

# GLOBAL JOURNAL

OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE : D

## HISTORY & ANTHROPOLOGY

DISCOVERING THOUGHTS AND INVENTING FUTURE



### HIGHLIGHTS

Valuing of Cultural  
Evolution of Chinese

Historical Perspectives  
Conflict in Colombia

Egypt Pyramid

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## Valuing of Cultural Heritage in Iran, Case Study: Kakh Sadabad

By Vida Varahrami

*University of Tehran, Tehran, Iran*

*Abstract* - Cultural heritage is in a bad position in some countries, especially in Iran. Thus there is not any restoration and reservation program for repair of Cultural heritage in some developing countries as Iran. In this paper, I apply contingent valuation (CV) to estimate Kakh sadabad visitor's willingness to pay and factors which effect on it. At least I use from results of a questionnaire for calculate the average willingness to pay of Kakh sadabad visitors.

*Keywords* : Cultural heritage, Kakh sadabad, Contingent Valuation (CV), Willingness to Pay (WTP).

*GJHSS-D Classification* : FOR Code: 160502, 160507



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# Valuing of Cultural Heritage in Iran, Case Study: Kakh Sadabad

Vida Varahrami

**Abstract** - Cultural heritage is in a bad position in some countries, especially in Iran. Thus there is not any restoration and reservation program for repair of Cultural heritage in some developing countries as Iran. In this paper, I apply contingent valuation (CV) to estimate Kakh sadabad visitor's willingness to pay and factors which effect on it. At least I use from results of a questionnaire for calculate the average willingness to pay of Kakh sadabad visitors.

**Keywords** : Cultural heritage, Kakh sadabad, Contingent Valuation (CV), Willingness to Pay (WTP).

## I. INTRODUCTION

Improvement the quality of Cultural heritage in Iran, extracts tourism, employment and foreign reserves. In recent years, many studies survey valuation of Cultural heritage in developed countries. Carson 1997 revealed that houses which are older than 60 years, have extensive benefits for country.

Narvud and Ready 2002, Noonan 2002, 2003, Perce et al 2002, apply some studies about using of CV and Choice Modeling for estimate of social benefits of Cultural heritage. Diamond and Hausman 1994, Kahneman and Knetsch 1992 use WTA and WTP for valuing of different things. Their researches show that CV is an indirect method for valuing which is based on individual's preferences. (Mazan, 2003)

In this paper, I use from CV method for valuing of Kakh sadabad which has more than 100 years old and have many visitors whom come from around of the world.

In other side, some environmental pollution and some wars are caused to demolition of Kakh sadabad which should repair. Then in this paper I calculate willingness to pay of Kakh sadabad visitors for repair of demolitions.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. Section 2 describes the model; section 3 describes design of CV questionnaire. Empirical results are presented in Section 4, and concluding remarks in Section 5.

## II. MODEL

Boxell et al, (1996) use utility framework for analyzing of CV method :

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$$U_i = V_i + \varepsilon_i \quad (1)$$

$V_i$  is deterministic component of utility and is a stochastic component. In CV method, the probabilities of an individual choosing alternative i or j are:

$$\begin{aligned} \Pr_i &= \Pr(\varepsilon_i - \varepsilon_j \leq V_j - V_i) \\ \Pr_j &= \Pr(\varepsilon_j - \varepsilon_i \leq V_i - V_j) \end{aligned} \quad (2)$$

Suppose that random term is logistically distributed, the probability that an individual choose alternative i is:

$$\Pr_i = \frac{\exp(V_i - V_j)}{1 + \exp(V_i - V_j)} \quad (3)$$

This information can be estimated using the binary logit model. (Hanemann, 1984)

## III. DESIGN OF CV QUESTIONNAIRE

I use from a questionnaire for estimate willingness to pay of Kakh sadabad visitors, which means how much money they want to pay for repair of this building.

I use from 200 questionnaire which distributed between Kakh sadabad visitors. I use questions as:

1. How much do you want to pay for repair of Kakh sadabad?
2. How much do you want to pay for visit from this building?
3. How much do you want to pay for improvement of this building service?

I use from this questionnaire for calculate visitor's WTP and extract some variables from questionnaire which I use from them in my regression. These variables reveal in table 1.

*Table 1* : Variables.

Dependent variable	pay	If visitors pay money for Kakh sadabad, is 1 and otherwise is 0
Independent variable	sex	Man=0 and woman=1
Independent variable	age	Age of visitor
Independent variable	income	Monthly income of visitor
Independent variable	education	Primary=1, secondary=2, high school=3
Independent variable	Uge	University education of visitor=1
Independent variable	know	Previous knowledge about Kakh sadabad=1 and no knowledge=0
Independent variable	satisfied	If visitor is satisfied from visiting of Kakh sadabad=1 and otherwise=0
Independent variable	ftrip	If visitor is passenger=1 and otherwise=0
Independent variable	Log bid	Logarithm of money which visitor wants to pay

#### IV. EMPERICAL RESULTS

I regress variables in table 1 with binary Logit model. I reveal results of regression with Eviews 7 software in table 2.

*Table 2* : Regression Results.

Variable	Coefficient	P-Value
constant	-0.71	0/014
sex	0/001	0/000
age	-0/0037	0/017
Log bid	1/69	0/003
income	0/0019	0/009
Ugo	0/048	0/0022
know	1/12	0/000
Satisfied	2/18	0/000
ftrip	2/51	0/006

$R^2=61\%$

Results reveal that Uge, income, Satisfied, Log bid and know have positive effect on willingness to pay of visitors. Therefore visitor with more income and higher education level and more information about Kakh sadabad wants to pay more money for repair of Kakh sadabad.

I use from questioner to calculate willingness to pay of visitors which average willingness to pay of visitors in this sample is 2/5 dollar.

## V. CONCLUSION

I use from CV and binary Logit model for survey the effects of some variables on willingness to pay of Kakh sadabad. For this aim, I use from a questioner and reveal that income, education; Satisfied, Log bid and knowing of visitors have positive effect on willingness to pay of visitors.

At least I calculate willingness to pay of visitors of Kakh sadabad which is 2/5 dollar.

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## Muga Silk Industry of Assam in Historical Perspectives

By Dr. Raju Phukan

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*Abstract* - The muga silk industry of Assam has been in existence since time immemorial. In Assam, muga silk weaving is an ancient craft, though there is no definite and precise mention of the time of its origin. Due to lack of definite and authentic contemporary historical accounts, different Scholars have drawn different opinions and conclusions regarding the origin of muga culture. Ahom regime (1228-1828) can be considered as the golden period for muga culture of Assam, which prospered and thrived and had become a part of social and economic life of the Assamese people. Due to immense co-operation and initiative from Ahom kings, the rearers, reelers & weavers became skillful and the industry grew rapidly. An attempt has been made to study the historical perspectives of muga silk industry in Assam and its present status.

*Keywords* : Muga silk, Assam, Assamese, history.

*GJHSS-D Classification* : FOR Code: 160507, 160401, 160403



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# Muga Silk Industry of Assam in Historical Perspectives

Dr. Raju Phukan

**Abstract** - The muga silk industry of Assam has been in existence since time immemorial. In Assam, muga silk weaving is an ancient craft, though there is no definite and precise mention of the time of its origin. Due to lack of definite and authentic contemporary historical accounts, different Scholars have drawn different opinions and conclusions regarding the origin of muga culture. Ahom regime (1228-1828) can be considered as the golden period for muga culture of Assam, which prospered and thrived and had become a part of social and economic life of the Assamese people. Due to immense co-operation and initiative from Ahom kings, the rearers, reelers & weavers became skillful and the industry grew rapidly. An attempt has been made to study the historical perspectives of muga silk industry in Assam and its present status.

**Keywords** : *Muga silk, Assam, Assamese, history.*

The muga silk cloth which is closely associated with the socio-economic and cultural life of Assamese people is considered as the queen of all fabric due to its durability and elegant lustrous natural colour. There is a bright prospect of muga silk industry in the North Eastern part of India as the climate of the region suits its growth & development. The industry can reshape the rural economy of Assam to a great extent and make this region a big earner of foreign exchange. The industry is well known as highly employment oriented and low capital-intensive. There is lot of scope for part time and full time employment of labour in the industry as the manufacture of muga silk final product requires division of labour in distinct activities. In this article an attempt has been made to highlight the historical perspectives of muga silk industry in Assam.

The muga silk industry of Assam has been in existence since time immemorial. In Assam, muga silk weaving is an ancient craft, though there is no definite and precise mention of the time of its origin. It is one of the most important cottage industries that have flourished from time immemorial. The manufacture of muga silk has been confined to Assam alone, which had worldwide reputation for manufacture of varieties of silk cloth and had a profitable foreign trade. Francis Hamilton remarks that Assamese women of all castes from the queen downwards wove four kinds of silk that are produced in the country, and with which three fourths of the people were clothed.

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Kautilya mentioned the production of 'Dukula', a kind of Silk fabric, produced from Cocoons of certain species of insects, in the ancient Assam. This 'Dukula' had three varieties. The first variety, which was white in colour and very soft in texture, was popular in 'Vangaka' (lower Bengal), the second variety which was bright blue in colour and also soft in texture was popular in 'Paundraka' (North Bengal) and the third variety which was of golden colour and also soft was popular in 'Suvarnakudya' (Present Assam). There are various species of insect found in Northern Myanmar to South of Tripura and from Eastern India to Kumaon Hills (both domesticated & wild), which produce different varieties of silk. But, the variety of worm found in Assam only produce golden coloured yarn, from which the pure muga fabric is produced.

Due to lack of definite and authentic contemporary historical accounts, different Scholars have drawn different opinions and conclusions regarding the origin of muga culture. Some of the archaeologists and Historians claim that the Indians knew the art of silk rearing from the migrants from China. As the industry was mainly confined in the past to the Tibeto-Burman elements in Assam, it is not unlikely that along with their migration to Assam the Chinese introduced certain art & craft of Chinese origin. The Inhabitants of North East India, particularly those belonging to Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Mongoloid Tribe, who are well acquainted with the art of producing silk, have successfully domesticated muga worms possibly to get Proteinous dishes from the Larvae and Pupae on one hand and for fabrics on the other.

The silk industry of Assam has flourished and progressed during the Ahom regime (1228-1828) due to the care and keen interest taken by the ruling kings. The Tai-Ahoms had invaded Assam in 1228 A.D. and sericulture was an integral part of their culture.

During the Supremacy of Ahom dynasty, the silk industry was greatly encouraged and this is particularly true in case of muga silk industry. Ahom kings patronized muga-culture by favouring muga silk for Royal robes. It was the prescribed attire of all the high officers of the Govt. The garments made of 'muga' and other garments embroidered with 'muga' were the prerogative for the noblemen. Distinction in wearing dresses and garments had been maintained between the high and the lower classes. Headgear or turban,



called 'Phachau' or 'Pag', 'Chapkon', 'Kinkhwab', wrapper called 'Cheleng' (muga gutidia cheleng) & 'Khania' (muga phular khania), 'Churia' or 'Dhoti', female garments 'Mekhela', 'Riha' etc. made of muga were used by the Royal aristocratic or high ranking families. Common people were allowed to wear garments made of cotton and coarse variety silk. In some specific occasions and with due permission from the kings, they could also wear muga fabrics.

The fabrics made of the best quality muga silk, i.e., when muga silkworms are fed on Mejankari or Adakuri trees (called mejankari silk) and on Chapa or Champa trees (called chapapatia muga silk) were exclusively worn by the Royal families. F.Hamilton mentioned about Mejankari silk, which was reared in Assam proper on a tree that was cultivated, and said that it was generally considered as better quality and constituted the dress of the higher ranks. These 'Mejankari' and 'Chapapatia' silks were costlier than common muga silk fed on 'Som', 'Sualu' and 'Dighlati' trees. The practice of rearing silkworm on 'Mejankari' & 'Chapa' tree is completely abandoned by the people due to non-availability of feed plants and high mortality rate of muga silkworm on these plants.

The Ahom kings also kept many costly muga sets in the Royal storehouse for presenting them to distinguished visitors to the Royal court. There were many looms under the supervision of Royal house, called Royal or 'Rajagharia looms' for producing special types of silk fabrics for the use of the members of the Royal family. Expert female weavers drawn from various places of Assam proper operated such Royal looms. Such weavers received grant of rent-free land and other favours in return for their services. These Royal looms were not sufficient enough to fulfill the requirements of the Royal family; therefore, skilled weavers from outside the palace were appreciated for supplying good quality silk fabrics to the Royal house. It is learnt from the historical records that for supplying silk fabric to the Royal Family, grants of lands were conferred upon the weavers. They were also exempted from the personal labour exacted by the state from all other classes. Moreover, some of the 'Sumonis' (muga silkworm foe plants area) were favoured as Royal or 'Rajagharia Sumonis' for rearing silkworm exclusively for the Royal looms.

The Ahom kings created separate administrative machinery to look after the silkworm feed plants, silkworm rearing, reeling of silk yarn & weaving of silk fabrics. During the reign of 'Dihingia Raja' alias 'Shuhungmung' (1497-1539), the mother of 'Bhawanipuria Gopal Ata', who was very expert in weaving, was entrusted with the charge of superintending the twelve score of royal looms. During the reign of King Pratap Singha (1603-1641) one 'Mumai Tamuli Barbarua', was famous for popularising silk culture in Assam.

From the historical records it is learnt that, some of the Ahom Queens were also personally involved in patronising silk industry in Assam. King Siva singha's (1714-1744) consort queen 'Phuleswari' alias 'Prametheswari', 'Ambika' alias 'Draupadi' and 'Sarbeswari' alias 'Anadari' were personally in charge of training the young girls on the art of weaving, as well as looking after the activities of the royal looms in the palace.

A class of people called 'Katonni' or 'Jogis' was famous for spinning and weaving during the Ahom period. It was also found that weavers known as 'Tantis' and 'Jholas' (Mohammedan weavers) who migrated from other places of India had started weaving silk fabrics in Assam. During the Reign of 'Jayadhvaja singha' (1648-1663), Mohammedan experts in embroidery work were brought from Delhi and were established in Assam, which encouraged Assamese people to learn the art of embroidery for the upliftment of indigenous crafts in Assam. King Rudra singha (1696-1714) also brought new ideas, techniques & design of the art of weaving from other parts of contemporary India through his envoys and encouraged the Assamese weavers to practice those ideas. This types of encouragement made by the Ahom king gave a boost to the silk industry of Assam.

Ahom kings also encouraged the sale of silk thread & fabrics of Assam at various markets located in Assam proper and border areas of Assam. Muga silk was one of the chief articles of export to Bengal, Bhutan and neighboring hill districts of 'Khasi' & 'Garo'. According to Captain Welsh Report on Assam in 1794, the British Govt. concluded a treaty for trade and commerce with king Gaurinath Singha (1780-1795) in 1793, which envisaged the expansion of trade and commerce between Assam and Bengal. The report also mentioned about the export of muga silk to Bengal, which was small in quantity. In 1809, during the Reign of 'Kamaleswar Singha', Assam exported 65 maunds of muga raw silk and 75 maunds of muga fabrics to Bengal, the value of which was placed at Rs.11,350/- and Rs.17,500/- respectively. During the early nineteenth century 'muga dhotis' were sold at Rs 2.50 to Rs. 6.00, 'muga rihās' from Rs.1.00 to Rs. 4.00 and 'muga mekhehas' from Rs. 1.00 to Rs. 3.00. Ahom kings appointed officials to look after the trade and realised duties on all exports and imports. Duaria Baruah was exclusively in charge of such duties.

There are ample evidence of Royal encouragement and patronage to promote silk industry in Assam. The spinning & weaving had become indispensable profession of every Assamese household. The social status of muga silk culture was very high and the practice of silkworm rearing, reeling & weaving of muga silk was most common than other silk. There were one loom for every two women and in joint families there were eight to ten looms. No women were considered

accomplished unless she had attained proficiency in spinning and weaving. The good weavers received special appreciation as well as Royal patronage. On the other hand, a girl having no knowledge of weaving was called 'Thupuri', 'a girl misfit for marriage'. Both male and female, irrespective of sexes operated looms and it is related how in the Reign of 'Purandar Singha' (1818-1819), 'Madhuram Tanti', a male weaver granted land rent-free by the King for his skill in weaving. Almost all Ahom women were skilled in hand spinning, weaving & dyeing of silk fabrics. Even the Brahmins and lower castes, irrespective of their social status, practiced it.

Ahom period can be considered as the golden period for muga culture of Assam, which prospered and thrived and had become a part of social and economic life of the Assamese people. Due to immense co-operation and initiative from Ahom kings, the rearers, reelers & weavers became skillful and the industry grew rapidly. Sivasagar, which was the capital of Ahom kingdom and its neighboring areas, became the centre of production of all varieties of silk and there was hardly a house without looms in Sibsagar District.

In the post Ahom period, though the compulsions on silk rearing & weaving were disappeared, these activities were still regarded as necessary accomplishments for every households. David Scott, an agent to the Governor General of Fort William, when he was in North East India during 1802-1831, had been pressing the British Govt. for the development of silk industry in Assam. He believed that muga silk, due to its durability & strength might capture the European market. The muga silk thread was either woven into garments for home use by the women of the house, or sold to the local Marwaris who readily purchased it for export to Calcutta or Sylhet. Muga silk formed the staple trade of the East India Company during the middle of the 19th and the early 20th centuries. During 1832-33 (Dec-April), 1833-34 (May-June) & 1834-35 (July-June), Assam exported 69, 291 & 224 maunds respectively of muga silk thread to Bengal, the value of which was placed at Rs. 13,973.00, Rs. 58,220.00 & Rs. 53,889.00 respectively. According to A.J.M.Mills, Goalpara, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur districts of Assam exported muga raw silk to Bengal during the middle of the 19th century. The total value of export of muga raw silk from Lakhimpur District during 1871-72 was about Rs. 60,900.00.

During 1882-83 & 1897-98, the total value of export of silk from Assam was Rs. 2,04,930.00 & Rs. 3,66,310.00 respectively. During 1890-91, 1900-01 and 1903-04, the total value of exported silk from Assam; only through land routes was Rs 3,000.00, Rs. 4, 000.00 and Rs. 3, 000.00 respectively.

During the early part of the British period, the Govt. diverted their attention towards the silk trade and in 1834 A.D., the Governor General's agent Mr. Scott in NEFA, established a factory at Darrang, with the

objective of extending the cultivation of mulberry, rearing of silkworms and improving the reeling system of muga. In 1870-71, the British Govt conducted a survey to about 58,401 bigha of muga host plant area throughout Assam. Out of these 82% of land was in Sivasagar District, followed by Goalpara (8%), Lakhimpur (5%), Nagaon (3%) & Darang (2%). During 1886 to 1888 A.D., the Govt. made several attempts to convert this traditional craft along commercial line, but all these efforts had not produced expected results. The Settlement Officer in Settlement Report of 1929 said that every household produced about half a 'seer' of silk each year in an average, the value of which was some 12 to 15 rupees.

The real picture of the silk industry under British regime was gloomy. During the British rule, there was no appreciable development in silk industry due to their colonial interest to open up Market for Lancashire products. W.W.Hunter also mentioned about the decrease of silk production during British period owing to the attraction of labour to Tea Gardens, increase supply of European cotton and woolen fabrics in the market. Even 'Som' plantation areas were assessed for taxation during the period. Expansion of Tea Gardens had considerably reduced the plantation areas of Muga feed plants and wild population of muga silkworms. The silk industry had to face stiff competition from mill made artificial cheap silk and cotton cloths during the British period. Even in such an un-favourable situation, Assam's silk industry had not lost its past glorious and unique position in respect of indigenous silk, muga. Muga Silk industry had a place of pride in the socio-economic and cultural life of the rural people of Assam. It is, therefore, needless to say that muga Silk industry played a very important role in the economy of Assam during the reign of Ahom and in latter period.

At present, the business of Muga, the golden silk, is worth of Rs 200 crore. With proper organization, the industry could grow up to 10 times of its current size. There are around 9500 sericulture villages producing muga, eri and mulberry silk in the state of Assam and Sualkuchi being the hub of the industry.

The export earnings of India from silk items during 2008-09 (April-May) have been around Rs.486.84 crore which was 429.88 crore in 2007-08 during the same period. The price per thousand of muga reeling cocoon, per KG of Muga Raw Silk (warf) and the weft has been Rs. 650.00, Rs. 5000.00 and Rs. 4500.00 respectively in the month of September, 2008 at Sualkuchi Market while the price of the same in the previous year was Rs.600.00, 3900.00 and Rs. 3250.00 respectively.

We are all aware that after Kancheepuram silk and Solapur terry towel, now Assam's Muga silk has been added to the list of products granted the protection of geographical indication (GI). It has become the 38th product that has got protection from the GI

Registry in Chennai. The Patent Information Centre, under the aegis of Assam Science Technology and Environment Council (PIC, ASTEC), had applied for the registration and done the scientific fact-finding work to get GI on muga silk. GI protection will bring in standardization of processes, which in turn would help commercialization and export of the product.

There is a bright prospect of muga silk industry of Assam as the demand for natural fibre has grown considerably in the global market. The durability and elegant lustrous natural colour is the strength of muga silk fibre. Therefore, there is every possibility to explore the national and international market by developing the production base of muga raw silk.

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## Study on the Historical Evolution of Chinese System of Voluntary Surrender

By Defa Kong

*Abstract* - The voluntary surrender system of China budded in the Western Zhou Dynasty and matured in the Tang Dynasty, and its concept was first confirmed when the law amendment was implemented in the end period of Qing Dynasty. The 1997 Chinese Criminal Law defined the system of voluntary surrender in detail, and it has been one of special systems in the Chinese legal system. Because the understanding of the historical evolution of the voluntary surrender system is very important for the present jurisdiction and the perfection of the voluntary surrender system, so the course of the voluntary surrender system developing from nothing, becoming better and approaching perfection day by day was unscrambled from the historical view in the article for references.

*Keywords* : Voluntary surrender, Criminal law.

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*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



# Study on the Historical Evolution of Chinese System of Voluntary Surrender

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**Abstract** - The voluntary surrender system of China budded in the Western Zhou Dynasty and matured in the Tang Dynasty, and its concept was first confirmed when the law amendment was implemented in the end period of Qing Dynasty. The 1997 Chinese Criminal Law defined the system of voluntary surrender in detail, and it has been one of special systems in the Chinese legal system. Because the understanding of the historical evolution of the voluntary surrender system is very important for the present jurisdiction and the perfection of the voluntary surrender system, so the course of the voluntary surrender system developing from nothing, becoming better and approaching perfection day by day was unscrambled from the historical view in the article for references.

**Keywords** : *Voluntary surrender, Criminal law.*

## I. THE EMBRYO OF VOLUNTARY SURRENDER SYSTEM IN THE PERIOD OF PRE-QIN DYNASTY

This period is the embryo stage of the voluntary surrender system. According to the recordation in the ancient Chinese book of "Shangshu Kanggao", in the Western Zhou Dynasty, someone committed a serious crime, but because he was just the negligent offender or the casual offender, so he might not be sentenced to death penalty. That was the first time in the existing literatures to applied different punishments for criminals according to intentional crime and negligent crime. Of course, this period is only the rudiment of the voluntary surrender system, and the real contents of the voluntary surrender had not occurred.

## II. THE SYSTEM OF VOLUNTARY SURRENDER IN THE QIN DYNASTY AND THE HAN DYNASTY

According to the recordation of the literatures, since Qin Dynasty, the content of voluntary surrender has appeared in laws, but the word of "Zishou (Chinese transliteration, meanings of voluntary surrender)" had not been appeared, but only the word of "Zichu" or "Zigao" (Chinese transliteration, meanings of voluntary surrender) appeared in laws. The Qin bamboo slips "Questions and Answers of Laws" recorded that "if the official of principal penalty steals above 110 coins

surrenders first, he should be punished by penal servitude or money penalty" and "when the women are punished by penal servitude, they run away but surrender, they should be knouted 50 times", and above descriptive records all indicated that if the criminal surrendered, the punishment could be lightened, which is the early laws describing the voluntary surrender system.

Some scholars took the word of "Xian Zigao" as one of appellations of voluntary surrender in some articles, but they all quoted out of context, because the word of "Xian" in the "Xian Zigao" of the Qin bamboo slips "Questions and Answers of Laws" only means that the crime has not been discovered.

The Han Dynasty followed the laws of Qin Dynasty and inherited the voluntary surrender system of Qin dynasty, and it was called by "Zigao (Chinese transliteration, meanings of voluntary surrender)" in the laws of Han Dynasty, and "Zigao" could exempt criminal from criminal responsibility, and its punishment was lighter than the punishment in Qin Dynasty. According to the recordation of the Chinese ancient historical book of "Hanshu, the Biography of Hengshan King", "the son of Hengshan king surrendered first when Hengshan king rebelled, and his punishment was exempted".

The applicable conditions of the voluntary surrender system in Qin Dynasty and Han Dynasty include following aspects. First, the crime had not been discovered, and if the crime has been discovered, the voluntary surrender will not exist, so why the surrender was called as "Zigao". Second, in the complicity crime or the organized crime, the chief criminal could not be exempted from punishment even he surrendered first. Third, the criminal had multiple crimes, only the crime he surrendered could be absolved. Before the Eastern Han Dynasty, the surrendered criminals could be exempted from punishment, but in the Eastern Han Dynasty, some surrendered criminals would be exempted from punishment, and someone only were reduced punishment (Qiao, 2000, P.363). In subsequent dynasties, the federal official always gave priority to one of both and gave assistant to another one. In this period, the "substitute surrender" had not appeared, and the surrender was only limited by the criminal himself.

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### III. THE SYSTEM OF VOLUNTARY SURRENDER FROM THE THREE KINGDOMS TO THE SUI DYNASTY

The word of "Zishou" was appeared in the Three Kingdoms Times to replace the words such as "Zigao (Chinese transliteration, meanings of voluntary surrender)", and it begun into the historical river of the criminal laws. The part of "Zishou (Chinese transliteration, meanings of voluntary surrender)" in the Cao Wei Laws stipulated that the surrendered criminals could be commuted. The historical book of "the Biology of Wangling" recorded that "King of Xuan received Shouchun, and Zhangwu et al all surrendered" (Zhang, 2008, P.158). After that, two Jin dynasties still followed the regulations about commuting surrendered criminals, and some criminals might be exempted from punishment, and the word still used the word of "Zishou". The historical book of "the Biology of Yuchun" recorded that "the emperor exempted Chun's crime because he surrendered" (Cheng, 2006, P.268).

In the period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, laws of Southern Dynasty including Song Dynasty, Qi Dynasty, Liang Dynasty and Chen Dynasty all specially established the part of voluntary surrender system, and stipulated that the surrendered criminal could be commuted. Taking Chen Dynasty Laws as the example, accruing to the historical book of "the Biology of Huajiao", "the thief commander in chief, Jiexiang, surrendered to the emperor and the emperor exempted his punishment" (Cheng, 2006, 335). Only the Northern Qi Dynasty and the Post-Zhou Dynasty in the Northern Dynasty didn't established the part of the voluntary surrender in the laws, but they all stipulated the contents that the surrendered criminals could be commuted. The Bei Wei Laws still used the word of "Zigao".

Though the Kaihuang Laws of Sui Dynasty had not contained the special part of voluntary surrender, but the contents about the surrender system were still included in it.

### IV. THE SYSTEM OF VOLUNTARY SURRENDER IN THE TANG DYNASTY

Based on laws of past dynasties, Tang Dynasty further perfected the system of voluntary surrender, and first stipulated the system of voluntary surrender in detail in the history, and its legislation technology could be acclaimed as the peak of perfection, and Tang Dynasty laws about the voluntary surrender system could be called as the classic in the ancient legislations about the voluntary surrender system.

In the "Ming Li Law of Tang Dynasty Laws", the applicable conditions of the voluntary surrender system, the punishments of the voluntary surrender system, the situations which could not be applied in the voluntary

surrender system and the equal voluntary surrender system were stipulated in detail.

1. The applicable conditions of the voluntary surrender system included four points. First, the crime had not been discovered, and if the crime was discovered, even the criminal give himself up to the federal official, he could not be treated as the surrendered criminal. Second, the criminal should inform against him by himself. Third, the voluntary surrender should be honest and complete. Fourth, the voluntary surrender should be made to the federal official.
2. The punishments after voluntary surrender could be exempted or lightened. There were three situations under which the criminal's responsibilities could be exempted. First, when the crime had not been discovered, the criminal could be exempted for punishments when he surrendered. Second, when the criminal committed above two crimes with different degrees, and if the lighter crime had been discovered but the heavier crime had not been disclosed, the criminal surrendered the heavier crime, so the criminal responsibility of the heavier crime could be exempted, i.e. when one criminal committed multiple crimes and only surrendered the heavier crime, he could be exempted from the punishment of the heavier crime and be run only for the crimes without being surrendered. Third, in the joint offence, when the criminal with lighter crime captured the criminal with heavier crime and surrendered, or one of criminals could capture above half of other criminals and surrendered, he could be exempted for punishment. The premise of these three situations was that the surrender must be honest and complete, or else, the criminal could not be exempted for punishment.

There were four situations to reduce punishment. First, the surrender was not honest and complete, the criminal should be punished by the dishonest and incomplete crime, but the death penalty could be "reduced for one class". Second, when the criminal knew others would disclose his crime and surrendered, the penalty could be "reduced for two classes". Third, when the criminal committed the crime and escaped, and surrendered then, the penalty could be "reduced for two classes". Fourth, "the criminal committed a crime because of another criminal, and criminal surrendered, the penalty could be reduced for two classes, and if another criminal surrendered, his penalty could be reduced for two classes". And when the criminal committed a crime, escaped and returned to the original place, but he didn't surrendered, he should be punished according to the principle of reducing punishment, but this situation was not the situation of surrender, and the opinion which thought that was surrender in some articles was wrong.

3. There were six situations which should not apply the principle of the surrender punishment. First, the crime was disclosed and the criminal was hunted but he refused to give himself up to the federal official. Second, the crime was to harm others' bodies. Third, the crime was to damage or lose the public things such as chop which could not be compensated by other same things. Fourth, when the criminal committed a crime escaped, and he traversed the pass privately. Fifth, the crime was to rape women. Sixth, the crime was to study the astronomy privately.
4. The so-called special surrender was stipulated in Tang Dynasty laws. Tang Dynasty laws also specially stipulated that some situations such as the remaining crime of surrender, the surrender capturing above half other criminals in joint offence, the surrender knowing being disclosed, and some articles called those situations as the special surrenders, but in fact, that opinion was not proper, because the Tang Dynasty laws only listed those situations which were not be applicable usually, and those situations had been described in the former parts of the article.
5. The systems of "Shou Lu" and "Dai Shou" were stipulated in Tang Dynasty laws. Tang Dynasty laws stipulated that "the criminal stole or fleeced others' property, and he confessed and returned the property, the behavior was same to the surrender for the federal official", which was the system of "Shou Lu". The system of "Shou Lu" was only limited in the crime of property. Some one thought that the behavior the official returned the bribes to the original owner belonged to "Shou Lu", but it was wrong, because "Shou" means confessing, and "Lu" means returning property.  
In Tang Dynasty laws, after the criminal committed a crime, his families who could hid him according to the laws replaced him and disclosed the crime to the federal official, the punishment to the criminal should refer to the principle of surrender, which was the system of "Dai Shou", and the premise condition of "Dai Shou" must be implemented by the families who had right to hid the criminal according to the laws. So the systems of "Shou Lu" and "Dai Shou" should be called as the special surrender system more properly.
6. The system of "Zi Xin" was stipulated in Tang Dynasty laws. If the crime had be disclosed, or perceived by the federal official, he went to confess the crime, which was called as "Zi Xin", not "surrender".
7. The officials' surrender was specially stipulated in Tang Dynasty laws, but the surrender was only limited in the situation that the official committed a crime non-intentionally.

## V. THE SYSTEM OF VOLUNTARY SURRENDER FROM THE SONG DYNASTY TO THE YUAN DYNASTY

### a) *The system in the Song Dynasty*

The laws of Song Dynasty inherited from the laws of Tang Dynasty, and the surrendered criminals were exempted from punishments, but some following new contents were added in the voluntary surrender system.

1. In the "Ming Li Law" of "the Criminal Law of Song Dynasty", "when the criminal committed a crime which was not disclosed, and surrendered, the criminal could be exempted from punishment. And though the lighter crime was disclosed, but the heavier crime was not disclosed, and the criminal surrendered his heavier crime, and his heavier crime could be exempted from punishment. And the families who had the rights according to the laws could replace the criminal to surrender, and the criminal could be exempted from punishments". Based on the laws of Tang Dynasty, the laws of Song Dynasty further stipulated how to surrender when the lighter crime was disclosed, but the surrender was limited, i.e. when the lighter crime was disclosed and the criminal surrendered his heavier crime, the responsibility of the heavier crime could be exempted.
2. The confession was accepted into the category of the voluntary surrender system. The content about the confession inherited from Tang Dynasty laws, and changed little.
3. The articles that the surrendered criminal could not be exempted from punishment. According to the "Criminal Law One" of "Records 152nd" of "the History of Song Dynasty", "if the official died or left his post and his underlings escaped, the underlings could not apply the surrender system."

In addition, the article that "the crime was disclosed or undisclosed and the criminal surrendered" existed in "the Criminal Law of Song Dynasty", how to explain the "disclosed"? Some scholars thought that the laws of Song Dynasty inherited the laws of Tang Dynasty which stipulated that "the crime was undisclosed", so the "disclosed" in "the Criminal Law of Song Dynasty" was only the derivative word (Cheng, 2006, P.335). Except of the Song Dynasty, the word of "disclosed" didn't exist, so the explanation may be the most reasonable one.

### b) *The system in the Liao Dynasty and the Western Xia Dynasty*

The Liao Dynasty and the Western Xia Dynasty were the countries established by minorities, and they were the important minority regimes in the North, and their criminal laws absorbed the abstract culture of Han and also stipulated the system of voluntary surrender.

The criminal laws of Liao Dynasty stipulated that the surrendered criminal could be exempted or reduced from punishment, and according to the "the Records of Criminal laws" of "the History of Liao Dynasty", "the official in Huiyong escaped and surrendered, and his crime was exempted". But the usage of the voluntary surrender was random, for example, the attendants of the emperor escaped with the wife of the king of Qi, he surrendered in the sequel, but he was still killed by the emperor ("Records of Criminal Law Thirty" of "the History of Liao Dynasty", Zhonghua Book Company Press, Oct, 1974).

The voluntary surrender system was stipulated in detail in the Western Xia Dynasty, and the correlative regulations not only included the detailed extent of the reduced punishment, but decided the degree of the reduced punishment according to the losses retrieved by the surrender. "Thieves or robber returned the stolen things, and when 2/5 of these stolen things were returned, the punishment of the surrendered criminal was reduced for two classes, and the punishment of the accessories was reduced for one class, and when 3/5 of these stolen things were returned, the punishment of the surrendered criminal was reduced for three classes, and the punishment of the accessories was reduced for two classes (Yang, 2003)". This change was the advancement of the history, and it was the new development of the voluntary surrender system, and it could really exert the function and value of the voluntary surrender system, and it could be used for references to perfect the present system of voluntary surrender.

### c) *The system in the Yuan Dynasty*

The laws of Yuan Dynasty "inherited the classics of Tang Dynasty and Song Dynasty, and integrated with laws of Han", and mixed with the culture and legal system of Mongolia and the traditional legal cultures of central plains. It also stipulated that the surrendered criminal could be exempted or reduced from punishment, and totally speaking, the voluntary surrender system had not been developed largely, but there were still following prominent advantages.

1. The families were allowed to replace the criminal to surrender. Generally, the surrender should be performed by the criminal himself, and if he was sick, his families could replace him to surrender, but the false surrender was strictly forbidden. In the "Records of Criminal Law One" of "the History of Yuan Dynasty", "counterfeit surrender was forbidden, and if the criminal is sick, his families could be allowed to surrender". In the history, the families of the criminal were allowed to replace the criminal to surrender in the writing laws.
2. When officials took bribes, they were not allowed to surrender. Not only the officials could not apply the surrender system, but the federal official who accepted the surrendered official should assume

the criminal responsibility. In the "Records of Criminal Law One" of "the History of Yuan Dynasty", "the officials take bribes, they should not apply the surrender system, and the superior official who accepts the surrendered official will be punished".

3. The surrender was limited by the time. In the "Records of Criminal Law Two" of "the History of Yuan Dynasty", the criminal surrendered after a long time, the surrender was not effective, but the concrete time limit such as one year or half year was not stipulated.
4. The system of "Shou Fu (Chinese transliteration, meanings of voluntary surrender)" occurred. The system of "Shou Fu" rooted from "Shou Lu" in Tang Dynasty, and some scholars thought that the word occurred in the Ming Dynasty and Qing Dynasty, but the opinion was wrong, and the word first occurred in Yuan Dynasty. "Shou Fu" could be reduced from punishment, and in the "Records of Criminal Law Two" of "the History of Yuan Dynasty", "the thieves surrendered because the victim cross-examined them and they didn't return the stolen things, their punishments were reduced for two classes, and tattooed characters on the skin (an ancient corporal punishment)". Here, "Shou Fu" didn't require that the stolen things were returned completely to owners, and the criminals were punished according to the returning situation when they returned the stolen things.

## VI. THE SYSTEM OF VOLUNTARY SURRENDER IN THE MING DYNASTY AND THE QING DYNASTY

The article of "voluntary surrender system" was established in the "Ming Li Law" of "Laws of Ming Dynasty", and the laws basically inherited former dynasties and only the concrete contents were added or reduced. For example, in the "Ming Li Law", "the criminal perverted the law and didn't pervert the stolen things, and he regretted and returned the things to the owner, and he could be treated as the surrendered criminal, and his punishment could be exempted. And if he knew someone would disclose he and he returned the stolen things to the owner, his punishment could be reduced for two classes". Above content was exclusive in laws of Ming Dynasty, and total speaking, the contents about the voluntary surrender system changed little in laws of Ming Dynastic.

The "Ming Li Law" of "Laws of Qing Dynasty" not only stipulated the voluntary surrender system, but strictly distinguished the reduced punishment of the surrendered criminal, the undisclosed surrendered criminal, and the disclosed "Zi Xin" criminal, and the conditions of the surrender, and the treatment of the incomplete surrender (Zhang, 1993, P.180). Comparing with former dynasties, the range and time limit of the



surrender punishment were extended, and in the “Du Pu Ze Li” in period of Kangxi Emperor, “the families in banner-men escaped in one year and surrendered, and their punishments could be exempted (the article of “Escaper Surrender” of “Volume A of Du Pu Ze Li”)”. For the criminals who captured the criminals in the same case and surrendered to the federal official, the reduced punishment degree and extent all exceeded former dynasties, “the criminals who could regretted their crimes and captured other criminals and surrendered to the federal official, and if they belonged to the harming-person criminals, their punishments were reduced for class one, or else, they should be exempted from punishment by the laws (Thieves of Criminal Law of Qing Dynasty Laws)”.

In the beginning period of Qing Dynasty, the disposal principle of the surrendered criminal was extended to the forbiddance of opium, which was the measure aiming at the situation that the opium poisoned the government and people in the period of Daoguang Emperor.

In the law emendations at the end of Qing Dynasty, Qing Dynasty could “refer to laws of various countries”, and it first definitely put forward the concept of “Zi Shou” in the criminal laws in the history of China. In the “New Criminal Laws of Qing Dynasty”, “Zi Shou” was defined as the “the crime has not been disclosed, and the criminal surrenders to the federal official”. At the same time, the voluntary systems about the conspiring offender and the preparing offender were also stipulated.

## VII. THE SYSTEM OF VOLUNTARY SURRENDER IN THE REPUBLICAN CHINA

After the Republican China replaced the Qing Dynasty, because the political situation was not stable, and the rights were from various governments, so the contents about the voluntary surrender were not consistent.

In the “Implementation Regulations of Criminal Laws” enacted by Nanjing Kuomintang Government in 1928, the content of the voluntary surrender didn't be contained. In the “Criminal Laws” of 1934, the voluntary surrender system had begun to occur, “for the criminal whose crime has not been disclosed and who obeys the judgment, the punishment should be reduced, but if there is the special regulation, the punishment is performed by the special regulation (Criminal Laws of Republican China enacted by Nanjing Kuomintang Government in 1934, P. 62)”. The conditions of voluntary surrender were that the crime had not been disclosed and the criminal obeyed the judgment, and the criminal's punishment was reduced or exempted in special regulations. In the division regulations of Criminal Laws also stipulated the voluntary surrender system, for example, in the article 172, “for the

surrendered criminals who committed the perjury crime and the false charging crime, their punishments could be reduced or exempted”. The Criminal Laws of Republican China was modified several times, but the contents of the voluntary surrender changed little, and only the specific words were added or deleted. The modified Criminal Laws of Republican China has been used in Taiwan area up to now. In other special decrees enacted by Nanjing Kuomintang Government, the content about the voluntary surrender was always contained, for example, in the decree about punishing traitors, “the criminals who committed the crime are punished by the traitor surrender decree (The Emendation of the Decree of Publishing Traitors, enacted by Nanjing Kuomintang Government, article 18, 1938)”.

In this period, the content of voluntary surrender also occurred in the criminal laws enacted by the Manchukuo, for example, in the urgency punishment law, “the criminals who committed the crime and surrendered before being disclosed are reduced from their punishments. For the autonomous-complaint crime, the punishment of the criminal is same to the above regulation (Criminal Laws, enacted by Manchukuo government, article 57, 1937)”.

The content of voluntary surrender in the criminal laws enacted by other governments except for Nanjing Kuomintang Government all didn't exert the corresponding functions because the governments were illegal or those governments only presented a false picture of peace and legal system.

## VIII. THE SYSTEM OF VOLUNTARY SURRENDER FROM 1949 TO THIS DAY

Before PRC was established, most of the criminal legislations of the revolutionary base areas led by the CPC stipulated the criminal policy of “leniency toward those who confess their crimes”, and the regulations about the voluntary surrender system, for example, in the special decree enacted by the Shandong anti-Japanese base areas, “traitors who surrenders to the judicatory government or the democracy government before he is arrested, should be reduced or exempted for punishments (Shandong Provisional Regulation for Traitor Surrender, enacted by the Shandong Provincial Government, Article 2, 1945)”. The content about the voluntary surrender system almost all existed in the criminal special decrees or regulations by various revolutionary base areas, and the difference was little, and the quantity of the legal regulations was excessive.

After PRC was established since 1949, through using the foreign and ancient legislation practices of the voluntary surrender system for references, the voluntary surrender system has experienced the long term period from forming roughly to gradually developing and

perfecting. There are four legal regulations about the voluntary surrender system, i.e. the old criminal laws of 1979, the united explanation of 1984, the new criminal laws of 1997 and the judicial interpretation of 1998.

The 1979 Criminal Law stipulated that “the criminal who commits a crime and surrenders voluntarily may be given a lighter punishment” in the “voluntary surrender” part of the chapter of “the concrete utilization of criminal punishment”. In addition, the 1979 Criminal Law also stipulated that the criminal with lighter crime who surrenders might be given a lighter punishment or exemption from punishment, and though his crime was heavier but he made contributions, he could also obtain a lighter punishment or exemption from punishment. The limitation of the voluntary surrender system in the 1979 Criminal Law was that the defined articles about the voluntary surrender system were deficient. But first, the 1979 Criminal Law broken the limitation of “the crime is not disclosed”, i.e. the whether the crime was disclosed or undisclosed, the voluntary surrender could come into existence, and second, the 1979 Criminal Law associated the voluntary surrender system with the “making contributions”, and extended the applicable range of the voluntary surrender, which more made for criminals’ regrets and save the judicial resources. The 1979 Criminal Law was substituted by the new Criminal Law of 1997.

In 1984, the Supreme People’s Court and the Supreme People’s Procuratorate issued the “Explanations of the Concrete Legal Applications about How to Process the Voluntary Surrender and Correlative Questions” with Chinese Ministry of Public Security, which compensated the deficiencies of the 1997 Criminal Law. The Explanation definitely stipulated many concrete judicial applications such as “how to cognize the voluntary surrender”, “how to punish the voluntary surrender”, “how to treat the case bringing families or relatives to justice” and “how to treat the contribution”, and the Explanation further enriched and developed the system of voluntary surrender. The Explanation listed the voluntary surrender cognizance, stipulated the applicable conditions of the voluntary surrender such as subjectively giving himself up the police, explaining the crime according to the facts and accepting the trial and judgment subjectively. For the situations that the crime had not been disclosed, or though the crime was disclosed but the criminal “has not been interrogated or adopted by compulsion measures”, the voluntary surrender of the criminal could come into existence, which further extended the system of the voluntary surrender based on the 1979 Criminal Law. The crime confession was required that the main crime should be confessed, which was different to the part crime which should be given a lighter punishment or exemption of punishment, and in the joint offence, the criminal should also confess other criminals in the same case, and the principal “must disclose the crime of other criminals in

the same case”, or else, the voluntary surrender could not come into existence. For the subjective giving criminal himself up to the police, the situations that the relatives brought the families or friends to justice also belonged to the voluntary surrender. The making-contribution was divided into the common making-contribution and the major making-contribution, and the confession policy was also stipulated in the Explanation. At present, the Explanation is still being applied.

In March of 1997, the 1997 Criminal Law replaced the 1979 Criminal Law and perfected the system of voluntary surrender. In the chapter of “the Concrete Utilization of Punishment”, the part of “Voluntary Surrender and Making Contributions” definitely confirmed the definition of the voluntary surrender secondly following the “New Criminal Law of Qing Dynasty”, i.e. “the criminal who commits a crime and surrenders subjectively confesses his crime according to the facts, and the voluntary surrender comes into existence”, which was the common voluntary surrender. The punishments about the surrendered criminal in 1997 Criminal Law were same to the punishments in the 1979 Criminal Law, and the extent of punishment was looser. In addition, in the new criminal law, “if the criminal suspect who is adopted by compulsive measure, the accused person and the criminal who is serving a sentence confess other crimes that the judicial department has not known according to the facts, the voluntary surrender comes into existence”, which was called as the special voluntary surrender, quasi-voluntary surrender, or the voluntary surrender of remaining crime. The voluntary surrender in the special provisions of criminal law was generally called as the special voluntary surrender. The 1997 Criminal Law had not contained the regulation about confession.

The “Explanations of Several Application Questions about Criminal Case of Voluntary Surrender and Making Contributions” enacted by the Supreme People’s Court stipulated the regulations about the honestly confession and how to cognize the voluntary surrender to justice, which was the concrete complement of the 1997 Criminal Law.

From the Western Zhou Dynasty to this day, the system of voluntary surrender was continually substantiated and developed, but comparing with foreign legal systems, the present system of voluntary surrender of China still needs to be further perfected, for example, further confirming the criminal punishment extents. In the article, only the evolvement of the system of voluntary surrender was briefly narrated, and the concrete contents of the voluntary surrender system in each dynasty were not introduced.

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## An Old War in a New Context .The Interactions between the Agrarian Problem and Armed Conflict in Colombia 1966-2010

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*Abstract* - Like other civil wars, the armed conflict in Colombia has generally been seen as a continuous and homogeneous process, which has covered almost the entire national territory for several decades without substantial changes. In opposition to this common assumption and discussing with the traditional greed or grievance dichotomy and the theories of the new wars, the authors propose an alternative, deeply historical and interactive model who takes into account regional and local particularities in order to explain the way the national master cleavages and long term approaches interact with the logic of local and regional armed groups by emphasizing the geographical evolution of the Colombian civil war.

*Keywords* : Colombia, civil war, greed, grievance, new wars.

*GJHSS-D Classification* : FOR Code: 160605, 160604, 160504



AN OLD WAR IN A NEW CONTEXT .THE INTERACTIONS BETWEEN THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM AND ARMED CONFLICT IN COLOMBIA 1966-2010

*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



# An Old War in a New Context

## The Interactions between the Agrarian Problem and Armed Conflict in Colombia 1966-2010

Fernán E. González <sup>α</sup> & Teófilo Vásquez <sup>σ</sup>

**Abstract** - Like other civil wars, the armed conflict in Colombia has generally been seen as a continuous and homogeneous process, which has covered almost the entire national territory for several decades without substantial changes. In opposition to this common assumption and discussing with the traditional greed or grievance dichotomy and the theories of the new wars, the authors propose an alternative, deeply historical and interactive model who takes into account regional and local particularities in order to explain the way the national master cleavages and long term approaches interact with the logic of local and regional armed groups by emphasizing the geographical evolution of the Colombian civil war.

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### I. INTRODUCTION

The armed conflict in Colombia has generally been seen as a continuous and homogeneous process, which has covered almost the entire national territory for more than seven decades without substantial changes. Quite on the contrary, our previous studies of the geography of the Colombian conflict have made us conscious of the necessity of taking into account regional and local particularities in order to explain the way the national master cleavages and long term approaches interact with the logic of local and regional actors.

Firstly, it is necessary to remember that the violence in Colombia has never been generalized throughout the entire national territory, but rather it has been highly concentrated and differentiated according to the dynamics of settlement and social configuration in regions, sub regions and localities, as well to the way these regions and localities interact with national political and economic dynamics. For these reasons, our presentation tries to combine the analysis of the

national level with the way the armed actors inserted themselves in the local and regional cleavages by themselves in the local and regional cleavages by emphasizing the geographical evolution of the conflict.

These national-regional interactions have provided, in the first place, a structure of opportunities for the voluntary decision of Jacobin groups, inspired by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, of assuming the violence as a means of taking the power at national level. The forming of these groups has been favored by the ambiguity of some social movements and leftist groups regarding violence as a political option and the hostility of rightist groups toward social mobilization and social and economic reforms. Secondly, the fact that these type of groups have chosen violence as an option has, in turn, favored the development of rightist paramilitary groups, as an answer to the extortions and kidnappings committed by armed leftist groups, and also to the political advances of non-violent leftist groups. These paramilitary groups are commonly supported by local and regional powers and have benefited from compliance or omission on the part of the national Army and the Police.

Of course, it is also important to remember that the origin and development of armed conflict in Colombia was favored by the country's difficult geography, due to three chains of Andean mountains, whose rugged foothills and internal valleys, dense clouds and forests, have created ideal interstitial spaces for the guerrillas to hide in. These spaces are normally very difficult for the Army and Police to access, as well as for the presence of civilian authorities to have effect. However, there are important differences between these two armed groups in terms of their relationships with the regions where they are active: the guerrillas, especially the FARC (Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces, originally linked to the Moscow line of the Communist Party), generally emerged in isolated areas of peripheral sections of the open agrarian frontier: by contrast, the paramilitary groups tend to emerge in more integrated, economically and politically, areas of the countryside.

For these reasons, our research tries to take into account the territorial dynamics of the armed conflict as well as changes in the strategic decisions of armed actors during the different periods. In order to do

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that, members of ODECOFI<sup>1</sup> have been analyzing the macro tendencies of the Colombian armed conflict in the South west and North East regions of the country as well as the Caribbean Coast, and contrasting them with some sub-regions such as Antioquia and Urabá, the Cordoba and Sucre departments and the Lower Putumayo valley. Some of these studies are already published; others are still being finished. Our presentation intends to make a partial synthesis of the conclusions from both types of results.

Of course, the transformations of these interactions between armed actors and regions are reflected in the changing dynamics of violence through the different periods of time: in recent years, the gradual involvement of armed actors in the circuit of drug trafficking and cultivation has induced some analysts to understand the Colombian conflict in terms of new war parameters (the “greed and grievance” thesis). In contrast to this approach, we consider the recent micro dynamics of conflict in strong relationship with the long and medium term: the involvement of armed actors in the coca business can be seen as one of the results of the combination of the peasant colonization of peripheral areas in the agrarian frontier and their precarious articulation to the national politics and economy.

## II. THE DISCUSSION ON NEW WARS: GREED OR GRIEVANCE?

It has been commonly accepted the existence of a strong relationship between the exploitation of natural resources and the presence of illegal armed actors who dispute the profits resulting from these activities, as Collier has pointed out (Collier 2001, 2004 and 2009). For these reasons, some authors as Mary Kaldor (2001), Herfried Münkler (2005) and Martín Kalulambi (2003a; 2003b) have affirmed that recent internal wars have been motivated more for economic reasons than for ideological and political purposes.

In the Colombian case, it is undeniable that there has been some convergence between the expansion of armed conflict since the eighties and the economic expansion produced by banana cultivation in the regions of Urabá and Magdalena, the palm industry in south Cesar and the Pacific Coast in Chocó, the oil industry in Arauca, as well as Coca cultivation and traffic in Putumayo in the nineties, on the Pacific Coast of Cauca and Nariño and in the lower Cauca valley around Caucaasia (in Antioquia). Obviously, the recent insertion of the FARC in the Narco economic cycle has partially been motivated by the need to finance the war,

especially in their shift to the Pacific Coast of the Nariño, Cauca and Valle del Cauca departments. In this sense, this insertion has been used by some public officials of the government of Uribe Vélez to reduce the Colombian armed conflict to a Narco terrorist attack on a fully legitimate State and on an almost perfect democracy. And other analysts have also tried to explain the conflict as merely a confrontation over natural resources such as coca crops, poppy plantations and oil, without any political and ideological motivations. Nevertheless, a long term approach to the historical, political and institutional issues requires a more complex understanding of the problem, in order to take into account the relationship between these economic processes and the integration of these particular regions into the national dimensions of economy and politics. This consideration allows us to go further with the binary and dichotomist opposition between economic and political motivations regarding internal conflict (Kalyvas, 2001).

In this sense, we take into account the analyses of Stathis Kalyvas (2001a; 2001b; 2004; 2006 and 2008), who points out the importance of a sub-national approach in order to understand the complex reality of armed actors. According to him, it is on these levels that the concrete interactions between armed actors, the civil population and political actors take place; on the sub-national level the logic of civil wars is produced and reproduced. Moreover, this author affirms that there are no substantial differences between “old” and “new” wars: he strongly criticizes the idea of contrasting the political and ideological character of “old wars”, motivated by noble causes such as social justice, with the criminally and economically motivated “new wars”.

In this sense, he emphasizes the analytically problematic issue of predation and booty as an eventual cause of war: it is not clear whether the war is motivated by predation or whether predation is a means for war. He strongly criticizes the dichotomy between economic and political issues, between greed and grievance (Kalyvas (2001a) and the idea of a new mwar as a process of de-statalization produced by a failed state. He rather suggests that warlords can be part of State-building processes: on some occasions they can administer justice, collect taxes and guarantee social order on the local level, while soldiers of regular national armies can be also motivated by booty and greed. Finally, he points out the necessity of taking into account the key interactions between the general and local aspects of the conflict (Kalyvas 2001a and 2006).

The importance of sub-national level of analysis has been reinforced by Kalyvas in a new research program (Kalyvas 2008) centered on civil war micro dynamics, in order to improve data quality, check micro foundations and causal mechanisms, maximize the adjustment between concepts and data and measure armed actors’ territorial control. This last variable allows

<sup>1</sup>ODECOFI is the Colombian Observatory for integral development, civilian coexistence and institutional strengthening in regions severely affected by armed conflict, selected by the Colombian national research authority COLCIENCIAS as the top centre of excellence in Social Sciences in Colombia.

us to explain the changes in forced displacement, the recruitment of combatants and the patterns of violence. According to this author (Kalyvas 2006), the inclusion of territorial control as a variable is necessary in order to identify wars as twin situations, with the coexistence of the process of segmentation and fragmentation of sovereignty, such as the cases of irregular wars, where the armed actors try to get the population's support and encourage collaboration (Kalyvas, 2008).

Kalyvas historical erudition is reinforced by the Charles Tilly relational model, which tries to explain collective violence in terms of interactions between individuals, social groups, the context of these interactions and political regimens, in order to point out the intermediation mechanisms between political entrepreneurs, specialists in violence, political brokers and variations in political regimes (Tilly, 2003).

The approaches of Kalyvas and Tilly allow us to discuss the political use of the FARC's recent involvement in the Pacific lowlands in order to deny that these guerrillas have any social, political or ideological aspects. In order to refute this, our most recent book (Vásquez and others, 2011) relates the recent involvement of guerrillas and rightist paramilitary groups in the drug business to the long term effects of centuries old tensions on the agrarian frontier and of the regions' gradual articulation with the national center of politics.

### III. A LONG RUN MASTER CLEAVAGE: THE IMPACT OF THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM ON SUBNATIONAL LEVELS

Therefore, the systematic comparison between the Pacific lowlands of Nariño, the frontier areas next to Ecuador and the regions of peasant colonization such as El Caguán shows us we are dealing with an old war in a new context. A centuries-old conflict, centered on problems of peasant colonization in peripheral areas of the country, with its political consequences, has now been transformed into a conflict related to the new involvement of certain areas, with a precarious presence of State institutions, in the drug trafficking economic cycle.

A geographical approach to war actions, by using a comparative perspective of the affected regions, lets us to locate the presence of the guerrillas in the settlement of peripheral zones in relationship to the political and economic life on the national level. However, it is always necessary to take into account some important differences in the subnational level: so, for example, in some areas of the sub-region of El Caguán, where the demilitarized zone for the negotiation between the Pastrana government and the FARC was located, the armed conflict and the FARC presence have played an important role in the configuration of the region and of its territorial identity. In contrast, the recent simultaneous emergence of the Coca economy and the

armed conflict on the Pacific coast of Nariño can be understood (at least, partially) according to the "new war" parameter, because they both result from the dispute over financial resources and the necessary military control. However, even in this case, the recent confrontations between guerrillas and paramilitary groups cannot be reduced to a merely economic rationale because it is necessary to also take into account political issues such as the idea of State and society, supported by the armed groups. (Vásquez and others 2011)

It is also necessary to take into account the internal complexity of the so-called Narco economics in order to understand the different moments of the relationship between armed actors and the coca business: we have to distinguish between big, medium and small producers: raspachines (Coca pickers or "raspers"), commercial brokers and big entrepreneurs, according to previous studies (such as the analysis of Cubides, Jaramillo and Mora 1986; Duncan 2006; Gutiérrez y Barón 2008; Ferro 2004, Ferro and Uribe, 2004, Caicedo 2006, José Jairo González 1998, Gros 2004, María Clemencia Ramírez 2001, Salgado 2004a, 2004b; Richani 2003, Tovar 1999; López 2006; Ricardo Vargas, 2003 and 2004, and the investigations of Sinchi group, 2000) Despite these differences, we believe coca production maintains the main features of a typical peasant economy: low-cost, low-tech production, intensive labor, easy transportation but high demand and high prices, produce great advantages in relation to the legal peasant economy.

Bearing in mind this complex economic circuit, our researchers (Vásquez and others, 2011) point out enormous changes in the relationship between illegal armed actors following the different moments of the Coca productive chain: in the seventies, the coca business was dominated by the big "Godfathers" and in the eighties the FARC guerrillas started to collect taxes on production (the protection money or "vaccination"- "vacuna") and protect coca-farming peasants from the big traders. This situation was modified in the middle of nineties because the intensification of the conflict forced armed actors to insert themselves in other moments of the chain of production. The FARC gradually passed from the social regulation of armed colonization in the sixties and seventies to the support of Coca colonization in eighties, when they assumed some social functions such as the regulation of economic transactions in some areas such as the Lower Putumayo zone.

In this way, they became involved in all the stages of the Coca economy: in 1996, the FARC's support of the protests of coca-farming peasants in Guaviare, Caquetá and Putumayo produced the paramilitary reaction, because these groups were afraid of the eventual alliance between social demands of peasants and the guerrillas. And this counter offensive of paramilitary groups forced the FARC to decide to look



for ways to control all the different stages of the Coca economic circuit. And, more recently, they support and impose the cultivation of coca in the Pacific lowlands of Nariño, in order to escape from the attacks of the national army and from the eradication of Coca crops, as well as to look for new economic resources for their war.

These changes have produced more disputes and complex alliances of armed actors in order to control the regional Coca economy and export routes: by then, paramilitary groups, centered in the past on the control of the exportation routes in alliance with the big "Godfathers" of the Drug economy, have to seek control over the peasants in regions such as South Bolivar, Meta, Catatumbo, Guaviare, Caquetá and Putumayo.

So, the national and international decisions made as part of Anti Drug policies, as well as the territorial recovery carried out by the National army with the subsequent retirement of the guerrillas toward the Equatorial border and the Pacific Coast of Nariño, Cauca and Valle del Cauca departments, inserted these regions into the conflict between guerrillas, rightist paramilitary groups and the National army. These conflicts affect the organization of the Afro Colombian communities and produce different relationships between illegal armed groups: confrontation, alliance and compromise, according to the concrete correlation of forces.

Nevertheless, this insertion of the guerrillas in the drug trafficking circuit is not exclusively due to merely economic motivations but also to political reasons because the FARC needed the control of the Coca business in order to counteract the inclination of Coca growers and traders toward the Paramilitaries social bases. On the other hand, our researchers realized the FARC quest for an organic alliance with Coca-farming peasants against the State was contradictory, in the long run, with the peasantry's interests toward a better insertion in national life, and a greater presence of State institutions in their regions. Consequently, the FARC's attempt at using peasant mobilization for their political purposes was contradictory with the more autonomous political goals of peasant leadership. For all these reasons, the alliance between guerrillas and Coca growers was not the result of an ideological sympathy but of a temporary common interest: it explains how easily these groups can change their allegiances and accept the security offered by paramilitary groups. Of course, the FARC are going to continue expanding their social bases in the interstitial areas of this kind of region, which is not fully inserted in the legal economy and political life, but their involvement in the Coca business is seriously affecting their political legitimacy in the urban world and before the international community.

In the long term, our researchers present the FARC's expansion in the lowlands of Pacific areas of

Nariño and Cauca as the latest moment of a centuries-old process of Peasant colonization in peripheral areas. They have concluded that the recent combination between the expansion of Coca-growing areas and the presence of armed conflict in the agrarian frontier is the expression of an unsolved agrarian problem and its political consequences, which have existed during centuries. Because of that, it is impossible to reduce the Colombian armed conflict, as the Uribe government tried to do, to an attack of Narco terrorist groups against a fully legitimated State, nor to simple greed for the drug trafficking resources.

a) *The interaction between national and subnational levels in the foundational period of the guerrillas*

So, in order to understand the recent evolution of the armed conflict it is necessary to relate it to its historical roots, taking into account the foundational period of the different kinds of guerrilla according to the social differences of the regions and, particularly, their relationships with the State institutions and the traditional political parties.

So, these regional differences also explain the diverse relationships between the guerrillas: in the sixties, the FARC (Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces) guerrillas were the result of the decision of some members of the Colombian Communist Party, in a Jacobin style, who took advantage of the social tensions in an open agrarian frontier and the Colombian State's incapacity of solving them. And the Maoist EPL (Popular Liberation Army) and the Castrist ELN (National Liberation Army) originated in a little more integrated regions of the country, which were experiencing fast and uneven development in a colonization process coming to an end. In this kind of region, the guerrilla groups also took advantage of the social problems caused by fast economic expansion.

Of course, the insurgence of these groups was also linked to Worldwide Leftist politics: so, originally the EPL (Popular Liberation Army) decision to promote a peasant revolution, inspired by Maoist ideas, reflected the Sino Soviet excision; on the other hand, the ELN (National Liberation Army) and its "Foquista" strategy were clearly inspired by the Cuban Revolution.

However, the origin of all these groups is fundamentally linked to the expansion of the agrarian frontier and the type of articulation between the national, regional and local levels of political life. In other words, the different situations are the result of centennial master cleavages such as the continuous expansion of agrarian frontier and the political integration of the new settled regions. Since Spanish colonial times, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the highly concentrated structure of property expelled the growing peasant population to peripheral areas of the country, outside of the control of the Spanish government's officers and Catholic priests. The newly populated areas

became the scenario of social tensions in the late eighteenth century as well as the second part of nineteenth century and the twenties and thirties in the twentieth century (Legrand, 1988).

After this, the recent antecedents of the recent violence are the agrarian conflicts in the Sumapaz and Tequendama regions (Cundinamarca) in 1920s and 1930s (Jiménez, 1996), the Violence in the fifties with the confrontation between Liberal and Communist guerrillas, and the failure of Rehabilitation Commission in the late fifties and of the Agrarian reform in the sixties and seventies (Sánchez and Maertens, 1988 and 1989). These conflicts and failures express the difficulties of the bipartisan system of the National Front to adequately respond to the social and political problems originating in peripheral regions of peasant colonization and organized by other political forces such as the Communist party in the Southwest regions of the country (from the Sumapaz area to South Tolima and West Huila).

The master cleavages of the agrarian problem and the political articulation in the new populated regions find some kind of correspondence in the political and economic problems of this kind of region. However, this correspondence is not homogeneous: in the Sumapaz and Tequendama regions of the Cundinamarca department, the local leaders of the Agrarist groups, traditionally linked to the Communist party, achieved some kind of compromise with the local powers, normally ascribed to the Liberal Party, in order to avoid the armed confrontation in their regions (Merchán 1975; Londoño, 2011; Vásquez, 2008). In contrast, in South Tolima, the confrontation became more violent: there the re-configured violent confrontation between Liberal (The "limpios", the clean ones) and Communist (The "comuneros", the common ones) guerrillas in the fifties represent the internal contradictions of the peasant population. The first ones appear to be linked to the "haciendas" (large estates) of Liberal landowners as peasant workers ("peones", "agregados" or "aparceros") and to their political networks, while the second ones are generally landless peasant and colonizers, influenced by the Communist Party (M. Medina, 1986; J. J. González, 1992 and 2001; Pizarro, 1991)

This defeated second group has been forced to look for refuge in East Huila region, where its social and political organization, supported by small armed self-defense groups, frightened the local powers of the Huila department, linked to the national level of the Conservative Party. One of its main leaders, the Senator Álvaro Gómez-Hurtado accused these organizations for being "Independent Republics", with local authorities outside of the national government's control. His campaign in the Senate, supported by local powers of Tolima and Huila department, convinced the National government of Guillermo León Valencia to launch a

military attack of the Colombian National Army on the Marquetalia and El Pato regions. As result of this attack, the Self defense groups of these regions decided to create the FARC, the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces, inspired by some members of the Moscow line of the Communist Party (González J.J, 1992; Pizarro 1991).

On the other hand, the origins of EPL and ELN are a little more complex but also linked in some way to political and social problems on the agrarian frontier. However, the historical roots of these groups have mainly to do with the radicalization of urban youth in a context of fast demographic, social and cultural changes in the context of the bipartisan regime of the National Front, viewed as exclusionary and opposed to the necessary social reforms, especially the ones related to the countryside. The internal contradictions of the political regime, due to its mixed composition of traditional and reformist leaders; the goal of political pacification of the electoral competition between Liberals and Conservatives and their internal factions became contradictory with the attempts of economic developmental and social reformism of the progressive leaders of both parties (Gutiérrez, 2006.) Moreover, the local and regional leaders of some regions, such as the Caribbean Coast, strongly opposed the Agrarian reform and the social mobilization of the peasantry (organized by the ANUC, National Association of Peasant Users Peasant Users (of the countryside), supported by the National government). This organization was mainly located in zones of agrarian frontier soon to be closed as result of the expansion of traditional haciendas: such are the cases of Sucre and Córdoba departments in the western Caribbean Coast (Zamosc, 1988).

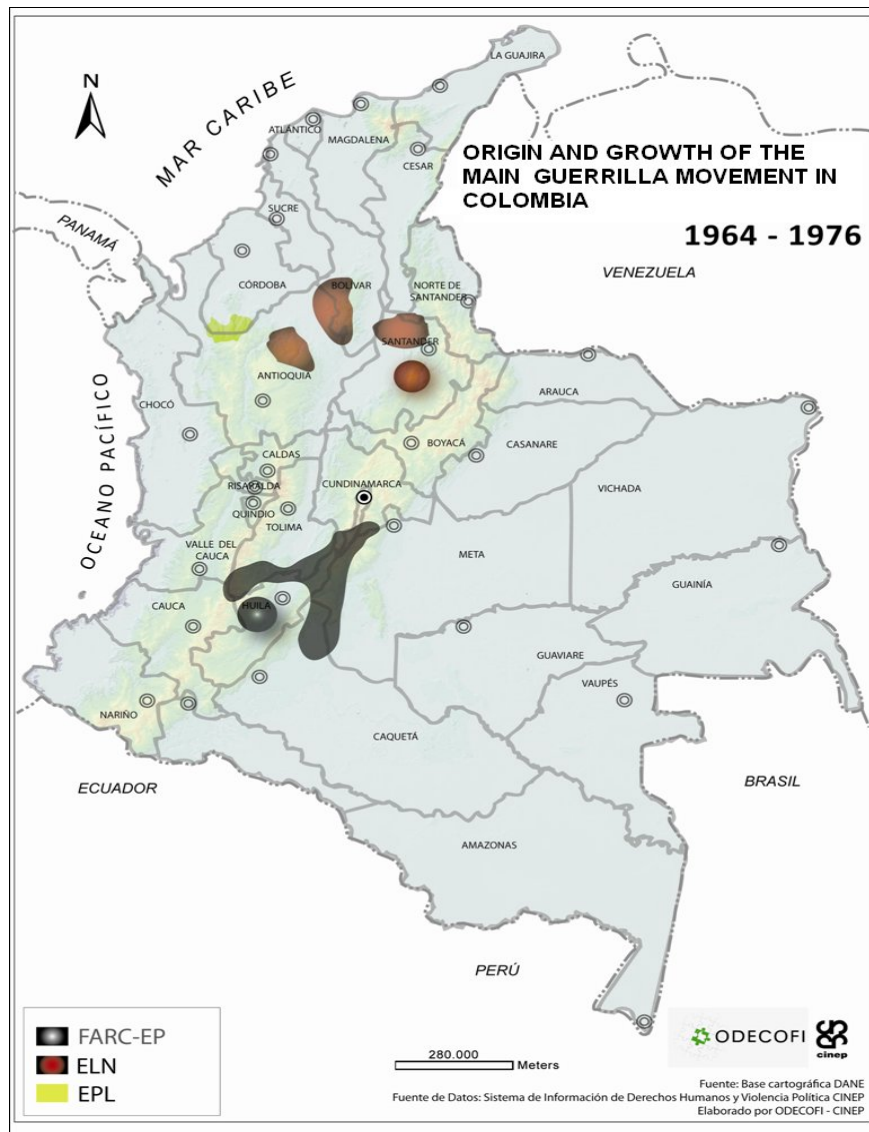
The failure of these reformist attempts, the perception of the National Front as a exclusionary regime and the inspiration of the world political context moved some urban groups to look for an involvement in the social tensions of some of these regions in alliance with some remnant groups of Liberal guerrillas, whose dissident leaders were not included in the national organizations of the party (Villarraga and Plazas, 1996; A. Vargas, 1992) So, the national cleavages related to the agrarian problem and political exclusion by the traditional parties have been reflected in the local and regional problems: all these groups have originated in peripheral areas of the agrarian frontier, very isolated from the center of the country, with a relationship with some guerrillas of the fifties, who were not be able to be fully included in the bipartisan political regime of National front. These political difficulties also explain the precarious presence of State institutions, because they are usually mediated by regional or local leaders of the traditional parties.

However, we have also to consider further consequences of the bipartisan monopoly of Politics and the failure of the reformist attempts of the National

Front regime: the incapacity of the traditional parties to face social problems, linked to the demographic and cultural transformations of Colombian society in the sixties, produced a big movement of social contestation and mobilization (Archila, 2003). The proliferation of strikes, civic lockouts and other forms of contestation reached its peak with the famous September "Civic strike" (The "Paro cívico") or Community protest in 1977: the conjunction of the different Worker Unions, whatever their ideological and political orientation, with different social organizations of the urban world, has been seen as the most important challenge to the López Michelsen government (M. Medina, 1984). As a matter of fact, this general community protest ("Paro Cívico") and the proliferation of this kind of popular contestation between 1971 and 1981 have been interpreted by some analysts (Rojas and Moncayo, 1978; C. Medina 2009), some guerrilla leaders (Arenas, 1990) and the Colombian army itself as the symptom of a "prerevolutionary situation".

This kind of interpretation produced serious political and political consequences: on one hand, the severe repression of President Turbay's Security Statute moved some leftist urban leaders to join the guerrillas; on the other, the Sixth Conference of FARC in 1978 decided to expand itself into new territories and start preparing the transition from self defense groups toward a small revolutionary army: from 1973, this group created military fronts in Middle Magdalena Valley river; in 1974, they decided to create fronts in Antioquia, Cauca and Cauca valley, following the political and social work of the Communist Party (C. Medina, 2009). In these years, the FARC expanded their presence to more remote areas, with scarce presence of State institutions (Aguilera 2010) such as Caquetá, Middle Magdalena valley, and the Banana region of Urabá, taking advantage of previous political work of the Communist Party in the colonization of peripheral areas of the agrarian frontier.

Figure 1 : Origin and growth of the main guerrilla movement in Colombia 1964-1976.



In sum, in this first moment, the national level of Politics, characterized by internal tensions between different factions of traditional political parties, was reproduced on the regional and local levels by the resistance of departmental and municipal authorities to the presence of social and political organizations, backed by small self defense groups, who defied their political hegemony in the peripheral areas of their territories (Gutiérrez, 2004) However, these interactions between national and subnational levels of power were profoundly modified by the expansion of the guerrillas toward more integrated areas of the country on the subnational level and the peace proposal of President Betancur on the national one.

*b) The regional expansion of guerrillas regarding national Politics: the failure of the Betancur peace process and the decimation of the Patriotic Union*

The second moment of armed conflict starts with two important changes in the national political life, which produced important transformations on the subnational level. On August seventh 1982, President Betancur recognized the structural causes of the Violence and offered a peace proposal in his inaugural speech; and, later, on September 17th, he created a Peace Commission, composed of important civilian members of the so called "civil society," but without political significance. On the other hand, the VII Conference of the FARC, held between May fourth and fourteenth of the same year, decided to create a revolutionary army in order to cover all the Colombian territory through 48 military fronts, following the decision to take an offensive attitude instead of traditional self defense (Arenas, 1985). This contradiction was reflected in the creation and development of the Patriotic Union, a political party which expressed the desire for political inclusion of some members of FARC, along with civilian groups, some of them members of the Communist Party, and others belonging to independent groups with a leftist ideology.

The ambiguous combination of political and military strategies produced a complex scenario, with many internal and external tensions: the never solved contradiction between militaristic and political tendencies in the FARC and the Communist Party was covered by the ambiguous umbrella of the "combination of all forms of fighting". In the military field, the FARC doubled the number of their fronts in new regions, which were experiencing rapid economic transformations through the expansion of the traditional cattle ranching industry (Meta, Caquetá, Middle Magdalena valley and Córdoba), commercial agriculture (the Banana region in Urabá, palm industry in South Cesar, the Chocó Pacific coast and Middle Magdalena valley), coal (Cesar and Guajira), oil (Middle Magdalena valley, Arauca, Sarare and Catatumbo), gold (South Bolivar and Antioqueño Lower Cauca region).

So, this expansion of FARC was favored by a new context of relationship between the center of the country and the regions, which were becoming more integrated into the national scenario. It also favored the transition of the peasant guerrilla of EPL to a different involvement in a more urbanized and modern world, linked to the trade unionism of Banana workers (Aramburo 2011, Villarraga and Plazas, 1994). Other regions, such as the Oriente Antioqueño (the west of Antioquia department), became affected by the expansion of industry in the city of Medellin, the building of big hydroelectric projects and the Medellín- Bogotá highway: this development inserted some parts of the region into the national and central economy but marginalized others (C. García 2011). The resultant social tensions overwhelmed the scarce regulating capacity of the State institutions (J. Bejarano and others, 1997) and produced some contesting social movements: the private and governmental repression of this mobilization process paved the way for the presence of guerrillas and their counterpart, the rightist self defense or paramilitary groups. The political importance of the building of some national highways and hydroelectric projects (Otero, 2010) was also reflected in military issues, especially in the case of Middle Magdalena valley and in the Caribbean coast (C. Medina, 1990).

Obviously, the combination of military and political strategies reinforced the natural suspicions and reluctances of the local and regional political powers, threatened by the electoral progress of the Patriotic Union and victimized by the guerrillas' extortions and kidnappings. These local and regional reactions were, obviously, stronger in the regions where the guerrillas and the UP political leaders had become a threat to the local and regional de facto powers, such as the Banana cultivation axis in Antioqueño Urabá, Middle Magdalena valley, the Ariari region in Meta, the Middle and Lower Putumayo regions, and the Caquetá, Guaviare and Arauca departments,

The relative autonomy of these regional powers, backed by some local and regional members of the national police and army, and the reluctance of the traditional politicians to accept the peace proposal, along with the ambiguities of the FARC and the Communist Party, explains partially the tragic failure of this political experiment and the genocide committed against the Patriotic Union. This combination of legal and illegal practices produced a favorable scenario for the creation of paramilitary groups, backed sometimes by local and regional members of the national army and police. This framework explains the origin and development of the paramilitary groups, especially in the Middle Magdalena valley, the Urabá region of Antioquia, and the Meta and Córdoba departments.

In the national framework, the opposition to the Betancur peace proposal was reinforced by the natural

resistance of traditional politicians to social reforms and the reluctance of some congressmen and military chiefs, some Catholic Church bishops and clergy and some leaders of economic groups to accept the peace process. In sum, the growing isolation of President Betancur from public opinion and the main leaders of political parties produced the failure of the process (Ramírez and Restrepo, 1989), dramatically expressed in the ill-conceived and disastrous adventure of the seizure of the Palace of Justice by the M-19 movement. On the part of the guerrillas, the combination of the political negotiation with the quest for military advances by the FARC and M 19 made necessary their use of Politics in order to continue the war by other means, as Ramirez and Restrepo point out.

The failure of the Betancur peace process and the almost systematic elimination of Patriotic Union produced, as a political consequence, the increasing autonomy of the more militaristic sections of FARC, which gradually transformed themselves from a subordinate group to the Communist party to become an independent political actor.

This increasing militarization transformed the ambiguous truce between the FARC and the Barco government (1986-1990), inherited from Betancur, into almost a fiction, because this guerrilla was returning then to their initial "nomadism", in order to recover their internal discipline and organization for a new stage of the war (González, Bolívar and Vásquez, 2003). They decided to expand toward new regions and go further into their traditional zones of settlement in peripheral areas of the agrarian frontier. These expansive tendencies became stronger after the Army attack against the guerrilla headquarters in Casa Verde (La Uribe) in 1991, when the National Constitutional Assembly was starting: then, the FARC decided to launch the most important counter offensive of their history. So, between 1991 and 1992, this guerrilla consolidated its presence in Urabá, the Cimitarra river valley in Santander, South Bolivar, Lower Cauca river valley and in Northeast Antioquia. Moreover, from their traditional strongholds of Caguán and Ariari, they extended their attacks against the more integrated areas of Meta, Caquetá and Huila departments; and from their traditional rear guard in Sumapaz (Cundinamarca) toward more central areas of this department in order to produce the perception of besiege against Bogotá (Vásquez, 2005).

This military expansion and political autonomy of the FARC were reaffirmed by their VIII (eighth) Conference, in April 1993, when they decide to create a new political movement, the clandestine "Bolivarian Movement", because they considered the transformations of the new Constitution of 1991 were not enough to face the national problems. They decided also to go beyond traditional guerrilla warfare to a war of

positions, which lead to this group producing several important defeats of the national army between 1993 and 1998 (Las Delicias, Patascoy and Puerres in Nariño, Yarí between Caquetá and Meta departments)

On the other hand, the disaster of the M 19 in the seizure of the Palace of Justice and the paramilitary pressure against the social bases of the EPL in Córdoba and Urabá, along with the military attacks of the Army, forced these two groups to a political negotiation and demobilization (The demobilization of EPL was partially because the dissident group of Francisco Caraballo, located in the Antioqueño Urabá and Northeast Córdoba, decided to continue fighting). Moreover, some smaller groups like the PRT (Workers Revolutionary Party), the Quintin Lame indigenous guerrilla and the CRS (Socialist Revolutionary Current) also decided to demobilize their groups. Some of these groups had some important presence in the Constitutional Assembly of 1991.

These evolutions of the guerrilla groups initially contrasted with the relative stagnation and internal divisions of the paramilitary groups after Rodriguez Gacha's death around the eventual alliance with the Narco traffickers. However, the paramilitary groups of Córdoba and Urabá took advantage of the demobilization of the EPL in order to look to create a coordination of activities of the different groups through the Colombian united self defense (AUC), under Carlos Castaño's leadership. Between 1994 and 1998, this confederation of groups achieved the control of the Caribbean Coast savannas, the north of Chocó, the Middle Magdalena valley, the south of Bolivar and Cesar departments and the main areas of the two Santanderes. In 1998, they had consolidated military blocks in the Caribbean Coast, the Southwest of the country (from Córdoba and Antioquia to Chocó, Caldas and Risaralda), the Eastern plains block ("Bloque Llanero", with fronts in Ariari, Guaviare and the plains foothills) and Metro block with its fronts in Southeast, Eastern and Northeast of Antioquia.

These almost simultaneous expansions of the FARC and AUC groups produced the greatest increase in homicides, massacres and combats by the finals of 90s and the first years of the XXI (twenty-first) century: they affected not only the peripheral and isolated areas of the countryside but also the day to day ordinary life of the population in the more integrated zones of the country, especially the one located near the highways between the main cities and their surroundings.

*c) The simultaneous expansion of guerrillas and paramilitary groups: from the negotiation in El Caguán to the Democratic Security policy*

The military advances of paramilitary groups in the North of the country, as well as the ones of the FARC in the Southwest, related to increasing political

weakness of President Samper (1994-1998), constituted the framework of the new peace proposal of President Andrés Pastrana (1998-2002, accompanied by his efforts of reorganization of the national army. The bitter political controversies around the abuses of the FARC in the demilitarized zone in El Caguán, granted to the FARC in order to facilitate the dialogues, along with a clear agenda of negotiation from the government and the attacks and kidnappings of the guerrilla in the zones next to El Caguán, were gradually weakening the favorable opinion to the political negotiation.

These attacks, kidnappings and extortions of the FARC were mainly located in Tolima, Cauca and Huila; moreover, this group tried, between 1998 and 1999, to take over some traditional areas of the ELN, due to its weakening military situation: such are the cases of South Bolívar, Catatumbo and Arauca. During the negotiations, the FARC tried to build a new strategic corridor from the demilitarized zone toward the Pacific sea, through South Tolima, North Huila, North Cauca and the South of Valle del Cauca departments. These efforts produced some occasional crises in the negotiation process: these crises were deepened by the FARC's use of weapons condemned by International Humanitarian Law, and the kidnapping and killing of some American indigenists, perpetrated by FARC, increased the international discrediting of this guerrilla and produced a new crisis in the negotiations with the Pastrana government.

On the other hand, this expansion of FARC in the Southwest produced the AUC retaliation in some regions such as Putumayo, Bolívar, Sucre and Antioquia, when the FARC took one of the central strongholds of the AUC in the mountainous junction of Paramillo. As a retaliation against the FARC, Castaño's troops launched a series of massacres and selective assassinations in these regions. The AUC continued expanding their military and political control: from the South of the Middle Magdalena region (Puerto Boyacá) the AUC expanded their presence toward the South and Center of the Cesar department; and from Córdoba and Antioquia, they started an offensive, by January 2000, against the central command of the ELN in the San Lucas Range. The AUC also attacked the ELN positions in Santander North and Arauca, looking for the creation of strategic corridors in order to communicate their fronts of South Bolívar and Middle Magdalena with the ones of Arauca and Catatumbo.

This military strengthening moved these paramilitary groups to go further and look for their political legitimation as a counter insurgency force by organizing social bases and local powers against the Pastrana government's attempts of conceding an eventual demilitarized zone for negotiating with the ELN in South Bolívar (Gutiérrez, 2004). So, this social mobilization of regional and local powers, backed by the

threats of the paramilitary groups and some support of local members of the Army, along with public rejection of the ELN attacks against the hydroelectric infrastructure, prevented Pastrana's efforts to start any kind of negotiation with the ELN.

On the national level, since 1998 the Pastrana government also took advantage of the negotiation process by achieving an important increase in the national army and police capacity to neutralize the guerrilla actions, due to the aid of airplanes and helicopters and the improvement of intelligence operations, supported by the Plan Colombia resources. So, the combats in La Llorona canyon (Dabeiba) and the counterattack in Mitú (Vaupés), as well as the ones of Arauca and Guaviare, showed the inversion of the tactical advantages of the guerrilla. However, this improvement was contradictory with the internal discussion between the military commanders, the Defense minister and the presidential commissioner for Peace regarding the complicity of some regional commanders of the army with paramilitary groups in the Urabá and Middle Magdalena regions.

The combination of these ambiguous and complex processes produced a general consensus on the impossibility of negotiating in the middle of the conflict: the increase of the FARC kidnappings and attacks was interpreted as a proof of the guerrilla's lack of desire for peace, while the strengthening of the national army and the paramilitary advances were seen, by the guerrilla, as a signal of the lack of a national government will for peace (González, Bolívar and Vásquez, 2003). Moreover, the increasing skepticism of public opinion was deepened by the general character of the agenda of negotiation and its totally open timeline. And the September eleven terrorist attacks in the United States favored the national reluctance to negotiate with terrorist groups and increased the number of partisans of the military solution. The result of this "foretold failure" (Kline 2007) was the rupture of the negotiations with the FARC, on February 20th of 2002, and the subsequent military recovery of the demilitarized zone; and, in May, the rupture with the ELN.

However, there was another important consequence of the new national context: it paved the way for the political success of the Uribe Vélez electoral campaign, based on the rejection of internal conflict. His Democratic Security policy reduced the Colombian violence to the attack of Narco terrorists against a totally legitimated and democratic State: in this sense, he insisted on the necessity of recovering the military control of the territory.

During his two periods of government (2002-2010), this initial support to Uribe Vélez was increased by the dismantlement of the guerrillas in Cundinamarca especially in the surroundings of Bogotá, the recovering of the control of the main highways and the "Patriotic



Plan”, the offensive of the national army in the Meta, Guaviare and Caquetá departments. This military progress was accompanied by the negotiation with some of the main warlords of the paramilitary groups. Initially, the obvious result of these two policies was the dramatic decrease in murders, massacres and kidnappings, along with the increase in military combats. And, consequently, the displacement of the armed conflict toward the peripheral areas of the agrarian frontier, the border with Ecuador and the Pacific Coast of Nariño, Cauca and Valle del Cauca departments.

On the side of the guerrillas, the FARC has been forced to abandon the big military operations and to return to their traditional guerrilla warfare: according to some analysts, such as Román Ortiz, this change shows the increasing difficulty of an agrarian guerrilla to be present in a more urbanized world (Ortiz 2006). However, despite some important strategic defeats of the guerrilla including the death of some of its main leaders, the national army was not able to inflict the substantial defeat of insurgency, which maintains some capacity to sporadically attack some rural localities and local military positions and return to their traditional zones of refuge in the peripheral areas.

Nevertheless, the conflict dynamics have been changing: in these peripheral and isolated areas, the guerrillas became confined in some kind of “pockets” or “board linings” next to peasant colonizers in the far places of the agrarian frontier. It means that the former disputed areas, the so called strategic corridors, are now controlled by the public forces; these are the cases of the Caribbean Coast (the regions of Urabá, Montes de María and the Nevada and Perijá ranges). These isolated places of resistance are mainly located in some small traditional strongholds in Catatumbo, South Bolivar, the Cimitarra valley, the Middle Magdalena valley, Lower and Middle Atrato river and Arauca. Even in the Southwest of the country, the FARC’s traditional strategic corridor, in the Amazon piedmont of West branch of the Colombian Andes, became reduced to their rear guard: the El Caguán-Ariari-Duda-Guayabero axis in the Meta, Caquetá and Guaviare departments.

During the 80s and 90s, this historical rear guard made this group able to expand itself to East Huila, South Caquetá, Lower and Middle Putumayo. And, in the last years, this refuge area became the base for their sporadic attacks on the neighboring areas and for starting the creation of a new rear guard in West Amazon toward the Brazilian border through the rivers in the Vaupés, Guainía, Vichada and Amazonas departments and the wildest part of Putumayo. This rear guard was also the base for the expansion toward the Pacific coast and the Western part of Nariño, the Patia river valley and the Colombian mountainous massif, linked to the configuration of a new Coca economic

circuit. As a result of these transformations, the Pacific Coast of the Nariño and Cauca departments became a pole of attraction for the peasant population of Lower and Middle Putumayo, the Patía river valley and western piedmont of Nariño, South Cauca and North Cauca Valley ( R. Vargas, 2003).

The recent insertion of this region in the Coca business is due to the comparative advantages of its geography: its closeness to the Pacific ocean route for international trade, as an alternative route to the Caribbean one, and to the Coca cultivations in the western piedmont of the West branch of the Andean Ranges, reduces the costs of production and trade in order to centralize the Coca productive chain (Vásquez, Vargas and Restrepo, 2011).

As far as the evolution of armed conflict and the involvement of the guerrillas in the coca business are concerned, the region became the most dynamic center of the conflict for the control of the Coca trade. The insertion of this region into the Narco economic circuit produced complex and contradictory relationships between the armed actors; disputes and strange alliances between former enemies or eventual allies such as FARC, ELN, armed groups of Narco traffickers (such as the so called Los Rastrojos, belonging to the North Valley cartel) and some old and new paramilitary groups. And it also explains the enormous economic resources which support the military strengthening of the illegal armed actors such as the FARC, the paramilitary groups and the so called “emergent” bands in the region (Vásquez, Vargas and Restrepo, 2011).

Moreover, the FARC also maintained their traditional rear guard in the “Las Hermosas” (“The beautiful ones”) mountainous canyon and the Ata river valley, located between South Tolima, North Huila and the East of Cauca and Cauca Valley. The presence of Alfonso Cano, the main leader of FARC, has made this area in one of the most strategic objectives of the national army. And it also explains the recent FARC offensive actions in North Cauca and South Valle del Cauca: during Uribe’s two periods of government and the first year of Santos presidency, the towns of Caloto, Caldono, Toribio and Jambaló became the main objective of the FARC’s attacks.

Besides the retirement of FARC to these historical strongholds and border frontiers, a new disputed area has been surging during the recent years in the Antioqueño Lower Cauca valley (Caucasia) and in South Córdoba regions: the confrontation for the control of Coca routes between some guerrillas, reorganized paramilitary groups and emergent criminal bands (the so called Bacrim), some of them without counterinsurgent mentality, have reinforced the reduction of the conflict to the economic greed of the combatants.

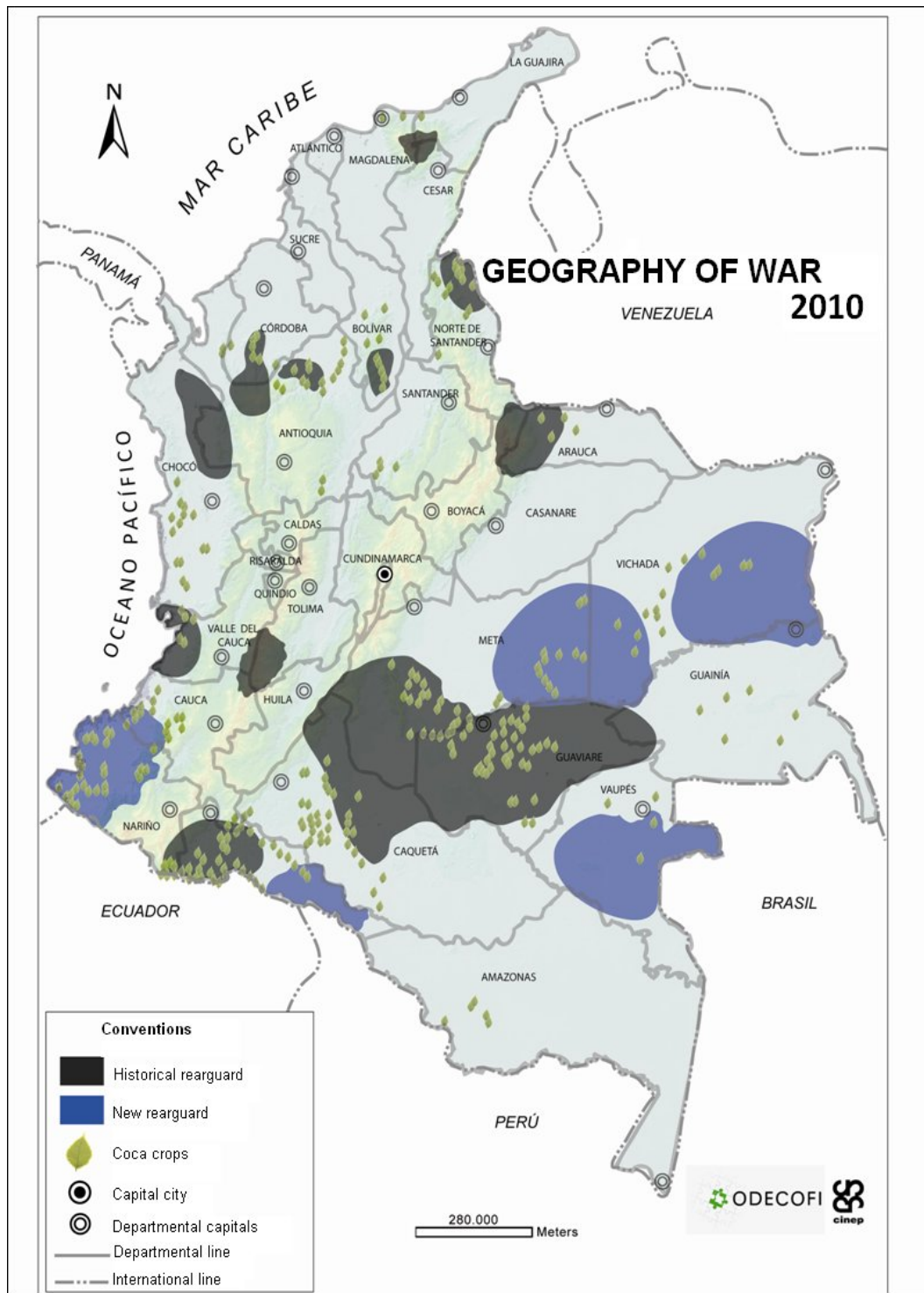


Figure 2 : Geography of Colombia’s war 2010.

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS: THE NEW CONTEXT OF THE OLD AGRARIAN PROBLEM

The historical process we have described in these pages tend to show the retirement of guerrillas toward the isolated areas of the frontiers and their

involvement in the Coca economic cycle as the last stage of a long history: the result of the continuous expulsion of the overflowing peasant population from the surroundings of the main cities to the peripheral areas of the agrarian frontier, along with the difficulties of the political regime to articulate the independent social



organizations of those newly populated regions. In these particular areas, a different kind of radical guerrilla was born in the sixties. In a second moment, these groups decided, following the example of the Jacobins, to expand themselves to more integrated and richer areas, taking advantage of the social tensions produced by the uneven development of these regions. Their decision of geographical expansion obeys to a larger strategy, designed in order to take the power at national level. It was, as many analysts say, the revenge of the periphery against the center: this geographical expansion is part of a large strategy of these groups in order to take the power at national level.

On the other hand, the guerrilla groups, especially the FARC, played an important role in the social organization of some particular areas in the Southwest of the country: in these isolated areas, the Coca and poppy cultivations became the only product able to link the peasant population to the national and world economy. So, the FARC became gradually inserted in the business: initially, by collecting taxes for granting protection over the cultivated areas, by regulating the prices of the Narco traders and defending the Peasant interests and supporting their social mobilization regarding the officials of national governments (M. Ramirez. 2001). In a second moment, the group extended their control over the territory and its population, in order to prevent the contact of the young guerrilla combatants with the Narco lifestyle and maintain their internal discipline. And, in a third stage, the FARC have imposed coca cultivation on the Afrocolombian population in the Pacific Coast of Nariño and Cauca departments, taking advantage of the geographical situation of these regions.

Of course, the FARC also realized very soon the economic importance of the Coca business as a source of financing and maintaining their military effort, but their insertion in this economic cycle cannot be reduced only to their economic interest. It has to be related to a political decision of taking the war as the only means to solve the two master cleavages of the conflict in the national level: the unsolved agrarian problem and the consequent political exclusion. However, in order to understand the way these master cleavages take shape on the subnational level, it is necessary to take into account the local and regional particularities.

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<i>References</i>	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring



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