Praise for *Colombia Building Peace in a Time of War*

"This book will surely become necessary reading for all of those interested to learn or to act on peacebuilding in Colombia. This extremely useful, relevant, and timely book is the most comprehensive source available today for information, analysis and practice on non-military efforts on peace seeking in Colombia. It presents and discusses the work by a broad array of authors, academics and practitioners, national and international, representing a diversity of views from a civil society perspective. Their work covers the universe of local, regional, sectorial, gender, ethnic, institutional, national, and international initiatives for peacebuilding."

—**Jairo A. Arboleda**, World Bank

"Rarely does a book come along to fundamentally alter our understanding of a country and the political and social dynamics at work within its borders. Colombia: Building Peace in a Time of War *is such a volume. The contributors challenge us to look beyond the prism of drug-trafficking and terrorism that has defined—and limited—our perception of Colombian reality. What emerges is the vibrancy of civil society efforts to prevent, mediate, and transform armed conflict even as national-level negotiations with armed actors have stumbled or failed. Religious and business leaders, community organizers, local officials, women's groups—all have refused to give up in the effort to build peace. Their stubbornness and heroism deserve our closest attention."*

— **Cynthia Arnson**, Woodrow Wilson Center

"This book truly immerses the reader in the complex efforts to bring peace to Colombia. The thirty authors, analysts, and practitioners offer in-depth descriptions of efforts by the various sectors to find peace after fifty years of violence. Virginia Bouvier has done a masterful job of editing and collecting the essays in helpful groupings, and has included an insightful introduction and closing commentary and analysis. She makes a strong case for greater dialogue among the sectors, including more understanding of what works and what doesn't in the daunting quest for peace."

—**Charles Currie, S.J.**, Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities

"Virginia Bouvier's volume documents how different actors in Colombia's struggle for peace and security engage in preventing state failure. Lessons from this volume can serve a larger readership as the U.S. government ponders its policy options in places like Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iraq."

—**Johanna Mendelson Forman**, Center for Strategic and International Studies

"Colombia: Building Peace in a Time of War *analyzes in a deep way the Colombian accumulated experience in building peace. This book explores the role of key actors such as women and indigenous people, the Catholic Church and the business sector, local peace communities, and peace and development programs, while providing insights and lessons on the role of the international community."*

—**Mauricio Garcia-Duran, S.J.**, Centro de Investigacion y Educacion Popular

"An essential book on the Colombian struggle for peace from a bottom up approach. There have been many interesting essays about this conflict but this book is the most detailed work in relation to peacebuilding and civil society."

—**Gorka Espiau Idoiaga**, Special Adviser for Peace Building to the President of the Basque Country

"This book is the first comprehensive overview of the diverse initiatives that have unfolded at different levels over the past twenty years in the search for peace in Colombia. Without a doubt this book will become an indispensable reference for those who endeavor to contribute ideas for building lasting peace in Colombia."

—**Maria Victoria Llorente**, Fundacion Ideas para la Paz

"This book challenges the common misconception that Colombia is made up exclusively of drug-traffickers and mercenaries. The volume highlights the work of young people, women, ethnic minorities, religious communities, small rural school teachers, and businesses who are totally dedicated to weaving peace initiatives even when threatened by totalitarian armed organizations. This is a book for those who want a more complex and comprehensive view of the Colombian situation."

—**María Emma Wills Obregón**, Universidad de Los Andes

"Bouvier's collection combines insightful analysis with a much needed message of hope for the conflict in Colombia. It is a welcome reminder that only through the participation and innovation of civil society will Colombia find a peace that endures."

—**Joy Olson**, Washington Office on Latin America

"At last a focus on peace, not violence, in Colombia! This book of essays by leading scholars and practitioners from inside and outside Colombia takes us beyond the lurid headlines and political misconstructions. The authors make visible the efforts of so many Colombians to build conditions for living without violence, taking us from armed actors to peace actors. They do so through scholarship, evidence, and their connections to everyday lived realities and experiences. This is an accessible collection of essays with a coherence which makes it indispensible reading for academics, activists, and policymakers interested in peacebuilding in Colombia and beyond."

—**Jenny Pearce**, University of Bradford

"The comprehensive nature of the case studies in this book lends insight into why Colombia remains one of the most intractable conflicts and what might be done about it. More importantly, the book contains a holistic evaluation of diverse initiatives to build peace in Colombia, and the lessons it highlights will aid the cause of peacebuilders everywhere."

—**Robert Ricigliano**, Institute of World Affairs

"Colombia: Building Peace in a Time of War, *allows us to appreciate a country that is daily re-inventing itself; a country of multiple resistances to violence, mass civic mobilizations, initiatives, practices, and peace communities. For the first time in decades, the legitimization of war has been radically confronted by an anti-war discourse composed of an indissoluble trilogy: peace, development, and autonomy. Virginia M. Bouvier and her contributors highlight the existence and work that this anti-war discourse performs in Colombian civil society today. A Colombia that was previously invisible has become the leading protagonist in the struggle for peace, and this book rightly calls our attention to this emergent formation."*

—**Gonzalo Sanchez**, Historical Memory Commission

"The volume offers a detailed map that Colombian government authorities, civil society leaders, and the international community can follow to help construct an enduring peace. Other societies undergoing similar conflicts will benefit enormously from this singular contribution."

—**Michael Shifter**, Inter-American Dialogue, and Georgetown University

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COLOMBIA

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COLOMBIA

BUILDING PEACE IN A TIME OF WAR

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editor

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Foreword

In the last four decades the Colombian internal armed conflict has been much discussed, studied, and written about from different viewpoints. However, the multiple efforts and initiatives to resolve the grassroots of this complex conflict have been little explored.

Since the early 1990s Colombia has seen its enduring and progressive internal armed conflict decay even further. The constant battle among the parties and the number and extent of the abuses perpetrated against civilians have intensified drastically. The Colombian conflict has many dimensions that share relentless consequences. The persistence of these hostilities has contributed to new and equally disastrous situations that feed the conflict such as illicit trading, arms proliferation, drug production and trafficking, political intolerance, and ideologies that aim to legitimize violence and political, economic, and social exclusion.

The conflict, characterized by its degradation of human rights, constitutes one of the most substantial obstacles to reducing extreme poverty, fostering economic and social development, and strengthening the democratic institutions of the country. The Colombian democratic state and laws continue bearing the difficult and unavoidable responsibility of ensuring that the political will exists to put an end to the conflict.

One cannot apply isolated solutions. The multidimensional characteristics of this conflict call for joint, sustainable, and consistent efforts. In response, the Colombian state should push for economic, social, and humanitarian policymaking strategies, including those related to drug production, trafficking, and local consumption, and allow political interaction among all civil organizations, including the current opposition parties. The state should also recognize the need for discussing solutions with illegal armed groups such as FARC.

Only through a comprehensive response can Colombia reach an end to this conflict. While there is no clear recipe of how to combine these mea-

sures, Colombia's government and its civil organizations need to strictly follow the fundamental values expressed in international humanitarian law.

This book is of compelling academic and political relevance for Colombia as well as other countries that are building peace initiatives in the middle of conflict. This remarkable work details the most important projects and initiatives, which have opened up and continue to develop opportunities for peace in Colombia.

Learning from these experiences, and emerging scholarship opens the path to clear, concise strategies for addressing Colombia's unresolved challenges. Having inherited the conflict, this generation of Colombians has the moral obligation to resolve it, and not to turn it over to future generations.

Luis Eladio Perez Bonilla

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It has been a delight to work with the authors of this volume. I thank them first and foremost for the work they are doing and the generosity of spirit, time, and ideas that have consistently characterized their participation in this endeavor. The personal and professional exchanges occasioned by this project have provided me with tremendous hope and an intellectual feast of the richest kind imaginable. I hope the reader will relish the fruits of their labors even a fraction as much as I have.

This project has provided an impetus for dialogue, integration, and collaboration across geographic and disciplinary boundaries; across sectors; and among those working at the local, regional, national, and international levels. The authors included in this book represent a microcosm of some of the sectors working for peace in Colombia, and their collaboration provides a model for the kind of intellectual and personal commitment that will transform the conflict in Colombia.

There are many individuals and institutions that were *imprescindible* to this book's development and publication. The United States Institute of Peace has supported the work of about half of the contributors through its Grant and Fellowship Program and provided me with the resources to hold an author's conference at Cornell University in November 2005, to publish a special report on the conference findings, and to attend the Latin American Studies Association meetings in 2004, 2006, and 2007 and the International Studies Association meeting in 2005, where I organized, chaired, or served as a discussant on panels relevant to the topic of peace initiatives in Colombia. These meetings and conferences were key to developing the ideas and the concept for this book.

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The authors' conference and public events on "Peace Initiatives in Colombia" at Cornell University on November 19–20, 2005, could not have happened without the enthusiastic partnership, professional expertise, and personal commitment of Mary Roldán and her team at Cornell's Latin American Studies Program, especially John S. Henderson, Treva Levine, and Andrea Matus. Conference cosponsors included Cornell's Africana Studies and Research Center, its departments of Development Sociology, Government, History, and Anthropology, the Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies, the Institute for European Studies, the Johnson School of Management, the Peace Studies Program, the Society for the Humanities, the Committee on U.S.–Latin American Relations (CUSLAR), and the Colombian Student Association, as well as Syracuse University's Program for Analysis and Resolution of Conflict (PARC). Special thanks go to each of these programs, as well as to Federico Finkel, Elisa Da Via, and other students who assisted with the transcription of the conference discussions and breakout meetings. Charlie Roberts provided outstanding interpretation services. Barbara Fraser, Andy Klatt, Barbara Gerlach, and Susan Peacock assisted in translating Spanish chapters or parts thereof into English. Thanks to the Publications Department at the Institute as well, especially developmental editors Kurt Volkan and Linda Rabben, and Kay Hechler, Michelle Slavin, and Valerie Norville.

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Finally, I dedicate this book to Jim Lyons and Maya Bouvier-Lyons and to the song of life that will bring peace and justice to Colombia.

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Abbreviations

ACI	Andean Counterdrug Initiative
AECI	Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional (Spanish Agency for International Cooperation)
AET	Asociación de Entidades Territoriales (Association of Regional Entities)
AFRODES	Asociación de Afrocolombianos Desplazados (Association of Displaced Afro-Colombians)
ANUC	Asociación Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos (National Association of Peasants)
ARS	Aseguradoras del Régimen Subsidiado (Administrators of the Subsidized Regime)
AUC	Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia)
CEDE	Centro de Estudios sobre Desarrollo Económico (Center for Economic Development Studies)
CEDECOL	Consejo Evangélico de Colombia (Council of Evangelical and Protestant Churches of Colombia)
CINEP	Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular (Jesuit Center for Research and Popular Education)
CNRR	Comisión Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación (National Commission for Reparations and Reconciliation)
CODHES	Consultoría para los Derechos Humanos y el Desplazamiento (Consultancy on Human Rights and Displacement)

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CRS	Corriente de Renovación Socialista (Socialist Renewal Group)
CTI	Cuerpo Técnico de Investigaciones (Public Prosecutor's Office)
DAS	Departamento Administrativo de Seguridad (Administrative Department for Security)
ECOPETROL	Colombian Petroleum Company
ELN	Ejército de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army)
EPL	Ejército Popular de Liberación (Popular Liberation Army)
ERP	Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (People's Revolutionary Army)
ETI	Entidades Territoriales Indígenas (Indigenous Territorial Entities)
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces)
FMLN	Frente Farabundo Martí de Liberación Nacional (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front)
FEDEGAN	Federación de Ganaderos (Ranchers' Federation)
FRDPMMa	Fundación Red de Desarrollo y Paz de Montes de María (Development and Peace Network of Montes de María Foundation)
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICG	International Crisis Group
IEPRI	Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales (Institute of Policy Studies and International Relations)
IOM	International Organization for Migration
ISP	Iglesias Santuarios de Paz (Church Sanctuaries of Peace)
M-19	Movimiento 19 de Abril (April 19th Movement)
MAPP	Misión de Apoyo al Proceso de Paz (Mission to Support the Peace Process)
MAQL	Movimiento Armado Quintín Lame (Quintín Lame Armed Movement)
NCA	National Constituent Assembly

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NCRR	National Commission for Reparations and Reconciliation
OAS	Organization of American States
ONIC	Organización Nacional de Indígenas de Colombia (National Organization of Indigenous Peoples of Colombia)
PDP	Programa de Desarrollo y Paz (Development and Peace Program)
PDPMM	Programa de Desarrollo y Paz de Magdalena Medio (Magdalena Medio Development and Peace Program)
PNUD	Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (United Nations Development Programme)
PRT	Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Workers' Revolutionary Party)
REDEPAZ	Red Nacional de Iniciativas por la Paz y Contra la Guerra (National Network of Initiatives for Peace and Against War)
REDPRODEPAZ	Red Nacional de Programas Regionales de Desarrollo y Paz (National Network of Regional Development and Peace Programs)
SEAP	Sociedad Económica Amigos del País (Friends of the Country Economic Society)
TEVERE	Testimonio, Verdad, y Reconciliación (Witness, Truth, and Reconciliation)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USIP	United States Institute of Peace
UP	Unión Patriótica (Patriotic Union)
USO	Unión Sindical Obrera (Employee Trade Union for ECOPETROL)
ZoP	Zonas de Paz (Zones of Peace)

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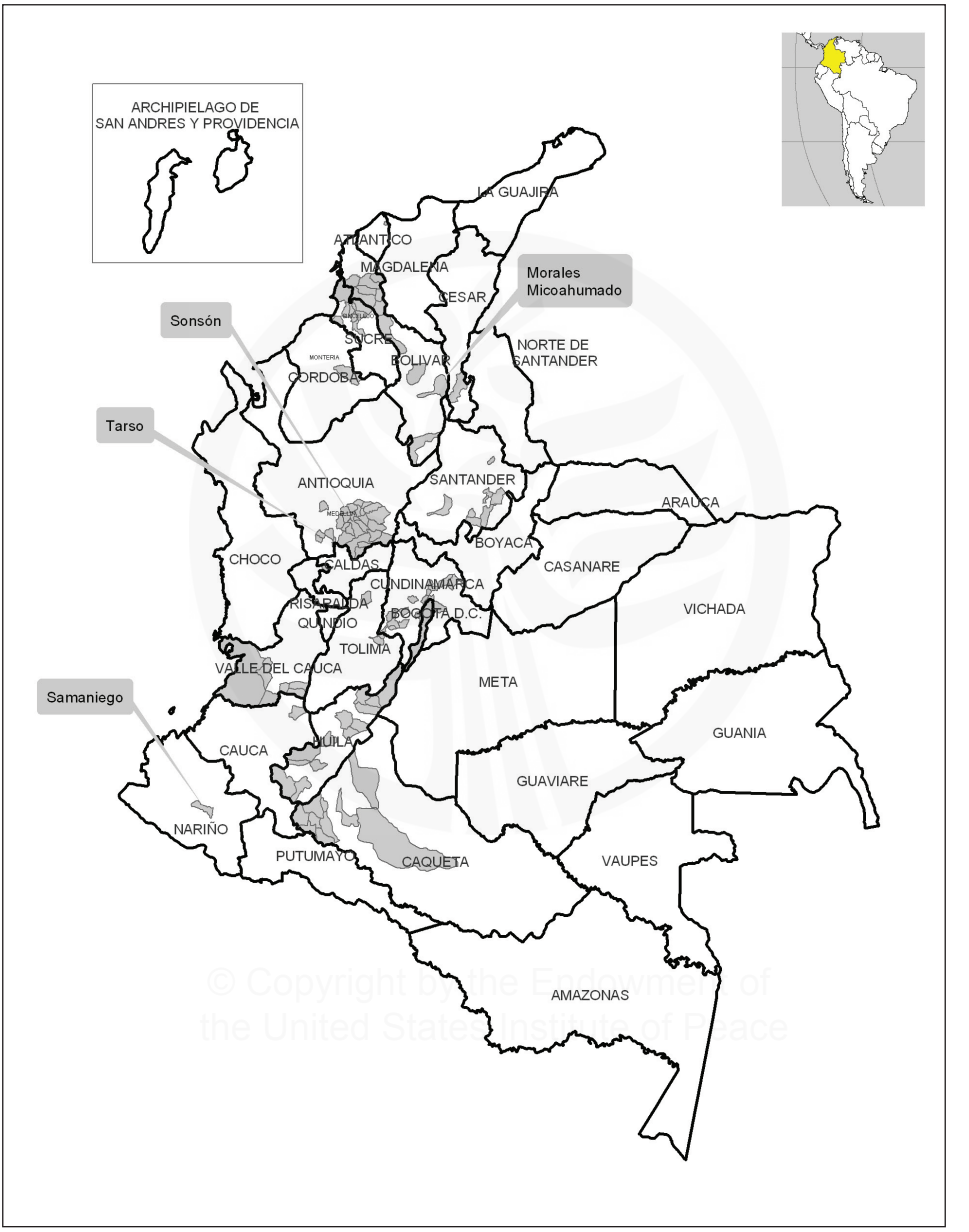

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Local and Regional Constituent Assemblies

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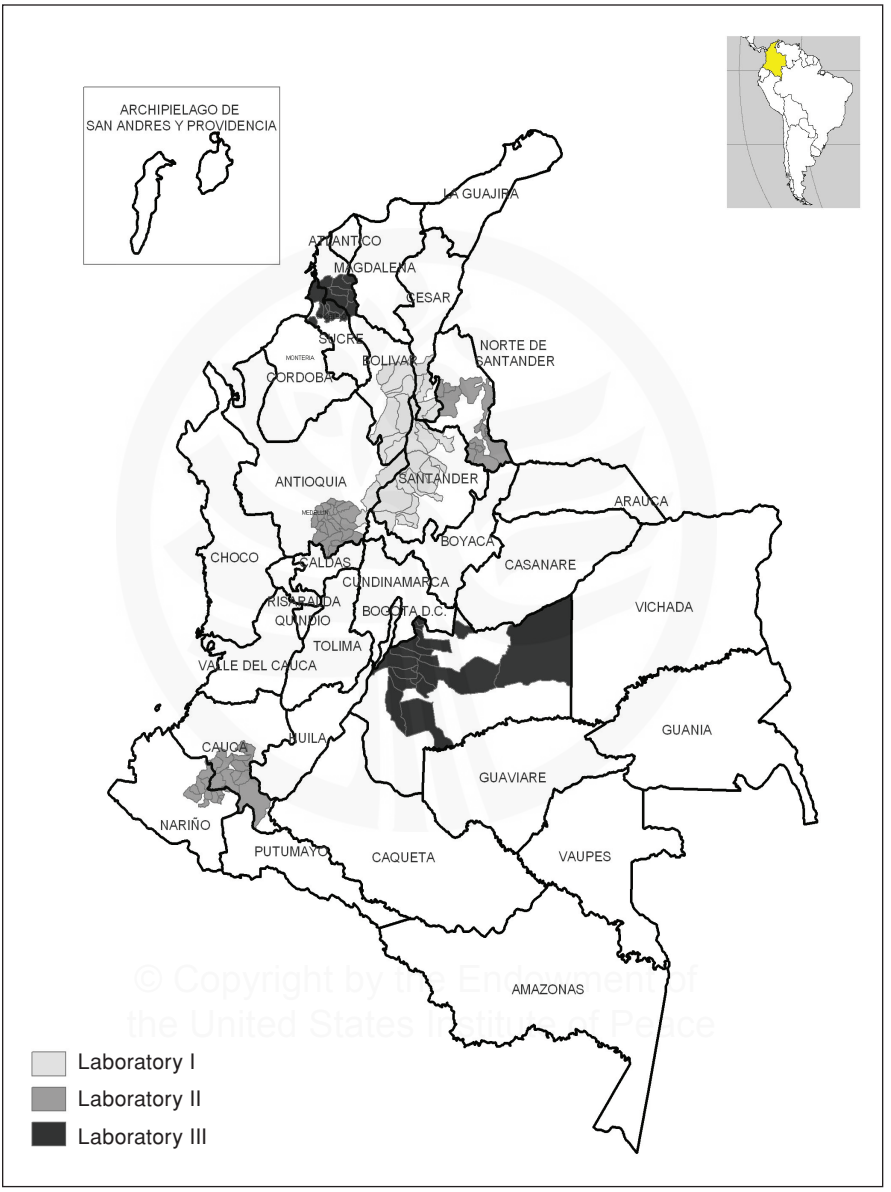

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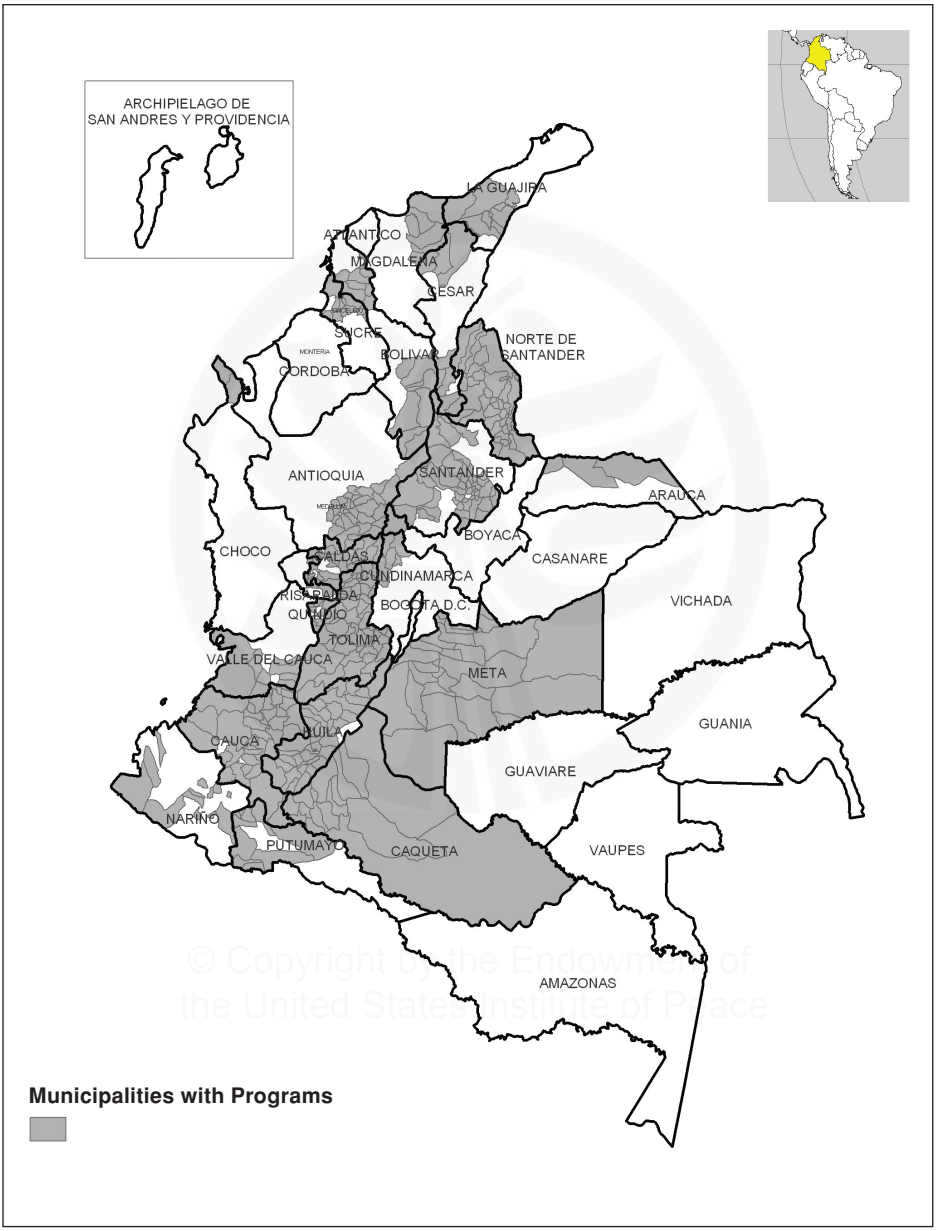

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Development and Peace Programs

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