

Colombian Peace Process: IOM Weekly Report

June, 2014

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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.

2. Key Developments from May 28th to June 3rd

Presidential candidates continue to debate peace process

After the first round of presidential elections resulted in President Santos and conservative rival Oscar Iván Zuluaga passing to the next round on June 15th, the peace process is at the center of debates between them. Having previously said that he would suspend the talks on his first day as president, Zuluaga softened his position, stating he would continue the dialogues but with increased conditions. These include timelines to ensure progress, and others aiming to increase transparency so the public is informed about dialogue discussions.¹

Santos accused Zuluaga of being fickle and changing his position to gain votes that previously supported conservative candidate Marta Lucía Ramírez, who supports the talks.² Santos' Vice Presidential candidate, Germán Vargas Lleras, also criticized Zuluaga for this shift.³ Meanwhile, rumors circulated that ex-High Commissioner for Peace Camilo Gómez contacted the FARC to facilitate communication between the guerrillas and Zuluaga's campaign. Gómez denied this.⁴

President Santos launches National Peace Council

Two months after announcing its reinstating, President Santos launched the National Peace Council (NPC). The Council was reconvened after a more than 10-year break to facilitate civil society participation in the talks through a national participation campaign. The launch included

¹ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/propuestas-uribistas-torno-paz-articulo-495472>

² <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/partidos-politicos/zuluaga-dice-que-continuar-proceso-de-paz-santos-lo-tilda-de-cinico/14050155>

³ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/partidos-politicos/uribismo-es-contradictorio-con-la-paz-vargas-lleras/14056276>

⁴ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/camilo-gomez-desmintio-acercamientos-clandestinos-farc-articulo-495493>



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victims' groups, human rights activists, the Church, businesspeople, union leaders, and others. The NPC will be managed by the Office of the High Commissioner for Peace.⁵

Context: The NPC was originally created in 1998 during the Samper government, due to a perceived need for a mechanism through which local government, ethnic minorities, unions, the church, and other civil society groups could provide input for new state peace policy. The law resulted in the creation of a network of Peace Councils led by a National Peace Council.

FARC considers ceasefire during elections

After their eight-day unilateral ceasefire for the first round of presidential elections in May, the FARC are considering another ceasefire in the week of the second round on June 15th.⁶

3. Dialogues & Agenda

Round of talks addresses new topic: victims

After a two-week break after the agreement on illegal drugs and presidential elections, the dialogue teams met for only two days to discuss the methodology used to address the next topic: victims. This agenda point will address reparations and victims' rights to truth.⁷ GOC dialogue team leader Humberto de la Calle said the discussion will not debate the victims' rights themselves, rather ways that their rights can be upheld.⁸ He also assured that contrary to rumors, military salaries and responsibilities will not be discussed at the dialogue table.⁹

FARC accept change in methodology

The FARC accepted the GOC's proposal of a change in methodology, so that the GOC and FARC dialogue teams will be divided into two sub-groups. The FARC did not accept that the sub-groups would simultaneously address victims and the end of the conflict as the GOC suggested, but accepted that they sub-groups could focus on different issues related to victims.¹⁰ Meanwhile,

⁵ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/un-consejo-nacional-de-paz-sociedad-articulo-495190> and <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/lanzan-campana-nacional-de-participacion-por-la-paz/14046257>

⁶ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/farc-analizan-posibilidad-de-declarar-otro-alto-el-fueg-articulo-496107>

⁷ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/gobierno-retomara-negociaciones-de-paz-farc-martes-articulo-495989>

⁸ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/tema-de-victimas-en-dialogos-en-la-habana/14069196>

⁹ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/de-calle-pide-ffmm-no-dejarse-confundir-campana-de-desi-articulo-496102>

¹⁰ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/farc-aceptan-subdividir-los-equipos-negociadores-de-paz-articulo-496097>



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technical committees comprised of experts approved by both teams will begin work on defining conditions such as ceasefire necessary for an end to the conflict.¹¹

4. Other Voices

Leftist groups organize support for peace process

After having declared their support for President Santos in the upcoming elections, leftist leaders announced the creation of a Broad Front for Peace. This organization will bring together and consolidate leftist groups and voices in support of the peace talks, including Chamber Representative Iván Cepeda and ex-Senator Piedad Córdoba.¹²

Intellectuals and academics weigh in on peace process

Santos met with former Bogotá Mayor Antanas Mockus, economist Salomón Kalmanovitz and other intellectuals to inform them about the peace process and hear concerns and thoughts on how to continue its progress.¹³ Many of these influential people signed a letter to the dialogue teams, expressing their support and asking for continued efforts at steady but rapid progress through the agenda points.¹⁴ Meanwhile, various academics from the Caribbean coast wrote a letter to the GOC supporting the talks and offering their expertise for the post-conflict phase.¹⁵

NGO asks GOC to add demining to the dialogue agenda

The Colombian Anti-Mining Campaign asked the GOC to add demining to the talks agenda due to an urgent need to resolve the issue, highlighted by 593 mine victims since the talks began.¹⁶

Young people will present proposals to the dialogue teams

Seven hundred young people from conflict-affected areas will send proposals to the dialogue teams through a forum organized by the High Commissioner for Victims Rights and other entities. The topics under which proposals will be made are: integral rural development; young people's

¹¹ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/comisiones-tecnicas-del-gobierno-y-farc-para-el-fin-del-conflicto/14071608>

¹² <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/lanza-en-bogota-frente-amplio-por-la-paz/14071726>

¹³ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/partidos-politicos/grupo-de-intelectuales-avala-el-proceso-de-la-habana/14054244>

¹⁴ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/mas-de-50-personajes-influyentes-declaran-su-apoyo-al-proceso-de-paz/14044559>

¹⁵ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/intelectuales-costenos-anuncian-su-respaldo-al-proceso-articulo-495233>

¹⁶ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/ong-colombiana-pide-acuerdo-especial-habana-sobre-minas-articulo-495624>



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role in spaces for participation; young people's contributions to resolving the issue of illegal drugs; victims' reparations and reconciliation, social inclusion, and citizen coexistence.¹⁷

Indigenous groups call for support for peace process

The five biggest indigenous organizations in Colombia made a joint statement in support of the peace process and calling for people to "vote for peace" in the June 15th elections, implying their support for President Santos, who has tied his election campaign to the peace talks. The National Indigenous Organization, Tayrona Indigenous Confederation, Traditional Indigenous Authorities, Indigenous Authorities for Mother Earth, and Organization of Amazonian Indigenous Peoples expressed hope that the peace process will reach an end to the conflict.¹⁸

5. International

French expert Pécaut analyzes the FARC

French FARC expert, Daniel Pécaut, was interviewed by El Espectador. He perceives the FARC to be debilitated and lacking in resources, and believes that they will never have another chance like this one to achieve peace. He expressed his thoughts on why the FARC have endured for so long, and the role the group could have in illegal crop substitution.¹⁹

Ex-FMLN leader says peace cannot wait

Joaquin Villalobos was a leader of El Salvador's FMLN guerrilla group. In interview with Semana, he discussed the Colombian peace process, the conditions that facilitated the talks, the upcoming presidential elections, the risks of ending the peace process, and the need for the FARC to ensure a rapid end to the peace process and thereby the conflict.²⁰

¹⁷ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/los-jovenes-victimas-del-conflicto-presentaran-propuesta-en-la-habana-/14056475>

¹⁸ <http://www.semana.com/nacion/elecciones-2014/articulo/indigenas-llaman-un-frente-por-la-paz/389972-3>

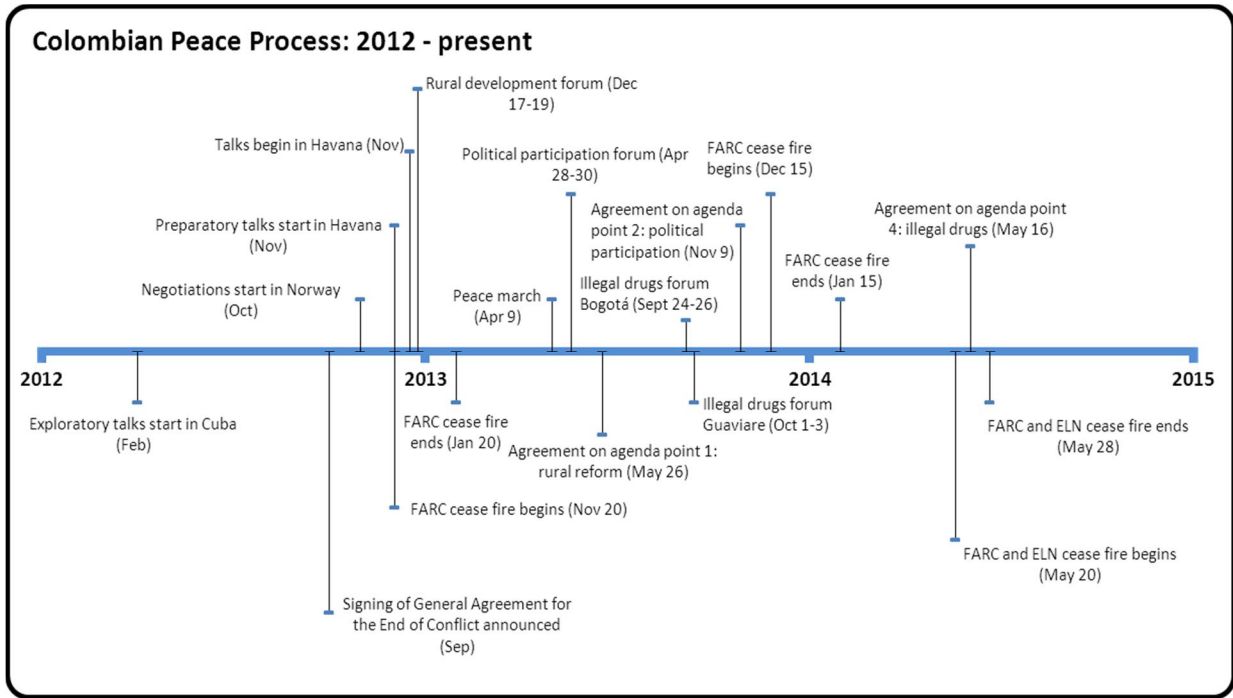
¹⁹ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/radiografia-de-una-guerrilla-debilitada-articulo-495421>

²⁰ <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/joaquin-villalobos-en-plata-blanca/390119-3>

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6. Timeline





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7. Further Reading

Analysis of the debate on the Legal Framework for Peace

Semana highlighted three opposing standpoints within the current debate about the Legal Framework for Peace: ex-Minister of Defense Rafael Guarín's, assertion that ex-FARC members responsible for crimes against humanity must not be allowed to participate in politics; the Attorney General, who said that limitations on political participation contradict democracy and peace; and the GOC, which is balanced between the other two.²¹

Ex-Mayor of Bogotá expresses concern over future of peace talks

Antanas Mockus, former Mayor of Bogotá, was interviewed by Semana. He discussed his support for the peace talks, the future of the process if Oscar Iván Zuluaga wins the presidency, the challenges of the peace process, and the possibility of ending the talks.²²

Academics discuss peace process and elections

Leon Valencia, director of the Peace and Reconciliation Foundation, fears that the peace talks will end if Zuluaga is elected. Alejo Vargas, an expert from the Universidad Nacional, worries that the FARC's dislike of Uribe will prevent them from continuing effective dialogues with Zuluaga, who is an Uribe supporter. El Colombiano interviewed them about their opinions on the relationship between the presidential elections and the peace process.²³

²¹ <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/proceso-de-paz-del-monte-al-congreso/390110-3>

²² <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/mockus-con-zuluaga-el-proceso-corre-el-riesgo-de-interrumpirse/389946-3>

²³ http://www.elcolombiano.com/BancoConocimiento/D/dialogos_de_paz_entre_dos_visiones_de_la_negociacion/dialogos_de_paz_entre_dos_visiones_de_la_negociacion.asp

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2. Key Developments from June 5th to June 11th

Peace talks with the ELN officially announced

The GOC announced on June 10th that exploratory talks have been taking place with the ELN since January 2014.²⁴ Until now, the victims and political participation issues have been included in the agenda to be discussed, but other topics will be added over time. The GOC and ELN will release information on the progress of the exploratory talks as they continue.²⁵

FARC announce ceasefire for second round of elections

The FARC released a letter to Presidential Candidate Oscar Iván Zuluaga in which the guerrilla group declared an “electoral ceasefire” beginning on June 9th and ending on June 30th. The ELN will not take part in this ceasefire, according to the FARC, because communication between the groups has been difficult. Also, in the letter, the FARC tried to explain the circumstances in which two children died in a guerrilla attack in Tumaco in May.²⁶

3. Dialogues & Agenda

“Principles” to guide discussion on Victims released

The guiding principles for the discussion on the 5th point – that of victims – were released in a joint statement between the GOC and FARC. The document contains 10 “principles,” and announces that a sub-committee will be formed to simultaneously discuss point 3, “the end of the conflict” and that a “historic conflict and victims commission” will be created, which will not be the more general truth finding mechanism common in post-conflict scenarios. A delegation of victims will

²⁴ <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/gobierno-eln-estan-en-fase-exploratoria/391117-3>

²⁵ http://wsp.presidencia.gov.co/Prensa/2014/Junio/Paginas/20140610_01-Comunicado-Gobierno-ELN.aspx

²⁶ <http://www.pazfarc-ep.org/index.php/noticias-comunicados-documentos-farc-ep/estado-mayor-central-emc/1945-cese-el-fuego-electoral.html>



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travel to Havana to present proposals and perspectives to the peace talks.²⁷ For the first time, the FARC recognized that they are victimizers in the armed conflict.²⁸

FARC told that peace talks are for their demobilization

General Mora Rangel, a member of the GOC team in Havana, stated in a press conference that the goal of peace talks were for the FARC to hand in their guns, demobilize and take part in Colombian democracy. According to the former General, the FARC had been proposing changes in military doctrine at the talks, but the Armed Forces are the State's legitimate military force and implied such issues will not be discussed at the table.²⁹

4. Other Voices

"Broad Front for Peace" Officially Created

On June 5th, a conglomerate of various left-leaning organizations and political parties announced the creation of the "Broad Front for Peace" which will promote the continuation of the peace talks in Havana. The initiative will go beyond just this and will advocate for "peace with social justice" and to support Juan Manuel Santos campaign in the second round of elections.³⁰

Members of Armed Forces Covered by Transitional Justice Mechanisms: Attorney General

Attorney General Eduardo Montealegre stated in an interview on June 5th that any transitional justice mechanism designed for the post-conflict would cover members of the Armed Forces, except those charged with crimes related to the "para-politics" and "false positives" scandals. He also stated that such measures could be applied retroactively for Armed Forces members already tried for their supposed crimes.³¹

5. International

OAS General Assembly Supports Peace Talks in Colombia

The OAS General Assembly on June 5th voted in favor of a resolution to state its support for the GOC's efforts to find peace with the FARC.

²⁷ <https://www.mesadeconversaciones.com.co/comunicados/comunicado-conjunto-la-habana-junio-7-de-2014>

²⁸ <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/las-farc-reconocen-por-primera-vez-sus-victimas/390774-3>

²⁹ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/procesode-paz/las-farc-deben-dejar-las-armas-morarangel/14078536>

³⁰ <http://prensarural.org/spip/spip.php?article14345>

³¹ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/fiscal-propone-justicia-transicional-los-militareslueg-articulo-496483>



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6. Further Reading

Drugs and the Peace Process in Colombia: A Moderate Radical Step

Analyst and author Juan Tokatlián carefully and in detail analyzes the limits of the agreement on the problem of illegal drugs reached during peace talks between the GOC and FARC. His text goes on to describe some of the achievements for both the GOC and the FARC with the agreement and explains how the agreement on the issue breaks to a certain extent with what he describes as the paradigm upon which current drug policy is based.³²

Summary of Views of those Supposedly Against Peace Talks

Univeristy of the Andes Professor and analyst Carlo Nasi summarized the views presented by political parties that he identified to be against the current peace talk framework with the FARC. He analyses the discourse and the arguments regarding “peace without impunity” and “peace with conditions” concluding that the conditions proposed by Zuluaga are not apt for negotiating and thus peace talks will fall apart under his proposal and the war will continue.³³

Santos got less Votes in areas of Historic FARC Violence

Predoctoral fellow at Yale’s program on Order, Conflict and Violence, Michael Weintraub, tested the hypothesis that Santos did better in FARC affected areas than Zuluaga, and found that the opposite was true: areas hit hardest by violence tended to vote for Zuluaga. Running various statistical models, Weintraub included historic FARC and paramilitary violence to try to explain levels of votes for each of the top two candidates in the first round of presidential elections in 2014. At the same time, he included a list of various control variables.³⁴

³² <http://www.razonpublica.com/index.php/conflicto-drogas-y-paz-temas-30/7676-el-acuerdo-sobre-drogas-en-la-habana-un-moderado-paso-radical.html>

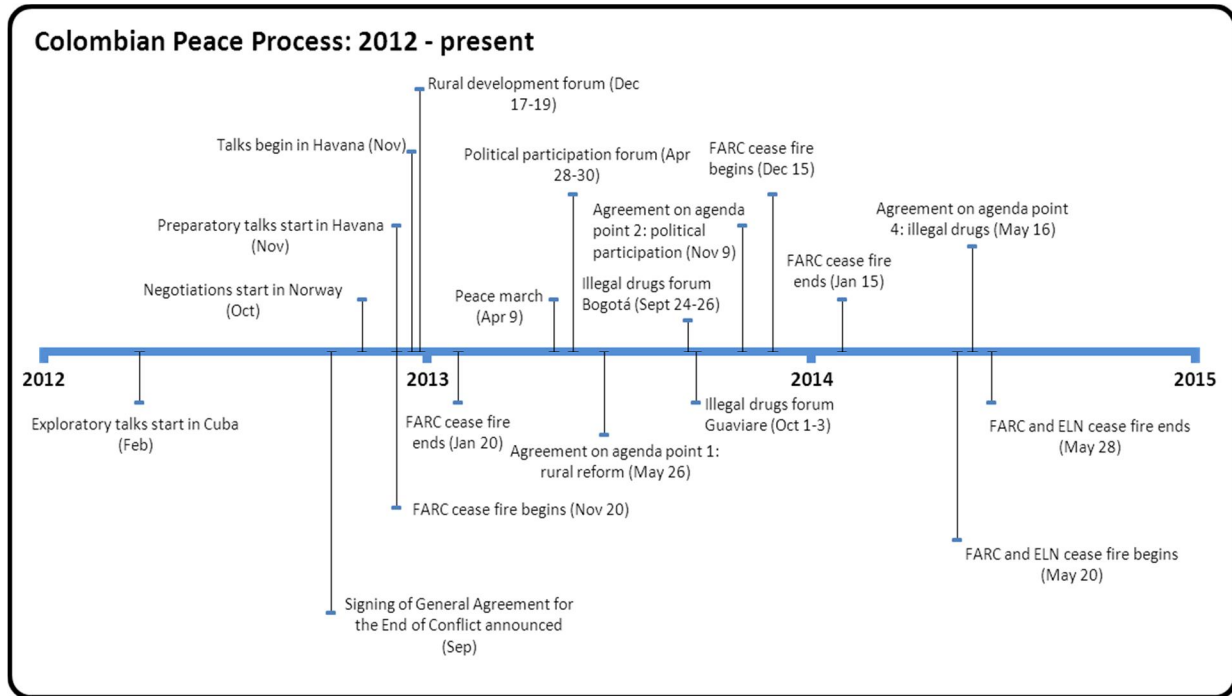
³³ <http://razonpublica.com/index.php/politica-y-gobierno-temas-27/7673-los-que-est%C3%A1n-contr-la-paz-en-la-segunda-vuelta.html>

³⁴ <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/06/06/how-legacies-of-violence-affected-the-colombian-elections/>

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7. Timeline



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

2. Key Developments from June 12st to June 17th

Santos reelected as Colombian President

On June 15th, Colombians voted in the second round of Presidential elections between current President Juan Manuel Santos and Democratic Center candidate Oscar Iván Zuluaga. Peace talks with the FARC were the main area where the two candidates differed strongly in their opinions. Santos won with just over 50% of the votes in his favor.

FARC have fulfilled ceasefire promise so far: CERAC

CERAC, an NGO that studies the armed conflict in Colombia, announced that during the first week of the ceasefire announced by the FARC, and during the election period, the guerrilla group has not carried out any armed attacks at all. The ELN carried out two attacks in the period, including the burning of electoral material before voting in southern Chocó.³⁵

3. Other Voices

Leading Businesspeople Give Support to Peace Process

A group of 80 important businesspeople in the country sent a letter to President Santos on June 12th stating their support for the peace process. The business leaders considered the economic

³⁵ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/justicia/farc-cumplio-con-cese-al-fuego-duranteelecciones-/14131615>

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progress until now to be unprecedented and that continuing the peace process is essential for Colombia and its economy.³⁶

Important Priest Worried about Political Polarization around Peace Talks

Secretary of the Conciliation Commission of the Episcopal Conference, Father Darío Echeverry, stated that he is “worried” about the political polarization within the Colombian population regarding peace talks with the FARC. He also stated that for there to be real peace, a process of reconciliation must take place, and it is there where his concerns are strongest.³⁷

4. International

UN Urges GOC and FARC to End Armed Conflict

United Nations Secretary General, Ban Ki-Moon, pressed the GOC and FARC to finish peace talks as soon as possible, noting that it was a historic opportunity for Colombia. He also added that the UN is willing to support peace talks and implementation if the parts so desire.³⁸

US Vice-President Biden in Colombia to Meet with Santos

US Vice-President Joe Biden arrived to Colombia on June 17th, to meet with President Santos to discuss various issues regarding cooperation between the two countries. According to press, one of those key talking points was peace, with Santos stating that Biden has always been very interested in the peace talks with the FARC.³⁹

5. Further Reading

Santos did not win in the elections, peace did: Natalia Springer

Journalist and analyst Natalia Springer wrote on June 16th that Colombians voted for peace and not for Santos. She also stated that Santos’ first job is to minimize the political polarization which resulted from the elections, and added that his win was large enough to claim fraud was the key to

³⁶ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/procesode-paz/santos-recibio-apoyo-de-empresariospor-la-paz/14107875>

³⁷ http://www.elcolombiano.com/BancoConocimiento/L/la_paz_viene_con_la_reconciliacion_monsenor_dario_echeverry_la_paz_viene_con_la_reconciliacion_monsenor_dario_echeverry.asp

³⁸ <http://www.elpais.com.co/elpais/judicial/noticias/onu-urge-santos-y-farc-para-terminen-conflicto-armado>

³⁹ http://www.elcolombiano.com/BancoConocimiento/L/la_paz_sera_tema_central_de_visita_de_joe_biden_a_colombia/la_paz_sera_tema_central_de_visita_de_joe_biden_a_colombia.asp

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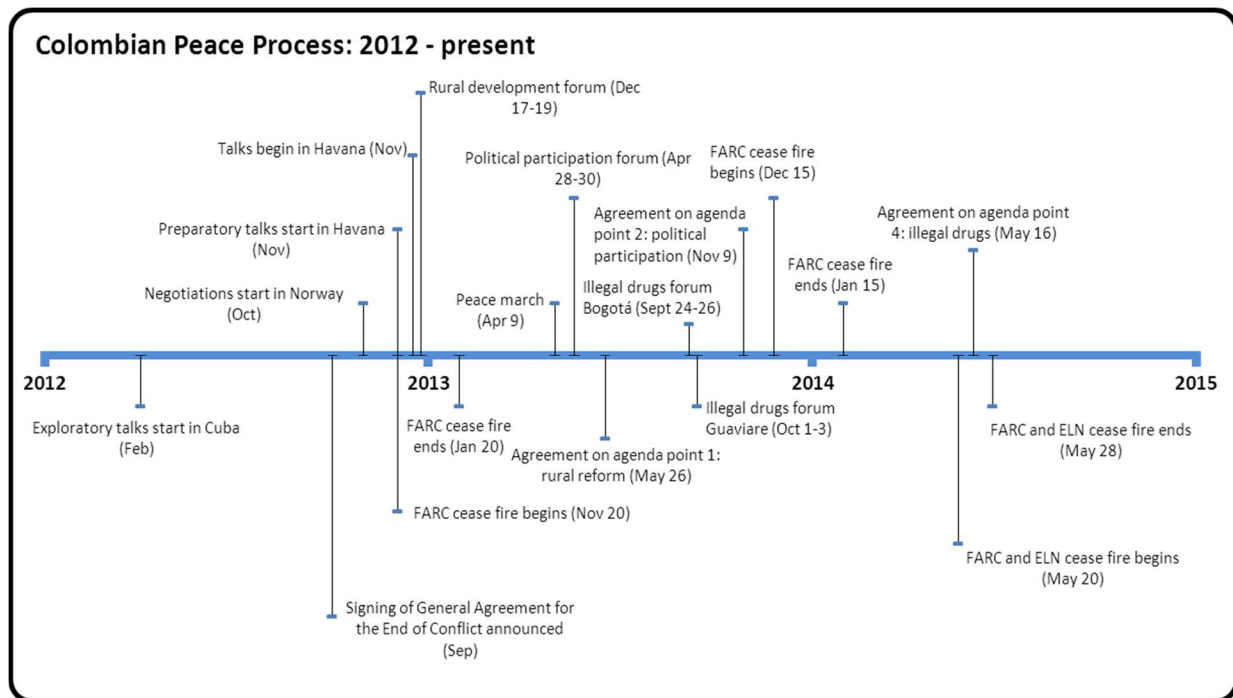
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his victory.⁴⁰ Her viewpoint is along the same lines as many other analysts who argued that Santos' victory showed clear support for peace talks.⁴¹

Will Peace come this Year?

Lead editor of *Semana* magazine, Álvaro Sierra, argued that now that Santos has been reelected, he will likely look to speed up the peace processes with the FARC and ELN. Doing this, though, implies certain risks as the dynamics will be different in Santos' second mandate. Whatever happens with the ELN will affect talks with the FARC; the FARC may not want to be pressured to sign quickly; and the actions between FARC and ELN will likely be coordinated, are a few of the risks Sierra highlights.⁴²

6. Timeline



⁴⁰ <http://www.eltiempo.com/opinion/columnistas/gano-la-paz/14125820>

⁴¹ See, for example: <http://www.elnuevosiglo.com.co/articulos/6-2014-las-urnasenviaron-mensaje-farc-yeln.html>; <http://www.elespectador.com/opinion/los-votos-elfin-del-conflicto-columna-498537>; and <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/unmandato-paz-articulo-498570>

⁴² <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/habra-acuerdo-de-paz-esteano/391888-3>

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2. GOC – FARC Key Developments from June 18th to June 24th

Santos states that Peace Deal will be signed by early 2015

President Juan Manuel Santos stated on Sunday in a forum with representatives from over 60 multinational companies that the peace deal with the FARC will be signed at the end of this year, or at the latest, beginning of 2015.⁴³

Santos assures that Impunity with FARC is “impossible”

In an interview with Spanish newspaper *El País*, President Santos labeled impunity with the FARC as “categorically impossible.” He stated that because victims have a right to justice, reparations, truth and non-repetition, there can be no impunity for FARC members if a peace agreement is signed. Currently, the issue of victims is being discussed at the peace talks.⁴⁴

Santos meets with Armed Forces, Assures Support for Peace Process

President Santos, after meeting with the Armed Forces, assured that all branches completely support the government and the peace process. He also added that there will be no reduction of

⁴³ <http://www.caracol.com.co/noticias/actualidad/santos-aseguro-que-la-paz-estara-firmada-este-ano-o-a-comienzos-del-2015/20140623/nota/2289035.aspx>

⁴⁴ http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2014/06/17/actualidad/1403031195_826512.html

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forces in the post-conflict period, but that in fact their size will continue to increase to meet new challenges.⁴⁵

Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict Considered Crime against Humanity

With the passing and signing of a new law by President Santos, sexual violence in the armed conflict will now be considered a crime against humanity. This means that there are no statutes of limitations for these crimes and that the judicial branch has a legal obligation to investigate and punish those responsible as much as possible.⁴⁶

FARC are Committed to Truth, but not without Context: FARC Commander

In an interview with Alfredo Molano, FARC Commander Pablo Catatumbo stated that the FARC are committed to revealing the truth, as long as that truth is “contextualized” and “complete.” He also called the guiding principles for the victims issue as a first step towards reconciliation.⁴⁷

3. GOC – ELN Key Developments from June 18th to June 24th

ELN Accuses GOC of changing Exploratory Talks Announcement Text; GOC Responds

The ELN accused the High Commissioner for Peace’s Office of changing the text for the sixth point in the announcement for explanatory peace talks, stating that the phrase “build a country with stable and lasting peace” was not the original.⁴⁸ The GOC stated it was a simple momentary reading error, and that the communiqué made public has the correct text.⁴⁹

4. Other Voices

FARC Victims Organization says it does not feel Represented at Peace Talks

An organization of FARC victims, called Visible Victims, released a video in which Army Mayor Javier Rodríguez – kidnapped by the FARC for over 9 years – stated that FARC victims do not feel represented at the peace talks and asked for a space at the discussions for their viewpoints to be heard.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/justicia/fuerzas-armadas-y-presidente-santos/14139257>

⁴⁶ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/gobierno/ley-da-dientes-a-jueces-para-castigar-violencia-sexual-en-el-conflicto/14140175>

⁴⁷ <http://farc-epeace.org/index.php/point-of-view/item/439-pablo-catatumbo-speaks-on-santos-re-election.html>

⁴⁸ <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/proceso-de-paz/eln-presenta-reparos-al-gobierno-luego-de-iniciados-dia-articulo-498925>

⁴⁹ <http://www.vanguardia.com/actualidad/colombia/265436-el-gobierno-responde-a-reclamo-del-eln>

⁵⁰ <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/justicia/victimas-de-farc-piden-estar-en-dialogos-de-paz/14135755>

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5. International

Joe Biden Ratifies US Support for Peace Process with FARC

US Vice-President officially ratified the USG's support for the GOC peace process with the FARC, stated in a press conference on June 18th with President Santos that, "Just as we have supported Colombia on the battlefield, we support you (President Santos) at the negotiating tables to put an end to 50 years of war...."⁵¹

6. Further Reading

"For the first time there are conditions to build peace": Author

Author, Melba Luz Calle, stated in an article that upon reviewing Colombia's history briefly, for the first time there are conditions to build a positive peace in the country. She argues that in order to build real peace, strong transformations must be made, which should be identified by analyzing Colombia's long, violent history.⁵²

The Most Difficult is yet to come: González Posso

President of the NGO Indepaz and former Minister of Health, Camilo González Posso, argued that there is a clear "mandate for peace" with the Santos government, but that the most difficult challenges for the peace process – justice, truth, the ELN, and resistance from certain political movements during the referendum process – have not been tackled yet. These challenges will be decisive for the peace process, according to González Posso.⁵³

7. Timeline

⁵¹ <http://www.elheraldo.co/politica/eeuu-apoya-plenamente-las-negociaciones-de-paz-biden-156484>

⁵² <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/por-primera-vez-hay-las-condiciones-para-construir-la-paz/14145656>

⁵³ <http://www.razonpublica.com/index.php/conflicto-drogas-y-paz-temas-30/7708-los-acuerdos-de-paz-falta-lo-m%C3%A1s-dif%C3%ADcil.html>

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