



The Trump Administration and the Implementation of Colombia's Peace Accord

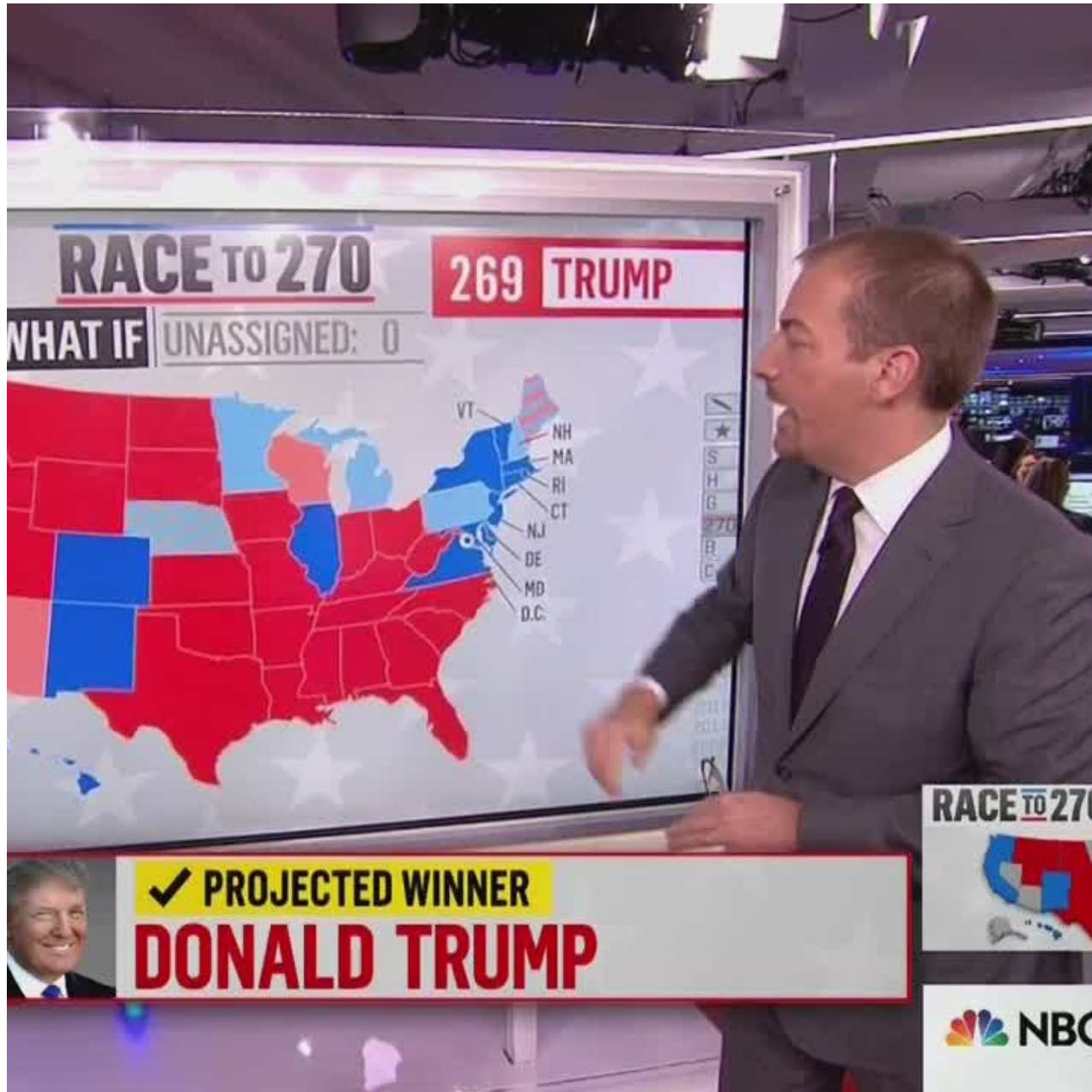
**Prepared for Panel "Paz en Colombia: Un Balance"
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November 2016



November 8



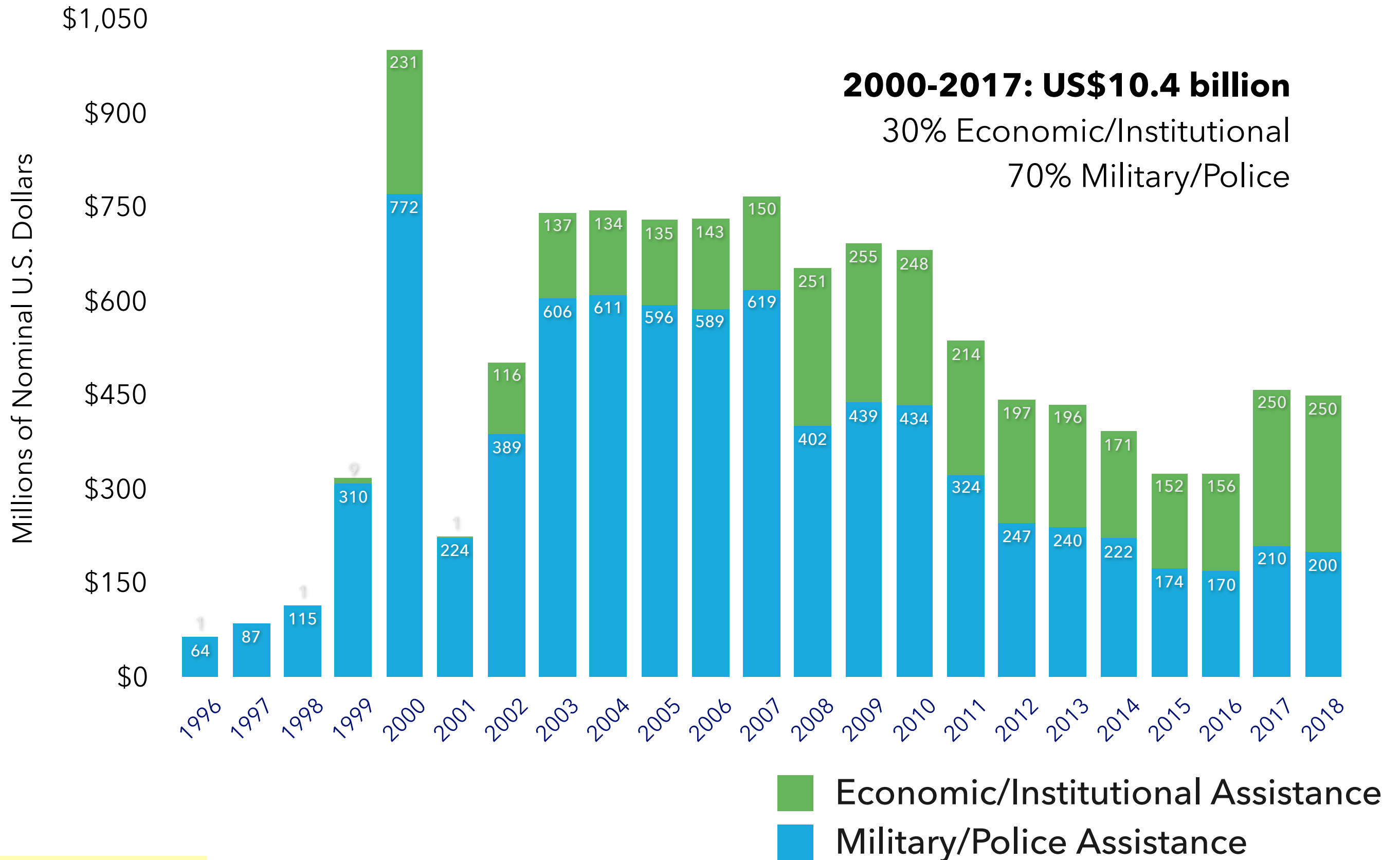
November 24

How To Talk About Peace

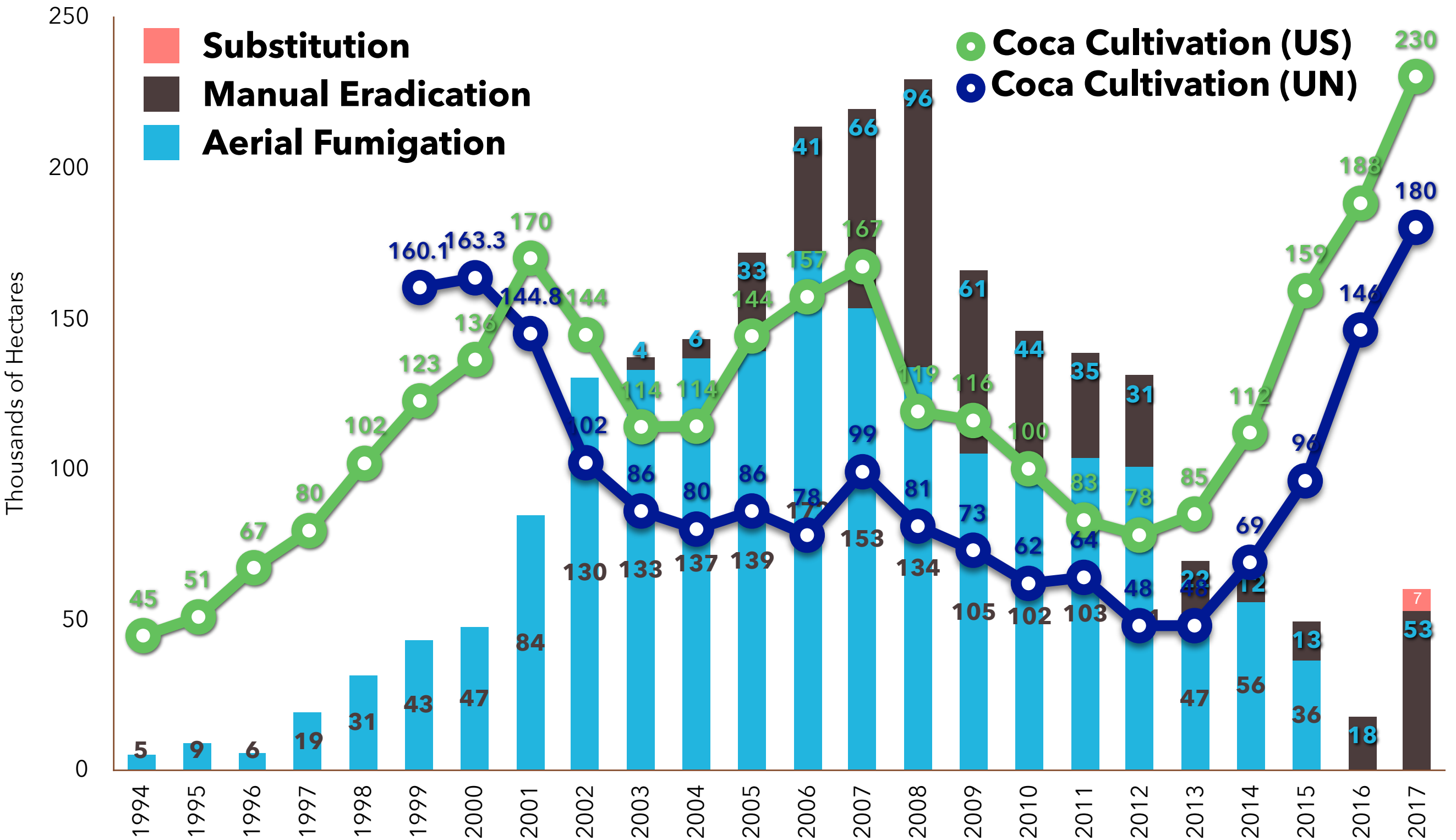
We affirm our friendship and admiration for the people of Colombia and call on the Republican Congress to express its solidarity with their decades-long fight against the terrorist FARC. Their sacrifice and suffering must not be betrayed by the accession to power of murderers and drug lords.



Where To Put the Money



How To Talk About Coca



The White House

- Hardline, but distracted
- A president who is not well briefed, but has strong views (or urges)
- National Security Council aides' role not clear, but leadership tends to view negotiations with violent adversaries as "appeasement"

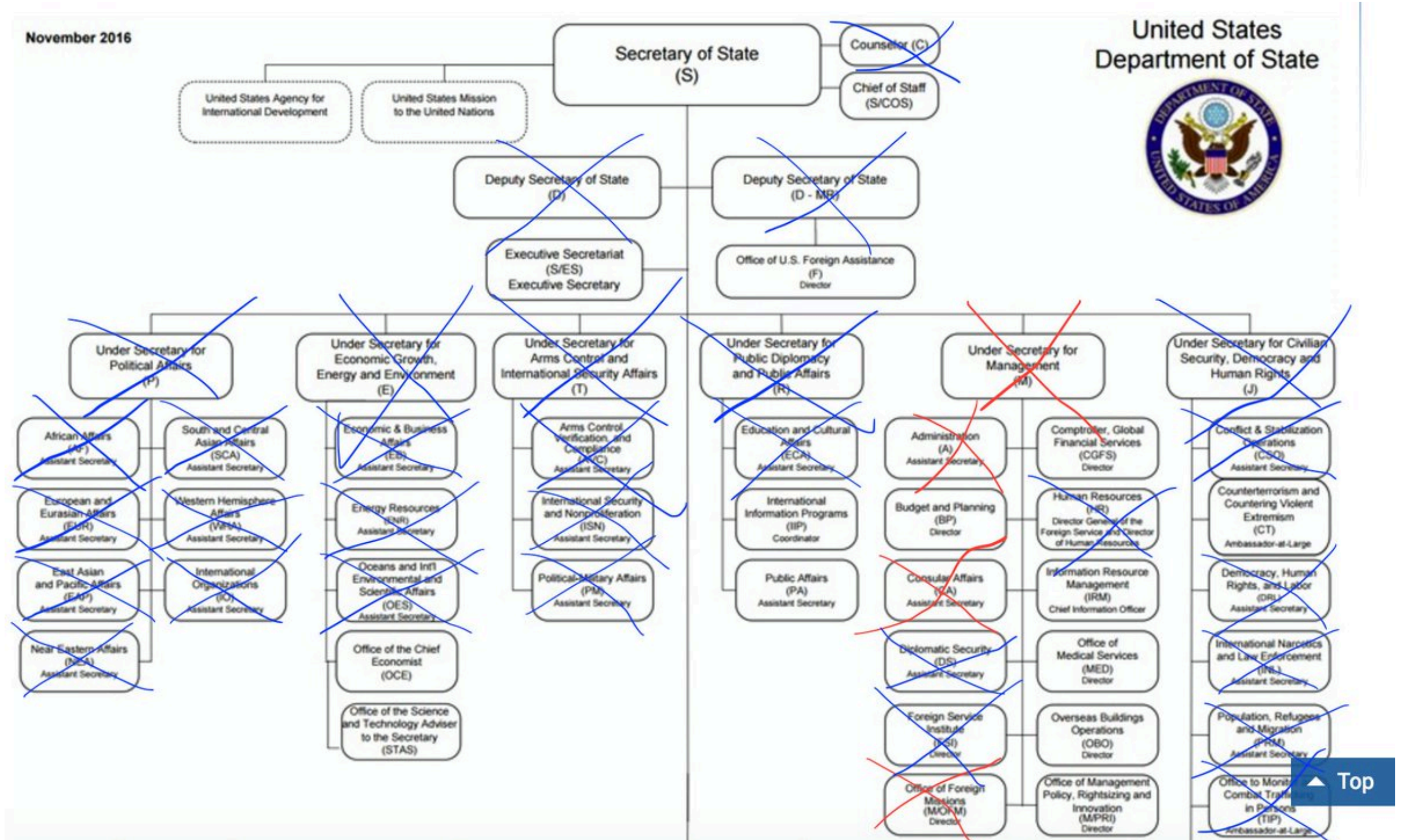


Juan Cruz / NSC



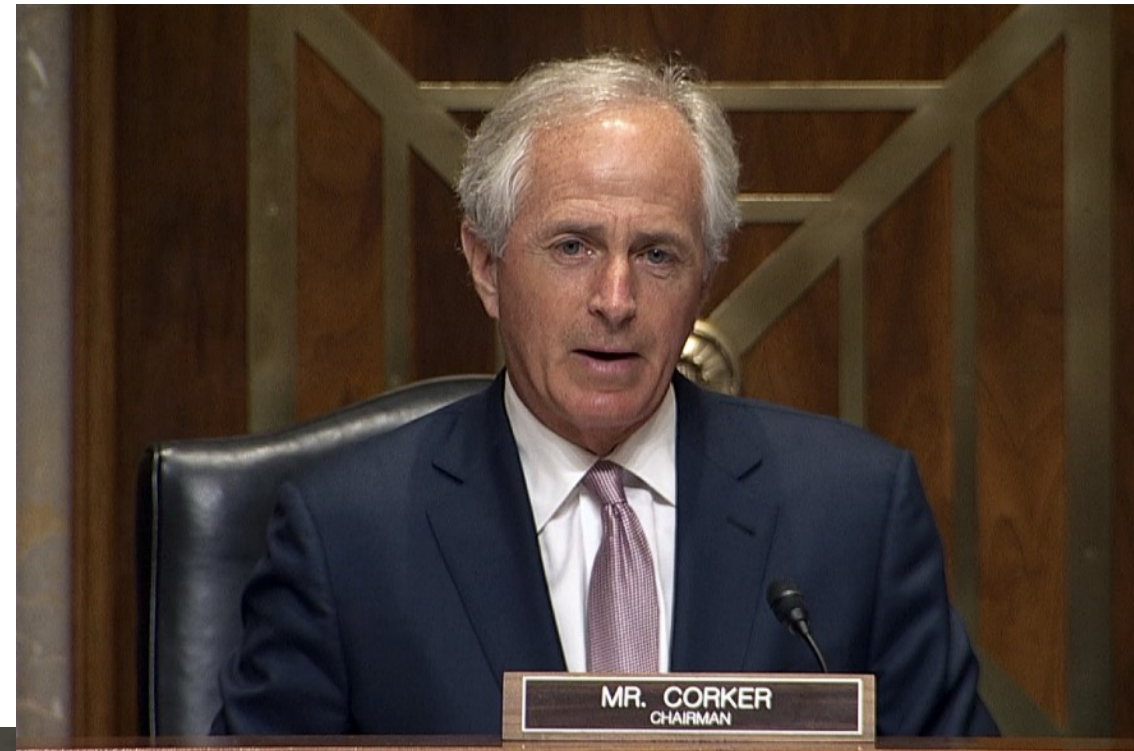
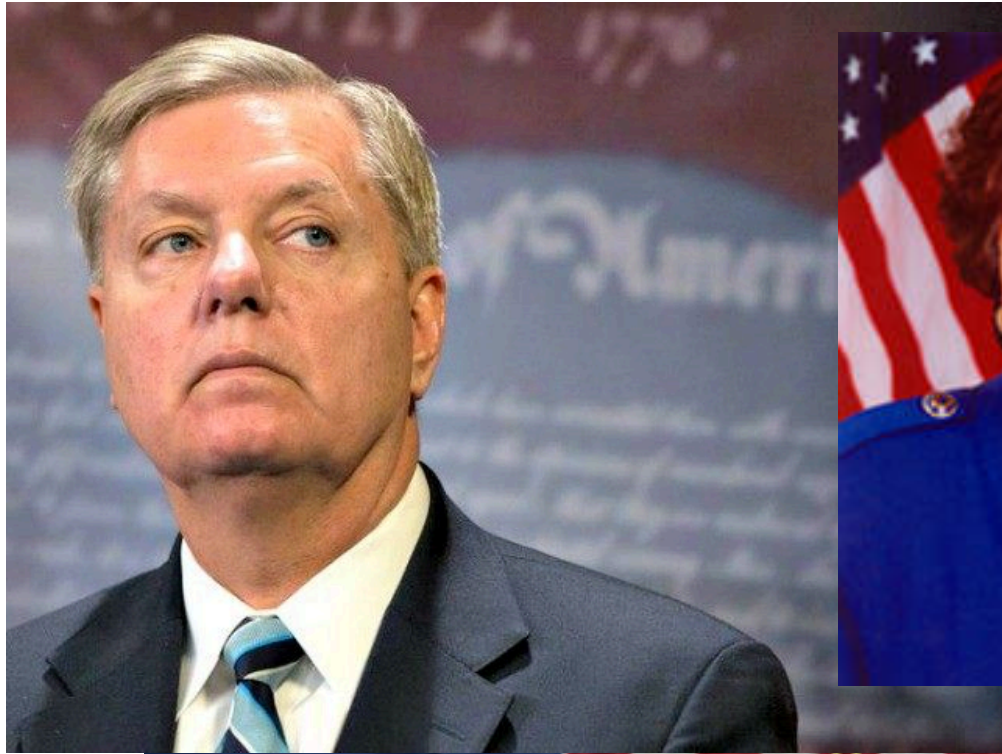
Rick Waddell / NSC

Veteran Diplomats



State Department org chart as of February 2017. Only somewhat better today.

Appropriators (and Authorizers)



Key Actors

Congressional Hardliners



Drug Warriors



Partisans

Sen. Rubio



Less Visible Actors

- The Defense Department
- Congressional Democrats who aren't appropriators/authorizers
- NGOs

A Rough Start

"I would also seek to review the details of Colombia's recent peace agreement, and determine **the extent to which the United States should continue to support it.**" – Rex Tillerson, January 2017



Walking it Back

“The United States has supported Colombia in times of conflict and **will continue to be a partner during the peace**. We welcome the efforts of President Santos and of the Colombian people to seek the just and lasting peace that Colombia deserves, and we are encouraged by the recent advances in the demobilization process.”

– State Department statement, February 2017

An Unbriefed President

"There's nothing tougher than peace, and we want to make peace all over the world. And



you are really a great example of somebody that started it. I mean, FARC is—that was a long, tough situation, as you know very well, coming from the country. But I think the President has done a **magnificent job**. Not easy. But

he's done a magnificent job."

– President Trump, meeting with President Santos, May 2017

Walking it Back

“It's a question of how heavily we want to condition our support to them in terms of making changes to a peace process that they've put together. And understanding **would that completely unwind it?** What's the consequences of that?”

– Secretary Tillerson, responding to concerns from Sen. Rubio, June 2017

Ambassador Weighs In

“Utilizaré una expresión colombiana: **Sí, pero no.** Es un poco difícil, complicado. El gobierno mío ha dicho que respaldamos este proceso. Pero esto de la conexión entre las economías ilícitas, incluyendo la coca, y la habilidad de tener éxito con la paz está completamente involucrado.”

– U.S. Ambassador Kevin Whitaker, asked by *El Tiempo* whether the U.S. government still supports the peace accord, September 2017

Diplomats Have the Edge, For Now



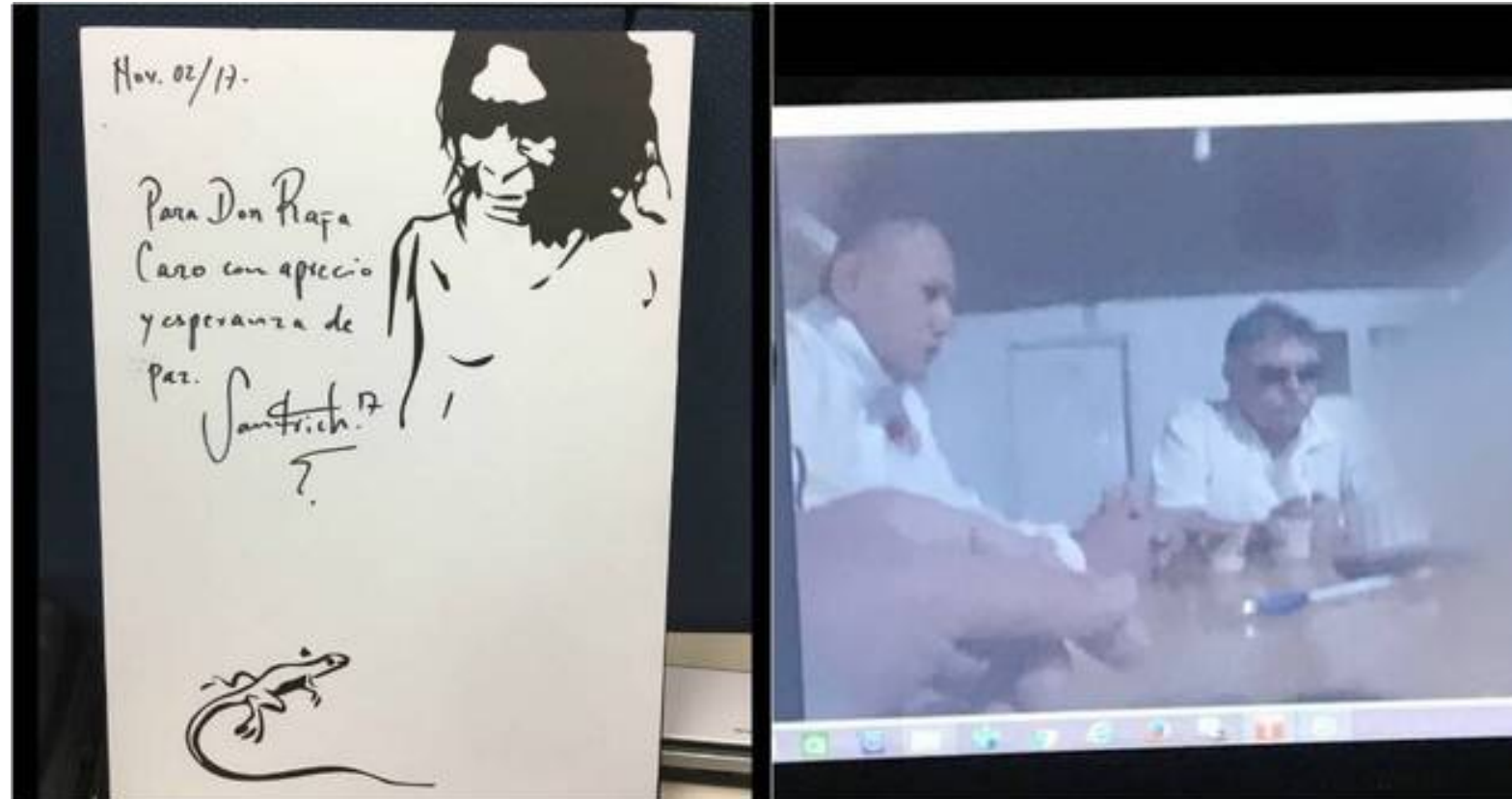
"The peace accord provides **an important opportunity** to address historical land issues that have driven conflict and violence in Colombia. ... It will also help achieve sustainable solutions to reducing coca cultivation, prevent violence against human rights defenders, and build a strong foundation for lasting peace in Colombia."

– U.S. Ambassador to the UN Nikki Haley,
April 2018

Santrich: No Extradition Request Yet

Detenido Jesús Santrich, exlíder de las FARC, por narcotráfico a petición de Estados Unidos

Interpol solicita la extradición de uno de los líderes del partido de la exguerrilla capturado en su casa de Bogotá por la Fiscalía de Colombia



Why Is There More Coca?



- End to fumigation, delay in pursuing any other strategy
- Reductions to both manual eradication and alternative development
- Fall in precious-metals prices
- Weakening of peso
- Perception that Chapter 4 of accord rewards coca-growing
- Reluctance to confront *cocalero* blockades

Escalating Criticism

“We’ve had discussions with Colombian leadership, with President Santos, and questioned why—you know—**how could this happen?** How could this be, that we're now in a peace process and everything explodes on us?”

– Rex Tillerson, June 14 2017

Escalating Criticism



“The fact is that the peace process, peace agreement, included **provisions that FARC demanded**. And that is to no longer eradicate and spray.”

– Rep. Hal Rogers (R-Kentucky),
chairman of the House
Appropriations Subcommittee
on State and Foreign
Operations, June 2017

Escalating Criticism

"So we have told them, though, **we've got to get back to the spraying**, we've got to get back to destroying these fields. That they're in a very bad place now in cocaine supply to the United States. And the President talked to President Santos directly about that. So we are going to work with them in how do we address that particular issue."

– Secretary Tillerson, June 2017

Escalating Criticism



"I begin by applauding the Colombian peace accord ending 50 years of armed conflict. ...But **peace on the back of drug resurgence is a false peace.**"

– Assistant Secretary of State William Brownfield, September 2017

Drug Hardliners



“Both Senator [Dianne] Feinstein [(D-California)] and I are very concerned about the direction of counter-narcotics efforts in Colombia. While we all support a strong and lasting peace in Colombia, **it should not come at any cost.**”

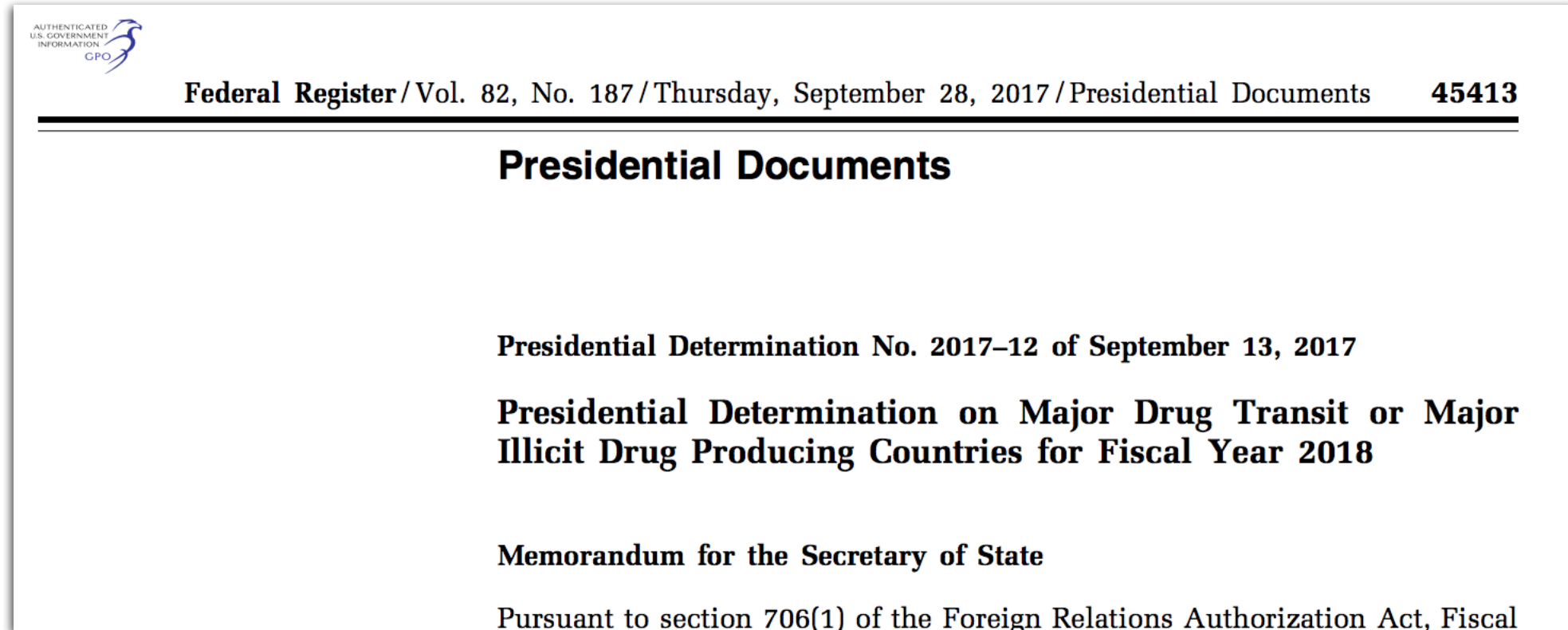
– Sen. Charles Grassley (R-Iowa), September 2017

A Near-Decertification

"The United States Government **seriously considered designating**

Colombia as a country that has failed demonstrably to adhere to its obligations under international counternarcotics agreements due to the extraordinary growth of coca cultivation and cocaine production."

– White House, September 2017



Quite a Phone Call

"Santos had called President Trump to express sympathy for the victims of Hurricane Harvey," the former official said. "The president gets on the line, Santos expresses concern, and then Trump eviscerates him over drugs for 24 minutes of the 25 minutes they were on the phone, telling him, 'We've got a disaster on our hands, and **you care more about the [guerrillas] than the American people.**'"

– *Washington Post* report on a September 2017 conversation

Walking It Back

“According to a former U.S. official with direct knowledge of the episode, **it was Kelly who talked Trump out of criticizing Colombia in even more blunt terms.** ...Relations with Colombia were heading sideways after that, but it was Kelly who ‘stopped the lunacy,’ the official said.”

– *Washington Post* report, January 2018

Walking It Back

“I didn’t agree with it. To decertify Colombia would have been a fundamental, counterproductive, false, and very stupid mistake. Absurd, an offense, an insult to hundreds of Colombians who have given their lives. There were people in my government who wanted to make that determination. **I was opposed and used all of my possible contacts for two weeks to convince them not to go in that direction.**”

– Former Assistant Secretary Brownfield, *El Tiempo*, October 2017

October 2017 Tumaco Massacre

"Eso fue una masacre total": campesino que atestiguó ataque en Tumaco



"Last year, 675 eradication operations were cancelled due to protests. **This is absurd. The government must give the police and army clear authorities and rules of engagement.**"

– Assistant Secretary
Brownfield, September
2017

Walking It Back

“Estados Unidos está listo para apoyarlo en sus esfuerzos en sus esfuerzos antinarcóticos.

Simultáneamente estoy trabajando diligentemente para combatir el consumo internamente. Colombia es uno de nuestros mejores socios estratégicos y aliados en la región. **Aplaudimos los esfuerzos que usted ha realizado para enfrentar el crimen transnacional.”**

– Letter from Trump to Santos, October 24, 2017

Occasionally Going Off-Script

"[T]hese countries are not our friends. You know, we think they're our friends and we send them massive aid. And I won't mention names right now, but I look at these countries, I look at the numbers we send them – we send them massive aid and **they're pouring drugs into our country and they're laughing at us.**"

– Trump, February 2, 2018

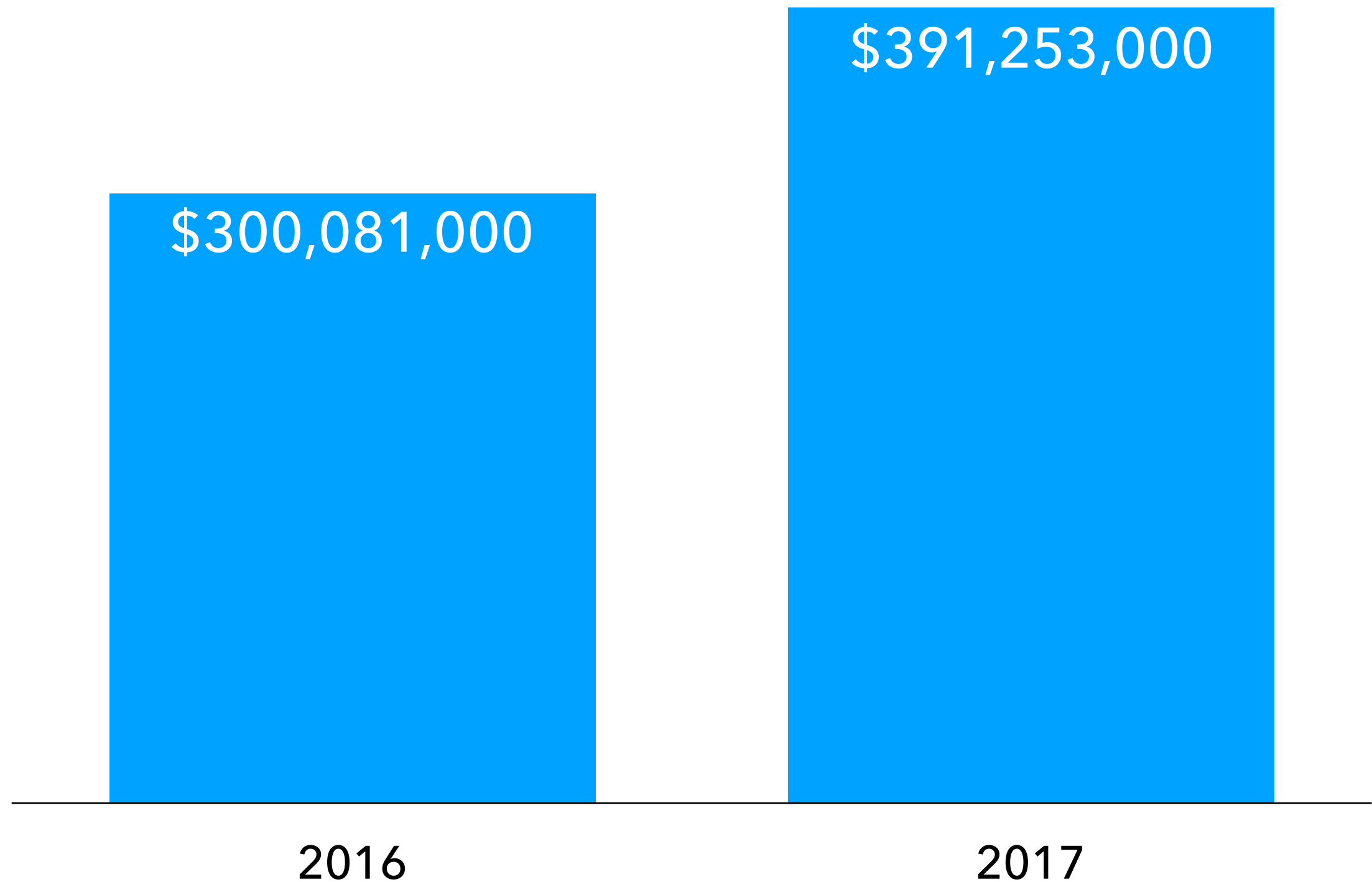
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Trump threatens to cut off aid to countries that allow drugs into US

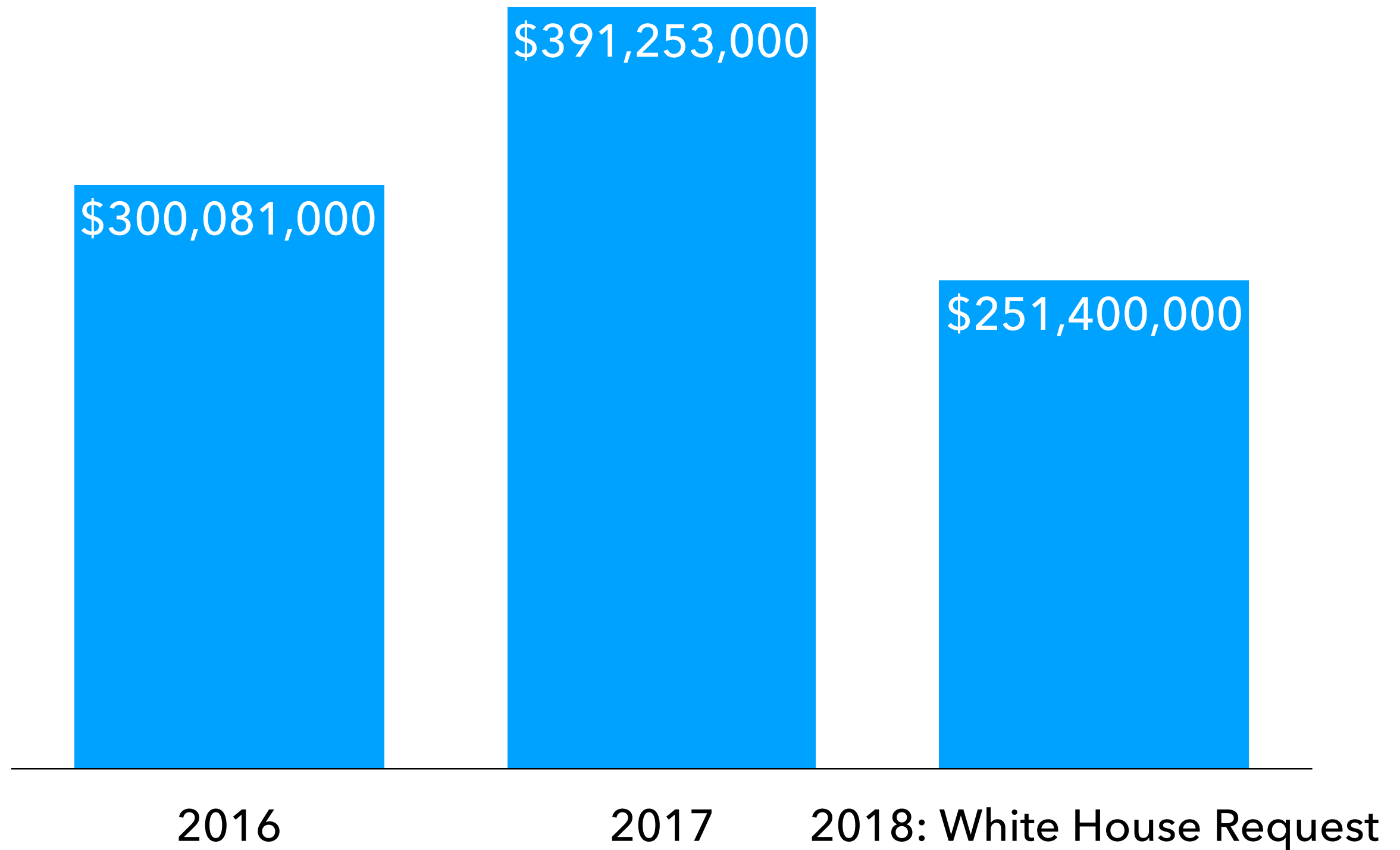
By [Allie Malloy](#), CNN

Updated 1337 GMT (2137 HKT) February 3, 2018

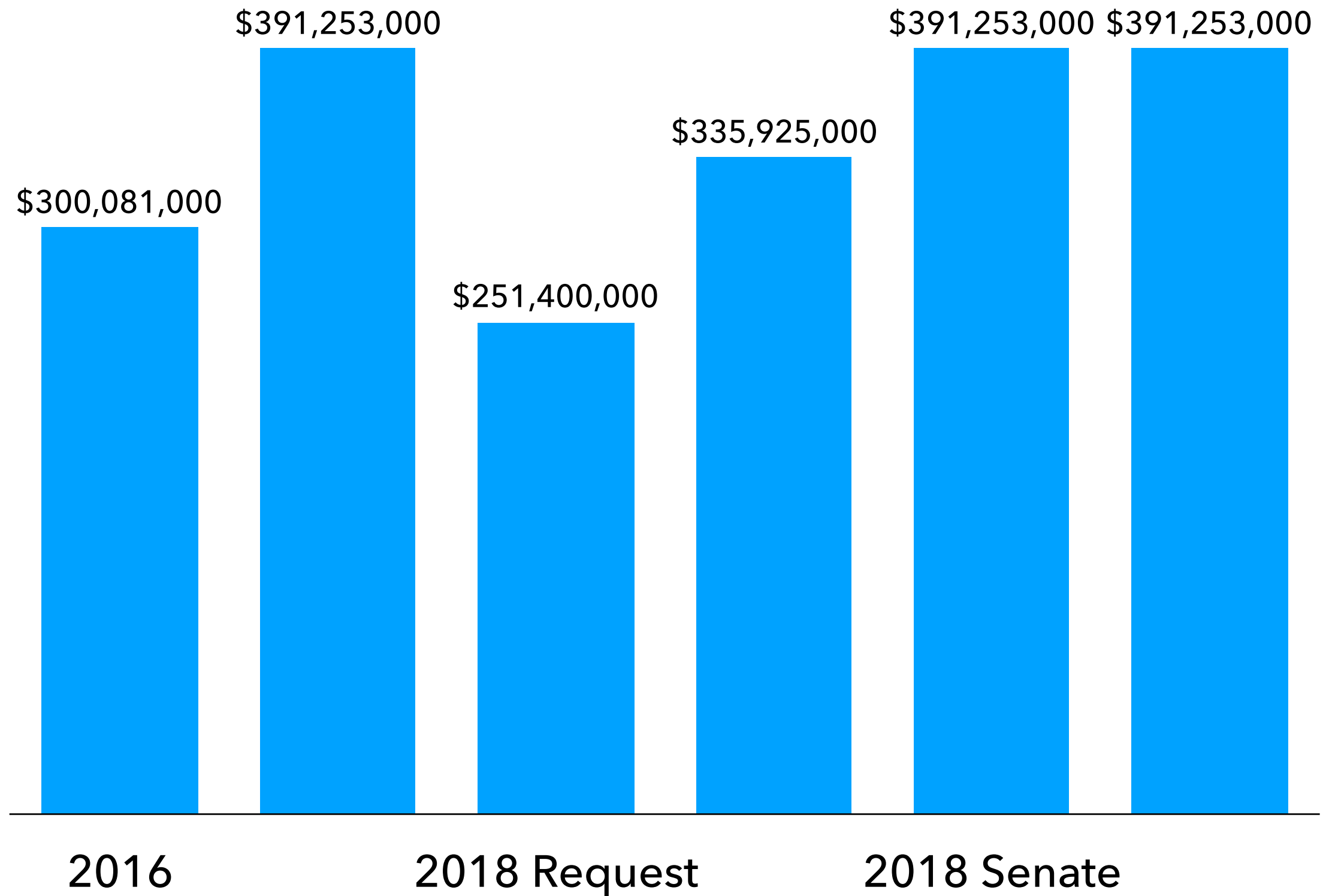
May 2017: Congress Approves "Peace Colombia"



May 2017: White House Requests Cuts



March 2018: Congress Un-Does Cuts



"Material Support" Restrictions

SEC. 303. PROHIBITION ON TERRORIST FUNDRAISING.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 113B of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

"§ 2339B. Providing material support or resources to designated foreign terrorist organizations

"(a) PROHIBITED ACTIVITIES.—

"(1) UNLAWFUL CONDUCT.—Whoever, within the United States or subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, knowingly provides material support or resources to a foreign terrorist organization, or attempts or conspires to do so, shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both.

"(2) FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.—Except as authorized by the Secretary, any financial institution that becomes aware that it has possession of, or control over, any funds in which a foreign terrorist organization, or its agent, has an interest, shall—

"(A) retain possession of, or maintain control over, such funds; and

"(B) report to the Secretary the existence of such funds in accordance with regulations issued by the Secretary.

"(b) CIVIL PENALTY.—Any financial institution that knowingly fails to comply with subsection (a)(2) shall be subject to a civil penalty in an amount that is the greater of—

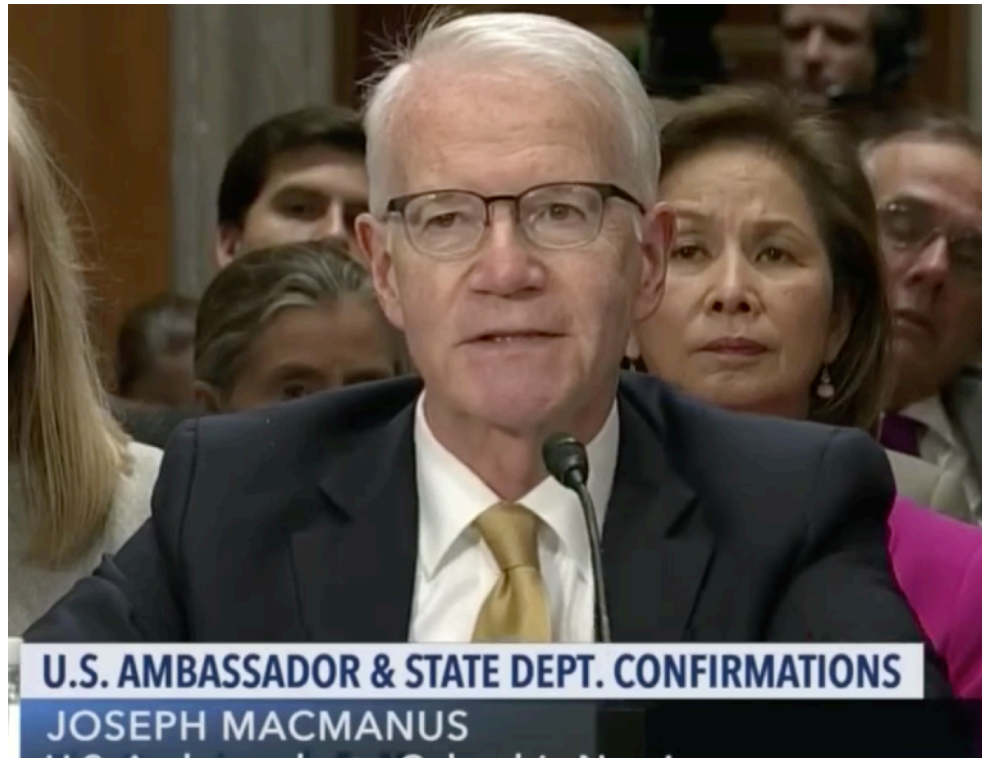
"(A) \$50,000 per violation; or

"(B) twice the amount of which the financial institution was required under subsection (a)(2) to retain possession or control.

"(c) INJUNCTION.—Whenever it appears to the Secretary or the Attorney General that any person is engaged in, or is about to engage in, any act that constitutes, or would constitute, a violation of this section, the Attorney General may initiate civil action in a district court of the United States to enjoin such violation.

"We need a decision about the usefulness of this. You can't interrupt the course of a whole program just because a guy shows up and eats a snack." — Colombian government official, in interview

What's Next?



Sen. Lee Officially Blocks Trump's Choice for Colombia Ambassador

Pompeo, Bolton expected to back a different candidate for the post



POLL CHART

2018 National House Race

