

3.3.2. 'Total Peace' Plan

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In November 2022, President Petro approved Law 2272 which defined the policy of 'Total Peace' to establish negotiation tables with illegal armed groups, including ELN, FARC dissident groups, and other criminal bands.[407] About 22 illegal armed groups sought to enter into the 'Total Peace' framework.[408] Peace negotiations with illegal armed groups under the 'Total Peace' plan have faced mounting obstacles.[409] Ceasefire agreements were established with different illegal armed groups, but most of these agreements were suspended after the commission of criminal activities.[410] The ELN has indicated that it did not agree to be part of any ceasefire with the government.[411] At the same time, a bilateral ceasefire began in August 2023 and expired in August 2024, as negotiations stalled.[412]

The 'Total Peace' policy 'faced difficulties'[413] and had limited impacts in ending abuses against civilians two years after implementation due to insufficient monitoring and failure of groups to comply with ceasefire conditions.[414] As of late 2024, truces with some criminal structures and the government remained in force, while other groups, not party to such talks, expanded violence.[415] Disputes and clashes between public security forces and armed groups continued in 2024, after suspension and non-renewal of ceasefires.[416] As of 19 November 2025, there were no national ceasefires in place as part of Paz Total.[417]

Despite limited advances in the security situation due to temporary ceasefires, negotiations with illegal armed groups under 'Total Peace' plan have stalled due internal fragmentation in some groups, lack of coordination and strategy from the government, and continuing armed confrontation among these groups.[418] Illegal armed groups also continued with criminal activities.[419]

Sources noted that the 'Total Peace' plan has had little effect on improving Colombia's security.[420] Even though confrontations between state security forces and illegal armed groups have decreased, illegal armed groups continue fighting among themselves causing serious violations of human rights for local populations.[421]

The following is the status of peace initiatives under 'Total Peace' plan for each participating armed group:

FCS: International support from the OAS and the Dutch embassy. A technical commission was established for disarmament but lacks international oversight and monitoring.

EMBF: International support from the UN and OAS, with Norway, Switzerland, EU, Venezuela, and Ireland as guarantors. It has an international oversight mechanism for ceasefire and disarmament.

ELN: International support from the UN and OAS, with Brazil, Cuba, Chile, Mexico, Norway, and Venezuela as guarantors. It has an international oversight mechanism for ceasefire and disarmament.

CNEB: International support from the UN and OAS, with Cuba, Norway, and Venezuela as guarantors. It has an international oversight mechanism for ceasefire and disarmament.

AGC: International support from OAS, but no verification mechanism,422 until a new agreement in September 2025 established a pilot verification mechanism in five municipalities in Antioquia and Chocó, with international support from the UN and the OAS.423

ACSN: International support from OAS, but no verification mechanism.424

According to FIP, during 'Total Peace' negotiations, illegal armed groups have modified criminal strategies to hide the effects of violence.425 This dynamic is also mentioned in reference to homicides, kidnappings, and extortion in Section 4.1.

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