



KROC INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE STUDIES



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November 9-11, 2020

Four Years of Peace Accord Implementation: International Comparative Experiences and the Colombian Case



Pontificia Universidad
JAVERIANA
Colombia



UNIVERSITY OF
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Monday, November 9, 2020

9 - 9:30 a.m.

Opening

Greetings from **Asher Kaufman**, John M Regan, Jr. Director, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies; **R. Scott Appleby**, Marilyn Keough Dean, Keough School of Global Affairs, University of Notre Dame; and **Fr. Jorge Humberto Peláez**, President, Universidad Javeriana

Welcome by **María Lucía Zapata** (M.A.'07), Director, Master's in Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution, Universidad Javeriana; **Josefina Echavarría Álvarez**, Associate Professor of the Practice and Director, Peace Accords Matrix Program, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies

9:30 - 11 a.m.

Panel 1: Third Party Monitoring of Peace Agreements

Since the end of the Cold War, more armed conflicts have been terminated through the negotiation of peace agreements than through decisive victories. Countries that negotiated and implemented comprehensive peace agreements have seen a higher rate of durable and quality peace in the post-accord years. One of the key determinants of a successful implementation process is independent verification. Increasingly, mediators and conflict parties have found ways of creating space for independent, external and internal bodies to monitor the implementation process. This panel will discuss the concept of independent monitoring and verification mechanisms, including international observers and monitors as one of many tools in a larger, more holistic peacebuilding "toolbox" that peace process stakeholders can leverage to create and sustain a more viable peace process. Panelists will share insights from their monitoring and verification work, methodologies, obstacles they face, and best practices for supporting peacebuilding through independent accompaniment.

Moderator: Madhav Joshi, Research Associate Professor; Associate Director of the Peace Accords Matrix, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies

Presentations:

The Carter Center Mali Independent Observer Program

John J. Goodman, Associate Director for Africa, Conflict Resolution Program, The Carter Center

Civil Society-Led Monitoring of the Mindanao Peace Process

Myla Leguro (M.A. '10), Peacebuilding Technical Advisor and Lead Convenor of the Mindanao Peaceweavers, Catholic Relief Services

Nepal's Peace Process: Experiences and Reflections on Monitoring Mechanisms

Bishnu Sapkota, Co-Founder, Nepal Transition to Peace (NTTP) Institute; Asia Representative, Peace Accords Matrix Program, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies

11 a.m. - 12 p.m.

Roundtable on Monitoring Implementation: The Experience of the Peace Accords Matrix (PAM) Program's Barometer Initiative in Colombia

This roundtable takes a look at the development of the Barometer Initiative methodology for following implementation of the 2016 Final Peace Accord in Colombia. Speakers will discuss the process of adapting the categories from the Peace Accords Matrix (PAM) to meet the needs of the Colombian Peace Accord and the CSIVI Commission, as well as the creation of the Barometer Matrix methodology. The session will also discuss the formation of the Barometer Initiative team and their comprehensive reports on implementation. Speakers will also present the latest innovations for following implementation with a gender approach and an ethnic approach as included in the latest Kroc Institute reports.

Speakers:

- **Elise Ditta (M.A. '16)**, Research Associate, Peace Accords Matrix Program
- **Rebecca Gindele**, Gender Approach Specialist, Barometer Initiative, Peace Accords Matrix Program
- **Ivonne Zúñiga**, Ethnic Approach Specialist, Barometer Initiative, Peace Accords Matrix Program
- **John Paul Lederach**, Professor Emeritus of International Peacebuilding, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, Senior Fellow, Humanity United
- **Moderator: Luis Felipe Botero (M.A. '15)**, Specialist, Barometer Initiative, Peace Accords Matrix Program

Tuesday, November 10, 2020

9 - 10:30 a.m.

Panel 2: Violence and Victimization in Post-Accord Contexts

Over the last four years since the signing of the peace agreement between the Colombian Government and the former FARC-EP, the promise of drastic change from pre-signature armed conflict to post-agreement peace has not fully materialized. Violence and victimization has continued, although with different dynamics, territorial expressions, and intensities. The post-accord security situation has created new victims, hindering implementation and feeding into pre-existing political polarization about the accord. This panel will provide international comparative insights about post-accord violence and victimization. It will also explore the particularities of Colombia's current post-accord

violence and victimization as compared to its prior post-demobilization experiences, especially the Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC) demobilization (2003-2006) and the M19-EPL demobilizations (early 1990s). This panel will also explore how localized political and polarization dynamics, especially at the municipal level, may partly account for the assassination of social leaders.

Moderator: Carolina Cepeda Másmela, Director, Master's in International Studies and the Master's in Contemporary Latin American Studies, Javeriana University

Presentations:

Violence after Civil Conflict and Patterns of De-escalation

Jason Quinn, Research Associate Professor, Peace Accords Matrix Program, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies

Post-Accord Violence and Victimization in Colombia

Gerard Martin, Peace Accords Matrix Representative in Colombia, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies; and **Daniel Cano Insuasty**, Political Relations Coordinator, Barometer Initiative, Peace Accords Matrix Program

Local Competitive Authoritarianism and Post-Conflict Violence in Colombia

Juan Albarracín Dierolf, Director, Political Science Program, and Assistant Professor of Political Science, Universidad Icesi; and **Inge Valencia**, Chair, Department of Social Studies, and Associate Professor, Universidad Icesi

10:30 a.m. - 12 p.m.

Panel 3: Structural and Institutional Reforms during Implementation

Peace research has made visible two meaningful trends in peace agreements since the late 1990s. First, there has been a significant increase in the number of peace agreements that seek to end civil war or internal armed conflicts. Second, whereas the pages of civil war peace agreements were once dominated by military and security issues, in contemporary agreements a much larger content share is devoted to political-, social-, development-, and justice-related reforms and issues. This is consistent with the evidence that peace agreements that address the social and political root causes of conflict, in addition to security, have better chances of producing longer-lasting peace and improvement of quality of life indicators for the societies involved. Yet, how do we create those structural and institutional conditions that anchor the security gains in peace processes? To shed light on this question, panel presenters will share their evidence-based insights on the questions of political constitutions, reforms, and innovations to the justice system, and the right to food in Latin America and elsewhere.

Moderator: Kristina Hook (Ph.D. '20), Research Assistant Professor, and Executive Director, Better Evidence Project, Center for Peacemaking Practice, George Mason University

Presentations:

Ulysses at the Constitutional Mast: Why Majority Parties are Willing to Constitutionalize Their Peace Agreement

Isabel Güiza Gómez, Ph.D. Student in Peace Studies and Political Science, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, Keough School of Global Affairs; and

Laurie Nathan, Director, Mediation Program, and Professor of the Practice of Mediation, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies; and

Ilana Rothkopf, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Political Science, University of Notre Dame

Containing Large-Scale Criminal Violence through Internationalized Prosecution: How the CICIG Contributed to the Reduction of Guatemala's Murder Rate

Camilo Nieto-Matiz, Postdoctoral Fellow, Center for Inter-American Policy and Research (CIPR), Tulane University; and

Guillermo Trejo, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Notre Dame, and Faculty Fellow at the Kellogg Institute for International Studies

The Right to Food in the Peace Accord: Contested Views on Rural Reform and Difficult Conciliations

Felipe Roa-Clavijo, Specialist, Barometer Initiative, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies

Wednesday, November 11, 2020

9 - 10:30 a.m.

Panel 4: Reconciliation and Transitional Justice

The signing of the peace agreement between the Government of Colombia and the FARC-EP guerrillas created the expectation of reconciliation and justice after more than 50 years of intense conflict. Moreover, concepts included in the peace accord, such as territorial peace, acknowledged the importance of a legacy of peacebuilding across Colombia. However, the increase of violence in rural and urban areas, especially against social leaders; the spread of social protests; and the attacks on the transitional justice system are some of the latest obstacles in implementing the Agreement. Each day, reconciliation seems more elusive.

This panel will explore the challenges that reconciliation and transitional justice face in post-accord contexts, as well as the contributions made by civil society organizations.

Moderator: María Lucía Zapata, Director, Master's of Peace and Conflict Studies, Universidad Javeriana

Presentations:

Peace and Reconciliation beyond the Accord

Luis Fernando Múnera Congote, S.J., Dean, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Javeriana University

Civil Society Accompaniment in the Monitoring of the Peace Accord

Fernando Sarmiento Santander, National Coordinator of the Network of Regional Programs, Development and Peace (Redprodepaz), and Executive Director, Redprodepaz Foundation

Remilitarization vs. Reconciliation

Sarah Daly, Assistant Professor of Political Science at Columbia University

10:30 a.m. - 12 p.m.

Roundtable 2: Political and Civic Participation in Post-Accord Contexts

This roundtable focuses on the importance of bottom-up initiatives in the implementation of the Colombian Peace Accord. It highlights the strengths and weaknesses of local initiatives in fostering political participation in areas where violence was, and still is, prevalent. It will focus on the experience of the municipal council of Vista Hermosa, Meta; grassroots initiatives in monitoring the Peace Accord; and a comparative analysis of the grassroots initiatives in the municipalities of Vista Hermosa, Catatumbo, and Buenaventura.

Speakers:

- **Paloma Cobo, Daniela Mosquera Camacho, and Ana María Rodríguez**, Junior Researchers, Improbable Dialogues Project (University of Sheffield, Javeriana University, and the Center for Research and Popular Education)
- **Egoitz Gago**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Javeriana University
- **Borja Paladini Adell**, Ph.D. Candidate, University of the Basque Country, Institute for International Cooperation and Development Studies
- **José Manuel Salamanca Rangel**, Director, Alfredo Vázquez Carrizosa Institute of Human Rights, Javeriana University
- **Moderator: Francisco Diez**, Senior Advisor, Mediation Program, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies

12:00 - 12:05 p.m.

Closing

Speaker Biographies

Alphabetical by last name

Juan Albarracín Dierolf is Director of the Political Science Program and Assistant Professor of Political Science at Universidad Icesi, Cali, Colombia. He has a B.A. in Political Science and an M.A. in Comparative Politics from the Eberhard-Karls Universität Tübingen (Germany), as well as Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Notre Dame.

Luis Felipe Botero is a Specialist for the Peace Accords Matrix Program's Barometer Initiative, where he leads the territorial approach. He holds a Bachelor's Degree in Anthropology from Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá and a Master's in International Peace Studies from the University of Notre Dame's Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies. He has more than ten years of experience working with ethnic and campesino communities, grassroots organizations, government programs, and international institutions focused on areas affected by armed conflict and illicit crops in Colombia.

Daniel Cano Insuasty is the Political Relations Coordinator for the Barometer Initiative of the Kroc Institute in Colombia. He worked as an advisor for the Colombian Agency for Reintegration and for the Secretary of Security of Medellín. He holds a master's in social science from Uppsala University. He also completed a bachelor's in psychology focusing on the psychological profile of child soldiers recruited by guerrilla groups in Colombia.

Carolina Cepeda Másmela is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Sciences and International Relations at Javeriana University. She also serves as the Director of the Master's in International Studies and the Master's in Contemporary Latin American Studies programs.

Paloma Cobo is a researcher associated with Dejusticia - Center for Justice, Law, and Society Research. She holds B.A.s in Literature and Political Science and a Master's degree in Social Sciences. She is currently a Junior Researcher with the Improbable Dialogues Project, a partnership of University of Sheffield, Javeriana University, and the Center for Research and Popular Education (CINEP).

Sarah Z. Daly is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Columbia University. Before her current position, she held posts at Princeton University, the University of Notre Dame, and Stanford University. Her first book, *Organized Violence After Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America*, received an Honorable Mention for the Conflict Research Society's Best Book of the Year Prize in 2017. Her second book, for which she was named a 2018 Andrew Carnegie Fellow, is about transitional justice and the electoral legacies of mass violence.

Francisco Diez is currently a Senior Advisor for the Kroc Institute's Mediation Program and a member of the United Nations Standby Team of Senior Mediation Advisors, and previously served as the Chief of Staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Argentina. He is the founder of the Mediator's Network in Argentina, and served as the Carter Center's representative in Latin America before joining the Kroc Institute in 2014. From 2014 to 2019, Diez was the representative in Latin America of the Kroc Institute's Peace Accords Matrix (PAM) program.

Elise Ditta is a Research Associate for the Peace Accords Matrix Program and holds a Master's Degree in International Peace Studies from the University of Notre Dame's Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies and a Bachelor's Degree in International Development and Spanish from Calvin College. As part of her studies, she completed a USAID Research and Innovation Fellowship in Colombia, examining urban violence and territorial peace on the Caribbean coast. She previously served as the Director of Communication for the Association for a More Just Society in Honduras.

Josefina Echavarría Álvarez is Associate Professor of the Practice and Director of the Peace Accords Matrix (PAM) Program at the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies. She earned her Ph.D. in Peace, Conflict, and Democracy from the University Jaume I (Spain). She was previously director of the Research Center for Peace and Conflict (InnPeace) at the University of Innsbruck (Austria). Her research explores sustainable peacebuilding after violence, methods and facilitation of conflict transformation, studies and practices of reconciliation, memory, and in/security and migration.

Egoitz Gago holds a B.A. in Political Science from the University of the Basque Country and Ph.D. in Peace Studies from the University of Bradford, United Kingdom. He is currently an Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science and Javeriana University.

Rebecca Gindele is a Specialist for the Peace Accords Matrix Program's Barometer Initiative focusing on the implementation of gender commitments. She has a Master's in Human Rights, where she focused on the implementation of The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) through gender-sensitive budgeting. Rebecca received a post-graduate certificate in conflict resolution. She has worked in Colombia in human rights and education projects for the past five years.

John Goodman is the Conflict Resolution Program's Associate Director for Africa at The Carter Center, where he holds responsibility for the design, implementation, and evaluation of the program's mission and strategy in East and West Africa. Prior to joining The Carter Center, Goodman worked at the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), where he served as delegate and head of sub-delegation in the Democratic Republic of Congo and South Sudan. Before joining the ICRC, Goodman was an attorney in private practice in the United States, working primarily in civil litigation on behalf of the immigrant community. He holds a B.A. from Centre College, a Master's and J.D. from the University of Kentucky, and a Doctorate from the Graduate Institute, University of Geneva (Switzerland). He speaks fluent French, Spanish, and Catalan.

Isabel Güiza-Gómez is a Peace Studies and Political Science Ph.D. student at the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame where she works with the Violence and Transitional Justice Lab. Her research agenda explores the interactions between constitution-making, peacebuilding, and broad political inclusion in transitional societies, as well as peasant (campesino) mobilization and land policies.

Kristina Hook is an anthropologist and scholar-practitioner specializing in large-scale violence against civilians and emerging forms of warfare and violence. She is Research Assistant Professor at George Mason University's Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter School for Peace and Conflict Resolution (formerly, S-CAR), where she serves as Executive Director of the Better Evidence Project in the Center for Peacemaking Practice. She received a Ph.D. in Peace Studies and Anthropology from the University of Notre Dame's Kroc Institute for International

Peace Studies and Department of Anthropology. A 2018-2019 Fulbright Scholar to Ukraine, Kristina has worked in 23 countries. She previously served as a policy advisor at the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations.

Madhav Joshi is Research Associate Professor and Associate Director of the Peace Accords Matrix Program at the University of Notre Dame's Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies. His research focuses on peace agreement design, implementation, and post-civil war peace-building. He has published on these topics in leading social science journals, and is co-editor of the book *Understanding Quality Peace* (with Peter Wallensteen, Routledge, 2018).

John Paul Lederach is Senior Advisor to the Peace Accords Matrix Program Barometer Initiative, Professor Emeritus of International Peacebuilding at the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, and a Fellow at Humanity United. Widely known for his pioneering work in conflict transformation, Lederach is involved in conciliation work in Colombia, the Philippines, and Nepal, plus countries in East and West Africa. He is author of 22 books, including *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

Myla Leguro holds an M.A. in International Peace Studies from the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame. She has worked for Catholic Relief Services (CRS) since 1991 on peace and development projects in Mindanao, Philippines. As the Program Manager of the Peace and Reconciliation Program of CRS-Philippines, Myla organized two major peacebuilding initiatives: the Mindanao Peacebuilding Institute in 2000 and the Grassroots Peace Learning Course in 2003. She has worked as an international trainer in Timor-Leste and Nepal, and has served as a resource person in various peacebuilding conferences in Colombia, Thailand, and the United States. In 2006, she was the first CRS-Kroc Visiting Fellow. Myla holds the distinction of being one of the 1,000 women collectively nominated for the 2005 Nobel Peace Prize. She currently serves as Program Director of a CRS global program on Advancing Interreligious Peacebuilding, an initiative that covers four inter-related projects on interreligious dialogue and cooperation in Egypt, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Niger, Nigeria, and the Philippines. Currently, Myla serves as Peacebuilding Technical Advisor for CRS in the Philippines and Asia Region Focal Point for Peacebuilding, Justice and Social Cohesion.

Gerard Martin is the Peace Accords Matrix Representative in Colombia. He is a political sociologist with a Ph.D. from the School of Higher Studies in Social Sciences (France). From 1998 to 2008, he co-directed the Colombia Program at Georgetown University. He is the author of numerous articles and books, including *Medellín. Tragedy and Resurgence. Mafias, City and State. 1975-2013*.

Daniela Mosquera Camacho is a historian and political scientist. She is an associate researcher at the Center for Alternatives to Development (Centro de Alternativas al Desarrollo) and a Junior Researcher with the Improbable Dialogues Project, a partnership of University of Sheffield, Javeriana University, and the Center for Research and Popular Education (CINEP).

Luis Fernando Múnera Congote, S.J., graduated with a degree in Philosophy from Javeriana University and holds a Ph.D. in Political Philosophy from the Sèvres Center in Paris. He is currently Dean and Associate Professor of the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Javeriana University. He is also an Associate Professor in the Department of Philosophy, where he also served as director of the undergraduate program between 2013 and 2015. He has been a member of the Council of Regents since 2013, and was advisor to the Academic Vice-Rector from 2015 to 2017.

Laurie Nathan is Director of the Mediation Program and Professor of the Practice of Mediation at the University of Notre Dame's Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies. His publications, which include recent work on post-conflict constitutions, are available at <https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=f5Hf-wQLU8IC>.

Camilo Nieto-Matiz is a postdoctoral fellow at the Center for Inter-American Policy and Research (CIPR) at Tulane University. He received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Notre Dame in 2020. His main research interests include political and criminal violence, state capacity, the political consequences of land inequality, and the intersection of conflict and democracy in Latin America.

Borja Paladini Adell graduated with a degree in Political Science from the Autonomous University of Barcelona. He has a Diploma of Advanced Studies in Peacebuilding from the National University of Distance Education in Spain. Currently he is in the midst of Ph.D. studies at the University of the Basque Country's Institute for International Cooperation and Development Studies.

Jason Quinn is Research Associate Professor with the Kroc Institute's Peace Accords Matrix program, and helps oversee a data coding effort on the implementation of civil war peace agreements worldwide. He is a researcher with the Barometer Initiative, the official implementation verification body of the 2016 Colombian Peace Agreement. Quinn's research and teaching centers around the study of civil war, with a focus on peace agreement design and implementation. He has published on these topics in *International Studies Quarterly*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Negotiation Journal*, *International Interactions*, *Social Science Research*, and other outlets.

Felipe Roa-Clavijo is a specialist with the Peace Accords Matrix Barometer Initiative in Colombia where he leads monitoring of implementation of Point 1, Comprehensive Rural Reform. Felipe obtained his doctoral degree in International Development from the University of Oxford, and his research focuses on food security and food sovereignty. He has worked at the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Ana María Rodríguez is an ecologist. She is part of the Planning, Evaluation and Monitoring Team of the Amazon Conservation Team in Colombia and a Junior Researcher with the Improbable Dialogues Project, a partnership of University of Sheffield, Javeriana University, and the Center for Research and Popular Education (CINEP).

Ilana Rothkopf is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame. Her research fields are international relations and comparative politics with interests in international and comparative law, negotiations, non-state actors, international organizations, and post-conflict reconstruction.

José Manuel Salamanca Rangel is Director of the Alfredo Vázquez Carrizosa Institute of Human Rights, Javeriana University. Manuel holds a B.A. in Social Communications and a Master's in Political Studies, both from Javeriana University. He also holds a Master's in Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution from the European Center for Peace Studies, Stadtschlaining, Austria, and a Doctorate in Sociology and Political Science from the University of Deusto (Spain).

Bishnu Sapkota is the Peace Accords Matrix Program Representative in Asia. He worked for the Nepal peace process from its early stages, and was a Founding General Secretary of the Nepal Transition to Peace Institute (NTTP). He managed a national collaborative leadership and dialogue program under the United Nations Development Program during Nepal's constitution writing phase. He co-authored a Nepal case study on peace process observations and constitution writing for Swisspeace, and edited a booklet titled "Costs of War in Nepal." He was the editor of Nepali Security Sector: An Almanac, published by DCAF in 2009. He holds an M.Phil. from the University of Cambridge, United Kingdom.

Fernando Sarmiento Santander is a philosopher with a Master's in Political Studies. He has over 25 years experience in peacebuilding, peace research, and peace education in Colombia, with a special emphasis on conflict transformation and the strengthening of social organizations. Fernando is currently the National Coordinator of the Network of Regional Programs for Development and Peace (Redprodepaz) and Executive Director of the Redprodepaz Foundation. RedProdepaz is one of the largest civil society NGOs for peacebuilding in Colombia.

Guillermo Trejo is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame and a Faculty Fellow at the Kellogg Institute for International Studies. His research focuses on political and criminal violence, social movements, and transitional justice.

Inge Helena Valencia is Chair of the Department of Social Studies and Associate Professor at Universidad Icesi, Cali, Colombia. She graduated from the anthropology program of the Universidad Nacional de Colombia and has a Ph.D. in Anthropology from the École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS), Paris, France.

Maria Lucia Zapata Cancelado is a lawyer with a Master's in International Peace Studies from the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame and a Ph.D. from the University of Manitoba. Maria Lucia has extensive experience in peacebuilding, conflict transformation, and restorative justice in Colombia and Canada. Currently, she is the director of the M.A. in Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution at Javeriana University. Her main research interests are peacebuilding, conflict transformation, and post-liberal peace.

Ivonne Zúñiga is Specialist for the Peace Accords Matrix Program's Barometer Initiative and monitors accord stipulations related to Point 6. She has a Master's in Public Administration and a Bachelor's in Psychology. She has ten years of experience in the formulation of projects and intersectionality in public policy, both in governmental and non-governmental entities and international organizations. Her academic achievements include a Fulbright Fellowship, Colfuturo Scholarship, and a scholarship granted by the United Nations.

With Thanks to the Organization and Communications Committee

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Co-hosted by the Peace Accords Matrix (PAM) program of the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, part of the University of Notre Dame's Keough School of Global Affairs, and the Faculty of Political Science, Javeriana University. kroc.nd.edu/ColombiaAccord