

THE VIRUS OF VIOLENCE



Semi-Annual Report January-June 2020

Information System about Aggressions against Human Rights Defenders in Colombia -SIADDDH-



**PROGRAMA
SOMOS DEFENSORES**
PROGRAMA NO GUBERNAMENTAL DE PROTECCIÓN A
DEFENSORES DE DERECHOS HUMANOS



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The Somos Defensores (We Are Defenders) Program, is a protection area that seeks to develop a comprehensive proposal to prevent aggression and protect the lives of people at risk due to their work as human rights defenders, when they protect the interests of social groups and communities affected by violence in Colombia. The Somos Defensores program is formed by:



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Front page: *Ángela Moreno Bustos*. Militant of the Black Communities Process and the Matamba Afro-Diasporic Action Collective. Her work is focused on the formation and generation of diverse strategies for the defense of black women's lives and the attention and prevention of racial and gender violence. **Photography:** Seryozem

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INTRODUCTION

In Colombia, the first semester of 2020 unfolded amidst confusion and uncertainty due to various situations: the virus of violence, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the stalking of democratic institutions that was clearest and most evident during this period and the following months.

These three situations converge in a common element that is the vulnerability under which social leaders carry out their work, which could be observed during such a semester, due to an increase in the risks they face. The measures of social isolation imposed to face the pandemic and that ruled in a strict way during half of the semester, did not prevent the execution of violent actions that attempted against the life of the social leaderships. During this period, the murders against them increased by an alarming 61% compared to the same period of the previous year, of which 48% of the total occurred during the confinement stage. Attacks and forced disappearances also registered a significant increase, as well as aggressions against freedom, such as arbitrary detentions and judicializations.

Within this context, the uneasiness generated by observing how the situation of violence against social leaders continues to worsen along with the increase in human rights violations such as massacres, displacements, profiling, and police violence; all of

which make it inevitable to turn our attention to a very dark recent past that is being repeated, not because the government led by President Iván Duque lacks a defined direction but, on the contrary, because its direction is framed by the political-ideological ideology of his mentor.

The semi-annual report that we have entitled *The Virus of Violence* aims to provide elements of analysis on attacks against human rights defenders, starting from the confluence during the period of the three aforementioned situations.

The report begins with a small review in memory of the 95 people killed during the first half of 2020, which seeks to recognize the struggles of these social leaders. This brief description allows us to give an account of some elements that are worth highlighting: several of the cases occurred in or near their place of residence, in some of them there was a displacement of population after the murder, several situations are recorded, which relate the victim to processes of voluntary substitution of crops considered to be for illicit use, and three cases can be classified as femicide.

The first chapter entitled *Covering One's Mouth*, places the consideration of the context in different aspects related to the increase of militarization in the territories, including the presence of U.S. troops and the implications of

the measures adopted to deal with the COVID-19 pandemic for freedoms and democratic institutions.

The second chapter, called “*Washing Hands Thoroughly*”, refers to the major pending issues that the National Government has with social leaderships and communities, with a view to providing the appropriate guarantees for the exercise of human rights. This chapter offers an overview of what has been said and done by the government during the past six months on this subject, with special emphasis on some of the actions that threaten the memory of the victims; the entrapment of the National Commission for Security Guarantees (CNGS), the CONPES in its labyrinth, the obsolescence of the individual protection model at the head of the National Protection Unit (UNP), and the poor results of the investigative and control bodies such as the Attorney General’s Office and the Procurator General’s Office..

The third chapter seeks to recognize the entire repertory of actions carried out both by actors in the international community and civil society, aimed at giving visibility to the seriousness of the situation, recognizing the importance of leadership, and demanding compliance with the obligations that fall upon the State in general and the Government in particular, with a view to providing guarantees for the exercise of the work of defending human rights. That is the reason for the title of this chapter: *Raising Our voice to Regain Oxygen*.

The fourth chapter reports on the analysis of information carried out by

the Program’s Information System on Aggressions against Human Rights Defenders -SIADDHH-; data that shows the seriousness of the situation of violence, the increasing impossibility to identify the alleged perpetrators, the trends that remain in terms of aggressions by type of leadership and territorial location and towards social leaders. It is important to highlight the effort made by the Information System to confirm the data included in the report, due to the obstacles derived from the isolation measures, which makes it necessary to warn that the figures of the aggressions during the analyzed period present a higher than usual under-recording, which must be recognized and taken into account.

Finally, the report draws attention over some points considered quite important to keep in mind as conclusions.

It is not possible to close this presentation without expressing the profound gratitude that the entire team of the Somos Defensores Program feels for all the people and organizations that have believed in our work and contributed with their share to this six-monthly report, especially the Center for Research and Popular Education (CINEP), the Colombia-Europe-United States Coordination (CEC), and the Ombudsman’s Office, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in Colombia (OHCHR), the South Colombian Observatory for Human Rights and Violence (OBSURDH), Colombia Diversa, the Association of Indigenous Councils of Northern Cauca (ACIN), the Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca (CRIC), the Territories

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IN MEMORY OF MURDERED HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS

During the first half of 2020, violence took the lives of 95 human rights defenders in Colombia, who worked tirelessly for their communities. While their voices were meant to be silenced, they continue to ignite in the struggles they have left as a legacy. Here we remember their names and profiles, as part of the memory of the collective resilience that they were carrying out in their territories.

JANUARY 7, 2020

GLORIA ISABEL OCAMPO

**JAC (Community Action Board) Secretary,
La Estrella Village
Puerto Guzmán, Putumayo**

Gloria Isabel Ocampo, 35 years old and mother of two children, was a recognized peasant leader who supported processes of voluntary substitution of crops for illicit use, manual eradication projects and formulation of development plans with a territorial approach. She also became president of the Community Action Board of the La Estrella village in the municipality of Puerto Guzmán, where she served as secretary. Since 2019 she was receiving threats.

On January 7, Gloria Isabel was murdered in front of her residence. Armed men arrived at the place and indiscriminately opened fire. The leader died, along with her neighbor Eladio Moreno who was with her at the time of the attack. On January



8, it was reported that Abel Antonio Loai-za Quiñónez, alias Azul, a member of a FARC dissident group, was captured. He was identified as one of those responsible for the event and was linked to the murder of other leaders in the region.

Alleged responsible: FARC dissidence

JANUARY 7, 2020

VIRGINIA SILVA

**Traditional Medic, Belalcázar Indigenous Reservation
Páez, Cauca**

Virginia Silva was recognized by her community, for being a traditional medic and an authority within the reservation. The 71-year-old indigenous leader was murdered on January 7 in the afternoon, in her place of residence located on the La Palma farm, in the village of El Canelo, when she was with her husband. Armed men arrived at the site and shot her several times. The community reported that the leader had received threats, and they expressed concern about the constant harassment and assaults being carried out throughout the territory.



Alleged responsible: FARC dissidence

JANUARY 8, 2020**MIREYA HERNÁNDEZ GUEVARA****Former treasurer of the 20 de Julio neighborhood JAC
Algeciras, Huila**

Community leader Mireya Hernández was 56 years old and the mother of three children. She exercised her leadership in the 20 de Julio neighborhood, the same place where she was treasurer of the Community Action Board. The community recognized her long history of leadership by stating that 35 years ago she was the founder of the Patriotic Union in the municipality and that she always stood out for supporting social struggles. She was assassinated on January 8, while she was on a motorcycle along with her husband; a few meters away from her place of residence a man attacked her with a firearm and fled; the woman was taken to an assistance center where she arrived with no vital signs. It is known that she had already received death threats after denouncing acts of corruption.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown****JANUARY 8, 2020****GENTIL HERNÁNDEZ JIMÉNEZ****PNIS Leader****Puerto Guzmán, Putumayo**

Gentil Hernández Jiménez was a peasant leader who promoted the Integrated National Program for the Substitution of Crops of Illicit Use (PNIS) in the El Mango village. On January 8, unknown men murdered the leader, using a firearm. The community accuses members of the Sinaloa Cartel, a drug trafficking group that



is present in the area, of being responsible for the murder.

Human rights organizations expressed their concern about this murder and the repeated attacks against human rights defenders by illegal armed groups that operate in the region.

Alleged responsible: Paramilitary group

JANUARY 9TH, 2020

ANUAR ROJAS ISARAMA

Indigenous guard, Emberá Dobidá people,

Agua Blanca community

Nuquí, Chocó

On the night of January 9, a group of heavily armed men entered the community of Agua Blanca and murdered 30-year-old Anuar Rojas Isarama, an indigenous guard of the Emberá Dobidá people in this territory. According to the community, the leader had not received any threats.



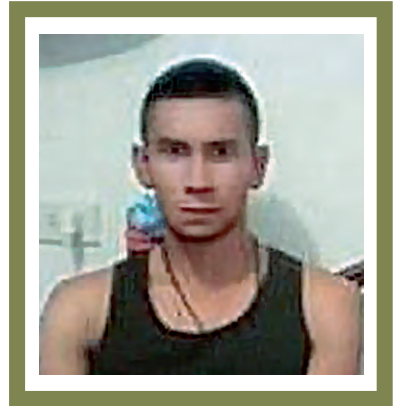
As a result of this murder, around 80 people from the indigenous community were forcibly displaced to the village of Tribugá and to the Municipality of Nuquí. The community in this area is at risk due to the dispute between different illegal armed groups that have interests in the territory.

Alleged responsible: Unknown

JANUARY 10, 2020**NELSON ENRIQUE MENESES QUILES****Inzá Tierradentro Peasant Association****—ACIT—****Inzá, Cauca**

The 29-year-old peasant leader was a member of the Peasant Association of Inzá Tierradentro -ACIT- an affiliate of the National Association of Peasant Reserve Zones -ANZORC-, an organization that articulates the Process of Popular Unity of the Colombian Southwest -PUPSOC- and the Social and Political Coordination of the Cauca Patriotic March.

On January 10 at 7: 00 p.m., while he was with his wife and daughter, he was approached by armed men who fired against him mercilessly, leading him to an instant death. The events occurred in the Yarumal sidewalk of the village of Pedregal.

Alleged responsible: Unknown**JANUARY 11, 2020****JONH FREDY ÁLVAREZ QUINAYA****President of the Peasant Workers Association****—ASTRACAL—****Algeciras, Huila**

John Fredy Álvarez Quinaya, 37, was a peasant leader, president of the Peasant Workers Association -ASTRACAL- and a member of the Patriotic March.

On January 11, he was murdered in the Juan XXIII neighborhood in the municipality of Algeciras. An armed man arrived at his place of residence and shot against John Fredy after confirming his identity.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown**

JANUARY 13, 2020

TULIO CÉSAR SANDOVAL CHÍA

Coordinator of the Catatumbo Peasant

Association –ASCAMCAT–

Member of the Coca and Marijuana Growers

Coordinator –COCCAM–

Tibú, Norte de Santander

Coordinator of the Peasant Association of Catatumbo -ASCAMCAT-, member of the Coca and Marijuana Growers Coordinator -COCCAM- and member of the Patriotic March; from his work he supported the implementation of the Peace Agreement in the region.

On January 13, he was murdered in his place of residence located in the municipality of Tibú. The leader was accompanied by family members and neighbors when armed men arrived at the site, broke in, took him out to the street and shot him several times.

Alleged responsible: Unknown



JANUARY 13, 2020

JORGE LUIS BETANCOURT

Sports Coordinator JAC, San Francisco del Rayo

Montelíbano, Córdoba

Jorge Luis Betancourt, was a peasant leader and sports coordinator for the Community Action Board in the town of San Francisco del Rayo, Montelíbano. He was 42 years old and lived in the territory with his wife and his three children. On January 13, armed men from the parami-



litary group Autodefensas Gaitanistas de Colombia (Gaitanist Self-Defense Forces of Colombia), arrived at his house and shot him several times in front of his family. Immediately after committing the murder, the men fled while their neighbors called for help. No threats were reported against the leader.

Alleged responsible: Paramilitary group

JANUARY 15, 2020

SAMUEL FEDERICO PEÑALOSA

Nóvita Major Community Council

Nóvita, Chocó

Samuel Federico Peñalosa, 60 years old, was an Afro-descendant leader, member of the Nóvita Community Council until December 2019. His assassination occurred on January 15, allegedly in the middle of an ELN guerrilla raid on the Juntas de Tamaná village. In the midst of this action, they went to the leader's house and abducted him. His body was found by inhabitants of the area in the San Juan River.



Alleged responsible: ELN

JANUARY 16, 2020

NEIVAN YORDAN TOVAR**Director of the Border Workers Union
of Putumayo****-SINTCAFROMAYO-****Puerto Guzmán, Putumayo**

The union leader was recognized for supporting initiatives to solve peasant problems and to promote the implementation of the Peace Agreement. He was a director of the Border Workers Union of Putumayo -SINTCAFROMAYO- and an active member of the Patriotic March. Because of his leadership work, he had received death threats. On January 16, Tovar was in a community store owned by the union in the Teteyé village, when he was approached by armed men who shot him repeatedly.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown**

JANUARY 17, 2020

WILMAR ALEXANDER SANPEDRO POSADA**CARLOS ANDRÉS CHAVARRÍA****JAC, Guaimaro village and PNIS members
Tarazá, Antioquia**

They were members of the Community Action Board of the Guaimaro Village in Tarazá, and members of the National Comprehensive Program for the Substitution of Crops for Illicit Use -PNIS-. They were killed in a massacre perpetrated on January 17 by the paramilitary group Gaitanist Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AGC), which also killed three other peasants. In the area where the events occurred, there is currently a territorial dispute between paramilitary groups, which has put the lives of human rights defenders and the community at risk.

**Alleged responsible: Paramilitary group**

JANUARY 17, 2020**LUIS DARÍO RODRÍGUEZ**

**Leader of the Association Union of Displaced and Vulnerable Families of Tierralta -UFADES-VUL-
Tierralta, Córdoba**

Luis Darío Rodríguez was a member of the Asociación Unión de Familias Desplazadas y Vulnerables de Tierralta -UFADES-VUL- and of the Human Rights Network of Southern Córdoba. He was recognized for his leadership in land restitution processes and for representing families affected by the Urrá 1 hydroelectric plant in the Alto Sinú area. He also worked in agriculture and fishing, from which he provided for his wife and three children.

On January 17, when he was finishing his fishing day in the La Unión village, armed men on a motorcycle attacked him.

Alleged responsible: Unknown

**JANUARY 21, 2020****JAIME JOSÉ VANEGAS URUETA**

**PNIS Leader
Tarazá, Antioquia**

The 36-year-old peasant leader was promoting processes of the Comprehensive National Program for the Substitution of Illicit Crops -PNIS- in the Buenos Aires area. On January 21, he was found dead with firearm impacts in the La Rivera farm, located in the El Doce village, in Tarazá, where he was a worker. During the same incident, the administrator of the property was murdered. The responsibility for the homicide has not been determined, but it is known that different armed groups are present in the area, threatening and pressuring the population in the midst of their territorial dispute.

Alleged responsible: Unknown



JANUARY 21, 2020**HERNANDO HERRERA ARANGO****Community leader, El Brazil village
Sonsón, Antioquia**

Hernando Herrera Arango was a community leader in the village of El Brasil. He was murdered in a commercial establishment of his property, located in Rio Arriba, when a drunken male arrived to the place and, after arguing with the leader, attacked him with a firearm. The man fled the scene, but the police chased him. Minutes later, the perpetrator lost his life in a crossfire with the quadrant.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown****JANUARY 23, 2020****FERNANDO QUINTERO MENA****President of the JAC, Guasiles village
and president of the Association
of La Trinidad Boards
Convención, Norte de Santander**

Community leader, recognized in several municipalities in Norte de Santander. He was a former council member of Convención during the period 2012-2015 and was serving as president of the Guasiles village Community Action Board and as president of the Association of Boards of the La Trinidad village. He was recognized in the region for being the manager of the inter-village roads and was a delegate from his village at the infrastructure table of the Territorially Focused Development Plan (PDET). He also played an important role as a member of the Social Integration Committee of Catatumbo, a space from which he worked for the rights of the region's population. He was murdered on January 23rd in the municipality of Convención.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown**

JANUARY 25, 2020**JOSÉ ANTONIO RIASCOS****Member of the Afrorenacer del Micay
Community Council
El Tambo, Cauca**

José Antonio Riascos was part of the board of the Afrorenacer Community Council in San Juan de Micay, as a representative of the Betania Remolino village. On January 25, he was assassinated by members of the National Army, when the leader was left in the middle of an armed confrontation between the National Army and the guerrilla group of the National Liberation Army (ELN). The Cimarrona Guard carried out an inspection at the site and found the lifeless corpse of José Antonio, which showed the impact of several bullets. In the same incident, 9 people from the community were reported missing. The population in the area is at risk due to the deployment of troops and confrontations with illegal armed groups.

**Alleged responsible: Public force****JANUARY 28, 2020****BAYRON RUEDA RUÍZ****JAC member, El Azul village
Puerto Asís, Putumayo**

Bayron Rueda Ruíz was a member of the Community Action Board of the El Azul village in the municipality of Puerto Asís, Putumayo, and was formerly president of the Community Action Board of La 18 in Sucumbíos, Ecuador, a zone on the border with Colombia.



He was murdered with a firearm on the morning of January 28 when he left his house in the La 18 village and headed for the El Azul village, where he had his crops and worked the fields. During that journey, he was approached by men who simply fired at him. The community stated that the leader had not received any threats.

Alleged responsible: Unknown

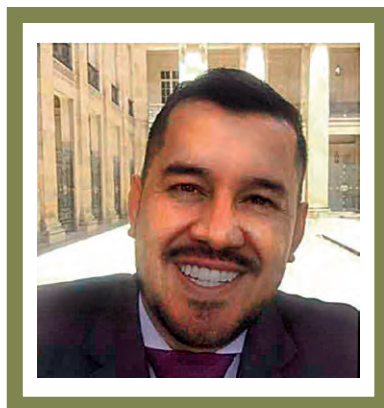
JANUARY 30, 2020

IVÁN GIRALDO

Citizen overseer

Candelaria, Valle del Cauca

Iván Giraldo was recognized as a civilian overseer, a role from which he denounced acts of corruption in Candelaria, Valle del Cauca. He was also a former candidate to the Council of the municipality for the Colombia Humana political party. On January 30th at 7: 00 p.m., he was murdered while driving with Jonathan Borja Pérez, a former candidate for the Mayor's Office. When they stopped at a traffic light, they were attacked with firearms by hitmen; thus causing their instant death at the place.



Alleged responsible: Unknown

FEBRUARY 2, 2020**JAVIER GIRÓN TRIVIÑO****Indigenous guard of the Nasa people
Santander de Quilichao, Cauca**

Nasa people's guard in the Kiwe Tehk Ksxa'wpo reservation, a job he performed for almost 20 years. He was murdered on February 2 at 6:00 a.m. in the village of El Jagüito. While he was in a public establishment, a man entered the place and shot him three times, causing his death. The Association of Indigenous Councils of Northern Cauca (Asociación de Cabil-dos Indígenas del Norte del Cauca, ACIN) denounced the incident and expressed their concern about the growing violence against the community.

**Alleged responsible: FARC dissidence****FEBRUARY 2, 2020****JOSÉ ANTONIO MENDOZA****JAC Vice President, Pueblo Nuevo Village
Araucanía, Arauca**

José Antonio Mendoza, 38 years old, was the vice-president of the Community Action Board of the Pueblo Nuevo village during the period 2016-2020, and at the time of his assassination he was the president in charge of the Board.



On February 2, when his two youngest children returned from school, the leader's lifeless body was found in his home with stab wounds.

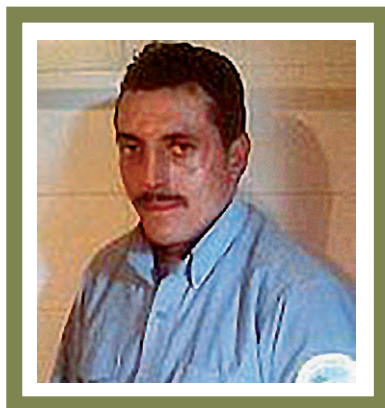
Alleged responsible: Unknown

FEBRUARY 4, 2020**LIBARDO ARCINIEGAS****JAC Treasurer, Pachacual Village
Cocuy, Boyacá**

Treasurer of the Community Action Board of the Pachacual village. The leader was murdered on the sidewalk where he resided, when two armed men on a motorcycle opened fire against him at the door of his house. It is not common for situations like this to occur in the municipality, which is why this event surprised the inhabitants and the authorities of Cocuy, since the latest analyses of security in the territory before the murder were positive.

**Alleged responsible: ELN****FEBRUARY 6, 2020****YAMID ALONSO SILVA****El Cocuy National Natural Park Officer
Güicán, Boyacá**

Yamid Alonso Silva, 38 years old, was an environmental defender; he had been employed as an official at El Cocuy National Natural Park for two years, where he carried out control work on ecotourism in the La Esperanza sector. He was murdered on February 6 in the La Cueva village, a rural area of the municipality of Güicán. A man and a woman on a motorcycle arrived at Yamid's shack, forced him to leave the place and move for about one kilometer, to finally murder him. The park ranger is remembered for working for the well-being of the community; in fact, he was connected for several years to the Community Action Board of the El Carrizal village.

**Alleged responsible: ELN**

FEBRUARY 8, 2020**EFREN OSPINA VELÁSQUEZ****JAC Vice President, Totumito-Carboneras village, and member of the PNIS Tibú, Norte de Santander**

Efrén Ospina led processes of the National Comprehensive Program for the Substitution of Crops of Illicit Use -PNIS-, and served as vice-president of the Community Action Board of the Totumito-Carboneras village. From his work, he managed to promote the manual eradication of coca crops among the peasants, with the implementation of productive programs. He was killed on February 8; armed men came to his residence, where he was with his spouse, they forced him out, took him away, to finish his life by firing 4 shots against him.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown****FEBRUARY 9, 2020****PEDRO ANGUCHO YUNDA****Traditional medic of the Misak People****FELIPE ANGUCHO YUNDA****Ancestral authority of the Misak People
Belén de los Andaquies, Caquetá**

Felipe Angucho Yunda, 56 years old, and Pedro Angucho Yunda, 51 years old, were ancestral authorities of the Misak People at the El Águila reservation; Pedro, in addition, was a traditional medic. They fought for the community's access to territorial rights.



The leaders were murdered on their reservation on February 9th at around 6: 00 p.m. Armed men came to their home and shot them repeatedly. As a result, eleven families of the Misak community were forcibly displaced. In the midst of the process of legalization of the land where the resguardo is located, the community has received threats.

Alleged responsible: Unknown

FEBRUARY 9TH, 2020

RAFAEL MANOTAS

**Member of JAC, El Poblado
Pueblo Nuevo, Córdoba**

Rafael Manotas worked as a motorcycle driver (as a way of informal work, in several cities of Colombia, motorcycle owners act as “taxi drivers”, serving people who need alternate transportation). Member of the Community Action Board of the El Poblado village, he was also recognized as a community leader. He was murdered in the rural area of Pueblo Nuevo. While he was hanging out with some friends, armed men arrived at the site where he was and opened fire on him.



Alleged responsible: Unknown

FEBRUARY 10, 2020**LUIS ALBERTO PARRA****JAC Prosecutor, Villa Fatima Village****JADER ALBERTO PARRA****Coordinator of the JAC Works Commission,
Villa Fatima****Puerto Guzmán, Putumayo**

Luis Alberto Parra was Jader Alberto Parra's father. They were both community leaders, the first one was working as a prosecutor for the Community Action Board of the Villa Fatima village, and the second one as coordinator of the Works Commission of the same Board.



On February 10, they were forced out of their home and two days later their bodies were found in the La Esperanza village. The presence of armed groups and drug traffickers in the area endangers the security of the population, despite the strong presence of the military.

Alleged responsible: Paramilitary group**FEBRUARY 16, 2020****LUIS HUGO SILVA MOSQUERA****ALBEIRO SILVA MOSQUERA****Members of the Peasant Guard,
the La Morena JAC and ASPROZONAC
Miranda, Cauca**

Albeiro Silva Mosquera and his brother Luis Hugo Silva Mosquera were peasant leaders, members of the Peasant Guard, the Community Action Board of the La Morena village and the Association for the constitution of the Peasant Reserve Zone -ASPROZONAC-.

When they were leaving a community event in the La Cilia Reservation, they were attacked by six armed men. They were left injured and died while being treated by medical professionals. The Indigenous Guard reacted and tried to pursue the armed men, but they attacked the indigenous people and managed to flee.

Alleged responsible: Unknown



FEBRUARY 17, 2020

MIGUEL ÁNGEL CASTELLANOS MARÍN
Casa Morada Cultural Collective
Medellín, Antioquia

Miguel Ángel Castellanos Marín, 16 years old, was a ninth grade student and member of the Casa Morada Cultural Collective; from there he promoted youth and cultural processes. On February 8, his disappearance was reported in the Belén neighborhood and after two weeks, his body was found in the Medellín River, with signs of torture. It is believed that the motive for the murder was the crossing of an “invisible border”, a space of dispute between armed criminal groups that are present in the area.

Alleged responsible: Unknown



FEBRUARY 18, 2020**JORGE HUMBERTO ALPALA****Indigenous leader of Los Pastos community
Cumbal, Nariño**

Jorge Humberto Alpala was an indigenous leader of the community Los Pastos, he was the mayor of Cumbal, Nariño in the period 2012-2015. On February 18, armed men came to where the ex-mandatory was staying with some friends and took him by force to the mountain area of that municipality. Seven days later, in the village of Macas, between the municipalities of Cuasapud and Cumbal, his lifeless body was found, half-naked and with signs of torture.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown****FEBRUARY 22ND, 2020****LUIS MARIO TÁLAGA WALLIS****Municipal delegate of SINTRAINAGRO,
Florida subdirectorato
Puerto Tejada, Cauca**

Luis Mario Tálaga Wallis, 40 years old, was a union leader of the National Union of Agricultural Industry Workers -SINTRAINAGRO-, at the time of his murder he was a municipal delegate of the Florida subdirectorato in Valle del Cauca. In addition, he was a founder of the National Union of Sugarcane Cutters -SINALCORTEROS- and participated in the cutters' strikes in 2005 and 2008. He had been working as a cane cutter since 1994.



On February 20, his disappearance was reported in Puerto Tejada, Cauca. Three days later his body was found by fishermen on the Cauca River near the El Hormiguero village in the city of Cali.

Alleged responsible: Unknown

FEBRUARY 29, 2020**DILAN ARLEY AGUDELO****Member of JAC, La Frisolera
Campamento, Antioquia**

He was part of the Community Action Board of the La Frisolera Village, he was also a counselor of the Campamento municipality. On February 26, the 38 year old leader was reported missing, hundreds of peasants from 15 villages together with the Attorney's Office and the Public Force began their search in the area and municipalities nearby. Four days later his corpse was found tied to a tree. It could be a case of extrajudicial execution.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown****FEBRUARY 29, 2020****AMADO TORRES****JAC Treasurer, La Victoria village
San José de Apartadó, Antioquia**

The leader served as treasurer of the Community Action Board in the La Victoria village, a space of which he was formerly president. He was recognized for his helpful spirit and commitment to the well-being of the community. In 2013, one of his sons was killed by the Army and he was awaiting compensation from the State when it was determined that the young man was indeed the victim of an extrajudicial execution.

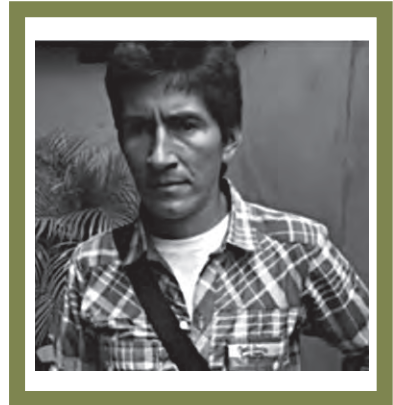


Armed men wearing military clothing killed 49 year-old Amado, on the village where he resided. The peasants of that same region carried out the removal of the body in the face of the refusal of the authorities to carry out the procedure due to the situation of insecurity in the area.

Alleged responsible: Paramilitary group

MARCH 2, 2020**JULIO GUTIÉRREZ AVILÉS****President JAC, El Esmero Village****Campo Alegre, Huila**

48-year-old Julio Gutiérrez Avilés was recognized by his charisma and constant concern for supporting others. He was a defender of the environment and peasants; founder of the Association of Campoalegre Rural Workers -ATC-, member of the El Esmero Association Group and president of the Community Action Board of the village. On March 2, while returning to his farm after taking steps to improve roads in his community, unknown individuals approached him and murdered him with a firearm..

**Alleged responsible: Unknown****MARCH 3, 2020****WILLIAM RAMIRO MONTOYA****Vice President JAC, Puerto Antioquia and****APAP member****Tarazá, Antioquia**

Vice President of the Community Action Board of the Puerto Antioquia district and member of the Association of Puerto Antioquia Fishermen and Farmers -APA-PAP-. He worked as an artisanal miner. On March 1, the 56-year-old leader was reported missing, and two days later his lifeless body was found by the National Army in the Cauca River, with signs of torture.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown**

MARCH 7, 2020**JORGE MACANA****Member of the PNIS Departmental Board
El Tambo, Cauca**

Jorge Macana was a peasant leader, recognized in the community since several years ago, as one of the promoters of the creation of the school in the Playa Rica village and for promoting the improvement of a rural road in the same territory. He was a member of the Departmental Board of the National Comprehensive Program for the Substitution of Crops for Illicit Use -PNIS-, from which he supported productive projects as an economic alternative to replace coca crops. He was murdered in his home in the Playa Rica district, where armed men arrived and fired against him, thus causing his death.

**Alleged responsible: ELN****MARCH 8, 2020****EDWIN ALEXIS VERGARA****Delegate SINTRAINCABAÑA
Guachené, Cauca**

Edwin Alexis Vergara, 32 years old, was a delegate before the La Cabaña Assembly of Sugar Mills Union -SINTRAINCABAÑA-; son of Raúl Vergara, also a leader, former counselor and current president of the same union, who has been threatened for his leadership work. Edwin was murdered on March 8; at the end of his workday as a cane burner, he was approached by unknown individuals, who fired three shots at him. The General Confederation of Labor -CGT- stated that other members of the union have received threats and expressed concern about their execution.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown**

MARCH 11, 2020**CRISTIAN ADRIÁN ÁNGULO****Community Leader****Cali, Valle del Cauca**

Cristián Adrián Angulo, 24, was a community leader and singer, widely known for his work as a cultural manager and his support for the social causes of his community in the Llano Verde neighborhood of Cali. In addition, he promoted actions for young people to stay away from violence, criminal organizations and gangs. His relatives reported that the young man left his home in the afternoon of March 8 and went to a police station to claim his identification document, and since that day, he disappeared. On March 11, his lifeless body was found in a sugarcane crop on the road to the Navarro district, with gunshot wounds on his head.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown****MARCH 15, 2020****LUIS ELADIO MECHA****Bogotá's Wounann Indigenous Chapter****Bogotá, Cundinamarca**

Luis Eladio Mecha was an indigenous leader, a member of the Wounann council in Bogotá, recognized as an authority in the community for defending their well-being and for representing them in demanding compliance with the ethnic chapter of the Peace Agreement. The leader was murdered in Bogotá; members of the cabildo claim that the murder is related to leadership work, since he had received threats on several occasions and although he reported this situation to the entities in charge, he did not receive any response.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown**

MARCH 19, 2020**ÁNGEL OVIDIO QUINTERO****President of the Artisanal Miners Association
San Francisco, Antioquia**

Ángel Ovidio Quintero, 40 years old, was a community leader, member of the Artisanal Miners Association and president of the Council of the San Francisco Municipality. During the morning of March 19, he suffered an attack when he was in the company of his nephew in the El Grillo sector. In the midst of the shooting, he tried to flee and jumped into the Santo Domingo River; later that day he was found dead.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown****MARCH 19, 2020****MARCO LEOPOLDO RIVADENEIRA****ASOPUERTOASÍS President, member
of the National Board of the CNA, activist
of the CDP, spokesperson of the CCEEU
Puerto Asís, Putumayo**

57-year-old Marco Rivadeneira was a peasant leader, recognized for his vocation in the defense of the human rights of peasant and agrarian communities throughout the country. He led processes to support the voluntary substitution of crops for illicit use and the alternative development of Community Action Boards in several villages in the Puerto Vega-Teteyé corridor, in the department of Putumayo. He was president of the Peasant Association of Puerto Asís (ASOPUERTOASÍS), a member of



the National Board of the National Agrarian Coordinator (CNA), a member of the Peoples' Congress, a spokesperson for the National Operating Committee of the Colombia-Europe-United States Coordination (CCEU), and a regional spokesperson for the National Guarantees Process.

The leader was assassinated on March 19, in the village of Nueva Granada in Puerto Asís, by 2:00 pm. He was in a meeting with local peasants when three armed men barged in and forcibly took him away. Minutes later, a few meters away from the place, they shot him.

Alleged responsible: FARC dissidence

MARCH 19, 2020

Ivo HUMBERTO BRACAMONTE QUIROZ

Community Leader

Puerto Santander, Norte de Santander

Ivo Humberto Bracamonte Quiroz, 42 years old, was a community leader, he served as a councilman in the municipality of Puerto Santander in Norte de Santander and by the moment of his murder, he was the director of the digital news program NPS. He was assassinated while working out in a park in the Betrania neighborhood. Two men came to his location and shot him.



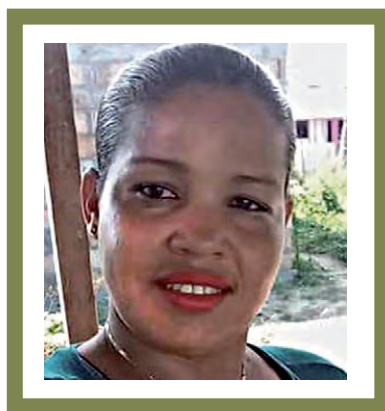
Alleged responsible: Paramilitary group

MARCH 23, 2020**OMAR GUASIRUMA NACABERA****ERNESTO GUASIRUMA NACABERA****Indigenous Guards, Emberá people
Bolívar, Valle del Cauca**

Omar Guasiruma Nacabera, 27, and Ernesto Guasiruma Nacabera, 33, were indigenous guards of the Emberá People. They were murdered in the Naranjal district in Bolívar while they were in their home in compliance with the quarantine decreed by the COVID-19 pandemic. Unknown men arrived at the house and summoned them to a meeting, along with two other people from the same family, who were tricked into going to the Sanquini River, where they were attacked with a firearm. The leaders died on the spot, while the other two people were injured.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown****MARCH 24, 2020****CARLOTA ISABEL SALINAS PÉREZ****Member of the Popular Women's Organization
San Pablo, Bolívar**

Carlota Isabel Salinas Pérez was a recognized community leader, who was known for her vocation and solidarity during 10 years of leadership; she was 48 years old and the mother of three children. She was a member of the Civil Defense in the Sao Pablo municipality and supported the creation of the Popular Women's Organization (OFP), from which she fought for the defense of women's rights by promoting productive projects. The leader was assassinated near her place of residence located in the Guarigua neighborhood, where armed men arrived, forced her to step out and shot her.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown**

MARCH 26, 2020**ALEJANDRO CARVAJAL**

Member of the Association of Sardinata Sugarcane Growers -ASOCAPASAR- and JAC treasurer, Santa Teresita Sardinata, Norte de Santander

Alejandro Carvajal, 20 years old, was a peasant leader, treasurer of the Santa Teresita village Community Action Board and a member of the Association of Sardinata Sugarcane Growers (Asociación de Cañicultores Paneleros de Sardinata -ASOCAPASAR). From this organization, he promoted a project to substitute coca crops with Panela sugarcane.



The Land Operations Squad number 9 of the Vulcan Task Force assassinated him on March 26. The leader was in the village of Santa Teresita, along with his father and brother, in a peasant settlement that was created to prevent a group of eradicators sent by the government from uprooting their coca crops. While they were gathered there, a bullet from the area where the soldiers were stationed pierced his body, immediately ending his life.

Alleged responsible: Public force

MARCH 26, 2020**WILDER GARCÍA**

Awá leader, Telembí Tortugaña Shelter

Barbacoas, Nariño

18-year-old Wilder Garcia was an Awá indigenous leader of the Tortugaña Telembí Shelter in the municipality of Barbacoas. The young man was recognized within the Shelter due to his service skills and solidarity.



He was murdered in his place of residence while he was complying with the quarantine decreed by COVID-19, in the company of his wife and two children. Armed men entered the house and shot him in front of his family. According to the authorities of the shelter, the leader received no threats.

Alleged responsible: Unknown

MARCH 27, 2020

MARLLY FERNANDA QUINA CAMPO
Paniquitá Indigenous Cabildo
Totoró, Cauca

Marlly Fernanda Quina Campo was an indigenous leader of the Paniquitá Cabildo, located in the municipality of Totoró. On different occasions she was a community mother and president of the Community Action Board. The woman, 29 years old, was murdered on March 27 in the village of Alto Novirao, while she was traveling to her house in the village of La Rivera. She was asphyxiated and attacked with a knife by her partner, John Jairo Zambrano Yandi, who committed suicide after perpetrating the murder.



Alleged responsible: Spouse

APRIL 13, 2020**JHON JAIRO BELTRÁN BECERRA****LGBTI Defender****Bogotá, Cundinamarca**

Jairo Beltrán Becerra was a law student and defender of the rights of the LGBTI community in La Candelaria area of Bogotá, and he was also a member of the Community Action Board. He was murdered on the night of April 13 at his place of residence in the Las Aguas sector. The next day his mother found his body, which showed signs of torture; his hands and feet were tied and a gag was covering his mouth.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown****APRIL 17, 2020****TEODOMIRO SOTELO ANACONA****Member of the Afrorenacer del Micay
Community Council
El Tambo, Cauca**

Teodomiro Sotelo Anacona was an Afro-descendant leader, a member of the Afrorenacer del Micay Community Council, the National Agrarian Coordinator (CNA) and the Peoples' Congress (CP). He was assassinated on April 17 in the Pueblo Nuevo indigenous reservation in the village of Betania de San Juan del Micay, El Tambo municipality. While he was working on his farm, armed men entered the property and shot him in front of the workers and his family. Teodomiro had come to the territory 20 years ago and became involved in the processes of defending the rights of the community. At the time of his murder, he was part of the Community Council's pro-road committee and participated in the Development Roundtable, where the inhabitants of the territory and the National Government were holding dialogues.

**Alleged responsible: FARC dissidence**

APRIL 19, 2020**MARIO CHILHUESO****Member of ASTCAP****Buenos Aires, Cauca**

Member of the Association of Peasant Workers and Small Agricultural Producers of the Municipality of Buenos Aires Cauca -ASTCAP-, of the Process of Popular Unity of Southwestern Colombia -PUPSOC- and of the Social and Political Coordination of the Patriotic March. He was assassinated in the La Elvira district, located in the Los Robles village. The leader left his house very early to work as a carrier (transporting goods on a mule), but an hour later his corpse was discovered, with multiple gunshot wounds. In 2001 Chilhueso was a victim of forced displacement after the Naya massacre and dedicated his efforts to defending the rights of the peasants of this region.

**Alleged responsible: FARC dissidence****APRIL 22ND, 2020****HUGO DE JESÚS GIRALDO LÓPEZ****Member of ASTCAP****Santander de Quilichao, Cauca**

Hugo de Jesús Giraldo López, 64, had been a peasant leader for 20 years, defending the rights of victims of the armed conflict and land claimants. He was also the vice president of the Association of Peasant Workers and Small Farmers of the Municipality of Buenos Aires Cauca -ASTCAP-, of the Colombian Southwest Popular Unity Process -PUPSOC- and of the Social and Political Coordination of the Cauca Patriotic March.



He was murdered in his home located in the village of San Pedro, in the municipality of Santander de Quilichao, by two men on a motorcycle who arrived at the site and shot him six times.

The leader was a victim of forced displacement in 2001 after the Naya massacre. Together with leader Mario Chilhueso, who was also killed, they took on the task of organizing displaced peasants and fighting for their rights to land restitution. In fact, Giraldo led the return of several families to the Naya.

Alleged responsible: FARC dissidence

APRIL 22ND, 2020

JESÚS ALBEIRO RIASCOS

ANDRÉS SABINO ANGULO ADVINCULA

Members of Consejo Comunitario

Afro Renacer del Micay

El Tambo, Cauca

Jesús Albeiro Riascos Riascos and Andrés Sabino Angulo Advincula were community leaders, recognized in the Agua Clara village where they led different processes for the community, organized festivals, sports games, and mobilization actions. The young men were in the middle of a Community Council assembly, discussing the security situation in the territory, when armed men from a dissident FARC group entered and shot them in front of all the people gathered there. After committing the crime and before leaving the scene, the men threatened the leaders of the territory.



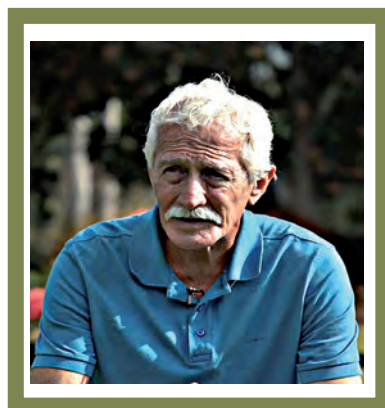
Alleged responsible: FARC dissidence

APRIL 24, 2020**FLORO SAMBONÍ GÓMEZ****President JAC, Vereda Loma Larga Bajo
Almaguer, Cauca**

Floro Samboní, 56 years old, was an agriculturist and served as president of the Community Action Board of the Loma Larga Bajo village. On April 24th, the leader was murdered when he was at the door of his house, located in the municipality of Almaguer; unknown individuals armed with a rifle shot at him on several occasions. The community leader had received threats.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown****APRIL 25, 2020****ALEJANDRO LLINÁS SUÁREZ****Environmental Leader
Santa Marta, Magdalena**

Alejandro Llinás Suárez, 70 years old, was the founder of the Calabazo village Community Action Board, the place where he lived; he was a defender of the Sierra Nevada and a member of the Santa Marta Victims' Board. Llinás was murdered in the early morning of April 25 on one of the roads in the Calabazo village. He had been living in the area for seven years. He had apparently received threats for denouncing to the municipal authorities the presence of paramilitary groups in the area that were exercising territorial control.

**Alleged responsible: Paramilitary group**

APRIL 27, 2020**CARLOS MARIO CAÑAVERAL****JAC member, Tacuyarca village
Cáceres, Antioquia**

Carlos Mario Cañaveral, 37, was a member of the Community Action Board of the Tacuyarca village, municipality of Cáceres; he was working to become the Board's vice-president. The leader was assassinated on April 27th, unknown assailants injured him and later on, he passed away. In the area, human rights defenders are at high risk due to the presence of different armed groups, they have received threats and several of them have been forcibly displaced.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown****APRIL 27, 2020****JAIRO DE JESÚS JIMÉNEZ ISAZA****Principal of the Rural Educational Institution
"Zoila Duque Baena" and member
of the USDIDEA Union
Abejorral, Antioquia**

Academic and union leader, known for his kindness and commitment to service, he was recognized for his work at the Rural Educational Institution "Zoila Duque Baena" in the Chagualal Village where he was the principal and where he promoted quality education; he was also an active member of the Union of Teaching Directors of the Antioquia Department -USDIDEA-. On April 27, the 63-year-old principal was murdered with a white weapon at his place of residence in the municipality of Abejorral; it seems that he had not received any threats.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown**

APRIL 29, 2020**ÁLVARO NARVÁEZ DAZA**

Member of the Community Council Palenque la Torre and president of the Community Action Board (JAC), El Vado village Mercaderes, Cauca

Álvaro Narváez Daza was a leader committed to the well-being and improvement of the quality of life in the El Vado village; he promoted community work in relation to the Bermejo River aqueduct project, the strengthening of the rural school and promoted productive agricultural alternatives. He denounced the illegal extraction of minerals, the violation of the territory, the environment, and the situation of risk due to the presence of armed groups in the area. Because of his leadership work, he received threats. He was president of the Community Action Board and a member of the Palenque La Torre Community Council in the municipality of Mercaderes. The leader was murdered in his house located in the El Vado community, in the municipality of Mojarras. Armed men entered the house and assassinated him along with three members of his family: his wife, his son and his granddaughter; another of his children was left wounded.

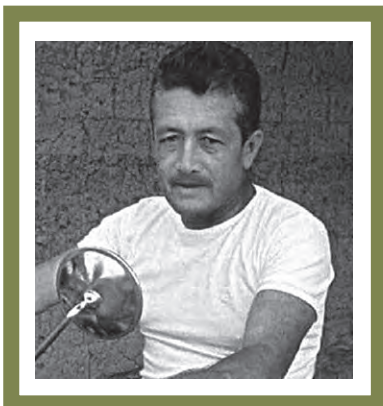
Alleged responsible: FARC dissidence

**APRIL 30, 2020****UBEN GUERRERO**

Community leader, Curacas village Mercaderes, Cauca

Uben Guerrero, 57, was a community leader in the village of Curacas; in a previous period, he was president of the Community Action Board. On April 30, men on a motorcycle shot him several times, causing his death. The community reported that the leader had received threats.

Alleged responsible: Unknown



APRIL 30, 2020**PEDRO ELÍAS CALDERÓN****JAC Treasurer, Santa Fe Neighborhood
Arauca, Arauca**

Pedro Elías Calderón was a recognized community leader and businessman in the municipality of Arauca, characterized by his solidarity and kindness. He was a counselor during the period 2012-2015; he was serving as treasurer of the Community Action Board of the Santa Fe neighborhood and as a delegate of the Association of Community Action Boards of Arauca. The leader was murdered on April 30; his body was found in his home with stab wounds.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown****MAY 4, 2020****CARLOS ANDRÉS SÁNCHEZ VILLA****JAC Vice-president, Cayo Raya village
and PNIS member
Tibú, Norte de Santander**

Vice-president of the Community Action Board of the Cayo Raya village and member of the National Integral Program of Substitution of Crops for Illicit Use -PNIS-. The leader was killed near the farm where he resided; he was traveling in a car near kilometer 25 on the Tibú - La Gabarra road when two unknown men on a motorcycle reached him and shot him several times.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown**

MAY 13, 2020**TEYLOR CRUZ GIL****JAC President, La Cantaleta neighborhood
Cáceres, Antioquia**

Taylor Cruz Gil, 47, was president of the Community Action Board of the La Cantaleta neighborhood. The leader was assassinated on May 13 in his place of residence located in the village of Puerto Bélgica, in the municipality of Cáceres. Two armed men attacked him with a firearm and fled immediately, leaving his body on the sidewalk. The community leader had not reported any threats against him.

**Alleged responsible: Paramilitary group****MAY 13, 2020****JULIO CÉSAR HERNÁNDEZ SALCEDO****Member of ASOCBAC and member of the PNIS
Tarazá, Antioquia**

Julio César Hernández Salcedo, 47, was a recognized leader and member of the Community Action Board of the San Antonio village in San José de Uré, of the Association of Campesinos of Bajo Cauca -ASOCBAC- and of the National Comprehensive Program for the Substitution of Crops for Illicit Use -PNIS-. The leader was murdered on May 13, his dead body was found in the rural area of the La Caucana village in Tarazá, revealing bullet wounds.

**Alleged responsible: Paramilitary group**

MAY 15, 2020**JAVIER GARCÍA GUAGUARABE****Indigenous Guard, Bania Chami Reservation
Argelia, Valle del Cauca**

Javier García Guaguarabe was an indigenous guard in the Bania Chami Reservation of the Emberá people, in the municipality of Argelia. The 20-year-old leader was killed with a firearm on May 15 in the afternoon, as he was on his way to his place of residence after carrying out his work as a defender of the territory, in the context of the health emergency by COVID-19. The presence of armed groups in the area puts the civilian population and their leaders at risk.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown****MAY 16, 2020****JORGE ENRIQUE ORAMAS****Environmental Leader
Cali, Valle del Cauca**

Jorge Enrique Oramas, 70, was an environmental advocate. For more than 10 years, he led the Biocanto del Milenio project to promote the growing and consumption of native seeds; one of his main work themes was nutritional security. He was also a great opponent of illegal mining in the Farallones Natural National Park. He was well known by the inhabitants of La Candelaria, near Farallones, where he had lived for several years, due to his work with seeds and his actions in the defense of the territory.



The leader was murdered on May 16 on his farm. During the night, his neighbors heard a shot and when they approached the farm, they found the leader's lifeless body on the floor.

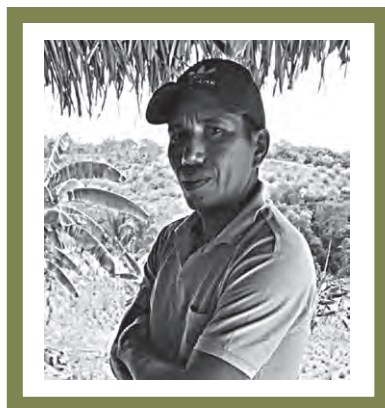
Alleged responsible: Unknown

MAY 16, 2020**FREDDY ANGARITA MARTÍNEZ****Community Leader****Cúcuta, Norte de Santander**

Freddy Angarita Martínez was a community leader of several human settlements in Cúcuta, Norte de Santander. The leader was murdered on May 16 in the La Isla neighborhood. Unknown men on motorcycles arrived at his house, shot several times and gravely wounded him; he was taken to a nearby hospital where he died. The leader had received death threats.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown****MAY 18, 2020****EMÉRITO DIGNO BUENDÍA MARTÍNEZ****Member of ASCAMCAT and COCCAM****Cúcuta, Norte de Santander**

Peasant leader, member of the Peasant Association of Catatumbo -ASCAMCAT-, of the Communal Action Board of the Totumito village and of the National Coordinator of Coca, Poppy and Marijuana Growers -COCCAM- where he promoted a project for the substitution of coca crops with sugarcane.



The 44-year-old farmer leader, father of six, was killed in the middle of a forced eradication operation in rural Cúcuta. The National Army began to shoot against the peasants there and while Buendía was trying to flee, he was hit by a bullet that took his life. Three more peasants were wounded during the same incident.

Alleged responsible: Public force

MAY 19, 2020**ARAMIS ARENAS BAYONA****JAC President, Canadá village
Becerril, Cesar**

Aramis Arenas Bayona fought for territorial autonomy and defended the peasants of the Serranía del Perijá. He was, by the time, president of the Community Action Board for the Canadá village, in the Estados Unidos municipality, and from this role he promoted a project to transform his region into a tourist attraction. The 51-year-old leader was murdered one morning while on his way to his brother's house; a few meters from his home. His corpse was found with a bullet impact.

Arenas had received threats following a complaint that he filed in 2018 for a robbery on his property, which resulted in the capture of three people, allegedly members of an organized armed group.

Alleged responsible: Unknown**MAY 21ST, 2020****OLGA LUCÍA HERNÁNDEZ****Community Leader
Cumaribo, Vichada**

Olga Lucía Hernández was a community leader and president of the Community Action Board of the Puerto Nariño Province until 2019, a position she resigned to become a candidate for the Cumaribo Council. She reported community problems and managed food support for the indigenous and low-income peasant population in her territory. The leader was



killed on May 21 in her home, when an unknown individual broke in and shot her. The woman had expressed to the Cumaribo municipal authorities her concern about the presence of armed groups in the area and the risk she felt due to her role as a human rights defender.

Alleged responsible: Unknown

MAY 26, 2020

SAÚL ROJAS GONZÁLEZ

**JAC President, San Juanito neighborhood
Algeciras, Huila**

Saúl Rojas González is remembered due to his supportive, helping and friendly personality. He served as president of the Community Action Board of the San Juanito neighborhood; he was also a community leader for more than 10 years. He promoted collective welfare and he was recognized for the important work he did after the avalanche registered in February 2017, managing aids for all of the affected people.

The 69-year-old leader was in a commercial establishment of his property, when unknown men arrived, shot him and then fled on a motorcycle. He was immediately taken to an assistance center, but perished on the way due to the severity of his injuries.

Alleged responsible: Unknown



MAY 26, 2020**EDWIN EMIRO ACOSTA OCHOA**

**Member of CISBCSC and the Agrominera
Association of Tiquisio
Tiquisio, Bolívar**

Community leader who fought for the welfare of the community, especially miners. He was a member of the Commission of Interlocution of Southern Bolívar, Central and Southern Cesar -CISBCSC-; of the Agricultural Association of Tiquisio; and a shareholder of the Society of Mixed Environmental Agricultural and Livestock Economy SEMAAM SAS.

The 58-year-old leader, a father of three, was killed while in his home in the village of Mina Seca in the municipality of Tiquisio, when members of a paramilitary group came asking for him and after establishing his identity, they shot him several times.

Alleged responsible: Paramilitary group

**MAY 28, 2020****MARÍA NELLY CUETIA DAGUA****PEDRO ÁNGEL MARÍA TRÓCHEZ**

**Traditional medics, Los Andes community
Corinto, Cauca Líder indígena**

María Nelly Cuetia Dagua, 55, and Pedro Ángel María Tróchez, 58, were traditional medics in the Nasa Los Andes indigenous community, municipality of Corinto. On May 28, while the indigenous elders were in a harmonization ritual, armed men came to their house, took them out



by force and obliged them to get into a van. The community started searching for the ancestral authorities, only to find their bodies the next morning, with bullet impacts and signs of torture, 10 miles away from their community. The incident is considered as an act of destruction of the indigenous memory and cultural knowledge.

Alleged responsible: FARC dissidence

MAY 31, 2020

JOEL AGUABLANCA VILLAMIZAR

**Director of ASOUWA and Indigenous Nation
Education Coordinator
Chitagá, Norte de Santander**

Joel Aguablanca Villamizar, 29, was an indigenous leader, directive member of the Association of Traditional Authorities and U'was Councils, -ASOUWA- and coordinator of Education of the Indigenous Nation. On May 31st, while he was in his house, the National Army arrived at the village opening fire, the indigenous leader came out the door and members of the Army shot him. Although Joel was wounded, the armed men did not allow him to be transferred to a health center and he died two hours later in front of his family.



Alleged responsible: Public force

MAY 31, 2020**HERMES LOAIZA MONTOYA****JAC Secretary, Pueblo Nuevo****Florida, Valle del Cauca**

Hermes Loaiza Montoya was secretary of the Community Action Board of the Pueblo Nuevo district, and he also worked in inter-municipal transportation. On May 31, unknown men arrived at his house, inquiring about him, and when Hermes came out to meet them, they started an argument, which later on led to him being shot twice. It is claimed that the leader had not received any threats, but authorities are investigating whether the murder is related to his role as leader of the Community Action Board.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown****JUNE 1, 2020****ARCÁNGEL PANTOJA****Founder and member of ASCSCUCOR****OMAR AGUDELO****Founder and member of ASCSCUCOR,
member of JAC vereda Río Sucio****Puerto Libertador, Córdoba**

On June 1, late at night, the peasant leader Arcángel Pantoja was kidnapped from his home in Puerto Libertador, Córdoba, and his lifeless body was later found between the villages of Río Sucio and Santa Rosa. That same night, in similar circumstances, Omar Agudelo was abducted from his place of residence in the town of Juan José and his body was found near the Villanueva district. Both leaders were founders and members of the Association of Peasants of Southern Córdoba -ASCS-



CUCOR- and Omar was also a member of the Community Action Board of the Río Sucio village. These leaders promoted the peasant strikes of 2013 and 2019, to demand the government to comply with the commitments on the substitution of illicit crops that were established in the Peace Agreement.

Alleged responsible: Paramilitary group

JUNE 3, 2020

JULIO HUMBERTO MORENO ARCE

President of the International Human Rights Body Foundation

Santander de Quilichao, Cauca

Julio Humberto Moreno Arce was president of the International Human Rights Body Foundation and a member of the Minga Sur Occidente and the Peoples Congress. His lifeless body was found on June 3 in the village of Taminango in the municipality of Santander de Quilichao; he was apparently shot while riding his motorcycle. Members of the same community assisted in the removal of the body and its transport to Forensic Medicine. The leader had been receiving threats.



Alleged responsible: Unknown

JUNE 8, 2020**EDISON LEÓN PÉREZ****JAC President, San Juan del Bosco Village
San Miguel, Putumayo**

Edison León Pérez, 57, was president of the Community Action Board of the San Juan del Bosco village in the municipality of San Miguel, Putumayo. Due to threats received, since 2019 the leader had a protection scheme assigned by the National Protection Unit -UNP-. On June 8, in the afternoon, the escorts took him to his house and left the area. A little later, Edison decided to leave, apparently because a person from the sector asked for his services to carry out electrical repairs; while he was on his way to the area, he was intercepted by armed men who shot him, thus causing his death.

Alleged responsible: Unknown**JUNE 9, 2020****LEIDY VIVIANA TROMPETA****Indigenous guard and member of the PNIS
Orito, Putumayo**

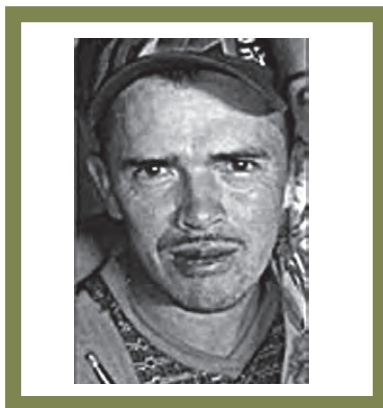
Indigenous guard of the Nasa Kuesh Kiwe chapter in the Bellavista village and member of the National Comprehensive Program for the Substitution of Crops for Illicit Use -PNIS-. On June 9, the 24-year-old mother of two children, who was the victim of a femicide, apparently suffocated in her place of residence. It is believed that the person responsible for the murder is her former partner and father of the children, whom the leader had denounced for domestic violence.

Alleged responsible: Former spouse

JUNE 15, 2020**EDIER ADÁN LOPERA**

Coordinator of the JAC Conciliation Committee, Vereda Urales; member of the PNIS and ASOCBAC Tarazá, Antioquia

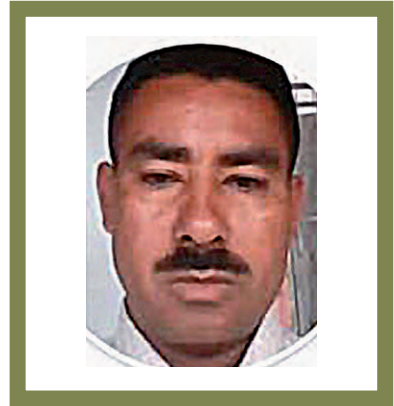
Edier Adán Lopera was a peasant leader, coordinator of the Conciliation Committee of the Urales Community Action Board in the municipality of Tarazá, a member of the National Comprehensive Program for the Substitution of Crops for Illicit Use (PNIS) and of the Peasant Association of Bajo Cauca (ASOCBAC), which is part of the Patriotic March Political Movement. He was assassinated on June 15 by paramilitaries in the village of Caracolí, municipality of Tarazá. After the incident, the same armed group prevented his family, the community, and the authorities from carrying out the respective removal of his remains, which could only take place nine days after the assassination. The leader had received threats. For several months, social organizations have been warning about the risk posed to the community by the presence of paramilitary groups in the area.



Alleged responsible: Paramilitary group

JUNE 16, 2020**JOSÉ ERNESTO CÓRDOBA RODRÍGUEZ****JAC President, Paola Isabel neighborhood
Samaniego, Nariño**

José Ernesto Córdoba Rodríguez was president of the Paola Isabel neighborhood Community Action Board. The 45-year-old leader was killed with a firearm on June 16 in his home, located in rural Samaniego. Teacher Hernando Rodríguez, a relative of his, accompanied him when armed men entered by force and shot at them. The community leader was well known in the territory for the projects he promoted that sought to improve the living conditions of the population.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown****JUNE 18, 2020****GRACELIO MICOLTA****Member of the Alto Guapi Community
Council
Guapi, Cauca**

Gracelio Micolta was an Afro-descendant leader and member of the Alto Guapi Community Council, he participated in the construction of the Characterization Plan of the Community Council. On June 18, while traveling in a canoe to attend a community meeting in the sector of Yantín in Guapi, he was approached and kidnapped by unknown actors. His body was found two days later, with no vital signs.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown**

JUNE 23, 2020**CARMEN ÁNGEL AVENDAÑO YARUDO**
JAC President, El Hoyo Village
Convención, Norte de Santander

Carmen Ángel Avendaño Yarudo, 51 years old, was president of the Community Action Board of the El Hoyo village, in the municipality of Convención. The leader was murdered on June 23 in the rural area of Convención; armed men approached him while he was working on his farm and shot him several times.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown****JUNE 26, 2020****LUZ MIRIAM VARGAS CASTAÑO**
Member of the Association of Traditional
Indigenous Authorities Nasa Çxhãçxha
Páez, Cauca

Luz Miriam Vargas Castaño, 39 years old, was an indigenous leader committed to peace in her region, a member of the Avirama reservation located in Páez, Cauca and of the Association of Traditional Indigenous Authorities Nasa Çxhãçxha. From the latter she led the productive project "PazAdentro", in which from the ancestral indigenous knowledge, they manufactured therapeutic mouthpieces based on medicinal plant essences, for the prevention of COVID-19. The leader, a mother of two, was the victim of a femicide on June 26; it seems that she had an argument with her partner and then disappeared. Her body was found one day later in the Páez River, bearing the marks of a beating.

**Alleged responsible: Former Spouse**

JUNE 27, 2020**ANTONIO CUERO****Guard at territorial control point****ROSALBINA BECOCHE YANDI****Guard at a territorial control point and leader of the Families in Action program****Morales, Cauca**

Peasant Antonio Cuero and Rosalbina Becoche Yandi, leader of the Families in Action program, were killed on June 27 while defending the area at a territorial control point, installed to prevent the spread of COVID-19. Antonio Cuero refused passage to individuals from outside his community and they shot at them several times, causing their deaths. Similar events have occurred on several occasions during the quarantine at the control points located in the territory.

**Alleged responsible: Unknown****JUNE 27, 2020****AGUSTÍN IMBACHÍ GÓMEZ****Peasant Leader****El Tambo, Cauca**

Agustín Imbachí Gómez, 60 years old, was a peasant leader in the village of Cañadas, in the municipality of Huisito, El Tambo. Armed men came to his house and took him away; the leader was with his partner and his five-year-old daughter. Later on, he was found shot to death in another area, with several impacts from firearms.

**Alleged responsible: FARC dissidence**

JUNE 27, 2020

YOANNY YEFFER VANEGAS CARDONA

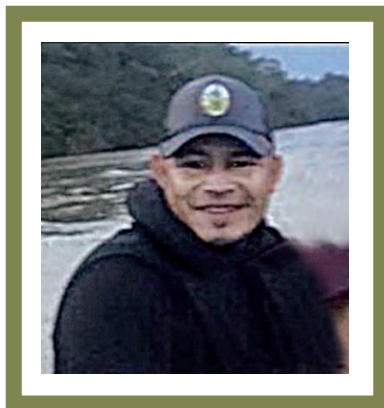
Member of ASCATRAGUA

San José del Guaviare, Guaviare

Yoanny Yeffer Vanegas Cardona was a community leader who led the peaceful mobilization to prevent the forced and violent eradication of illicit crops in the Guayabero area, located between the departments of Guaviare and Meta, which began on May 20 and ended on June 16. He was a member of the Association of Peasant Workers and Producers of the Guayabero River -ASTRACAGUA-.

On June 27, in an area known as the Choapal crossing in the village of Picalojo, the body of the leader was found shot and his life cut short. On the same date, the disappearance of the leader's brother, Yilmer Enrique Cardona, was reported. In the context of the events, the National Army is responsible for this murder.

Alleged responsible: Public force



JUNE 28, 2020**JOSÉ JAVIER URAGAMA CHAMORRO**
Indigenous Governor of Agua Clara
Bajo Baudó, Chocó

José Javier Uragama Chamorro, 22 years old, was the father of four children and the indigenous governor of the Emberá People in the Agua Clara community, municipality of Bajo Baudó. On June 25, he went to the municipal capital to report a murder in his community, and while he was traveling by boat to return to Agua Clara, he was abducted by armed men who brutally tortured and shot him more than ten times. On June 27th, fishermen found his body five minutes away from the municipal center.

Alleged responsible: Unknown



CHAPTER 1

Covering one's mouth

2020 has been a highly complex year for the country and particularly for human rights defenders and their communities. In the midst of a context in which the armed conflict and violence are being reconfigured and democratic institutions are weakening, attacks against social leaders have escalated.

Since 2017, the risk for people who defend collective rights has been increasing; every year the number of aggressions they receive is greater, which coincides with the strengthening of armed groups in a large part of the national territory. Hence, what is happening today is a symptom of a situation that has been escalating in the face of the impotence of the civilian population and before the eyes of the State, which has ignored the calls of many sectors that ask for action to stop the violent acts that are leaving more and more victims.

In December 2019, a series of murders of human rights defenders raised the alarm about the dangers in the territories and the possibility that this situation would continue and become even more complex during the following year. The attacks have not stopped, they have been constant, they are spreading fear throughout almost the entire country, generating displacement and already claiming almost a hundred lives of women and men who were only looking to work for others.

While the horror continues to spread throughout the territories, the government remains silent and insists on denying the intensification of the conflict and the systematic nature of the aggressions. Although every day social leaders expose their lives and face multiple threats, institutions and officials do not recognize the seriousness of what is happening and, on the contrary, try to impose a parallel version of a reality in which nothing is as serious as it seems and in which the incipient measures adopted by the government to provide protection are efficient and produce positive results.

In the face of a denialist discourse that has forced the population to confront ever more intense violence, the voices from the territories do not stop rising to insistently say that they feel alone, that they are being slaughtered, and that the war is at their doorsteps. But instead of listening, the government remains paralyzed, ignoring all the alerts and trying to cover the mouths of the population to prevent voices from rising up and their discourse from imposing over complaints and demands so that the reality is acknowledged and the necessary measures are taken to provide guarantees for those who defend human rights.

The Government has focused on defining apparent solutions to the situation in the territories, which are disconnected from the actual

needs; in fact, some of them put communities and human rights defenders at greater risk. An example of this, is the militarist strategy that appears to be at the center of security and protection measures; which does not generate guarantees and which, on the contrary, is increasing violations against the rights of the civilian population in the territories as evidenced during the first half of 2020, in the 157% increase in aggressions against human rights defenders by the Public Force, which was recorded by our information system.

The risks of militarization

President Iván Duque has defended the military presence as a tool for the transformation of the territories where the inhabiting communities are impoverished by dispossession, abandoned by the State and violated by different armed actors for decades now.

In his Defense and Security Policy he speaks of a “static stability” obtained by the intervention of the Military Forces and the National Police, which later becomes “dynamic stability, capable of consolidating security and promoting the transformation of the territory”¹. The force is then given priority and entrusted with the task of paving the way for the rest of the institutions to arrive.

Unfortunately, as we have pointed out on several occasions, the problem

lies in the fact that violence is the indicator that remains stable and on the rise in places with the greatest deployment of public forces. The regions of southern Córdoba, the Lower Cauca region of Antioquia and the Pacific region of Nariño, as well as the department of Cauca, are evidence of this incongruity. In addition to this, the institutional offer required by the populations located there is never installed or deficiently provided.

The prioritization and delimitation of the regions where the territorial control of the State will be applied in this government is materialized in the Strategic Zones of Integral Intervention -ZEII-, which criteria and conception are a re-edition of the Rehabilitation and Consolidation Zones that were part of the strategy of public order control, developed since the first year of Alvaro Uribe's mandate. These similarities had already been mentioned in our January-June 2019 semi-annual report, where three features stand out: emphasis on citizen cooperation, zoning of areas of the country to develop war strategies, and the strengthening of military intelligence.

Stabilization is a recurrent term in this policy and to achieve it, this administration is requesting the cooperation and assistance of U.S. troops, as has been the case for more than 20 years in the country. With complaints on their shoulders, such as the alleged rape of a girl in Melgar, Tolima, in 2006, a variable number of military personnel and civilian contractors in the United States have carried out different tasks introduced

¹ Ministry of Defense. Policy on Defense and Security (PDS) - For Legality, Entrepreneurship and Equity, page 37.

by Plan Colombia and extended to the present day.

The limit of foreign personnel on Colombian soil, established by bilateral agreements, has even been extended. This was the case in 2001 with DynCorp, a U.S. government contractor dedicated to the aerial spraying of illicit crops².

The increase of military presence, both national and foreign, generates an atmosphere of intimidation and anxiety in the populations where the actions are carried out, especially for the defenders who document violations perpetrated by the Army, given the impunity that covers the high commanders involved in cases of extrajudicial executions, who were promoted in 2019 and have encouraged the return of these crimes³.

Foreign military meddling and “a new Plan Colombia”

Through a communication issued by the U.S. Embassy at the end of May, and not through an official communication from the National Government, it became known that a Security Force Assistance Brigade (SFAB) arrived in the country to advise

the Colombian Army in the fight against drug trafficking.

After the national controversy was unleashed and an action for protection against the president was carried out by several congressmen, the Administrative Court of Cundinamarca ordered the president to send the Senate all the information related to the arrival of this brigade and to suspend the legal effects of the authorization for their activities⁴.

Ivan Duque himself and the Minister of Defense Carlos Holmes Trujillo defended this decision, explaining the relevance of this international alliance and the supposed constitutionality that protects it. After the support of 69 congressmen, by means of a missive, to the joint work of national and foreign troops, the military actions were resumed^{5,6}.

The assistance and operations of U.S. troops have been justified in the fight against drug trafficking and terrorism. More than two decades of presence

² Semana Magazine. January 29, 2019. *Military ‘gringos’ in Colombia: this is how they have been present for 20 years*. Available at: <https://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/asi-han-sido-20-anos-de-presencia-militar-gringa-en-colombia/599604/>

³ Human Rights Platforms. September 2020. *The Mismanagement of the Apprentice. The Consolidation of Corporate Governance*. José Alvear Restrepo Lawyers Collective. Page., 168.

⁴ PARES. July 4, 2020. *U.S. Troops in Colombia: One Step Backwards*. Available at: <https://pares.com.co/2020/07/04/tropas-estadounidenses-en-colombia-un-paso-atras/>

⁵ Semana Magazine. July 3, 2020. *Duque: presence of US troops respects Colombia’s constitutional order*. Available at: <https://www.semana.com/semana-tv/semana-noticias/articulo/duque-presencia-de-tropas-de-eeuu-respetar-orden-constitucional-de-colombia/683663>

⁶ RCN Radio. August 27, 2020. *After Senate support, Government confirms presence of US soldiers in Colombia*. Available at: <https://www.rcnradio.com/politica/tras-apoyo-del-senado-gobierno-confirma-presencia-de-soldados-de-eeuu-en-colombia>

in our country show regressive results for the human security of the rural communities, irregularities related to their actions and little effectiveness in these objectives⁷, as well as the strengthening of the interference of the United States in Colombia, a country that Washington describes as the best ally and friend in the region.

On top of that, in mid-August, the Colombia Crece initiative was launched, named by President Duque and Donald Trump's mission as "a new Plan Colombia". Considered, in addition, as the beginning of a new stage of bilateral relations between both countries, its strategy is mainly designed for the development of the regions, the improvement of their infrastructure and the fight against criminal and drug trafficking organizations⁸.

This new initiative does not foresee good omens if one takes into account that it is framed in the same logic of Plan Colombia and, therefore, in the failure of the 'war against drugs' and

the meddling of the United States in Colombia.

The latest World Drug Reports (2018, 2019 and 2020) from the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), record a sustained increase in the areas of coca crops in South America, with Colombia heading the list, encouraged by an increase in demand from northern markets.

This new phase of relationship celebrated by the National Government offers a free way for the participation of the American troops in the policies that are advanced in the Strategic Zones of Integral Intervention -ZEII-, also called Future Zones in a skillful handling of the language.

Militaristic Overlay on the Peace Agreement

By distorting the content of the Agreement, the governing party and its head in the executive branch intend to replace the figures, programs and projects set out in its six points.

Regarding the collective protection of communities, territories and leaderships, issues that are developed in the text of the Agreement and which implementation is still pending, they invented the so-called Timely Action Plan -PAO-, a deficiently-made alleged synthesis of what is contained in Decree 660 of 2018, Decree 154 of 2017 and other regulations emanating from the Peace Agreement⁹. A little

⁷ UNODC. July 9, 2019. *World Drug Report 2019 presented in the Dominican Republic*. Available at: <https://www.unodc.org/ropan/es/presentan-informe-mundial-sobre-las-drogas-2019.html>

El Tiempo Newspaper. July 11, 2018. *Insisting on failure: Colombia's drug policy*. Available at: <https://www.eltiempo.com/opinion/columnistas/joaquin-velez-navarro/insistir-en-el-fracaso-la-politica-contras-las-drogas-en-colombia-241886>

⁸ El Espectador Newspaper. August 17, 2020. *President Duque and Trump Mission launch "a new Plan Colombia"*. Available at: <https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/colombia-crece-el-nuevo-plan-colombia-que-anuncio-ivan-duque-y-mision-trump/>

⁹ Given the increase in threats against human rights defenders in 2019 and the sub-

over two years after it was issued, this plan has not contributed at all to protecting the lives of human rights defenders, nor of those involved in the post-agreement process, such as the peasantry registered in the National Integral Program for the Substitution of Illicit Crops (PNIS) or the ex-combatant population in the process of reincorporation, to mention a couple of examples

The same thing happens to the Development Program with a Territorial Approach -PDET-, which beneficiary municipalities are witnessing a timid progress and a lame execution, distorted by other parallel initiatives of the current Government. Its goals have now been folded into the creation of new territorial figures that have a strong military component, destroying the integrity of the Agreement and modifying its approaches; from the handling of the

language (PDET-Zonas Futuro), which has a notorious symbolic effect.

Precisely, the communication from the U.S. Embassy states that the already mentioned American brigade will be present in the Future Zones, mainly. The National Security Council has already made known the Special Plans for Integral Intervention -PEII- in these zones, conceived by the government as a civil strategy of intervention and targeting of programs, plans and state resources, in territories that require unified and integral action by the state. In other words, the same territories that require the implementation of the PDET. It is incoherent and cynical that these plans are presented as a civil initiative, while they are conceived from the military leadership; another element that threatens the adequate implementation of Points 1, 3 and 4 of the Agreement.

sequent aggressions that occurred during the first quarter of 2020, it is worth quoting this conclusion:

"The cases speak for themselves and demonstrate the failure of Duque government's Timely Action Plan (PAO), launched on November 20, 2018, and the validity of the arguments made by human rights organizations in this regard: i) the government's diagnosis has limitations, and does not assume a multi-causal analysis of the problem; ii) its approach is militaristic and ignores the perspective of human security, included in the Final Agreement; iii) material protection prevails; iv) it ignores the State as a factor of risk; v) the government lacks the will to implement what is stipulated in terms of guarantees in the Final Agreement, which adds to the already persistent impunity". Human Rights Platforms. September 2020. *The Apprentice's Mismanagement The consolidation of corporate governance*. José Alvear Restrepo Lawyers Collective Page 181

There are five Future Zones: 1) Nariño Pacific, 2) Catatumbo, 3) Bajo Cauca and Southern Cordoba, 4) Arauca 5) Chiribiquete and surrounding National Natural Parks. The official voices affirm that the PDET is the pillar of the government's efforts to transform the most relegated territories and that the PEII are complementary and harmonious with the Program.

To give an example of the dangers arising from the militaristic approach in these areas, it is worth remembering the murder of ex-militiaman Dimar Torres by soldiers of the Vulcan Task Force, which is present in the region of Catatumbo. In addition to this and the units of the Thirtieth Brigade, since the end of 2018 the Rapid Deployment Force No. 3 -FUDRA- has

been carrying out operations in Norte de Santander.

Finally, if you locate the map of the Future Zones on the regions and

PDET municipalities, it is possible to verify that they are in the same territories, being the first ones of smaller dimension.



The Nariño Pacific Coast Future Zone excludes all the municipalities of Cauca and Valle del Cauca that are also beneficiaries of the PDET. The Chiribiquete Zone leaves out Putumayo and part of Meta. The Future Zone of the Lower Cauca and Southern Córdoba does not include Chocó or the municipalities of the Middle Magdalena region that are also covered by the PDET. For other municipalities in the Caribbean region, located in the departments of Cesar, Magdalena and La Guajira, there are no Future Zones.

What is the institutional commitment to promote the PDET in these territories? The criteria of prioritization and delimitation of these geographic figures promoted by the Duque administration, go against the objectives and principles defined by the municipalities that would be part of this impulse for the rural development and the reparation of the damages caused by the armed conflict, in the framework of the Peace Agreement.

Rotten apples?

Thanks to the fact that within the Military Forces there are still people who are dissatisfied with everything that happens within the institution, and who are willing to demonstrate the excesses and violations that are repeatedly committed, a list of scandals has been made public since the beginning of 2019.

First, there was the directive that sponsored the return of extrajudicial executions, incorrectly called 'false positives'. Then, the persecution

and surveillance work that led to the "trials" and "profiling" of journalists, opposition politicians, human rights defenders and public figures, sponsored by the emphasis of Ivan Duque's government on intelligence and counter-intelligence, condensed in the Defense and Security Policy.

In addition to this, there are reports of minors being raped by military personnel in several locations around the country, the most notorious cases being those that took place in Risaralda and Guaviare.

Although General Eduardo Zapateiro is trying to clear the name of the institution he commands, announcing that the investigations are progressing and the removals have become effective, the decomposition is evident to the whole country.

It is necessary to mention the revelations that involve military units with the shipment of drug packages abroad and the arrangement of routes, with precise schedules and coordinates, to evade international maritime controls. Longstanding activities that are part of the continental dynamics of drug trafficking¹⁰.

These and other kinds of cases were exposed through the so-called 'Baton Operation', carried out within the

¹⁰ UNO TV News. May 17, 2020. In a cocaine seizure operation, authorities found secret official documents in the possession of drug traffickers. Available at: <https://www.noticiasuno.com/nacional/en-operativo-de-incautacion-de-cocaina-autoridades-encontraron-documentos-secretos-oficiales-en-poder-de-narcotraficantes/>

Army to discover cases and networks of corruption, for their subsequent depuration. The results of this intelligence work, published by the *Semana* magazine, reveal a recurring practice of selling information and weapons, as well as alliances with some illegal armed groups to weaken the others. These events have implicated 16 generals and around 230 officers and sub-officers^{11,12}.

These events have put civil society in great danger. On top of all the attacks by the illegal armed actors, the State itself persecutes and violates those it should be protecting, making the work of human rights defenders more difficult. In addition to all the obstacles they have to overcome on a daily basis, they also have to deal with attacks coming from the State itself.

All of these reasons have fueled the discussion on the need for a profound reform of the Military Forces, including the National Police, which will require a change in military doctrine and thinking that leaves behind the National Security Doctrine, which focuses on the internal enemy, to open the way for a Doctrine of Security for Peace.

The pandemic and individual freedoms

Despite the complexity of the situation in the country, new difficulties have arisen since March with the arrival of the COVID-19 pandemic in the country. The situation became particularly critical for human rights defenders and communities, especially in rural areas. The virus made much more evident the historical debts that the State has with a large part of the country's regions, many of them lacking the basic conditions to face this situation. It also revealed the pending issues of the current government in terms of guarantees and implementation of the Peace Agreement that have led to an increase in aggressions.

With deteriorating security conditions, many communities have been forced to face an unknown virus in solitude, with an incipient presence of the State and with insufficient measures from the Government that do not resolve the oblivion that the territories have suffered for decades.

The pandemic left the poorest and most popular sectors of the country facing a deadly dilemma: to die from the virus or to starve to death. A dramatic context that tested the type of State built over the years, or at least, regarding the statement in Article 1 of the Political Constitution according to which, Colombia is a Social State of Law. The appellation "social" is not an ornament, much less a whim of the 1991 constituents, it is the main feature that differentiated the current Political Charter from the 1886 Constitution. It is a determining characteristic to indicate that the

¹¹ José Alvear Restrepo Lawyers Collective. *The Apprentice's Mismanagement. The consolidation of the corporate government*. Pages 208-209.

¹² *Semana Magazine. Baton Operation: the secrets of the corruption networks in the National Army*. Available at: <https://especiales.semana.com/operacion-baston-los-secretos-de-las-redes-de-corrupcion-en-el-ejercito-nacional/index.html>

Colombian State does not limit itself to regulating or mediating between the multiple interests of a diverse, plural, and multiethnic society such as ours. The social aspect provides it with a democratic and inclusive nature, and offers a greater scope to the rule of law, which is very limited to legal norms and hierarchies. The social aspect is not a minor term; the focus of rights and guarantees for a dignified life for citizens lies in it. This means having food, work, housing, health, education, basic services and coexistence. Essentially, a welfare condition.

However, the Political Constitution also proposes a State with individual and collective liberties, independence of powers and institutional mechanisms for democratic balance. This is known as weights and counterweights, where the control and investigation entities, at least in theory, should be in the hands of parties, movements or political sectors other than the Government in order to guarantee a democratic exercise of power. That is the Attorney General's Office, the Procurator General's Office, the Comptroller General's Office, and the Ombudsman's Office.

So far, it is clear that the social rule of law has not been implemented in Colombia. Inequality, inequity, exclusion and marginality are an impregnable reality. However, in a health emergency such as the one experienced as a result of COVID-19, it would be understandable that the National Government should guide the State according to this set of characteristics and guarantee the basic living conditions and the processes of coexistence that are

being built with the peace process. Therefore, one would understand that the more than 160 emergency decrees issued by President Iván Duque in the first three months of the quarantine would be aimed at averting the health crisis and contributing to the realization of the minimum vital needs of the citizens, particularly the most vulnerable, who are around 5,668,882 households¹³.

Most of the measures adopted by the Executive Branch provided the final stroke to strengthen a corporate State, the one shaped by Iván Duque in his National Development Plan. Thus, the decrees issued were aimed at rescuing the business and financial sectors, and not the popular sectors, the primary victims of the quarantine. Thus, the government continued to denaturalize the public sector in order to benefit private profits, while undermining the common interest and evidencing a clear regressive approach in terms of human rights¹⁴.

On its part, the governing party, taking full advantage of the pandemic, strengthened presidentialism and took on legislative powers by concentrating on issuing 164 decrees, 115 of them with the force of law, ignoring the Congress of the Republic which,

¹³ Dejusticia. April 24, 2020. *Request to the Constitutional Court to establish parameters to protect democracy and our fundamental rights during the pandemic*. Available at: <https://www.dejusticia.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Intervenci%C3%B3n-Decreto-518-Ingreso-B%C3%A1sico-PARA-RADICAR.pdf>

¹⁴ José Alvear Restrepo Lawyers Collective. September of 2020. *The Apprentice's Mismanagement. The Consolidation of Corporate Governance*.

passively, in spite of the protests from the opposition groups, was stripped of its legislative function by the Executive Branch. The same thing happened with the Constitutional Court, since a large part of the decrees are of an ordinary nature and, therefore, in order to be sued, one must resort to the Council of State, which implies too much time and effort, and while this is happening, the objectives with which they were issued will have already fulfilled their role.

Added to this situation is the accumulation of power achieved by the governing party. By taking over the State's control and investigation bodies, such as the Attorney General's Office, the Procurator General's Office and the Ombudsman (and the Comptroller General's Office, which was already in their hands), they are breaking the law that maintains the balance in democratic states: the weights and counterweights.

For Colombians, the situation in the midst of the pandemic has been quite complex. On the one hand, as it may be seen, because of the decisions and measures adopted by the Government that are far from depicting the real needs of the majority of the population and, on the other hand, because in a large part of the regions of the country, the communities are also facing the virus of violence.

In addition, there was hope that the situation of violence and human rights violations would be alleviated in harmony with preventive confinement to avoid contagion. It would take advantage of the urgent call made by the United Nations Security Council

through Resolution 2532¹⁵, addressed to governments and armed groups, to make a ceasefire in all countries in conflict and thus avoid further suffering for communities. However, this did not happen; on the contrary, the pandemic became the perfect scenario for the development of the armed conflict and the violence in the territories, and the aggressions against the civil population became more acute.

This is demonstrated by the critical increase in killings of human rights defenders that is evident in this report, without the slightest interest on the part of the government to curb this situation under a denialist posture that does not acknowledge the reality of communities and territories. The same position has been adopted since President Iván Duque came to power, in particular, by disregarding the Peace Agreement and various mechanisms in there created to try to improve the security conditions of social leaders and to offer the guarantees that they so much need; these were replaced by ineffective measures established with no consensus from civil society and by means of a public policy, announced by the President on 23 August 2018 in San José de Apartadó, which to this day remains unknown.

In addition to attacks against human rights defenders and social leaders, other violent actions have been unleashed in the country against

¹⁵ United Nations Security Council. *Resolution 2532 on Global Ceasefire*. Approved 1 July 2020. S/RES/2532 (2020).

the civilian population, without any restraint, perpetrated by both State actors and illegal groups, making increasingly worrying the situation of humanitarian crisis that has become more evident in recent years. An example of this is the unusual increment of massacres, which at the closing of this report exceeded 65 during the course of the year, with more than 200 victims, which the government decided to call "collective murders", as a way of ignoring the connotation that these have had in the history of the country.

This scenario is worsened by the government's position and by acts of state violence, persecution, repression, among other actions, which attack some sectors and the population, which should be protected by the state.

One of these events occurred during the first weeks of the arrival of the pandemic into the country. The massacre of 23 inmates of the La Modelo prison in Bogotá was committed by INPEC guards on March 21¹⁶. This massacre was legitimized by the then Minister of Justice and upcoming Procurator General, Margarita Cabello, who declared that thanks to INPEC, the escape of five

thousand prisoners was prevented, when what actually happened was a riot to demand sanitary conditions to prevent the spread of COVID-19¹⁷.

Another event that has occurred in recent months and that has attracted attention, is the publication of a list of people (politicians, journalists, columnists, human rights defenders) who were constantly monitored and profiled¹⁸ for several months by the Presidency of the Republic through social networks, in order to know if these people are positive or negative influencers. That is, if they affect the image of the Government or not. In spite of the explanations given by the Presidential Communications Advisor, according to whom it is normal to monitor the perception of political and opinion influencers in order to have a dialogue with them, doubts remained as to what was really being sought with the meticulous follow-up and, more seriously, using the resources of the Peace Fund.

While these situations were happening in the cities, in the rural areas, far from the center of the country, the government was taking advantage of the quarantine, the confinement due to the pandemic and

¹⁶ Semana Magazine. June 7, 2020. *10 hours of terror. SEMANA reveals the evidence of how the worst prison riot in the history of the country, which left 23 dead and 80 wounded, ended in a massacre.* Available at: <https://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/en-exclusiva-masacre-carcel-la-modelo-pruebas-del-amenazamiento-carcelario/677853/#:~:text=Pedro%20Ar%C3%A9valo%2C%20de%2029%20a%C3%B1os,en%20la%20historia%20de%20Colombia.>

¹⁷ El Tiempo Newspaper. March 22, 2020. *Following confrontations there are 23 dead and 83 injured inmates in La Modelo prison.* Available at: <https://www.eltiempo.com/justicia/investigacion/heridos-y-fallecidos-tras-amenazamiento-en-carceles-del-pais-475872>

¹⁸ El Espectador Newspaper. August 27, 2020. *The list of influencers that the Presidency is keeping an eye on.* Available at: <https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/la-lista-de-influenciadores-a-los-que-la-presidencia-les-pone-el-ojo/>

the immobility of the communities, to advance with the operations of forced eradication of crops for illicit use in some regions, thus contributing to further complicate the territorial contexts. Such operations have left peasants dead and wounded by the Public Force, and have also caused the death of police officers attacked by armed groups. As a consequence of this situation, communities, social and human rights organizations have made multiple calls for the Government to stop forced eradications, to comply with the voluntary substitution program, and to continue the consultation with the families that are willing to make the

transition. However, these voices have not been heard by the institutions. The orders of action for protection from judges, who considered that the claims of the communities in the face of the forced eradications were valid and demanded their detention, have not been fulfilled. This behavior, in addition to ignoring community and social initiatives, shows how judicial decisions are disregarded. This logic also includes the unprecedented attack by the government and its political party against the Supreme Court of Justice and, in general, against the independence of the justice system, another characteristic of the exercise of authoritarian power.



CHAPTER 2

Washing hands thouroughly

Since August 2018, when the current government pledged to protect human rights defenders and social leaders as part of the signing of the so-called Pact for Life in Apartadó, Antioquia, new figures have become part of the institutional rhetoric on the subject, while the panorama of aggressions continues to worsen.

The Timely Action Plan -PAO-, the Intersectoral Commission for the development of the ODP or Strategic Zones of Integrated Intervention -ZEII- or Future Zones, have become recurrent when addressing the actions implemented by the National Government in terms of guarantees to exercise the right to defend human rights.

These new figures and the recurring use of these terms generate important political effects in addressing this State obligation. In the first place, the invisibility and ignorance of what was agreed upon in the Final Peace Agreement in terms of guarantees. Secondly, an increasing shift in government leadership from the Ministry of the Interior to the Ministry of Defense, resulting from the articulation between the PAO and the Future Zones, for which the National Security Council approves the Special Plans for Integral Intervention -PEII- to be implemented in these zones, as mentioned above.

In that order of ideas, the government's discourse and action in

the area of guarantees, more than being framed in a logic of rights, is based on a logic of national security, and in this sense, the familiar old recipes of militarization as real action emerge, accompanied by promises of action and comprehensive presence of the State in the most remote and vulnerable territories.

In addition, the silence adopted by the National Government, and particularly by the President of the Republic and his Minister of the Interior, in the face of the increase in aggressions, especially murders, against social leaders is certainly disconcerting. The media strategy deployed by the Presidency to position the leadership of Iván Duque in his response to the pandemic, and the high exposure of the Ministry of the Interior (especially Minister Alicia Arango) in the delivery of humanitarian aid to vulnerable populations in the framework of the government plan *Colombia Is With You, One Million Families*, launched during the pandemic, stands in contrast with the absence of strong statements on violence against human rights defenders throughout the semester.

While it is true that a government must speak first and foremost through actions, in such serious situations, a strong message of zero tolerance for these aggressions and strong support for the work of defenders is also an ethical and political imperative for the head of state.

The few public pronouncements made by the National Government during the first semester of the year were not oriented in this direction. On the contrary, the declarations of Minister Alicia Arango at the Table for Life held in Puerto Asís, Putumayo, and its subsequent clarification¹⁹, make evident the Minister's lack of knowledge about the important role of social leadership in a democracy, together with the Government's desire to minimize the phenomenon. An example of this is the baffling announcement (against all evidence) of a 25% reduction in the number of murders of social leaders, which was mentioned by President Iván Duque on his speech at the opening of the new session of Congress on July 20 this year²⁰.

On the other hand, the angry criticism of the National Government as a reaction to the reports of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human

Rights and the Special Rapporteur on the situation of Human Rights Defenders, presented to the Human Rights Council in February of this year (already referred to in the report of the Somos Defensores Program of 2019, entitled *The Blindness*), demonstrates their lack of openness to look at the problem from another perspective; to recognize the important tools for addressing these issues, provided by the Peace Agreement and the absence of willingness to assume a collaborative attitude with these specialized mechanisms of the United Nations, which could well, from their knowledge and experience, provide valuable elements for the construction of public policy on the subject.

Meanwhile, the High Council for Human Rights has published quarterly reports on the murders of social leaders and human rights defenders, for which, curiously, they adopt the methodology of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, to establish and verify when a murder corresponds to a social leadership. For the Government, homicides continue to be the only type of aggression considered, thus ignoring other modalities that are also increasing, which make practice more complex and which must be taken into account when defining policies, instruments and strategies to combat them. The reports, far from providing clarity on the government's strategy, are a compilation of actions by different institutions that are far from providing confidence and certainty on the chosen course and its effectiveness.

The second report is presented as oriented to show public opinion the

¹⁹ At the table for life held in Puerto Asís Putumayo on March 3, 2020, Minister Arango affirmed: *"in Colombia, more people are murdered during cell phone robberies than social leaders"*, the next day she offered excuses, considering in any case that she was not mistaken, holding the media responsible for having relativized her statement and affirmed: *Why is it that when we talk about one sector everyone shouts and when we talk about the rest of the dead no one cares?*, in: <https://www.bluradio.com/nacion/por-que-todos-chillan-por-lideres-sociales-y-no-por-otros-muertos-mininterior-243653-ie6860225>

²⁰ El Espectador Newspaper. July 21, 2020. *Duque says that during his government the assassinations of social leaders have decreased by 25%*. Available at: <https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/duque-dice-que-durante-su-gobierno-los-asesinatos-de-lideres-sociales-han-disminuido-en-un-25/>

advances of the National Government in the matter of protection of social leaders²¹, which, to say the least, denotes a lack of transparency in the handling of such a delicate issue, motivated by the desire to show results where there are none; to persist in a militaristic strategy, even though it wants to be presented as integral; to continue betting on worn-out individual protection as a response to high-risk situations; as well as to ignore and distort the tools incorporated in the Peace Agreement. The actions indicated in terms of protection are far from providing guarantees for the work of social leaderships, the critical situation that regions such as Cauca, Antioquia, La Guajira, Cundinamarca, Putumayo and another long list of territories in which defending human rights has become a high-risk occupation. For human rights defender Diana Sánchez, *the reports present partial diagnoses, a record of the activities of all government and state institutions, and empty recommendations, full of common places and obvious issues (...)*²².

Finally, in August, the Ministry of the Interior virtually launched the announced campaign against the

stigmatization of social leaders. The campaign is called *#LiderEsColombia* (*#LeaderIsColombia*). In the act, the Minister of the Interior Alicia Arango announced that, within the framework of the campaign, prevention and protection actions are incorporated through pedagogical actions involving territorial authorities, didactic methods to inform them of their risk situations and training centers²³. Once again, the government's discourse reveals a lack of openness and harmony in relation to the repeated demands of human rights organizations within the framework of the process of the National Board of Guarantees and the recommendations of international organizations, which are not reflected in the Campaign, nor to avoid stigmatization, much less to strengthen protection. This launch is perceived as one more action within the framework of the Government's media positioning strategy.

During the same week, a new episode on profiling was released, following an investigation by the Foundation for Freedom of the Press (FLIP)²⁴, which in this particular case involves the Administrative Department of the Presidency (DAPRE) and incorporates some well-known human rights defenders. According to the

²¹ Presidential Counseling for Human Rights. July 9, 2020. The government reveals progress in the Protection of Social Leaders. Available at: <http://www.derechoshumanos.gov.co/Prensa/2020/Paginas/segundo-informe-ls-2020.aspx>

²² Diana Sánchez Lara. Presidential Counseling for Human Rights. July 9, 2020. *The government announces progress in the Protection of Social Leaders*. Available at: <https://www.elespectador.com/colombia2020/opinion/el-gobierno-y-la-violencia-contra-lideres-y-lideresas-sociales/>

²³ Ministry of the Interior. *#LiderEsColombia*. Available at: <https://www.mininterior.gov.co/sala-de-prensa/noticias/lideresco-lombia-un-reconocimiento-los-lideres-sociales-del-pais>

²⁴ FLIP. August 7, 2018. Visible Guideline Report, *Administrative Department of the Presidency of the Republic DAPRE*. Available at: <https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1S5XRW-qZtWMeMUFaci7OxZN0dfICPbl>

investigation, the first concern is that resources destined for peace were diverted to this political marketing strategy in favor of the President of the Republic. Secondly, for the component of positioning in social networks incorporated into the strategy, a database of those considered to be *influencers* was created in order to classify them according to the positions they express with the government. Given that it is not clear what use will be made of this information, and the strategy to be followed against those who express unfavorable positions, it is not unreasonable to think that this classification, derived from their legitimate right to give their opinion, may lead to stigmatization actions that have been so recurrent by high officials of different governments, precisely when one of the objectives of the campaign launched by the Ministry of the Interior during the same week should have been aimed at reversing this practice

The Government's lack of memory

As it becomes evident, what Colombian society has been experiencing for the past two years is the Government of oblivion. The power of a few officials who, by using all possible means, have insisted on hiding under the carpet what was built in previous periods, especially those issues related to peace, in order to impose upon it a discourse of their own, a parallel reality, which in no way resembles that of the majority of Colombian society. This distorted discourse is not an innocent

reading of the country's situation. On the contrary, it has its origin in a premeditated and intentional denial, which seeks to take the gaze away from critical points, such as the growing violence against human rights defenders and the high risk in which a good part of the population is found in all regions, especially in rural areas.

This position has become the basis from which different key issues for the country are addressed. It has marked decisions that, more than building, seem to carry the intention of "wiping the slate clean", thus challenging part of the society that has worked tirelessly for peace and, in particular, the victims of the armed conflict who for many years have struggled to be heard and to gain a place in political and discussion spaces that normally left them aside.

The decisions taken by such an important institution for the country as the National Center of Historical Memory (CNMH)²⁵ are a clear example of this. The Center responds to the State's duty of memory and is committed to recovering and disseminating the memories of the different parties to the armed conflict in order to create conditions of non-repetition. Despite the mission of the CNMH, at the beginning of 2019 President Ivan Duque decided to appoint as its director Dario Acevedo, a historian who has publicly denied the existence of the armed

²⁵ CNMH. *What is the National Center of Historical Memory?* Available at: <https://centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/contexto/>

conflict in Colombia²⁶, a problematic contradiction since he was elected to lead the institution that collects the memories of that conflict.

In spite of the different manifestations of discontent from various sectors, including the victims of the conflict²⁷, the decision stood and Acevedo has developed his leadership amidst setbacks because of his personal opinions and political activism that has increasingly alienated those who are the essence of the CNMH: the victims. In fact, several organizations have decided to remove from the institution the archives that had been given to them as a contribution to the reconstruction of the memories and history of the armed conflict²⁸. This is due to the lack of confidence in the current director and the insult that it means to leave in charge of this institution, a person who denies the history that millions of people in the country went through.

Unfortunately, this has not been the only time that a government decision seems more of a provocation to civil society and victims. A similar situation occurred this year with the

appointment of Jorge Rodrigo Tovar as Victims' Coordinator of the Ministry of the Interior²⁹. Tovar is the son of former paramilitary chief Rodrigo Tovar Pupo, alias Jorge 40, who led the Northern Block of the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC). Although it is claimed that Jorge Tovar has the experience and knowledge to be in charge of the area, his appointment is inappropriate and provocative because it puts him in charge of interlocution with people who have suffered from the armed conflict, many of them victims of the paramilitary groups and the Bloc that his father had under his command.

A controversy was unleashed in the country as a result of this appointment³⁰. Far from sending a message of reconciliation, it was clear that the current government has little sensitivity towards the victims and, in particular, Minister Alicia Arango, who is unaware that reconciliation is not a concept to be imposed but a process in which the victims are at the center as the essence and the end itself. This disconnection of the Government with the reality of the country has been evidenced in innumerable gestures during the two years of Iván Duque's presidency; very far from responding to the needs of the population, it continues to govern with proposals that represent a very small group and under a recalcitrant denialism

²⁶ El Tiempo Newspaper. February 21, 2019. *Ban on courses, the latest criticism against the director of the CNMH*. Available at: <https://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/criticas-a-ruben-dario-acevedo-por-negar-el-conflicto-y-vetar-cursos-academicos-325624>

²⁷ El Colombiano Newspaper. February 4, 2019. *Victims reject candidate for director of Historical Memory Center*. Available at: <https://www.elcolombiano.com/colombia/paz-y-derechos-humanos/victimas-rechazan-candidato-para-el-centro-de-memoria-historica-OF10154192>

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ El Herald Newspaper. May 19, 2020. *Controversy over the appointment of Jorge 40's son as the director of Victims of the Ministry of the Interior*. Available at: <https://www.elheraldo.co/colombia/polemica-por-nombramiento-de-hijo-de-jorge-40-como-director-de-victimas-de-mininterior>

³⁰ Ibid.

that each day does more harm to society and, especially, to people and communities to whom the State has historical debts.

Lack of knowledge about the processes of institutions and ignoring the demands of society has been, unfortunately, the action of the government. This has made the mistrust of the population grow, as they see that it is not their rights that motivate the decisions of some officials, but the interests of a few who use the capacities of the State to conserve their status, even if this means going over the heads of the majority of Colombians and erasing the processes and relations created between institutions and society.

An example of this is the recent election of the people who will be in charge of the Ombudsman's Office and the Procurator General's Office, appointments that have been subject to controversy. In the case of the Ombudsman's Office, communities and human rights defenders, principally, expected respect for what had been built up in recent years with this institution at the head of Carlos Negret, who managed to establish trust in the regions and do a judicious job that gave visibility and a reading on the difficult humanitarian situations in the territories.

On the contrary, a list of three candidates was accepted, but they did not have the experience and knowledge on human rights that are essential for this position³¹. And

although these are not requirements, they are very important for the relationship with the communities and for understanding the realities of the territories. Even so, Carlos Camargo was elected as the Ombudsman, with the support of a large part of the House of Representatives, and it is even said that the President of the Republic³² intervened in his election.

On the other hand, with the designation of the person who will replace Fernando Carrillo in the Procurator's Office, something similar happened to the candidates presented by the Supreme Court of Justice and the Superior Council of the Judiciary. President Iván Duque completed the list of three candidates with the Minister of Justice, Margarita Cabello³³, a decision that, from the beginning, turned all the support to the President's candidate and, as expected from the beginning, defined the election of Cabello as the next Procurator. This decision has been questioned by different sectors of the country because it represents a hazard for the balance of power,

man: the election will be held on Friday.
Available at: <https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/avalan-terna-para-defensor-del-pueblo-la-eleccion-sera-el-viernes/>

³² El Espectador Newspaper. August 14, 2020. *With no major surprises, Carlos Camargo is the new Ombudsman.* Available at: <https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/carlos-camargo-es-el-nuevo-defensor-del-pueblo/>

³³ El Tiempo Newspaper. August 14, 2020. *The list of three candidates is ready for the Senate to elect the head of the Procurator's Office.* Available at: <https://www.eltiempo.com/justicia/cortes/esta-es-la-terna-de-la-que-el-senado-debe-elegir-al-proximo-procurador-general-529608>

³¹ El Espectador Newspaper. August 12, 2020. *Triple endorsement for the Ombuds-*

since in front of this organ of control of public officials she will be under the command of a person who is not only close to the government, but was once also part of it³⁴. In these decisions, there is a great risk to democracy, since the Government has placed its cards in the hands of the control bodies, in addition to the Attorney General's Office and the Comptroller General's Office, which are under the power of people close to the President.

In all these changes, the feeling remains that governance is not exercised for one country but for a few people. The decisions that have been made go beyond the interests of the majority. They ignore the needs, the demands, the realities that exist in every corner of Colombia, and are imposed despite the attempts of civil society to contain the positions that in the long term can further deteriorate the country and harm the democratic system, that is, everyone, but particularly the most vulnerable. Although a large part of the society knows that the version of reality that the Government is trying to impose is a fiction, the truth is that it continues to dominate and is succeeding in imposing itself on what is really happening, with great political, social and institutional costs that will eventually become more and more evident, even if it is already too late.

Guarantees on hold

• The Archived Commission

It has been repeatedly stated throughout these pages, that the National Government has been left with valuable public policy instruments to advance towards the dismantling of paramilitarism and other sources of organized crime, one of which is the National Commission for Security Guarantees -CNGS-. The importance of this Commission is no less serious, given the transcendence that overcoming this phenomenon has for the country in order to continue the search for peace building and the closing of the violence.

However, the government has ignored the importance of CNGS and has not advanced in its goal to create the policy of dismantling or disbanding paramilitarism. The reality is that the High Commissioner for Peace, Miguel Ceballos, stripped the Commission of its binding nature and turned it into a consultative space for the Plan of Action -PAO-, and although he is forced to convene it due to political pressure, the meetings are futile, since it only maintains the appearance of functioning when it is really a question of informative and procedural meetings and it has been a long time since its internal regulations were discussed (three years after its creation). Nevertheless, there is no mention of the destructuring of paramilitarism and organized crime.

More recently, given this simulation of the CNGS' functioning, and given the expansion of paramilitarism and increase in violence, the Special

³⁴ El Espectador Newspaper. August 27, 2020. *Margarita Cabello, Procurator: a surprise-free choice*. Available at: <https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/margarita-cabello-procuradora-una-elecci-on-sin-sorpresas-y-con-implicaciones/>

Jurisdiction for Peace gave an order to the CNGS to deliver the public policy mandated by the Peace Agreement. Since no progress has been made, Commissioner Ceballos, unilaterally, without taking into account the opinion of civil society representatives, presented a proposal that is far from dismantling paramilitarism and its support networks. A sum of government policies, which strips the CNGS of its nature and scope, thus confirming once again the National Government's unilateral reformulation of the Final Peace Agreement.

This proposal has several problems, first of all, it is a compilation of policies of the current government, which master source is the National Security and Defense, followed by other minor ones like the Timely Action Plan; the Framework for Coexistence and Citizen Security; the Criminal Policy (led by the Ministry of Justice and Policy); the Comprehensive Protection and Guarantees for Social and Community Leaders, Journalists and Protection and Guarantees for Human Rights Defenders and other social leaders, which among other things has not yet been published, so it does not exist.

Second, this is a new proposal with a militaristic approach, based on repeated and ineffective policies of submission to justice, with an emphasis on criminal treatment, demobilization and reintegration exercises, but with no policies for transformation, much less for truth, where the financial and support actors of the paramilitary groups or others associated with organized crime are known, whether from individuals or state agents. Therefore,

the Government's approach does not aim to dismantle the networks surrounding paramilitarism, but rather focuses on norms aimed at capturing persons who belong to these groups and with a media purpose, while the underlying problem remains untouched; as happened with the demobilization carried out by Álvaro Uribe in 2005, where armies were demobilized but the creators and financiers of paramilitarism were not touched and, for this reason, they ended up resurfacing very quickly.

Third, the government deprives the CNGS of its mission to articulate the Integral Security System for the Exercise of Policy -SISEP- and the set of programs that emerged from the Peace Agreement. In this same sense, the SISEP is mentioned, but with no functions nor role in the proposed policy for the dismantling of paramilitarism, its successor groups and support networks.

Thus, it takes away the specific weight that the CNGS has in the Final Peace Agreement and turns it into a space of lesser importance and political hierarchy, even below the PAO, which remains to be a simple plan of the Ministry of Interior.

In spite of all this, in several public interventions, High Commissioner Ceballos repeats the same routine that he has been enunciating for quite some time. He highlights the implementation of more than 19 meetings of the CNGS, as if the mere fact of holding meetings would solve the problems. He also repeats the capacity of dismantling that they have had against "very dangerous" criminal gangs such as "los Topos", "los

Plumas", "los Dandi", "los Rebelión", "los Paisanos", "los Ronda", "los Mercenarios" and "la Pradera". These groups, to tell the truth, are minor local gangs, with no major incidence, whose names are not even considered by the Attorney General's Office as responsible for the murders of human rights defenders and social leaders.

• The broken promises of Public Policy

On August 23, 2018, a few days after his inauguration as president, Ivan Duque promised a public policy of protection for social leaders. To this end, he signed a Pact, which has been analyzed in previous Reports. The announcement was made in disregard of the policy framework of human security guarantees already in place for ex-combatants, social leaders, and vulnerable communities, established in the Peace Agreement. In November, three months later, through the Ministry of the Interior, he launched the "starting fee" of the policy for social defenders and leaders with the Timely Action Plan -PAO- that consists of three strategies: strengthening the institutional response, strategic action in the territory and non-stigmatization campaigns.

Of these three axes, the only one that was taken to the territories was the second one, related to the militarization of the territories, through a kind of figure ordered by the National Government: the Strategic Zones of Integral Intervention -ZEII-, also called Future Zones. In these zones, the government proposed to carry out its policies based on military strengthening, decisions emanating

from the central entity above the territorial authorities and where the commitments to peace are apparently implemented, but in reality, they are blurred and converted into simple guidelines with the thinking of the National Government. This is the case with the Territorially Focused Development Plans (PDET), which are being discussed and implemented far from the original sense established in the Peace Agreement.

With this prioritization by the National Government, two years into its mandate, positive results are expected in relation to overcoming violence and human rights violations. However, paradoxically, it is in some of the five Future Zones where the greatest number of aggressions against human rights defenders, social leaders and the country's massacres are taking place, as it will be illustrated throughout this report. This shows that militarization is not the way to overcome humanitarian crises.

As far as the third axis is concerned, about non-stigmatization campaigns, at the closing of this report only the launching of the aforementioned campaign of the Ministry of Interior is known, with neither shameful nor glorious results. On the contrary, government officials have on several occasions made unfortunate statements that revictimize and stigmatize those who defend human rights in the country.

In the face of stigmatization, it is important to note that this practice does not always involve making bad statements in public or the use of pejorative terms about a person

or a social or political sector; there are other, more subtle forms of stigmatization, but with the same connotation of risk for the victims. This is the case with the profiling carried out by the government, either from the Ministry of Defense or from the Presidency of the Republic itself, targeting human rights defenders, journalists and opposition politicians. In effect, this is illegal monitoring with no clarity as to the purposes for which the accumulated information on the profiled persons will be used, with the aggravating factor that in Colombia there are very delicate antecedents of criminalization and aggression (homicides, forced disappearances, unfounded prosecutions) against human rights and social movements, which are the result of illegal monitoring by the country's security and intelligence agencies.

To this stigmatizing practice it is necessary to add the narrative installed by the National Government, according to which the murders of human rights defenders strictly obey the dynamics of drug trafficking and illegal mining, where it is implied that many of these people are involved in these complex dynamics. With this argument, the State exempts itself from responsibility and depoliticizes the reasons why the victims are attacked.

In conclusion, when it comes to the design of public policy for the guarantee of human rights defenders and social leaders, it is clear that nothing has materialized from the promise made by President Ivan Duque. Two ministers of the interior and two human rights advisors have

been at the forefront of the task of drafting a Conpes document, which has been announced on several occasions but has not been made public yet. Meanwhile, violence against social leaders is rampant in the territories.

The obsolescence of the protection model

Nine years after the creation of the National Protection Unit -UNP- it is worth remembering a little what was the reason for creating this entity, and whether after this long period of time the evils that were the reason for ending the obscure management of the Administrative Department of Security -DAS- were overcome or, on the contrary, perfected.

Just when the DAS was celebrating its 58th year of existence, the government of Juan Manuel Santos ended the operation of this entity during its first term of office, with a large file full of scandals concerning the "chuzadas" cartel against opposition leaders, magistrates, judges, journalists, and human rights defenders, among others. Also because of the no less sensitive issue of information exchange with the drug trafficking mafias and the paramilitaries with the aim of promoting the systematic elimination of social and union leaders who are critical of the government of democratic security. The political booty that the DAS was, left lessons for the country that at this moment seem forgotten: the misuse of the entity's funds, money that belongs to all Colombians, protected by individual armed protection; the

unfeasibility of a model of individual protection and, therefore, the need to declare its obsolescence.

As a remedy to put an end to this entity that promotes political persecution and assemblies against social and human rights organizations, in 2011 the National Protection Unit (Unidad Nacional de Protección - UNP³⁵) was created. This is a national security agency with a human rights orientation that is responsible for developing strategies for the analysis and evaluation of risks, threats and vulnerabilities, and for implementing individual and/or collective protection measures for the target populations, with a differential approach (territorial, ethnic and gender). The new entity was attached to the Ministry of the Interior.

During its short nine years of existence, four directors have passed through the entity: Andrés Villamizar, Diego Mora, Pablo Elías González, Daniel Palacios (E) and Alfonso Campo Martínez (in office since June 2020). The first three, together with the manager, have left a trail of events that is worth remembering quickly because today, the present is dressed as the past.

• The cancer of corruption metastasized at the UNP

In Andrés Villamizar's administration, the individual protection model was maintained. In the UNP staff plant, former officials of the questioned DAS were hired, both in the administrative area and in the protection area (escorts). Contracts with private security companies were strengthened (some of them managed by DAS pensioners); and in the midst of corruption scandals for the payment of bribes, officials in prison, abroad and others currently under investigation, Villamizar left office one day before Christmas of 2014 at the President's request. The scandals were superior to his strategic handling of the media.

Subsequently, Diego Mora, an electrical engineer with extensive knowledge in management, was appointed to make adjustments in legal and safety measures, as well as to improve administrative, financial and managerial issues. In other words, in a national security entity with a human rights orientation, they appointed an engineer as manager, someone with no knowledge at all in the matter of human rights.

It is worth noting that this administration changed its approach by issuing Decree 2078 of 2017, better known as the Collective Protection Route. This decree marked a step forward in individual protection and the advancement of collective protection. Although there are few advances in this matter because the UNP, like its predecessor, still conceives protection as a matter of people, there is still much to be done

³⁵ Administrative department of the public service. October 31, 2011. *Decree 4065 of 2011, by means of which the National Protection Unit - UNP is created, establishing its objective and structure*. Available at: <http://wsp.presidencia.gov.co/Normativa/Decretos/2011/Documents/Octubre/31/dec406531102011.pdf>

to overcome the dependence and faith in weapons and armored vehicles.

Diego Mora filed criminal charges against former secretary general and deputy director of protection Alonso Miranda Montenegro, for findings without the proper support of a \$1.35 billion contract. This official had a history with the DAS and the Army, and Andres Villamizar held him in office without taking into consideration the accusations that already existed against him for irregularities in a \$2 billion contract for the installation of software, which he never operated, and for \$3 billion in cost overruns in the remodeling of one of the headquarters of the entity³⁶.

The administration of Pablo Elías González was marked in 2019 by leaks from officials of that entity who were delivering and selling information to the paramilitaries about the protection schemes, as in the dark days of the DAS. Because of these facts, the director himself asked the Attorney General's Office to carry out a search of the UNP offices located in Bogotá's industrial zone. To this day, the destination of the investigations and those responsible for these actions are not known.

Finally, during the administration of Mr. Daniel Palacios, Deputy Minister of the Interior, in May 2020, a debate on

political control was brought forward on account of a new scandal featuring what already seemed to be common in the midst of the crisis derived from the COVID-19 pandemic: the acquisition of armored cars for state officials. This time the facts splashed the Council of Bogota that would have signed a contract for the rental of vans for the council members, with no apparent need.

This was denounced by Representative David Racero, who affirmed that the House of Representatives is ready to put the magnifying glass on the aforementioned agreement that would cover 39 councilmen. In addition, according to the legislator himself, the National Protection Unit would be improvising about the risks of the officials to grant them private and armored transportation, in the midst of the crisis. "It seems that there is a contracting carousel in the acquisition of vans. They end up assigning vans to councilmen based on risk assessments that have no basis in reality. The UNP is fabricating risks for the councilmen in order to assign them the vans," said the legislator of the Decent ones³⁷.

• The schemes for my friends

The way in which the UNP provides protection schemes is surprising, despite the existence of a decree

³⁶ Las 2 Orillas. July 1, 2015. *High tension at the UNP: criminal complaint by the director, Diego Mora, against the former deputy director, Alonso Miranda*. Available at: <https://www.las2orillas.co/alta-tension-en-la-unp-denuncia-penal-del-director-diego-mora-contra-el-anterior-subdirector-alonso-miranda/>

³⁷ Semana Magazine. May 18, 2020. *New scandal about armored trucks: now, in the Bogota Council*. Available at: <https://www.semana.com/semana-tv/semana-noticias/articulo/nuevo-escandalo-por-ca-mionetas-blindadas-ahora-en-el-concejo-de-bogota/672231>

that details a route for this, from interviews, visits, papers, verifications and committees, to the matrixes with which the risks are qualified (50 points extraordinary and 70 points onwards, extreme), in accordance with the precepts of the Constitutional Court.

As an example, it is worth remembering the case of Bernardo Cuero (victim of forced displacement, representative of the Atlantic Victims' Board, social leader and active member of the National Association of Displaced Afro-Colombians - AFRODES) assassinated in 2017. He was denied protection measures despite the multiple threats and attacks he had received and denounced before the responsible national authorities and institutions.

In their risk report *Violence and threats against social leaders and human rights defenders*, published in March 2017, the Ombudsman's Office warned of the risks faced by leaders and human rights defenders in Barranquilla, its metropolitan area, and members of the departmental Victims' Board, and also documented at least 500 threats against them, including the case of Bernardo Cuero Bravo. The situation of the Cuero Bravo family was also studied by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (CIDH), which at the time requested the government to protect them properly. From their part, AFRODES has repeatedly denounced the threats against their leaders throughout the country³⁸. Bernardo

Cuero insisted that they were going to kill him and they did.

Contrary to this unfortunate situation that could have been avoided, the UNP handed over a protection scheme to the Vallenato singer Poncho Zuleta, who is clearly not a human rights defender or a social leader, nor is he part of the 15 categories of the population detailed in decree 1066 of 2015³⁹. It is understood that for these *special cases* the director of the UNP has extraordinary powers to hand over a protection scheme by finger, according to article 2.4.1.2.9. Emergency measures of D. 1066/15.

As criteria for assigning an emergency measure, a fortuitous fact that the person is not able to endure due to their state of defenselessness must arise. Reviewing the open media, a press release⁴⁰ was found in which the name of this singer is mentioned in an ELN pamphlet in which they warn that they will terminate outstanding political and entertainment personalities in the area. Under these threats, Mr. Daniel Palacios, as the director in charge of the UNP, approved the protection

fender Bernardo Cuero Bravo. Available at: <https://www.acnur.org/noticias/press/2017/6/5b0c1ae514/acnur-rechaza-y-lamenta-profundamente-el-asesinato-del-lider-social-y-defensor-de-derechos-humanos-bernardo-cuero-bravo.html>

³⁹ Article 2.4.1.2.6 Protection of persons at extraordinary or extreme risk

⁴⁰ Zona Cero. *Through a pamphlet, ELN threatens to kill 'Poncho' Zuleta*. Available at: <http://www.zonacero.com/en-panfleto-eln-amenaza-de-muerte-poncho-zuleta-3293>

³⁸ ACNUR. June 9, 2017. *UNHCR rejects and deeply regrets the assassination of social leader and human rights de-*

scheme for the controversial singer Zuleta⁴¹.

This way of delivering schemes by finger is close to the criminal code in the conduct of prevarication by action⁴², while hundreds of persons protected in a summary manner have proven their situation of extraordinary risk and in return they are approved a cell phone and a bulletproof vest, that they receive months after CERREM has decided this type of measure.

It is, therefore, time to make a deep revision of this protection model. The reformulation to be adopted must be built hand in hand and together with communities and human rights organizations, which are the ones who really know the needs to protect their territory and life. In addition, the model of a State program on protection and guarantees must take into account the human security factors identified by the United Nations and taken up by the Peace Agreement; linking the analysis and diagnosis of risks

that the communities construct and, before the process of material and non-material measures for protection and prevention, the processes of agreement should prevail with those who have been and are still being affected. This is a process that is constructed in two ways and not as it is currently the case in which the government decides unilaterally on protection measures, only material, for human rights organizations and communities, decisions that are often disconnected from the realities that they seek to protect. Similarly, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and the international community working in the field of human rights protection must be involved in the construction and design of a new program of protection and guarantees.

The crossroads of Investigations

• The Attorney General's Office Language Trap

The investigation, prosecution and punishment of those responsible for attacks against human rights defenders is not only a State obligation, but an essential element of a policy for prevention, protection and guarantees for the exercise of this work. Impunity is a determining factor in the continuation of the practice of aggressions and the expansion and strengthening of the criminal structures that commit them. Although there is a permanent insistence on the application of a Strategy of Investigation and Judicialization of crimes against

⁴¹ Interecclesial Commission for Justice and Peace April 22, 2020. *Letter from journalist Daniel Mendoza Leal to Daniel Palacios, director of the UNP, in which he explains why the official is part of the crime factory directed by Álvaro Uribe Vélez*. Available at: <https://www.justiciaypazcolombia.com/carta-del-periodista-daniel-mendoza-leal-a-daniel-palacios-director-de-la-unp-en-la-que-explica-por-que-el-funcionario-hace-parte-de-la-fabrica-de-crimenes-que-dirige-alvaro-uribe-velez/>

⁴² The Criminal Chamber of the Supreme Court of Justice recalled that, according to Article 413 of Law 599 of 2000, a public servant who proffers a resolution, ruling, or concept that is manifestly contrary to the law, commits the illicit act of prevarication.

human rights defenders that the Attorney General's Office has been applying since 2016 and that has been strengthened by provisions of the current Attorney General, Francisco Barbosa, the results continue to be confusing and denote a biased handling of information.

In the first place, because although the strategy incorporates all the crimes, when presenting the results those are limited only to the cases of homicides, nothing is mentioned of advances and results in the matter of threats, a recurring practice which intimidating effect usually generates multiple effects to exercise the defense of human rights.

Secondly, the communication issued by the Attorney General's Office on August 10 is an example of how results that allow for spectacular headlines are presented but which information does not provide any clarity. The communication indicates an average of 57% of homicides against human rights defenders, based on a universe of 396 reported events since the signing of the Final Agreement. As mentioned in the 2019 report of the Somos Defensores Program, the use of the term *clarification*, coined by the Prosecutor's Office to present the data, embraces all types of actions and is therefore misleading.

The promotion of the investigation by the Attorney General's Office cannot be considered as a clarification. The reports of the Prosecutor's Office are not rigorous because they do not present the data based on legal categories, that is, indicating the crime that is being charged, the procedural

stage of the cases, the qualities of the accused and the modalities of the charge.

According to the information provided to the Somos Defensores Program by the Special Investigation Unit, of the above-mentioned universe of cases (396) 60 of them have been sentenced, which is equivalent to 15.15%. However, it is quite different that there have been advances in the investigations of 231 cases, although the type of crimes remains unknown, with 153 cases in which criminal organizations are presumed to be responsible. In addition, the Special Unit reports that it is carrying out 12 investigative projects against criminal organizations that are allegedly responsible for actions against ex-combatants and human rights defenders, among others.

Now, according to the Program's response to the right of petition, in the thematic area of investigation called by the Prosecutor's Office as co-optation of the State by criminal organizations, there are 63 ongoing investigations against public officials. Nevertheless, it is not specified whether these are in any way related to the cases of homicide or other aggressions perpetrated against social leaders and human rights defenders and what their imputation of responsibility is.

On the other hand, the second report of the Presidential Counselor's Office for Human Rights points out that during the period of mandatory preventive isolation, the Prosecutor's Office has made significant procedural progress in 30 cases of homicide,

resulting in 47 arrest warrants, 2 arrests, 2 charges and 3 convictions⁴³. Although information is provided on the proceedings, important elements such as the conduct of the accused, the criminal organization to which the accused belong, their position in the organization, or the type of participation in the crime are not specified.

In summary, the information available on the work of the Prosecutor's Office in relation to attacks against human rights defenders is precarious and fragmented, and does not provide a complete picture of the progress made in terms of conduct, modalities and degrees of responsibility. Nor does it allow for a reading of the work being done to dismantle criminal structures and the entire network that supports them, whether they are successors of paramilitarism or dissidents.

- **Procurator General's Office: good intentions, but few results**

Perhaps one of the state institutions that has best read the country's situation in recent years and that has been closest to society is the Prosecutor General's Office, headed by Attorney General Fernando Carrillo. In the midst of a government that has represented a setback in time and that has insisted on denying the reality of the country, the work of this state body has stood out for emphasizing circumstantial issues on the security situation in the territories and for calling on the government by

demanding guarantees for the rights of the civilian population.

On different occasions, Attorney General Carrillo has been critical of the capacities of the State and of some of its institutions, urging them to fulfill their duty to protect rights; although this implies that he is doing his job, in an apathetic government with profound deficiencies, these actions become extraordinary.

It is important to note that the Procurator General's Office sided with human rights defenders and social leaders. It has promoted initiatives such as the "Lidera la Vida" campaign⁴⁴ (*Lead Life*) and has carried out different public interventions, where it warns about the serious situation that social leaders in the country⁴⁵ are going through, about the systematic nature of the murders and the urgency of their protection.

This evident commitment contrasts with the low results in prevention actions and investigations on aggressions against human rights defenders. According to a right of petition made by the Somos Defensores Program, out of 22 cases of violations to the life and physical integrity of defenders by public officials, only 6 are in the

⁴³ Ibid. Page 95

⁴⁴ Lead Life. *The Lead Life Campaign*. Available at: <https://lideralavida.com/conocenos/>

⁴⁵ RCN Radio. May 6, 2020. *Social leaders are being murdered in their homes during the quarantine: Procurator*. Available at: <https://www.rcnradio.com/judicial/lideres-sociales-estan-siendo-asesinados-en-sus-viviendas-durante-la-cuarentena-procurador>

stage of disciplinary investigation, the others are in the stage of preliminary investigation (15) and (1) in discharge; worrying results if one considers that none of the cases was issued a disciplinary sanction. The majority of these investigations are being carried out against members of the Public Force (18 cases), who by action or omission have not guaranteed the rights of the social leaders, which confirms what has already been explained in this report about the dangers faced by communities and defenders with the militarization of the territories.

The Procurator General's Office is therefore deeply in debt to the human

rights defenders who have been attacked by public officials. The lack of sanctions only aggravates the situation of the victims, their families and social processes, who in addition to suffering violence, are faced with delays in the processes or lack of results in the different institutions.

The risk is higher considering that the Procurator Fernando Carillo has two months left in this position, to be replaced by the former minister of justice Margarita Cabello, a person very close to President Ivan Duque and who could turn around all the work accomplished by the Procurator General's Office in recent years.



CHAPTER 3

Raising Our voice to Regain Oxygen

The oxygen of the international community

Fortunately, and as a respirator that provides oxygen to continue the indispensable work of defending human rights in a context of deterioration of the situation as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, different expressions of the international community have certainly made their voices heard and have continued to express their concern about the scenario of aggressions against social leaders and to insist on the need for the State to act in compliance with its obligations in terms of prevention, protection and investigation.

Here is a look at some of their pronouncements:

The last report delivered by the United Nations Secretary General to the Security Council, by virtue of the establishment of the Peace Agreement Verification Mission and corresponding to the period from March 27 to June 26, 2020⁴⁶, indicates that the assassinations of ex-combatants and people dedicated to the defense of human rights have continued during the pandemic, and therefore reiterates its urgent call

to adopt measures to address this situation.

The report also refers to how in this context the most vulnerable populations face greater difficulties in reporting critical security situations and accessing an institutional response; thus coinciding with the approach expressed by the Somos Defensores Program and other human rights organizations, and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Colombia, regarding the way in which the measures of social isolation implemented to confront the pandemic have left social leaders in greater conditions of insecurity, which end up increasing the risks for the exercise of their work.

It mentions that Cauca is the department that presents the highest levels of violence against social leaders, **“despite (the report expressly states) the deployment of the public force that has practically doubled since the beginning of the year to date”**. In addition, the report mentions the concern about the situation of the social leaderships in Putumayo, highlighting the specific risks for women defenders and people linked to the initiatives of substitution of crops considered to be for illicit use.

It is also worth mentioning, as an important element of the report, the reference to the lack of convocation of the National Commission for Security Guarantees since January of

⁴⁶ United Nations, Security Council. June 26, 2020. *United Nations Verification Mission in Colombia, Report of the Secretary General*. Available at: <https://undocs.org/es/S/2020/603>

this year, reducing its activity in the semester to the work of the technical sub-commissions on gender and ethnicity and to the discussion of a proposal for regulations presented by the High Commissioner for Peace⁴⁷.

A few days after the presentation of this report to the Security Council, specifically on July 6, an important group of U.S. congressmen, ninety-eight in total, sent a letter to the U.S. Department of State, expressing their concern about the serious security situation that social leaders in Colombia are going through, and which has worsened during the pandemic.

In the letter, the legislators ask the Trump administration to take action so that the government of President Ivan Duque adopts a series of measures to promote safe environments for people dedicated to the defense of human rights⁴⁸. Some of the measures requested are: effective investigations, the implementation of collective protection measures that incorporate differential approaches, the dismantling of structures considered to be the successors of paramilitarism, holding members of

the public forces and their agents accountable for cases of illegal profiling, and the implementation of the Peace Agreements.

The measures requested by the congressmen are oriented in the same direction as the recommendations included in the reports presented to the United Nations Human Rights Council at the end of February by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Michelle Bachelet⁴⁹, and the former Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights Defenders, Michel Forst⁵⁰, which were referred to in the previous report of the Somos Defensores Program, entitled *La Ceguera*⁵¹.

At the beginning of May, a few weeks after the implementation of the social isolation measures in Colombia, in the development of a virtual table for the protection of life, the representative of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Colombia, Alberto Brunori, already warned about the increased

⁴⁷ United Nations, Security Council. June 26, 2020. United Nations Verification Mission in Colombia, Report of the Secretary General, S/2020/603. Available at: <https://digitalibrary.un.org/record/3870694?ln=es>

⁴⁸ El Espectador Newspaper. July 6, 2020. U.S. Congressmen ask Trump to put pressure on Duque to protect Colombian social leaders. Available at: <https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/el-mundo/congresistas-de-eeuu-piden-a-trump-que-presione-a-duque-y-proteja-a-los-lideres-sociales/>

⁴⁹ United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights February 26, 2020. *Situation of human rights in Colombia*. Available at: <https://www.hchr.org.co/documento-seinformes/informes/altocomisionado/informe-anual-2019-ES.pdf>

⁵⁰ United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights Office in Colombia. *End of Mission Statement by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights Defenders, Michel Forst visit to Colombia, November 20 to December 3, 2018*. Available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/SP/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=23960&LangID=S>

⁵¹ Somos Defensores Program. 2020. *The Blindness, Annual Report 2019*. Available at: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1jYXd8GjrDjOERyTOJG5gDA4A55UEqYVN/view>

risks for human rights defenders in the midst of the pandemic, pointing out that some of the violent events occurred in their places of residence. Similarly, he reiterated the call of his Office to increase prevention, protection and research actions to address this issue⁵².

On the other hand, European parliamentarians have also kept a watchful eye on this situation, and on June 4, twenty-eight of them addressed a letter to President Iván Duque expressing their concern about the information of illegal profiling against journalists, judges and human rights defenders perpetrated by members of military intelligence and the concerns that such a situation generates in terms of defense policies and military doctrines existing within the Public Force.

Likewise, they refer in the letter to their concern about the murders of social leaders and the situation of greater risk they are facing due to the measures of social isolation, and they insist on the need for the implementation of the Peace Agreement and, more specifically, on what has to do with the dismantling of the successor organizations of

paramilitarism and on the guarantees for protection⁵³.

Along the same lines, members of the diplomatic delegations of the European Union countries accredited in Colombia took advantage of the one-year anniversary after the launch of the Defend Life campaign to reaffirm their commitment towards the defenders of rights, their concern about the situation of aggressions and their willingness to continue with the campaign⁵⁴.

Expressions such as those mentioned above show how, from different places and positions, relevant actors in the international community are clear about the seriousness of the situation of aggressions against people who defend human rights, its continuous and persistent deterioration, and the need to act with forceful measures by those who have the power and the obligation to do so within the Colombian State and, more specifically, by the Government

⁵² Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in Colombia, Statement by Alberto Brunori May 6, 2020. Available at: <https://www.hchr.org.co/index.php/informacion-publica/pronunciamentos/intervenciones-de-la-direccion/447-ano-2020/9232-intervencion-de-alberto-brunori-representante-de-la-alta-comisionado-de-las-naciones-unidas-para-los-derechos-humanos-en-colombia-en-la-mesa-virtual-por-la-proteccion-a-la-vida-covid-19-y-los-lideres-sociales>

⁵³ European Parliament. June 8, 2020. *Members of the European Parliament express their concern about the illegal surveillance and monitoring actions carried out by the Colombian National Army, the assassinations of social leaders and the serious violations of human rights in Colombia*. Available at: <https://coeuropa.org.co/eurodiputados-expresan-su-preocupacion-frente-a-las-acciones-de-vigilancia-y-seguimientos-ilegales-efectuados-por-el-ejercito-nacional-de-colombia-los-asesinatos-de-lideres-y-lideresas-sociales-y-las/>

⁵⁴ Contagio Radio. June 16, 2020. *The Defend Life Campaign will continue to support the work of social leaders*. Available at: <https://www.contagioradio.com/campana-defendamos-la-vida-seguira-respaldando-el-trabajo-de-los-lideres-sociales/>

as the guarantor of security, and by the Attorney General's Office as the entity responsible for investigating and accusing the perpetrators of such aggressions.

Their pronouncements also reveal an unwavering commitment to the Peace Agreement and the need for its implementation, as well as their acknowledgement of the importance of the provisions incorporated in the Agreement that are relevant to advancing on the prevention and protection of social leaderships and their communities, and equally, for the deactivation of the violence phenomena embedded in Colombian society, such as paramilitarism.

These various expressions from the international community, their support and accompaniment of the work of defending human rights in its multiple facets, are not only fundamental for the continuity of this work in dark times. They also constitute that voice of recognition that dignifies, stimulates and empowers so many leaders and human rights defenders who, from their anonymity and with unmeasurable effort, build and reconstruct vital processes for the recognition of their communities and organizations' rights.

This is no time to remain silent

In Colombia, strategic litigation has become an important tool for organizational processes and human rights organizations, with a view to advancing, via the use of law, its reaffirmation and protection, above all by means of two actions provided for in the 1991 Constitution: the

public action of unconstitutionality and the Action of Protection (*Tutela*, a Colombian legal figure by means of which the petitioner demands his/her rights to be fulfilled by the entity they are suing).

With this perspective of the citizen use of the tools of law, a group of platforms and organizations integrated by the Agrarian, Peasant, Ethnic and Popular Summit; the Colombia-Europe-United States Coordination; the Alliance of Social and Related Organizations; the Colombian Platform of Human Rights, Democracy and Development; the National Association of Afro-Colombians -AFRODES-, the Colombian Commission of Jurists, and Dejusticia, took advantage of the symbolic date of December 10, 2019, the International Day of Human Rights, to file an Action of Protection of the right to defend the human rights of a group of leaders from the regions of Cauca, Chocó, Casanare, Antioquia, Valle del Cauca, Putumayo, Córdoba, and Medellín before the Superior Court of Bogotá.

The Action of Protection starts from considering a context of generalized violence against the right to defend human rights, which is opposed to the constitutional foundations based on international instruments and jurisprudence of the Constitutional Court, from which the Colombian State's obligation to provide protection is derived. For the petitioners, judges, in a social state governed by the rule of law, have a framework of discretionality aimed at guaranteeing the material effectiveness of fundamental rights, even more so when a scenario of transgression arises, in which either

through negligence or difficulty, the executive and the legislative have not guaranteed their due protection. In this regard, they requested the declaration of an unconstitutional state of affairs.

By its ruling of May 11 of this year, the Superior Court of Bogotá ratified the obligation of State protection of the right to defend human rights and the urgent need to guarantee it. Although it did not proceed to declare an unconstitutional state of affairs and some other claims considered important were not taken up by the first and second instance rulings, the petitioner organizations will insist on them before the Constitutional Court, with the support of other organizations that have joined the action⁵⁵.

This Action of Protection has a significant number of orders to be fulfilled, such as the guarantee of the right to defend human rights and the other rights associated with it, and which involves national, departmental and municipal authorities

While not entering into a detailed study of them, it is important to highlight three groups of these: i) Those oriented towards the reactivation of the process of the National and Territorial Board of Guarantees, due to the recognition that this space of interlocution with the human rights platforms implies, as a determining

factor for the construction of the required guarantees; ii) those oriented towards the fulfillment of the security guarantees foreseen in the final agreement and its normative developments, because it implies a reaffirmation from a judicial perspective of the advances consigned in the Peace Agreement to make progress on a public policy in the area of guarantees, an aspect that human rights organizations have insistently warned of; iii) those oriented towards the promotion of a permanent campaign oriented towards the general public and with a territorial character, both in private and public media, based on the recognition and support of the work of human rights defenders. This measure can contribute to overcoming the social stigmatization of the activity of social leaders present in different segments of society and institutions and which is directly associated with the permanent risk they face.

The measures of social isolation decreed by the National Government to face the pandemic, has not been an obstacle for social and human rights organizations to work together around the fulfillment of the orders of the Action of Protection. Within this framework, on July 8, a National Board of Guarantees on their compliance was held, in which the Minister of the Interior, the Vice Minister of Defense, the Vice Attorney General of the Nation, the Presidential Advisor on Human Rights, the High Commissioner for Peace, the High Advisor for National Security, the Director of the National Protection Unit (UNP), the Delegated Procurator for Ethnic Affairs, and an Advisor to the Council

⁵⁵ Dejusticia. May 20, 2020. *Bogotá Superior Court reiterates that the right to defend human rights of social leaders must be protected*. Available at: <https://www.dejusticia.org/tribunal-superior-de-bogota-confirma-fallo-el-derecho-a-defender-derechos/>

for Stabilization participated. The Ombudsman assumed the Technical Assistance of the Guarantees process in replacement of the UNDP.

Although not all the questions previously raised by the organizations were resolved at the Table, 13 commitments were defined, among them, the construction of a Board of Guarantees on the actions to be implemented derived from the Action of Protection and the realization of 17 Territorial Tables (which are unlikely to be organized during the rest of this year).

Finally, it is important to underline how the orders derived from the Action of Protection have become an important tool for political action in terms of their enforceability for social and human rights platforms and organizations.

Voices continue to be added

In contrast to the silence from the institutions in the face of the national tragedy that means an increase of 61% in the murder of social leaders, the media, journalists and artists from their own spaces and different expressions have been working on the dignification of their memory and the recognition of their work, which means an expansion of the repertoire of social demands aimed at stopping the bleeding.

As a result, the drama that human rights defenders are going through in a situation of increased vulnerability as a consequence of the measures to address the pandemic has not gone unnoticed by public opinion. It is no

secret that social leaders are being butchered.

The constant work that the Colombia 2020 section of El Espectador Newspaper has been carrying out for some time now, was joined by the newspaper as a whole, with the collaboration of the Somos Defensores Program, when on June 14, two pages were dedicated to a review honoring the 442 social leaders murdered since the signing of the Final Peace Agreement in November 2016, under the title of *Let's Not Forget About Them*. As the newspaper's director, Fidel Cano, expressed in his editorial on the same day: *"To read the profiles of each of these people is to find endless optimism, the radical hope that we have talked about in the past (...) These are not just numbers to keep track of barbarism"*.

Along the same lines of not forgetting and that their deaths are capable of shaking up a society that cannot allow violence to continue to mark its future, 55 columnists dedicated one of their columns to the life stories of these murdered leaders, which were published in at least 15 means of communication, both nationally and internationally.

This effort to speak up to prevent indifference from prevailing, was also accompanied by at least 35 videos, made by actors and actresses, dedicated to murdered and living leaders, directed by Victor and Elena Mallarino, Daniela Cristo, Mauricio Rodriguez and Julio Correal, among others. These initiatives were possible thanks to a coordination and action effort promoted by *Defendamos la Paz (Let's Defend Peace)*, in the

framework of a campaign entitled *Following the Leaders' Footsteps*.

All these initiatives contribute not only to breaking the silence that leads to indifference and to vindicate the work of social leaderships and their importance for democracy. They also allow us to reflect from different perspectives on the role that corresponds to us as citizens and that begins by not forgetting, not turning violence into something natural, not remaining silent, and seeking to bring together more and more voices as an expression of demand and solidarity.

The strength of civil society

On July 26, 2019, a massive and moving national mobilization of broad significance took place, as a tribute to the murdered social leaders and human rights defenders and to demand these crimes to be stopped. In the current circumstances of mandatory social isolation, it was not possible to repeat it, but neither was it admissible that the date went unnoticed. Thus, continuing with this network of efforts and initiatives, creativity and above all commitment, again under the initiative of Defendamos la Paz, a virtual mobilization was convened in defense of life and peace, entitled *Silence is no longer an option*.

The journey, developed virtually for 8 hours, gave new visibility to the stories and struggles of social leaders, through different artistic expressions, promoted debates and reflections on particular situations in the territories

and on the legitimate and necessary demands placed on the State.

From this perspective, the measures of isolation have led to the creation of new forms of mobilization from the virtual realm, which undoubtedly provide lessons for the processes of social struggle. But above all they show that, although violence against social leaders continues to increase in the eyes of a State that does not react, more and more expressions of society are moving, coming together, expressing themselves and demonstrating that they are not willing to remain impassive while peace is shattered and violence against social leaders increases.

Human rights defenders and social leaders themselves have demonstrated their capacity to mobilize amidst a rule of violence that seeks to silence and paralyze them. This was demonstrated by the *March for Dignity*, during the quarantine, a mobilization in which indigenous, Afro-descendant, peasant and ex-combatant leaders gathered to walk 6,000 kilometers, from Popayán, Cauca, to Bogotá⁵⁶ and to reiterate to society that in this country they continue to slaughter those who defend human rights.

Despite the COVID-19 pandemic, the multiple security risks on the road,

⁵⁶ El Espectador Newspaper. July 10, 2020. *The March for Dignity arrives in Bogotá to demand protection for life*. Available at: <https://www.elespectador.com/colombia2020/pais/la-marcha-por-la-dignidad-llega-a-bogota-para-exigir-proteccion-a-la-vida/>

the mobility restrictions decreed by the government and the refusal of the government to provide guarantees for mobilization, human rights defenders began the march on June 25 to reach the country's capital 16 days later. During this time, in every place and with every opportunity they had, they raised their voices to highlight the multiple dangers they face together with their communities, surrounded by a reconfiguration of the violence and armed conflict in the territories and the absence of the State, which increasingly holds back the possibility of having guarantees to live in peace and with respect for life.

Before and after the March, these voices have spoken out insistently to tell the government that hundreds of people have lost their lives defending human rights, that many more are at risk, and that guarantees are urgently required. Although the government pretends to ignore this reality, all regions of Colombia continue to insist that something must change urgently so that human rights work does not continue to be paid with people's lives.



Information System on Aggressions against Human Rights Defenders
-SIADDHH-
January-June 2020

The first half of 2020 has been marked by an exceptional situation due to the COVID-19 pandemic. In the middle of this scenario for the Somos Defensores⁵⁷ Program's Information System on Aggressions against Human Rights Defenders in Colombia -SIADDHH-, it was necessary to adjust the strategies for monitoring, recording and verifying the aggressions that occurred during this period. The impossibility of travelling to the regions made it difficult to follow up on the violence and access information that is normally collected directly on the ground. Despite the efforts of allied organizations and human rights defenders to provide information and to publicize the situation in their territories, the possibilities of carrying out verification were reduced, which meant that fewer aggressions were recorded in the first half of 2020, which is not related to a decrease in violent acts, but rather to the difficulties already mentioned for monitoring. Despite this, the figures are still alarming.

Since March, with the beginning of the pandemic in Colombia, restrictive measures have been adopted by the

government that, far from containing the aggressions, facilitated an environment for the commission of acts against people who defend human rights. In this context, the risk to social leaders has increased due to the quarantine decreed throughout the country, since it has allowed for easier identification of the routines and place of residence of the threatened people; therefore, in many cases they have been attacked in different ways in their homes and, on several occasions, murdered in front of their families.

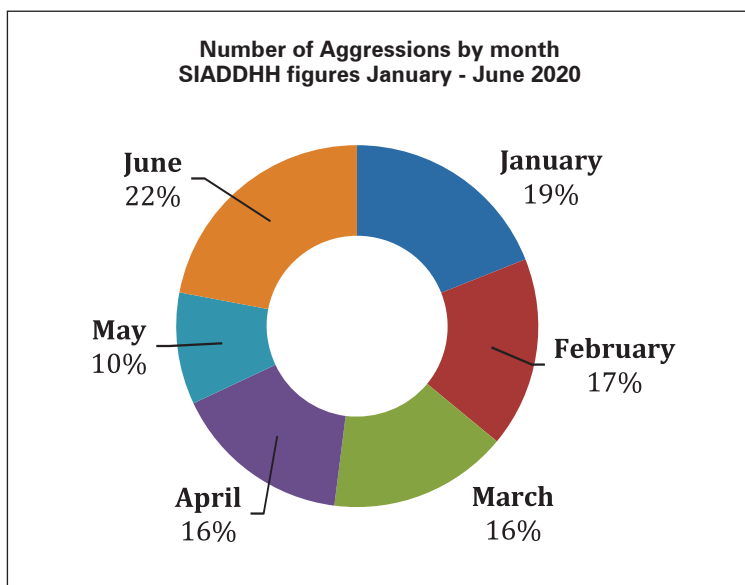
In the middle of this scenario, the Information System on Aggressions against Human Rights Defenders in Colombia -SIADDHH- of the Somos Defensores Program, registered a total of **463 aggressions** against 452 people, this because some people were victims of more than one type of aggression. According to the figures presented, it is possible to refer to the fact that the first half of 2020 has a higher number of aggressions than those that occurred during the same period of analysis in 2017 (336 aggressions) and 2018 (397 aggressions), but that compared to 2019 (591 aggressions), it reflects a decrease of 128 aggressions equivalent to 22%. As noted above, this is due to underreporting due to difficulties in monitoring during the pandemic.

When analyzing the occurrence of the aggressions per month, we find

⁵⁷ This system registers information known by the Somos Defensores Program and by direct source with the social organizations and non-governmental organizations that report cases to the Program. SIADDHH publishes only the cases it has directly confirmed.

that June 2020 is the month with the highest number of aggressions with 102, followed by January with 86,

February and March with 77 each, April with 73 and May with 48.



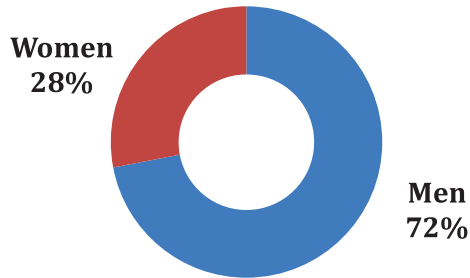
Aggressions by gender

The information registered shows that out of the 452 defenders who were victims in the different acts of aggression, 28% (125) are women and 72% (327) men. In relation to the percentages for the same period in 2019, it is possible to say that this is a sustained figure, since last year 29% of the aggressions occurred against women and 71% against men, which does not represent an ostensible variation. However, during this period the occurrence of feminicides should be highlighted; the SIADDHH registered 3 possible cases in the first semester of 2020, all within the quarantine, which coincides with Early Warning N° 018 of national

character Imminence, issued on April 30, 2020 by the Early Warning System of the Ombudsman's Office, in which, amongst the 11 population groups of greater risk identified, are "Social leaders and human rights defenders" and "Women"⁵⁸. It is also related to the alerts that from different organizations (among them Sisma Mujer) have been made about the increased risk for women to be victims of violence in their homes. This highlights the difficulties faced by women human rights defenders, who, in addition to being attacked for their leadership, also face aggression for being women.

⁵⁸ Ombudsman's Office. April 30, 2020. *Early Warning 018-2020*. Page 9.

**Percentage of Aggressions by gender
SIADDHH figures January - June 2020**



Aggressions according to Type of Violence

During the first semester of 2020, the types of aggressions analyzed were assassinations, threats, life-threatening attempts, arbitrary detentions, judicializations, forced disappearances and information theft. The analysis of the data indicates that the only type of aggression that records a decrease is threat, with a record of 274 cases and a reduction of 43%. The other aggressions show an increase, and the most worrying is **murder, which went from 59 cases in the first half of 2019 to 95 in the same period of 2020, representing an overwhelming increase of 61%**. Threats and murders are followed by attacks (29 cases), this aggression presents an increase when compared to the same period in 2018 (23 cases) and 2019 (27 cases). Next are arbitrary detentions (27 cases), judicializations (24 cases), forced disappearances (13 cases) and information theft (1 case). With regard to the judicializations and forced disappearances, it is worth

noting that their registration in the first half of this year is very serious, given that in the first half of 2019 they did not occur.

“Due to the risk situation faced by territories with the presence and action of non-state armed actors and organized crime armed groups because of the effects and measures adopted to address the health emergency resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic”⁵⁹, on April 30, the Ombudsman’s Office issued Early Warning No. 018 - 2020 of a national nature Imminence, with the aim of warning about the vulnerability derived from the context for the 11 population groups with the highest level of exposure to risk, located in the different targeted territories. However, the Ministry of the Interior, which holds the technical secretariat of the Intersectoral Commission for Rapid Response to

⁵⁹ Ombudsman’s Office. April 30, 2020. *Early Warning 018-2020*. Page 1

Early Warnings (CIPRAT), has not proposed effective actions to address the recommendations contained in the aforementioned Early Warning. In general, the Government has shown great indifference to the high occurrence of aggressions during the first semester; it has concentrated its

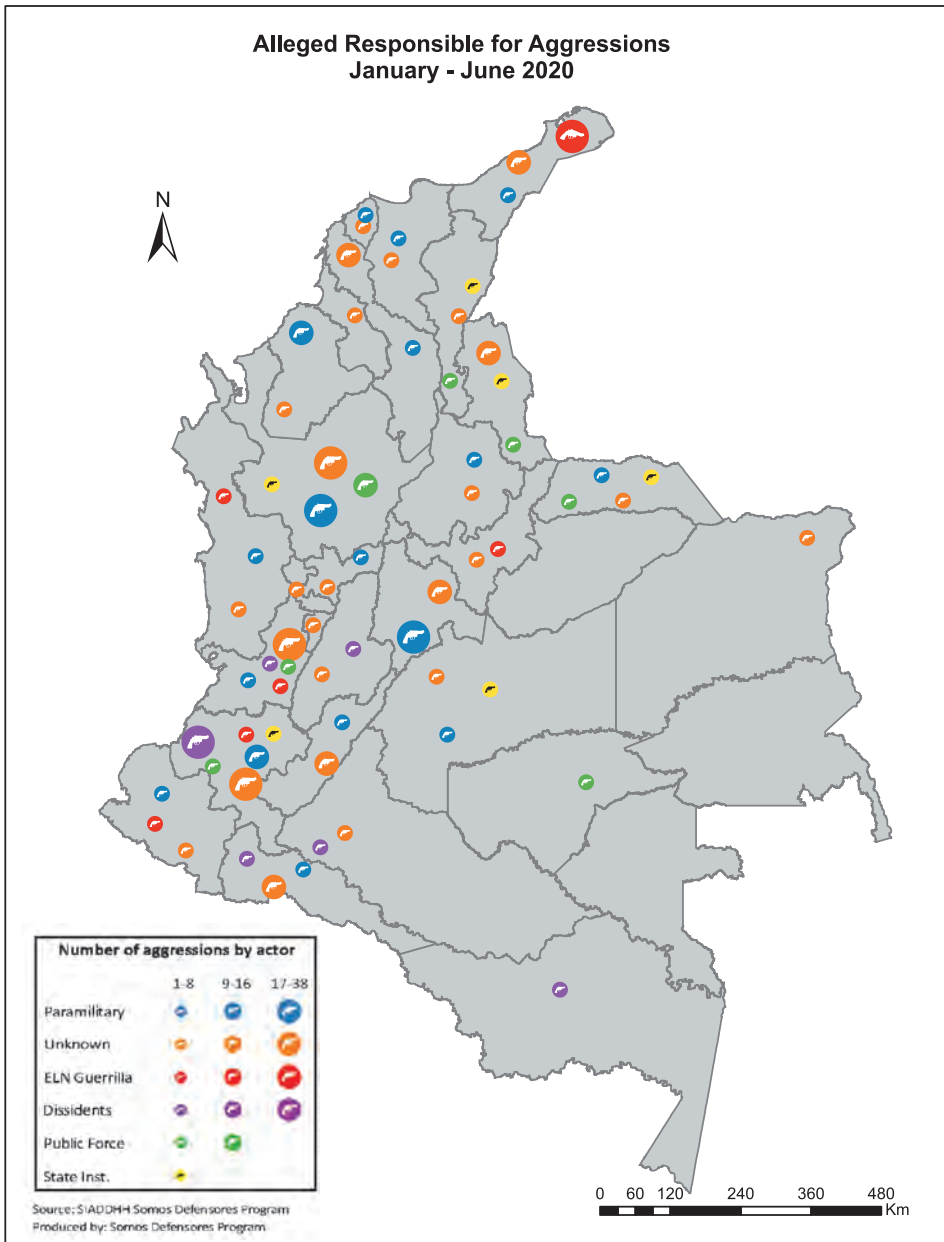
actions on the presumed attention to the consequences derived from the pandemic and left aside the situation of imminent risk for the people who defend human rights in the regions, many of them forced to abandon their territory together with their families in order to preserve life.

Type of individual Aggressions	Number of aggressions January – June 2019	Number of aggressions January – June 2020
Threats	477	274
Murders	59	95
Life-Threatening Attempts	27	29
Arbitrary Detentions	22	27
Judicializations	0	24
Forced Disappearances	0	13
Information thefts	6	1
Total of aggressions	591	463

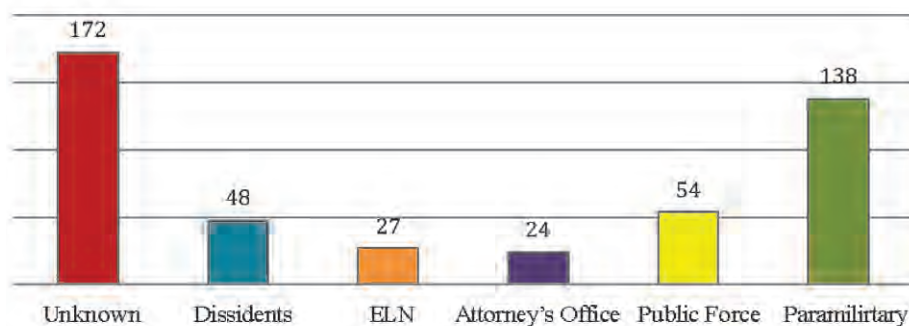
Alleged Responsible

The information recorded on the alleged perpetrators shows that, of the 463 aggressions that occurred, 37% would be the responsibility of unknown perpetrators, 30% of paramilitary groups, 12% of the Public Force, 10% of FARC dissidents, 6% of the ELN and 5% of the Attorney General's Office (as the entity in charge of the prosecution). These data show a variation in relation to the same period in 2019, given that the paramilitaries appeared in first place, while in this measurement, the presumed unknown perpetrators came up, followed by paramilitary groups and the Public Force.

It is important to note that the context in this period is much more complex than in previous years, due to the reconfiguration of the armed groups, since they may also choose to *outsource* their activities through other criminal structures or gangs, making it difficult to identify responsibilities, since many groups are not recognized, not interested in identifying themselves, and do not wear a badge that directly links them to any particular group. This situation increases the level of impunity due to the limited progress made in clarifying the facts, and in a large number of cases, it has been difficult to determine the source of the attacks against human rights defenders.



Aggressions by Alleged Responsible
SIADDHH figures January - June 2020



Regarding the allegedly unknown perpetrators, during the first half of 2020 there was a 4% increase in their participation in the aggressions, compared to the same period in 2019, with Antioquia, Cauca and Valle del Cauca being the departments with the highest number of incidents. As to the aggressions presumably committed by paramilitaries, during the first semester of 2019, 314 events were registered, and in 2020, 138, which shows a decrease of 56%. Within this category are the Black Eagles, the Gaitanist Self-Defense Groups of Colombia, the Gulf Clan, the Mafia, the Caparrapos, the Pachencia, and the Urabeños. The departments where the greatest number of aggressions are registered, possibly by paramilitary groups, are Antioquia and Cundinamarca, followed by Cauca and Córdoba.

As for the Public Force, during the first semester of 2020, 54 aggressions were registered in which they are presumed to be

responsible, showing an increase of 157% in responsibility in relation to the same period in 2019. The type of aggression mostly committed by this actor was arbitrary detention (23 cases), followed by threats (17 cases), murder (6 cases), prosecution (4 cases), forced disappearance (2 cases) and assault (2 cases). As for the place of occurrence, 28% took place in the department of Cesar, 22% in Antioquia, 20% in Norte de Santander, 25% in Cauca, 11% in Arauca, 2% in Guaviare and 2% in Valle del Cauca. Of these departments, four have been prioritized by the government for the implementation of the Timely Action Plan (PAO): Cauca, Norte de Santander, Antioquia and Valle del Cauca, which in itself represents a contradiction and shows how this strategy is far from representing the necessary security guarantees for the exercise of the defense of human rights, taking into account that the Public Force is in third place among the actors who committed

the greatest number of aggressions in the first semester of 2020.

On the other hand, the FARC dissidents have a decrease of 11% as responsible for the aggressions, and the same happens with the ELN guerrillas, whose participation as authors of the aggressions decreased by 25%.

Regarding the dominant groups in the aggressions, a similarity is maintained with the same period of the previous year, the same groups appear as the presumed responsible, with a variation in the number of executed acts that is due, on the one hand, to the difficulties in carrying out the monitoring as already exposed and, on the other hand, to the possible outsourcing by the criminal structures, which makes it difficult to establish the belonging of the authors to a specific group.

Aggressions by department

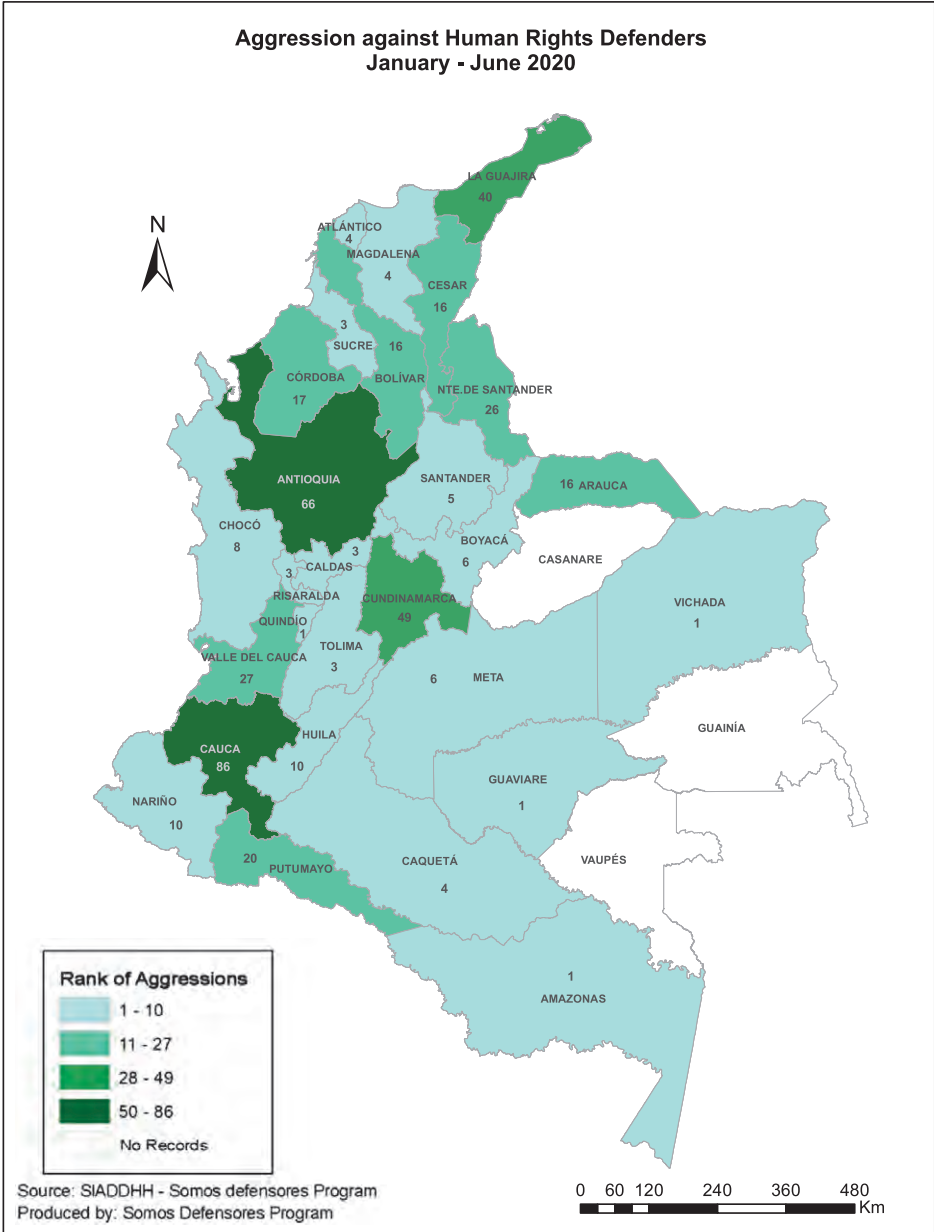
Aggressions against human rights defenders took place in 29 of the country's 32 departments, that is, they occurred throughout 91% of the national territory, which represents an increase, since in the same period in 2019 aggressions occurred in 28 departments, equivalent to 88% of Colombian territory. Cauca is the place where the greatest number of aggressions occurred (90 cases), followed by Antioquia (65 cases), Cundinamarca (48 cases), La Guajira (40 cases), Norte de Santander (28 cases), Valle del Cauca (26 cases), Cesar (23 cases), Arauca (20 cases) and Putumayo (20 cases). In addition,

particularly about the murders, these occurred in 56% of the country, that is, in 18 departments.

The department of Cauca continues to be the territory with the highest number of aggressions (90 cases), with a difference of 25 events in relation to the 115 that occurred in the same period in 2019. However, this does not mean that there has been a reduction in violence; on the contrary, human rights defenders in this department face a high risk due to the intensification of violence and armed conflict in the territory. On the other hand, in Antioquia there is evidence of an increase in the number of incidents, with a 63% increase in registered aggressions. This was also the case in Cesar, La Guajira, Norte de Santander and Putumayo.

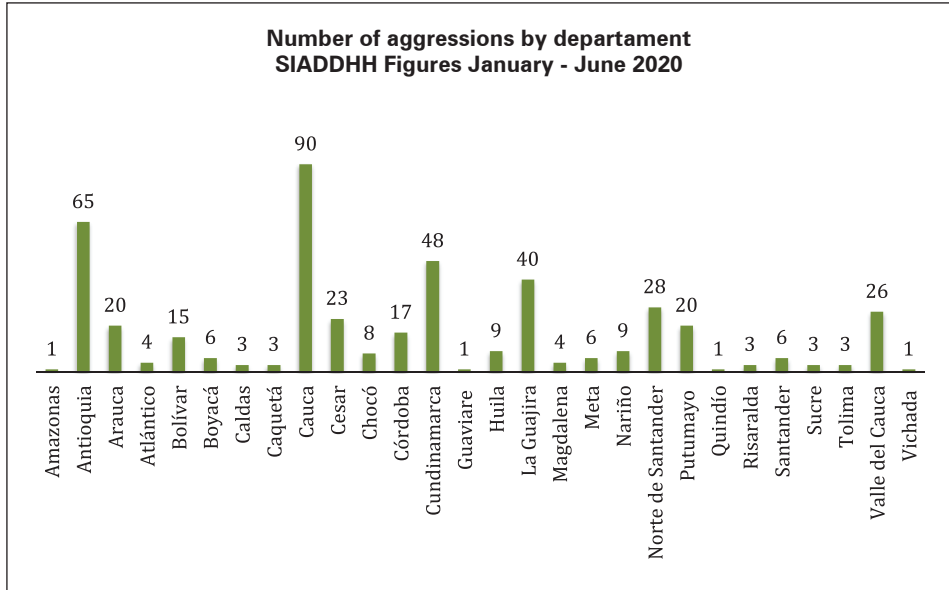
The aggressions persist in the same departments that year after year are affected by this violence, because of the reconfiguration of the armed conflict, with the particularity of the important increase of the aggressions registered in the department of Cundinamarca, that during the same period of the previous year had a record of 16 cases, against 48 of this year, which means that there is an increase of 200% in the violent facts against social leaderships in this territory.

The regions where the greatest number of aggressions are concentrated have geographic conditions that are favorable for the development of the armed conflict and violence, some as El Catatumbo in Norte de Santander, Bajo Cauca in Antioquia, Cauca and Valle del Cauca



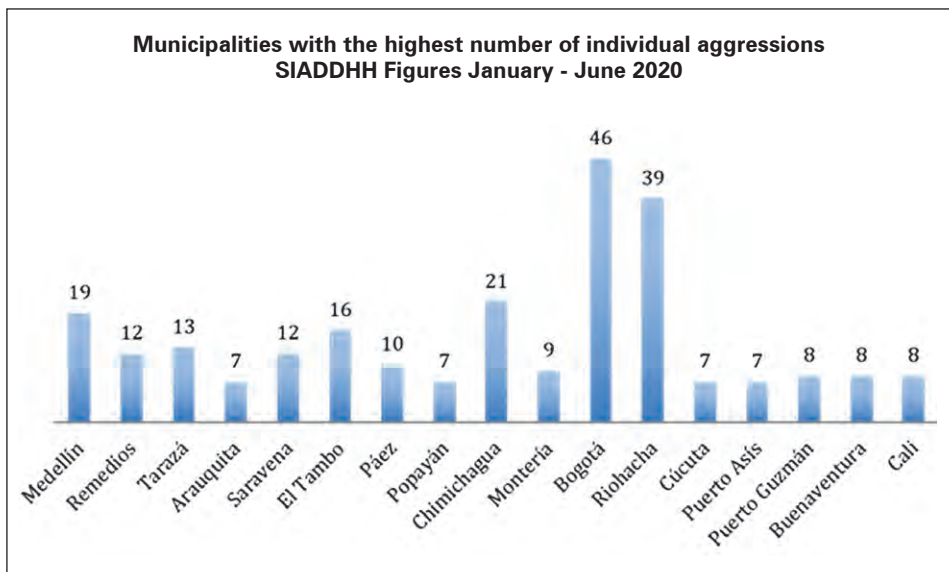
in the southwest, have been focused as territories for the execution of the Development Programs with a Territorial Focus -PDET-, in addition, in these zones there are strong territorial

disputes among various armed actors and there is an escalation of the war that is putting the communities at risk.



As for the municipalities where the greatest number of aggressions have occurred, Bogotá, Capital District, is in the first place (46 cases), where the high number of cases is mostly due to threats made by the Black Eagles

through pamphlets. It is followed by Riohacha (39 cases), Chimichagua (21 cases), Medellín (19 cases), El Tambo (16 cases), Tarazá (13 cases), Remedios (12 cases), Saravena (12 cases) and Páez (10 cases).



The aggressions continue to occur in municipalities historically affected by the armed conflict, despite the fact that several of them are part of the so-called Future Zones, places where there is a high presence of Public Forces.

The municipalities that constitute the Future Zones and in which the SIADDHH registered aggressions are:

Catatumbo Future Zone (18 aggressions): Convención (3), El Carmen (6), El Tarra (2), San Calixto (1), Sardinata (3) and Tibú (3). **Military unit of the National Army:** Vulcan Task Force.

Bajo Cauca and Southern Córdoba Future Zone (24 aggressions): Cáceres (2), Caucasia (2), Nechí (1), Tarazá (13), Montelíbano (2), Puerto Libertador (2), Tierralta (1) and Valencia (1). **Military unit of the National Army:** Aquiles Joint Task Force.

Arauca Future Zone (20 aggressions): Arauca (1), Arauquita (7) and Saravena (12). **Military unit of the National Army:** Quirón Task Force.

Future Zone of Chiribiquete and surrounding natural national parks (1 aggression): San José del Guaviare (1). **Military unit of the National Army:** Omega Joint Task Force.

Nariño Pacific Future Zone (3 aggressions): Tumaco (1) and Barbacoas (2). **Military unit of the National Army:** “Hércules” Joint Stabilization and Consolidation Task Force.

This means that 66 aggressions, 14% of the total registered during the

January - June 2020 period, occurred in municipalities that are part of the Future Zones.

Finally, it is important to mention the arrival of 50 U.S. military officers in the national territory, through a Security Force Assistance Brigade whose mission is to advise and train military units present in these areas, which increases the risk factor for human rights defenders since this process of militarization converges with actions against drug trafficking carried out by the National Government.

Aggressions by type of leadership

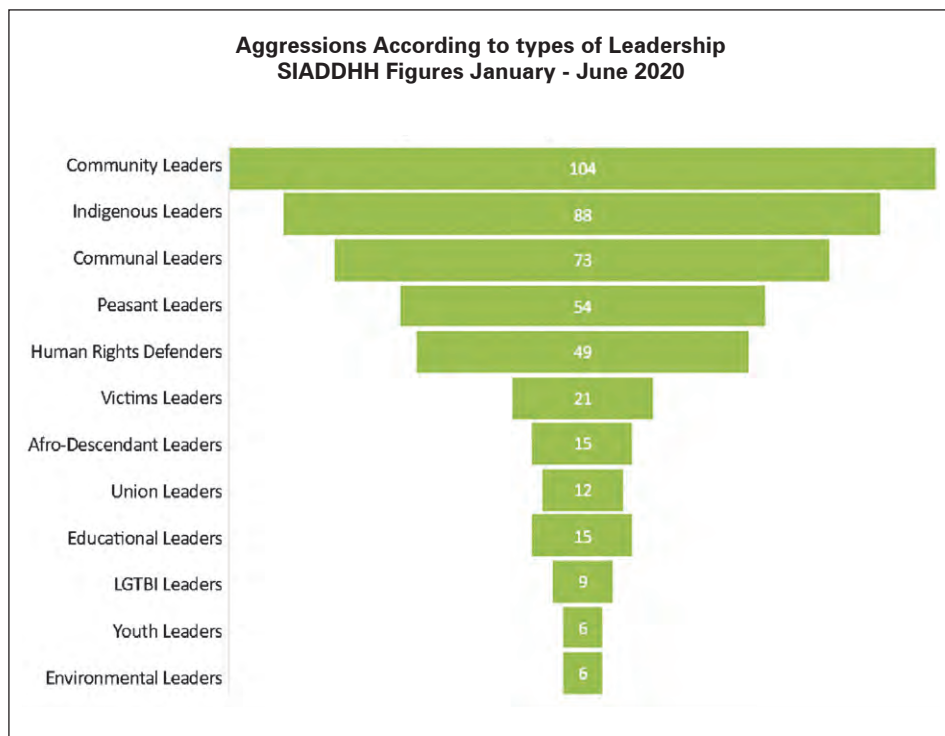
Of the 452 human rights defenders attacked during the first half of this year, 104 were community leaders, 88 were indigenous leaders, 73 were community leaders, 54 were peasant leaders, 49 were human rights defenders⁶⁰, 21 were victims' leaders, 15 were Afro-descendant leaders, 12 were union leaders, 15 were academic leaders, 9 were LGBTI leaders, 6 were youth leaders and 6 were environmental leaders.

These figures place the community leadership as the most affected by the different types of aggression, due to the struggles that people with this profile carry out in the communities, because they work for the well-being and defense of different rights,

⁶⁰ This category describes activists who, through their daily work in a human rights organization, contribute to the promotion, respect and protection of human rights.

which makes them awkward and very visible actors, among a context of violence reconfiguration. Indigenous leaderships were also highly affected; the majority of aggressions occurred in Cauca against traditional authorities represented in the Indigenous Guard,

who in the autonomous exercise of control over their territory were singled out and attacked through threats, attacks, and assassinations, among other aggressions by the various armed groups, both legal and illegal, that are present in the region.



Assassination of human rights defenders

During the first half of 2020, 95 murders of human rights defenders were confirmed, an increase of 61% compared to the 59 cases documented by SIADDHH for the same period in 2019. This situation is very disturbing and has alarmed national and international

organizations because of the high risk in which social leaders are currently living in all regions of the country. The reconfiguration of violence and of the armed conflict has left them exposed to various interests, as well as to the dynamics derived from regional economies, whether legal or illegal, and in the framework of very complex local contexts, which places them in the middle of disputes over territory

and social control, and because of their high visibility in their communities, they become the target for violence. Such situation has been exacerbated by the COVID-19 quarantine, which has limited mobility and forced defenders to be permanently in their places of residence, thus becoming targets easy to identify by the actors who seek to silence their struggles. This has been a determining factor, since during this semester some of the murders occurred in or near defenders' homes.

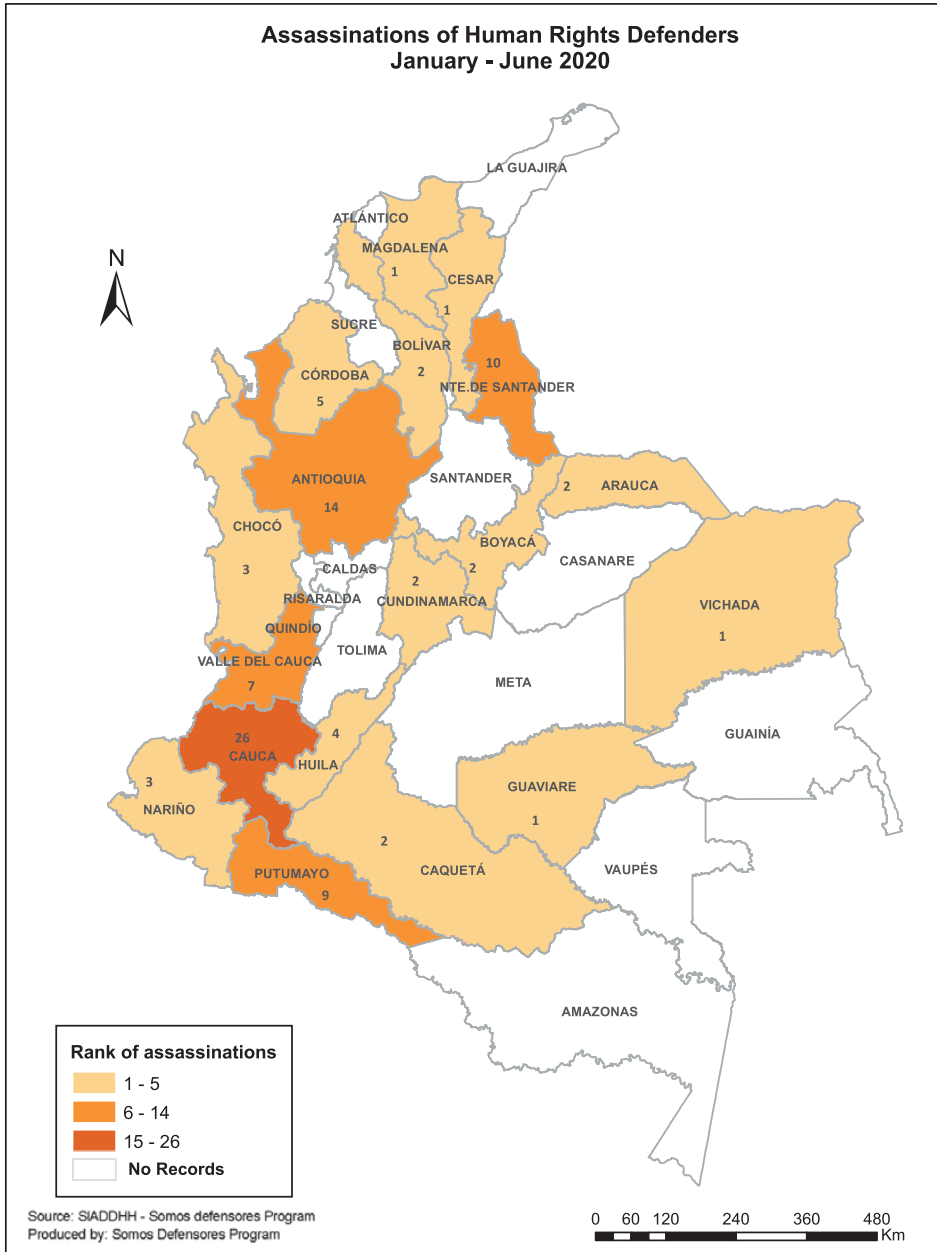
Of the 95 cases, 10 occurred against women (10,5%) and 85 against men (89,5%). In relation to the first semester of 2019, the murder of male defenders presents an increase of 73%, which means an occurrence of 36 more cases. With respect to women, the figure is equal to that of the same period last year, but it is noteworthy that during this first semester, 30% of the murders against women defenders were feminicides.

It is necessary to draw attention to the increase in the number of these attacks, since the SIADDHH has never before confirmed such a high number of fatalities during the first semester. If there is no improvement in the security conditions of the territories and the government does not offer the guarantees required by human rights defenders, which it is obliged to ensure, it is likely that violence will continue to intensify and that the actions of the armed actors will continue to take many more lives of people with social leaderships.

Assassinations by departments

As for the region in which the murders occur, the 2019 trend is maintained with regard to the 2 departments with the highest number of cases: Cauca (26 cases) and Antioquia (14 cases); these territories are followed by Norte de Santander (10 cases), Putumayo (9 cases), Valle del Cauca (7 cases) and Córdoba (5 cases). The other departments where murders took place are Huila (4 cases), Nariño (3 cases), Chocó (3 cases), Arauca (2 cases), Bolívar (2 cases), Boyacá (2 cases), Caquetá (2 cases), Cundinamarca (2 cases), Cesar (1 case), Guaviare (1 case), Magdalena (1 case) and Vichada (1 case). Although this type of aggression increased significantly in several territories, it is worth noting that in the department of Putumayo, there was an 800% increase compared to the same period of 2019, a figure that reflects the imminent risk in which the leaderships in the territory are, with the different dynamics that have been established with the actions of legal and illegal actors, which expose the social leaderships to multiple aggressions.

In 89 cases a firearm was used, in 4 cases a white weapon, 1 murder occurred with a blunt object and 1 through by means of an asphyxiation. During this period, it is noteworthy that in 9 cases the disappearance occurred as an event that preceded the murder and determined the subsequent discovery of the corpse of the human rights defender by family members, the community, or



authorities; these events occurred in Putumayo (2 cases), Cauca (2 cases), Antioquia (2 cases), Nariño (1 case), Huila (1 case), and Guaviare

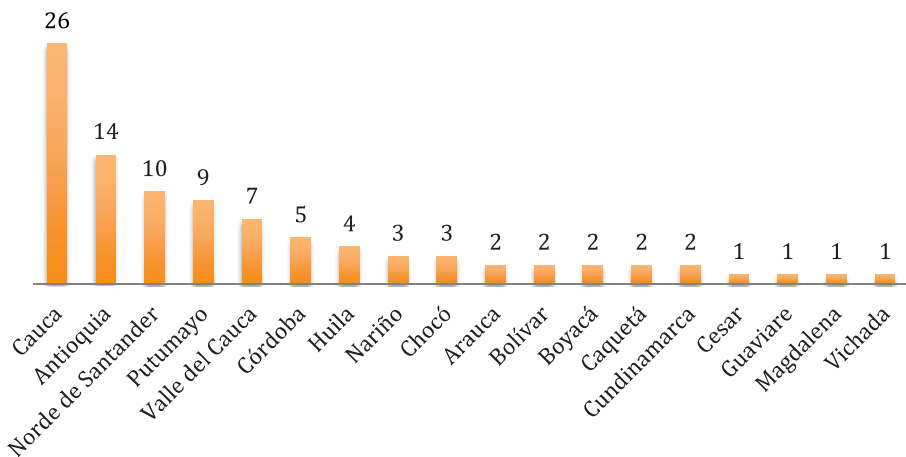
(1 case). In 9 cases, the murder was carried out with brutality, in 5 cases acts of torture were reported prior to the murder and, finally, in 1 case

the victim had protection measures due to threats received by his social leadership (which in an invitation to consider the effectiveness of the measures offered by the State).

Another peculiarity is that in 10 of the murders (10%), third parties were affected, which implies that those

who surround or accompany the victim suffer consequences derived from the perpetration of the crime; this shows that the aggressors do not always expect the defender to be alone and that regardless of the space occupied, whether it is work, social or family, the attack takes place.

**Number of assassinations by departament
SIADDHH Figures January - June 2020**



Leaderships affected in the assassinations

Among the 95 cases of assassinations confirmed by the SIADDHH during the first half of 2020, the most affected type of leadership is the communal with 28 cases, 10 more than in 2019; followed by the peasant with 19 cases, 11 more than in 2019. With

regard to indigenous leadership, 18 cases were reported, a figure that triples the 6 that occurred during the first semester of 2019. There are 17 cases of community leaders, 3 less than in 2019. The Afro-descendant, environmental and union sectors were also affected with 3 murders each, the youth with 2 cases and the LGBTI and educational sectors with 1 case each.

Types of leadership of the murdered defenders	Number of cases
Communal Leader	28
Peasant Leader	19
Indigenous Leader	18
Community Leader	17
Afro-descendant Leader	3
Environmental Leader	3
Union Leader	3
Youth Leader	2
LGBTI Líder	1
Educational Leader	1
Total	95

As in previous years, the alleged perpetrators of most of the killings of human rights defenders or social leaders are unknown, as identified in 59 cases. There were 14 allegedly committed by paramilitary groups, the FARC dissidents were responsible in 12 cases (10 more than in the same period of 2019), 6 cases are attributed to the Public Force (which in 2019 did not report responsibility in the same period of analysis), and the ELN is identified as allegedly responsible for 4 murders. The increase in cases perpetrated by FARC dissidents is noteworthy here, and it is related to the strengthening of these groups in different territories of the country. It is also worth noting the high level of responsibility of the Public Forces during this semester, which demonstrates that the militarization of the territories as a measure to provide safer environments for the work of defending human rights, as well as to guarantee the life and integrity of

those who carry out this work, can have the opposite effect and that it is not being effective in terms of prevention and protection.

Alleged perpetrators of murders	January-June 2019	January-June 2020
Unknown	49	59
Paramilitary groups	4	14
FARC Dissidents	2	12
Public Force	0	6
ELN	4	4
Grand Total	59	95

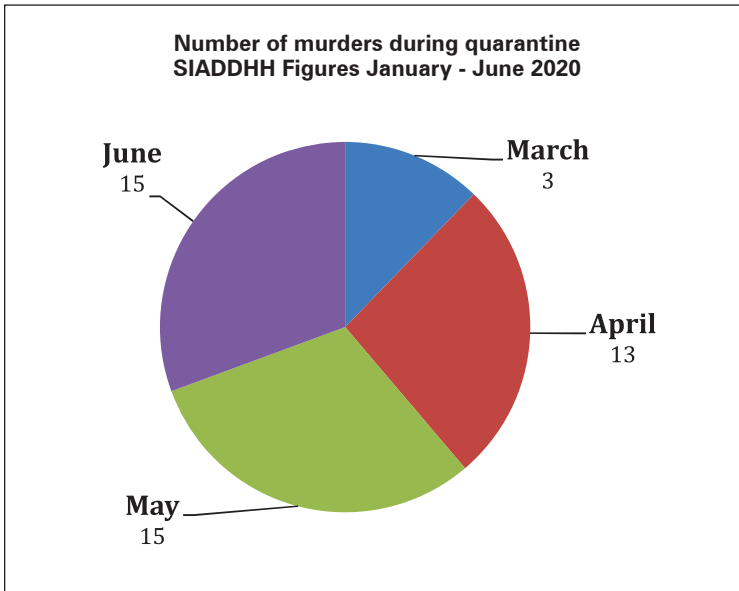
Murders in the framework of COVID-19

Between March 22 and June 30, when the country was in quarantine with confinement measures, 46 murders occurred, corresponding to 48% of the total for the period of analysis: in March 3, in April 13, and in May and June 15 cases each month. This suggests that as the isolation measures became permanent, it was easier to identify the routines and places of residence of human rights defenders. The types of leadership most affected by the murders in times of quarantine were the communal (14 cases), indigenous (9 cases), peasant (9 cases) and community (8 cases). The remaining six cases of murders during the time of social isolation were concentrated in other types of leadership.

In these cases, there is evidence of planning and follow-up, since several

events occurred when the people left their homes to carry out some type of activity, others were perpetrated

during the night when the leaders were in their homes.



Individual Threats

The Somos Defensores Program - SIADDHH confirmed a total of 274 individual threats during the first half of 2020, being this, the only type of aggression that showed a decrease in comparison to the same period in 2019 when 477 threats were registered; that is, a decrease of 43% (with the warning made in terms of the methodology for monitoring within the framework of the quarantine). Even so, this continues to be the most common aggression used to exert pressure on communities and people whose processes are to be stopped, because the aggressors may find it difficult to consolidate

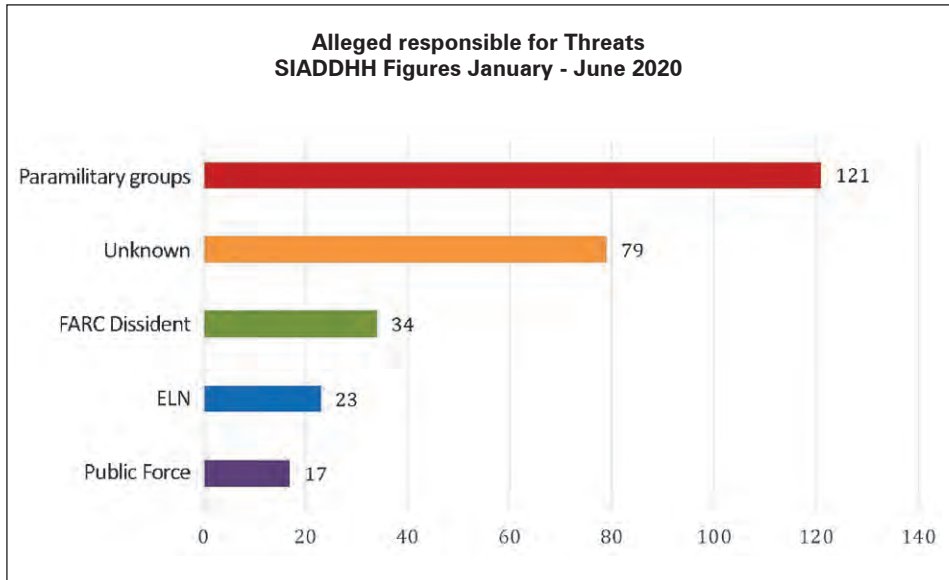
their objectives, such as advancing towards territorial control, developing actions derived from drug trafficking, establishing order, or opening the way for economic projects.

The pandemic also influenced the reduction of this type of aggression of an individual nature since, in areas such as the Cauca and the Pacific region, the threats were directed at the community in general trying to establish restrictions on mobility by illegal armed groups.

Many of the actors used the threats, and during the first half of 2020, those who have had the greatest responsibility for this type

of aggression are the paramilitary groups. Among them the Black Eagles, the Gaitanista Self-Defense Groups of Colombia -AGC-, the Gulf Clan, the Caparrapos, the Urabeños, and the Mafia, maintaining the trend of those presumably responsible for the threats during the first half

of 2019. These groups allegedly perpetrated 44% of the total confirmed threats (121). Unidentified actors were responsible for 79 cases (29%), FARC dissidents for 34 (13%), ELN guerrillas for 23 (8%), and the security forces for 17 (6%).

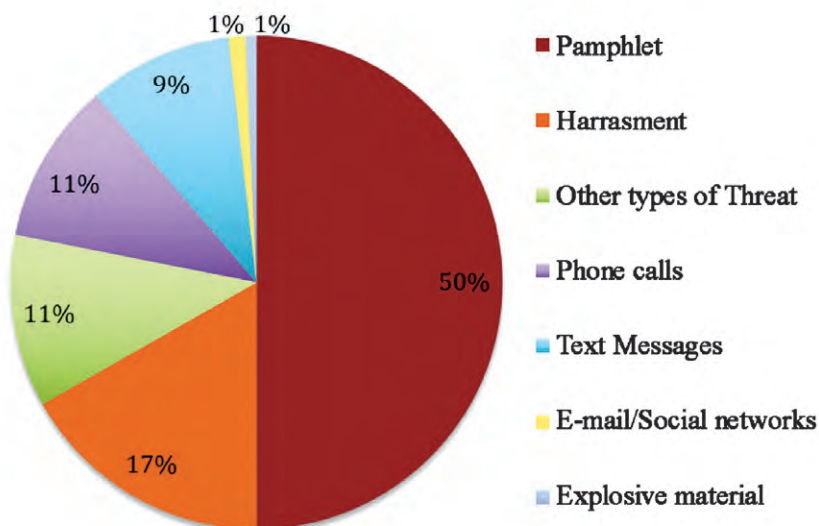


Types of Threat

In the January-June 2020 period, the most widely used type of threat was the pamphlet (137 cases), followed by harassment (46 cases), phone calls (29 cases), text messages (26 cases), email and/or social networking (3 cases). Threats emanating from pamphlets contain the names of human rights defenders; however, this type of threat sometimes includes public officials, political figures, journalists and community members. Regarding threats through pamphlets,

these are mostly made by the Black Eagles. Through these elements, as with the other forms of threat, the intention is to use fear to silence voices and slow down processes. The threat not only affects those who are directly targeted, but goes beyond that and impacts the entire environment of the human rights defender, from his/her organization to his/her family; hence, the fact that it is such a widely used form of aggression that spreads fear in the communities.

Types of Threat
SIADDHH Figures January - June 2020



CONCLUSIONS

After this tour through a complex panorama for the defense of human rights in the country, next we present some general conclusions:

- Contrary to what could be expected from an improvement in the critical situation of violence against human rights defenders and social leaders, given the quarantine resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic, the increase in assassinations between January and June 2020, compared to the same period in 2019, was 61%, rising from 59 to 95 cases.
- During the quarantine, a time when society was supposed to be sheltered and protected in their homes, 46 people with social leadership were murdered, corresponding to 48% of the total number of murders during the entire semester, an indicator of the ineffectiveness of the policy to guarantee the life and physical integrity of these activists.
- Murder against female leaders did not decrease; it remained at the same figures of 2019's first semester (10%), but with an aggravating factor: 30% were feminicides.
- The participation of the Public Force in alleged aggressions against human rights defenders and social leaders increased compared to the same period in 2019. With regard to general aggressions, the increase was 157%.
- In the possible authorship by the ELN, its participation in general aggressions decreased by 25% with respect to the same period in 2019, and in relation to the murders, it remained at 4.2%, with four cases.
- As for the alleged responsibility of FARC dissidents, regarding the number of general aggressions, it has decreased by 25%, but its participation in murders has increased from 2 during the first semester of 2019 to 12 within the same period of 2020.
- Communal leaders continue to be the most affected by lethal aggressions, as 28 were murdered this semester, followed by peasants with 19 cases, indigenous people with 18 cases and community members with 17 cases.
- The departments with the highest number of homicides against human rights defenders continue to be Cauca, Antioquia, Norte de Santander, Putumayo, Valle del Cauca and Córdoba.
- The militarization of the areas where social leaders are most attacked, especially under the so-called Future Zones, has not generated security for these people; on the contrary, all kinds of aggressions have increased, as evidenced by the statistics.
- Despite significant international assistance (particularly from

the European Union) for the strengthening of the Special Investigation Unit, the Attorney General's Office continues to fail in providing clear information on the murders against human rights defenders. Furthermore, no progress has been made in the face of other aggressions, nor have the results been seen in the dismantling of criminal structures.

- The Procurator General's Office kept a loud voice in favor of social leaders from all over the country; however, in their mandate of disciplinary investigations against public officials who have failed in their constitutional and legal duty to protect the lives of these people, they are still in great debt due to the lack of results and progress.
- Despite the initial speeches in favor of the social leaders by the National Government, the figures of violence and the facts indicate: that the instruments and mechanisms established in the Peace Agreement to create conditions that guarantee human security have been disregarded; the failure of old policies used in the past such as militarization, centralization of decisions in the National Executive; non-compliance with the peasants who decided to stop growing crops for illicit use; repression of social movements that protest for rights and in exchange, generosity with the growth and strengthening of groups outside the law; corruption of State agents that cohabit with drug trafficking and other illegal economic practices.
- The National Government and the Colombian State, continue to be anchored in policies of physical and material protection for social leaders and human rights defenders, without advancing in guarantees, which would not only shelter these people in particular, but also the communities.
- Despite such a devastating scenario, civil society, overcoming the restrictions of the quarantine by COVID-19, continued to show its sensitivity and capacity to mobilize for the people who defend the rights of the communities.
- In the midst of the limited scope for action that the National Government has left them, the international community maintains its commitment and accompaniment of human rights defenders, which constitutes invaluable and necessary support.

Database of Human Rights Defenders assassinated between January and June -SIADDHH-

No.	DATE	DEPARTMENT	MUNICIPALITY	VICTIM	ORGANIZATION	TYPE OF LEADERSHIP	ALLEGED RESPONSIBLE
1	7/01/2020	Putumayo	Puerto Guzmán	Gloria Isabel Ocampo	Secretary of the Community Action Board of the La Estrella village. Leader of substitution of crops for illicit use.	Peasant Leader	FARC Dissidents
2	7/01/2020	Cauca	Páez	Virginia Silva	Traditional medic of the Belalcázar indigenous reservation in Páez.	Indigenous Leader	FARC Dissidents
3	8/01/2020	Huila	Algeciras	Mireya Hernández Guevara	Former treasurer of the Community Action Board of the 20 de Julio neighborhood.	Community Leader	Unknown
4	8/01/2020	Putumayo	Puerto Guzmán	Gentil Hernández Jiménez	Leader of voluntary substitution programs for crops of illicit use.	Peasant Leader	Paramilitary group
5	9/01/2020	Chocó	Nuquí	Anuar Rojas Isarama	Indigenous guard of the Emberá Dobiá people, Agua Blanca community	Indigenous Leader	Unknown
6	10/01/2020	Cauca	Inzá	Nelson Enrique Meneses Quiles	Member of the Peasant Association of Inzá Tierradentro -ACIT- affiliate of the National Association of Peasant Reserve Zones -ANZORC-, organization that articulates the Process of Popular Unity of the Colombian Southwest -PUPSUC- and the Social and Political Coordination of the Cauca Patriotic March.	Peasant Leader	Unknown
7	11/01/2020	Huila	Algeciras	Jonh Freddy Alvarez Quinaya	President of the Association of Peasant Workers -ASTRACAL- and member of the Patriotic March.	Peasant Leader	Unknown
8	13/01/2020	Norte de Santander	Tibú	Tulio César Sandoval Chía	Coordinator of the Peasant Association of Catatumbo -AS-CAMCAT-, member of the Coordinator of Coca and Marijuana Growers -COCCAM- and member of the Patriotic March.	Peasant Leader	Unknown
9	13/01/2020	Córdoba	Montelíbano	Jorge Luis Betancourt	Peasant leader and sports coordinator of the Community Action Board of the San Francisco del Rayo district, Montelíbano.	Peasant Leader	Paramilitary group
10	15/01/2020	Chocó	Nóvita	Samuel Federico Peñañosa	Member of the Board of Directors of the Nóvita Major Community Council.	Afro-descendant Leader	ELN

No.	DATE	DEPARTMENT	MUNICIPALITY	VICTIM	ORGANIZATION	TYPE OF LEADERSHIP	ALLEGED RESPONSIBLE
11	16/01/2020	Putumayo	Puerto Guzmán	Neivan Yordan Tovar	Director of the Border Farmworkers Union of Putumayo -SINT-CAFROMAYO- and member of the Patriotic March.	Union Leader	Unknown
12	17/01/2020	Antioquia	Tarazá	Wilmar Alexander Sanpedro Posada	Member of the Community Action Board of the Guaimaro village in Tarazá, and member of the National Comprehensive Program for the Substitution of Crops for Illicit Use -PNIS-.	Communal Leader	Paramilitary group
13	17/01/2020	Antioquia	Tarazá	Carlos Andrés Chavarria	Member of the Community Action Board of the Guaimaro village in Tarazá, and member of the National Comprehensive Program for the Substitution of Crops for Illicit Use -PNIS-.	Communal Leader	Paramilitary group
14	17/01/2020	Córdoba	Tierralta	Luis Darío Rodríguez	Member of the Union of Displaced and Vulnerable Families of Tierralta Association -JFADESUVUL- and of the Human Rights Network of Southern Córdoba.	Peasant Leader	Unknown
15	21/01/2020	Antioquia	Tarazá	Jaime José Vanegas Urueta	He promoted processes of the National Comprehensive Program for the Substitution of Crops for Illicit Use -PNIS- in the Buenos Aires area.	Peasant Leader	Unknown
16	21/01/2020	Antioquia	Sonsón	Hernando Herrera Arango	Community Leader of the El Brasil village.	Community Leader	Unknown
17	23/01/2020	Norte de Santander	Convención	Fernando Quintero Mena	President of the Community Action Board of the Guasiles village. President of the Association of Boards of La Trinidad village. Delegate to the infrastructure table of the Development Plan with a Territorial Focus (PDET). Member of the Social Integration Committee of Catatumbo.	Communal Leader	Unknown
18	25/01/2020	Cauca	El Tambo	Juan Antonio Riascos	Member of the Afrorenacer del Micay Community Council	Afro-descendant Leader	Public Force
19	28/01/2020	Putumayo	Puerto Asís	Bayron Rueda Ruiz	Member of the Community Action Board of the El Azul village in the municipality of Puerto Asís in Putumayo and former president of the Community Action Board of La 18 in Sucumbios, Ecuador.	Communal Leader	Unknown

No.	DATE	DEPARTMENT	MUNICIPALITY	VICTIM	ORGANIZATION	TYPE OF LEADERSHIP	ALLEGED RESPONSIBLE
20	30/01/2020	Valle del Cauca	Candelaria	Iván Giraldo	Citizen overseer. Former candidate to the Council of Candelaria.	Community Leader	Unknown
21	2/02/2020	Cauca	Santander de Quilichao	Javier Giron Triviño	Guard of the Nasa people in the KiweTehkksa'wpo reservation.	Indigenous Leader	FARC Dissidents
22	2/02/2020	Arauca	Araucanía	José Antonio Mendoza	President in charge of the Community Action Board of the Pueblo Nuevo village. Vice-president of the Board for the period 2016-2020.	Communal Leader	Unknown
23	4/02/2020	Boyacá	Cocuy	Libardo Arciniegas	Treasurer of the Community Action Board of Pachacual.	Communal Leader	ELN
24	6/02/2020	Boyacá	Guicán	Yamid Alonso Silva	Environmental defender. Official of the El Cocuy National Natural Park.	Environmental Leader	ELN
25	8/02/2020	Norte de Santander	Tibú	Efrén de Jesús Ospina Velásquez	Vice President of the Community Action Board of the Totumito-Carboneras village. Member of the National Comprehensive Program for the Substitution of Crops for Illicit Use -PNIS-.	Communal Leader	Unknown
26	9/02/2020	Caquetá	Belén de los Andaquíes	Pedro Angucho Yunda	Traditional medic. Ancestral authority of the Misak People in the El Aguila reservation.	Indigenous Leader	Unknown
27	9/02/2020	Caquetá	Belén de los Andaquíes	Felipe Angucho Yunda	Ancestral authority of the Misak people in the El Aguila reservation.	Indigenous Leader	Unknown
28	9/02/2020	Córdoba	Pueblo Nuevo	Rafael Manotas	Member of the Community Action Board of the El Poblado district and community leader.	Communal Leader	Unknown
29	10/02/2020	Putumayo	Puerto Guzmán	Luis Alberto Parra	Prosecutor of the Community Action Board of the Villa Fatima village.	Communal Leader	Paramilitary group
30	10/02/2020	Putumayo	Puerto Guzmán	Jader Alberto Parra	Coordinator of the Works Commission for the Community Action Board of the Villa Fatima village.	Communal Leader	Paramilitary group
31	16/02/2020	Cauca	Miranda	Albeiro Silva Mosquera	Member of the Peasant Guard, of the Community Action Board of the La Morena village and of the Association for the Constitution of the Peasant Reserve Zone -ASPROZONAC-.	Peasant Leader	Unknown

No.	DATE	DEPARTMENT	MUNICIPALITY	VICTIM	ORGANIZATION	TYPE OF LEADERSHIP	ALLEGED RESPONSIBLE
32	16/02/2020	Cauca	Miranda	Luis Hugo Silva Mosquera	Member of the Peasant Guard, of the Community Action Board of the La Morena village and of the Association for the Constitution of the Peasant Reserve Zone -ASPROZONAC-.	Peasant Leader	Unknown
33	17/02/2020	Antioquia	Medellín	Miguel Ángel Castellanos Marín	Member of the Casa Morada Cultural Collective.	Youth Leader	Unknown
34	18/02/2020	Nariño	Cumbal	Jorge Humberto Alpala	Indigenous Leader of the Los Pastos community.	Indigenous Leader	Unknown
35	22/02/2020	Cauca	Puerto Tejada	Luis Mario Tálaga Wallis	Union leader of the National Union of Workers in the Agricultural Industry -SINTRAINAGRO-. Municipal delegate of the Florida subdirectorate, in Valle del Cauca. Founder of the National Union of Sugarcane Cutters -SINALCORTEROS-.	Union Leader	Unknown
36	29/02/2020	Antioquia	Campamento	Dilan Arley Agudelo	Member of the Community Action Board of the La Frislera Village.	Communal Leader	Unknown
37	29/02/2020	Antioquia	San José de Apartadó	Amado Torres	Treasurer of the Community Action Board of the La Victoria village.	Communal Leader	Paramilitary group
38	2/03/2020	Huila	Campo Alegre	Julio Gutiérrez Avilés	Founder of the Association of Campoalegre Workers -ATC-. Member of the El Esmero Association Group. President of the Community Action Board of the El Esmero village.	Communal Leader	Unknown
39	3/03/2020	Antioquia	Tarazá	William Ramiro Montoya	Vice-president of the Communal Action Board of Puerto Antioquia. Member of the Association of Fishermen and Farmers of Puerto Antioquia -APAP-.	Communal Leader	Unknown
40	7/03/2020	Cauca	El Tambo	Jorge Macana	Member of the Departmental Board of the National Comprehensive Program for the Substitution of Crops for Illicit Use -PNIS-.	Peasant Leader	ELN
41	8/03/2020	Cauca	Guachené	Edwin Alexis Vergara	Delegate before the Union Assembly of La Cabaña Sugar Mills -SINTRAINCABANA-.	Union Leader	Unknown
42	11/03/2020	Valle del Cauca	Cali	Cristian Adrián Angulo	Social manager in the Llanoverde neighborhood, Cali.	Community Leader	Unknown

No.	DATE	DEPARTMENT	MUNICIPALITY	VICTIM	ORGANIZATION	TYPE OF LEADERSHIP	ALLEGED RESPONSIBLE
43	15/03/2020	Cundinamarca	Bogotá	Luis Eladio Mecha	Member of the Wounann chapter in Bogotá.	Indigenous Leader	Unknown
44	19/03/2020	Antioquia	San Francisco	Ángel Ovidio Quintero	Member of the association of artisanal miners and president of the council of the San Francisco municipality.	Community Leader	Unknown
45	19/03/2020	Putumayo	Puerto Asís	Marco Leopoldo Rivadeneira	President of the Peasant Association of Puerto Asís -ASOPUER-TOASIS-. Member of the National Board of the National Agrarian Coordinator -CNA-. Member of the Peoples Congress. Speaker of the National Operating Committee of the Colombia Europe United States Coordination -CCEEU-. Regional spokesman of the National Process of Guarantees.	Peasant Leader	FARC Dissidents
46	19/03/2020	Norte de Santander	Puerto Santander	Ivo Humberto Bracamonte Quiroz	Director of the virtual community news "NPS".	Community Leader	Paramilitary group
47	23/03/2020	Valle del Cauca	Bolívar	Omar Guasiruma Nacabera	Indigenous guard of the Emberá people.	Indigenous Leader	ELN
48	23/03/2020	Valle del Cauca	Bolívar	Ernesto Guasiruma Nacabera	Indigenous guard of the Emberá people.	Indigenous Leader	ELN
49	24/03/2020	Bolívar	San Pablo de Cimarra	Carlota Isabel Salinas Pérez	Member of the Female Popular Organization -OFP-. Member of the Civil Defense in the San Pablo municipality.	Community Leader	Unknown
50	26/03/2020	Norte de Santander	Sardinata	Alejandro Carvajal	Promoter of substitution of crops for illicit use. Treasurer of the Community Action Board of the Santa Teresita village. Member of the Sardinata Sugarcane and Panela producers' association -ASOCAPASAR-.	Peasant Leader	Public Force
51	26/03/2020	Nariño	Barbacoas	Wilder García	Indigenous Awá Leader of the Tortugaña Telembi Reservation.	Indigenous Leader	Unknown
52	27/03/2020	Cauca	Totoró	Marly Fernanda Quina Campo	Paniquitá indigenous Chapter.	Peasant Leader	Spouse
53	13/04/2020	Cundinamarca	Bogotá	Jairo Beltrán Becerra	Defender of the rights of the LGBTI community in the district of La Candelaria, Bogotá. Member of the Community Action Board.	LGBTI Leader	Unknown

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54	17/04/2020	Cauca	El Tambo	Teodomiro Sotelo Anacona	Member of the Afrorenacer del Micay Community Council, the National Agrarian Coordinator (CNA) and the Peoples' Congress (GP).	Afro-descendant Leader	FARC Dissidents
55	19/04/2020	Cauca	Buenos Aires	Mario Chilhuoso	Member of the Association of Peasant Workers and Small Agricultural Producers of the Buenos Aires Municipality in Cauca -ASTCAP-, of the Process of Popular Unity of Southwestern Colombia -PUPSOC- and of the Patriotic March Social and Political Coordination.	Peasant Leader	FARC Dissidents
56	22/04/2020	Cauca	Santander de Quilichao	Hugo de Jesús Giraldo López	Defender of the rights of victims of the armed conflict and land claimants. Vice-President of the Association of Peasant Workers and Small Agricultural Producers of the Municipality of Buenos Aires Cauca -ASTCAP-, of the Process of Popular Unity of Southwestern Colombia -PUPSOC- and of the Patriotic March Social and Political Coordination of Cauca.	Peasant Leader	FARC Dissidents
57	22/04/2020	Cauca	El Tambo	Jesús Albeiro Riascos Riascos	Member of the Renacer del Micay Afro Community Council.	Community Leader	FARC Dissidents
58	22/04/2020	Cauca	El Tambo	Sabino Angulo Advincula	Member of the Renacer del Micay Afro Community Council.	Community Leader	FARC Dissidents
59	24/04/2020	Cauca	Almaguer	Floro Samboni Gómez	President of the Community Action Board of the Loma Larga Bajo village.	Communal Leader	Unknown
60	25/04/2020	Magdalena	Santa Marta	Alejandro Llinás Suárez	Founder of the Calabazo village's Community Action Board.	Environmental Leader	Paramilitary group
61	27/04/2020	Antioquia	Cáceres	Carlos Mario Cañaveral	Integrante de la Junta de Acción Comunal de la vereda Tacuyarca.	Communal Leader	Unknown
62	27/04/2020	Antioquia	Abejorral	Jairo de Jesús Jiménez Isaza	Principal of the Rural Educational Institution "Zola Duque Baena". Member of the USIDEA union.	Educational Leader	Unknown
63	29/04/2020	Cauca	Mercaderes	Álvaro Narváez Daza	President of the Community Action Board and member of the Palenque La Torre Community Council.	Communal Leader	FARC Dissidents

No.	DATE	DEPARTMENT	MUNICIPALITY	VICTIM	ORGANIZATION	TYPE OF LEADERSHIP	ALLEGED RESPONSIBLE
64	30/04/2020	Cauca	Mercaderes	Ubén Guerrero	Former President of the Community Action Board and Community Leader of the Curacas village.	Community Leader	Unknown
65	30/04/2020	Arauca	Arauca	Pedro Elías Calderón	Treasurer of the Community Action Board of the Santa Fe neighborhood. Delegate of the Association of Community Action Boards of Arauca.	Communal Leader	Unknown
66	4/05/2020	Norte de Santander	Tibú	Carlos Andrés Sánchez Villa	Vice President of the Community Action Board of the Cayo Raya village and member of the National Comprehensive Program for the Substitution of Crops for Illicit Use -PNIS-.	Communal Leader	Unknown
67	13/05/2020	Antioquia	Cáceres	Taylor Cruz Gil	President of the Community Action Board of La Cantaleta neighborhood.	Communal Leader	Paramilitary group
68	13/05/2020	Antioquia	Tarazá	Julio César Hernández Salcedo	Member of the Community Action Board of the San Antonio village in San José de Uré, of the Association of Peasants of Bajo Cauca -ASOCBAG- and of the National Comprehensive Program for the Substitution of Crops for Illicit Use -PNIS-.	Communal Leader	Paramilitary group
69	15/05/2020	Valle del Cauca	Argelia	Javier García Guaguarabe	Indigenous guard in the Bania Chami reservation of the Emberá people.	Indigenous Leader	Unknown
70	16/05/2020	Valle del Cauca	Cali	Jorge Enrique Oramas	Environmental defender and leader of the Biocanto del Milenio project to promote food security	Environmental Leader	Unknown
71	16/05/2020	Norte de Santander	Cúcuta	Freddy Angarita Martínez	Leader of human settlements in Cúcuta	Community Leader	Unknown
72	18/05/2020	Norte de Santander	Cúcuta	Emérito Digno Buendía Martínez	Member of the Catatumbo Peasant Association -ASCAMCAT-, of the Community Action Board of the Totumito village and of the National Coordinator of Coca, Poppy and Marijuana Growers -COCCAM-.	Peasant Leader	Public Force
73	19/05/2020	Cesar	Becerril	Aramis Arenas Bayona	President of the Community Action Board of the Canada Village, Estados Unidos township.	Communal Leader	Unknown

No.	DATE	DEPARTMENT	MUNICIPALITY	VICTIM	ORGANIZATION	TYPE OF LEADERSHIP	ALLEGED RESPONSIBLE
74	21/05/2020	Valle del Cauca	Cumaribo	Olga Lucía Hernández	Former president of the Community Action Board of the Puerto Nariño inspection and Community Leader.	Community Leader	Unknown
75	26/05/2020	Huila	Algeciras	Saul Rojas González	President of the Community Action Board of the San Juanito neighborhood.	Communal Leader	Unknown
76	26/05/2020	Bolívar	Tiquisio	Edwin Emiro Acosta Ochoa	Member of the Commission of Interlocation of Southern Bolívar, Central and Southern Cesar -CISBCSC-, of the Agricultural Association of Tiquisio and shareholder of the Society of Mixed Agricultural and Mining Economy SEMAAM SAS.	Community Leader	Paramilitary group
77	28/05/2020	Cauca	Corinto	María Nelly Cuetia Dagua	Traditional medic in the Nasa Los Andes indigenous community, Corinto municipality.	Peasant Leader	FARC Dissidents
78	28/05/2020	Cauca	Corinto	Pedro Ángel María Tróchez	Traditional medic in the Nasa Los Andes indigenous community, Corinto municipality.	Indigenous Leader	FARC Dissidents
79	31/05/2020	Norte de Santander	Chitagá	Joel Aguablanca Villamizar	"Director of the Association of Traditional Authorities and Uvas Chapters, -ASDUWA-, Indigenous Nation Education Coordinator."	Indigenous Leader	Public Force
80	31/05/2020	Valle del Cauca	Florida	Hermes Loaza Montoya	Secretary of the Pueblo Nuevo Community Action Board.	Communal Leader	Unknown
81	1/06/2020	Córdoba	Puerto Libertador	Arcángel Pantoja	Founder and member of the Peasant Association of Southern Córdoba -ASCSCUCOR-.	Peasant Leader	Paramilitary group
82	1/06/2020	Córdoba	Puerto Libertador	Omar Agudelo	Founder and member of the Peasant Association of Southern Córdoba -ASCSCUCOR-. Member of the Community Action Board of the Rio Suco village.	Communal Leader	Paramilitary group
83	3/06/2020	Cauca	Santander de Quilichao	Julio Humberto Moreno Arce	President of the International Organ Human Rights Foundation. Member of the Southwest Minga and the Peoples Congress.	Community Leader	Unknown
84	8/06/2020	Putumayo	San Miguel	Edison León Pérez	President of the Community Action Board of the San Juan del Bosco village.	Communal Leader	Unknown

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85	9/06/2020	Putumayo	Orito	Leidy Viviana Trompeta	Indigenous guard of the Nasa Kuesh Kiwe Chapter in the Bella-vista village. Member of the National Comprehensive Program for the Substitution of Crops for Illicit Use - PNIS-.	Peasant Leader	Former spouse
86	15/06/2020	Antioquia	Tarazá	Edier Adán Lopera	Coordinator of the Conciliation Committee of the Urales Community Action Board. Member of the National Comprehensive Program for the Substitution of Crops for Illicit Use - PNIS- and of the Peasant Association of Bajo Cauca -ASOCBAC-.	Peasant Leader	Paramilitary group
87	16/06/2020	Nariño	Samaniego	José Ernesto Córdoba Rodríguez	President of the Paola Isabel Neighborhood Community Action Board.	Communal Leader	Unknown
88	18/06/2020	Cauca	Guapi	Gracelio Micolta	Spokesperson for the Alto Guapi Community Council.	Afro-descendant Leader	Unknown
89	23/06/2020	Norte de Santander	Convención	Carmen Angel Aveniño Yarudo	President of the El Hoyo village Community Action Board.	Communal Leader	Unknown
90	26/06/2020	Cauca	Páez	Luz Miriam Vargas Castaño	Member of the Avirama Reservation and the Nasa Çhāçhxa Association of Traditional Indigenous Authorities. She led the "PazAdentro" productive project.	Peasant Leader	Spouse
91	27/06/2020	Cauca	Morales	Antonio Cuero	Guard at territorial control checkpoint.	Peasant Leader	Unknown
92	27/06/2020	Cauca	El Tambo	Agustín Imbachí Gómez	Peasant Leader de la vereda Cañatás, corregimiento de Huisito.	Peasant Leader	FARC Dissidents
93	27/06/2020	Cauca	Morales	Rosalbina Becoche Yandi	Guard at territorial control checkpoint and leader of the Familias en Acción (Families in Action) program.	Peasant Leader	Unknown
94	27/06/2020	Guaviare	San José del Guaviare	Yoanny Yeffier Vanegas	Member of the Association of Peasant Workers and Producers of the Guayabero River -ASTRACAGUA-.	Community Leader	Public Force
95	28/06/2020	Chocó	Pizarro	José Javier Uragama Chamorro	Indigenous Governor of the Emberá People in the Agua Clara community.	Indigenous Leader	Unknown



**PROGRAMA
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