A planned reduction in fossil fuel dependence in Colombia:

working toward cultural shift and participatory demand-side management

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The present document proposes a dialogue: it presents a collective view of an energy transition within a socio -ecological perspective that includes much more than just the reconversion of technologies. Instead, it offers a view focused on climate justice, anti-patriarchalism, the reduction of inequality, and the enhancement of productivity in accordance with the ways of life of regions, territories, and ecosystems for human and non-human life (flora, fauna, biota, cycles). In this context, we engage with the proposal made by the government of the Pacto Histórico, headed by Gustavo Petro Urrego and Francia Márquez Mina, for a gradual, fair, and orderly energy transition, which proposes to make Colombia a world leader in the promotion of life. We recognize that this is an important and audacious initiative that the government will lead, marking out varying paths and courses as part of a process that will take no less than 15 years to realize a socio-ecological transformation towards alternative relationships between societies and all species and living systems that make up our planet.

1.

An economy for human and non-human life

We must first establish criteria, as well as ethical and political values to guide this socio-ecological transition focused on the planned reduction of dependence on hydrocarbons. We need to build a path towards reducing inequality, whilst promoting overall wellbeing, frugality and commonsense in the lifestyles of the millions who inhabit the cities of both the North and the global South and, to a greater extent, the patterns of excessive consumption and production of a few elites. We could call this a cultural change.

We propose, therefore, a transformation of patterns of consumption and production, which goes beyond a physical adjustment of hydrocarbon production and consumption and encompasses the overall economy. A twofold movement is therefore required: managing the deceleration that the planetary energy crisis will bring in the coming years, ensuring the minimum essential needs for everyone in the country, and at the same time, promoting productive and fiscal autonomy as a route to local and national transformation.

The extraction of hydrocarbons for self-sufficiency and exportation will be maintained during this transition period. This maintenance must be based on the establishment of broad social discussion that includes both respect for the will of the communities affected by such operations and the resolution of the environmental conflicts generated by more than a century of extractive activity. In addition, certain necessary modifications to the existing contractual and tax conditions are required (for example, the abolition of the Colombian tax office's ruling that authorizes mining and oil companies to treat royalty payments as a tax deduction)[1] . It is also vital to create an Energy Transition Fund (FTE for its Spanish acronym) to collect:

i) A surcharge on the exploitation of non-renewable natural resources.
ii) Funds from the elimination of state subsidies or support for the country's oil sector[2], which, according to the Energy Policy Tracker, amounted to around USD 1.34 billion in 2020[3].
iii) Taxes on windfall profits due to high oil prices[4] (windfall tax).

These resources should be used to finance the construction and management of infrastructure for the local generation of electricity from renewable sources which are publicly owned and community run, prioritizing supply to health centers, early childhood care centers, educational infrastructure, and electricity for basic services such as urban lighting, water supply, and public transportation. This fund should also promote agroecological and regenerative agriculture, a local food supply chain and manufacturing industry that generates distributed wealth and employment, and which contributes to import substituting, diversi-

1. See: https://www.elespectador.com/ambiente/consejo-de-estado-declaro-legal-alivio-tributario-para-las-empresas-mineras-article/

2. There are approximately 253 benefits spread through tax norms that benefit the energy-mining sector. To see some of them: https://www.dian.gov.co/impuestos/reformatributaria/beneficiostributarios/Documents/20160616_Inventarios_beneficios_tributario_Renta_CREE_IVA.xlsx

3. See: https://www.energypolicytracker.org/country/colombia/

4. See: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/aug/03/big-oil-fossil-fuel-non-proliferation-treaty

fying the export portfolio, overcoming illegal economies, and generating stable tax revenues for the State.

From an economic point of view, the transition strategy implies reducing fiscal dependence on revenues from extractive activities (which represent 2.73% of the country's total income tax collection, 4.45% of the Gross Domestic Product and 8% of the royalties budget for territorial entities and at least 9% of the current income of the national government) and, in turn, initiating the strengthening of other progressive tax collection mechanisms, while simultaneously applying climate justice principles and criteria.

This entails a greater participation of the State due to higher prices for minerals and hydrocarbons, activities which generate environmental conflicts and high emissions, which should be gradually discouraged. Similarly, the economic conditions of mining and oil association contracts should be improved to increase the State's income from the exploitation of non-renewable natural resources, especially in times of high international prices such as those currently being experienced due to speculation and the war in Ukraine.

Direct royalty revenues destined to territorial entities will decrease in line with the progress of the de-escalation of hydrocarbon exploitation. In the 2021-2022 period, the budget of the General Royalties System (SGR for its Spanish acronym) was COP$15.43 trillion[5] revenues that must begin to be replaced by a land-title revision, the revision of property taxes, and measures to avoid evasion of municipal taxes such as the ICA (Impuesto de Industria y Comercio 'Industry and Trade Tax'). Moreover, the valuation and capital gains processes could also contribute to the improvement of revenues to sub-national governments.

5. Budget from the General Royalties System for 2021-2022. Reactivation period. Pg. 5. See: https://www.minhacienda.gov.co/webcenter/ ShowProperty?nodeId=%2FConexionContent%2FWCC_CLUSTER-149912%2F%2FidcPrimaryFile&revision=latestreleased

Considering Colombia's fiscal dependence on hydrocarbons, the challenge is to gradually, but in a sustained and decisive manner, transform the entire Colombian productive matrix and bring the extraction and consumption of hydrocarbons down to a bare minimum. Dependence on a natural good that is in the process of decline brings intrinsic economic vulnerability that is exacerbated when public finances must assume the environmental liabilities produced by exploitation.

One such example is the fine imposed on Ecopetrol for the damages caused by the Lizam-158 well spill in 2018, which amounted to COP$3,800 million, plus the COP$31,535.5 million it had to pay for actions taken for "communities, acquisition of services and development of decontamination activities, recovery of affected areas, containment and control" (GDR-CDSM, 2018, p. 10). These types of payments represent a possible future trend in the absence of regulation in the closure of wells and decommissioning of abandoned infrastructure (CGR-CDSME, 2017, pp. 66, 73, 188). In addition, expenditure from various public bodies will be required, as a part of risk management for climatic events exacerbated by the climate crisis, such as Hurricane Iota and landslides in winter seasons, among others.

Finally, one of the FTE's social priorities should include job conversion and training programs for workers who are gradually leaving the extractive sector, i.e., approximately 196,000 direct jobs and 1,000,000 indirect jobs throughout the supply chain. In addition, we propose a stimulus for the creation of priority employment policies for "groups for the climate struggle" with the objective of conserving and restoring ecosystems, strengthening resilience in the territories (adapting existing infrastructure), restoring degraded areas, promoting carbon capture with the agroecological transformation of the countryside, and protecting biodiversity in the midst of the climate crisis.

2.

Fossil energy's time is over. Dependence is the problem

We want a life worth living! That is why our proposal involves leaving most of the remaining hydrocarbons in the ground. Despite the astonishment that many sectors express at this idea, it is a proposal that has emerged from collective efforts that have been going on for decades[6] (Temper, et.al., 2013). These efforts have become more powerful today with the confirmation of some key facts:

i) Oil stocks have already reached their maximum global exploitation in 2005 and oil reached its peak production in 2018[7], therefore, from that moment on, extraction and processing are more expensive, less efficient, and less profitable.

ii) The climate crisis is real and 86% of GHGs are produced by burning fossil fuels (IPCC, 2021). Moreover, a large part of the costs produced by their effects on infrastructure, health, and the economy are absorbed by public funds[8].

iii) If we want to achieve a global temperature increase of no more than 1.5°C, the extraction of, at least, 58% of the oil and 59% of the gas remaining on the planet, as well as 90% of the coal, must be avoided (Welsby et al., 2021; IEA, 2022).

In this context, leaving hydrocarbons in the ground becomes a logical consequence that several institutions have recognised and incorporated into their proposed pathways over the medium term (IEA, 2022; IPCC, 2022; UN, 2021). However, the perspective of these institutions continues to focus on energy security (understood as a guarantee of supply) when reality forces us to abandon the idea of infinite economic growth and its respective infinite supply of energy. This can be achieved through social organization for the managed reduction of dependence on fossil fuels (oil, gas, and coal) at the international, national, and local scales.

Of course, this cannot take place from one day to the next: oil projects cannot be closed tomorrow. There are extensive and complex chains of production, trade, and value generation that are directly linked to hydrocarbons, but these issues can no longer be assumed as a condition to be sustained, but rather as a problem to be overcome. The current dependence

6. A year after the initiation of the global climate debates with the Kyoto Protocol (1997), the U'wa indigenous people showed us that oil was not only an energy source, but the blood of the earth, and that it should not be extracted in their territory (See: https://www.bibliotecapleyades.net/gaia/esp_gaia32.html). In 2004, based on Shell's disastrous experience in Nigeria, the international Oilwatch network began to propose leaving oil in the ground in exchange for global compensation for avoided CO2 emissions (Oilwatch). In 2007, the president of Ecuador, Rafael Correa, presented to the world the initiative of the Yasuni Park Amazon Reserve, which sought to leave proven oil reserves under the Amazonian soil in exchange for payment of economic compensation from countries of the global North. The proposal was not only climatic: it sought to protect peoples in voluntary isolation in an area of extremely high biodiversity with aquatic reserves, and to move towards a post-oil transition. See: Acosta, 2014. Yasuní-ITT Initiative The difficult construction of utopia at https://lalineadefuego.info/ iniciativa-yasuni-itt-la-dificil-construccion-de-la-utopia-por-alberto-acosta/

7. Therefore, from now on, the trend is diminishing reserves and Energy return on investment (EROI). This includes gas, which will peak in 2025 (Ferrari, 2020; BP, 2022; Delannoy et al., 2021; Mohr et al., 2015).

8. Recent analysis in Germany shows that costs related to most visible effects of climate change and extreme events reach up to 80 billion euros. See: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-germany-politics-climate-idAFKBN2OT0IT

on fossil fuels is, in fact, a factor of economic vulnerability: about 32% of Colombia's export income depends on oil exports, of which it possesses only 0.1% of the world's reserves (in addition to the constraint posed in the near term by the climate crisis). The country imports 75% of petrochemical fertilizers[9] and 12 million tons of food (equivalent to 30% of the food consumed in the country)[10], which adds to Colombia's food vulnerability due to inflation and current currency devaluation (FAO, 2021)[11].

This link of dependence on hydrocarbons that compromises the country's food autonomy, the fulfillment of the Final Agreement of the Peace Accord of Havana represents a path to follow in terms of living conditions in rural areas, as well as the decisive support to food production and the rural economy of election-platform of the Pacto Histórico. The transition path of agricultural practices towards clean, healthy, and local-scale scenarios must be promoted and integrated in the perspective of the energy transition. Public investment in the decentralized implementation and proliferation of rural bio-factories of organic-based agricultural supplies, led by the National Confederation of Community Action Boards, can be accompanied by the strengthening of Colciencias research programs, SENA training courses and public and private universities in soil regeneration and related programs, and the decisive strengthening of municipal technical assistance.

9. See: https://www.elcolombiano.com/negocios/agro/precios-de-insumos-subieron-en-colombia-GF15671315; https://www.larepublica.co/empresas/alza-de-costos-de-fertilizantes-reduciria-hectareas-dedicadas-a-la-produccion-agricola-3332906; and https://www.agronegocios.co/agricultura/el-precio-de-los-fertilizantes-aumenta-un-43-hasta-alcanzar-un-nuevo-record-a-medida-que-se-reducen-los-suministros-3331788

10. See: https://www.bloomberglinea.com/2022/01/23/las-millonarias-cifras-detras-de-las-importaciones-de-alimentos-a-colombia/

11. According to DIAN, international purchases that grew the most in 2021 were chemical products (56.9%) and fossil fuels and mineral oil lubricant (71.2%). See: https://www.portafolio.co/economia/finanzas/combustibles-y-alimentos-los-reyes-de-las-importaciones-561836

3.

Shaping future energy demand over the next 15 years

Priority should be given to decentralized, digital, transparent, and participatory tools for the shaping of future energy demand, i.e., democratic and binding planning so that energy is used for basic services such as health, education, food, and housing. The databases and the modeling of demand decrease scenarios from the institutional framework (Mining and Energy Planning Unit, National Hydrocarbons Agency, National Planning Department, among others) provide fundamental data needed to understand the dynamics around the quantification of the necessary energy and its sources, and to meet essential consumption with socially established criteria.

From a socio-ecological perspective of the energy transition, the reduction of demand is closely linked to the transformation of cities, to the reordering and decrease of urban agglomeration as a result of the strengthening of local and micro-regional circuits of institutional supply of services, education, recreation, work, and tranquility. In this sense, building "total peace" and consolidating well-being in municipalities and rural areas will be a vital part of a transformation of the country's population and housing model.

The issue of transportation is central to achieving this goal. Currently, cargo vehicles consume 86% of the country's diesel and private cars and motorcycles consume around 72% of gasoline. Therefore, in the energy transition strategy a transformation of the transportation and mobility systems is a priority. However, the solution is not just converting the vehicle fleet to electric cars, which require large quantities of minerals

(with the socio-environmental impacts inherent to their extraction process). To make this cultural change real, we need to:

i) Discourage the individual motorized transportation model (whether fossil fuel or electric) through decent, affordable, and safe public transportation systems, as well as encouraging human-scale transportation (bicycles, tricycles and walking) through generous and sufficient infrastructure that reduces, among other things, violence and aggression against women, girls and adolescents[12].

ii) Prioritize the consumption of fuels that are indispensable for the production and distribution of food, which implies the use of diesel and gasoline for the transportation of agricultural products from the furthest reaches of the plains and mountains of Colombia, as well as the restoration and modernization of railroad networks for the most isolated areas.

iii) Reduce the scales (in distance and frequency) of settlements, transportation of merchandise, and materials. In other words, creating and consolidating local scales of production, work, and distribution at the municipal, neighborhood, and village levels. This would generate, in turn, a greater sense of belonging and permanence, and could lead to a reduction in regional inequalities.

Until now, in order to sustain the supply and growth rate in energy consumption, speculative financial sectors, as well as some business sectors, maintain the creed of infinite economic growth (therefore, infinite energy consumption) and therefore promoting an "all of the above" energy strategy - promoting gas[13], fracking, wind energy, solar[14] energy or green and blue hydrogen. This ignores the fact that the problem is not technical or technological, but rather environmental and social.

There is even a the ridiculous promotion of gas as a 'transition fuel' and talk of investing in regasification plants[15], with the great risk of using possible funds from the energy transition in these soon to be stranded assets, which by definition are those that "suffer amortization, devaluation, or unforeseen or premature conversion to liabilities, due to environmental restrictions, in this case, associated with the climate crisis" (Gómez, 2022) and to the financial speculation inherent to the sector.

Therefore, the objective should be to create the social and political conditions of participation, justice, and ecological restoration to achieve a managed decrease in fossil fuel dependence, as part of a broad national agreement that helps to end war and inequality, and that produces well-being, good living, and a *vida sabrosa*[16].

12. There is a need to work explicitly against violence to women in mobility public policies. To guarantee better conditions and safeguards in transport and public spaces contributes to the exercise of rights. See: https://ramboll.com/media/files/documents/markets/transport/g/gender-and-mobility_report.pdf

13. Methane, the main component of natural gas, is responsible for about 30% of the increase in global temperature since the industrial revolution. It has an effect 86 times more powerful than carbon dioxide when released directly into the atmosphere, over a 20-year horizon, according to the IPCC.

14. "If we want to meet global emission reduction commitments, at least 40 Exajoules should be installed each year from renewables alone over the next decade. However, what humanity has been able to install at the planetary level with clean sources in the last 20 years barely reaches 30 Exajoules. The acrobatic leap that humanity must make by 2030 implies installing, each year, all the renewable power that has been installed in the last two decades" (Ocampo, 2020).

15. See: https://www.valoraanalitik.com/2022/01/04/colombia-regulacion-convocatoria-regasificadora-pacifico/

16. This could loosely translate to a 'good life' but refers to current Colombian Vice-President Francia Marquez' campaign slogan which she described as meaning "living without fear, with dignity, and with a guarantee of rights".

4.

Solidarity, international cooperation and ecological debt

Internationally, we propose the development of a diplomatic strategy among countries of the global South to implement climate policies that are based on mechanisms of direct compensation and reparations from the countries and corporations of the North to settle the ecological debt, such as the total or partial absolution of the public debts of the most vulnerable countries[17]. Such a move would make it possible to break away from the current discourse on carbon neutrality[18], which limits the climate problem to the calculation of GHG emissions (ignoring the pre-existing colonial relations and the differential impacts between countries of the North and South due to their dependence on hydrocarbons) and which encourages continued extraction, the only requirement of which would be "neutrality" of sources and sinks (a physical impossibility) whilst being insufficient to meet 1,5ºC Goals[19].

Another key issue is to work on processes of de-escalation of Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) and on an international legal strategy to avoid WTO sanctions in the event of their withdrawal, to avoid unjust compensation claims from corporations with interests in the hydrocarbon economy. Transforming the perspective of international trade is central to promoting the strengthening of national and regional markets, which would reduce distances and the use of fossil fuels for the maritime transport of goods.

It is therefore necessary to resume efforts such the Yasuní ITT initiative[20] in order to recover the institutional proposals with their respective financial mechanisms, and to consequently develop them rapidly (van Asselt & Newell, 2022). Colombia, together with other Latin American and Caribbean countries, is well placed to lead this discussion. There are currently initiatives in this regard, such as the one announced in Glasgow (COP 26, December 2021) by the Prime Minister of Barbados, Mia Amor Motley[21], which consists of climate financing from the International Monetary Fund (where the economies of countries with high climate responsibilities have huge leverage) for small and extremely vulnerable countries, through a specific fund for climate damages and impacts, and through greater investments in initiatives to reduce emissions as an indicator of more forceful efforts against the climate crisis[22]. In South Africa, the Just Energy Partnership[23] has been proposed, in which

17. In Colombia, the national government's gross debt reached 61.5% of the national budget in 2021.

18. According to existing climate institutions, carbon neutrality is achieved when the same amount of CO2 is emitted into the atmosphere as is removed through payment or investment in other activities, such as projects to reduce emissions from deforestation, among others, which leaves a zero balance, also known as zero carbon footprint or net zero. This perspective, however, allows emissions to continue to be emitted, i.e. it does not address the real problem, which are the activities that emit CO2.

19. See: Kate Dooley, Zebedee Nicholls, Malte Meinshausen, Carbon removals from nature restoration are no substitute for steep emission reductions, One Earth, Volume 5, Issue 7, 2022, Pages 812-824.

20. The Yasuní ITT Initiative (located in the Amazonian Yasuní National Park in the Ishpingo, Tiputini and Tambococha quadrants: ITT) sought that the Ecuadorian state would commit to leave in the ground approximately 856 million barrels of oil -whose reserves had been proven, and which would emit about 400 million tons of Co2-; this in exchange for economic compensation from the international community (especially from countries that had commitments to the Kyoto protocol, at that time in force) for 50% of the profits it would earn if the oil in question were extracted, which reached about 350 million dollars per year. The initiative lost steam due to the lack of funds from the countries of the Global North and the lack of political will of Rafael Correa's government, which obstructed the 2014 referendum to safeguard the reserve from oil exploration. See: Leaving the oil in the ground: the Yasuni-ITT initiative (Le Quang, 2013) and Acosta, 2014.

21. See: https://www.unep.org/es/noticias-y-reportajes/reportajes/la-primera-ministra-de-barbados-lidera-la-batalla-contra-el-cambio

22.See: https://www.reuters.com/markets/us/barbados-mottley-says-imf-must-help-finance-fight-against-climate-change-2021-12-03

23. South Africa's proposal, with an energy transition away from coal with funding from the north. There are still deep debates and criticisms from civil society because there is little information and little clarity on the final implications, but it is an initiative to be reviewed.

there is a political commitment to de-escalate coal extraction, and international funding is in the process of being secured. These government and State initiatives add to the long tradition of mobilization and proposals originating from environmental and climate justice social movements.

Colombian diplomacy should lead and contribute to existing initiatives such as the Beyond Oil & Gas Alliance (BOGA), presented by Denmark and Costa Rica in Glasgow (COP 26, 2021), in which a dozen countries and political units[24] have allied to put an end, within the next decade, to new concessions for oil and gas exploration and production; or the Fossil Fuels Non-Proliferation Treaty Initiative[25], which is building diplomatic engagement for international governance mechanisms to reinforce a global just transition from fossil fuels. For these processes, there are several international support platforms such as Oilwatch[26], Global Gas and Oil Network -GGON[27] among others.

Likewise, there is an urgent need to consolidate a collective front that includes Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, and Venezuela, to stop the extraction of hydrocarbons in the Amazon an ecosystem of global importance, echoing the demands of the Indigenous Peoples who have been denouncing oil exploitation, deforestation, the construction of dams, and the expansion of illicit crops. Overall, the fight against deforestation, the policies of adaptation to the climate crisis from a territorial perspective, and the development of strong local economies can also catalyze regional solidarity-based integration, based on the fulfillment of the rights of peoples, the welfare of border populations, and the exchange between nations for a dignified life.

5.

Making energy a common good: a real democracy, with fair principles and an institutional framework for transition

It is essential to involve people, collectives, trade unions, business councils and communities to transform the current model for citizens of a passive role in the energy system as simply a consumer. People must have complete information and be able to participate in the decisions not only of a general policy, but also in the planning of demand, of the impacts on the territories, regions, and ecosystems where the required exploitation does continue.

In the case of the Yasuní ITT initiative, a strong environmental movement promoted a referendum with more than 756,000 signatures. Meanwhile, in Europe the anti-nuclear movement has halted the proliferation of this source for three decades, while in the United States, the Dakota people have managed to mobilize the debate throughout the country against the "Access pipeline". Finally, in Colombia the anti-fracking movement, led by the organizations that make up the

24. Sweden, Italy, France, Portugal, Greenland, Ireland, New Zealand, California (USA), Quebec (Canada) and Wales (UK). See: https://beyondoilandgasalliance.com/why-boga/

25. Which seeks to "Prevent the proliferation of coal, oil and natural gas by ending all new exploration and production and ending fossil fuel reserves and production, in line with the global 1.5°C target." See: https://fossilfueltreaty.org/esp

26. The creation of Oilwatch was inspired by the need to develop global strategies for communities affected by oil activities, support their resistance processes and work for sustainability and collective rights. It facilitates the exchange of information on oil activities in each country, the different resistance movements and international campaigns against specific companies. See: https://www.oilwatch.org/es/oilwatch-latinoamerica/

27. The Global Gas & Oil Network includes non-governmental organizations from around the world, seeking to facilitate a planned decline in oil and gas extraction. See: https://ggon.org/about/

Colombia Free of Fracking Alliance, has succeeded in containing this form of exploration. Inspired by initiatives such as the Yasuni ITT, and the Nigerian-born slogan "leave oil in the soil, leave coal in the hole", these movements have given rise to a new idea: LFFU movements, "leave fossil fuels underground". It is estimated that these movements are already preventing the emission of more than five billion tons of carbon dioxide per year (Martínez-Alier, 2021).

Along with many others, these examples should lead to a review of the mechanisms for citizen participation (prior consultation, popular consultation, environmental public hearings) to return to them their legal rights, including via processes with specific time frames, as established in the ILO agreement 169 for indigenous peoples, and as indicated in the Constitution for all territorial communities whose way of life will be affected by energy transition projects, including those of Non-Conventional Renewable Energy Sources (such as solar or wind. This will consolidate the idea that recognising social licensing is not a minimum requirement (as the current protocols currently operate) but rather a holistic procedural and substantial element of development planning.

In this sense it is essential to design a strong institutional framework that ensures participatory and decentralized elements. This must consider criteria of environmental justice, ecological debt, reduction of local and national inequalities, reduction of violence against women, and the linking and activation of projects aligned with the *Vida Saborosa* philosophy, developed from rural, indigenous, and Afro-descendant peoples' ways of life, which must be the backbone of the energy transition with a socio-ecological perspective: we are not only talking about energy, but about a new economy for life. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to sharply reorient the economic and social policy documents (Conpes) of Energy Transition Policy (4075), of Economic Reactivation (4023), of Green Growth Policy (3934), as well as to repeal (in order to debate and adapt to environmental, territorial and social criteria) Laws 1715 of 2014 and 2099 of 2021 (Energy Transition Laws).

At the same time, it is necessary to repeal the Gas Massification Law, the hydrogen development plan and the offshore explorationplans, which, as already mentioned, could lead to the development of new environmental impacts, not to mention potentially large losses for the public coffers from stranded assets. This political-institutional work must adjust the normative and regulatory framework to the new energy and environmental approach in the common interest, especially in terms of the fight against inequality, thus ensuring welfare in the various regions of the country and meeting international climate justice commitments.

These reforms must be preceded by the current institutional transformation to create a national agency for governance for Energy Transition, together with the alignment of the sector's entities (National Mining Agency, ANM; National Hydrocarbons Agency, ANH; Mining and Energy Planning Unit, UPME; Energy and Gas Regulatory Commission, CREG; Institute for Planning and Promotion of Energy Solutions, IPSE; Colombian Geological Service, SGC) so that the new policies that may be administered by the Energy Transition Fund in accordance with the UPME's preparations of energy scenarios based on the new guiding principles and objectives for the planning and decentralization of future demand.

This is expected to lead to a transition towards less-polluting energies with a smaller environmental impact at regional and local scales, through the creation and training of community cooperatives and the creation of energy autonomy zones.

These initiatives require a period of intense training in transdisciplinary programs in all territorial entities and in public and private universities that promote energy transition from ecologically appropriate and socially productive approaches to technological innovation. The above seeks to develop public-community service management agencies that include and link basic sanitation, electricity generation and distribution where the National Interconnected System, SIN, does not reach (La Guajira, Chocó, Amazonia, island territories) including with the supply of safe drinking water.

Institutionally, various public-community management mechanisms can be promoted according to the scale and existing organizational capacity: these include pro-sumer processes (producers/consumers), energy generation and/or consumption cooperatives, re-municipalization and community enterprises (ECAAAS ESP, Wayuu ESP, among others) that can be leveraged as energy policy for the transfer of jobs from the extractive sector to local initiatives of Non-Conventional Renewable Energy Sources (NCREF). This, when coupled with the broad experience of savings cooperatives in different regions (such as Antioquia, Cauca, or Santander), could generate financial instruments for innovation processes in cooperative organizations or community energy service companies. Intersectoral coordination is required to promote this line of the transition, with a view to unleashing a new, decentralized, public-community energy sector, with a special fiscal regime and strong oversight by citizen watchdogs and the participation of the Community Action Boards.

Undoubtedly, we need spaces for mass discussion, so that the major climate, ecological, and energy transition issues occupy the media with awareness-raising, education and even training campaigns. That is, we need to give an environmentalist perspective to communications in this policy area. Long-term transformations have global, national, regional, but also neighborhood and family dimensions, all of which can be activated to generate the cultural change that is needed.

This institutional framework should lead to the managed reduction of dependence on hydrocarbons and promote the electrification of sectors and value chains where possible, prioritizing the overcoming of energy poverty, which is closely linked to the development of productive activities. A strong, direct democratic perspective that includes legal pluralism can contribute to the reconciliation of Ecopetrol, the national government, impacted territories, and nature where, until now, strong negative environmental impacts have been generated by exploration, exploitation and the armed conflict that has been unleashed in connection with hydrocarbons. This implies deepening the participation of transition actors in private value chains, but also in the "management" systems of the state-owned company, which must become the flagship of the energy and socio-ecological transition.

Ecopetrol has a significant role to play in the coming 15 years of transition, not least its financial contributions to the state. Nevertheless, the cancellation of tax benefits to the sector and of state subsidies that discourage the activity of private oil companies and allow the use of that percentage of current reserves, together with more international economic flows destined to pay off part of the ecological and climatic debt of the global North, would guarantee part of the resources for this transition. This policy, with clear repercussions on the supply side, should be coupled with measures that lead to a radical reduction in demand, with emphasis on the sectors that depend most on hydrocarbons. Yet this needs to be achieved without imposing greater burdens on the vulnerable sectors that need these fuels for most of their activities.

An invitation to open our hearts and minds

Our intention is certainly not to close the debate, but instead to broaden it. And even more, to open our hearts and minds so that initiatives, ideas, and proposals can move towards a future in which all species and ecosystems can share this *Casa Grande*.

This is an invitation to promote a great cultural change that begins with the willingness to talk, to rethink our strongest convictions, to put life at the center, to produce an economy for social justice and to instill politics based on dignity. We will continue to build the socio-ecological transition for a Colombia that is a force for life in the world, from the communities, organizations, trade unions, associations, boards, committees, and other forms of community and collective life of civil society.

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