



August, 2014



1. Background

On September 4, 2012, President Santos announced the signing of a General Agreement for the Termination of the Conflict between the Government of Colombia and the FARC, initiating the fourth official peace talks with this group. The agenda includes: 1) integrated rural reform; 2) guarantees for political opposition and civic participation; 3) the end of the conflict (laying down arms and reintegration into civilian life); 4) illegal drugs; and 5) victims' rights. Preparatory talks started in Oslo on October 17, 2012 and substantive dialogues in Havana, on November 19, 2012. Three agreements have been reached: one on the first agenda point, integrated rural reform, on May 26, 2013; the second on the next point, political participation, on November 6, 2013; and another on the fourth agenda point, illegal drugs, on May 16, 2014.

On June 10, 2014, the GOC announced that exploratory talks with the ELN were taking place to define an agenda for peace talks. These initial meetings have been held since January 2014, and the issues of victims and societal participation are the first two agenda points. The GOC and ELN will release information on the progress of the exploratory talks as they continue.

2. GOC – FARC Key Developments from July 30th to August 5th

Catholic Church met with victims to participate in FARC talks

Catholic Church leader, Augusto Castro, met with GOC and FARC negotiating teams last week to lay the groundwork for the participation of victims in the dialogues. The Church will provide direct support to the UN and the Universidad Nacional as they organize five teams of 60 victims' representatives who will travel to Havana starting on August 12th.¹

Controversy over selection of victims to participate in talks

Debates continue to surround the question of which victims' representatives will be selected to directly participate in the GOC – FARC peace talks, originating with questions about whether members of the military who were kidnapped or otherwise victimized are to be counted as victims. The GOC responded with its first communiqué since the dialogues began, stating that members of the military who are FARC victims will be considered equal to other victims, and the

¹ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/iglesia-prepara-camino-el-tema-de-victimas-articulo-507635



August, 2014

delegations aim to be balanced and representative.² The GOC will meet with Congress on August 16th to explain the criteria used to select victims to participate in the talks.³

Both sides threaten to end the talks

The GOC threated to end dialogues with the FARC if the guerrilla group does not stop carrying out attacks on civilian populations around the country, as it has more frequently in recent months. The FARC responded that they may end the talks if the Colombian army does not stop targeting guerrilla leaders in their operations.⁴

Talks regarding ceasefire and "end of the conflict" to begin soon

The peace talks will begin to discuss the issues of a ceasefire and the "end of the conflict" – the DDR process for the guerrillas – on August 22. Three tables will work at the same time: one to negotiate the issue of victims; another to discuss the ceasefire and FARC disarmament; and a third for a commission that will discuss the origins of the armed conflict, whose mandate has already be agreed upon.⁵

3. Other Voices

Victims want Truth and Recognition as Victims

The Victims' Forum in Cali finished on Tuesday and the main conclusion of the forum was the FARC victims want to be recognized as victims by their victimizers as well as the truth. Additionally, Dag Nylander, a representative of the Norwegian government, stated that victimizers should take a first step by publishing statements recognizing their victims and showing regret and apologies.⁶

² http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/gobierno-no-ha-vetado-ni-vetara-ninguna-victima-articulo-507511 and http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/mentira-mas-grande-de-farc-no-son-narcos-ni-victimarios-articulo-507676

³ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/gobierno/gobierno-explicara-al-congreso-como-eligen-a-victimas-para-ir-a-cuba-/14323718

⁴ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/guerrilla-tambien-advierte-sobre-rompimiento-de-dialogo-articulo-507751

⁵ http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/gobierno-farc-empezaran-hablar-de-cese-al-fuego-dejacion-de-armas/398089-3

⁶ http://www.elpais.com.co/elpais/judicial/noticias/estas-son-propuestas-victimas-para-mesa-dialogo-habana



August, 2014

4. International

General Kelly praises GOC for peace efforts

US Marine Corps General John F. Kelly praised the GOC for its efforts to facilitate peace through increased state presence and social services. At a meeting in Paraguay, Kelly highlighted the fact that the GOC has made this progress with very little economic assistance from the US.⁷

5. Emerging Challenges & Responses

GOC and FARC do not agree on Victim Status for Members of Armed Forces: ONU

According to Fabrizio Hochschild, head of UNDP in Colombia, the GOC and FARC have different opinions regarding whether members of the Armed Forces should be recognized as victims or not. He recommended – as a way to progress despite the disagreement – that the parts focus on civilian victims as they make up the vast majority of victims of the armed conflict.⁸

6. Further Reading

Abuses by FARC, Criminal Groups go Unpunished in Tumaco

Human Rights Watch published a brief report this week detailing various cases of torture, disappearances and murder carried out in Tumaco in many cases by the FARC and in others Bacrim groups.

9 Verdad Abierta also published a report about Tumaco detailing changes in illegal economics dynamics and violence and how they affect the local population.

10

In Peace Talks, Victims are of "No one": Rafael Guarín

Rafael Guarín, former Minister of Defense and now Semana columnist, criticized the approach the GOC and FARC towards the victims issue, especially the point when the negotiating parties stated that the victims are of the "armed conflict." According to Guarín, this means that the victims are by no one specifically, which allows the FARC to hide its responsibility and demand their recognition as victims, leading to a "truth" process that favors only the guerrilla.¹¹

⁷ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/jefe-de-comando-sur-de-eeuu-alaba-estrategia-de-colombi-articulo-507653

⁸ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/onu-dice-gobierno-y-farc-no-saben-si-admitiran-victimas-articulo-508381

⁹ http://www.hrw.org/news/2014/07/30/colombia-farc-battering-afro-colombian-areas

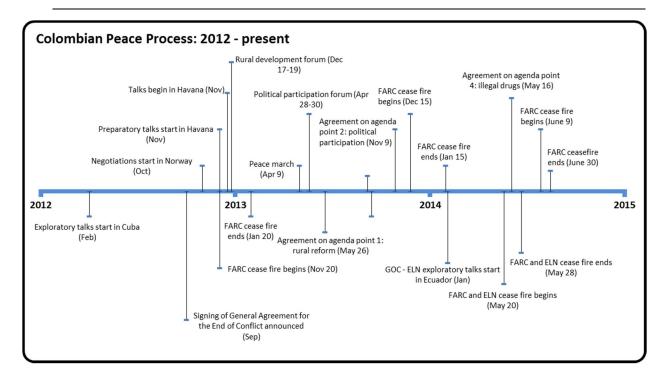
http://www.verdadabierta.com/victimas-seccion/desplazados/5397-violencia-impunidad-y-silencio-impera-en-tumaco

¹¹ http://www.semana.com/opinion/articulo/proceso-de-paz-cuales-victimas-opinion-de-rafael-guarin/398098-3



August, 2014

7. Timeline





August, 2014

1. Background

2 13 de agosto de 2014

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2. GOC – FARC Key Developments from August 6th to August 12th

27th round of talks will include victims

The 27th round of GOC-FARC talks began on Tuesday with the fourth point on the agenda: victims. The objective of the beginning of this round is to prepare to meet with the first delegation of victims to travel to Havana, due to begin on August 16th at the end of the round.¹²

Victims' representation in the delegations has caused controversy. The dialogue teams highlighted their request that the delegates be victims themselves and represent a range of victimization.¹³ The FARC asked that the UN and Universidad Nacional, in charge of selecting the delegates, not delay the victims' arrival because of the slow selection process.¹⁴

Historical Commission on the Conflict and its Victims to begin work soon

After being requested by the dialogue teams in June 2014, the Historical Commission on the Conflict and its Victims will begin its mandate on August 21st. Comprised of 12 experts, the objective of the commission is to clarify the causes of the conflict, factors that contribute to its continuation, and its impact on the population. Its final report will be considered essential input

¹² http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/negociadores-de-paz-viajan-cuba-iniciar-punto-de-victim-articulo-509863

¹³ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/tarea-de-escoger-y-blindar-victimas-articulo-509615 and http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/llegamos-a-la-columna-vertebral-de-las-conversaciones-de-la-calle/14349255

¹⁴ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/farc-piden-a-onu-y-universidad-nacional-concretar-eleccion-de-victimas/14351108



August, 2014

for understanding the conflict and the responsibilities of those who have participated in it, and could therefore provide an informational base for a future truth commission.¹⁵

FARC do not believe they will sign an agreement this year

Contrary to President Santos' repeated statements that a final peace agreement will be signed by the end of 2014, FARC leader, alias Timochenko, said that the group does not believe a peace agreement is possible this year. He highlighted complications surrounding discussions of the victims as delaying the process. He added that the mandate of the Historical Commission on the Conflict and its Victims lasts until December, and as parts of the final agreement will rely on the results of that Commission it is unlikely that an agreement will be signed that month. ¹⁶

Constitutional Court limits political participation

Inspector General, Alejandro Ordóñez, praised the Constitutional Court's decision that the Legal Framework for Peace must limit political participation of ex-combatants to those who have not committed crimes against humanity. This prevents FARC leaders and mid-level commanders from participating in politics.¹⁷ The Constitutional Court President also highlighted the decision and central role of victims' rights in the decision-making process.¹⁸ Other magistrates criticized the decision as limiting democratic participation and creating obstacles to peace.¹⁹ The FARC stated that the Legal Framework could challenge a peace agreement because of this issue.²⁰

3. GOC – ELN Key Developments from August 6th to August 12th

Ecuador continues to gain favor for ELN process

The President of Ecuador, Rafael Correa, reiterated his country's offer to host official dialogues with the ELN, when the GOC and the guerrillas are ready for such talks to begin. Initial talks between the two parties took place in May and June.²¹ Former Colombian President Ernesto

 $^{^{15}\,}http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/la-comision-historica-del-conflicto-tendra-12-expertos/14346915$

¹⁶ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/farc-no-creen-se-firme-paz-ano-articulo-509914

¹⁷ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/cupula-de-farc-y-mandos-medios-no-participaran-politica-articulo-509331

¹⁸ http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/luis-ernesto-vargas-la-paz-debe-conciliarse-con-los-derechos-de-las-victimas/398472-3#cxrecs_s

 $^{^{19}\,\}underline{\text{http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/salvamentos-de-voto-al-fallo-le-dio-visto-bueno-al-marc-articulo-509471}$

²⁰ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/marco-juridico-paz-atropella-buena-marcha-de-los-dialogarticulo-510072

²¹ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/conversaciones-entre-gobierno-santos-y-eln-se-han-dado-articulo-509336



August, 2014

Samper stated that Correa would be an excellent mediator for the GOC-ELN peace process, and supported the idea that the talks should be held in Ecuador.²²

ELN criticizes Santos' investiture speech

The ELN criticized President Santos' investiture speech for not addressing specific structural reforms that would facilitate peace and an end to discriminatory and neoliberal policies.²³

4. Other Voices

New Minister of the Interior discusses peace process

The new Minister of the Interior, Juan Fernando Cristo, was interviewed by El Espectador. In the article he discusses the Victims' Law, possible divisions between groups of victims in light of the peace process, and post-conflict reforms after the signing of a final agreement.²⁴

5. International

International support expressed during Santos' investiture

World leaders at President Santos' investiture expressed their support for the peace process. Secretary General of the OAS, José Miguel Insulza;²⁵ former King of Spain, Juan Carlos;²⁶ President of El Salvador, Oscar Ortiz; and President of Guatemala, Otto Perez Molina; all reiterated their praise of the GOC's efforts to establish peace. The presidents of El Salvador and Guatemala also offered their countries' advice and assistance in post-conflict initiatives.²⁷

Colombia deserves peace: US ambassador

Semana Magazine interviewed US ambassador, Kevin Whitaker, about the peace process and transitional justice, among other topics. Whitaker discussed the reasons for US support of the

²² http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/ernesto-samper-afirma-ecuador-seria-bueno-posibles-dial-articulo-509706

²³ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/eln-critica-discurso-de-posesion-de-santos-articulo-509931

²⁴ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/hay-adversarios-de-paz-no-actuan-de-buena-fe-articulo-509613

²⁵ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/santos-recibe-respaldo-del-secretario-general-de-oea-el-articulo-509167

²⁶ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/gobierno/rey-juan-carlos-expresa-apoyo-de-espana-a-proceso-de-paz/14350057

 $[\]frac{27}{\text{http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/gobierno/vicepresidente-de-el-salvador-respalda-la-paz-en-su-paso-por-colombia/14356425} \text{ and } \frac{\text{http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/guatemala-le-ofrecio-a-colombia-su-experiencia-para-alcanzar-la-paz/14358096}$



August, 2014

peace process, regional alliances, justice mechanisms used against extradited members of the illegal armed groups, and the agreement on illegal drugs.²⁸

International lessons for the peace process

El Tiempo analyzed the lessons that international experiences of conflict and peacebuilding can lend to Colombia. The article mentions Nepal and Northern Ireland as countries that encountered social divisions on the road to peace and used mechanisms such as truth commissions to facilitate reconciliation. It also mentions Bosnia-Herzegovina as a site where the International Criminal Court has made important contributions in the search for truth.²⁹

6. Emerging Challenges & Responses

Trials of all FARC members not possible: President Santos

Recognizing the difficulties of facilitating lasting peace and achieving justice for the victims, President Santos said it will not be possible to put all members of the FARC on trial in the case of a final peace agreement. He stated that such a process would take one hundred years and that therefore only the FARC leaders will be sentenced in transitional justice mechanisms.³⁰

Members of the armed forces should receive alternative sentences: Ombudsman

Colombia Ombudsman, Jorge Armando Otálora, was interviewed by El Tiempo. He discussed the importance of forgiveness in the peace process, the possibility of imposing prison sentences on various members of the FARC, the representation of victims in the peace talks, and his opinion that alternative sentencing options should be made available to members of the armed forces, not just the illegal armed groups.³¹

http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/creemos-que-despues-de-50-anos-de-guerra-colombia-merece-una-paz-kevin-whitaker/398511-3

²⁹ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/lecciones-del-mundo-para-el-proceso-de-paz/14361185

³⁰ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/santos-descarta-juicio-contra-todos-los-guerrilleros-de-articulo-509225

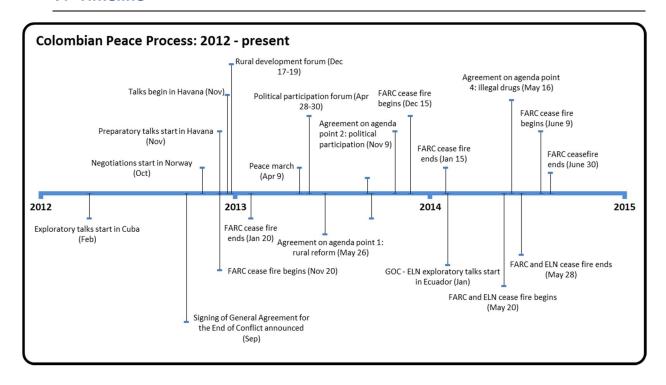
³¹ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/justicia/entrevista-de-yamid-amat-al-defensor-del-pueblo-jorge-otalora/14361784





August, 2014

7. Timeline



8. Further Reading

Minister of Defense discusses peace process

In interview with El Tiempo, Minister of Defense, Juan Carlos Pinzón, discussed whether or not members of the armed forces can be victims, whether they should be represented in the peace talk delegations, a possible bilateral ceasefire, and his future role in a post-conflict context.³²

UN Resident Coordinator discusses peace process and victims

Fabrizio Hoschild, UN Resident Coordinator in Colombia, was interviewed by El Tiempo. He discussed the Victims' Forum in Cali last week, the selection of victims for the delegation to participate in the peace talks, the way the media and other sectors have contributed to divisions between groups of victims, and other aspects of the peace process.³³

³² http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/justicia/entrevista-al-ministro-de-defensa-juan-c-pinzon-por-maria-isabel-rueda/14364697

http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/proceso-de-paz-entrevista-con-fabrizio-hochschild/14361183



August, 2014

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2. GOC – FARC Key Developments from August 13th to August 19th

GOC and FARC meet with first delegation of victims

The GOC and FARC teams met with the first delegation of 12 victims to travel to Cuba and participate in the talks. The group included 8 women and 4 men: Jaime Peña from Santander, whose son was disappeared and murdered by the AUC; Jorge Vásquez from Huila, displaced by the FARC; Nelly González, whose police commander son was shot by the FARC; Angela Giraldo from Cauca, whose brother was kidnapped and killed by the FARC; Debora Barros, an indigenous person from La Guajira, whose family died in an AUC attack; Constanza Turbay from Caquetá, whose politician family died in FARC attacks; José Dario Antequera from the Caribbean coast whose father, a Patriotic Union leader, was killed in campaigns against that party; Léyner Palacios from Bojayá, whose family died in a FARC massacre; Alfonso Mora, whose daughter was murdered by the DIJIN (a state security entity); Maria Eugenia Cruz from Cauca, victim of sexual violence; Janeth Bautista, whose sister was a member of the M-19 illegal armed group and was killed by the military; and Luz Marina Bernal, whose son was a victim of the "false positive" cases. The delegates are leaders of or otherwise represent various victims' groups.³⁴

The delegation was announced by the UN and the Universidad Nacional. Fabrizio Hoschild, UN Resident Coordinator in Colombia, said that total representativeness is impossible, as there are 6.8 million victims and only 60 will go to the talks. He was confident that the group reflects the

³⁴ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/voz-tienen-victimas-articulo-510968



August, 2014

dialogue teams' request for pluralism.³⁵ The next delegation will be defined when the UN and the Universidad Nacional have feedback on the first from the dialogue teams and the public.³⁶

First meeting between dialogue teams and victims a success

The meeting between the victims and the dialogue teams took place amid a "very respectful" climate. Each victim gave their testimony and proposals, for example a sub-commission to investigate forced disappearances, to serve as input for talks on the point on victims.³⁷ Victim Constanza Turbay said alias 'Iván Márquez' approached her and made a heartfelt request for forgiveness, admitting that her family's murder was a mistake.³⁸ The 12 victims made a joint statement stating that the talks are going well, highlighting their own unity, and encouraging Colombian society to unite, find reconciliation, and support a negotiated end to the conflict.³⁹

Composition of first victims' delegation meets criticism

Supporters of ex-President Uribe criticized the list of victims included in the first delegation, saying it should have included only FARC victims⁴⁰ so as not to downplay the group's violence and thereby disrespect their victims.⁴¹ Inspector General, Alejandro Ordóñez, said that to include AUC and military victims was to imply that the paramilitaries and armed forces were equal.⁴² GOC dialogue leader, Humberto de la Calle, and President Santos defended the inclusion of non-FARC victims as being in the interests of a balanced vision of the victim population.⁴³

GOC and FARC dialogue teams to analyze victims' proposals separately

After hearing the delegation's proposals on Saturday, the GOC and FARC dialogue teams decided to work separately on Monday and Tuesday to analyze the documents before returning to the dialogue table on Wednesday.⁴⁴ In addition to these proposals, the dialogue teams will receive 3,000 testimonies and proposals from the victims' forums that have been held over the last few months, and more than 5,000 proposals from the peace talk website.⁴⁵

Historical Commission on the Conflict and its Victims to begin work soon

The Historical Commission on the Conflict and its Victims will begin its 4-month mandate in Cuba on Thursday. Formed of 12 as yet unnamed experts (6 chosen by the GOC and 6 by the FARC), its

http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/presentan-lista-de-primeras-victimas-estaran-cara-cara-articulo-510762

 $[\]frac{36}{\text{http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/doce-colombianos-responsabilidad-de-representar-65-mill-articulo-510790}$

³⁷ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/avanza-primera-reunion-entre-victimas-y-negociadores-de-articulo-511003 and http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/voz-de-victimas-y-su-deseo-de-paz-humanizan-los-dialogo-articulo-511124 and

http://www.eltiempo.com/multimedia/especiales/proceso-de-paz-reunion-de-victimas-con-gobierno-y-farc/14399395

³⁸ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/victima-de-farc-dice-ivan-marquez-le-pidio-perdon-since-articulo-511132

http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/victimas-confian-el-proceso-de-paz-unica-salida-colombi-articulo-511106 and http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/si-nosotros-damos-un-paso-por-que-no-el-resto-del-pais-victimas-/14397776

⁴⁰ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/voz-tienen-victimas-articulo-510968

⁴¹ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/uribismo-insiste-habana-solo-deben-ir-victimas-de-farc-articulo-511351

http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/procurador-arremete-contra-conformacion-de-grupo-de-vic-articulo-510819

http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/santos-defendio-presencia-cuba-de-victimas-de-distintos-articulo-510802 and http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/ni-el-gobierno-ni-farc-escogieron-el-grupo-de-victimas-articulo-510823

⁴⁴ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/delegaciones-de-gobierno-y-farc-analizan-separado-propu-articulo-511245

⁴⁵ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/reunion-con-las-victimas-se-desarrollo-con-solemnidad-y-respeto/14397455



August, 2014

goal is to clarify the causes of the conflict, factors that contribute to its continuation, and its impact. Its final report will provide input for understanding the conflict and its participants' responsibilities, and will be an informational base for a future truth commission. 46

FARC propose a fund for victims' reparations

The FARC proposed a fund for economic reparation of victims over the next ten years. They stated that the fund should be a GOC budget priority instead of external debt and loans.⁴⁷

3. Other Voices

NGO asks FARC to begin demining efforts now

The NGO Colombian Campaign Against Mines asked the FARC to support demining now, to clean areas where there are mines around water sources, schools, and community meeting places. The NGO said although the GOC and FARC made an agreement on demining, efforts must begin now – with FARC information and support - to prevent more victimization.⁴⁸

High military commander ready to participate in talks

After President Santos said military members would be the ones to discuss a bilateral ceasefire with the FARC, Grl. Jorge Jerez stated he is ready to participate in the talks if Santos asks. 49

Inspector General criticizes agreement on illegal drugs

Inspector General, Alejandro Ordóñez, criticized the agreement on illegal drugs for opening the door to money laundering. Ordóñez said the agreement does not specify that the FARC must hand over assets gained in drugs trafficking, which he said could be used for reparations.⁵⁰

4. International

UN High Commissioner for Human Rights praises victim participation

UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Navi Pillay praised the victim participation model being used in the talks, which she described as unprecedented. She stated that it would be statistically impossible to represent 6.8 million victims in such a small number of delegates.⁵¹

Piedad Córdoba invites Rigoberta Menchú to Colombia

Ex-senator, Piedad Córdoba, invited Guatemalan activist, Rigoberta Menchú, and ex-FMLN, Nidia Díaz, to an event on women and peace, hoping they bring other participants to the event.⁵²

⁴⁶ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/el-reto-de-documentar-el-conflicto/14395375

http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/farc-proponen-crear-un-fondo-reparacion-integral-de-vic-articulo-510303

⁴⁸ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/justicia/guerra-contra-las-minas-antipersona-en-colombia/14399375

⁴⁹ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/generales-esperan-llamado-del-presidente-sumarse-mesa-d-articulo-511370

⁵⁰ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/les-corresponde-a-farc-indemnizar-con-sus-recursos-a-las-victimas/14387335

⁵¹ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/navi-pillay-exalta-grupo-de-victimas-viajo-cuba-articulo-510983



August, 2014

5. Emerging Challenges & Responses

President Santos Appoints the Council Minister of Post-conflict, Human Rights and Security

On August 13, 2014, President Juan Manuel Santos created a new position and office in the Presidency called the Council Minister of Post-conflict, Human Rights and Security. The position was given to Retired General Oscar Naranjo, who currently works as a member of the GOC dialogue team in Havana, Cuba. Naranjo will have to formulate, structure and coordinate State post-conflict policy and programs. He will also have to adapt security, demobilization and reintegration policy to the post-conflict context. Finally, Naranjo will coordinate the National Security Council, which will lead studies and discussions to initiate the implementation of the Ministry of Citizen Security, which will lead the fight against common crime in Colombia.⁵³

Police concerned over security reforms

The creation of a Ministry of Citizen Security, responsibility of new Minister of Post-conflict, General (r) Oscar Naranjo, raised concerns in the National Police. The first is that as Naranjo will define work areas for ex-combatants, these demobilized people could be integrated into the police force. The second is that the Police could be detached from the Ministry of Defense and made part of the Ministry of Citizen Security, which would change the police model.⁵⁴

Peace curriculum to be implemented in coming months

A new law will make a new peace curriculum compulsory in Colombian schools. Classes will focus on coexistence, human rights, and conflict resolution.⁵⁵

⁵² http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/nobel-de-paz-participaria-encuentro-de-mujeres-paz-articulo-510713

http://www.caracol.com.co/noticias/actualidad/general-oscar-naranjo-nuevo-ministro-del-posconflicto/20140813/nota/2366559.aspx

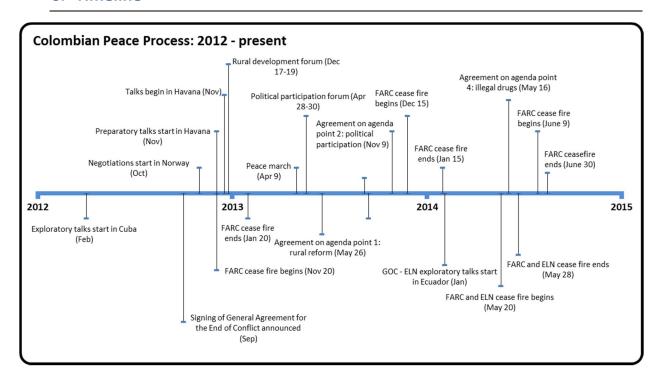
http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/reparos-al-ministro-del-posconflicto-articulo-511064

http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/catedra-de-la-paz/14399397



August, 2014

6. Timeline



7. Further Reading

Iván Márquez' request for forgiveness analyzed

Semana Magazine analyzed the personal and national significance of alias Iván Márquez' request that victim Constanza Turbay forgive him for the deaths of her family.⁵⁶

LAPOP survey shows mixed results for democracy, support for peace process

The 2013 Latin American Public Opinion Project Colombia results were released. The survey focused on democracy and opinions of post-conflict. Results included a drop in support for President Santos and satisfaction with democracy, and a small increase in support for employing demobilized people. However, with all of the results it is important to note that the data was taken during a national peasant strike and during highly divisive presidential elections, so public opinion of the GOC was biased at the time.⁵⁷

Semana Magazine interviews one of the victims delegation

Semana Magazine interviewed Angela Giraldo, a member of the victims' delegation who met with the GOC and FARC dialogue teams. In the interview, Giraldo discusses the peace process, what

http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/el-perdon-de-ivan-marquez-constanza-turbay/399552-3

http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/colombia.php



August, 2014

was discussed in the meeting with the dialogue teams, her hopes for post-conflict, and the need for forgiveness.⁵⁸

 $[\]frac{58}{\text{http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/angela-giraldo-ya-perdono-las-farc-por-la-muerte-de-su-hermano/399653-3}}{\text{http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/angela-giraldo-ya-perdono-las-farc-por-la-muerte-de-su-hermano/399653-3}}$





August, 2014

1. Background

27 de agosto de 2014

On September 4, 2012, President Santos announced the signing of a General Agreement for the Termination of the Conflict between the Government of Colombia and the FARC, initiating the fourth official peace talks with this group. The agenda includes: 1) integrated rural reform; 2) guarantees for political opposition and civic participation; 3) the end of the conflict (laying down arms and reintegration into civilian life); 4) illegal drugs; and 5) victims' rights. Preparatory talks started in Oslo on October 17, 2012 and substantive dialogues in Havana, on November 19, 2012. Three agreements have been reached: one on the first agenda point, integrated rural reform, on May 26, 2013; the second on the next point, political participation, on November 6, 2013; and another on the fourth agenda point, illegal drugs, on May 16, 2014.

On June 10, 2014, the GOC announced that exploratory talks with the ELN were taking place to define an agenda for peace talks. These initial meetings have been held since January 2014, and the issues of victims and societal participation are the first two agenda points. The GOC and ELN will release information on the progress of the exploratory talks as they continue.

2. GOC – FARC Key Developments from August 20th to August 26th

Military sub-committee meets with dialogue teams

A group of high-ranking members of the military and police travelled to Cuba to meet with the GOC and FARC dialogue teams and discuss the third point on the agenda: the end of the conflict. The sub-committee is led by General Javier Flórez, who has directed successful high-profile operations against the FARC, and will work full-time on the guerrilla transition to civilian life. ⁵⁹ The other nine representatives have extensive experience in combat, and post-conflict and human rights training. ⁶⁰ The group will advise the GOC on the third agenda point, including analysis of possible models for a bilateral ceasefire and the surrender of FARC weapons, both of which would occur at the end of the dialogues as an initial step in post-conflict transition. ⁶¹

Controversy surrounds military sub-committee's visit to Cuba

Ex-President Pastrana questioned why the GOC sent high-ranking active military officials to fulfill "technical" roles, and ex-President Uribe said the discussions were unconstitutional as they placed the military on the same level as the guerrilla. ⁶² Meanwhile, President Santos declared that the

⁵⁹ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/trazar-la-ruta-para-que-farc-dejen-armas-la-tarea-del-general-florez/14419513

⁶⁰ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/estos-son-los-militares-y-policias-que-dialogan-con-las-farc-en-cuba/14424777

http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/militares-y-farc-cambiaron-las-balas-por-informes-en-la-habana/14424579

http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/pastrana-cuestiona-decision-del-gobierno-de-enviar-mili-articulo-512138 and http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/criticas-de-uribe-decision-del-gobierno-de-enviar-milit-articulo-511880



August, 2014

sub-commission's contribution is fundamental, and its presence dignified the members' high levels of experience and expertise.⁶³ GOC dialogue team leader, Humberto de la Calle, said the sub-commission will provide crucial support for the evermore possible end of the conflict.⁶⁴ The FARC hailed the meeting as an important step forward in achieving peace.⁶⁵

Historical Commission on the Conflict and its Victims begins work

The Historical Commission on the Conflict and its Victims began its 4-month mandate. Formed of 12 national and international experts (6 chosen by the GOC and 6 by the FARC) and two secretaries, it will clarify the causes of the conflict, factors that contribute to its continuation, and its impact. Its final report will provide input for understanding the conflict and its participants' responsibilities, and will be an informational base for a future truth commission.⁶⁶

Commission members and their expertise are: Alfredo Molano Bravo - social impact of conflict; Gustavo Duncan - conflict dynamics; Vicente Torrijos - military strategy; Daniel Pécaut - historic violence; Francisco Gutiérrez – political violence; Jorge Giraldo – political economy of conflict; María Emma Wills – gender and conflict, historical memory; Renán Vega – insurgency and social movements; Darío Fajardo – conflict and land; Malcolm Deas – historic land conflicts and violence; Jairo Hernando Estrada – leftist movements, capitalism; Sergio de Zubiría – education and social justice; Eduardo Pizarro Leongómez (secretary) – reparations, reconciliation, and international justice; and Víctor Manuel Moncayo (secretary) – public policy and the State.⁶⁷

Inspector General criticizes Historical Commission on the Conflict and its Victims

Inspector General, Alejandro Ordóñez, criticized the Historical Commission on the Conflict and its Victims, and the GOC, for attempting to make the truth official. He stated that truth cannot be negotiated, and questioned the allegiance of the Commission experts because they were chosen by the dialogue teams.⁶⁸ President Santos responded that this is not a Truth Commission, and will

⁶³ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/santos-dice-presencia-militar-mesa-de-negociacion-farc-articulo-512379

⁶⁴ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/hay-posibilidades-serias-de-terminar-el-conflicto-de-ca-articulo-512131

http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/farc-destacan-intervencion-de-los-militares-activos-el-articulo-512137

http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/el-reto-de-documentar-el-conflicto/14395375

http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/comision-historica-no-obedece-expectativas-del-gobierno-articulo-511898

http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/procurador-pide-al-gobierno-no-oficializar-verdad-del-c-articulo-511799



August, 2014

not attempt to establish the truth but rather the causes and impact of the conflict. He noted that a future Truth Commission would be independent.⁶⁹

48 more victims will participate directly in the talks

GOC dialogue team leader Humberto de la Calle confirmed that four more groups of 12 victims each will travel to Cuba over the course of the next four rounds of talks. These groups will be selected based on the same criteria as the last, taking into account the type of victimization, victimizer, ethnicity, region, gender, and other factors to ensure pluralism. De la Calle also asked that Colombians not stigmatize the victims who participate in the talks.⁷⁰

3. Other Voices

Clara Rojas asks for broader range of expertise in Historical Commission

Chamber Representative and ex-FARC kidnapping victim called for a broader range of experts to be included in the Historical Commission on the Conflict and its Victims. She criticized the Commission for not including experts with diverse ideological positions.⁷¹

Calls made for international guarantors to be included in final phase of dialogues

Efraín Torres Monsalvo, Vice President of the Chamber of Representatives, called for the GOC to nominate international guarantors to monitor the final phase of peace talks. He encouraged the FARC and GOC to agree on a ceasefire to show their commitment to the dialogues.⁷²

4. Emerging Challenges & Responses

Development budget criticized for lack of post-conflict support

Roy Barreras, President of the Senate Peace Commission, stated that the National Development Plan and the associated budget for 2015 do not include sufficient support and provisions for post-conflict needs. He therefore recommended that the budget and plan be reviewed in order to include post-conflict measures.⁷³ High Commissioner for Peace, Sergio Jaramillo, countered that

⁶⁹ <u>http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/santos-aclara-al-procurador-funciones-de-comision-histo-articulo-511890</u>

^{**}http://www.elcolombiano.com/BancoConocimiento/D/de la calle confirma viaje de otras 48 victimas y cuestiona criticas a visita/de la calle confirma viaje de otras 48 victimas y cue stiona criticas a visita.asp

⁷¹ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/clara-rojas-pide-inclusion-de-otros-sectores-en-comision-historica/14424278

http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/piden-al-gobierno-y-farc-designar-garantes-internaciona-articulo-511925

http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/congreso/plata-para-el-poscinflicto-es-poca-comision-de-paz/14439617



August, 2014

the GOC has already committed to financing all post-conflict restructuring to result from a peace agreement in Havana.⁷⁴

Disarmament will take more than one day: FARC

FARC leader, 'Andrés París', told El Espectador that post-conflict disarmament will take more than one day. París stated that the GOC has told the FARC they will have to hand over weapons in a short disarmament program, but the guerrilla commander countered that the process of transformation from armed guerrilla group to unarmed political party will be much longer.⁷⁵

Transitional justice will include pardons for guerrilla and military

The Senate Peace Commission met with the Ministry of Defense last week to discuss transitional justice. An agreement was made that transitional justice mechanisms that provide pardon to members of the guerrilla groups will also include members of the military. Despite initial skepticism about putting the military on the same level as the guerrilla, the members of the military in the meeting were reported to have realized that this type of pardon aims to facilitate the end of the conflict, and will not involve injustice to the armed forces.⁷⁶

FARC will "need a hand" in the post-conflict phase

Analyst John Mario Gonzalez highlighted the need for the GOC and society to support the reintegration of the FARC in the post-conflict phase. He stated that despite the emotional and economic challenges that this presents to some sectors, it is crucial that ex-FARC combatants are supported in their transition to civilian life so that they do not return to crime.⁷⁷

5. Further Reading

Analyses of current state of peace process

El Tiempo published an analysis of the current state of the peace process. The article takes into account the importance of the victims' participation, the contributions of the military sub-commission, and the initiation of the Historical Commission – all in the same round.⁷⁸ El

⁷⁴ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/comisionado-de-paz-garantiza-financiacion-del-posconfliarticulo-512832

http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/el-desarme-de-farc-sera-un-largo-proceso-andres-parisarticulo-512894

⁷⁶ http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/proceso-de-paz-incluira-un-perdon-guerrilleros-tambien-articulo-511698

[&]quot; http://www.eltiempo.com/opinion/columnistas/una-mano-a-las-farc-para-el-posconflicto/14413416

http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/el-proceso-de-paz-esta-en-un-punto-decisivo-analisis/14427358



August, 2014

Espectador talked with experts from Fundación Paz y Reconciliación and International Crisis Group who said despite this optimism, the coming rounds of talks will be full of obstacles.⁷⁹

Opinion pieces on the military sub-commission

Semana Magazine analyzed the strategic selection of General Javier Flórez to lead the military sub-commission, saying that this and other aspects of the recent round of talks will renew optimism in the peace process. ⁸⁰ General (r) Henry Medina Uribe wrote an opinion piece on the military's participation in the talks. He expressed his belief that the armed forces must be involved in the definition of transitional justice mechanisms, weapons surrendering processes, ceasefire terms and conditions, and other important aspects of the post-conflict transition. ⁸¹

Significance of the victims' participation analyzed

La Silla Vacía analyzed the significance of the victims' direct participation in the peace talks last week. Even though no agreements were reached, the fact that the FARC listened to the victims' proposals and experiences gave the feeling that the talks are progressing well.⁸²

http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/proceso-de-paz-transita-una-recta-final-llena-de-obstac-articulo-512808

⁸⁰ http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/militares-en-la-habana/400112-3

⁸¹ http://www.elcolombiano.com/BancoConocimiento/F/fin_del_conflicto/fin_del_conflicto.asp

⁸² http://lasillavacia.com/historia/el-encuentro-con-las-farc-los-ojos-de-las-victimas-48430



August, 2014

6. Timeline

