

WOMEN, PROTAGONISTS OF PEACE IN COLOMBIA

FEMINIST VIEWS ON
THE GENDER APPROACH
IN THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT



Report of the conference celebrated in 2018:

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FEMINIST VIEWS ON THE GENDER APPROACH
IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT

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PRESENTATION

This report wants to collect the voices and experiences of women deeply involved in the process of peace building in Colombia within the framework of the Conference on Colombia, organized by **CooperAcció** in collaboration with **OIDHACO**, the **Taula Catalana per Colòmbia** and **Plataforma Unitaria contra les Violències de Gènere**, the pages that follow are a testimony and a photography of the current situation in this country.

Fifteen women, leaders, defenders of human rights, feminists, experts in gender perspective and peace processes gathered in Barcelona to participate in the conference. In addition, they went to the **European Parliament** to put on the table their requests to the international community regarding global responsibility to guarantee compliance with the Colombian peace agreements, signed in La Habana in 2016.

Those Conferences focus on the implementation of the peace agreement and, in particular, what has been the full role of women as builders of peace in the cities, but especially in the most devastated territories due to the multiple violence of the long armed conflict, women have been and are protagonists in the struggle for reparation, recognition and guarantees of non-repetition. Their visit to Europe is one of many actions that the civilian population and women have engaged not to let the agreement fall off.

The speakers participating in the Conference come from multiple places and sectors:

Liza García Reyes, Representative of CooperAcció in Colombia and of the LGBT Movement. Colombia.

Claudia Mejía Duque, SISMA Mujer and Género en la Paz (GPAZ). Colombia.

Victoria Sandino Simanca Herrera, Senator of the Republic of Colombia for the FARC. Colombia.

Clara Murguialday Martínez, President of CooperAcció.

María Vilellas Ariño, Escola de Cultura de Pau (UAB).

Montserrat Cervera Rodon, Ca la Dona.

Mayerlis Angarita Robles, Narrar para Vivir and Red Nacional de Defensoras. Colombia.

Martha Lucía Ceballos Vega, Movimiento de Víctimas de Estado (MOVICE) Colombia.

María Cristina Obregón Carrillo, Organización Femenina Popular (OFP). Colombia.

María Montesinos Sánchez-Elvira, Taula Catalana per Colombia.

María Eugenia Blandón, Commission of the Truth, Memory and Reconciliation of Women Diaspora.

Marina Sánchez Cid, CooperAcció.

Maritza Buitrago Rave, Plataforma Unitària contra las Violencias de Género.

María del Rosario Vásquez Sepúlveda, collective of Refugee, Exiled and Migrated Women.

Isabel Galí Izard, Journalist of TV3.

Elena Grau Biosca, En Pie de Paz and Women group Giulia Adinolfi.

INTRODUCTION

After the signing of the **peace Agreement in La Habana in 2016**, the clock of the fifteen years destined for its implementation started. Two years later, with the change of government, several alarm voices warn that peace is not being prioritized by the political and state agenda. The women who participated in these conferences on Colombia offered arguments, testimonies and experiences that demonstrate how, despite the sincere will and involvement of millions of Colombians, today the process runs the risk of being cut.

In particular, the **gender approach of the peace agreements** has been attacked and questioned. The final text signed in La Habana includes 122 measures that favor the eradication of the inequality gap between men and women, and that have an intersectional perspective in mind to address other areas of discrimination and attend to the repair, to guarantee non-repetition and to recognize victims for reasons like forced displacement, murder, sexual violence, economic expropriation, forced disappearance, kidnapping, etc., caused, throughout the more than fifty years of armed conflict lived in Colombia, by armed, legal actors and illegals, which include guerrillas, paramilitaries, the army and the police.

On multiple occasions, community violence has punished, repressed and eliminated people who did not comply with patriarchal standards of gender roles, sexual orientation and identities in the territories and cities. The gender approach serves to bring to light the violence that lesbian, gay, trans, bisexual women have suffered in particular, as well as racialized, indigenous, rural women from the territories.

Within the next fifteen years, this peace process should not only repair, recognize and prevent the repetition of the profound damage that the armed conflict in Colombia has caused; it should also lay the foundations for a profound social, cultural, economic and political transformation of the country to build not only a stable, sustainable and lasting peace but also a society that is more livable for all the people that compose it that protects the bodies and lives of its inhabitants. The latter should be added to guaranteeing their civil rights, to taking care and valuing the enormous natural resources of the territories; likewise, it should guarantee the protection of the territories against national and international interests in a country where defending rivers, land, forests, lives and bodies would not be a death sentence.

The voices and testimonies that were gathered in **Brussels on November the 17th** and in **Barcelona on November the 18th and 19th** 2018 allow us to see a piece of a potential future that will only be possible if the international community, the political and economic agents, and the Colombian civilian population carry out the measures agreed in the peace agreement between the state and the FARC. The women allow us not only to see their struggle, but also remind us that we are equally responsible for achieving and protecting peace in Colombia because the construction of peace in this country is essential to achieve a world peace that is a feminist, community and solid one.

Experiences from conflict and empowered voices

In this report we collect the contributions made in the **European Parliament in Brussels** and, later, during the **'Women, Protagonists of peace in Colombia' Conference in Barcelona**, through the interventions of the women invited to participate in the tables of the program. From their personal and collective experiences they made an overview of the present situation of Colombia. Before entering to read their contributions during the conference, we want to explain who they are and why their stories are relevant to understand the Colombian peace building process.

Victoria Sandino Simanca Herrera, Political Adviser and senator of the FARC

She was Commander of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) until its dissolution in 2017. In 2013 she joined the FARC Delegation in La Habana during the peace negotiations with the government of Juan Manuel Santos. She was the only woman on the negotiating team during the process, she headed the gender subcommittee at the dialogue table. She is currently Senator of the Republic since July 20, 2018 from the Revolutionary Alternative Force of the Common (FARC) party.

Claudia Mejía Duque, director of Sisma Mujer

Lawyer, feminist defender of human rights, she is the director of the corporation Sisma Mujer, an entity that works to demand the rights of women especially the right to a life free of violence, to empowerment and political participation, and to truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-repetition. She is a co-founder of the National Network of Women and the National Confluence of Women, spaces from which she has promoted, together with hundreds of women, multiple initiatives to defend and promote the human rights of women. She has had a very active role in the women's movement in favor of the peace process and for it to include women's rights.

Liza García Reyes, activist of the LGBT movement and CooperAcció representative

Psychologist, feminist and activist from the LGBT movement, she participated in La Habana negotiations between the FARC-EP and the Colombian government as a representative of the LGBT movement. She is currently an advisor to the gender work group in the Commission for the Clarification of the Truth, coexistence and non-repetition. She also is the representative of the NGO CooperAcció in Colombia.

Martha Lucía Ceballos Vega, member of MOVICE

She has been a spokesperson and coordinator of the National Movement of Victims of State Crimes (MOVICE) for the department of Nariño since 2007. She currently works as technical secretary of the Departmental Bureau of Labor, Prevention and assistance of the victims of forced disappearance of the department of Nariño and as undersecretary of peace and human rights of the governorate of Nariño.

Her brother was killed by the structure of the southern liberators blocs (Bloque Libertadores del Sur). Since then, and with her family, she began her struggle for truth and justice. Due to her work as an advocate, she has received direct threats on several occasions. In May 2018, she requested precautionary measures to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (CIDH) for her protection.

María Cristina Obregón Carrillo, member of the OFP

Graduated from a Bachelor's degree in early childhood education, she advises the formulation of development plans and public policies. She is a member responsible for the political education team and the area of economic autonomy of the popular women's organization (OFP). She has devoted a large part of her life to defend Human Rights from the social and political movement of women and the construction of peace. She has been a national delegate of the executive secretariat of the permanent assembly of civil society for peace. She is currently a representative in the Departmental Advisory Council of Women in the Department of Santander.

Mayerlis Angarita Robles, founder of Narrar para Vivir

She is an outstanding leader of the region of Montes de María, territory of the Colombian Caribbean made up of 15 municipalities of the Bolívar and Sucre departments. She was the founder of the Narrar para Vivir collective (narrate to live), an organization that, through stories and community work, helps women overcome the aftermath of the war, rebuild their lives and be autonomous. She became a defender of the rights of women who, like her, have been displaced and dispossessed of their lands, after paramilitary groups (illegal right-wing armies) disappeared her mother and displaced her family.

She was candidate to the mayor's office of San Juan Nepomuceno in Montes de María, her native town, for which she suffered an attack on her life. She has been threatened with death on numerous occasions and has suffered two attacks; that's why she has a strict security scheme. The threats have been repeated recently. She represents women victims of war in the Gender Instance that oversees the implementation of Peace Agreements between the Colombian government and the FARC guerrilla.

María Vilellas Ariño, researcher at the Escola Cultura de Pau of the UAB

Expert in gender and peace building, she is a researcher at the peace culture school of the Autonomous University of Barcelona. She has recently carried out a consultancy with the Kroc Institute on the inclusion of the gender approach in the verification mechanisms of the peace Agreement of Colombia. She has participated in national and international projects on the women, peace and security agenda. She is currently doing a PhD on the inclusion of gender in peace processes. She is part of Wilpf, an international league of Women for Peace and Freedom and of the network of Women Mediators of the Mediterranean.

Organizing entities

CooperAcció

It is a catalan international cooperation feminist association created in 1994 that contributes to the empowerment of women, the full exercise of their rights and the reach of gender equality, as essential conditions for achieving social justice, sustainable human development and peace. The association was born one year before the Beijing Action Platform was approved (1995). During all this time, CooperAcció has devoted a good part of the resources and energies to promote actions of development, advocacy, training and awareness in favor of women's rights and gender equity. This feminist organization has been interested for two decades in the Colombian peace process and the enormous impact of violence on women's lives. It seeks to promote the movement of women and Colombian feminists, strengthen the impact of civil society in the peace agreements, and their participation in the implementation after their signing.

Plataforma Unitària contra les Violències de Gènere

It was founded in 2002 to respond to the need to make visible gender violence and to demand actions, through citizen mobilization. The platform is made up of 121 entities (which have the status of members) and a large team of people (volunteers, professionals, etc.) from all over Catalonia, who share and promote a social movement with the mission of eradicating violence against women of the society. The geographical scope of action is the entire Catalan territory, although they work in a network with women's organizations throughout the state and in Europe.

Taula Catalan per la Pau i els Drets Humans a Colòmbia

It is a network of Catalan entities, made up of NGOs, trade unions, public administrations and academic entities, which emerged in 2002. It currently consists of 23 organizations. The Taula is part, as an observer entity, of the European platform Oidhaco, International Office of Human Rights - Action Colombia. The main objectives of the Taula are the promotion and protection of Human Rights in Colombia, as well as the support to a negotiated political solution within the framework of the recommendations of the United Nations and other international organizations.

INTERVENTION IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Conference: "Colombia: Support for the peace Agreement, the gender approach and the role of women" (Brussels, October 17, 2018)

1. The implementation of the gender approach in the peace Agreement

Liza García Reyes, CooperAcció Colombia and LGBT Movement

Claudia Mejía Duque, Sisma Mujer and Género en la Paz (GPaz)

Victoria Sandino Simanca Herrera, senator of the Republic of Colombia

The participants in the Conference on Colombia made a first strategic stop in Brussels to go to the European Parliament and hold a conference with three members of the chamber. Ernest Urtasun (Group of the Greens / ALE), Tania González (Confederal Group of the European United Left / Nordic Green Left) and Ramón Jáuregui (Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament) met with a delegation of six Colombian and Catalan women to address the status of the peace Agreement. In particular, the interventions met the prevailing need for strong support from the international, civil and political community, in the process of implementing the measures negotiated and signed in 2016. In addition, this support must also materialize in control actions of the implementation, by the current government of Iván Duque, but also for all future national governments.

Liza García Reyes, CooperAcció Colombia

The first to intervene is Liza García Reyes, representative of CooperAcció in Colombia and activist for lesbian, gay, trans and bisexual rights. For her, this intervention must focus on the role of women in the peace Agreements and the challenges that are at stake in the country.

Liza defends that the construction of peace in Colombia is at risk. "We have not achieved peace nor have the Agreements guaranteed the development of a stable and lasting peace. We want to reiterate it, because in some countries of the global North it appears as if only with the signature is already getting a situation that guarantees its construction" she argues.

She also emphasizes the selectivity of murders of social leaders and defenders of Human Rights; the upsurge in violence at the territorial level; the absence of state commitment and forceful actions; and

finally, the risk that the government strangles the Agreements in the budget despite the public interest it has shown. For all these reasons, it is necessary to strengthen civil society actors so that they can exercise the enforceability of compliance with these issues.



The implementation of the Agreement requires an enforceability and decisive action by the State. That is why it is necessary for the international community to accompany the verification of the actions of implementation of the peace Agreements by the State. The mainstreaming of the gender approach in its real implementation, not only formally, is a priority. This approach recognizes for the first time the disproportionate impact of violence on women and LGBT collectives.

Liza believes that international accompaniment is necessary in the support for the construction of a complete peace. Although Colombia has made progress, an international call prevails for the agreements with the National Liberation Army (ELN) is imperative. Women, lesbians, trans, gay, bisexual, indigenous, and citizens in general, have the right to live in peace and to have it stable and lasting.

In addition, a reflection on the social construction and the normative orders of gender and prevailing sex is necessary. "While we know the impact that war has on the lives of women, I want to make particular reference to the situation of lesbian, trans, gay and bisexual people in Colombia. Because of their sexual orientation or gender identity, these people have been victims of war: forced displacement, recruitment, sexual violence, torture, homicide, forced disappearances ... Therefore, there is a need to recognize these victimizations and to keep this need visible. We want to make a call to reject any action that makes these violence invisible" she says.

For her, it is a priority to avoid denying the recognition of the victims because of sexual orientation or gender identity. The argument of the "gender ideology" has been used, distorting the gender approach, to generate fear and rejection among citizens. The international community must take responsibility and prevent it from happening. Hates, prejudices, fears have been agglutinated ... to avoid

the construction of coexistence and non-repetition. In order to legitimize its role of social control in the populations, LGBTIphobia violence continues to be perpetuated, echoing the prejudices of the communities in those who live the victims. Facing it is a priority.

This is associated with the situation of human rights defenders of the LGBT collective. In the last year, the threats against these activists increased 500%. There were 27 acts of direct threats in 2017, with a greater risk against the lives of LGBT activists. The constitution of a group of European parliamentarians, committed to accompany the construction of peace, could help to realize that dream of those who live there. To enjoy in dignified and human conditions, in which the life of the LGBTI have value and are recognized. La Paz is a road that we build but we have not started to walk yet, she concludes.



Claudia Mejía Duque, Sisma Mujer

For Claudia Mejía Duque, the peace process in Colombia is still the best news in the world. However, this news is still much more recognized by the international community than internally in Colombia. Those of the European Union and the Security Council of the UN are one of the most important voices to keep hope alive.

Claudia points out that the word ended a war of more than five decades through the signing of a powerful peace Agreement. The process of disarmament and cessation of armed hostilities has happened in a record time, in comparison with other peace processes. This achievement was related to the quality of the protocols agreed upon between the parties to that effect included in the peace Agreement.

This pact is a real window of opportunity for Colombia, not only because it silenced the rifles, but because all its content is a route to advance the pending reforms of the Colombian State, which will strengthen the quality of our development and our democracy. Because this Agreement promised the centrality of the victims to guarantee their rights to truth, justice, reparation, recognition and commitment to non-repetition. It ensured a commitment to transformations in the poor countryside,

largely affected by war and forgotten by the State. It committed itself to the inclusion of measures that are mostly respectful of Human Rights to confront the problems of the illicit use of drugs. Also, with reforms to citizen and political participation, guarantees for the reincorporation and security for the exercise of the opposition and the defense of Human Rights, and because it committed to an implementation of the previous reforms from a gender territorial and ethical approach.

That is to say, it is a pact that, if developed in the 15 years of implementation, would achieve a reduction in the gap between women and men, and therefore, greater sustainability for peace. Legislative measures in favor of women and their rights are about 122. They were a response from the negotiating tables in the face of the strength of the women who took their voices to La Havana.

Peasants, afro-descendants, gipsy, indigenous, lesbian, trans, with diverse abilities, girls, adolescents, victims of the conflict and in particular, victims of sexual violence. The Gender Subcommittee was always in dialogue with this more than one thousand women involved. 72.48% of the affirmative and/or differentiated measures to ensure gender equality achieved an optimal legislative development; however, only 17.43% reached, in this year and a half, an operative development.

Claudia also points out the paradox between the formal advance of institutional decisions and the concretion of the practice of them, with a horizon of 15 years. Nothing advanced would have been possible without women participation. She reaffirms that only with its active role as political subjects are the greatest advances achieved in terms of equality, defense and enjoyment of its freedoms and rights, and in general, the consolidation of peace.

On the risks and threats in the implementation of the Agreement, internal explanations are important but also external explanations. Internally, there is a lack of political will of important sectors of the country -even from strategic places of the State-, which seek to break the Integral System of truth, justice and reparation, and seek to weaken or change the Agreements related to the political reincorporation of the leaders of the FARC political party. Secondly, there are reasons for defending interests historically anchored in economic and political power, which found their best opportunity in the war, and therefore, peace is a threat to them. Likewise, a strong State is needed to confront institutional violence and corruption. However, today the State is an important agent of these dynamics.

But there are also external reasons. Colombia can not continue to face costly for peace the failure of the global strategy to fight against drugs. We can not continue to face it the way we are doing it as a country. It is a cost that explains, in large part, the systematic of the attacks on defenders, defenders, leaders and leaders who defend peace, land and territory.

According to one of the most important non-governmental information systems, that of defenders, the murder of defenders and leaders between 2016 and 2018 was 113.5%. But if we look at the same period the increase in murders of women defenders and leaders, the increase is 166.7%. This excessive growth brings women as disproportionate victims not only because murders increase alarmingly in the face of the general figure, but because there are increases in the violence against their bodies, when sexual violence precedes the deaths. The mark of gender charges on their corporalities the defense of peace and territory.

The peace Agreement has just begun its journey. For that reason, for Claudia Mejía it is important to renew the national and international responsibilities that we have to implement them. Calls on the European Union to continue accompanying the Colombian people in this challenge to achieve a sustainable and lasting peace process. The best moment is this, because in May the National Development Plan has to be approved, which constitutes the governmental framework for state management for four years. The possibility of a visit by European parliamentarians to Colombia in November would be strategic.

It must include the concrete commitments with the implementation of the peace Agreement, exhort the Colombian government to comply with it, following the approach and approach that was adopted, to guarantee an equal society with women and thus guarantee the achievement of a peace. Peace is the opportunity for society to pay the historical debt to women.



Victoria Sandino Simanca Herrera, senator of the Republic of Colombia

Victoria Sandino begins her speech by pointing out that this moment is very important for Colombia and in particular for those of us who have been directly constructing this whole process. It has cost us more than the war itself, but we will continue to persist. The peace Agreement is the best thing that has happened to Colombia in the last 60 years, also something important for peace in the world. The international community can not afford to ignore this process.

The signing of the peace agreement has turned 20 years. This period was supposed to bring an early implementation, generating confidence in the territories and starting to implement measures there, in those places that were precisely those who suffered the most conflict. This early implementation is fundamentally relies fundamentally on three aspects:

1. The normative adaptation, in order to implement peace. Starting with the National Congress, which had to approve around 34 fundamental standards. Related, for example, with comprehensive agrarian and political reform -which is not the one presently presented by the

Government-, the use of illicit cultivation ... Also a reform to Law 14/48 so that the universe of victims was expanded. Several transformations that the government did not fulfill: Victoria points out that only 12 norms were effective.

2. In addition, from the executive a series of economic policies should be implemented to guarantee peace in the territories. In particular, Victoria points out the need for the implementation of Development Plans with a territorial approach, with a process of discussion with the communities. It had to be carried out in 170 municipalities that had been directly and disproportionately affected by the conflict.
3. And the reincorporation of FARC personnel, women and men who laid down their arms. Sandino points out that these people “fully comply with this process, but we have found more violations in the issue of reincorporation” Effectively, the mechanisms were established through the National Reincorporation Council. The latter includes a Technical Gender Panel, which imposed ex-guerrillas women with a Technical Safety Comiision for the reincorporated personnel. Despite these instruments, the implementation as such has not worked.

For Sandino, one of the main threats is in terms of security of their lives and legal security. “I am talking about the fact that, since the signing of the peace Agreement until today, we have counted more than 80 of our comrades killed. We also have 20 of the companions’ relatives murdered. And 6 ex guerrillas of the FARC disappeared” says Victoria. For the senator, this legal uncertainty lies in the claim that the prosecution and the current government have to put the party leadership in jail, and extradite them.

She points out that the projects have not been launched. The previous government designed a budget that only covered 5,000 ex guerrillas, women and men, when the list goes up to 14,000. “These budgets do not include the recovery of the land; Most of our colleagues have an agricultural vocation, but only one farm has been acquired in the south of the country to carry out these productive projects. So many of our colleagues have left these spaces in which we were because there is nothing to do. There is no land, there is no way to develop these projects, nor has been implemented the offer of academic training that had to be launched at this time” says the member of the FARC political party.

Finally, she focuses on the situation for the almost 2,300 insurgent women who are in the process of reincorporation. Many moved to the camps, in the territorial spaces of reincorporation. There, they established a dialogue and internal discussion, which culminated in an Integral Strategy for the Reincorporation of Women, which was agreed upon by all our associates, and it has five lines of action:

1. Political reincorporation line, seeks to develop processes of Historical Memory and also promotion of women’s political participation, not only in the party, but in the national, territorial, community, etc., to recognize the fundamental role we play women in war, but also in the construction of peace.
2. Economic reincorporation line, seeks to develop and strengthen the support of economic and productive initiatives that contribute to strengthen the economic and cooperative capacity of women ex-guerrillas.

3. Social reincorporation line, with several components: education, health and especially sexual and reproductive health, psychosocial support in this transition from insurgent life to political life, housing, guarantee of social rights, etc.
4. Socio-legal reincorporation line seeks to guarantee the right to defense and the due process in the Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP) if we are so required.
5. Security guarantees line seeks to ensure the protection and safety conditions of women, both in the processes of transition to civil life, and in political participation as political subjects and subjects of rights.

These proposals have been presented to the international community and to the organisms of the Colombian State. Although they have recognized the validity and importance of these strategies, the necessary budgets have not yet been allocated. Now, the General Budget of the Nation is being discussed and the specific budget for the implementation of Peace has not yet been assigned.

Victoria Sandino ends her speech with this call to the international community, to European deputies, to the social movement: “Follow up and accompany this process. Because it is not true that President Duque wants to make simple modifications to the Agreement. Not allocating the required budgets threatens the stable and lasting peace that we so long for”.

2. Women in the Peace Agreement

Clara Murguialday Martínez, CooperAcció

María Vilellas Ariño, Escola de Cultura de Pau - UAB

Montserrat Cervera Rodon, Ca la Dona

Mayerlis Angarita Robles, Narrar para Vivir and Red Nacional de Defensoras



Clara Murguialday Martínez, CooperAcció

The feminist economist and CooperAcció president Clara Murguialday Martínez focuses her intervention on making a comparison between the learning process of the peace process in El Salvador and what it can teach to the Colombian peace process. What did we learn from that El Salvador post-conflict, also strongly supported from abroad?

There are three possible lessons from the 1990s, to show that the current process in Colombia exceeds or improves and, in other cases, repeats some of the shortcomings of what happened in El Salvador.

1. It rescues the fundamental importance of having specific programs to reincorporate women -guerrillas or collaborators- into civil, labor life. This was not done in El Salvador, where the pact was designed and written entirely between men, in masculine. Women were not present, therefore they were not considered in the study programs, land distribution, etc. The only place where women were reintegrated after the war was at home: they returned to the domestic, in some cases even stronger than before the conflict.

2. The importance of a specific, drastic and radical approach, without contemplation, on the sexual violence exercised against women before, during and after the armed conflict. Sexist violence has a relation to social violence: there is a continuum between all these types of violence. In El Salvador, no attention was paid to questioning the violence of men towards women in the Peace process. These violence and the structures that sustain it could sustain criminal violence. After 25 years of the signing of the peace agreements, El Salvador is one of the most dangerous countries in the world. With an enormous political violence, insecurity for the citizenship, violation of Human Rights, femicides, disappearances and kidnappings, etc. There is a permanence of the culture of violence, which existed prior to the war and that it aggravated. Something that was ignored in the Peace Agreements and, therefore, was not addressed later. For Clara, it is necessary to deepen the nexus of the violence that women suffer with the violence established in society, authoritarianism and the culture of war that develops in armed conflicts. For example, the predisposition towards obedience, without questioning, hegemonic masculinity ... Those are practices of the culture of war that sustain violence and if it is not combated, a lasting Peace can not be built. The lesson is being very hard in El Salvador.

3. The peace Agreements in El Salvador did not have a gender approach and this is a great achievement of the Colombian peace process and the struggles of women. But, I do not know to what extent the gender perspective is present to the invisible impacts of war. Not only the visible impacts (destruction, displacement, theft of land ...) but those that occur in the subjectivity and emotionalism of men but, above all, of women. The war, the armed conflicts upset and impact, in a very concrete and sometimes very contradictory, the gender roles, the social experiences of women. The guerrillas women spend years in an environment where relationships are freer, maternity exercises can be more flexible and more recognized, etc. This change in gender roles has a huge impact on the subjectivity of women.

What do they do, for example the 3,200 demobilized guerrilla women in El Salvador, with these challenges, with these pains? How do they process them, they hurt them again? In El Salvador, 60,000 women were collaborators of the guerrillas, socialized politically, preparing food for the guerrillas. How is citizenship constituted once the war ends, when thousands have been socialized in obedience to the commander or commander? How do you explain to them that they are autonomous, free, that they do not have to obey anyone?

Women's and feminist organizations, after the war, make true balances to try to end this learning and socialization of women in war, which has made them feel "a big body." The women had to leave, in large numbers, to shelters in camps in other countries. These women did an exercise of power for three or six years, because there were no men, they were alone with the children. They organized their lives, they felt great, powerful and "empowered". These women returned from the shelters to the community, to build communities, to the houses and, once they returned, they also returned to the roles of marginalization. The peace Agreement was frustrating for them, in spite of being happy and expected: it meant a setback in protagonism.

All this process needs an emotional repair to work the frozen pains for the losses, those ruptures of gender roles not worked, and the most silenced topics when a war ends: sexual violence, maternity,

etc. Women do not want to talk about it, it's very painful. Therefore, if the peace Agreements do not incorporate measures for emotional reparation, these women remain with the pain frozen for decades. "The only ones that have helped them are feminist and women's organizations, who work hard looking for resources from international cooperation, to make self-help groups where they can cry, talk, and heal. These mutual support groups are not the first to receive funding from large NGOs, the European Union, etc., but receive small items, especially after the economic crisis. CooperAcció, the organization that I preside over, focuses precisely on the healing of women, because without them a Peace is not possible. Without the healing of these pains there is no peace possible in any country" explains Clara Murguialday Martínez to finish her speech.



María Vilellas Ariño, Escola de Cultura de Pau – UAB

For María Vilellas Ariño, it is necessary to highlight and recognize the historical legacy of Colombian women in the construction of peace. The Colombian Agreements have received international recognition, not only for ending the armed conflict, but also because it is the first agreement that achieves such a deep gender perspective at international level.

It has raised the bar with respect to the demands of the UN resolution, on which accountability must be demanded of those responsible for its implementation. It is an opportunity for the Colombian government and the international community to comply with the international obligations and commitments acquired within the framework of the UN.

Peace processes with greater participation of women are more sustainable, evidence demonstrated in several comparative studies, explains María. They result in better implementation rates and a longer duration of peace. In addition, the research also indicates that in those agreements in which women are signatories, more social, economic and political reforms are generally included. In the opposite case, there are more measures of withdrawal of troops or of a military nature, and not the reforms necessary to transform society.

Although there were no female signatories at the La Havana table, there were negotiators and an enormous participation of women from civil society. Colombia is not the first agreement that includes the gender approach or the first process that has had structures for the inclusion of women, but it is the most advanced process and has learned from the previous ones: Philippines, for example.

Although the UN demand the inclusion of a gender perspective in the peace Agreements, it is not being complied in most processes. But even in those that include it, most include very vague proposals and their application is not exhaustively addressed. "It is not until 2016, more than ten years after the international community committed to this inclusion before the UN, that we find a case that is truly a peace process in terms of gender equality and recognition of women's and LGBT rights", she says. The involvement of civil society is vital to achieve successful peace Agreements and the peace Agreement of Colombia has far exceeded the directions learned from the international context.

This is the result of alliances between women's organizations and the international community, which lead to demand greater commitment of the European Union with peace in Colombia. It is key that this alliance persists throughout the entire implementation process, if we really want to guarantee the sustainability of peace over time. In addition, it should be remembered that it is an obligation for international institutions, emphasizes María.

The Agreement has other very important potentials. Among many aspects, we could highlight the enormous structure of verification and monitoring compliance with the peace Agreements. Something that can be committed and implied, both the European Union and the European Parliament. It is a verification architecture that has incorporated the gender approach in an unprecedented way.

María highlight examples of women's organizations that, due to their feminist and activist commitment, have followed up on other cases, but not as a mandate included in the peace processes. In Colombia, it is a very novel experience and this is why it is enormously important to support this work. "The parallel monitoring of feminist organizations is also key, because they constitute an independent verification that allows us to contrast the official verification, and the sum of both gives us the extent to which the agreement is being fulfilled," she explains.

Furthermore, at this moment the process is in a state of fragility, so it is important that the international community does not abandon this process.

Vilellas highlights two issues. Firstly, at the moment, the EU is in the process of reviewing the implementation of Resolution 1325. The European External Action Service is leading to a process of revision and renewal of the strategic document, in which organizations and civil society are advocating for more support for women who participate in peace processes. Therefore, give support to Colombian women who participate in the peace procesd id fully aligned with the European international agenda. For this reason, this strategic approach obliges the European Union and the European Parliament to commit to peace in Colombia.

María Vilellas Ariño ends the speech reiterating the call for the commitment of the European Parliament to be concretized with the creation of a group of parliamentary friends. "The accompaniments are guarantees of a lasting and successful peace process, not in terms of interference but of international support. Something that is needed - because the enemies of La Paz are multiple and powerful - in order to build a feminist and gender equality Peace in Colombia".



Montse Cervera Rodon, Ca la Dona

Montse Cervera Rodon begins her intervention wanting to put "a note of optimism", pointing out the impressive strength of the global feminist movement, pacifist, anti-militarist, with the capacity to perpetuate itself in time. "Any step forward against the war and we will vindicate and promote progress", she says.

"Recognition of the women who make this possible is very important. We are half of humanity, we have experiences and expectations, and a capacity for our voice to be heard. The silences and voices of women have given us a new way of understanding what life is, politics, care ... and these are not minor words. They are really the ABC of life. We have the responsibility to incorporate life into politics, so that the lives of people, diverse bodies, women ... are put in the center. It is still something that is far from being achieved.

We have been victims but our identity is not that of victims: we continue to be people that wish to be active survivors. In processes like the one in Colombia, a whole process is needed for this recovery. In addition, this is highlighted in a context in which equality remains a pending issue".

"We have become activists who permanently monitor for Peace, for the life of any human being. Women are the place of security, strength and accompaniment to all these processes, with the strengthening of global networks. Without women, Peace does not go. We have fifteen years to implement these approved measures, but we have already taken the path that this can not happen again and that injustices must be redressed", argues Montse Cervera Rodon.



Mayerlis Angarita Robles, Narrar para Vivir

The organization represented by Mayerlis Angarita Robles, Narrar para Vivir, gathers the voice of 840 survivors from the Montes de María region, and the Network of Women Defenders, more than 140 organizations in our country. Mayerlis is part of the High Instance created by the Peace Agreement on behalf of the four million survivors of our country. During her speech in the European Parliament, this defender of Human Rights wears a veltiao hat, symbol of the women of the Zenú ethnic group of Colombia. "They told me <you have responsibility but we are also with you, not of body but of strength>. Because one alone is not strong, but all together we are powerful", says Mayerlis to start her speech. "With commitment and perseverance, as women who live where neither the wind arrives, we build Peace in our region, in our country."

Mayerlis describes the antecedents of the organization she is part of, Narrar para Vivir. It arises in the context of violence in Montes de María, with 157 massacres and territorial control of all armed actors, legals and illegals: guerrilla, paramilitary, army and the police. "We women were taken as spoils of war. I myself have experienced the differentiated effect of conflict in our lives. Each of the women who survived today has this commitment to build our country. We have been the protagonists in these processes, the true construction companies of peace".

"We, despite all we have experienced, all this violence, we decided to rebuild our territory. We were able to accompany other women to leave that victimized state where the violent actors placed us. In that state where we have no sleep, but fear. We are ourselves, with our methodologies, from the power of the word, with a communal pot in the middle of a "sancocho", where we have begun to heal our pain and reconcile with ourselves, and also with those who, one day, hurt us", shares Mayerlis to explain the work and reason to be of Narrar para Vivir.

In the territories there are the real laboratories of feminine experiences of construction of Peace. We are in the European Parliament today to tell you that we need your support. Reconciliation and

peaceful coexistence have been the result, in Montes de María, of the work and strength that women have. Today this region, with fifteen municipalities, where were lived the most atrocious massacres, is also an example of reconciliation. We have two national Peace prizes. We have more than 400 social organizations, of which 128 are led by women, which have allowed resistance to neo-paramilitarism. To these drug trafficking groups that want Montes de María to return to the state in which they left these territories and that we women transformed. We can not go back. We can not allow ourselves to be taken as spoils of war.

In this region that is 26 hours from Bogota, it is difficult for me to get to speak with a president, it is much more difficult to reach a European Parliament. We have a responsibility and I can not miss the opportunity to highlight how important the Peace Agreement has been for us rural women, who are standing, who eat mud, who feed our children with less than one euro a day. That's what women in the field earn and we are changing that. We are also committed to and protagonists of our process. We are the ones who know how water gets into the house when it's raining. We are there day by day. But we could not have done it alone: without the accompaniment of organizations like SISMA and the great platforms that believed in the women of the territories, empowered us and gave us the floor to be heard.

I also want to emphasize that I am an impact of the resources that you give: these money was not lost, here it has arrived with a strong voice. We have participated in the training spaces. When the capacities that women have are recognized, successful processes are achieved; otherwise, they are doomed to failure. We can not allow our process of implementing this Agreement, which has 122 measures that favor women, to fail. And I also call to say that there is a responsibility not only of the Colombian government, but of all the cooperation and of all those people who are part of the process.

On the issue of rural reform, we see in the implementation how the role of women as head of the family, access to land is highlighted ... We did not wait for it to be given to us, 20 years we had been waiting for land. The women of Narrar para Vivir decided to buy 22 hectares of land. We own that piece of land and that changes our life. In that piece of land, excuse me for excitement, in my country it is very difficult to have a piece of land and few women are owners. It fills me with pride, because it is ours and we buy it for ourselves. But it is not empty: it has light, wells, 105 heads of cattle, 32 calves ... And it is ours, because we have believed in our capacity.

We are only asking you to believe in our capacity. We know you are committed with us already, but we need more. Today we need more, because the moment we are living in our country is serious. There is a series of consecutive murders against leaders and defenders of Human Rights that can not be overlooked.

In this implementation of the Agreement, we need to make the transformation of the inequalities - that have occurred throughout history - real. This transformation should allow us to believe in Development Plans with a Territorial Approach. We have to reach the heart of each one of the citizens who are part of our country, but also abroad, because we have a responsibility. We can not be indifferent. All this work, which is largely due to the women's movement, has to make this Agreement a reality.

Today there is a high risk to our lives. The women leaders and defenders of Human Rights are in a constant anxiety because of the increase in neoparamilitarism, drug trafficking ... In Montes de María, women are making a resistance so that these groups do not have territorial control again. But really there is an anxiety because there is a difference in the way of threatening: it is not the same when a men defender is threatened than when a women defender who has daughters and sons. When they threaten her, they say "we know where you live and where your daughters and sons are studying". That becomes something that nobody can explain. Only we who live it can say it.

I have survived two attacks, one in 2012 and another in 2015, with a firearm. And I had never felt as much anxiety as when they threatened me saying that they knew where my children study. This transforms you day to day ... But we also have the capacity to swallow the tears. Nobody is going to steal our dream. Nobody is going to take away the joy. Because that was not taken away by the violent actors: we were able to maintain our dreams. We want you to dream with us as well as possible. But we need urgent actions.

We ask you not to wait any longer, let us not be indifferent. Every day that passes without the group of friends in the European Parliament complying, so that they can listen to us ... We are the best allies in this struggle and in this construction. That's why I think it's urgent, do not wait to see how President Duque is doing. No. This is now, because they are killing us. We do not want to continue being just numbers. We, women, defenders know the impact on a community when it loses a leader, and we know how our children are left. We are willing to continue fighting, for life itself. But we also want there to be a guarantee that this will not become a reality, that tomorrow our voices will be turned off. I cry when I remember everything we have lived. There are 840 stories of pain and hope, of love and reconciliation.

Wherever I live, where the wind does not even reach, the resources must arrive. To be able to continue advocating, to be able to reach a president but also to continue coming here, to the European Parliament to tell you what is happening.

To highlight a clear message of the importance of strengthening women's organizations and protecting their lives. We have promoted a special program to demilitarize protection. Decree 0845 created this new Protection Program for women leaders and defenders of Human Rights, with comprehensive measures of protection, prevention and guarantees of non-repetition, which go beyond the escorts and the car. We want real guarantees. I have to live with six armed men in order to defend Human Rights in Montes de María. That can not continue to be a reality in our country. This has to change. We have to be less vulnerable, less vulnerable means lower risks. We need to be able to access education, have housing, minimum conditions to carry out our work.

We urge the Government to put it into operation because it is already approved, and it needs budgetary resources. This program gives the key to the integral protection of leaders, women leaders and defenders of Human Rights.

On the other hand, political participation. We are working to reach the spaces where the decisions of our reality are made. Because by the normal ways of democracy is impossible. We have the opportunity in this Agreement to make reality that women are part of this system, from the territories in which the

violence of the conflict was lived, but also in the places where there is hope and we are the protagonists for the reconstruction.

Accessing the Justice of the Integral System, we have been preparing for a year without economic resources to be able to face this system. We can not take the risk that the cases remain in legal impunity or stop the criminal prosecution against the perpetrator. For that we have to be prepared to take our cases: 840 cases that will present reports, including in cases of forced disappearance. For the first time in 24 years I have a DNA test and that is something we can not explain what it means. What it means for a family to hope that the remains of their loved ones can be returned. Twenty-four years ago, when no system, no process had achieved it, today the Peace Agreement gives me one million hope to have these remains.

That's why we are here and we will continue here, showing our voice. And not with tears of weakness, but with emotion for what we have been able to achieve. This has to have an impact beyond the photo, you have to come to the territories and listen to us. And the president has to start implementing this program. Every day that passes without this program being implemented, we are losing an advocate in the country: there are 34 murdered. And I ask myself, I have survived two attacks, could I survive a third? I do not want our voices to turn off. We will continue working and believing that we have the right to Peace. The violent actors won't be able to take away our joy and our capacity to dream, we are able to transform this pain into hope.



3. Petitions to the European Parliament

This session is crucial, at a time when we are celebrating two years of signing the Peace Agreement and a change of government. It is vital that the institutions of the European Union, the European Commission, member states ... continue to monitor the implementation of the Peace Agreement, with an emphasis on institutional changes and the changes that are being proposed to this text. They are not cosmetic modifications, many attempts against the spirit of what was agreed. Many of the changes that are proposed from different Colombian scenarios affect gender measures, especially the rights of women and LGBTI people.

We would also like you to urge the Colombian government to allocate the necessary economic resources to implement the mechanisms designed in the Peace Agreement, especially the mechanisms of gender measures. This is another threat to compliance with the Agreement, if the necessary resources are not allocated. In this allocation of resources, everything related to reincorporation must pay special attention to productive projects for women and men who have laid down their arms so that they have life options.

The important thing about these funds is also their parallelism with the land endowment. It's very important. It is not simply funds for projects, it is also land, because they are people who have an agricultural vocation. Prioritization of resources for the comprehensive strategy of reincorporation of women's FARC, in this architecture with a gender perspective.

It is also very important to continue monitoring the institutions created in the Agreement that are in charge of guaranteeing the transversality of the gender perspective, implementation and verification. This architecture that has been constituted covers important issues such as reincorporation, mechanisms of transitional justice, implementation and verification of the Agreement.

To also request the European Union and its member states to ensure important resources to organize work and thematic gender dialogue scenarios. They must enable the empowerment of women in Colombia to promote Peace. Think about periodic and systematic communication mechanisms between Colombian gender organizations and the EU.

It is important to urge the Colombian government to be more effective in the dismantling of the successor groups of the paramilitaries. This message I think is very clear: paramilitarism in Colombia continues, it does not matter what they are called. The successors of the paramilitaries are one of the great enemies of peace, of the implementation of the Agreement and also of the security of human rights defenders, leaders and leaders. Let us not forget that one of the points of support of the European Union is the technical and economic assistance of the Special Unit of the Office of the Prosecutor responsible for the dismantling of these structures.

We would like the Colombian government to be encouraged to resume negotiations with the National Liberation Army and thus ensure a complete Peace. Until it is possible to bring armed actors such as the ELN to the negotiation table, the violations of Human Rights and the victimization of women, girls, defenders, defenders, etc., will continue. And once these negotiations can be resumed, it is of great

importance to ensure that the necessary measures for the implementation of this negotiation agenda include from the beginning the gender perspective.

It is very important to urge the Colombian government to include in the National Development Plan, which is currently under construction and will be formalized at the beginning of 2019, the commitments with the Peace Agreement. Because that's a way to shield. It is very important to achieve this on the part of the government. How can this be done from the European Parliament? This initiative of the group of friends for the Colombian Peace is already practically a reality, seeing the continuity of the work that many of you –women and men european deputies- have done. As ODHACO we will also be promoting this organization. We believe that you will be able to reorganize the votes and send a clear message to the Colombian Government: the need to include the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.



The Members of Parliament undertook to carry out negotiations with the European Union's Foreign Service, taking advantage of the visit of the President of Colombia to Brussels in the next few days, to insist on the need to comply with the Peace Agreement and on the urgent need to put an end to the murder of Human Rights defenders.

CONFERENCE 'WOMEN, PROTAGONISTS OF PEACE IN COLOMBIA'

(Barcelona, October 18th and 19th, 2018)

THURSDAY OCTOBER 18th

Inauguration of the Conference:

María Montesinos Sánchez-Elvira, Taula Catalana per Colòmbia

Marina Sánchez Cid, CooperAcció

Maritza Buitrago Rave, Plataforma Unitària contra les Violències de Gènere

María Eugenia Blandón, member of the Commission of Colombian Women for the Memory and Reconciliation of the Diaspora

María Montesinos Sánchez Elvira, Taula Catalana per Colòmbia

María Montesinos Sánchez Elvira welcomes the Conference 'Women, Protagonists of Peace in Colombia: Gender approach in the implementation of the Peace Agreement', introducing their co-participants. The three speakers represent entities that are part of Taula Catalana per Colòmbia. On this occasion, she says, the conference is dedicated to the role of women as protagonists in the construction of peace in Colombia and in the world.

For the Taula Catalana per Colòmbia, the Peace Agreements signed between the Colombian State and the FARC in 2016 highlighted the role of women in the prevention of conflicts and the consequence of a stable and lasting Peace. "Women are half of the global population and we suffer differently from violence, from war and its effects. We ask to participate and be heard, since there are fewer and fewer women at the negotiating tables. The Philippines (2014) and Colombia (2016) were the cases in which there were more women in the formal negotiating tables. According to the last yearbook of the Escola de Cultura de Pau, this is falling back in 2017 in the other armed conflicts in force" says María.

The Peace Agreements, as already indicated, included and took into account the gender perspective in each of the negotiation points. Sexual violence as a non-amiable crime was recognized within the Integral System of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Non-Repetition. This, among other actions, makes it possible to demonstrate the differential ways in which the conflict has affected women and continues to affect them.

According to a report of the International Human Rights Office - Acción Colombia (OIDHACO) of 2017, women represented 51% of the victims of forced displacement, 47% of those of homicides and 82% of those of sexual violence, included in the Registry Only Victims. The achievement of the Peace Agreements would not have been possible without the active participation of women, actively contributing long before the start of the dialogues and negotiations. The Subcommittee on Gender, created in 2014 for the Mesa de La Habana, was vital for the inclusion of the demands of experts, defenders, civil society activists, etc. "However, we can not ignore that, after the "NO" in the plebiscite, the last text of the Agreement had lost many of the measures of gender equity incorporated and put at risk the mainstreaming of the gender approach" says María.

For all these reasons, this Conference on Colombia focuses on explaining and recognizing the fundamental role of women as builders and sustainers of Peace, with a special emphasis on the mechanisms and instruments of transitional justice and the construction of peace in the territories.

Maritza Buitrago Rave, Plataforma Unitària contra les Violències de Gènere

Maritza Buitrago Rave begins her speech by thanking the attendance of the attendees, especially the Colombian friends who accompany us and all the people who have made these days possible. She points out that there is a lot of invisibilized and reproductive work behind these working days.

From the Plataforma Unitària contra les Violències de Gènere a firm commitment is made to spaces for dialogue and these working days are very significant spaces to make visible what is happening in Colombia. To explain what is happening in the territories and their inhabitants, and make visible the lie that there is already Peace in Colombia.

"As a Colombian that I am also, I want to make an exercise of historical memory. These working days go from the fights that women make to build Peace and defend our territories. I want to remember the Cacica Gaitana, a very significant woman of the indigenous and decolonial struggles of resistance. In the 16th century Pedro de Añazco, a Spanish colonizer who came to impose his laws and expropriate land and wealth, sent for local leaders to demand vassalage; Gaitana went, and the Spanish men did not understand why a woman came, according to his European machist vision, and asked for a man to come. When Gaitana's son refused to do so, in order not to dishonor his mother, the colonizer ordered him to be burned alive. Faced with that, Gaitana became a great leader and responded with a strong community struggle for a decade. She has become a symbol of resistance. Women have this ancestral past of struggle to protect our land and our people against extractive violence. These seeds of the Gaitana today are growing and in Latin America we have many examples: Berta Cáceres, for example. In these days of gathering, we have very powerful women. It is important to put in value that this fight is historic in our territories: a fight against the racist patriarchal extractive capitalist system. From this present, there is also a future. The people who have witnessed how young people are breaking into other forms of struggle and resistance. With that hope, I would like to open these working days", concludes Maritza Buitrago Rave.

Marina Sánchez Cid, CooperAcció

Marina Sánchez Cid begins her speech by pointing out the importance and relevance of supporting groups of women, LGBTI and feminist movements: this support is key in the construction of Peace, here and there. Peace in Colombia is Peace in the world.

"What is happening now is relevant, especially in a context of general authoritarian drift. Colombia was filled with hope with the Peace Agreements. These generated a lot of happiness and enthusiasm, but now we are at the hardest time to begin to make them reality before the change of government and the implementation of them" argues Marina. Peace, to be lasting, must put on the table what are the causes of the conflict, of the inequalities, of the violence ...

She points out the great responsibility of the people of the global North, not only because of the colonial past, but because today multinationals and economic interests continue to intervene and put a stop to peace in Colombia, or in other spaces. It is therefore of obligatory importance, not only for the civilian population but also for all the Catalan, Spanish and European institutions. It takes a lot of political advocacy and a lot of resources for communities and territories.

"We also want to talk about the necessary signing of the Peace Agreement with the National Liberation Army (ELN), which is at a difficult time. It is very important and I think that it is going to be a very great wealth to meet the women of these working days. Here is the key to knowledge, what we have to do, how we have to support from here. It is important to know that we are going to listen to all these women to think about feminist internationalism, something that is vital to reinforce and recover to build a more just world. Everything that is happening in Colombia speaks a lot about Human Rights, about politics and international responsibility. It is a call to not lose the feminist look, LGTBI, to recover and reinforce it to really support our Colombian partners in the peace construction", ends Marina Sánchez Cid.

María Eugenia Blandón, member of the Commission of Colombian Women for the Memory and Reconciliation of the Diaspora

The Commission wants to pay a tribute to women who come from Colombia. Ten years ago there was also talk about the Peace of women in Colombia. Now the 16th Conference reprimands this topic. Talk about the construction of Peace by women, singular and plural. One of these contributions is the persistence of solidarity and compassion as values that lessen the tentacles of patriarchy.

"The gender approach is already planted, with good seed, without harmfulness, with joy and diversity, so that the land of Peace continues to create a territoriality in which all women can share the harvest in inclusion and equality. We are co-creating a worldview of memory that rescues our experiences and strategies, traversed by the magic, the spiritual, which also crosses the political. This no-place that we are recovering, without shame or fear, to weave a new Colombia. Between us, with you and for all. The loving domestication of the public is evident and our illusion and commitment continues. Welcome peace with the women, a hug to the protagonists", concludes María Eugenia Blandón.



**TABLE 1 - The Peace Agreement with a gender perspective.
How is it being implemented?**

Victoria Sandino Simanca Herrera (videoconference), senator, ex commander of the FARC and negotiator in La Havana

Claudia Mejía Duque, directora of Sisma Mujer

María Villellas Ariño, researcher at the Escola de Cultura Pau (UAB)

Moderator: Isabel Galí Izard, TV3 journalist



Isabel Galí Izard

TV3 journalist Isabel Galí Izard moderates the first table: "I spent four years living in Latin America, two of them in Colombia. Reviewing the journalistic work I did there, I realized how the women who came out in that news have been precursors and deeply active in the promotion of the Agreements. Her denunciation of Gender Violence, the struggle for the recovery of lands, etc. They have been protagonists and also victims of this conflict, but they are and will be especially important for the future. I do self-criticism: feminism is fashionable. But now this work of great women is really behind the transformative impulses. They have built and are building this story. Now we ask: how is the implementation of the Agreements progressing?".



Victoria Sandino Simanca Herrera, senator of the Republic of Colombia

The intervention of Senator Victoria Sandino is done through videoconference. She begins by thanking the solidarity offered to Colombia throughout the Peace process. Special thanks to CooperAcció for the support for the realization of its Master in Equality and Equity in Development that has provided many tools to carry out the work around the construction of Peace in Colombia, specifically in relation to the gender approach.

For her, the gender approach was a great conquest that was achieved with the support of all Colombian women, but also of all the women of the world. This approach is nothing but incorporation, the recognition of women's rights and of sexual, identity, and gender diversity in a Peace Agreement, due to the disproportionate impact they have also suffered in the conflict.

With respect to the implementation, she comments on some ideas from her experience. She has been in the insurgency for twenty-four years and participated for four years at the negotiating table in La Havana. She has also coordinated the Gender Subcommittee, responsible for the intersectional approach. She participated for a year and a half in the Follow-up, Impulse and Verification Commission to the final Agreement. She is currently a senator of the Republic, fruit of the La Havana Agreement.

Victoria focuses on the state of one of the areas of implementation: how does the reincorporation of the members of the FARC develop? "We women, ex-guerrilleras, have organized ourselves in different groups, associations, both in the territorial spaces -which are the places where we have concentrated-, but also in the cities. We have set up the Integral Strategy for the Reincorporation of Women Former Guerrillas. This strategy is based on the legal framework, both the one given by the Peace Agreement and the Colombian laws, and supported by the CEDAW's determinations" she explains. This strategy has six lines:

1. Political reincorporation: to achieve the training of ex-guerrillera women and ensure their participation in national political life, both at the community, territorial and national levels. Process also of formation with the colleagues that have developed tasks of political and community participation, with all the women in the territories.
2. Recovery of historical memory: it has occurred in conflicts that women often participate in war, but when they come face to face with peace, they are excluded there and their experiences no longer exist. For this reason, the ex-guerrilleras want to rescue what their contribution was during the war, but also in the construction of Peace.
3. Economic reincorporation: two big fronts, first share the responsibility for the care economy, so that the care tasks that women usually perform are equitably assumed. As much for the citizenship as for the State, so the creation of community care spaces is proposed. "But also for our colleagues in the territory, so that these activities are not the exclusive competence of women and they take us away from productive work. We have considered a series of economic projects and we want our women to be empowered and have autonomy in the management of resources. This will lead us to emancipation".
4. Social reincorporation: plans for education, housing, health and sexual and reproductive health, among other aspects.
5. Legal security: defense and preparation of aspects that have victimized the majority of the insurgent population, including women. "Our women, ex-guerrillas, mostly joined the war due to acts of violence that they lived in their territories and also in their bodies. We are collecting these facts to present them to the whole system of Peace and Justice created around the Agreement" she says.
6. Prevention of violence: the senator explains that under the insurgency there were "strict laws that in one way or another protected our women". Nowadays these laws are no longer valid, when incorporated into the constitutional norms of the country. Therefore, there is more than 90% of impunity in the territories with regard to violence towards women. This line of action is very important, because there have been acts of violence and aggression by colleagues.

This exercise and strategy of reincorporation is not only for insurgent women, but for the entire community. "With this new government that is not betting on peace and that is not including the necessary budgets, we call the international community. We women continue to fight for this Peace, which seems so elusive, but we will continue betting in an inaudible way", ends Victoria Sandino Simanca Herrera.



Claudia Mejía Duque, director of Sisma Mujer

Claudia Mejía Duque begins her narration by mentioning the Colombians who had to migrate to Spain because of the armed conflict. In particular, those who want to return but feel that the conditions to do so are not yet ready. "To talk about Peace, for the women who are here, means touching their lives, remembering their experiences and contributing a grain of sand to hopes we have today. Because we have them. I will speak from the most absolute optimism and conviction that this hope, despite the obstacles, is possible. We are going to make that moment arrive, so that the Colombian women return despite all the current adversities" she explains.

She talks about a Peace that, almost two years after the signing of the Agreement, is half full, but still has thirteen more years: the time established for the implementation of the peace agreements. Despite all the adversities, the possibility of realizing the promises of the Agreements, have the strength of civil society, national and international organizations, etc.

"Two years ago, in precedent working days, I told you about what we were living. In 2016 we had just passed the plebiscite - the "NO" was imposed on the pre-agreement on the Peace Agreement - and we did not know what would happen to the Peace Agreement. Because in democracy, while this is the best form of government or that we have, the majorities make decisions. The majority, by a narrow margin, made that decision and there were reforms and changes in the text of the Agreements. Especially in the gender perspective. This is a possibility to measure and be able to realize the right to equality. All people living in Colombia have the right to equality and it has been shown that this is not being fulfilled. Guaranteeing this right is an obligation of the State. So this obligation had to be included in the peace agreements", Claudia argues.

The changes from the first to the second Peace Agreement, after the popular referendum in which "NO" came out in the vote, what was lost was from a symbolic point of view. The concrete measures

that lead the equality approach to reality were not changed, but yes how things were named. Thus, the women's movement in all their diversity managed to preserve the more than one hundred measures that, in a concrete way, realize the right to gender equality between women and men.

Once the second agreement was approved and backed by the Congress in the Republic, the implementation process has begun. It is one of the most successful processes in terms of ceasefire and delivery of weapons; this is one of the clearest reasons for hope. However, what has been agreed upon in more than 300 pages must be incorporated into the Colombian regulatory framework: approximately 60% of this incorporation remains. Because political pacts force morally but not bindingly.

What has been done from the movements of women, LGBTI, etc., so that the progress was not lost in the implementation? We have been, very importantly, immersed in this dynamic, in concrete measures. The balance is as follows: at 72.48%, all measures with a gender perspective were incorporated into the Colombian regulatory framework. The norm, although it does not change life, is a sustenance for the transformations.

At the level of realization, there has only been a 17% concretion between development of the law and application for life. Yes, a lot is missing but it has only been a year and a half. We have a long time to achieve progress in the development of gender measures. The greatest normative development was precisely in the means that ensure guarantees for human rights defenders. If the agreement is complied with, it will contribute in an important way to prevent, protect and guarantee the non-repetition of threats and attacks against defenders.

For Claudia, it is necessary to make an anticipated reflection about the threat towards the concrete development of gender perspective measures. The main obstacle is Colombia's major structural problems. For example, she argues that it has been seen in the lack of development and application of measures that combat the illicit use of drugs.

"Colombia can not continue to face the failure of the war as a strategy to solve the illicit use of drugs. Until the world makes a transition to regulation and legislation, a real change in the lives of leaders in our country will not be achieved", she argues.

On the other hand, although progress can be made in gender measures, there comes a point where the structurality of the problems they face, prevent further progress. Specifically, three causal problems:

1. Problem of land concentration, need to reduce the rural-urban gap.
2. Need for policy reform in Colombia and its democracy, something prevented by politicians.
3. International problem of how to deal with the illicit use of drugs.

Without solving these structural problems, no further progress can be made. In front of the land, there are eight concrete measures that will prioritize the access and formalization of women to the land. There is a necessary rural reform, required in the country, so that when it starts to apply, women quickly have greater opportunities. It includes, for example:

- Provide subsidies for women with higher levels of disadvantage.
- Realize the possibility of overcoming women's obstacles in political matters, not only with parity, but with the reproductive and care sphere as an obstacle to political participation.

If the institutional framework does not advance in the resolution of these structural problems, it is impossible for these gender measures to materialize. "The defenders and activists do not have the expertise required in the reform and in each of the fields developed in the Peace Agreements. Not only do we have to improve the capacity to propose concrete gender measures, but also to deepen and immerse ourselves in the study of these applications. The reason why we have advanced in spite of these problems has to do with the fact that, increasingly, we are convinced that we can not leave the institutional imaginary, from its logic of discrimination, the responsibility to solve the problems of the women. If we achieve progress in the rules, we leave less space for the institutional intervention and boycott", she reflects.

Sharing a dilemma that is being found: why give so much emphasis to formal law if it does not change people's lives? "If we had not incorporated it into the text of the Peace Agreement, no possibility of a gender perspective would be achieved. Just because we had this abundant and rich legal reference in terms of gender, we believe that we will be able to make progress in that transition towards concrete changes that change women's lives".

Another big dilemma is this question: with right-wing governments, do we speak or not? It is a very hard debate in the women's movements, beyond the Colombian framework, it is an international situation. From Colombia, women's movements have the need to make progress, but do not want to do it with the government that is in the moment of turn. It is also a debate in the movement for the defense of Human Rights. It is clear that, with the Duque Government, it is the only one to date with which the implementation can be achieved to a greater or lesser degree.

"The debate is what are the strategies to use with this government, because unquestionably there are no other possibilities. Opposition, interlocution, advocacy, social mobilization, etc? This Agreement will not solve all the problems we have, but it is a window of opportunity as we have had before to build more equality and guarantees for the construction of Peace", concludes Claudia Mejía Duque.



María Villellas Ariño, Escola de Cultura de Pau - UAB

María Villellas Ariño shares some ideas and reflections on how to strengthen the implementation of the Peace Agreement from a feminist perspective. Taking into account other examples of armed conflicts and peace processes from which ideas can be taken.

The challenge of implementation is more complex than reaching the signing of the Peace Agreement. After the signing of these, a negotiation process begins. "The signing is not a guarantee that a true peace process will begin, but it is an essential first step: without this, it is impossible to build an inclusive, lasting and transformative Peace. We have some examples, terribly painful, of how an end to a conflict is ended by arms."

Maria points some obstacles including:

- Continuation of violence.
- Lack of political will
- Institutional synergies.
- Ambiguity of the drafted.
- Existence of saboteurs actors of Peace. In all conflicts there are interests that are committed to the war because of the enormous benefits that it entails for certain sectors.

The Colombia Peace Agreement is the first international agreement that includes the gender perspective with this magnitude and strength. There have been other examples, but not so deep and wide its incidence.

Women's rights are becoming increasingly important and, in addition, the Peace processes that include these derive in better contents in the Agreements, higher implementation rates and a longer duration over time. Peace Agreements that include among their signatories women, tend to include structural transformations. In contrary cases, military measures and withdrawal of troops are prioritized, instead of incorporating structural elements.

However, despite all these precedents and international commitments, the majority of signed Peace Agreements continue without having this presence and participation of women. Only 27% of the peace agreements that have been signed since 2000 have reference to women and gender. In addition, they tend to include mere vague references, instead of firm commitments with deep measures for this equality. None had achieved as much specificity as the Agreements signed in La Havana.

When the process of implementing Peace in Colombia begins, this text is counted as an active and essential resource to build a feminist Peace. The detailed, comprehensive Peace Agreements tend to be more successful in their implementation than the vague texts, without measures, adds Maria.

The implementation processes are usually negotiation processes and therefore, having these detailed measures and specific base commitments reduces the margin for renegotiation. The provisions are realizable and enforceable.

Although it is impossible to achieve one hundred percent of what is contained in the Agreement, it generates a clear framework of orientation from the gender perspective, which guarantees the inclusion of the rights of women and of the LGBTI population. Despite this limitation, it is very important to understand that this Peace Agreement is in line with international agreements on women, security and development.

The international resolution 1325 of the UN Security Council establishes that all the actors participating in a Peace Agreement must include measures to involve and take into account local women. Later this mandate was extended and specifically pointed out that measures should be implemented to improve the participation of women, who are in political and economic decision-making, and at the same time to expand the leadership role of women. This is not only relevant for Colombia, but for all international agents participating in this process.

CEDAW is an international treaty binding on all signatory States. The gender approach in the implementation of the Peace Agreement is not only an obligation because it was agreed in La Havana, but also that Colombia, as a signatory state of the CEDAW, is obliged and must account for what it is doing. It is an interesting window to demand this implementation of the Peace Agreements.

Another very important element, according to María Vilellas, for the implementation of the gender approach and the construction of feminist peace, is the strategic alliance between different actors. The

sum of efforts between women's organizations, LGBTI, international actors, etc., is key to its success. It was this essential coalition work that led to the creation of the Gender Subcommittee and that increased the number of women participating in the La Havana negotiations.

Regarding the interesting innovations of the Colombian Peace Agreement, it is highlighted that it provides a very solid and very advanced architecture in terms of verification. This is unprecedented in other peace processes, especially for the gender approach. It has given rise to different institutions: for example, the Commission for Follow-up, Impulse and Verification of the Implementation of the Final Agreement, which includes a special instance for the implementation of the gender approach composed of women from different organizations and territories. In addition, it has a gender adviser who reports directly to the head of the Mission of the UN peace agreements in Colombia. This had been a requirement in other Peace processes: the supervision of other institutions and the reports that have progressively incorporated the gender approach. It includes, then, the international component of accompaniment of the process from a feminist perspective. All this helps to verify that the gender approach is implemented in the process of building Peace.

"When it is said that Peace in Colombia is Peace in the world, this is seen in how other Peace processes are going to feed from here, they will take an example and they will learn from the particular innovations of this case. It is a mobilization of women and LGBTI movements that is free of geostrategic interests, of political pacts ... a verification and monitoring of women so detailed to this implementation without a hidden agenda behind. It's revolutionary," she says.

She gives an alert, however: the Colombia Peace Agreement is extraordinary, but if there is no implementation, there will be no real progress. That is why it is essential that all these monitoring and accountability mechanisms exist.

It highlights the extraordinary capacities of the feminist, women's and LGBTI movements, which have to do with rights of recognition of truth, justice and reparation, the right of displaced persons ... "The war destroys the social fabric of the countries affected by an armed conflict. It is incredible this reparation process in a context of enormous violence like the one lived in Colombia," she says.

However, all this potential and the call for optimism must also be accompanied by a necessary dose of realism and knowing that there are many obstacles and challenges that are making implementation difficult without doubt.

The situation of risk and violence against women human rights defenders is undeniable. The situations and threats that women are facing daily, the new change of government ... opens a period of uncertainty and insecurity for the Peace process and, also, for the rights of women and LGBTI people.

There are also other concrete obstacles, such as the own resistance to the gender approach of the actors involved who are not feminists: a government and a guerrilla. Maria alerts of an active resistance. And at the international level, there is a very worrying situation in terms of women's rights; it is true that feminism has advanced a lot and is booming, but there is at the same time a shift to the conservative patriarchal ultra-right.

In the same way that in the peace negotiations in Havana we had to overcome enormous resistance to women's participation and the gender approach, now the same thing is happening in the implementation.

She points out that another obstacle, very important for the international community, is the lack of resources and concrete budgets for implementation. It needs material conditions so that they can be realized and the international community committed itself in the Security Council of the UN to materialize this Agreement. The lack of implementation is not only a lack of political will, but there are gaps and need for training on what it means to implement measures with a gender focus.

"It is true that the implementation data do not invite exaggerated optimism, but they are also less than the implementation of commitments that do not have a gender focus. These measures have been prioritized without a gender perspective. The existence of a very solid Peace Agreement in terms of gender equality and the insistence of women in a process that began in a totally exclusionary manner and nevertheless achieved an enormous participation of women, is worthy of recognition and follow-up. Since the signing of the Peace Agreements, it is no longer possible to say that we do not know how to build peace processes with a gender perspective. The Agreements of La Havana mark a way forward for the future, for other contexts. What the feminist movement achieved in Colombia marks a before and after", ends María Villellas Ariño.



Question Time

(due to lack of time not all are answered)

- 1. How to avoid building a Peace that is only for men? How are you thinking about the dialogue with the government? Is there an interlocutor behind?**
- 2. What is the position on sexual violence in the transitional justice of the Truth, Coexistence and Non-Repetition Commission?**
- 3. Successful territorial participation in public institutions in this last year and a half?**
- 4. Actions to avoid structural blind spots to overcome these violence that affect Colombian women in different areas?**
- 5. What are the challenges of Colombian women for the implementation of the Peace Agreement?**
- 6. Has intersectionality, ethical, class, north-south division, indigenous women ... been taken into account in the participation of women in the Peace process?**
- 7. What specific measures have been put in place to transform prejudices regarding gender in education or communication?**
- 8. What can we do from abroad?**

María Villellas Ariño

A Peace Agreement can not solve all the problems of a country and, hopefully, can lead to an improvement in some of the reasons why the conflict began. Generating expectations can even be counterproductive. Of course, none of the Peace Agreements signed before have succeeded in overcoming the structural, profound causes of violence and war. It is important to moderate expectations.

Claudia Mejía Duque

This Agreement in many fields makes concrete proposals to solve the causes. Today we are strengthening our capacity to deepen structural aspects, the main obstacle to the effective and efficient implementation of the peace agreements. Aspects that traditionally are not the feminist agenda: our strategy is to deepen these issues of which we are not experts through alliances with organizations that are. This need must be met through multiple strategies and we are doing it.

We believe that the best way to talk to this government - that has not yet put all the cards on the table but starts with a tone that was not expected and that is sticking its head - is definitely the dialogue we have today concentrated around the enforceability of compliance with the Agreements before the international community. Therefore, this exercise of demand before the international community (in the European Parliament, in the Catalan Parliament, etc.). If this government is not interested in the international community, then it will be very difficult to advance in the achievement of the Agreements. The current President began to do some exercises with the international community that stopped them - a workshop that took place in New York, for example, had a response from civil society - and made it go backwards. He no longer interacts with the Colombian migrated community. So we believe that, effectively, this pressure is vital.

An important aspect: the Peace Agreement is powerful in affirmative and differential measures for women victims of sexual violence in the context of the armed conflict. And this Agreement was signed by both parties; surely, both were thinking that it was a strategy to move forward and demonstrate that there was no sexual violence. But we also believe that the fact that they have been approved means that they know that there will be, on the part of organizations and social movements, the experience of publishing and showing the reports that we are building. What will happen there in terms of sexual violence by the two actors is still to be seen, but we believe that what is happening will be repeated: the denial of sexual violence as a crime committed or at least as an accepted crime in the inside of the respective armies.

In La Havana both parties said that whenever sexual violence was presented, it was punished, from their respective perspectives. Our argument then was "if that was the case, they can not prevent what will happen in the Justice, Truth and Reparation Commission: go and explain this."

They could not deny this inclusion because there was already an international regulatory framework that obliged them to include this perspective in the Agreements. What they could have done, and it did not happen, was that the concrete differentiated measures were not accepted. The power of documentation, specifically the Truth Commission, will have a specialized group - the only one in the entire Commission - that will be responsible for clarifying gender violence and sexual violence against women in the context of the armed conflict. No other crime is going to have specialized treatment like that. Given the denial that we have no doubt that will recur as a known response, we will be the organizations and the victims who will have to prove and reveal that this crime occurred.

The conservative sectors are instrumentalizing sexual violence to oppose the peace agreements, arguing that it ensures impunity for sexual violence committed by the FARC, as if the public forces and the army had not committed this crime. The Constitutional Court orders respect and full compliance with the provisions of the Peace Agreement.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 19th

TABLE 2. Transitional justice. What is the role of victim organizations and the feminist and LGBTI movements?

Liza García Reyes, adviser of the Gender Working Group of the Truth Commission, activist of the LGBT movement and representative of CooperAcció in Colombia

Martha Ceballos Vega, Movimiento de Víctimas de Crímenes de Estado - MOVICE

Moderator: Elena Grau Biosca, En Pie de Paz and Group of Women Giulia Adinolfi

Video testimonies about the Truth, Memory and Reconciliation Commission of Colombian Women in Diaspora (London)



Elena Grau Biosca, En Pie de Paz and Group of Women Giulia Adinolfi

Elena Grau Biosca opens the round table on transitional justice by presenting Liza García Reyes and Martha Ceballos Vega. She makes points out introductory notes to the Transitional Justice System included in the peace agreements of Colombia.

This system corresponds to the fifth point of the text and is called "Integral System of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Non-Repetition". Composed of various mechanisms, one judicial and several extrajudicial, which are implemented in a coordinated manner to fight against impunity, recognize and enforce the rights of the victims, guarantee the legal security of the people who participate in this process, etc. In short, it must ensure a transition to a secure and lasting Peace.

1. Commission for the clarification of Truth, Coexistence and Non-Repetition.

Entity that is autonomous, extrajudicial and national. It aims to contribute to the transition from war to peace, especially by guaranteeing the victims' right to the truth. It must allow the clarification of the facts, causes and responsible individuals. Guarantee the recognition of those directly and indirectly responsible, in addition to the acknowledgment by society of the seriousness of the events that occurred. Put the accent on the coexistence in the territories as in the reconstruction of the social framework.

Being an autonomous entity allows itself to listen to the entire Colombian population from all positions. Offer a truth that is a public good, based on civil participation so that citizens feel like their own and not property of the State. With an ethnic, gender, social and territorial focus. It will have three years of mandate from December 2018, to subsequently publish a report documenting the consequences of the armed conflict. Then a committee will follow up on compliance with the recommendations.

2. Special unit for the search of disappeared persons in the framework of the armed conflict.

It has a humanitarian, extrajudicial, transitory and exceptional character. Its objective is to achieve the location and identification of all the disappeared persons in the context and due to the armed conflict. Both for people with life and in cases of death, to locate the remains and deliver them in a dignified manner to families. It is articulated by submitting its reports to the Truth Clarification Commission; but they can not be transferred to justice, although taxpayers may share them to receive special criminal treatment. The Unit will have the support of the FARC political force.

3. Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP).

Judicial component of the Integral System administers the transitional justice system on crimes committed in the context of the armed conflict before December 1, 2016. It will investigate, prosecute and condemn crimes, especially the most serious ones, such as sexual violence and enforced disappearance. -That can not be amnesty-. It will address crimes committed by ex-combatants of the FARC, members of the security forces and other agents of the State, as well as by civilians who directly or indirectly participated in the armed conflict.



Liza García Reyes, CooperAcció

For Liza García Reyes, spaces like these, spaces to weave bridges between the Colombian partners that are "on one side and the other side of the pond", are very important for the construction of Peace and as a consolidation of the actions that we can do from here onwards. She then begins her analysis of the impact of gender and sexuality norms in the lives of lesbians, gays, bisexuals and trans people, and their relationship with the armed conflict, in particular, with a reflection that takes into account what contributions to the System Integral of Truth, Justice, Repair and not Repetition.

During the war context detonated situations that put at risk the bodies and the diverse identities. Many of the people were judged not only because they "were", but because they "seemed" to belong to the LGBT collective. It has been generally called gender-based violence because of gender identity and/or sexual orientation, real and/or perceived.

In the territories where the war took place, people lived under constant suspicion, under the imposition of a single moral order. Although in some cases a specific armed actor was identified as victimizer, the linkage of responsibility between them, the community, the State or the civilian population in general was gradually indicated. At the same time, this contributed to fueling the impunity and the feeling of power of the armed sectors to commit these violence against LGBT people.

Ignorance on the part of the authorities and the complicity of the communities increased the violence against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people in the framework of the armed conflict. This argues the need for continuous work on the clarification of the facts, with an adequate record of sexual orientation and gender identity in the testimonies of victims.

Liza explains the failure of the single registry of victims: a person came to give testimony was forced to mark Man or Woman, or the LGBT box if he belonged to this group. "Where do we put the burden of our victimization and our identity? Are we lesbians or are we women, according to this registration

system? It has not been improved yet and it is not known how many people who did not check this box did belong to the LGBT collective. “Even so, there are 1.818 victims who identified themselves as lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender, and 2.345 victimizing facts were reported. Probably, the same person suffered more from a situation of violence.

Three fundamental principles of the System of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Non-Repetition:

1. Integrity: The different mechanisms are interconnected in a coherent way.
2. Participation: Focus on the importance of participation and the rights of victims.
3. Conditionality: Aimed at non-repetition, clarification of the truth and reparation.

Regarding recommendations from the LGBT movement, Liza begins by pointing out that the recognition of identity self-determination is fundamental. “If a trans person has not made the change in their legal documents, they are revictimized by calling them with the assigned name at birth and with the assigned sex, without recognizing their real identity. There are many people who do not know that in Colombia this legal change can be made at a cost of about 10 euros to the change, without the need for medical documents. But they do know many trans people of the enormous violence they suffer from transphobia. This violence must be borne in mind, for reparation and memory, and also to guarantee non-repetition. In addition, stop revictimizing transgender people, because otherwise it prevents the beginning of the repair of the violent acts experienced.”

Second, exhortation to extend the deadline for inclusion in the Victims Registry. There are many LGBT people who did not feel capable of giving testimony because there were no guarantees of security. Making the visibility of their identity and/or orientation was a risk. In addition, it is requested to give priority to cases of violence due to sexual orientation or gender identity, in order to combat possible impunity.

Third, these cases should be read in the context of a pattern of persecution, expulsion, extermination of the LGBT population.

Fourth, implement comprehensive reparation programs for LGBT victims of the conflict with a transformative approach to the contextual conditions that allowed violence to occur due to prejudice towards sexual orientation and gender identities.

Five, measures for the reconstruction of historical memory as a guarantee of non-repetition, with the direct participation of LGBT victims. The memory can become an instrument of reconciliation and overcoming the structures of exclusion and discrimination, through dialogue and the exchange of stories where importance is given to peripheral voices, violated and made viable.

It is necessary, therefore, the development of an integral reparation, particularly against LGBT victims, as a cultural change: break the connection between the permissiveness of communities and armed actors, which have generated displacement of LGBT people. It is a priority to stop reproducing historical discriminatory violence and address the consequences of these human rights violations,

attacking the roots that fostered this violence. And apply a transformative approach to the causes that allowed violence to be committed by prejudice; if this social transformation does not take place, the victims are forced to survive in the status quo of discrimination, precariousness and denial.

The construction of memory is very important, because if we can not narrate the acts of violence that impede a life worth living, repetition will be generated. There is a huge need to implement this gender approach in Justice. Historical memory is a tool to overcome structures of discrimination and prejudice.

Also comprehensive health cares as a measure of individual reparation and guarantee of Human Rights, because it is a health system particularly harmful to transgender people. It is necessary to take into account the specific needs of trans women and men.

As a guarantee of non-repetition, access to education. Particularly, in Colombia, many transgender children are expelled from their family settings very early. “At 10 or 11, they go to the street, and this prevents them from continuing their studies and their personal and educational development. A vision not only focused on formal studies, but also community and against prejudice” says Liza. In addition, it is necessary to train public servants, in all branches of public power, to have a society more prepared for the recognition of difference and the right to life of all people.

She also proposes strict measures of prevention, investigation and punishment against discriminatory violence. The legislation does not apply, although it does exist. “It is necessary to make real something that was implemented eight years ago, but that will not have any budget in the current government: they are the national public policies that defend the rights and freedoms of LGBT people. This also helps to transform society against the fear of difference, against the gender norms that govern us. Peace without lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans will not be Peace either”.

In the processes of transitional justice it is useful to reflect on how to put into dialogue a variety of truths that will be given. A judicial truth, a historical truth, a reality that connects those two discourses and that allows the emergence of the voices of the lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans victims, and of the leaders who have promoted this process.

“The work of memory in the connections between sexual orientations, gender identities and conflict must give voice to different experiences of victimization; social pacts that make it possible to process differences without violence, which combat the exclusion, marginalization, exploitation and invisibilization of LGBT people. Quoting Judith Butler, the intervention of transitional justice should be placed in the context of life as it is lived, that maximizes the possibility of a livable life and that minimizes the possibility of an unbearable life or, even, social death or literal”, reflects Liza García Reyes to finish.



Martha Ceballos Vega, MOVICE

Martha Ceballos Vega begins her speech by thanking those who continue to embrace the dream of Peace and that another country is possible. "Precisely in Colombia, in the villages, in the territories, we have our women, indigenous women, afros, women in the territories that every day contribute a grain of sand to the construction of our country in Peace. Many faces come to my mind and I wish we could name them all. Yes, there are magical women, those who are in the territories betting on this country" she says.

The Movement of Victims of State Crimes was founded 12 years ago, is in fifteen departments of the country and more than 1.200 organizations. "For me, it has been gratifying to be in MOVICE because it is where I have been best trained and where I have always found shelter" shares Martha.

She comments that he will speak from the particular experience regarding the issue of forced disappearance and in relation to the creation of the Search Unit for missing persons. What has this creation meant in the territories?

In Colombia, the crime of forced displacement has claimed more than 8 million victims and more than 90,000 missing persons. Even the Colombian State has not given official figures. In fact, many families did not have the opportunity to say it and denounce it; now, thanks to this Peace Agreement - which today is at risk with the Duque government - they are beginning to denounce and explain their experiences of violence.

In Nariño there are more than 5,000 people missing. In this department, at the initiative of the families of the disappeared, five years ago, the Departmental Bureau of Work for the Prevention, Assistance and Attention to Victims of Disappearance was created, which has allowed us to look for strategies to find ourselves, make decisions and act. When the Agreement had not been signed, in 2015, they had

the opportunity to begin a diagnosis of possible places where missing persons can be found, jointly between relatives and the institutions that have historical responsibility with the victims of Colombia. Two months ago the diagnosis of three cemeteries in Nariño was finished: Tumaco, Ipiales and Pasto. Nariño is a department, near the border with Ecuador, with a lot of conflict, present and past. MOVICE has the possible location of more than 400 bodies in these three municipalities. They are organizing to achieve public intervention in these cemeteries and that victims have answers. Knowing what happened, that they identify themselves and that the remains are delivered with dignity.

"The search Unit for missing persons for us is a great opportunity, but we see with great concern that the national government has not yet allocated a budget so that it can work in the regions and move. I think that the recruitment of a team in Bogotá has just begun, but we insist that public policies can not be thought without landing them in the territory. It is there where the victims have the information and it is from where they must work, to allow the real participation of the victims in the whole process", she argues.

"The victims are the heart of the Peace Agreements: we have been the ones we have been willing to forgive without forgetting. We continue fighting against impunity. We see that the peace agreements and the integral system of Truth represent the greatest opportunity to solve questions that we have carried out for 60 years, as victims. Because we do not need only figures and statistics, which by themselves do not tell us anything, but understand what happened and that from the assumed responsibilities are adopted measures of non-repetition. The Integral System must be respected by the national government and provide all the guarantees, so that the victims participate directly in it" defends this defender of Human Rights.

Telling the experience of what is done in Nariño also portrays what happens in many parts of Colombia. How communities resist and act, how they document their cases. It serves to deliver it to the Unit and also to be taken to the Truth Commission, in parallel.

The Democratic Center and the Conservative Party are trying to propose legislation that prevents access to official archives; this goes against the Integral System, because it will not be possible to clarify what has happened. Due to its extrajudicial nature, its access to these documents - which is included in the Agreements - needs to be protected. MOVICE rejects and denounces this attack on the Peace Agreement, by the government coalition.

Also, MOVICE launches a series of recommendations. The victims have made the greatest contribution to Peace and do not resign themselves to the policies that seek to extend the war. Since the 90s, 70% of the victims of the armed conflict have been produced, according to the National Single Victims Registry. And contrary to having an acceptance of this reality, the governments of that moment refused to accept the existence of these victims and violence. These same political parties have refused to recognize the right to political participation by sinking the circumscriptions of Paz, which gave voice to the victims, in special spaces. "Today the victims are convinced that Colombia must move towards reconciliation with guarantees of law and Peace must be a State policy" Martha defends.

For MOVICE, the dialogue with the National Liberation Army (ELN), with the affected communities and prevent the murder of social leaders and defenders of Human Rights to continue. It is vital not to be silent about what is happening, in the national and international context.

“Having to leave our countries because of the situation that is happening is very difficult. We can not allow this to continue happening. Still, I believe that today we are another country, compared with fifteen or twenty years ago. We are insisting on the possibility of embracing Peace, which not only means the silence of the rifles. May Peace come with water, education, respect for our natural resources, for our rivers and indigenous cultures...” “concludes Martha Ceballos Vega, who has currently had to leave Colombia because her life was at risk.

Question Time

- 1. What actions has the LGBTI movement been carrying out to counter the imaginary that the "gender ideology" is behind the agreements with the FARC?**
- 2. What alliances have the LGBTI movement had within the social movements, given that the fear of the different and gender roles and patriarchy are also present there (in the social movements)?**
- 3. What does the creation of a Ministry of the Family in Colombia it mean for the LGBTI movement?**

Liza García Reyes

There is a precedent in the 2016 anti-LGBT demonstrations, thousands of people expressing their hatred towards us. It was a very important social movement that allowed us, at last, to make present and visible the impact of hatred. This led to an articulation between some LGBT and feminist organizations. This is historic, things that happen at such painful times. Although many feminists are aware of the LGBT struggle, and many lesbians have raised and supported the feminist movement, the discourse is difficult. But in 2016 this painful fact allowed the construction of impressive bridges between feminists, closely related to the implementation of the gender approach in the Agreements and their defense. There was shelter for the LGBT movement, too. But this articulation had already begun when the negotiations of the peace agreements began.

There is a platform, LGBT for Peace, and private organizations such as Colombia Diversa, Caribe Afirmativo, Fundación Santamaría, who had been working for peace for a long time, with active participation in the process and links with union movements, feminists, etc. It has been very important the support of international cooperation, such as Sweden, even the US at other times - although now with the Trump government this seems unreal.

At this moment, the movement has bridges built with other social movements that allow the circulation of discourse, although there is still no great understanding of the LGBT.

For example, I do not mention the “I” of intersexuality because there is almost no intersexual movement in Colombia. And in the context of the armed conflict it is important to mark and name the abbreviations: lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans, because we are not a package, but suffer differentiated violence.

Regarding the Ministry of the Family, I believe that its creation has a tenacious and terrible impact. It is designed directly to talk about THE FAMILY, traditional nuclear capitalist social structure. This conception would not only have a big impact for us because it would be a symbolic and indirect attack on our existence, but it would also have a very serious impact on Colombian society.

Because in Colombian society, most families are not THAT FAMILY, but they are made up of mothers, heads of families, extended families, social families, as in the case of trans women who are not recognized as family.

Although there are other more dangerous issues that put at risk, for example, the right and public good of the truth in the peace agreements. For now the Ministry of the Family is a fulfillment for the fundamentalist vote, a conservative measure, and we hope that it will sink into the development of the Government Plan. But even if it becomes a reality we will be there. And we will not be alone, because it threatens the entire population.

4. **What are MOVICE proposals to accompany the victims of enforced disappearance?**
5. **How are the movements of victims in Colombia articulated?**
6. **How can we help from Barcelona?**
7. **What is the participation of Afro-descendant communities of Nariño in the search for disappearances? Does the ethnic factor imply a different dynamic?**

Martha Ceballos Vega

MOVICE has a strategy against enforced disappearance, accompanies the victims and has taken to the Inter-American Court the protection of specific sites where graves or human remains can be found. This work is vital. We are more than 200 organizations.

In Colombia there are many grassroots organizations, small processes and large platforms. In Nariño there are 165, in the country there will be many more. There is a National Table of participation and departmental and municipal tables. They discuss public policy, make decisions, etc.

Colombia is a supremely diverse country, so this diversity must be taken into account. In Nariño we have worked with the Awá people, who have had and made a lot of resistance. We train them in forensic techniques so that where institutions can not enter they can recover bodies. There the conflict persists a lot and they have to deliver the bodies in intermediate, more secure spaces. The Search Unit has met occasionally with MOVICE and with them.

The Search Unit is paying special attention to the ethnic and territorial approach. For example, in Tumaco and the peaceful area of Nariño, there are two organizational processes that have led to the diagnosis of cemeteries. Advocacy strategies and memory processes allow us to heal, remember and aim to find our missing persons.

From Barcelona they are already helping us. Precisely the Government of Catalonia gave us a grant that has allowed us to carry out four jobs in the territory, with construction of local search plans.

Something that implies many things: days of searching, knowing who the missing persons are, genetic tests, etc.

8. **Has the displacement of the LGBTI community led you to migrate abroad? Where and how can we support?**
9. **The NO to the peace process and the use of the "gender ideology" was disconcerting. What kind of answers were there?**
10. **How do you value the concept of sweetening the word when you tell about the war and the process of armed conflict? Transform the words that foment hatred, resentment, etc. towards other feelings closer to Peace.**

Liza García Reyes

There are many cases of displacement and forced migration due to sexual orientation and gender identity. I remember a trans man, in a town two hours from Bogotá, who migrated because at that time he still had a female identity and suffered a lot of persecution with his partner. Both women -at that time- had to flee, it was in the late 90's. A heartbreaking case, the only way to guarantee their lives was to leave the country because they were then identified and close to be killed. If an analysis of the conflict is made, from a socio-structural point of view, it has to do not only with the direct action of the armed but with the impossibility of having livable lives, that the context does not allow you to be who you are, to love who you want or build joint lives.

Many trans women migrated to France, especially when they were persecuted for sex work, but then migrated to Italy and then to Spain. All were victimized by the armed conflict in one way or another.

How to support? The main way, from the political point of view, is the enforceability of governments to take responsibility and comply with the 0.7% budget allocated to international cooperation. To assume historical responsibility. And demand that we be one of the focuses of this cooperation, aimed at the empowerment of civil society. From a human form, it is the construction of networks of affection. We are all here because it moves us "the belly", the entrails, how we say in Colombia. Migration is a very difficult thing, very hard, a very complex process, surely those who have migrated to other countries can understand it, and can not imagine how hard and difficult it is to build networks of affection and welcome in the host countries. How do we build these networks of affection so that we all have a prettier world?

How to deal with prejudices? The transformation from the everyday is the first step. The articulation with other social movements was key, in such a conjunctural moment. Using fear to make everything come together against NO, there is a lot of analysis about that. For example "Make and break the gender ideology" (National University of Colombia, 2017), shows how this was used to launch new fundamentalist figures: how this feeling of fear of the different was used

to bring together emotionalities around disagreements to the process of Peace and that a whole series of lies was generated, as the head of the NO campaign publicly acknowledged. More the question of resistance to social transformation, recognition of the existence of the life of lesbians, gays, bisexuals and trans.

Faced with the subject of sweetening the word, as I come from a country at war, I do not consider war in our speech. Maybe people listen to us with a very warlike speech because we grew up in it. However, I am convinced that we have to build more loving languages, sweeter and more human, language as a human species is where we build our world. So everything we talk about is what we can inhabit.

11. How have LGBT ex-combatant women participated in claiming their rights and in transitional justice processes?

Liza García Reyes

I believe that the FARC, in particular, have given themselves permission to reflect on this within their movement. But now, not before. I do not consider that it was a guerrilla group that recognized the possibility of non-hegemonic sexual orientations and gender identities. But now this permission has been given and it is a speech that they promote. For me it was very exciting to see that in the LGBT Citizenship March, the delegation of the FARC political party was accompanying it. First in the concentration where trans women are always located and then in the general march. This was a very important symbolic message, they decided to be visible in the middle of this, it was the only visible party that arrived with them and with them. This process of peace and transition has also allowed former combatants to feel with freedom and the possibility of exploring their identities and orientations. I think it has been a product of the Peace process itself.

12. What can we do from civil society to the risk of the peace agreements?

13. Mental health discrimination due to the effects and violence of the armed conflict: is it a new important actor in the peace processes in Colombia?

Martha Ceballos Vega

Civil society can do many things and this process is good news for the world, not only for Colombia. We need the whole society, with political management and communications that demand compliance without modifications, with the necessary economic resources and the effective participation of the victims. Accompany us, continue helping us to dream.

Liza García Reyes

I consider the enforceability of their governments to generate pronouncements on the situation of the Peace process and the implementation of the Agreements. We need to create many networks in this world of global citizenship, to consider that what happens somewhere on the globe also impacts us.

The war in Colombia has a direct impact on global lives, with the huge number of women who now support life in the West and who are relatives of those who lived through the war there. The emotional impact of this is enormous. They are the ones that sustain the economy of the global North. We have to work together with a global commitment that leaves North-South hegemonies and builds these bridges in a different way.

Faced with the issue of mental health, the truth is that I never formulated it. So I appreciate this question because it is a seed for reflection. It is not that I have not thought about it, as we say in Colombia "we are damaged". That's why we make so much joke, that's why we use acid humor, why but how do we survive? If we do not laugh, we do not get out of bed, in front of everything we see and live around us. Yes I have thought about the war, its impacts, the absence of State and its responsibility ... but until now, not even the people who have been affected and who have different capacities do not have an acknowledgment of the State, they are invisible. There is a huge challenge, all three instances of transitional justice have psychosocial work teams, thinking about how the process and development of the work will be. It has been thought, then, but perhaps it has not been given the importance it has.

Martha Ceballos Vega

They can not discriminate against us, because the issue of mental health has not been treated as a priority. I am sure that we are affected psychosocially, the victims and social organizations. Despite the fact that psychosocial guarantees are registered within the framework of the law, the State has not taken care of it or provided it with resources.

Liza García Reyes

The State has ignored it, but the organizations have taken care of it, the social movements and the feminists. One of the work centers is psychosocial and psycho-emotional recovery for civil society and from civil society. It also obeys an intention to deal with situations that are complex and that go through the lives of people.

14. Manipulation of information and media. Your work is not very honest, if we do not attack this big part of the problem, we will continue with the problem. There is manipulation and bad information.

- 15. Here we must make visible and point out the responsibility of the transnational corporations, of Spanish and Catalan capital, that have responsibility in the matter of Human Rights. A colonial face that we have in our territories and that should be noted.**
- 16. Since Nariño is a territory with many armed actors and drug trafficking still, I wanted to know if there are still forced disappearances. And also to know if there is a new phenomenon of Venezuelan women who in the area of Nariño were being disappeared.**
- 17. Work to do, make visible the community radios that are an alternative and a local communication, support them to be a source of information to spread what is happening in territories of violation of Human Rights.**
- 18. Have you noticed the intervention of the Catalan delegate in the peace talks?**

Martha Ceballos Vega

For the question about Nariño, obviously the humanitarian context in the area is very serious. In the last time, due to lack of presence of the State but above all due to lack of compliance with the Agreement. There are many territories left by the FARC that have been occupied by criminal gangs and new groups. The hectares of coca currently sown in the department of Nariño are high; this enables multiple violence to happen. For example, enforced disappearances remain in force. It has not stopped, every month we have reports of missing persons. Also of Venezuelan women, disappearances in the territory.

Liza García Reyes

Regarding the media, how do we convert them into tools of social transformation? For example, these working days are being broadcast in streaming. If there are people listening to us, this means that we are reaching people who could not come but had an interest. Audre Lorde said, we can not defeat the master with the tools of the master. I think that is the strategy, on the contrary. In this historical moment, our strategy is to defeat the systems in the framework of exploding their tools from within.

Faced with the presence of the UN rapporteur in Colombia, we can see actions and interest, but it is still an international bureaucracy. We all know what the scope of the bureaucracy is. It is true that this international assistance helps, we have more impact, but of course still more is expected from this type of instances.

I am the representative of CooperAcció in Colombia, so from Barcelona they are doing things. I am the proof that from Catalonia there is a very important work to see. We are having alliances from

many sides. Civil society and organizations have a very important role in the Peace process. For example, the Catalan Taula per Colòmbia has denounced the presence of Catalan companies in the Buenaventura region and the impact they are having on the population. Organizationally and as associations, they have historically accompanied us and continue to accompany us. Weaving these bridges is very important.



MESA 3. Peacebuilding women in the territories. What are the challenges?

María Cristina Obregón Carrillo, Organización Femenina Popular (OFP) from Magdalena Medio

Mayerlis Angarita Robles, director of Narrar para Vivir from Montes de María

Moderator: María del Rosario Vásquez Sepúlveda, Collective of Refugee, Exiled and Migrated Women



María del Rosario Vásquez Sepúlveda, Collective of Refugee, Exiled and Migrated Women

"I am part of the Collective and it has been ten years that, as a result of my feminist work and defender of Human Rights, I am part of this invisible territory: of that huge and dispersed nation that Colombians and Colombians are in exile. This table smells of mountain, arepas, wood, has the skin of all colors and all accents are heard, in this table are our deepest roots and a fundamental part of memory. To speak of the territory is not only to speak of the possession of the land, but of the scenario where the lives of millions of Colombians live. Martha Ceballos Vega helped us to understand it a bit, but in a country where the exercise of power is centralist and patriarchal, it is in the territories where the impact of the war has been felt in all harshness, but also where women in a tireless struggle for recovery and memory recover the future and build it.

Resilience back a daily practice and what it means to weave community. She has felt and feels in his own being, and of her family, the price that is paid to those who plant themselves with dignity in front of those who think they are masters of life and of the earth. She says she has a microphone in her voice, but I think she has such a great strength because it is the voice of many and many. With this, I give way to Mayerlis Angarita Robles, who starts the last table", says María del Rosario Vásquez Sepúlveda.



Mayerlis Angarita Robles, directora de Narrar para Vivir de Montes de María

Mayerlis Angarita Robles explains that she comes to advocate and bring the message of many of the women of Montes de María. They value the effort that is made to empower women in territories where the wind does not even reach, much less the national government. Narrar para Vivir was born in 2000 and has had to assume functions to accompany and empower survivors of the conflict. In the territory they call me The Little Giant, Claudia Mejía gave me this name, I am a giant because I am surrounded by 840 women who are powerful, beautiful, valuable, and as in each of their family there is always someone else who cries, fights, who does not like this, but that is how Colombian families are, diverse and different. That's how we women are all over the world" Mayerlis explains.

"To narrate was about surviving, because they were killing us." Narrating to Live is created because it was a necessity and because it was a debt to women to create their own space. Use the cooking of a stew to listen to stories and unite, cry, listen to us.

For Mayerlis, seeing what has been achieved, filling with emotion is inevitable because they are 18 years of resistance. "Each one of them and their stories make us strong, but these stories are also the ones that can explain why women are builders of Peace. We developed in a context in which the armed actors, who continue there, took our bodies as war booty. We decided to draw strength from the heart and decided to take action so that our life projects could be reconstructed - nobody was going to do it for us - the State was not doing anything. We started it from that strength of the word, of reconciliation and of healing. Reconciliation with ourselves, too. Particularly, as a woman, before this process that helped me to understand the rights, I lived very resentful: for the disappearance of my mother, for what they did to me ... Talking about this gives us strength and takes the pain away. I have grown enormously and I know what it is to be a political subject, and I have not been able to remove all this armed actors. We help other women to get out of this victimizing state, to forgive ourselves, for that feeling of guilt. Those who should not touch us were them, the violent ones, it was not our fault.

I cry here, because I can afford it, there I have to be strong and I can not show my tears. Because there if they saw me cry, they would see me weak. Being a builder of Peace is not a chance, it is a decision: we decided to be builders of Peace. I had the opportunity to take a gun and join the paramilitaries, to "work" as they say. What kind of work is that, to use violence?

We have heard stories that should never have happened, but we have also been able to tell and deliver our pain, our heart, for the Peace of Colombia. The survivors of our country have been the direct protagonists of this Agreement today. We were able to go to La Havana and say that we need the conflict to end, that we need 12,000 people to lay down their arms, if we have to get rid of our pain we will do it and if everything has to be left to the justices, we will do it.

For us, the implementation of the Peace Agreements in the territories is very important. It legitimizes our fight. From the year 2000 we have resisted all the attacks of the armed legal and illegal actors, and 57 cases against our organization were by the state army; this struggle is strengthened with the Peace Agreement. We must delegitimize violence. That is the fear that the armed sectors of neo-paramilitarism have, a fear to delegitimization. It is due to the increase in violence and murders, because they know that the actions of women and especially survivors are delegitimizing violence. In a patriarchal context, let us be the women who are raising their voices, the strategy is misplaced. But now the violence and the threats have changed: now they know where we live, our children, our families. And it is not the same to threaten a man defender as a woman defender; we have also decided to persevere and keep fighting. In 2015, after the second attack, I said "right now they can kill me, but now all women have these ideals." It is a strategy of collective resistance, not individual. Together we are powerful and we know the power we have. The ideas are like the flu, they become contagious and they mutate, they go far beyond where they came from.

We saw women who had never been with the government, talking to the government to say how they want political participation, health, territorial reform... Now they need to put the money to make it real. Because this government is blurring, in substance, the peace agreements.

In Narrar para Vivir we are 6,000 people if we add the husbands and daughters and son of the 840 women. We get requests from many territories, where we will arrive, but we lack money and we need to shield diets, lodging, transportation, to reach those territories. Also to guarantee the protection of the women we empower.

Which role have we obtained from the territories: we have managed to get there where only the big platforms of Bogotá arrived. It's a personal achievement for us, we're finally in the big leagues. But we are really the ones who are seeing the paramilitaries growing every day, we were able to confront with the word the FARC, the paramilitaries, with the strategy of hiding in the courtyards with a pot of sancocho we talked in plain sight while asking truth and justice.

It is an agreement that is not only for the FARC, it is for the peasant population and fundamentally for women, it reaffirms our struggles in the territories. Narrar para Vivir we were in negotiations in La Havana, to build the country from the Gender Subcommittee. The women who come to Narrar do not know how to read or write, they learn and they empower themselves. We have a 70-year-old woman,

Margarita, who has learned to read and is taking her baccalaureate. For us, in territories, taking out the baccalaureate is a huge achievement. In my case, learning law and licensing is a huge achievement, that the paramilitary did not kill me will not kill my joy of having this card in my hand (laughs).

First the self-esteem: we are great and we are beautiful inside. We have the first female territory of Paz. This is our territory, it is armored, with the cooperation of cooperation, because we had many threats and many aggressions. Now the cooperation has to come back, because we are still alone and we are still threatened. The presence there is very important, because they know that if they mess with us, the world will know.

It is important to protect the implementation of the Agreements, the life of the defenders of Human Rights is fundamental to protect it. Strengthening the gender issue is strengthening the Peace Agreements. We must strengthen the empowerment of women in the territories and in each of the places where they are, because strengthening our leadership is strengthening the peace of the world. The Peace of Colombia can not be from this territory: if Colombia fails, the world would fail too. Peace belongs to all of us and is a universal right. I invite all and all to defend Peace”, concludes Mayerlis Angarita Robles.



María Cristina Obregón Carrillo, Organización Femenina Popular (OFP) from Magdalena Medio

María Cristina Obregón Carrillo comes on behalf of the Organización Femenina Popular (OFP), which has been working in the Magdalena Medio region for 46 years. 1,500 women are part of this process. It is an oil region, where resources such as gold, rivers, are supremely important for its inhabitants and also, unfortunately, for investors interested in the accumulation of capital. The OFP has a practice and a definition of being in its construction process, a concept built over time: popular feminist women, understanding the popular from the logic of classes.

To talk about how the women of the OFP build Peace in the territories, the first thing was to ask ourselves how we see the Peace Agreements. "We have a particular look, it's like a chicha, a drink made

of corn inherited from our ancestors, which is made in a moya, and which product of colonization was repressed and changed by beer, but which nevertheless still many communities and indigenous families we resist and continue preparing it. It is a liquor drink. When it is at its best to be consumed, the moya is uncovered, which is a clay pot: at the top it is quiet, but at the bottom it is effervescent. This is how we perceive the Peace Agreements in the territory.

Many, inside and outside our country, see the peace agreements as that part of the top: what has been achieved, is calm. But if we submerge and live in the territories, we see that the Agreements, although they were a great advance to reduce the armed presence, reduce around 12,000 people with weapons in hand, we can also say that these Agreements are lacking in the territories", she explain.

Not only in terms of recognizing that a Peace Agreement is a moment of transformation of a culture in a country. This, for Cristina, was not possible to think and the country did not manage to recognize that this signature should be that moment in which the population could think about the new country. And it was not recognized because whoever had the dominance was always the Colombian government; They were not even the FARC. Well, the Agreement has results that favor a party, not the whole of society.

This is how in the region of the OFP, where historically the armed conflict has existed, there are today paramilitary groups exercising political, economic and military control. Likewise, the whole number of social conflicts that have been the reason for the development of the armed conflict have not been resolved or will not be resolved, because the Agreements are not designed to do so. And they are the foundation of the conflict. Of course, there is no budgetary provision to solve the structural causes and social problems. "We have, then, 12,000 less armed men, but we have not solved the problem" says Cristina.

On the other hand, she points out that there is no collective conscience: it could be seen in the national consultation, that Peace was necessary. A part of the population opted for war and not Peace. "We do not know how to explain it, it bothers us, but that is the conservative, repressive policy of the Colombian right. It is not interested in different relationships of human beings that, even having different views, can solve it through dialogue".

The Peace Agreements did not pick up what is fundamental in the territories and what has been collected, has not had the political will to implement it. These problems have to do with who was agreed: it is not complying with this armed group, something that is a great concern in the territory. 12,000 people who accepted to go to specific territorial areas to make their transition to civil life, and also have also asked for forgiveness for the crimes committed, their needs and guarantees are not being met. That they re-arm themselves, that they desist, that they get tired, is a great concern. Waiting for compliance, men and women who had been promised a series of guarantees, that even in terms of justice have not been fulfilled. For Cristina Obregón, this is a great uncertainty and concern that adds to the presence of the paramilitary groups in the territory: if the armed conflict resumes, the violence will return. Therefore, the insistence that the agreement be fulfilled, to at least reduce the risk.

The second thing is that women in the territories, where the FARC no longer are and who are being taken over by new armed groups - part of the paramilitary process - are very concerned about the possibility of life there. By taking over the territory, evictions are being carried out. The land there is supremely rich, and it hurts us, because the subsoil does not belong to the citizenship. The displacement by interests of appropriation of these natural resources: oil, coal, rivers, gold... are reasons for expulsion of the communities of the Magdalena Medio region.

"Women, every day, we have many challenges. The first to stay in the territory, as Mayerlis Angarita says, women do not want to leave, we fight to be able to sow, to prevent them from raising our value to the land and force us to leave, so that they do not extract ... From this point of seen, the participation in the Peace Agreement - which was a lot, because we moved a lot across the country, across all regions - was a monologue, not a dialogue. Civil society could not dialogue: it said everything it thought - in a very exhausting exercise for those who made this compilation process, the National University of Colombia - but it had no answers. We could not design, there was no debate about the type of productive development, about guarantees, etc.

It's a challenge: How do women think about participation when there are experiences of solutions to the armed conflict? Participation must allow dialogue between all of them, no matter what they think differently. But in Colombia an agreement was made and it was built with a new way of being: those who agree with Peace and those who do not. Now there are two more versions of who we are, that add to the identities that already existed.

It is also an incomplete post-conflict process, because there is still an insurgent organization and other armed groups with whom it is necessary to talk and agree on a new scenario for Peace. And at this moment we feel that the current Government has no will to do so. There, solidarity and international effort are very important. But it is important to know that Peace is not defined by the government, but by the citizens, men and women who want to live in Peace. "We want a negotiation that concludes in an idea of community welfare. But also, reduce the use of weapons in the conflict. We do not want the dispute to include weapons to resolve the conflict. There has been, unfortunately, a great complicity of certain sectors to the misinformation of our country. How a fundamental right to diversity was used to terrorize citizens, how they used a lot of lies to make people vote against Peace and in favor of war. This someone allowed it. When I slander in my country, minimum has a criminal penalty, but here there was not. There was exercise of state complicity with the lie," says Cristina.

Another important thing of the Agreements, which has to do with territories like the Magdalena Medio region where there was a lot of armed conflict and that still exists, is that the Territorial Development Plans for Peace are not a decision for the country. A national agreement has to be for all territories: it turns out that it was not so. "In our country there are a thousand-and-a-billion municipalities, but only 30% managed to be included as localities in which the Development Plans could be implemented with a territorial approach. In the OFP we only have one municipality included in the Plans. It is a great void and a deception: the Agreement is very good in terms of the rights of women but it is not for everyone, it is only for some" she complains.

The corruption that exists in Colombia, on the part of the elites and the government, is enormous and erodes the resources of the welfare budget. This affects the imaginary of citizenship for a real Peace. Censorship between societies is important because we can not accept that corruption becomes an element and a reason for war.

These considerations mentioned have generated a series of disputes: suicide due to lack of employment and guarantees of life in the territory, for the usurpation of land, discouragement of peasant production, because corruption has taken budgets for energy investment, for the new occupation of the territory by the paramilitaries as a real and palpable threat ...

"It is one of the challenges we have, because we have done it before, but in legal terms paramilitarism does not exist and for the government it does not exist either. So this is a huge obstacle", she explains. Still, there are coincidences with optimism, which is not based on what the government has done but on what we have managed to do as citizens and as social organizations. A country that begins to vote and decide outside of party logic or terror. "We women have been experts in that: we coordinate, we are mobilized, we denounce ... Now we must continue to insist that Peace be Peace, with the fight for well-being and for everything that means a life free of violence for the women. We dream of making a giant mobilization next year, to tell the country and the world, that women are builders of Peace, we will make all the noise that we make when we are convinced of something," ends María Cristina Obregón Carrillo.



Question Time

- 1. How to avoid this progressive dismantling in the special system of Truth, Justice and Reparation? The victims a while ago we said, although we do not have justice at least that we have truth. This is now threatened.**
- 2. What instruments should women use to stop the combination of religion and politics that we see in the territories and that harms us so much?**

Mayerlis Angarita Robles

The only option is to mobilize, the current president is terrified by it. We as survivors gave in a lot because they threw those responsible but did not take them to jail. Recognize that all actors, including the FARC, hurt; the ideals were lost, the guerrilla of the 60s is not the same now. We do not have a grudge or hate because we have opened our hearts to not hurt ourselves, but we will not deny reality. What we know how to do is mobilize and we have the capacity to paralyze the country and the world, what happens is that we have to agree on what day and at what time.

María Cristina Obregón Carrillo

Although we have different views on Peace, we are women who have historical reasons to mobilize and articulate together, because that is how we are stronger. This feminism must also be constructed with clear definitions, with some things that are non-negotiable: the struggle against machism, recognizing the classism that oppresses and represses; a popular feminism to be for all women; that has to be emancipatory and transforming. If we have some basic elements of how we define that feminism, we can find many women, because in all latitudes we have many reasons for struggle because we are oppressed.

The issue of religion and power, of the churches, is a real problem. The churches that were assembled from the paramilitaries in Colombia, giants and hundreds of churches that appeared overnight in the popular regions, that oppress women, impose their opinion, that they are demonized when they do not vote. paramilitary and democratic center option. They are churches as a place of indoctrination, which have been part of that integral measure that the extreme right has developed in Colombia. It is a way of political control and decision, in particular of women.

Mayerlis Angarita Robles

I am convinced that if women are empowered we can decide and analyze between religion and politics, I belong to a strong Christian church, but I know what my rights are and what my faith is. The quality of empowerment that I have allows me to differentiate them. The manipulation of faith and religion, as we confuse everything with politics, I think that is why it is manipulated.

There are men and women who drive that manipulation between faith and religion. Who has the knowledge, has the power, and do not want to give it to women, but we will appropriate it.

3. How was machism lived before the arrival of the armed groups and if this gender stereotype became stronger with the conflict?

Mayerlis Angarita Robles

I come from a region that is Caribbean, coast, where men are characterized by their strong voice and by not working. We have always lived in a patriarchal culture and this pattern is repeated in families. We have to change this stereotype, talk about new masculinities. In the house is where society is built and that is where it has to change.

María Cristina Obregón Carrillo

Yes, the armed conflict left a broad signal that the body of women is owned by men. The violence that has expanded much more are sexual violence and feminicides. We have managed to be considered a crime. The armed conflict exacerbates this male domination over women in many ways, not only in the use, abuse and mistreatment of bodies, but in the subordination and permanent demand for silence towards women. Every time we know more feminicides, more sexual violence in our country. Today we have also discovered that there are men against women, and men against girls and adolescents for class reasons.

4. Narrar para Vivir has been a healing oral tradition around the sancocho. How was the process given, how was it born?

Mayerlis Angarita Robles

It is born in the middle of the spiral of barbarism, of massacres. In 2000, the massacres of Salado, Las Brisas, Chengue, San Nofre took place ... We used activism and mutinies to block roads, from the peasantry. I am part of the Commission that entered those places of massacre. I saw a reality that I did not think could be given in Humanity, I did not think that this horror could occur. There were many women who had lived many worse things than me. I met Katerin, a sociologist who worked in the Mayor's Office and we needed to add leadership. We thought we had to start overcoming fear and having courage. Why not organize it? It was clandestine, in the courtyards of the houses, making a stew. The paramilitaries passed by and we said we were cooking. They would not let us cry, so we cried there, secretly. It took us two years to translate the methodology of Narrar para Vivir on paper. How to do the narrated and how to lead it.

I speak of the horror of the conflict from the joy that we Caribbean women have and that they will not take us away. From the strength of the word, a space is open from the spiritual power, when the space of trust is prepared the woman who wants to narrate, voluntarily, begins to count. We have an itinerant school, we do political training: heal, train, qualify academically, incidence ... and also with productive lines.

María Cristina Obregón Carrillo

Colombian women can continue to build Peace scenarios, we can continue to transform our reality to have a better Peace. We are a much more mature citizenship, to dialogue with the other, to understand that Human Rights are not negotiable but conquerable from dialogue, mobilization and meeting with others and others.

Mayerlis Angarita Robles

They believed that they could bury us, but they did not know that we were seeds. Good seeds that have borne fruit and have spread throughout the country, which have paid off, and look, we have reached Barcelona. I invite you to know the territories: there are strong problems, but there are such beautiful experiences of building Peace for women, that we have resisted weapons and that we continue to build from the heart.



Closing:

The sessions were closed by the representatives of the **Agencia Catalana de Cooperació al Desenvolupament, Fons Català de Cooperació al Desenvolupament** and **Ajuntament de Barcelona** accompanied by a representative of the **Taula Catalana per Colòmbia**.

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