

United States

**Submission to the UN
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Ninth Session of the UPR Working Group of the Human Rights Council

22 November – 3 December 2010

Submitted by PCN and AFRODES USA.

The Black Communities Process (Proceso de Comunidades Negras –PCN) is an Afro-descendant collective of more than 100 grassroots organizations, Community Councils and civil rights activists, based in Colombia. It was founded in 1993 to raise black consciousness, fight racial discrimination, exclusion and social injustice, and develop a legal and political framework for the recognition and respect for territorial, cultural, political, economic, and environmental and human rights of the African descendants in Colombia. PCN has played a leading role building reciprocal solidarities nationally, regionally and at the international level.

AFRODES USA is an Afro-descendant non-profit organization based in Washington DC with members in Illinois and Virginia, dedicated to raising visibility in the United States of the critical human rights issues facing Afro-Colombian communities. It promotes the Afro-Colombian grassroots and internally displaced persons (IDPs) perspective on how US foreign policy and programs such as Plan Colombia and commercial agreements can be changed to respect and strengthen their proposals for instituting IDP rights and Afro-Colombian self-autonomy, territorial rights and cultural identity.

Endorsed by, Latin American and Caribbean Center -LACC, Ciudadao Global, The Permanent Committed for Chile, Colectivo de Diseño la Colmena; Otras Colombians, Colombia Region Research Cluster of The University of California-Santa Cruz, Joseph Jordan, Director Sonja Haynes Stone Center at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, US Office on Colombia, the Washington Office on Latin America, and Trans Africa Forum.

Summary

This joint report provides information under sections B, D and F as stipulated in the Technical Guidelines for the preparation of information under the Universal Periodic Review.

- Under Section B this submission raises concerns of the failure of US foreign policies and programs to protect human rights and promote economic and democratic stability in Colombia. It details how US military and anti-narcotics assistance to Colombia have contributed to a deterioration of the rights of Afro-Colombians.
- Under Section D this report highlights some improvements on regulations regarding the Certification of Colombia.
- Under Section F this submission makes recommendations to the United States government on how to improve its foreign policy so as to guarantee the protection of human rights and the rights of African descendants in Colombia.

United States of America

Joint Report to the UN Universal Periodic Review

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Introduction

This report details the impact that the foreign policy and programs of the United States have had on African descendant peoples' rights in Colombia. It concludes that the United States has failed to protect the human rights of Afro-Colombians. Its policies have not promoted economic and democratic stability in Colombia and the goals of Plan Colombia have not been met. Further, it calls on the US government to make substantial changes to its foreign policy towards Colombia in order to guarantee the fundamental rights of African descendant and Indigenous peoples.

B. Normative and institutional framework of the State on foreign policy, assistance programs and trade.

1. Plan Colombia In July 2000, President Clinton approved "Plan Colombia," a foreign policy signed into Public Law 106-246, waiving key human rights conditions. The stated goal of Plan Colombia was to bring about "long-term stability of democracy and human rights in Colombia and to protect the American people from drug trafficking."ⁱ Ten years and \$6.7 billion dollars later the plan has not met its goals. Colombia continues to face major challenges to its democracy, the internal armed conflict is far from resolved and coca cultivation has spread throughout the country. Until 2007 approximately eighty percent of Plan Colombia was designated for military assistance. Most of this assistance went to support anti-narcotics efforts including the aerial fumigation program and support for Colombia's counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism strategiesⁱⁱ. The support of military and fumigation programs contributed to the loss of life, internal displacement, food insecurity and loss of economic sustainability for rural Colombians. The populations disproportionately affected by US supported policies are the over eighty-eight Indigenous ethnic groups and Afro-descendant communities. The Colombian military and anti-narcotics and counter-terrorism strategies funded by the US have gravely undermined the autonomy, self-determination and cultural diversity of Colombia. At the same time, coca cultivation, production and exportation have increasedⁱⁱⁱ, thus negatively impacting Afro-descendants in both Colombia and the US. Although the 2008 US foreign operations bill strengthened the conditions for certification by including a condition to protect the territorial rights of Afro-Colombian and Indigenous communities, in the Fall of 2009 the State Department certified that despite serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law (including "extrajudicial executions"), particularly against African descendants and Indigenous communities, that the conditions were being met by Colombia. This runs contrary to documents submitted to the State Department by US human rights organizations including WOLA and USOC and several UN reports pointing

to a deterioration of respect for Afro-Colombian and Indigenous rights. This action prompted a letter of complaint from African-American Member of Congress Hank Johnson of Georgia. As such, Colombia continued to receive military assistance from the US and did not take measures to address violations affecting Afro-Colombian and Indigenous communities. The US failed to enforce its own laws and utilize its financial leverage with Colombia to protect the human rights and territorial rights of ethnic minorities.

2. Background: The ongoing internal armed conflict The five decade internal armed conflict in Colombia is deeply rooted in structural social, economic and political inequalities, racial discrimination and endemic corruption at all levels of governance. A factor that significantly deepens conflict in Colombia is territorial control over bio-diverse and resource rich lands by illegal armed groups for the promotion of legal and illegal economic interests. Much of the conflict is directly and indirectly linked to control over land and its resources. Additionally, the internal armed conflict is characterized by grave and systematic human rights abuses and breaches of international humanitarian law on the part of all armed actors (Colombian armed forces, guerilla groups, paramilitary groups and narco-traffickers).

Much of the conflict has concentrated in Afro-descendant and Indigenous territories. These territories contain 10% of the world's bio-diversity and rich natural resources including oil, gas, coal, gold and other minerals. These lands are also coveted by bio-fuel interests including sugar cane and oil palm companies because they are not developed and provide large tracts of territories for potential growth of monocultures. The conflict in Colombia became more complex and deepened in the 1980s with the introduction of the trafficking of cocaine. The US approach to Colombia has been to combat drug trafficking through heavy funding for anti-narcotics efforts and smaller economic projects designated to promote peace, governance and alternative development. Particularly problematic is the US' financial support for a military with a history of collusion with paramilitaries and a government where approximately thirty percent of the Congress is either in jail or under investigation for links to a US-named foreign terrorist organization, the paramilitary AUC. These paramilitaries are responsible for the majority of civilian killings, over 30,000 homicides and drug trafficking to the US and Europe. Further, Colombian NGOs report that in recent years the Colombian military has committed over 2,000 extrajudicial executions of innocent civilians.

3. Militarization by Plan Colombia violates the right to security In violation of the Common Article 3 of the 1949 Geneva Conventions and its Additional Protocol II of 1977, several provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, between August 2002 and July 2008 more than 14,000 civilians were killed outside of combat in Colombia for socio-political reasons^{iv}. State security forces and paramilitaries were responsible for 75% of those deaths. In a process that lasted from 2002 to 2006, the government claimed they had demobilized more than 30,000 paramilitaries, who received amnesty through the "Peace and Justice Law"^v and Decree 128 of 2003 (implementing Law 782/2002). US Congress approved \$20 million to support the demobilization process. Throughout the

negotiations period, paramilitaries killed more than 4,500 civilians for socio-political reasons^{vi}. Human Rights Watch's most recent report states that "new groups cropped up all over the country, taking the reins of the criminal operations that the AUC leadership previously ran"^{vii}. The Colombian government has extradited the former AUC paramilitary commanders to the US on drug charges. This has greatly undermined the justice and peace process and para-politics cases from moving towards justice and left thousands of murders and several massacres in impunity. Many victims, including Afro-Colombians and Indigenous persons are left without the right to truth, justice and reparations.

The obstacles created to truth, justice and reparations for victims of the extradited AUC calls in to question the US and Colombia's interest in achieving justice in these cases. Furthermore, the Colombian Government has promoted new programs such as the civilian informant networks, whereby civilians including youth are used as informants. These programs undermine the IHL principle of distinction between combatants and civilians and are leading to increased suspicion on the part of the illegal armed groups against civilians that resulted in abuses. It is of concern, that some of the members of the Colombian armed forces under investigation for gross human rights violations are former students of WHINSEC, formerly known as the "School of Americas-SOA." According to the School of Americas Watch, over 10,000 Colombian military officials have been trained at the SOA. One graduate of this school is Retired General Rito Alejo del Rio who was responsible for the 1996 Operation Genesis in the Choco, a joint military-paramilitary operation in Afro-Colombian territories that led to civilian deaths and the massive displacement of thousands of Afro-Colombians.

4. US policies fail to protect the economic, social and cultural rights of African descendants According with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Afro-Colombians "continued to experience some of the country's worst political violence"^{viii}. Nearly half of Afro-Colombians (26% of the Colombian population), have been forcibly internally displaced. The UN found that structural exclusion and discrimination, large scale economic projects combined with a lack of adequate judicial and institutional protections for the collective territories are the principal reasons for internal displacement's disproportionate impact on Afro-descendants^{ix}. The statistics from the Census 2005 demonstrate the impact on Afro-descendants lives by the effects of the internal armed conflict and paramilitary actions. The situation facing Afro-Colombians remains dire: 89% of Afro-Colombians live in extreme poverty. The Pacific Coast, an area historically inhabited by Afro-descendants, is one of the most affected by internal armed conflict, violence and displacement. 72% of the inhabitants have lost their mechanisms of self-sufficiency (access to land, crops and jobs). While in 1991, 82% of the population in the Pacific region owned their homes, today only 3.5% own their properties^x. The Colombian State is obliged to protect its Afro-Colombian citizens. Afro-Colombians are protected by laws, such Law 70 of 1993 of the Black Communities^{xi} that recognizes their cultural, political, economic and territorial rights. Colombia is also party to various international agreements that uphold communal rights including International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 169 that determines their right to previous consultation and an integral part of the decision-making process on issues that potentially

can affect their integrity and territorial rights. Nevertheless, land seizure through violent, fraudulent and coercive means has affected about 79% of Afro-Colombian collective land owners. Large scale economic and infrastructure projects including monoculture crop cultivation (oil palm, sugarcane), gold mining, coal production and hydroelectric dams that adversely impacted the livelihoods of many afro-descendents causing mass displacement did not respect these communities' rights to previous consultation.

Since 1996, the intensification of the armed conflict in Afro-Colombian communities has coincided with the process to collectively title lands and implement Plan Colombia. Three major areas have been hard hit by the violence: (1) the Jiguamiandó-Curvaradó^{xii} rivers basin zone (Chocó region), where over 120 leaders and community members were assassinated between 1996 and 2009, and more than 140,000 acres of collective land were fraudulently appropriated by oil palm corporations with proved links to paramilitary structures and drug traffickers; (2) Buenaventura (Valle de Cauca region), one of the biggest generators and recipients of IDPs, where 797 murders were registered between 2006 and 2007, 117 disappearances and 175 violent deaths were registered between January and August 2009 alone, and a large scale economic project to transform the second most important port in the country has 3,500 persons facing displacement; and (3) Tumaco (Nariño region), one of the strongest paramilitary centers of operations. Tumaco municipality is an area that was heavily fumigated in recent years with Plan Colombia funding. Local area residents complain that the civilian airport has been taken over by US military contractors. It is where the Diocese of Nariño noted that between January and June of 2009 at least 206 people were assassinated^{xiii}. It is also an area where the US has provided financing for alternative development projects with mixed results. In the case of oil palm projects, this has led to displacement and impoverishment of the local population. With regards to the projects done collectively with the community councils, while in-part successful, leaders of the community have received threats and been assassinated by guerilla groups due to participation in USAID projects.

Beyond the State Department's faulty analysis that Colombia is respecting the rights of Afro-Colombians, several other US-funded programs remain highly problematic. The aerial fumigation program has proven to not only be ineffective in reducing overall hectares of coca in the country; it has resulted in the internal displacements, loss of farm crops, health problems and humanitarian crises in the Pacific Region. Manual eradication programs have led to military abuses. This year alone, intensive fumigations were reported by the Community Councils of Alto y Bajo Mira (Tumaco), Timbiqui and Guapi (Cauca), and Naya and Anchicaya rivers (Buenaventura); some of these are recipients of USAID funding. Fumigations disregard the 2008 aid bill provision and violate the right to previous consultation. Some Community Councils in the Buenaventura and Tumaco regions already have autonomous manual eradication initiatives that the Colombian government does not support. In 2007, the Community Council of Yurumangui River manually eradicated 27 hectares of coca in two days without any government support or follow up.

Afro-descendant organizations and US human rights NGOs have reported numerous abuses by the Colombian military forces. Indiscriminate bombarding combined with use

of force against civilians and unlawful arrests were reported by the communities of Naya and Anchicaya rivers (Buenaventura), Timbiqui (department of Cauca), Guapi and Tumaco in 2009. One of these events cost the life of 13 year old Aureliano Tovar. Indigenous organizations have reported numerous cases of Colombian army abuses. Eight miners in the municipality of Suarez, department of Cauca were killed on April 4th 2010, following the denunciation of death threats by paramilitaries and reported to the US Department of State.

Several cases of violation of the human rights conditions in these communities were reported in Naya and Anchicaya rivers (Buenaventura), Timbiqui (department of Cauca), Guapi and Tumaco in 2009, included the murder of 13 year-old Aureliano Tovar. Indigenous organizations have also reported numerous cases of Colombian army abuses.

5. US international cooperation with Colombia fails to respect obligations to protect and fulfill the right to information, right to effective participation, transparency and accountability. Programs promote discrimination and undermine the security and rights of Afro-descendant stakeholders.

For decades, institutional intervention, supported by international cooperation, has eroded the autonomous activities of the communities. USAID's coca cultivation substitution strategy with alternative development also had lead to such erosion. The implementation of USAID projects on Afro-descendant communities through the ADAM-MONTEBRAVO program, had represented for those communities and leaders serious risks for their lives, and had not corresponded with their autonomous initiatives^{xiv}. As communities and leaders are harassed, persecuted and murdered, due to their participation on those projects, the eradication and substitution programs have not respected and promoted the autonomy of the communities, or protected the cultural integrity and self-protection initiatives within Community Councils' plans^{xv}. Communities have already been compromised by the "Zero coca" policy through intensive fumigations, such is the case of those in the Tumaco area. While USAID has conducted some consultations for these projects they have not done so in line with the principle of 'prior, informed consent', and there are communities that have complained about lack of transparency. USAID parameters for contracting, evaluation, and methodology do not provide equal opportunity to Afro-Colombians and Indigenous, as most projects have been subcontracted to operators where in the best of scenarios highly qualified Afro-Colombian professionals may be subcontractors of the operators, performing low rank tasks. Also, Afro-Colombians have the Long Term Integral Development Plan for Afro-Colombian, Raizal and Palenque, that was not considered previously, and has not been considered on the 2009-2014 strategy.

Keeping in consideration that Afro-descendant communities continue to be hostage to armed groups, their leaders and organizations remain "military targets", and past experiences prove serious risk to their lives. Also, the Colombian government continues to denied the critical reasons of their plight (paramilitarism, armed conflict, structural racism), and the US continues certifying Colombia despite the undeniable evidence of no major advancement on human rights conditions, and even worsening of the human rights

situation particularly for Afro-descendant and indigenous communities. The USAID “critical assumptions” for the 2009-2014 strategy: 1) The security situation enables USAID partners to implement programs without major threats; 2) There continues to be a constructive environment that permits U.S. participation in Afro-Colombian development issues; 3) The (Government of Colombia) continues its commitment to advancing Afro-Colombian communities^{xvi}, represent challenges to be consider.

USAID support to structures including the “Afro-Colombian Bancada” (Caucus) and local and regional government entities such the “Asociacion de Municipios Afro-Colombianos, AMUNAFRO” raise serious concerns. Several members of the Congressional Caucus, Majors and other Afro-Colombian figures, are in jail or under investigation for alleged links with paramilitaries, drug traffickers and the guerillas. The Congressional elections in March 14, 2010 raised serious questions about the legitimacy of those who won the Afro-Colombian quotas. There is serious concern that the winners are linked to drug traffickers and utilized fraudulent means to obtain their posts. As such, it is advisable that USAID refrain from funding any projects with the Afro-Colombian Caucus.

USAID increased focus on Afro-Colombians and its plans to incorporate Afro-Colombians in its human rights programming is a recognizable advancement, however much work remains to ensure that the assistance reaches the communities. It must apply its Land Protocol at all levels of programming to ensure that no projects directly or indirectly finance paramilitary interests, money laundering schemes or projects that community members have deemed unadvisable. Further, it should pro-actively guarantee the full participation of Afro-descendant and Indigenous legal authorities so the projects are designated for, and in accordance to, Law 70 and ILO convention 169 regarding the right to free, full and informed previous consultation on their projects.

6. Militarization supported by US funds furnish violence and internal displacement of Afro-descendants Women. Women are disproportionately affected by the internal armed conflict. Afro-descendant women exposed to internal displacement suffer multiple forms of victimization due to internal displacement because of their identity as an IDP, as a woman and as Afro-descendant. As the war has intensified on Indigenous and Afro-Colombian territories, it has resulted in a large increase rape and sexual violence. Recent reports by AFRODES^{xvii} and PCN detail the multiple ways Afro-Colombians are victimized and the increased trend of violent deaths suffered by women due to the conflict and socio-political reasons. Since women are taking leadership following the murder or displacement of male leadership, they are increasingly visible and vulnerable to attack. A recent report on pre-electoral conditions in Colombia gives account of the new modalities of intimidation of male leaders by raping, harassing and some cases murdering their female partners and daughters. This outrageous new form of violence has been reported primarily practiced mostly by paramilitaries. Single women are also becoming primary victims of the armed conflict as, with the men killed, forced to displacement or recruited in different ways by one or another armed actor, they are the ones looking before the family and directly experimenting the different manifestations of the conflict and violence. Internal displacement also put Afro-descendant women in the

situation of been socially, racially and gender base discriminated, and force who had been natural farmers, to join the lines of unemployment, sub and self-employment, or been underpaid, in some cases, under degrading conditions. These conditions are clear violations of Afro-descendant women's rights to adequate standards of living, not to be deprived of the means of subsistence that does not depends on work, and not to be pushed to work^{xviii}.

Special attention must be paid to cases of rape and other abuses committed by the US-funded Colombian armed forces. Given the recent defense agreement between the US and Colombia giving the US access to seven military bases there is great concern of how potential abuses committed by US personnel and contractors will be handled under international law.

7. Colombia-US Free Trade Agreement By approving the US-Colombia FTA, the US government would effectively be continuing the policies of Plan Colombia and undermining African descendants' rights to self-determination. In 2008, 168 grassroots organizations and Community Councils manifested their opposition to the U.S.-Colombia FTA because the policy lacks meaningful provisions to strengthen human rights protections, particularly those of African descendants^{xix}. In order to keep the economic preferences granted by the reciprocal US trade policy, President Uribe's government made significant concessions regarding intellectual property, environment and labor, which further weakened enforcement and penalty mechanisms in the labor and economic chapters of the US-Colombia FTA. This will disproportionately affect communities already vulnerable under unfair competitive conditions. Besides failing to include regulations to prohibit racial discrimination in labor law, the US-Colombia FTA does not include provisions to articulate national development goals of the Long Term Developmental Plan for the Black, Raizal and Palenque communities. Furthermore, the US-Colombia FTA was strengthened and approved by the Colombian government in violation of the communities' right to consultation. In the actual context of violence and impunity directly affecting Afro-descendant and Indigenous communities, approval of this policy will only invite a continuation of existing abuses and legitimization of a government that is failing on basic democratic principles^{xx}.

D. Positive developments

1. The 2008 foreign appropriations bill (H.R. 2764) included specific human rights conditioning on military aid and the designation of funds for alternative development projects for Afro-Colombian and Indigenous communities. Further, it strengthened the conditions regarding fumigations and oil palm projects. These conditions remain in the legislation. Since 2007 the US has gradually decreased its support for the fumigation program. Also, in November 2009 the US agreed to the UN third committee of the General Assembly, to "adopt energetic and effective measurements to protect human rights defenders."^{xxi} Now it must implement these legislative changes and uphold its commitments.

2. US Congress approved in the 2010 Foreign Operations Appropriations Law, new conditions on US aid to Colombia that requires the Colombian government to protect the rights of human rights defenders. This provision will required the State Department to redouble its diplomatic efforts to encourage the Colombian government to comply with this new condition.

F. Recommendations

1. The U.S. Congress significantly reduce military funding to Colombia and cease funding the aerial fumigation program. The Afro-Colombian and Indigenous communities would like to see zero funding for military efforts. Rather, the US should increase its funding for human rights, peace and Afro-Colombian and Indigenous community led projects.
2. The State Department refrain from certifying Colombia as compliant with human rights standards until the Government of Colombia recognizes the continued existence of internal armed conflict, the re-configuration of paramilitary structures, and the structural discrimination and exclusion of African descendants and Indigenous as significant factors of their current plight. Without these recognitions, the Colombian government is *not* in compliance with basic human rights protections. It should develop a Human Rights Action Plan that includes a focus on prevention and protection of human rights violations against Afro-Colombians and Indigenous communities.
3. U.S. policies towards Colombia should prevent further violations of Afro-Colombian rights. The U.S. government must ensure that the Colombian government creates the conditions for Afro-Colombians to return to their ancestral territories, rectify any negative impact on Afro-Colombians that resulted from Plan Colombia, and ensure that any development or usage of land and resources of Afro-descendants only proceed after effective consultation.
4. The recent US and Colombia race agreement should not serve as a way to diminish the responsibility both governments have to uphold the fundamental rights of Afro-Colombian communities. Projects developed in accordance to this agreement must be previously consulted with the communities they are designated to assist.
5. The US-Colombia Free Trade Agreement in its current fashion should not be approved. If the agreement is re-negotiated under a new Colombian Government there should be a previous consultation process with Afro-Colombian and indigenous community councils and resguardos/cabildos to review the full contents of the agreements and define protections for ethnic minorities and environmental biodiversity. The government of Colombia must show pro-active measurements and concrete advances in human rights and international humanitarian law conditions, particularly for Afro-descendant and Indigenous peoples, before further considerations of the matter by the United States.

6. Unites States trade policies must incorporate explicit commitments to uphold international human rights standards in the areas of labor, economic and environmental rights and sovereignty.

Endnotes

ⁱ Cited by Andrew Miller on “Point/Counterpoint: U.S. Military Support for Plan Colombia: Adding Fuel to the Fire”. 2000

ⁱⁱ The Andean Counter-drug Initiative (ACI) has been the primary U.S. program that supports Plan Colombia. In addition to ACI funding, Colombia also benefits from the Foreign Military Financing (FMF) program, and the Department of Defense’s central counter-narcotics account. Only ACI funding for Plan Colombia from FY2000 through FY2005 totals approximately \$2.8 billion. ACI funding also supports alternative development programs administered by the U.S. Agency for International Development –USAID.

ⁱⁱⁱ WOLA, “*La Estrategia Colombia-Estados Unidos en la erradicacion d e cultivos ilicitos*”. Revista Javeriana. Junio, 2008. See also UNODC, Junio 2006.

^{iv} See, Gallosn, Gustavo, “COLOMBIA 2009: Human Rights Crisis and Democracy at risk”. CCJ. March 17, 2009

^v The “Ley de Justicia y Paz” 975 of 2005, and the Decree 4760 were passed pass by the government as a result of the negotiation process with the Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC). This law has been widely criticized to the extend that certain parts of it were repealed by the Colombian Constitutional Court in May 2006.

^{vi} Gallon.

^{vii} HRW, “Paramilitaries Heir’s. The new face of violence in Colombia. February 2010.

^{viii} UNHCR. “2009 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – Colombia”. March 11, 2010

^{ix} Colombian Constitutional Court. Auto 005 of 2009

^x National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE). Census 2005

^{xi} Find complete version in English of Law 70/1993 at

http://www.benedict.edu/exec_admin/intnl_programs/other_files/bc-intnl_programs-law_70_of_colombia-english.pdf

^{xii} These communities have protective measurements issued by the ICHR in 2003, 2006, 2008 and 2009.

^{xiii} NASGACC, “*Comments Concerning Free Trade Agreement with the Republic of Colombia (Docket Number USTR-2009-0021)*”. September 15, 2009

^{xiv} Rosero, Carlos. Intervention of Carlos Rosero on the panel “New directions of Drug policy”, hosted by the International Drug Policy Consortium, the Latin America Initiative on drugs and democracy and the Washington Office on Latn America. Washington, DC. December 10, 2009.

^{xv} Rosero.

^{xvi} USAID/Colombia. Afro-Colombia strategy 2009-20014

^{xvii} Numerous reports have been issued on the matter. See Afrodes/Global Rights, “*Life in the Face of Adversity: Report on the Human Rights Situation of Internally displaced Afro-Colombian Women*”. 2009

^{xviii} International Covenant for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Article 11.

^{xix} . See, “*El Tratado de Libre Comercio Colombia-Estados Unidos, es una grave amenaza para el proyecto de vida y los derechos territoriales, culturales, ambientales y laborales del pueblo Afrocolombiano*”. 2008, find at <http://www.afrocolombians.com/pdfs/168organizationsvsFTA.pdf>

^{xx} For a comprehensive set of comments on US-Colombia FTA see, NASGACC, “*Comments Concerning Free Trade Agreement with the Republic of Colombia (Docket Number USTR-2009-0021)*”. September 15, 2009, find at <http://www.afrocolombians.com/pdfs/FTACommentsFTA-NASGACC.pdf>. Also, Human Rights Watch comments at <http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2009/09/15/human-rights-watch-comments-office-us-trade-representative-concerning-us-colombia-fr>. See also, AFSC blog, “*Trade Matters*”; Public Citizen’s blog “*Eyes on Trade*”.

^{xxi} UN, A/C.3/64/L.38/Rev.1