Sustainable Development in Colombia: The Case of the Peace Agreement Between the Colombian Government and the FARC Guerilla

Mauricio Ossa Gómez
Sustainable Development in Colombia: The Case of the Peace Agreement Between the Colombian Government and the FARC Guerilla

Mauricio Ossa Gómez

Supervisor: Peter Söderbaum
Evaluator: Cecilia Mark-Herbert
CONTENT

ABSTRACT

SUMMARY

1. INTRODUCTION

2. AIM, RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHOD
   2.1 Aim
   2.2 Research questions
   2.3 Method

3. RELEVANT BACKGROUND
   3.1 Colombia
   3.2 Sustainable Development
   3.3 Sustainable Development in Colombia
   3.4 The Peace Agreement

4. LIMITATIONS & CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK
   4.1 Limitations
   4.2 Conceptual framework

5. RESULTS
   5.1 A sustainable development view of the Colombian conflict
   5.2 SDGs and their relation to the peace agreement

6. DISCUSSION

7. CONCLUSIONS

8. REFERENCE LIST

9. APPENDIX
   A. Brief history of the Colombian conflict
List of Abbreviation and Acronyms

SD             Sustainable Development
FARC        Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – FARC Guerrilla
SDG          Sustainable Development Goals
UN            United Nations
CIVETS  Colombia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Egypt, Turkey and South Africa
DANE    Department Administrative National of Statistics

List of Figures

Figure 1: Geographical Location Colombia
Figure 2. Triple Bottom Line of Sustainable Development
Figure 3: Where are woman’s most likely to be your boss?
Figure 4: Rate of Poverty in Colombia and Bogotá 2002-2015
Figure 5: The 5 points of the Colombian peace agreement through the three pillars of the sustainable development: Environment, society and economy
Figure 6. Poverty in Colombia 2002-2015
Figure 7. Educational System in Colombia
Figure 8. Female participation in the Colombian labor force
Figure 9. Colombia GDP Annually Growth
Figure 10. Emissions per capita by country 2000-2012
Figure 11. Colombia and the global perception index 2016

List of Figures in the Appendix

Figure 1. Perspectives on the origin of the Colombian Conflict
Figure 2. Estimate Coca Cultivation in Peru, Colombia and Bolivia
Figure 3. U.S Aid to Colombia
Figure 4. Evolution of the Guerrillas members (FARC & ELN) 1964-2014
Sustainable Development in Colombia
The Case of the Peace Agreement Between the Colombian Government and the FARC Guerilla

MAURICIO OSSA GOMEZ


Abstract: The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the relation between two highly relevant documents for the Colombian society: Firstly, The peace agreement between the Colombian Government and the FARC guerrilla. Secondly, the agreement of the authorities of the country to follow and pursue the new Sustainable Development Goals – Agenda 2030 from United Nations. For this research, an extensive existing literature review was done. Throughout the empirics, the analysis looked at the relation between these two documents to show the level of compatibility for the Sustainable Development agenda in Colombia. This compatibility is important to determine as both documents have a vital importance for the Colombian Society. The first, Peace Agreement, as it is the text that aims to propose the political agenda after more than 50 years of conflict between the authorities and the FARC guerrilla. Secondly, the SDGs – Agenda 2030 is a political agreement that countries in the world will follow to contribute to the sustainability of the planet. Thus, after having the chance to review and analyze both documents, there exist clear synergies between both documents, with the exceptions of certain topics. It can be concluded that there is much room for being optimistic in the case of Colombia, but to keep in mind that the agreements are just that: the entrance to a route that now the whole country needs to take, the path of sustainability.

KEYWORDS: Colombia; Sustainable Development, Conflict Resolution; Economic Growth; Internal Armed Conflict; Peace Agreement; SDG; Sustainability.

Mauricio Ossa, Depatment of Earth Sciences, Uppsala University, Villavägen 16, SE-752 36 Uppsala, Sweden
Sustainable Development in Colombia
The Case of the Peace Agreement Between the Colombian Government and the FARC Guerilla

MAURICIO OSSA GOMEZ


Summary: Sustainable development is a mandatory concept for our society, not just because its traditional relation with the environment, but as well because it is composed by the relation of other two spheres: society and economy. These three spheres and the balance between them could show the sustainability of society, which in the case of Colombia has been problematic mainly because of its internal conflict that lasted more than five decades. However, things might change in the long term, as last year the country made two transcendental decisions: Conclude a Peace agreement with the FARC guerrilla and signed the Sustainable Development Goals — Agenda 2030. This paper studies the design and content of those two documents, as it is of primarily importance for the country that it exists synergies between the main two drivers of the political agenda for the next decades. Thus, after realizing the lecture of both documents it is possible to suggest that the origin of the internal conflict in the country is mainly because the unbalance between aspects relevant for the sustainable development agenda, such as gender equality, access to land, quality education, climate action and strong institutions. However, all those aspects are mentioned in some way in the peace agreement that the Government just signed last year in La Habana, Cuba. The complexity of the conflict is partly due the absence of strong institutions that could assure the peace, fair and justice as vital pillars of a sustainable society. Concluding, the study exposes that even when some aspects of vulnerable communities as the disabled or the indigenous, the peace agreement is a text that gives a chance to Colombia for the first time in five decades, to write their history as a country without the use of the weapons.

KEYWORDS: Colombia; Sustainable Development, Conflict Resolution; Economic Growth; Internal Armed Conflict; Peace Agreement; SDG; Sustainability.

Mauricio Ossa, Department of Earth Sciences, Uppsala University, Villavägen 16, SE-752 36 Uppsala, Sweden
1. INTRODUCTION

Colombia, the South American nation, is a country gaining relevance around the world, a comeback that started about 20 years ago. Furthermore, that importance is becoming more and more evident with international recognitions as the 2016 Nobel Peace Prize for the country’s President, Juan Manuel Santos Calderon, and designation as “country of the year” by prestigious magazines such as The Economist. But how is it that Colombia is getting so much attention from the international community? Two main events could explain the new relevance of this South American nation: The peace agreement between the Government and the FARC guerrilla and the early implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals of United Nations.

It is important to start with the recently signed Peace Agreement between the Government of Colombia and the FARC guerrilla in 2016. Last year, was a unique year in Colombia as after more than five decades of conflict, and nine previous attempts for a peace process (Lopez, 2016), the Colombian Government and the FARC guerrilla signed a historic peace agreement that contributed to the end of the Colombian internal conflict. An illustration of the complexity of this agreement, called: “Acuerdo para la terminación del conflicto y la construcción de una Paz Estable y Duradera“ is the fact that it involved more than four years of negotiations and is described in a more than 300-page document carried out in La Habana, Cuba. The agreement was negotiated after both parties agreed on an agenda to guide the whole process, with the premise: “Nothing is negotiated until everything is negotiated.” The agenda was divided into six points: five referring to agreements and one to the implementation. With different perspectives and interests, the six points are the following: Comprehensive rural development, political participation, illicit drugs, justice for victims, and the end of the conflict.

Moreover, we have the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the United Nations, that are the new path that countries have agreed to adopt as being the most important for the next fifteen years (2016-2030). The main goals focus on mobilizing all kind of efforts to reduce social inequalities, end poverty and tackle climate change. (Sachs, 2015).

The reason to establish these goals starts with the successful exercise that the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) showed to aim in the pursuit of eradicating poverty and literacy around the world. It is also important to mention that the urgency of establishing these new goals lies in the fact of an urgent global challenge that is global warming. Yet, even though the task of accomplishing all these 17 goals seems to be of a tremendous size, the agreement is not legally binding. This means that the States are the ones in charge of the construction of the institutional and social framework to achieve all the 17 SDGs.

1 Source: The Economist (Consulted: 20-12-2016)
2 Translation: “Agreement for the ending of conflict and the construction of a Stable and Lasting Peace”
These 17 tasks are conceived from different perspectives and summarize all the efforts that should be considered when we work together to become a more sustainable society. Even though these goals are always presented in the same order, it does not mean that we should work in order, but as a complex task where each element is intrinsically related to each other. The SDGs are the following:

1. No Poverty
2. Zero Hunger
3. Good health & Well-being
4. Quality Education
5. Gender Equality
6. Clean water & sanitation
7. Affordable & clean energy
8. Decent work & economic growth
9. Industry, innovation & infrastructure
10. Reduced inequalities
11. Sustainable cities & communities
12. Responsible consumption & production
13. Climate Action
14. Life below water
15. Life on land
16. Peace, justice and strong institutions
17. Partnerships for the goals

These goals are composed of indicators that guide the countries and interested parties in the accountability of the process. In total there are 169 indicators for these 17 SDGs.

Consequently, since 2015 national Governments are working to establish the SDGs as part of their national agenda. This process involves dialogue with local partners, as well as to diffuse and communicate the importance of such a big challenge. This previous process leads to that fact that some countries are doing better than others to prioritize the SDGs like a path for the development of the nations. All this process is summarized annually in a national report that all the countries must inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who canalizes the information to expose the progress from a national, but as well a global perspective. This agenda is then to be discussed in the High-level forum that the UN organize with the representatives of each nation associated.

Here Colombia is mentioned as a leading country because of its prioritization of the SDGs as part of its national development goals (Lucci, Surasky, and Gamba, 2015). This level of highlighting involved that up to the moment more than 91 out of 169 SDGs targets are considered as national goals. This early implementation is making Colombia relevant in the current discussion of the most significant challenges that we have as a society nowadays: The sustainability of the planet.
The Colombian Peace Agreement and the Sustainable Development Goals are two important documents because of today’s premise to find a balance between sustainability and economic growth. In this quest, using our natural resources, which in the case of Colombia are abundant, responsibly, is pivotal. This sustainability challenge occurs at the same time that the country is starting to face the post-conflict stage, what is going to bring new challenges, but as well opportunities to solve some deep social inequalities that have been the main problem for the peaceful development of Colombia. Social inequalities that at the moment of the agreement cost more than 250,000 deaths and more than 4 millions of Colombians victims of internal displacement.

As a result of the previous agreements, the country is passing from the negotiation stage to the implementation stage. However, there is the primary concern that is necessary to analyze the perspectives: How related is the Colombian Peace agreement with the main guidelines of the SDG – Agenda 2030? Are there synergies to work together with both agreements? Which are the main challenges that are going to require an extra effort to implement them? Those are some of the points that this thesis is looking to address.

Lastly, the discussion of sustainable development is the same discussion necessary to solve the conflict in Colombia, as the steps that the country should follow in order to establish a more peaceful and viable society, are almost the same that the UNDP have determined as the steps that the countries should follow to enter into a sustainable development, or as the organization calls it: virtuous circle:

- Fight poverty and inequality
- Manage natural resources in a responsible way
- Build legitimacy for state institutions by providing security and functioning systems of law and justice
- Build trust between social groups
- Strengthen capacity against corruption
- Create inclusive economic growth
- Address and mitigate regional and/or external risks

(UNDP, 2010)

All those seven steps are intrinsically related to the internal conflict in Colombia, as the lack of all of them, in a higher or lower scale, have contributed to the extension of the conflict in the country. Thus, using a literature comparison about the result of the SDGs and comparing it to the main objectives and goals established in the peace agreement, it is possible to determine how aligned, or not, is the country to the global challenges, but at the same time how meets the necessity of solving the social problems that originated its 50 years internal conflict.
2. AIM, RESEARCH QUESTIONS & METHOD

2.1. AIM

The aim of this thesis is to explain the interconnectedness of the recent peace agreement between the Government of Colombia and the FARC guerrilla, and some of the Sustainable Development Goals (from now on referred to as the SDGs). It is relevant to understand these two agreements as they are going to act as the main political guidelines for the nation over the next decades. Hence, recognizing the existence of synergies between the Colombian peace agreement and the 17 SDGs is of vital importance.

2.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This analysis is relevant to the discussion of the future of Colombia; as it attempts to contribute to solving the following research questions:

1. It is aligned with the United Nations SDGs the Colombian peace agreement between the Government and the FARC guerrilla?
2. Is it possible to identify differences and/or contradictions between the two agreements based on the fact that they are created/produced/made on different social and economic conditions?
3. Which are the main challenges for the implementation of the two agreements?

To be able to resolve these research questions, I’m going to consider six of the seventeen SDGs; these are: Quality Education, Gender Equality, Decent Work & Economic Growth, No Poverty, Climate Action and Peace, Justice & Strong Institutions. The reasons to consider these specific goals are mainly based and resumed in the following chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1 NO POVERTY</strong></td>
<td>Poverty is one of the main causes of the internal conflict in Colombia; this is mainly a result of the extremely inequality among some of the regions of the country (despite the tremendous efforts to eradicate it during the last decades). For this reason, in the two agreements, the topic of poverty and access to equal opportunities is considered vital for the future. <strong>Colombian statistics on poverty</strong>: DANE, World Bank, United Nations, World Economic Forum.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Education is considered the strongest tool a country holds. In the case of Colombia, for both agreements the component of education is crucial. In the first (Peace agreement) as it creates a new narrative in a post-conflict society. In the second case (SDGs) the following generations as the ones to lead and benefit from a more sustainable path.

**Colombian statistics on Education:** DANE, Ministry of Education, OCED, World Bank, United Nations.

Gender Equality is, with Climate Change, the most urgent challenges, as the rights of the women are a discussion about who we are and how we understand the society as a whole. That is the reason why I consider it mandatory to analyze the Gender perspective of the Colombian society and the SDGs.

**Colombian statistics on Gender Equality:** DANE, Presidential Agency for Gender Equality, UN Woman.

Discuss the economic growth and the economic model is important for the comparison of both documents (Peace agreement & SDGs) for a main reason: The economy of Colombia is based on the primary sector what leads to a pressure on the exploitation of the nation’s natural resources in the poorest regions of the country.


Climate Change is possibly the most urgent challenge; the problem is that each country and region have different perspective of how to solve it, which creates disorder and inertia. In the case of Colombia, climate change is an important task as the nation produces 0.4% of the global greenhouse gasses (El Tiempo, 2015). Also, the country is considered to have the highest biodiversity of the planet and is the fifth in the freshwater disposal.

**Colombian statistics on Climate Action:** Ministry of Environment, DANE, OCED, UN, World Economic Forum.
Lastly, the goal of Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions is holistic in the case of Colombia as it is the main path that the Government, and the Colombian society, is trying to implement to end the conflict between the actors.

**Colombian statistics on Peace, Justice and Institutions:**
Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Secretariat of Transparency, NGO’s, United Nations, World Bank.

### 2.3. METHOD

The analysis of the present study is going to follow this structure:

**Part 1.** Identification and comparison of main success indicators  
**Part 2.** The Level of compatibility between both agreements in terms of sustainable development.

With these sections, it is going to be possible to carry out a general analysis of both agreements. As it will be possible to identify an interdisciplinary approach to clarify the system thinking model behind each of those robust documents.

For the second section, we are going to produce a table for each SDG where we are going to mention first the indicator relevant to analyze, second the present references in the peace agreement and finally from there to determinate the level of compatibility in terms of similarity, contextualization of the Colombian reality and the relation to topics relevant to the sustainable development agenda.

Nevertheless, before moving on to identifying and comparing the main success indicators of the two agreements, I will outline the methodology that has been employed in the research and analysis of this paper. Mainly, this methodology is based on a literature review that involves the fact of considering primarily the analysis of two documents, the two agreements: The Colombian peace agreement (High Commissioner for Peace, 2016) and the SDGs of United Nations. Then, the analysis of these two documents involves the lecture and detail study of literature relevant of researchers and experts significant to the understanding of the internal conflict in Colombia and the path for a more sustainable society. The analysis is also going to take into account the information and literature that has been published by relevant organizations such as the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), United Nations (UN), World Bank (WB), but as well the literature published by experts relevant for the case of Colombia.

After this literature study, it is possible to present conclusions about the information available for the individuals to condense in the last chapter, the recommendations for the current generations to build a more sustainable society.
Important to mention, that I’m Colombian, what shows that it is more than evident that exists a conflict of interest to analyze 100% objective the subject, mainly due to the fact that I’m part of the Colombian society. Thus I’m part of the conflict as one of the actors: civil society. The previous statement exposes the reason why it is important to base the discussion on relevant information and literature of recognized organizations and researchers.
3. RELEVANT BACKGROUND

3.1. COLOMBIA

![Figure 1: Geographical Location of Colombia (Vickers, 2012)](image)

Colombia, situated in the northwest of South America, is a territory composed by Amazon rainforests, grasslands, savannas with both Pacific and Atlantic coastlines, reasons that could explain why Colombia has the biggest biodiversity by square kilometer. Also, Colombia is the sixth country in the world by the magnitude of total renewable freshwater supply (Index Mundi, 2015).

From a demographic perspective, Colombia is the third-most populated country in Latin America, after Brazil and México, with a population of around 48 million, which are mainly concentrated in the northwest part of the country. For instance, the nine southeastern departments (covering 54% of the country’s total area) have less than 5% of the population. Notably, the country’s population is projected to stabilize around the year of 2060 as the population growth rate has experienced a decrease during the last three decades (World Bank, 2016).

The economy of Colombia is the fourth largest in Latin America, following Brazil, Mexico and Argentina, and the largest 29th in the world. With a rising Middle Class, the country’s economy grew at an average of 4% during the last 15 years (World Bank, 2016). The main strengths of the Colombian economy are: the massive disposal of natural resources as mineral fuels, oils, coffee, forest products and metal products. Colombia is considering as part of the CIVETS, an acronym coined by Robert Ward – Global director of the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) in 2009 - that is a group of six leading emerging economies that are
favored by different reasons, such as “diverse and dynamic economy.” Lastly, Colombia has strong international relations and plays a major role in the Latin-American context regarding economic and political affairs. As an example is the fact that Colombia is among the members of the Pacific Alliance (Together with Mexico, Chile and Peru).

Although all the advances of the last 15 years, the National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE) reported during 2016 that the country still has a 27.8% of its population living in poverty, of which at least 7.9% are in the group of “Extreme Poverty.” Related to this, the Colombian society is certainly unequal as the GINI INDEX of the country, in 2015, is located in 0.522 (DANE, 2016) that is also the level of countries such as Brazil or Lesotho.

3.2. SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Sustainable development is a principle that promotes and emphasizes the relationship between the different dimensions of the society, a relation that needs to be in harmony with three mainly areas: human (the individual), society (all) and nature (the planet as a physical space).

There exists a huge debate about the accurate definition of Sustainable Development. However, it exists a consensus in the academia and civil society that possibly the most accepted definition could be the one presented by the World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland Commission) in its report from 1987 that establish the following:

“Sustainable development is a development that meets the needs of the present, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.”
(WCED, 1987)

Even though this is the most accepted definition, as in all the fields of studies, there exists a spectrum of ideas and understandings of how the approach to meet the sustainable development path should ultimately be. As a result, there exist a weak and a strong sustainability, with different conceptions, the primary definition for both is the following:

- **Strong Sustainability:** Emphasis on the environment as the keystone for the development, but as well in the social justice as a key matter for the humans as species. Then, the use of natural resources is necessary, as a matter of survival, but it should not be intrinsically connected with the economic growth as the driver of the development (Daly, 1991).

- **Weak Sustainability:** Nature is the first step to consider in the economic development of humanity. Then, markets should be the ones that show the way of how to preserve it, but taking into account that the conservation of nature should not be an obstacle to the objectives of humans (Constanza and Daly, 1992).
Then, one of the approaches is more focus on nature as the core of development (strong) and the other with a focus mainly related with the human as the center of development (weak). However, both approaches consider that the role of nature is a clue and that is the main point to focus, as humans never before humans were so concerned about the connection between nature and the success of humanity.

Therefore, studying the concept of Sustainable Development, we can understand that there exist mainly three spheres that are intrinsically related to the sustainable development of societies. Those spheres are summarized in the following figure:

![Figure 2. The Triple Bottom Line of Sustainable Development (Elkington, 1997)](image)

As we can see, to get closer to sustainable development of society, we have to consider the social, environmental and the economic sustainability of the societies, as these aspects are intrinsically related. This shows that the ability of a group depends on their capacity to advance and achieve a certain level of harmony between all those factors. In detail, each of these spheres is mainly defined as:

- **Economic Sustainability:** This sphere relates to the capacity of the individuals, and different groups, to offer an economy that with a healthy economic growth, provide the capacity of the market to expand as a result of the offer and demand. The economic sustainability is crucial, as it depends primarily on the conduct and ethics of the individuals and as well in the creation of conditions of well-being for the actors related to the society.

- **Social Sustainability:** Relates to the welfare of the individuals and all the living beings. This kind of sustainability also refers to aspects of human rights, diversity and level of justice present in the societies we are analyzing. Therefore, the importance to
develop a social sustainability that can close the gaps created by the other spheres, especially the economic one, as this sphere relates to creating equal and fair conditions for all the living beings.

- **Environmental Sustainability:** The importance of this sphere is more than evident, as it is the one that assures the existence of appropriate conditions to the development of the other two spheres. However, it is also related to the ability of the individuals to assure that they understand the importance of using resources that are provided by nature in a sustainable way.

It is important to delimit these definitions, as in the case of Colombia the conflict is a matter of sustainable development, as there is not sustainable development in the conditions that the Colombian society was before: 250,000 Colombians deaths, 4 millions of Colombians victim of internal displacement, 4 millions of oil barrels that polluted the natural stock as consequence of eco-terrorism. Hence, the present analysis is an attempt to understand how the Colombian Peace Agreement is related to that purpose: Meeting the present needs of Colombians without compromising the ability of the future generations to do the same.

### 3.3. SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN COLOMBIA

The development agenda led by the different governments during the second half of the XX century until the 90’s, was characterized by a protectionist program, with the idea of developing a Colombian industry that generates employment and prosperity within the country (Sáenz, 1990). However, this protectionism did not promote innovations. As a consequence, Colombian companies don’t have any incentive to improve their products or services. This generated, different problems from a sustainable development perspective:

1. Use of obsolete and highly contaminating technologies
2. Deforestation of vast regions of the country for agricultural use
3. Forced displacement by political reasons
4. The increase in the dumping of waste in the rivers of the country.

Nevertheless, during the 80’s and the beginning of the 90’s the sustainable development (SD) movement across the world started to become popular in the western hemisphere, what inevitable came to Colombia under the influence, of the United Nations and the European countries with initiatives such as the World Commission on Environment and Development, which released the world known report of *Our Common Future* (1987) changing the perception of the environment and its relation with the economic growth.

### 3.3.1. The beginning of a long journey (1990)

The first references to sustainability and development in Colombia go back to the year 1990 when the Colombian Government and the United States Agency for International
Development (USAID) signed a cooperation agreement to develop, analyze and publish the Environmental Profile of the country. This partnership followed the goal to let Colombia identify its natural wealth to be able to manage it in a responsible way (Marquez, 2003).

This project was also important because it was one of the first opportunities where different groups of the society joined to establish an interdisciplinary vision of the environment and the challenges that Colombia was facing during those decades. Examples of these different groups are the civil society, multilateral agencies, the private sector and the public institutions.

3.3.2. The Green Constitution (1990-1992)

Although Sustainable Development is not mentioned directly in the constitution, there is a consensus among experts (Eschenhagen, 1998) that the constitution of 1991 is the “greenest constitution” of the Colombian history. This reference comes as it is the first Colombian constitution to mention and encourage the protection of aspects of sustainable development as cultural heritage, economic growth, social inclusion, gender equality, the rights of the future generation and a sustainable use. As an example of this new vision, in the article 334 of the actual Constitution of Colombia, the following it stated:

“**Article 334:** (...) Improving the quality of life of the inhabitants, equitable distribution of opportunities and benefits of development and preservation of a healthy environment.”

(Translated from - Constitución Política de Colombia, 2015)

All this nudge that came from the “Green Constitution” led to a new era of improvement of the environmental agenda in Colombia. It followed, for example, the assistance of the country to the Rio Conference in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 1992. During this conference, organized by the United Nations, the country compromised with the promotion of a sustainable economic growth.


The law 99 of 1993 created the Ministry of the Environment which became the most tangible consequence of the new constitution of the country, showing that Colombia was on the way to establish long-term sustainable targets. During those years, the Government also created the National Environmental System (SINA) that was in charge of the management not just of the natural resources of the country, but as well their relation to a private sector-civil society (Marquez, 2003).

Also, the Colombian Government decided to define the concept of Sustainable Development (Influenced by globally acknowledged Brundtland Report “Our common future) of the year 1987 in the same law 99 of 1993, the definition that the government approved at that time is the following:
Article 3 “(development) that leads to economic growth, to the elevation of the well-being and social welfare, without depleting the renewable natural resources base in which it sustains, at the same time without compromising the right of the future generations to satisfy their own needs.”

This definition exposes some aspects of the perspective of the Government of that time. This revealed that the ultimate goal was economic growth, without taking into account that the economic is not the only way to increase social and/or cultural well-being.


During these years it is possible to see that the different local authorities understood the mandate of the new constitution and tried to implement a Sustainable Development perspective into their local development plans (Eschenhagen, 1998). This approach showed the importance for the national Government to integrate the ecosystems to the sociocultural and economic agenda to increase the welfare of its citizens. As an illustration, it is possible to identify during those years the growth of the urban planning methodologies among the local authorities, the reduction of the female unemployment, the increase of the educational participation, and the consolidation of the national authorities as the Ministry of Environment.

Some of these policies are still valid and can show why Colombia is making progress in some of the components of Sustainable Development, as for example the rate of women in executive positions compared to men in Colombia.

![Figure 3. Where are women most likely to be your boss? (Source: ILO)](image-url)
3.3.5. The lost decade (2002 – 2010)

The two presidential periods of Alvaro Uribe were both positive and negative for the Sustainable Development agenda in Colombia. Problematic, as he prioritized economic growth instead of other indicators of development such as health and equality. For example, during the eight years of Uribe’s administration the privatization of the natural resources almost doubled or tripled compared to the levels of 2002 (Rodríguez, Grisales, and Gutierrez, 2013). Another problem during those years was the reduction of the budget allocated for the Ministry of Environment as part of the GDP: passing from 0.20% of the GDP to just 0.09% at 2009 (Muñoz, 2011).

Uribe was also a true believer in the free market and embraced the idea that with the reception of foreign investment and financial capital, the country would benefit from economic growth. As a result of Uribe’s administration, some socioeconomic indicators such as poverty reduction and increase access to education were improved. Nevertheless, environmental degradation during these years accelerated as a result of the increasing economic activity in the country.

However, is not just Uribe’s fault that the Sustainable Development Agenda was stopped in Colombia. The country’s most important commercial partner, United States of America (USA) was during this time led by the Republican president George W. Bush, who shared Uribe’s understanding of the role of the private sector as one of the main drivers of societies.

3.3.6. New paradigms (2011 – Today)

When Juan Manuel Santos arrived to the presidency in 2010, there was a change in the way sustainable development was perceived in the country. The change was not just because of increase of the budget for areas such as education, health, and environment, but also because Santos understood the necessity of a social priority plan for the country that involved economic growth but with profit for all the agents of society. This was the essence behind his campaign logo: “Prosperity for all”.

19
Santos new political perspective for Colombia made the country relevant for the world in terms of sustainable development issues (Hub, 2016). Today Colombia is promoting an early implementation of the SDGs and is creating awareness about preservation of vital ecosystems such as the Amazon region.

Nevertheless, it is important as well to mention the critic directed towards Santos’ voiced in recent years, most notably regarding his authorization of oil and gas exploration offshore. Before the last six years of Santos’ administration, oil and gas exploration offshore was not very common in Colombia. Also, the government’s considerations to authorize the use of fracking is highly debated in Colombia at present. (Vargas, 2017).

3.4. THE PEACE AGREEMENT

When we refer to the peace agreement in Colombia, we are talking about the peace process between the Colombian Government and the FARC guerrilla to bring an end to the internal conflict in Colombia. This peace process ended when the negotiators announced a final agreement to end the conflict in August of 2016, four years after the negotiation started in La Habana, Cuba. What is important to mention is that the citizen referendum to ratify the agreement in October 2016 was unsuccessful; more than 50% of the electorate voted against the final peace agreement. In response to the unexpected referendum results, representatives of the different political actors – the government, opposition and the FARC guerrilla – summoned to discuss changed to the peace agreements and ended up signing a revised peace accord in the last days of November 2016. Last, both houses of the Colombian Congress (Chamber of the representatives and the senate) ratified the final document, thus making an end of a more than five decades conflict in Colombia.

Regarding the content of the final peace accord approved by the Congress, this document is composed of six different point: five referring to the different agreements settled between the Government and the Farc, and one regarding the implementation of the agreement. More specifically the five first point are the following: Comprehensive rural development, political participation, illicit drugs, justice for victims, and the end of the conflict. Each of

![Figure 4. Rate of Poverty in Colombia and Bogotá 2002-2015 (Source: DANE, 2017)](image-url)
these points are then divided into several ramifications that explain the complexity and level of discussion between the Colombian Government and the FARC guerrilla delegates.

The topics on each of the five sections of peace agreements are:

- **Comprehensive rural development** (Agreement reached: May 2013): This was the first point discussed (High commissioner for peace 2016, p. 10-34) and relates to the agricultural reform as one of the reasons for the conflict in Colombia. This section discusses the following aspects: 1) To create a department that is going to be in charge of providing access to land, under certain circumstances, to the people that need it the most in the rural areas of the country. 2) The system used by the authorities to verify the property of the land is going to be updated to restore owners that were victims of the parties part of the conflict. 3) The creation of an agricultural justice, where individuals could resolve their disputes related to the ownership of the land. 4) Access to potable water and electricity for the more abandoned parts of the country. 5) The establishment of a center of access to traditional agricultural systems, where individuals could get seeds and equipment for their work.

- **Political Participation** (Agreement reached: November 2013): In this point of the agreement (High commissioner for peace 2016, p. 35-56) are among other things: 1) The conditions to create political movements are going to be more flexible. 2) The elections and the campaigns are going to be stricter about the use of donations, as the agreement is looking for fair conditions for candidates. 3) The groups that have suffered the most as a result of the conflict (women, indigenous, farmers) are going to receive, for a limited time, representation in the Congress to facilitate the interaction and discussion about the post-conflict era. 4) Embrace the creation of an opposition policy, to facilitate and make clearer the conditions to do political opposition to traditional parties. 5) Develop a more open Government where citizens could follow and control the decisions made by the state.

- **Illicit Drugs** (Agreement reached: May 2014): Drug cultivation and trafficking have always been related to the Colombian history, and has served as one of the primary financial sources for the FARC guerrilla. For this reason, this was one of the main points of the peace agreement (High commissioner for peace 2016, p. 98-123). This topic includes: 1) The Government is going to lead the creation of a substitute crops program, inviting (voluntary-mandatory) the individuals to replace their illicit drugs crops with legal ones. 2) The military forces are going to create a division to be in charge of a logistic fight against the cartels and the systematic drug organizations. 3) The Government is going to lead, with the information provided by the criminal organizations, the fight against the resources that are, profits from illegal activities. 4) The justice system is going to establish strict rules to avoid the influence of illicit money on the political agenda.
• **Justice for the victims** (Agreement reached: November 2015): This could be the most important point of the peace agreement (High commissioner for peace 2016, p. 124-192) since it is one related to the victims of the conflict. This is important as this point is about the avoidance of the use of weapons as a political instrument again. In this chapter, the topics are the following: 1) Commission of truth: To write the truth about the conflict and how we can avoid a new one. 2) The search of missing individuals that are considered part of the conflict. 3) The recognition of responsibilities of the different actors of the conflict, to promote a genuine and peaceful transition for the post-conflict. 4) Land restitution for people that were victims of internal displacement. 5) Peace justice to instore the symbolic penalties that are considered vital for the conclusion of the Colombian conflict. This refers, for example to the main leaders of the guerrilla or the state actors that committed crimes.

• **The end of the conflict** (Agreement reached: August 2016): This is the last of the fundamental points of the agenda, and is more related with the logistics of the implementation of the agreement (High commissioner for peace 2016, p. 57-97). However, this point is also crucial as it is the one that exposes how the rebels are going to join, peacefully, the Colombian society: 1) In 180 days the guerrilla members are going to give their weapons and military material to the neutral part of the agreement: United Nations. 2) End of all kinds of military activity between the Colombian Government and the FARC guerrilla. 3) FARC rebels are going to be located in 22 rural areas where they are going to start the transition to the society with educational programs, access to free interest loans to create their businesses, among others. 4) The United Nations are going to destroy the military equipment to produce monuments as symbols of peace.
4. LIMITATIONS & CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

4.1. LIMITATIONS

The purpose of this study is to analyze the relation between the Peace agreement and the SDGs, which means that the study is going to be based exclusively on the information present in those two texts and on relevant literature by recognized researchers on the topics. Also, it is not going to discuss the political view or implementation phase. Because the Peace Agreement has so recently been adopted, it is difficult to understand the importance and dimensions of it. At the moment of writing this paper, May 2017, the FARC members are handing over their weapons to the United Nations and are starting their path to join the rest of the Colombian society.

4.2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

4.2.1. COLOMBIAN INTERNAL CONFLICT AND ITS CAUSES

The Colombian internal conflict is a conflict with different perspectives and origins depending on who analyses the conflict. However, for the analysis of this document we are going to consider the point of view of Eduardo Pizarro, who in his essay for the historical commission, that was part of the peace process, he argues as follows:

"The Colombian nation has suffered different kinds of conjunctures that has contributed to the perpetuation of the conflict in the country, some of these conjunctures or reasons for the prolongation of such a long conflict include: The access to land, institutional weakness, deep inequality of income, the tendency to use arms as a political solution and the traumatic presence of the State in some of the more remote regions". (Comisión histórica, 2014)

Using the analysis of an expert such as Eduardo Pizarro, we are going to keep those five aspects in mind and analyze them from the perspective of how they are related to the peace agreement, but as well how they are studied and included in the Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations.

4.2.1.2. TIME FRAME ANALYSIS

As we mentioned before, the Colombian internal conflict is open to multiple opinions about its historical background. For this, it is important to clearly define the time frame that we are going to analyze for the conflict and for that we are going to consider the last 17 years where is possible to identify the main aspects that catalyze the resolution and beginning of the peace talks. Those elements that contributed to the acceleration and triggered the process, among others:
• **2002**: EU & international governments include FARC as a terrorist organization.

• **2002**: Election of Uribe Vélez as President of Colombia for the period 2002-2006.

• **2005**: Paramilitary forces and the Government concluded an Amnesty process call: Ley de Justicia y Paz

• **2006**: Alvaro Uribe is elected for a second term (2006-2010).

• **2008**: The Colombian Government leads the Operation Jaque that resulted in the successful rescue of 15 of the main hostages of the FARC guerrilla.

• **2010**: Juan Manuel Santos is Elected as president for the period 2010-2014.

• **2012**: Official opening of the peace process between the Government and FARC with support of the supervisor countries: Norway, Chile, Venezuela and Cuba.

• **2016**: The Peace agreement is reached between the two parts of the process.

### 4.2.1.3. PARTIES INVOLVED IN THE COLOMBIAN INTERNAL CONFLICT AND HENCE IN THE FULL PEACE AGREEMENT

The Colombian internal conflict in Colombia is a more than five-decade conflict, which means that almost every actor of the society has been a victim at a certain point of it. However, to make it more clear and easy to analyze we are going to consider the dimensions of the conflict and determine the actors in it:

• **Government and State**: Is the legitimate and sovereign political unity of the Colombian society, designated through a democratic process, elections, by the citizens and the legal actors of the society. The Colombian State is recognized, by national and international organizations, as the major and unique official representative of the Colombian interest nationally and internationally.

• **FARC - Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia**: Irregular and non-state guerrilla with a Marxism-Leninist ideology that through the use of armed civilians look for establishing a communist state in Colombia. Important to keep in mind that they were considered nationally and internationally (USA, UN, EU) as a terrorist organization until the end of the full peace agreement when they ceased activities as an armed guerrilla.

• **Private Sector**: The parts of the national economy that are not under a direct control of the Colombian State. The industry could be composed only of national and/or international individuals and/or organizations under the current Colombian legislation. (Oxford Dictionaries English, 2017)

• **Civil Society**: Third sector of the society, along with Government and businesses. The civil society is composed by organizing individuals that create non-government organizations (NGO), but as well by the minimum division of the society: people. (United Nations, 2016)
- **Environment:** Using a Promethean (Dryzek, 2013) discourse, we are separating the individual from the environment. However, this division is important as we need to indicate clearly the victim role of the environment in the Colombian conflict through activities as illicit crops, eco-terrorism, among others.

- **Media:** The mass communication tools (TV, Radio, Internet, Newspapers) that should offer neutral and vital information for the existence of an equal and informed society. (Oxford Reference, 2017)

- **International Actors:** Groups of States or international organizations that contribute to the solution or deepening of the conflict in Colombia. The role of these international players could be in the form of a political or financial support. In the case of the peace agreement, we could find States, NGO’s, among others.

### 4.2.2. CONFLICT RESOLUTION THEORIES

Peter Wallensteen (2002) suggest that to analyze a peace agreement is necessary to understand the limits of it, as a peace agreement is not the whole solution to a conflict, but another step in the conflict resolution process. For that, it is important to understand that in the case of the Colombian society, we are going to analyze only the agreement that was signed by the Colombian Government and the FARC guerrilla after the talks began in September of 2012. Then, four years later, in October of 2016, negotiators announced a final agreement that is looking forward to the construction of a stable and durable peace for the actual and coming generations of people living in the Colombian territory. Additional to the previous statement, it is important to understand what type of agreement it is. For that purpose, we are going to use the concepts proposed in the book *Understanding Conflict Resolution* by Peter Wallensteen (2002).

### 4.2.3. PEACE AGREEMENT

Nita Yawanarajah and Julien Ouellet, are considered experts in the analysis of conflict resolution, in part because of their work in the academia, but as well because of the work of Yawanarajah in the UN. For this, it is possible to consider them as a starting point to define the term *Peace Agreement*. Thus, Peace Agreement is a contract between parties to transform a violent conflict into a more sustainable and friendly one, as a necessary step to solve differences through dialogue (Yawanarajah, 2003). In the case of Colombia is possible to identify that it is a peace agreement as both parties, Government and FARC, decided to move from a military confrontation stage to a stage based on dialogue as an instrument to solve controversies. However, what kind of peace agreements exist and what are the singularities of each one?
Well, the same authors, Yawanarajah and Ouellet, based on the studies of prominent authors as Wallensteen, expose the existence of three different levels of the substance of peace agreements:

1. **Terms of Surrender:** This type involve that there is a clear side that leads the confrontation and in that way, there is a negotiation to decide the conditions for the surrender of one of the parties.

2. **Partial Agreements:** This type of contract involves that there exist synergies or the intention of the parties to negotiate certain aspects, but not the whole causes of the conflict. Thus, there exists the chance to solve some part of it as an opportunity for future agreements.

3. **Full Agreements:** All the parts involved are considered to assure a stable and lasting peace. It also includes the discussion of the biggest amount of topics that are considered as the origin of the conflict. Also, it involves compromises for the future to build, together, a more sustainable society that avoids relapsing into conflict.

Therefore, the Colombian Peace Agreement is a full agreement, as we are going to see in the following sections that include the discussion of the main causes of the conflict mentioned by Pizarro (2012): Access to land, institutional weakness, inequality of income, use of arms as political solution and the lack of presence of the state. The previous delimitation is important as the content of each agreement depends on the nature of the contract (Wallensteen and Sollenberg, 1997). Thus, for the case of this peace agreement we are going to identify three main components:

- **Procedure:** Establishes the processes that are going to preserve and maintain peace in the conflict area. This is when the parties have the chance to set and delimit institutions involved in the peace agreement ensuring that there is a framework to discuss and guarantee human rights, elections, disarmament, among others (Yawanarajah, 2003).

- **Substantive:** Is the ideal post-conflict scenario, where the different parts of the agreement define how it looks. This contributes to defining clear the steps that guide to that scenario. Generally, this stage includes the redistribution of power, the management of natural resources, the protection for future vulnerable individuals, the access to memory and justice, and so on.

- **Organization:** Is the one that defines clear the roles and what is everyone supposed to do to have guidance and monitoring of the results of the implementation phase of the agreement. This could involve the role of a third – neutral – part that assures transparency to the parts involved in the conflict.
5. RESULTS

5.1. A SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT VIEW OF THE COLOMBIAN CONFLICT

After having the chance to discuss one of the many conceptions related to the understanding of Sustainable Development in the introduction of this document, it is possible to focus on the antecedents that existed in Colombia and why the peace agreement is so important in the construction of a more sustainable society. A society that follows the guidelines presented by the United Nations through the SDGs Agenda 2030 (United Nations, 2015).

The National Center of Historical Memory is the primary entity in Colombia that collects and analyzes the data and information about the internal conflict in the country. In this organization more than 20 people work with cooperation between Governmental institutions, but as well with NGO, to collect date from the field to analyze the horrible consequences of the conflict. In the year of 2014, they published an emblematic report called: “Basta Ya” (No more), this document is considered as one of the most complete and neutral documents to analyze the consequences of the conflict concerning the sustainable development of the country. Thus, with the analysis of this material, plus other sources, it is possible to separate the three categories the Triple Bottom chart (Figure 2) the unsustainable conditions of the internal armed conflict in Colombia.

- **Economic Consequences:** Is always difficult to judge the impact of a conflict, as it involves everything from the investment of money by the national authorities to the loss of human beings in the conflict. However, different researchers and institutions have tried to provide precise data about the financial impact suffered by the nation. One of the primary methodologies to analyze this effect is related to two main aspects: the impact on the country productivity by the conflict and the increase of the unproductive expenses as the investment in the military reaction of the military forces. Thus, is possible to find a range of studies that suggest that the impacts of the conflict could be between 0.8% points of the GDP/year for the most conservatives (Riveros, 2013) to the 2.0% points of the GDP/year of the most optimistic (Cardenas, 2007).

- **Environmental consequences:** The studies that analyze the impact of the internal conflict in Colombia on the environment suggests that it has been severe since the country counts with exceptional conditions from a biodiversity perspective. These consequences mainly focus on two aspects: The deforestation to increase the production of illegal drugs and the contamination of natural resources, mostly through oil spill made by eco-terrorism by the guerrillas against Governmental facilities. In the case of the illicit crops, they are estimated by the US Drugs Department, that says that today exist more than 200,000 hectares. In the event of the of eco-terrorism as a war weapon, the national authorities in Colombia suggest the pollution of more than 4 million oil barrels during the last five decades (Semana, 2015).
• **Social consequences:** This could be the darkest chapter and episode of the conflict in Colombia. The information available about this sphere is increasing as the main parties of the conflict: Government and FARC are now sharing historical data about their internal and confidential information. However, using the report of the National Center of Historical Memory we could find that during the last 17 years of conflict, there have been more than four millions of internal displacement victims and more than 250,000 dead related to the conflict (National Centre of Historical Memory, 2014).

All these previous facts and numbers are a representation of the delicate situation of the Colombian society before the agreement, and that their citizens suffered for more than five decades. For that, it is the important to understand the dimension of what has been negotiated between the Government authorities and the representatives of the FARC guerrilla. Then, after this brief analysis about the background and previous conditions of the Colombian society, it is time to start analyzing directly the two documents: peace agreement and SDGs and see the relation and potential synergies for this South American nation, as a vital step for the construction of a more sustainable society in the country.

### 5.2. SDGs AND THEIR RELATION TO THE COLOMBIAN PEACE AGREEMENT

Now is the time to enter, to the discussion and analysis of both documents. Thus, the idea, as we mentioned on page 14, is to start first analyzing the variables and indicators that both documents have to judge the successful implementation of what was discussed by the parts. Consequently, we are going to start talking about each SDG and its relation to the whole peace agreement.

![Figure 5](image-url)

*Figure 5. The 5 points of the Colombian peace agreement through the three pillars of the sustainable development: Environment, society and economy.*
This division that is made for the purpose of this analysis is a representation of how we should analyze each of the points that were discussed in the agreement, between the Colombian Government and the FARC guerrilla. It is important to mention, that even when there exist subtopics related to different areas, for the purpose of this thesis, we are going to assume the previous design. Therefore, we are going to start examining each of this six SDGs selected, the main success indicators established by the UN, the actual situation in Colombia and how it is mentioned, if it is, in the complete peace agreement.

**NO POVERTY (FIRST SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOAL)**

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are supposed not to mention directly a particular path on how to approach the 17 goals. However, it is true that the structure of the document and the politics has settled that No Poverty is the first one. The challenge seems to be possible as in the last 25 years decreased almost 50% the population living in extreme poverty (living with less than 1.25 USD / a day). For this, the focus needs to be on specific geographic areas as Asia and Africa. The reality also shows that even when Colombia is doing well reducing the levels of extreme poverty in its society, there still some challenges ahead.

Some of the success indicators relevant for this SDG are:

- “By 2030 reduce at least by half the population of women, men and children living in extreme poverty.”
- “Ownership of land and access to essential services as water and electricity.”
- “Establish policy frameworks that consider a gender-sensitive development strategy and thereby support and help the social groups that could be victimized.”
- “The building of resilient communities that could avoid and resist the climate-related extreme events.”

*(UN, 2015)*

Colombia as a developing country has made a much progress in this area, as the last report of multidimensional poverty of the National Center of Statistics (DANE, 2016) shows a steady decrease in the extreme poverty indicator. However, the rates still really high as the national poverty rate still at 27% and the extreme poverty in 7.9%, showing that the challenge for the Government still tough, but with the confidence of making progress during the next ten years. Another indicator that can show the advances for the Colombian citizens could be the GINI Index, as it exposes the sum of all the social security conditions and measures them to compare how unequal the society is, exposing the gap between the richest and the poorest in the nation. In the case of Colombia, in 2015 the GINI Index was of 0.522 (closer to 0 the better) compared with a 0.538 of the year 2014, what shows progress in the national policies.
Important to mention as well, that the statistics show that the female poverty is higher (+30% compared to male poverty) as there are still social and cultural barriers that dismiss the access of women to financial loans or particular works, what creates unfair conditions for the women living in urban or rural areas around the country.

Relevant as well, the increasing gap between the circumstances rural vs. urban areas, as the urban areas are where the decrease is occurring, creating a growing gap between the rural and the urban Colombia, an aspect that needs to be mandatory for the Government and the NGO’s. The difference is significant as the urban poverty rate for 2015 was 24.1% compared with a rural poverty rate of 40.3%, what exposes a more than 60% difference between both indicators, showing that the social-political problem of Colombia is the lack of policies that approach the country as a whole.

Now if we compare the SDG indicators for this goal and try to find references or comparable goals in the peace agreement what is the reality of the focus at the end of poverty as one of the origins of the internal conflict in Colombia?

| Relation SDG-Zero Poverty indicators with mentions in the Colombian Peace Agreement |
|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Indicator SDGs                  | Presence in the Peace Agreement | Level of compatibility |
| Page 24/310 – Point 1 of the agenda:  |
| ”To reduce the extreme poverty in all its dimensions in a 50% in the next 15 years (2016-2030)”... | | |
| 1.1 | “By 2030 reduce at least by half the population of women, men and children living in extreme poverty.” (UN, 2015). |
| 1.4 | “Ownership of land and access to basic services as water and electricity, ownerships and financial services.” (UN, 2015). |
| 1.b | “Establish policy frameworks that consider a gender-sensitive development strategy, so support and help the social groups that could be victimized.” (UN, 2015) |
| 1.5 | “Building of resilient communities that |

**Page 28/310 – Point 1 of the agenda:**... “The granting of subsidies for the construction and improvement of housing, which prioritize the population in extreme poverty.”

**Page 34/310 – Point 1 of the agenda:**... “These programs (zero poverty) will include fast response plans for the most vulnerable rural population and in extreme poverty.”

**Page 14/310 – Point 1 of the agenda:**... “Land Fund: In order to achieve the democratization of access to land, for the benefit of peasants and especially female farmers.”

**Page 33/310 – Point 1 of the agenda:**... “Creation of proper conditions of well-being through the national programs that promote access to potable water, electricity, housing, technical assistance and loans”...

**Page 12/310 – Point 1 of the agenda:**... “They (women) should have equal access as men to the right of property, the productive activities and the financial and infrastructure conditions of housing”...

**Page 29/310 – Point 1 of the agenda:**... “Land Fund and for small producers and producers, prioritizing female heads of household, which will have a progressive subsidy for the medium producers”
could avoid and resist the climate-related extreme events.” (UN, 2015).

Concluding this general analysis, the goal of End Poverty is present in a MEDIUM scale in the peace agreement. However, it is true that the peace agreement seems to give clear relevance to an actual discussion of Gender Poverty, a topic that is becoming more urgent to solve in the whole world, it is because women are active and relevant actors of society as all. Now, this is going to be possible to connect later with the analysis of the fifth goal (Gender Equality).

• QUALITY EDUCATION (FORTH SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOAL)

During the last 20 years, the advance in the access to education was tremendous. Never before so many children, especially the women, have access to the education in the same quality and opportunities as men. This advance is the result of a real constant effort of multiple actors of society as the national governments, multilateral agencies, the private sector and NGO’s. However, it is not just about giving access to any education, but to one that transforms the individuals with quality, showing that education is the most powerful tool for a more sustainable society, not just in Colombia, but in the whole world.

Some of the success indicators relevant for this SDG are:

• By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education.
• By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and men affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university.
• By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels education and vocational training for the vulnerable.
• Build and upgrade education facilities that are child, disability and gender sensitive and provide safe, not violent, inclusive and effective learning outcomes (UN, 2015)

The situation the education in Colombia is entirely different from the one that the country had during the 90’s. The efforts in education done by the last two presidents: Alvaro Uribe (2002-2010) and Juan Manuel Santos (2010-Today) have been a radical change. This does not mean that there are not problems in the sector, as there exist nowadays a huge gap related to the quality of education when you compare public vs. private institutions.
As an example of those results is the fact that in the last ten years the teenagers attending a secondary school increased from 59% to 70%, but also that the number of citizens with access to university studies jumped from 24% to 48% (OCED, 2016). The previous were facts only related to the access, but if we compare as well the duration of the studies and their quality, for illustration, the fact that now the Colombians students are above the Latin-American average of years in the educational system, showing that they receive more education in the sum of the primary, secondary and superior education (OCED, 2016).

EDUCATIONAL LIFE EXPECTANCY OF THE COLOMBIAN STUDENTS COMPARES WITH LATAM AVERAGE AND THE OCED

![Educational system in Colombia (OCED, 2016)](image)

The advances are modest and there still a lot of effort to make Colombia join the path of average indicators of the developing countries. Nevertheless, the work already started by the Government and all the actors of the society, suggests that we can expect a powerful ally in the construction of the future Colombian society. There is no reason to regret about investing on the education of the generations to come of Colombians, the first ones that born in a Colombia without conflict.

Now if we compared the SDG indicators for this goal and try to find references or comparable goals in the peace agreement what is the reality of the focus on education as one of the origins of the internal conflict in Colombia?

<p>| Relation SDG-Quality Education indicators with mentions in the Colombian Peace Agreement |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator SDGs</th>
<th>Presence in the Peace Agreement</th>
<th>Level of compatibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1 “By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes” (UN, 2015).</td>
<td>Page 26/310 – Point 1 of the agenda: “The guarantee of free education for pre-school, primary and secondary education.”</td>
<td>HIGH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 “By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university” (UN, 2015).</td>
<td>Page 64/310 – Point 3 of the agenda: “Training of the members of the FARC-EP in productive work, leveling in primary, secondary or technical education, according to their interests...” Page 74/310 – Point 1 of the agenda: “Guarantee the restitution of their rights (The underage rebels) with a differential approach, prioritizing their access to health and education.”</td>
<td>MEDIUM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5 “By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities,”</td>
<td>Page 26/310 – Point 1 of the agenda: “Flexible models of preschool, basic and secondary education, adapted to the needs of communities and the countryside, with a differential approach.” Page 27/310 – Point 1 of the agenda: “…The promotion of vocational training for women in non-traditional disciplines for women...”</td>
<td>HIGH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations.” (UN, 2015)

4.a “Build and upgrade education facilities that are child, disability and gender sensitive and provide safe, non-violent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all.” (UN, 2015)

Page 26/310 – Point 1 of the agenda: “...The construction, reconstruction, improvement and adequacy of the rural educational infrastructure, including the availability and permanence of qualified teachers and access to information technologies...”

After analyzing the relation of both documents it is possible to identify relevant aspects, like the fact that the education is considered the main tool to restore the peace, but as well to assure the lasting of the actual agreement. In detail, referring directly to the relation with the SDGs is possible to identify what is considered relevant education in the rural areas and especially the access to quality education for the women.

On the other hand, evident that the peace agreement lacks a definition and a more direct manifestation of the importance of establishing educational policies for other vulnerable groups as the indigenous or the disabled. Concluding, that from the four indicators considered here, just two are totally mentioned, then we could say that the relation is MEDIUM.

- GENDER EQUALITY (FIFTH SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOAL)

United Nations perfectly says that the discussion about gender equality is more than just a discussion about human rights, as women are half of the population and are equal to men, but that the debate is also about how a fair society is a key to accelerating the sustainable development (UNDP, 2016). This previous statement is an example of how the international organizations have been working to bring to discussion the importance of gender equality as a crucial aspect to establish a prosperous society. The result in the fight for a more gender equal society is evident, never before so many women were enrolling in
the educational system and just as an example the number of women working in paid jobs, outside agriculture, has increased from 35% to 41% in the last 20 years (UNDP, 2016).

Some of the success indicators relevant for this SDG are:

- “Whether or not legal frameworks are in place to promote, enforce and monitor equality and non-discrimination on the basis of sex.”
- “Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and other types of exploitation.”
- “Ensure women’s full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in economic and public life.”
- “Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws.” (UN, 2015)

The gender equality has been a topic relevant in Colombia during the last decades, and with that discussion, some advances in the pursuit of this objective have been achieved. For instance, there are increases in the access of women to political positions. There has been an increase from 5% to 11% in the last 20 years (UN WOMAN I Colombia, 2016). Also, in the private sector, there has been advances in the participation of women in the job market with a decrease of the employment gap from 26.6% to 20.9% in the last 20 years.

FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOR FORCE IN COLOMBIA (1990-2015)

Figure 8. Female participation in the Colombian labor force (World Bank, 2017)
Now if we compared the SDG indicators for this goal and try to find references or comparable goals in the peace agreement. What is the reality of Gender Equality which was one of the origins of the internal conflict in Colombia?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation SDG-Gender Equality indicators with mentions in the Colombian Peace Agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indicator SDGs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1. “Whether or not legal frameworks are in place to promote, enforce and monitor equality and non-discrimination on the basis of sex.” (UN, 2015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 “Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation.” (UN, 2015).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Is possible to mention that the peace agreement considers the gender equality, and especially the role of women in the construction of a more sustainable society, as a primary driver of the document. As an illustration, the multiple examples of the previous table where it is possible to see and identify elements that demonstrate that both parties of the negotiation took into account a gender perspective for the peace talks. It can be concluded that there is a clear synergy between the fifth SDG: Gender Equality and the Peace
Agreement in Colombia. However, from a critic point of view, the agreement is not clear about the following policies that are going to assure the access of women to the particular programs. Concluding is possible to say that the similarity between this goal and its presence in the agreement is MEDIUM-HIGH of the indicators that we took into account.

- **DECENT WORK & ECONOMIC GROWTH (EIGHTH SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOAL)**

With lower levels of poverty and higher levels of education, the work conditions in the world are going better since the beginning of the 90’s. As an example, the middle class is now in more than the 34% of the total jobs, an increase of almost three times (UN, 2016). However, the financial crisis of 2008, plus other economic problems, still present nowadays and the pressure for providing decent work conditions and opportunities is as high as ever before.

The challenge indeed is not just to provide those jobs, but to provide jobs that are more connected with the new challenges and tasks of our society, jobs for a more sustainable and fair society where all without distinction have the chance to make the best. The task is tremendous as economic growth is a clear driver of our economic system, but to be optimistic is however, the fact that we have not been before so prepared to assume those challenges.

Some of the success indicators relevant for this SDG are:

- “Achieve higher levels of economic productivity through diversification, technological upgrading and innovation, including through a focus on high-value-added and labour-intensive sectors.”
- “Promote development-oriented policies that support productive activities, decent job creation, entrepreneurship, creativity and innovation, and encourage the formalization and growth of micro-, small- and medium-sized enterprises, including through access to financial services.”
- “Improve progressively, through 2030, global resource efficiency in consumption and production and endeavor to decouple economic growth from environmental degradation.”
- “Take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labor, end modern slavery and human trafficking and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labor, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labor in all its manifestations.”
  
  *(UN, 2015)*

In Colombia now the middle class has better job opportunities when compared to previous times in the history. The booming for an increasing middle class in the country is the result, among others, of the following reasons: Better security conditions in the last 15 years that increased the foreign direct investment (Banrep, 2016), the access to a better educational
framework that increase the quality of the Colombian educational system, the macroeconomic results that evidence a sustained GDP growth during the last 15 years (At least over the average of the Latin-America and the World), the increase in the price of commodities and finally the trade agreements with key partners as the United States and the European Union.

On the other hand, the Colombian economy in general face significant challenges, mainly with two fundamental issues: First, the number of jobs in an international economic recession period. Secondly, historically there has been a persecution against the formation of labor unions as in the past some of them were stigmatized as a niche that supports the internal conflict in Colombia. For that, it is important for the Colombian society to increase of the social benefits of the workers such as work stability, access to retirement programs, and so on.

![COLOMBIA GDP GROWTH ANNUAL (％)](image)

**Figure 9. Colombia GDP Annually Growth, based (World Bank, 2016).**

Now if we compared the SDG indicators for this goal and we try to find references or comparable goals in the peace agreement what is the reality of the focus on the Economic disparities as one of the origins of the internal conflict in Colombia?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation SDG-Decent Work and Economic Growth indicators with mentions in the Colombian Peace Agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indicator SDGs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2 “Achieve higher levels of economic productivity through diversification,”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3 “Promote development oriented policies that support productive activities, decent job creation, entrepreneurship, creativity and innovation, and encourage the formalization and growth of micro-, small- and medium-sized enterprises, including through access to financial services.” (UN, 2015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4 “Improve progressively, through 2030, global resource efficiency in consumption and production and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
endeavor to decouple economic growth from environmental degradation.” (UN, 2015)

stimulating different forms of work between small and medium producers, based on solidarity and cooperation, and promoting economic autonomy and organizational capacity, especially of Rural women....”

Page 39/310 – Point 2 of the agenda: “Strengthening and promoting research, innovation and scientific and technological development for the agricultural sector, in areas such as agroecology, biotechnology, soil, etc....”

8.7 “Take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labor, end modern slavery and human trafficking and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labor, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labor in all its forms.” (UN, 2015)

Page 32/310 – Point 1 of the agenda: “To dignify rural working conditions through the full implementation, with labor inspection, of regulations on contractual relations, the corresponding regulation on working hours, remuneration and subordination...”

As we can see there exist close synergies between the SDG of Decent Jobs and Economic Growth and the final document of the Peace Agreement in Colombia, as both primarily support the necessity of embracing nontraditional business sectors. As well, the peace agreement is explicit in promoting the need for reconsider consumption and the increase of resilience of the rural areas. In conclusion, there exists apparent similarities between both documents, providing the clear intention of a more cooperative economy that should include a deep and fair relation with the environment regarding nature and society. To
contrast, the agreement lacks manifestations regarding the use of child labor as one of the biggest problems in the creation of sustainable societies. The relation between both documents is HIGH.

- **CLIMATE ACTION (THIRTEENTH SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOAL)**

Climate change is real, what means that the consequences are also tangible and evident in the entire world. From Colombia to Russia, crossing the whole world. It is possible to evidence the real consequences of how the world is changing with a wild and unpredictable weather. The main reason for that increase is the greenhouse gasses. The problem with Climate Change, is the dimension of it, as we are taking on a planetary scale, we feel that there is no point of acting to prevent it. However, the United Nations and the national governments finally understood the importance of working together to prevent climate change. The mobilization of resources needed is possibly the biggest financial effort ever, as the planet needs at least 100 US Billions to mitigate the effects that are already present in some regions of the world, but as well to prevent future consequences. (UNDP, 2016).

Some of the success indicators relevant for this SDG are:

- “Strengthen resilience and adaptive capacity to climate-related hazards and natural disasters in all countries.”
- “Integrate climate change measures into national policies, strategies and planning.”
- “Improve education, awareness-raising and human and institutional capacity on climate change mitigation, adaptation, impact reduction and early warning.”
- “Promote mechanisms for raising capacity for effective climate change-related planning and management in the least developed countries and small island developing States, including focusing on women, youth and local and marginalized communities.” (UN, 2015)

Colombia as a biodiverse country is sensitive to the consequences of climate change. The severe weather conditions in the north are making even kids die because dehydration as the raining seasons is changing faster that the capacity of adaptation of the communities (UN, 2015). However, the paradox is that the country only emits 0.4% of all the greenhouses of the world, what makes that Colombia instead of producing more problems for the rest of the countries, is actually helping as the tremendous biodiversity, especially in the southeast part of the country (the Amazon forest) has the biggest capacity of capture CO2 in the world (BBC, 2008).

Thus, the Government understands that even when Colombia is doing their best to diversify the different traditional industries as Coal and Oil, there are urgent issues as the poverty and hunger that require immediate action. It is a delicate equation that the country is trying to balance, to offer short-term solutions for the ones without the conditions to survive, but at the same time to provide and adapt to a more sustainable world. The challenge: is to
balance those two Colombia’s.

**Figure 10. Emissions per capita by country 2000-2012 (Source data: World Bank).**

As we can see, the emissions per capita for an average Colombian are by a big gap lower than the average human and lower than other developed countries like USA and Sweden, but as well of developing countries as Argentina, Ecuador or Mexico. This previous graph hides two aspects that are relevant to mention. The first one is the fact that the Colombian society is unequal, so as there is a lot of poverty, the real emissions per capita differ between rich and poor people. Secondly, that is true as well that the Colombian Government has made a tremendous effort, under resources restraints, to promote a friendlier with nature policy, as it is not a causality that the 13% of the national territory is a natural reserve.

Now if we compare the SDG indicators for this goal and we try to find references or comparable goals in the peace agreement what is the reality of the focus on the Climate Action plan?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator SDGs</th>
<th>Presence in the Peace Agreement</th>
<th>Level of compatibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Page 20/310 – Point 1 of the agenda:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Support rural communities that currently adhere to, or are within, the areas that must have a special environmental management previously detailed, in the structuring of plans for their development, including</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>“Strengthen resilience and adaptive capacity to climate-related hazards and natural disasters in all countries” (UN, 2015).</td>
<td>“Integrate climate change measures into national policies, strategies and planning” (UN, 2015).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Page 50/310 – Point 4 of the agenda:</strong></td>
<td>…” To ensure that the national territory is free from illicit crops, taking into account Respect for human rights, the environment and good living…”</td>
<td>…” “Balanced alternatives between environment and well-being and good living, under the principles of Participation of rural communities and Sustainable development…”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Page 135/310 – Point 5 of the agenda:</strong></td>
<td>…” The processes of strengthening the social fabric in communities and experiences of individual or collective resilience…”</td>
<td>…” Promote the peasant economy, contribute to the closing of the agricultural frontier, contribute to food production and the protection of Forest Reserve Areas….”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Page 20/310 – Point 1 of the agenda:</strong></td>
<td>… “Balanced alternatives between environment and well-being and good living, under the principles of Participation of rural communities and Sustainable development…”</td>
<td>…” The stimulus to the local economy giving priority to the hiring of female workers and acquisition of local materials…”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Page 21/310 – Point 1 of the agenda:</strong></td>
<td>…” “Promote the peasant economy, contribute to the closing of the agricultural frontier, contribute to food production and the protection of Forest Reserve Areas….”</td>
<td>…” The stimulus to the local economy giving priority to the hiring of female workers and acquisition of local materials…”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Page 4/310 – Introduction of the agenda:</strong></td>
<td>…“ Protection of the environment, respect for nature, its renewable and non-renewable resources and its biodiversity…”</td>
<td><strong>HIGH</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page 50/310 – Point 2 of the agenda:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“...Strengthen institutional designs and methodology in order to facilitate citizen participation and ensure its effectiveness in the formulation of public social policies such as health, education, fight against poverty and inequality, environment and culture...”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page 198/310 – Point 6 of the agenda:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“...The participation of the business sector in the implementation of the agreements will be promoted to contribute to guarantee productivity, market access and in general, the sustainability of the projects contemplated...”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page 241/310 – Point 5 of the agenda:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“...In the fulfillment of our functions, we will take care not to damage the environment...”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>13.b “Promote mechanisms for raising capacity for effective climate change-related planning and management in the least developed countries and small island developing States, including focusing on women, youth and local and marginalized communities.”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(UN, 2015)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page 21/310 – Point 1 of the agenda:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“...The protection of multi-ethnic and multicultural wealth to contribute to the Knowledge, the organization of life, the economy, the production and the Relationship with nature...”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| HIGH | MEDIUM |
The previous table exposes the close relation between the Climate Action SDG and the Peace agreement in the country. There are multiple references to a better understanding of the relationships between humans and the environment. Also, the references relate to the aspect of re-defining the concept of development as no just the exploitation of the natural resources, but to use them to promote the “Buen Vivir” that in English will translate something like: “living in harmony”.

On the other hand, this SDG also relates to the resilience of the communities, which is present in the agreement, but there are not that many references to how building resilience is vital for some marginalized communities of society as the youth, women, indigenous and so on. In conclusion, is evident that the connection and parallels between both documents, for that reason the relation is HIGH.

- **PEACE, JUSTICE & STRONG INSTITUTIONS (SIXTEENTH SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOAL)**

Peace, justice and strong institutions seem to be the fundamentals and pillars that make a society prosperous. Those rights are important as under them is where the modern concept of society is built (UNDP, 2016). However, the reality in our days is different as we see the increasing numbers of non-democratic countries in the world, the radicalization of the political parties, but as well the growing levels of corruption (private and public) that we are facing in traditional and emblematic institutions and companies (Transparency International, 2017). For that, the importance to promote those values as the core essentials for a more sustainable development path. These three aspects are what normally separated the countries between the conflict and non-conflict ones, as the absence of any of those three pillars is what promotes the generation of violent conflicts as the most recent one in Syria since 2011.

Some of the success indicators relevant for this SDG are:

- “*Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere.*”
- “*Substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all their forms.*”
- “*By 2030, significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen the recovery and return of stolen assets and combat all forms of organized crime.*”
- “*Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels.*” (UN, 2015)

In the case of Colombia, the result of the lack of peace, justice and strong institutions is more than evident across the whole history of the country, not just because of the internal conflict, but as well of the relation between corruption and politics, as Colombia has been considered historically as a medium-high susceptible country for corruption by international organizations as International Transparency. As an example, in the latest transparency ranking Colombia is located in the 90th position of 176 countries (Transparency International, 2017).
Other aspects that are critical in the case of Colombia are the lack of a strong institutional framework that promotes the peace as a fundamental right, but precisely that is the primarily objective of the peace agreement between the key actors of the internal conflict: Government and FARC guerrilla, to assure the establishment of a stable and lasting peace, that promotes the creation of a more inclusive and sustainable Colombia, for the actual and coming generations.

CORRUPTION PERCEPTION INDEX 2016

Figure 11. Colombian and the global perception index 2016. (Source Transparency International, 2017).

Is true that the corruption epidemic is general and present in all the Latin-American countries, but that is not an excuse not to start changing the historical inequalities from our countries, as one of the main reasons for the late development of this region of the world (Latin America) is not the absence of resources, but the extreme concentration of the wealth and the corruption of the governments (Naim, 2014). Then, this peace agreement is a one generation opportunity, giving the chance to make the institutional changes that ensure Colombia can build a more democratic, transparent and inclusive Government that assure peace and justice for all its citizens. The task is tremendous, but not doing anything is the worst scenario because it means the possibility of having another internal conflict (López, 2016).

Now if we compared the SDG indicators for this goal and we try to find references or comparable goals in the peace agreement what is the reality of the focus on the lack of Peace, justice and strong institutions as one of the origins of the internal conflict in Colombia?
## Relation SDG-Peace, justice and strong institutions indicators with mentions in the Colombian Peace Agreement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator SDGs</th>
<th>Presence in the Peace Agreement</th>
<th>Level of compatibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16.1 “Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere.” (UN, 2015)</td>
<td><strong>Page 8/310</strong> – Point 1 of the agenda: ...“Security guarantees and the fight against criminal organizations responsible for killings and massacres or against human rights defenders,”...</td>
<td>MEDIUM-HIGH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Page 78/310</strong> – Point 3 of the agenda: ...” To intensify actions against criminal organizations and conduct responsible for homicides...”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Page 80/310</strong> – Point 3 of the agenda: ...” Ensure the dismantling of criminal organizations and bring them to justice for homicides and systematic violence in particular against women....”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.4 “By 2030, significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen the recovery and return of stolen assets and combat all forms of organized crime.” (UN, 2015)</td>
<td><strong>Page 79/310</strong> – Point 3 of the agenda: ... “Ensure the monopoly of taxes by the Treasury: will face forms of illegal economy and criminal incomes linked to organized crime, among others, trafficking in persons, drug trafficking, illegal extortion or coercion, smuggling, money laundering, Tax burdens that are outside the state monopoly and criminal mining...”</td>
<td>HIGH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Page 100/310</strong> – Point 4 of the agenda: ...” That the final solution to the problem of illicit drugs requires intensifying the fight against criminal organizations dedicated to drug trafficking and money laundering, which will also contribute to the creation of the necessary conditions for the implementation of the Agreement in the territories and the construction of stable and lasting peace...”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page 120/310 – Point 4 of the agenda:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“… We aspire to a country without</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drug trafficking, which must be a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>common purpose of all, and implies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transformations in the political,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>institutional and society at large</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in order to consolidate a culture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>based on values against drug</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trafficking and money laundering</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which will allow us to eradicate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and overcome the impact of this</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phenomenon, including stereotypes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>related to drug trafficking that</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incites gender violence …”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page 122/310 – Point 4 of the agenda:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“…Culture against money laundering:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The National Government will launch a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new national campaign to promote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>values, alert new ways of washing and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>encourage citizen participation and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capacity in the spirit of Point 2 of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Final Agreement, to exercise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>control and control against corruption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>associated with money laundering and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irregular or suspicious transactions,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in order to prevent the population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and institutions from being used for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>money laundering.…”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page 123/310 – Point 6 of the agenda:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“… Within the framework of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comprehensive anti-corruption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strategy, a specific anti-corruption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strategy associated with drug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trafficking will be developed, taking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>into account the results and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recommendations of the group of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experts convened to carry out the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>process of mapping the drug chain…”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page 194/310 – Point 6 of the agenda:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>… “Deepening democracy and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16.5 “Substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all their forms.” (UN, 2015)
“building on the built”: The implementation of the agreed plans and programs must take into account development initiatives and processes and acknowledge the efforts of society in building peace in the territories to “build upon built” and deepen democracy, eradicating corruption, lack of transparency, patronage and any other action that degrades the other principles…”

16.6 “Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels.” (UN, 2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page 195/310 – Point 6 of the agenda:</th>
<th>Page 199/310 – Point 6 of the agenda:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>… “Transparency, social control and anti-corruption: with clear, accessible and timely information on the decisions from the allocation to the final execution of resources (traceability), which allows easy monitoring and accountability mechanisms, dissemination of information, control of citizenship and control bodies and in general fight against corruption…”</td>
<td>“… The National Government is committed to the creation of an Integrated Information System and to guarantee transparency in the implementation of the Final Agreement, preventing any form of corruption and ensuring the citizens about the execution of resources…”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page 199/310 – Point 6 of the agenda:</td>
<td>…” Citizen oversight and observatories of transparency: in agreement with the agreed and will establish a plan of support for the creation and promotion of observances</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and observatories of transparency especially in the zones where the agreements are implemented…”

Page 211/310 – Point 6 of the agenda: …” Transparency: the international component will request the National Government and the agencies that carry out the international accompaniment, for the verification process, reports on the progress of the implementation of the agreements, in what corresponds to the destination and investment of the public resources for The implementation of the same…”

The Colombian peace agreement includes the transparency and the accountability of the resources, as one of the main ways to create trust and optimism around the society. However, that does not mean that there is not space to improve the relation between both documents, as the Colombian one is not transparent about the methods of how the military forces are going to reduce the numbers of homicides and crimes systematically, this with the apparent understanding that the peace agreement is precisely about it: The ending of the internal conflict. Concluding, the relation is HIGH and the relevance of this SDG with the peace agreement, evidence as well how the guerrilla members also understand that those three aspects (peace, justice and strong institutions) are the main path to the construction of a more sustainable society in the country.
6. DISCUSSION

After having the chance to evaluate the two documents, it is possible to summarize what can guide future, and deeper, analysis of the relations between the two agreements, but more than all about the relevance of the sustainable development discussion in the main political agenda in Colombia. Thus, it is important to understand that Colombia is a developing country that does not have a robust institutional framework yet mainly because of the lack of a more academically based political discussion, a problem that is present in the whole region. As an example, the political crisis of the other South American countries as Venezuela or Brazil (BBC News, 2017). This previous statement is really relevant, as the social and economic situation in Venezuela, at the moment of writing this Project (May 2017), is really unstable what does not contribute to the stabilization of the communities that live along the whole border between two countries, that is actually one of the main areas where the drug traffic takes place.

Secondly, it is something that I had the chance to identify in this discussion and is the solid presence of international organizations and international standards in both documents, especially in the case of the peace agreement between the Government and the FARC guerrilla. Thus, a fact that suggests more optimism is that for example, countries that are world leaders in the discussion of Sustainable Development are going to advise and follow up the advances of the Colombian society. This is the case for topics as Gender Equality that is going to receive inputs of authorities from Sweden, crop substitution from authorities and NGO´s from the USA, Re-forestation from Germany and in landmine extraction from authorities of Norway.

Now, even when we are going to discuss this in the following chapter of this Project (Conclusions), it is time to start to bring the first conclusions of the analysis of both documents, we could see that there are definite relations between the two documents that with a different starting point, look for the construction of a more sustainable society. The peace agreement is the keystone here, as it is mandatory a framework that promotes respect and tolerance between the different needs of groups in society, a step that is only possible with a complete peace agreement that evidence that the armed conflict is right, and a valuable final, solution for the problems of the Colombian society (Wallesteen, 2002).
7. CONCLUSIONS

In detail, after analyzing six of the seventeen sustainable development goals (SDGs) we found that the relation between the two documents could be graded as medium-high, or if we take the boldness to give a percentage, the connection is located between 60% and 70%.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SDG</th>
<th>LEVEL OF RELATION TO THE INDICATORS OF THE SDG</th>
<th>WEAKNESS</th>
<th>STRENGTHS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zero Poverty</td>
<td>MEDIUM</td>
<td>Building Resilience</td>
<td>Extreme Poverty strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality Education</td>
<td>MEDIUM</td>
<td>Equal Access to technical education</td>
<td>Primary and secondary education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Equality</td>
<td>MEDIUM – HIGH</td>
<td>Sexual Traffic</td>
<td>Legal framework to promote, enforce and monitor gender equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decent Work &amp; Economic Growth</td>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>Eradicate forced labour</td>
<td>Resources efficiency in consumption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate Action</td>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>Mechanism for raising capacity</td>
<td>Climate measures into national policies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace, Justice and Strong</td>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>Track for reducing violence</td>
<td>Illicit financial and arms flows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main facts that give the chance to make this assertion are:

- The peace agreement includes a direct mention to the SDGs definitions (E.g. extreme poverty).
- The follow-up of the implementation of the agreement is going to be done by institutions that lead as well the SDGs, in this case, the United Nations.
- The origins of the internal conflict in Colombia are almost identical to the ones that the SDGs try to solve (inequality, extreme poverty, climate action, strong institutions, among others).
What this previous table and aspects shows is that the Colombian Peace agreement is really complete and modern in terms of relevance to the discussions of global issues, and this is not a conclusion that is only perceivable by this analysis done by this thesis, but as well by recognized professor as John Paul Lederach, from the recognized KROC Institute, University of Notre Dame, that says:

“Our assessment suggests that the Colombian accord sits atop the ten most comprehensive agreements signed in the last 25 years. Accords that balance security and socioeconomic reform and provide greater policy detail with clear implementation guarantees emerging from longer negotiation processes are associated with higher success.

Comparatively, the Colombian accord offers one of the most promising platforms to ensure sustainable peace”


Concluding the present document, I’m optimistic about the future of the country, as I understand the Peace Agreement as a step forward to reconcile with our history as Colombians, and even more because we have finally the chance to discuss and to agree on a model of the country we want to create.

The challenges are still enormous, and obviously, there is going to be opposition that thinks that the document is not complete, but even those groups should understand that this is a starting point to develop tolerance and to create social interaction between groups that in the past only had the weapons as a channel to communicate. That is the main profit that the armed actors understood that the guns are not the solution to achieve their political and economic vindication, but as well because of the Government, and its traditional political practices, understood that there exist some aspects that are mandatory to correct to develop a more sustainable society.

Concluding, over all the aspects I’m optimistic about the peace agreement. However, under all the aspects I found that the most important is that after 50 years of internal conflict, the actual and the coming generations are going to be the ones that for the first time are going to have the chance to grow in a Colombia that lives in peace, that is looking for its way for a more sustainable development, a development path that started when we decide to silence the weapons forever.
REFERENCE LIST


• Semana. (2015). Los daños que dejará el derrame de petróleo en Tumaco son incalculables e irreversibles. SEMANA le explica por qué. [online] Available at:


APPENDIX

APPENDIX A. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CONFLICT IN COLOMBIA

The main actors of the Colombian conflict are the Government, paramilitary groups, left-wing guerrillas and crime syndicates. However, to be able to analyze the latest peace agreement between the Government and FARC, it is important to understand the different phases of this conflict and its impacts.

The origin of the civil conflict in Colombia (1948 – 1980)

There is no consensus among the historians about the origin of the civil conflict in Colombia. There are mainly three perspectives about the origin, each of them with valid arguments, most of them are summarized in the “Informe Comisión Histórica del Conflicto y Sus Victimas”\(^3\) (Pizarro, 2015) one of the main products of the peace process. This commission was led by Eduardo Pizarro, Ex-Commissioner for peace of the Colombian Government and Ex-Ambassador in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and composed by other nine historians from different political views.

![Origin of the Colombian Conflict](image)

As the Figure 1 shows, the origin of the internal conflict has been a point of debate among the different historians. But, for the purpose of this Thesis Project we are going to use the timeline of the FARC defined by Eduardo Pizarro, in the book “De Guerrilla Campesina a

---

3 Translation: “Report of the Historical Commission of the Conflict and its origins”
“Maquina de Guerra” (Pizarro, 2011) where he start analyzing the guerrilla since the assassination of the liberal politician Jorge Eliecer Gaitan in the year of 1948.

With the assassination of Jorge Eliecer Gaitan (1903 – 1948), a left-liberal presidential candidate of the Liberal Party, there were big riots around the whole country that led to the national event known as the “Bogotazo” where more than 1500 people died (Braun, 1998). These events originated a period of total instability that in 1949 led the conservative Government to declare the curfew as a solution for the multiple liberal and paramilitary uprising around the country, that killed more than 2000 people over a period of 3 months (Gomez, 2004).

The relation with the illicit drugs (1980 – 1995)

During the 80’s Colombia was on the way to becoming one of the primary producers of cocaine, this mainly by the influence of the “Medellín Cartel” and the “Cali Cartel” who were in control of the whole commodity chain. The influence and impact of the illicit drugs in the Colombian conflict are known by their tremendous impact as they were the main way of funding of the illegal groups. As a result of this, the impact that the Illicit drugs have done in Colombia is more significant than in other producer countries as Peru, México or Bolivia. To sum up, the fragile institutional framework, the appearance of the almighty “Cartels” and a more frontal confrontation against the military forces made the FARC guerrilla start looking new partnerships to save their “political message”. With this in the 90’s when FARC leaders started to get more familiarized with the drug business, they ended producing the whole product that gave them the funding needed for their war against the Government.

![Figure 2. Estimate Coca Cultivation in Peru, Colombia and Bolivia (National Narcotics Committee Report, 2002).](image-url)
The 90’s and the risk of a failed state (1995 – 2002)

With the power of such a profitable business as the illicit drugs and with an unstable Government, the 90’s seem to be the decade where the Guerrillas finally were going to coup the country and instore their agenda. Despite this, in the year of 1998 Colombians elected the conservative politician Andrés Pastrana Arango, whose primarily political speech contained the promise of military force against the guerrillas, but at the same time the willingness to open a new peace process with them. The presidency of Pastrana Arango was important in the evolution of the Colombian conflict by diverse reasons:

- FARC guerrilla are designed as a “terrorist group” by the European Union and the United States of America. This decision, made them loose the last international support that they used to receive from similar political ideology countries as Cuba, Venezuela and Russia.

- The Colombian Government and the United States of America created the military and social cooperation program: Plan Colombia.

- The last peace process with FARC guerrilla started and failed. This peace process is known as the “Caguan Peace Process”. This peace process is known being at the moment were the FARC guerrilla were at their maximum level (see figure 4) and they even left the Colombian President, Andrés Pastrana, alone at one of the main press conferences.

For all these reasons, the presidency of the Ex-President Pastrana is important in the analysis of the Colombian Conflict, by the international pressure against FARC as a terrorist group and the strengthening of the Colombian Military Forces.

![U.S. Aid to Colombia](image)

**Figure 3. U.S Aid to Colombia (WOLA, 2017)**

After the failure of the latest peace process and with a whole confrontation between the Government and FARC, a candidate named Alvaro Uribe was elected for the period 2002-2006. Uribe, a member of one of the main families of the region of Medellin, has been known historically because of their total opposition to the existence of the Guerrillas and all their social reclamation. To put it in another way, the total unfriendliness between Uribe and FARC could be seen in the fact that the father of the Ex-president Uribe was killed by members of the FARC guerrilla.

All this personal background is important to magnify the complex politician that Uribe is, who since the first day continue with the military offensive against the rebels, with the slogan: “Mano Firme, Corazón Grande”⁴. As is exposed in the figure 4, during Uribe’s first presidential term the number of FARC members decreased by 9500 (Around 40% of their total members), this could be divided into approximately 7490 dead members and 2010 desertions (WOLA, 2015). The previous military success against the guerrillas made the Ex-president Uribe promotes a constitutional reform to be able to run for a second term, which finally happened and he got another four years as leader of the Colombians (2006 – 2010).

Figure 4. Evolution of the Guerrillas members (FARC & ELN) 1964-2014 (Echandía, 2014)

The second term of the Ex-President Uribe is related to a decrease of the FARC guerrilla of being a National Risk to a Regional Conflict. This was made mainly by the big blows that the Military Forces did to some of the main commanders of the guerrillas, reducing their operational capacity. This insulation of FARC made them withdraw to the borders of the country, especially the border with Venezuela.

⁴ Translation: “Strong Hand, Big Heart”
During this second term, there was a new political star that was leading the Ministry of Defense, this was Juan Manuel Santos, who was in charge of some of the most challenging and crucial moments of the conflict against the FARC. The leadership that Santos showed during those years gave him the favor of the Ex-President Uribe to select him as his successor in their common political party: Partido de la U.

**Juan Manuel Santos and the desire of Peace (2010 – Today)**

Elected in the year of 2010, with the agenda of the Ex-president Uribe, President Juan Manuel Santos, started a new era in the confrontation of the FARC. This new position was exposed since the first speech where he mentioned that he was interested in having “discussions” with the guerrilla leaders in the pursuit of the Peace as the supreme goal of all the societies. He mentioned, however that he would not go to stop the military pressure against FARC guerrilla. As an example, just a few months after Santos is elected, the primary leader of the FARC guerrilla, nom de guerre “Alfonso Cano”, was killed by a bomb dropped from a fighter plane. It is important to mention, that the first months after President Santos is elected, there start to appear the first problems in the relation between the Ex-president Uribe and the new President Santos. The first one was looking for a military defeat of the guerrillas in contrast to the view of President Santos who preferred a negotiated solution to the conflict.

As a result of months of secret diplomacy between the parties ended with the opening of the formal peace process between the Colombian Government and the FARC guerrilla in August of 2012 in Oslo, Norway.