Colombia's Peace Processes: Multiple Negotiations, Multiple Actors

Cynthia J. Arnson, Jaime Bermúdez, Father Darío Echeverri, David Henifin, Alfredo Rangel Suárez, León Valencia

Efforts to brin _ o o_ibi.s on r nnin int rn, r_{-1} / onfir t to , n n t ro o itiv. noti tions rontin to fr _1. or obst, s in , st t o, rn, st of r si nt, ro rib , s ,, in _iobi i in t strontin nt of fi t rs of t nit, f f ns or s of oo ibi t rin/i . . r_iiit r /o. ition . . t bro t to . tot of _, l, t n _ibr of i n, n v o i n in v obj i v s, r s t of t ... t s it t o, rn_1 nt t.t b n in $r \cdot r \cdot o_1 = 1$ is $sin \cdot r \cdot r \cdot o_2 = 1$ is, $_{1}$ nt $_{1}$ s $_{1}$ s $_{1}$ s inis to ott . r o_{ψ} , r b is t s ψ it r ~ 1 it r $\sim r$ rs o, rt tris of t ir isobii tion n b sr. n. s i i tin t ____.s rontin in o, 1 nt in ss ssin tions r , tr ff ν in n infitr tion of o rn_1 nt instit tions in t s r rit , n int i n , , , r, ts, n t is, tr \sim n_{ψ} i ost.t._10 str., ro, _i nt it t . r st rri . ro t , o tion r r_i or s of o o_i bi \mathbf{v} o to \mathbf{v} of ost s b t for rison rs $b \quad t \qquad \text{o,} \quad r \\ r \\ \downarrow \\ r \qquad , \\ s \qquad i \\ n \quad , \\ t$ v tobrrsintribssnt/on, , rs. tions . ft r b . _1 in t for . \prime . r, bo_fbin . t t \sqrt{r} r r r o of t . tin r os toty o o n o tt s.1

tilif o rn_i nt n oti tors n rri .

(o_i_i n rs of t s_i, r ition.

ib r tion r_i E i ontin to _i t in

(oo i n i i itions t to si s

(or tor_i infr. rtont it ion

t n of t n oti tin n is s

(or on ion of for_i t s

(or on ion on ion of for_i t s

(or on ition on ion of for_i)

THE AUC P

1 , of t{ψ} o, t ir s of . n . , i s nt n, s on t ir f.r_is r.t rt.n in rison , E_ib.ss in oo_ibi , s. sor ort to ., ob /t to .n r r.ft's in t.tit, o ._10 nt to... r on for r_fiit risino, in n ro, tr f fiv in $\frac{1}{2}$ s.n., $\frac{1}{2}$ of t to r str. t .n. to bo st rt /r ibi it of t ro/ ss in t o o s bi n n int rn tion biv o inion rsi nt rib in st or r t tn, tion of s nior , r_5i it r , o_5_5, n rs , n on , in r is t s / trt, t tos of i to $r \circ 1$ it t t r_1s of _1obi i . tion φ o f, tr ition to t nit, t t s ift, nin t is, s in r tr nsf rr to rison o tsi $\bullet n$, t in t , r < n , r = 5i it, r , ri i nt , st, o , i s of t is r_1 , in , t, r , s of t is ritin , ro ot rsist nt obts r r is .bott r,.r_1._1 nt of _1obii .r_1ii, trist ir in o, _i nt in or ni /ri_i n t n tr tion b r si it r ro s of o rn _i nt instit tions n t . / ono_i orts of

The Latin American Program serves as a bridge between the United States and Latin America, encouraging a free flow of information and dialogue between the two regions. The Program also provides a nonpartisan forum for discussing Latin American and Caribbean issues in Washington, D.C., and for bringing these issues to the attention of opinion leaders and policy makers throughout the Western hemisphere. The Program sponsors major initiatives on democratic governance, conflict resolution, international relations, hemispheric security, U.S.-Brazilian relations and U.S.-Mexican relations.

t rinition of fring, tts ission to rott rocks by E iss in strong strong oint to triping bens as strong nin of fisher of fisher of strong of fisher of fisher of strong of fisher of strong of fisher of the strong of

- 1. the regrouping of demobilized combatants into criminal gangs that control specific communities and illegal economic activities;
- 2. holdouts who have not demobilized; [and]
- 3. the emergence of new armed players and/or the strengthening of those that already existed in areas abandoned by demobilized groups.9

r ort ointin to t r. .r.n. of .r.s

r ort ointin to t r. .r.n. of .r.s

ro s r s ntin t _s, s.s..n n r tion

of .r.sii tris.s... n i _ o o_s bi.s. ffir

of t o s f n r Defensoria del Pueblo r on

r in .n n b is r ort t .t n r s of

r.sii tris . for s .t .st t n n .n s

sin t b innin of _ r in t _s s s r

n_s s s t . E s .n t ... E s.

n n in in r tr.ffir in .n ot r for s of

risin .r ti it "

, o.i of t _iost ._inin , i nv of .r_ii, it r ivit in t .v rov ss _i r fro_i.

s i . to vo_i t r b on in to .r_ii t r ... r o ri o. o. r . i s . or ... vv or in to oiv r orts . to t r ss t vo_i t r

ti vovin si in rots t nis of s_1, t tiv_1_1b rs of t on r ss t _1iit r n t oi, n, o, rs in o, 1 nt in or rin t _1 r r of ... nionists s o s s / t rri, s _ i, t i rs in nort rn _ o o_1 bi , /o_1 tr. so / ont in ,_1, i _i ss. s ritt n b , o, r in v i is troo s to r r it s nts to os s s sobii, in fi trs t r b f i nin / o_1 i n/ , it t ., ro, ss, it o t is r_1in is ., t . fi t rs, , s is osrs rrr, b -. ._inin ... s tions t . t _i _ib rs of _ o o_ibi s $o_{-}i$ stiv int i nv s r, iv no_{ψ} n s trt_1 nt of __1inistr ti __, , rit ___, ℓ o bor t ψ it ℓ if ℓ ro s ti in t 1 off bo t on oin o i or _fi it r in sti . tions ro, i in t _f , it infor, _1. tion . bo t t r ts for inti_1i . tion or . ss. ssin , tion, n int rf rin in on r ssion, n r si n, ti / tions - In / tob r / rib / // t t r si n tion of , ir tor or o r o sr sr ion oor in tor for ribs r si nti /._i , i n on t t, nti//o, st in ___ in i t of tions of resist r infitr tion of t int i n s r, i o o o bi s Procuraduría General Ins tor nr fi isti in r t r s . inst. o r, in o, f b r ... sin i of s rin int i no infor_1, tion it r_1i it r rs n of i rtin bi f n s for rson ssorit of or ini in _1. ssi, , ot fr. on rib s b f rin t , r si nti , tions. \ln_{\bullet} . t. . r to b . b r onin s. n . izi, toritiszzt in o jibr, on i In tr b oo ibis, r i ort

[,] it refer on on of the reference of the



r , r in , r _ i i it r infi tr tion of t _ on r ss , os notors non to oft 1.5 is rs of rtisfor_in rt of rsi nt ribs/o.i. tion r rrst on r r s of rons irin it riitr ros on of ts n tors, , ro $r \cdot r \cdot o_1 \cdot r \cdot o_2 \cdot r \cdot r \cdot r \cdot ition$ or ni in rojotin rjin n fin n in . r_siit r ro s in t rt_s nt of, /r, of t invining troot b nobt in fro_1. or ssi /o_1 t, r, i ot r ro, rib . rs, r r. for - stionin b t , r 1 - o rt in / 1b r in, stitions in the restriction to on , n in i or t ffort b t offic of oo_ibis.ttorn nr.nt, r_iort to ros, t_1 sb rs of t o iti, it for, o, b, or, tin $_{\bullet}$ it $_{\bullet}$ r $_{\bullet}$ ii it r ro $_{\bullet}$ s $_{\bullet}$ n t ot r $_{\bullet}$ n t + r + s, $r + to r on fir_1 + r + s + on + b + n$. b tf $_{\psi}$., or $_{\tilde{1}}$ nt $_{\tilde{1}}$ t . t . r $_{\tilde{1}}$ i it ris_ $\tilde{1}$ in o o_1 bi is. no_1 non f r r t . n its $_1i$, it r , , r t s n tr tin _ o o_1 bi s o iti, , , o, $no_{-}i\nu$, n instit tion if o_{ν} , os if , t , ts.n. i roji to r si nt rib i i s fr j ins to b s n t s nior offici s not b ttorn $n r / rio V rio V n not s i fro_1/o_1 r$ in t , rr nt, risis to t Proceso 8000 t in sti tion of for i r si nt Ern sto, i r for i, in $\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot t + \cdot \cdot = 1$, in f n s fro_1 t $\cdot \cdot \cdot i$ r $\cdot tr$, ffiv, in ... rt in , ontro, rs o ,... i r rin _1 ost of is r si n/ , n t nit tts to r, o is, is, . . . r_iiitr s.n. . . . or in to ∴ r, n is ors ·

TALKS WITH THE FARC

soft nin of ositions b t rib o rn int nt n t rin t ossibilit of n otit; in init rin , , , n , to . r o ti . . is it t t s b t n t o rn int n t rri . s ii t r s . i . n b . r i iit fr it or its . rt t o rn int . r to . // t . ro os . . . n/ in / . ib r . / b t o rn int nts of

r, n = 1, $in \cdot n = 1$, $it \cdot r \cdot n = 1$ for $in \cdot s = 1$. ri on in to b , rifi b t int rn tion $i \circ 1$ nit in \mathbf{v} iv ost s $b \ t \longrightarrow (o \ b \ , (\ n \ for so_1 \ n \ fb \ r$ of rison rs in o o ibi n or , o, rn, _int is, __in_i _io ifi its osi, tion of f sin in i o it t rib o rn _1 nt, n , ft r st in , tt, r s to isr t t / , r/ is, ti, tions i not, tt i t to, io nt, isr tt / r si nti / tions / in inst, for o to, ot, inst rib, i t ontin to insist on r, on itions for t s t.t, r n.// tb to t rib o rn_1 nt t _iiit ri tion of t rt_i nts of_ - t t = 1, o for t = 1 t = 1_10 ifi its 1, t oriv, r 1 tion of i, o _ s intrrt b so_i n sts. h o, rn_i nt offici s s, sin of o and b ot rs, s, sin of t s_ii it r . n o iti/. . n ss / s // ss of rir ost for rison r (a, b, b) it t (a, b) in (a, b)n rin t o rn nts of Ern sto r = 1 r + n + n + r + s + str + n + r + s + str + r + s + str + s + str, t tions t, t, n, ition __1, nit ri n, n or _ii t b ossib , / .tion.bo t.n.,/.n for s siost i on s, r, i rofi

of n on t — stion of r sv _1 ission in t f / of / on r ssion . n b iv rot st inv in fro_1 t f_1 is of t ost s t . s t r ri . s for . / on r t _1 on str tion of oo f it not st . / . r tion ost on its bsit t . t it . s int r st in . _1 nit r in . / . n t t t i. f of t is ritin in . t __1 f t r _1 o _1 nt . . r n/ rt in

PEACE TALKS WITH THE ELN²¹

ir / t t s b t, n o, rn_1 nt n oti tors . n _iitr /o_i_i.n rs of t E s o si ns of r, t r ro_is , rib , _inistr.tion, r s /i r to sonstr t f, ibi it in t t s in .rt it s _1 to offs t rritiris_1 of t \cdot ror ss it t \cdot E \cdot 5 \cdot n i si nifi/, nt v . n 1.1i it. ri s .1 n on rsr, in oitiv. s., in in b, in for, bro. ' tor, ' in ' it ' ib ' ' ' ' ' 't ft i n/ no n s t Polo Democrático _ior r tiv o in . , . nv of oo in is . . rv is ti, n i ni i , tions orrons of rijinr ji tins in , , , n b. b t n / _1b r / . n / tob r / so_1 of v i/ r v itn ss b _1 _1b rs of t int rn tion volve nit n b oolibis, i ii n r i it tin c o_{-} i_{-} ission r to ro r si rnifiv.nt., nv s in t r_is of v onfi nv , b i in b t f_r r ins in tris of it, s bst n E_r in G_r _1. n rs _1. , r for , _1 t . t t o. of ... $t = s_{\parallel} \cdot s_{\perp}$ for $t \cdot n = _{1}$ fobi $i \cdot tion \cdot n = is_{\parallel} r_{i}$ $_{1}$, $_{1}$ nt t for $_{1}$, off r to t $_{2}$, $_{3}$, s to o o_i bi n rri . _i o, _i nts in . rs . st b t r, t r , bro_{i} r s t of o itiz , n sor io, r ono_1 iz r to sit o, n for r i_iin r t s, it t _ii, itr rsioft E int bsn/of./s, fir i _ o_1_1 ission r for ... is _ .ros $\sqrt{\text{str} \circ 1}$, $\sqrt{\text{rt} \cdot \text{t.n}}$, $\sqrt{\text{nt}}$, $\sqrt{\text{o}}$ $\sqrt{\text{nin}}$ of for _1. n otitions o b ontin nt on t or r, r, tion of , ss. tion of osti iti s , fort ron of $t + s \neq on$ in $t \neq tob r$ it

, bst. nti, rorss ... s _1. o , r on t - stion of r_10, in . n,_1in s fro_1 / onfi/ti, r, sin or rtor //i, i i, n/, s, ti s o o, in . _i tin it _i _ib rs of oo_i bi s . . tion $\frac{1}{2}$ i i i n $\frac{1}{2}$ i it tin $\frac{1}{2}$ o $\frac{1}{2}$ i ission $\frac{1}{2}$ n $\frac{1}{2}$ r nt it o trons tin it o, rn_i nt r n oti, tors E . , o_1_1, n rs. nno n/ t ir , i in n ss , ini o rionrt Er ornborr , , n initi ti, b n ro_1ot b . E ro , n non, o, rn_i nt, or , ni , tion f n b t iss o, rn-1 nt.n t E ro .n nion s_{\bullet} stro t fforts of o o_1 bias ation onii tion n rtions of ission vi or in to t . . Llamado de Ginebra . . of n_{1} , so i, i o o i bi i or on bonti, rsonn sin sin sost r nt of t _1 / i i i ns

$(x_1,\dots,x_n) = x_n$

stts of vts it trofoo_ibis oo ro, i son, nt i on / r s, ft r, o o í bi s í nizi, n is, ti tions , rtivi , nts inv istin is _oo_ibi,n,n, sts,s, srrsnt,ti, s of t oo_i bi n n , o rn_i nts Alfredo Rangel r si nt of t n, in, ri, 10 r, i León Valencia of t n . i n . , o ro !ris o snist for El Tiempo n sobi i E o osí, b. t. nt. Padre Darío Echeverri s / r t. r , n r. of t ...tion _ on/ii tion _ o_1_1 ission _ _ . . . n _i _ibr of t ... o_i_ission of t _ .toi/ r Jaime Bermúdez ffir of t r si n o, rn î nt of o o î bi n David Henifin t ir tor for n n ff irs , rt nt of, t t irr, is st.t_1 nts. .rb o

^{, , .} so n r s 1. n i n , i s ror ss in o o 1 bi , it t E ... o of , it o .. nt i rnson Latin American Special Report 1. 12

s nt ti s of t to it v n for i r for i n init rs sto it it tin vois sission it t E inv s nior r r

obi rno Ens ir, n n i, o os ro, n no, n n n n n ori i n. El Tiempo rtob r tri i ro an Esbett r nivi it to ros rin, r . Int r rss, r i r tob r . Ens ros ros ros t . sin r . ris r s - s nivi io r . sin o rio el Tiempo rtob r .

Alfredo Rangel Suárez, Fundación Seguridad y Democracia

is n sis plains to row so in one of bile of the result of





t ro in_{λ} , n_{λ} b_{λ} , r_{λ} f_{λ} t of h_{λ} , in is ssions on rio s or sions t n it r . rt . b. n onin s i . s . . s $t r_i \sin n \cdot n \cdot ob (ti, n) \cdot v i \cdot in \cdot n \cdot ss \cdot to \cdot r$ on n oti tin n is its f or nE s st. t _1 nts rior to t / 1 r tions so bs n, s si nifi, nt i, nt, tt ro s istori, bst in fro rtivi tion in t \prime tor, ro \prime ss , i $_{\bullet}$ in t . . n \prime , tor, s st _i . _i ost . s . _i, tt r of rin/i . s . n . bso t n _i _ o_i b. ti, . bst ntionis_i . s b n t ro s_10 so r, n i t ro o t its istor , rt ss in r , it. on oo sbi ns to rtivi, t in t / tions, n s / t t b st / oi/ s for o o_i bi s , ri_i nt It, so /r . ni, tr, non ition, on s, fir rin t o, tion rio tt s_1 ti_1 t E . . for. , o, ition b t n t Polo Democrático , ft, nin rt n t ibr rt on of t on ntr s _i, in o itiv. , rti s , is _io, in r, , tiv. t r_is _1, t E . , rtivi, nt in v tor, o itivs st r $_{\blacktriangledown}$ o s $_{-1}$ to si n. . n int ntion to $_{-}$ 10, for $_{\psi}$ $_{\tau}$ $_{\psi}$ it $_{\tau}$ $_{\tau}$ t E is r inin so_i of t tono_i it ost o, rt , st f $_{\mathbf{v}}$, rs , is $_{\mathbf{v}}$, $_{\mathbf{v}}$ iv , rit, νi t E sst.t ints s r.t ito s f, orin t rib o rn_i nt

In 1 n rts of t 1 o ntr t E 1 s 10 no 1 it r n



_iitr r for_is, f t r of ... t s , it t sr_1. ins i nv rt in ossibi it of rs i tion of rt s t oint rin r si nt rib s s / on t r_1 s o not b is iss It r is ins to b s n n r, tron itions t is i or r, n, tt n oti tin . n . i b t it is s. f to . ss _1 t.tt, o_int.n s / ifi/s of t is. n. , i b tr_1in b t oiti⁄, ,n _1iit,r initi, ti, st.tt...rtis/.nb., /t to r, s , rssi, o, rt n, tf $_{\psi}$ fonts $_{\tau}$ n. t _iobi i , tion of , r_ii it r for s , s , o_i to n n t r s o b b tt r ros \prime ts forrorssints bt, nt st.t.nt /on, tr.s $rri.st.n_{\bullet}.str$ int .st $f.r_{\bullet}$ for f, ib , o i on t , rt of t o, rn, _int rin r si nt rib s s / on t r_i , i n o bt / ontrib t to t , in of t nsions ort n.t t o, rn_1 nt .s si n. . vi,

t s it t ins r nts

rri s s 1 to , r / i , n b

row ssin r si nt rib s r / nt off rs iv

to t r r r s nt not on . for f ib b t.

for r 1 tiv . / oiv to r t rri s

t . n t o rn int s o s nti r r / nt

n oiv inv st off rof oitiv. r / o

nition t / on nin of . onstit nt ss 1 b . s

r s t of . / t s . / s , fir it n otib

t r 1 s . fittiri on for t s . n . n

1 obii tion . istin/ t fro 1 t on . in

in n ss to nt r into s rio s / onstr / ti,

to residit r ros, sonstit t si nificant , o _1 nts . n . _1. or . / off r r s _1. b t rri, s, r, ss ssin lits tr i i nsions It, so s _is, rt, tt rri, sr - ir t oiti, o nt tin it b 110-1 ni st s t t o, rn_int ftr for rs of_iitr r tr, t, n, bs n/ fro_1 t o iti/, s/ n t n torst bis n tion rs n s it t first irr t_is iff rnt fro_in_i so_w rt.nt.toft st.t it is , i ntt.tt r, nnot at t is oint affor t r, r of r, rin in t o itiv. . n _fi it.r s rt for . not r for rs, toor nrti_i rssr stbtnotsttr/ntstrntnin of t oojibi n st. t to not t. t., s f. firint to fitt rrissinit risin stri tin , tr t rri s r tion of t _iiit r $n_{-1}i\nu$ s of t ν on $i\nu$ t . _iiit r , $i\nu$ to, r b t ins r nts s no_{ψ} b r o_{-} f r tr si_1 rob b _1 in o itiv. n oti tions t on sr. fro_i t ronfirtr or sifts in rr tion s, s t is o not o, r -i, is stof in strus os on

to r inin t r t or so or rin in r tions bt n t stt n t rri s

rt ss i n t i of istr st n or or rin in osti it it n r b rt t t o iti.

n oti tions i o o rni t t o t

r on t ori on stt t ro r ss b ib r t

, t ttin , n n to osti iti s , n = 10, in = $i\nu$ to, r sobii tion ro i in r nt s for o itiv. v tion n ro-jotin int r tion in v i i, in if for E for s, o, rn_i nts ro os o s not in o iti, n so i r for is insti, t tion, , n s or n oti tions on t s iss s . . t r si nt rib . s i i t fro_i t st rt r, r, nt s of o itiv, in o, s nt fo o in _1 obi i , tion It is n i t , t t o, rn_1 nt i n oti t si nifi/. nt r for is it t E s, stiji s, r, t s t t_v o rti s rt in fortors o, r fort n otitions E s not b n in o, in r tr. ffiv in , i so_i E , fronts , b n .,, s of s, ., ti, it t E, .s. v o .s not rtiri t risi or t int rn tion o_i_i nit n rtivrt nit tstis ts t n oti tions on iff r nt footin, _iit r sit tion in v t E fin s its f so f, ors n oti tions

oti tions b t, n t E, n t o, rn,

_i nt . . . r to ., so_i t in of r i n , n , E , ti_{-1} , t , r , is , n , tt_{-1} , t , to , n , oti, tsitt n_1brof.stfirs.nt rs tin istr st, n is oint ontri s int r st in s ortin t rowss. \mathbf{v} . s. \mathbf{r} . on \mathbf{v} it fi rss/srno, n oo_ibi.n no, ist . bri $\mathbf{r} \cdot \mathbf{r} \cdot \mathbf{r} \cdot \mathbf{r} = \mathbf{r} \cdot \mathbf$ b in o, in n s ort t n otitions it s sstr n b t it is tr , rritori s n $t + s \cdot r$, onstant b in off r to t + E , i, in t ro, ss. str n t n o bt , rt n otition rorss i fr n ibrof bott n , s in t r_is of t s , ifi s i_i ort nt iff r n s s , r tin t , rti s rrnt t is r intrntrson t rs, s tion of ostiitis. E is rout it, n to t r so tion of t is iss not b, s it s_i, r isti, r n, of_iit, r , i tor or is st. in its ftr on t. t. ors bt b, s, n, n to ostiitis s_ibo i s, n, r, r, s nts. oint of no r t rn. E. nts to , tr. , t o iti, . . , . nt. s fro_i . n , . s , fir r _1 nt it _1. s in/ in t ossibi it of in oitivon sovi roint rions in

 \mathbf{v} iv it is sinf \mathbf{n}

Nb i, t, tt E s st n, from t ro, r n s bst nti n oti tions b t n t Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional n t n t n or n o rn n n t iv b n it s nit ri n r n n t n t iv b n it s nit ri n r n n t n oti tions it t E s st in it is n it is n oti tions it t E s st in it is n to ssib t t t s i b s // ssf if t E s so s for r it t r is it is n it s n os s

tr.ffiv in .s /ts of t \downarrow o o_1 bi. n / on f iv t .s N iff r it \downarrow fr o \backslash .n

s s v r i r i r n in too_ibin/onfi/t Int t, s ro of t_{ψ} , o itiv. sv i ntists fro 1 t ... tion. ni, rsit rot boo o jusission b t n / inist r of o, rn_i nt r rn n o . i, i, n, t, io n, in oo oo ibi, , boo s ntit Colombia: Violence, Democracy and Human Rights²⁹ n istin is tr t s of , io n_{ℓ} in t ℓ o ntr ℓ o 0.5 for ℓ ri 0.5 , io n_{ℓ} . ssori, t it r tr. ffir in . n o itir. , io, n/r t to t / onfront tion it t rri, .s, tr t s o, r, so_{-1} , t b tr ss nti istin/t, boo sr/o_1_1 n., tions to t n, r si nt i i i i i o , r o , r b, s on istinct, rocces to t iff r ntt s of, io, n_{ℓ} to $r ss \ell o_{2} f_{2} fon \ell ri_{2} f$ it $r \ell o_{2} f_{2} f$ n , r intr stin n tion / iti n s / rit ro / t $t \cdot t_{\nabla} \cdot s \cdot t \cdot r \cdot rri \quad o \quad t \cdot r \quad b \quad (f \quad r \quad o)$ int ', s of r tr.ffiv in t st r 'o_1, _in brin in t os in, o, to stiv., n in t r, s of t rri, s t st $r \neq 0$, 1, 1o itiv, noti tions

tr t s of io n i rin t , , s .

tr t s of io n i r n b i i n n

instr_i nt of r is s . s . f n . i nt s ift

n instr_i nt of r r tr ffiv in b n to b s

not on b t rri s b t so b t r . i i

tr ro s . r b i f n tion b it ro n

t s . r i i s n i b sin ss . t i it r - ir s

rot i tion t . t is . so i b t in o o i b it

i rot i tion i o i s not from i n s

b t from r r is b it for t is ros

Est nis. 0 t Colombia: violencia, democracia y derechos humanos o ot tisir, , . E

. ros r . s . ros i _ o.i.ission r for . / , s . inist r of f ns rin t o rn. i nt of r si nt s r . i ii. is / rr nt . . i . ib r of t _ o o.i bi n, n t . E

in of, ot r ros, fo n inst n/s of/o_1 t
.t i/., otin in , n .rt_1 nts, n
.1 ni/i .itis/.ssin , i/. sin , n t ti/t
r/i o, r i/. r/nt of t , ot .t r , r
. n_1 ni/i .itis/ r .sin ti/t for t t/o
/ ._1b rs .rn r / r/nt of t , ot s

is is $n - n t r n r r r t \cdot t$ is in rob _1 of r , r , t inst bi it in t ntir n nr ion, o_i t in of r, o, is in, o, r , v to s , n , r i, it r , n oti t or filt r so tion to t is f sion of iff r nt t s of, io n/ in o o j bi s not b n fo n o, rin rabi, ist rot ntit t, t, s, o_1, os st to ro osin, i, b so tions is t , o n/i on or i n tions it its Andes 2020 r ort, is or 1 nt s in o inion on firt rtinin ot rinin, in t rob_{-1} , s. \bullet o , n it , s so n , n , , $r_{=}$ is r , t , on r in , s in ton , n , t t one i on or in tions i Nbi, is not rtiv r ft, nin or rtiv r or in to t r ort t n n st. t s r in n r of o, sin , or t, t, s not b n , r for so_1 ti_i sin in t t , t , s in ton n s , iff r nt str.t to rss t ronfirt in t r, n s / ifi/. in_ o o_1 bi/ i/ is t / ntr. fo/ s

of t 'onfirt n t _1 or in in t r , tr f fir in ' in , is st _ & 'o_1' ' os r t . n . n ot r N t in to ' t rin r . it t its osition is not is rn b . 1 on . n sts , ot to st , in t _ o o_1 bi n sit . tion , _ o n i on or in _ tions r orts sts . 1 or 'o_1' r , nsi . ro ' on t . t inst . of _1' . si in _1' it r so tions or t r iv. tion of r s ro, os s . n int rn tion . n . i i . t t in sion of ' or . ro _ rs . t rn ti . s for ' ono_1' v , o , _1' nt . n n oti tions in v in in . ' . rti , r . r . . s . _1' . ns of . ' i , in _ 1' or r ti . ' ifi ' tion in _ o o_1' bi.



Father Darío Echeverri, National Conciliation Commission (CCN)

irst t_1 ./ no, t n ns ri sts

. bstr. \prime t rin \prime i s to r. \prime tiv. r s ts. s \prime rt in __1. n s __1. r __1. in __ \prime onst nt in \prime in .

Jaime Bermúdez, Office of the Presidency, Colombia

is r s nt tion for s s on fo r _1 nts
irst it , _1 in s t o r sit tion t t

ti_1 t o rn_1 nt of r si nt, , ro

rib / _ ss _1 o r , ron it s ts fort

i in rin i s for . r . n s r rit . ir . r

so_1 ro_1 nts on t s n rios o t in b t

ot r . n ists . st is . ronsi r tion of t r . . .

n s t . t i . .

in b n born in t . t , , s . rio t . t itn ss . r s r n, of rri . ro s in o o o ibi . I r , . tt n s, oo . n . t r ni rsit . t . ti i of b r onin n ro t rroris i . first _ i . or o iti, . ri i s too . . . s . I , s . s . v o _ i . I s . s . t t ni rsit . In , for r si nti . n i . t s

row ss r to nfo , s , r i t rs r, n b s = 1.1, ri , s fo o s

irst t 'o ntr n to r b i its 'onfin' no 'onfin' b s on s' rit for 'iti, ns 'it', rit is for r on for s ort rs s' s' so on nts of t o rn' in for or r s soft ir ori in n' in 'ist n' s' b i in 'onfin' o 'o' t 'n st' s' tin' in t rn' o' no 'in' r s' in, st' in st' in t st' in in t rn' o' no 'in' ro, t 'n in' ro, or in 'on itions it in t is s' rit fr' o' or r si nt

vit in t vit n of t or initions _i _ib rs r in rison n r r r to s b_iit to t stiv , n , r on t r on ition t , t t obort in jobii in ot r _i _ib rs r si nt rib / on, t is _i ss. bi in / r in i / tin t / t s in i, , i , s , o b ro, ss n r t sti, , n if t jobi i in rison n ssist, in sobi i in ot r of rison, r si nt in i, t t, t s o $t \ r \ b \ . \ n$. o bt . bo t_{ψ} $t \ rt$ sti_{ν} n, n, istots in i, isto, rn_i nt v o v ro, v rifiv tion v , v_10 if t , istin . to s_100t t , for its . i. tion to i.i. rison _i _ib rs of t $f_{\mathbf{v}}$. ition . s , ts of t stiv . n . , \mathbf{s} \mathbf{r} , \mathbf{r} \mathbf{o}_{-} \mathbf{i}_{-} \mathbf{i} \mathbf{n} \mathbf{r} \mathbf{o}_{-} \mathbf{i}_{-} \mathbf{n} b oit os oiobii r to b o t r / on/ i i tion n r r tions / o 1 sission is to f n/tion tro t ros / tor n i, n ton itions stb stb n in i, i in or r to f. vit in t s ro, i, sions , o, rn_1 nt no on r \cdot s in in it t risitr rossin t t r_1s $\stackrel{.}{n}$ r $_{\psi}$ $\stackrel{.}{\nu}$ $\stackrel{.}{i}\iota$, it ι , n $\stackrel{.}{n}$, $\stackrel{.}{i}$ in n $\stackrel{.}{oti}$ tions b ns ifi int $\sim n/t$ _1 obi i . tion is ℓ o_1 t t n , t st is to i_1 _1 nt t stiv . n . . \mathbf{r} - stion r_i , ins. s to t_i i . n if t or ., ni tion str / t r is not is_1. nt , o iss s o, r s o b born in in irst t o s not r_it troviti s to b v onv , s n on fonto, fi to onf ss to n trovi, t or os its of trovit r not no nitt ti_1 i not f it in t r, i of t is., tion In b fiin to 100 r.t rson $b \not o_i \ s \ s \ b \not c t \ to \ or \ in \ r \not c ri_i in \ .$, n to , ot nti rison s nt n/ of rs / on t on itions for b n fitin fro_i t s ro, isions in _ 1. in r . r. tions to, i/ti_1s. n r t rnin ro rt ... s t st b is s r r on itions b ν $i\nu$ f i r to is n f f r o str r, trs i r, on fro it b n fits of t rrnt o, rn_int s, tr, it ro, i.s. t in i, i . s to t nit , t t s to f / r tr. ffiv in , r s E, tr. ition or rs for s , , , r, $_{\text{1}}$ i it, r $_{\text{1}}$, rs , s , on rn, , , n

, , , tor , n, so , b n s s n

Intrisoft E., s. nr. nri, s is ss on ritir iss is t rss tion of os, ti iti s in/ in i n, in rior to , , t, s too sbn it of sin si off ns s In in it t iss of in in s t o, rn_i ntbi, st.tt _iost.ttr./ti, or sost f sib ro os for significant , , , n ro os. r s nt is t on . , , n_{ℓ} b r_{n} , $in \cdot n$, $it r_{n}$ roos. in/ s r / is t r_1s for . n / . n in/ in . fin , , , s- , r , i o_i t r , r , . . _i i it ri on in t _i nivi i it of E tiro t rs, not of int rn tion obs r, rs n no rri, rsn/It is b/, s of t s/on itions t, t t o, rn_i nt .s _i br., t ro os or t o, rn_i nt it is fn._i nt iss of n tion so, rint t, tt r not b rri, s in $\mathbf{t} = \mathbf{r}$, \mathbf{r} in \mathbf{r} iv $\mathbf{t} = -5$, \mathbf{n} it, \mathbf{r} in \mathbf{r} orr rs n rt ro os for t bs n of rri for sis rnt bt rsn of t obsr, rs/ r it ns rin t t n i, t r rriss nor o, rn_1 nt for s.r rs nt r is . n . ition r . son for t o rn_1 nts .,, t.n, ori in ob tion to . _iiit, ri on is offs t b t fit t int rn tion obs r, rs i o, rs t ntir o r tion n t t rri for s i not b r s nt rin t ti_1 of n _1. nit. ri. n _ / . n

Li ort nt / . n s r _ i . in , first . n r . t st is t . t of st b is in . o iv r s n/ in . r . s / rr nt not / o, r b t n. tions o iv . r . s t . t / o , ri n/ . n inf , of o on/ t . r _ i it r ro s . r _ i o bi i or t . t _ i . s . n in/ r . s r s n/ of . r _ i it r or rri . ro s i _ i _ i t . ft r . i n _ i o bi i . tion . s / on _ i . or / . n



is to tof rint ratin tos v oo, by n =10, bi i I_{k-1} r /t nt for t_{ψ} o r sons to s . of t ost, onfirt rio irst t onfront tion s not n s on t rs on s t i_{-1} r ssion t , t , n , s , s b n s r in i n_sbrof r s , b ns // ssf r, r it is ret, in rfr, b to ., .t _ 1 obi i . n is r_1 t / onfront, tion is in 1, n r s / ts on oin / isions, bo t t ost, onfirt rio r 5, in frint ftr n n sibrof iffrats/n rios r ossib or no t _1 ost i_1 ort nt iss is for t r in, t r tion rows to o for r s // ssf o o_i bi is Nb i, tt rnin oint ti_i of br , in $_{\blacktriangledown}$ it t , st , , n ib b n fits , n $r s t s \wedge n b s n \wedge r$, in $t r \circ s o f \wedge i f i \wedge t i o n$ $r r o_{1}$ $i \cdot i s_{1}$, ss $i \cdot i n s_{1}$ ot r_{1} r_{1} $i \cdot s_{2}$ t _1 obi i . tion of t rrorist ro s t / on, t_i in i_i nt of i_i r_i , i_i , i_i i_i i i_i i_i i_i i_i i_i i_i i_i i_i t st fi, rs in t __io nt of , n s for r ro tion front, to trs t, rt ss int rn tion, i on, tin s to b , r , i s it t ro r ss , , i, t n s of Plan Colombia i r - ir no ss .n r. sr.trrsor/sforrintr., tion n _1 obi i . tion fforts . s v . s for , n in t , , it of t o i to ro, i o, r, for sti, nr.b, r.s r t is is not t ti_1 to s s n orr / i ot on so i ontin 🕌 i st. so , is n for s for obt inin in r s ssis, t.n/ fro_i E ro .s , .s fro_i t nit

, t. t. s ion / onsi r. tions ., . b . rin on t is iss \sqrt{n} r < nt $\sqrt{1}$, 1, 1, 1, stron so_v in int rsinti , tions, r, rt on oin sit tions in oi, i, , n E_{ℓ} , or nit , t, t s o i _1 st not, o for t , onso i tion of o ri in for s or r_iit t n o, rn_i nts b in st. b is to iono o i bir isrors o, r sori, oiris b, s on t b. tt., r of sori, ro sion n r ion so i ri, t, rrnt sit, tion in trion_oo_ibi in_{ℓ} $\operatorname{r-ir} \operatorname{s} \operatorname{n}_{\ell}$ $\operatorname{ro} \operatorname{os}_{\ell} \operatorname{s} \operatorname{in}_{\ell}$ i_{ℓ} t sori roj on nt s f n j nt ro $V_{i}(s)$, in , so notion, $s \in S_{i}(s)$, $s \in S_{i}(s)$, i t oo_ibi n o rn_i nt is no on r b to r on t s ort, rr nt ro, i t ro Plan Colombia or b t E ro n n tions or, sit, tion in vi, i is ro, i vi, si, for s r rit ros s X_1 . in $\sqrt{}$, t r o in_oo_ibi, o, rt n, t for to i t rs in t / rr nt / ont , t bot r ion , n n tion , rrnt sit tion r - ir s bo n rti, o i _ 1. in . i_1 . t b i in / ons ns s . ro n sori ror is intrion

tring some intout, some some intouring into it in or in some into in some intouring into it in of the some intouring into it in of the some intouring into it is in the some into it is into it in of the some into it is into it in of the some into it is into it in of the some into it is into it in of the some into it in of the some into it in of the some into it in or it is into it in or it is into it in or it is into it in or it in or it is into it in or it i

David E. Henifin, U.S. Department of State

tnt / o_6 , iss t . t_6 rits o r . tt n tion ro_6 t rs / ti of t , tt . rt_6 nt t r . r t r t _ 6 s to _ 6 . si _ , _ o o_6 bi is . / o ntr in tr nsfor_6 tion t . / ror ss is . _ _ 6 nt of t . t tr nsfor_6 to . . ror ss is . _ _ 7 nt of t . t tr nsfor_6 tion . n _ no . / ror ss is rf / t N o . so i to is / ss , o i / s it r . t s to t . / ror ss in_ o o_6 bi.

COLOMBIA IN TRANSFORMATION

- o o_1 bi to is not t s_1 / o ntr t.t r si nt rib f, n too offir, is is i.i ort nt in / onsi rin t o, r / ont, t for t / ror ss // or in to fi r s fro_1 t o o_1 bi n / tion o ir t / ror st in, rs_i n in s r o n r nt for is / i nts o n r nt sin/ t n of / r o r o r o r o n it n ition in i i s rt, rs fro_1 t r r r_1 ro s t

on it t ro t

r iff rin , i \sqrt{s} s on t is , r iffiv t - stion in o o sbis, rors, n in n rov ss $\underline{}$, $\underline{}$ s t , $\underline{}$ o, $\underline{}$ nt $\underline{}$ n t o, rn_i nt of oo_ibi or to t r to i_{-1} ro, t stiv n v o l_{-1} tfr. 1 or t.t.o, rns 1 obi i .tion.n rin, t rition Ist or b s t in so Is it rf/t o o o o o bi s onstit tion o rt for , ._i sr ort r so_i s / ts of t nonstit tion noso_i rs r ontin t r , ts to \mathbf{v} it r \mathbf{v} fro_1 t __1 obj. i tion rov ss , , , n for t o o sibi, no, rn sintr sins, i oros, n . r ssi, i_1 , i_2 , i_3 and i_4 into the second i_4 . o, rn_i nt .s_i. t is consist nt c.r. o, rn_i nt of_ o o_i bi no_s t is o, rn_1 nt .s. n_2 brof r on, rns bott rorss st / ission in o o fbi r ort in / r t r , s b n so_1 b, r s i in inr in t of rijin, ri, iti s.n., io nr r. rri o t b $t = -1.5 i \ it. \ ri \ s + n = -1.5 n \ ri - ts \ , \ io \cdot tions$ r tr.t b t _1obii , n i .rt of t rowss, some rns not on to t , o, rn_1 nt b t so to t _ o o_1 bi n o, , rn_i nt . , r tr in /o . bor. ti, to fin t b st $_{\blacktriangledown}$. to . $_{\blacktriangledown}$ it . t s iss s X_{\bullet} o n or of s n , \bullet it t

oo_ibi ns on iss s trin o, rn, _1 nt or o t not to o, roo t i_1 rf / tions in t oo ibi n ror ss b t not to o, r_1 , si_1 t_2 , it_3 it_4 r_4 r_5 r_6 r_6 r_7 r_8 of oo ibias artners to oo a tosar t rib o rn_1 nts, ision for , , , f ros r, os, nr fr oo_ibi, t_i, notb ossib to_iorro, or in fi, or t n rs t fro_i t , o, rn_i nts rs /ti, it is _i or ossib no t.nit.s, rbn.n i to s ort t, t n rt, in Is t ro, ss sibitio s bso t Is it is rf, t In, it, b It is r n b o , n it is, o itiv. o r tion It is ss nti int ss nti so for _ o o_i bi s f t r

AN OVERVIEW OF U.S. POLICY

. It to n is t , o, rn_i nts, i $\sqrt{}$ of oo_ibi.s rorss n ffrti, rb is in oo sibiles intrest in trions intrst n t r for in t , intrst s t tion, rit, trut rus in rus st. t _ _ o o_i bi. is . _i or r. tir . fi tin t rsist nt ss. ts of z , r, ist t rrorists , n r , tr. ffiv rs., o_i _ii t - ibb , it , or in b to oosbi is sost finit in frin n s fro_i t rrorists n tr. ffiv rs s not r, io s , tr of oo j bi s, r j ro s ., b n sint b t nit tts.s or in, rrorist, rinitions, sin t E ro , n nion , s si_ii, r si n, t , t r ro s r tr. ffiv in . n t rroris_i t r . t n _iorr, in_ o o_ibi .n t r ion ir,t tritn, rsonn in tr for ir/t ff t int r sts

s. _1 _1b r of t , o, rn_1 nt _1, nnot ro_1 _1 nt on t , o, rn_1 nt _1, nnot ro_1 _1 nt on t , ost s in oo_1 bi for o, rt r , rs sin/ br . r , ir n_1 s . r _ it , t ns / . r ons , s . n . o_1 s o s . o t _ r s onsib for t ir s f t . n f r . o rn_1 nt of oo_1 bi no s t . t r si nt rib . s r it r t is ro_1 _1 it _ 1 nt to s or t s f r r o r of o r r it in s is o rn_1 nt is o on s in rs in . _1 ns to t . t n

nit , t t s . s. ir / t st in t o t, / o_1 in_ o o_1 bi . , o rn_1 nt is s , ortin _ o o_1 bi .s _1 i it r . n o i / . . bi it to o . ft r t r n t or s t . t s st in t _ _ _ n o r _ o o_1 bi .ns .r / .rr in t fi t to t _ _ _ , is s in .ssis, t n / - i _1 nt .n tr inin . / .r / in i t 1 nt of . rs is . / o_1, on nt of o r fi t

orts t ... rows sin. its r_1 t tions t ti_1 s ... iff r nw s o r, i oints. n t.v. tws b t t str.t _1. s s ns to s to t

, nit , t t s $_{\blacktriangledown}$ o i to b in o, in s ort of t fobiation or so, i tili b n n oti tin vit t , on r ss on t ri t for i b v i to s ort t o o_i bi rov ss · . n · . vo_i r nsi for, _i , t , t o , r ss t _ _ _iobi i , tion , s s.n ot r ro stitii t indii in t ftr, rowss sinfrts: jobii., tion fonitorin in in b int rn tion ro s i ntifiz tion to , rif v o is 10bi i for ν i t b s s r instr i nt , nit , t t s is so r sr to bost r oo 1 bis , biit to in, stit n ros, t, ss n r $t = stiv \cdot n \cdot v \cdot v \cdot r$, rif $t \cdot t \cdot r = i i t \cdot r$ str/trs., b n is_1.nt ns r t.t, i/ti_1s r, i, ro rit r ritions n rint rt for _i r , r _iiit r _i _ib rs into sori t ro, i t.t, '.n' ontin to or ott tis it t , on rss

t i , n ot rint rn tion rtis n

ssist n/ / n , n ot rint rn tion rtis n

ssist n/ / n , o rn_i nt i / on

tin or in it t , on r ss on t t is

of / ontrib tion iv / o tot _ ii ion

o rt n / t r , rs

nit , t t s . s not si. s b n . s . t .

tor , t in , o . s nts in o o . s bi n fo

, E s b ss . n o r o rn s nt s st

so . s . s o nt to t . s o b i i tion . b o t

, 1 . s i ion in is . . . r . . f n s . n . not r

, 1 . s i ion in is . . . r n . . o i

to o . s o . . o r o ns . . inst . . itin for .

rf / t s st . s to b in . / b for . n , or

int rn tion . s s st n fo t o . . o . t

b r ib ritirs t is ror riss, in t fort E, n r, st n, r toff t ro n , n , i_{-1} ro, t ro, ss , s , o st.n'i i ossib i stn.r b , tin it to b rf / t b for st rt o Li ro, _i, n ri ts rot i tions r ss nti. to t _1obii. tion ror ss. n to t o, r. $\frac{1}{2}$ ror ss. n ., $\frac{1}{2}$ bro_1 . ror iss in t o o j bi bi t r r tions i . . , r , ron, oin i, io on _1, nri ts it to, rn_int of_oo_ibi, /rtr i/ n nr, /rtr i/o.s rnsr.is _1.n ri ts iss s it r si nt rib n isit s in ton in brar In st nt to rsi nts_i t in_r, for , , s t iss of _1.nri ts _.s on t . n. s ort so, str. sbni_1 ro, _1 nt in _1, n , s , ts of _1, n ri ts in_ o o_1bi t _ior n s to b on

or or is not some or in oo_ibi. o not s t . r ror ss n in r tr in to fin t b st to 1, it or. t b st to i_i ro, it to str n t n it in to f n it , , , tt to, r , ssist n, not isit to t sobi i tion rows sing o osibi _ i _ior or ss/ontin , t/rrnt , s for t n, ts, r, rs, , , t o o_i bi ns to t on nin/r, s s, r oft r s onsibi it n / ost, s , ssist not is it to one in the ftr. nit , t t s . s _ i. n ot r n s . n rioriti s iv o not n bor, tion r b t, r _1ost on ntr t in, o t si n t i E st o o j bi r j, ins o r r st, i r i i nt in t strn sis r st st r st sib ss in t r is r son oo ibi is frin t r st _iostro_i i, t s r rit r . n s in t r ion oo_ibi n sor n r or in it t _ oo_ibi ns to / i, ors r ob / ti, s , t nits s r to is sir to b tt r n rst n t si nifi/ n/ n i í ort n/ of t rorssin to i o it it or or on o_{ψ} , n_{ψ} or ψ it ψ o o_1 bi ns to i_1 ro, it

[,] In / . , t , on rss. ro , / / fi ion in , / / , ssist n/ for o o fbi.s fobii tions ro r fs . n o o fbi n fb ss or to t in nit , tts n rs str n fot ntion tis.s / tin fi , br . r , rin rsi nt rib s isit to . s in ton

Biographies of Contributors

FATHER DARÍO ANTONIO E



