

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT AND PEACEBUILDING IN COLOMBIA

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## P R O C E E D I N G S

MS. FERRIS: Okay. Good morning, everyone. My name is Beth Ferris. I'm a Senior Fellow here at the Brookings Institution and Co-Director of the Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement.

Welcome to this event on Internal Displacement and Peacebuilding in Colombia. Colombia, of course, has a large number of internally displaced persons (IDPs), the second largest number in the world after Sudan. Colombia is also a country of contradictions with perhaps the best laws and policies in the world related to IDPs and yet sections of the country in which the laws are not acted on.

We're joined on the video screen by Roberto Vidal of the Universidad Javeriana in Bogota. Can you hear okay, Roberto?

MR. VIDAL: Yes. Yes, I can hear you.

MS. FERRIS: And we can hear you as well. So we'll come to you in just a minute. I wanted to begin by saying that for the past couple of years we've been working with the Swiss Foreign Ministry and with Universidad Javeriana to look at the relationship between peacebuilding or construction of peace and internal displacement.

In most conflicts if there is a normal pattern, there's a war, a conflict that displaces people, eventually there's a peace agreement, and then processes of reconciliation and demobilization take place, a time in which solutions are found for internally displaced persons.

In Colombia, the process is different. The peace process is either nonexistent or stalled, and yet the government has taken measures to begin reconciliation -- peacebuilding, if you will. So we're looking at the process of finding solutions for internally displaced persons while peace processes are still underway.

Our program this morning will begin with introductory comments by Ambassador Greminger from the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs. He is head of the Political Affairs Division IV which, in Swiss terms, deals with issues of human security, human rights, humanitarian affairs, migration and so on.

We'll then hear from Roberto Vidal. Roberto is a Professor of International Law at the Universidad Javeriana in Bogota, and he, together with his colleagues, have carried out the study which you have hopefully all received here. Unfortunately, in spite of lots of efforts over many months, Roberto was unable to get a visa to come to the U.S. for this event, and therefore we're using our new technology to bring him not into our living room but into our meeting room to share with us the results of his study. He'll speak for about 15 minutes, summarizing his research.

And we'll then have two commentators. The first will be Veronica Gomez from the Inter-America Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States, and then Gimena Sanchez from the Washington Office on Latin America, both of whom have many years of experience in Colombia.

There are further details on the biographical background of all of our speakers in your introductory packet.

But now let me introduce Ambassador Greminger. You're most welcome to the United States and to Brookings, and we look forward to the program. Thanks.

AMB. GREMINGER: Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends, I am very pleased to be here in Washington at this important event organized by the Brookings Institution.

Our meeting today is the result of a stimulating and innovative cooperation between various partners, governments, multilateral organizations, academic institutions, civil society and representatives of internally displaced

persons. I would like to take this opportunity to thank everyone involved in this common endeavor in the United States, in Colombia and in Switzerland.

The topic I have the opportunity to introduce is both intellectually provocative and traumatically real, internal displacement and the construction of peace. The case of Colombia is only one example of how these two issues are inherently linked and how, by associating them, we can achieve tangible progress on several fronts.

In order to better explain and substantiate this claim, I would like to provide you in the first part with a brief overview of the current humanitarian situation in Colombia. In the second part, I would like to highlight the main elements of Swiss action in Colombia in the field of peace promotion, human rights and humanitarian aid. The third part of my presentation will then focus on the need and the merits of linking internal displacement and peacebuilding.

Leona, one of the main characters of Gabriel García Márquez's great novel, *El Amor en los Tiempos del Córrea, Love in the Time of Cholera*, describes the breakout of a new conflict in Colombia in these terms: "The new civil war, one of the many affecting this country, has been part of the natural state of things for more than half of a century."

This sarcastic description underlines a hard reality. The social, economic, political and humanitarian situation in Colombia has been conditioned by a decade-long internal armed conflict. The internal armed conflict is a result of different local, regional and national conflicts whose causes are historical and contemporary -- deep and tangled like Colombia's jungle.

The long years of confrontation have resulted in furious and constant violence against the civilian population. Threats, kidnappings, disappearances, execution, massacres, and forced displacement. In spite of significant security improvements that have been taking place in the last few years, the rate of unpunished crimes remains high, particularly in rural areas.

The war has claimed the lives of thousands of people and led to the displacement of some three million others in the last ten years. At a peak in 2002 with 400,000 displaced persons, an average of 200,000 persons per year have been displaced until 2006. In the last 2 years, the annual average has again risen to more than 300,000 IDPs. Worldwide, Colombia ranks second in total numbers of IDPs, just after Sudan.

The reasons for the displacement in Colombia are multiple and complex. To the long-term displacement inducing factors such as armed confrontation between the parties, indiscriminate violence against civilians, conflict over resources, land disputes, et cetera. New causes of displacement have emerged, namely the development of agro-industrial megaprojects, antinarcotics operations and the appearance of new paramilitary groups.

While all regions of the country have experienced displacement, most of the IDPs originate from rural areas and find refuge in the cities.

Since the end of the 1990s, the Colombian authorities have been progressively strengthening their capacity to address and respond to the humanitarian crisis. The government has also increased the budget devoted to IDP assistance. Despite these positive steps, the situation of thousands of IDPs remains critical, especially when it comes to their protection, income generation, land, housing, or access to social services. The role of foreign donors remains key in several of these areas.

The establishment of the National Commission for Reparations and Reconciliation in 2005 by the Law of Justice and Peace was a very positive effort to implement transitional justice and peacebuilding. However, the Commission does not include the IDPs in its victims' universe, at least for the moment. At the same time, the National System of Assistance and Prevention of Displacement does not take into account this new transitional justice mechanism. As a result, the two instruments coexist without viable integration.

Let me say a few words on the Swiss engagement in Colombia. For the past 15 years, Switzerland has been working in Colombia in the fields of peace promotion, human rights and humanitarian aid. The ultimate goal of our programs in Colombia is to contribute to the creation and development of sustainable peace with the participation of all sectors of society to a stable and functioning democratic state.

We are convinced the peace negotiations have a better chance to succeed if the different segments of society are able to bring their proposals into the discussion in full respect of human rights and international humanitarian law. On this basis, Switzerland has worked in Colombia with different partners, focusing particularly on the ethnic minorities and IDPs as the main victims of the conflict.

Switzerland's activities in the field include, first, facilitation of peace efforts towards a structured and sustainable peace process with the armed groups. In 2000, Switzerland became part of both groups of countries accompanying and facilitating peace talks between the government and the FARC [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia] and between the government and the ELN [National Liberation Army].

Between 2005 and 2007, Switzerland, along with Norway and Spain, has been accompanying peace dialogues between the Colombian government and ELN. Today, Switzerland is formally still part of the group of accompanying countries, but unfortunately the process between the government and ELN has stalled, and we are in fact in a standby position.

Between 2004 and 2008, Switzerland, together first with France and later on with Spain, facilitated the search for a dialogue between the FARC and the Colombian government mainly in lieu of a humanitarian agreement for the release of hostages, as a first step towards relaunching a real peace process.

Beyond our different Track One efforts, we have, in partnership with Swiss NGOs, since 2001 supported a program aimed at strengthening civil society

initiatives for peace, involving all sectors and segments of society including the private sector, NGOs, trade unions, ethnic minorities, indigenous groups, peasants, et cetera.

An important traumatic focus lies on transitional justice. We have been supporting through technical expertise the efforts of state institutions like the National Commission for Reparations and Reconciliation and particularly the Working Group on Historical Memory. We also support victims organizations aimed at creating a memory on crimes committed and providing reparation and justice for victims.

When it comes to promoting human rights and reinforcing international humanitarian law, we have been supporting international organizations like the Office of the High Commission for Human Rights, state institutions, and NGOs active in the field.

Swiss humanitarian aid activities in Colombia aim at easing the suffering of displaced populations and other victims of the conflict, host communities, non-victims, et cetera. As far as IDPs are concerned, this aid focuses particularly on the access to basic health care and emergency relief, on the improvement of living conditions and measures to help the social integration of IDPs in host communities as well as on protection. These activities take place mainly in rural areas and small urban centers on the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts as well as in the southwest where a massive influx of IDPs is likely to contribute to the deterioration of living conditions.

As I said at the outset, displacement and peacebuilding are and must be connected. During our seminar in Bogota last November, an IDP representative from the Pacific Coast stated that: "Lasting peace in Colombia cannot be reached unless and until internally displaced persons find solutions. Without peace, there is no hope for ending internal displacement."

I'm convinced that this holds true and that we need to rethink our commitment to both the peace process and the internal displacement issue along these lines.

Historically, internal displacement issues and IDPs themselves have, in many cases, been excluded or marginalized from peace negotiations in Colombia and elsewhere in the world. In the case of Colombia, the only limited exceptions were the Cuba conversations in 2006 and 2007 between the government and ELN.

While it is probably not realistic at this stage to have IDPs sitting at the negotiating table, their voices need to be heard. Why has this not happened so far in Colombia and what can we do to promote it? Maybe one reason is the questionable belief the one first needs peace before we can move ahead to discuss relevant questions such as internal displacement.

However, even at a time when peace efforts in Colombia are stalled, there is a need and an opportunity to debate substantive issues such as land, access to social services, justice or reparations. By shaping or trying to shape agreement on these crucial points, stakeholders will be better prepared for the time when peace becomes possible. This approach will also facilitate confidence-building among the parties and contribute to the establishment of a sound negotiation agenda. This is why internal displacement must be part of the peace agenda.

Additionally, in a moment where progress seems difficult on the level of formal negotiations, local peace initiatives on the so-called Track Three, on the grassroots level, represent a significant and interesting alternative towards peace. The experience of the Urába Peace Communities in the northeast region of Colombia is an important example of this. It is an example that also emerged during our seminar in Bogota and that you'll find reproduced in the publication.

After having been displaced by violence, thousands of Afro-Colombians and campesinos were able, through dialogue with all the actors of the armed conflict and thanks to the commitment and participation of several key national

and international actors, to return to their homes. The Urába Peace Communities process remains to date, despite of all its difficulties and limitations, a significant model for the defense of the rights of the civilian population and, in particular, of IDPs.

This example opposes an unjustified view that tends to consider IDPs to be more of a problem or an obstacle to peace. In reality, I believe they can also be made an active part of the solution to conflicts and a positive stimulus for peace. Thus, an innovative approach that addresses both the promotion of peace and the situation of IDPs provides a new and promising perspective for the people of Colombia.

Bridging these two approaches will not always be easy. It constitutes a methodological as well as an operational challenge. In this regard, one important additional step in bridging the two aspects has been the recent development by the Representative of the Secretary-General on IDPs and Human Rights, Walter Kälin, of a guide for integration of internal displacement in mediation. This document provides mediators and their teams with practical guidance on integrating the rights and interests of IDPs into peace processes and peace agreements. These efforts aim at offering additional tools to the mediators' negotiation keyboard by uniting humanitarian and peace promotion perspectives.

Let me conclude. As I mentioned, today's meeting is not an isolated event, but, much rather, it is part of a wider process which began in 2005 with a research project aimed at addressing internal displacement and peace processes, peace agreements and peacebuilding. I am confident that this initiative and its follow-up efforts will support the implementation of the rights of Colombia's IDPs and that it will also provide new and useful perspectives to future peace efforts.

The case of Colombia's internal displacement and peacebuilding project constitutes a pilot exercise which hopefully will contribute to opening new avenues beyond conventional thinking.

And, finally, I hope that by hosting this event here in Washington we also offer an opportunity to reflect on the role that the United States could play, together with other actors, in promoting future peace efforts in Colombia.

Indeed, millions of Colombians who been affected by several decades of long internal armed conflict deserve generous and determined peace efforts.

Thank you very much for your attention.

(Applause.)

MS. FERRIS: Thanks. Now if everybody will cross their fingers, we'll turn to Roberto Vidal at Universidad Javeriana who is going to not only speak to us in his second language, English, but also will come through this amazing technology of videoconferencing.

Roberto, welcome.

MR. VIDAL: Thank you, Beth.

Good morning.

During the concluding session of our seminar on peacebuilding and internal displacement that took place three months ago here in the Universidad Javeriana in Bogota, a joint peace leader from an Afro-Colombian community asked for permission to speak and, in a single statement, powerfully summarized the situation of the displaced people in the country. She said, "It seems like we are complaining, complaining, complaining a lot. But you have to understand, we don't want to be here. We want to be back in our own land. People don't listen to us, but our people are dying. We don't want to be killed or displaced. Please, listen to us." And, finally, she added, "They, the armed groups, are exterminating us."

Honoring the fear and the courage of this woman, I will speak today about internal displacement, the war, and particularly the peace and hope for Colombia.

I want to thank Elizabeth Ferris from the Brookings Institution and Pietro Lazzeri of the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs who invited our team

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at the Universidad Javeriana to join this project and have given me this opportunity for discussing here today the issue of peace processes and displacement in Colombia with you and my fellow distinguished panelists.

Our study has consisted in an application of an analytical model proposed by the Representative of the Secretary-General for Human Rights of IDPs to the Colombian case, that in trying to introduce a tradition of analyzing peacebuilding in various levels or tracks: Track One, the state's ability to carry out negotiations with armed groups. Track Two, nongovernmental organizations carrying out peacebuilding activities. And Track Three, communities developing their own initiatives.

In addition, the tools recognize three facets in peace processes: negotiation, peacebuilding, and the consolidation of peace itself after the conflict.

As Elizabeth Ferris has explained, peacebuilding itself is a complex process involving reestablishing security and law and order; reconstruction and economic rehabilitation; reconciliation and social rehabilitation; and political transition toward creating more accountable governance structures and institutions.

Inclusion of the problems related to internal displacement and considerations of the needs of displaced populations in each of the phases and levels benefits all of the actors involved and people affected and facilitates the transition to peace. Regardless of the development of negotiations that are currently taking place in Colombia between the government and the armed groups, in a time like that, when a peace negotiation seems to be blown, the proposed model allows one to recognize and to acknowledge the significance of the multiple peacebuilding and conflict transformation initiatives taking place in civil society in Colombia.

IDP participation in peace processes occurs at different levels. While involvement of IDPs in formal peace negotiations could be greater, they have

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been more active participants in Track Two and Track Three processes. The inclusion of IDPs in the decision-making of assistance programs and durable solutions is essential. Finding durable solution for IDPs, resolving land and property disputes and inserting the participation of displaced persons in political processes are essential not only to the affected individuals and communities but to Colombian society as a whole.

Our study starts with a fact: One of the central characteristics of the conflict in Colombia, as in the majority of contemporary non-international conflicts in the world, is that insurgency and paramilitary groups allege the impossibility of respecting the principle of distinction between the civilian population and combatants, reciprocally blaming each other.

All illegally armed groups have widely adopted the practice of identifying civilians as sympathizers, collaborators or non-uniformed combatants of the adversary and attacking them as military targets. Disregard for the humanitarian principle of protection of the civilian population is reflected in a generalized practice of attacking, retaliation, intimidation and assassination of civilians in various manners including deprivation of freedom through kidnapping, extra-judicial execution or forced disappearance.

Along with high numbers of civilian casualties, the internal armed conflict has triggered a process of mass displacement. Displacement has been produced by the eruption of confrontation between armed actors in the conflict, but above all by the deliberate acts of intimidation and attacks on the civilian population, the purpose of which has been to gain political and economic control of disputed territories.

Patterns of displacement in Colombia include both mass displacement as well as a constant influx of individual or family displacement with the former receiving more attention and assistance than the latter. While all regions of the country have experienced displacement, most of the IDPs come from the rural

areas and find refuge in the cities, reflecting the forced urbanization of the country. Intra-urban displacement has also increased.

The Colombian government has advanced various initiatives of negotiation and pacification at different times along with successful processes like the 90's processes with many insurgent movements. There were many others that failed such as the negotiation with the FARC when talks were held in Mexico and in the demilitarized zone within the Colombian territories that ended without results in 1998.

The current government concluded political negotiations with the paramilitary coalition, AUC, that ended with the demobilization of more than 30,000 combatants. Reintegration programs are being implemented in various regions of the country.

The Peace and Justice Law and the National Commission for Reparations and Reconciliation are expressions of an effort to implement transitional justice and peacebuilding, but these processes largely exclude IDPs. On a parallel track, the National System of Assistance and Prevention of Displacement has evolved independently of this transitional justice mechanism.

Additionally, the involvement of the judicial system, particularly the constitutional court, has been noteworthy and essential in upholding the rights of IDPs. The impact of the constitutional court ruling that declared the situation of the displaced people as an unconstitutional state of affairs because of the government's failure to address the needs of IDPs has had a significant impact on the resources available to IDPs.

I would like to share with you the main conclusions of this study that we made here in Columbia. First, there is a strong connection between the land and those who are displaced. Since the large majority of IDPs are peasants, the land is part of their environment, their customs and their identity. Therefore, violent displacement by the actors of armed conflict in the country involves a loss of

cultural and social context as well as the structures of production and substance on which approximately 60 percent of displaced depended as a principle source of sustenance before becoming victims of displacement.

The regions from which most people are dispelled by force are those that have a strategic or economic value whether for the geographic location or for the natural resources that they possess. Value is given to the areas that are suitable for advancing infrastructure projects, areas desirable for carrying out illegal activities, areas with wealth of minerals, fuel, flora and fauna and, in general, all that land that due to its location or features affords profit.

The processes of armed expropriation of land places in question the legal relationship between the displaced and the land. They reveal the inability of the political system to preserve land rights and the possibility that these may not be recognized, protected and reestablished in the face of temporary displacement or imminent risk of the same.

The action of the Colombian government through the Institute for Rural Development and the Minister of Agriculture particularly on the adjudication of uncultivated land and land subject to extinction of ownership has been marginal with regard to the magnitude of the disposition. A high level institutional non-official monitoring commission estimates that between 1994 and 2007, a maximum of 150,000 cases were able to be adjudicated out of 5 million cases that are estimated the displaced people lost in the last 10 years. This number stresses the marginal condition of the intervention of the ministry.

To the extent that there are not official mechanisms capable of guaranteeing safety to the civilian population inhabiting rural areas, citizens are forced to abandon their places of origin in the face of threats, attacks, seizure of towns, armed confrontations, kidnapping and other activities used by the armed actors of the conflict. Any return measure must be framed within a condition of

safety since real possibilities of return will never be reliable if the displaced are not confident that the territory of return is safe.

With respect to durable solutions, we find that in the current context of forced displacement the majority of the displaced persons do not wish to return. This is due to various reasons. In addition to the absence of safe conditions, the displaced population does not wish to mobilize because the minimum conditions needed for subsistence are absent due to the precarious state of development in the countryside, the principal setting of forced displacement.

Displacement and its dynamics involve a dramatic and definitive redistribution of the population. Therefore, public policies on the matter of development must address that dynamic. Due to the very magnitude of forced displacement, knowing the intent of the displaced population to remain in places other than those designated, it is essential to define the characteristics of the (inaudible) places and therefore the context in which actions for attaining durable solutions must be developed.

While the high rates of poverty and indigence are in the countryside, the fact that the dynamic of displacement uproots rural areas means that the indigence and poverty are moving to urban areas where the supply of employment and services is scarce. Thus, the authorities, associations, and infrastructures in the urban centers have been confronted with the problem and have to assume the obligation of comprehensive assistance because most people are displaced there.

About the process of transitional justice in Colombia, we want to say that it's possible to identify some of the principal demands made by displacement organizations for future peace processes. Their fundamental request is a transformation of displaced populations into a collective that shows effective enjoyment of their rights.

In this regard, they ask for the confidence of the rule of law and especially the assistance of a state safety policy that guarantees the neutrality of civilians.

From the perspective of displaced populations, the policy of safety requires, first, safety linked to the creation of territories of peace with the presence of accompaniment to ensure return in the short term. The territories that request safety are those places from where they have been expelled, that if the family was working on their farm or in the country.

Safety means that the state disciplinary and criminal investigation institutions and entities will begin the corresponding investigation so that those who have committed human rights violations are investigated, processed, and sanctioned in a disciplinary manner.

Safety must be understood as social security. That is as a unit that includes health, education, housing and recreation and application of truth, justice and reparation within the framework of the Justice and Peace Law.

Grassroots peacebuilding initiatives can be understood now as organizational processes regarding peace and democracy which are generated and laid out by communities in the common territories in which they reside. The following stand out as essential elements of grassroots peace initiatives:

- Their procedural nature which refers to collective building over time, not perfect but perfectible.
- Their organization around the constituent values of peace and democracy.
- Their origin and diffusion from the grassroots embodied by communities or by communities and churches, as an example, which, given their presence and historic accompaniment work in the communities.
- They are generated and laid out by communities settled in a common territory.

- They arise as an organized response and without recourse to weapons, the impact of the armed conflict and/or various expressions of structural violence.

In regard to transitional justice processes moving forward on Track One, the participation of the displaced population increasingly occupies a place of greater antagonism. Each constituent policy request contradicts public policy assumptions of the current government with regard to compliance with the standards of assistance to the displaced population, democratic security and democratic security policy and application of the rights to truth, justice and reparations.

As a conclusion, I celebrate this forum for discussing new approaches to peace and security in Colombia. The very point of this project is to build bridges among displaced people and potential local, national and global actors of new political processes, of negotiation and reconciliation in Colombia.

Thank you.

(Applause.)

MS. FERRIS: Thank you very much, Roberto, and to the technologists today. We will have now two short comments, first, Veronica Gomez of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and then from Gimena Sanchez of the Washington Office on Latin America.

MS. GOMEZ: Let's see whether I'm lucky. Sort of? Okay. First of all, I would like to convey the thanks of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights to The Brookings Institution for the opportunity to participate in this panel and to comment on the contributions made by Professor Vidal on his study on internal displacement and peacebuilding in Colombia.

I would also like to take advantage of this opportunity to salute the partnership of The Brookings Institution and the University of Bern Project on

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Internal Placement, the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana and the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs that made possible the seminar that took place in Bogota and the publication launched today here in Washington.

Issues such as land and territory, transitional justice and internal displacement and the engagement of IDP organizations are crucial to finding durable solutions to displacement. Efforts to engage relevant actors in the process of sustained dialogue on these issues are key to peacebuilding in Colombia. This effort, in particular, is a prime example of an important contribution to dialogue and of the role the international community can have in that process.

The Inter-American Commission first addressed the issue of displacement and its impact in its third report on the situation of human rights in Colombia that was made public in 1999. It is not a coincidence during the fact-finding and drafting process of this report, former President of the Commission (inaudible) was also engaged in a collaborative process with Francis Deng, then Representative of the Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons, Walter Kälin, whom I feel is very much with us here in the room, current Representative of the Secretary-General on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons, and all the distinguished jurists in the drafting of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement.

By then, by 1999, the available figures indicated that approximately one million Colombians had been displaced from their homes, and the Commission called the situation a humanitarian catastrophe and considered it one of the main markers of the impact of the armed conflict on the civilian population.

During the last 15 years, many recommendations have been issued by the United Nations and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. A number of complex documents have been drawn up by different governments. A special registry has been opened, and some resources have been allocated to respond to the immediate needs of displaced persons.

The issue of displacement, however, has remained on the agenda, and today we speak of over two million displaced persons recorded in the official registry -- I think the study of Professor Vidal also shows the controversy over how reliable the registry is in terms of reflecting real displacement -- and over four million IDPs through independent assessments.

I understand that the government is trying to make an effort to produce a different sort figure that would reflect not only what the people that get registered into the national registry, but also other factors may give a realistic view of the problem. But the independent assessments talk about a larger figure.

During 2008, apart from all this overall figure, the number of episodes of massive displacement increased by over 10 percent in relation to 2007, particularly in the departments of Cauca, Arauca, Meta and Chocó. So that, in a way, indicates that displacement is affecting vulnerable sections of the population.

The continuation of displacement is evident, but it's not due to a lack of understanding of its nature and impact. As Walter Kälin has indicated, Colombia is unique and the Ambassador also started with those words in terms of the legal recognition granted to displacement and its effects.

Professor Vidal was talking about the decision of the Constitutional Court, and I think the Ambassador also mentioned it, judgment T-025 of 2004 by the Constitutional Court which declared an unconstitutional state of affairs with regard to the displacement in Colombia and the fact that it ordered a launch of some sort of public policy to address the consequences of displacement and a number of subsequent orders, the last one that was issued last year, Order 92 dealing with women and displacement, an issue that the Inter-American Commission is very much interested in and has written a report on the armed conflict and its impact on women and in particular indigenous women and Afro-descendents.

The court has analyzed the disproportionate impact of displacement on women and the assistance that is required. We're still assessing to what degree the 14 programs that it asked the government to implement are having any success with being implemented to help with displacement.

As you know, internal displacement has also been identified and typified as a crime, as an offense in Colombian law, and also the administrative jurisdiction has had a role in establishing reparations. Despite all this legal acknowledgement, we are in front of a serious problem.

Also, Colombia is unique in terms of the leadership shown by civil society, in particular, IDP leaders and organizations. They argue their positions and express their concerns many times at great personal risk, and the Commission has issued protective measures on behalf of these leaders and organizations when approached in cases of imminent risk of irreparable harm, usually, the stigma of social leadership and social leaders in Colombia. In some cases, the Commission has processed petitions on alleged responsibility of the state when there have been deaths of social leaders and persons that were trying to assert the right to return to the territories or their lands.

Walter Kälin has also insisted that the sustainability of peace in Colombia very much depends on the inclusion of the internally displaced in the peacebuilding process, and that really brings us to the topic today.

For its part, the Commission has insisted that justice, truth and reparation are essential to this and that civil society and the victims of the armed conflict must be engaged in the process if it is to have a chance at credibility and success, and this has been the message of the Commission in these three special accords on demobilization in Colombia and the application of the Law of Justice and Peace.

Following Walter Kälin's premise, Professor Vidal's study highlights Colombia's regional diversity, its historic communities and the intersection of several long-term conflicts which coexist with a complex and sophisticated legal

system and the perverse practice of ignoring the principle of distinction between civilians and combatants. We have many examples. Last week, there was another example of this.

The study makes a number of very important contributions. I was very interested by the remarks that he just made about the connection of the displaced persons and their lands, that these displacements take place at the rural level.

He also talked about intra-urban displacement. I don't know if you can really say that in English, but he talked about that. That is also a very troubling phenomenon. You can see it, for instance, in the city of Medellín very vividly.

But we're very concerned with the displacement of the rural areas and the particular areas of the country that it has afflicted during all these decades. We can see it in terms of the strategy of the actors in the armed conflict, and also he [Prof. Vidal] mentioned some economic strategies that affect, in particular, many Afro-descendents. So that's a very important statement in the study.

And, this loss of cultural context by displacement and also the loss of means of survival by these communities, the lack of access to the land required to grow their crops, for instance, that are essential to their survival -- in the case of the indigenous peoples, essential to the diet, the natural diet.

Also, the importance, as I said before, the strategic importance of areas subject to violence and displacement and also the legal battle that is taking place at the moment to ascertain the legal rights over the land and also to enforce those decisions.

He [Prof. Vidal] said something very interesting about the marginal role of the Ministry of Agriculture and the fact that many of the displaced persons come from rural areas, and he was talking about five million hectares. It's true that lately there have been some developments in terms of recognition of rights over certain lands, and there have also been some efforts establishing what have been the legal strategies used to ascertain certain rights legally, to try to make valid

certain legal titles of the land. Slowly, there seems to be a recognition of this problem, but there's still a lot to do in that area.

Mostly, there's still a lot to do in terms of effective recovery of the land. In many cases, there are judicial decisions establishing the rights of certain communities over the land, but there is no enforcement of those judicial decisions. This is a very serious problem.

I'm running out of time, but I just wanted to mention that another of the important contributions are the policies of safety that he mentioned. In terms of judicial investigations, social security and the role that these communities should have in terms of the peacebuilding process for the transitional justice, that dialogue that is taking place by the application of the Justice and Peace Law in terms of justice, peace and reparations.

I just wanted to say that last November Jacqueline , who is 10 years old, took me by the hand and showed me her drawings at the House of Memories, a shrine for the remembrance of the victims of violence built in one of the humanitarian areas by the (inaudible) in Chocó.

I have seen many times this sort of drawings. They're all included in many of our files, files of the provisional measures that we have before the Inter-American Code to protect the communities of (inaudible) in Chocó. These drawings represent the children's testimonies of the violence that they have witnessed and the suffering that they have endured with their parents, and half of the times only their mothers, during displacement and their efforts to return to their territory.

Children make up a very important part of these communities. Many times, they are a majority of these communities. They have the opportunity for a peaceful Colombia in their hands, and their perception of the communities, the communities' chances a peacebuilding process and participating in the peacebuilding process are crucial to the future.

This is really the message that I want to bring, the fact that many of the displaced persons that we're talking about are really children and that they're very much aware of the impact of the conflict and the violence. It's very important to involve them and their families right now if there is a chance at peacebuilding in the medium term.

(Applause.)

MS. SANCHEZ: Good morning. First, I would like to thank The Brookings Institution for inviting me back here in this capacity. Secondly, I would like to congratulate Universidad Javeriana for their wonderful study and thank the Swiss government for their tenacious efforts at trying to figure out a way or at least steps towards resolving this protracted internal armed conflict that has been devastating for so many Colombians for so many years.

If we look at the current state of affairs in terms of the different parties to the internal conflict in Colombia, we do not see much in terms of advancement towards peace. Just recently, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia massacred Awas peoples in southern Colombia.

And not too long ago, President Álvaro Uribe called Colombians who are working towards trying to find a negotiated solution to the conflict the intellectual bloc of the FARC, thus placing those Colombians in a very dangerous situation.

In Nariño, in Cauca, we see the continued aggression played out against civilians due to the fighting between the FARC and the ELN for control of basically narco trafficking routes and territories.

You had a significant demobilization in the past several years of the AUC, the paramilitary federation, which did bring about a significant decline in the number of egregious massacres in the country. However, you're also seeing the reemergence of remnant AUC groups, new groups, new configurations of groups, some associated to the former AUC structure, some new configurations -- whose I

guess designation as a group has yet to be determined -- intimidating, harassing, killing and creating new displacements of Colombians throughout the country.

At the OAS, recently, on a seminar workshop on refugees, the representative of Colombia stated very emphatically that there is no internal armed conflict in Colombia and that all you have is a terrorist threat perpetrated by the FARC.

Also, you see that narco trafficking is alive and well, fueling the illegal armed groups on all sides and generating violence that is not only affecting Colombia and its borders, but it's also affecting the border of the U.S. with Mexico and many of the people here in the United States.

So, given this context, it is particularly wonderful that today we are talking about this pilot project that is being carried out by the Representative of the U.N. Secretary-General on IDPs, Walter Kälin, The Brookings Institution, the Universidad Javeriana and the Swiss government because despite everything I just described to you a few minutes ago, and that's not even the whole picture, Colombia's internally displaced are those who are working towards peace in the midst of this situation.

Many of the internally displaced in Colombia have decided not to wait for the political actors to sit down and negotiate at the negotiating table. They've decided to go ahead and construct peace in any way, shape or form that they can on their own even if they're not supported by everyone and even if they become stigmatized by all sides for doing so. We see these examples throughout Colombia, and I would just like to name a few.

We have the Peace Communities in Antioquia, in Chocó and Cauca that are basically communities set up by returned IDPs, IDPs who have been displaced from different areas and grouped together to form humanitarian zones or what are Peace Communities that have certain delineations and principles that its followers follow.

We have the City of Peace put together by the (*Spanish*) which are basically a group of very brave and very spirited IDP women who decided that they wanted to take back their city and make it a peaceful place for their children.

Basically, you see that these communities that have been devastated by internal displacement, such as the communities of indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombians particularly but also campesinos are deciding that they want to resist further displacement and they want to do everything to not continue to have cycles of displacements take place in their communities.

It's important to highlight that in Colombia people are not just displaced once. Usually, they're displaced two, three, four times. It's not just a one-time thing.

So, for example, you have the Cabildos and the indigenous Cabildos in Cauca basically setting up resistance communities where they stand up to all of the illegal groups.

In Cauca, you have Afro-Colombian community councils basically declaring self-protection mechanisms so their leaders don't have to be displaced and taking on the narcos directly, whether they be FARC, the paramilitaries or what I call nonaligned narcos, by clearing out the coca that's been illegally planted in their territories and saying to them, you better take that coca out of our territories because what the coca is doing is generating conflict, violence, social degradation in our communities and, eventually, displacement which is what we don't want.

It's important also to mention since Veronica mentioned it and I should say that the OAS has had a tremendous role in this situation, in particular, that in Chocó you have returned IDPs cutting down oil palm that's been illegally planted in their lands because, again, megaprojects and agricultural economic projects such as oil palm and others have generated displacement for many people.

So what do these experiences I just described to you tell us about IDPs and their ideas for peace in Colombia? Also, what lessons can we learn from these experiences and apply them towards constructing peace in Colombia?

I just jotted down some ideas I wanted to share with you all. First of all, and this is something that is found in the study and as well was raised at the seminar done in November. Internal displacement and peacebuilding are interconnected and linked. You cannot divorce the two from each other. Sustainable peace cannot be achieved in Colombia without finding sustainable solutions to the internal displacement problem.

IDPs are the primary victims of the conflict, yet they're not the only victims of the conflict. There are many victims. But it's important to mention that usually an IDP is a victim of internal displacement. They're also the mother to a daughter who was killed by the military or the father to a son who was recruited by the FARC. So IDPs are multifaceted victims and, as such, it is very important that when we deal with transitional justice and when we deal with figuring out how to get the victimizers out of the conflict, that we give IDPs the same level of treatment.

About a year and a half ago, we all figured out how much money the U.S. was giving to the demobilized paramilitaries versus IDPs, and we found that for every one dollar given to IDPs the U.S. was giving fifty dollars to the paramilitaries.

Often, when we visit Colombia and we meet with IDP communities, they say, you know employment opportunities and other opportunities are given to the victimizers, the people who displaced and harassed us, but how much is actually getting to us, the IDPs?

Now that doesn't mean that there shouldn't be a assistance to demobilized soldiers of any sort. It just means that what priority are we giving to the victims in this context and that we need to think about that better.

We also can learn from these experiences that the root causes of the internal armed conflict cannot be ignored. Internal displacement and the internal armed conflict have been generated by violence related to certain key factors. One of them has been inequality in terms of access to education, health, possibility, wealth, land. Another has been impunity in many different cycles of violence in Colombia that were never addressed.

Poverty is another factor that has been rampant in Colombia. Even though Colombia's GDP is growing, it's important to ask which sectors of Colombia are benefiting from this economic improvement and think about how that is distributed throughout the country.

Lastly, in terms of some of the root causes of the conflict, you have truth, justice and reparations of the victims of the past cycles of violence like la Violencia that was never addressed and led to the birth of the conflict that we are seeing in Colombia now.

We can also learn from the IDPs that the illegal and violent usurpation of vast territories by the illegal armed groups for economic purposes, whether they be legal or illegal, really needs to be addressed. We don't have a complete handle on how many of these territories have been taken over. The Colombian government itself has different figures, and Professor Vidal mentioned about five million, but this is something that needs to be addressed.

Also, the international community should support the peacebuilders, and, by doing so, this will help generate more political will of the fighting parties in order to achieve peace.

I just want to close by mentioning another thing that we need to learn from the IDPs and that we have heard from IDPs. We need to think about the antinarcotic effort that is funded mainly by the United States in Colombia and how to make this actually more effective and humanize it in a manner that it doesn't generate new conflict in the country. The fumigation program, for

example, has led to many damages against people, and it has led to internal displacement and violence.

So we need to think about things like more effective alternative development programs, better interdiction efforts, inspection of containers as well as helping money-laundering mechanisms and dismantling the narco trafficking structures including those that remain in the country after the heads of such structures are extradited to the United States as is the case of the AUC.

In closing, I would just like to say that the Brookings-Universidad Javeriana study is really a very important first step towards thinking about peacebuilding from the ground-up and towards thinking about peacebuilding from the perspective of the people who are most affected by the conflict. And it's my sincere hope that we can continue looking at how to resolve the internal conflict in Colombia within this lens and figure out how we can support these important, brave initiatives that are being done by many of Colombia's displaced.

Thank you.

(Applause.)

MS. FERRIS: Thanks to all of our panelists. We have time now for some questions. There's a microphone coming, if you could identify yourself. And maybe we'll take several questions and then give the panelists a chance to respond. Who would like to be first? Yes, please, these two.

QUESTIONER: Good morning. (Inaudible.) I would like to ask if the research is considering that in many cases the armed conflict groups in Colombia have not shown enough willingness to address a peace process? In the case specifically of ELN, that Ambassador Greminger mentioned, the (*Spanish*) was structured with a very large group of three phases where this specific issue would be considered and even the willingness of the government to sign the (*Spanish*). The ELN refused to do it because the ELN didn't resign to the practice of kidnapping, and the government didn't accept that.

An additional question is that at the last Commission, the (*Spanish*) are included as part of the Justice and Peace Law framework, and it's going to work fortunately this year, and this is not like a good or a part of the nexus between the IDP and the reconciliation issues because the main legal framework that we have in Colombia this moment for reconciliation is the Justice and Peace Law.

I want to know if even this and we know that Justice and Peace Law is a very huge and very long process that we are addressing. I want to know if the research is considering this issue or it has some kind of proposals to reform the law or to go forward in this. Thank you very much.

MS. FERRIS: Thank you. As I say, we'll take several questions and then give our panelists a chance to respond. (Inaudible.) Yes, please.

QUESTIONER: Good morning. I'm Ginny Bouvier . I'm with the U.S. Institute of Peace. First, I'd like to thank the sponsoring organizations for a very fine panel and congratulate Roberto Vidal for what promises to be a very exciting study. I haven't had a chance to look at it yet, but I'm looking forward to reading it.

The question I have has to do with a statement that Roberto made about the impossibility of sitting displaced people at the negotiating table but of making sure that their issues are addressed, and I'm wondering what mechanisms you are seeing evolve so far that might allow for this participation to take place both in terms of putting the issues on the agenda but also in terms of giving voice to displaced peoples.

And I wonder if you could address a little bit the nature of organizations of displaced peoples. Their civil society is highly organized in Colombia, and there are many organizations that represent displaced people for many different regions as well as nationally. So I wonder if you could talk a little bit about what some of those mechanisms might look like.

MS. FERRIS: Thank you. Let's take the third one here and then we'll go to the back.

QUESTIONER: Hi. I'm Kate Ponganis from the State Department's Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration.

This is a question in response to Roberto's comments about durable solutions and the lack of desire of IDPs to return home or the lack of conditions for safety for returns. One of the comments in the summary report had to do with what is called the Realization of Rights Index and this methodology that the Colombian government is starting to discuss, a methodology used to determine when displaced families or households have begun to reach a degree of reestablishment that will allow them to no longer be considered displaced.

And I know that the committee (*Spanish*). There's a committee (*Spanish*) of the Constitutional Court that's beginning to discuss some sorts of objectives and indicators that will allow IDPs to sort of transition off of the rolls.

These are discussions that are beginning to be discussed in Colombia, and I'd like to see if there are any comments about the process of these discussions in Colombia because the international community and internally in the United States government there's curiosity about when will people ever ceased to be displaced and whether we call it local integration or reintegration or resettlement in different cities because people aren't going back.

So that's a question. When will people reestablish themselves and how will they do that in the eyes of the Colombia government?

MS. FERRIS: Thank you very much. Let's take two more in this back quadrant.

QUESTIONER: Hi. My name is Annalisa Romoz , and I work with Lutheran World Relief. I want to thank the panelists, and I'm also eager to read the study and report.

Lutheran World Relief works with displaced communities and receiving communities on the northern coast of Colombia and also in the Cauca Region. Some of the things that we've seen in those areas and in other parts of Colombia is support by international organizations to purchase or facilitate the purchase of land for full return or relocation of IDPs. It's just an issue I would be interested in hearing your comments on, if there have been successful examples of that kind of support and also what problems and complications that might contribute to in terms of a land tenure system and the possibility for return and also how that plays into notions of territory versus notions of land rights for IDP communities.

MS. FERRIS: Okay. Thank you very much. I think we'll turn then to the panelists. Roberto, I trust you've been able to hear the questions.

MR. ROBERTO: (Inaudible.) -- with me the ones to make a commentary, please.

SPEAKER [in Bogota]: Good morning for all of you or good afternoon in Washington maybe. I would like to underline one element which for me is very important. It is the dynamic of narco traffic in all these problems. The problem is narco traffic is not an accessory problem, but it is at the core in the last 10 years of all the problems of displacement in Colombia.

Why?

First, the armies, the armed bands which are in Colombia, are trying to get more resources. The resources are given by coca and drug dealing, and the resources are not just for narco traffickers, but the resources are with an ideology. You (inaudible) struggling for the control of these resources. And these resources are land, these resources are the drug dealing, and those resources are the people.

The idea is that the main dynamic behind in the last 10 years of displacement is there. So if we're going to look for solutions, we have to point out that problem.

Second, war, which I guess some people in Colombia deny. The confrontation, our confrontation has also its own dynamics. In order to pay for war, drug dealing and narco traffic is the only way in which the armies of paramilitary, the armies of the FARC and now, more and more, ELN are getting their resources to fight. If we have resources from the United States, these are used with more and more resources to fight against other resources.

And the last (inaudible) displaced people. In this drug dealing, narco trafficking war, you have also two main considerations about the (inaudible) in which the paramilitary are rooted in most of the territories of Colombia because they are there and they are controlling a lot of people.

The conclusion of all this domination is the displaced people.

So it is an issue as the lady who I think belongs to WOLA told us. There is a problem that touches the people of the United States and us in Colombia, and it is also the war which is now in Mexico that we have here and the issue that we have here in narco trafficking. We will have displaced people. We will have strength in the paramilitary (inaudible.) I wanted to make those remarks. Thank you very much.

MS. FERRIS: Thank you. We still have a number of questions -- so, one on the role of the ELN and negotiations and one on regional land commission and one on alternative mechanisms for including IDPs in the peace process besides sitting at the table and the question of when displacement ends and how that changes, then the question about international organizations purchasing or providing land to enable solutions for IDPs. Roberto, would you like to begin responding, and then I'll ask the other panelists to do either that or for any concluding remarks.

MR. VIDAL: Well, thank you, Beth. I want to make three remarks about the questions.

First, on the commentaries, first about the organizations of IDPs, they really are very important in Colombia, a lot of organizations. We are talking now about federations of organizations, but this movement reflects the war and reflects the fragmentation of the society. They have many conflicts between them. There is not unity. But they have recognized a strong capacity of intervention.

I want to remember that the movement that derives in the ruling of the constitutional court, T-025 in 2004, was the result of the work of many organizations of displaced people that made a law to tell us the rights and the recognition and the enforcement of those rights.

I want to remark on the strong capacity of these organizations, and I see a huge possibility that they will take up a seat on the table of future negotiations. Not only their capacity, there is need that they stay there.

A second point is about durable solutions. I want to remark in this case that we find that the movement of displaced people in a direction from the countryside to the cities and that their return has a universal formula or a durable solution. It's not clear in Colombia, and we need to explore, first of all, the durable solution in the cities and political will of the governments, of local governments for displacement, that is not usual in Colombia. Second, linked with that, the possibility of return of people to the countryside makes a compromise of the security politics that today is not allowing the people to return.

I want to make a note about the contemporary phenomenon. That is the intra-urban displacement that is affecting many and more and more people now that chose the urbanizing of conflict and the need of a security policy for the urban sectors.

And, finally, the reparation processes are a big question about politics on displacement in Colombia because I'm thinking first of all in the situation of people that are forced to move for the politics of aspersion of coca crops in the south of the country. They are not recognized as displaced people from the

government for Colombia for the law. That is a huge problem, and for these people their solution as to relocation, that is not a real solution.

We have a lot of people that were in the countryside now displaced to the cities by the politics of the counterdrugs war, and we need to have this problem included in our count (inaudible).

Thank you, Beth.

MS. FERRIS: Thank you, Roberto.

MS. GOMEZ: I can start with trying to respond to the concerns of what about the issue of negotiations with ELN. (inaudible) -- but the issue that has to do with the interpretation of the Justice and Peace Law.

It is true the Justice and Peace Law talks about collective reparations. This is true. But then the discourse was, outside the law, that also in the letter of the law (inaudible) that the return of land and territories, et cetera, depending on whatever those that were in the demobilization process would contribute from the lands that they had taken away. This means an admission that lands were taken, et cetera.

We know that during all these years that process of return of goods and land and money, et cetera, has been very disappointing. By now, we know that. From time to time, there are announcements about land being returned. I think, recently, there was talk about (inaudible) land, et cetera, but this has never been very clear in the sense of how many hectares of land have been returned, to whom and how it's going to benefit displaced persons.

So I think it's very much dependent on the interpretation that the National Commission on Reconciliation and Reparations gave to its mandate. From the very beginning, the interpretation was that IDPs were outside and that the needs were going to be addressed by the channels that had been used before, which is (*Spanish*), temporary help, usually (inaudible) and then a registry. But they

were left within that framework and not within the framework of transitional justice and the Justice and Peace Law.

There was a very strong debate about this. There has been a very strong debate over the last couple of years about the responsibility of the state to provider reparations for victims of the armed conflict. Reports have been written. Recommendations have been issued. We all know this.

Step by step, there have been some measures, like there was a decree about an administrative reparations (inaudible), staking a claim. Many people, thousands of people have presented claims, but there are restrictions as to who is considered a victim, and there was also a discussion that began on whether displaced persons could participate in this scheme. Again, it was said that maybe they could participate in some plan for housing but not directly into the reparations scheme.

Then there's all the discussion about who was considered a victim. We know that didn't have results in the first discussion before the end of last year that the international community was hoping for, and now in March it's going to be open for debate again. But there were a number of restrictions placed by the government about who were considered as victims.

So this is very much an issue that is unresolved. This is one of the main preoccupations, I think, that Professor Vidal expresses in his study and I think it was one of the main topics during the seminar in Bogota, that precisely they're being left out of all of this effort at transitional justice and the reparations schemes and vastly important in all the discussion about how they can be included in the negotiations, Track Three, Track Two but how to include them.

I am very much interested by the comment from the State Department about when does a person stop being a displaced person. We have this situation with our protective measures, the protective measures of the Commission in the Inter-American court that have been in place in some cases for 10 years or more

and when the situation of women at risk is at an end. Well, in Colombia, this is very difficult for what Gimena was mentioning about conflict and how they come one after the other.

I think Professor Vidal explains it very well in his study, how we have different levels of conflict and how they superimpose over each other and how the paramilitaries threaten and how many of the leaders of the IDP organizations are threatened themselves, stigmatized, and the cycle continues. It is very difficult to put an end or close the cycle that might consider them as victims of displacement. So we're trying to find out what (inaudible.)

MS. FERRIS: Gimena?

MS. SANCHEZ: Yes, I would like to quickly comment on some of the questions.

In terms of the indicators that Kate mentioned that the Colombian government is looking at for durable solutions, I would just like to say that you need two PhD's to understand all of the laws and programs and projects the Colombian government has developed for IDPs, and I'm not saying that these laws and these programs are not models. They are. And I think that many other countries in the world ought to look at them and see how they can learn from them.

However, these laws, programs and projects are not resolving the problem or they're not helping to change the situation of displacement, and we really need to think about that. So, with all due respect to the Colombian government, I do think that we need to not come up with new indicators, studies and what have you but really think about the reality of how do you deal with a very profoundly complicated situation.

The Brookings Institution did several studies on when does displacement end and what kind of criteria can you use. Obviously, you ask four people, and you get totally different answers.

I was displaced in Argentina and a refugee from there. I'm obviously not in a situation of displacement, but I still consider myself displaced. That would be the case with most people who were displaced from their country.

You ask a government official, and they say: Well, we gave them a packet of humanitarian assistance. They're no longer displaced.

What I would say, looking at the situation of Colombia, is that once the imminent risk of harm has ended for that person and the minimal requirements of basic needs are served, that they would end being an internally displaced person. That doesn't mean the conflict has to end, but it means that in whatever region they're in, they're not at risk of being displaced again.

My great fear with determining an exact amount of time that someone is internally displaced in Colombia is that we have seen over and over again even returning IDPs become displaced. Here, we have a legal (inaudible), they've been displaced so many times, so can they register again, what have you, but also a problem that hasn't been resolved.

In terms of Annalisa's question, I don't know those specific cases you are talking about. I do know about the World Bank study to try figure out how to put IDPs maybe in other areas and without certain complications.

One is that there is a great stigmatization of IDPs, and so when you bring IDPs, persons, Colombians from one area of the country to another area of the country, especially if they're of a different ethnicity (inaudible), they face new challenges. One is stigma because of where they came from, because of the areas where the groups are from. Second, they're unknown. And third, (inaudible). So there's that issue.

Then, secondly, what kind of lands are we talking about? I've seen situations where people are given land that they can't sustain themselves on. So if we're talking about giving them lands that don't work for their sustainability, we need to think about that.

My last comment is just that internal displacement exists throughout the world, and many, many countries are dealing with it. I believe it's up to 50 countries at this point. But unlike other conflicts, except perhaps Afghanistan, Colombia has an added dimension which is that there's a tremendous amount of money fueling the conflict, fueling the internal conflict. Now the interconnection between the drug trafficking and the internal conflict does not apply all over the country, but in the areas where it does apply it is completely devastating and makes it far harder to deal with. The FARC has to bury the money that they have sometimes in the jungle because they don't know where to put it.

And so, we need to think about our dual responsibility -- and, here, I'm talking about U.S. citizens -- of the U.S.-Colombia relationship and the money, the incredible money we give to Colombia and see how we make it more effective. The first thing we need to do is ensure that we won't generate new displacement. So if the fumigation program or a certain military effort will renew displacement, we need to figure out that.

But, secondly, we need to think about the issue of land and again these structures. How do we address the (inaudible) problem which is basically the third party (inaudible) or the cousin, the girlfriend, what have you that is taking the goods that have been illegally required? How do you address that?

And then we need to have a debate in the U.S. about our contribution to this conflict. I am not (inaudible) legalization at all. So don't take me the wrong way. But we need to think about our responsibility in this country as U.S. citizens, and that debate that should be happening in the U.S. Congress.

Now, in the U.S. Congress, there's a general consensus that what we've done up to this point has not worked. There is no consensus as to what we should do. But what we need to do is start generating that debate and seeing where it takes off.

MS. FERRIS: Thank you very much. Last words or remarks?

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AMB. GREMINGER: Last words, just two or three remarks.

First of all, on how to make sure that IDP concerns are heard in a negotiation. Well, I think you have to make Track One actors IDP-sensitive. That is absolutely crucial. And, of course, we hope that, for instance, this study contributes to that objective.

We tried to make mediators IDP-sensitive, and it was with this aim that we worked very closely with the mediation support unit in order to establish guidance note on mediation and IDPs. That was then to be a good tool for U.N. mediators to work with.

And then maybe, very generally, if you want to make sure that you can bring in, systematically, civil society concerns in the Track One process, I think you have to organize a meaningful Track Two process in parallel. I think that goes for IDP concerns, but it goes for many other civil society concerns as well.

This, of course, presupposes that you construct a peace process (inaudible), which unfortunately has never been the case in Colombia for either of the big peace processes with the paramilitaries (inaudible), which from a professional point of view, of course.

The second issue, and you said this, is the ambassador's terrain. It's very sensitive terrain, the ELN question. If you are a third party that is involved in the peace process and at the same time if you have the permission to remain available as a third party, you are very careful in not entering into wrangling.

But I would agree with you. If you look back at both process with the FARC and the ELN over the past few years, there have been moments where the government has put good proposals on the table and the armed groups did not react to them. But I should add that the conflict was (inaudible). The pity was that we never had a political dynamic or a proposal that was on the table that was acceptable to both sides.

Believe me, I've been very close to some of these processes over the last 45 years. At times, we felt we were extremely close, but then both the parties for, at times, very rational reasons did not come along (inaudible).

MS. FERRIS: I want to thank all of our panelists especially the people at Universidad Javeriana. It's been wonderful to have you with us.

MR. VIDAL: Yes, yes. I want to thank you. We are here with part of the team that worked on the study. I want to thank you for the opportunity for participating in this debate. It's very important for us.

Thank you to Brookings and the participants on the panel. Thank you.

MS. FERRIS: Well, thank you at Javeriana. Thank you, panelists. And thanks to all of you for your patience also with our new technology. Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

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