

The ‘Calarcá’ case confirms the risk of institutional capture and co-optation, and the weakening of national security

Bogotá D. C., November 25, 2025. The Instituto de Ciencia Política Hernán Echavarría Olózaga (ICP) expresses its deep concern over the reports and evidence revealed by [Noticias Caracol](#) regarding alleged ties between the so-called Estado Mayor de los Bloques y Frente (EMBF) of **the FARC dissidents and senior government officials**, as well as possible leaks of judicial, military, and intelligence information found on the electronic devices seized from alias “Calarcá” in 2024.

These allegations confirm an **accelerated process of institutional capture and co-optation by criminal groups**—one of the most serious risks to democracy in Colombia and across the region. The presence of informants inside judicial and security agencies, the leaking of ongoing operations, and the improper access to classified information reveal a deterioration of the State’s capabilities and a sustained advance of institutional capture and co-optation, with direct implications for the integrity of the rule of law.

The information disclosed—held by the Attorney General’s Office for more than a year without visible progress in the investigation—shows that measures adopted by the national government and various authorities under the Total Peace policy have not only **enabled the strengthening of criminal structures** operating in the country and the illicit economies they control, but have also facilitated their **infiltration into State institutions**, including the Armed Forces and intelligence agencies.

This scenario **threatens national security, undermines the independence** of State institutions, and directly affects the necessary conditions for the exercise of political opposition, which now faces increased risks of intimidation, unlawful surveillance, and judicial manipulation.

The expansion and penetration of these structures raise serious concerns for next year’s electoral processes, since territorial capture, institutional infiltration, and access to privileged information can affect citizen participation, democratic competition, and the safety of candidates and campaign teams. Ensuring electoral integrity and the political freedom of all sectors—especially those in opposition—must be a priority for the State and the international community.

We call on Congress to exercise immediate political oversight, clarify the facts, identify other criminal infiltration instances, and adopt measures to restore institutional integrity and safeguard information systems.

We urge the Office of the Inspector General (Procuraduría General de la Nación) to swiftly and effectively move forward with the **disciplinary investigations** and to determine why results have not been produced despite the fact that the Attorney General's Office had the material for more than a year.

We call upon the governments of the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the member states of the European Union **to remain vigilant and to investigate and sanction**, in accordance with their laws, those Colombian officials who, through action or omission, may have facilitated the operations of these criminal structures dedicated to drug trafficking into their countries.

More information: Luisa Peña, Communications Officer at ICP.
luisa.pena@icpcolombia.org Mobile: 314 378 5863