

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

EMPLOYEE POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM Original Amendment

This form is for disclosing the receipt of travel expenses from private sources for travel taken in connection with official duties. This form does not eliminate the need to report privately-funded travel on the annual *Financial Disclosure Statements* of those employees required to file them. In accordance with House Rule 25, clause 5, **you must complete this form and file it with the Clerk of the House by email at gifttravelreports@mail.house.gov, within 15 days after travel is completed.** Please **do not** file this form with the Committee on Ethics.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

1. Name of Traveler: Deepa Patel
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: _____ **OR** None
b. Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
3. a. Dates: Departure: November 22, 2024 Return: November 26, 2024
b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: _____ **OR** None
4. Departure City: IAD Destination: Cali, Colombia Return City: Tuscon, AZ
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA)
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended: Please see attached detailed agenda
7. Attached to this form are **each** of the following, *signify that each item is attached by checking the corresponding box:*
 - a. a completed *Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form*;
 - b. the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* completed by the trip sponsor **prior** to the trip, **including all** attachments **and** the *Additional Sponsor Form(s)*;
 - c. page 2 of the completed *Traveler Form* submitted by the employee; **and**
 - d. the letter from the Committee on Ethics approving my participation on this trip.
8. a. I represent that I participated in each of the activities reflected in the attached sponsor's agenda. *Signify statement is true by checking the box.*
b. If not, explain: _____

I certify that the information contained on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature of Traveler:  Date: 12/11/2024

I authorized this travel in advance. I have determined that all of the expenses listed on the attached *Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form* were necessary and that the travel was in connection with the employee's official duties and would not create the appearance that the employee is using public office for private gain.

Name of Supervising Member: Delia Ramirez Date: 12/11/2024

Signature of Supervising Member: 

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

SPONSOR POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM

Original Amendment

This form must be completed by an officer of any organization that served as the primary trip sponsor in providing travel expenses or reimbursement for travel expenses to House Members, officers, or employees under House Rule 25, clause 5. **A completed copy of the form must be provided to each House Member, officer, or employee who participated in the trip within 10 days of their return.** You must answer all questions, and check all boxes, on this form for your submission to comply with House Rules and the Committee's Travel Regulations. Failure to comply with this requirement may result in the denial of future requests to sponsor trips and/or subject the current traveler to disciplinary action or a requirement to repay the trip expenses.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

1. Sponsor(s) who paid or provided in-kind support for the trip: Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA)

2. Travel Destination(s): Cali, Buenaventura, and Bogotá, Colombia

3. Date of Departure: November 22 Date of Return: November 26

4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): Deepa Patel

Note: You may list more than one traveler on a form only if **all** information is **identical** for each person listed.

5. **Actual amount** of expenses paid on behalf of, or reimbursed to, each individual named in Question 4:

	Total Transportation Expenses	Total Lodging Expenses	Total Meal Expenses	Total Other Expenses (dollar amount per item and description)
Traveler	\$1,541.46	\$315.97	\$202.86	Print materials: \$9.75 Interpreter: \$183.75
Accompanying Family Member	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

6. All expenses connected to the trip were for actual costs incurred and not a *per diem* or lump sum payment.
Signify statement is true by checking box.

I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: Melissa Golladay Digitally signed by Melissa Golladay
Date: 2024.12.10 15:12:50 -05'00' Date: 12/1

Name: Melisa Golladay Title: VP, Finance and Operations

Organization: Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA)

I am an officer of the above-named organization. Signify statement is true by checking box.

Address: 1666 Connecticut Ave. NW Washington, DC 20009

Telephone: (202) 301-5824 Email: mgolladay@wola.org

Committee staff may contact the above-named individual if additional information is required.

If you have questions regarding your completion of this form, please contact the Committee on Ethics at 202-225-7103.

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

This form should be completed by House Members, officers, or employees seeking Committee approval of privately-sponsored travel or reimbursement for travel under House Rule 25, clause 5. The completed form should be submitted directly to the Committee by each invited House Member, officer, or employee, together with the completed and signed trip sponsor form(s) and any attachments. A copy of this form, minus this initial page, will be made available for public inspection.

This form and any attachments may be submitted at 1015 Longworth House Office Building or travel.requests@mail.house.gov.

Your completed request must be submitted to the Committee no less than 30 days before your proposed departure date. Absent exceptional circumstances, permission will not be granted for requests received less than 30 days before the trip commences. **You must receive explicit approval from the Committee before you depart on this trip.**

Name of Traveler: Deepa Patel

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

I certify that the information contained on both pages of this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: 

Name of Signatory (if other than traveler): _____

For Staff (name of employing Member or Committee): Representative Delia C. Ramirez

Office Address: 1523 Longworth House Office Building

Telephone Number: (202) 495-9288

Email Address of Contact Person: deepa.patel@mail.house.gov

Check this box if the sponsoring entity is a media outlet, the purpose of the trip is to make a media appearance sponsored by that entity, and these forms are being submitted to the Committee less than 30 days before the trip departure date.

NOTE: You must complete all of the contact information fields above, as Committee staff may need to contact you if additional information is required.

KEEP A COPY OF THIS FORM. Page 2 (but not this page) must be submitted to the Clerk as part of the post-travel disclosure required by House Rule 25. Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting paperwork for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

If there are any questions regarding this form, please contact the Committee on Ethics at 202-225-7103 or via email: travel.requests@mail.house.gov.

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

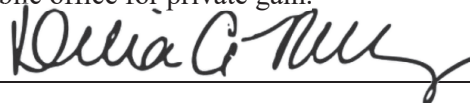
1. Name of Traveler: Deepa Patel
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip: Washington Office On Latin America (WOLA)
3. City and State **OR** Foreign Country of Travel: Colombia
4. a. Date of Departure: 11/22/2024 Date of Return: 11/26/2024
b. Yes No Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense?
If yes, list dates at personal expense: _____
5. a. Yes No Will you be accompanied by a family member at the sponsor's expense? **If yes:**
 - (1) Name of Accompanying Family Member: _____
 - (2) Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
 - (3) Yes No Accompanying Family Member is at least 18 years of age?
6. a. Yes No Did the trip sponsor answer "Yes" to Question 8(c) on the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* (i.e., travel is sponsored by an entity that employs a registered federal lobbyist or a foreign agent)?
b. **If yes**, and you are requesting lodging for two nights, explain why the second night is warranted:

7. Yes No *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* is attached, including agenda, invitation, invitee list, and any other attachments and Additional Sponsor Forms.
NOTE: The agenda should show the traveler's individual schedule, including departure and arrival times and identify the specific events in which the traveler will be participating.
8. Explain why participation in the trip is connected to the traveler's individual official or representational duties. **Staff should include their job title and how the activities on the itinerary relate to their duties.**
As Legislative Director, I spearhead the Congresswoman's foreign policy work including the trips goals of advancing peace, human rights, and racial justice in Colombia. This trip will engage a wide range of civil society and state actors to advance the 2016 peace accord, dialogue with the ELN, and efforts to dismantle other illegal armed groups and protect civilians.
9. **Yes No Is the traveler aware of any registered federal lobbyists or foreign agents involved in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip?**
10. For staff travelers, to be completed by your employing Member:

ADVANCED AUTHORIZATION OF EMPLOYEE TRAVEL

I hereby authorize the individual named above, an employee of the U.S. House of Representatives who works under my direct supervision, to accept expenses for the trip described in this request. I have determined that the above-described travel is in connection with my employee's official duties and that acceptance of these expenses will not create the appearance that the employee is using public office for private gain.

Signature of Employing Member: _____



Date: 10/18/2024

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

PRIMARY TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by private entities offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to House Members, officers, or employees under House Rule 25, clause 5. A completed copy of the form (and any attachments) should be provided to each invited House Member, officer, or employee, who will then forward it to the Committee together with a *Traveler Form* **at least 30 days before the start date of the trip**. The trip sponsor should *NOT* submit the form directly to the Committee. The Committee's website (ethics.house.gov) provides detailed instructions for filling out the form. The Committee will notify the House invitees directly of its decision and will not notify the trip sponsors.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Failure to comply with the Committee's Travel Regulations may also lead to the denial of permission to sponsor future trips. Signatures must comply with section 104(bb) of the Travel Regulations.

1. Sponsor who will be paying for the trip:

Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA)

2. I represent that the trip will not be financed, in whole or in part, by a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent. *Signify that the statement is true by checking box.*

3. **Check only one.** I represent that:

a. The primary trip sponsor has not accepted from any other source, funds intended directly or indirectly to finance any aspect of the trip; **OR**

b. The trip is arranged without regard to congressional participation and the primary trip sponsor has accepted funds only from entities that will receive a tangible benefit in exchange for those funds; **OR**

c. The primary trip sponsor has accepted funds, services, or in-kind assistance from other source(s) intended directly or indirectly to finance all or part of this trip and has enclosed disclosure forms from each of those entities.

If "c" is checked, list the names of the additional sponsors: N/A

4. Provide names and titles of **ALL** House Members *and* employees you are inviting. **For each House invitee, provide an explanation of why the individual was invited** (include additional pages if necessary): See addendum

5. Yes No Is travel being offered to an accompanying family member of the House invitee(s)?

6. Date of Departure: November 22, 2024 Date of Return: November 26, 2024

7. a. City of departure: Dulles, VA, U.S.

b. Destination(s): Cali, Colombia; Buenaventura, Colombia; and Bogotá, Colombia

c. City of return: Atlanta, Georgia; Dulles, Virginia; Phoenix, Arizona; Newark, New Jersey; or Baltimore

8. **Check only one.** I represent that

a. The sponsor of the trip is an institution of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965; **OR**

b. The sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent; **OR**

c. The sponsor employs or retains a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but the trip is for attendance at a one-day event *and* lobbyist / foreign agent involvement in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the Committee's travel regulations.

9. **Check only one of the following.**
- a. I checked 8(a) or (b) above; **OR**
 - b. I checked 8(c) above but am not offering any lodging; **OR**
 - c. I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for one night; **OR**
 - d. I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for two nights. If you checked this box, explain why the second night of lodging is warranted. _____

10. Attached is a detailed agenda of the activities House invitees will be participating in during the travel (i.e., an hourly description of planned activities for trip invitees). *Indicate agenda is attached by checking box.*

11. **Check only one of the following.**
- a. I represent that a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent will not accompany House Members or employees on any segment of the trip. *Signify the statement is true by clicking the box; OR*
 - b. *Not Applicable.* Trip sponsor is a U.S. institution of higher education.
12. For **each** sponsor required to submit a sponsor form, describe the sponsor's interest in the subject matter of the trip **and** its role in organizing and/or conducting the trip:
- The Washington Office on Latin America is a 501(3)(c) organization with 50 years of experience promoting human rights-aligned policies in the Americas. Our organization will prepare an itinerary, sponsor members and their staff, and accompany the delegation throughout their stay.

13. **Answer parts a and b. Answer part c if necessary:**
- a. Mode of travel: Air Rail Bus Car Other (specify: _____)
 - b. Class of travel: Coach Business First Charter Other (specify: _____)
 - c. If travel will be first class, or by chartered or private aircraft, explain why such travel is warranted: _____

14. I represent that the expenditures related to local area travel during the trip will be unrelated to personal or recreational activities of the invitee(s). *Signify that the statement is true by checking box.*

15. **Check only one.** I represent that either:
- a. The trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation and that meals provided to congressional participants are similar to those provided to or purchased by other event attendees; **OR**
 - b. The trip involves events that are arranged specifically *with regard* to congressional participation. If "b" is checked:
 - 1) Detail the cost *per day* of meals (approximate cost may be provided): US \$100.00
 - 2) Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: Buenaventura is the primary city affected by the
Colombia FTA, and also intersects with U.S. interests in drug policy and as accompanier of

16. Name, nightly cost, and reasons for selecting each hotel or other lodging facility:

Hotel Name: Hotel Mudéjar City: Cali, Colombia Cost Per Night: \$65
Reason(s) for Selecting: WOLA has previously booked this hotel given its preference by human rights

Hotel Name: Hotel Tequendama City: Bogotá, Colombia Cost Per Night: \$75
Reason(s) for Selecting: It's location in close proximity to government buildings in downtown Bogotá.

Hotel Name: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____
Reason(s) for Selecting: _____

17. I represent that all expenses connected to the trip will be for actual costs incurred and not a per diem or lump sum payment. *Signify that the statement is true by checking the box.*

18. **Total Expenses for each Participant:**

<input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimates	Total Transportation Expenses per Participant	Total Lodging Expenses per Participant	Total Meal Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	\$1,200	\$300	\$400
For each Accompanying Family Member	N/A	N/A	N/A

	Other Expenses (dollar amount per item)	Identify Specific Nature of "Other" Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	\$400	Hired ground transportation, interpreters
For each Accompanying Family Member	N/A	

19. **Check only one:**

- a. I certify that I am an officer of the organization listed below; **OR**
- b. *Not Applicable.* Trip sponsor is an individual or a U.S. institution of higher education.

20. **I certify by my signature that**

- a. **I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;**
- b. **I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent; and**
- c. **The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.**

Signature: Alex Bare Digitally signed by Alex Bare
Date: 2024.10.22 14:38:35 -04'00' Date: 22 Oct 2024

Name: Alex Bare Title: Program Associate

Organization: Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA)

Address: 1666 Connecticut Ave NW Washington, DC 20002

Email: abare@wola.org Telephone: 3522171867

If there are questions regarding this form, please contact the Committee on Ethics at 202-225-7103 or travel.requests@mail.house.gov.

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Chairman
Susan Wild, Pennsylvania
Ranking Member

David P. Joyce, Ohio
John H. Rutherford, Florida
Andrew R. Garbarino, New York
Michelle Fischbach, Minnesota

Veronica Escobar, Texas
Mark DeSaulnier, California
Deborah K. Ross, North Carolina
Glenn F. Ivey, Maryland



ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

Keelie Broom
Counsel to the Chairman

David Arrojo
Counsel to the Ranking Member

1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-6328
Telephone: (202) 225-7103
Facsimile: (202) 225-7392

November 18, 2024

Ms. Deepa Patel
Office of the Honorable Delia C. Ramirez
1523 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Ms. Patel:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your proposed trip to Colombia,¹ scheduled for November 22 to 26, 2024, sponsored by Washington Office on Latin America.

You must complete an Employee Post-Travel Disclosure Form (which your employing Member must also sign) and file it, together with a Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form completed by the trip sponsor, with the Clerk of the House within 15 days after your return from travel. As part of that filing, you are also required to attach a copy of this letter and both the Traveler and Primary Trip Sponsor Forms (including attachments) you previously submitted to the Committee in seeking pre-approval for this trip. If you are required to file an annual Financial Disclosure Statement, you must also report all travel expenses totaling more than \$480 from a single source on the "Travel" schedule of your annual Financial Disclosure Statement covering this calendar year. Finally, Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting information provided to the Committee for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

Because the trip may involve meetings with foreign government representatives, we note that House employees may accept, under the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act (FGDA), gifts "of minimal value [currently \$480] tendered as a souvenir or mark of courtesy" by a foreign government. Any tangible gifts valued in excess of minimal value received from a foreign government must, within 60 days of acceptance, be disclosed on a Form for Disclosing Gifts from Foreign Governments and either turned over to the Clerk of the House, or, with the written approval of the Committee, retained for official use.

¹ Please be aware that the Committee's review of the proposed trip does not extend to either the security situation in the destination country or security related to foreign travel in general. We recommend you contact the Office of House Security (OHS) for a safety and security briefing prior to your departure. OHS may be reached at (202) 226-2044 or ohsstaff@mail.house.gov. House travelers should also register for the U.S. State Department's Smart Traveler Enrollment Program at <https://step.state.gov>.

If you have any further questions, please contact the Committee's Office of Advice and Education at extension 5-7103.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Michael Guest". The first letter "M" is large and loops around the first few letters of the name.

Michael Guest
Chairman

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Susan Wild". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the "S" and "W" being particularly prominent.

Susan Wild
Ranking Member

MG/SW:mc

Question 4: Provide names and titles of ALL House Members and employees you are inviting. For each House invitee, provide an explanation of why the individual was invited (include additional pages if necessary):

1. Rep. Hank Johnson
2. Anna McDonald (office of Rep. Sydney Kamlager-Dove)
3. Antwain Monach (office of Rep. Hank Johnson)
4. Deepa Patel (office of Rep. Delia Ramirez)

We, the Washington Office on Latin America, have invited Rep. Hank Johnson to lead this delegation given his strong commitment to human rights and dedication to promoting peace and justice in Latin America. His advocacy aligns with the goals of the visit, which include advancing dialogue, supporting the 2016 peace accord, and ensuring the protection of marginalized communities in Colombia.

Ms. McDonald, Mr. Monach, and Ms. Patel, as staff of their respective offices working on international relations, are likewise invited to participate. We believe their presence would add significant value to the discussions and reinforce the importance of U.S. engagement in Colombia.



October 16, 2024

Deepa Patel,
U.S. Congress
Washington, DC

Dear Ms. Deepa Patel,

The Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA)'s Colombia program focuses on peace, human rights, and racial justice. We are actively involved in monitoring and advocating for the advancement of the 2016 peace accord, dialogue with the ELN, and efforts to dismantle other illegal armed groups and protect civilians. We are pushing for the implementation of the Ethnic Chapter and the integration of Black, Afro-descendant, Palenquero, Raizal, and Indigenous individual and collective rights within the other processes. This comprehensive approach includes the transversal consideration of gender, women's rights, LGBTQ+ rights, and the rights of victims and internally displaced persons. We bring the voices of our extensive network of Colombian ethnic authorities, social leaders, and human rights activists to U.S. policymakers and facilitate U.S. policymakers' visits to Colombia. We are constantly using the U.S.'s leverage with Colombia to guarantee they can do their work without harm and that the civic space will not be closed. Governments, U.S. policymakers, the press, and civil society seek our expertise in U.S.-Colombia relations.

As part of this work, we are organizing a delegation of members of the U.S. Congress to Colombia in November 2024. **The delegation will run from Friday, November 22 to Tuesday, November 26, and will be led by Representative Hank Johnson of Georgia.** The itinerary includes visits to Buenaventura (Valle del Cauca), Cali, and Bogotá, engaging a wide range of civil society and state actors.

In Buenaventura, we will meet with the key actors involved in brokering an agreement between the Shottas and Spartanos organized crime groups, the Puente Nayero humanitarian zone (an area where activists are resisting violence and the illegal armed actors), communities involved in advancing the humanitarian agreements agreed to within the ELN peace dialogue, civil society organizations engaged in the civic strike movement, port workers (a priority within the U.S.-Colombia Labor Action Plan), and local officials. In Cali, we will meet with internally displaced Afro-Colombians in the Aguablanca District, human rights organizations, and actors seeking justice for the victims of the 2021 social unrest. In Bogotá, we will meet with Colombian government officials, Afro-Colombian and Indigenous authorities and groups, human rights networks, experts, and the U.S. Embassy.



Advocacy for Human Rights in the Americas

As with previous WOLA-led trips, we are organizing this delegation with our Afro-Colombian, Indigenous, and other Colombian partners. These include the High Instance for Ethnic Peoples (IEANPE), Afro-Colombian Peace Council (CONPA)—made up of AFRODES, PCN, Red de Mujeres Kambiri, Pastoral Afro-Colombiana, FISCH, ANAFRO, CLAF, CNOA, and ACONC, among others—and the Ethnic Commission—made up of CONPA and the National Indigenous Organization of Colombia (ONIC).

Given your strong commitment to human rights and your advocacy for peace and justice in Latin America, we believe your involvement would greatly enhance the impact of the visit. **We ask that you kindly confirm your participation by Friday, October 18**, as we are in the process of finalizing logistics and completing ethics forms for the delegation.

We would be honored if you would join Rep. Johnson on this trip to further deepen U.S. engagement in supporting Colombia's peace process.

I look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

Gimena Sanchez-Garzoli
Director for the Andes
Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA)

Non-Delegation (NODEL) Led by Rep. Hank Johnson to the Republic of Colombia

with support from the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA)

November 22 to 26, 2024

Summary:

The purpose of this trip is to visit Colombia's Pacific region, a key area impacted by the U.S.-Colombia Free Trade Agreement. This region is central to U.S. interests in drug policy, human rights, and economic development. With a significant Afro-Colombian population, it is also a focal point of the U.S.-Colombia Racial Action Plan and the U.S. role as an accompanier of the Ethnic Chapter of the 2016 Havana Peace Accord. In addition to the Pacific region, we will visit Bogotá for high-level meetings with the Colombian government, journalists, and the U.S. Embassy.

Friday, November 22

1:00 PM: Arrive at Washington Dulles International Airport

- **Flight CM 444**
 - Departure: Washington Dulles (IAD) at 3:31 PM
 - Arrival: Panama City (PTY) at 8:34 PM
- **Flight CM 323**
 - Departure: Panama City (PTY) at 9:46 PM
 - Arrival: Cali (CLO) at 11:28 PM
 - Layover in Panama City: 1h 12m

11:45 PM: Travel from Alfonso Bonilla Aragón International Airport to Hotel Mudéjar, Calle 8 #5-53, Cali

Saturday, November 23: Cali, Valle del Cauca

7:00-8:00 AM: Breakfast at the Hotel Mudéjar restaurant

9:00-11:00 AM: Visit to Afro-Colombian internally displaced community (Aguablanca District)

12:00-1:00 PM: Lunch at offices of National Association of Displaced Afro-Colombians (*Asociación Nacional de Afrocolombianos Desplazados*, AFRODES)

2:00 PM: Arrive at offices of human rights organization, Association for Social Research and Action (*Asociación para la Investigación y Acción Social*, NOMADESC)

2:30-3:30 PM: Meeting with Indigenous leaders, victims, and human rights organizations from Cauca Department

3:30-4:30 PM: Meeting with victims and family members of the 2021 social popular uprising and victims of police brutality

4:30-5:30 PM: Meeting with organization Veterans for Colombia (*Veteranos por Colombia*) and others

6:00-7:00 PM: Dinner (journalists invited)

Sunday, November 24: Buenaventura, Valle del Cauca

5:00 AM: Departure to Buenaventura by private transport (breakfast will be brown bag served on the bus)

9:00 AM: Arrive in Buenaventura

9:00-11:00 AM: Visit the Puente Nayero Urban Humanitarian Zone

11:30-12:30 PM: Meeting with the Buenaventura 2017 Civic Strike Committee

1:30-2:30 PM: Lunch with mayor of the District of Buenaventura, Ligia del Carmen Córdoba

2:30-3:30 PM: Meeting with the Catholic Diocese of Buenaventura on the urban peace negotiations

3:30 PM: Depart Buenaventura to return to Cali

6:00-6:30 PM: Arrive in Cali

7:00 PM: Arrive at Alfonso Bonilla Aragón International Airport

- **Flight AV 9236**
 - Departure: Cali (CLO) at 8:55 PM
 - Arrival: Bogotá (BOG) at 9:53 PM

11:00 PM: Check in at the Hotel Tequendama, Carrera 10 #26-21 Bogotá, D.C.

Monday, November 25: Bogotá, D.C.

7:00-8:00 AM: Breakfast at the Hotel Tequendama's Virrey Restaurant

9:00-10:00 AM: Meeting with Vice President of Colombia Francia Márquez Mina and others

11:00-1:00 PM: Lunch meeting with the Special High-Level Body on Ethnic Peoples (IEANPE), Ethnic Commission for Peace, Afro-Colombian Peace Commission, and ethnic working group of the transitional justice system

2:00-3:00 PM: Meeting at the U.S. Embassy

4:00-6:00 PM: Free time

7:00-8:00 PM: Dinner with Colombian Congresspersons and human rights defenders

9:00 PM: Check out of hotel and take taxi to El Dorado International Airport

Tuesday, November 26: Bogotá, D.C.

- **Flight AA 1122**
 - Departure: Bogotá, Colombia (BOG) at 11:59 PM on Monday, November 25

- Arrival: Dallas/Fort Worth, TX (DFW) at 5:00 AM on Tuesday, November 26
- 3h 08m connection in Dallas/Fort Worth
- **Flight AA 2720**
 - Departure: Dallas/Fort Worth, TX (DFW) at 8:08 AM
 - Arrival: Tucson, AZ (TUS) at 9:38 AM



November 22–26, 2024
WOLA Congressional Delegation (NODEL) to the Republic of
Colombia

With Representative Hank Johnson (D-Georgia)

Overview:

Over the next five days, our group will examine the current situation of labor rights, human rights, and prospects for ongoing peace talks. We will spend the first two nights in Cali, including a day trip to Buenaventura, an important port city with a largely Afro-Colombian population. Of particular interest is compliance with the commitments made in the 2011 U.S.-Colombia Labor Action Plan, the U.S.-Colombia Racial Action Plan, and progress in implementing the 2016 Peace Accord between the Colombian government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC-EP) and subsequent peace dialogues with the other illegal armed groups.

We will finish our trip in Bogotá, meeting with government officials, community leaders, and human rights organizations to discuss issues related to U.S. support for the Ethnic Chapter of the 2016 Peace Agreement, among other areas.

Traveler Contacts.....	3
Notes on Climate, Dress, and Packing.....	3
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**For biographies of all participants, turn to page 46.*

Notes on Climate, Dress, and Packing

Cali, especially Buenaventura, are pretty hot and humid, similar to Washington in the summer. Buenaventura has a tropical rainforest climate, averaging barely three hours of sunshine daily in November, while Cali is generally sunnier and drier. November is the rainy season, so expect a 90% daily chance of rain showers in Buenaventura and a 35% chance of rain in Cali. Dress is less formal in Cali and Buenaventura; a single layer of clothing (like button-down shirts and long pants for men and the same or dress/top and skirt for women) is adequate.

Bogotá, where we will spend Monday, is similar to Washington for the last few weeks of October—temperatures ranging from the lower 50s at night to as high as 78 °F on a sunny day. It is, however, one of the rainiest months of the year, with a 40% daily chance of rain. Bogotá is notoriously formal in its dress, so the clothes you wear on a typical day on the Hill will work fine.

Typical November weather in each city:

<p>Bogotá</p> <p>65° 51°F</p>  <p>Thundershowers</p> <p>(40% chance)</p>	<p>Cali</p> <p>85° 68°F</p>  <p>Scattered Thunderstorms</p> <p>(35% chance)</p>	<p>Buenaventura</p> <p>85° 68°F</p>  <p>Scattered Thunderstorms</p> <p>(90% chance)</p>
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Suggested Packing List

Clothing	Other
<p>We recommend comfortable business casual clothing and shoes for Cali and Buenaventura and more formal clothes/shoes for Bogotá.</p> <p>Recommended:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 2 chinos or pants ● 2 dark/suit pants or dresses ● 3 white or light colored t-shirts (to reflect heat) ● 4 long-sleeve button-down shirts or blouses ● 1 jacket ● 1 sweater ● 2 ties ● 5 underwear ● 5 pairs socks ● 1 sleepwear ● 1pair Sandals/comfortable shoes and 1 business appropriate pair 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Passport/passport card (driver's licenses are generally not an accepted ID for entering government buildings) ● Cell phone ● Portable phone battery charger ● A small amount of cash in dollars to exchange (ATMs also work well in Colombia) ● A small umbrella ● Sunglasses ● A small tube of sunscreen ● Laptop computer ● Laptop power cord (no adapters are needed in Colombia) ● Small notebook and pens ● Business cards ● Aspirin, caffeine pills, energy bars ● Headphones/AirPods ● Briefing materials ● Toiletry bag (quart-size Ziploc) with: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Shampoo/Conditioner ○ Toothpaste, toothbrush, floss ○ Razor/shaving cream ○ Face and body creams ○ Medications/vitamins ○ Earplugs/eye mask (for sleeping)

Friday, November 22, 2024: Traveling to Cali

All participants from WOLA and Congress: We will depart from Washington Dulles International Airport at 3:31 PM on the Copa Airlines flight to Panama City. **Please arrive at the airport at 12:30 PM to go through security and find the gate.** This flight route allows us to go through immigration in Cali, which is much quicker than if we went through Bogotá, and lowers the risk of a missed connection.

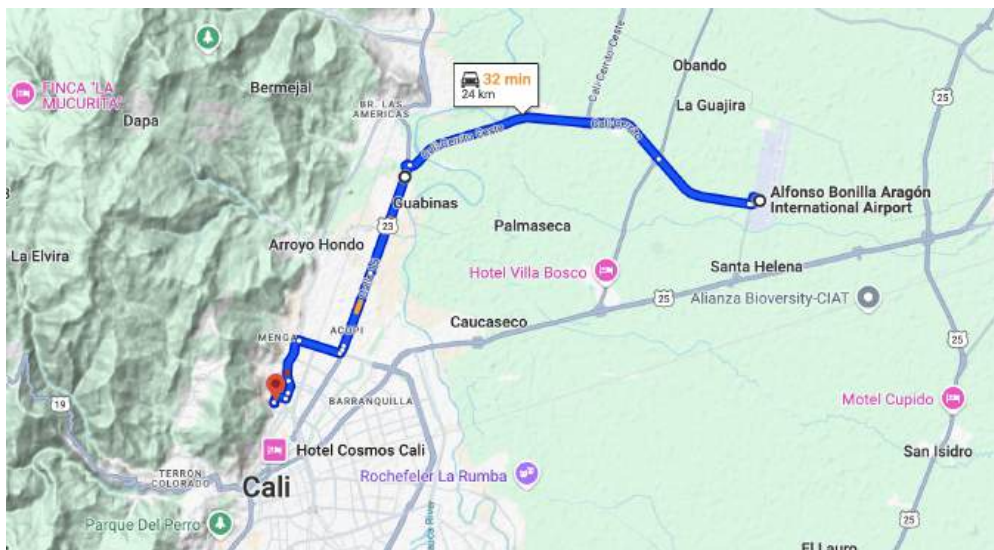
- **Copa Flight CM 444**
 - Departure: Washington Dulles (IAD) at 3:31 PM
 - Arrival: Panama City (PTY) at 8:34 PM
 - Booking Code: A1OAYZ (Anna), A4FH0I (Deepa), A3FMFB (everyone else)
- **Copa Flight CM 323**
 - Departure: Panama City (PTY) at 9:46 PM
 - Arrival: Cali (CLO) at 11:28 PM
 - Layover in Panama City: 1h 12m

12:00 AM: Go through immigration at Alfonso Bonilla Aragón International Airport in Cali. Please give the following responses to immigration officials:

- Purpose of Visit: Business
- Duration of Stay: 4 days
- Accommodation: Hotel Spiwak, Avenida 6D #36N-18, Cali, Colombia.

At the Airport exit, we will coordinate two taxis. Alex will accompany one group and Gimena will accompany the other. Our hotel is attached to an upscale shopping center in the Chipichape neighborhood. The reservation is under Alex Bare, WOLA.

- Hotel Spiwak, located at the Chipichape Shopping Mall (*Centro Comercial Chipichape*), Avenida 6D #36N-18, Cali.




Saturday, November 23, 2024: Cali, Valle del Cauca

7:00–8:00 AM: Breakfast at the Hotel Spiwak restaurant

9:00–11:00 AM: Visit to Afro-Colombian internally displaced community (Aguablanca District)

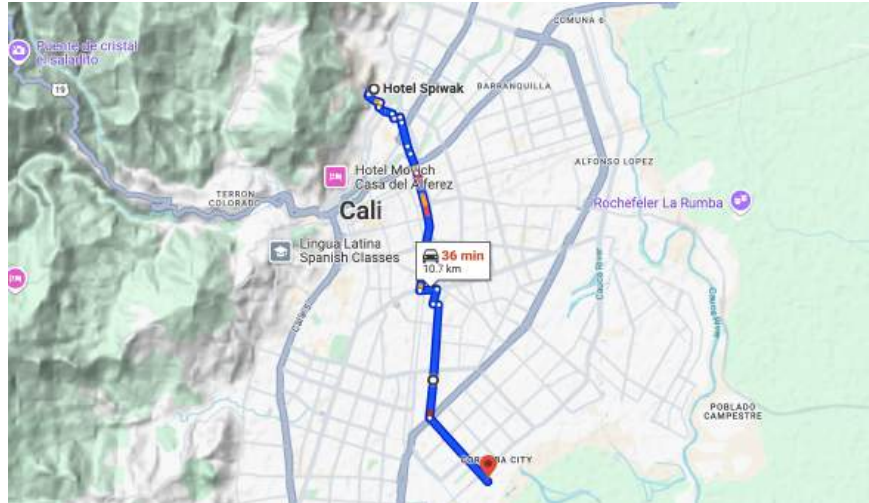
- Colegios Arquidiocesanos Institución Educativa Llano Verde, Calle 57 entre Carrera 47 y 50

Meeting coordinated by Marino Córdoba Berrio, President, AFRODES

Marino Córdoba Berrio	President, AFRODES
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marino Córdoba was born in Riosucio, Chocó. A prominent leader in the development of Law 70 for the Black Communities, he fought against illegal deforestation as the regional representative of the community councils in northern Chocó. • Survived Operación Génesis, a 1997 Colombian military-paramilitary campaign in Chocó that displaced thousands. This propelled him into activism. • Córdoba holds a law degree. He founded the National Association of Displaced Afro-Colombians (AFRODES) in 1999 to advocate for the rights of displaced Afro-Colombian communities. • After being shot and surviving five assassination attempts, he forced him into exile in the United States for over a decade. He worked closely with Rep. John Conyers and the SEIU to advance U.S. interest in Afro-Colombian rights. • He returned to Colombia in 2012 to support the peace process with FARC-EP. Played a pivotal role in incorporating the Ethnic Chapter into Colombia's 2016 Peace Agreement, ensuring the recognition and protection of Afro-Colombian and indigenous communities. • AFRODES received WOLA's human rights award in 2010.

The delegation will visit the largest, primarily Afro-Colombian, internally displaced community in the Pacific region, located in the Aguablanca District. Most people are from Cauca, Valle del Cauca, and Nariño. Prior congressional delegations have visited this area. The purpose is to speak to leaders of these communities about their current situation.

AFRODES is a long-time partner of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) and other congressional offices, and it is one of the organizations that receives USAID assistance. Additionally, this area is the site of several cases related to the human rights conditions for military aid to Colombia—most notably the 2021 Llano Verde massacre of five Afro-Colombian youths with the collusion of U.S.-funded police. The meeting will provide insights to U.S. policymakers on implementing the Ethnic Chapter (the U.S. is the first international accompanier), the U.S.-Colombia Racial Action Plan, and USAID’s Afro-Colombian and Indigenous Program. Rep. Johnson has worked with AFRODES since 2005.



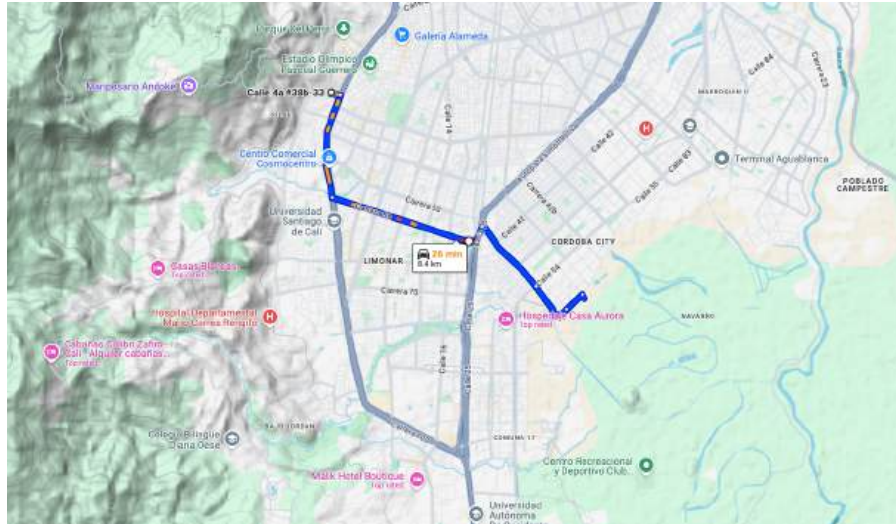
11:30–1:30 PM: Lunch at offices of the National Association of Displaced Afro-Colombians (*Asociación Nacional de Afrocolombianos Desplazados*, AFRODES). The internally displaced women will prepare lunch.

- Colegios Arquidiocesanos Institución Educativa Llano Verde, Calle 57 entre Carrera 47 y 50

<p>Sandra “Sami” Arizabaleta LGBTQ+ activist and founder of the Afro-descendant Foundation for Social and Sexual Diversity WE ARE IDENTITY (SOMOS IDENTIDAD)</p>	<p>Luis Sevillano Boya Chief of Party of the Indigenous Peoples and Afro-Colombian Empowerment Activity, ACDIVOCA</p>	<p>TBD Representative of Mayor’s Office of Cali in charge of victims</p>
		

2:00 PM: Arrive at offices of human rights organization, Association for Social Research and Action (*Asociación para la Investigación y Acción Social, NOMADESC*)

- Calle 4a #38b 33 Barrio Santa Isabel, Cali



NOMADESC Socio-Legal and Coordination Team:

- Herwin Corzo and Marly Pabón, lawyers
- Alejandra del Mar, researcher
- Berenice Celeita, Olga Araújo y Víctor Ospina, coordinating team

NOMADESC is run by Berenice Celeita. It is the leading human rights organization in the western region of Colombia, working in the Valle del Cauca and Cauca departments. They advocate on behalf of victims of all armed actors in the area, particularly those affected by the 2021 Cali civic strike and the 2017 Buenaventura civic strike, as well as trade unionists, labor activists, and indigenous communities from the Cauca department within the Colombian justice system. NOMADESC represents victims in 40 cases of extrajudicial killings, forced disappearances, death threats, and arbitrary detentions. The Attorney General of Colombia has a macro case open for the 2021 social uprising that includes 16 emblematic cases. Six of the 16 emblematic cases are legally represented by NOMADESC, including Siloé, Paso del Comercio, and 17 arbitrary detentions from Bugalagrande.

<p>Berenice Celeita Alayon</p>	<p>Director of the Research and Social Action Association (<i>Asociación para la Investigación y Acción Social, NOMADESC</i>)</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berenice Celeita is a well-known Colombian human rights defender based in Cali. • Began her human rights work in 1985 following the 1985 Palace of Justice siege when militants stormed Colombia’s Supreme Court. • Awarded the RFK Human Rights Award in 1998. • Established NOMADESC (<i>NO-mah-des</i>, derived from the Spanish word for “nomads”) in 1999, which focuses on defending economic, social, cultural, and environmental rights, particularly for displaced communities in Colombia. • Faces constant threats and persecution due to her work defending the rights of Afro-descendants, IDPs, and victims of the armed conflict.

2:30–3:15 PM: Meeting with Indigenous leaders, victims, and human rights organizations from Cauca Department

Nasa Indigenous Elder Counselors and Territorial Authorities of the Association of Indigenous Cabildos in Cauca) Concejeros Mayores y Autoridades Territoriales, ACIN:

1. Héctor Fabio Casamachin Escue
2. Anyi Yuliana Zapata Ciclos
3. German Valencia
4. Héctor Fabio Zambrano Solarte



The neighboring department of Cauca is held hostage by the violence perpetrated by the warring guerilla groups, the FARC dissidents (the EMC and Segunda Marquetalia) and the ELN, who are disputing control over the Indigenous territories. They are exercising severe social control that includes the recruitment of minors and social discipline. The groups want to consolidate their control over drug trafficking and illegal mining routes. The fighting between the groups is generating multiple humanitarian crises and internal displacement. On May 21, *Verdad Abierta* reported that they had verified “13 murders of social leaders, three murders of ex-combatants who signed the Peace Accord, five murders of agents of the security forces, 2,000 people displaced and more than 500 confined” in the department. Attacks against leaders, including spiritual leaders, are fierce, and violence has not ceased, although the groups are involved in peace talks. We will talk with Indigenous authorities and community leaders who share with us what actions need to be taken to reduce violence and protect their communities from harm.


3:15–4:00 PM: Meeting with victims and family members of the 2021 social popular uprising and victims of police brutality.

1. Organizations, Live Memory Colombia (Memoria Viva Colombia, MEVICO) and Popular Tribunal (Tribunal Popular) de Siloé
2. Leidy Chica – Sister of a victim of extrajudicial execution
3. Giovany García – Young victim of ocular mutilation
4. Abelardo Aranda – Father of Michael Aranda, a victim of extrajudicial execution

The purpose of this meeting is to discuss advancements regarding justice for victims of extrajudicial killings committed by members of the armed forces and police funded by the U.S. and the status of police reform efforts. This will include insights into how to better U.S. counternarcotics and aid strategies in this region. Rep. Johnson has led actions on the Buenaventura civic strike, accountability for crimes committed by police during the 2021 uprisings, and trade unionists/labor rights.

4:30–5:30 PM: Meeting with organization Veterans for Colombia (*Veteranos por Colombia*) and others

- Hotel Spiwak, Centro Comercial Chipichape

Danis Rentería Chala	Director for Pacific Region, Corporación Veteranos por Colombia
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Danis (<i>DAH-nees</i>) was born in Medio Atrato, Chocó, to a poor family, where he was one of 42 children via his father, 13 of which share a mother with him. His father held a lottery to determine which of his children would attend high school, and Danis was selected, becoming the first to graduate. He has a law degree and PhD in peace. • Served in the Colombian military for 24 years, rising to First Sergeant. He competed for Colombia as a wrestler in the Olympics. • Became city councilor for Cali in 2011 and served in the municipal government of Cali as secretary of peace. In 2023, he ran for mayor of Cali. • His organization, Veteranos por Colombia, fosters reconciliation between ex-combatants and victims as part of Colombia’s 2016 peace agreement with the FARC-EP.

1. Danis Antonio Rentería Chala (Sergeant First Class, retired from the army)
2. Colonel RA Alexander Suárez Rodríguez
3. Gustavo Arbeláez Cardona (former FARC commander)
4. Álvaro Guaza Carabalí (former FARC commander)




5. Froilán Mosquera (Sergeant First Class, retired from the army)
6. Ángel Alfonso Rodríguez (Sergeant First Class, retired from the army)

Veterans for Colombia is a non-governmental organization composed of former Colombian armed forces members who advocate for peace, human rights, and ethnic rights. They work for justice for the victims of extrajudicial killings committed by the armed forces, advance the 2016 peace and processes with the other illegal armed groups, racism, and sexual violence within the armed forces, and the rights of veterans and demobilized members of illegal armed groups. They advocate for opportunities for former demobilized members of the armed forces and illegal armed groups to prevent them from becoming mercenaries (Colombian mercenaries killed Haiti's President, and [300 were killed](#) in Ukraine so far) or joining the illegal armed groups. They have previously met with Rep. Johnson, the Pentagon, and the State Department in the U.S. We plan to discuss the status of implementation of the 2016 peace accord and, in particular, advancements in transitional justice (supported by the U.S.). Also, the labor, racism, and gender issues current members of the Colombian armed forces face and how these can be improved.

6:00-7:00 PM: Dinner with Journalists and Defenders

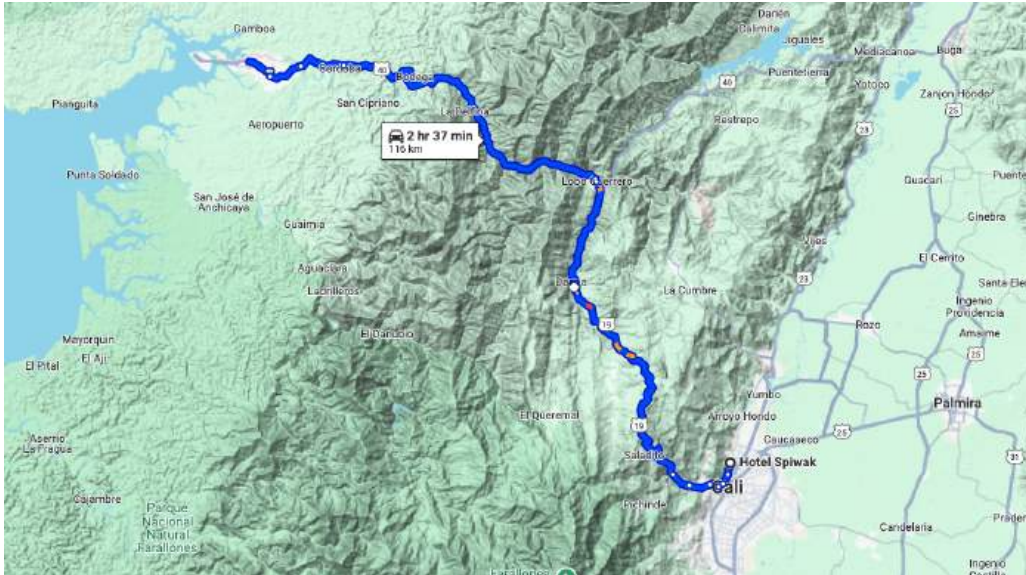
- Pampa Malbec, located inside the Chipichape Mall complex
Centro Comercial Chipichape, Cl. 38 Nte. #N K 8-29, Cali

We've invited local journalists and human rights defenders to exchange with the delegation.

<p>Sofía López Mera Lawyer and the Founder of Corporación Justicia y Dignidad. She is the legal representative for Movimiento de Madres y Mujeres por la Paz, a network set up to address the issue of minors being recruited by illegal armed groups.</p>	<p>Raúl Ramírez Tovar Journalist with RTVC (the national government's public channel). He was with Canal 2 during the 2021 social uprisings in Cali. The security forces attacked Canal 2's journalists, and they suffered all sorts of censorship attempts. They were the only entity reporting on what was happening on the ground.</p>	<p>Agripina Hurtado Afro-Colombian trade unionist and former president of the Afro-Colombia Labor Council (CLAF). CLAF is funded by the AFL-CIO's Solidarity Center. The daughter of sugar cane cutters in the fields of Valle del Cauca, she founded Fundacion Drecca, which advocates for labor rights. She is also the Coordinator of the Interamerican Committee Against Racism, Xenophobia, and all forms of Discrimination of the International Public Service (IPS) union.</p>
		

Sunday, November 24, 2024: Buenaventura, Valle del Cauca

5:00 AM: **Be in the hotel lobby by 4:30 AM to ensure we have everything and everyone for departure. Please bring your packed bags since we are heading straight to the airport when we return to Cali. We will depart to Buenaventura by private transport early. We will have brown bag breakfasts for everyone. Please note that while the highway to Buenaventura has been dramatically improved in recent years, it still winds through very mountainous terrain.



8:00 AM: Arrive in Buenaventura

8:00–10:00 AM: Visit the Puente Nayero Urban Humanitarian Zone

- Barrio La Playita, Comuna 4, Buenaventura

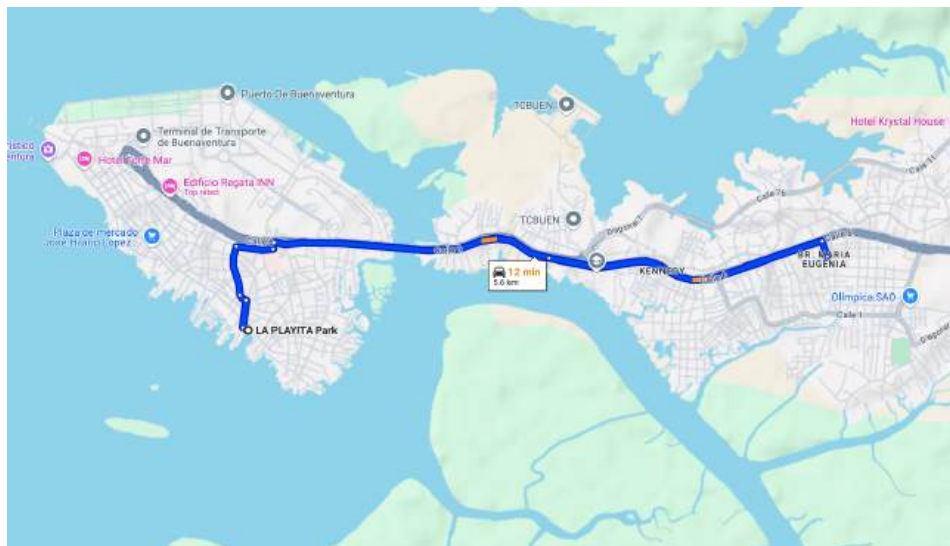
The Puente Nayero Urban Humanitarian Zone is a two-block area where Afro-Colombian forcibly displaced civilians from the Naya River have settled. Here, the “Nayeros” and other civilians organized to get rid of the illegal armed groups and dismantle illicit economies and crimes taking place there, including the “chop houses” (*casas de pique*) set up by illegal armed groups to dismember people. The members of the Humanitarian Zone have advocated for victims’ rights, peace, and human and ethnic rights. They formed part of the effort the U.S. Congress supported to advocate for the inclusion of ethnic peoples and




victims into the 2016 peace accord. María Eugenia Riascos of CONPAZ (an organization that works here) is the 2023 U.S. Institute for Peace (USIP) Women Building Peace Award recipient. This is an example of a community turning a war zone into a peace zone, finding solutions to their problems, and serving as a model for other parts of Colombia and the world. Multiple congressional delegations have visited this community in the past. The purpose is to understand the current dynamics of implementing the 2016 peace accord, the peace dialogues with the ELN, and the urban peace effort underway, supported by the Diocese of Buenaventura from the perspective of victims.

10:30–11:30 AM: Meeting with the Buenaventura 2017 Civic Strike Committee and the Black Communities Process (PCN)

- Oficina del Padre Reina, Centro Comercial Galerías, Plaza Central de Buenaventura, piso 6, oficina 603. Calle 5 #4a-13, Buenaventura



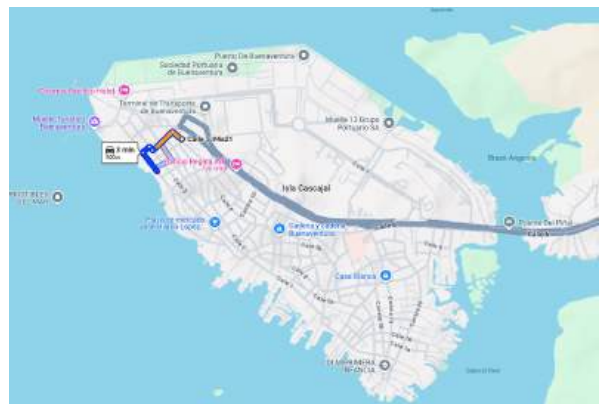
Father Jhon Reina Ramírez	Priest, Diocese of the District of Buenaventura
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Padre Jhon (pronounced like JOAN) is a religious leader and social advocate in Buenaventura, Valle del Cauca. He gained recognition for his leadership role during the 2017 civic strike, which sought to address systemic issues affecting the local population. • Due to his outspoken nature, Padre Reina has faced significant threats to his safety. Following credible death threats in 2018, the Colombian government provided him with a protection scheme from the Unidad Nacional de Protección (UNP). • Padre Reina is now involved in negotiations to achieve peace between Buenaventura’s gangs.


The Civic Strike Committee is a grouping of all the major civil society sectors (religious, labor, human rights, ethnic, small businesses, etc.) in Buenaventura in charge of guaranteeing the implementation of the 2017 Civic Strike agreements. The civic strike arose because the mostly Afro-Colombian inhabitants of Buenaventura do not have access to potable water, adequate shelter, sanitation, and jobs. The working conditions are poor, people are not permitted to unionize, and persecution of labor activists is common. This is despite Buenaventura having the most important port in the country and the main port for the U.S.-Colombia Free Trade Agreement. The U.S.-Colombia Labor Action Plan contains ports as a specific area of concern, so that this meeting will follow up on that US interest. USAID programming and the U.S.-Colombia Racial Action Plan are relevant in Buenaventura. Rep. Johnson was deeply involved in elaborating the U.S.-Colombia Labor Action Plan and supporting the Civic Strike of 2017.

<p>Mario Angulo Sanclemente</p>	<p>Coordinator of the Palenke el Congal, Proceso de Comunidades Negras en Colombia (PCN)</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Born in the Naya River region of rural Buenaventura and currently resides in the port city. • Bachelor's in Political Studies and Conflict Resolution, Universidad del Valle, Specialization in Peace Culture and International Humanitarian Law, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana de Cali. • Master's in Social Intervention in Knowledge Societies, Universidad Internacional de la Rioja (UNIR). • PCN advocates for grassroots initiatives, including efforts to implement Humanitarian Accords in Buenaventura. • Supports rural Afro-Colombian community councils and urban programs like the Palenke Congal.

12:00–2:00 PM: Lunch with the mayor of the District of Buenaventura, Ligia del Carmen Córdoba and Members of Her Cabinet and Members of the Board of the Municipal Council of Buenaventura (Mesa Directiva del Consejo Municipal de Buenaventura), John Mosquera Representative of the Victims Table of the Municipality, Female youth representative

- Restaurante Café Pacífico Calle 1 #5A-15




Ligia del Carmen Córdoba	Mayor (<i>Alcaldesa</i>) of Buenaventura, 2024–present
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ligia (<i>LEE-hee-ah</i>) Córdoba was elected as the first female mayor of Buenaventura in 2024. • Previously worked in cultural affairs in the municipal government and as a regional coordinator for the provincial government of Valle del Cauca. Most recently, she served several years on the city council. • Ran as a candidate for the Partido de la U, a liberal centrist party backed by former president Juan Manuel Santos. • Her campaign focused on poverty alleviation, infrastructure development, and employment.

2:30-3:30 PM: Meeting with Diocese of Buenaventura on the socio-legal urban peace negotiations, representative of the sociolegal table urban peace negotiation

- Casa de Encuentros Bagnoregio, Calle 6 #47c-70, Barrio Galeón, Buenaventura

This meeting is to discuss the urban peace process which forms part of the government’s “Total Peace” effort, its status, and determine how the U.S. can be more supportive. The urban peace process seeks to dismantle the illegal armed criminal groups in this area.

Monseñor Rubén Darío Jaramillo Montoya	Bishop (<i>obispo</i>) of Buenaventura, 2017–Present
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Born in Pereira in Colombia’s Coffee Axis region. He entered the Seminary of Pereira in 1986, studying philosophy and theology, and later served as a parish priest in Villa Santana, Pereira’s most violent neighborhood. • Ordained as a bishop in 2017, Jaramillo was appointed to lead the Diocese of Buenaventura. • Since his appointment, he has worked to mediate peace in Buenaventura, including brokering ceasefires between armed groups like Shottas and Espartanos. • Has received numerous death threats for denouncing criminal organizations and state neglect. • Emphasizes the Church’s role as a neutral, community-centered institution and is known for his pragmatic approach to conflict resolution.

We will be joined by:

1. Fabio Cardozo, Chief, Colombian Government Delegation for the Socio-legal Urban Peace Dialogues in Buenaventura
2. Representatives of the Shottas and Espartanos—*TBC*

3:30 PM: Depart Buenaventura to return to Cali

6:00–6:30 PM: Arrive at Alfonso Bonilla Aragón International Airport, Cali

7:00 PM: Eat dinner at the airport.

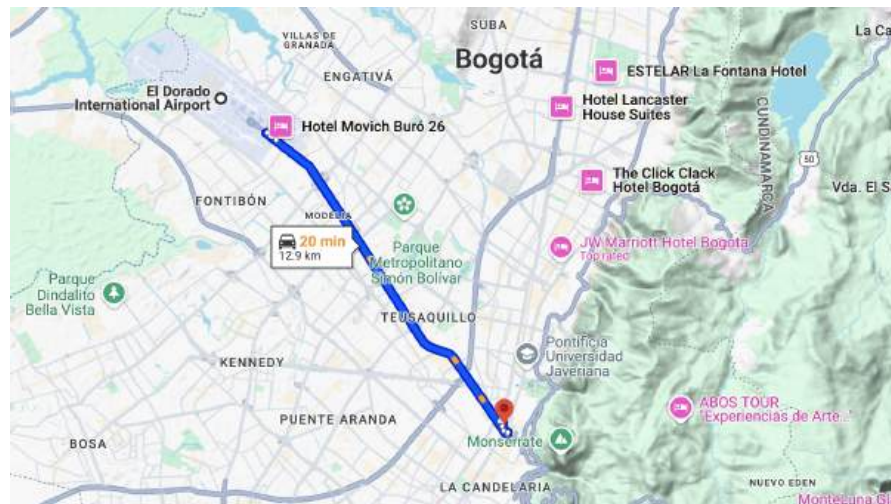
Flight AV 9236

- Departure: Cali (CLO) at 8:55 PM
- Arrival: Bogotá (BOG) at 9:53 PM
- Booking Code: 35MTCU (for everyone), 4CFEAZ (Deepa and Anna)

10:30 PM: Depart for our hotel, situated among government buildings and museums in the Centro Internacional neighborhood (downtown Bogotá).

- Hotel Tequendama, Carrera 10 #26-21 Bogotá

The reservation will be under Alex Bare, WOLA.



Monday, November 25, 2024: Bogotá, D.C.

7:00–8:00 AM: Breakfast at the Hotel Tequendama's Restaurant El Virrey. We have a reservation for 7 a.m. El Virrey is located in a small shopping center connected to the Hotel Tequendama. See the image below; the restaurant has a red awning. The red brick building behind is the Hotel Tequendama. You do not need to go outside to get there from the hotel.




9:00–10:00 AM: Meeting with Vice President of Colombia Francia Márquez Mina and others

- Vicepresidencia de la República de Colombia, Carrera 8 #7-57, Bogotá



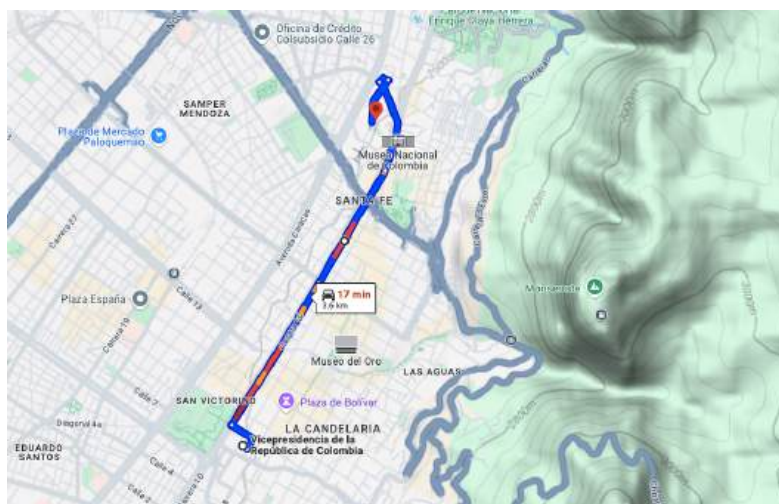
Vice President Francia Márquez Mina, who also oversees the new Ministry of Equality, is responsible for advancing the Ethnic Chapter of Colombia's 2016 Peace Agreement. Her portfolio includes advocating for policies that address the rights and development needs of Afro-Colombian and Indigenous communities. This meeting will provide an opportunity to

discuss the current challenges and priorities in promoting ethnic equity and explore initiatives to support social, economic, and cultural rights for these historically marginalized populations.

Francia Elena Márquez Mina	Vice president (<i>vicepresidenta</i>) of Colombia, 2022–present
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Francia Márquez made history as the first Afro-Colombian woman elected vice president in 2022. • Before her election, she was a leading environmental and human rights activist with the Black Communities Process (PCN) in Cauca, focusing on land rights, environmental justice, and protecting natural resources for Afro-Colombian communities. She won the Goldman Environmental Prize in 2018. • She ran as the running mate of President Gustavo Petro under the left-wing Historic Pact (<i>Pacto Histórico</i>) coalition. • Francia Márquez is recognized for organizing an advocacy effort that prevented the displacement of Afro-Colombians from the ancestral lands in La Toma and leading the Black Women’s March by foot from Cauca to Bogotá. • As vice president, her priorities include advancing racial equality, promoting sustainable development, and empowering historically excluded communities.

11:00–1:00 PM: Lunch meeting with the Special High-Level Body on Ethnic Peoples (IEANPE), Ethnic Commission for Peace, Afro-Colombian Peace Commission, and ethnic chapter working group of the transitional justice system.

- Unidad de Restitución de Tierras, Colombia, Carrera 13a #29-24, Santa Fé, Bogotá



The Special High-Level Body on Ethnic Peoples (IEANPE), the Ethnic Commission for Peace, the Afro-Colombian Peace Commission, and the ethnic working group of the Transitional Justice System each play a critical role in representing Afro-Colombian, Indigenous, and other ethnic communities in the peace process. These entities receive support from the United States to further the objectives of the Ethnic Chapter, including enhancing social justice, securing land and cultural rights, and addressing the historical exclusion of ethnic groups. This meeting will facilitate discussion on the progress, ongoing challenges, and future support needed to realize the Chapter's goals fully.

The U.S. government, as the first international accompanier of the Ethnic Chapter of the 2016 peace accord between the national government and the FARC, plays a vital role in consolidating peace in Colombia.

Agenda for the Meeting:

1. Welcome and Introductions - Geovanny Yule
2. Presentation on Advances of Land Restitution Efforts for Ethnic Communities - Acxan Duque
3. Presentation on Status of the Ethnic Chapter:

Armando Wouriyú Valbuena, Wayuu Indigenous leader and the Secretary General of the IEANPE

Richard Moreno, National Coordinator of the Afro-Colombian Peace Council (CONPA)

Rodolfo Vegas, Kankuamo Indigenous leader and Representative, and ethnic chapter working group, Ministry of the Interior

Astolfo Aramburo Vivas, Director for Ethnic Issues, National Land Agency (ANT)

Belkis Florentina Izquierdo Torres (*her Ikyu Aruaco Indigenous name Aty Seikuinduwa*), Magistrate of the Chamber for the Recognition of Truth and Responsibility and Determination of Facts and Conducts of the Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP) and Coordinator of the Ethnic-Racial Commission of the same entity. The Commission was set up to guarantee the implementation of the Ethnic Chapter in the JEP's cases.

4. Remarks by the Honorable Henry C. "Hank" Johnson

1:30–2:30 PM: Meeting with Interim U.S. Chargé d’Affaires Francisco Palmieri

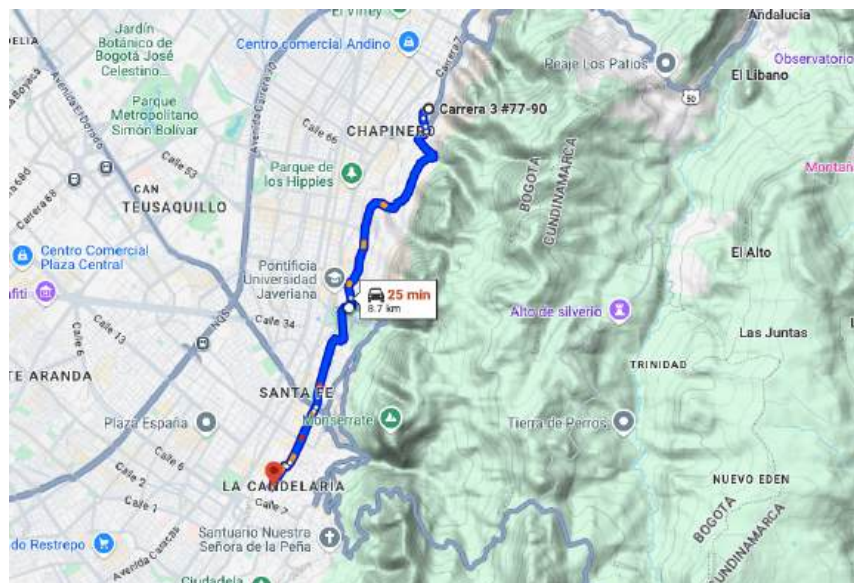
- Residence of the Chief of Mission, Carrera 3 #77-90, Bogotá (by “La Capilla” on Cra. 3)

<p>Francisco Palmieri</p>	<p>Interim U.S. Chargé D’affaires of the U.S. Embassy in Colombia, 2022–present</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Since 2022, Francisco Palmieri has served as Chief of Mission for the Venezuelan Affairs Unit and Chargé d’Affaires at the U.S. Embassy in Colombia. • Has 37 years of diplomatic experience, including roles as Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary, and Deputy Assistant Secretary for Central America and the Caribbean. • Led U.S. participation in the 2018 Summit of the Americas, coordinated multilateral efforts on the Venezuela crisis through the Lima Group, and supported Colombia’s peace process. • Participated in the 2018 High-Level Strategic Dialogue and directed Plan Colombia assistance as the Director of the International Narcotics and Law Enforcement (INL) Bureau’s Western Hemisphere Office. • Holds a Master’s in International Strategic Studies from the National War College.

A representative from USAID will join us, they have not yet confirmed who.

3:00–4:00 PM Foreign Minister Luis Gilberto Murillo Urrutia, *Cancillería* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

- Palacio de San Carlos, Calle 10 #5-51, Bogotá



Luis Gilberto Murillo Urrutia	Minister of Foreign Affairs (<i>Canciller</i>) of Colombia, 2024–present
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Born in a small town in Chocó, Colombia's Pacific region. He received a scholarship to study in Russia after achieving top national test scores, earning a degree in mining engineering, and completing a master's in mining. • Returned to Colombia in the early 1990s, working in environmental administration in Bogotá and Chocó. • Elected Governor of Chocó in 1998 but was ultimately stripped of his position in 1999 after his opponents lodged a challenge over corruption. • Forced into exile in the United States in 2000 after surviving a paramilitary kidnapping. He worked at the Phelps Stokes Fund, American University, among other groups, building connections with Afro-American congressional networks. • He returned to Colombia in 2011 and again won the governorship of Chocó. A court challenge alleging he was ineligible due to a disciplinary sanction against him during his first term in office forced his removal in 2012. He was later cleared of any wrongdoing. • In 2022, he was appointed ambassador of Colombia to the U.S.; in 2024, he became foreign minister.

4:30–6:00 PM: Free time: The van will take everyone to the Gold Museum and the souvenir/traditional crafts market, which is located in front of it.


- Parque Santander, Carrera 7 #15, Bogotá

7:00–8:00 PM: Dinner with Colombian Congresspersons and human rights defenders

- Restaurante El Virrey, Tequendama Hotel

WOLA will provide a space for the representative and congressional staff to interact with Colombian key members of the Colombian Congress and human rights organizations based in Bogotá.

1. Marco Romero, President, Consultancy for Human Rights and Displacement (CODHES)
2. Iván Cepeda, Senator of the Republic of Colombia -TBC
3. Mary Luz Barragán, Deputy Director of the Center for the Study of Law, Justice and Society, Dejusticia.
4. Aida Quilcué, Senator of the Republic of Colombia -TBC

<p>Marco Romero</p>	<p>Director of the Consultancy for Human Rights and Displacement (<i>Consultoría para los derechos humanos y el desplazamiento, CODHES</i>)</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marco Romero has dedicated nearly 30 years to peace activism and human rights advocacy, focusing on displaced persons, refugees, and forced migrants, while collaborating with Colombia’s Constitutional Court. • He is the founder, public spokesperson, and technical secretary of the Commission for Monitoring Public Policy on Forced Displacement. • His work bridges academia and social activism, highlighting the critical role of victims in achieving peace. • Served as a professor in the Department of Political Science and directed the Specialization in Public Policy Analysis at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia. • Holds a Master’s in Political Ideas and the Understanding of the Contemporary World from the University of Marne-la-Vallée, France. • Currently serves as the director of the Consultancy for Human Rights and Displacement (CODHES).

<p>Iván Cepeda Senator of the Republic of Colombia</p>	<p>MaryLuz Barragán Deputy Director of the Center for the Study of Law, Justice and Society, Dejusticia</p>	<p>Aida Quilcué Senator of the Republic of Colombia</p>
		

8:00–9:00 PM: Colombia Acuerdo de Paz program taping

Hosted by Raudemar Ofunshi Hernández, Colombia Acuerdo de Paz is a near-weekly program focusing on the Colombian 2016 peace accords, Latin American politics, human rights, and developing issues affecting the U.S. and the region since 2020. It began as a response to the murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis, Minnesota. It addresses the critical issues of racism, race, ethnicity, human rights, Afro-descendant, Indigenous, women, and LGBTQI rights. The program brings the voices of ethnic leaders, human rights defenders, environmental leaders, journalists, former combatants and perpetrators, victims, and displaced persons to advance racial justice and human rights. Its programs have highlighted issues in Colombia, Brazil, Haiti, Mexico, the U.S., Argentina, and the region. It serves as a platform to raise awareness of the pressing problems not in the mainstream media education and encourage action for change.

The program airs on the channels of La Nueva Prensa, Sistema Sindical Radio (SIS), Contagio Radio, Semillas, WOLA, and the International Institute for Race & Equality. Entre Nube Media produces it.

Tuesday, November 26, 2024: Bogotá, D.C.

9:00 PM Monday to 7:00 AM Tuesday: Check out of the hotel and take a taxi to El Dorado International Airport, Bogotá. Departure varies depending on the individual's flights.

Deepa Patel's flights: **Flight AA 1122 / Flight AA 2720**

- Departure: Bogotá, Colombia (BOG) at 11:59 PM on Monday, November 25
- Arrival: Dallas/Fort Worth, TX (DFW) at 5:00 AM on Tuesday, November 26
- 3h 08m connection in Dallas/Fort Worth
- Departure: Dallas/Fort Worth, TX (DFW) at 8:08 AM
- Arrival: Tucson, AZ (TUS) at 9:38 AM
- Booking Code: NABBKS

Rep. Hank Johnson's flight: **Flight DL 980**

- Departure: Bogotá, Colombia at 9:00 AM
- Arrival: Atlanta (ATL) at 2:04 PM
- Booking Code: HOJ4MG

Antwain Monach's flights: **Flight DL 980 / Flight DL 1267**

- Departure: Bogotá, Colombia (BOG) at 9:00 AM
- Arrival: Atlanta, Georgia (ATL) at 2:04 PM
- Departure: Atlanta, Georgia (ATL) at 3:30 PM
- Arrival: Baltimore, Maryland (BWI) at 5:14 PM
- Booking Code: HPKCUT

Anna McDonald's flight: **Flight UA 269**

- Departure: Bogotá, Colombia (BOG) at 9:48 AM
- Arrival: New York/Newark, NJ, US (EWR) at 3:53 PM
- Booking Code: AMFNHR

Background Information

Colombia's Internal Armed Conflicts and Peace Efforts

2016 Peace with the FARC

In 2016, after over five decades of brutal internal armed conflict, Colombia signed a peace [accord](#) with the leftist armed group, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). This ruthless, protracted conflict [left](#) more than 9.6 million victims, including over 800,000 people killed and over 8.6 million people internally displaced. This accord deals with rural land reform, political participation, the end of hostilities, addressing illicit drug production, victims' rights, and mechanisms to guarantee its implementation.

It contains an Ethnic Chapter on the individual and collective rights of Afro-Colombian, Indigenous, Palenquero, Raizal, and Rom communities. Women and gender rights are incorporated throughout. It is the first to include the rights of LGBTQ+ victims and a chapter to address illicit crops (drugs). It balances truth and justice in its transitional justice system (Truth Commission, Search Unit for Missing Persons, and Special Jurisdiction for Peace), which prioritizes the recommendations made by victims of the conflict. Yet, it balances this with the latest international normative developments on obligations about global justice and war crimes. The transitional justice is also focused on a restorative approach that seeks to heal the society.

As a result of the 2016 accord, over 13,000 ex-FARC combatants have been demobilized. The ex-combatants initially retreated into reintegration zones, leaving the areas they controlled militarily, but they have since scattered throughout the country. Its leadership formed a legal political party—Comunes—that has seats in the Congress due to quotas established in the accord. This party has been unsuccessful at winning seats in regional elections. While most of the FARC combatants have remained officially demobilized, some holdout groups remain, and new FARC dissident groups have formed. The latter, in some cases, formed alliances with successor paramilitary groups, most notably the AGC/Gulf Clan, the left-wing rebel group the National Liberation Army (ELN), and narco-traffickers.

The Colombian government's plan was for its military and civilian institutions to take over the areas left empty by the FARC guerillas. By bringing in its police and providing education, health, employment, and other assistance via these institutions, the idea was that it would prevent other illegal armed groups from taking over these areas. However, the Colombian government failed to do this. In 2018, incoming President Duque worked hard to destroy the 2016 peace accord by not implementing what was agreed to and focusing on a parallel plan that undermined its intentions. Officials within his government stole hundreds of millions of dollars meant for peace accord implementation funds. As a result, illegal armed groups filled the vacuum that the demobilized FARC guerillas left in many rural areas and marginalized urban areas of the

country. While there may be the presence of police or specialized military units, illegal armed groups have de facto control of many parts of the country.

During the peace negotiations with the FARC (2012-2016) and from 2016-2018, Colombia saw a drop in overall combat deaths and massacres. Since 2018, Colombia began to experience a rise in killings of specific targets and their family members by illegal armed groups. In Colombia, the illegal armed groups are vengeful, and they will go after people they determine to be military targets for years until they kill them or their family members.

The 2016 peace accord signed between the Colombian government and the FARC excluded the remaining illegal armed groups, including the ELN guerillas, EPL guerillas, and successor paramilitary organizations of the AUC, including the AGC/Gulf Clan and Urabeños. It also does not pertain to the FARC holdout groups and FARC dissident groups that formed during the peace negotiations and after.

While the Duque government did its utmost to destroy the peace accord, it did not succeed. The international community, U.S. included, and Colombian civil society put their weight behind it. As such, Petro campaigned on a platform to not only advance the 2016 peace, but to seek peace with all the other illegal armed groups. Once in office, the Petro government launched its Total Peace policy (explained below). For the first two years, it was criticized for not prioritizing and doing enough to advance the 2016 peace accord.

This criticism was valid in that the government initially placed a lot more political capital on advancing efforts with other groups; it has taken steps to address this. In July 2024, the Petro government presented the [*plan de choque*](#), (“shock plan”) at the UN Security Council. This initiative seeks to accelerate implementation of key components of the 2016 Peace Agreement. This plan focuses on six strategic areas that target the primary challenges in advancing peace.

1. It establishes **territorial pacts** across 16 Territorial Development Program (PDET) subregions, coordinating investments from national and territorial governments, private sector, and international cooperation for high-impact projects.
2. Its **comprehensive rural reform** strategy aims to distribute 3 million hectares to farmers, Indigenous peoples, and Afro-Colombian communities, supported by productive projects and access to credit, releasing imprisoned coca farmers and providing alternative agricultural opportunities.
3. The **legislative agenda** focuses on implementing necessary regulatory reforms, particularly in agrarian jurisdiction and political reform, which aim to address historical inequalities and strengthen rural governance structures.
4. It **strengthens territorial security** through the Comprehensive Security System for the Exercise of Politics, coordinating actions between various ministries and the Attorney General's Office to combat criminal organizations.
5. It calls for a **national political pact** aimed at uniting diverse stakeholders—including political parties, labor unions, social organizations, and ethnic communities—to foster peace and political stability. This pact will also establish a unified framework for truth,

justice, reparation, and reconciliation, addressing the needs of all conflict participants, including paramilitaries, civilians, military personnel, guerrilla groups, and drug trafficking networks.

6. The plan's governance will be **monitored through a control panel** overseen by the Ministry of the Interior, the National Planning Department, and the Office of the Commissioner for Peace, ensuring transparent progress tracking.

The initiative requires substantial funding, estimated at 160 to 200 billion pesos (~34 to 45 million USD). The government is actively seeking international support through innovative financing mechanisms, including debt relief and climate action exchanges. Specific requests to the international community include temporary elimination of external debt risk, debt-for-climate action swaps, and support for coca leaf policy reform. Additionally, funding is sought for a complementary international mission to support the Special Investigation Group in addressing neo-paramilitarism and private surveillance services. Despite its comprehensive approach, the plan is obstructed by the security situation caused by the illegal armed groups (ELN, FARC dissidents, and paramilitary organizations like the Gulf Clan). There are also concerns that the plan does not make the differentiated approach to ethnic groups—an integral part of the accord—a priority.

President Gustavo Petro's Total Peace Policy

Gustavo Petro, whose administration began in August 2022, inherited a nation with rampant security problems. The prior government of President Ivan Duque opposed implementing the 2016 peace agreement and broke off peace dialogues with the ELN guerrillas. It advanced a disastrous hard-line security policy that led to the regrouping of parts of the demobilized FARC, made the ELN guerrillas more belligerent, and made the country ripe for the AUC paramilitary successor groups to thrive. As a result, there was a proliferation of illegal armed groups and their expansion throughout the country. When Duque left office in 2018, the Gulf Clan had approximately 4,000 members; today, in 2024, the number is over 7,000. In several parts of the country, many of these groups—ELN, FARC dissidents, successor paramilitary organizations, narco-traffickers, and criminal bands linked to illegal economies—are fighting for control of territories.

This complex security situation led the current President of Colombia, Gustavo Petro, who came to power in August 2022, to advance the “Total Peace” policy. This policy has several components: 1) implement the 2016 peace accord with the FARC, 2) advance dialogue with the ELN guerrillas, and 3) develop and advance a law that will incentivize illegal armed groups that do not have political standing in international humanitarian law, i.e., paramilitaries like the AGC/Gulf Clan and the 40 plus other illegal armed structures operating in the country to demobilize after submitting themselves to the ordinary justice system, and 4) align all policies of the State to advance peace.

As of November 21, 2024, the Total Peace policy has not achieved demobilization agreements with any groups. Below, we provide a summary of the different groups' status within the Total Peace efforts.

Peace Dialogues with the ELN

Colombian governments have tried and failed to negotiate with the ELN for decades. The rupture of talks with the Duque government in January 2019 resulted in continued violence and desperation in communities living in areas where the longest-running remaining guerrilla force in Colombia has a presence. The ELN has an estimated 2,350 combatants and operates mainly on the Colombian-Venezuelan border, Arauca, Catatumbo, Chocó, and other parts of the Pacific region.

On November 21, 2022, the Petro Administration reinitiated talks with the ELN. They decided to advance knowing how complex this task was with this group. Advancing peace with the ELN is complex due to the group's societal transformation strategy, vertical decision-making structure, significant regional differences, binational presence in Colombia and Venezuela, and high skepticism and distrust of this group in Colombian society.

During the March 2023 second cycle of talks in Mexico, the parties agreed to an agenda focused on societal participation to construct peace, democracy for peace, transformations for peace, victims, end of the armed conflict, and a general plan to implement what is agreed to between the Colombian government and ELN. The third cycle of talks in Cuba in May 2023 was historic; it is the furthest any government has gotten in peace talks with this notoriously difficult-to-engage group since 1975. An unprecedented six-month bilateral ceasefire was announced, including a monitoring mechanism involving the Catholic Church and the United Nations. It was later extended until August 3, 2024. Significant advancements include the reduced peace agenda, bilateral cease-fire, a diverse and inclusive civil society participation committee, and a cease-fire monitoring mechanism. Despite serious breaches, including the high-profile kidnapping of soccer player Luis Díaz's father in October 2023, it remained in place.

The ELN and the government agreed to protect and assist ethnic communities in Valle del Cauca and Chocó, known as the Humanitarian Accords. These include parts of the rural region of Buenaventura municipality. In January 2023, a Humanitarian Caravan of members of the negotiating tables, communities, and organizations supporting visited the Calima and San Juan river basins in the Valle (rural Buenaventura) and Chocó. Consisting of two delegations of 80 people, the Humanitarian Caravan met with local Afro-Colombian and Indigenous communities to co-design a response to their needs. This was followed by a cultural advocacy effort with the High Commissioner for Peace in March 2023 to advance the Humanitarian Accords. In July-August 2024, 700 Afro-Colombians and Indigenous people in that region engaged in non-violent advocacy efforts urging the negotiating table to advance what was agreed upon in 2023. They have not received any official response to these repeated requests.

The talks began to fall apart in May 2024 when the ELN announced that they planned to renew the practice of kidnapping civilians for ransom, which the group refers to as "economic retentions." The crisis in the talks worsened when the Colombian government agreed to undertake parallel talks with a breakaway front of the ELN called the Comuneros del Sur located in the Nariño Department on the border with Ecuador. The ELN peace delegation views this as

a breach of confidence and betrayal. The bilateral ceasefire was not extended since the negotiations were paused and frozen. Since the lifting of the ceasefire, the ELN has committed over a dozen attacks, including one on a military base in Arauca in September 2024 that left two dead and 26 injured. Efforts to try to restart the talks are underway.

The breakdown of talks has worsened the security and humanitarian crisis for the communities that form part of the Humanitarian Accords. On September 7, 2024, an illegal armed group kidnapped two Afro-Colombian leaders from the Afro-Colombian Community Council of Mayorquín River Basin. The next day, September 8, 12 persons were massacred in the Afro-Colombian Community Council of Naya. Currently, both the remaining inhabitants of the Naya Community Council and the Indigenous reserve located right next to it are suffering a tense, difficult humanitarian and security situation. They are confined to the area (groups won't let them leave or go to their lands to cultivate food), causing a humanitarian crisis. The Calima River Community Council sent a letter to the peace table on September 19, urging the parties to resume talks and advance the agreed-upon Humanitarian Accords.

The ELN remains on the U.S. terrorism list, along with the two FARC dissident groups.

Gulf Clan Paramilitaries

The Gulf Clan, also known as the Gaitanista Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AGC), is a successor paramilitary organization that emerged from the United Self-defense Forces of Colombia (AUC). Originally known as the “Urabeños,” this group formed immediately after the demobilization of the AUC, evolving into its current iteration as the Gulf Clan/AGC. Many AUC mid-level commanders continued their operations by consolidating the remnant paramilitary structures and recruiting more people. Some AUC mid-level commanders first regrouped into the Urabeños and later Gulf Clan and AGC. Like all paramilitary organizations, the Gulf Clan carries out direct attacks against its targets. It also subcontracts “security” services and coops smaller regional or local illegal criminal bands to make it harder for authorities to trace the middle- to higher-level commanders who ordered the hit, kidnappings, or other violent actions.

In 2015, then-President Juan Manuel Santos initiated secret negotiations with this group. At the same time, this government launched a military operation called Operation Agamemnon to try to pressure the Gulf Clan to negotiate. During this operation, which lasted until 2017, over 1,000 group members were arrested. These negotiations reached an advanced stage with the development of a partial plan to demobilize the paramilitaries. Legal and political obstacles blocked it from moving forward. Once Duque became President, the process died. In November 2021, the Gulf Clan's leader, “Otoniel,” was captured and later extradited to the U.S., killing the process.

In May 2022, the Gulf Clan enforced an armed strike in retaliation for the extradition of its leader, Dairo Antonio Úsuga David, alias “Otoniel,” to the United States, paralyzing parts of the country. This armed strike affected 281 municipalities in 11 of the country's 32 departments. It left 24 civilians dead, “confined” (restricted their freedom of movement so they had to stay in place against their will under these groups' control), 130 communities, and blocked 16 roads.

Before his extradition, Otoniel provided information to the Special Jurisdiction for Peace (the 2016 Peace's Transitional Justice Tribunal) about the Gulf Clan's ties with over 60 military, government, and business members. U.S. authorities sentenced Otoniel to 45 years in jail.

After Otoniel's extradition, the Clan reordered its leadership. It is no longer run by the Úsuga David family but by a central command (*Estado Mayor Conjunto*) comprising six former AUC leaders. These changes have changed the Clan's discourse to a more traditional anti-insurgency group that defends civilians and has political aspirations. Under these men, the group expanded its territorial control. It consolidated its presence along the Panamanian border, where it controls the drug and migration routes, and has corrupted regional authorities. Sadly, these illegal economies have become a significant source of economic development for locals in the region. The group has exponentially increased its presence and control throughout the country.

In May 2023, the U.S. government classified the Gulf Clan as one of Colombia's most significant drug trafficking organizations. It uses its control of the Urabá (northwest Colombia region bordering Panama) to not only send multi-ton shipments of cocaine through the Americas to the U.S. but also to traffic humans and smuggle migrants. On September 24, 2024, the U.S. Department of the Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) sanctioned five leaders of the Gulf Clan.

FARC Dissident Groups

Two major and one smaller FARC-EP dissident groups exist in Colombia. These are the Estado Mayor Central de las FARC (EMC-FARC), Segunda Marquetalia, and Gentil Duarte. All these groups claim to be the "real FARC-EP." The EMC-FARC, led by Iván Mordisco, was founded by FARC holdouts in 2016 who did not agree to peace talks with the Colombian government. It grew by consolidating its presence in Venezuela. Until the appearance of the Segunda Marquetalia, headed by former FARC peace negotiator Iván Márquez in 2019, it maintained a monopoly along the Colombo-Venezuelan border. The EMC's main enemies are the ELN, the Segunda Marquetalia, and other FARC dissidents. With the ELN, there is a historical hatred due to a series of skirmishes in 2022 known as the Arauca War. The EMC-FARC is currently vying for territorial control against the ELN and the other FARC dissident groups.

The EMC is a federation of FARC dissident groups containing 3,000 members (2,000 armed men, with the rest forming part of their support network). It is involved in diverse illicit economies, including drug trafficking and extortion. Its strongholds are along the border with Ecuador in the Meta, Caquetá, Guaviare, and Putumayo departments. In the past two years, it has expanded into the Cauca and Valle del Cauca regions.

In 2022, the government opened a dialogue table with the EMC as part of President Petro's Total Peace Policy. In 2023-24, the EMC split into two subgroups due to differences in negotiations with the Colombian government. This led to a ceasefire agreement between the Colombian armed forces and the EMC. However, the EMC operating in Cauca, Valle del Cauca, and Nariño violated the ceasefire agreement and killed indigenous leaders. The Colombian

government responded by lifting the ceasefire with the EMC faction operating in Cauca, Valle del Cauca, and Nariño. Only a partial truce with the government remains in the other areas where the group has a presence. As a result, a brutal war that does not respect international humanitarian law but rather purposely involves civilians is taking place in the Cauca and Valle del Cauca regions.

The second group, Segunda Marquetalia, was formed by former FARC commanders who lost faith in the 2016 peace process. On August 29, 2019, members of the demobilized FARC who believed the Colombian state betrayed them by not keeping its side of the bargain in the 2016 peace accord released [a video](#) announcing the formation of a Second Marquetalia. The group was led initially by former FARC commanders alias “Iván Márquez,” “el Paisa,” “Jesús Santrich,” and “Romaña.” It was founded in Apure (Venezuela), with Márquez and Santrich having long-standing relationships with Venezuelan government members stretching back to 2000. After the 2016 peace deal, Iván Márquez became a senator for the Comunes Party, one of the seats reserved for ex-FARC members after the 2016 accords. Later, he and other FARC leaders abandoned their political roles and went into hiding. Upon resurfacing, they announced they had rearmed and fought against the Colombian state again.

The group attempted to reunify various FARC dissident fronts into a national FARC organization, achieving partial success but failing to bring in the Gentil Duarte front. Their leadership was gradually eliminated: Jesus Santrich was killed in May 2021, el Paisa and Romaña in December 2021, and Iván Márquez himself was killed in Venezuela in July 2022. To sustain themselves, the group primarily relies on narco-trafficking.

On November 30, 2021, the U.S. Department of State took the overall FARC organization off the terrorism list. However, it simultaneously added the FARC dissident group Segunda Marquetalia to the list, along with a series of individual former FARC members.

Petro’s Efforts with the Gulf Clan, Now EGC

President Gustavo Petro renewed dialogues with the Gulf Clan as part of the Total Peace process. The Petro government managed to resurrect the process, and in January 2023, a bilateral ceasefire was announced. However, the group did not take this seriously and continued its illegal activities. In March 2023, President Petro suspended the ceasefire after it was revealed that the Clan was behind the three-week Bajo Cauca mining strike that cost several sectors 2,600 million Colombian pesos in losses. The relations between the government and the Gulf Clan remained tense until July 2024, when Petro announced talks could be reinitiated.

Territorial peace dialogues began with the Gulf Clan in Tierra Alta on October 11. The Clan now insists that the government call it the Gaitanista Army of Colombia (EGC). On November 2, the group announced it wanted to dialogue with the Petro government and the United States about the coca economy, migration in the Darien Gap, and environmental protection in their control areas.

Urban Peace Efforts

Petro's government has also initiated dialogues with more minor, localized illegal armed groups in Medellín and Valle de Aburrá, Quibdó, and Buenaventura. These efforts are highly controversial because these groups do not fall within the category of an insurgency or militia under international humanitarian law. While some of the groups see themselves as defending or otherwise helping locals, and some have business pacts, ties, alliances, or agreements with the Gulf Clan and dissident guerilla groups, they are all organized criminal groups.

The effort to open an Urban Peace Process in Buenaventura began in September 2022, the Quibdó process in August 2023, and the socio-legal talks table for the Urban Peace Process in Medellín and Valle de Aburrá started in mid-2023. All these processes were limited and hampered by a lack of legal clarity concerning what judicial protections the members of the armed groups could receive, who, and what could be legally negotiated with them. The Total Peace Policy enshrined in Law 2272 of 2022 did not clarify how to address the High Impact of Organized Crime Structures (the category these groups fit into). The Petro government did not prioritize this issue in the Colombian Congress. These processes were also stalled once Petro changed High Commissioners for Peace from Danilo Rueda to Otty Patiño at the end of 2023. It became unclear whether Patiño wished to advance these processes and how. The change also made the groups distrust the government. However, civil society, the church, and the inhabitants of where these groups operate all pushed for these to move forward.

In the case of Medellín and the Aburrá Valley, the stakeholders worked to develop a Roadmap for Civil Society Participation in the Urban Peace Process in Medellín. Launched on October 17, these outline principles and organizational structures are used to advance civil society participation in dialogues, negotiations, and the implementation of future agreements made with these groups. The roadmap makes sure civil society forms part of the construction of peace through the socio-legal talks table, that the construction is bottom up, that parallel to the process, they design submission to justice, and that while the process takes place, they work towards a de-escalation of violence and construction of urban peace. Peacebuilding in this roadmap is seen as a medium- and long-term process with the goal of not just getting rid of the weapons. Instead, they address the structural roots of the violence. Further, the mechanisms created are set up to guarantee the bottom-up and integral approach to urban peace. These are the Assemblies for Urban Peace, Civil Society Assembly Space for Urban Peace, and the Urban Peace Impulse Committee.

There are 27 different urban armed groups in the city of Quibdó, capital of the Chocó Department. Of the three major urban peace processes, the one in Quibdó is the most tenuous. Efforts there mainly target five of the groups. In December 2022, a truce was reached between the urban armed groups Mexicanos and the RPS, which led to a drop in homicides. However, these went back up and peaked in March and July 2023 while the socio-legal table was installed. While things improved, there have been threats of an assassination plot whereby females connected to the rival groups would be killed en masse. This has included social media threats with the women's pictures. It should be noted that in the rural areas of the Chocó department, the Gulf Clan and ELN are both vying for territory.

The Buenaventura section of this briefing describes the Buenaventura urban peace process. Consistent with the pattern found in other parts of the Pacific, rural Buenaventura has the ELN, FARC dissidents, and paramilitaries, while the urban area has urban criminal groups. In all these scenarios, there are alliances between the urban criminal groups and the bigger illegal armed groups operating in rural areas.

Ethnic Chapter of the 2016 Peace Accord with the FARC



While limited, the Ethnic Chapter remains a significant instrument for guaranteeing the rights of ethnic peoples in a consultative manner. Despite their territories having the most at stake by the decisions made in the peace agreement, ethnic issues, and leaders were shut entirely out of the peace negotiations. The ethnic leadership fought hard to get a seat at the table and integrate ethnic issues into the final agreement. The Obama administration, Congress, and USAID were fundamental in supporting this ethnic-led process.

Since the 2016 accord, the U.S. rhetoric on the Ethnic Chapter in multiple forums, including the United Nations Security Council and the Forum of People of African Descent, has been critical in USAID programming. In October 2022, the U.S. became the first international accompanier to the Ethnic Chapter. It has played an essential role as the chair of the international group of donor countries to the peace process (Gruc) by pushing for a coordinated donor effort to prioritize, fund, and advance its implementation. With the U.S. as the chair of the Gruc, the Vice President of Colombia negotiated a Pact for the Ethnic Chapter. Released in November 2023, the Pact outlines how national governmental institutions support the Ethnic Chapter. While WOLA calls for adopting a U.S.-Colombia joint strategy for implementing the Ethnic Chapter, we recognize the Pact as a step forward.

The High Instance for Ethnic Peoples (IEANPE) is the mechanism set up by the peace agreement, which ensures that all aspects of peace implementation follow the principles of the

Ethnic Chapter. This includes free, prior, and informed consultation and consent on policies, programs, financing, and other items involving the Afro-Colombian and Indigenous peoples and territories. The IEANPE is a significant space that, beyond its mandate, has given a broader representation of ethnic issues at the national level.

The Ethnic Chapter serves as a model beyond Colombia; it revolutionized how transitional justice systems, especially Truth Commissions, should construct narratives of conflict by considering the core issues that drive the disproportionality and differentiated way that ethnic peoples are affected by disputes—the legacy of colonialism and slavery and structural racism and designing forms of reparations and healing that work within different cosmologies.

On June 6, the IEANPE released its third report on implementing the Ethnic Chapter of the 2016 Peace Accord. This report finds that there is a considerable delay in implementing the latter. The gap in the implementation of the Ethnic Chapter, according to the IEANPE, ranges from 4.47 to 30.10 percentage points. An estimated 38% of the indicators designed to gauge the advancement of the Ethnic Chapter do not show any progress, 4% show intermediate progress, and only 21% show progress. 4% of the ethnic indicators do not have a mechanism and objectives to apply the indicator in the territories. Since the signing of the Peace Agreement with the FARC in 2016, until December 31, 2023, 1,410 leaders have been killed, 30% are of ethnic origin, including 313 Indigenous and 104 Afro-descendants.

Members of the IEANPE and prominent ethnic leaders are the targets of high-profile attacks. Much of the leadership within the IEANPE faces threats, harassment, and impediments to their work. On December 3, 2023, armed men assassinated IEANPE member Phanor Guazaquillo of the Nasa Peoples from the Ancestral Territory of Kwéx Kiwe–Nuestra Tierra. On June 19, seven shots were fired at the security apparatus belonging to Armando Wariyou Valbuena, the Secretary General of the IEANPE, while it transited through the Cesar department. John Jairo Jiménez, an Afro-Colombian leader who forms part of National Peace Coordination (*Coordinación Étnica Nacional de Paz, Cenpaz*), a group represented in the IEANPE, was kidnapped by the ELN on January 16, 2024. He was released over a month later due to international pressure. The ELN kidnapped another leader belonging to the Cenpaz network, a Makaguan Indigenous man named René Alfonzo Garavito, on September 20 in Fortul (Arauca department). He is yet to be released.

In 2024, we see an escalation of violence that disproportionately targets Indigenous and Afro-Colombian leaders, communities, and territories. These occur at the highest level, such as the assault of Vice President Francia Márquez's father and attacks against the Vice President's vehicle. On March 17 of this year, Carmelina Yule Paví, Kiwe Thegna, leader of the Nasa people of the Toribío indigenous reservation in Cauca and former coordinator of the Women of the Territory program, was murdered. On June 27, Eyber Danilo Poto Pazu, son of the vice-minister of Ethnic Peoples of the Ministry of Equality Nelson Lemos, was kidnapped and murdered. These are just some recent examples of direct attacks against prominent ethnic leaders.

One of the leading causes of threats and murders derives from the political participation of ethnic leaders. This scenario is reflected in IEANPE's 3rd Report, in which it makes visible multiple facts that violate the human rights of ethnic populations in rural areas, causing confinements and massive displacements that disproportionately affect ethnic peoples, being the Afro-Colombian people the most harmed, concerning the victimizing fact of forced displacement, and which represents 36% of the total number of victims at the national level.

As of November 14, 2024, the leading think tank that tracks the activities of illegal armed groups in Colombia, the Institute for Peace and Development (INDEPAZ), stated that in 2024 so far, illegal armed groups committed 62 massacres (a total of 215 victims) and killed 157 social leaders. Many of the leaders and victims of this violence are ethnic.

Cali

2021 Social Uprising in Cali

In late April 2021, a non-violent national civic strike protesting President Duque's policies, including a tax reform that hurt the middle class and poor during the COVID-19 pandemic, escalated into a nationwide social uprising after the state responded to the initial protest with an unprecedented amount of repression. While police brutality, the disproportionate use of force by security forces, and sexual violence were rampant throughout the country, the city of Cali (Colombia's third-largest city with a high number of Afro-descendant residents) in Valle del Cauca became the epicenter of the violence.

On May 28, President Iván Duque ordered the deployment of 7,000 troops to Valle del Cauca and other departments, with most intended for Cali, to impose order and undo roadblocks by protestors. For days, the security forces attacked civilian population centers and entire neighborhoods under the pretense of establishing order against "bad people," "criminals," and "terrorists." Residents—mostly youth—formed groups called "*la primera línea*" or frontline to continue the protests and defend against the onslaught of repression brought on by the security forces. The lights in whole communities would be shut off as security forces entered them. One place brutally attacked was the Siloé neighborhood. Videos of the violence circulated on social media, and some armed civilians colluded with the police and shot at civilians in front of the officers. It is believed that some of these civilians were paramilitaries. This led to at least 46 homicides and a brazen, racist attack on an Indigenous Nasa caravan. Armed men fired shots at an Indigenous Guard while it entered the city in a caravan to protect the protestors and students at Universidad del Valle.

The NGO Temblores, who set up an anonymous tip line for reports, recorded 4,687 cases of violent acts (not including cases of disappearance) on the part of the public forces between April 28, 2021, and June 26, 2021. In these, at least 44 homicides were attributed to security forces. It also reported 617 victims of physical violence, 82 victims of eye assaults and injuries, 228 gunshot victims, 28 victims of sexual violence, nine victims of gender-based violence, the arbitrary detentions of 2,005 protestors, 784 violent interventions in the context of peaceful

protests, 35 cases of venom weapons use by the anti-riot police ESMAD and 48 cases of respiratory ailments due to the release of tear gas. Subsequent reports by Temblores and other organizations found that the violence was racialized in that a disproportionate number of Afro-descendants were targeted and attacked, and women and LGBTQ people were scapegoated.

The Freedom of the Press Foundation (*Fundación para la Libertad de Prensa*, FLIP) documented 235 cases (268 victims) of attacks against journalists, reporters, photojournalists, and media outlets covering the national strike between April 28 and June 10, 2021. It categorized this as the most significant violence against the press amid social protests in the last decade. FLIP found that of the 235 cases of aggression against the media, 129 were allegedly committed by the security forces, making up 55%.

The Colombia-Europe-United States Coordination coalition of over 500 Colombian rights groups and others documented 1,024 abuses and aggressions committed by the security forces in the Antioquia department within the context of the strike just between April 28 and May 3, 2021. According to these groups, local administrations fully complied with the national government's decision to repress the protests. In addition to the abuses, forced disappearances, and arbitrary detentions with no documentation, authorities blocked human rights defenders and lawyers' efforts to help the victims. A month into the protests, the NGO INDEPAZ released a list of 346 names of persons believed to be missing to the authorities.

Colombian Vice President and Foreign Minister Marta Lucía Ramírez, who visited Washington, D.C. in May 2021, told WOLA in a meeting that only one person in Colombia was reported missing during the clashes and that it was unclear whether the others should be classified as missing. The Duque government was reluctant to reform the police and investigate any of the abuses because, as he stated in a meeting where WOLA was present with Rep. McGovern in Bogotá in 2022, "all actions were justified." Only cosmetic changes were made, like adding a QR code to the uniforms so that you can scan it and complain when they engage in misconduct. President Petro campaigned for president saying he'd advance many of the police reform recommendations made by civil society groups. He also promised to designate members of the *primera línea* as "*gestores de paz*," or people who advance peace for the government. The *primera línea* groups were a significant force of support to Petro's presidential bid. Not all proposed police reform efforts advanced, and Petro did not make them *gestores de paz*.

Impunity reigns in most of the cases of the security forces (police officers, ESMAD, and others). The Attorney General and Prosecutor General in office when Petro assumed the presidency are right-wing and anti-Petro. Cases against police officers who killed protestors are stalled, while cases involving members of the *primeras líneas* have advanced quickly. During the uprisings, Cali's elite families made the distinction between "*gente de bien*" or the good people and the bad people (delinquents, terrorists, and criminals) when referring to the youths protesting in the streets. In some cases, they supported civilians (thought to be paramilitaries or police in civilian dress) who attacked protestors with firearms. The regional judicial offices, which have a reputation for links to mafias and only defending Cali's elite families, initiated charges against

members of the *primeras líneas*. Some of these are falsified charges of serious crimes such as terrorism in revenge for having taken part in the social uprising, such as the case of the youth from Paso del Aguante.

Buenaventura



The above graphic shows the Valle del Cauca Department, the location of the port of Buenaventura and Cali City. Nine major rivers cross through this area. Afro-descendants and a smaller number of Indigenous peoples have lived along these river areas for hundreds of years (Afros, since they were trafficked from Africa) and millennia (Indigenous).

Colombia's main port is on Cascajal Island in Buenaventura municipality, Valle del Cauca department. The total population of this municipality is over 450,000 people, most of whom live on the island and the surrounding settlements on the mainland. Over 85 percent of the inhabitants are Afro-Colombians, and over 80 percent live in poverty or extreme poverty. Many of Buenaventura's residents come from the Valle del Cauca and Chocó river basins, where traditional, rural Afro-descendants' ancestral lands are located. A smaller Indigenous Emberá-Wounaan population lives in Buenaventura, and many are internally displaced from their territories in the southern Chocó department.

Colombia's Human Rights Ombudsman's Office has issued eighteen early warning alerts for Buenaventura since 2018. A major concern is the safety and security of human rights defenders

and social leaders. In December 2023, this office reported that illegal armed groups were present in 112 of the 136 neighborhoods in Buenaventura, resulting in serious human rights violations. The area suffers from endemic violence due to the internal armed conflicts with the FARC (now FARC dissidents), ELN guerillas, AUC (now Gulf Clan paramilitaries), drug traffickers, and local urban criminal bands. An extremely biodiverse area with fertile lands and complex geography, its geostrategic location makes it an ideal drug-trafficking hub.

2017 Civic Strike

On May 16, 2017, Buenaventura, Colombia's primary Pacific port city, was paralyzed for 21 days. Over 150,000 residents, led by the Civic Strike Committee, launched peaceful protests demanding better living conditions and protecting their fundamental rights. While the Buenaventura port is essential to Colombia's economy, profits are not invested in the local population. The port handles 60% of the country's maritime trade; however, the city's predominantly Afro-Descendant population endures substandard living conditions worsened by structural racism, geographical isolation, weak governance, and illegal armed group activity. The populations living along the "Baja Mar" or areas towards the sea, which is made up of internally displaced persons and their children originally from Buenaventura's and the Pacific Coasts rural river areas, is under tremendous pressure to evacuate so that the port installations can expand. Parts of these areas used to be filled with water and were filled in by the residents so they could live there. This is so they could live near the water, survive (by fishing or going back/forth to their lands to cultivate food), and maintain their cultural identity and customs.

The inequality in Buenaventura worsened following the implementation of international trade agreements in 2012, which expanded port infrastructure but failed to improve local living conditions. The majority Afro-Colombian population lives without potable water, access to education, and employment. Despite the pledges made by President Obama and Santos through the U.S.-Colombia Labor Action Plan (CLAP), meant to protect trade unions and labor rights activists and do away with third-party contracting, the labor rights situation for port workers remains insecure and dangerous. The U.S. Congress held up the U.S.-Colombia Free Trade Agreement for almost five years due to concerns about labor rights and human rights. Although the CLAP was not entirely fulfilled, it was formulated to break this impasse so it could pass through Congress.

The demonstrators blocked the port's principal road to Cali (the only road that commerce can be moved out of Buenaventura), immobilizing all commercial activities. The government's initial response was heavy-handed. The anti-riot police force (*Escuadrón Móvil Antidisturbios*, ESMAD) deployed aggressive tactics against peaceful protesters, including women, children, and the elderly, leading to 91 documented complaints of excessive force.

However, the protesters' persistence led to breakthrough negotiations between the Representatives of the Civic Strike and the Colombian national government. By June 6, agreements were reached, with \$342 million pledged for housing, healthcare, infrastructure, and social services, alongside plans for a 10-year development strategy and an endowment fund to support long-term regional improvement. This includes several accords that seek to improve the

locals' infrastructure, sanitation, health, education, and livelihoods. This process was accompanied by The Association for Social Research and Action (NOMADESC). WOLA was made a guarantor of the accords.

Buenaventura's Urban Peace Process

The first result of President Petro's Total Peace effort with the Petro government occurred on September 18, 2022, when the Shottas and Esparteros, the urban criminal groups in Buenaventura, agreed to dialogue. This step was decided due to the efforts of Buenaventura's Bishop Rubén Darío Jaramillo, the High Commissioner for Peace Danilo Rueda, and representatives of the two groups. On October 2, a five-month truce was signed. President Petro met with the parties in December 2022. Both the criminal gangs' structures and the government agreed that the violence and illegal activities are due to structural inequality, corruption, and nonexistent access to education and employment for most local youths.

During the internal armed conflict with the FARC, Buenaventura was controlled by the guerillas and then the Calima Bloc of the Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC). It was later wholly militarized by the Colombian armed forces. However, the militarization did not stop homicides and mass atrocities, including "chop houses," where people were dismembered while still alive, internal displacements, and persecution of social leaders. Colombia's structural racism diminishes the lives of Afro-descendants, and its classism gives little value to the lives of the poor, rural people, and internally displaced persons. This, combined with viewing the port solely as an economic benefit for the companies operating there and commercial operations and systemic corruption, help to explain why such grave abuses take place in a highly militarized area.

In 2016, a criminal group called "La Local" dominated drug operations in this coastal city and fluvial areas. It also extorted businesses and locals and kidnapped people for profit. The group was divided in 2019 after the Colombian national police arrested and jailed its leaders. Disagreements broke out regarding who should lead the group in the territory, resulting in a division. La Local became the Shottas and the Esparteros. They are now bitter enemies, fighting over their criminal businesses and control of the area. Their over 1,500 members, primarily Afro-Colombian youths, are in 40 neighborhoods and nine villages. The group's leaders control their operations from jail cells.

These urban criminal groups impose "invisible borders" and curfews on the local inhabitants. An invisible border is an area demarcated by a group that people cannot cross without permission. If you cross it, you may be killed. Shootings and other violence are concentrated at night after the imposed curfews. This situation induces fear and restricts the movement of locals, impacting their lives and livelihood. The truce dropped the homicide rate, lifted the invisible borders, ended the curfews, and led to a decline in kidnappings. This allowed locals to move freely and engage in cultural and sports activities.

Presently, the urban peace process is attempting to advance toward a "Regional and National Agreement for Peace in Buenaventura" that focuses on consolidating a culture of peace,

advancing social transformations in the territory, de-escalating violence, and figuring out a pathway for the armed structures to transit towards a civil and democratic life. The UN Delegation, the MAPP/OAS, and the Bishop of Buenaventura are accompanying this process. On September 18, the Shottas and Espartanos ratified their willingness to advance the Urban Peace process in Buenaventura by announcing that they would allow the Pacific Folkloric Festival to continue without interruption.

2023 map by Pares Pacífico showing where the different urban armed groups are in Buenaventura



Homicidios

Comparativo antes y después de la instalación de las mesas de paz

■ Inicio Tregua (28/09/2022)
■ Instalación Mesa (18/07/2023)



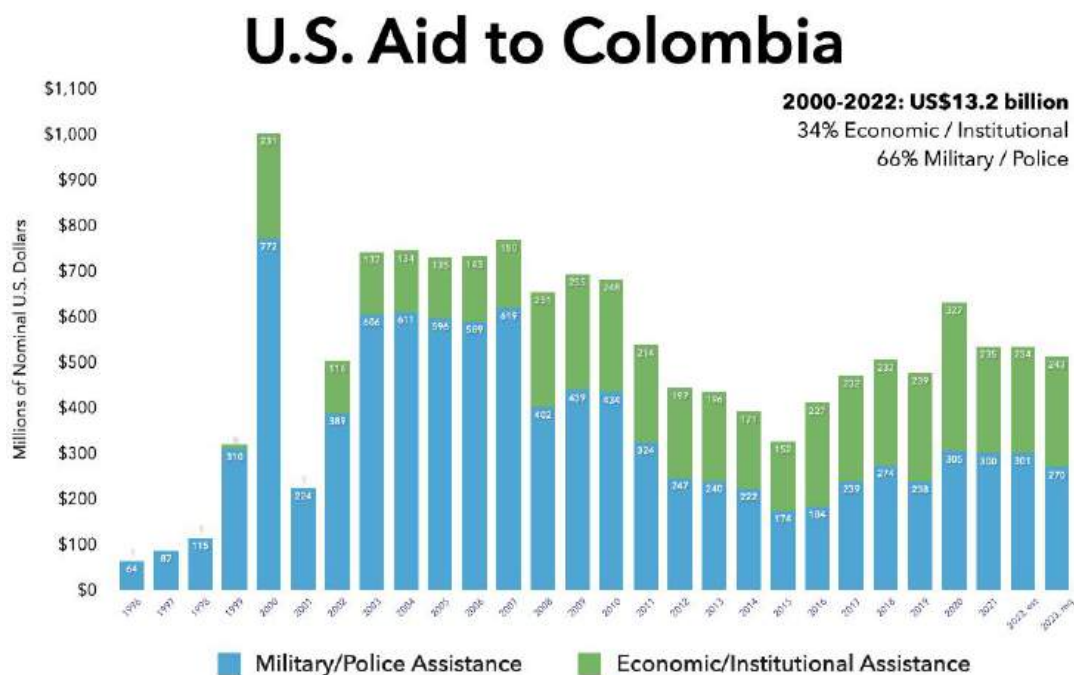
Fuente: GICRI Policía Nacional
Construcción: Unidad de Monitoreo y Seguimiento FIP

Fuente: Gicri Policía Nacional. Elaboración: Unidad de Monitoreo y Evaluación FIP.

In the above graphic, the dark blue column shows how homicides dropped in Buenaventura after the September 2022 truce between the Shottas and Espartanos. After this broke down, homicides started up again and peaked in May 2023. The reinstatement of the socio-legal table in July 2023 led to an initial drop, but these rose again as members lost confidence in the process due to the government not meeting their demands.

U.S. Policy and Programming Toward Colombia

Diplomatic relations between Colombia and the U.S. are over 200 years old. The countries see each other as partners and allies on multiple fronts: trade, security (anti-narcotics and anti-terrorism), geopolitical strategies, peace, human rights, ethnic minorities, and migration. Since 2000, the U.S. has given Colombia more than \$13 billion in security assistance and economic cooperation. These funds were channeled through the U.S. Departments of Defense and State and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). Given Colombia's track record on human rights, U.S. security assistance contains human rights conditions that the State Department must certify due to the Leahy Amendment; otherwise, some of the aid can be frozen.



Some approximation, as the State Department doesn't exactly report military and non-military assistance in its International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement program.

Source: numerous U.S. government documents compiled at www.securityassistance.org/Colombia; others listed at <https://bit.ly/3oKwvniG>

Graph by Adam Isacson, Director for Defense and Security at WOLA

During the period of “Plan Colombia” (2000–2015), grave human rights abuses occurred involving the state and its security forces. While some in Washington, DC see Plan Colombia as having improved security in the country, human rights groups point out that this was done at a tremendous human cost. Under President Álvaro Uribe Vélez, cases of extrajudicial killings of civilians later presented as guerillas killed in combat rose due to pressure imposed on military units to show results with body counts. Colombia’s Truth Commission reported that 6,402 victims of extrajudicial killings. A “his way or the highway” *mano dura* approach disrespected international humanitarian law, involuntarily forcing countless civilians into the armed conflict. To show the U.S. he was improving the security situation, he denied the existence of the internal armed conflict. He sold a narrative that Colombia had a “narco-terrorist” problem. The official human rights statistics were doctored and victims were not registered, all because Uribe wanted a Free Trade Agreement with the U.S. President. Uribe repeatedly put human rights defenders, religious leaders, trade unionists, and national and international rights organizations at risk by calling them terrorists or otherwise discrediting their reputations and activities.

A notorious aspect of Plan Colombia was the aerial fumigation program. Here, U.S. contractors would drop the herbicide glyphosate in areas where coca was cultivated. The idea was that by decreasing the number of hectares of coca, there would be less cocaine produced, and the cocaine that reached the U.S. would be too costly for people to buy. Many questioned the effectiveness of this counternarcotics strategy, including a GAO report. This program had terrible consequences on the environment, food crops, and health of communities living in those areas. By destroying the land of rural farmers, who may or may not have been growing coca plants, the fumigations forced people further into heavily forested and biodiverse regions and areas controlled by illegal armed groups where they would suffer violent consequences. Disproportionately affected by this policy were Indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities.

Two massive scandals erupted during Uribe’s terms in office (2002–2010): the para-politics and DAS intelligence scandals. In the parapolitics scandal, it was revealed many colleagues, friends, and members of Uribe’s government had ties with the right-wing paramilitary group the Self-Defense Forces of Colombia, considered a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) by the United States. Judicial authorities opened investigations for or arrested over 170 Colombian “para-politicians,” elected officials who were placed under arrest or investigation by judicial authorities for allegations of ties to paramilitaries. At that time, 30% of the Colombian Congress was said to have ties to the AUC (primarily from parties who supported Uribe). The AUC is credited with committing crimes against humanity, forcibly displacing millions of Colombians to take over their lands, and some of the worst atrocities in Colombian history. For example, the dismemberment of victims while still alive with chainsaws was a common practice of the AUC. In addition to ties to politicians and colleagues of Uribe, the AUC colluded with members of the Colombian security forces throughout the country, often doing the brutal counterinsurgency dirty work.

The second scandal involved the intelligence agency that reported directly to President Uribe, the Administrative Security Agency (DAS). Here, it came to light that a clandestine subunit

within the DAS called the G-3 was tasked to “neutralize and restrict” political opponents, journalists, human rights defenders, Supreme Court judges, and critics of Mr. Uribe. The G-3 not only engaged in illegal wiretapping and surveillance, but it went so far as to intimidate and obstruct the work of its targets. It planted agents in opposition rallies to “create chaos” and sabotaged the work of many. DAS agents disguised themselves as fake journalists and planted false information in the press to discredit opponents and the truth of events. The G-3 was also tasked with fabricating links to illegal armed groups so that victims were arrested under false information and giving names of trade unionists to paramilitaries who later assassinated them. Due to the scandal, the U.S. cut off assistance to the DAS and pushed for its dismantlement, was finalized under President Santos in 2011.

The Free Trade Agreement between Colombia and the U.S. was highly controversial because Colombia had more trade unionists assassinated per year than the total of the rest of the world combined. There were concerns because of the para-politics and DAS scandals, the failed AUC demobilization process, and the grave violations committed against Afro-Colombian, Indigenous, and rural peoples. At the same time, allegations later proven true of U.S. companies and links with paramilitary death squads, such as Drummond Coal Company and Chiquita Brands, gave Congress pause. During this period, the Uribe government hired lobbying firms to shape the opinions of Democrats and Republicans in Congress.

Part of this effort included selling the (wrong) idea that the FTA was beneficial for Afro-Colombian and Indigenous communities (its authorities and significant civil rights organizations were all opposed). Sadly, a small number of Afro-Colombian politicians with ties to the AUC (they were later arrested and placed in jail for crimes against humanity) supported President Uribe’s efforts in Washington, DC. Another selling point was that the FTA would bring the Afro-Colombians in Buenaventura (the most important port for the US-Colombia FTA) out of poverty through economic development. The U.S. Congress pressured Colombia incredibly during this time, leading to the extradition of the major Commanders of the AUC to the U.S., a significant reduction of homicides of trade unionists, the U.S.-Colombia Labor Action Plan, and support and protection for Afro-Colombian and Indigenous communities. This pressure also forced Colombia under Uribe and Santos to name Afro-Colombians to their cabinet for the first time in history and to pay attention to Afro-Colombian concerns. The U.S.-Colombia Racial Action Plan (CAPREE) advanced during this period.

The peace accord with the FARC was signed in August 2016, and U.S. efforts shifted toward President Obama’s “Plan Paz Colombia.” Since then, the U.S. has remained the country’s number one donor to the peace accord. USAID programming, which undergoes an annual consultation process with U.S. civil society organizations (after funds were utilized for criminal activities like money laundering in 2004, the U.S. Congress pushed for this), now supports human rights, Afro-Colombian and Indigenous communities, environmental efforts, and justice. In addition to this, the U.S. provides scholarships (Martin Luther King grants), Fulbright (Afro-Colombian and Indigenous Fulbright grants), Luis Fernando Arias Arias Fellowship, and other exchanges and opportunities for Afro-Colombians and Indigenous persons. With the USAID Afro-Colombian and Indigenous program, the U.S. conditions military aid that promotes

civil society (human rights defenders, journalists, Afro-Colombian and Indigenous leaders, environmental and land rights leaders), the CAPREE, CLAP, and the U.S. being the first international accompanier of the Ethnic Chapter, the U.S. government is the most crucial international actor supporting ethnic rights and peoples in Colombia.

While support for Colombia was always bipartisan, we saw this change when President Petro came into office in August 2022. Republicans, primarily right-wing Cuban Americans, have criticized and insulted Petro, calling him a terrorist and murderer. In the 2024 foreign aid bill, the House Republicans zeroed out assistance to Colombia due to their dislike of Petro. The Senate returned the funds, but it was quite a fight. The pending 2025 foreign aid bill diminishes the economic side of the aid package, but still needs to be erased. Part of the reason the Cuban Americans in Congress dislike Petro is because he restarted diplomatic relations with Cuba and Venezuela. It was during Trump's last weeks in office in his first term that Cuba was put (again) on the U.S. terrorism list at the request of the Duque government. During the Duque government, Colombia broke diplomatic and other relations with Venezuela. Petro turned this around because the two countries share an extensive porous border, trading relationships, and a strong history. The broken relationship was disrupting commerce and immigration processes and creating tensions for civilians living along the Colombo-Venezuelan border. Cuba is instrumental in Colombia's peace efforts. Venezuela is also a guarantor of the ELN peace process. The latter is complicated by the fact that the ELN has expanded its presence inside Venezuela and is engaged in illicit mining, extortion, and other criminal activities. In essence, the ELN is now a binational guerilla group.

Another reason they dislike Petro is because he was an M-19 guerrilla before he demobilized and became a politician. The M-19 was a leftist guerrilla group in Colombia that demobilized in 1990. They formed part of a group of insurgents that included the EPL, PRT, and Quintín Lame, which negotiated their demobilization in exchange for a Constituent Assembly that would transform the country. The Constituent Assembly led to the new 1991 Political Constitution of Colombia. In this Constitution, the government, for the first time, sees itself as a pluri-ethnic nation and grants rights to the Indigenous and Afro-Colombian peoples. No Afro-Colombian participated in the Constituent Assembly, but a pact was made with Indigenous peoples to add a transitory article to the Constitution concerning Afro-Colombians. This transitory article led to the 1993 Law of the Black Communities, which grants them collective land and individual rights and upholds their culture and ethno-education.

Selected Actions Taken By Rep. Johnson and Others in the U.S. Congress

46 Congressional Democrats Call on the Administration to Support Colombia's Peace Process – July 31, 2024

<https://casar.house.gov/media/press-releases/news-46-congressional-democrats-call-administration-support-colombias-peace>

Jayapal, McGovern Lead 50 Members in Calling for a Deferred Enforcement Departure Designation for Colombians – October 12, 2023

<https://jayapal.house.gov/2023/10/12/jayapal-mcgovern-lead-50-members-in-calling-for-a-deferred-enforcement-departure-designation-for-colombians/>

Rep. Johnson Leads Letter on Colombia VP Security Concerns – January 13, 2023

<https://hankjohnson.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/rep-johnson-leads-letter-colombia-vp-security-concerns>

34 members of Congress send a letter on Colombia – December 23, 2022

<https://adamisacson.com/34-members-of-congress-send-a-letter-on-colombia/>

Prioritize Afro-Colombian and Indigenous Rights and Tackle Racism in Colombia: Message by 16 U.S. Congressional Representatives to Secretary of State Blinken - August 10, 2021

<https://colombiapeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Letter-to-Prioritize-Afro-Colombian-and-Indigenous-Peoples-Rights-in-Colombia-08.10.21.pdf>

55 Members of U.S. Congress Urge State Department to Clearly and Unambiguously Denounce Police Brutality in Colombia – May 14, 2021

<https://www.wola.org/2021/05/55-members-of-us-congress-urge-state-department-to-clearly-and-unambiguously-denounce-police-brutality-in-colombia/>

Congressman Johnson Reintroduces Resolution Recognizing International Decade for People of African Descent – March 2, 2021

<https://hankjohnson.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/congressman-johnson-reintroduces-resolution-recognizing-international>

U.S. Congress Representatives Acknowledge Peace Hasn't Reached Indigenous Communities in Colombia - December 1, 2020

<https://colombiapeace.org/?s=us+congress>

McGovern and Pocan Lead 94 Members of Congress Urging Trump Administration to Push for Peace in Colombia -July 6, 2020

<https://mcgovern.house.gov/news/documentsingle.aspx?DocumentID=398588>

Rep. Hank Johnson Hosting Afro Latinx Film Screening & Panel Discussion – September 11 and 12, 2019

<https://hankforcongress.com/rep-hank-johnson-hosting-afro-latinx-film-screening-panel-discussion/>

African American Congressmen Urge Colombia to Act to Protect Afro-Colombian Communities – May 17, 2017

<https://www.wola.org/analysis/african-american-congressmen-urge-colombia-act-protect-afro-colombian-communities/>

McGovern Leads Bipartisan Group Urging Support for Colombian Peace Process – February 3, 2016

<https://www.colectivodeabogados.org/mcgovern-leads-bipartisan-group-urging-support-for-colombian-peace-process/>

Report on the CBTU Afro-Colombian Accompaniment Mission to Colombia – October 21, 2015

<https://m.usw.org/news/media-center/articles/2015/report-on-the-cbtu-afro-colombian-accompaniment-mission-to-colombia>

65 Members of Congress Send Letter to Secretary of State Kerry and Special Envoy Aronson in Support of the Colombian Peace Process - August 3, 2015

https://www.lawg.org/wpcontent/uploads/storage/documents/August_2015_McGovern_Letter_on_Colombia_Peace_Process_Eng.pdf

Hank: Colombia hasn't met obligations under Labor Action Plan – April 19, 2012

<https://youtu.be/74yeOQj2liM?si=hwX7InfXmSKEfW>

Rep. Johnson Urges President to Strengthen Workers' Rights in Colombia Trade Pact – July 7, 2011

<https://hankjohnson.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/rep-johnson-urges-president-strengthen-workers-rights-colombia-trade>

Congressional Statements Opposing the U.S.-Colombia Free Trade Agreement

<https://www.lawg.org/congressional-statements-opposing-the-us-colombia-free-trade-agreement/>

H.Res. 1224 - Recognizing and honoring the important work that Colombia's Constitutional Court has done on behalf of Colombia's internally displaced persons, especially Indigenous peoples, Afro-Colombians, and women - March 25, 2010

Participant Biographies



Rep. Henry C. "Hank" Johnson

U.S. Congressman (D-Georgia)

Hank Johnson serves as a U.S. Representative from Georgia's Fourth Congressional District in the Atlanta area, now in his ninth term. Johnson, a former criminal defense lawyer, magistrate judge, and county commissioner, has become a leading progressive voice in Congress. He's distinguished himself through court reform initiatives, particularly regarding the Supreme Court, and efforts to demilitarize law enforcement. As a senior member of the House Judiciary Committee and former chair of the Subcommittee on Courts, Intellectual Property, and the Internet, Johnson has championed consumer protection, digital inclusion, and civil liberties.



Antwain Monach

Legislative Director, Office of Rep. Hank Johnson (D-Georgia)

Antwain is the Legislative Director for Congressman Henry C. "Hank" Johnson, Jr. (D-GA), where he leads the development and execution of the Congressman's legislative agenda. In this role, he oversees the legislative staff and monitors key policy developments to ensure alignment with the office's priorities. Antwain began his career in Congressman Johnson's office as an intern in 2018 and has since advanced through several positions, culminating in his current leadership role. He earned a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science from Georgia State University in 2019.



Deepa Patel

Legislative Director, Office of Rep. Delia Ramirez (D-Illinois)

Deepa Patel currently serves as the Legislative Director for Congresswoman Delia C. Ramirez (IL-03), overseeing a broad portfolio while focusing on appropriations, foreign affairs, peacebuilding, and security issues. Before her work on Capitol Hill, Deepa worked in local and state public health advocacy. She spent nearly 10 years in humanitarian aid and international development service in Haiti, the Middle East, East Africa, and South Asia.



Anna McDonald

Senior Legislative Assistant, Office of Rep. Kamlager-Dove (D-California)

Anna is a Senior Legislative Assistant for Rep. Sydney Kamlager-Dove, who serves on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. She handles foreign affairs, international trade, defense and NDAA, immigration, cyber, and homeland security. Anna previously worked on the House Foreign Affairs Committee for Rep. Gregory Meeks. She is a master's candidate at the Georgetown Security Studies Program, concentrating in Asian Studies and Technology.



Gimena Sánchez-Garzoli

Director for the Andes, WOLA

Gimena is the Director for the Andes at the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), an independent organization advocating for human rights and justice in U.S. foreign policy. There, Gimena directs the work on Colombia, Brazil, and Argentina. For over 19 years, she has brought to Washington the voices of people affected by U.S. policies in the region: Afro-descendants, Indigenous people, women, LGBTQ+, trade unionists, victims, and displaced persons. Her work focuses on dismantling illegal armed groups, promoting peace agreements and anti-racism measures, protecting social leaders, seeking justice for atrocities, and defending labor rights. She formerly worked on internal displacement in Africa, Asia, and Latin America as an advisor to the UN Representative for Internally Displaced Persons at the Brookings Institution. Born in Argentina, she was forced to live in five countries due to the Dirty War. She holds a B.A. in Environmental Science and Dance from Columbia University and an M.A. in International Law and International Economics from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).



Alex Bare

Program Associate for Colombia, Drug Policy, and Venezuela, WOLA

Alex has worked at the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA) since February 2023. He has a degree from the University of Iowa in international relations and Spanish language. As a program associate, he engages in research, advocacy in Congress, and coordination with regional partners to promote human rights-aligned policies for Colombia, Venezuela, and drug policy. Before WOLA, he was a Fulbright awardee in Colombia, working for two years as a university English teacher in Barranquilla and Bogotá.



Raudemar Ofunshi Hernández

Ofunshi is a spiritual leader and human rights activist with extensive knowledge of Afro-Cuban religions like Santería and Palo Monte and the practice of Ifa in West Africa. For over 30 years, he has promoted Afro-descendant and indigenous rights globally, addressing bodies like the UN, OAS, and U.S. Congress and speaking at institutions like Harvard. As president of the NGO Colombia Acuerdo de Paz, he champions peace and human rights worldwide, using Colombia's 2016 peace accord as a model. In October 2024, he addressed the OAS on African-origin religions and freedom of religion. He authored the [2023 report](#) on challenges faced by Afro-Cuban religious leaders in Cuba.



S. James Guitard

Mr. Guitard is Senior Vice President of Global Policy and Strategic Development at La Fundación Educativa de Diáspora, which is a global foundation, multinational policy think tank and philanthropic fund specializing in education initiatives, technology programs, health and nutrition projects, global humanitarian assistance, art-infused economic ventures, diaspora experiential learning, as well as international community revitalization development. Mr. Guitard has led innovative initiatives in South America, the Caribbean, and Africa. As an entrepreneur, educator, education policy specialist, and philanthropist, Mr. Guitard has dedicated his life and career to education policy, Christian ministry, socio-economic uplift, and human rights throughout the African diaspora.

Suggested Readings

Women, War and Peace episode titled “[The War We are Living.](#)”

We helped PBS do with Francia Márquez and Clemencia Carabalí. It shows their work in northern Cauca and its relationship to the United States, including work with us. Please note that Francia Márquez, then PCN leader, is now the Vice President of Colombia. In Cali, we will meet with groups from Cauca.

Our campaign “[Con Líderes Hay Paz,](#)” specifically the podcast series “[Building Peace in Colombia](#)” on Spotify.

This includes podcasts we did with Leyner Palacios (Bojayá massacre survivor and former Truth Commissioner), Dario Mejía (National Organization of Indigenous People, ONIC), Erlendy Cuero Bravo (Association of Internally Displaced Afro-Colombians, AFRODES) and Danelly Estupiñán (Palenque Kongal/Black Communities Process, PCN).

Please note that we will be visiting Erlendy of AFRODES Cali in the Aguablanca District and meeting with members of PCN on several occasions.

The [Silent Scream](#), a 12-minute documentary about Operation Genesis.

Please note, this describes the displacement of AFRODES’s founder. Operation Genesis internally displaced thousands of Afro-Colombians, many of those you’ll meet in Bogotá survived this. It was the most significant cause of mass displacement of Afro-Colombians in the Pacific. Years later, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights ruled that Colombia was responsible for this internal displacement and ordered reparations for a group of its victims. A case where I served as an expert witness. [Here](#) is more on that decision.

[Advance the Promises of the 2016 Peace Accord: Civil Society Perspectives on Peace in the Chocó](#) (WOLA publication, December 2021)

[Despite Obstacles, Colombia’s Ethnic Communities Integrate Themselves into the Peace Accord](#)

[The US-Colombia Labor Action Plan Failing on the Ground](#) (congressional staff report)

[Stopping Irreparable Harm: Acting on Colombia’s Afro-Colombian and Indigenous Communities’ Protection Crisis](#) (NOREF publication)

[Experiences of IDP Self-Protection Mechanisms in Colombia](#)

Note: As described in this peace, the Puente Nayero Humanitarian Zone we will visit in Buenaventura is an example of an IDP protection mechanism.

[The International Decade of Afro-descendants Depends on Us](#)

Note: Rep. Johnson will introduce a resolution for the second decade of African descent in the House on November 20.

News Articles of Interest

Afrodescendants Push for Official Recognition in UN Nature Talks

<https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/afro-descendants-push-official-recognition-un-nature-talks-2024-10-23/>

Afro-Colombians fight the effects of gold mining through biodiversity projects in a violent region

<https://apnews.com/article/reforestation-mining-gold-illegal-colombia-choco-community-river-bc446829153f86d04f87e4388d50df55>

Litigating for the Statistical Visibility of Afrodescendants in Colombia

<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/litigating-for-the-statistical-visibility-of-afrodescendants-in-colombia>

Colombia's Indigenous Nasa people fight back against guerrilla groups

<https://www.france24.com/en/tv-shows/focus/20240913-colombia-s-indigenous-nasa-people-fight-back-against-guerrilla-groups>

Gripped by escalating violence, patience wears thin in Colombia's largest port city

<https://english.elpais.com/international/2023-07-06/gripped-by-escalating-violence-patience-wears-thin-in-colombias-largest-port-city.html>

Colombia, the deadliest country in the Americas for human rights defenders

<https://english.elpais.com/international/2024-03-06/colombia-the-deadliest-country-in-the-americas-for-human-rights-defenders.html>

Talking women, peace and security in Colombia

<https://amnesty.ca/features/talking-women-peace-and-security-in-colombia/>

What Colombia's First Black Vice President Really Wants From the United States

<https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2023/01/20/colombia-vp-marquez-00078617>

The Ethnic Chapter of Colombia's Peace Agreement Five Years On: An Independent Assessment

<https://accountabilityresearch.org/publication/ethnic-chapter-of-colombias-peace-agreement-independent-assessment/>

“We Want Them Alive”: Afro-Colombian Women Lead Search for Disappeared

<https://truthout.org/articles/we-want-them-alive-afro-colombian-women-lead-search-for-disappeared/>

Cali is the cockpit of chaos as Colombia protests threaten to spiral out of control

<https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/may/10/cali-colombia-protests-violence>

Colombia's 'capital of horror' despairs amid new wave of gang violence

<https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/feb/23/colombias-capital-of-horror-despairs-amid-renewed-gang-violence-buenaventura>

Buenaventura, Colombia Strikes Against Racial Capitalism

<https://www.blackagendareport.com/buenaventura-colombia-strikes-against-racial-capitalism>

Buenaventura, Colombia: Where Free Trade Meets Mass Graves

<https://nacla.org/article/buenaventura-colombia-where-free-trade-meets-mass-graves>

For Afro-Colombians, a Slow March Toward Peace

<https://nacla.org/news/2018/08/02/afro-colombians-slow-march-toward-peace>

Colombia Acuerdo de Paz NGO Statements

August 28, 2024: [“Unity and Prioritization Can Convert Buenaventura into a Territory of Peace, Dignity, and Change”](#) Colombia Acuerdo de Paz, et al.

August 14, 2024: [Letter International Call for Renewed Peace Talks in Colombia with the ELN: Extending Ceasefire and Upholding Ethnic Rights”](#) CAP, WOLA, et al.

July 16, 2024: [Intimidation of San José de Julumito Indigenous Community and Its Legal Representation Should be Investigated.](#) CAP, WOLA, et al.

July 8, 2024: [We Condemn the Vile Attack Committed Against the Shipia Wayuu Association and Demand Justice.](#) CAP, WOLA, et al.

July 2, 2024: [Security for the IEANPE Must Be Guaranteed, and Efforts to Advance the Ethnic Chapter Redoubled.](#) CAP, WOLA, et al.

Colombia Acuerdo de Paz Programs

[COLOMBIA, ACUERDO DE PAZ: LAS BRECHAS DE LA PAZ CON EL ELN Y LA PAZ TOTAL](#)
Aug 8, 2024

COLOMBIA, ACUERDO DE PAZ: SOS CAUCA, COMUNIDAD INTERNACIONAL PREOCUPADA.

July 26, 2024

Articles from James Guitard:

[James Guitard, el hombre detrás de los murales en Barrio Chino](#)

James Guitard, The Man Behind the Murals in Barrio Chino

[La fundación norteamericana que donó en Cartagena debido a la pandemia](#)

The American Foundation That Donated in Cartagena Due to the Pandemic

[Día de la Afrocolombianidad en Guachené: Innovación y Cultura](#)

Afro-Colombian Day in Guachené: Innovation and Culture

[“Estoy orgullosa de ser negra”: Niñas recibieron muñecas negras en Navidad](#)

“I Am Proud to Be Black”: Girls Received Black Dolls for Christmas

[Posibilidades Infinitas en Guachené](#)

Infinite Possibilities in Guachené