

Victory of the Left in Colombia: A Requiem for the Seventeen Sons of Colonel Aureliano Buendia

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The victory of left-wing forces in the presidential elections held in the South American country of Colombia last year has received much traction among political analysts. Colombian politics was dominated by the traditional parties called the Colombian Liberal Party and the Colombian Conservatives Party since the 1850s. While, a populist left-wing trend termed as the 'pink tide' headed by leftist, socialist leaders and movements was making headlines across Latin America in the last two decades and grabbed state power, Colombia remained insulated against that trend. In those days, while many Latin American countries were experimenting with the Socialism of the 21st century, Colombia was dealing with paramilitary violence, guerilla groups, state repression, narco-trafficking, drug cartels, etc. Even though the 'pink tide' faced setbacks and retreated for a while in the last decade, riding on the tides of social movements and popular mobilizations against austerity and repression, 'pink tide' returned to Latin American politics in the last three years and in 2022, Colombia also joined the chorus. This article analyses the various factors that had contributed to the rise of the left in Colombia in the backdrop of the trajectories of the 'pink tide' manifestations across the continent.

Key Words: Pink tide; Gustavo Petro; Colombian left; Latin America; Lula da Silva; Far-right; Aureliano Buendia; State Repression; Social Movements; Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC).

Richness in the world is a result of other people's poverty. We should begin to shorten the abyss between haves and have-nots - Eduardo Galeano

In a historic victory for the left-wing forces in Colombia, Gustavo Petro and Francia Marquez, from a broad left-wing coalition called Historic Pact for Colombia, got elected as the president and the vice-president of Colombia in the second round of presidential elections held in the country on 19 June 2022. Petro has become the first-ever leftist president elected in the history of Colombia, which has remained a

strong ally of the US in the continent. Even when the 'pink tide' - a wave of elections of left-wing-populist governments across Latin America -- made headway in the continent two decades ago, Colombia remained insulated from that trend, and the conservatives and far-right forces continued in power in the country. By getting elected from a leftist platform that even includes Colombian Communist Party, ex-militants from the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and M-19, Petro and his comrades have broken a historic streak of domination by the Colombian Conservative Party and the Colombian Liberal Party which have been dominating the county for more than a century.

First round of 'pink tide' in Latin America

As mentioned above, there was a surge of left-wing forces into power in Latin America by the end of the 1990s, started by the election of Hugo Chavez as the President of Venezuela in 1998. That political trend almost continued till the election of Lenin Moreno as the president of Ecuador in 2017. Such a wave of the left-wing surge in Latin America has been called by several academics, political commentators, and journalists as the 'pink tide'. The so-called 'pink tide' or the 'diluted red' trend of Marxism and socialism is admittedly different from the old 'red' trend of communist governments in Eastern Europe and Asia in the 20th century. The 'pink tide' regimes advocated for the 'Socialism of the 21st Century' which calls to fight neo-liberal profiteering and imperialist exploitation of human and natural resources by multinational companies. But it neither rejects the market nor denounces capitalism per se, contrary to what we saw in the Soviet Union and communist-led governments in Eastern Europe. The 'pink tide' regimes were democratically formed political formations consisting of heterogeneous social and ethnic groups, representing diverse political agendas. Those governments insisted on the participation of citizens and civil society and advocated an economic path of development that seeks to address social issues. The rise of the 'pink tide' was actually the culmination of various forms of response to a vast array of political, social, and economic problems in Latin America (Ellner 2013).

The 'pink tide' governments that were in Latin America include the governments of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela (1999-2013), Rafael Correa in Ecuador (2007-2017), Evo Morales in Bolivia (2006-2019), Daniel Ortega led government in Nicaragua (2007 to present), Workers Party(PT) led governments of Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff in Brazil (2003-2016), Kirchners in Argentina (2003-2015), Broad Front governments in Uruguay (2005-2020), governments led by Farabundo Martí

National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador (2009-2019), the government led by Manuel Zelaya in Honduras (2006-2009), government of Alvaro Colom in Guatemala (2008-2012), social democratic governments led by Michelle Bachelet in Chile, the presidency of Fernando Lugo in Paraguay (2008-2012) and the election of Ollanta Humala in Peru in 2011.

The flagship programmes of the 'pink tide' governments included resource nationalization, social redistribution, new constitutionalism, and initiatives for housing, health, and land reforms as we saw in Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador (Ghosh 2012). The initiatives for eradication of poverty and hunger, formulated by the Workers Party-led governments in Brazil like *Fome Zero* (Zero Hunger) and *Bolsa Familia* (cash transfer schemes to families) also were some of those policies. The 'pink tide' governments have tried to ensure social justice for the minorities and marginalized, provided social benefit schemes, and worked to strengthen grass root democracy. On the foreign policy front, those regimes procured an anti-imperialist, autonomous foreign policy marked by a friendly association with Cuba and dissociation from the imperialist manoeuvres of the US. Non-adherence to the directives of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), efforts for regional integration and creation of the common market etc. were other major characteristics of the 'pink tide' regimes (Levesly & Ludlam 2009). While all such events were happening across the continent, Colombia remained insulated from that political trend.

Retreat of the 'pink tide'

The heydays of 'pink tide' regimes came to an end with a fall in petroleum prices by mid-2014.¹ It had adversely affected the policies of redistribution and social welfare schemes, mainly in Venezuela and Ecuador as they are heavily dependent on oil resources. The ouster of Manuel Zelaya from Honduras in a coup (2009), the impeachments of Fernando Lugo in Paraguay (2012), and Dilma Rousseff of Brazil (2016), had put the leftists on the backfoot for a while. The death of Venezuelan president Hugo Chavez, on 5 March 2013, succumbing to cancer, was a serious blow to the 'pink tide'. The defection of Ollanta Humala in Peru and Lenin Moreno in Ecuador to neo-liberalism had outraged the left-wing sections in the region. Following the defection of Lenin Moreno, a hostile political environment and back-to-back lawsuits forced leftist leader Rafael Correa to stay away from Ecuador.

The arrest of Lula da Silva in Brazil (2018) in the 'Operation Car Wash'² case was a massive blow to the left-wing forces across the continent. The ongoing coup

attempts and sanctions against the Nicolas Maduro-led Venezuelan government (since 2019) have put forth formidable challenges for the Venezuelan left. The defeat of the Broad Front in Uruguay (2019) and the FMLN in El Salvador (2019) has slowed down the bandwagon of the left in Latin America for a while. The election of Mauricio Macri in Argentina (2015), Sebastian Pinera in Chile (2018) and Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil (2019) had helped the right-wing forces to regain their hegemony over the region in the last decade. The disputed presidential elections of 2019 in Bolivia and the political crisis triggered by it have forced the Evo Morales to leave the country, marking the peak of the right-wing counter current against the pink tide in Latin America.

Under those right-wing governments, Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and CIA's textbook 'behind the curtain' machinations, recalibrated across the region. The Lima Group was formed in 2017, under the auspices of the right-wing governments including Colombia to facilitate regime change in Venezuela. In 2019, the Forum for the Progress and Integration of South America (PROSUL) was created under the leadership of Colombia and Chile to challenge the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR)³ formed by the pink tide regimes. The US-led Organization of American States (OAS) has tightened its grip for the time being and the pink tide initiatives including the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA)⁴, Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC)⁵ etc have faced setbacks. After a short break, the US embassies and consulates have recuperated their prominence and their traditional manoeuvring space across different Latin American countries.

In that precarious moment faced with setbacks, the left had not surrendered and gave up the fight. Instead, it fought back sporadically against the renewed neo-liberal onslaught by the right-wing governments. The social movements who have led massive protests against the disastrous IMF-led austerity and the policies of the US-dictated governments of the 1990s, have returned with their full might to the streets of Santiago, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Lima, Quito,⁶ and Bogota over the last decade.

Return of the 'pink tide'

In 2018, a defiant Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador got elected to the presidency of Mexico with the backing of the leftists and other progressive sections in the country marking the return of 'pink tide'. The Chavistas and other sections of supporters of the socialist government in Venezuela have fought back inch to inch

against scheming led by Juan Guaido and the opposition supported by the Lima group and the US. In the 2019 presidential elections in Argentina, right-winger Mauricio Macri got defeated by Alberto Fernandez: a progressive candidate from the Justicialist Party.

In Bolivia, in a game-changing manoeuvre, dynamic mobilizations by the Movement for Socialism (MAS), indigenous groups and other sectors of the Bolivian left have forced the interim government led by Jeanine Anez, to conduct elections. In the presidential election held on 18 October, 2020, socialist candidate Luis Arce from MAS got elected. Following that, Evo Morales returned to Bolivia and received a grand and heroic reception⁷, which alluded to the return of Hugo Chavez to the presidential palace in Caracas, aided by the urban poor of Carcass and the loyal ranks in military, following the failed right-wing coup in Venezuela in April 2002. Even though conservatives won the presidential elections of Ecuador in 2021, the 'traitorous' politics of Lenin Moreno and his supporters were put to an end. Andres Arauz, candidate from the new left-wing coalition, Union for Hope (UNES), formed under the leadership of ex-president Rafael Correa, has emerged as the runner up, giving a tight fight to Guillermo Lasso, who got elected as the president of Ecuador in 2021. When met with widespread protest against policies of the government and faced with an impeachment by the opposition, Guillermo Lasso dissolved the parliament in May 2023, made way for snap general election scheduled for August 2023. The presidential candidate from UNES coalition; Luisa González is predicted by many circles to win the elections.

In June 2021, Peruvians also managed to resist the rise of Keiko Fujimori⁸ by electing a school teacher, Pedro Castillo, from the leftist Free Peru party, as their president, in a tightly fought election. But later, in December 2022, the opposition managed to impeach him and remove from power triggering widespread protest in the county which is still going on. In the presidential elections held in Chile in December 2021, Gabriel Boric from the left-wing *Apruebo Dignidad* platform won and vowed to fight against neoliberalism⁹. In January 2022, from the left-wing platform of the *Libre* party; Xiomara Castro, wife of ex-president Manuel Zelaya, was elected as the president of Honduras.

In Brazil, the arrest of Lula in 2018 has triggered widespread protests from the working-class sections. Progressive media outlets have made an array of expositions revealing the political conspiracy to prosecute Lula. The Free Lula (*Lula Livre*) campaign¹⁰ was launched demanding the freedom of Lula. Following several rounds of massive protests, the Brazilian apex court has reviewed the undemocratic nature

of the judicial system which had held people in prison before they had exhausted their appeals. Following that, Lula was released from prison on 8 November, 2019 and he received a heroic welcome from his supporters and the Brazilian working class. On 8 March, 2021, Brazilian Supreme Court judges annulled sentences against Lula in “Operation Car Wash” case, and he became once again eligible to contest in presidential election. In July 2022, Lula da Silva was officially declared as the presidential candidate of the coalition ‘Brazil of Hope’ comprising the Workers Party (PT), Communist Party of Brazil (PCdoB) etc and in October 2022, Lula has defeated the far-right leader Jair Bolsonaro in a tightly fought presidential election. On 1 January, 2023, Lula da Silva was sworn in as Brazil’s president marking a strong return of the left in Brazil.

Rise of the left in Colombia

Now, with the ground-breaking election in June 2022, Colombia also joined the band of the left-wing governments in what we see as a return of the ‘pink tide’ in Latin America. The major factors that have contributed to such a victory are (a) the unity of the leftists and other progressive forces, (b) co-ordinated mobilisations of the social movements in Colombia against austerity, repression and genocide, (c) the demilitarization of the guerrilla left (d) waning appeal of the right-wing rhetoric of national security and campaigns to vilify the left, and (e) people’s disenchantment with the traditional political coalitions.

An analysis of the patterns in the rise of the ‘pink tide’ regime across Latin America proves that the victory of the Colombian left has also got the features similar to that of victorious leftists in other parts of Latin America. Scholars have classified the historical trajectories of Latin American left into three categories. The first category includes the period of communist party dominated democratic left in the first half of the 20th century. The era of militant communist guerrilla movements in the second half of the 20th century during the Cold War period comprises the second category. The third category is left led by radical social movements and populist leadership that we have been witnessing from the 1990s (Sader 2011). Even the ‘pink tide’ regime was also subjected to categorizations, such as radical populists in Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, and the social democrats from the traditional parties in Chile, Brazil, Argentina etc (Petras 2010).

The communist led left in Latin America was side-lined by the populist governments across the region during the 1940s and 1950s. Such a streak of populism in the region ended with military coups in the late 1950s and 1960s (Conniff 1982).

Communists who underwent mass persecution by those military regimes resorted to guerrilla tactics. At the beginning of the second half of the 20th century, with popular support, guerrilla leftists made significant successes against despotic regimes in Cuba (1959) and Nicaragua (1961). Meanwhile, in many other parts of the continent, the militant left had engaged in prolonged civil war with military and right-wing governments and was subjected to violent state repression and mass killings as we saw in Colombia, El Salvador etc. By the end of 1980s, the communist led militant left was almost crushed in state repression in many countries except Colombia, Peru and El Salvador (Castro 1999). But, by that time, violent tactics and right-wing propaganda has already vilified the militant left including FARC in Colombia and Shining Path¹¹ in Peru and mainstream media has deemed them as terrorists.

The return of democracy in many Latin American countries in the late 1980s has helped the return of the leftist forces to mainstream, abandoning armed insurgency. The political and economic crisis of the 1990s inflicted by the Washington Consensus¹², and Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP), provoked massive popular unrest. Numerous mobilizations led by radical social movements across Latin America have discredited and brought down several right-wing governments (Ciccariello-Maher 2013). Latin America started to see the rise of the 'pink tide' underpinned by radical social movements during that period (Silva 2009). There have been many factors that have contributed to the rise of such a new left in the region. Consolidation of democracy is regarded as the major political factor that contributed to that trend (Blanco & Grier 2013). The people's disenchantment with the traditional political system which went chaotic in the 1990s has also been viewed as an important political factor. The persistence of high levels of inequality and poverty was an important social factor that contributed to the rise of the left (Arnson, 2007). The hazardous ill effects of neo-liberalism imposed on the region along with strong resentment towards the imperialist US foreign policy endeavours in the continent is another factor that contributed to the ascent of the left in Latin America in the late 1990s and the first decade of the 21st century.

In Colombia, throughout the 20th century, the political scene was dominated by two major parties: the Colombian Conservative Party (PCC) and the Colombian Liberal Party (PLC). The political rivalry between these two parties went bloody and catastrophic after the assassination of a popular liberal leader Jorge Eliecer Gaitan in 1948. Following that, Colombia had plunged into a bloody civil war called *La Violencia* which was mainly fought between the conservatives and liberals for

over a decade (1948-1958). During the civil war, the conservative paramilitaries also targeted peasant leaders and trade unionists from the Colombian Communist Party. According to unofficial estimates, 200,000 people were killed in the civil war and ensuing conflict that continued for more than five decades. By the mid-1950s, many armed groups got exterminated and several other groups linked to the liberals got demobilized agreeing to armistices. Eventually the conservative and liberal party leaderships reached an agreement to form the bipartisan coalition called National Front, through which both parties ruled the country in alternate four-year terms for a while (1958-1974).

But the civil war was not over in the country, with the formation of the National Front governments. In response to continued government repression in the Colombian countryside, the militants from the Colombian Communist Party organized counter offensives. During the 1960s and 1970s communist guerrilla movements such as the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia—People's Army (FARC-EP), National Liberation Army (ELN), Popular Liberation Army (EPL), and Bolivarian militant group of M-19 etc. were formed and they continued the fight against the government, exacerbating the political violence in the country. The anti-guerrilla right-wing paramilitaries, mercenaries, drug cartels also joined the fray and perpetrated gruesome atrocities including mass murders in the Colombian countryside. Even though, FARC has managed to establish their control over several parts of Colombian country side, the government was able to vilify FARC in front of the Colombian middle class and the international community as terrorists and narco-traffickers. Violent tactics of the FARC including executions, kidnappings etc has been criticized also by democratic, left-wing groups in the country. The uninterrupted streak of violent conflicts between the guerrillas and state sponsored paramilitaries had effectively disenfranchised and displaced a significant number of people from many regions in the Colombian countryside. On the other hand, the activities of the FARC have been deemed by the right-wing governments in the country as a national security threat and used as a ploy to discredit and malign left-wing candidates and their political platforms. The centre-right government led by Juan Manuel Santos (2010-2018) was able to negotiate a peace deal with FARC which was ratified by the Colombian parliament in 2016, despite significant opposition from the far-right sections. As part of the deal, FARC got demilitarized, its cadres surrendered arms and FARC was allowed to form a political party called *Comunes* and will have 10 automatic seats in Congress according to the peace deal. The M-19 group has already surrendered weapons, received pardons and became a political

party in the late 1980s. The demilitarization of FARC has effectively reduced left-wing militarism in Colombia and only a few FARC dissidents are still engaged in guerrilla warfare in the country. On 9 June, 2023, the Colombian government and the leftist guerrilla group, the National Liberation Army (ELN) has also signed a historic agreement on a six-month bilateral ceasefire.¹³

During the presidency of the conservative, Ivan Duque (2018-2022) -- a staunch opponent of the peace deal with FARC in 2016 -- unilateral violence unleashed by the right-wing paramilitaries, has spiked in the Colombian countryside against campesino leaders, unionized women, trade unionists, environmentalists, land defenders, chiefs of indigenous groups, human rights activists and ex-militants of FARC. Such a vicious streak of political killings has further worsened the notorious track record of human right violations in Colombia. The Office for Human Rights and Displacement (CODHES) reported that the year 2021 had recorded highest number of victims of forced displacements in Colombia since the signing of peace agreements with FARC in 2016.¹⁴ Increase in paramilitary violence, cocaine production, and the conflicts between illegal armed groups to define control over land for drug trafficking and illegal mining activities are reasons behind recent events of massive displacement. According to the Colombian human rights organization, Institute of Development and Peace Studies (INDEPAZ), in 2022, 99 social activists and 22 ex-combatants were assassinated in Colombia, in addition to over 180 people killed in 51 massacres.¹⁵

It was in such a scenario, social movements across the country have been forced to search all possible avenues for cooperation and coalitions to resist such an onslaught. Coupled with this, the anti-worker, neo-liberal policies of the far-right governments also triggered widespread outrage and protest. Social leaders across Colombia have criticized the functioning of Ivan Duque's government, which has been completely in favour of big business, landowners, paramilitaries and the corrupt. Duque -- a staunch opponent of the 2016 peace deal with FARC -- has implemented an array of anti-worker, anti-people, pro-business policies including labour reforms, increases in retirement ages, controversial tax reforms etc. Braving repression, trade unions, peasants, indigenous, youth, student groups and opposition political parties have organized massive mobilizations since 2019 against the Duque led government. Accusations of corruption and electoral fraud have further worsened the approval ratings of the right-wing government in the country. Currently, Duque is under an investigation over allegations of corruption and electoral fraud.¹⁶

Such an ushering in of social movements, the diminishing rhetoric of national security and the historic alliance made between leftist forces has culminated in the election of Gustavo Petro (who himself is an ex-M-19 militant) along with Francia Marquez: the first Afro-Colombian vice-president. In the runup towards the presidential elections of 2022, around 20 parties including the communists, leftists, centre-left, greens etc in Colombia have formed the grand electoral coalition called Historic Pact for Colombia. Gustavo Petro is the leader of the Humane Colombia party and Francia Marquez is from Alternative Democratic Pole (PDA). Both parties are constituents of the Historic Pact which also includes the Colombian Communist Party, *Comunes* etc. In presidential elections, Federico Gutierrez, the candidate from the right-wing coalition Team for Colombia, which had the support of Ivan Duque's party, got eliminated in the first round itself. An independent candidate Rodolfo Hernández from an anti-corruption platform qualified for the run-off against Gustavo Petro in the second-round elections held on 19 June, 2022. In the polls, Gustavo Petro had defeated Rodolfo Hernandez there by ending a long streak of conservative governments in the country and became the first ever leftist president in the political history of Colombia.

The prolonged conflict between the Conservatives and Liberals in Colombia is vividly and satirically described in the legendary novel 'One Hundred Years of Solitude' written by the popular Colombian writer Gabriel Garcia Marquez. In the novel, one of the prominent characters, Aureliano Buendia joined the liberals and fought thirty two exhaustive wars against the conservatives. The prolonged wars in the novel comes to an end with the Treaty of Neerlandia and following that the colonel Aureliano Buendia returns to his ancestral home in Macondo, where he spends the last years of his life and died in solitude. In the novel, Marquez also narrates the tragic story of the colonel's seventeen sons, born to seventeen different mothers from across the county. All of them gather in Macondo for a small span of time, and are baptized with the name Aureliano and the last names of their mothers. All the seventeen Aurelianos received ashes on their foreheads on Ash Wednesday that affix permanently to their faces as a symbol of the ill-fate waiting for all of them. Each one of them were killed in random attacks over many years, by the security forces and mercenaries because they were the sons of General Aureliano Buendia who was believed to be capable of igniting more rebellions. Such a tragedy of seventeen Aurelianos depicted in the novel, can be compared to the undeterred onslaught on the opponents of the regime carried out by the right-wing paramilitaries in Colombia. Even after the FARC got demilitarized as part of the peace accords of

2016, paramilitaries continued the unilateral killings of the ex-militants and social leaders across the country.

On 25 July 2022, Colombia's Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP) charged 22 former members of the army (16th Brigade), of killing 303 innocent people in 218 incidents between 2005 and 2008 in the Casanare department.¹⁷ The JEP has observed that the army men have framed the victims as left-wing guerrilla fighters killed in combat to obtain rewards from the government. Across the country tens of thousands of such innocent people are turning in their marked and unmarked graves demanding justice.

Now, the ball is in the court of the Colombian left. Colombia's first left-wing government since its independence has sworn in on 7 August, 2022. As the Gustavo Petro government in the country is about to complete one year of governance, it has proposed major reforms in labour, pensions, and healthcare. Meanwhile the opposition groups have started desperate bids to block the reforms and to destabilize the regime. The pro-government circles have already alleged that, a 'soft coup' orchestrated by the opposition and big-business is under way in the county and the trade unions and other popular sectors have hit the streets earlier in June in defence of the reforms proposed by the government to extend social justice.¹⁸ It has been widely anticipated that, in Colombia led by a left-wing government, will also deliver justice to hundreds of thousands of victims of state sponsored terror like the Seventeen ill-fated sons of Colonel Aureliano Buendia. If that's not happening for any reason, violent political storms may torment the country again, like the one which razed down and erased 'Macondo'¹⁹ from the memory of people.

Notes

1. 2014-16 collapse in oil prices was driven by a growing supply abundance due to Booming U.S. shale oil production and efficiency gains.
2. Operation Car Wash was a criminal investigation started in Brazil in 2014, on money laundering and corruption against several politicians, business men and the administrative offices of Petrobras; the state-owned oil company of Brazil. The investigation is called "Operation Car Wash" because it was first uncovered at a car wash in Brasília.
3. UNASUR was formed in Brasilia in 2008 on the basis of the declaration of the third summit of the South American Presidents in Cuzco, Peru in 2004.
4. ALBA was the brain child of Hugo Chavez which was established in 2004 in an agreement between Venezuela and Cuba.
5. CELAC was formed in 2010 at the unity summit of Rio group and Caribbean community in Caracas.

6. [National strike in Ecuador completes 15 days, struggle continues: Peoples Dispatch](#) 29 June 2022.
7. [Over a million welcome Evo Morales in Chimoré: Peoples Dispatch](#) 13 November 2020.
8. Leader of the right-wing political party; Popular Force (FP) and daughter of the former president; Alberto Fujimori.
9. [Gabriel Boric's victory in Chile's presidential run-off hailed across the globe: Peoples Dispatch](#), 20 December 2021.
10. [Lula Livre! Peoples Dispatch](#) 1 January 2019
11. Shining Path is a Maoist communist party in Peru. It was founded in the 1960s by Abimael Guzman.
12. Washington Consensus was a set of policy reforms coined in 1989 under the auspicious of the World Bank and IMF in Washington to facilitate financial stability for developing countries in the backdrop of debt crisis of the 1980s. In 1989, John Williamson outlined a set of desirable economic reforms targeted at developing countries that he deemed broadly supported by policymakers in Washington. Dubbed the "Washington Consensus", it addressed economic policy instruments perceived by those in Washington to be important to both the growth of developing countries and their ability to secure financial support and investment.
13. [Colombian government and ELN reach historic agreement on bilateral ceasefire: Peoples Dispatch](#) 9 June 2023
14. [Forced displacements in Colombia increase by over 169% during 2021: Peoples Dispatch](#) 27 December, 2021.
15. [Blood continues to spill in Colombia: Peoples Dispatch](#) 5 July 2022.
16. [Colombian President Ivan Duque to be investigated over corruption and electoral fraud: Peoples Dispatch](#) ,25 February 2020.
17. [Special court in Colombia convicts 22 former military officers for killing over 300 innocent civilians: Peoples Dispatch](#) 27 July 2022.
18. ["We will not give in to blackmail": Colombians defend government and progressive reforms: Peoples Dispatch](#) 7 June 2023.
19. Fictional town portrayed in Gabriel García Márquez's popular novel One Hundred Years of Solitude.

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