January, 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, 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 January 1st to January 8th

#### **FARC** have violated ceasefire seven times

The Conflict Analysis Resource Center (CERAC) reported that as of January  $2^{nd} - 12$  days before the FARC ceasefire ends – the group had violated the pact seven times. These violations include the detonation of two bombs, three threats, armed harassment of the military, and a case of forced recruitment.<sup>1</sup>

# 3. Dialogues & Agenda

## Santos criticizes negative propaganda about the dialogues

President Santos declared that the FARC's transition to democracy is the main objective of the talks in Havana. He criticized negative publicity and propaganda being distributed about the dialogues, such as the speculation that the parties were negotiating police pension schemes and restructuring of the economy.<sup>2</sup> The next round of talks is planned to begin on January 13<sup>th</sup>.

## 4. International

## UN: FARC continues to recruit minors during peace talks

UN Resident Humanitarian Coordinator Fabrizio Hochschild stated that the FARC has continued to recruit children since the peace talks began in November 2012. Military sources support this statement, saying that there have been eight cases of child recruitment since the FARC declared a ceasefire on December 15<sup>th</sup>.<sup>3</sup>

#### FARC criticizes Colombia-U.S.A. military collaboration

The FARC criticized collaboration between Colombian and U.S. military forces in the fight against the guerrilla group, labeling it a breach of national sovereignty. The Colombian military

http://www.eltiempo.com/justicia/farc-han-violado-el-cese-de-hostilidades 13331878-4

http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/santos-critica-propaganda-negra-sobre-dilogos-de-paz 13333529-4

http://www.vanguardia.com/actualidad/colombia/240170-farc-se-llevaron-ninos-a-sus-filas-durante-la-tregua

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was reported to have worked closely with the CIA in operations against the guerrilla group, who says the association casts doubts on the GOC's willingness to reach a peace agreement.<sup>4</sup>

#### 5. Other Voices

#### **Retired General discusses his post-conflict role**

El Tiempo interviewed retired General Freddy Padilla de León, a congressional candidate for the 'U' party (Partido de la Unidad Nacional). De León discussed his military experience and the post-conflict role he could play, as well as the peace process, his working relationship with ex-President Uribe and President Santos, his candidature, and post-conflict security issues.<sup>5</sup>

## 6. Emerging Challenges & Responses

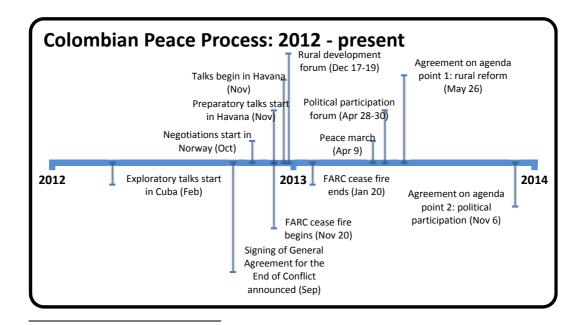
## Santos presents new security data

President Santos used his Twitter account to publicize data that shows security improvements in 2013. This includes a 24% reduction in terrorism, the capture of 1,087 guerrilla members (including 933 from the FARC), and the capture of 2,757 members of the BACRIM.<sup>6</sup>

#### Peace is more than signing an agreement: Éder

Alejandro Éder, Director of the Colombian Reintegration Agency (ACR), was interviewed by El País. He stated that a range of initiatives will be used to implement and support a peace agreement. In the interview, Éder discusses the ACR reintegration process, the possible reintegration of the FARC, and the role of the private sector in reintegration.<sup>7</sup>

## 7. Timeline



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/farc-critican-duramente-colaboracion-militar-entre-colo-articulo-467247

http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/entrevista-con-el-general-freddy-padilla-de-leon 13339398-4

<sup>6</sup> http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/presidente-santos-hace-balance-de-seguridad 13337545-4

http://www.elpais.com.co/elpais/judicial/noticias/paz-caera-cielo-ni-llegara-por-firmar-papelito-alejandro-eder

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## 8. Further Reading

## **FARC** criticizes reintegration process

The FARC published a criticism of Colombian reintegration policy. They challenged the ACR's assertions that 56,000 illegal combatants have demobilized and that the FARC and ELN would amount to 25,000 people if they were to demobilize. The article claims that the military coerces relatives of guerrilla combatants to make their family members demobilize, and that the army takes children from families to the ICBF claiming that they disengaged. The FARC say that if these policies continue, they will be reluctant to sign a peace agreement.<sup>8</sup>

#### Survey shows 68% support peace process

A recent survey published by the National Consultancy Center indicated that 68% of Colombians support the GOC-FARC peace process. This is up from 65% in November and 63% in October.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> http://www.pazfarc-ep.org/index.php/noticias-comunicados-documentos-farc-ep/estado-mayor-central-emc/1600-la-criminal-politica-de-reintegracion.html

http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/mas-de-dos-tercios-de-los-colombianos-apoyan-proceso-de-articulo-466355

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## 1. Background

2

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# 2. Key Developments from January 8<sup>th</sup>to January 14<sup>th</sup>

# Restructuring of Attorney General's Office and Ombudsman's Office

President Santos signed seven decrees that facilitatepost-conflict reforms to the AGO and Ombudsman's Office. Reforms include: 3,000 new jobs in the AGO; employee training to combat new forms of crime; new systems to systematize information; and strengthening of regional offices. Five new police branches will include a human rights and humanitarian law department, and the Ombudsman's Office will play a more central role in victim reparations.<sup>10</sup>

#### Arrival of 'Julian Conrado' to the FARC team causes controversy

Guillermo Enrique Torres Cueter, aka 'Julian Conrado', known as the singer of the FARC, arrived in Cuba to join the guerrilla dialogue team. While Conrado celebrated his freedom from prison in Venezuela, where he was awaiting extradition to Colombia, critics such as ex-President Uribe stated that his release was a sign of the impunity to be given to FARC members if a peace agreement is signed. GOC negotiator, De la Calle, said that GOC and FARC dialogue teams have the right to make adjustments to their composition during the peace process. Conrado's arrival in Cuba is discussed further below.

# 3. Dialogues & Agenda

## **FARC** propose regulation of coca market

As the 19<sup>th</sup> round of talks began on Monday, January 13<sup>th</sup>, the FARC dialogue team proposed a program for the regulation of marijuana, poppy, and coca production. The group said that the industrial, medicinal, alimentary, and cultural uses of each should be evaluated and regulation should respond to identified needs. They also stated that zones of cultivation should be demilitarized, an alternative security plan implemented, and crop spraying terminated. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/decretos-paz-articulo-467971

<sup>11</sup> http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/julian-conrado-califica-su-libertad-un-triunfo-de-irrev-articulo-467828 and http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/liberacion-de-julian-conrado-llevara-impunidad-uribe-articulo-467837

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz-humberto-de-la-calle-habla-sobre-reinicio-de-dialogos 13354958-4

## January, 2014

FARC program also included an oversight team of UNODC, UNASUR, and academic representatives.<sup>13</sup>

## Julian Conrado will not sit at the dialogue table

The FARC team's new member, Julian Conrado, joined the support group and will not be directly participating in the talksdue to weak health. <sup>14</sup> He is being investigated in Colombia for murder, kidnapping, drugs trafficking, and forced displacement. 15 It is believed that he was added to the team to demonstrate that the Southern Bloc, with which he was affiliated, is committed to the peace process, contrary to rumors suggesting they do not support the talks; but other hypothesis leads to believe that his current position in this military structure is weaker than it used to be, and that does not represents their position.<sup>16</sup>

# 4. Emerging Challenges & Responses

#### FARC encourage people to submit blank votes

The FARC called for Colombians not to vote for right wing parties in this year's elections, as they will not support the peace process, especially radical parties.<sup>17</sup> The guerrilla group also encouraged the submission of blank votes in the proposed referendum of a possible peace agreement. The FARC support the use of a Constituent Assembly for a popular vote on a possible agreement.<sup>18</sup>

### Peace to be a central theme in 2014 elections campaigns

With the presidential and senate elections approaching this year, peace is expected to be a central theme in candidates' campaigns. All presidential candidates will, at some point, have to provide their opinion on the peace process and state their plans to continue or suspend the talks, and implement post-conflict reform. Candidates for other posts will also have to state their support or criticism of the peace process, as well as plans for post-conflict initiatives. <sup>19</sup>

# 5. Further Reading

## The future of the left in a peaceful Colombia

Chamber representative IvánCepeda wrote an article for El Tiempo, in which he describes the evolution of the left with relation to conflict and peace, especially the current peace process.<sup>20</sup>

#### **Colombia Reports interviews ICTJ Colombia Director**

Maria Moreno, Director of the ICTJ Colombia office, was interviewed by Colombia Reports. In the interview, she discusses what she considers three main post-conflict challenges for

<sup>13</sup> http://www.pazfarc-ep.org/index.php/noticias-comunicados-documentos-farc-ep/1640-programa-nacional-de-sustitucion-de-los-usos-ilicitos-deos-cultivos-de-hoja-de-coca-amapola-o-marihuana.html

http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/julian-conrado-no-hara-parte-de-mesa-de-paz-articulo-467864

<sup>15</sup> http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/cantante-de-las-farc-llega-a-mesa-de-paz-de-cuba 13348851-4 <sup>16</sup>http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/por-qu-el-cantante-de-las-farc-llega-a-la-habana 13354219-4

http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/farc-invitan-no-votar-por-la-derecha/370768-3

http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/farc-proponen-votar-blanco-proximas-elecciones-articulo-468205

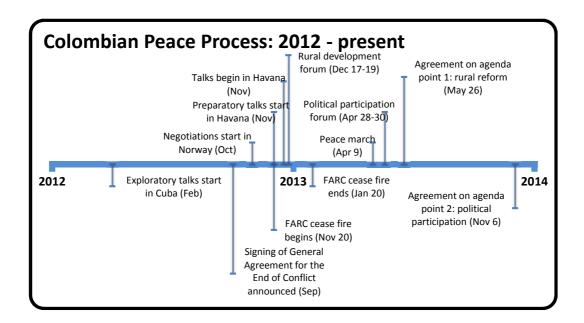
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/la-paz-el-tema-principal-en-la-campaa-de-2014 13350035-4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>http://www.eltiempo.com/opinion/salon-debate/la-paz-y-el-futuro-de-la-izquierda-ivan-cepeda-castro 13348295-4

## January, 2014

Colombia: alternative criminal prosecution models; victims' reparations; and the design and implementation of a truth commission.<sup>21</sup>

# 6. Timeline



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>http://colombiareports.co/alternative-criminal-prosecution-necessary-post-conflict-colombia-transitional-justice-expert/

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## 1. Background

3

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# 2. Key Developments from January 15<sup>th</sup> to January 21<sup>st</sup>

# Popular consultation instead of referendum on peace agreement?

The GOC has long supported the referendum model to allow the Colombian citizenry to approve a final peace agreement reached by the elections in May. The FARC, in contrast, support the use of a constituent assembly. However, President Santos said that another option – that of popular consultation – could also be analyzed for this purpose.<sup>22</sup>

### Peace process has cost more than 14 billion pesos

The Presidential Fund for Special Peace Programs has spent more than COP 14 billion (approximately US\$7.3 million) on the peace process. The Fund confirmed that this money is spent on the logistical and operational requirements of the talks, not on FARC representatives' living expenses. The Fund's publication of this data came at the request of a group of lawyers who petitioned the release of financial information related to the peace process.<sup>23</sup>

#### **FARC** ceasefire ends

The FARC Christmas ceasefire ended on January 15<sup>th</sup>. The Ombudsman reported that the pact was violated seven times, while the Conflict Analysis Resources Centre (CERAC) counted 12 violations and the Peace and Reconciliation Foundation counted four.<sup>24</sup> Many analysts believe that fulfillment of the ceasefire could indicate the amount of control FARC leaders have over the group. The high commanders in Cuba said the FARC did not violate the ceasefire at all.<sup>25</sup>

# 3. Dialogues & Agenda

#### FARC want peasants' rights at forefront of crop substitution policy

In a press conference on the current topic at the dialogue table – illegal drugs - FARC leaders stated that the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of the Colombian peasantry

http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/segunda-via-para-refrendar-la-paz 13384035-4

http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/proceso-de-paz-farc-ha-costado-mas-de-14-mil-millones-articulo-469276

and http://static.elespectador.com/archivos/2014/01/d5382d50aef4822a4cdcf78d9369f66d.pdf
http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/balance-de-la-tregua-de-las-farc/370943-3 and

http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/farc-si-violaron-tregua-navidena-defensoria-del-pueblo-articulo-468718

http://www.elnuevosiglo.com.co/articulos/1-2014-farc-cumplimos-con-tregua-unilateral.html

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should be at the center of crop substitution programs. They added that this focus should take a gender perspective into account.<sup>26</sup> The current round of talks ends on January 23<sup>rd</sup>.

### Paramilitary and BACRIM leaders ask to join the dialogue

In a letter sent to the Presidents of Cuba, the Netherlands, Venezuela, Chile, and Ecuador, former paramilitary leaders and current leaders of various BACRIM groups request to be part of the dialogues in Cuba. They argue that their activity also affects national security and could contribute to or prevent stable peace, and that they should therefore be included in the talks.<sup>27</sup>

## 4. International

## Santos campaigns for international support and investment in Europe

President Santos is in Spain, where he has meetings with Spanish President Mariano Rajoy as well as King Juan Carlos. Topics on the agenda for discussion include support for the peace process and Colombia's openness to foreign investment. Santos is also expected to attend a forum with more than 500 Spanish businesspeople, and on Thursday he will go to the Davos forum in Switzerland to highlight the good moment Colombia is going through in terms of economic development.<sup>28</sup>

## 5. Other Voices

## Women's proposals on drugs trafficking to be sent to peace talks

The High Presidential Counsel for Women's Equity will hold forums with women's organizations in regions in which illegal crops are commonly cultivated. The groups will be asked to submit proposals on solutions to the cultivation of illegal crops and associated health and social problems, to be sent to the conversation table in Havana.<sup>29</sup>

## 6. Emerging Challenges & Responses

#### Santos discusses the FARC's political future

President Santos stated that he envisions representatives of the FARC seated in Colombian Congress, adding that the peace process aims to encourage the guerrilla group to leave weapons aside but continue to represent their ideals. The President does not believe that a final peace agreement will be reached before presidential elections in May, but declared himself "cautiously optimistic" about signing such an accord before the end of 2014.<sup>30</sup>

#### **Human Rights Watch report criticizes Colombia**

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/farc-dicen-sustitucion-de-usos-ilicitos-de-coca-deben-t-articulo-469512

http://www.caracol.com.co/noticias/actualidad/cabecillas-paramilitares-piden-ser-incluidos-en-negociaciones-de-paz/20140121/nota/2059135.aspx

http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/visita-del-presidente-santos-a-europa 13383903-4

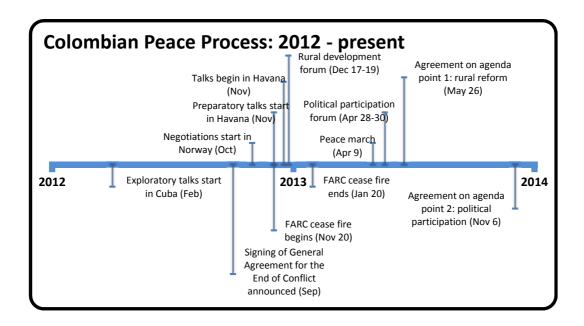
http://www.elnuevosiglo.com.co/articulos/1-2014-recoger%C3%A1n-propuestas-de-mujeres-sobre-narcotr%C3%A1fico.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/santos-imagina-un-futuro-politico-farc-articulo-469510 and http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/presidente-confia-firmar-paz-farc-ano-articulo-469235

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The GOC's 2013 efforts to define mechanisms for the processing of military cases and establish instruments for the post-conflict phase were criticized in Human Rights Watch's 2013 report. The document states that the Legal Framework for peace, which provides the groundwork for the judicial processes into which the FARC would enter if they demobilize as a result of a peace agreement, and proposed reforms to military justice, which would allow military cases to be processed in military courts, allow for impunity and do not protect human rights.<sup>31</sup>

#### 7. Timeline



## 8. Further Reading

### National transition plan is important: Iván Cepeda

Senate candidate Iván Cepeda stated his ideas on the peace process and the post-conflict phase. He discussed the need for strong political leadership of the transition to peace and democracy, and called on the political right to support a negotiated solution to the conflict.<sup>32</sup>

#### De la Calle rejects idea of impunity

GOC dialogue team leader Humberto de la Calle rejected the idea that the GOC is making large concessions to the FARC in the talks, and that the guerrilla group will be treated with impunity in planned transitional justice norms. He also highlighted the differences between what the FARC say in press conferences and what actually happens at the conversation table.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> http://www.hrw.org/world-report/2013 and www.eltiempo.com/politica/informe-anual-de-human-rights-watch 13389275-4

<sup>32</sup> http://confidencialcolombia.com/es/1/1112/10728/%E2%80%9CEs-necesario-un-Plan-Nacional-de-

Transici%C3%B3n%E2%80%9D-Iv%C3%A1n-Cepeda-Iv%C3%A1n-Cepeda-Paz-Senado-Congreso-Habana-elecciones.htm

<sup>33</sup> http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/gobierno-dice-justicia-transicional-no-un-acto-de-resig-articulo-470020

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## 1. Background

4

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# 2. Key Developments from January 22<sup>nd</sup> to January 29<sup>th</sup>

# **FARC** accepts blame for recent attack

The FARC accepted blame for a January 16<sup>th</sup> attack in Pradera, Valle del Cauca, which left one person dead and dozens injured. The FARC secretariat in Havana condemned the attack and said that not only did they not order it, but that disciplinary measures will be taken against those who did. They stated they do not wish to harm civilians who are not part of the conflict.<sup>34</sup>

This represents a change from the FARC's long-standing message that harm to civilians was a side-effect of conflict and could not be helped. It also shows that the FARC secretariat does not have control over all fronts of the guerrilla group. This may indicate that factions of the FARC will not demobilize in the case of a peace agreement with the group. <sup>35</sup> Meanwhile, Vice President Angelino Garzón asked the GOC and the FARC to sign a humanitarian agreement to prevent such attacks in the future, as well as to stop child recruitment and to free hostages. <sup>36</sup>

#### President Santos discusses peace in Europe

At a conference in Spain, Santos stated that Colombia is in a reconciliation process, and that if citizens can reconcile with the FARC, he can reconcile with rival ex-President Uribe.<sup>37</sup> President Santos is running for re-election in Presidential elections in May, and his campaign is expected to focus on achieving a peace agreement, generating employment, and tackling poverty.<sup>38</sup>

#### Senate President calls for changes to peace process

At a forum at the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), Senate President Juan Fernando Cristo stated his opinion that the degree of confidentiality of the peace process is exaggerated and should be decreased. He called for victims and ethnic groups to be included in the dialogues, and advocated for "Plan Colombia II" for victims in areas affected by conflict.<sup>39</sup>

http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/el-primer-mea-culpa-de-las-farc-ante-el-pas\_13411566-4

<sup>35</sup> http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/farc-no-saldran-unidas-del-proceso-de-paz-articulo-470746

<sup>36</sup> http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/angelino-garzon-plantea-minimos-humanitarios-con-las-farc/372171-3

<sup>37</sup> http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/santos-en-europa-si-nos-reconciliamos-con-las-farc-por-qu-no-con-uribe 13394595-4

<sup>38</sup> http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/transitando-el-camino-de-una-colombia-paz-plan-de-gobie-articulo-471075

<sup>39</sup> http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/juan-fernando-cristo-ve-exagerada-confidencialidad-de-p-articulo-470453

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## 3. Dialogues & Agenda

#### Controversy over peace process "myths"

GOC dialogue leader De la Calle wrote an article to debunk peace process "myths" that have circulated recently. The rumors he addresses are: that the GOC is making many concessions; that the armed forces will be down-sized in the case of a peace agreement; that rural reform affects private property; and that impunity will be given for crimes against humanity. He said that what the FARC tells the press is often different from what is said in the dialogues.<sup>40</sup>

The FARC responded that myths whose truth they deny include: that they are in the dialogues because of their military weakness; that there can be peace without demilitarizing conflict zones; and that what they tell the press is different from what they say at the dialogue table.<sup>41</sup>

#### Illegal drugs should be an international topic of discussion: Santos

While the first 2014 round of talks closed on Thursday, President Santos was in the Davos conference in Switzerland promoting the peace process and foreign investment in Colombia. He discussed the current topic of the dialogues – illegal drugs, stating that the issue is international and should be addressed by leaders from all over the world.<sup>42</sup>

## 4. International

### **CELAC** topics to include peace

The second CELAC summit takes place this week in Cuba. Leaders from Latin America and the Caribbean are meeting to discuss regional issues. Topics on the agenda include poverty, peace, and national and regional sovereignty.<sup>43</sup> Uruguayan President Mújica stated that one of his goals at the summit is to take action to accelerate the Colombian peace process.<sup>44</sup>

## 5. Other Voices

### Liberal party proposes post-conflict education reform

Daniel Quintero, Liberal party candidate for the Chamber of Bogotá, stated that post-conflict education reform will be necessary to support both victims and demobilized people in the transition to post-conflict life and their efforts to be socioeconomically independent.<sup>45</sup>

# 6. Emerging Challenges & Responses

#### FARC ask Santos to stop violence against Marcha Patriotica

The leftist political group Marcha Patriotica, which has ties to the FARC, has been the subject of violent attacks in recent months. The FARC have therefore requested that the GOC take action to protect the party and thereby uphold the democratic right to political opposition.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>40</sup> http://www.pazfarc-ep.org/index.php/reporta/1672-un-fuerte-llamado-hacen-las-farc-ep-al-gobierno-a-desmitificar-el-proceso-de-paz.html

<sup>41</sup> http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/reaccin-de-las-farc-a-declaraciones-de-santos-y-de-humberto-de-la-calle 13403386-4

<sup>42</sup> http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/santos-pidi-en-suiza-abrir-discusin-de-lucha-contra-drogas 13401136-4

http://www.larepublica.co/globoeconomia/paz-hambre-pobreza-y-soberan%C3%ADa-territorial-temas-clave-en-la-celac 104496

http://www.lanacion.com.co/index.php/internacional/item/229224-mujica-viaja-a-cumbre-de-celac-con-la-mira-en-proceso-de-paz-de-colombia

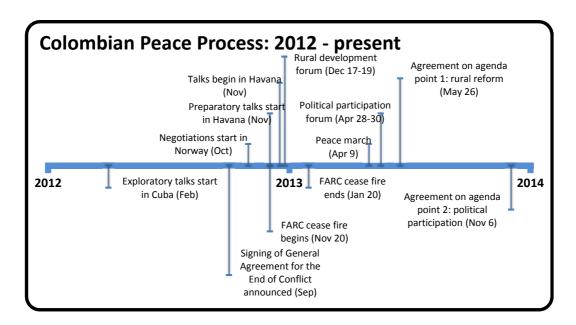
<sup>45</sup> http://www.caracol.com.co/noticias/actualidad/liberales-proponen-reforma-educativa-para-el-postconflicto/20140127/nota/2064306.aspx

#### January, 2014

### High Commissioner for Peace highlights post-conflict challenges

High Commissioner for Peace Sergio Jaramillo stated that the Colombian armed forces will continue their work in ensuring security in the post-conflict phase. This, he said, responds to the expectation that despite an end to the conflict, violence by BACRIM and other criminal groups will continue. He also highlighted that other measures will be taken to ensure citizen security in the post-conflict stage.<sup>47</sup>

## 7. Timeline



## 8. Further Reading

#### Analysis of the topic of illegal drugs

Razón Pública analyzed FARC proposals on the topic of illegal drugs. The article identifies nine basic points. These include: coca-producing peasants are often part of drugs trafficking networks; the FARC do not tolerate drug consumption in their group; and the proposal to recognize the different uses of coca, marijuana, and poppy is supported by society, but the plants produce drugs that are trafficked into very different markets.<sup>48</sup>

#### Peace process survey results released

The Universidad de los Andes and the Barómetro de las Américas public opinion polling group released the results of a national survey on the Colombian peace process. The survey found that 53.7% of the population supports the peace process, and this goes up to 59.1% in conflict-affected areas. In addition, 56.1% of people in conflict-affected areas would accept a demobilized person from the FARC as their neighbor. Other topics of the survey included transitional justice, political participation, reparations, and negotiation.<sup>49</sup>

 $<sup>^{46}\,\</sup>underline{\text{http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/farc-instan-gobierno-detener-via-crucis-de-movimiento-m-articulo-470164}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> http://www.eluniversal.com.co/colombia/acuerdo-de-paz-no-significa-el-fin-de-la-violencia-sergio-jaramillo-149577

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> http://razonpublica.com/index.php/conflicto-drogas-y-paz-temas-30/7306-las-farcy-el-campesinado-cultivador-de-plantas-il%C3%ADcitas-dilemas,-ideolog%C3%ADa-y-decisiones.html

http://www.uniandes.edu.co/noticias/ciencias-sociales/ique-piensan-los-colombianos-del-proceso-de-paz