

# D for DEFENSE





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The Non-governmental program for the Protection of Human Rights defenders – We are Defenders – is a protection space that looks to develop integral proposals to prevent attacks against and protect the lives of those who run risks due to their work as human rights defenders, as well as those who represent the interests of social groups and communities affected by violence in Colombia. The We Are Defenders programs is made up of the following organizations:



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## Presentation

The year 2013 was one of paradoxes. The government continued peace negotiations with the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) in Havana, Cuba; maintained its discourse promoting recognition of the victims of the armed conflict and the advances in the land restitution process; and pushed society as a whole to accompany peace-building efforts to definitively end this national bleeding that is the armed conflict. At the same time, government ministers did the exact opposite: the Ministry of Defense increased its military actions in many parts of the country; strengthened military foci in areas of consolidation; violently repressed social protest; and increased the military budget, from \$11.5 billion USD in 2013 to \$13 billion USD in 2014. It also presented legislative initiatives to strengthen laws that attack human rights, such as the Law of Citizen Security.

A similar situation took place with the Ministry of Agriculture, which confronted a strong challenge with the Agrarian Stoppage protests. Contrary to the petitions of agricultural sectors and actors, who looked to make the Ministry more committed to peasant causes, the President handed the buck over to an African Palm businessperson and large landowner. Analogous situations occurred in other economic areas with the Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) and the exploitation of energy and mining resources. In other words, during 2013, the national government showed its double agenda of “carrot and stick,” as a plan to win with both heads and tails.

In the middle of this panorama, the work of human rights defenders and social leaders, especially in highly conflictive areas, like Antioquia, Cauca, Nariño, Valle del Cauca, and Córdoba, amongst others, was attacked, as the statistics in this annual report on attacks against human rights defenders show.

Therefore, and as is custom, the report shows the levels of attacks against human rights activists in Colombia during the whole year. These attacks include murder, physical attacks, threats, disappearances, arbitrary detentions and the theft of sensitive information. Also covered are the presu-

med responsible attackers, the most vulnerable social sectors and those most affected by socio-political violence.

In 2013, the determining contextual events include the social mobilizations, by peasant, agricultural and indigenous organizations, who resist the destruction of their territories due to large-scale mining and energy policy. This is just one part of the adverse environment in which human rights defenders work throughout the country.

We would like to thank the organizations associated with the Colombia, Europe and United States (CCEEU, in Spanish) platform, to the National Movement of Victims of State Crimes (MOVICE) and the other social, afro-Colombian, women's, indigenous, peasant, young people's, cultural and union organizations, for their work and their opportune information to be able to track the attacks against human rights defenders. Also we would like to thank the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in Colombia.

We would like to extend our gratification to the international cooperation agencies that continue to support the political goal of a human rights culture in Colombia, like MISEREOR, Diakonia – Sweden, Oxfam, Amnesty International, Terre des Hommes Basilea, Terre des Hommes Switzerland and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), who all with their trust and support, make the tracking done by the Information System on Attacks Against Human Rights Defenders (ISAAHRD) possible, support threatened human rights defenders and provide protection and self-protection measures for their organizations.

# POLITICS AND HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENSE IN 2013

Social mobilizations defined 2013 in Colombia. Many sectors from different backgrounds and perspectives took to the streets to show their disapproval of the situation of the country and to defend their rights. Indigenous persons, victims, peasants, farmers and many other citizens had no other option but to mobilize and protest. But unfortunately, the reaction of the Colombian government, at first, was repression.

Social and human rights organizations in Colombia were on the front lines of these mobilizations and documented on various occasions the attacks and excesses of the national go-

vernment to stop these legitimate social protests. The police brutality, the stigmatization of the protest leaders, the baseless judicial processes against many protesters, and the threat and use of force, all were the highlights of the protests. In the following tables, we review some of the most important mobilizations and their results for Colombian social movements:

## Coffee Growers Stoppage – February 25 to March 8, 2013 (13 days of protests)

Affected Zones	Motivations	Effects on Social Movements and from the Protests	Agreements with the Government
Antioquia, Valle del Cauca, Huila, Caquetá Tolima, Caldas, Quindío, Risaralda and Cundinamarca	Crisis in the coffee growing sector of the country. Purchasing prices given to producers. Absence of support from the government for small- and medium-scale coffee growers.	Approximately 100,000 peasant coffee producers mobilized to block the highways in the center and south of the country. The national government committed itself to not judicially taking on the protests. There were three murders of leaders during and after the protests. The stoppage created \$2 million USD in losses for the milk sector and \$2.5 million USD in losses for the poultry industry due to the road blockages. <sup>1</sup>	The agreement between the government and the coffee growers created a fixed ceiling of 700,000 pesos for each load of coffee, as well as a floor of 480,000 pesos, allowing for an income of 145,000 pesos per load for the coffee growers. This pact, according to the government, will cost the country some \$400 million USD. This support was extended until December 31, 2013.

<sup>1</sup>[http://www.larepublica.co/economia/el-paro-cafetero-acumula-p%C3%A9rdidas-por-9000-millones\\_33339](http://www.larepublica.co/economia/el-paro-cafetero-acumula-p%C3%A9rdidas-por-9000-millones_33339)



## Mining Stoppage–July 17toAugust 31, 2013 (46 days of protests)

Zonas Afectadas	Motivación	Afectación al Movimiento Social	Acuerdos con el Gobierno
Antioquia, Chocó, Risaralda, Quindío, Córdoba and Valle del Cauca.	The lack of official recognition of small-scale and traditional, artisanal mining, and of progress on the formulation of a mining code. Unfulfillment by the government on previous agreements with mining federations. A lack of subsidies and support — through cheap and opportune credit to legalize artisanal mines, and of technical assistance, social security and healthcare for small- and medium-scale miners.	Public stigmatization of the protests by the government, which assured that the protests were infiltrated by the FARC. The murder of three leaders after the end of the protests.	Through an act, the government signed 22 commitments with informal miners that include effective community and traditional miner participation in the formulation and development of mining policy and the discussion of Decree 2235 that orders the Armed Forces to destroy any machinery used in unregulated mines.

## Peasant Stoppage in Catatumbo–June 8toAugust 2, 2013 (54 days of protests)

Affected Zones	Motivations	Effects on Social Movements and from the Protests	Agreements with the Government
The municipalities of: Convención, El Carmen, El Tarra, Teorama, San Calixto, Tibú, Hacarí and Sardinata in the department of Norte de Santander, especially in Ocaña, Tibú and Convención.	The petition to establish a Peasant Reserve Zone in the region; the implementation of a forced manual eradication of illegal crop program; and the humanitarian crisis caused by the National Territorial Consolidation Plan.	<p>More than 4,000 peasants blocked the roads in the Catatumbo region of Norte de Santander. The mobilization was again stigmatized by the President and his Ministers, for being supposedly infiltrated by the FARC. At least 10 protesters were brought to trial and four were killed during the protests.<sup>2</sup> Extreme force was used by the ESMAD against the protesters, including with unconventional weapons.</p> <p>According to the African palm, rice, cocoa and plaintain industries, the stoppage caused nearly \$30 million USD in losses.<sup>3</sup></p>	<p>Study constitution reserva-campesina area.</p> <p>A development plan for the area</p> <p>Grants para las víctimas 1'500 .000 pesos of coca crops erradicación forzada</p> <p>A program of gradual replacement of cultivos ilícitos</p> <p>Garantías legales para protesters.</p>

<sup>2</sup>Report about Social Protest and Human Rights in the framework of the 139 periodic sesión of the Interamerican Commission on Human Rights. Report presented by MOVICE and the CCEEU in Washington D.C., USA, October 31, 2013.

<sup>3</sup><http://www.rcnradio.com/noticias/perdidas-economicas-deja-paro-campesino-en-el-catatumbo-76470>

## Agrarian Stoppage – August 19 to September 12, 2013 (25 days of protests)

Affected Zones	Motivations	Effects on Social Movements and from the Protests	Agreements with the Government
Boyacá Cauca Cundinamarca Antioquia Norte Santander Cesar Bogotá Nariño Valle del Cauca Huila Tolima Córdoba Santander Meta Risaralda	Differences in the agrarian sector about the costs of agricultural supplies (fertilizers, pesticides and insecticides); road toll costs; increases in gas prices; privatization of technical assistance; the non-existence of crop insurance; the decreasing tendency of the Agricultural Guarantee Fund; the lack of contribution by small- and medium-scale farmers to financing banks; the prices paid for products to be exported, which do not benefit the Colombian agricultural sector; the prohibition by the Colombian government of national seeds in exchange for the necessary buying of international seeds, especially those from the United States; and the lack of protection measures for the agricultural sector after the signing and implementation of the FTA with the United States.	A total of 902 people were victims of some type of attack. Of this total, 15 were murdered and seven were victims of some type of cruel treatment or torture, including sexual abuse. Some 315 people were arbitrarily detained; 40 people were beaten; and 325 people were in some way injured. Five people were injured so badly, they were paralyzed in some way. In roughly 70 percent of cases, the attacks were accompanied by other kinds of violations. <sup>4</sup>	The implementation of measures and actions to confront the agricultural production crisis.  Access to land ownership.  The recognition of peasant territories.  The fulfillment of real guarantees so that the rural population exercise their rights.  Social investment for the rural and urban population in education, health, living, public services and roads.

<sup>4</sup>Report about Social Protest and Human Rights in the framework of the 139 periodic sesión of the Interamerican Commission on Human Rights. Report presented by MOVICE and the CCEEU in Washington D.C., USA, October 31, 2013.



## Indigenous Protests - October 13 to 23, 2013 (10 days of protests)

Affected Zones	Motivations	Effects on Social Movements and from the Protests	Agreements with the Government
Chocó, Cauca, Valle del Cauca, Nariño, Putumayo, La Guajira, César, Sucre, Córdoba, Bolívar, Magdalena, Caquetá, Antioquia, Risaralda, Caldas, Cundinamarca, Amazonas, Huila, Tolima y Meta.	The unfulfillment of the agreements established in the National Permanent Roundtable with Indigenous Peoples and Organizations.	Some 40,000 indigenous people from diverse peoples protested in 20 departments of the country. The ESMAD gravely wounded 30 of them. <sup>5</sup>	In a document signed by the national government and indigenous authorities, there were 30 agreements on issues such as territory; political, judicial and administrative autonomy; energy and mining policy; human rights, the armed conflict and peace; and an economic and agrarian indigenous policy.

For 148 days (almost five months), in more than half of the country, the roads and public plazas were full of social protests being carried out through legitimate action by diverse social and ethnic collectives. These mobilizations looked to defend the rights, integrity, territory, work and autonomy of the participants and their communities. These social movements suffered violence, such as in the case of the peasant protests in Catatumbo and were surrounded by the constant threat and use of repressive brutality by the Mobile Antidisturbance Squadron – or ESMAD in Spanish – whose mission is “the prevention and control of crowds, with highly trained personnel in the handling of and conciliation with masses and in the protection of fundamental rights, with the goal of reestablishing order, security and calm for the habitants of the region.”<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, and despite the fact that its mission refers to conciliation and the protection of fundamental human rights, the massive mobilizations and social protests during 2013 showed that this mission is far from being fulfilled. Reports like that presented by MOVICE and the CCEEU during the

139th session of the Interamerican Commission on Human Rights in Washington D.C., on October 31, 2013, document the excesses by the ESMAD, and the brutality and violence with which these various social movements were repressed. Human rights organizations have denounced, both inside and outside of Colombia, the actions of the ESMAD, which has acted like a shock force against the protests, trying to disperse them, silence them and even carry out judicial processes against the participants.

<sup>5</sup><http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/nacional/indigenas-denuncian-30-heridos-nuevo-choque-policia-articulo-453327>

<sup>6</sup>[http://www.policia.gov.co/portal/page/portal/UNIDADES\\_POLICIALES/Comandos\\_deptos\\_policia/comando\\_depto\\_meta/especialidades/Esmaad](http://www.policia.gov.co/portal/page/portal/UNIDADES_POLICIALES/Comandos_deptos_policia/comando_depto_meta/especialidades/Esmaad)



This last type of aggression (judicial processes) is possible thanks to Law 1453 of 2011, also known as the Law of Citizen Security,<sup>7</sup> which has been denounced since its passing for attacking the fundamental right to protest and social mobilization.

Although the national government negotiated with five different protests with more than 200,000 Colombians, it will be seen whether it fulfills the numerous commitments signed in the agreements, before these social movements take to the streets again.

What occurred in 2013 is significant in that the mobilizations took up a large space within the national political agenda and evokes the comic by Alan Moore, and later movie, *V for Vendetta* in that Colombian citizens, much like the people of London in the famous film, took to the streets to demand real change. In the Colombian case, protests took place not because of a desire for revenge, like in the comic and movie, but to defend their rights, without masks and with the unequivocal force of the people who demand liberty and equality. Perhaps we are witnessing a simile, an analogous experience within its own specific context: instead of V for Vendetta, the Colombian version, referring to the protests and stoppages in 2013, would be called D for Defense...for the defense of human rights.

It could be said that it is paradoxical, if not contradictory, that while the discourse of the national government includes political dialogue, the search for peace and future reconciliation within its priorities, the treatment given to social protests and movements showed that its thoughts continued to revolved around military attack, police brutality, the treatment of an “internal enemy” and judicial processes against protesters. In addition, attempts to strengthen to Law of Citizen Security and the increase in the budget for the Armed Forces were part of government action in 2013. All of this begs the question, Are the government institutions really preparing themselves to make the transition to peace and reconciliation, or are they sending clear messages about what is in store for social, political and opposition forces – especially those reincorporated into civilian life – in the future, when they use public spaces to try to make their rights be respected?

## Universal Periodic Exam

The Universal Periodic Exam is a mechanism of the Human Rights Council of the United Nations, inaugurated in 2008. It consists of a permanent evaluation process on the progress of the member States regarding the guarantee and protection of human rights in their territories. Colombia was evaluated for the first time in 2008, during the first cycle of evaluations, and in April 2013, its second exam took place. In this second round, Colombia had to show its progress on the implementation of the recommendations and commitments acquired in 2008.

In the 2013 exam, Colombia received 11 recommendations from 11 different countries regarding the issues of human rights defenders, their respect and their protection. We consider the protection of human rights leaders of the utmost importance and therefore have transcribed the recommendations, noting the countries that made each one. Many of these nations are strategic allies for the Colombian government on economic, political and cooperation issues.

### United Kingdom and Northern Ireland

Increase the efforts to investigate the threats and acts of violence against human rights defenders, unionists, community leaders and journalists, and bring those responsible to trial.

### United States

Investigate and rapidly process the authors of threats, extortion and attacks against human rights defenders, vulnerable people, unionists and potential beneficiaries of the Victims' Law.

### Canada

Adopt additional measures to prevent violence against all citizens, including members of persecuted groups, like community leaders, journalists and land restitution leaders, through the improvement of current protection and prevention programs,

<sup>7</sup>MOVICE has amply denounced the limits of this law regarding the criminalization of social proces. To see its analysis, see the publication in the magazine *Revelando*, No. 4, from the *We are Defenders Program* (2013), in the article “*The Law of Citizen Security Represses Social Movements in Colombia*.” P. 38.

the implementation of educative campaigns and interventions, and effective investigations by the authorities.

### France

Take all the measures necessary to protect human rights defenders against threats and attacks, and guarantee that the authors of such acts appear before justice.

### Germany

Guarantee that human rights defenders in rural areas receive effective protection, while taking into account the challenges that the application of the Victims' and Land Restitution Law presents.

### Norway

Improve the access to the National Protection Unit, increase its impact in rural areas and undertake new measures to protect human rights defenders, journalists, indigenous leaders and the people involved in land restitution processes.

### Netherlands

Enforce the laws on the security of human rights defenders with the goal of guaranteeing the effective application of measures and programs.

### Belgium

Guarantee that the judicial authorities carry out exhaustive and impartial investigations of the cases of violence against human rights defenders.

### Hungary

Promote laws that recognize the legitimacy of the work of human rights defenders and that protect their lives, security and integrity. Carry out quick, impartial and effective investigations about the denunciations of threats, attacks and violence

against them.

### Slovakia

Guarantee the adequate protection for human rights defenders who work in the country, recognizing the legitimacy of their work, amongst other things, through complete and impartial investigations and judicial processes in cases of the violation of their rights.

### Slovenia

Strengthen protection measures for human rights defenders.

The recommendations from these 11 countries are a good indicator on the observation not only from the UN Council for Human Rights on the issue of human rights defenders in Colombia, but also from key countries on highly important issues for the country such as the peace process, FTAs, support for land restitution and the fight against drug trafficking, amongst others.

## **Victims, Military Justice and the Judicial Framework for Peace**

These three issues were also a key part of human rights defenders' agendas in Colombia in 2013. The Military Justice Reform, and its passing in Congress and by the national government, was a great loss for Colombian justice and a strong battle for social organizations that argue that these legal privileges for the military forces guarantee impunity in the crimes that they commit. Nevertheless, its eventual failure to become law due to the ruling by the Constitutional Court was a ray of hope. The law was sent back to the government and it is expected to be presented again by the Santos administration in 2014.

The controversial Judicial Framework for Peace was also a subject of study and lawsuit by the human rights movement in Colombia. According to the human rights sector, when reviewed in detail, the Judicial Framework for Peace guarantees impunity for crimes against humanity while at the same time it does not guarantee the rights to truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of no repetition. Nonetheless, according to the na-



tional government and defenders of the law, it is a necessary step to overcome the armed conflict.

Also, the Victims' Law completed its first two years of implementation and the results are not the best. In just the first year of implementation, the number of indemnizations surpassed the goal of the government by 47 percent. The government paid out \$456,255,500 USD in reparations. A report written for the Colombian Congress by the Attorney General's, the Human Rights Ombudsman's and the Comptrollers Offices, explains that the victims rights now do not have their no repetition rights guaranteed, a fundamental pillar in the law.

The report points the existence of a total of 5,568,988 victims included in the Unique Victims Registry of the government. A total of 6,370,267 victimizing events have been reported, of which, 82.9 percent correspond to forced displacement. According to the report, 20.3 percent of resources have been

dedicated to the humanitarian component; 16.1 percent to administrative indemnizations; 13.8 percent to land restitution; and to other reparation measures, like guarantees for no repetition and satisfaction measures, some 3.5 percent.<sup>8</sup> The Colombian government is just beginning to take on the task.

Unfortunately, in terms of risks and threats, 2013 was not the best year. As this text documents, in 2013, leaders and defenders dedicated to the issues of victims and land restitutions, were one of the most attacked groups, despite the inflated budgets assigned by the government to their protection.

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<sup>8</sup>*Oficina de la Alta Comisionada de las Naciones Unidas para los Derechos Humanos en Colombia*



# PROGRAMA SOMOS DEFENSORES

PROGRAMA NO GUBERNAMENTAL DE PROTECCIÓN A  
DEFENSORES DE DERECHOS HUMANOS

## 2013 Annual Report Information System on Attacks Against Human Rights Defenders in Colombia, ISAAHRD

According to the registry done by the Information System on Attacks Against Human Rights Defenders in Colombia, ISAAHRD, from the Nongovernmental Program of Protection for human rights defenders, We Are Defenders<sup>9</sup>, during 2013, 366 human rights defenders were victims of some kind of attack, as well as 185 human rights organizations. These attacks put the lives of their victims at risk and created obstacles for the legitimate work of human rights defense in Colombia.

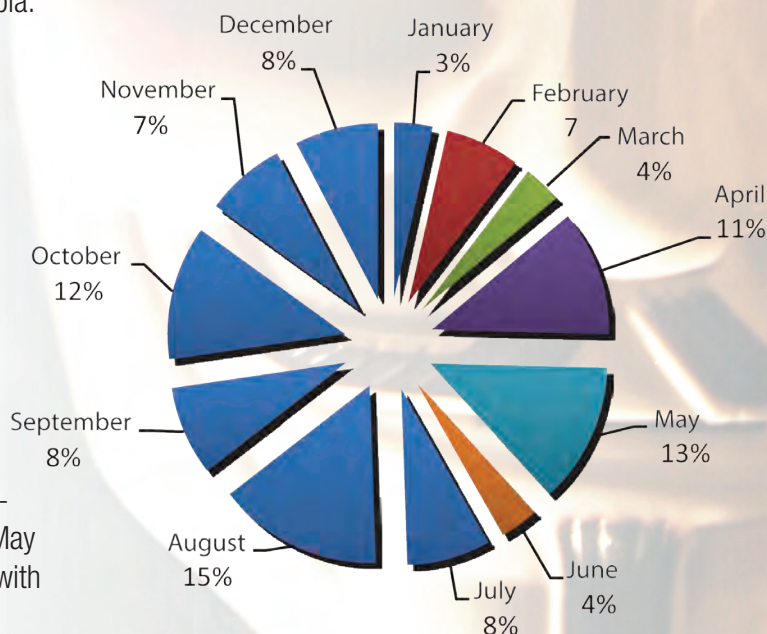
11% (42 cases), July, September and December, all with 8% (33 cases) and February and November with 7% (25 and 27 cases).

### Individual Attacks

The We are Defenders program registered a 2.4 percent increase in individual attacks against human rights defenders in 2013, when compared to 2012. Between January and December 2013, the ISAAHRD reported 366 attacked defenders; while in 2012, there were 357 cases.

In regards to attacks by month, the highest number of cases occurred in August with 15% (55 cases), followed by May with 13% (47 cases), October with 12% (45 cases), April with

Number of Individual Victims by  
Month  
ISAAHRD Statistics, 2013



<sup>9</sup>[http://www.elcolombiano.com/BancoConocimiento/L/la\\_ley\\_de\\_victimas\\_es\\_un\\_tren\\_que\\_camina\\_a\\_marcha\\_lenta/la\\_ley\\_de\\_victimas\\_es\\_un\\_tren\\_que\\_camina\\_a\\_marcha\\_lenta.asp](http://www.elcolombiano.com/BancoConocimiento/L/la_ley_de_victimas_es_un_tren_que_camina_a_marcha_lenta/la_ley_de_victimas_es_un_tren_que_camina_a_marcha_lenta.asp)



It is clear by looking at the numbers that the months with the highest number of attacks in 2013 (August and October) coincide with the dates of social mobilizations by indigenous peoples, peasants, victims and farmers, amongst others. This leads to the deduction that in the context of these protests, the behavior patterns of the attackers is not the same traditional patterns: instead by doing systematic following and directing of specific people, in 2013, their actions were motivated more by the political moment.

**“Human rights defenders, and peasant, indigenous, land and union leaders were those most attacked in 2013.”**

Regarding attacks by sex, the ISAAHARD registered that of the 366 defenders attacked in 2013, approximately 77 percent were men and 23 percent were women.

Attacks by Sex	Number
Female	85
Male	281
<b>Total Individual Attacks</b>	<b>366</b>

In 2013, information was found that showed seven types of attacks against human rights defenders in Colombia: murders, physical attacks, threats, arbitrary detentions, disappearances, information theft and the arbitrary use of the judicial system.

### Attacks by Type of Violence

Type of Individual Attacks	Number
Threats	209
Murders	78
Physical Attacks	39
Arbitrary Detentions	22
Disappearances	1
Arbitrary Use of the Judicial System	10
Information Theft	7
<b>Total Individual Attacks</b>	<b>366</b>

Of the individual attacks registered in 2013, 57% were threats; 21% were murders; 11% physical attacks; 6% arbitrary detentions; 3% involved the arbitrary use of the judicial system; and 2% were information theft.

When compared to 2012, the Program would like to point out with extreme worry the increase in murders – from 69 to 78 cases – and the arbitrary use of the judicial system – from one to 10 cases.

It is important to highlight that with the murders and physical attacks combined, we are looking at a 32% increase in attacks against the life and physical integrity of human rights defenders, which is very worrisome in a context of supposed human rights improvements.

**“On average in 2013, a human rights defender was attacked EVERY SINGLE DAY OF THE YEAR.”**

### The Murder of Defenders

According to the ISAAHRD, 78 human rights defenders or social leaders were murdered in 2013. In the following table, their names, as well as their roles as leaders are summarized, so that they may not be forgotten and that justice may be done in their cases.



Department	Municipality	Victim(s)	Organization	Type of Defender	Presumed Respons.	Date
Antioquia	Medellín	Mario Álvaro Estrada	Comuna 13, Medellín	Young Persons' Leader	Unknown	1-Jan-13
Antioquia	Dabeiba	Reinaldo Domicó	Embera Indigenous People - Mozhoromandó Reservation	Indigenous Leader	Paramilitaries	1-Jan-13
Antioquia	Medellín	Julián Andrés Taborda	Cultural Network Art House in the urban settlement of Belén, Altavista	Cultural Leader	Paramilitaries	8-Jan-13
Cauca	Jambaló	Rafael Mauricio Girón Ulchur	Nasa Indigenous People	Indigenous Leader	Guerrilla	20-Jan-13
Magdalena	Santa Marta	Elkin Alberto Mozo Hincapié	Community Action Board in the neighbourhood of La Paz	Community Action Board Leader	Unknown	22-Jan-13
Antioquia	Remedios	Didier Alberto Marulanda	Community Action Board in the Village of Caño Tigre, Remedios	Community Action Board Leader	Paramilitaries	25-Jan-13
Cauca	Corinto	Juan Carlos Muñoz	Sintrainagro	Union Leader	Unknown	28-Jan-13
Valle	La Victoria	Elizabeth Gutierrez	Lead Educators Union of the Valle – SUTEV	Union Leader	Unknown	30-Jan-13
Distrito Capital	Bogotá	Héctor Malagón	Community Action Board of Nueva Argentina – Ciudad Bolívar	Community Action Board Leader	Paramilitaries	31-Jan-13
Cauca	Popayán	Jairo Herrera	Community Action Board in the Neighbourhood of Libertad, Popayán	Community Action Board Leader	Unknown	3-Feb-13
Nariño	Leiva	Jhon Faver Díaz	Peasant Workers Association of Nariño	Peasant Leader	Army	6-Feb-13
Valle	Trujillo	Alba Mery Chilito Peñafiel	Victims and Families Association of Trujillo (Afavit)	Victims' Leader	Paramilitaries	7-Feb-13
Valle	Bolívar	Leonardo García Morena	Head Educators Union of the Valle – SUTEV	Union Leader	Unknown	14-Feb-13
Putumayo	Puerto Asís	Orlando Soto	President of the urban settlement Carmen del Piñuña	Community Action Board Leader	FARC	22-Feb-13
Risaralda	Mistrató	Javier Gonzáles Bernaza	Large, Unified Embera Chamí Indigenous Reservation	Indigenous Leader	Unknown	24-Feb-13
Valle	Buenaventura	Demetrio López	La Caucana Community Council	Afrocolombian Leader	Unknown	24-Feb-13
Valle	Cartago	Maria Angélica Grajales Ramirez	New Awakening International Foundation for Human Rights, Victims and Displaced People	Victims' Leader	Unknown	12-Mar-13
Córdoba	Valencia	Ermes Enrique Vidal Osorio	Victims of Displacement Organization in the urban settlement of San Rafael del Píri	Victims' Leader	Paramilitaries	21-Mar-13
Valle del Cauca	Trujillo	Daniel Niazza González	Kipara Indigenous Reserve – Embera Chamí Indigenous People	Indigenous Leader	Paramilitaries	22-Mar-13



Guaviare	San José del Guaviare	José Alonso Lozano	Peasant Workers Association from the Guaviare River Region, ASOCATRAGUA	Peasant Leader	Paramilitaries	24-Mar-13
Cauca	Totoró	Gustavo Adolfo Pizo García	Gabriel López of Totoró Peasant Association	Peasant Leader	Paramilitaries	25-Mar-13
Caldas	Manizales	Luz Johana López	El Faro Corporation	LGTBI Defender	Unknown	31-Mar-13
Huila	Tarquí	Aldemar Martínez	Coffee growers stoppage leader	Peasant Leader	Unknown	8-Apr-13
Córdoba	Valencia	Elver Cordero Oviedo	Municipal Roundtable of Displaced Personas and the Victims Table of Valencia	Victims' Leader	Unknown	9-Apr-13
Distrito Capital	Bogotá	Isnelda Gutierrez	Community Action Board in Los Robles neighborhood	Community Action Board Leader	Unknown	9-Apr-13
Córdoba	Tierralta	Seferino Dominico Majoré	Large Embera Katío Reservation Association of the Upper Sinú Region	Indigenous Leader	Unknown	17-Apr-13
Cauca	Jambaló	Venancio Taquinas	Jambaló, Cauca Indigenous Reservation	Indigenous Leader	Guerrilla	18-Apr-13
Santander	Barranca Bermeja	Gilberto Argüello Beltrán	Community Action Board in the Village of La Cira	Community Action Board Leader	Unknown	26-Apr-13
Chocó	Bojayá	José Ireneo Palacios Palacios	Community of Carrillo, Bojayá	Afrocolombian Leader	Guerrilla	27-Apr-13
Nariño	Tumaco	Álvaro Queguan	Community Action Board in the Village of Mugui	Community Action Board Leader	Army	27-Apr-13
Risaralda	Mistrató	Luis Irlá Siágama Caisales	Large, Unified Embera Chamí Indigenous Reservation	Indigenous Leader	Unknown	27-Apr-13
Cauca	Santander de	Belarmino Chocue	Canoas Indigenous Reservation	Indigenous Leader	Unknown	28-Apr-13
Antioquia	Bello	Iván Darío Restrepo	Victims and Land Reclaimers Leader of Bello	Land Leader	Paramilitaries	4-May-13
Valle del Cauca	Cali	Oscar Everto Isaza	Providas: the Organizational Process of the CEPIA Community Centre	Community Leader	Unknown	19-May-13
Risaralda	La Virginia	Elio Faber Giraldo Correa	La Virginia Municipal Community	Community Action Board Leader	Unknown	27-May-13
Nariño	Iscuandé	Sócrates Paz Patiño	Mouth of the Icuandé River Community Council	Afrocolombian Leader	Unknown	29-May-13
Antioquia	El Bagre	Eduar Enrique Cordozo Flórez	Association of Agricultural and Mining Brotherhoods of Guamocó (AHERAMIGUA)	Peasant Leader	Ejército Nal	4-Jun-13
Risaralda	Dos quebradas	James Darío Tapasco Tapasco	San Diego Neighbourhood Community	Community Leader	Unknown	6-Jun-13
Antioquia	Jardín	Eugenio Ramírez Porras	Movement for the Defense and Dignity of Colombia Coffee Growers	Peasant Leader	Unknown	20-Jun-13
Distrito Capital	Bogotá	Oscar Eduardo Sandino	Juan Manuel Bermúdez Foundation	Young Persons' Leader	Unknown	22-Jun-13
Bolívar	Tiriquito	José Segundo Turizo	Community Action Board in the Village of El Tigre - Bella Doris	Peasant Leader	Paramilitaries	11-Jul-13
Putumayo	Puerto Caicedo	Jhon Alveiro Chapal Pascal	Damasco Vides Indigenous Reservation - Awa Indigenous People	Indigenous Leader	Unknown	14-Jul-13
Distrito Capital	Usme	Belisario Aya Montaño	Chapinerito Neighbourhood Community Action Board	Community Action Board Leader	Unknown	15-Jul-13
Antioquia	Medellín	María Oliva Alzate Pérez	Community of Jardín, Neighborhood el Prado, Good Starts Program	Community Leader	Unknown	24-Jul-13
Córdoba	Tierralta	Elmer Antonio Serna Usuga	Community Action Board in the Village of La Gloria	Community Action Board Leader	Paramilitaries	26-Jul-13
Córdoba	Tierralta	Emel Antonio Varela Tuberquia	Community Action Board in the Village of La Estrella, urban settlement area of Salza	Peasant Leader	Guerrilla	29-Jul-13
Antioquia	Apartado	Nelson Cartagena García	Community Action Board in the Village of Aguas Fías	Community Action Board Leader	Paramilitaries	1-Aug-13

Valle del Cauca	Santiago de Cali	Francisco Javier Ocampo Cepeda	Calibra Group	Community Action Board of El Cauce - Bosa	Victims' Leader	National Police	4-Aug-13
Distrito Capital	Bogotá	Gerardo Pinzón Arévalo	Community Action Board of El Cauce - Bosa	Community Action Board of El Cauce - Bosa	Community Action Board Leader	Unknown	5-Aug-13
Caldas	Belalcázar	Luis Albeiro González Morales	Totumal Indigenous Reservation - Embera Chami Indigenous People	Indigenous Leader	Indigenous Leader	Unknown	9-Aug-13
Córdoba	Tierralta	Climaco Pernía	Embera Katio Indigenous People of the Upper River Sinú	Indigenous Leader	Indigenous Leader	Guerrilla	15-Aug-13
Cundinamarca	Fusagasugá	Juan Carlos León	Pasca Sport Community	Peasant Leader	Young Person and Sports leader	ESMAD	26-Aug-13
Nariño	Tumaco	Jhon Alexander Valencia	Asominuma	Peasant Leader	Peasant Leader	Unknown	7-Sep-13
Córdoba	Puerto Libertador	Aurith Bravo Brun	Community Action Board in the Village of La Bonga	Community Action Board Leader	Community Action Board Leader	Unknown	8-Sep-13
Antioquia	Puerto Berrio	Edison Alberto Molina	Puerto Berrio Stereo local radio	Human Rights Lawyer	Human Rights Lawyer	Unknown	11-Sep-13
Antioquia	Ituango	Nelson Giraldo Posada	Antioquia Living Rivers Movement	Land Leader	Land Leader	Unknown	17-Sep-13
Cauca	Almaguer	Adelinda Gómez Gaviria	CIMA Women from the Macizo region Process	Peasant Leader	Peasant Leader	Unknown	30-Sep-13
Huila	Algeciras	Nancy Vargas	Women's Network for Peace and Development in Algeciras	Peasant Leader	Peasant Leader	Unknown	6-Oct-13
Huila	Algeciras	Milciades Cano	MOVICE - Patriotic Union	Peasant Leader	Peasant Leader	Unknown	6-Oct-13
Sucre	Los Palmitos	Carlos Eduardo Olmos	Municipal Roundtable of Transitional Justice	Land Leader	Land Leader	Paramilitaries	6-Oct-13
Meta	Acacías	Ricardo Rodríguez Cajamarca	MOVICE	Human Rights Lawyer	Human Rights Lawyer	Unknown	10-Oct-13
Antioquia	Angostura	Diana Marcela Morales Arenas	Municipal Roundtable of Victims' Participation in Medellín	Victims' Leader	Victims' Leader	Unknown	22-Oct-13
Quindío	Génova	Edler Otero	Patriotic Union	Community Leader	Community Leader	Unknown	30-Oct-13
Distrito Capital	Bogotá	Silvino López	Community Action Board in the Vista Hermosa Neighborhood	Community Leader	Community Leader	Unknown	31-Oct-13
Tolima	Cajamarca	Cesar García	Environmental Conscience and Peasant Council	Peasant Leader	Peasant Leader	Unknown	2-Nov-13
Bolívar	Cartagena	Samuel Ortiz	Community Action Board of San José de Los Campanos	Community Action Board Leader	Community Action Board Leader	Unknown	8-Nov-13
Valle del Cauca	Tulua	Arley Artunduaga	Urban settlement of San Rafael	Peasant Leader	Peasant Leader	Guerrilla	10-Nov-13
Cauca	Jambaló	Miguel Conda	Nasa Indigenous People	Indigenous Leader	Indigenous Leader	Guerrilla	15-Nov-13
Cauca	Caloto	Sergio Ulcue Perdomo	Cautionary Measures Process MC-97-10	Peasant Leader	Peasant Leader	Unknown	17-Nov-13
Córdoba	Valencia	Gildardo Padilla Ortega	Land and Life Association	Land Leader	Land Leader	Paramilitaries	17-Nov-13
Huila	Campoalegre	Roberto Córtez	Patriotic Union	Peasant Leader	Peasant Leader	Unknown	18-Nov-13
Nariño	Tumaco	Juan Alvaro Nastacuas Pai	Inda Guacaray Reservation - Awá Indigenous People	Indigenous Leader	Indigenous Leader	Unknown	29-Nov-13
Antioquia	Toledo	Robinson David Mazo	Living Rivers Movement	Land Leader	Land Leader	Unknown	30-Nov-13
Córdoba	Tuchín	José Luis Rolón	Zenú Indigenous People	Indigenous Leader	Indigenous Leader	Unknown	3-Dec-13
Norte de Santander	Cúcuta	Carlos Edmundo García Herreros	Fenaser Employee Funds	Union Leader	Union Leader	Unknown	4-Dec-13
Valle del Cauca	Buenaventura	Lida Olivero Mejía	Sacarias Community Council, Number Eight urban settlement	Community Action Board Leader	Community Action Board Leader	Unknown	4-Dec-13
Norte de Santander	Sardinata	Pedro Alejandrino Campero	Fenaser Employee Funds	Union Leader	Union Leader	Unknown	6-Dec-13
Nariño	Samaniego	Jesús Rodríguez Cortés	National Agrarian Coordinator	Community Action Board Leader	Community Action Board Leader	Unknown	12-Dec-13

Of the 78 murders, 86 percent correspond to men (67 cases) and 14 percent to women (11 cases). It is especially worrying that the number of cases of women human rights defenders increased from six in 2012 to 11 in 2013.

Antioquia was again the department where the highest number of leaders and defenders were murdered with 13 cases; followed by Valle del Cauca with 10 cases; then Cauca and Córdoba, both with nine cases; Bogotá and Nariño with six; Huila and Risaralda with four; Bolívar, Caldas, Norte de Santander and Putumayo, all with two cases each; and Chocó, Cundinamarca, Guaviare, Magdalena, Meta, Quindío, Santander, Sucre, and Tolima, all with one case each.

Regarding murders by department, Antioquia, Valle del Cauca, Cauca, Córdoba, Bogotá and Nariño continue to be the regions with the highest number of defenders murdered in 2013, which is similar to what was registered in 2012, when most of these departments were amongst the places with the highest number of defenders murdered for that year. Huila and Risaralda, though, registered an increase in the number of these crimes in 2013, when compared to 2012. It is also worth noting that many of these murders coincide with the development of diverse protests between June and October 2013, without saying that these were necessarily related to the motives of the attacks.

When the work of the defenders murdered is reviewed, for the third year in a row, leaders and defenders belonging to Community Action Boards were the hardest hit in 2013 regarding murders, along with peasant and in-



indigenous leaders. Peasant leaders appear in 2013 with a high increase in murders: in 2012, there were three cases, while in 2013, 15.

Community Action Board Leader	17
Peasant Leader	15
Indigenous Leader	14
Victims Leader	6
Community Leader	5
Land Leader	5
Union Leader	5
Afrocolombian Leader	3
Human Rights Lawyer	2
Young People's Leader	2
LGTBI Defender	1
Women's Leader	1
Cultural Leader	1
Young Person and Sports Leader	1
<b>TOTAL Murders</b>	<b>78</b>

Si siguiendo con el ejercicio realizado en el informe enero-junio. Following the exercise done in the January-June 2013 report, "Anonymous Heroes," the way in which social leaders were murdered in 2013 was also part of the analysis for this report. Of the 78 murders, 69 were carried out using guns, eight with knives or other sharp weapons, and one was the result of a beating. The deaths caused by guns in the majority of cases had a touch of brutality given that usually anywhere from four to 10 shots were used to kill the defenders.

The analysis of the reported cases shows that in 29 of the 78 murders, the defender or leader was murdered inside or close to their home, in the morning or at night when they were going to or coming from their work. This, as was also mentioned in the "Anonymous Heroes" report, shows the level of premeditation and following that proceeds the murder of human rights defenders in Colombia since only through these actions can the routines, routes taken and homes of human rights defenders be established.

In five other cases, the victims were stopped by hitmen in rural areas or roads, removed from their vehicles and then murdered. In two cases, the defender was murdered while eating lunch in a public restaurant. It is worrying that in eight cases, the defender was first disappeared and later their lifeless body was found. We also registered five cases in which the body of the leader shown signs of torture like beatings, cuts on their body or including cut throats and decapitation.

In more than 16 cases, the defenders were murdered in diverse circumstances: when they were bringing their kids or grandchildren to school; in the middle of supposed combats between the Armed Forces and illegal armed actors in rural areas, where mysteriously they appeared murdered in their homes; in front of their offices or place of work; in family members' houses; or in the two cases which cause EXTREME concern, while they were in meetings about human rights defense, where they were taken out and then murdered. This last type of case is a new way of murdering human rights defenders registered in 2013.

Only in one of the 78 is it presumed that the death of the defender was the result of a robbery attempt. Nevertheless, this case has a very particular context which points to the probability that the death was work related. The leader had been recently named the director of an important union, which has various death threats from paramilitaries in northeast Colombia.

Regarding the presumed responsible actor in the 78 murder cases presented in 2013, there was an important increase in the participation of paramilitaries when compared to the cases from 2012, as well as lesser increases in cases involving the Armed Forces, the guerrillas and unknown assailants.

Presumed Responsible Actor	2013	2012
Paramilitares	15	9
Guerrilla	8	11
Unknown	50	47
Armed Forces	5	1
<b>Total Murders</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>69</b>

**During 2013, on average, every four days a human rights defender was murdered in Colombia.**

## Individual Threats

The average of threats registered by the ISAAHRD in 2013 continues the trend found in 2012, when 202 threats against social and human rights leaders were registered, while in 2013, 209 were found. Regarding the actor responsible for the threats, in 157 cases (75 percent), paramilitaries were responsible. Paramilitaries mainly targeted peasant, land-reclaiming and union leaders, as well as defenders belonging to human rights NGOs.

Unknown actors were responsible for 42 cases (20 percent) of threats while the Armed Forces were responsible in 10 cases, or five percent.

The most common form to threaten leaders in 2013 was pamphlets, with 100 cases registered. Direct intimidation was used in 60 cases against the defender, in which the person threatening was physically present when the threat was made. In 49 other cases, threatening phone calls, emails or text messages were used.

## Arbitrary Detentions and the Arbitrary Use of the Judicial System

In 2013, there was an increase in the arbitrary use of the judicial system against human rights defenders and leaders who in the vast majority of cases participated in the stoppages and protests that occurred

in 2013, as well as the continued use of arbitrary detentions as a mechanism to attack human rights defenders in Colombia.

In 2012, there was just one case involving the arbitrary use of the judicial system against human rights defenders; in 2013, there were 10 cases. Some 80 percent of the cases with this type of attack in 2013 took place during or after the coffee grower, agrarian, mining, indigenous and Catatumbo protests between the months of July and November.

## Information Theft

Another type of attack in 2013 with a significant increase was information theft, which went from three cases in 2012 to seven in 2013. This type of attack is one of the most invisible but damaging for human rights defenders and social organizations. Its level of invisibility is a result in part of the lack of any sort of national legislation that determines that the information collected, systematized and utilized by human rights and social organizations is highly sensitive, as it often deals with information about human rights violations and infractions of IHL.

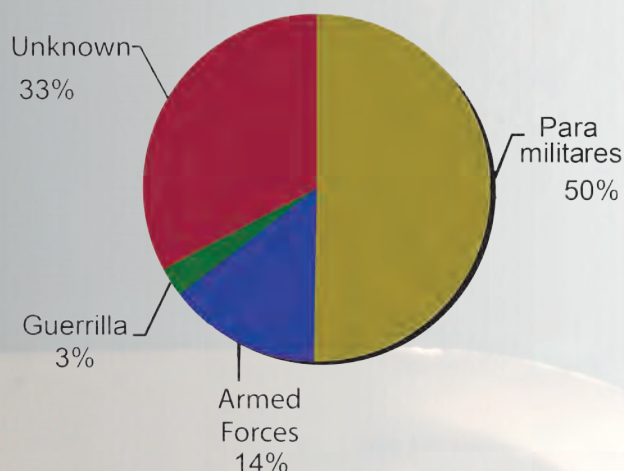
The non-existence of a legal norm leads to that when the theft of information or the hacking of computers or accounts does occur, it is catalogued as a simple robbery of low importance which totally underestimates the importance of the occurrence: the information is taken. It should also be noted that these information thefts do not only occur with digital tools like computers or USB sticks, but also in the cases of theft on the street, with personal articles belonging to defenders like their notebooks, which also contain information on cases, often written by hand.

The ISAAHRD documented in 2013, seven grave cases of sensitive information theft that belonged to human rights organizations. In several of these cases, the competent authorities working on the investigation of these cases of theft were simply unwilling to denounce that the case dealt with sensitive information, but instead catalogued the cases as simple theft of minor articles, as occurred in the case of the recognized human rights organization, the Nydia Erika Bautista Foundation in Bogotá.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup>This system registers information directly known by the We are Defenders Programa and only through direct sources with the Social and Non-governmental Organizations that report the cases to the Program. In no moment, the ISAAHRD uses information from other similar information systems, and it only reports and analyses the cases that are sent to it.



### Presumed Responsible Actors Individual Victimizations ISAAHRD Statistics for 2013



Regarding the presumed responsible actors of the 366 attacks in 2013, the ISAAHRD registered that in 184 cases (50%) paramilitaries were responsible; while the attacker was unknown in 120 cases (33%). Members of the State security forces were presumed responsible in 52 cases (14%) and the guerrilla was registered as the presumed responsible actor in 10 cases (3%).

Presunto Responsable	2013	2012
Paramilitares	50%	41%
Guerrilla	3%	9%
Desconocidos	33%	37%
Fuerza Pública	14%	13%

When compared to 2012, there were percentage increases in cases where the presumed responsible actor was paramilitaries or the Armed Forces. This increase took place in the context of the reactivation of some paramilitary groups that were thought to be extinct, like the Gaitain Self-defense Forces. Although the Santos government had declared its dissolution, the threats and attacks in its name continue.<sup>11</sup> There were also actions of new armed groups like “The Business” (La Empresa) in the department of Valle del Cauca. The increase in participation by the Armed Forces is closely linked to the attacks they carried out as part of their repression im-

posed by the national government as a reaction to the social protests in 2013.

A decrease in attacks by the guerrillas was registered in 2013, which could be associated to the avances in the peace negotiations in Havana, Cuba with the FARC and the advances in the beginning of a similar process with the ELN, all of which could be seen in the substantial decrease in combats and armed actions by these two guerrilla groups when compared with 2012.

## Zones of Attack

The attacks against human rights defenders in 2013 were not concentrated in specific territories as there was a more uniform registry across diverse regions when compared to 2012. In that year, the attacks in Nariño, Santander and Sucre required specific attention as those departments had registered much lower numbers in 2011.

In 2013, there were departments that for the first time played a significant role in attacks against defenders, such as Córdoba, Caldas, Tolima, Cesar and Norte de Santander. These “new” departments with high levels of attacks coincide greatly with the cases and dates surrounding the marches, stoppages and protests in 2013.

It is also important to make the persistence, for the third year in a row, of high levels of attacks visible and known in departments like Antioquia, Nariño, Cauca and Valle del Cauca, where there seems to be no stopping the violence against human rights defenders. Although in 2013 the number of cases was stable or slightly decreased in these departments compared to 2012, the continuity of these tendencies of aggression and the little action by regional government to stop them, put us in a scenario of impunity and bloodshed when it comes to the social processes in these regions in the last few years.

<sup>11</sup>This paramilitary group was responsible for the murder of campesino leader José Segundo Turizo in southern Bolívar in December 2013, and for the threats against the San José de Apartadó Peace Community in September 2013, for example.

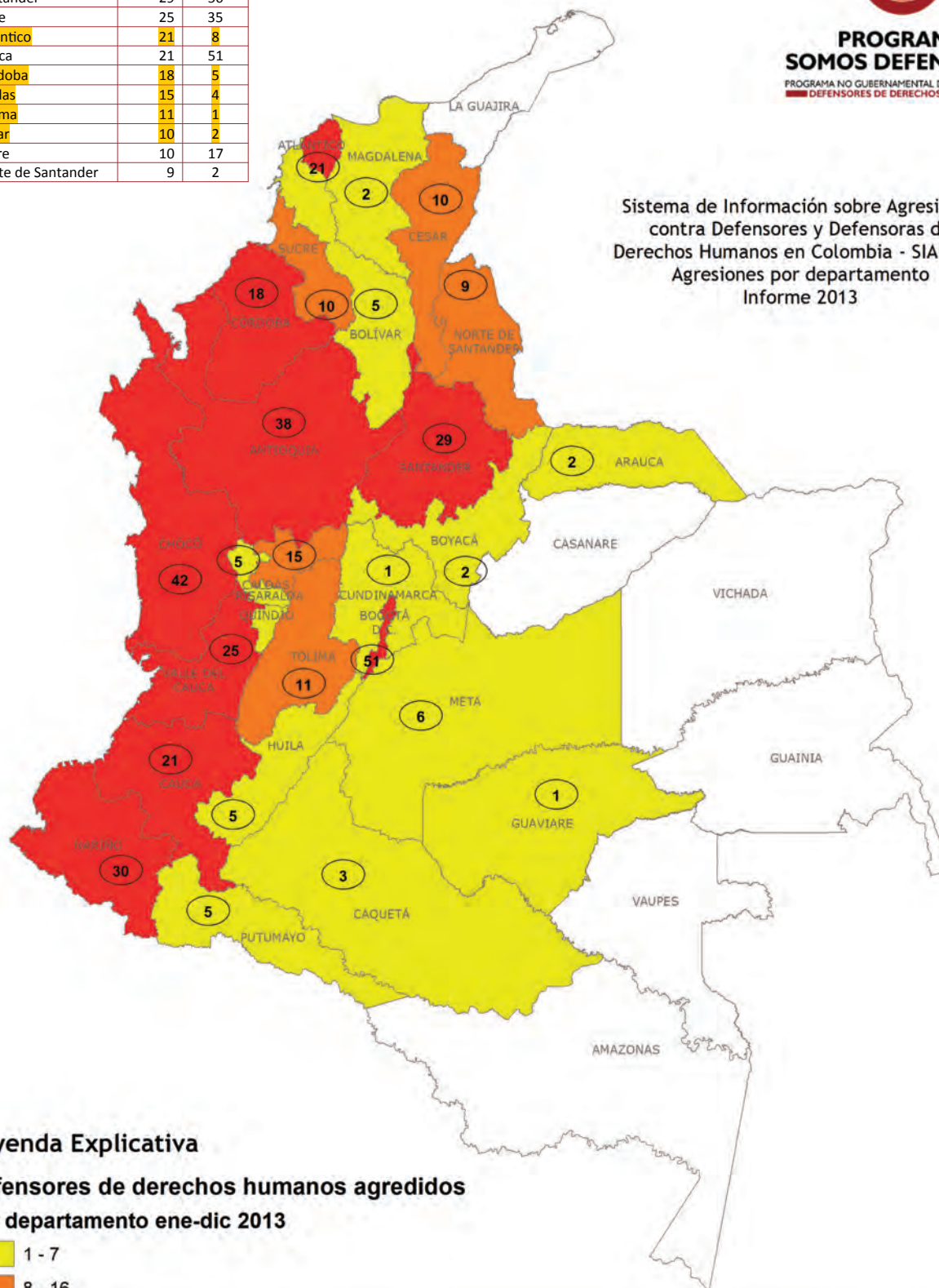


# PROGRAMA SOMOS DEFENSORES

PROGRAMA NO GUBERNAMENTAL DE PROTECCIÓN A  
DEFENSORES DE DERECHOS HUMANOS

Sistema de Información sobre Agresiones  
contra Defensores y Defensoras de  
Derechos Humanos en Colombia - SIADDHH  
Agresiones por departamento  
Informe 2013

DEPARTAMENTO	2013	2012
Bogotá	51	62
Chocó	42	13
Antioquia	36	33
Nariño	30	30
Santander	29	50
Valle	25	35
Atlántico	21	8
Cauca	21	51
Córdoba	18	5
Caldas	15	4
Tolima	11	1
César	10	2
Sucre	10	17
Norte de Santander	9	2



## Leyenda Explicativa

Defensores de derechos humanos agredidos  
por departamento ene-dic 2013

- 1 - 7
- 8 - 16
- 17 - 51

Escala: 1:1.8.000.000



## Collective Attacks

Within this category, the ISAAHRD identified 185 social or human rights organizations victims of some type of attack that put the life and integrity of their members at risk, and created obstacles for their legitimate and legal defense of human rights during 2013.

Despite the statistics, it is important to note that the Colombian government, through the National Protection Unit, still does not have a mechanism to effectively analyze the collective risks that can respond to situations in which whole social and human rights organizations are at risk throughout the country. Although the government has mentioned in diverse spaces that the instrument is being constructed, according to Decree 4912 of 2011, it should be functioning already for more than two years to be able to provide collective protection.

As we have mentioned in this report, the individualization of protection, the lack of mechanisms and plans that prevent violent actions against organizations, and the high number of collective attacks, have created a dangerous future for social and human rights collectives.

## General Conclusions

After a description of the political and human rights context in 2013, and the statistics of attacks against human rights leaders and defenders, it is important to highlight certain conclusions:

- Despite the political and inclusive language of the national government, and the hopeful framework as a result of the peace negotiations in Havana, Cuba, police and military brutality with which social protest was repressed shows the real character and thoughts of the Santos government.
- There was a 2.4 percent increase in attacks against leaders and defenders in 2013 when compared to 2012, noting that despite the announcements by the national government regarding the improvement of prevention, protection and investigative policies, this is not the case. This increase goes directly against the reiterated statements by the authorities about making protection more effective.
- On average, every 24 hours a human rights defender was attacked and every four days, one was murdered.
- The increase in MURDERS is an indicator of the materialization of the threats against human rights defenders. Although the threats continue to be the most common type of attack, the violation of the right to life and physical integrity is alarming at 32 percent of attacks.
- The most victimized defenders and leaders continue to come from community, peasant, indigenous and land restitution sectors. Nonetheless, during 2013, the murder of peasants had an alarming exponential increase, given that in 2012 there were three victims, and in 2013, 15. Therefore it is important to read this fact as part of a context which included their claims for agrarian sectors and movements, and due to their rural connections.
- Threats continue, without any solution, to be the most common and voluminous type of attack against human rights defenders. Despite the announcement by the Attorney General's Office, there has yet to be one result in the investigations on the issue. Impunity continues to be literally 100 percent.
- Diverse victims' organizations have raised their voices

to warn of a phenomenon that between 2013 and 2014 has begun to take on more strength: the liberation of paramilitaries who have fulfilled their prison sentences in the framework of the Justice and Peace Law. There are not just mid-level commanders or low-level combatants, but leaders like Ramón Isaza, John Fredy Gallo, Anurbio Triana, Jesús Ignacio Roldán, Iván Roberto Duque, Luis Eduardo Cifuentes, Jorge Iván Laverde, Edgar Ignacio Fierro, Óscar José Ospina, Juan Francisco Prada, Manuel Piraban, José Linares, Úber Márquez, Edwar Cobos, Fredy Rendón Herrera, and Rodrigo Pérez Alzate, alias 'Julián Bolívar', who in total are involved in 18,000 reparation processes for their direct victims. With their liberation, not only will the truth only be partially known regarding their victims and the numerous human rights defenders who were murdered or disappeared, but also the right to guarantees of no repetition will be violated for defenders and victims inside and outside of Colombia.

- "D for Defense" is not just a mere parody of "V for Vendetta." It is a comparison with the motivations that appear in the work of fiction, which in the end highlights the defense of fundamental human rights by all citizens and especially social leaders. In the comic, those actions were repressed with police brutality and government mascarades. In the Colombian case, though, there has been no happy ending.







D for DEFENSE  
R for REFERENCE