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Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

December, 2013

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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, setting in motion the fourth official peace talks with this group. The initial agenda includes: 1) integrated rural reform; 2) the guarantee of functional political opposition and civic participation; 3) the end of the conflict (laying down arms and reintegration into civilian life); 4) drug trafficking; and 5) rights of victims. Preparatory talks started in Oslo on October 17, 2012 and substantive dialogues, in Havana, on November 19, 2012. Two agreements have been reached so far: one on the first point on the agenda, integrated rural reform, on May 26, 2013; and the second on the next point, political participation, on November 6, 2013.

2. Key Developments from November 27 to December 3

Inspector General asks ICC to intervene in case of impunity

Alejandro Ordóñez, the Inspector General, met with the Chief Prosecutor and Attorney General of the International Criminal Court. He requested that the ICC intervene if the FARC are offered impunity in a peace agreement. He expressed concern that a final agreement could take into account only restorative justice (truth and reparations) and leave out penal justice.¹

Football match for reconciliation

After President Santos expressed admiration for Nelson Mandela's use of sport as a tool for reconciliation,² famous footballer "Pibe" Valderrama invited members of the FARC delegation in Havana to play a football match. The FARC accepted, and suggested that two matches be held: one in Havana, and a second in Santa Marta, which is a popular site for national football.³ They have invited Argentine player Maradona and other football stars to be part of the match.⁴

¹ http://www.eltiempo.com/justicia/procurador-pide-intervencion-de-la-corte-penal-internacional_13249002-4

² <http://www.elspectador.com/noticias/paz/santos-ve-el-deporte-una-forma-de-reconciliacion-colomb-articulo-460882>

³ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/farc-aceptan-jugar-partido-con-el-pibe_13239695-4 and http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/picado-por-la-paz_13245257-4

⁴ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/farc-invitan-a-maradona-a-partido-de-ftbol-por-la-paz_13246076-4



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3. Dialogues & Agenda

FARC proposals for anti-drug policy

The FARC team made ten proposals in discussions on illegal drugs, including: improved alternative crop projects; termination of crop spraying; no international influence on national drug policies; legalization of coca crops; and dismantling of drug trafficking organizations.⁵

In a press conference on Friday, the FARC delegation said that they felt they had been forced to collect tributes in peasant communities in order to protect their populations from drugs traffickers.⁶ They also stated their belief that Colombia's drug problem is not national but rather international, and that its solution should be a joint effort.⁷

The Attorney General does not agree with the idea that coca crops should be legalized, as he does not consider this to be an appropriate response to the problem of illegal drugs.⁸

UN delivers illegal drugs proposals in Havana

Fabrizio Hochschild, UN Resident Humanitarian Coordinator, delivered proposals the UN has collected on illegal drugs to the dialogue table. The peasants' proposal requests support in finding coca cultivation alternatives. Others focus on public health and drug legalization.⁹

4. International

Ex-FARC members end global "peace tour"

Medardo Maturana and Claudia Roa, two ex- FARC members, concluded their global tour supporting the peace process. The tour started in Madrid and ended in Berlin this week. Its objective was to increase support for the dialogues by allowing the public to interact with demobilized FARC members who reintegrated into society and want an end to the conflict.¹⁰

Santos meets with Obama

President Santos met with President Obama on Tuesday, and the US President praised Santos' efforts to build peace in Colombia. Santos requested US post-conflict support and encouraged the USA to demonstrate more commitment to regional development and peace.¹¹

⁵ <http://pazfarc-ep.org/index.php/noticias-comunicados-documentos-farc-ep/delegacion-de-paz-farc-ep/1574-10-propuestas-minimas-politica-antidrogas-para-la-soberania.html>

⁶ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/farc-dicen-se-vieron-obligados-cobrar-tributos-al-narco-articulo-461261>

⁷ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/farc-dicen-el-problema-no-de-coca-sino-de-cocaina-articulo-460982>

⁸ <http://www.eltiempo.com/justicia/fiscal-rechaza-legalizar-cultivos-de-coca-13246435-4>

⁹ <http://www.caracol.com.co/noticias/actualidad/onu-viajo-a-la-habana-para-entregar-las-propuestas-sobre-drogas-ilicidas/20131129/nota/2027219.aspx>

¹⁰ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/exguerrilleros-de-farc-cierran-berlin-su-gira-defensa-d-articulo-461566>

¹¹ <http://www.semana.com/mundo/articulo/visita-de-santos-obama-alianza-para-el-progreso-la-paz/366920-3>



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Ecuador prepares for “risks” of peace in Colombia

Ecuador’s Security Minister Homero Arellano said that the demobilization of the FARC could worsen border issues like drugs trafficking and illegal mining. One risk of FARC demobilization is that new criminal organizations form and participate even more in illegal activities.

Context note: Ecuador has 10,000 troops (20% of its army) along the border, and houses 55,000 refugees. The two countries have operated joint border security initiatives in the past.¹²

5. Other Voices

Women, minorities, and children are most affected: CNMH report

A Center for Historical Memory report “Challenges to reintegration: focus on gender, age, and ethnicity” shows that women, minorities, and children are most affected by conflict. Hundreds of ex-guerrilla and paramilitary members were interviewed for the report, whose main findings were: demobilized women are judged more harshly by society than men; indigenous groups have their own mechanisms to rescue illegally recruited children; and guerrilla groups do not distinguish between children and adults in terms of the demands made on them in conflict.¹³

6. Emerging Challenges & Responses

ELN peace process closer?

ELN commander alias ‘Gabino’ stated that he has already designated five commanders as the delegation that would represent the guerrilla group in peace talks with the GOC.¹⁴ The ELN also stated that it will accept the “challenge” of conducting peace talks with the GOC without a bilateral ceasefire. No start-date for such talks has been set, but this point was an obstacle to dialogues with the ELN, and has challenged GOC-ELN talks in the past.¹⁵

The ELN also liberated León Andrés Montes Ceballos, 1.5 years after he was kidnapped. Montes Ceballos stated that he believes his liberation was a gesture of peace by the ELN.¹⁶

¹² <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/ecuador-se-prepara-los-riesgos-de-paz-colombia-articulo-460850>

¹³ <http://www.centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/index.php/informes-gmh/informes-2013/desafios-para-la-reintegracion>

¹⁴ <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/eln-libera-ingeniero-secuestrado/366798-3>

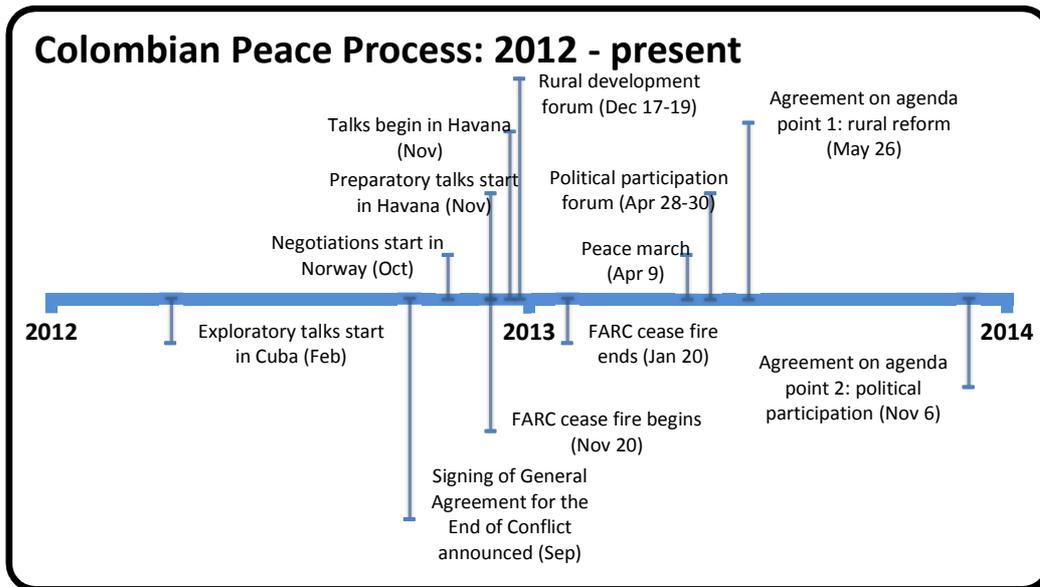
¹⁵ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/eln-acepta-reto-de-negociar-gobierno-medio-del-conflict-articulo-461422>

¹⁶ <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/eln-libera-ingeniero-secuestrado/366798-3>

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7. Timeline



8. Further Reading

Wealthy classes most supportive of peace process

A survey conducted by Semana and other news outlets found that 79% of the upper class, 64% of the middle class, and 60% of the lower class support the GOC-FARC peace process. In addition, 62% of those surveyed believed that the President elected in 2014 should continue with the dialogues. The survey included 1,225 people in 34 urban municipalities.¹⁷

¹⁷ <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/ricos-apoyan-proceso-de-paz-encuesta-colombia-opina/366179-3>



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2. Key Developments from December 4 to December 10

Colombia will demobilize 25,000 people after peace agreements

Colombian Reintegration Agency (ACR) Director Alejandro Eder stated that his entity expects to receive 20,000-25,000 demobilized people if the FARC and ELN sign peace agreements. This differs from other estimates that the FARC have 7,200 combatants and the ELN 1,200. Eder explained that this is accounted for by the inclusion of support structures in the ACR estimate.¹⁸

Eighty percent of demobilized people satisfied with reintegration

The ACR conducted a survey of 1,307 demobilized people in 31 service centers across the country. Eighty percent reported being satisfied with their reintegration. In addition, 71% say that they currently work. Ninety percent said that their quality of life now is better than when they were part of an illegal armed group. Members of the general population were also interviewed. Eighty percent recognized the contribution that reintegration makes to peace.¹⁹

3. Dialogues & Agenda

FARC announce 30-day ceasefire

A day after their attack in Cauca, the FARC declared a 30-day ceasefire starting on December 15th. The group hoped that the national army will suspend activity. President Santos rejected this idea, stating that military action will still target the FARC during the 30-day period.²⁰

Ousting of Mayor Petro threatens peace process: FARC

The Mayor of Bogotá, Gustavo Petro (former member of the guerrilla M-19) was ousted from his post by the Inspector General, provoking outrage from those who voted for him. The FARC reacted

¹⁸ <http://www.elspectador.com/noticias/paz/colombia-espera-desmovilizar-25000-personas-de-farc-y-e-articulo-462174>

¹⁹ <http://www.eltiempo.com/justicia/encuesta-de-la-acr-sobre-desmovilizados-en-colombia-13268366-4>

²⁰ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/farc-anuncian-un-cese-del-fuego-13268364-4>



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to his dismissal by saying that it is proof that the political left cannot exercise politics in Colombia because they are sabotaged by the right.²¹

4. International

OAS understands difficulties of transitional justice

In an OAS meeting, President Santos said that if the inter-American entity takes a rigid position on the fulfillment of justice norms in a FARC peace accord, the transition to peace could be impeded. The Secretary General of the OAS, José Miguel Insulza, confirmed that Colombia's transitional justice proposals will be debated in the OAS and that standards must be upheld.²²

Tony Blair weighs in on peace

President Santos met with Tony Blair last week. The UK ex-Prime Minister said that Colombians must be united behind peace, as the British were during the Northern Ireland peace accords. He emphasized a need for a fair political framework that facilitates security and coexistence.²³

International experts in Colombia to debate reintegration

Experts from twenty countries met in Santa Marta to discuss best practices in reintegration at the First Global DDR Summit organized by the ACR. Experts came from Angola, Burundi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Nepal and other countries. They agreed that a great task for Colombia will be to facilitate reconciliation and economic reintegration of the demobilized people.²⁴

5. Other Voices

Study released on children in conflict

UNICEF, the Colombian Family Welfare Institute, and IOM (funded by USAID) conducted a study of 1,600 children affected by conflict. All five of the variables studied (displacement, disengagement, sexual abuse, mine injuries, and being orphaned) impact emotional development, causing low self-esteem, aggressive behavior, and anxiety. Indigenous girls are most affected by violence. Children younger than twelve are less resilient than older children.²⁵

²¹ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/sancion-petro-grave-golpe-contra-el-proceso-de-paz-farc-articulo-463318>

²² <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/oea-entiende-justicia-transicional-un-tema-difcil-el-p-articulo-462101>

²³ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/paz-solo-se-consigue-si-hay-un-marco-justo-tony-blair-articulo-462438>

²⁴ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/colombia-reune-expertos-debatir-sobre-reintegracion-articulo-462000>

²⁵ <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/ninos-victimas-del-conflicto-en-colombia/367335-3>



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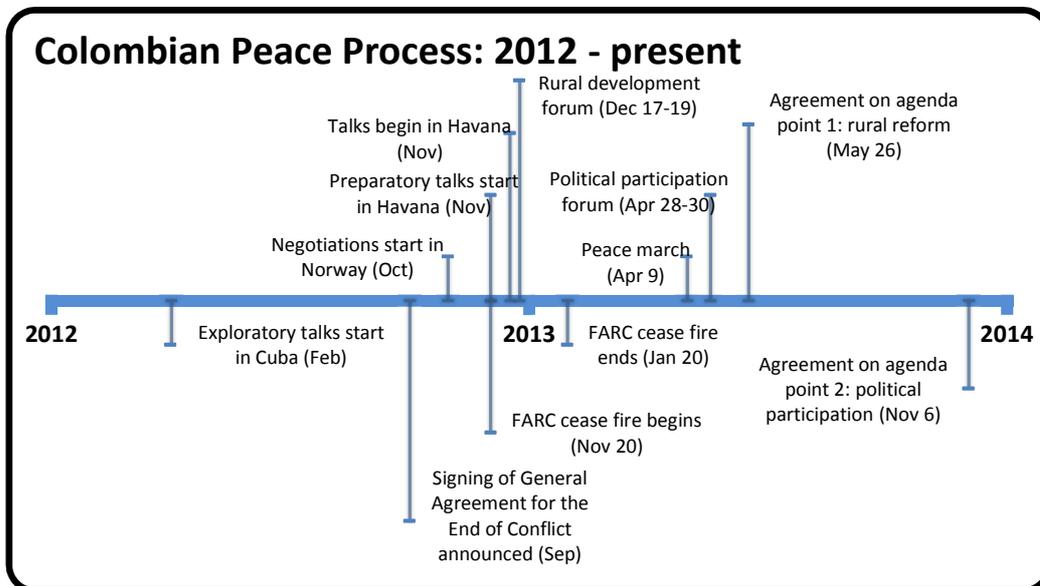
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6. Emerging Challenges & Responses

Minister of the Interior requests regional governors' support for peace

Minister of the Interior Aurelio Iragorri requested that departmental governors prepare for post-conflict and facilitate regional support for the implementation of peace agreements. The governors requested the decentralization of decision-making to allow those who best understand the regions to make decisions about how to implement peacebuilding initiatives.²⁶

7. Timeline



8. Further Reading

Challenges for the next Congress

El Tiempo published an analysis of challenges to be confronted by the next Congress, which will be elected in March. These included peace, rural development, justice, health, and education. The analysis arose from a discussion of the congressional elections held by El Tiempo with candidates from a range of political parties.²⁷

²⁶ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/asamblea-de-gobernadores-y-el-gobierno_13255579-4

²⁷ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/hangout-robledo-galn-guerra-y-gloria-stella-daz_13257871-4



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Interview with an ex-combatant

Semana interviewed ex-guerrilla member Laura Villa about her experiences in the FARC, her reasons for joining the group, and her life now that she has left. Villa was a student who left university in 2002 to join the FARC. She demobilized recently, and is now back in university.²⁸

Datexco survey shows increase in optimism regarding peace process

Approval for the way in which President Santos is managing the peace process has risen 17 points since October, according to a survey conducted by the company Datexco. In October, 21% of those surveyed thought that the peace process would result in a peace agreement, and this figure has now gone up to 39%.²⁹

²⁸ <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/entrevista-de-maria-jimena-duzan-con-guerrillera/367320-3>

²⁹ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/datexco-sube-el-optimismo-por-el-proceso-de-paz_13272123-4



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2. Key Developments from December 11 to December 17

Security will be top priority until peace agreement: Santos

President Santos stated that the armed forces should not let their guard down, and should continue their offensive against the FARC until a peace agreement is signed. He also said that in the case that an agreement is signed, the National Police will be in charge of sustaining peace as part of a national post-conflict strategy.³⁰

Armed forces can receive transitional justice benefits

At a military ceremony, President Santos declared that the armed forces will be able to apply for transitional justice benefits, as a debt that Colombian society owes them for their efforts in the conflict.³¹

Frank Pearl asks petroleum industry to consider post-conflict

GOC dialogues delegate spoke at a petroleum industry event on Friday. In his speech, he asked businesses and other actors in the sector to consider how they are going to contribute to the post-conflict phase in Colombia. This, he said, includes not only employing ex-combatants but also interacting with communities and investing in initiatives that prevent young people from joining criminal groups, and that promote long-term stability and positive social transformation.³²

³⁰ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/no-podemos-bajar-guardia-hasta-tengamos-firmada-paz-san-articulo-463748>

³¹ http://www.eltiempo.com/justicia/justicia-transicional-para-soldados_13283775-4

³² http://www.elcolombiano.com/BancoConocimiento/I/industria_petrolera_debe_pensar_en_el_postconflicto_frank_pearl/industria_petrolera_debe_pensar_en_el_postconflicto_frank_pearl.asp



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3. Dialogues & Agenda

Teams return to the dialogue table in Havana

The GOC and FARC dialogue teams returned to the table on Monday for a five-day round discussing illegal drug policy, to conclude on the 20th of December. Team leader, Humberto de la Calle, and ex-High Commissioner for Peace, Frank Pearl, will not return to Havana until Wednesday. They are rumored to be designing the 2014 peace process strategy with President Santos until then.³³

FARC ceasefire is a gesture of good will: Attorney General

On Sunday the FARC entered a unilateral ceasefire, which will go on for 30 days. Attorney General, Eduardo Montealegre, stated that this was a gesture of good will demonstrating the guerrilla group's commitment to peace.³⁴ On Tuesday there were conflicting reports on whether the guerrilla group had broken the ceasefire with an attack on Monday, causing doubts about the willingness of some blocs of the FARC to submit to orders made by the high commanders at the talks in Havana. In their statements, FARC also criticized Government strategy against illegal drugs.³⁵

4. International

Mandela is remembered in context of peace talks

John Kerry highlighted the example that Mandela provided for the Colombian peace process, stating that he focused on the future instead of holding onto the hate of the past.³⁶ GOC dialogue team leader, Humberto de la Calle, also expressed his gratitude to Mandela for providing an example of how to overcome differences in the common interest of peace.³⁷

The European Union will finance post-conflict efforts

The President of the European Commission, José Manuel Durao, met with President Santos last week. He stated that the EU has funds available to support post-conflict efforts in Colombia, although he did not specify an amount. He also emphasized the importance of trade relations between the EU and Colombia as a middle-income country.³⁸

³³ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/negociadores-de-gobierno-viajan-cuba-retomar-dialogo-fa-articulo-464519>

³⁴ http://www.eltiempo.com/justicia/declaraciones-del-fiscal-general-sobre-cese-al-fuego_13290528-4

³⁵ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/farc-dicen-no-han-violado-tregua-de-fin-de-ano-articulo-464668> and http://www.eltiempo.com/colombia/medellin/tregua-de-las-farc-en-diciembre_13293327-4

³⁶ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/mandela-un-ejemplo-el-proceso-de-paz-de-colombia-john-k-articulo-464411>

³⁷ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/mensaje-de-nelson-mandela-inspira-a-delegacin-de-paz-del-gobierno_13278236-4

³⁸ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/unin-europea-financiar-un-escenario-de-posconflicto-en-colombia_13282598-4

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5. Other Voices

Letter to the FARC about the peace football match

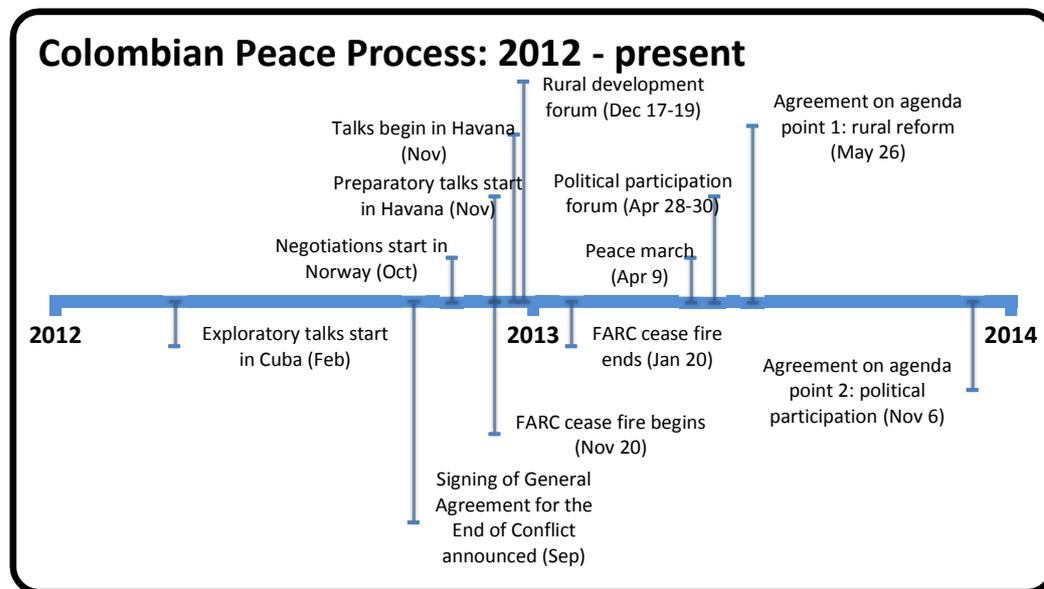
Various academics, politicians, and other relevant actors signed a letter to the FARC supporting the idea that they play a football match with various famous footballers and representatives of government. This match was suggested three weeks ago, and aims to facilitate reconciliation. Individuals who signed the letter include politician Horacio Serpa, National Center for Historical Memory Director Alvaro Villaraga, and organizations Colombians for Peace, the Women's House, Corporación Nuevo Arco Iris, and the Peace and Reconciliation Foundation.³⁹

6. Emerging Challenges & Responses

Sexual violence used as a weapon

An editor from El Tiempo, Jineth Bedoya, was interviewed by the Observer in London. She discussed a report by ABColombia that highlights the use of sexual violence as a weapon in the armed conflict and the fact that it is often given impunity in judicial processes.⁴⁰

7. Timeline



³⁹ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/carta-a-las-farc_13287578-4

⁴⁰ http://www.abcolombia.org.uk/downloads/ABColumbia_Conflict_related_sexual_violence_report.pdf



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8. Further Reading

Analyses of the peace process this year

Two analyses of the peace process as it occurred in 2013 were published. One, by *Semana Magazine*, highlighted eight points related to the peace process, such as events that affected or caused controversy around the talks. Points included: the trip by Congress members to meet with the FARC dialogue team; the agreement on integrated rural reform; Uribe's Twitter updates; the agreement on political participation; and the question of the peace process' relationship with next year's elections.⁴¹ The *El Tiempo* analysis focused on similar points.⁴²

⁴¹ <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/proceso-de-paz-con-las-farc-en-2013/368249-3>

⁴² http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz-el-hecho-del-2013_13288261-4



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2. Key Developments from December 18 to December 24

FARC announce plan for “National Constituent Assembly”

At the final press conference of the year for the peace talks, the FARC presented their 12 minimum points for a “National Constituent Assembly,” which they believe is the best way to ratify the peace agreements, if they are signed in Havana. They also added that the problem of illicit drugs is a social one.⁴³

Never has GOC advanced this far in peace negotiations with the FARC: De la Calle

Leading GOC representative at the peace discussions, Humberto de la Calle, stated on December 20th that the GOC has never made so much progress before in peace talks with the FARC than what has been done in the current discussions, despite the fact that GOC hoped to advance more.⁴⁴

3. Dialogues & Agenda

Dialogues take a break for the holidays, no advances reported

The GOC and FARC peace dialogues culminated their 18th round of discussion on December 20th, with no reported advances on the issue of illicit drugs. The talks will resume again on January 13th.⁴⁵ The GOC and FARC spent the last week with experts on the issue of illegal drugs listening to analysis on various related issues.⁴⁶

⁴³ <http://farc-epeace.org/index.php/communiques/communiques-peace-delegation/item/297-press-conference-end-of-18th-round.html>

⁴⁴ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/nunca-habiamos-avanzado-tanto-un-proceso-de-paz-humbert-articulo-465360>

⁴⁵ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/gobierno-y-farc-concluyen-ciclo-de-conversaciones-sin-n-articulo-465319>

⁴⁶ <http://farc-epeace.org/index.php/communiques/communiques-peace-delegation/item/297-press-conference-end-of-18th-round.html>



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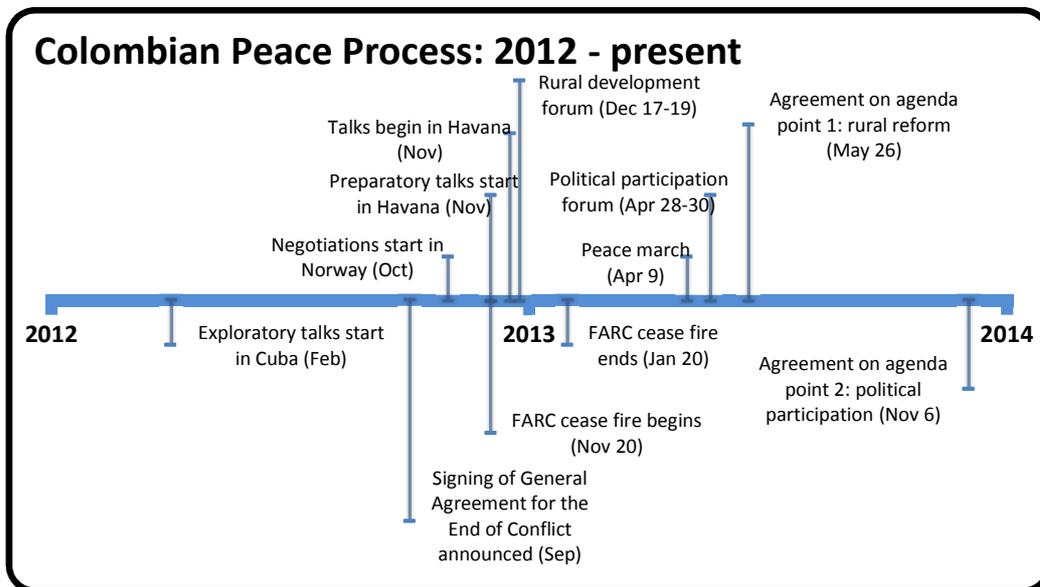
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4. Other Voices

President Santos calls on Colombians to make peace starting at home

Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos called on Colombians during the holiday season to build peace within their families. He also made references to the idea of reconciliation and asking for forgiveness.⁴⁷

5. Timeline



6. Further Reading

Analyses of the peace process this year

The Peace and Reconciliation Foundation released its report on what occurred in the armed conflict during 2013. They reported that the FARC carried out 2003 “armed actions” in 2013, a slight increase from 2012, and that the dynamics of FARC attacks in the last year followed a logic clearly connected to the peace talks in Havana. The organization also released reports on the ELN and Bacrim groups.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷ http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/mensaje-de-navidad-de-santos_13314856-4

⁴⁸ On the FARC, see: <http://www.pares.com.co/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/informe-Farc-2013.pdf>. For the other reports, see: www.pares.com.co