



People from Libertad tell their stories to Cecilia

The Beautiful People of Libertad

In this edition of CSN's newsletter, we chose to focus on the community of Libertad, located on Colombia's Caribbean coast. Cecilia visited this community during her most recent trip to Colombia, and met with a group of local victims of the conflict.

By Adriana Porras, a community leader

Translated by Anne Schoeneborn, a CSN volunteer translator

Colombia is a country in South America where the beauty of God's creation is indescribable. The village of Libertad is located in northern Colombia, in the municipality of San Onofre in Sucre Department. The majority of the population in Libertad is of African descent, although there is also a small population of indigenous peoples displaced from other areas. The people of Libertad are agriculturalists and fishermen, and a small number also raise cattle.

This was my happy village—full of parties and drinking. The population has a low level of education only because, in the past, new generations were not taught the value of formal education. According to the traditions and world-view of our grandparents, the land and the type of work they had always done was all the community of Libertad needed to support itself. Our banana, yucca, ñame (a root vegetable) and rice crops, in addition to our cheese, whey and fish, always sustained our community, and it was easy for neighbors to maintain the harmony, trust and festive spirit that characterized them.

The Beautiful People of Libertad continued

We had special dates that the people of Libertad awaited with great happiness—especially those living in other countries or departments, because these days always meant getting together with close friends and relatives. During Holy Week and the feasts in celebration of the Virgin of Las Mercedes in September, people from our community and neighboring villages would dress up in their best clothes and dance the unforgettable fandango. A band would play in the plaza of Libertad and the music of wind instruments could be heard from 10 or 11 pm until sunrise. People even danced with lit candles. The festivities lasted three days and on September 24th we would hold the procession of the Virgin. We celebrated baptisms, weddings and held a mass in honor of the Virgin of Mercedes.

Christmas was another special day in Libertad. It resembled a month of fantasy during which all those living far away would come home and the park was always filled with young people. We decorated the park and our houses with beautiful Christmas lights. We listened to music everyday and the happiness was so contagious people no longer walked—they danced to the sound of the music.

In the year 1997, the most horrendous and harmful plague imaginable arrived in Libertad. Even though any community that makes history has its internal conflicts—especially in communities like ours where there is no government presence whatsoever and basic needs have always gone unmet—the paramilitaries were the worst thing that could have happened to us.

The misnamed AUC (United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia), which we have never been able to relate to either as Colombians or as human beings, have left an indelible mark on the history of Sucre and Libertad and have nearly erased these communities with violence and bullets.

Although they arrived and began committing selective assassinations in other parts of San Onofre in 1995, the paramilitaries did not arrive in Libertad until 1997. That same year, the

first assassination took place in Libertad—the paramilitaries forcibly removed a pastor from an evangelical church, tortured, and then killed him because he supposedly had dared report pamphlets containing threats against various local people. Paramilitaries showed up at night, entered houses, pulled men outside, and killed them as a part of “social cleansing” campaigns. At this point, the tranquility in the community was lost and a permanent fear descended on the people of Libertad, especially at night. We started going to bed at 6 or 7 in the evening and no longer got together on street corners. The youth no longer went to the park and every evening we went to bed wondering who would be killed that night.

The group of paramilitaries that initially arrived in Libertad in early 1997 was a group of the AUC from Colombia’s interior called “Los Carranzas.” They came to establish their regime—they forced everyone to clean the village and they began imposing fines of 100,000-1,000,000 pesos in accordance with what a person owned (a house, two cows, a plot of land, etc). They forbade people from working for the government as teachers, doctors, nurses and so on, and we were not allowed to leave the community without their permission.

We were very happy when one day army troops attacked the paramilitaries and finished them off. Upon analyzing the situation, however, we realized that the army troops had not been defending our community but rather had simply been clearing the area so a group of AUC paramilitaries under the command of “Rodrigo Cadena” could take control of the region.

In the following years, the paramilitaries succeeded in infiltrating government institutions from local governments, hospitals and police, to the offices of district attorneys. Our pain and desperation was immense—we did not see any light at the end of the tunnel. The paramilitaries were our masters and those who dared disobey them paid with their lives.

In the year 2000, Marco Tulio Perez (alias “El Oso”) became the new paramilitary in charge of Libertad. By this time, Libertad was

hell on earth because “El Oso” lived within the community and had begun claiming our crops as his own. He also imposed much higher fines on the people of Libertad. If any boys or men entered into a conflict or argument, they would be taken to a house (which “El Oso” had confiscated from a family for use as his base of operations) and would be forced to do farm labor for 3-7 days as punishment. If women got into an argument or had a problem with their partners or neighbors, they would also be taken to the house and, in most cases, were sexually abused. These women were also forced to wash the men’s uniforms and were sometimes kept there for as long as a week, whether they had husbands and children waiting at home or not. Women were sometimes forced to sweep the village’s park at 1pm, when the sun’s heat is most punishing, with a sign on their backs saying “I am the one gossiping.”

“El Oso” organized parties and required that everyone attend. He took home all of the profits because the shopkeepers were not even allowed to sell liquor—instead they had to sell all of it to him. He even forbade people from crying over the deaths of their loved ones. In Libertad it had been a tradition that when someone died, people would sing a song called “La Marucha” and cry over the death. People would make an altar and mourn for nine nights. However, “El Oso” did not even let people cry over the deaths of their own children, and thus did away with this tradition.

The fear in our community was palpable. In 2001 there was a massacre in which 3 people were killed, and this time it was not even done in secret. The paramilitaries started “disappearing” people at any time of the day or night. Our farmers no longer planted crops or raised animals because they knew “El Oso” would claim everything for himself. Parties were no longer the same, and children stopped respecting the authority of their elders. By 2004, the power of the paramilitaries was absolute. During various elections, with the help of the military and government bodies, they forced us to cast our votes a certain way. They ordered

Action On Colombia is the official newsletter of the Colombia Support Network, a national peace and justice network of groups and individuals working to promote respect for human rights in Colombia and a just relationship between the United States and Colombia through grass-roots activism.

CSN supports a nonviolent, negotiated resolution to the conflict in Colombia.

CSN is the only current project of Wisconsin Interfaith Committee on Latin America

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Adriana Porras, the courageous community leader of Libertad and Ana Teresa Bernal from REDEPAZ

a restructurization of the local hospital in San Onofre and the employees working there were forced at gunpoint to either sign resignation letters or accept severance pay.

In 2004, Colonel Colón was appointed and finally began to establish order. He weakened the AUC of San Onofre by intensifying the hunt for Rodrigo Cadena. In February of 2004, with the help of a community leader, “El Oso” was captured. He, in turn, was replaced by “Profe,” who used the same tactics of extortion and murder. “Profe” was later killed in one of the raids organized by Colonel Colón to capture the head commander of the paramilitaries, “Cadena.” “Profe” was then replaced by “Diomedez” who, in a rush to impose his authority, tried to kill a member of the community at a party. He tied him up and took him to a house he had confiscated from some woman. The man escaped and “Diomedez” was so angry he began

barging into houses cursing at and threatening anyone inside. The community was finally fed up and we began to organize ourselves. We came out of our homes and started surrounding the paramilitaries. We were so angry that, after chasing “Diomedes” and almost lynching him, we forced him to jump off of the bridge in Libertad. His body remained there for two days until the paramilitaries tied him up and delivered the body to the army troops on guard at a local business.

We were incredibly frightened because these paramilitaries remained in San Onofre and we often saw them with the police or celebrating with influential people. We knew we could not turn to the departmental government because they were all linked to the paramilitaries, so we armed ourselves with sticks, knives, machetes and hunting weapons. We formed a group to guard the four points of entry into our community, and women even formed groups

to make coffee for the men standing guard at night. We didn’t let any cars enter or leave the community and we searched any individuals coming in. No one slept; we were terrified because “Cadena” had given the order that the same thing be done in Libertad as had been done in Chengue¹. Almost every night the electricity went off and four or five families would all sleep in the same house because we were so scared.

We continued to organize ourselves and we succeed in turning in more than 20 paramilitaries. The whole community signed a letter that we sent to the Office of Human Rights, and they sent us an army convoy that took charge of our security. The situation had lasted for about a month before the community was able to begin reestablishing itself.

We started reporting the things happening to us, and thereby exposed the conflict in Libertad. A pilot project of collective reparation was also initiated in our community—a project in which the assistance of the international community has been vitally important. The Colombian Government has yet to assume any responsibility for what has happened. There are some areas where the paramilitaries have rearmed themselves and people remain fearful. Leaders are still being threatened but, as a community, we are trying to recover what we have lost. There has been minor progress in securing our minimum rights and we continue to organize ourselves to regain our culture. We are covered under the Law of Peace and Justice, but we believe this law is sorely lacking. The victims continue to wait.

To make a donation to the women’s group of Libertad, please send a check to Colombia Support Network with “Libertad” written on the memo line of the check.

¹ On January 17, 2001, dozens of people were killed with machetes and stones in the small town of Chengue (near San Onofre).

Testimony from a Young Woman in Libertad

A young woman approached Cecilia during her visit to Libertad and volunteered to tell her story. She hopes that women from around the world will have the opportunity to read it and begin to understand what war does to the lives of women.

Translated by Anne Schoeneborn, a CSN volunteer translator

It all happened in the year 2003. I was 17 years old—a young woman with dreams and the innocence of a person of that age. I had just finished primary school. At that time, the violence in my region was at its height. The paramilitaries had taken over our community and “El Oso,” the head paramilitary in Libertad, was getting rich at the expense of our people.

That day I had gotten into an argument with my neighbor. “El Oso” found out about it and sent one of his men to make me pay a fine. The fine was 200,000 pesos and so I told him that I didn’t have that much money and

neither did my father. I asked him to give me a few days to get the money together and he replied that the longer it took, the more I would have to pay. That night I couldn’t sleep and neither could my family—we had already decided that early the next day I would leave for Cartagena. However, first thing the next morning, “El Oso” sent two armed men to my house who told me that their boss needed me at his camp, which was located in another town close to Libertad. They made me get on the motorcycle with the two of them. When I got to the house, I saw a woman who cooks for “El Oso” and she told me that her boss had left some clothes for me to hand-wash. I saw about 50 camouflage uniforms, sheets and dirty towels.

By the time I finished I was dead tired, but then “El Oso” appeared and told me to go to his room. He ordered me to undress. I had never had sex before and I told him please no, that I would pay the fine. But he said that he was the one in charge; he was naked in bed holding a gun in his hand. He threw me on the bed and forcefully started

to kiss me—they were bitter kisses with a poisonous taste and smell. He did what he pleased with me, he forced me to touch his penis and to put it in my mouth and even to have anal sex with him. This continued for three days. On the fourth day, after he had finished using me, he had his men do the same things to me all at the same time. Then he sent me home and told me that if I told anyone, he would kill me.

I got sick, I wanted to die, I felt dirty and worthless. I didn’t understand how such things, which I thought only happened in the movies, could happen to me. Out of fear and embarrassment I did not leave my house for three months. I went to Cartagena but it was even worse because there I did not have enough to eat. I had the impression that every man who looked at me would do the same thing to me. I have still not been able to get over what happened. I wanted to try a relationship with someone but I could not erase from my mind what had happened and the taste of those bitter kisses.

Silencing the Innocent

By Verónica Montaña Chamorro, daughter of the assassinated Mayor of Roble, Sucre, Colombia

The Facts:

February 1, 2003

At one of the town hall meetings orchestrated by President Álvaro Uribe Vélez, Eudaldo León Díaz -Salgado (Tito Díaz), the Mayor of Roble, condemned the political persecution he had faced at the hands of state security forces and the then departmental Governor of Sucre Salvador Arana Sus. Arana Sus, senators and politicians were all present at the town hall meeting along with the director of the Administrative Department of Security (DAS), José de los Santos Porras, and the Police Commander of Sucre, Norman León Arango—who have since been tried by the Colombian justice system for their involvement in paramilitarism, massacres and other crimes committed within the department. Tito was the first person in Colombia to denounce the macabre alliance between politicians and paramilitaries at a town hall meeting, calling attention to decades of massacres, forced disappearances, displacements, corruption, rape, selective killings, torture, the non-existence of rule of law in rural communities, and the widespread influence of the paramilitary structure within Colombian institutions.

Following this meeting, a wave of allegations and judicial cases surfaced in Colombia, opening a chapter of parapolitics in the country. The politicians affected first were those of Sucre department who had been accused by Tito in front of President Uribe.

During the same town hall meeting, Mayor Eudaldo León Díaz reported the existence of a plan devised by the then Governor Salvador Arana Sus and a so-called “macabre alliance” to assassinate him. The president ignored the allegations, and even rewarded those accused with diplomatic posts. Mr. Arana was named the Ambassador to Chile and Commander Norman León was named military attaché.

On April 5, 2003, Tito Díaz was disappeared and, on April 10, his body was found lying in the position of a cross with nine gunshot wounds, signs of torture, and his I.D. card identifying him as mayor on his forehead.

In Colombia, questioning the model established by the dominant classes has become a crime. This is evidenced by the vile assassination of the homeopathic doctor, journalist and democratically elected mayor. He founded the municipality of Roble as a legal solution that would end decades of oppression and a lack of a government presence in the community. As a



The children of Libertad smile to the camera

result of the admiration of his fellow citizens, he was elected the first mayor of the municipality. As a result of speaking out against corrupt departmental politicians, he was disappeared and assassinated. The president did nothing to prevent this death even though it was announced on national television.

After the assassination, the perpetrators of, and masterminds behind, the murder began to threaten and slander the leader's family. The family's search for the truth turned into a series of encounters with individuals and families who had been the victims of threats, displacement and paramilitarism linked to the state. Tito's children currently lead efforts to support victims of state crimes and to call attention to the tragedy of the poor in Sucre department.

While being held captive, Tito managed to gain access to a pen and a piece of paper by pretending he needed to write a letter to Rodrigo Mercado Pelufo, alias “Cadena,” the known paramilitary commander of Sucre department. The letter never arrived because the mayor hid it in one of his shoes. In two hidden letters confirmed to have been written in his handwriting, Tito directly implicates Sucre's former governor Salvador Arana Sus, Sucre's former police commander Norman León (who was investigated for the Chengue Massacre), and Sucre's former District Attorneys Jaime Gil Ortega and Guillermo Merlano.

During the past six years, more than ten

key witnesses have been threatened or assassinated—including paramilitaries and their family members. This has resulted in many witnesses changing their former statements because people close to them were either assassinated or intimidated. Despite all of the evidence, to this day neither the actual perpetrators nor those who masterminded the plot have been sentenced. Even though the Attorney General's Office ruled in April of this year that the former governor of Sucre, Salvador Arana Sus, be sentenced to 50 years in prison, no sentence has been handed down.

The political and social reality of Sucre department has not changed beyond a shift in the departmental politicians in office. In several cases, incumbents were replaced by family members. These politicians insist on maintaining the Mafioso structure that dominates the department and the country, and oppresses the poorest classes. For the relatives of the assassinated Mayor Eudaldo León Díaz, life has become a hell on earth full of anxiety due to the constant threats and assassination attempts made principally against one of his sons, Juan David Díaz Chamorro. Additionally, the dreams of the over 8,000 people living in the municipality perished with their leader and friend. Today, the municipality has become yet another statistic of social inequality and economic under-development.

The Feelings of Eudaldo León Díaz's Family "Tito," a voice that will not be silenced.

The loss of our father has caused us immense pain. It is as if our souls had been ripped from our bodies. We could not find any explanation for why our father, protector, friend and guide had put his family in imminent danger by making such high-risk accusations. It was what happened that day at the town hall meeting—at that moment we knew that nothing would be the same. We knew we were in danger; that they would try to exterminate us. And then we asked ourselves the wrong question: “did he love us enough?” Countless “friends” called us after the meeting to tell us “your father is crazy!” “Now you must be careful!” “Where do you think you’ll go?” Then these so-called friends abandoned us, believing us to be a time bomb.

It seems so absurd, the realization that the government, instead of offering the security Tito urgently needed, pretended not to have heard

his pleas and left him to his fate in the lion’s den. We felt anguish, anxiety, fear—and then that nightmare came true: he was disappeared, tortured, assassinated, and those criminals believed they had silenced him.

They tried to split up our family, and at first we felt it was necessary that we go our separate ways. But then, as if by magic, our family grew to understand: how much love our father must have had to fight until his last breath so his children would grow up in a society where justice, truth, love for your fellow human beings, and respect for others’ rights prevails. After meeting with countless families victimized by the conflict that continues to rage in this country, we began to shout to the whole world—not only of our family’s experiences but also of the scourge of violence afflicting so many others. We realized that we were not alone, that in addition to being able to count on the grace and help of God, there were many others who had taken an interest in the situation. Because he was mayor, because he

made accusations before President Álvaro Uribe, because of the way the events unfolded, doors were opened to us and we used this opportunity to open other doors in search of truth and justice. We did this for the many mothers, fathers, daughters, widows, and brothers who have no way of accessing justice and truth. Together with all the victims we have united to call attention to the situation endured by innocent people seeking historical truth and justice in our region.

We understand that his death was not in vain. But for those heartless cowards, his death was absolutely in vain for they were not able to silence him. With his bravery, he produced an echo and his legacy has been multiplied in us, his children. This legacy will remain strong until our last days, fighting to taste and savor justice in a country where this feels like an impossibility.

We want to end the reign of impunity; we want the guilty in this horrendous war to pay for their crimes; and we want the innocent to smile once again.

The Minga Presents in Geneva

Written by Marylen Serna from the Minga specially for this newsletter

The Colombian Platform for Human Rights, Democracy and Development recently called on the Minga to form part of a team that would present civil society’s Third Annual Report to the Committee of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Their participation was intended to add to the visibility of the problems surrounding the failure to protect economic, social and cultural rights in Colombia.

The Colombian Government ratified the International Agreement on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and agreed to submit itself to verification by the Agreement Committee. The protection of these rights are also guaranteed by the Colombian Constitution (Article 93).

The Report was produced with the participation of more than one hundred indigenous, campesino, urban and Afro-Colombian organizations from different regions of the country, and was presented before the Pre-Session of the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland on May 25, 2009. The participation of the Colombian Delegation focused on exposing the problems surrounding the following rights:

- a. The right to health and social security
- b. The right to work and rights within the workplace
- c. The right to proper nutrition
- d. The right to education
- e. The rights of campesino, indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities
- f. The right to adequate housing
- g. The rights of women and the LGBT community
- h. The rights of victims of forced displacement

It should be noted that the Colombian Government did not send any representatives to the Pre-Session.

Tasks and Commitments

Civil society must:

1. Design a strategy to follow-up on the UN’s recommendations in order to evaluate whether they have been carried out.
2. Maintain permanent contact with the Rapporteur for Colombia and the work teams of the different Rapporteurs (assigned by subject).
3. Maintain updated information by subject.
4. Draw up recommendations and questions for the teams to pose to the Colombian Government.
5. Be ready to send the recommendations and questions once the Government’s report is published.
6. The Resistance Minga plans to request that the Rapporteur on Indigenous Human Rights, who will visit Colombia in July, visit the Pacific Coast in order to obtain information on the confiscation of lands, the entrance of multinationals to these territories, the food crisis, forced displacements etc.

continued on next page

Conclusions

The guarantees of economic, social and cultural rights in Colombia are far from adequate. Persistent malnutrition, food insecurity, qualitative and quantitative housing deficiencies, the high level of youth outside of the educational system, the precarious employment situation of the working populace (particularly women), institutional inequality within the health system, and persistent discriminatory practices against women and indigenous, Afro-Colombian and LGBT communities demonstrate the violation of rights of the population as a whole.

Certain extreme situations deserve special consideration due to their gravity. The failure to provide free primary education, the patently regressive trend in labor rights, the persistent crimes committed against union members, the precarious quality of life of indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities, and the worrisome situation of displaced populations are evidence of the Government's erratic policies in regards to these problems.

The repeated failure of the Colombian Government to comply with the recommendations of the Committee of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights is a negative sign. Community childcare workers lack labor rights, and their situation has yet to improve. Despite the clear recommendation to implement agrarian reform, it is actually counter-agrarian reform that is taking place. This has resulted in indigenous, campesino and Afro-Colombian communities being forced off their land through a combination of legal and illegal mechanisms. These two concrete cases reflect the little will of the Colombian Government to guarantee the economic, social and cultural rights of the Colombian population.



Jack Laun, Rep Jan Schakowsky, Linda Grengg-Damashek and Cecilia Zarate- Laun at the Representative's office in Evanston

Thank you

Note from Apolinar Granja, a representative of el Recuerdo de Nuestros Ancestros del Río Mejicano, one of the Afro-Colombian communities in Nariño that voluntarily eradicated illegal coca crops in their area only to have their lands fumigated again. CSN recently translated and distributed a letter from the community, and also launched an urgent action on June 9, 2009 on their behalf:

Translated by Anne Schoeneborn, a CSN volunteer translator

Thank you very much for the support we have received. I have been out of touch because the people who give us technological assistance have been out of town. We succeeded in having a first meeting with the national police and government bodies about the eradication of coca through aerial fumigation. We reached an initial agreement that we would be able to verify the

zones that would be fumigated. It was a verbal agreement since the Colombian government now does not consider any area off-limits when taking action, good or bad. There have not been any more fumigations, but the problem has not been resolved—there is no will to recognize our authority over the territory and, through indirect manipulation, our communities are often disregarded.

We will be sending you the document that was signed this week in order to keep you up to date.

All I can do is thank you and your entire organization. A big, big hug for the measures you have taken...without them we would never have succeeded in sitting down at a table with such high-level police and military officers from our country.

Cordially, Apolinar Granja

The Colombia Support Network

Action on Colombia

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Summary of CSN's Annual Meeting

Held May 29–31, 2009



David Kast from Wausau, WI, Craig Wehrle from Madison, Cesar Ocampo from Austin, Dave Davis from Kansas City.

By Carol Sundberg

In addition to the 24 participants from 7 states and the District of Columbia, invited guest speakers included Gary Leech, a journalist from Nova Scotia, and Steve Cagan, a photo-journalist from Cleveland Heights, Ohio.

Amber Shipley, Foreign Policy Assistant from Rep Tammy Baldwin and Brett Watson, her Field Representative shared with us strategies to work with Congress from the electoral districts.

Steve focused on the Chocó, a northwest province bordering the Pacific Ocean, the Caribbean and Panama. This region is known for its biodiversity and large Afro-Colombian population. Steve's public presentation revolved around his slides taken in Chocó, which illustrate how the 3 warring factions prey on civil society but rarely confront each other. They terrorize the populace, destroy their way of life and damage the natural environment. (To view Steve's slides, see [HYPERLINK "http://stevecagan.com/"](http://stevecagan.com/) <http://stevecagan.com/>).

Gary focused on multinational mining and drilling in Colombia, and how these activities relate to Colombia's 4,000,000 internally displaced people. His latest book, *Beyond Bogotá*, is his reflection on his investigative travels in

rural Colombia beginning in the year 2000, framed around the 11 hours he was held captive by FARC guerrillas in August, 2006.

Three CSN chapters reported on their sister communities in Colombia:

-Colleen Kattau from CSN Central New York believes that enabling members from sister communities to visit the U.S. is the most important factor in building support. This chapter's most recent visitor was Jafeth Gómez, an artist from Cajibío.

-CSN Kansas City completed a project with an Embera Chami indigenous community in southern Colombia. They facilitated the recording and translating of the group's legends and stories.

-During the last year, CSN Madison (which is sistered with San José de Apartadó) has launched numerous local and national actions to aid in the survival of the Peace Community, and also sent a delegation to visit the community in November. Currently, we are carrying out market research in order to assist the Peace Community's cacao cooperative to sell its product.

CSN Austin is planning a delegation to visit its sister community of Tiquisio in August.

CSN in Action

CSN representatives, accompanied by a CSN member living in the 9th District of Illinois, visited Representative Jan Schakowsky at her office in Evanston. During this meeting, various strategies for collaboration between the Representative and CSN were discussed.

CSN participated in a human rights panel organized by The Progressive as a part of its 100th Anniversary Celebration that took place in Madison.

CSN has been invited to participate in a panel focused on how to connect activism with academia. This panel is a part of an annual meeting of academics who teach about Colombia at American universities, and will take place in Charlottesville, Virginia this year.

Anne Schoeneborn translated into English a document produced by the Cali-based organization *Casa Cultural Tejiendo Sororidades*, which works with displaced and low-income women. This document will be added to the CSN website shortly.

Petitions were distributed in solidarity with Patricia Ariza and the Peace Community with the help of the organization Rhythm N' Rights.

CSN arranged for a series of documents produced or acquired by CSN to be delivered to President Obama by a trusted ally of his and a friend of CSN's. The documents were intended as preparatory material for his meeting with President Uribe, which took place in July.



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