

Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

October, 2014

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de 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 September 24th - September 30th

Text of three agreements made public

The texts of the agreements reached so far in the peace process were made public. They have been kept confidential so far to allow the dialogue teams to progress without external interference.¹ The divulgence of the agreements aims to counter opposition efforts to spread untrue rumors about their content and resolve doubts about what is being decided at the dialogue table.² El Tiempo identified 8 “myths” that are debunked by the texts’ publication:

Integrated rural reform: 1) *Myth*: The economy will change to a socialist model. *Reality*: A land bank and provisions for equal land holding will be created. 2) *Myth*: Private property will be limited. *Reality*: Measures will end informal land titling, but private property rights are upheld. 3) *Myth*: Holdings of more than 100 ha. will be prohibited. *Reality*: Land access is guaranteed. Industrial holdings will be secure, but small and medium producers will have more protection.

Political participation: 4) *Myth*: FARC high commanders will be given seats in Congress. *Reality*: Democratic participation by all citizens is facilitated. The FARC can form a political party by fulfilling criteria which apply to all parties. 5) *Myth*: Colombia is heading towards communism. *Reality*: Democracy will be broadened, including opposition guarantees.

¹ www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/no-mas-secretos-en-los-dialogos-de-paz/404171-3

² www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/discurso-de-humberto-de-calle-al-momento-de-presentar-l-articulo-518679



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Under the illegal drugs agreement: 6) *Myth*: The dialogue teams are negotiating the future of the armed forces. *Reality*: The armed forces have never been discussed in any of the three agreements. 7) *Myth*: There will be no more crop fumigation. *Reality*: Crop fumigation will continue in areas that do not agree to substitution and manual eradication is impossible. 8) *Myth*: The FARC have not admitted their role in drug trafficking. *Reality*: Although the FARC does not elaborate on this point, they agree to end any relationship with drugs trafficking.³

Third delegation of victims to go to Havana on Thursday

The next delegation of twelve victims will travel to Havana on Thursday October 2nd to participate directly in the peace talks. Their names have yet to be confirmed.⁴ This will be the third of six such groups to arrive at the dialogue table, for a total of 60 victim participants.

De la Calle's email hacked

GOC dialogue team leader Humberto de la Calle stated that intelligence indicates that his email account had been hacked at least 17 times by illegal entities in Colombia. He believed this interception represents attempts to use private information to interfere with the peace process.⁵ The Ministry of Defense criticized the interception and swiftly created a task force to investigate.⁶ The FARC also spoke out against the hacking, declaring it an act of sabotage, and the Ombudsman said it was an attempt to destabilize the peace talks.⁷

Institutional framework for integrated rural reform would take a year to build

Magistrate Nestor Raul Correa spoke at the IOM-supported Forum on Land, Peace, and Post-conflict, highlighting challenges and potential of the proposals contained in the integrated rural reform agreement. He said the institutional framework to implement the proposals would take a year to construct, but that the legal basis for such a framework already exists.⁸

Mixed responses to publication of agreements

The UN celebrated the release of the peace agreements as a way to increase public trust in the dialogues, and highlighted their implications in poverty and violence reduction, strengthened democracy, and respect for human rights.⁹ Former M-19 member politician Antonio Navarro said the proposals in the agreements seemed reasonable and feasible.¹⁰

³ www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/ocho-mitos-sobre-los-dialogos-de-paz-que-se-quedaron-sin-piso/14603459

⁴ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/confirman-viaje-del-tercer-grupo-de-victimas-estara-car-articulo-519077>

⁵ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/humberto-de-calle-denuncio-espionaje-su-correo-personal-articulo-519263>

⁶ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/crean-comision-investigar-chuzadas-negociadores-del-pro-articulo-519593>

⁷ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/farc-rechazan-infiltracion-comunicaciones-de-humberto-d-articulo-519377> and

<http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/defensoria-ve-infiltraciones-de-calle-un-sabotaje-proce-articulo-519614>

⁸ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/magistrado-dice-marco-legal-de-acuerdo-agrario-farc-tar-articulo-519829>

⁹ www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/divulgacion-de-acuerdos-farc-ayudara-sembrar-confianza-articulo-518850

¹⁰ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/navarro-wolff-dice-acuerdos-entre-gobierno-y-farc-son-r-articulo-519434>

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Inspector General Alejandro Ordóñez said this kind of transparency has been necessary all along in the peace process, and will read “between the lines” to find the positive and negative aspects of the agreements.¹¹ Ex-president Uribe criticized the agreements for favoring communism, supporting terrorism and guerrilla groups in Congress, and enabling continued drug production.¹² The conservative party said after initial review of the agreements, they had no problem with most of the content but requested that the FARC clarify their commitment to taking responsibility for victims and responding to International Humanitarian Law.¹³

3. International

Colombia could learn from the Basque Country: Maria Oianguren

Maria Oianguren is Director of the "Gernika Gogoratuz" Peace Research Center in the Basque Country. In Bogotá for the International Peacebuilding Congress, Oianguren said Colombia could learn from Basque Country peacebuilding experiences. She highlighted the importance of institutions and historical memory for reconciliation and peace, and emphasized the need for continued dialogue between sectors and regions after the peace process.¹⁴

Female ex-combatants from El Salvador and Guatemala emphasize reintegration

Ex-FMLN member Morena Herrera of El Salvador, and ex-URNG member Patricia Castillo of Guatemala were interviewed by El Tiempo. The women stated the importance of reintegration in achieving peace, and their hopes for the Colombian peace process. Herrera stressed the role of women in reintegration, while Castillo looked to education as a tool for reconciliation.¹⁵

4. Other Voices

Colombian Unified Workers Center backs talks

The Colombian Unified Workers Center (CUT) expressed their support for the GOC-FARC peace process, and their hope that the GOC will also begin talks with the ELN and the EPL guerrilla groups. They also stressed the importance of citizen participation in the construction of peace agreements and programs, and encouraged the parts to agree to a ceasefire soon.¹⁶

5. Emerging Challenges and Responses

Police not subject of discussion in peace talks: Santos

¹¹ <http://www.eltiempo.com/colombia/caliprocurador-califica-como-positivo-conocer-borradores-de-acuerdos-/14592736>

¹² www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/uribe-critica-acuerdos-parciales-de-paz-entre-farc-y-el-articulo-519487

¹³ www.eltiempo.com/politica/partidos-politicos/frente-al-compromiso-de-las-farc-conservadores-piden-mayor-claridad-/14616498

¹⁴ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/experta-conflicto-vasco-abogo-sumar-experiencias-paz-de-articulo-519029>

¹⁵ www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/exguerrilleras-de-el-salvador-y-guatemala-dan-claves-para-posconflicto/14606817

¹⁶ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/cut-ratifica-respaldo-proceso-de-paz-del-gobierno-farc-articulo-519368>

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Rumors spread that the National Police Force would be under FARC control and the Ministry of Citizen Security (which does not exist yet) has been handed over to the group. Santos denied the rumors and reassured the National Police Force that their future is not discussed in Cuba.¹⁷

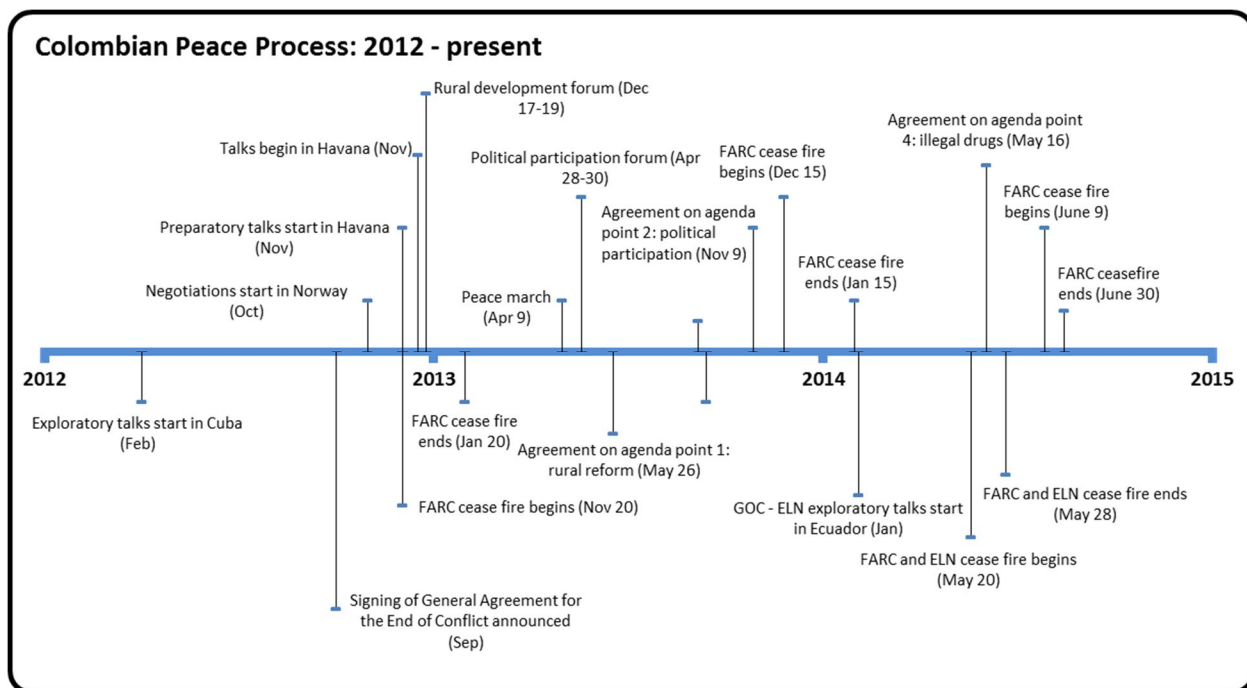
Highest number of threats per month since beginning of talks

In September, more than 150 human rights defenders, journalists, and politicians have received threats, making it the month with the most threats to these at-risk professions since the peace process began. Most threats come from BACRIM, who analyst Ariel Ávila says protect the interests of landowners and traders who disagree with the peace process.¹⁸

President proposes post-conflict environmental fund

At the UN Summit in New York last week, President Santos proposed a post-conflict environmental fund. Its aim would be to recover the environmental resources that have been affected by the conflict. The fund could also employ demobilized FARC combatants.¹⁹

6. Timeline



¹⁷ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/santos-reitera-policia-no-objeto-de-discusion-dialogos-articulo-519101>

¹⁸ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/colombia-registra-un-mes-el-record-de-amenazados-durant-articulo-519235>

¹⁹ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/el-presidente-santos-propone-crear-un-fondo-bioclimatic-articulo-518725>



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7. Further Reading

Analyst Frank Pfetsch praises talks, calls for truth commission

German conflict expert Frank Pfetsch was interviewed by El Tiempo. In the article, he praises the progress made so far in the peace process and the release of the peace agreements, and calls for the creation of a truth commission as soon as possible. He also discusses the influence of the USA and national military pressures on the peace process, as well as the political polarization that surrounds the GOC-FARC dialogues.²⁰

²⁰ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/el-proceso-ha-tenido-un-manejo-adecuado/14600378>

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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 October 1st – October 8th

Third group of victims arrives in Havana to participate in talks

The third delegation of victims to participate directly in the talks travelled to Cuba on Wednesday. The group's composition was selected by the UN and the Universidad Nacional, and includes: 1) Alan Jara, Governor of Meta and FARC kidnapping victim; 2) General Luis Mendieta, the most high-ranking military officer to be kidnapped by the FARC; 3) Emilce Hernández Perdomo, victim of the armed forces; 4) Aida Avella, activist and victim of threats and exile by paramilitary groups; 5) Camilo Umaña, son of a Unión Patriótica activist killed when that group was targeted by the State; 6) Marta Luz de Ujueta, FARC victim in their attack on the El Nogal club; 7) Ximena Ochoa, victim of extortion by the FARC; 8) Luis Fernando Arias, paramilitary victim and indigenous leader; 9) Soraya Bayuelo, FARC and paramilitary victim; 10) Nancy Yamila Galarraga, whose sisters and twin daughters were kidnapped and killed by paramilitaries; 11) Erika Paola Jaimes, paramilitary massacre victim; 12) Maria Victoria Liu, paramilitary victim and leader of female victims.²¹ General Luis Mendieta's arrival comes after his repeated criticism of the peace process and is therefore receiving much media coverage.²²

²¹ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/jara-mendieta-aida-avella-entre-las-victimas-que-viajaron-a-cuba/14619955>

²² www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/mendieta-una-victima-incomoda-para-las-farc-que-ya-esta-en-la-habana/14622975

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The arrival of the delegation comes amid reports that three victims who previously went to Cuba have received threats and insults on social media due to their participation in the talks.²³

FARC propose that collective victimization be recognized

The FARC proposed that victimization of groups— such as the Unión Patriótica, which had links to the FARC – be recognized in the peace process. They also highlighted that the majority of these groups have been victimized due to their work for political change in Colombia.²⁴

De la Calle’s communication was not intercepted by military intelligence

After last week’s scandal that GOC dialogue team leader Humberto de la Calle’s email account had been hacked by illegal entities, Attorney General, Eduardo Montealegre, implied that members of military intelligence could be involved in the interception.²⁵ Minister of Defense, Juan Carlos Pinzón, responded that no member of the military was involved.²⁶

Government asks FARC to recognize their responsibility regarding victims

The leader of the GOC dialogue team, Humberto de la Calle, called on the FARC this week to “more categorically” recognize their responsibility in victimizing Colombians in the armed conflict. He stated that taking such a step is necessary to create a legitimate model of transitional justice that will satisfy victims’ rights.²⁷

3. International

Peace process is the right way out of conflict: German Ambassador

German Ambassador, Gunter Kneiss, was interviewed by El Tiempo. In the interview, he expressed his support and hopes for the peace process, and highlighted lessons learned from Germany’s post-conflict reconciliation experience that could serve Colombia. He also praised the peace process and his belief that it is the correct solution to the conflict.²⁸

²³ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/amenazan-de-muerte-tres-de-victimas-han-viajado-habana-articulo-519975>

²⁴ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/farc-insisten-se-reconozcan-e-identifiquen-victimas-col-articulo-519982>

²⁵ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/justicia/fiscalia-alista-cuatro-ordenes-de-captura-por-chuzadas-a-de-la-calle/14620280>

²⁶ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/justicia/de-la-calle-no-fue-interceptado-por-inteligencia-militar-mindefensa/14624435>

²⁷ <http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/CMS-14633795>

²⁸ www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/proceso-de-paz-es-el-camino-correcto-embajador-aleman-en-colombia/14624542



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4. Other Voices

Art and education's contributions to peace highlighted at forum

The “Citizen Culture Conference: Culture and Peacebuilding” was held with the aim of highlighting contributions that art and education can make to peace. Expert, Doris Summer, spoke about genres like theater and how they can be used in peacebuilding. Other participants included High Commissioner for Peace, Sergio Jaramillo, and Analyst, León Valencia.²⁹

Post-conflict will cost \$27 billion USD: Senate Peace Commission

The Senate Peace Commission announced that the “post-conflict” will cost \$27 billion USD, and that costs are focused on 368 municipalities where the armed conflict has most taken place.³⁰ The figure is much higher than the figure that Roy Barreras, the Co-President of the Senate Peace Commission, had previously stated that the post-conflict period was estimated to cost roughly \$10 million USD.³¹

5. Emerging Challenges and Responses

Constitutional Court approves referendum on Election Day

The Constitutional Court approved the bill to hold a referendum about the peace process on the same day as local elections on October 25th 2015. Inspector General, Alejandro Ordóñez, had previously appealed the original bill on the grounds that holding the referendum to approve a final peace agreement on the same day as local elections would infringe on voter rights. However, the Constitutional Court upheld the bill.³²

²⁹ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/foro-para-poder-preparar-el-posconflicto-a-partir-de-la-cultura/14624543>

³⁰ <http://www.semana.com/nacion/multimedia/semana-en-vivo-comision-de-paz-dice-que-posconflicto-costaria-54-billones-de-pesos/405222-3>

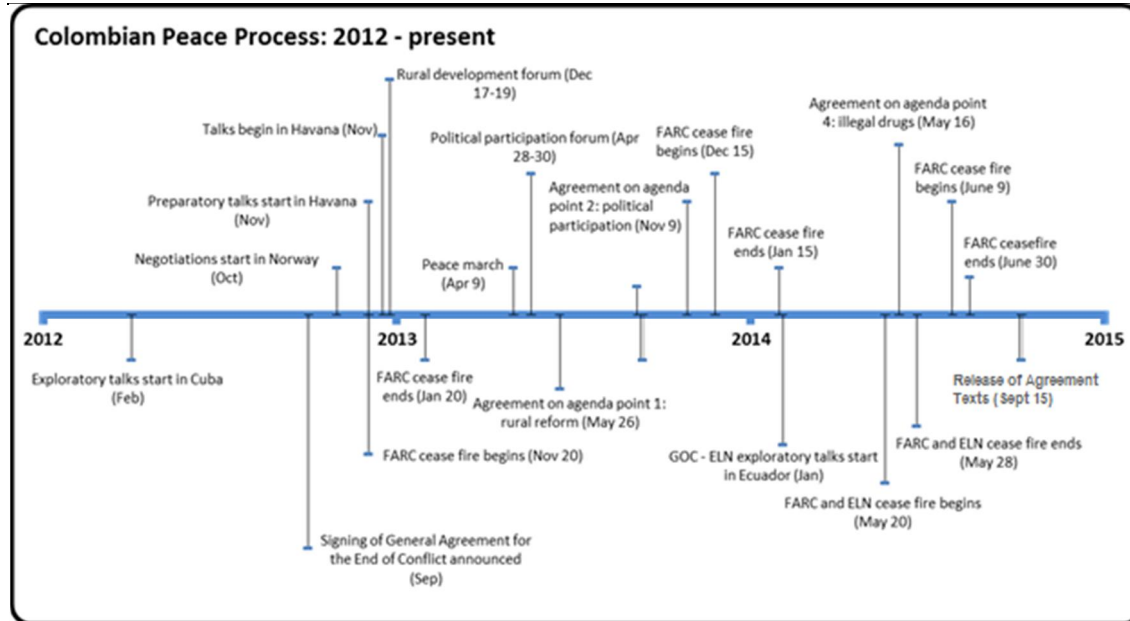
³¹ http://www.larepublica.co/para-2015-no-habr%C3%A1-suficiente-dinero-para-el-posconflicto_161491

³² www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/ponencia-en-corte-le-da-si-a-referendo-por-la-paz-en-dia-de-elecciones/14618917

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6. Timeline



7. Further Reading

Survey reveals support for peace process

A survey conducted by the Universidad Externado, in conjunction with the University of Wisconsin-Madison, revealed that 64% of those surveyed favored a negotiated end to the conflict, while 27% supported a military solution. However, 64% of respondents said they would not support the participation of ex-guerrilla members in politics.³³

FARC news platform launched to cover peace talks

Tanja Nijmeijer (alias 'Alexandra Nariño') is the new presenter for the recently launched FARC news platform, which will provide updates and news about the peace process.³⁴

³³ www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/encuesta-del-externado-revela-respaldo-a-los-dialogos-de-la-habana/14624545

³⁴ <http://www.semana.com/nacion/multimedia/el-debut-de-tanja-como-presentadora/404659-3>

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2. GOC – FARC Key Developments from October 8th – October 14th

Controversy over alias 'Timochenko' travelling to Havana

Minister of Defense Juan Carlos Pinzón announced that FARC commander alias 'Timochenko', who had been rumored to be living in Venezuela, travelled to Cuba to meet with the FARC dialogue team twice in the last few months. This statement caused great controversy due to the arrest orders for Timochenko and the GOC's ongoing claim that his location could not be confirmed. President Santos confirmed that he authorized the FARC commander's trips. This caused speculation about the possibility that a final agreement is approaching and the high commander was brought in to give his opinion and approval. It also caused doubts about mixed messages within the GOC about the type of information that should be released.³⁵ Calls have also been made for the GOC to disclose a list of all FARC members currently in Cuba.³⁶

Victims receive threats, abusive phone calls

Members of the delegations of victims who have travelled to Havana to participate in the peace talks say their communications have been intercepted by illegal armed groups.³⁷ They continue to

³⁵ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/ruido-viajes-de-timochenko-articulo-521687> and <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/timochenko-ha-estado-dos-ocasiones-cuba-consultas-de-fa-articulo-521514>

³⁶ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/piden-al-presidente-santos-publicar-quienes-son-los-gue-articulo-522004>

³⁷ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/delegaciones-de-victimas-aseguran-estan-chuzando-articulo-521700>

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support the peace talks, however, and 22 of them have requested a meeting with President Santos to see how they can raise awareness about the peace talks in their regions.³⁸

3. GOC – ELN Key Developments from October 8th – October 14th

Santos orders continued silence about ELN talks

After analyst and ex-ELN member León Valencia alleged that members of the ELN had travelled to Cuba to meet with the FARC in recent months,³⁹ President Santos refused to confirm this rumor and ordered GOC representatives to maintain their silence about peace talks with the ELN. He stated that when there is news about this process, it will be announced by the GOC.⁴⁰

4. International

President Santos to visit Europe

President Santos will go to Portugal, Spain, Belgium, France, and the United Kingdom at the beginning of November, to discuss the peace process and other matters with heads of state there. He aims to facilitate European support and input in the peace talks,⁴¹ as well as consolidating a fund to support the post-conflict phase, calling it a type of Marshall Plan.⁴²

United States reiterates support for post-conflict

After meeting with US Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel, President Santos emphasized the US' continued support for the peace process and the promised support for the post-conflict phase, including assistance for the Colombian armed forces' transition to peace.⁴³

5. Other Voices

Indigenous people from Cauca support peace talks

Aída Quilcué, an indigenous leader from the Nasa group, was interviewed by El Espectador. She expressed her ethnic group's support for the peace process, their thoughts on rural reform, mining, and the kinds of peacebuilding initiatives that should be implemented.⁴⁴

³⁸ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/victimas-que-fueron-a-la-habana-piden-una-reunion-con-santos/14668705>

³⁹ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/el-n-y-farc-se-habrian-reunido-cuba-articulo-521730>

⁴⁰ www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/santos-ordeno-a-sus-funcionarios-silencio-frente-a-dialogos-con-el-eln/14679996

⁴¹ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/presidente-santos-visitara-portugal-principios-de-novie-articulo-521965>

⁴² <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/en-busca-de-un-plan-marshall-para-la-paz/14674819>

⁴³ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/estados-unidos-reitera-su-apoyo-al-posconflicto-colombi-articulo-521572> and <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/santos-confirma-apoyo-de-eeuu-transicion-de-ffaa-paz-articulo-521552>

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6. Emerging Challenges and Responses

“Soy Capaz” campaign shows results

The “Soy Capaz” campaign (“I am capable”, a play on the word “Paz” - “Peace”) was initiated by the GOC to raise awareness of the need for individuals to change their attitudes towards peace to support a future post-conflict phase. Results of the campaign so far include: almost 180 new products have been launched with the logo and “Soy Capaz” slogan; football teams have dressed in the rival’s uniform; Colombian musicians produced and released a song.⁴⁵

Uribe criticism receives response highlighting his own attempts at peace talks

After Ex-President Uribe criticized Timochenko’s visits to Havana, President Santos announced that Uribe actually tried to hold a peace process with the FARC, and got so far as to hold exploratory talks in Brazil.⁴⁶ This was corroborated by documents summarized by Semana, demonstrating that Uribe offered to negotiate FARC extradition requests, a demilitarized zone, and other concessions in efforts to start talks.⁴⁷ Similarly, the Director of the Universidad Nacional, Alejo Vargas, highlighted that Uribe held two years of preliminary talks with the ELN in Cuba during his presidency, but could never agree to formalizing dialogue with the group.⁴⁸

National Peace Council launched

The National Peace Council, which will respond to the need to raise awareness about the peace process and any final agreement reached, was launched. The Council includes members from civil society, business sectors, politics, academia, different regions, and different ethnic groups. The objective is to increase regional public awareness about the peace process.⁴⁹

Reconciliation will be the biggest challenge: Etxeberria

Basque conflict expert Jabier Etxeberria spoke at an event in Bogotá last week. He stated that reconciliation is the greatest challenge that Colombia will face in the post-conflict phase. He said the success of reconciliation and the final agreements will depend on how many victims and ex-combatants become involved in reconciliation initiatives. He also highlighted the participation of victims in the dialogues in Havana as a significant step towards reconciliation.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/indigenas-del-cauca-manifestaron-su-apoyo-al-proceso-de-articulo-522061>

⁴⁵ <http://razonpublica.com/index.php/politica-y-gobierno-temas-27/7971-lacampa%C3%B1a-%E2%80%9Csoy-capaz%E2%80%9D-y-el-proceso-deconstrucci%C3%B3n-de-la-paz.html>

⁴⁶ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/uribe-intento-un-proceso-de-paz-farc-brasil-santos-articulo-520882>

⁴⁷ <http://www.semana.com/opinion/articulo/daniel-coronell-y-traque-mandrake/405705-3>

⁴⁸ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/eln-converso-habana-gobierno-uribe-alejo-vargas-articulo-521937>

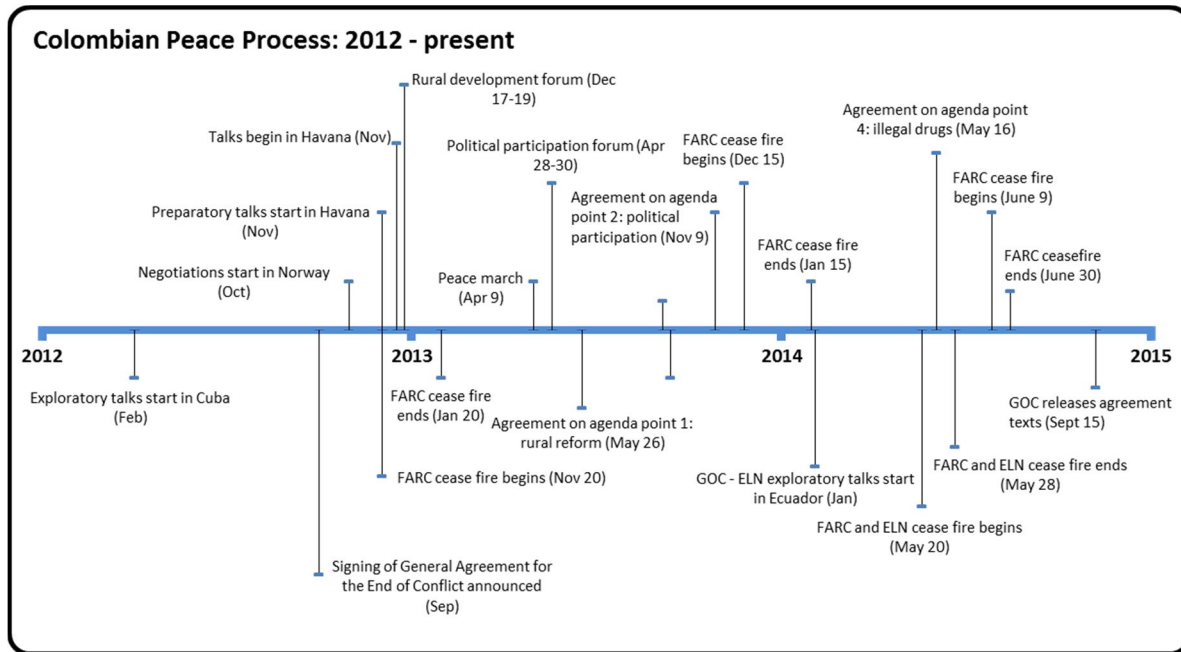
⁴⁹ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/quedo-instalado-el-consejo-nacional-de-paz-clave-en-el-posconflicto/14666458>

⁵⁰ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/gobierno/reconciliacion-el-reto-de-colombia/14671462>

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8. Further Reading

José Antonio Ocampo discusses rural peace

Economist and advisor José Antonio Ocampo conducted a rural evaluation of peace with the National Planning Department. In interview with *El Espectador*, Ocampo discussed his vision of the country and the impact a final peace agreement would have on rural communities.⁵¹

El Espectador analyzes the rural reform agreement

El Espectador published an analysis of the rural reform agreement, highlighting how the proposals it contains require more a change of mentality than a change of laws, and clarifying previously held misconceptions about the creation of the land bank.⁵² The news source also published an interview with expert Nazih Richani, who emphasized the need for peace and development in the countryside in order for a final agreement to be successful.⁵³

⁵¹ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/retos-economicos-de-paz-articulo-521979>

⁵² <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/el-camino-de-transformacion-agraria-articulo-521882>

⁵³ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/agricultura-campesina-central-paz-de-colombia-articulo-521881>

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1. Background

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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 October 15th – October 21st

Next round of talks delayed

The 30th round of talks in Havana has been delayed until October 24th, four days after the initially announced date of October 20th. This will delay the arrival of the next delegation of victims to participate directly in the talks until November 2nd.⁵⁴

Controversy continues regarding 'Timochenko' visit to Cuba

After the discovery that President Santos allowed FARC high commander, alias 'Timochenko', to travel to Cuba, a group of lawyers asked that Santos be investigated as arrest orders for Timochenko were not suspended, and he should not be allowed to leave Colombia.⁵⁵ Inspector General, Alejandro Ordóñez, accused the President of protecting a terrorist, and sent him a letter asking him to explain "irregularities" in the permission for Timochenko to travel.⁵⁶ Santos replied

⁵⁴ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/inicio-de-proximo-ciclo-de-dialogo-de-paz-se-posterga-h-articulo-522460>

⁵⁵ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/justicia/abogado-denuncia-a-santos-por-autorizar-viaje-de-timochenko-a-cuba/14701818>

⁵⁶ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/gobierno/gobierno-nacional-protegio-a-un-terrorista-procurador-ordonez/14700745>

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that the Inspector General is not responsible for requesting such explanations, and experts agreed that the peace process is responsibility of the Executive, not public ministries.⁵⁷

Meanwhile, orders for arrest have been lifted for three other members of the FARC, aliases 'Carlos Antonio Lozada', 'Pachochino', and 'Matías', to travel to Havana. Given their political training, these three could have been brought to support discussions about transitional justice and laying weapons aside. Another hypothesis is that they will learn about the peace process and then disseminate this information in their guerrilla units when they return to Colombia.⁵⁸

GOC-FARC process reaches two-year anniversary

As the GOC-FARC talks reach the two-year mark, Caracol published an analysis of progress. Ex-Minister Marta Lucía Ramírez highlighted that the FARC continue to recruit children, and that the agreements show that many issues are still to be resolved. Analyst Jairo Libreros said the process has made advances but must avoid allowing uncertainty in the population.⁵⁹

3. GOC – ELN Key Developments from October 15th – October 21st

ELN confirms meetings with FARC in Havana

The ELN confirmed rumors that their leaders travelled to Havana to meet with FARC leaders in recent months. The purpose of the meetings, they stated, was to discuss common objectives in the peace talks being held with the two groups, including the possibility of a ceasefire. They said that although the two dialogues have different characteristics and priorities, the objective of reaching peace is the same and so the processes must be as aligned as possible.⁶⁰

Different internal perspectives on progress in ELN talks

ELN leader, alias 'Gabino', spoke on a video on the ELN website, highlighting two points that the guerrilla group and the GOC have agreed so far in exploratory talks: civil society participation, and victims of the conflict. He emphasized the urgency the group feels to start official talks.⁶¹ However,

⁵⁷ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/gobierno/procurador-no-puede-pedir-explicaciones-al-presidente-expertos/14698498>

⁵⁸ <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/los-nuevos-guerrilleros-de-las-farc-que-llegan-la-habana/406632-3>

⁵⁹ www.caracol.com.co/noticias/actualidad/proceso-de-paz-entre-gobierno-y-farc-cumple-dos-anos/20141019/nota/2468647.aspx

⁶⁰ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/el-reconoce-reuniones-jefes-de-farc-hablar-de-paz-articulo-523122>

⁶¹ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/dos-puntos-de-agenda-de-dialogo-han-logrado-gobierno-y-articulo-522975>

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Western Front Commander, alias ‘Comandante Pablo’, stated that progress in the talks is minimal, despite the ELN’s efforts to agree on the conditions for official talks.⁶²

4. International

European Union considers post-conflict support fund

Spanish ambassador, Ramón Gandarias, confirmed that the European Union is considering the creation of a fund to support post-conflict development and peacebuilding in Colombia. President Santos’ trip to Europe in November will include meetings to address this matter.⁶³

Colombia and African countries can learn from each other: Minister of Defense

Minister of Defense, Juan Carlos Pinzón, spoke at an event in South Africa last week, highlighting the importance of information exchange between African countries who have experienced conflict and Colombia. He said that African countries are already looking to Colombia as an example of how armed forces can play a role in combatting drugs trafficking, and that Colombia can learn about post-conflict military transitions from African cases.⁶⁴

5. Other Voices

Centro Democrático criticizes agreements

After the texts of the agreements were released, ex-President Uribe’s party el Centro Democrático published a document with 52 points on which they consider the government to have capitulated in the peace talks, including private property.⁶⁵ President Santos and GOC dialogue team leader Humberto de la Calle both responded, stating that the document is based on incorrect interpretations of the texts and the GOC has not capitulated on any point in the peace talks.⁶⁶ Other experts have also agreed that the Centro Democrático’s criticisms do not correspond to points made in the agreement texts.⁶⁷

⁶² <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/eln-asegura-dialogos-exploratorios-no-han-avanzado-articulo-522348>

⁶³ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/ue-estudia-crear-un-fondo-fiduciario-el-posconflicto-co-articulo-523157>

⁶⁴ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/experiencia-de-fuerzas-armadas-el-gran-activo-busqueda-articulo-522988>

⁶⁵ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/posicion-del-uribismo-irracional-santos-articulo-522888>

⁶⁶ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/habana-no-se-ha-hecho-ninguna-capitulacion-de-calle-articulo-522772>

⁶⁷ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/sigue-controversia-por-acuerdos-de-la-habana/14711261>

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This debate led President Santos to use his Twitter account to invite Uribe to discuss the peace talks with him.⁶⁸ After Uribe did not respond to this invitation, Minister of the Interior Fernando Cristo reiterated the offer, saying that Santos is open to debating the peace process and hearing opposition ideas.⁶⁹

6. Emerging Challenges and Responses

Disarmament: a touchy topic in the peace talks

El Espectador analyzed the symbolic difference between handing weapons over to the State and disposing of them in another way such as reusing them to make church bells, as happened with the M-19 in the 1990s. Prominent demobilized people turned political analysts and activists stated that handing weapons to the State is like giving up, and the FARC have already expressed that they will not do this.⁷⁰

Barranquilla small businesses would not employ ex-FARC members

A survey showed that 95% of small businesses in Barranquilla would not employ demobilized FARC members. However, 80% believed that the peace talks will result in an agreement.⁷¹

Referendum with local elections would cost less

After the Constitutional Court passed a bill allowing referendum of the peace process on local election day, October 25th 2015, Director of the National Registry Carlos Ariel Sánchez said this will make holding the referendum more cost-effective than holding it on a separate day. In total, the referendum on local elections day would cost approximately US\$12 million.⁷²

⁶⁸ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/santos-invita-uribe-hablar-de-paz-articulo-523224>

⁶⁹ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/nuevo-llamado-del-gobierno-uribe-cara-cara-santos-articulo-523385>

⁷⁰ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/fusiles-hacer-campanas-desarme-tema-algido-medio-del-pr-articulo-523087>

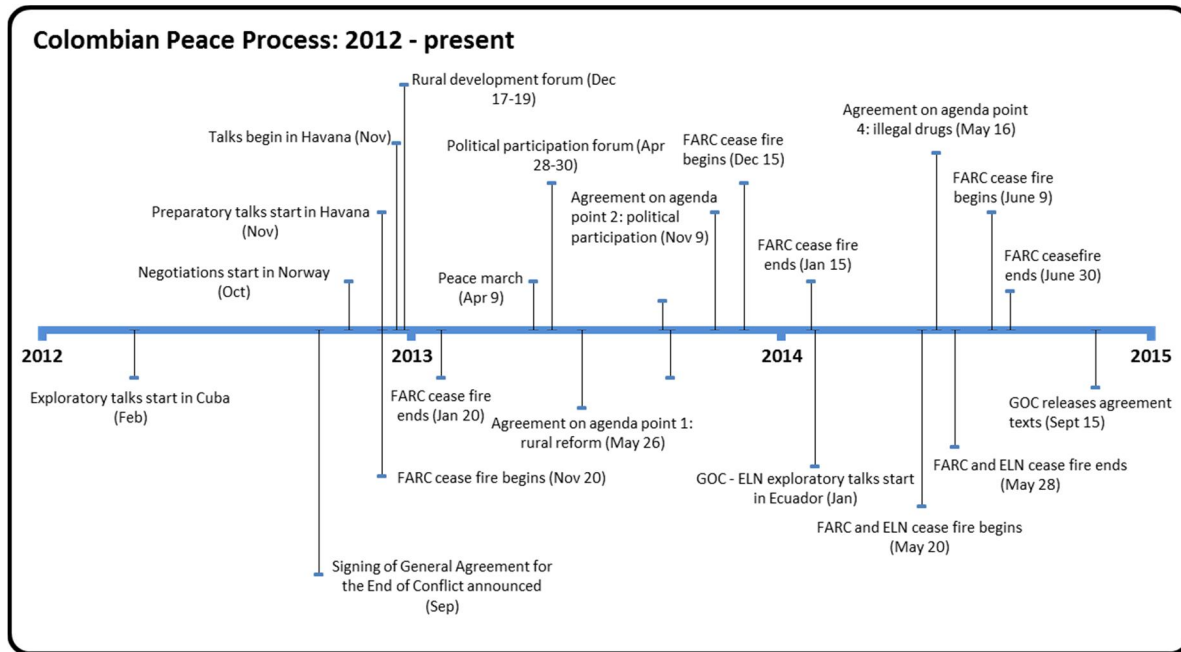
⁷¹ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/pequenos-comerciantes-barranquilla-no-emplearian-desmov-articulo-522508>

⁷² <http://www.caracol.com.co/noticias/actualidad/referendo-por-la-paz-en-elecciones-regionales-costaria-25000-millones/20141021/nota/2471058.aspx>

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8. Further Reading

President Santos discusses peace process

El Espectador interviewed President Santos regarding the peace talks with the FARC until now. In the article, Santos discusses the strengths and weaknesses of the GOC's approach to the process, lessons learned, and his optimism with regard to the outcome of the talks.⁷³

Without forgiveness there will be no peace: de Sousa

Portuguese analyst, Boaventura de Sousa Santos, was interviewed by El Espectador about his thoughts on the peace process and post-conflict in Colombia. He highlighted the importance of the victims' participation in the peace talks, and the significance of peace in Colombia for the Latin American region. He also emphasized that forgiveness between different sectors of society is essential for peace to be stable and lasting.⁷⁴

⁷³ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/ultima-oportunidad-de-vivir-paz-articulo-522916>

⁷⁴ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/sin-perdon-reciproco-no-habra-paz-duradera-articulo-523008>

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2. GOC – FARC Key Developments from October 22nd – October 28th

Arrival of FARC commander 'Romaña' in Havana causes controversy

As the 30th round of talks began last week, among new faces who arrived in Cuba to join the FARC team, thus allowing others to return to Colombia, was alias 'Romaña', who is considered responsible for widespread violence by fronts under his command. He is expected to join the sub-commission on the end of the conflict, which will include ten members of the Colombian armed forces and ten from the FARC and will examine possible conditions for a ceasefire.⁷⁵

Conservative ex-President Uribe, ex-presidential candidate Oscar Zuluaga, and senator José Obdulio Gaviria criticized Romaña's arrival, saying he and the FARC are using their time in Cuba to plan increased attacks.⁷⁶ This led FARC commander 'Timochenko' to write to President Santos, asking him to break ties with Uribe due to the latter's determination to sabotage the talks.⁷⁷ Minister of Defense, Juan Carlos Pinzón, stated that the guerrilla members were fleeing the efficient actions of the army, which is following GOC orders to continue its offensive.⁷⁸

President Santos stated that Romaña's presence in Havana is difficult to accept but is in the best interests of achieving peace.⁷⁹ Minister of the Interior, Juan Fernando Cristo, said the new

⁷⁵ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/romana-el-historico-de-farc-se-suma-los-negociadores-de-articulo-523963> and www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/comienza-el-pulso-entre-los-duros-de-las-fuerzas-armadas-y-las-farc/14743115

⁷⁶ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/uribe-y-zuluaga-contr-presencia-de-romana-cuba-articulo-523936> and <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/nuevos-viajes-de-farc-cuba-son-congreso-guerrillero-los-articulo-523562>

⁷⁷ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/timochenko-le-pide-santos-rompa-de-una-vez-todas-uribe-articulo-523605>

⁷⁸ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/guerrilleros-habana-estan-huyendo-de-fuerzas-militares-articulo-524017>

⁷⁹ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/hay-sapos-muy-grandes-nos-tenemos-tragar-paz-santos-articulo-524386>

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members of the FARC team indicate the guerrilla group's commitment to the talks, and said that the goal of their arrival in Cuba is to expedite the process of reaching an agreement.⁸⁰

FARC proposes victim census

The FARC proposed a national census of victims at, to take place within the first 18 months after a peace agreement, to ascertain the characteristics of the victim population. They also proposed that members of the armed forces and guerrilla groups who were injured or otherwise victimized in the conflict be included in the census.⁸¹ Another of the guerrilla group's proposals was that victims be recognized from 1930 onwards, not from 1985 as the law currently stipulates.⁸² The FARC also stated that the State should take principal responsibility for both systemic victimization of the population in the conflict, and for reparations.⁸³

FARC STATE THEY WILL NOT LAY WEAPONS ASIDE UNLESS STATE DOES TOO

In a communiqué, the FARC stated that they will not deter from using weapons as a form of political action unless the State does so as well.⁸⁴

3. GOC – ELN Key Developments from October 22nd – October 28th

Request made to “correct mistakes” in ELN dialogues

Former conservative presidential candidate, Marta Lucía Ramírez, requested that mistakes made in FARC peace talks not be repeated with the ELN. She believes that there must be humanitarian agreements with the guerrilla group, including no recruitment of children, no use of mines, and no attacks on the civilian population, before the talks can start.⁸⁵

Uribe's opposition to the peace process is contradictory: ELN

Two weeks ago, ex-President Uribe and his political party the Centro Democrático compiled a list of what they called “capitulations” that Santos has made in the peace process with the FARC. The ELN responded that they believe this to be contradictory, as Uribe made similar efforts to Santos when he was in office and attempted to formalize peace talks with the ELN.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/hay-que-tomar-decisiones-dificiles-cristo-sobre-viaje-de-romana/14736275>

⁸¹ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/farc-propone-creacion-de-un-censo-nacional-de-victimas-articulo-524251>

⁸² <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/farc-propone-reconocer-a-victimas-de-violencia-desde-1930/14741075>

⁸³ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/estado-debe-asumir-responsabilidad-principal-victimas-f-articulo-524599>

⁸⁴ <http://farc-epeace.org/index.php/communiques/communiques-peace-delegation/Item/571-comandante-pastor-alape-introduces-guerrilla-normalization-command.html>

⁸⁵ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/marta-lucia-pide-negociaciones-eln-se-corrijan-errores-articulo-524398>

⁸⁶ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/eln-llama-contradictorio-uribe-articulo-524490>

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4. International

France denies that peace talks will move there

France denied rumors that it will host the GOC-FARC dialogues. Reiterating French support for the talks, spokesperson Romain Nadal said the rumor of the move to Paris is untrue.⁸⁷

President Santos to visit Europe

President Santos will go to Spain, Portugal, Belgium, France, and the United Kingdom in a tour that will start on November 3rd, to discuss the peace process and other matters with heads of state there. He aims to facilitate European support and input in the peace talks, as well as consolidating a fund to support the post-conflict phase.⁸⁸

Peace talks must be legitimate in eyes of ICC: Minister of Justice

Attorney General, Eduardo Montealegre, warned that the peace talks could be restricted by stipulations made by the International Criminal Court, and Minister of Justice, Yesid Reyes, reiterated Montealegre's observation that the ICC will probably object to provisions for FARC high commanders to avoid jail time.⁸⁹ Conservatives criticized Montealegre's perceived support for non-jail sanctions for FARC commanders responsible for crimes against humanity, while former ICC prosecutor, Luis Moreno Ocampo, stated that jail time for FARC commanders would support peace, and that no provisions for jail time would ring alarm bells for the ICC.⁹⁰

5. Other Voices

Resignations from peace-related positions

Nigeria Renteria resigned from the GOC dialogue team and the gender sub-commission. Renteria will return to Chocó to campaign to become governor in October 2015 elections.⁹¹ Alejandro Eder, Colombian Reintegration Agency (ACR) Director, also declared his resignation for personal reasons. In interview, he discussed stigma that ex-combatants experience and citizens' fear about living employing them. He also evaluated the difficulties of reconciliation.⁹²

FARC victims met in Bogotá

More than 1,500 FARC victims met in Bogotá in a conference supported by the UN, where they discussed their proposals for peace and compiled a document for the dialogues in Cuba.⁹³

⁸⁷ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/francia-niega-proceso-de-paz-farc-vaya-trasladarse-pari-articulo-523712>

⁸⁸ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/madrid-iniciara-gira-europea-de-santos-recabar-apoyos-p-articulo-523706>

⁸⁹ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/proceso-farc-debe-tener-legitimidad-fuera-del-territorio-articulo-524376>

⁹⁰ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/cuestionan-si-el-fiscal-esta-buscando-impunidad-farc-articulo-524514> and <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/el-fiscal-no-debe-perder-mas-tiempo-buscando-escenarios-articulo-524437> and <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/carcel-lideres-de-farc-ayudaria-paz-exfiscal-de-corte-p-articulo-524661>

⁹¹ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/nigeria-renteria-se-retira-del-proceso-de-paz-articulo-523790>

⁹² <http://www.semana.com/nacion/multimedia/alejandro-eder-el-desafio-es-la-estigmatizacion/407159-3>

⁹³ www.reconciliacioncolombia.com/historias/detalle/490/victimas-de-las-farc-protagonizanmultitudinaria-cumbre-en-bogota

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Conservative party proposes national dialogue about peace

The Conservative Party proposed a national dialogue about peace, to engage opposing perspectives, institutions, and entities in communication about peace.⁹⁴

6. Emerging Challenges and Responses

Military presence is necessary in sub-commission on end of conflict

GOC dialogue team leader, Humberto de la Calle, emphasized that contrary to conservative criticism, the presence of military commanders in the sub-commission on the end of conflict does not imply betrayal by the GOC (given that the military commanders must work with FARC members), but rather their commitment to peace in representation of the armed forces.⁹⁵

Argos Cement Company to create peace laboratory

Argos Cement Company will donate \$21 million in-kind to create a “peace laboratory” or peacebuilding zone in Montes de María, an area heavily affected by conflict. The initiative will be implemented by Fundación Crecer en Paz and include agricultural and development activities to facilitate peace and development.⁹⁶ In interview with *Semana*, Argos CEO, José Alberto Vélez, discussed the need for the State to support private sector efforts with increased security, health, and education. He also addressed private sector responsibility in post-conflict.⁹⁷

Peace will cost less than war: Minister of Housing

Minister of Finance, Mauricio Cárdenas, defended a tax reform to raise funds for peace and post-conflict. He said peace will cost less than war. The tax reform aims to collect \$6 million of the \$45 million dollars needed for planned peacebuilding and post-conflict initiatives.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/conservadores-llaman-un-dialogo-nacional-de-paz-articulo-524494>

⁹⁵ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/de-calle-defiende-creacion-de-subcomision-el-fin-del-co-articulo-524021>

⁹⁶ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/argos-creara-laboratorio-de-paz-zona-de-conflicto-articulo-523813>

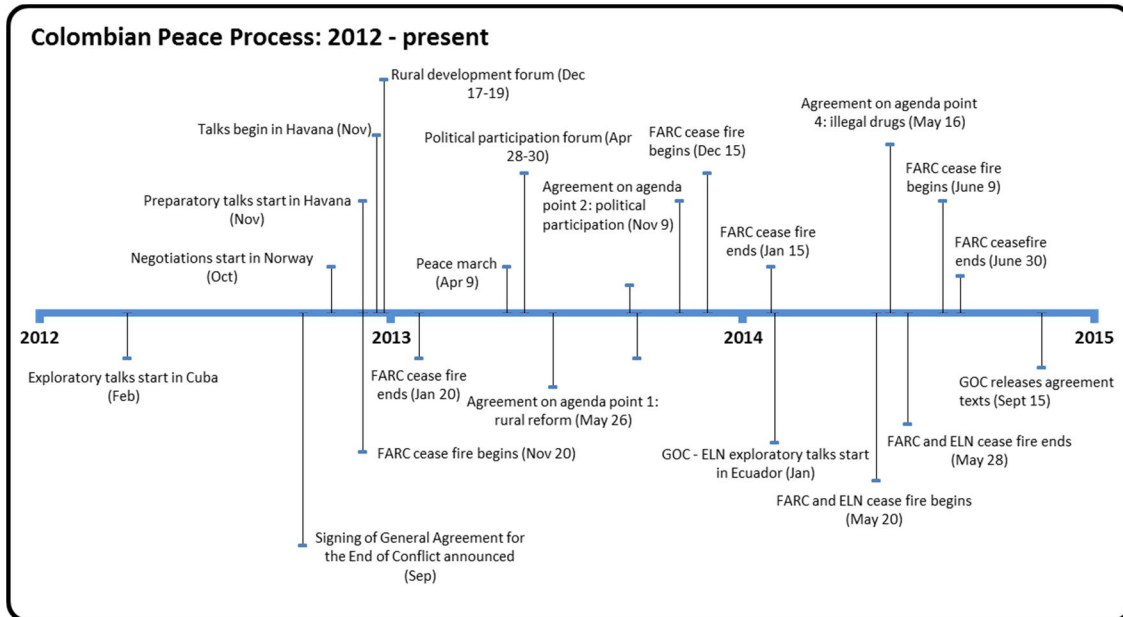
⁹⁷ <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/jose-alberto-velez-presidente-grupo-argos-necesitamos-mas-estado/406975-3>

⁹⁸ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/paz-va-costar-menos-guerra-mauricio-cardenas-articulo-524301>

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8. Further Reading

Report on elderly victims of the conflict

Fundación Saldarriaga Concha and the Victims' Unit published a report on victims who are more than 60 years old, and how they can contribute to peacebuilding. The report finds that 649,103 victims are over 60, or 9% of the victim population. It states that these people are often community leaders who can play central roles in peacebuilding and reconciliation.⁹⁹

Salvadoran ex-guerrilla analyzes peace process

El Tiempo interviewed Salvadoran ex-guerrilla turned politician, Joaquín Villalobos, about the GOC-FARC peace talks. He discussed the possibility of a ceasefire, public opinion of the talks, the controversy about 'Timochenko' going to Havana, and his own experiences in the FMLN.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ <http://www.saldarriagaconcha.org/prensa/informes-especiales/item/422-las-personas-mayores-en-la-construccion-de-paz>

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/CMS-14752858>