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The challenges after conflicts

The aim of the this work is to present, briefly, the state of human rights of those people that have been victims of forced displacement due to domestic conflicts and therefore, have received humanitarian assistance from international organizations, mainly from the United Nations. It is important to underline the outcome of some of these missions and the situations that these operations had to and will go through in order to achieve their aims. Only some experiences in Africa and east Europe are considered, being Latin America and the case of Colombia the main focus of this study.

In order to have a better understanding of this humanitarian problem in Colombia, aspects such as drug trafficking, guerrillas, governability crisis and the relationship of the country with neighboring regions, apart from the connection with the United States and its attempt to control the situation are considered. Finally, there is an attempt to establish which are the challenges faced by South America when promoting joint policies within the processes of integration and cooperation that exist. In this way, a regional solution to the situation presented can be given in order to ensure the promotion and protection of human rights.

United Nations, Failed States and Intervention.

The international scenario that divided United States and URSS in the cold war, brought about a series of conflicts of domestic and external nature of United States in different regions of the world, which were signed by the logia of the bipolar confrontation. As a result of the fall of the Soviet Union, many of those regional and local situations emerge with great force dispossessed of the ideology of the cold war.

Due to this situation, the academic and political sectors of the United States that deal with problems of the new international order were dedicated to analyze the cases of countries and regions with different degrees of non-governability, and started to use the phrase “Failed States”. These corresponded to the registered in several countries of Africa, Asia and East Europe and even in Latin America, with cases that could be framed in this denomination. The meaning of

the term will suffer important modifications, particularly after the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks, when the United States began what is known as the “war against terror”.

The notion of “failed State”, which does not have a finished definition, has served to several military interventions and to the previous deterrence because of threatens of reprisals or interventions of States with different levels of internal political, social or economic control. In order to name a few examples, we can cite the Colombian problem and the abandonment by multilateral economic organisms and the government of the United States itself of Argentina during the socio economic and political crisis of the year 2001 and even the pre design of some transactional governmental strategies for this country. The objectives presented usually hide, actually, strategic interests on the part of the power/s that carry on with these actions. However, it can be established that the essential aspects of that constitute the faulty states are the following¹: They have a limited or questioned legitimacy, they do not have the necessary conditions or strategies to face the multiple difficulties and problems typical of them, and the territorial control they have is less compared with other States. On the other hand, the ability and will, the inability (due to the lack of economic resources and ability) of govern and the lack of political will.

Some cases, such as Sudan, Chad, Rwanda, Bosnia, Afghanistan, Haiti are examples of failed states and aroused and still arouse concern on the par of the United States government and strengthen the idea that the solution to this problem must come from the outside in order to be able to overcome this situation, together with the conviction that if this is not carried out the results can be much worst.

As regards this, the Argentine internationalist, Gabriel Tokatlián, argues that for North American academic sectors, which were later accompanied by others, the failed states were understood as “failures” because they did not follow the model imposed by the Western powers to get the consolidation of the State.

On the other hand, there was a rigid and limited line of thought inherited by the Cold War, focused in the capitalist models (represented by the United States) and Soviet socialist. For this reason, the deep reflex ions about the origin of the conflict whose was becoming noticeable, were absent or poorly developed.

¹ Tokatlián, Gabriel “La construcción de un Estado Fallido en la política mundial: el Caso de las relaciones entre Estados Unidos y Colombia” (Crisis del Estado e Intervención Internacional”. Ed.EDHASA 2009)

In this post cold war period, in the 90s, military budget reduction and issues like human rights, poverty and the environment were expected to gain importance and in this way, the countries or regions affected by the conflicts could improve, slowly, the general well-being of the population. However, a task like this could only be imagined again, thanks to the contribution of such a power as the United States, paving the way to the founding of the right to humanitarian interference. This should be understood as the more appropriate way to avoid that state failure leads to a crisis that would affect the quality of life of the population even more.

The UNO carried out and it is still doing it activities known as “Peace Operations” that although they do not have a section in the organization’s Charter, have become a way to deal with conflicts accepted, mainly, by the international community. The setting of a lasting peace is a complex task that requires that some of the different phases included be considered: before the conflict, prevention; during the conflict, peace negotiations and military operations (also known as peace forces); after the conflict, peace establishment and support tasks and prevention in order to avoid a new crisis. The results of these missions can be analyzed, among others, according to employment, economic stability, political processes, security operations, democracy and human rights.

However, the beginnings of the 90s registered failures and difficulties in the military operations of the UNO, which showed the lack of a deep analysis of the understanding and treatment of the failed states together with a redefinition of the intervention strategies.

Taking into account Blanca Antonini’s research in “State crisis and international Intervention”², the characteristics of the conflicts the UNO was facing were the following:

- Lack of consent between multiples violence makers.
- Proliferation of conflicts that have to do with ethnic, linguistic, religious and/or cultural identity,
- Importance of the civil population in the armed conflict and spread of the victimization and mistreat such as massive and forced displacement of populations or ethnic groups in order to gain territories. The population became target for the attacks and functional to the combat objectives.

² Blanca Antonini “Multilateralismo y Operaciones de Paz: desafíos y oportunidades” (Crisis del Estado e Intervención Internacional”. Ed.EDHASA 2009)

These kinds of situations are typical of the wars of occupation, where the intimidation practices and reprisal against the alleged accomplice of the enemy, are generalized.

It was clear that the UNO had difficulties for solving these conflicts that raised truly important issues: What should prevail, sovereignty or the principle of no intervention over domestic affairs of the States, or protection of the civil population because of an imminent humanitarian disaster?

The neutrality of the United Nations started to be questioned due to different reasons. On the one hand, it seemed inefficient to achieve a change in the behavior of the parties in conflict. On the other hand, because of ethnic reasons it was impossible to be neutral facing a violation of the International Right, mainly, a violation of the Human Rights (massacres, war crimes, genocide, forced displacement, ethnic clearing)

In the second half of the 90s these matters gain even more importance in the field of foreign policy design and defense of the United States. It was clear that the most concerning threatens came from the weakest states, where American interests could be affected. The solution to this could be translated in a change in the way interventions were carried out. That is to say, they would turn gradually from humanitarian character into military character³, reaching its biggest expression with the actions undertaken after the September 11th attacks and the beginning of a struggle against international terrorism.

This change as regards the perception of reality had an impact directly on the UNO and the actions approved by the Security Council as regards resolution of conflicts. The consent about the use of military force when facing situations of self-defense or a Security Council mandate and then realization of "Irbid" operations are a military component (formed by countries of the coalition of States willing to carry out the task) under the order of a representative of the General Secretary of the UNO, together with the "double command" activities. These combined traditional neutrality with the selective use of force. Examples of these operations are the cases of Kosovo, Afghanistan and the UNPROF in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The facts show that the interventions based on humanitarian reasons have obeyed strategic interests and they acquired a more selective character. An example of this is Kosovo, where humanitarian intervention was accompanied by political and strategic considerations. It served as a show of strength by the NATO, whose role after the cold war had been blurred.

Needless to say that peace establishment, as complex as it is, must include tasks that go beyond military tasks. That is why the UNO started to implement civil

elements to achieve its goals. This required the need of coordination with other sectors or international agencies to achieve coordination in the making of an action strategy. The repetition of conflicts in places where peace operations have already been developed brings about, again, the discussions as regards the task of the UNO and the causes of the crisis (this needs an analysis of the political system, some socio economic conditions, respect and promotion of human rights and the validity of the democracy), and also the need of including civil elements to achieve the objectives considered, coordinating actions together with other international sectors or agencies, in order to plan a strategy of unique action.

Nowadays, about 15 peace support operations are being developed in different parts of the World, being in Africa big ones. The case of Darfur deserves a special consideration within this work.

The ethnic and religious conflict that has taken place for decades has experienced a cruel action by the combatants and the number of people who are victims of violations of their fundamental rights, from the most Basic right to life, has grown enormously. Since 2006, a special mission in charge of the UNO is carried out in order to face the humanitarian issue of the refugees in Chad and Sudan border. Although the tasks developed have mitigated, in some way, the consequences of the displacement, they did not cover all the aspects of a serious problem.

The food, water, even health care is not enough given the rise in the population that lives in the refugee camp of Darfur. It is estimated that there are 15.000 inhabitants. This is likely to lead to confrontations with the natives of the region because of the access to the limited resources available.

Kosovo, on the other hand, generated a severe humanitarian crisis originated by ethnic and political conflicts after the dissolution of ex Yugoslavia. Ethnic clearing, bombings and the generalized fear led to massive displacements towards neighboring areas. This also endangered the fragile unity of countries such as Macedonia and may originate destabilization of the entire region. The peace support operation of the UNO in Kosovo called UNMIK established in 1999, is still taking place.

The armed conflicts registered uncountable violations facts to human rights, mainly, to civil no combatants' populations that are affected by the situation, being women and children the groups that represent the highest percentages. In these scenarios, sexual abuses consolidate as a war strategy seeking the break of clans, humiliation and displacement of individuals.

Colombian domestic conflict.

In the '60, the guerrilla groups were the main responsible of the forced displacements as a direct consequence of the domestic political crisis and in clear opposition to the political party governing Colombia. The FARC (Armed Revolutionary Forces of Colombia), ENL (National Liberation Army), M19 (19th of April Movement), EPL (Popular Liberation Army), started to become important because of their actions, which included kidnappings, murders, threats, "vaccines" (collect Money from the richest society sectors and companies) and the use of terrorists methods. Together with their emergence, paramilitary forces opposing guerrillas and connected to drug trafficking sectors appeared, all of them having clear presence in the rural area.

The dispute for land possession and other natural resources is combined with the dispute over territorial domain from the political and military point of view. The conflict over the lands refers to the structure of the land and the competitive relationships for this resource, manifested between the livestock large holding and/or agro industrial company and the peasant smallholding. This competition is among actors economically powerful against weaker ones, where the land, apart from being used for agricultural exploitation, is used for mining activities. These conflicts usually occur in local spaces and are concerned with property and land control.

The conflicts over the territory refer to the domain and control of said territory as strategic space of political and economical nature, be it as forces that want get rid of competitors that question their power or the dispute over territorial domain by the guerrillas or paramilitary forces, are carried out against the civil population.

The paramilitaries have been great generators of displacements. They are related to important sectors of the National Army, livestock farmers, drug dealers and other sectors of the mafia. The recruitment was directed, mainly, to those who have been damaged by guerrillas' action, setting training fields and including in their practices murder of left elements and all that opposed their acting. The civil population was formed under the threats, murders to carried out massive displacements with the aim of "re populate" the region and establish ways of control according to their interests.

Guerrilla groups previously named constitute other important cause in the forced migration of the Colombian population. It can be said that among all of them, the FARC have gained greater importance, being the oldest and more numerous guerrilla in Latin America.

Although the FARC's self-proclaim to be a Marxist-Leninist organization, the international community has not already agreed on the classification for this organization. 31 countries, among them Colombia, Peru, the United States, Canada and the European Union, consider it as a terrorist group; while countries such as Ecuador, Brazil, Argentina and Chile do not call it this way. On the other hand, Venezuela, requested the FARC's to be recognized as a belligerent force.

A belligerent group involves a sector of the population rising up in armed struggle against a legal in-force constitutional order in a State, and is granted international law recognition. For this, certain conditions must be met, such as: having real and effective ownership of a considerable part of the State territory, the setting-up of a political-military machine, and the unlimited application of Human Rights International Law³.

Terrorism is a method where violence is targeted to the non-combatant civil population and which is intended to facilitate in a long term, the conquest of power. According to Tokatlián, the FARC's can be regarded as organizations applying terrorist methods; however, they are not terrorist organizations, as negotiation is possible.

It not an unimportant matter; the possible operation of the international community depends on it; that is, the kind of intervention in internal matters, because of humanitarian or safety issues.

Throughout Colombian history, different governments have been in charge of the national administration and have dealt with the internal conflict issue related to the presence of guerilla groups. They have done it by means of politics tending to an approach and negotiation, or to the strengthening of the state authority through a greater number of military operations. These politics had several results; however, none of them put the calamity to an end.

Colombia Plan

During Pastrana's term of office (1998-2002), the United States introduced the "Colombia Plan", that after long debate, was taken as the most appropriate way

³ FARC's presence in Colombian territory is significant. According to calculations, they are in 24 out of 32 departments of the country, especially in the South. However, this group is also located in the borders with Venezuela, Ecuador, Panama and Brazil. To finance themselves, they obtain big amounts of money from ransom kidnapping, cattle raids and drug trafficking. About the members recruited in the FARC's, number that cannot be accurately calculated, Human Rights Watch has estimated that the 20-30% of them are under the age of 18, which represents/means a serious offense/fault.

of rescuing the country from the imminent situation of becoming what they call Failed State.

Colombia began to sound as a critical issue and a problem for regional safety because of the internal conflict and the lack of appropriate answers for this problem. This Plan had an objective: to diminish drug trafficking and to solve the armed conflict. Although its results have been mixed, the American government introduced Colombia as an example of a State that was about to become a (case of) Failed State, but it was avoided thanks to an appropriate intervention, a combination of being “tough on” in political and military aspects, without any socio-economic reforms and with diplomatic-strategic protection from the United States (Tokatlián). Also, Colombian authorities referred to its condition as Failed State in order to show the advances achieved when confronting internal safety problems and, on the other hand, with the purpose of giving continuity to the United States support.

The publication of Foreign Policy clearly shows how the perception of the Colombian state changed particularly after the implementation of the Plan. It classified Colombia in the 14th position within the Failed States index during 2005, in the 27th position in 2006 and in the 33rd one in 2007. On the other hand, according to reports from 2005 the World Bank regarded Colombia as a country that had succeeded in guaranteeing foreign investments in the country.

In order to illustrate the situation and following the data presented by Tokatlián in his article “The creation of a Failed State in world politics: (the case of) the relation between the United States and Colombia”, through this plan, the US:

- between 2000-2006 contributed \$4,701 million dollars, 80% of which was allocated to military and police help, and the rest of it to socioeconomic help.
- worked with 800 military men and 600 safety private contractors.
- made Colombia to succeed in turning into the first continental receiver of military and police help, and the 5th worldwide help receiver after Iraq, Afghanistan, Israel and Egypt.
- created the second largest embassy, after Bagdad
- turned Colombia into one of the main United States weapon buyers/purchasers and receivers of military training.

Analyzing the results obtained, it can be said, as regards drug trafficking, a great quantity of hectares aimed at coca plantations, mainly through air spraying, was eradicated. Also, big billboards/signs have disappeared;

however, little groups of drug-traffickers increased. Although the cultivated quantity is smaller, technology advances result in a higher yield and make the drug extracted have a higher purity than in the 80s.

Although spraying helped to eradicate considerable surfaces of illegal crops, at the same time it affected the environment and caused the fear that the chemicals used could cause carcinogen illnesses in the population.

As regards rebel groups, the State could be strengthened on offensive power, the geographic deployment/display and the credibility of the armed forces. Besides, other things were achieved: the weakness of groups as ELN, and the withdrawal of the FARC and their combat power and terrorist actions. Notwithstanding, the State does not still control certain regions of the territory where there exist armed groups.

Forced displacement has a special chapter in this document/paper/piece of work. It reached figures close to 8,000.000 people, and the number of murderers and disappearances of civil population members reached 11,300 during the first term of office of President Uribe.

Forced displacement in Colombia: internal implications in the relations with the members of the region.

Forced displacement is one of the most serious consequences that the armed conflict originates in Colombia, because it involves a massive violation to the rights of the populations directly affected. The practice of the involvement⁴ carried out by the fighting armed groups over the civil population entails a clear disrespect for the humanitarian international law and for the human rights in force.

This phenomenon of forced displacement alters the reasons of migrations from the country to the city, turning the economic causes or reasons into different ones, connected to fear. The main destination is made up by urban centers, small towns and even bordering countries, where the mass arrival of new inhabitants causes inconveniences, such as the capacity for service rendering and the assistance in charge of the State.

⁴ Civil population becomes a strategic and military element within geopolitics, by justifying this with several reasons all of them connected to the accusation of complicity with the opposition forces.

The displaced ones often settle in poor neighborhoods surrounding the urban central areas, making it difficult to carry out the urban planning and the rendering of necessary services. Public health and primary education are also out of control due to the increase in demands⁵. On the other hand, the increase in labor hand causes an informal economy and a greater unemployment index, which can result in public order and safety problems.

Dispersion and anonymity are other common features of these problems, which makes the record of the displaced population difficult, an essential factor when applying politics tending to mitigate undesired consequences.

Another important aspect is the discrimination sometimes suffered by sectors of the civil society and political groups, when considering the victims of the forced displacement as being responsible of causing the registered violence in the cities, and as sources of permanent demand of the state action.

As regards the return possibilities of the displaced, it depends on the peace processes being carried out and their success. However, researches in Colombia⁶ showed that lots of the displaced would prefer not to come back home due to different causes, being fear the main one. Other causes include lack of employment, access to food, education, health services and lack of housing (they can be occupied or destroyed), apart from safety problems and little trust in special land programs.

This same report, carried out on Santa Marta population, showed among other things, the clear disadvantage of the displaced against the non-displaced, in almost all the welfare indicators: educational level, labor contracts, house building material, house size, together with other difficulties.

As regards the number of the displaced people registered, according to data from the Consultancy for Human Rights and Displacement (CODHES), it is estimated that around 270,000 people were displaced⁷ in the first half of the

⁵ It is necessary to reinstate/ incorporate again these children into society and prevent child work in the streets. Besides, psychological support is essential to overcome traumatic experiences coming from rootlessness, loss of family members and loved ones.

⁶ Tufts-IDMC (Internal Displacement Monitoring Center, of the Norwegian Council for Refugees together with the Feinstein International Center

⁷ According to another report from the same organization by the year 1998 a displacement of about 308,000 people was registered, which indicates that the number has decreased in the last ten years, although it continues representing a very important figure.

year 2008, which implies an increase of more than 40% compared to the data from the previous year. In total, there are 4,000.000 of displaced people resulting from the armed conflict, information that differs from that reported by the presidential agency of Social Action, which establishes that the displaced go up to 2.6 million people.

Migratory movements due to the Colombian internal conflict have consequences also for the region neighbors, because they receive and give assistance to the victims of the forced displacement. However, the situation is not only limited to the rendering of essential services by States such as Ecuador, Venezuela, Panama or Brazil, but it also has deeper implications connected to the continuance of the processes of South American integration and the treatment and resolution of matters- especially if they deal with safety- within the regional scope- to avoid military interventions mainly from the United States, which would result in different kinds of consequences.

South America has looked for the consolidation of regional integration and it is reflected in the creation of current institutions such as MERCOSUR, OAS (Organization of American States) and UNASUR (Union of South American Nations), which are just some examples of the attempts made by the countries.

With the purpose of clarifying which issues each organization is concerned with, they are briefly mentioned below:

- The OAS, created in 1948, establishes its objectives in its Charter, where it establishes that the organization aims at “achieving peace and justice order, promoting solidarity, strengthening collaboration and defending its sovereignty, territory integrity and independence. Within the United Nations, The Organization of American States constitutes a regional organization”.

Some of its purposes:

1. consolidate peace and safety for the Continent;
2. promote and consolidate the representative democracy having respect for the non-intervention principle;
3. prevent the possible causes of difficulties and guarantee the pacific solution of controversies arising among the member states;
4. organize their solidarity action of them in case of violence;

On the other hand, it is established that “the American States proclaim fundamental rights of the human beings without making any distinction among races, nationality, faith or gender”, and the non-intervention principles in internal affairs are repeated and the pacific solution of controversies.

- MERCOSUR is a commercial bloc whose main objectives are to promote the interchange and movement of goods, people and capital, among member countries and to advance towards a greater political and cultural integration among the associated member countries. According to them, MERCOSUR was created in 1985 (Foz de Iguazú Declaration) when it started with the process; however, its name was assigned in 1991 (Asunción Treaty), and it started to exist as legal person of International Law through the Ouro Preto Treaty, signed in 1994 but being effective the following year. Since 1999 there exists an area free from duties among the members.
- UNASUR: This organization has as a main objective create an cultural, social, economic and political integration between the members by the political dialogue, social policies, education, energy, infrastructure, financing and environment, for the elimination of the social-economical inequality and reach the social inclusion, citizen’s participation and to fortify democracy.

In such organizations the respect and protection for the human rights are considered as a necessary condition to achieve the integration. This, together with the democratic principles in the region, are aspects underlined in successive meetings of heads of state and ministers.

That is extremely positive if we take into account the shared past of strokes to institutionalism in different times of history and the government crisis with which they inaugurated this century (Argentina, Bolivia, Venezuela), originated some time after by governments under this trend known as “turn to left”. They were the results of the neoliberal politics boosted through the Washington Agreement.

This new stage in South America appeared as a signal of greater regional cohesion, of unity, in a region characterized by being located far from the hottest areas of the conflict (Middle East, Africa, East Europe), because of geographical issues or for not having enough means to get involved in an armed struggle; and also because of facing domestic problems needing urgent resolution. Thus, South America appeared as a “peace area”.

However, due to a recent increase in the demand of raw material in countries like China and India, the exported volume from South America increased, and together with this, some improvements in the economic situation of various countries allowed to solve in a different degree, commitments with international finance organizations. That was reflected in the internal field of the States through a greater trust in governments and a strengthening of them that led them to issue “harder” speeches against certain characters of the international scene (especially the United States, IMF, the World Bank).

However, following Khatchik Derghougassian⁸, in the end, it has not caused greater levels of cooperation, but it has been the source of bilateral disputes (between Argentina and Uruguay because of Paper Mills located in the riverbank of Uruguay River; between Brazil and Bolivia because of the nationalization of hydrocarbons by Evo Morales’ government), which caused sources of tension that avoid positive advances in the integration processes. Issues like these must be especially considered at the moment of scheduling the topics for the regional agenda as potential “vulnerabilities of the peace area”.

As the author expresses in his essay, the emergence of new social agents of the States interior with active – and even violent- complaints that were “supported” by the media⁹, awoke a greater worry in the Government of the United States, at a time when terrorist attacks on September 11th (and repeated on March 11th, 2002, in Atocha Station, Spain) pointed the beginning of the “war against horror” entailing military operations unilaterally agreed on with the purpose of finishing with terrorist groups that could be hidden at any place.

The possibility that the mobilized groups in South America and social demonstrations daily occurring, together with other issues connected to vulnerabilities such as the persistence of traditional conflict hypothesis (territory disputes: Venezuela-Colombia; Bolivia-Chile); secessionist trends (Bolivia) and threats of State collapse consisting on the creation of spaces of non-governability; the natural resources of the region (natural gas reserves and drinking water) and the possible inclusion and the potential of its inclusion in international safety (for the need of an appropriate administration of it); the spread of weapons and internal dissonances on certain decisions on the acquisition of weapons; could all turn into a “pull factor” for the extension of the world conflicts towards the region and the expansion of the North American politics together with the establishment of military bases in South

⁸ In his article called “Sources of Instability: a theoretical approach to regional safety” from the book “ 2010 Agenda . An Agenda for the Region” (Compilation of Fabián Bosoer and Fabián Calle. Ed. TAEDA. 2007)

⁹ In the sense that the media accompanied these waves of social demands during a certain period.

American territory- guaranteed by the carrying out of free trade agreements – and lead to failure in the integration processes.

Within this outline, the Colombian conflict, due to the presence of guerilla groups, paramilitary groups and drug traffickers, meant a great danger for regional safety and stability and to the American interests arising from the sources of hydrocarbons there located and the underlying possibility of American military intervention in South American territory in its struggle against world terrorism; episode almost realized last year when Colombian military men in the “hunt” of FARC leaders chased and murdered guerrilla men (among them, Raúl Reyes, the FARC leader) by means of bombing in Ecuadorian land. This fact originated a diplomatic conflict between both countries because of the violation of the territorial sovereignty of Ecuador by Colombia; which could be solved peacefully in the AEO. At the same time, it meant a rejection to the preventive war practice developed by Bush government.

The humanitarian problem that has existed for more than 40 years and that increases the number of refugees in countries near Colombia, has a series of public policies from different governments. These governments, together with the collaboration of international organisms and local GNOs, try to get record of the displaced and give essential services, apart from trying to integrate these people to society through language courses and training in some job, just to cite some of the tasks carried out.

However, these are isolated attempts that are not useful to give a solution to the real problem. This solution must derive from a process of negotiation between the Colombian State and the armed groups involved in the conflict, together with the overcoming of poverty conditions within this country and the countries that formed the region, seeking to eliminate one of the main reasons for the recruitment of troops and consequently, the strengthening of the groups. That is to say, the lack of steady jobs and alternative economic activities that replace the ones coming from the growth of cocaine and that constitutes this activity in a survival source for thousands of families. On the other hand, the main destinations of coca should carry out more prevention tasks and addiction treatments, which could decrease the demand of the product. This could discourage the interest in cocaine growth and encourage other kind of activity within the legal frame (task that should be encouraged by the Government itself)

Conclusion

As it has been exposed in the present work, the peace operations that seek to mitigate the consequences of the armed conflicts over the civil population, have been encouraged by a series of economic, political and/or strategic interests. This ends by distorting the humanitarian nature that should prevail in these cases. The essay of Blanca Antonini is very clear in this point. In her article she refers to them saying that *“The criteria are not necessarily involved with the seriousness of the violations, the risk of threaten to the population or the magnitude of these (...) In 2005 the Doctors Without Borders Organization included Chechnya, the north east of Ireland, the south of Sudan, Somalia and Colombia in its list of “forgotten crisis”. It could be concluded, then, that although the humanitarian impulse exists, the intervoentions considered humanitarian are always related to strategic interests and to the availability of the proper resources at the time of the intervention”* (Lopez Zuriaga and Passola, 2006)¹⁰.

However, the tasks carried out, mainly, by organisms such as the United Nations help save the most severe deprivation that suffer those who became direct victims of the struggles, though they are never enough due to the fact that the factors that originate these conflicts have complex causes that require a deep analysis with long term measures. The Colombian case aroused interest in the United States and Washington decided that a kind a help based on military and economic aspects would serve to deal with the situation. Needless to say that this is not enough and North American intervention has had mixed results and direct (the air sprays have affected plantations in the border with Ecuador) as well as indirect repercussions (in the development of the South American processes of integration).

Official action by the Colombian government is added to the task carried out by the UNO and the human rights organizations. However, the main objective consisting on finishing the domestic armed conflict and re establish governability in the territory of Colombia, to end with the violations to fundamental rights of the affected population, can only be achieved through peace negotiations between the State the combatant groups together with the implementation of public politics targeted at mitigating the structural poverty and the promotion of other economic activities situated in the lawful framework.

¹⁰ Blanca Antonini “Multilateralismo y Operaciones de Paz: desafíos y oportunidades” (Crisis del Estado e Intervención Internacional”. Ed.EDHASA 2009)

The treatment of these problems by the State itself can lead to better results, a task in which region neighbors can collaborate during peace negotiations, without it meaning an intrusion to internal affairs. The possibility of an armed action from South American countries is presented as something far, because although commercial and political relations have been developed and strengthened in these last ones, it does not happen the same with safety matters. This chapter requires maturity in order to be dealt in bloc and not individually, as it occurred with United States intervention to Iraq, where consultation and coordination was done case by case, instead of being the result of a jointly action¹¹.

Anyway, we have to highlight the recent initiative of UNASUR for the creation of the “Consejo Sudamericano de Defensa” (South American Defense Council), with the purpose of defending the sovereignty of the region that due to the conflicts occurred last year between Colombia and Ecuador, this needs manifested itself. The Council does not intend to be a military force acting internationally, but, to serve as a cooperation mechanism to allow the creation of peace in the region.

Finally, we can say that the challenges, to which the peace missions and the governments in different parts of the world are faced, are unlimited. IN the special case of South America, the combination of endogen and exogen aspects propose matters requiring prompt solution –violations to human rights- and other ones that will arise in the future connected to the end of the conflict- when the repairing actions should be implemented, all of that aimed at the consolidation of a regional integration.

¹¹ Ídem.

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