

Table 2: Four Decades of FARC–EP Growth in Combatant Forces

1964	48
1965	750
1970	1,000
1978	2,000
1983	3,000
1986	4,000
1991	7,600
1992	18,000
1994	32,000
2002	40,000
2004	50,000

Sources: Charles Bergquist, Ricardo Peñaranda, & Gonzalo Sánchez, *Violence in Colombia 1990–2000* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources Inc., 2003), 15 (1991); Russell Crandall, *Driven by Drugs* (London, UK: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), 61 (1965); FARC–EP, *FARC–EP Historical Outline* (Toronto, Ont.: International Commission, 2000), 17 (1964); Jorge P. Osterling, *Democracy in Colombia* (Oxford: Transaction Publishers, 1989), 294 (1970–1986); Nazih Richani, *Systems of Violence* (New York: SUNY, 2002), 76 (1992–1994); ongoing field research being conducted by the author and R. James Sacouman (2002–2004). It may be argued that the latter numbers (2002–2004) are high compared to estimates from U.S. state sources. Estimates of the FARC–EP forces have been oddly constant over the past five years even though the geographical expansion of the insurgency has been remarkable (see table 1). By conducting first-hand research and interviews throughout ten departments of Colombia I found that far from remaining constant, the membership of the FARC–EP had, in fact, grown surreptitiously with the increase of the movement's extension. It has been well documented that the FARC–EP has about 105 fronts, at an average of 300–600 insurgents per front. This conservatively averages to 46,000 FARC–EP combatants, which is roughly the number obtained through the interview process.