depends directly on popular opposition and the strength of the movement's political and logistical base—the preconditions for an eventual revolution and overthrow of the existing order.

Finally, *ANDEAN ABYSS* represents the US-sponsored "War on Drugs" as neither clear failure nor clear success. Eradication in the game may be a mixed bag politically, but, used judiciously, it is a necessary and potent means for the Government to keep the Cartels in check. Historically, aerial coca eradication has had its place in curbing supply, as have the successes of the kingpin strategy of the Colombian Police and US DEA. Economics being what they are, Colombian coca production continues. But the country has escaped the level of terror and political challenge of the big cartels that now traumatize Mexico and Central America so brutally. Colombians today can take pride in a low murder rate, growing economy, and better governance.

Thanks and Dedication

My special gratitude is due to several groups and individuals for their efforts on behalf of *ANDEAN ABYSS*: To Joel Toppen, who patiently heard me out as we drove through the desert, when all I had was first drafts of curious ops menus. To GMT Games and the testers and players across many countries who made this project happen. And to Dr. Thomas Marks of the National Defense University, for sharing with me his photos and his deep and personal knowledge of Colombian COIN.

Finally, I dedicate the design of *ANDEAN ABYSS* to Juan Francisco's nation and people: They have faced their past—may they overcome it.

Volko F. Ruhnke
Vienna, Virginia
January, 2012

EVENT TEXT AND BACKGROUND

This section reproduces the full text of each event card, along with sourced historical and other background commentary.

1. 1st Division GFAC

GOVT CAPABILITIES

Jointness: 1 Civic Action space each Support Phase requires Govt Control and any cube.

Service parochialism: Civic Action requires at least 2 Troops and 2 Police.

The Colombian Army's 1st Division in late 2004 became a joint operational command, part of a process of integrating services to replace exclusively army divisional areas. (Marks p137)

2. Ospina & Mora GFAC

GOVT CAPABILITIES

COIN experts take charge: Sweep costs 1 Resource per space.

COIN strategy eludes Army: Sweep Operations may target only 1 space per card.

Senior army commanders Carlos Ospina Ovalle and Jorge Mora Rangel collaborated intimately—Ospina fathering a sound counterinsurgent strategy from his study of captured FARC documents and Mora ensuring its practical implementation. (Conversation with Tom Marks, 30Apr2011; Ospina pp57,58,60)



General Mora Photo by Tom Marks

3. Tapias GFAC

GOVT CAPABILITIES

CO tightens civil-military bonds: Assault costs 1 Resource per space.

Civil-military rivalries fester: Assault Operations may target only 1 space per card.

Military Forces Commander Fernando Tapias Stahelin drew the political backing to forge a whole-of-government COIN effort. (Conversation with Tom Marks, 30Apr2011; Marks, p139; Ospina p60)

4. Caño Limón—Coveñas GFCA

Profitable pipeline: Add twice the Econ of 3 unSabotaged pipelines to Government Resources.

Pipeline draws attacks: Sabotage the 3 pipelines with highest value and no cubes.

A particularly lucrative energy export pipeline from Arauca to the sea attracted both rebel attacks and US training assistance. (Brittain p23; Ricks-Lightner pp25,58,80; Hristov p34)

5. Occidental & Ecopetrol GFCA

Oil company security: Place 6 Police onto pipelines. 3 Guerrillas there or adjacent flip to Active.

Industry thought exploitative: Shift a space adjacent to a 3-Econ LoC by 2 levels toward Active Opposition.

Joint ventures between US and Colombian oil companies provided enough government revenue to justify major security measures. (Brittain p228; Ricks-Lightner p80) A \$93-million batch of US counterterrorism aid in 2003, for example, focused on protection of Colombian assets of California-based Occidental Petroleum. (Hristov p34) Critics saw government concessions to multinational oil giants as overly generous and tied poverty and human rights violations to US support for oil industry in the country. (Murillo pp87-88; Hristov pp17-18,34-35)

6. Oil Spill GFCA

Rebels blamed: Shift 2 Opposition or Neutral Departments adjacent to Sabotage to Passive Support.

Multinationals make mess: Sabotage a pipeline. Shift an adjacent Department by 1 level toward Active Opposition.

Spilled oil from attacks created substantial environmental damage, generating local hostility against whichever combatant side got the blame. (Ricks-Lightner p80)

7. 7th Special Forces GAFC

GOVT CAPABILITIES

Infrastructure protection training: Each Control phase, Govt may remove 1-3 Terror or Sabotage.

US training ineffective: Control phase—Sabotage LoCs with any Guerrillas equal to cubes.

The US Bush Administration deployed some 600 personnel of the 7th Special Forces Group (Airborne), most to train a new “infrastructure protection brigade” in embattled Arauca Department. (Marks p131; Ricks-Lightner p25)

8. Fuerza Aérea Colombiana GAFC

COIN strike aircraft: Govt executes 3 free Air Strikes.

Budget diverted to expensive jets: Government Resources –9.

After FARC successes in the late 1990s in overrunning remote government centers, the Colombian military equipped its air force with night-vision gear and learned to integrate air power in support of ground operations. (RAND pp101-102) Less relevant to COIN, Colombia also maintained a force of high-speed Kfir and Mirage V jets. (RAND p42)

9. High Mountain Battalions GAFC

GOVT CAPABILITIES

Elites guard high-altitude corridors: Assault treats Mountain as City.

Equipment not delivered: Assault in Mountain removes only 1 piece for 4 Troops.

The Army in the Pastrana years equipped and situated special battalions to block insurgent mobility corridors through hitherto inaccessible heights. (Marks p135)

10. Blackhawks GACF

GOVT CAPABILITIES

US helos delivered: Air Lift moves any number of Troops.

Delivery of US helos delayed: Air Lift moves only 1 Troops cube.

The military as of 2000 had only 17 operational heavy-lift helicopters. The US was to add 30 UH-60 Blackhawk and 33 UH-1H Huey transports, but they had yet to be delivered. (RAND pp63,65,68-69,104)

11. National Defense & Security Council GACF

GOVT CAPABILITIES

Military-police jointness: 1 Police may enter each Sweep space.

Military-police rivalry: A Sweep Operation Activates Guerrillas via Troops or Police, not both.

Uribe's "Democratic Security and Defense Policy" integrated COIN planning, adding a National Defense and Security Council to ensure coordinated and unified action by all state bodies. (Marks pp132-133)

12. Plan Colombia GACF

US "War on Drugs": Add lesser of Aid or +20 to Govt Resources. Then Aid +10.

INSURGENT MOMENTUM

US aid focuses on drug war: No Air Strike or Activation by Patrol until next Propaganda.

The Pastrana Government's response to Colombia's insurgency, Plan Colombia, included seeking \$3.5-billion in foreign aid. The US earmarked 3/4ths of its part of that aid to counternarcotics. (RAND pp61-62)

13. Plan Meteoro GCFA

GOVT CAPABILITIES

Transport protection units: Patrol conducts a free Assault in each LoC.

Transport security deemphasized: Patrols do not conduct a free Assault.

The Uribe Administration funded special transportation network protection units under "Plan Meteor". (Marks p135)

14. Tres Esquinas GCFA

Forward base: Government places 1 Base and 3 Troops into any Department.

Base overrun: Remove 1 Government Base and 1 cube from a Department.

During the late-1990s heyday of the FARC's large-unit "mobile warfare", it succeeded in overrunning a series of isolated army positions and briefly holding the capital of Vaupés. (Ospina pp59-60; Marks p127; RAND pp42-43) Tres Esquinas was a key army base at the heart of later Government sweeps into the FARC strongholds of the southeast. (www.GlobalSecurity.org; Brittain pp226-227) As of 2002, it hosted a Joint Intelligence Center and some 100 US military advisors. (Hristov p35)

15. War Tax GCFA

Defense budget shot in the arm: Roll a die and add 4 times the result to Government Resources.

Middle class resents cost of war: Shift a City from Neutral or Passive Support to Passive Opposition.

Uribe shifted and increased the tax burden in order to help fund the military effort against the guerrillas. (Brittain p228-229)

16. Coffee Prices GCAF

They're up: Each Mountain, +5 Resources to Faction with most pieces, tied spaces to Govt.

They're down: Government Resources -10.

Export income from coffee—a traditional source of economic security to the Colombian highlands—fluctuated wildly from the 1990s on, mostly downward. (Brittain pp84-88; Hristov p191; RAND p5) The late 1990s saw increased guerrilla presence in the country's agricultural backbone, the central coffee-growing departments, apparently as part of FARC, ELN, and AUC strategy. (RAND pp46-47)

17. Madrid Donors GCAF

Aid conference generous: Add lesser of Aid or +20 to Govt Resources. Then Aid +6.

INSURGENT MOMENTUM

EU aid focuses on reconstruction: No Sweep or Assault in Depts until next Propaganda.

European and Japanese donors to Colombia channeled aid to non-military programs. A July 2000 donors' conference in Madrid, for example, pledged \$619-million, mostly for social development projects. (RAND pp62,64)

18. NSPD-18 GCFA

US "War on Terror" takes on FARC: Add lesser of Aid or +20 to Govt Resources. Then Aid +20.

US focused on Mid-East and South Asia: Government Resources -6. Subtract a die roll from Aid.

In a departure from the more restrictive "war on drugs", the US Bush Administration's 2002 National Security Presidential Directive 18, "Supporting Democracy in Colombia", called on the State Department to implement a new US political-military plan in direct support of Colombian national security strategy. The Bush Administration had linked the counternarcotics fight to the "war on terror" and would pursue not only cartels but the FARC and the AUC directly. (Marks p131; Chepesiuk p281)

19. General Offensive FGAC

In each space possible, choose and execute either free Sweep without movement or Assault (if Government), or free Attack or Terror (if Insurgent).

The conflict during the late 1990s and early 2000s saw a number of FARC offensives, including the use of homemade armored vehicles. The Government's 2003-2004 Plan Patriota included a major military offensive around the capital and into FARC-held territory in the southeast. (Ospina pp59-60; CRS p10; Hristov p36)

20. Mono Jojoy FGAC 2

KIA puts FARC in disarray: Govt player repositions up to 6 FARC Guerrillas into adjacent spaces.

Military strategist: FARC free Marches any of its Guerrillas then flips up to 3 of its Guerrillas Underground.

A Colombian military and police operation in Meta Department in September 2010 killed the FARC's operational second-in-command, Victor Julio Suárez Rojas, alias Jorge Briceño Suárez or "Mono Jojoy", adding to a period of strong pressure on guerrilla remnants. (CRS pp1,13)

21. Raúl Reyes FGAC 2

FARC Deputy killed: FARC Resources -6. Remove 1 FARC Base.

FARC Deputy channels foreign support: FARC Resources +6. Place a FARC Base in a City or Department.

A 2008 Colombian military raid into Ecuador killed then second-highest FARC commander Luís Édgar Devia Silva ("Raúl Reyes") and recovered evidence of planned Venezuelan and possibly Ecuadoran support to the FARC. (CRS p10; Marks pp140-141n)

22. Alfonso Cano FGCA

FARC leader killed in military strike: Shift an Opposition space to Neutral.

INSURGENT MOMENTUM

Ideologue: May Agitate also in up to 3 spaces with FARC piece and no Govt Control.

Communist Bogotá University student Guillermo León Sáenz Vargas joined the FARC in the 1980s and eventually became its master revolutionary ideologue, "Alfonso Cano". (Bruce-Hayes-Botero pp138-139) A 2011 military strike in Cauca Department killed him. (www.ColombiaReports.com)

23. DoD Contractors FGCA

US provides aircrew: In a Dept, Activate all Guerrillas and remove all Cartels Bases.

Plane down—hostage search and evasion: Govt removes 3 Troops. Mark Govt and FARC Ineligible through next card.

US contractors provided pilots for crop spraying over FARC-held territory and for reconnaissance flights to pinpoint guerrillas. Patrolling FARC guerrillas in 2003 shot down one such flight along the western slopes of Caquetá and took three US personnel hostage, setting off a Colombian Army manhunt. (Bruce-Hayes-Botero pp3-19,107)

24. Operación Jaque FGCA

Dramatic hostage rescue: 1 City to Active Support. Mark FARC Ineligible through next card.

Hostage rescue goes awry: Remove 2 Troops from a space with FARC pieces. Shift a City with Support to Neutral.

In a show of operational prowess, Colombian forces in 2008 tricked FARC captors into delivering celebrity hostage Ingrid Betancourt and 3 US DoD contractors held since 2003. (Bruce-Hayes-Botero pp238-256)

25. Ejército de Liberación Nacional FAGC 2

ELN and FARC jockey: Remove all FARC pieces from 1 Mountain.

ELN and FARC coordinate ops: Place any 3 FARC pieces into Antioquia or an adjacent Department.

Colombia's second-largest revolutionary army, the Castroite ELN, concentrated in the northern mountains, where it sought a Sierra Maestra-style stronghold. While the ELN and the FARC shared the same enemies and often coordinated operations, the two Marxist groups occasionally clashed over territory or resources. (RAND pp30-31,44; CRS pp13-14)

26. Gramaje FAGC 2

FARC protection rejected: All Cartels Guerrillas in spaces with FARC free Attack FARC.

Schedule of fees: Cartels transfers 3 Resources to FARC for each space with Cartels Base and FARC Guerrilla.

The FARC had a precise schedule of fees, gramaje, that it charged to drug producers and smugglers for protection and other services. Though imposed by the guerrillas, these taxes served as a US argument that the FARC and the drug lords were in cahoots. (RAND p32; Camacho-López p80)

27. Misil Antiaéreo FAGC

FARC MANPADs deemed a myth: Government executes 3 free Special Activities.

INSURGENT MOMENTUM

MANPADs feared: Until next Propaganda, no Govt Special Activities where Guerrillas.

Given the importance of air power to Colombian COIN, fears grew that guerrilla use of surface-to-air missiles could change the strategic balance. (RAND pp35,102)

28. Hugo Chávez FAGC

Caracas controls border: Remove up to 3 Insurgent pieces from a space next to Venezuela.

Caracas aids rebels: Place a FARC Base in a Dept next to Venezuela. Sabotage each empty LoC touching Cúcuta.

FARC information taken in the 2008 raid on Raúl Reyes suggested that Venezuela was providing support to the insurgent group, including plans by the Hugo Chávez regime to grant millions of dollars for weapons purchases. Chávez later that year called on the FARC to cease military operations, signaling a change in at least Venezuela's public stance. (CRS p10)

29. Kill Zone FAGC

Army sniffs out FARC trap: Govt in 1 space Activates all FARC and executes free Assault.

Tactics lure enemy in: FARC or AUC in a space executes 2 free Ambushes with any of its Guerrillas without Activating.

The FARC between 1996 and 2000 developed a tactic to lure Army reaction forces into a prepared kill zone surrounded by interconnected rifle pits and bunkers. In one such kill-zone action in late 2000 along a key route from Antioquia to Chocó, guerrillas inflicted heavy casualties on special forces of the Colombian 4th Brigade. Often, however, the army could detect the kill zone before falling into the trap. (RAND pp44-45,45n)

30. Peace Commission FACG 2

FARC accused in Commissioner's killing: Remove 1 FARC Zone.

Peace bid: Government places 1 FARC Zone. (See 6.4.3)

The FARC's ambush and execution in late 2000 of the head of the Colombian congressional peace commission, Diego Torbay, dealt Pastrana's peace policy a new blow. (RAND pp73-74)

31. Betancourt FCGA

Sympathy for famous hostage: Shift 2 Cities and 1 Dept 1 level each toward Active Support.

Hostage negotiations forum for FARC: Shift 3 spaces from Passive Opposition to Active Opposition

Spitfire senator and presidential candidate Ingrid Betancourt—known among other things for her outreach to the FARC—fell hostage in 2002 as she toured the recently remilitarized FARC zone. She became an international symbol of Colombia's hostage tragedy—and of the FARC's role in it. (Bruce-Hayes-Botero pp94-102,145,168-171,242)

32. Secuestrados FCGA 2

Fed up with hostage-taking: Shift 2 spaces from Neutral or Passive Opposition to Passive Support.

Ransoming highly profitable: FARC Resources +12.

Colombian media constantly reminded the populace that kidnappings were garnering 100s of millions of dollars for the FARC and other groups. Public outcry grew under Pastrana as negotiations with FARC failed to end the scourge, and regular radio messages from loved ones to hostages further broadcast the trauma. (Bruce-Hayes-Botero pp95-96,141-143,173)

33. Sucumbíos FCGA

Ecuadoran buffer zone: Remove up to 3 Insurgent pieces from a space bordering Ecuador.

Cross-border war: Place 2 pieces in Ecuador. It is a 0 Pop Dept. No more than 2 pieces per Faction may stack there.

As the 2008 Colombian raid on a FARC camp in the Ecuadoran province of Sucumbíos vividly illustrated, Colombia's insurgency and counterinsurgency often spilled over borders. The FARC used Ecuador's territory for rest, resupply, and training; and some coca processing took place there as well. (CRS pp10,23-24) Ecuadoran troops at times clashed with suspected Colombian guerrillas within Ecuador. Quito planned increases in development spending in border provinces such as Sucumbíos to create a social and economic buffer zone. (RAND pp88-89)

34. Airdropped AKs FCAG

Insurgents scammed by Russian criminals: Drop an Insurgent Faction's Resources by -5.

Covert weapons delivery: An Insurgent Faction places 2 Guerrillas and 1 Base into a 0 Population Department.

A creative arms-for-drugs deal brokered by Russian mafia in 2000 included Russian planes parachuting as many as 30,000 automatic rifles to the FARC in eastern Colombia. (Bruce-Hayes-Botero p91; RAND pp36-37)

35. Crop Substitution FCAG

Government initiative: Replace the Cartels Bases in 1 Department with 1 Police each. Aid +3.

FARC proposals lauded: Shift a Department with a Cartels Base by 2 levels toward Active Opposition.

Crop substitution or "alternative development" programs sought to supplement coca and poppy eradication by providing licit income to farmers who otherwise would replant drug crops. FARC initiatives in its zone in 1999-2002 drew attention and support from the United Nations, the European Union, and other foreigners. (Brittain pp95-98) US support via Plan Colombia also featured crop substitution. The US Agency for International Development claimed such a program from 2005-2009 reduced coca growing by 85% in a key cultivation region of western Meta. (CRS pp26-29)

36. Zona de Convivencia FCAG

ELN gets its DMZ: Govt places a FARC Zone in Mountain. (See 6.4.3) Shift 2 adjacent Neutral spaces to Passive Support, if possible. Executing Faction remains Eligible past this card.

The Pastrana administration explored negotiations with the ELN, parallel to those with the FARC. The ELN demanded a zone analogous to that granted to the FARC, and Pastrana agreed in principle to a 5000km² "live-and-let-live zone" around the juncture of Antioquia, Bolívar, and Santander. (RAND pp41,74) Uribe also pursued the ELN's negotiated demobilization, but the group broke off talks in 2008. (CRS pp13-14)

37. Former Military AGFC 2

Ties that bind: Government free Sweeps or Assaults FARC within each space, no moves; AUC Guerrillas act as Troops.

Ex-officers advise paramilitaries: AUC free Marches any of its Guerrillas and then, at any 1 destination, free Ambushes.

The AUC was purported to collaborate with elements of the Colombian Army and to have some 1000 active members who had served in the nation's armed forces, including 53 retired military officers who acted as AUC advisors. AUC leader Carlos Castaño himself corroborated these estimates when in 2000 he claimed to have more than 1000 ex-soldiers and 135 former army officers among his forces. (Murillo p100; Hristov pp71,86-87)

38. National Coordination Center AGFC 2

New command fights paramilitaries: Remove all Active AUC Guerrillas from up to 3 spaces with cubes or Support.

Sympathizers alert AUC: All AUC Guerrillas in spaces with cubes or Support to Underground.

The Colombian Government as of 2000 had declared the battle against illegal autodefensas to be a strategic priority and established the National Coordination Center to lead that fight. Government-reported kills and captures of paramilitaries had been far lower than of rebel guerrillas in absolute numbers. The casualties were more comparable in percentages of total AUC and FARC-ELN strength, however. Moreover, argued the Defense Ministry, the fact that rebels sought out confrontations with security forces more often than would paramilitaries explained any disparity. (RAND pp57-58)

39. Soldados Campesinos AGFC

Local forces platoons: Place 1 Police into each of 6 Depts.

Local forces augment autodefensas: In up to 3 Depts, replace 1 Police with 1 available AUC Guerrilla.

The reestablishment of local forces—Soldados Campesinos (“Peasant Soldiers”), later Soldados de mi Pueblo (“Home Guards”)—and a related expansion of municipal police proved indispensable to Uribe’s counterinsurgency in providing a state presence in threatened areas. (Marks p135,136) Others saw such forces as legitimization of paramilitaries, in light of the overlap of their membership with that of the AUC. (Murillo pp103,113-114)

40. Demobilization AGCF

Negotiated reintegration: Replace 3 AUC Guerrillas with available Police.

Talks a ruse, fighters recycled: Move all cubes in a Dept with AUC to any Cities. Place 1 AUC piece in each of 2 Cities.

The Uribe administration in 2003-2006 negotiated the AUC’s demobilization. Some suspected that the aim was to rein in paramilitaries mainly to legitimize the state’s main offensive against the FARC. (Murillo p102) Others charged that—while thousands of AUC members demobilized and turned in weapons—much of the demobilization was faked or of only temporary impact on paramilitary capabilities. (Hristov pp146-160) A UN and US view was that remaining paramilitary bands were of a different nature, criminal rather than political in purpose. (CRS p14)

41. Mancuso AGCF 2

AUC No.2 extradited: AUC Resources –6. Remove all AUC pieces from 1 space.

AUC drug lord: AUC Resources +3 for each space with AUC and Cartels pieces.

The FARC was far from the only insurgent group to benefit from the drug trade. The AUC’s chief in 2000 acknowledged that the paramilitary coalition received a majority of its financing from drug trafficking. The US labeled the AUC a “cocaine-smuggling terrorist” organization and sought its leaders’ extradition. Colombian authorities extradited AUC deputy and military commander Salvatore Mancuso to the US in 2008. (Camacho-López pp85-86; Bruce-Hayes-Botero pp90-91; Murillo pp105,111-112; Hristov p80; Chepesiuk p280; www.ColombiaReports.com)

42. Senado & Cámara AGCF

Unity behind Presidential war policy: 2 Neutral spaces to Passive Support. Govt Resources +3.

INSURGENT MOMENTUM

Insurgent sympathies: No Sweep or Assault against executing Faction until next Propaganda.

The Left charged that not only the military but the entire Colombian political system defended elite interests by protecting right-wing paramilitary violence, and therefore constituted no more than a “death-squad democracy”. (Brittain pp204-205) Some claimed that a third to a half of Colombian legislators were pro-AUC. (Murillo pp105,212n34; Hristov p133) Paramilitary intimidation of politicians may have played a role. (Hristov p125) Other AUC sympathies in the legislature may have represented popular views, in light of polls seeing the paramilitaries as less of a threat than the FARC. (RAND pp56,59) As for the cartels, buying politicians rather than terrorizing the public was a key Cali tactic, and some drug lords themselves

competed electorally at the local level. (Chepesiuk p68; Camacho-López pp75-76) Finally, legislators and political candidates who saw themselves as Government-FARC interlocutors engaged personally in the peace process. (Bruce-Hayes-Botero pp94-97) In any event, by Uribe’s term, public distaste for the status quo provided a unified political front for his war on all illegal armed groups. (Marks pp129,131,138-139; Ospina p60)

43. Calima Front AFGC

Suspect leftists massacred: Place 2 Terror in and remove all FARC Bases from a Dept with Troops.

Brutality blamed on Army: Place 2 Terror in a Dept with Troops. Aid –9.

Affected communities charged that paramilitaries carried out assassinations in broad daylight and close proximity to military posts. The Army in 1999 in Cauca reportedly helped set up a paramilitary group called the Calima Front, with military officers providing weapons, logistics, and intelligence to AUC fighters—a case emblematic to human rights observers of the AUC’s ability to wage war on civilians with impunity. (Murillo pp94-97)

44. Colombia Nueva AFGC

Anti-corruption campaign: Shift a non-Opposition City to Active Support. Govt Resources +3.

Political campaign divisive: Shift a City from Support to Neutral. Govt Resources –3.

Young congresswoman and later senator Ingrid Betancourt made her political reputation by outing fellow legislators for corruption and by pursuing President Samper’s impeachment. Her tenacity earned her both wild popularity and death threats. By her 2002 presidential run—“Colombia Nueva” was her slogan—she had lost her popularity, blamed for airing Colombia’s dirty laundry internationally in her French-published autobiography. (Bruce-Hayes-Botero, pp94-97,136-137)

45. Los Derechos Humanos AFGC

Officers disciplined: Shift each space with cubes and Terror 1 level toward Active Support.

International human rights cartel: –1 Aid for each space with AUC pieces. Subtract a die roll from Govt Resources.

Debates in the US Congress over aid funding focused on allegations of human rights abuses on all sides, especially by paramilitary groups and the Colombian military. Colombian authorities took steps against military-paramilitary collusion, for example, in 2000 dismissing 388 military officers and NCOs for human rights abuses or corruption and indicting several generals. (RAND, p58) By 2010, the Obama Administration certified to Congress that “years of reforms and training [were] leading to an increased respect for ... human rights by most members of the [Colombian] Armed Forces.” Some outside observers felt that human rights charges had gone too far and constituted “lawfare” against Colombia’s self-defense by an international “human rights cartel”. In this view, foreign critics—hostile to the Colombian state itself—remained unwilling to acknowledge any human rights progress despite a surging national popularity of military and government. (Murillo p19; CRS pp14-15,18-19,36; Marks pp129,137)

46. Limpieza AFCG

Ruthless elimination: An Insurgent Faction executes free Terror with any Guerrilla, removes any 2 enemy pieces in the space, and sets it to Passive Support or Opposition (unless 0 Pop). The Terror places 2 markers.

“Limpieza social” (“social cleansing”) killings rose in Colombia in the late-1990s and early-2000s, as both leftist guerrillas and rightist paramilitaries sought to consolidate control by eliminating people considered misfits or suspected of collaboration with the other side. (RAND p6-7) Paramilitaries would defend areas from guerrillas preemptively, by drawing up lists of potential leftist sympathizers and then exterminating them, or using random terror to seed fear and show what might happen to anyone leaning toward the FARC or ELN. (Hristov pp74,92-94)

47. Pinto & del Rosario AFCG 2

Human rights investigators: All AUC Guerrillas Active. All Police free Assault AUC as if Troops.

Prosecutors killed: AUC places 2 Guerrillas in Cúcuta, executes free Terror there, and flips any 2 AUC Guerrillas Underground.

Colombian police and judicial authorities investigating right-wing involvement in massacres became targets of threats and assassination. (Hristov p133) In what appeared to be one such case in 2001, Cúcuta special prosecutor María del Rosario Silva Ríos and then her replacement Carlos Arturo Pinto Bohórquez were both shot to death. Authorities later convicted Cúcuta regional paramilitary commander Jorge Iván “The Iguana” Laverde Zapata in the killings. Demobilized paramilitary Orlando Bocanegra Arteaga also acknowledged responsibility. (www.ElEspectador.com; www.ElTiempo.com)

48. Unión Sindical Obrera AFCG

AUC targets oil labor organizers: Remove 1 Opposition or FARC Base adjacent to 3-Econ pipeline.

Labor backs FARC: Shift 1 level toward Active Opposition in 2 Cities other than Bogotá.

Labor unions—suspected of a similar social agenda as that of the rebel guerrillas and therefore of collusion with them—became frequent targets of right-wing paramilitary violence. The FARC and the ELN had maintained a strong presence around the oil-refining town of Barrancabermeja in Santander, a hotbed of the powerful oil workers union, Unión Sindical Obrera (USO). The AUC entered the area in 2001, killing 180 and displacing some 4000—acts popularly seen as a continuation of efforts to suppress popular organizing in the town. AUC leader Carlos Castaño in 2003 sent a menacing email to the union, declaring all USO leaders and the children of USO members to be “military targets”. (Murillo pp87-88; Hristov pp77,117,120)

49. Bloques ACGF 2

Militias defy Castaño: Permanently remove 3 available AUC Guerrillas.

Independent militias join AUC: Place an AUC Guerrilla and Base in any Department.

The AUC came together in the mid-1990s as an umbrella for several regional “self-defense” organizations (bloques). An amalgam of autonomous groups, the AUC was less cohesive than the FARC. Several powerful groups, such as the Bloque Central Bolívar, did not recognize AUC leadership, and paramilitaries fought turf wars amongst themselves. (RAND pp54-55; Hristov p70; Murillo p108; Brittain p126)

50. Carabineros ACGF

National police field forces: Govt places a total of up to 3 Police into any Departments.

National police corruption: Remove any 2 Police or replace them with available AUC Guerrillas.

During the Pastrana and then Uribe years, Colombia systematically established police presence in every county of the country. Those areas historically thought too dangerous for police presence were manned by police field forces (Carabineros), similar in size and nature to army local forces but more mobile and better armed. (Marks pp136,145n38) As with the Army, however, some police were suspected of collusion with the paramilitaries, for example taking payments in return for armed protection of paramilitary units while the latter carried out their terror campaigns. (Hristov, p87)

51. Pipeline Repairs ACGF

Speedy patching: Remove all Pipeline Sabotage or, if none, Government Resources +12.

Security concerns hinder maintenance: Sabotage 3 Pipelines with or adjacent to FARC Guerrillas.

Guerrilla action against energy pipelines often becomes a race between how often the saboteurs can damage the line and how quickly the defenders can repair them. Attacks on the key northern-Colombian Caño-Limón pipeline in the guerrilla heyday of 2001 shut it down for 240 days out of the year. (Ricks-Lightner p80) Coordinated FARC pipeline attacks as late as 2008 halted production of over 800,000 barrels of oil. (Brittain p23)

52. Castaño ACFG 2

AUC leader’s memoir a best seller: Shift 2 City or Mountain each 1 level toward Active Support.

Charismatic AUC political leader: Place an AUC Base into a space with AUC, then add +1 AUC Resources per AUC Base.

Charismatic AUC chief Carlos Castaño Gil gave interviews to leading national publications and obtained favorable media coverage to portray the movement as a politically legitimate “third actor” in the Colombian conflict. The 2001 book *Mi Confesión*, purporting to “reveal his secrets”, sold in all major Colombian cities and became one of the most popular books in the country. (Murillo p99)

53. Criminal Air Force ACFG

Insurgent access to small aircraft: An Insurgent Faction moves 1 or 2 Guerrillas between any 2 Departments and flips them Underground.

The AUC as of 2004 reportedly fielded up to 14 state-of-art helicopters and a dozen small planes. (Murillo p100) AUC chief Castaño in 2001 claimed to have loaned helicopters to the Cali Cartel. (Chepesiuk p143) Witnesses reported Army helicopters deploying AUC fighters to new regions or supplying them with ammunition and medications while on terror operations. (Hristov pp85,88) Some charged that troops wearing AUC armbands in 2003 parachuted from military aircraft into a region of Arauca to conduct a massacre. (Brittain p136)

54. Deserters & Defectors ACFG

Remove up to 2 Guerrillas or replace them with any other Factions' available Guerrillas.

AUC ranks contained numerous FARC deserters, because of the harsh discipline imposed by the FARC and because the AUC offered protection from retaliation by former comrades. (RAND p56) Castaño in 2000 claimed 800 ex-leftist guerrillas among his forces. One such defector from the FARC led the rightist Bloque Norte y Anorí. The AUC also offered monthly wages to unemployed youth who had worked as sicarios for the drug organizations, if they would serve as AUC troops. (Hristov pp71,88,96,106)

55. DEA Agents CGFA

Law enforcement assistance: Remove a Shipment and any 5 Cartels Guerrillas.

Más Yanquis: In 3 spaces with Cartels pieces, shift 1 level toward Active Opposition.

Colombian-US counternarcotics cooperation thrived from the mid-1990s on, especially via the US Drug Enforcement Administration. Some regard the takedown of the Cali Cartel during this period as the DEA's greatest victory. The relationship was not without its political frictions, though, including a struggle under Samper over how much control the Colombians would have over DEA activities in the country. Exaggeration in Colombian media may have added to the tension: the press in 1995 reported the presence of more than 500 DEA agents in Cali alone, even though the agency in reality had no more than 2 or 3 agents there at a time. (Chepesiuk pp201-202,272)

56. Drogas La Rebaja CGFA 2

Cali cartel's drugstore chain seized: Transfer 9 Resources from Cartels to Government.

Retail empire: Add twice Cartels pieces in Cities to Cartels Resources. Then place a Cartels Base in each of 2 Cities.

The Cali Cartel's Rodríguez brothers used their cocaine profits to build a semi-legal business empire, the heart of which was the Drogas La Rebaja drugstore chain. The Government in 2004 seized the 400-store chain, breaking the back of that cartel's finances. (Chepesiuk pp68-69,259)

57. Op Millennium CGFA

Colombian-US strike at Bernal syndicate: Replace up to 3 Cartels pieces with available Police.

Investigation penetrated: In each of 2 spaces, replace a Police with an available Cartels piece.

After dismembering the Medellín and Cali cartels, Colombian and US authorities pressed ahead with joint efforts to capture leaders of the surviving, decentralized "cartelitos". Operation Millennium in 1999 netted drug group leader Alejandro Bernal and previously released Medellín Cartel co-founder Fabio Ochoa. But an estimated several hundred small cartels remained, into which Colombian police and the US DEA had little insight. (Chepesiuk pp241,276-277; RAND pp15-16)

58. General Serrano CGAF

National Police hammer cartels: Cartels Resources -6. Remove all Cartels Guerrillas.

Officials on cartel payroll: Cartels relocate up to 4 Police to any spaces.

Colombian police—traditionally seen as corrupt, and many of whose members were at the service of the Cali Cartel—in the mid-1990s effectively declared war against drug traffickers. (Camacho-López p79) Studious and tough Policía Nacional chief General Rosso José Serrano Cadena cleaned house and from late 1994 on led the assault on the Cali Cartel, in close alliance with the US. (Chepesiuk pp xxi,192-197)

59. Salcedo CGAF 2

Cartel informant: All Cartels Guerrillas to Active. Free Assault against Cartels in each space.

Cali cartel security chief: Cartels flip all their Guerrillas Underground and relocate up to 3 of them anywhere.

Jorge Salcedo was a key member of the Cali Cartel's intelligence and security team—the talented, charismatic son of a Colombian general, he had military training, counterinsurgency field experience, excellent computer skills, and fluent English. Turned informant by US enforcement authorities, Salcedo opened a window on Cali Cartel operations and enabled the capture of its leaders. (Chepesiuk pp137-138,212-219)

60. The Chess Player CGAF

Kingpin strategy scores: Remove all Cartels pieces from 2 Cities or 1 Dept. Govt Resources +6.

Cali's Gilberto Rodríguez Orejuela expands empire: Cartels place an available Base in each of 2 Cities and free Bribe in 1 space.

Less violent than Medellín's Pablo Escobar, Cali Cartel co-founders Gilberto ("The Chess Player"—cartel strategic planner) and Miguel ("El Señor"—cartel boss) Rodríguez Orejuela only became a Government priority after Escobar's death in late 1993 and a drug financing scandal reached the Presidency of Ernesto Samper in 1994. A Colombian-US strategy of combining leads and focusing resources on capturing cartel leaders netted the Rodríguez brothers' arrests by 1996 and extradition to the US by 2005. (Camacho-López pp78-79; Chepesiuk, pp xxi,22-23,68,95,202,269-270)

61. Air Bridge CFGA 2

Peruvian coca supply controlled: Remove all Cartels pieces from 1 City. Cartels Resources -6.

Colombian coca growers fill Peruvian void: Place 1 Cartels Base into each of 3 Depts with no Cartels pieces.

Traditionally, the bulk of coca processed into cocaine in Colombia had been grown in Peru and Bolivia. An "air-bridge" strategy of US-Peruvian interdiction of coca deliveries into Colombia denied Colombian traffickers most of this central-Andean crop—with the unintended effect of encouraging coca cultivation inside Colombia. Between 1995 and 1999, Colombia became the center of all stages of cocaine production, from harvest to delivery. (RAND pp12,20-21; Camacho-López pp 82-83)

62. Amazonía CFGA 2

Brasília's Op Cobra blocks border: Remove up to 3 Insurgent pieces from 0 Population Forests.

Jungle landing strips: Place 1 Cartels Base each in Guainía, Vaupés, and Amazonas.

The lowlands of eastern Colombia, comprising 60 percent of national territory but only 4 percent of population, formed a vast hinterland vacuum for illegal groups to fill. Government pressure in the late 1990s and early 2000s pushed these groups—coca growers and FARC alike—ever deeper into jungle sanctuaries. Brazil shared an interest with Colombia in controlling their vast Amazonian frontier. So it sought to block the daily clandestine flights between Colombia and its airspace and, with Colombian authorities, dismantled numerous jungle landing strips near the border. In 2000, it launched its 3-year Operation Cobra to augment its border presence with the deployment of 6,000 Brazilian troops to the region. (Marks p129; RAND pp66,90-91)

63. Narco-War CFGA 2

Rival syndicates go for the throat: In each space with Cartels Guerrillas, remove all but 1; Cartels conduct free Terror with that 1. Mark Cartels Ineligible through next card.

Pablo Escobar's Medellín Cartel in 1993 fell into a tit-for-tat terror battle with a vigilante group ("los pepes") backed by the Cali Cartel—a narco-war that played a substantial role in Escobar's fall. (Chepesiuk pp139-142) Fighting among cartels as of the late 1990s remained a major cause of the country's 30,000 murders annually. (RAND p17)

64. Cocaine Labs CFAG 2

FARC taps suppliers: Place a Shipment with a FARC Guerrilla in the same space as a Cartels Base.

Well-oiled industry: For each Cartels Base, Cartels Resources +2 if in City, +1 if in Dept.

Colombia's illicit drug industry built on a long tradition of Latin American smuggling. It initially required only the investment in urban laboratories to process rural crop into cocaine and heroin. Over decades, cartels built up into large-scale enterprises. The Cali Cartel boasted safe houses strategically spread across the city and an intelligence network of hotel clerks, corrupt police, street vendors, and 5,000 taxi drivers. With the breakup of the big urban cartels in the mid-1990s, profits declined, but the industry continued. (Camacho-López pp61,64-67,82-84; Chepesiuk pp203-204) The FARC helped fill any vacuum. For a fee, it would protect cocaine laboratories and landing strips, transport precursor chemicals, or ship finished cocaine. (RAND pp32-33)

65. Poppies CFAG

Growers and Government eradication focus on heroin source: Place or remove 1 Shipment or Insurgent Base in any Mountain Department.

Colombia in the 1990s became the Western Hemisphere's largest producer of opium poppies and refined heroin (though Asia produced far more), with an estimated 7,500 hectares under poppy cultivation as of 1999. Locals in coffee-growing regions had responded to a precipitous drop in coffee prices by switching to poppies, and the Government quickly responded with aerial spraying. (RAND pp12-13; Chepesiuk p27; Hristov p191)

66. Tingo María CFAG 2

Coca crop fails: Remove 3 Cartels Bases from Forest.

Hearty coca variety: Within stacking, place an available Cartels Base into each Forest that already has one.

Under pressure from the Government's coca eradication spraying to shift cultivation to less ideal terrain, growers adapted by developing new varieties of the coca plant. One such variety, the Tingo María, would produce 3 times as much coca as the traditional plant. (RAND p66)

67. Mexican Traffickers CAGF

Major shipment busted en route: Cartels Resources -10.

INSURGENT MOMENTUM

New routes to US market: This Resources phase, Cartels add Resources equal to 4 x Bases.

The Cali Cartel had relied on its own delivery networks to get cocaine to US market. Disruption of that cartel's distribution routes through the Caribbean and the dismantling of the Cartel itself in 1995-1996 created opportunities for Mexican traffickers to provide Colombian wholesalers with delivery and retailing services. Already prior to Op Millennium, the Colombian Bernal group was working with a Mexican Ciudad Juárez-based cartel to deliver 20-30 tons of cocaine monthly to the United States. Mexicans soon came to dominate US cocaine distribution with more extensive and efficient networks. (Camacho-López p83; Chepesiuk p278; RAND p15)

68. Narco-Subs CAGF 2

Submersibles seized: Remove from coastal spaces 2 Cartels pieces or up to 2 Shipments.

Littoral stealth: Cartels Resources +2 per Cartels piece in coastal spaces.

A predawn Colombian police raid on a Bogotá warehouse in 2000 discovered a 100-foot submarine under construction, a joint project between a Colombian cartel and the Russian mob, intended to smuggle tons of narcotics. (Chepesiuk pp227-8)

69. Riverines & Fast Boats CAGF

Move any of your cubes or Guerrillas from 1 space through a chain of up to 3 adjacent Depts. You then may execute a free Op other than Patrol or March within the final space.

Colombia features two major river valleys—the Magdalena and the Cauca—running south-to-north along the Andes, numerous major rivers draining the eastern plains into the Amazon, and both Pacific and Atlantic coasts. In all, 18,000km of navigable rivers in Colombia serve as highways for Government forces, guerrillas,



and drug shipments. To exploit and control these waterways, the Government with US support in 1999 established a riverine brigade of 5 battalions spread throughout the country. The AUC meanwhile fielded large numbers of speedboats with mounted machineguns for their war against the FARC. And on the coasts, Colombian narcotraffickers and guerrillas used fast boats that outclassed those available to regional navies. (RAND pp xix,33,65,86,97; Hristov p190; Bruce-Hayes-Botero p90; Murillo p100)

70. Ayahuasca Tourism CAFG

Eco-tourism helps trade balance: Government Resources +6 for each Forest without Guerrillas.

Eco-tourists taken: A Faction executes free Terror with any 1 Guerrilla in each Forest and gets +3 Resources per Terror.

Colombia hosts some of the most pristine rain forests in South America, drawing a growing eco-tourist trade (locally known as Ayahuasca tourism). Pharmaceutical companies have shown increased interest in the Colombian forest for potential medicines. The amazing variety of species also supports a thriving illegal export of animals. (Ricks-Lightner pp12-13)

71. Darién CAFG

Arms traffic interdicted: Remove a Guerrilla from Chocó; its Faction suffers -5 Resources.

Border sanctuary: Place 1-2 Bases in Panamá. It is a 0 Pop Forest. Sweep does not Activate Guerrillas there.

Arms stockpiles from the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan civil wars of the 1980s were a major source of weapons smuggled into Colombia. Central American arms arrived in part via a network of 40-50 footpaths through the triple-canopy jungle of Panama's Darién province bordering Colombia. The same network served to smuggle drugs in the opposite direction. The FARC reportedly maintained 2 battalion-sized units and a major logistics and support base in Darién, outgunning the Panamanians. (RAND pp35,36f,85-86)

72. Sicarios CAFG 2

Hired drug guns unreliable: Replace all Cartels Guerrillas in 2 spaces with other Guerrillas.

Unemployed ready to work for syndicates: Place all available Cartels Guerrillas into spaces with Cartels Bases.

Colombia's big drug traffickers and guerrilla groups created a violent social type—the sicario: a poor youngster, mainly urban, who for a sum of money would kill a cartel's opponents. The M19 guerrilla group in the 1980s, before its demobilization, organized and trained such poor urban youth, who later became gangsters for hire to the highest bidder, typically the cartels. (Camacho-López pp79-80) The AUC in turn offered monthly wages to unemployed youth who had worked as sicarios for the drug organizations, if they would serve as AUC troops. (Hristov p96) Finally, ex-AUC fighters with few alternatives often became sicarios for drug traffickers. (Hristov p155)

SELECTED SOURCES

(roughly, from Right to Left)

“Insights from Colombia’s ‘Prolonged War’” by Carlos Alberto Ospina Ovalle, *JFQ*, issue 42, 3rd quarter 2006. The importance of strategy, doctrine, and legitimacy in internal war, from the architect of modern Colombian COIN.

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“From Smugglers to Drug Lords to Traquetos—Changes in Illicit Colombian Drug Organizations” by Álvaro Camacho Guizado and Andrés López Restrepo, *Peace, Democracy, and Human Rights in Colombia*, University of Notre Dame Press, 2007. How the big cartels learned to decentralize and keep a low profile.

Hostage Nation—Colombia’s Guerrilla Army and the Failed War on Drugs by Victoria Bruce and Karin Hayes, with Jorge Enrique Botero, Alfred A. Knopf, 2010. The stories of the most famous FARC hostages of the Uribe period.

Colombia and the United States—War, Unrest and Destabilization by Mario A. Murillo, Seven Stories Press, 2003. Discussion of the development, nature, and capabilities of the AUC; sees Government design in the formation and tolerance of the paramilitaries.

Blood and Capital—The Paramilitarization of Colombia by Jasmin Hristov, Ohio University Press, 2009. A catalogue of human rights abuses by AUC and Army, pinned herein on class interests and Government complicity.

Revolutionary Social Change in Colombia—The Origin and Direction of the FARC-EP by James J. Brittain, Pluto Press, 2010. The Marxist view of the conflict and why FARC is destined to win.

ANDEAN ABYSS

FRONT

1212

The front side of the board features several key elements:

- Government Control:** A 4x5 grid of "Govt Control" cards with the Colombian flag.
- Active Support:** Three 5x1 grids of "Active Support x2" cards (blue, orange, and red).
- Terror:** A 4x5 grid of "TERROR" cards with a skull icon.
- Senado:** Three "Senado" cards with a star icon.
- Presidencia:** A "PRESIDENTE" card with the Colombian flag.
- FARC Zone:** Three "FARC Zone" cards with a mountain icon.
- Oppose Bases:** An "Oppose Bases" card with a red star.
- NSDC:** "NSDC Move 1 Police into no Sweep" card.
- Tapias:** "Tapias Assault: 1 Res/ space" card.
- Black Hawks:** "Black Hawks Air Lift 00" card.
- Aid:** An "Aid" card with a star icon.
- Prop Card:** A "Prop Card" card.
- Ospina:** "Ospina Sweep: 1 Res/ space" card.
- 1st Div:** "1st Div 1 Civic Action: Ctrl+cube" card.
- 7th SF:** "7th SF Control: -3Ter, 500" card.
- Meteoro:** "Meteoro Patrol: Assault all" card.
- Mtn Bns:** "Mtn Bns Assault: Mtn+City" card.
- Overflow:** Two "OVERFLOW A" and "OVERFLOW B" cards.
- Icons:** Four "Free Lr/Cp Base Tiles" icons and a "Darien Pro 0 Forest" icon.

Counter Art by Checho Nieto and Xavier Carrasco

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ANDEAN ABYSS

BACK

1212

The back side of the board features several key elements:

- FARC Control:** A 4x5 grid of "FARC Control" cards with the FARC flag.
- Passive Support:** Three 5x1 grids of "Passive Support" cards (orange, blue, and red).
- Total Support:** A "Total Support" card with a star icon.
- Total Opposition:** A "Total Opposition #FARC Bases" card.
- FARC Zone:** Three "FARC Zone: No Govt" cards.
- Aid:** An "Aid: Can add to Government Resources" card.
- Helos Delayed:** "Helos Delayed Air Lift 1" card.
- Tapias:** "Tapias Assault: 1 Square/ card" card.
- NSDC:** "NSDC Police in Temp: Sweep" card.
- Mtn Bns:** "Mtn Bns Assault: Mtn 4:1" card.
- Meteoro:** "Meteoro Patrol: No Assault" card.
- 7th SF:** "7th SF General: 2+Ctrl, 500" card.
- 1st Div:** "1st Div Civic Action: 3Tig+2Pol" card.
- Ospina:** "Ospina Sweep: 1 Square/ card" card.
- Overflow:** Two "OVERFLOW B" and "OVERFLOW A" cards.
- Icons:** Four "Shipment" icons.

Counter Art by Checho Nieto and Xavier Carrasco

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CARD LIST

GFAC

1. 1st Division
2. Ospina & Mora
3. Tapias

GFCA

4. Caño Limón - Coveñas
5. Occidental & Ecopetrol
6. Oil Spill

GAFC

7. 7th Special Forces
8. Fuerza Aérea Colombiana
9. High Mountain Battalions

GACF

10. Blackhawks
11. National Defense & Security Council
12. Plan Colombia

GCFA

13. Plan Meteoro
14. Tres Esquinas
15. War Tax

GCAF

16. Coffee Prices
17. Madrid Donors
18. NSPD-18

FGAC

19. General Offensive
20. Mono Jojoy 2
21. Raúl Reyes 2

FGCA

22. Alfonso Cano
23. DoD Contractors
24. Operación Jaque

FAGC

25. Ejército de Liberación Nacional 2
26. Gramaje 2
27. Misil Antiaéreo

FACG

28. Hugo Chávez
29. Kill Zone
30. Peace Commission 2

FCGA

31. Betancourt
32. Secuestrados 2
33. Sucumbíos

FCAG

34. Airdropped AKs
35. Crop Substitution
36. Zona de Convivencia

AGFC

37. Former Military 2
38. National Coordination Center 2
39. Soldados campesinos

AGCF

40. Demobilization
41. Mancuso 2
42. Senado & Cámara

AFGC

43. Calima Front
44. Colombia Nueva
45. Los Derechos Humanos

AFCG

46. Limpieza
47. Pinto & del Rosario 2
48. Unión Sindical Obrera

ACGF

49. Bloques 2
50. Carabineros
51. Pipeline Repairs

ACFG

52. Castaño 2
53. Criminal Air Force
54. Deserters & Defectors

CGFA

55. DEA Agents
56. Drogas La Rebaja 2
57. Op Millennium

CGAF

58. General Serrano
59. Salcedo 2
60. The Chess Player

CFGA

61. Air Bridge 2
62. Amazonía 2
63. Narco-War 2

CFAG

64. Cocaine Labs 2
65. Poppies
66. Tingo María 2

CAGF

67. Mexican Traffickers
68. Narco-Subs 2
69. Riverines & Fast Boats

CAFG

70. Ayahuasca Tourism
71. Darién
72. Sicarios 2

73-76. Propaganda!

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SPACES LIST

Cities	Pop	Departments	Type	Pop	Lines of Communication	Type	Econ
Bogotá & Villavicencio	8	Antioquia - Bolívar	Mtn.	2	Arauca - Cúcuta	Pipe.	3
Cali	3	Huila - Tolima	Mtn.	2	Cúcuta - Ayacucho	Pipe.	3
Medellín	3	Santander - Boyacá	Mtn.	2	Ayachucho - Sincelejo	Pipe.	3
Bucaramanga	2	Arauca - Casanare	Grass	1	Bucaramanga - Ayacucho.	Pipe.	2
Ibagué & Pereira	2	Atlántico - Magdalena	Forest	1	Ayacucho - Barranquilla	Pipe.	2
Santa Marta & Barranquilla	2	Cesar - La Guajira	Mtn.	1	Medellín - Sincelejo	Pipe	2
Cartagena	1	Chocó - Córdoba	Forest	1	Neiva - Bogotá	Pipe.	2
Cúcuta	1	Guaviare	Forest	1	Yopal - Bogotá	Pipe.	2
Neiva	1	Meta East	Grass	1	Bogotá-Ibagué-Bucaramanga	Pipe.	2
Pasto	1	Meta West	Forest	1	Cartagena - Sincelejo	Pipe.	1
Sincelejo & Montería	1	Nariño - Cauca	Forest	1	Medellín - Ibagué	Pipe.	1
Total Population: 25		Putumayo - Caquetá	Forest	1	Ibagué - Cali	Pipe.	1
		Amazonas	Forest	0	Cali - Buenaventura	Pipe.	1
		Guainía	Forest	0	Cartagena - Barranquilla	Road	1
		Vaupés	Forest	0	Bogotá - San José	Road	1
		Vichada	Grass	0	Cali - Pasto	Road	1
		Total Population: 15			Neiva - Pasto	Road	1
					Pasto - Tumaco	Road	1
					Total Economic Value: 30		



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