

# Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

December, 2014

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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, 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 November 26<sup>th</sup> – December 2<sup>nd</sup>

### General Alzate and other kidnap victims released

General Rubén Darío Alzate Mora, Captain Jorge Rodríguez Contreras, and lawyer Gloria Urrego were kidnapped by the FARC on November 16<sup>th</sup>, causing a suspension of the GOC-FARC peace talks. They were all released on Sunday in an operation supported by the ICRC, and passed medical tests and were allowed to go home soon after.<sup>1</sup> The GOC dialogue team travelled to Cuba on Monday to discuss the possibility of resuming the peace talks with the FARC counterparts, and to evaluate how the process can be expedited.<sup>2</sup> President Santos said it is possible that another round of talks will be held before the end of the year.<sup>3</sup>

### Various areas of government call for explanation from Alzate

The Technical Investigation Corps of the Attorney General's Office called for General Alzate to come forward and give his testimony about the circumstances of his kidnapping and the

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/parte-medico-positivo-de-los-liberados-anuncia-hospital-articulo-530632>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/negociadores-del-gobierno-buscaran-cuba-reiniciar-dialo-articulo-530716> and <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/justicia/reanudacion-del-proceso-de-paz/14918575>

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/podria-haber-ronda-de-conversaciones-habana-antes-de-te-articulo-530954>

## Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

*December, 2014*

conditions in which he was living during his time in captivity.<sup>4</sup> After President Santos expressed his expectation that General Alzate provide an explanation for why he broke security protocol, conservative supporters of ex-President Uribe said that as Chief Commander of the Armed Forces, Santos also owes an explanation for the events.<sup>5</sup> Inspector General Alejandro Ordóñez reported that he will also be meeting with Alzate to discuss the kidnapping.<sup>6</sup>

### **Alzate explains kidnapping, retires from active service**

Upon his release, General Alzate met with military officials to explain the circumstances of his kidnapping.<sup>7</sup> In a press conference on Monday, General Alzate explained that he had been in the village of Las Mercedes to discuss a humanitarian project with residents there, and had gone without a weapon and uniform (thereby breaking protocol) in order to strengthen community trust. At the same conference, Alzate stated that he has retired from active military service as a result of the kidnapping and the way it has affected the military institution, and that President Santos has accepted this resignation.<sup>8</sup>

Santos declared the matter closed given that Alzate's explanation is satisfactory.<sup>9</sup> However, the explanation has caused doubt, especially due to the claim that Alzate did not use his uniform because he wanted to strengthen community trust, which some think is unlikely as the military often aims to strengthen trust by implementing social projects while wearing uniform. Other doubts center on the fact that Alzate felt he should retire from active service after the kidnapping, which some believe makes no sense given his long and successful military career.<sup>10</sup>

### **Photos of General Alzate and FARC leader cause controversy**

After the release of General Alzate and the other two kidnap victims, the FARC published photos taken while they were waiting to be freed, one of which showed the General and FARC leader 'Pastor Alape' in a friendly embrace. After media criticism that the photo was doctored or the

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<sup>4</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/fiscalia-general-cito-entrevista-al-general-alzate-articulo-530722>

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/si-alzate-debe-dar-explicaciones-santos-tambien-zuluaga-articulo-530766>

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/procurador-general-se-reunira-el-general-alzate-articulo-531004>

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/justicia/general-alzate-explico-a-mindefensa-como-fue-su-secuestro/14912519>

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/he-solicitado-al-gobierno-nacional-mi-retiro-general-al-articulo-530846>

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/gobierno/no-tengo-por-que-no-creer-en-su-version-santos-sobre-general-alzate/14919195>

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/justicia/la-renuncia-del-general-alzate-a-las-fuerzas-militares/14918276> and <http://lasillavacia.com/historia/el-general-recupero-su-libertad-pero-no-su-credibilidad-49197>

## Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

*December, 2014*

General had been forced to take it, the FARC stated that it is proof of the possibilities for reconciliation between historically opposing groups in Colombia.<sup>11</sup>

### 3. GOC – ELN Key Developments from November 26<sup>th</sup> – December 2<sup>nd</sup>

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#### **Progress towards formal talks has not been made: ELN**

In a communiqué on Sunday, the ELN stated that no progress has been made towards formal peace talks with the GOC, but rather more and more differences between the two parties have been identified. The group also criticized the government for making a media show out of the kidnapping of General Alzate.<sup>12</sup>

### 4. International

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#### **IABD President hopes Colombia can move on from conflict**

Luis Alberto Moreno, President of the Inter-American Development Bank, expressed his support for the peace process and optimism after the release of kidnap victim General Alzate. He stated that he hopes that Colombia can move on from conflict to a new phase of peace.<sup>13</sup>

#### **International actors express hope that talks will resume promptly**

José Migual Insulza, the Secretary General of the Organization of American States, stated his hope that the GOC-FARC peace process will resume promptly, after the release of General Alzate. He also called for no further illegal activity to jeopardize the talks.<sup>14</sup> In addition, a communiqué from the European Union expressed joint expectation that the dialogues will continue soon, highlighting the partial agreements already reached and other progress.<sup>15</sup>

#### **Colin Powell highlights hope for peace in Colombia**

Former US Secretary of State Colin Powell spoke at a forum organized by El Espectador called “Colombia in peace-time”. In his speech, Powell highlighted the need for different political ideologies in Colombia to find ways to build peace together, and hoped that the US would maintain its support for the country through Plan Colombia. He also discussed the possibility of

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<sup>11</sup> <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/justicia/foto-con-pastor-lape-es-show-mediatico-de-farc-general-alzate/14918516>

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/eln-asegura-no-hay-avances-dialogos-el-gobierno-articulo-530836> and <http://www.eln-voces.com/index.php/es/voces-del-eln/comando-central/1091-vendiendo-humo>

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/presidente-bid-espera-colombia-pueda-pasar-pagina-del-c-articulo-530859>

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/insulza-espera-se-reanude-proceso-de-paz-tras-liberacion-articulo-530625>

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/union-europea-espera-liberacion-de-general-alzate-reanu-articulo-530616>

## Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

*December, 2014*

FARC integration to the armed forces, which he said could be possible for mid-level and low-ranking members of the guerrilla group, but probably not for its leaders.<sup>16</sup>

### **International Criminal Court warns Colombia on impunity**

ICC Attorney General Fatou Bensouda warned that any agreement reached on the point about victims in the Colombian peace process must take into account that impunity for those ultimately responsible for victimization will not be accepted in international law. She highlighted the need to comply with the Rome Statute in transitional justice measures resulting from a final agreement.<sup>17</sup>

## 5. Other Voices

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### **Coca Cola supports employment of ex-combatants in Colombia**

Fabricio Ponce, CEO of Coca Cola in Colombia, was interviewed by El Espectador. In the article he discusses the need for the private sector to support the post-conflict phase by employing ex-combatants, among other measures. He highlighted Coca-Cola's efforts in this area, and other efforts to contribute to peace and reconciliation.<sup>18</sup>

## 6. Emerging Challenges and Responses

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### **GOC anxious to approve extension of talks**

Minister of the Interior Juan Fernando Cristo spoke before Congress to encourage them to act swiftly to approve a law that would allow the peace talks to continue past the expiration of the current law on December 21<sup>st</sup> 2014. The law creates security conditions such as suspension of select orders for arrest on FARC leaders, to support the dialogues.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/paz-tiene-ser-un-compromiso-comun-articulo-530910>

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/justicia/dura-advertencia-de-la-corte-penal-internacional-a-colombia/14920616>

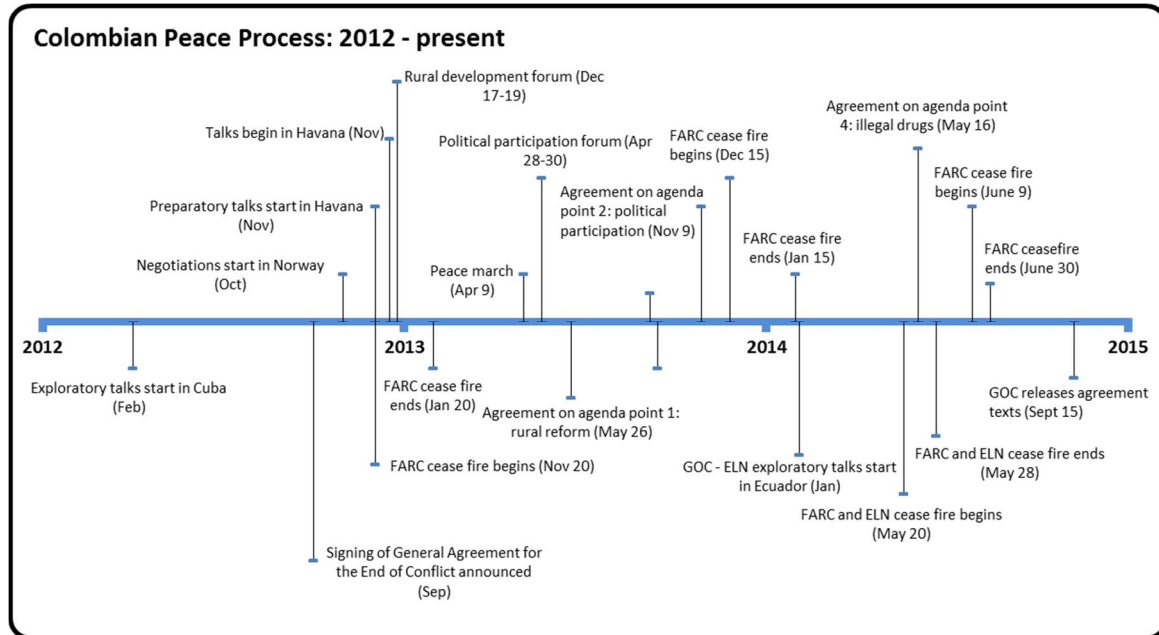
<sup>18</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/economia/inclusion-laboral-de-reinsertados-una-meta-articulo-530885>

<sup>19</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/sos-del-gobierno-aprobar-ley-sirve-de-marco-legal-de-di-articulo-530854>

## Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

December, 2014

### 7. Timeline



### 8. Further Reading

#### Profile of community where ex-combatants and victims live side-by-side

Verdad Abierta published an article profiling Tabla Roja, a community in Santander which was created through the issue of land plots by the government to various vulnerable populations. The article highlights the lives of two ex-ELN demobilized people, and how they and their neighbors – many of whom are victims - have worked together to build a peaceful community.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.verdadabierta.com/desmovilizados/5533-tabla-roja-una-vereda-donde-conviven-victimas-y-exguerrilleros>

## Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

December, 2014

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### 2. GOC – FARC Key Developments from December 3<sup>rd</sup> – December 9<sup>th</sup>

#### **GOC-FARC talks to resume within a week, model will not change**

GOC dialogue team leader Humberto de la Calle confirmed that the GOC-FARC talks will resume on approximately December 10<sup>th</sup>, after they were suspended due to the kidnapping of General Alzate and two others on November 16<sup>th</sup>. The General has now been released and a consensus achieved about the reinitiating of the dialogues. He also stated that the structure and model of the talks will not be modified, but that the next round's discussions will address ways to decrease the intensity of the conflict, after calls for a bilateral or unilateral ceasefire from a range of sectors.<sup>21</sup> A communiqué from the two teams also confirmed that the first delegation of organizations to the sub-commission on gender will arrive in Cuba on December 15<sup>th</sup>, and the fifth and last meeting with a delegation of victims will occur on December 16<sup>th</sup>.<sup>22</sup>

#### **Attorney General supports political participation, weighs in on political crime debate**

Attorney General Eduardo Montealegre stated his support for conditional permission for ex-leaders of the FARC to participate in politics. The debate about this matter is ongoing, as many feel that as they are ultimately responsible for grave violations of human rights, they should not be allowed to participate in politics. Other debates surround the term "political crime" and whether

<sup>21</sup> [www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/de-la-calle-aclara-que-no-habra-cambios-en-modelo-de-negociacion/14931205](http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/de-la-calle-aclara-que-no-habra-cambios-en-modelo-de-negociacion/14931205)

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/este-es-el-comunicado-en-el-que-se-renueva-el-proceso-de-paz/14926115>

## Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

*December, 2014*

or not drugs trafficking should be included in this category, in which case judicial benefits for political crimes, including benefits related to political participation, would also apply to those who had been involved in this illegal activity.<sup>23</sup> Montealegre expressed that they should be allowed to participate in politics after going through transitional justice processes.<sup>24</sup>

### **Inspector General hopes for unilateral ceasefire**

As the Christmas period approaches, Inspector General Alejandro Ordóñez expressed his hope that the FARC will announce a unilateral ceasefire as they have in the last two Christmases since the peace talks began. However, Ordóñez said that the ceasefire should be permanent, not only for Christmas.<sup>25</sup>

## 3. International

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### **Governor General of Canada expresses support for peace process**

The Governor General of Canada, David Lloyd Johnston, was interviewed by El Tiempo when he was in Colombia last week to strengthen ties between the two countries. He expressed his hope that the peace process will have positive results, and highlighted that the Canadian Embassy is working with the Colombian government to design a post-conflict support plan.<sup>26</sup>

### **Secretary General of UNASUR calls for support to peace process**

The Secretary General of UNASUR, Colombian ex-President Ernesto Samper, called on South American governments to find ways to support the GOC-FARC peace process, as peace in Colombia would benefit all of South America. He also encouraged President Santos to keep working to achieve a peace agreement with the guerrilla group.<sup>27</sup>

## 4. Other Voices

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### **Indigenous groups in Valle del Cauca send message of peace**

A collective of indigenous groups who are living in the city of Cali as a result of their displacement from rural areas due to conflict-related violence, presented their annual development plans in the city on Friday. They stated their hope that the peace process will result in a final agreement that

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<sup>23</sup> <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/justicia/las-claves-del-debate-sobre-delito-politico/14941278>

<sup>24</sup> <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/fiscal-esta-a-favor-de-participacion-politica-de-farc/14938578>

<sup>25</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/procurador-le-pidio-farc-cese-unilateral-al-fuego-no-de-articulo-532148>

<sup>26</sup> [www.eltiempo.com/mundo/ee-uu-y-canada/la-paz-en-colombia-es-una-inversion-rentable-david-lloyd-johnston/14938106](http://www.eltiempo.com/mundo/ee-uu-y-canada/la-paz-en-colombia-es-una-inversion-rentable-david-lloyd-johnston/14938106)

<sup>27</sup> <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/unasur-pide-concretar-pronto-acuerdos-de-paz/14938579>

# Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

December, 2014

will bring peace to Colombia and will allow them to develop in accordance with their traditions. They also hoped that national and departmental post-conflict development plans will include financial and technical support for their ethnic groups.<sup>28</sup>

## Regional governors request post-conflict support

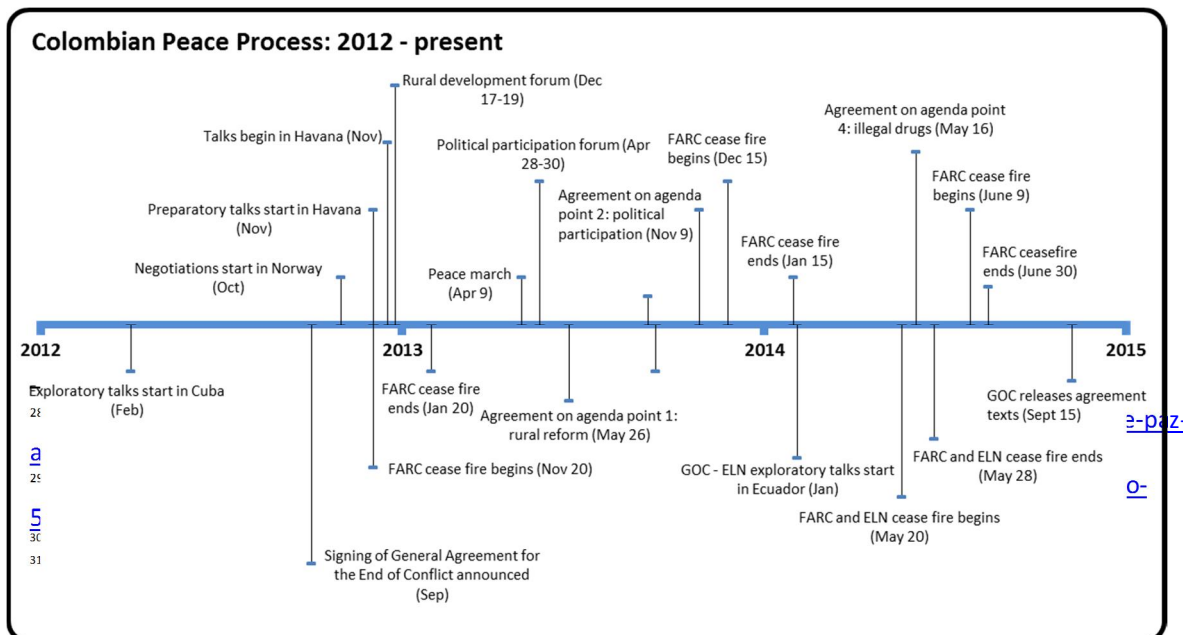
The National Federation of Departments sent its diagnostic of the implementation of the Victims' Law to the national government. The diagnostic and its accompanying proposal for post-conflict preparations highlighted the difficulties that the regions have faced in implementing the Victims' Law, mostly related to the inadequate distribution of resources for reparations from the national government to the regions. The departments therefore requested that more attention be paid to how such resources are distributed in the post-conflict phase.<sup>29</sup>

## 5. Emerging Challenges and Responses

### Santos assures military they will receive judicial benefits

President Santos assured members of the armed forces that they will receive the same judicial benefits as the guerrilla as part of a final peace agreement. The President specified that he does not want to facilitate repetition of what happened with the guerrilla M-19, whose members received amnesty in the 1990s, while members of the military who fought against them when they attacked the Palace of Justice in 1985 are now in jail.<sup>30</sup> He also asserted that the military will not be left at any kind of disadvantage as a result of a final agreement.<sup>31</sup>

## 6. Timeline







# Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

*December, 2014*

## 7. Further Reading

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### **Datexco survey reveals low level of trust in FARC's intentions**

A monthly survey conducted by Datexco revealed that 70% of those surveyed did not trust the intentions of the FARC, and believe the group does not wish to reach a peace agreement. In addition, 74% of those asked opposed FARC high commanders' participation in politics.<sup>32</sup>

### **Ex-President Pastrana criticizes Santos**

Ex-President Pastrana published an evaluation of the peace process that criticized Santos for excluding the majority of Colombians from the talks, and for suggesting that drugs trafficking could be considered a political crime that could be covered by judicial benefits. He also requested that Santos facilitate a national dialogue about peace.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> [www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/el-pais-aun-desconfia-de-voluntad-de-paz-de-farc-encuesta-de-datexco/14927996](http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/el-pais-aun-desconfia-de-voluntad-de-paz-de-farc-encuesta-de-datexco/14927996)

<sup>33</sup> <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/pastrana-santos-es-genuflexo-con-las-farc/411662-3>

## Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

December, 2014

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### 2. GOC – FARC Key Developments from December 10<sup>th</sup> – December 16<sup>th</sup>

#### **Fifth and last delegation of victims travels to Cuba**

The fifth and last delegation of victims travelled to Cuba to participate directly in the peace talks, where they met with dialogue teams on Tuesday. Members were selected by the UN and the Universidad Nacional, and included: 1) Magda Correa de Andreis, whose brother was murdered by paramilitaries; 2) Maurice Armitage, a businessman who was kidnapped first by the FARC and then by a criminal group; 3) Piedad Córdoba, an ex-senator who was kidnapped by the paramilitaries; 4) Domingo Tovar, a union leader affected by the conflict; 5) Isabella Vernaza, ELN kidnapping victim; 6) Jairo Barreto Lopez, a displaced peasant leader; 7) Camilo Villa, whose father was a human rights activist killed by paramilitaries; 8) Maria Susana Portela Lozada, mayor of Florencia Caquetá and victim of a FARC attack; 9) Juan Manuel Hernandez Sosa, a soldier wounded in a car bomb attack; 10) Sister Gloria Cecilia Londoño, who worked alongside another nun who was killed in a paramilitary attack; 11) Francia Marquez, a young Afro-Colombian leader who was displaced by criminal groups; and 12) Nilson Antonio Liz Marin, a peasant leader, and victim of displacement and threats by multiple armed groups.<sup>34</sup>

Anibal Gaviria, mayor of Medellin, whose brother was kidnapped and killed by the FARC, was originally slated to go to Cuba as part of the delegation but is outside the country on official

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<sup>34</sup> <http://www.elspectador.com/noticias/paz/revelan-nombres-de-integrantes-del-ultimo-grupo-de-vict-articulo-533141>

## Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

*December, 2014*

business and so declined to participate.<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile, calls were made for only FARC victims to go to Cuba, and for Piedad Córdoba, who has faced controversy in the past due to supposed links with the FARC, to explain her relationship with the guerrilla group.<sup>36</sup>

### **Debate continues about definitions of political crime**

There is an ongoing debate on how to define “political crime”, and whether to include drugs trafficking in this definition and thereby allow members of the FARC who have been involved in the illegal activity to access judicial benefits. FARC leaders stated that the concept of political crime should be broadened in the interests of resolving the conflict.<sup>37</sup> President Santos said drugs trafficking will not be considered a political crime, but allowances in the transitional justice framework will be made for ex-combatants who were involved in this illegal activity.<sup>38</sup>

### **Gender experts to provide input in Sub-Commission**

Six gender experts and representatives of women’s organizations arrived in Cuba to provide input to the Sub-Commission on gender. The groups represented were: Iniciativas de Mujeres por la Paz; Ruta Pacifica; Corporación Colombiana de Teatro; Red nacional de Artistas; Asociación de Mujeres por la paz y los derechos de la Mujer; Sisma Mujer; and Casa de la Mujer. The women will meet with the Sub-Commission and provide feedback on gender in partial agreements reached until now, and proposals for its incorporation into agreements on points to be discussed.<sup>39</sup> The experts also requested a bilateral Christmas ceasefire.<sup>40</sup>

## **3. International**

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### **USA confirms support for dialogues**

US Secretary of State John Kerry was in Colombia, where he met with President Santos, GOC dialogue team leader Humberto de la Calle and High Commissioner for Peace Sergio Jaramillo,

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<sup>35</sup> <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/alcalde-de-medellin-dice-que-no-ira-a-cuba-14971276>

<sup>36</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/habana-solo-deben-ir-victimas-de-farc-procurador-articulo-533282> and <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/piedad-cordoba-nos-debe-una-explicacion-sobre-su-relaci-articulo-533212>

<sup>37</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/farc-piden-restablecer-figura-del-delito-politico-articulo-532942>

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/gobierno/santos-dice-que-no-acceptara-el-narcotrafico-como-delito-politico-14951595>

<sup>39</sup> [www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/expertas-en-temas-de-genero-llegan-a-cuba-para-asistir-dialogos-de-paz-14974475](http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/expertas-en-temas-de-genero-llegan-a-cuba-para-asistir-dialogos-de-paz-14974475)

<sup>40</sup> [www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/expertas-en-genero-piden-a-gobierno-y-farc-tregua-bilateral-en-navidad-14979395](http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/expertas-en-genero-piden-a-gobierno-y-farc-tregua-bilateral-en-navidad-14979395)

## Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

*December, 2014*

who updated him on progress-to-date in the talks. Kerry stated that a peace agreement would strengthen US-Colombian relations, and hoped that an accord will be signed in 2015.<sup>41</sup>

### **World Bank approves post-conflict fund**

The World Bank has approved the creation of a multi-donor fund to support post-conflict initiatives in Colombia. The first task of the fund will be to support efforts to increase the efficiency of the Victims' Unit in order to strengthen collective reparations in the country.<sup>42</sup>

### **GOC and OAS extend MAPP-OEA mandate**

The Colombian Government and the Organization of American States signed an extension of the mandate of the OAS Mission to Support the Peace Process. The Mission, originally established to support peace with the paramilitaries, will remain for another three years with the objective of continuing current projects and supporting the post-conflict in the case of a peace agreement with the FARC.<sup>43</sup>

## 4. Other Voices

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### **March against peace process takes place across Colombia**

Ex-President Uribe's political party, the Centro Democrático, organized a march to protest the peace process this Saturday. The march, which occurred in Bogotá, Cali, Bucaramanga, Barranquilla, Cartagena, Villavicencio, Santa Marta, Cúcuta, Montería, and Popayán, protested the perceived possibility of impunity for FARC leaders as a result of the peace talks.<sup>44</sup> Ex-Vice President Francisco Santos said that people at the marches feared the peace process and the continued violence by the FARC around the country.<sup>45</sup> Controversy erupted when President Santos' son Martin pointed out that the photos Uribe had tweeted of the march, supposedly to show the large turnout of support, were actually from a pro-peace talks march held in 2013.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/estados-unidos-se-compromete-el-posconflicto-articulo-532774> and <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/eeuu-confia-2015-se-firme-paz-colombia-articulo-532833>

<sup>42</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/banco-mundial-aprueba-fondo-multidonantes-paz-colombia-articulo-532697>

<sup>43</sup> [www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/insulza-oea-tiene-algo-que-aportar-en-una-eventual-firma-de-paz/14979645](http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/insulza-oea-tiene-algo-que-aportar-en-una-eventual-firma-de-paz/14979645)

<sup>44</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/movilizacion-contra-del-proceso-de-paz-articulo-533018>

<sup>45</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/gente-siente-miedo-de-pasa-habana-y-de-violencia-de-far-articulo-533172>

<sup>46</sup> <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/polemica-por-fotos-que-circularon-tras-marcha-liderada-por-el-uribismo/14975266>

## Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

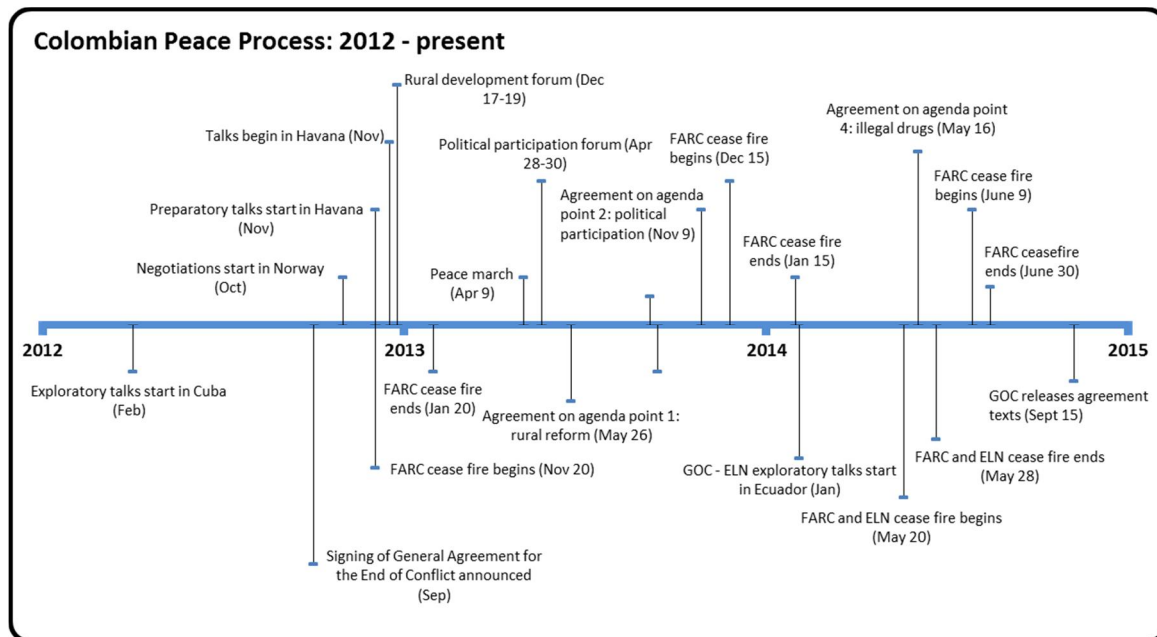
December, 2014

### 5. Emerging Challenges and Responses

#### FARC suggest more resources for social projects

In a speech via Internet at the University of Santander, FARC leader 'Carlos Antonio Lozada' said the police should return to civilian functions, and fewer resources should be dedicated to the armed forces. The funds, he said, should be re-allocated to social projects that facilitate development, especially health and housing in rural areas.<sup>47</sup> President Santos also emphasized a need for post-conflict support in rural areas in an unrelated speech in Boyacá.<sup>48</sup>

### 6. Timeline



### 7. Further Reading

#### Crisis Group releases report on peace process

International Crisis Group published a report on progress made in the peace talks until now, with 19 recommendations to the government on how to proceed in 2015. These recommendations include: de-escalation of the conflict; cantonment of the FARC immediately after signature of a

<sup>47</sup> <http://www.elspectador.com/noticias/nacional/farc-pide-destinar-mas-recursos-obras-sociales-y-no-gue-articulo-533004>

<sup>48</sup> <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/gobierno/la-paz-se-siembra-en-el-campo-ese-sector-es-prioridad-santos/14971296>



## Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

*December, 2014*

peace agreement; international monitoring and assistance of ceasefires and disarmament; and mechanisms to ensure compatibility of the reintegration process with transitional justice norms.<sup>49</sup>

### **End-of-year summaries of peace process**

Semana Magazine published an end-of-year summary of the progress and impact of the peace process in 2014. The article states that the talks' greatest effects were felt in politics, where the presidential elections in May and June exacerbated existing tensions between peace process supporters and opposition. The article also highlights the publication of the three partial agreements reached so far, which address integral rural development, political participation, and illegal drugs.<sup>50</sup> El Tiempo published a similar end-of-year review, also focusing on the presidential elections.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> [www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/latin-america/colombia/053-the-day-after-tomorrow-colombia-s-farc-and-the-end-of-the-conflict.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/latin-america/colombia/053-the-day-after-tomorrow-colombia-s-farc-and-the-end-of-the-conflict.pdf)

<sup>50</sup> <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/proceso-de-paz-resumen-del-ano-2014/412072-3>

<sup>51</sup> [www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/proceso-de-paz-eje-de-la-reconfiguracion-politica-del-pais-en-2014/14972275](http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/proceso-de-paz-eje-de-la-reconfiguracion-politica-del-pais-en-2014/14972275)

## Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

December, 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 December 17<sup>th</sup> – December 23<sup>rd</sup>

#### **FARC declares unilateral ceasefire, with conditions**

As in past Christmas periods since the peace talks began, the FARC have declared a unilateral ceasefire beginning on December 20<sup>th</sup>. This ceasefire is indefinite, but with the condition that the military cannot attack the guerrilla group.<sup>52</sup> In addition, the FARC stated that the ceasefire must be verified by a third-party organism. UNASUR, the Universidad Nacional, and the Church have all agreed to fulfill a verification role, as has the UN as long as both parts request it.<sup>53</sup>

The conditions of verification and no military attacks are controversial. President Santos hoped that the ceasefire was a positive step in trusting the FARC's intentions to reach peace, but disliked the conditions and rejected the idea of international verification.<sup>54</sup> He also hoped that the FARC would make other gestures of peace.<sup>55</sup> Minister of Defense Juan Carlos Pinzón echoed these

<sup>52</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/farc-decretan-cese-al-fuego-tiempo-indefinido-articulo-533704>

<sup>53</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/unasur-esta-lista-veeduria-sobre-cese-al-fuego-de-farc-articulo-533818> and [www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/iglesia-onu-y-universidad-nacional-se-ofrece-a-verificar-cese-del-fuego/14997036](http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/iglesia-onu-y-universidad-nacional-se-ofrece-a-verificar-cese-del-fuego/14997036) and <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/onu-puede-verificar-cese-al-fuego-colombia-si-gobierno-articulo-534024>

<sup>54</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/farc-dieron-de-regalo-de-navidad-una-flor-espigas-santo-articulo-533919> and <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/cese-del-fuego-unilateral-de-farc-en-suspenso/14994656>

<sup>55</sup> [www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/santos-espera-que-a-tregua-se-sumen-otros-gestos-de-paz-de-farc/14998515](http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/santos-espera-que-a-tregua-se-sumen-otros-gestos-de-paz-de-farc/14998515)

## Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

*December, 2014*

sentiments.<sup>56</sup> Ex-presidential candidate Oscar Iván Zuluaga, other Uribe supporters, and Inspector General Alejandro Ordóñez, did not believe that the FARC would stop attacks, and criticized the conditions for forcing a bilateral ceasefire.<sup>57</sup> The Civil Society Peace Assembly welcomed the announcement, highlighting that it increases public trust in the talks.<sup>58</sup> La Silla Vacía pointed out that if the ceasefire is not fulfilled, it could turn into an obstacle in the talks.<sup>59</sup>

As of Monday, December 22, President Santos announced that the FARC had not carried out any military attacks.<sup>60</sup>

### **Victims conclude their trip to Cuba**

After providing their input to the peace process last week, the fifth and last delegation of victims to travel to Cuba joined with the dialogue teams and guarantor country representatives to plant a tree in honor of all victims.<sup>61</sup> They also encouraged the dialogue teams to continue discussions until reaching an agreement.<sup>62</sup> *Semana* published a summary of the victims' visits, highlighting that of the 60 victims who went to Cuba in five delegations, 36 were women and 24 were men, of 19 and 78 years of age, from 25 departments in Colombia.<sup>63</sup>

### **FARC requests forgiveness for massacre in Bojayá**

The FARC asked that the people of Bojayá and of Colombia more broadly forgive them for killing 117 people in a mortar attack in 2002. They said that this request was rooted in a true desire for peace in Colombia, and to move towards reconciliation.<sup>64</sup> GOC dialogue team leader Humberto de la Calle praised the FARC's request for forgiveness as a true gesture of peace.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/pinzon-espera-se-cumplan-anuncios-de-farc-de-no-usar-vi-articulo-534041>

<sup>57</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/oscar-ivan-zuluaga-dice-cese-al-fuego-de-farc-un-engano-articulo-533901> and <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/procurador-califico-una-burla-declaracion-del-cese-unil-articulo-533753> and <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/centro-democratico-responde-cese-al-fuego-de-las-farc/412593-3>

<sup>58</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/asamblea-paz-anuncio-de-farc-fortalece-confianza-los-di-articulo-533865>

<sup>59</sup> <http://lasillavacia.com/historia/el-cese-unilateral-de-las-farc-una-oportunidad-con-poca-viabilidad-49323>

<sup>60</sup> <http://www.noticiascaracol.com/especiales/estan-cumpliendo-y-espero-lo-sigan-haciendo-santos-sobre-cese-del-fuego-de-farc>

<sup>61</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/siembran-un-arbol-habana-honrar-victimas-articulo-533497>

<sup>62</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/negociacion-unica-salida-victimas-del-conflicto-colombi-articulo-533548>

<sup>63</sup> <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/tres-victimas-en-la-habana-fueron-amenazadas-de-muerte/412690-3>

<sup>64</sup> <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/farc-piden-perdon-por-masacre-de-bojaya/412647-3>

<sup>65</sup> <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/humberto-de-la-calle-el-perdon-de-las-farc-tiene-enorme-significado/412743-3>



## Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

December, 2014

### 3. GOC – ELN Key Developments from December 17<sup>th</sup> – December 23<sup>rd</sup>

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#### **ELN will continue dialogue with the Government in 2015**

The ELN announced on December 22, that it will continue in its efforts, along with the Colombian government, to define an agenda and begin formal peace talks in 2015. The group also stated that it supported the FARC's unilateral ceasefire and it hoped that the government responded in kind; the ELN, though, will not carry out a ceasefire.<sup>66</sup>

#### **ELN Kidnaps Mayor in Chocó**

On December 17, the ELN kidnapped the mayor of Alto Baudó, in the department of Chocó, whom the guerrilla group has not yet released.<sup>67</sup> President Santos stated that if the ELN really wants to begin a peace process, it “has to stop this way of kidnapping people” and stated that it was “cowardly.”<sup>68</sup>

### 4. International

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#### **International entities praise FARC ceasefire**

The European Union praised the FARC's announcement of an indefinite unilateral ceasefire, stating that it shows their commitment to the peace process, and will therefore increase international trust in their intentions to achieve peace.<sup>69</sup> The Office of the United Nations Resident Coordinator in Colombia also praised the announcement and hoped that the ceasefire will be fulfilled in order to facilitate peace.<sup>70</sup>

### 5. Emerging Challenges and Responses

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#### **Disagreement about referendum continues**

The disagreement between the FARC and the GOC about the method to be used to ratify a final peace agreement continues. In the FARC communiqué about the ceasefire, they said that they have begun the path towards peace and a constitutional assembly,<sup>71</sup> which would provide the opportunity to integrate the agreements into a new constitution, something the GOC has expressly rejected in the past. President Santos clearly stated on Wednesday that a final peace

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<sup>66</sup> <http://www.eln-voces.com/index.php/es/voces-del-eln/comando-central/1112-saludo-de-fin-de-ano>

<sup>67</sup> <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/alcalde-de-alto-baudo-secuestrado-por-el-eln/412607-3>

<sup>68</sup> <http://www.wradio.com.co/noticias/actualidad/santos-exige-a-eln-liberacion-de-alcalde-secuestrado-si-quiere-proceso-de-paz/20141218/nota/2557204.aspx>

<sup>69</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/elmundo/ue-afirma-crecera-confianza-proceso-de-paz-tras-anuncio-articulo-533883>

<sup>70</sup> [www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/naciones-unidas-y-union-europea-respaldan-cese-del-fuego-de-las-farc/14993695](http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/naciones-unidas-y-union-europea-respaldan-cese-del-fuego-de-las-farc/14993695)

<sup>71</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/farc-hablan-de-proceso-constituyente-articulo-533779>

## Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

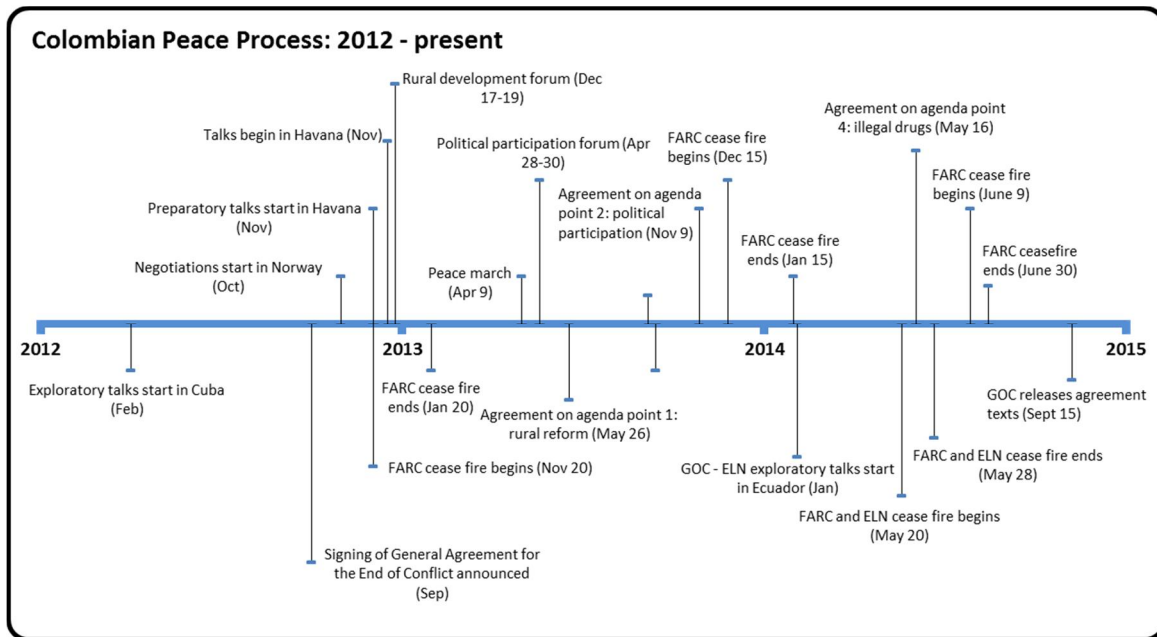
December, 2014

agreement would be approved by popular referendum, maintaining the position that the GOC has held since the initiation of the talks.<sup>72</sup>

### Santos addresses possible FARC containment zone

In a speech last week, President Santos stated that it is possible that a containment zone will be created for FARC ex-combatants to ensure their security and consolidate national and international disarmament verification. He emphasized that this issue will be discussed at the dialogue table and cannot yet be confirmed.<sup>73</sup>

## 6. Timeline



## 7. Further Reading

### Analysis of the FARC ceasefire

El Espectador published an analysis of the FARC ceasefire, written by researchers from the CERAC think tank. The article states that this is a positive gesture, but that it does aim to force the GOC to agree to a bilateral ceasefire, which is unlikely to happen in the short term.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>72</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/paz-no-se-alcanzara-cualquier-costosantos-articulo-533642>

<sup>73</sup> [www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/zona-de-concentracion-para-las-farc-se-discutira-en-la-mesa-santos/14991087](http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/zona-de-concentracion-para-las-farc-se-discutira-en-la-mesa-santos/14991087)

<sup>74</sup> <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/momento-decisivo-el-proceso-de-paz-articulo-533811>



## Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

*December, 2014*

### **De la Calle summarizes peace talks progress in 2014**

In a press communiqué, GOC dialogue team leader Humberto de la Calle highlighted progress made in the peace talks in 2014. He discussed the participation of the delegations of victims in the talks, and emphasized the importance of women's roles in these delegations and in the Sub-Commission on Gender, which began work a few weeks ago. He also stated that criticism and debate is always welcome, and that all opinions about the process are welcome as the talks enter what should be their final stage in 2015.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/humberto-de-la-calle-el-proceso-debe-entrar-en-la-recta-final/412605-3>