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**Conflict Solution and Management: The Multilateralism of the United Nations
or Latin American Regionalism?**

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DEDICATION

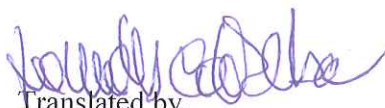
To my parents: John and Ximena, my sisters: Maria Jose and Rosana, my grandfather Rodrigo because they are an example of love, honesty and wisdom.

ABSTRACT

This work focuses on analyzing the current situation of Multilateralism versus Latin American Regionalism, and the intervention of regional multilateral organizations in solving and managing conflicts. First, we will discuss Multilateralism and the United Nations as the highest multilateral organization, as well as its role in Latin America. Second, we will analyze Latin American Regionalism and the regional organizations in solving and managing conflicts. Third, we will discuss the Multilateralism crisis versus the Latin American Regionalism, and the intervention of the United Nations and the Regional Organizations in Latin American conflicts.

Our objective is to understand the reason why the intervention of the United Nations has diminished, and why there has been more openness in the participation of regional organizations in solving and conflict management. Furthermore, we aim at analyzing the work of regional organizations on them.




Translated by,
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INTRODUCTION

There is currently a proliferation of regional organizations due to the incompatibility in multilateral systems. This phenomenon is not new. "It is noteworthy that after the Cold War regional integration has expanded worldwide, largely due to the end of ideological confrontation, democratization processes that took effect in many countries in Africa, America, Asia and Eastern Europe, the new security dilemmas, the new economic and political interdependence, as well as the challenges inherent in globalization." ¹ This has emerged as an alternative form of cooperation where a non-discriminatory common interest exists. Most of the existing regional groups are basically interested in cooperation between member states aside from the rest of the world.

The lack of confidence in multilateral agencies to enforce the established rules is undeniable.

"Although, having different national approaches and options, regionalism is an appropriate strategy to enhance the international integration of the countries of the region; to increase the influence in multilateral organizations or in trade negotiations; to promote more effective management of regional interdependence, and for all that, it is configured as an essential component of the development agenda, particularly suitable for middle-income countries." ²

Furthermore, the creation and expansion of regionalism shows that the conviction of the countries lies with the inability to act individually and even more in the international arena, where it becomes difficult to project their interests and problems.

The objectives for the creation of regional organizations are to have greater participation in the affairs of the region to achieve peace and strengthen security, to build better relationships within the same geographical area. That is why Latin American leaders say that "we need a space for Latin American countries with

¹ Rodríguez Suárez, Pedro Manuel. REGIONALISMOS EN EL MARCO DE LAS RELACIONES INTERNACIONALES DEL SIGLO XXI.

²Sanahuja, José Antonio. REGIONALISMO E INTEGRACIÓN EN AMÉRICA LATINA: balance y perspectivas.<http://pendientedemigracion.ucm.es/info/nomadas/34/pedrorodriguez.pdf>

development, cultural similarities, etc. to solve our disputes. Right now we have to solve our disputes level in Washington."³

³Reliche, Andres. Agencia Pública de Noticias del Ecuador y Suramérica, ANDES. CORREA ASEGURA QUE LA REGIÓN NECESITA UN NUEVO ORGANISMO PARA SOLUCIONAR CONFLICTOS.

CHAPTER I

1.1 Conceptualization of Multilateralism

Before defining multilateralism, we could say that this theory was developed with the creation of the United Nations in 1945, following the World Wars in which several countries intervened. This organization has demonstrated an important role in protecting the interests within the international order⁴. Its function is to be a regulatory body where the dilemmas and conflicts between different states or groups of states are presented and analyzed, and resolutions to solve such conflicts are subsequently taken.

The creation of the United Nations was one of the greatest achievements during the twentieth century. It is the ultimate expression of the idea of multilateralism, as it is the joint work of States that accept that some issues go beyond the national level, and that international cooperation is needed to give possible solutions.

There is history of multilateralism in ancient Greece, through the Olympics games. The idea was to promote dialogue and a culture of peace among nations, through mutual cooperation. Nations had an agreement which allowed even those who were enemies to assist without any problems. The representatives of different nations brought their

⁴ Those interests refer to matters concerning the entire international community, for example: security situations, cooperation, development, etc. However, the United Nations has been strongly criticized because of the power of veto which the five members of the Security Council have. Since its establishment these countries have been remaining the same: USA, China, Russia, Britain, and France. They have taken the most important decisions, ensuring their own interests and not those of the international community. Questions like why the UN intervened militarily in Libya and not in countries like Ivory Coast, why the United States stands to solve the current situation in Palestine; or why human rights in China are not matters for discussion question the effectiveness of the organization. For this reason world powers such as the BRICS: Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa, require their ongoing participation within the Security Council, and its reform concerning the power of veto over decisions.

athletes and other groups establishing contact and improving relationships, getting to interact multilaterally.

Another example of multilateralism is the Peace of Westphalia, in which representatives from various cities met to discuss and address issues individually reaching agreements that would later be reported to the respective authorities and the people in general. In addition, many neutral parties also sent representatives to give their opinions on a particular issue or made decisions between two or more different parts. This practice continued to take place throughout Europe, especially when nations were in conflict. What they wanted to achieve was to work together and improve relations between states. “There are wars, but also coexistence and reciprocal influences, the rudimentary outline of an international system similar to the current one.”⁵

Religious ceremonies were another way to carry multilateralism. The authorities or different representatives could act and build relationships in a more informal way. For example, gods in ancient Rome with a Latin origin extended to the Greek and Egyptian cultures, who adapted their names and tributes inside their cultures. Prayers, animal sacrifices, and others were made. Religious ceremonies were also held at the beginning or end of a war between empires.

Later, Vienna had a system that was never seen before in which delegates gathered in a specific place. They created rules and a *modus operandi*, different committees were formed, etc. In 1815, the Final Act of the Vienna Congress was signed. The powers of the time met from time to time to address issues of greatest importance to the continent. During the nineteenth century, several meetings were held, often a consensus among all parties was achieved, and other times they were unable to agree creating greater division. It is noteworthy that this system was handled in an informal manner, in which

⁵Figuerola Pla, Uldaracio. ORGANISMOS INTERNACIONALES. Santiago de Chile. Editorial Jurídica de Chile. 1991. Pág. 19-20

there was no method of voting, no written agreements or worse there was not a definite structure, making it difficult to keep track or convene regular meetings.

Likewise, the Congress of Vienna created the first multilateral bodies: the International Commission of the Rhine and the International Commission of the Danube. These were the first international institutions represented by more than two States. After the Congress of Vienna, important treaties and conferences were held: The Congress of Berlin in 1878, the First Hague Conference on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes in 1899, among others.

In the first quarter of the twentieth century (1919) the first two organizations already recognized and with headquarters in Geneva were created. The League of Nations was a body with wider objectives, and the International Labor Organization as an entity that would work in specific issues. These organizations had a body of representatives, one from each State that would form the largest organ. A council in which a limited number of members participated and an international secretariat was also created. This was an independent body of any particular state.

After the Second World War, this organization was replaced by the current United Nations. In addition, specialized bodies were created in the International Labour Organization. With this example the Middle East, America, Africa and Asia have created regional organisms, including in Europe the establishment of a supranational body, the European Union, in which Countries gave up part of their sovereignty.

Thus multilateralism receives several definitions, some more complex than others.⁶ On the one hand, we say it is "the situation in which nations act together in response to

⁶ Multilateralism is known to be a system in which several countries take actions and participate inside the international arena on issues that are considered global. Prior to the First World War, the colonizing countries created military alliances. With World War II, we talked about a bipolar or unipolar world, the capitalist bloc represented by the USA and the Socialist bloc represented by the USSR. Today, however, despite the talk of multilateralism again, the supremacy of the United States and its imposition in the world's order is still present. For example, the military control that the United States has over any other

problems and crisis." ⁷ However, this definition focuses only on situations of conflict, when in the field of multilateralism other aspects are considered.

According to other authors, multilateralism is "the performance of international activities of three or more States which share common general principles, often through international and multilateral institutions."⁸ It means that with the creation of States, international relations also took place because from the beginning states were interrelated, whether in trade, conflicts or wars, etc.

However, the term multilateralism is somewhat recent, as has been used since the cold war to discuss States' activities in the international arena. This term is also used to describe countries' activities through: summits, treaties, covenants, etc. So the best definition for multilateralism is "a foreign policy that seeks to encourage the participation of several nation-states in a coordinated action, usually in relation to a common adversary, with terms and conditions commonly specific in a multilateral treaty."⁹ A treaty is the base for multilateralism.

Furthermore, as previously described The United Nations is the most representative multilateral organization. This is why it is important to consider the definition of Jules Lobel and Michael Ratner. These authors examine in particular the system and operation of this organization, which is related to international law and multilateralism directly. "Multilateralism requires nation states to define their national interest in a way that they

state, where human rights and the defense of a state are the basis of any doctrine, or the introduction of capitalism by organizations like the IMF and World Bank, or the dissemination of the American culture back away the multilateral engagement, or discredit the work of organizations that claim to be multilateral.

⁷Patterson, Thomas E. THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY: GLOSSARY. 6ta Edición, 2003.

http://highered.mcgraw-hill.com/sites/0072481218_view0/chapter17/glossary.html

⁸MINGS, Karen A. y KARNs, Margaret P. The United Nations in the Post Cold War Era. Westview press. Second Edition. 2000. Pág. 256.

⁹Lowi, Theodore. Ginsberg, Benjamin. AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. 5ta Edición. 2003.

<http://www.wwnorton.com/college/polisci/lowi/glossm.htm>

do not stay in conflict with the opinion of the international community of interest. Multilateralism is thus linked to respect international law. Multilateralism is not a tactic. It is a purpose that promotes respect for international law." ¹⁰

The importance of this definition is that each State is limited under international law. Multilateralism is a means or tool in which each country manages to share and work their foreign policy objectives, respecting the international community and its interests. Off course, each state influences decisions of power inside these organizations. And to make deeper the definition of multilateralism, we can analyze the description of John Gerard Ruggie, who suggests:

*“multilateralism is an institutional form that coordinates relations between three or more states on the basis of generalized principles of conduct, namely, the principles that specify the appropriate behavior for a class of shares, regardless of the particular interests of the parties or strategic requirements that may exist in any specific occurrence”*¹¹

This description suggests that the creation of the state goes hand in hand with the interaction between states, and these with the international community. That is why we cannot talk about autonomy of states because collective strategies are created over individual ones. Institutions must ensure collective interests more than private ones. In short, multilateralism is not the same as bilateralism or unilateralism, because here a state or states decide what to do and what decisions to make.

¹⁰Lobel, Jules. Ratner, Michael. BYPASSING THE SECURITY COUNCIL: AMBIGUOUS AUTHORIZATIONS TO USE FORCE, CEASE-FIRES AND THE IRAQUI INSPECTION REGIME, EN AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. 1999.

¹¹ GerardRuggie, John. MULTILATERALISM MATTERS: THEORY AND PRAXIS OF AN INSTITUTIONAL FORM. New York: Columbia University Press. 1993. Pág. 10-11

Finally, multilateralism is a much more complex and challenging system in which making an agreement becomes difficult, and often it is necessary to yield positions. Multilateralism provides governance at regional and global levels, and functions as a brake on bilateral treaties of powerful states that can be arbitrary or abusive about weak states internationally. Multilateralism also allows the participation of more states in world affairs, ensuring democracy and legitimacy, especially in universal affairs. It has created a link between North and South, preparing ground in order to understand the current problems in the world and its complexity. Multilateral agencies such as the United Nations were created and accepted by states, in order to increase their capacity to achieve their own interests, coordinating individual policies collectively. It is important to note that global cooperation is required.

Multilateralism also allows the exchange of information and to understand the reality of each state. The defenders of multilateralism are: the United States; Canada; Australia; Switzerland; Holland; Belgium; Luxembourg and the Nordic countries. However, multilateralism represents in some way an advantage for those small countries, which through this method can get together and influence global politics beyond their individual power and influence.

Conversely, many argue that regional integration and multilateralism must work together because contemporary issues and problems can be solved in a better way within the region, and not at a bilateral or global level, as previously assumed.

1.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS: CHARTER

The idea for the creation of the United Nations practically emerged following the First and Second World Wars. States saw the need for an agency to watch over global peace and security. The creation of the United Nations allowed states to address issues of security and conflict for peaceful resolutions. This began with the Treaty of Versailles, which would settle the League of Nations. It was the experience of the First World War which generated the need for an organization about cooperation between states.

The League later became the United Nations (UN). It was a pact that emerged from the will of the countries that emerged victorious during the wars. However, the organization and the reduction of conflicts could not be performed effectively.

On January 1942, during the Second World War, it was the first time States used the term United Nations. Twenty-six of them adopted the Declaration by the UN, where they pledged to work together for peace and world security. Finally, the United Nations was officially founded in 1945. 50 member countries gathered in the city of San Francisco to sign its Charter on June 26, 1945 with all the founding states and the five permanent members of the Security Council.

The first topics were the peaceful use of atomic energy and the elimination of nuclear weapons. Later, the Declaration of Human Rights was adopted in Paris. In 1960, 17 states joined the organization; the majorities were newly independent countries from Africa.

Among the greatest achievements of the United Nations are the so-called peacekeepers. Peacekeepers are the military forces of the United Nations provided by different countries. Their mission is to ensure UN operations, safety of the population, and monitor ceasefires. However, peacekeepers have been criticized. For example, during the internal conflict in Rwanda, peacekeepers were harshly accused of doing nothing in the massacre perpetrated by the Hutus to the Tutsi. They also were accused to commit sexual abuse against women in Haiti; as a result, military men were replaced with women.

There has also been the deployment of military forces that act as "observers" during conflicts. However, with the passage of time the actions of peacekeeping have changed, and they have been involved in different issues and global challenges, including health, education, culture, development, human rights, environment, among others.

Thanks to the United Nations agreements have been established to end armed conflicts, all achieved through diplomacy. Among them are some cases of war between Iran and Iraq, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and the end of the civil war in El Salvador.¹²



Source: United Nations Organization. <http://www.un.org/>



Source: United Nations Organization. <http://www.un.org/>

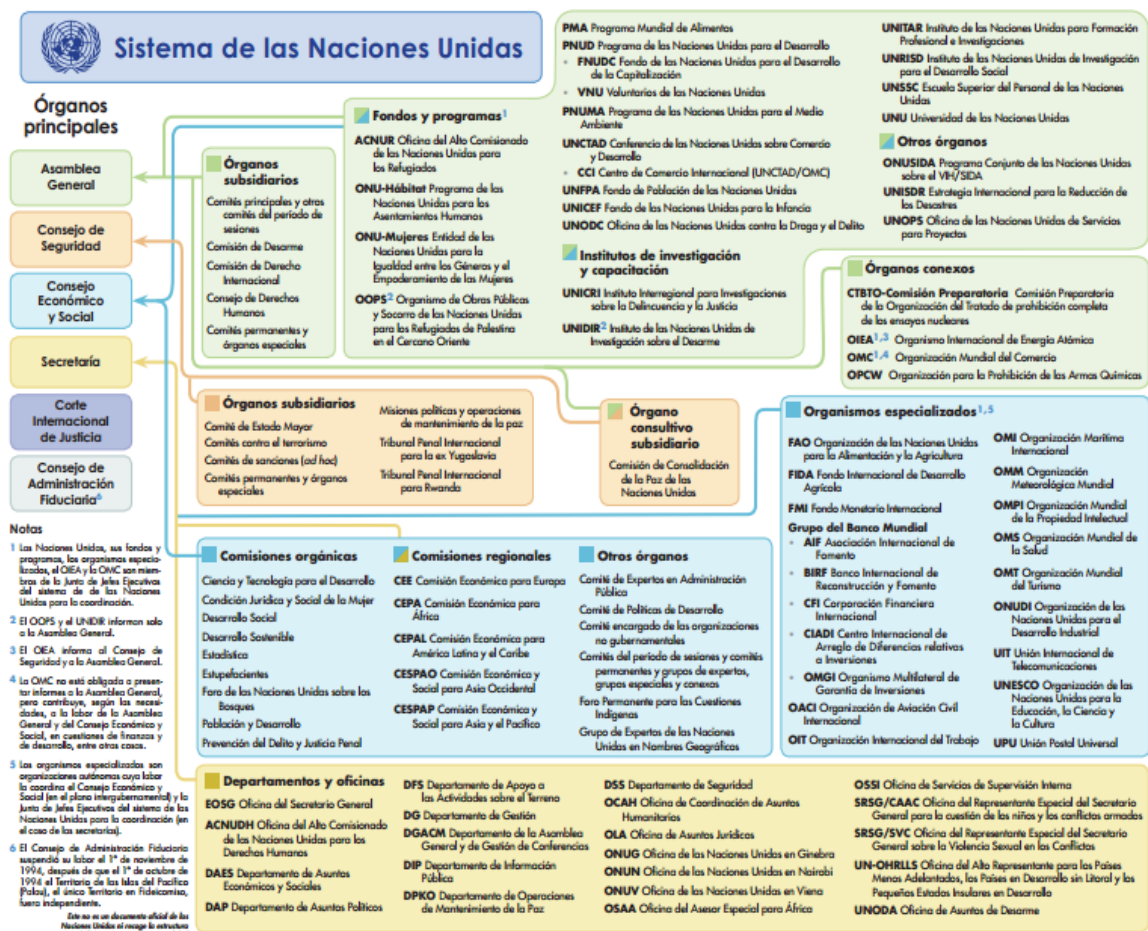
STRUCTURE

Needless to say the United Nations is not a world government. It is a system that does have the elements of a world government that may or may not involve a form of government, which is unavoidable in some of its processes. However, the main role of the United Nations is to maintain a legal order which processes ensure the laws and mechanisms established by their values, which are reflected primarily in human rights.

¹²Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es/aboutun/history/>

These values are set forth in the articles of the main treaties of the United Nations, being elaborated in the practice of the agencies that are part of the system.¹³

The United Nations acts as the governing body for conflict resolution. It also works with 30 affiliated organizations, forming a complex system. For this reason, this body has six internal organs: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the General Secretariat.



Source: United Nations Organization. <http://www.un.org/>

¹³ White, Nigel D. THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM: TOWARD INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE. Lynne Rienner Publishers. 2002. Pág. 7-8

General Assembly

The General Assembly is the deliberative body where policies are created. This is made up of 193 Member States. The Assembly provides a forum for deliberation and discussion, in which multiple topics in United Nations Charter are covered. Each year from September to December they gather when each country represents one vote. The Assembly within its functions can:

- ▶ Examinar los principios generales de la cooperación en el mantenimiento de la paz y la seguridad internacionales, incluido el desarme, y formular recomendaciones al respecto;
- ▶ Examinar toda cuestión relativa al mantenimiento de la paz y la seguridad internacionales y, salvo que el Consejo de Seguridad ya este ocupándose de una controversia o situación, formular recomendaciones al respecto
- ▶ Examinar, con la misma salvedad del punto anterior, las cuestiones comprendidas en el ámbito de la Carta o que afecten a las facultades y funciones de cualquier órgano de las Naciones Unidas y formular recomendaciones al respecto
- ▶ Iniciar estudios y formular recomendaciones para promover la cooperación política internacional, el desarrollo y la codificación del derecho internacional, el disfrute de los derechos humanos y las libertades fundamentales, y la colaboración internacional en las esferas económica, social, humanitaria, cultural, educativa y sanitaria
- ▶ Formular recomendaciones con miras al arreglo por medios pacíficos de cualesquiera situaciones que puedan menoscabar las relaciones amistosas entre naciones
- ▶ Recibir y examinar informes del Consejo de Seguridad y otros órganos de las Naciones Unidas
- ▶ Examinar y aprobar el presupuesto de las Naciones Unidas y establecer las cuotas de los Estados Miembros
- ▶ Elegir a los miembros no permanentes del Consejo de Seguridad y a los miembros de otros consejos y órganos de las Naciones Unidas, así como, por recomendación del Consejo de Seguridad, nombrar al Secretario General.

Source: United Nations Organization. <http://www.un.org/>

The General Assembly could take action if there was a negative vote from one of the 5 permanent members, only if peace has been threaten.

Economic and Social Council

This takes care of all economic, social and environmental issues. Here recommendations and policies are made on the issues mentioned before. The Council is largely responsible for the human and financial resources of the organization. The sessions are held

throughout the year on a regular basis. Fifty-four Member states representatives are elected for a period of three years.

Lately this body is also responsible for evaluating processes worldwide and coordinates the activities for development.

Trusteeship Council

It is authorized to examine and discuss reports submitted by the administering authority regarding the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the people of the Trust Territories, and in consultation with the administering authority to examine petitions from Trust Territories. They visit and organize special missions to those territories.¹⁴

International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It is in charge of controversies between states. It also gives advisory opinions on issues that may be addressed to the specialized agencies of the UN.¹⁵

Secretary

The Secretariat works together with the other principal organs of the United Nations. It is in charge of the programs and policies laid down by them. Its head is the Secretary General, appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council for a renewable period of five years.

Its functions include managing the operations of peacekeeping, mediating international disputes, reviewing economic and social problems, and preparing studies on human rights and sustainable development. The staff of the Secretariat informs the world's

¹⁴ Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

¹⁵ Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

media on the UN's work. It also organizes international conferences on worldwide issues, and interprets speeches and translates documents into the official languages of the Organization.¹⁶

Security Council

On January 17th 1946, the first session of the Security Council was held. This is permanently at the headquarters of the United Nations; however, it has sometimes been moved by necessity. The Council representatives are required to be present at all times. Moreover, this body is responsible for choosing the General Secretary, potential new members to the United Nations, and judges for the International Court of Justice.

When conflict situations arise, the first step is to mediate between all the parties peacefully, if not it has the power to impose sanctions, which may be economic, or they even can use force to enforce mandates. The Security Council is composed of a total of 15 members, 5 of them are permanent. Among them we have:

Permanent: China, France, The Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States.

Not permanent with current mandates: Argentina, Australia, Chad, Chile, Jordan, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Nigeria, Republic of Korea, Rwanda.

Countries that have never been members of the Council, a total of sixty, can participate if they feel the need to do so, but do not possess the right to vote. And when the Council invites a non-member State to participate it decides what the participation of the state will be.

¹⁶ Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

In addition, all members of the United Nations are obliged to accept and enforce the resolutions adopted by the Security Council, unlike the other bodies that can recommend solutions, but not apply them.¹⁷

The United Nations Charter

The United Nations Charter is the main element of the organization, in which all rights and obligations of Member States are written. This is not only a document created by the organization, but it is considered as an "international constitution."

Parameters and procedures to be followed are also specified on the charter to achieve similar behavior among its members. Additionally, it determines the powers and duties of the international organization, trying to guarantee certain rights to its members. Its ultimate goal is to create a common bond between States, and to manage the welfare of all countries. In this paper we are going to analyze briefly some articles of the UN Charter.

According to the UN it has four specific purposes:

- To ensure international peace and security.
- To Promote Friendly Relations among States.
- To assist in the resolution of international disputes and the respect for human rights.
- To be the center for dialogue among nations.

Previously there was no Charter, but a pact, a name that was given to the statute of the League of Nations. However, the treaty signed in San Francisco was named after the United Nations Charter. It is a legal instrument and indicates the name of the organization. It is important to say that this term is more appropriate since it refers to the

¹⁷ Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

contents of the treaty, while a Covenant refers to the contractual form of the contents, calling it a “treaty”.

First, Article 2.7 will be analyzed, as it refers to both the political and legal terms, and domestic vs. international jurisdiction. The lack of a central authority and the differences between states when policy decision-making difficult to create norms within the international framework. This article states:

*“Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.”*¹⁸

Prior to the establishment of international organizations, sovereignty included the right to self-interpretation of the obligations to the international community. That is, each State decided whether or not to abide by certain rules. However, States agreed to refer to the term or international bodies; that is why the League of Nations was created, in which part of the States’ sovereignty was granted. Furthermore, there is not a body to interpret what may be a domestic matter or not. That is, if each State could decide what to call domestic issues or not, international relations would be a chaos. However, determining a body to interpret it neither ensures to have the necessary conditions to decide it. The author Watson ensures that this interpretation can be given as "a case of assigning a potentially legal competition between supranational organizations on the one hand, and on the other hand on the states."¹⁹

¹⁸ Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

¹⁹ Watson. J.S. AUTOINTERPRETATION, COMPETENCE, AND THE CONTINUING VALIDITY OF ARTICLE 2 OF THE UN CHARTER. 1977

With the Charter each State assumes the obligation to use all its military or economic resources, if necessary, against all members and parties that are in opposition to a state at war. States also are required to cooperate with governments that are part of this agreement and will not form a militia or generate peace with the counterparty.²⁰

“43.1 All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.” 21

Moreover, since the creation of the United Nations, the number of its members has tripled, which is why it required changes to the Charter, however, it has not been significantly modified. What were changed were the voting process and the composition of the two major bodies.

In 1963 it was proposed to increase the number of members in the Security Council, however, the five permanent United Nations' members held the power of veto. Similarly, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) increased the number of its members, changing the number of affirmative votes to achieve two-thirds majority.

As it was evident the organization grew with a larger number of members, creating the need to place greater powers within the two main bodies: the ECOSOC and the Security Council. This went hand in hand with the need for equitable representation. The expansion of the Security Council gave voice to those countries that were not the

²⁰Helsen, Kans. THE JOURNAL OF POLITICS. THE PREAMBLE OF THE CHARTER- A CRITICAL ANALYSIS.1946. Pág 134

<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/2125893?uid=2134&uid=2&uid=70&uid=4&sid=2110348062438>

²¹ Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

five permanent members, giving the possibility to develop and developing countries to share positions in the principal organs of the United Nations. However, although the number of members has grown, the representation of the total number of them has decreased, and most importantly, the veto power of the permanent members has not been modified. It explains why despite the change it has had, the United Nations Charter has been almost nothing or little changed.

“23.1 The Security Council shall consist of fifteen Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect ten other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.”

22

*“23.2 The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen, two of the four additional members shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.”*²³

The changes at that time were necessary since the international political scene was and is constantly changing. But today, the fair and equitable representation of states

²² Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

²³ Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

depends on UN operations.²⁴ Unfortunately the power of veto and the majority vote in both the Security Council, the ECOSOC and the General Assembly should be reviewed and modified because of the differences in the distribution of power, at the end the Charter's goal is to truly represent their principles :?

*"The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members."*²⁵

As previously mentioned, the Charter functions as an International Constitution under the international law, this being a set of legal rules governing relations between states. This system is based on the legal equality of all its parts, creating and controlling rules, duties and rights.

However, the charter allows certain countries, specifically those that are part of the Security Council with the power of veto, to decide on issues that belong to third countries under the need to maintain peace and international security.

*"27.2 The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members may, if it so desires, be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representative."*²⁶

*"27.3 Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting."*²⁷

²⁴Saba, Carola. ANALYSIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AMENDMENTS.2003.
<https://files.nyu.edu/cbs242/public/Assignment1.pdf>

²⁵ Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

²⁶ Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

²⁷ Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

Moreover, decisions on security are regulated in Article 19 of the Charter because decisions, the participation in the organization, and therefore the effectiveness influence its objectives. Maintaining peace and international security are not often linked with the economic aspects for decision-making.

“19. A Member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years. The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member.”²⁸

However, the Charter does not arise as a closed tool, it is modified by situations and circumstances, and otherwise it would be difficult to achieve compliance with itself. Consequently, the General Assembly can eliminate the vote of a State which has not respected its obligations.

Chapter VIII talks about the work of the United Nations with regional organizations.

“53. The Security Council shall, where appropriate, utilize such regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against any enemy state, as defined in paragraph 2 of this Article, provided for pursuant to Article 107 or in regional arrangements directed against renewal of aggressive policy on the part of any such state, until such time as the Organization may, on request of the Governments concerned, be

²⁸ Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

*charged with the responsibility for preventing further aggression by such a state.”*²⁹

This article is important because it explains that the Security Council can cooperate with regional organizations making agreements to take coercive measures and apply them. However, these bodies cannot function independently as they need the authority of the Council. What is not stated is which measures can be taken, and what they entail. Furthermore, these measures may not be more than those mentioned:

*“43. The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.”*³⁰

*“42. Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.”*³¹

The question here is whether to allow the Regional Organization to act in other ways to those mentioned in these articles, as these regional organizations are not allowed to execute any State measures to ensure international peace and security. Moreover, this would delay the process of effective action and immediate response in critical

²⁹ Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

³⁰ Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

³¹ Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

circumstances where it is imperative to act quickly. The Security Council is the only body that could take measures of military force, or give authorization to an organization if needed. Within a treaty States can effectively put pressure on other members of the same agreement, but they cannot assume that what is permitted to a State is permitted for the other group of States. This means that regional organizations can act with the same freedom as a state individually. "States may, under certain conditions and subject to certain limits, apply legitimate countermeasures, and this means that what they can do individually, they also can do acting collectively." ³²

Council resolutions vary depending on their level of authority. Under Chapter VI, seeking peaceful solutions does not apply only as recommendations. However, under Chapter VII, the Council takes binding decisions, that is, in a way that it is legal to call countries to enforcement action. The Council's decisions, whether being recommendations or obligations, are compulsory. ³³

In short, Chapter 7 of the Charter talks about the measures and resolutions in a comprehensive manner, to avoid conflict. This is the system of United Nations sanctions. These sanctions are measures based on any threat of the peace or any act of aggression without resorting to war. Member States and non-members are forced to contemplate the war not as a resource within their national policy, and they are not allowed to use anything that threatens peace and security, which is opposed to the objectives of the United Nations.

"39. The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make

³²Pezzano, Luciano. LA ADOPCION DE MEDIDAS COERCITIVASPOR LOS ORGANISMOS REGIONALES. Biblioteca Jurídica Virtual del Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas de la UNAM. Pág. 39

³³ Ross, Alf. CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS. New York. 1980

*recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.”*³⁴

However, the charter also mentions in its articles measures for the effective performance of the organization and the letter:

*“94.2 If any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the Court, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council, which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment.”*³⁵

*“102.1 Every treaty and every international agreement entered into by any Member of the United Nations after the present Charter comes into force shall as soon as possible be registered with the Secretariat and published by it.”*³⁶

In addition, there are disciplinary sanctions applicable only to members:

*“5. A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.”*³⁷

“6. A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the

³⁴ Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

³⁵ Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

³⁶ Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

³⁷ Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.”³⁸

In conclusion, the United Nations Charter should serve as a tool for creating guidelines for working with the international community. It should focus on the intent behind this. The Charter is a constitution, but should not be interpreted literally, but with sufficient flexibility to enable the organization meet its goals. However, states must be accountable for their actions before the international community, especially if these have an impact on it.

1.2.1 The Security Council as a guarantor for international peace and security

“Polemology Institutes note that, since the Second World War, the world has known only 26 days of peace. If we consider less rigorous criteria, like a day without war, according to other estimates, there are three days per year of complete peace in the world, which is no more encouraging.”³⁹

“To appreciate even better the work of the United Nations in what concerns its objective of maintaining peace, we must remember that historically the world, from prehistory to the present day, has lived in a permanent state of war. From the 3,400 years of history, known and analyzed for humanity, only 250 years were for peace. Unfortunately, war is the most frequent human relationship.”⁴⁰

The Security Council is the main organ responsible for maintaining international peace and security. It has 15 members, each representing one vote. According to the

³⁸ Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

³⁹Bedjaoui, Mohammed. PROPOSITOS Y PRINCIPIOS: ARTÍCULO 1. Juez de la Corte Internacional de Justicia. Pág. 29

⁴⁰Bedjaoui, Mohammed. PROPOSITOS Y PRINCIPIOS: ARTÍCULO 1. Juez de la Corte Internacional de Justicia. Pág. 29-30

Charter, these members are committed to accept and carry out the decisions made therein. The Security Council is the only body whose resolutions and decisions are required to be fulfilled. The creation of the Security Council came when the United Nations Charter was signed in San Francisco. Countries like the United States, United Kingdom and China pledged to establish and adhere to the principles of this body in order to maintain international peace and security.⁴¹

Later the USSR joined this agreement and France followed immediately. The important thing here was the largest cooperation between these nations to make decisions within the Security Council, making them become permanent members. Aspects to choose those states were according to the parameters of peace and security, plus the geographical distribution in order to achieve equal representation for all regions of the world.⁴²

Functions: when a complaint is made that threatens the maintenance of peace, the Council, as its first responsibility, tries to help both parts to reach a peaceful agreement. The Council is allowed to:

- Arrange an agreement.
- Order an investigation into the case if necessary.
- Send a mission to the conflict zone, and in turn decide who will be sent.
- Request the General Secretary to work with them to achieve a peaceful solution of the issue.

In case those steps could not be reached and hostility was generated it may:

- Issue orders for ceasefire to avoid conflict

⁴¹Goodrich, L y Simons, A.P. THE UNITED NATIONS ANTE THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. Washington D.C. 1995. Pág 35

⁴² Russet, Bruce. THE ONCE AND FUTURE SECURITY COUNCIL. Nueva York. 1997

- Send military observers of the countries or a group for peacekeeping, as peacekeepers, to decrease tensions.

Finally, if the Council fails to establish order, it has the right to impose sanctions with the use of power such as:

- Impose financial penalties, between these arms can be removed, financial restrictions and prohibition on traveling.
- End diplomatic relations of the State with the United Nations.
- Can create blockades.
- Take take coercive measures and military actions.

Its purpose is to apply these actions on those responsible for the policies or practices that are condemned by the international community, to avoid its effects within sectors and groups of the population.⁴³

In the Charter the functions of this body are:

- To maintaining peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations,
- To investigate any dispute or situation which might lead to international friction,
- To recommend methods of adjusting such disputes or terms of settlement,
- To develop plans for the establishment of a system to regulate armaments,
- To determine if there is a threat to the peace or any act of aggression, and to recommend what action should be taken,
- To encourage members to apply economic sanctions and other measures not involving the use of force, in order to prevent conflict,

⁴³ Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

- To undertake military action against an aggressor,
- To recommend the admission of new members,
- To perform duties of trusteeship of the United Nations in "strategic areas"
- To recommend to the General Assembly the appointment of the General Secretary, and together with the Assembly, to elect the magisterial for the International Court of Justice.⁴⁴

The Security Council as a guarantor of international peace and security, has used force on three occasions. The first was in North Korea (1950), Iraq (1990) and the humanitarian intervention in Somalia (1991). In addition there have been 53 peacekeeping operations from 1948 to 2000, Congo (1960), Cyprus (1964), among others. The Security Council has been prudent with the use of force, giving priority to peaceful means of conflict resolution. It has also created an international criminal court to bring judgment on people who have committed crimes against humanity. In addition, there is a commission to generate complaints about the aggression committed by any State.

However the Council has failed in making decisions several times due to the power of veto. When this happens an emergency meeting in the General Assembly is convened, to discuss the specific matter. Furthermore, the Security Council has been forced to expand their agenda. The Apartheid in South Africa allowed the Council in conjunction with the Assembly, to work on human rights, believing that if the situation did not change international peace and security would be in conflict.

The Cold War: During the Cold War the work of the Security Council was affected due to the division of two blocks, two permanent members with the power of veto, representing the capitalism and communism each, making difficult the decision-making.

⁴⁴ Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

Most conflicts that existed at that time were a reflection of the competition between the US and the USSR. Here the United Nations was not their priority, limiting their activities, since none of these two members showed interest in the participation inside de UN. Many international conflicts arose at this time, around economic, military and territorial issues. Most of these problems arose in developing countries where the two powers had influenced increasing tensions. This affected directly the function of the UN making it difficult to work in the Security Council.⁴⁵

It was during this period that Great Britain, China and France were able to use the veto, making decisions between them trying to maintain a better balance. While the Soviet Union used the veto, the United States supported itself in the General Assembly stating the goal to strive for world peace and security.

With the Korean conflict the 4 permanent members led by the United States made decisions without the consent of the USSR because like North Korea they were communists. And the peace interventions that were made were not necessarily to maintain international peace.

The United Nations was also involved during the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, when the United States showed pictures of Soviet nuclear bases. With that preventive measures were taken, and the United States mobilized its military troops.

The Cold War was a problem for the UN operations, and specially the functioning of the Security Council. And years after when the United States and the USSR were able to work together as they had common interests, they had already lost influence in third countries.

“While the end of the cold war helped to unlock the potential of the Council to contribute and make resolutions on really serious problems in terms of the

⁴⁵Finkelsten, Lawrence S. POLITICS IN THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM. Londres. Duke University Press. 1997

*threat of international peace and security, that is, thanks to the new cooperation between superpowers, the council still remained unimportant until the intervention of Iraq in Kuwait in 1990. "*⁴⁶

For the first time, after some time, economic and military measures were taken against Iraq helping the Security Council to regain credibility. Yet today it is criticized, especially with the September 11 attack in the United States when the new Bush doctrine contradicted Article 2 of the Charter.

Many developing countries are negative regarding the involvement of the United Nations, as the sovereignty of each state does not accept the intervention of any organism. It is here that the policies of the most powerful prevail, Stanley Hoffman says "the United Nations is the parachute for all purposes," explaining that the defense of peace and security taken by the Council now applies to any situation.

Veto: The veto power, of which the 5 permanent members enjoy, can be used if one or more of its members do not agree with any decision; however, if they do not want to block any decision they may abstain from voting. According to the Charter because of the Veto all the members of the United Nations are obliged to accept the resolutions of the Council, giving its members the supreme powers in the maintenance of peace and security.

However, there are several criticisms of the power of veto in the Council system. But many say the veto helps the minorities and if it did not exist the majority would take any decisions on peace and international security.

⁴⁶ Malone, David. THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL: FROM THE COLD WAR TO THE 21th CENTURY. Londres. 2004

1.3 UNITED NATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA AND ITS ROLE IN CONFLICT-SOLVING

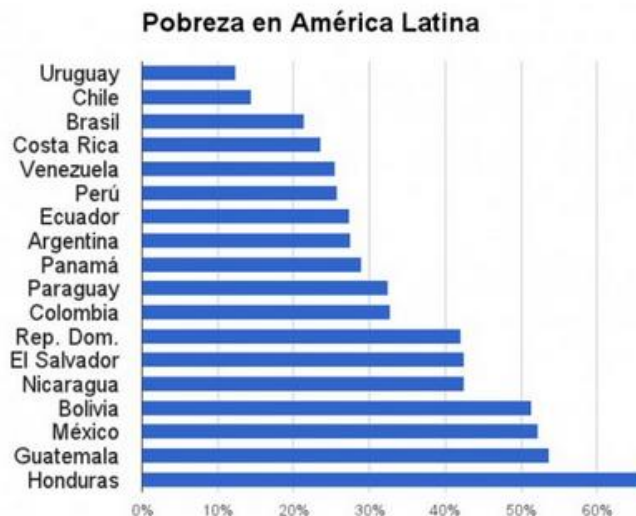
Since the end of the cold war, the existence of conflicts between States has been decreasing rapidly. In America the same thing happened, however, this area has experienced fewer conflicts compared with other regions in the world. After the war between Ecuador and Peru, there has been no armed confrontation between other countries in the region.

However, it is important to analyze some facts about Latin America. Honduras is the most violent country in the region. According to the Ministry of Security the homicide rate is 66.79 per 100 thousand inhabitants.⁴⁷ Likewise, 95% of drug that goes to South America passes through this country. In Mexico the violence due to drug cartels is uncontrollable. "Between 2006 and 2014 it has killed more than 100,000 people."⁴⁸ The conflict between the Government of Colombia and the guerrillas continued for over 50 years. About 86% of the most violent cities in the world are in Latin America.⁴⁹ Likewise, poverty levels remain high in Latin America.

⁴⁷Las Dos Orillas. LAS GUERRAS DEL 2014 QUE CONTINUAN EN 2015. Juan Diego Aguirre. 2015. www.las2orillas.co/las-guerras-del-2014-continuan-en-el-2015/

⁴⁸Las Dos Orillas. LAS GUERRAS DEL 2014 QUE CONTINUAN EN 2015. Juan Diego Aguirre. 2015. www.las2orillas.co/las-guerras-del-2014-continuan-en-el-2015/

⁴⁹InSightCrime, Crimen Organizado de las Américas. LATINOAMERICA PREDOMINA EN LA LISTA DE LAS CIUDADES MAS VIOLENTAS DEL MUNDO. Elyssa Pachico. 2015.



Source: INFOBAE 2014

The interventions of the United Nations peacekeeping group have been few compared with the African continent. These include:

ONUSAL: Observer mission of the United Nations in El Salvador.

Salvador war was an internal armed conflict where the military government and the rebel group “Front Marti National Liberation Front” clashed. The civil war in El Salvador lasted 10 years, until a peace agreement between the government and the guerrillas was signed in 1992.

However, this is not over as it continues to be unsafe because new groups are related to robbery, kidnapping and trafficking. The main causes are: poverty, marginalization, lack of education, lack of access to basic services, etc.

Similarly, in 2012 El Salvador was ranked 83 in the index of the most corrupt countries, compared with Denmark which was at the number 1 position as the least corrupt country, with a rating of 38 out of 100.⁵⁰

⁵⁰InSightCrime, Crimen Organizado de las Américas. EL SALVADOR

<http://es.insightcrime.org/noticias-sobre-crimen-organizado-en-el-salvador/el-salvador>

In 2012 its capital was placed in the 44th position among the most violent cities in the world. But now it is number 13.⁵¹

The war in El Salvador caused a strong political and social crisis in the country. It is estimated that the death toll was between 75,000 dead and missing. The Government finally managed to sign an agreement that ended the civil war.

The UN established a group of observers to verify that all the peace agreements between the government forces and the rebel group were fulfilled. What they wanted was to stop the armed conflict and to address important issues such as economic, social, human rights, among others. The Security Council ordered the deployment of 380 military observers, 8 doctors, 631 observers who were part of the police, 140 civilian international staff members and 180 local staff members. The total expenditure was \$ 107,003,650.

ONUSAL the Observer Mission of the United Nations in El Salvador was created when both parties took the conflict to be resolved into the hands of the United Nations. What was sought was to include the International Community in the agreements so that later claims could be made and also it could verify that it was fulfilling its promise. The first agreement to be signed was that of human rights. The work of the United Nations was to verify the respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The first mission was sent in 1991, before the conflict ended.

Thus, the Security Council sent a team to be responsible for investigating cases of violation of human rights, promote compliance with them, develop recommendations to end the conflict, and especially to send information of the situation to the United Nations, which would later be informed to the General Assembly and the Security

⁵¹Transparency International. CORRUPTION PERCEPTIONS INDEX 2012
<http://www.transparency.org/cpi2012/results>

Council. ONUSAL was also responsible for verifying the ceasefire, and to enforce law and order.⁵²

It is important to say that Civil War in El Salvador lasted a decade. It began in the 80s, while the first intervention of the United Nations was in 1991, when the two conflicting parties agreed that they needed foreign intervention. The consequences of the conflict were severe, almost 2% of the population died, thousands were wounded, and thousands suffered violations of human rights, in addition to the irreparable social damage, and damage to roads, buildings.

MINUGUA: Verification mission of the United Nations in Guatemala

The civil war in Guatemala was an internal conflict between 1960 and 1996, with a strong impact on the civil society.⁵³ It all started with a failed coup, creating a guerrilla group called the “Movimiento Revolucionario 13 de Noviembre” which remained in force until 1971. The civil war came to an end on December 29, 1996, a total of 200,000 dead, 45,000 missing and 100,000 displaced.

The intervention of the United Nations was in 1997 established by the Security Council, to verify the agreement between the government and the guerrilla group that would ceasefire. In total there were sent 188 members, including 145 military observers and 43 police officers, sent from 18 countries. The total expenditure for this mission was \$ 4,750,800.

⁵² Organización de las Naciones Unidas. ONUSAL.

<http://www.un.org/es/peacekeeping/missions/past/onusal.htm>

⁵³ La injerencia histórica de las fuerzas militares en la política del país, más la desigualdad económica, y social, dieron paso a la violencia y crimen dentro del país. Durante años fueron los grupos económicos que representaban a la minoría los que controlaron la mayoría de la población indígena, representando esta el 41 % de población a nivel nacional. Es así que la creación de grupos rebeldes ha dado el paso a actividades ilícitas entre ellas el tráfico de drogas, siendo este problema el responsable del 45% de las muertes en el país.

However, since 1994 they have been performing verification programs and reconstruction of the institutions in Guatemala. Observers have been monitoring the observance of human rights, avoiding political violence. Its main task has been the verification of compliance with human rights, thereby controlling political violence. With this mission the destruction of around 400 explosive devices and mines was accomplished, besides handing over 500 weapons in the hands of UN observers, the demobilization of 3,000 rebels was reached, recovered war materials.⁵⁴

MINUSTAH: United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti

It was established on 1 June 2004 by the Security Council after the country had suffered an armed conflict that spread around all cities and had the intervention of the United States, Canada, Chile and France. About 7,000 soldiers from various countries were sent. Its main objective was to seek stability, disarm the warring factions, promoting democracy and peaceful elections, and help the development of Haiti.

With the earthquake in 2010, this mission was entrusted to verify the reconstruction and restoration of the country, and support the recovery to maintain a safe country with a stable political process, strengthening institutions and a government which protects human rights and respects the constitution. At the same time, the mission aimed to help victims of the natural disaster, and avoid the outbreak of diseases such as cholera.⁵⁵

MALVINAS

The Malvinas conflict was between Argentina and Britain in the Malvinas Islands in 1982. The conflict arose when Argentina decided to restore the sovereignty of the

⁵⁴ Organización de las Naciones Unidas. MINUGUA

<https://www.un.org/es/peacekeeping/missions/past/minugua.htm>

⁵⁵ Organización de las Naciones Unidas. MINUSTAH

<http://www.un.org/es/peacekeeping/missions/minustah/>

islands, which were under the control of the United Kingdom. The armed conflict resulted in the death of 649 Argentine military, 255 in the UK and 3 civilians. Alongside the defeat of Argentina in the conflict, it led to the fall of the military junta, while in the UK helped the reelection of Margaret Thatcher.

Currently the United Nations continues to believe that these territories are not under a defined sovereignty, and considers the territories in conflict between the two countries mentioned above. Resolution 502 of the Security Council demanded the lifting of the Argentine military forces on the islands and urged the two countries to reach a peaceful solution to the conflict. After failed attempts on the establishment of peace, the conflict remains unresolved.⁵⁶

ONUCA: Group of UN observers in Central America

This movement established in Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua in the years 1989 and 1992, was aimed to eliminate the existing rebel groups, and to restore peace in the region. It demobilized rebels in Nicaragua, and finally ended the armed conflict. The move involved the mobilization of 260 military observers, 800 officers, including their troops, in addition to civilians. What was sought is the cooperation of the countries that were involved to stop the rebels, and prevent attacks against other governments.⁵⁷

FINAL THOUGHTS

⁵⁶ Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, República de Argentina. LA CUESTION DE LAS ISLAS MALVINAS EN LAS ORGANIZACIONES INTERNACIONALES Y OTROS FOROS REGIONALES Y BIRREGIONALES. <https://www.mrecic.gov.ar/es/la-cuestion-de-las-islas-malvinas/la-cuestion-de-las-islas-malvinas-en-las-organizaciones>

⁵⁷ Organización de las Naciones Unidas. ONUCA. <https://www.mrecic.gov.ar/es/la-cuestion-de-las-islas-malvinas/la-cuestion-de-las-islas-malvinas-en-las-organizaciones>

Multilateralism now with all its organizations, including the United Nations, is in crisis, where it becomes difficult to adapt to a globalized world, and the interests of each state or groups of states. The idea is that the UN does not provide a solution and cannot exercise a function of a regulator, in particular conflicts. However, the problem arises from an unhappy majority as its members, all those with greater weight, act unilaterally violating the principles on which this organization was created.

The question is: if in this model of multilateralism, the United Nations is the appropriate means for conflict solving and management?, as it has not achieved parameters under fair conditions for the intervention of one or several states on issues of another third country. There are several cases in which private interests (of state or large corporations) have violated the UN goals, and the needs of the citizens of the countries that have been involved any kind of conflict.

To talk about a reconstruction of the United Nations, in my opinion becomes utopian; however, it would be possible to generate changes, for example, in the Security Council where the dissatisfaction of non-permanent members and those who never participate is latent. In fact the changes done inside the United Nations and on its members, and the evolution of international relations since its inception, have been the cause to repeatedly propose amendments to the Charter.

The Security Council has been sharply criticized because it has not had any reform since its origin. The privileges that keep countries with veto power are still valid despite the increase in the number of members in the body: for example, the ease with which the hegemonic states block a decision taken by the majority, or the lack of checks and balances, in which it is difficult to represent many members.

On the other hand, to suggest the removal of the United Nations would set back the time, since the role of this organization is important. The world and the system in which it is currently governed, is based on global and collective well-being of the

entire community, meaning that multilateralism becomes absolutely necessary in an interdependent world.

CHAPTER II

2.1 CONCEPT OF REGIONALISM

Is Latin America different from it was a few decades ago? Is Latin America showing itself as a region strengthened by the union of its people in terms of relative political stability and development shown in the last years? Can we talk about a region less dependent on the United States?

Today we can refer to a stronger Latin American region. It is possible to recognize its progress in economic, social and political issues. This region has been characterized by a new step in terms of the implementation of international relations. Its development and progress in the field of regional integration has allowed driving new patterns of cooperation among countries of the region, without necessarily relying on the world powers.

The new entailment of the region with China, Russia and India has detached Latin America to the United States. The emergence of new self-styled “leftist” governments such as Brazil, Venezuela, Ecuador, marked a difference in their role within states. These governments focus on the internal affairs of each country, on the unquestionable desire to break ties with Washington, as well as the creation of organisms of cooperation and integration within the region.

Regionalism, also called regional integration, involves the joining of neighboring countries by strengthening institutional bonds and pooling out their national sovereignty in international organizations. The goal is to establish general policies or to address fundamental issues, and often creating up to a common identity. The topics to be

discussed are wide as trade, politics or security, as they believe that working as a block could help states to be more prosperous, stable, and influential, than they could be individually.

After World War II, the principles of regionalism began to form a fundamental part of modern states, and it is here that the three major regional organizations in conflict resolution and management were created: the Organization of American States (OAS), the League of Arab States, and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Developing countries, particularly, did not see the principles of regionalism as a threat to their sovereignty, but considered it a tool in foreign policy, to protect its sovereignty and autonomy of the interference of States that were considered "powerful".

The processes of regional integration started to play an important role, and were considered necessary above all since the 80s in the international community.

These arise globally, but it is Latin America who takes a leading role in the creation of these organisms. These regional groups are formed by states which adopt international treaties and create government agencies, creating bilateral, multilateral and interregional agreements.

The confrontation between the US and the USSR and its allies respectively, marked the parameters within international relations during the twentieth century, but it also made it impossible to act collectively.

At the end of the Cold War, when conflicts arose between States, and there was no interest from the superpowers of the time, the creation of regional organizations helped countries to act in case of conflict between states.

Also the United Nations allows the implementation of regional agreements to achieve and use coercive measures, but it has to be accepted by the Security Council.

“51. Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a

*Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.”*⁵⁸

The Charter allows the creation of agreements to bring any situation of confrontation to international courts, other than the International Court of Justice too.

*“95. Nothing in the present Charter shall prevent Members of the United Nations from entrusting the solution of their differences to other tribunals by virtue of agreements already in existence or which may be concluded in the future.”*⁵⁹

Similarly, the US following the European example, drove and gave tools for the development of regionalism, and generated recommendations for the American countries (with particular economic and geopolitical objectives). In 1994 the first Summit of the Americas was held⁶⁰, by President George Bush, where he spoke of the creation of a free trade area that was later endorsed by Bill Clinton.

⁵⁸ Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

⁵⁹ Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

⁶⁰ El objetivo de la reunión entre los gobernadores de LA y USA, fue el de fortalecer la democracia dentro de la región: así como el diálogo, la participación de los grupos sociales en las comunidades, y el intercambio de procesos electorales. Por otra parte, se trataron temas sociales y económicos, así como: el libre comercio, la instrumentación de la Ronda de Uruguay, las Negociaciones con la Organización Mundial del Comercio, para generar acuerdos bilaterales o multilaterales, en ellos se buscaba eliminar las barreras al comercio, apoyar con financiamiento al sector privado, mejora del transporte, etc. También así aspectos como la corrupción, tráfico de drogas, el rol de la mujer dentro de la sociedad, aspectos tecnológicos, etc.

Regionalism emerges with the idea of uniting efforts among nations with similar ideological, political, and economic objectives, where adequate space for the participation of states are generated, and also as a way to gain influence, acting as one, in the international community.

Regionalism also means flexibility and independence, and without questioning the sovereignty of countries, it can integrate joint policies for the benefit of regional development. This mechanism helps countries to manage both economic and political integration, keeping autonomy to manage their internal policies.

Latin American Regionalism started with Simon Bolivar, who had the vision of Latin American countries working as one single bloc with countries from other cultures and with different political ideologies. He saw Latin America as an integrated region enabling cooperation between its members.

However, Latin American countries during the 20s and 30s still thought that nationalist policies were the best way to protect their sovereignty from external threats, and so working in isolation to the United Nations. Following the formation of this organization, Latin American countries replaced their nationalist and protectionist ideas and new forms of cooperation through strategic alliances with other States. With President Roosevelt's policy and the military and cultural intervention in Latin America the OAS was created, Organization of American States although countries were more interested in development and economic growth than security in the region.⁶¹

It was in the 50s when the first ideas for economic regionalism emerged. Consequently, the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean ECLAC was created, as well as the first American Free Trade Association (1960), which helped in industrialization and in creating policies that benefited its members. Despite,

⁶¹ Morales Fajardo, María Esther. UN REPASO A LA REGIONALIZACIÓN Y EL REGIONALISMO: LOS PRIMEROS PROCESOS DE INTEGRACIÓN REGIONAL EN AMÉRICA LATINA. Colegio Mexiquense. 2007

all the measures taken, the crisis in Latin American became worst and most countries increased their foreign debt. With political and economic instability, plus geopolitical conflicts, several regional groups, including the Andean Group, the Central American Common Market and the Caribbean were created. .⁶²

Thus, in the 80s the new Regionalism in Latin America emerged which comprises new economic policies through preferential agreements for the countries of the region. Its purpose was to create mechanisms to help the economic integration of the countries among themselves and with other regions of the world. That step was taken in Latin America with the signing of several agreements, including:

- Trujillo Protocol in 1996,
- Sucre Protocol in 1997,
- The Treaty of Asuncion in 1991,
- The North American Free Trade Agreement in 1992,
- The Treaty of the Group of Three in 1994,
- The Association of Caribbean States in 1994; among others.⁶³

Later during the 90s political issues, which not only dealt with economic agreements, but included environmental policies, border issues, investments, and handling solution to conflict were incorporated into their agendas; which means that the new interests inside the regionalization processes were to coordinate and establish global models that could influence discussions and political debates referring to the governance of the world.

Indeed, regionalism becomes a necessity within the policies of each State, to manage its economic, social, cultural and political issues, generating the idea that regional cooperation is essential for them.

⁶² Garrido Carrasco, Jannete. EL NUEVO REGIONALISMO: CARACTERISTICAS Y DIFERENCIAS. ALAINET, América Latina en Movimiento. 2008

⁶³ Garrido Carrasco, Jannete. EL NUEVO REGIONALISMO: CARACTERISTICAS Y DIFERENCIAS. ALAINET, América Latina en Movimiento. 2008

To give a definition of regionalism is important to first analyze the concept of region. This refers to:

*"A limited number of states linked geographically and with a high degree of interdependence between them. In international relations it can be understood as a supranational subsystem of the international system or as an emerging regional training with its own dynamics."*⁶⁴

These are interrelated territories that are near each other, with a similar foreign policy and related issues, which need an organization that governs the dynamics of working together as a group of states, and with a greater range of magnitude than the state itself.

Additionally, the author Russett gives three basic characteristics for a region:

*"geographical proximity; interdependence (especially in economic terms), and homogeneity, for example sharing an economic system, religion, level of development, language, history, etc. In isolation none of the three is enough to recognize a region."*⁶⁵

However, the Latin American region politically is not that homogeneous, as there are states with government policies called socialist or progressive such as Ecuador, Venezuela, Bolivia, Cuba, and others with neoliberal policies such as Chile, Colombia, and Peru. Also, there are economically more developed countries such as Chile and Brazil, this last one being an emerging world power. That is why the region has the Pacific Alliance, Mercosur, among others. Therefore, the characteristics for regionalism

⁶⁴ Oyarzun Serrano, Lorena. SOBRE LA NATURALEZA DE LA INTEGRACION REGIONAL: TEORIAS Y DEBATES. Revista de Ciencia Política, Volumen 28 #2. Instituto de Ciencia Política, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. 2008

⁶⁵ Oyarzun Serrano, Lorena. SOBRE LA NATURALEZA DE LA INTEGRACION REGIONAL: TEORIAS Y DEBATES. Revista de Ciencia Política, Volumen 28 #2. Instituto de Ciencia Política, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. 2008

mentioned before are not strictly necessary, but help the concepts and creation of regionalism sharing similar values, common goals, economical rewards, social, cultural and political issues, as well as international participation are purposes for which they work in a region.

It is also not the same to talk about regionalism and regionalization. Regionalization is the process that takes place to achieve regionalism; here states or non-state bodies can participate. While regionalism is the project to which States are organized according to the region.

Regionalism can be differentiated in various ways. First, it can be soft, in other words, it does not require institutionalization. Second, it can be linked directly to the identity, that is, states that feel to be alike, regardless of geographic location or language. Third, cooperation is needed to address external issues, represented as one internationally. Fourth, it needs government decisions to work together, creating common policies. And fifth, regional cohesion involves everything mentioned above, becoming a system where rules and parameters are created. It leads to communication and sharing of values, and helps institutions to make and carry out decisions.⁶⁶

Regional integration also includes different conceptualizations of analysis required, among them: functionalism, federalism, transactionalism, intergovernmentalism, institutionalism and constructivism.⁶⁷

The first focuses on the creation of a global system of peace, which is driven by international organizations, where the issues to be discussed would be treated by

⁶⁶Oyarzun Serrano, Lorena. SOBRE LA NATURALEZA DE LA INTEGRACION REGIONAL: TEORIAS Y DEBATES. Revista de Ciencia Política, Volumen 28 #2. Instituto de Ciencia Política, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. 2008

⁶⁷Oyarzun Serrano, Lorena. SOBRE LA NATURALEZA DE LA INTEGRACION REGIONAL: TEORIAS Y DEBATES. Revista de Ciencia Política, Volumen 28 #2. Instituto de Ciencia Política, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. 2008

specialists and not by people with political interests. International cooperation to promote peace and security is important, and citizens would not be uniquely associated with a State or territory, but also to a supranational identity. Second, federalism puts a brake on the unlimited sovereignty and seeks that each case and issue is dealt under the levels to which they relate. It is a government at various levels, in order to maintain the diversity of the members, in a world where political, economic and cultural practices are assimilated. Third, transactionalism is based on the communication from one State to the other, the ones that by consensus resolve conflicts without resorting to force, since all belong to a community. Fourth, intergovernmentalism does not mean the transfer of sovereignty, but in matters that do not interfere with the national interest of each state, they can work together. Fifth, new institutionalism includes designing agencies to take action wherever possible, working with their own agenda based on the interests of the Member States and nations. Finally, constructivism is where the region depends on the existence of an organism, and not to the territorial area to which states belong. This involves the creation of standards, processes, institutions, forums for debate, among others.

In brief, regional integration or regionalism would be linked to decision-making and cohesion among its parties to face current challenges. States trust a supranational body, which will have the power to make decisions, handle disputes, develop institutionally, and maintain autonomy. A common identity and values will be created, in addition to belonging and loyalty, thus having the political will for integration.

On the other hand, to give a conceptualization of regionalism referring specifically to matters of conflict and resolution management, it is important to mention that the United Nations puts in consideration three important aspects: It must guard to the principles of the United Nations, it must have a system for settling disputes, and it shall be made between states of a given geographical area, to act only according to these Member States.

“52.1 Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.”⁶⁸

The author Van Young points out the word regionalism as "the conscious cultural, political and sentimental identification of several groups of people that share the same regional space." ⁶⁹ Regionalism is a system of unification among several states in different fields such as political, social, economic, linked by a common geographical space, and a population with more similar characteristics with joint organisms which transfer part of their sovereignty to work together with other states, and achieve common goals. In addition regionalism is:

“Understood as an organizing principle that implies not only criteria of territory and management in Latin America, but involves political, social and economic fields in the history of regional space and its population, denoting the interrelation of actors, interests and processes within this system and national entities. Regionalism is a social construction in history and it is characterized to be compared and variable.”⁷⁰

Furthermore, it implies greater international participation, with a specific political objective. States work together and make weight in multilateral organizations where only one country does not have enough influence to promote its development.

⁶⁸ Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Organización de las Naciones Unidas. <http://www.un.org/es>

⁶⁹Taracena Arriola, Arturo. REGION E HISTORIA. DESACATOS NUM 1. Centro de Investigaciones y de Antropología Social México. 1999. Pág. 3

⁷⁰Taracena Arriola, Arturo. REGION E HISTORIA. DESACATOS NUM 1. Centro de Investigaciones y de Antropología Social México. 1999.

Regionalism works on managing and creating political projects and general policies where all states are benefited.

Others authors, like Jesus Maria Yepes, state that regional organizations need a permanent internal structure; structured organizations that meet specific functions, continually working to act immediately in any situation of conflict, and ensuring that the organization is fulfilling its objectives. They also state that agencies must not focus only on the maintenance of peace and security, but also work on those issues of cooperation and coordination among its members.

2.2 MAIN FORUMS AND ORGANIZATIONS IN THE REGION

According to a study by the Regional Coordinator of Economic and Social Research (CRIES), Conflicts in Latin America are given due to a lack of institutional prevention agencies, and the weakness of the democratic systems inside the countries.⁷¹

In Latin America, Presidentialism is the way in which intervention processes are conducted, and institutions are managed at a regional level. Presidents are responsible for managing the agendas of multilateral or regional activities. They meet several times in regional summits where issues of interest are discussed and conflicts are solved. Then are the ministers, ambassadors who will be responsible for overseeing the process, and the implementation of the resolutions.

Therefore, regional organizations function as forums for debate and dialogue. For the moment they do not have strong and independent institutions in which they can carry out problems of global governance, especially in the region, due to the failure to create permanent institutions, besides not having high cost budgets. However, Latin America

⁷¹ Salamanca, Manuel Ernesto. LAS PRÁCTICAS DE LA RESOLUCION DE CONFLICTOS EN AMERICA LATINA. Instituto de Derechos Humanos, Universidad de Deusto, Bilbao. 2008

has been experiencing a decline of conflicts through cooperation and integration, seeking to resolve tensions and conflicts within the region.

2.2.1 Grupo de Rio : general description, role in conflict

Also called the Mechanism for Consultation and Political Coordination, it was created in 1986 by the Declaration of Rio de Janeiro. Annual meetings between the heads of state of Latin America and the Caribbean were arranged, making it possible to reach consensus for decision-making. The first countries that signed the treaty were: Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Peru, Mexico, Panama, Uruguay and Venezuela.

The Contadora Group (Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Panama) and the Contadora Support Group (Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Uruguay) saw the need to strengthen relations of their states, and this is why they created a group where different issues were put into consultation.

It was in 1983 that the governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, established a group to promote peace in Central America, mainly due to the conflicts that arose in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala. Later, in 1985 in the city of Lima, Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay created the Contadora Support Group, calling themselves the Group of Eight. In 1986, the Contadora Act was signed for Peace and Cooperation in Central America, with the aim of developing democracy and end armed conflicts, seeking economic development, international cooperation and negotiation.

The objectives of the Grupo de Rio are:

- To expand and systematize political cooperation among governments,
- To examine international issues which are of particular interest to governments, and reach common positions in relation to them, particularly in international forums,

- To promote the smooth operation and coordination of Latin American cooperation and integration organizations;
- To promote solutions to problems and conflicts affecting the region
- To promote initiatives and actions to improve through dialogue and cooperation, inter-American relations;
- To Promote cooperation and integration processes in Latin America
- To jointly explore new fields of cooperation which enhance economic, social, scientific and technological development of countries;
- To review the necessity to propose Heads of State meetings.⁷²

The states that later joined are:

1990: Bolivia, Ecuador, Caricom (Caribbean Community), Chile, Paraguay.

2000: Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic.

2005: Belize.

2008: Cuba, Haiti, Guyana.

2009: Surinam.

The secretariat of the Grupo de Rio is temporary, in which each state designates a coordinator. The secretariat changes every year, and it has representatives from host countries of the current, last and next years. Today, it is represented by the Dominican Republic, Mexico and Chile. Likewise, the Grupo de Rio has different levels for dialogue. The Heads of States who meet every two years, the Foreign Ministers who meet every year, and the National Coordinators, who meet several times a year, and always before the Ministers' meeting. They state their countries policies respectively and technical trading group. There were a total of 23 summits of the Grupo de Rio.

Among the main issues covered by the Grupo de Rio we have:

⁷² Sistema Económico Latinoamericano y del Caribe, SELA. ANTECEDENTES DE LA CELAC (GRUPO DEL RIO Y CALC) <http://www.sela.org/view/index.asp?ms=258&pageMs=77965>

The strengthening of democracy: At the first summit its member countries pledged to consolidate democracy and strengthen their development, defending it. Thus, the group collaborated with the strengthening of political parties and institutions.

Human rights: responsible for the protection and guarantee of human rights, ensuring the signing and ratification of international treaties on these matters. In 2001 it was put into and was monitored by the group.

Unilateral Measures: This rejects the unilateral and extraterritorial application of national measures and policies, as these violate the equality of States. They look for non-intervention in internal affairs of other States, and the respect for their sovereignty.

The strengthening of multilateralism: it looks for the strengthening of the United Nations, and of the American States in it. It agreed that if there was any Security Council expansion, Latin America would be present at this. The Grupo de Rio also calls for a reform of the Security Council, for international law based on the United Nations Charter.

Haiti: From its inception, the Grupo de Rio has not put aside the issue of Haiti, where the solution to the political crisis is sought. Through dialogue and reconciliation member states look for the social reconstruction of the country.⁷³

The role of the group, in the management and resolution of conflicts, has been important as it functions as a mediating tool, where spaces for debate, conflict analysis, suggestions and support of the Member States have taken place. This group has reached the peaceful settlement of disputes in the region, as they look up to develop security and cooperation in Latin American countries.

⁷³ Sistema Económico Latinoamericano y del Caribe, SELA. ANTECEDENTES DE LA CELAC (GRUPO DEL RIO Y CALC) <http://www.sela.org/view/index.asp?ms=258&pageMs=77965>

For example, the Grupo de Rio has also taken part in conflicts such as the one that occurred between Ecuador and Colombia. The organized summit in Santo Domingo was a debate on the conflict between these countries.

2.2.2 UNASUR: general description, role in conflict

Currently, the main body responsible for promoting South American regional integration is the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR). It began its operations in 2011, and its members are all the States of South America except Guyana. What the organization wants to achieve is to have a regional currency, passport, and even a whole parliament.

This organization is a step forward for Latin America, as it has a supranational structure, and a solid foundation for the management and resolution of conflicts. This body fights against divisive nationalism, promoting a sense of community for effective regional policy, where there are different styles of government.

Before the UNASUR, the Community of Nations CSN was created by Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, Uruguay and Venezuela in 2004. Its goals were to discuss issues relating to the political and diplomatic coordination, physical integration, energy and communications, policies development, technology, among others.

However, in 2008 it became the Union of South American Nations to support regional integration on issues related to security, development, energy, health, environment, democracy. It seeks to work together for regional objectives with available resources in the region. Among its 12 members are:

- Argentina
- Bolivia

- Brasil
- Colombia
- Chile
- Ecuador
- Guyana
- Paraguay
- Perú
- Venezuela
- Surinam
- Uruguay

The official languages of the organization are: Spanish; English; Portuguese and Dutch.

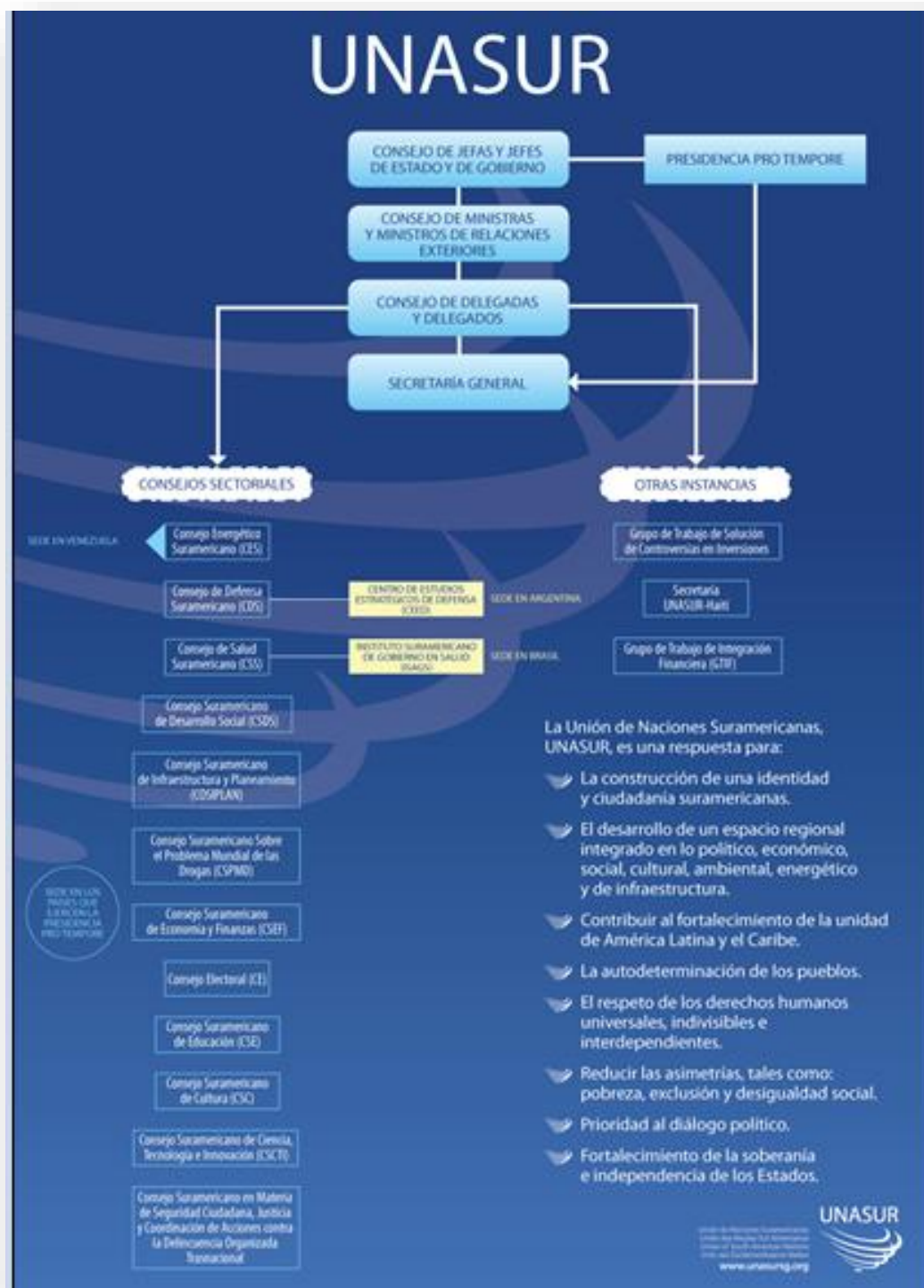
The objectives of UNASUR are aimed at building and strengthening regional identity, under the principles of multilateralism, international relations, human rights and democracy.

*"The Union of South American Nations aims to build in a participatory and consensual manner, a space for integration, and to create union in cultural, social, economic and political aspects between its people, prioritizing political dialogue, social policies, education, energy, infrastructure, financing environment, and others, with the idea to eliminate socioeconomic inequality, achieve social inclusion and citizen participation, strengthen democracy and reduce asymmetries within the framework of strengthening the sovereignty and independence of the states."*⁷⁴

Structure:

⁷⁴ Unión de Naciones Suramericanas, UNASUR. TRATADO CONSTITUTIVO. BRASILIA. 2008<http://www.unasursg.org/inicio/organizacion/historia>

- 1) The Council of Heads of State and Government
- 2) The Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs
- 3) The Council of Delegates
- 4) The General Secretariat



Source: Union of South American Nations. UNASUR.

This is the highest body of UNASUR, and it is responsible for:

- a) To establish a policy guideline, action plans, programs and projects for the South American integration process, and to decide which the priority issues for implementation are.
- b) To convene Sectorial Ministerial Meetings and to create Councils at Ministerial level.
- c) To approve or not the proposals submitted by the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.
- d) To adopt the political guidelines and relate them with third parties.⁷⁵

2. Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs

It is in charge of:

- a) Adopting Resolutions to implement the Decisions of the Council of Heads of State and Government.
- b) Proposing decisions and preparing the meetings of the Council of Heads of State and Government.
- c) Coordinating positions on central themes of South American integration.
- d) Developing and promoting political dialogue and cooperation on issues of regional and international interest.
- e) Monitoring and evaluating the integration process as a whole.
- f) Approving the annual program of activities and the annual operating budget of UNASUR.
- g) Approving the financing of the common initiatives of UNASUR.
- h) Implementing policy guidelines with third parties.

⁷⁵ Unión de Naciones Suramericanas, UNASUR. ORGANOS.

<http://www.unasursg.org/inicio/organizacion/historia>

- i) Approving institutional resolutions and regulations among other matters within its competence.
- j) Creating Working Groups within the framework of the priorities set by the Council of Heads of State and Government.⁷⁶

3. Council of Delegates

- a) To implement the Council's of Heads of State and Government decisions and the Resolutions of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, with the support of the Pro Tempore Presidency and the General Secretariat.
- b) To prepare the meetings of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.
- c) To prepare drafts with the decisions, resolutions and regulations to take in consideration by the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.
- d) To coordinate the initiatives of UNASUR with other processes of regional and sub-regional integration, in order to promote efforts.
- e) To establish, coordinate and oversee the Working Groups.
- f) To oversee the political dialogue and consultation on issues of regional and international interest.
- g) To promote opportunities for dialogue to encourage public participation in the process of South American integration.
- h) To present to the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs the draft with the annual operating budget for consideration and approval.

The Council of Delegates is composed of one representative of each member state. They meet every two months in the country exercising the Pro Tempore Presidency or another agreed country.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Unión de Naciones Suramericanas, UNASUR. ORGANOS.

<http://www.unasursg.org/inicio/organizacion/historia>

4. General Secretariat

The General Secretariat, in representation of UNASUR, executes the mandates conferred upon the organs of UNASUR. It has its main office in Quito, Ecuador.

Its functions are:

- a) To support the Council of Heads of State and Government, the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, the Council of Delegates and the Pro Tempore Presidency in the fulfillment of their duties.
- b) To propose initiatives and to oversee the implementation of the directives of the organs of UNASUR.
- c) To participate and be the voice during the meetings at UNASUR.
- d) To prepare and submit the Annual Report and the respective reports to the corresponding organs of UNASUR.
- e) To be in charge of the Agreements in the framework of UNASUR, and to arrange their respective publication.
- f) To prepare the annual budget for consideration by the Council of Delegates, and to adopt the necessary measures for its proper management and execution.
- g) To create norms for the operation of the General Secretariat, and to put them into consideration and approval of the relevant organisms of UNASUR.
- h) To coordinate, with other integration and cooperation entities of Latin America and the Caribbean, the development of activities requested by the bodies of UNASUR.

⁷⁷ Unión de Naciones Suramericanas, UNASUR. ORGANOS.

<http://www.unasursg.org/inicio/organizacion/historia>

- i) To celebrate, according to the regulations, all legal acts necessary for the proper administration and management of the General Secretariat.⁷⁸

The General Secretary is the legal representative of the General Secretariat. In the selection of functionaries of the General Secretariat equitable representation among Member States is needed. They also take into account, where possible, criteria of gender, language, ethnicity and others.⁷⁹

In conflict resolution it has the South American Defence Council, in which issues of cooperation and coordination in defense are treated.

Its objectives are:

General objectives:

- a) To Consolidate South America as a zone of peace, a base for democratic stability and the integral development of its people, as a contribution to world peace.
- b) To build a South American identity, taking into account the sub-regional and national characteristics and to strength the unity of Latin America and the Caribbean.
- c) To generate consensus to strengthen regional cooperation on defense.⁸⁰

Specific objectives:

⁷⁸ Unión de Naciones Suramericanas, UNASUR. ORGANOS.

<http://www.unasursg.org/inicio/organizacion/historia>

⁷⁹ Unión de Naciones Suramericanas, UNASUR. ORGANOS.

<http://www.unasursg.org/inicio/organizacion/organos>

⁸⁰ Unión de Naciones Suramericanas, UNASUR. CONSEJO DE DEFENSA SURAMERICANO.

<http://www.unasursg.org/inicio/organizacion/consejos/cds>

- a) To analyze and discuss the common elements of a shared vision on defense.
- b) To promote the exchange of information and analysis on the regional and international situation, with the aim of identifying risk factors and threats that may affect regional and world peace.
- c) To contribute to the development of joint positions in the region in multilateral forums on defense within the framework of article 14 of the Treaty of UNASUR.
- d) To help on the construction of a shared vision for defense, and to promote preferential dialogue and cooperation with other countries in Latin America and the Caribbean.
- e) To take measures of confidence-building and promote them.
- f) To promote the exchange and cooperation in the field of defense industry.
- g) To exchange military training, to facilitate training processes between the Armed Forces and to promote academic cooperation between defense research centers.
- h) To share experiences and to support humanitarian actions such as mine clearance, prevention, mitigation and assistance to victims of natural disasters.
- i) To share experiences in operations of peacekeeping UN.
- j) To exchange experiences on the modernization of the Ministries of Defense and the Armed Forces.
- k) To incorporate the perspective of gender in the field of defense.⁸¹

UNASUR is considered a success in Latin America. In 2010 considering that it was relatively new, it was able to mediate the conflict between Ecuador and Colombia, by consensus, and condemn the attempted coup in the country. With this organization, Latin America, a politically diverse region with various styles of government and different forms of electoral democracy, demonstrated unity and a good capacity in decision-making.

⁸¹ Unión de Naciones Suramericanas, UNASUR. CONSEJO DE DEFENSA SURAMERICANO.
<http://www.unasursg.org/inicio/organizacion/consejos/cds>

It represents the evolution of the South American regionalism. It consists of a supranational institutionalization infrastructure, maintaining a solid foundation for the management and resolution of conflicts. So, too, it emphasizes on reducing poverty and inequality, looking for a sense of regional community. UNASUR has reduced the nationalist sense, creating effective regional policies.

FINAL THOUGHTS

Latin America remains a pioneer region for the development of regionalism; it has undoubtedly re addressed how to bring international relations. It has been part of several agreements and treaties at economic, political and social levels. Consequently, regionalism has become a tactic for greater participation in the international context, achieving further influence on the decisions of multilateral or trade agreements. It has managed to deal more effectively with regional interdependent countries too. Regionalism has become part of the agenda of Latin American countries, and it is now the major tool of participation and promotion of economic, political and social development.

Latin American regionalism has helped to the promotion of the region's objectives and interest. It has also been the way to achieve balance in international policies and decisions, particularly for middle-income countries, which had almost no weight and interference in the international arena.

Regionalism has opened dialogues into new topics by South American countries since the beginning of economic affairs was the only international agenda. Since the early 90s some achievements were made in terms of management and conflict resolution, international cooperation, regional security, and social aspects. Issues have been resolved at the regional level, without the need for international institutions.

However, today it is suffering an institutional crisis, in which the need to strengthen regional organizations is necessary. Many regional actors have been limited, just as in multilateral bodies, by national interests, where states are not fully prepared to give up on part of their sovereignty to resolve issues of regional importance. What would be interesting is to involve these agencies together with the civil society, achieving greater representation and democratic legitimacy. Consequently, it would accomplish better governance in a globalized world through greater cooperation between regions without interfering on States.

CHAPTER III: MULTILATERALISM VS REGIONALISM

Multilateralism

Multilateralism is a complex and challenging system, in which several countries need to reach a consensus, which is often difficult. Multilateralism has been facing for several years leftover challenges and questionings about the effectiveness on its operations. The US has become the economic and military leader in the international context⁸², questioning the effectiveness of the United Nations, especially the Security Council. In addition, many States have worked in conflict situations unilaterally deviating from resolutions of the international community.

The United States, as one of UN founder and member of the Security Council was the first to refuse the ratification of several treaties related to the maintenance of world peace and security. Between them, they have rejected: the Treaty of Nuclear Test Ban, and agreements such as the International Criminal Court, the Ottawa Convention, etc. In

⁸²However, in 2014 China overtook the United States as an economic leader, according to the International Monetary Fund IMF. In 2014 China's GDP amounted to \$ 17,632 billion compared to US GDP by \$ 17,416 billion. According to the IMF, this new world order will continue over the next five years.

addition, it has withdrawn from agreements such as the Anti-Ballistic Missile. With that the United States has allowed itself to act alone, or bilaterally with partner countries to help them achieve their goals, these attitudes have reinforced more criticism about the effectiveness of multilateralism in the UN.

Despite this situation, multilateralism is key to international relations as it allows the participation of various countries and their involvement in global issues, international standards, and in this specific case, use of force, making it possible to ensure legitimacy and democracy.

Similarly, the need to act multilaterally and the reason for the existence of this system arise with the idea that the benefits that can be acquired collectively, through cooperation, are more, and they cannot be purchased individually by the states. For example: health; environment; public order; defense issues need to be worked together as their consequences may extend beyond the borders of their origin, especially to small but sovereign states.

Within the United Nations multilateralism allows the use of cohesion in those States which violate norms. In this specific case the Security Council has the authority to send military action or to put economic sanctions. Moreover, it holds tax revenues for its peacekeeping programs.

Multilateral agencies act as mediators in conflicts, provide solutions and avoid enforcement actions. They can finally be used as tools of arbitration, where actions can be taken. They become means for information on global issues too, and enable the exchange of ideas, needs and preferences of the members. Collective actions need an institution to function as a source for information exchange.

These agencies also allow particular interests to become collective. With this states are regulated based on imposed standards, however, their sovereignty is not affected. In fact smaller or weaker states can be under control of their territory and space.

In short, multilateral organism generate mutual identification between states and cultures, they also include principles of global interest on their agendas. And so both institutions at the global and regional level are aligned.

Regionalism

At the beginning Regionalism only focused on economic issues: however, it currently includes political agreements and intergovernmental cooperation, favoring development policies, social affairs and even regional cooperation to deal with the global economic instability. It also gains greater autonomy with agencies such as: the IMF or the UN. All due to the influence of these “New Leftist” governments in the region, which are interested in promoting regional multilateral cooperation.

For example, organizations such as UNASUR include a variety of members exceeding paradigms on integration models. This organization demonstrates its anti-hegemonic position as it seeks to detach itself from countries like the United States. As for the decision-making it looks for solutions and agreements reached by consensus, taken by the majority, and not by those who are supposed to have greater power, avoiding the creation of regional hegemonic states.

Among its political objectives it has the creation of a Latin American entity. UNASUR specifically seeks to be an actor within the international system. It believes that despite the geographical similarity, it is possible to maintain a common ideology, overcoming social, ethnic and economic differences.

Despite all the success the region has had, recent events and failures of the European Union have affected and led to the question of whether the South American regionalism is really necessary. The failure of the European model is often seen as the failure of the entire regional system, thus preventing regional organizations to create institutions, a regional parliament, and a regional currency in South America.

This institutionalization is affected by two main reasons: first, no State would be willing to pay the high costs for financing, and sense of nationalism within states is very strong, especially those states who are anti USA "Latin American governments have tended to give priority to their national targets at the expense of regional. The political will to share sovereignty, apply common measures and sharing the costs of integration has been very limited."⁸³

However, the regional integration of South America has been on the agenda for a long time to be abandoned now, and the success of UNASUR is seen by many as priceless. Moreover, the reasons for integration in Europe and Latin America have been different. On the one hand, the idea of integration after the world wars was synonymous of economic restoration, and not about peace and security. So the European Coal and Steel Community ECSC was created by: Germany, France, Luxembourg, Italy, the Netherlands and Belgium. They tried to give an economic boost to the States, and indirectly sought for a legal and institutional model, as well as a political commitment. The ECSC developed trade, looking for lower prices, better working conditions, equality and improve production. In Latin America, however, the incentive for regionalism is cooperation between states on issues of poverty, corruption, inequality, security, trade, among others, with the idea that integration can help find joint solutions to internal problems which are too big to be solved alone as the case of safety, environmental pollution, fight against drugs, etc.

“All our countries are trying to become more autonomous. There may be discrepancies regarding the form and intensity of the regional momentum and strategies, but it cannot be doubted that the objective pursued, despite the

⁸³Rueda Junquera, Fernando. ¿QUÉ SE PUEDE APRENDER DEL PROCESO DE INTEGRACION EUROPEO? 2009. Pág. 66

*structural differences and diversity of political orientations, is to emphasize the capacity of national decision."*⁸⁴

Equally, the construction of a Latin American identity and thinking goes hand in hand with the detachment of euro centrist ideas that are considered universal; seeking the deconstruction of this universal character which has been inherited from colonial times, generating new forms of knowledge and understanding in economic, political, social issues.

These Eurocentric ideas focus on a world order based on their own experience, taking their culture and history as a reference and model, even thinking itself to be superior to anything that is different, in terms of forms of organization of a society, forms of knowledge, etc.

Latin American reality challenges these differences: North / South, economic classifications: development and underdevelopment, and even racial / ethnic classifications or defined social structures. Besides, it aims to generate new ways of thinking in order to include the participation of women, indigenous people, and other groups and actors that have been excluded in civic participation. It also wants to change the thought that the euro-centric vision is the only option, and that South / South cooperation allows, even though the region is the result of centuries of colonialism, to achieve greater equality, democracy and justice.

Regional integration becomes a social process involving several dimensions and different causes, which continues its course, and while each country's internal problems continue to affect them, leaders seek to continue with the process of regionalization as a commitment to regional integration.

3.1 THE CRISIS OF MULTILATERALISM: THE UNITED NATIONS

⁸⁴Zapata, Victoria. ROMPECABEZAS. EL REGIONALISMO ACTUAL DESDE UNA PERSPECTIVA CONOSUREANA. Miradas y Perspectivas. El presente del regionalismo latinoamericano y europeo. Universidad Nacional de la Plata. 2014. Pág.

The United Nations, with the Security Council, has a unique position in regulating the use of force and conflict management in the international arena. First, it prohibits the use of individual force if it is not for matters of self-defense. Second, the Security Council alone can determine if there is a threat of conflict. Third, only 5 permanent members have the power to decide on the use of force, which must agree or make use of the power of veto.

Since the Cold War, the Security Council failed to carry out the maintenance of security that was provided in the letter. The power of veto and especially the use of this by the two great powers of the time made it impossible to reach an agreement. USA and the USSR ensured their own interests and not the collective ones. They both developed nuclear weapons giving justifications for their actions in their constitutions and principles. It was later with the Kosovo crisis in 1999; the situation in Iraq in 2003 with the overthrow of Saddam Hussein, these questions became even worst.

That is why the Security Council and the United Nations have been losing importance to discuss matters pertaining to the international community. According to a survey of the Public Opinion foundation, the UN is now seen as ineffective, unable to resolve international conflicts, its influence has declined over the years and this is no longer useful because it does not fit to reality.⁸⁵

Moreover, due to the complexity and number of issues in the international arena, the way of integration and cooperation today involves the creation of smaller agencies with a limited number of members, and with similar characteristics and objectives, avoiding bureaucracy and a number of rules that in so many cases become limiting.

⁸⁵Marchese, Lisa; Simmons, Rachel. The United Nations in crisis.

[HTTP://WWW.PROPHET.COM/DOWNLOADS/ARTICLES/REBUILDING-UN-BRAND.PDF](http://www.prophet.com/downloads/articles/rebuilding-un-brand.pdf)

“Large organisms are disappearing with their treaties and conventions such as public international law, which for the most part is not legally binding. It is very difficult to sustain institutions that do not have foundation. They cannot apply sanctions or impose its rules. We are moving towards a less institutionalized multilateralism.”⁸⁶

3.1.1 Absence of the UN in conflicts in the region

“Latin America remains the most unequal region in the distribution of wealth.”⁸⁷ Regionalism or regional integration has emerged as a proposal to the existing economic inequality between the Latin American population, which ultimately lead to social problems such as tensions and violence, the so-called "belts of poverty "in big cities, drug trafficking, illegal possession of firearms, etc.

Therefore, Latin American countries using their ability, their progress, their resources, growth, and their role globally, have transformed their foreign policies, forming groups to overcome the dependence maintained to the US. This Latin American bloc has expanded its borders creating new partnerships with powers such as China or India.

As mentioned before, the main factor for integration and regional development is that the UN, like many other organisms (OAS), oversees the interests of the United States. Therefore, a large number of sub-regional organizations in Latin America were created: CELAC, UNASUR, MERCOSUR, and ALADI. All these organisms leave aside the United States.

“We are in a new phase of regionalism in Latin America, which responds to specific situations. One reason is the progressive disengagement of the United

⁸⁶Mizrahi, Darío. POR QUÉ LOS GOBIERNOS LATINOAMERICANOS AMAN LAS CUMBRES INTERNACIONALES. INFOBAE. 2014

⁸⁷ Carrión Mena, Francisco. UNASUR: ¿SIMPLE RETORICA O REGIONALISMO EFECTIVO? FORTALEZAS Y DEBILIDADES. 2013. Pág. 3.

States on the issues of the region after the Cold War and September 11, which has given more autonomy to Latin American countries. Second, the emergence of “left and center-left” governments which have criticized multilateralism and have formed a series of new regional organizations. ”⁸⁸

This new regionalization has allowed states to better engage in regional affairs and being the presidents who attend forums, summits and meetings. Also, politics, cooperation, management and conflict resolution issues have been incorporated in the agenda.

3.2 THE CONSOLIDATION OF REGIONALISM IN SOLVING CONFLICTS

Given the controversy and disagreement with organizations like the UN, Latin America has demonstrated the need and importance of efforts to create all these regional changes. The ultimate expression of regionalism is represented by UNASUR, formed by South American countries, under the leadership of Brazil, Venezuela, etc.

Nevertheless, it is not only the failure of the multilateral system of the United Nations, that has led to the process of regional integration. Other factors such as: the need to solve conflicts relevant and urgent as are the lives of the people that are at risk. A conflict may arise unexpectedly, and it could go beyond a country’s borders. Even so, from an economic point of view, it is easier to prevent a war that to cover the costs because of it.

Regional organisms look to anticipate any situation of conflict between states or a specific State; nonetheless, handle situations that threaten security such as: drug trafficking, terrorism, etc.

⁸⁸Mizrahi, Darío. POR QUÉ LOS GOBIERNOS LATINOAMERICANOS AMAN LAS CUMBRES INTERNACIONALES. INFOBAE. 2014

3.2.1 Role of organisms-forums in solving regional conflicts

Several organisms have promoted regional integration in terms of management and conflict resolution for several decades. On the one hand, the Pact of Bogota or American Treaty on Peaceful Settlement, which was signed in 1948, sought to impose peaceful solutions in conflicts among its members. Mechanisms were instituted to provide solutions without resorting to United Nations Security Council, for example, mediation, arbitration, emission of reports, etc. The pact was signed by 21 countries and ratified by 14. In 2012, in a conflict between Colombia and Nicaragua, and ruling in favor of this last, Colombia expressed its withdrawal from the Pact of Bogota.

On the other hand, the Rio Treaty, Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance or Rio, signed in 1947, was covenanted with the aim of improving the mechanisms of conflict resolution, rejecting any act of aggression between member countries. In this treaty States pledged not to resort to the use of force, and if necessary, any country making use of it, would be considered to attack all of its members.

The ALBA, The Bolivarian Alternative for Latin America and the Caribbean, in which the protagonists countries are Venezuela and Bolivia, despite trying to purely deal with economic aspects, their social agendas include cultural, social issues, among others.

Mercosur, signed for economic issues, its members included topics to strengthen security cooperation on issues of nuclear energy, science, etc.

The OAS, Organization of American States, established at a regional level in 1948, has the role of political forum to promote dialogue, decision-making on security, peace and strengthening democracy.

They have also created alliances and sub-regional agreements:

The Regional Security System, an agreement between the Caribbean countries, in which they agreed to provide assistance to those countries that would be in conflict.

The Andean Charter for Peace and Security, adopted in 2002, establishes principles of common security policy, through cooperation, peaceful solutions, peace declarations, etc.

3.2.2 Grupo de Río: Colombia-Ecuador Conflict

The dispute between Colombia and Ecuador, and involving Venezuela, was caused by the intervention of the Phoenix operation, carried out by Colombia in Ecuadorian territory without authorization, against the Colombian guerrillas, the FARC. Venezuela and Ecuador claimed the violation of Ecuador's sovereignty by Colombia, who in turn declared that it was necessary to interfere promptly stating that information was found linking the FARC to the governments of Ecuador and Venezuela.

Yet, Venezuela and Ecuador stated that contacts were made with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia FARC, to negotiate the release of hostages, like France. It negotiated peace to the armed conflict but since the death of Reyes, one of the leaders of the guerrilla group, the negotiations came to an end.

The conflict increased as Venezuela and Nicaragua, supporting Ecuador, and broke diplomatic relations with Colombia. Finally, Ecuador and Venezuela sent troops to the border with Colombia, but in March of 2008, the Grupo de Río managed to ease tensions.

At the summit on March 7, 2008, the leaders of each country met in the Dominican Republic. Ecuador's President presented the violation of Ecuadorian sovereignty and insisted that the bombings were within the Ecuadorian territory. The Colombian President Alvaro Uribe, however, confirmed that the bombings were in the Colombian territory, and showed documentation involving the Ecuadorian government with the

FARC. Colombia advocated the need to protect its people and the sovereignty of the Colombian people, hence the need to have gone against Ecuador's sovereignty. Finally, an apology by the Colombian President to President Correa, the conflict ended.

At this meeting it was possible to remove the threat of a lawsuit to the Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez in the International Criminal Court for financing the FARC, ordered by Honduras to the Colombian president. Also the subject of dispute between Colombia and Nicaragua was solved, declaring ships Colombian were in Nicaraguan waters.

Many analysts agree that the achievement of the Grupo de Río was significant, and that it has reached agreements that the OAS in Washington has not.

In conclusion, the presidents rejected the violation of the territorial integrity of Ecuador and ratified the mandate of no direct or indirect military occupation, whatever the motive, even temporarily. They were satisfied by the apologies expressed by President Alvaro Uribe Velez to President Correa, and with his commitment that these events will not be repeated under any circumstances. They stressed their commitment to peaceful coexistence in the region, and its intention to combat any threat to the security of all states in criminal organizations.⁸⁹

In the same way, the Grupo de Río has manifested itself in the Malvinas conflict, supporting Argentina on the basis of its rights. In 2010 the group said and issued a statement rejecting the UK military activities on the islands, sending information about the firing of rockets into Argentina. This group has supported a peaceful settlement of the conflict through dialogue.

⁸⁹ Sistema Económico Latinoamericano y del Caribe, SELA. DECLARACION DE SANTO DOMINGO. 2008

http://www.sela.org/attach/258/EDOCS/SRed/2010/10/T023600004417-0-DECLARACION_DE_SANTO_DOMINGO_-_G-Rio_-_7_de_marzo_de_2008.pdf

3.2.3 UNASUR: Pando Bolivia Conflict

The Bolivia Pando conflict was an internal conflict between two groups, the first Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS) and the second The Opposition to the government, composed of governors of some departments in Bolivia. They opposed to the policies of President Evo Morales. The conflict had its roots within the ethnic differences of the nation, as approximately 50% of the population is indigenous.

The opposition led by the elites of Santa Cruz, intended to create autonomous divisions within the departments, however, the majority of the population opposed their administrative autonomy. The conflict was designated by President Morales as a conflict between “the rich and the poor”.

Another reason was the reduction of taxes contributions to the departments with the highest production of hydrocarbons; and the redistribution of land among indigenous groups to offer them better living conditions. The opposition wanted greater autonomy and to diminish the power of the government to manage the resources of each department, restricting their movement to other departments.

Consequently, arrests occurred on roads driven by the opposition, who demanded higher taxes on hydrocarbons. The main measure taken by President Morales was to send its military forces, as an attempt of coup was denounced. Finally, the conflict turned violent, leaving approximately 30 indigenous government supporters dead and several wounded. As a result, the US ambassador was expelled from meetings with the opposition for being supportive. President Evo Morales received support from Venezuela, which also expelled the American ambassador, for threatening to intervene militarily in the country. This is where the UNASUR interfered.

Before the conflict, the UNASUR presidential summit convened to discuss the matter on September 15, 2008 in Chile.

In the Declaración de la Moneda, the participating countries expressed support for the Bolivian government, democratically chosen by the majority, and rejected any attempt of coup of State. They also urged dialogue between the two parties, and requested an end to violence and a halt to the demonstrations, and the invasion on the facilities by the opponents. Finally, they expressed support for the government, including human resources if necessary.

Finally, the UNASUR interventions were seen as a success, where both parties to the conflict revived the dialogue, The opposition stopped the strikes and blockades, and peace, stability and democracy were encouraged in Bolivia.

FINAL THOUGHTS

In my opinion, Latin American Regionalism is proposed as an alternative to the development of South American countries in terms of economic, social and cultural aspects. Thus, regionalism is the basis for a more advanced and improved multilateral system, that allows more specific and rapid action to be taken despite any cultural, social, economic diversity. It creates a sense of belonging, unity and above all autonomy.

In these times of globalization and interdependence, multilateralism is a mean that helps to understand and participate in problems and issues worldwide. It allows creating partnerships that ensure the safety of the regions participating in mutual aid agencies.

Today's interdependent world needs international organizations, both regionally and globally. Decision-making regarding regional or global issues should be treated based on the needs, conditions, and the people involved. Moreover, the process of regionalism is not enclosed in itself; it keeps its operation on a continental and global context.

Regionalism, like UNASUR, believes in creating unity and promoting ideas of nationalism in Latin American, including aspects of identity, search for common leaders like the case of Simon Bolivar, etc.

The most outstanding regional groups have managed to secure an important position within the UN system, seeing themselves as legitimate mechanisms for the peaceful settlement of conflicts and disputes between States. Regional leaders in Latin America argue that the geographical union allows a greater understanding of the controversies in local terms, which are neighboring countries which would be in a better position to provide support and assistance to victims in a conflict.

Although, it is thought that regional organizations might affect the authority of the UN, it is the same agency that has allowed countries to manage regional conflicts. Finally, their common objective is to reach collective security and protection to the sovereignty of states, securing them from external invasions.

Regional groups are created to intervene in conflicts as well as to look for the respect for sovereignty and non-interference. Its function is to take the role of mediators and create dialogue tools for peaceful solutions. For example, war would no longer be accepted as a legitimate mean of solving disputes between sovereign states.

Despite the above, it should be noted that regionalism also faces many questions and challenges such as: First, to reach agreements and understanding the diversity of each member state. Second, within the UNASUR the General secretary, is given administrative duties, but not coercive, and existing tools that have proven effective in terms of conflict management solution and therefore would be illogical to create a new institution with same objectives. And thirdly, the institutionalization of the organization is limited, although UNASUR hold a general secretary and headquarters in Quito, this operates on the presidential agreements and decisions, who manage direct negotiations. UNASUR has not attempted a transfer of certain powers to a supranational body.

"Domestic situations are critical to ensuring the continuity of these associations, which require institutional development that is not happening, and that implies giving some degree of sovereignty. The big question is what countries are willing to cede sovereignty to supranational to set rules that really commit all members of the association." ⁹⁰

CONCLUSIONS

1. Multilateralism currently faces several challenges in finding ways of solving and conflict managing in a sovereign way. Within their bodies it is very difficult to reach a consensus, the lack of mutual support among all members and the hegemonic influence of powers as to the measures taken, undermining their autonomy. Therefore, it is necessary to improve the image of multilateral agencies and their role as international actors in order to strengthen the multilateral participation and decision-making in international relations.
2. Therefore, Latin American regionalism is presented as a strategy to enhance international participation of the States of the region, in an effort to have greater influence in multilateral organizations such as trade negotiations or foreign policy issues, and ultimately the desire to promote regional independence, national identity and reaffirming the leading role of each state, which can act on not only economic issues but security, conflict resolution, democracy, development, human rights, etc. As for the solution of conflicts and confrontations, Latin American Regionalism promotes peaceful solutions without the use of force based on the non-interventionism, and respecting national sovereignty.

⁹⁰Mizrahi, Darío. POR QUÉ LOS GOBIERNOS LATINOAMERICANOS AMAN LAS CUMBRES INTERNACIONALES. INFOBAE. 2014

3. Latin American Regionalism has become the best tool to make visible the identity, "being" Latin American that despite the diversity of the region, it has had political and social effects, to mobilize citizens in support of the integration regional. Regionalism is also displayed in terms of social, economic, cultural and political development of the respective member countries, increasing its autonomy. Internally countries have achieved greater choice, while the region as a multilateral organization has improved the problem of global dependence, allowing States to take the best solutions while preserving their national and cultural identity. The current Latin American regionalism, different from that of its inception, included in their agendas cultural, social and political aspects, as mentioned above, but especially human rights, with the difference that the issues of health, safety, environment include minority groups and the civil society, promoting social development.
4. Latin American Regionalism brings out the skills and strengths of its member states, thus changing the structure and functioning of the international system. It integrates its countries based on the historical, social context, and an identity process that eventually transforms and combines aspects as geographical union and the union of the Latin American peoples. This way external factors are not involved in decision-making on regional policies. It seeks an internal reconstruction, while participating in an international context, demonstrating Latin American's capacity to make decisions and deal with its own disputes.
5. One of the biggest flaws inside the regionalization system, and yet its biggest challenge, is the lack of institutions, making it possible to question its effectiveness and the application of its norms. Adding to it the lack of cooperation between regional groups on issues that threaten the sovereignty of their states, and the elimination of the hegemonic powers in decision-making within regional agreements, generate new questions: Will Latin American Regionalism become more than a political tool, achieving the consolidation of

more formal institutions? Can the Latin American identity create a sense of belonging in the region with regard to its citizenship? Will it become a solid and well-defined structure different from that of the EU?

6. Finally, Latin American Regionalism detaches from universal theories (euro centrist ideas) and defends Latin American ideology and philosophy based on its historical-cultural context. Latin America wants to demonstrate its capacity to generate its own thoughts based on its reality, to respond to its own needs and manage conflict resolution. The projects included are (in theory) opposed to neoliberal standards, working around issues like environmental exploitation, and trying to change the existing social organizational structure in the region.

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