

**International
Institute of
Social Studies**

Erasmus

**Land Reform and the Peace Implementation Process
in Colombia 2016-2020: the Case of Cordoba**

A Research Paper Design

by:

Sohei Koyano

(Japan)

MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

**Human Rights, Gender and Conflict: Social Justice
Perspectives
(SJP)**

Supervisor:

Helen Hintjens

Second Reader:

Kees Biekart

The Hague, The Netherlands
November 2020

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Acknowledgements

Firstly, I wish to thank my supervisor Helen for her continued support both academically and emotionally from the initial process of this journey. Without her help, it would not be possible to complete it. Her rich experience and passion in teaching gives me always inspiration to write and practical and creative ideas to proceed my work. Thank you again not only for being just an excellent professor but also for being a heartful educator. Secondly, I enjoy the opportunity to thank my second reader Kees for sharing his insightful thoughts based on his deep experience in Latin America with me. His advice broadened My horizons and game me new insight to the topic. Thirdly, I would like to appreciate my Colombian friends especially Lorena who is currently working at Victim Unit for providing me with actual and recent information in Colombia. Lastly, please allow me to expand my sincere appreciation to my flat mate Samantha for always encouraging me to write and for being by my side

Abstract

This study is about land conflicts in Cordoba Department in Northern Colombia. Taking two case studies, one from a small town in the Department called Montelibano, the other example is Tierraalta municipality. The first, Montelibano is well-known for mining by foreign companies, and the focus is on Cerro Matoso, a US company (in which another Japanese company has a small stake) has been accused of land grabbing, leading to conflict with local communities and minority groups due to displacement without compensation. The second case is an area where the paramilitary loyal to Uribe, former President now facing charges, have replaced FARC since the 2016 Peace Agreement. In Tierraalta the paramilitary control the growing drug trade and seized land through violence, causing land conflicts among locals. To analyse the processes at local, national and even international level, the study uses three main data sources. The first is used as background as is report from CINEP, a national thinktank, published in 2014, which contains material on both case studies prior to the Peace Agreement. The second document used is the land reform program created by the Final Peace Agreement, known as PDET, which also is applied to both case studies. The third is recent report regarding actual implementation process in both cities. Media, think tanks, scholars and NGO reports also provide supplementary information on the two cases. I also spoke with two staff at the Victims Unit of the Colombian government. One of the key findings was slow implementation of the land reform program, due to reluctance to tackle inequalities in rural areas. In Tierraalta competing actors are trying to seize control of the area, whilst in the case of Montelibano, inequalities have an international and corporate origin. Conflict is partly a consequence of economic globalization.

Relevance to Development Studies

By considering the land reform program (PDET) which formed part of the 2016 Final Peace Agreement in Colombia, in two municipalities, it is hoped to detect difficulties faced locally in implementing the PDET provisions. The study looks for local, national and international dynamics that have prevented implementation of these land reform provisions, as the basis for peace-building in what is still a conflict situation, in a post-conflict framework.

Keywords

Land distribution, land grabbing, post-conflict, inequality, militarism, Cordoba,

Chapter 1 What is the problem?

1.1 Motivations of this study

My stay in Colombia coincided with the signing of the peace agreement between the government and FARC in 2016. I found it hard to understand why Colombia had so many conflicts, for so many years, when the people seemed so aware, intelligent and the country did not lack resources. Later I realized the country had all the ingredients needed to perpetuate violent conflict, including regional inequalities, political polarization, racism, and conflicts over resources, perhaps especially land. The country's overall situation made me seek to comprehend the root causes of a conflict that had only recently come to an end. After more than a half century of civil war and the rise and fall of drug trafficking empires, Colombia has recently made huge strides in improving its security in terms of homicide rate which fell in the lowest one in recent 4 decades (The Atlantic, 2019). I was surprised by the system of social class that allocates to different places a category, 1 to 6, depending on social class, to determine higher taxes. These classes appeared not to interact across categories, which surprised me, as I am not conscious of such hard class differences in Japan.

For many reasons, the peace remains unstable due to FARC dissidents, other guerrilla rebels, and criminal networks. I therefore wish to take an analytical approach to highlighting deeper issues in the post-accord processes. I am sure that this is especially important in consideration of assassination of social leaders, rearmament of ex-member of the FARC and slow implementation of the peace accord. Looking at the situation and trying to explain recurrence of violent conflict and obstacles to peace-building, I was also struck by similarities with Japan's situation, where land reform was implemented by US forces between 1945 and 1950s, to take land from large landowners and redistribute it more equally to the farmers, and this perhaps was only possible due to the Second World War. I wondered, could such land reform work to redistribute power in Colombian society and support peace-building? Without the extreme conditions of the end of World War II, it is unlikely land reform would have happened in Japan. How can land reform happen in Colombia? According to the Final Peace Accord, what is needed is: "to reverse the effects of the conflict and to change the conditions that have facilitated the persistence of violence in Colombia's territories"

1.2 Persistent conflict 'after peace'

In fact, there are still some conflicts which include drug trafficking, killing activists and internal displacement. As UN reveals that 107 human rights activists were assassinated in 2019 so the actual situation is very erratic especially in rural region and poor area (TheGuardian.com, 2020).

The recent research conducted by the Colombian research institution for development and peace Indepaz reveals that after the sign of the peace accord between the government and the FARC, 971 social leaders and human rights defender were assassinated as of July 15, 2020. 166 social leaders and human

rights defenders were killed, and 36 ex combatants of the FARC were murdered as of July 15 from January 1, 2020 (Indepaz, 2020).

Chapter 1 of the Final Agreement is entitled “End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace” stipulates that “Comprehensive Rural Reform (*Reforma Rural Integral*)” intends to bring structural transformation in rural area (*El Acuerdo Final* 2016: 7).

“...the Comprehensive Rural Reform (*Reforma Rural Integral*), hereinafter referred to as CRR, lays the foundation for the structural transformation of the countryside, creates conditions for well-being of the rural population – men and women – thereby contributing to the building of a stable and long-lasting peace” (*El Acuerdo Final* 2016: 7).

Structural transformation means that land reform would form the basis for improved access to education, health and an improved well-being. Along with the final agreement, the Colombian government prioritized 16 sub-regions with 170 municipalities based on poverty level, the degree of damage caused by the conflict and institutional fragility and allocated budget through the Development Program with Territory Focus (PDET – *Programas de Desarrollo con Enfoque Territorial*) which is administrated by the Agency for Territory Renovation (ART – *la Agencia de Renovación del Territorio*).

The PDET has now became the main program for the integrated rural land reform. The communities themselves identified their needs and their vision for the regions in the next ten to fifteen years are reflected. Thus, more than 220,000 people from 11,000 villages of those 170 municipalities participated in a process and discussed 32,000 initiatives regarding health, education, and housing. The 16 PDET was singed between August 2018 and March 2019. Since then, progress has been observed in more than 900 municipalities. However, there are some critics about the program. Several sectors point out that the implementation of the PDET has not been conducted with a proper coordination of National Plans for Comprehensive Rural Reform, which is composed of the first point of the peace agreement between the government and the FARC. The reform also intends to reduce the gap between the cities and rural area in terms of education, health, connectivity, and infrastructure. Furthermore, Jairo Estrada, representative of the former insurgency in the Commission on following, impulse and verification for the implementation of the final peace accord (CSIVI) indicates that there is no guarantee if the program satisfies local farmer’s needs. Regarding this matter, National Agency for Territory (ANT) admits that no land has been handed over to farmers so far as the government’ efforts have been focused on entering the hectares into the fund. The roadmap which was elaborated by the Implementation Framework Plan (PMI) does not mention clearly and just described that all the hectares must have been delivered by 2028.

The promise of delivering three million hectares through the fund is added that of formalizing another seven million hectares of land to peasants who occupy or own them and are their legitimate owners. The goal for this purpose is 2026. On the fulfilment of this point there is a huge dissent between the parties. (Forero, 2020).

However, political violence and assassination of social leaders related to land and conflicts over profits and interest in land remain at a high level some

years after the peace agreement. In general, processes such as disarmament and demobilization are more visible and easier to see than structural and cultural change required to end violence. The root causes of conflict including inequality, political elites' strategies of profit, paramilitary group and different kinds of corruption. Especially, taking account huge inequality in land distribution as Oxfam reported that only 0.1 percent of landowners who have more than 2,000 hectares dominate 60 % of land while small landowners have less than 5 percent of land, tackling with this issue would lead to radical changes in Colombian society (Goméz, 2017). I believe that these factors should not be ignored in peace implementation processes to consolidate peace itself when the transition period is going on. The Final Peace Accord also provided that: "the Government will...take every necessary measure to ensure that there is no resurgence of paramilitary groups" (*Acuerdo Final de Paz* 2016: 8).

1.3 Justification and relevance of this research

Through the work at the economic section of the embassy of Japan in Colombia, I followed and gained some insights into economic policies of the Colombian government. The country has been working on enhancing their presence in terms of commerce and institutionalization in an international setting. This year, Colombia officially joined the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and has been attracting more Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) than ever. With regards to bilateral relations i.e. Colombia and Japan, the countries have been negotiating an Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA). However, the negotiations which started in 2011 are still ongoing and raised a few concerns in relation to the agricultural sector in Colombia. This owes to farmer's fear that they would lose their economic competitiveness.

On the other hand, I was surprised at huge disparity between the rich and poor in the country and its unique socio-economic system called "estrato (stratum)" which divides society into 6 categories according to living places. Though the concept is those in the higher stratum help payment for the public services of those in the lower strata, it is criticized that the system gives stigmatization but I got an impression that this concept is profoundly, culturally and historically embedded in Colombian people.

Vaupes is in the Colombian Amazon. When I travelled there, I went to see the river called Jirijirimo, where we met some members of the indigenous communities and some government representatives. Government did not want tourists to enter, but the indigenous did not object, since they felt it was their land, they wanted to show hospitality. The issue here too was land, but in a different way from in Cordoba. Here land again was a cause of disagreement, where the role of government is not always in line with those of locals, especially the poorest people in an area, whose view on land tends to be ignored by a government that tends to take over areas, whether in the name of environmental protection, international investment or political alliances. With regard to this process, Richmond affirms that:

"Hidden, so-called 'structural violence' embedded in social, economic, and political systems remains unaddressed. This might explain why, after various ceasefires in the 2000s, the peace process

has collapsed in Colombia on several occasions, because the core issues of the dispute, in particular relating to land distribution, poverty, and socio-economic inequality, have not as yet been addressed. A peace agreement based on a narrow understanding of peace would probably not be satisfactory in anything other than the short term” (Richmond, 2014: 27).

Taking into consideration that I mentioned above, I believe that it is highly important to look at the process and implementation of the so-called “Comprehensive Rural Reform” in the accord which intends to foment structural changes in the rural areas and reduce the gap that exists between urban and rural areas, creating better conditions in terms of well-being and quality of life for people who live in rural regions. At the same time, the rural reform contemplates incorporation of the whole country to contribute to the eradication of poverty, promote equality and assure the rights of citizenship. I believe that the Comprehensive Rural Reform would be an important key to rethink the original factors that brought the conflict as people tend to focus on visible and short-term outcomes.

1.4 Case Studies: Context and Background

Cordoba is a department located northern part of Colombia and the place is considered one of the centres of armed conflict after the arrival of EPL (The Popular Liberation Army) and their fight against the government forces in the 1970s, and the expansion of FARC and foundation of self-defence armed groups in the 1980s. The main industry in Cordoba is oil and mining. The official poverty rate in 2018 was 44.2 percent which is 17.2 percent higher than the national average. It is important to remember that mining activities are the traditional economic mainstay of this region, and projects in mining mainly concentrated on exploitation around Cerrejon in La Guajira and Cerro Matoso in Cordoba.

The official document “Colombia País Minero 2019” admits the importance of foreign investment citing the Canadian company name “the Metal Economics Group” and indicates that there are still barriers to attracting investment from abroad. This implies that the Colombian government intends to increase mining activities through foreign investment (Unidad de Planeación Minero Energética – UPMEs, 2016). However, the foreign investment in the mining sector often causes land disputes such as land grabbing and internally displaced persons (IDPs). In fact, Colombian senator, Ivan Cepeda sued three mining companies claiming that they had used fake documents to seize land which was supposed to be given to farmers and IDPs. This forced displacement has made an invisible economy based on land, in which illegal actors have been able to transform their returns from the counterinsurgency and drug trade into legal profits from large-scale oil palm plantations which are supported by the government.

The role of paramilitary violence in clearing out secluded regions of the country, first for drug production activities and then for biofuel plantations, suggests an obvious connection between abuses of power, complicit states, ethnic cleansing, international priorities for ‘clean fuel’ and trade-driven

investment. In Colombia, decades of civil violence created a situation which offers an opportunity for the entrance of state and paramilitary actors who profit from the insecurities of agricultural production and the transnational agreements aimed at reducing the drug trade. At the same time, these international provisions encourage money laundering from criminal activities into new, legitimate fields of biofuel production. In a sense, land grabbing is an intelligent institutional mechanism that allows illegal territory to turn into legal one in the Colombian context (Borras, 2017:200). According to the congressman, multinational mining firms such as Drummond and the BHP Billiton group got territories for their mining activities through false documents to acquire land intended for local farmers and displaced people (Colombia Reports, 2014). When it comes to land grabbing, it is also highly important to think paramilitary's emergence and their activities. Sandt in his report indicates that from 1996 to 2006, a paramilitary strategy was established to exclude settlers and landholders. The paramilitaries exercised fear and terror to maintain control of various regions in the country, other than kidnappings, arson, and murder (Sandt, 2016).

Oxfam research report (Oxfam International, 2013) points out that for Colombia, there are currently no specific regulations regarding the quantity of hectares that an individual or entity can hold. The Colombian congress discussed proposals which intend to regulate and limit the extent of land which foreign individuals or entities can acquire. After the enforcement of Act 160 of 1994, the maximum amount of land that can be given by the state is known as the Family Agriculture Unit. Through this law, a qualified applicant can apply 2 family agriculture unit at maximum (one unit is consist of 8 to 13 hectares). This law also aims to mitigate the impact of concentration of tenure for land.

Cordoba has been one of the regions most affected by the conflict and has been suffering structural violence as well. I would therefore like to examine the dynamics of the peace implementation process under the Comprehensive Rural Reform process in Cordoba, and consider what factors made implementation difficult in this department. To conduct this research, I use two cases to illustrate wider arguments about land and peace processes in Cordoba.

The first example is Tierralta, a town located at the southern part of Cordoba. The town has been suffering from land issues in terms of very unequal land distribution under the influence of a strong paramilitary presence. Hence, I investigate this town as the first case study, focusing on changes after the peace accord. In this area, paramilitary forces such as *Las Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia* (AUC) appeared in the early 2000s, and became dominant after the FARC, which historically dominated this area, was demobilised in 2006. Other paramilitary groups remained and started to expand their presence in the area. Before the Peace Accord, the regions in Cordoba were controlled by FARC units 5 and 58. In 2014, there was an agreement between the FARC and AGC. This accord brought an increase in cocaine production and unfortunately the agreement between the two actors did not help with security until after 2016, when the situation improved somewhat. The term "parapolitics" can be used to describe the connection between paramilitary groups and government officials. In fact, the ex-Presidential candidate, and present opposition Senator Gustavo Petro denounced the relationship between AUC and former President Alvaro Uribe, 31st President of Colombia from 2002 to 2010. It was claimed by Gustavo Petro, that more than 60 legislators and seven governors were convicted for winning elections to their office by using paramilitary threats. In

addition to this, more than 140 ex-congresspersons are currently being investigated on similar charges (Colombia Reports, 2019). From Kalyvas we have this insightful comment regarding political actors' involvement in violence and land issues:

"Political actors maximize territorial control subject to the local military balance of power; territorial control in the context of irregular war requires the exclusive collaboration of individual civilians who, in turn, maximize various benefits subject to survival constraints" (Kalyvas, 2006:12).

The author argues that, on the one hand, if there is enough control by political actors, they do not need to exercise violence or threats (Kalyvas, 2006:12). This means that where political violence exists there are multiple actors who are trying to seize the territory and the situation is usually complicated, with no one actor having obvious political legitimacy or control.

Regarding the second case I wish to analyse, Montelibano, is situated in the southern part of Cordoba and the municipality is the operating centre of the Cerro Matoso Ferroniquel mine. The owner company of the project is Cerro Matoso S.A., a subsidiary of Anglo-Australian BHP Billiton multinational, a mining company considered among the largest internationally. The company is characterized by a diversified portfolio of products and services, including copper, coal, manganese, nickel, iron and aluminium mining operations, and hydrocarbon extraction. The local community and their land have been affected by these mining activities and forcibly displaced. In this case study, I intend to examine the various factors that brought about this land-grabbing.

These two municipalities mentioned above fall under PDET, the plan initiated by ART after the Peace Accord was signed in 2016. PDET plans are the core of the Integrated Rural Reform (*Reforma Rural Integral*) which is stipulated as one of the six key points in the Peace Accord documents (*El Espectador*, 2019). The other five points are political participation, termination of the conflict, solution for illegal drug problem, focus on victims and implementation, verification and endorsement. Studies about structural economic problems in Cordoba have been conducted by various researchers. However, detailed studies on what has been hindering implementation of the Peace Accords in relation to land, in this region, are still lacking. For this reason, examining the causes of the failure of implementation of land reform in the two areas studied, seems highly relevant to Colombia's move into what is supposedly a post-conflict stage of development.

In fact, land reform has long been one of the central demands of rebel guerrillas, especially the FARC. As guerrilla groups have become increasingly engaged in coca production and cocaine transporting, their relations to land control have evolved over time, and they have become strongly influenced by interests in coca plantations and cocaine trafficking routes.

The most recent attempt to conduct agrarian reform was undertaken during the 1990s using the market-led agrarian reform model, and this reform never satisfied its official objectives, as only 10% of the planned one million hectares had been (re)distributed by 2000. People who benefited were essentially rich peasants, the 'agrarian bourgeoisie' or agrarian elites. Ironically, the concentration of land ownership has increased over the past twenty years.

There are ways to explain why this has happened. For instance, we can relate rising inequality of land ownership to growing demand for palm oil in the global market, which explains why the gap between the landowners and small farmers has grown. Palm became one of the government's top priorities for agro-industrial development from the early 1990s. This year, in the first seven months, palm oil sector experienced growth in production compared to the same period of 2019, more than 8% per year. Palm association estimates that by the end of 2020 they will be producing 1.6 million tons (Lopez, 2020). Such prospects were attractive to the paramilitary, as the oil palm sector presents a combination of high profitability, public subsidies and possibilities for money laundering. Not only did it represent the possibility of multiplying profits from land grabbing, but also of receiving the economic and financial support of the state for palm oil production. Palm oil's rising production suggests that the relation between the state and paramilitary groups is not limited to property rights issues, but also extends to the impact of public policies in relation to specific crops and economic activities on the land (Grajales, 2011:772).

1.5 Objectives and Questions

The objectives of this study are to find some of the problems the PDET Land Reform Program faced at the stage of implementation, through two local case studies, one of which appears entirely domestic to Colombia, and the other with a clear international dimension. Each involves some forms of land conflicts. Another objective is to identify new challenges and opportunities for land reform in the post-Peace Accord years, 2016 to 2020, with most of the study focus on the period 2016-2019. Finally, the study hopes to make some modest suggestions for how domestic, national and international organisations might share information and better support land reforms as an essential part of peacebuilding.

Main Research Question

In relation to the provisions in the Final Peace Accord, and taking the two examples from CORDOBA Department:

Why has land reform proved so time-consuming and complex to implement? How do problems of implementation delay peace-building?

Sub-questions

- i. How does foreign investment (present in one of the two case studies) complicate implementation of land reform in Montelibano in Cordoba?
- ii. Why has paramilitary activity increased so markedly in Tierrealta since the Peace Accord, and how can land reform be initiated under these conditions?
- iii. Among the web of local, national and international actors, armed and other, how can land conflicts in Cordoba in Colombia be resolved in future to allow for land reform and thus to support peacebuilding?

1.6 Methodology and Methods

Through this paper, I intend to look at conflicts over lands at micro level considering insights shown by Kalyvas. First, the author clearly separates indiscriminate violence from selective one (Kalyvas, 2006). This implies that political actors seek information and individual noncombatants trying to avoid the worst, but at the same time they intend to grab what opportunities their predicament situation affords them. Kalyvas sees the violence as a process taking place due to human aversion rather than tendency on homicidal violence, which may explain the paradox of the intensity of violence in social contexts defined by interpersonal communication, exchange and trust.

Regarding territory seizing, Kalyvas argues that territory is divided into places where monopolistically dominated by rival actors and places these actor's sovereignty overlaps (Kalyvas, 2006). Besides, political actors usually do not use violence means in a visible way where they need it most and strategic individual actors tend to fail to exclude their enemies where they are most willing to denounce them. Kalyvas suggests also that civilians could influence political actors so that they can become their own private contract assassins as Jan Gross describes it as privatization of authority. Civil war including internal conflicts is different from a revolution, it is a term that transmits a violence division, and it is often expressed as a metaphor for extreme conflict and diffusion of brutality. Civil war is unlike state repression and genocide, it contains multiple actors, and the phenomenon is not unilateral. It is including at least two political actors who are enjoying partial or great amount of monopolies of violence. This definition implies that sustained agrarian/peasant insurrections, anticolonial rebel, and resistance fights against international actors/occupiers are civil wars. On the other hand, armed protests, crime and robbery are excluded from this concept.

I was planning to do a field research in Cordoba, Colombia but the pandemic did not allow me to travel there. Hence, my research is mainly based on secondary such as official peace accord signed in 2016, the report published by CINEP, dossiers regarding recent implementation situation in both Montelibano and Tierralta and newscasts related to land conflicts in Cordoba.

1.7 Chapter Outline

The second chapter outlines some historical evidence related to land reform and violent conflict, and reviews concepts used to analyse the two case studies selected for this study. The case of Montelibano is then examined in Chapter 3, which considers the Ferro-nickel economy and land issues in this area. The second case of Tierraalta is considered in Chapter 4, which deals with paramilitary violence and land conflicts in this area. Recent developments in 2020, which suggest some possibilities for resolving land conflicts, are briefly reviewed in Chapter 5, before drawing some overall conclusions in Chapter 6.

Chapter 2 Background and Conceptual Tools for Analysis

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter the question of land grabbing is first considered, along with theories of agrarian reform. Some background examples of agrarian reform are then considered from a historical and global perspective, showing examples of where land reform ‘worked’ or did not ‘work’ to bring about and support sustainable and peaceful social and economic change. The first case considered is Japan, followed by The Philippines and Cambodia.

2.2 Theorising Land Grabbing

Land is not just a material but also it is part of identity for people who have owned the lands traditionally. Lands are connected to their culture, way of living and history. Therefore, losing land means a partial loss of their life. On the other hand, it is seen commonly that people who have lost their land do not count on legal support, which they can prove their tenancy. Sometimes incoherence in terms of land reform provokes unnecessary conflicts. Rosenau clearly notes that it is fundamental to clarify their relations mutually and the meaning in which they separate from good to bad as each phenomenon has both positive and negative sides (Rosenau, 2003). The author confirms also that in general coherence and integration are preferable to incoherence and disintegration and a long-term coherence gives a positive result as South African case shows (Rosenau, 2003).

With regard to land grabbing, Borras points out as follows:

“Thus, it is probably not a surprise that as international actors turned to land deals, they focused on the state. The global political community suggested that the blame for large-scale deals lay with post-independence states themselves; it was argued that land grabs were happening in states where ‘governance of the land sector and tenure security are weak’. (Borras, 2017:190)

This implies that countries which do not have a solid institution and a strong commitment in rural regions must count on state governance, hence the land reform would be preferable one for the central government. In Colombian context, there are some issues such as education access, political violence, poor health attention and poverty which weaken local institutional governance and it affects the implementation of reforms.

Especially in Colombia, it is remarkable that it exists challenging factors which provoke conflict over land. Regarding this point, Mckay explains the reasons why the implementation process is extremely slow and tends to be failed;

“Contestation around land, natural resources and territorial control was at the heart of the armed conflict, and this remains to be the case as the peace agreements between the Colombian government

and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) begin the implementation process. Democratising land access and control is one of the most critical aspects of this process" (McKay, 2018:164)

As McKay described, Colombia has abundant natural resources, which implies that there are multiple actors who seek profits taking advantage of conquering lands. Besides, there is a strong resistance from big landowners toward land redistribution policy. In the process of the resistance, conflicts including assassination of human right defenders often occur especially in rural areas where the state presence is quite low.

It can also be noted that the Colombian conflict(s) can be analyzed from an agricultural perspective. Cramer has an interesting insight regarding violent conflict over agricultural resources;

"Beyond geography, studying the agrarian dimensions of violent conflicts involves seeing how access to and control of land and labor, as well as financial capital, is shaped by social structures and relations, including class, gender and age. Moreover, such studies point to changes in these structures and relations, which in turn pose threats to established and institutionalized patterns of access and control". (Cramer, 2011:280)

In the Colombian case, coca crops production is greatly affecting local agricultural economy and security. Multiple actors including paramilitary, ex-member of the FARC and local elites are intending to seize lands where the central government presence is weak especially in places where they are a key route for drug trafficking. This complicates the substitution program in terms of effective subsidy assistance and the situation discourage local farmers to substitute their crops to legal one due to lack of sufficient subsidy, training and poor infrastructure to export their products to the market.

"This formalisation, restitution and equitable distribution of land access constitutes the underlying principles of the RRI and the democratisation of land control, requiring not only land reform and restitution, but also reforming institutional structures which have historically excluded and marginalised the rural majority" (McKay, 2018:165).

Regarding the relationship among actors and institutionalization, there are some discussions about institutionalization theory based on sociology and economics. Rosenau defines governance as a political system, which functions without central authority. The system also includes a regime that regulate cooperation relationship, social institutions and general rules (Rosenau, 2003). There are various perspectives about governance. For instance, there is a discussion, which focuses on more civil society than government. Besides, some people claim that it is a fundamental condition for good governance to include multiple actors in a decision-making process.

2.3 The case of Japan: land reform under pressure

The structural characteristics of Japanese agriculture before the war were established in the latter half of the Meiji era, starting from the land tax reform

of the Meiji Restoration. It was a landowner-based micro-farming management, and Japanese capitalism was developed as a part of the basic composition of this landowning system and micro-farming management.

The outbreak of World War First gave an opportunity for breakthrough development in this capitalism, helping the financial capitalist. Although it has achieved a great success in terms of economic development, its development has promoted class differentiation within rural areas, and the first rise of landowners. The downfall of small and medium-sized landowners, the decomposition of middle-sized farmers, and the increase of small-scale peasant poor farmers were noticeable, further deepening the crisis of semi-feudal agriculture.

As a process of democratisation after the world war second, Japanese government and General Headquarters, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ) collaborated and proceeded land reform from 1946 to 1948. The reform was recognised as the most successful one internationally. The purposes of this reform were to reduce the discrepancy between landowners and small farmers who paid taxes with their products for landowners. The laws regarding the land reform limited arable land that a family can own so that small farmers could have access to the land. Overall, the state bought the land from landowners who were not living in their territory and sold them at a reasonable price to farmers. As a result, most of small farmers became an independent farmer and improved their quality of life.

This land reform obligated landowners to sell their land at a standard price. The government gave priority to small scale farmers who originally lived and dedicated to agricultural business in the land and sold the land to the farmers at the same price that the government bought from landowners. There were two factors behind this successful reform. First, GHQ has established laws that restructure social classes who had big influences on society and promoted social and economic changes in Japan. Secondly, inflation favoured farmers who bought land from large scale owners. When the law came into force in 1946, the government paid compensation for land owners, but from 1946 to 1948 Japan faced a drastic inflation and the value of Japanese yen decreased greatly, which helped farmers to buy land and repay their debt. As a consequence, farmers who got lands could return the money they borrowed for the purchase of lands in 2 to 3 years (CULCON, 2013).

The historical significance of land reform is recognized in the process of formation and establishment of world-historical capitalism, structural change and reorganization. Alternatively, it can be positioned in the world historical process of semi-feudal land ownership transformation and peasant liberation. Japan's land reform has a unique position and character in the world historical process of the transformation of main landowners. The post-World War Second, world historical stage faced the expansion of socialist nations, the conflict and competition between the two regimes, and the former planting. The three main components were the collapse of the civilian system, colonial independence, and the increase of democratic power in the country of capitalism. World historical stage after World War II, that is, feudal or semi-feudal land ownership Transformation was the basis of capitalist restructuring in the process of coexistence, conflict and competition between capitalist and socialist spheres.

In this sense the reform represented a unique position and is considered as the most radical form. However, there were some negative aspects regarding the

land reform. First, the fact that the land was released in the form given by the government, which was not carried out by Japanese farmers in a voluntary manner. In the path of agricultural rehabilitation and development, farmers lost their independence or initiative. Also, they had to depend on the protection and assistance of the government. As a result, farmers had to choose a policy which was given by the government and focus on agricultural production and productivity. Secondly, the vast forest wilderness was barely touched. Partial acquisition of the land as an agricultural development site was conducted. Although it was sold, the forests were not cultivated and not managed for agricultural purposes. The unused land was distributed by the government regardless of the farmer's interest and development plan was not based on the farmer's own request. Looking at Colombian situation in terms of land distribution, no radical land reform has been conducted due to conflicts over land by multiple actors e.g. landowners, foreign companies, criminal networks and local government. The Japanese case suggests that it may require to reduce the number of involved actors to realize a meaningful land reform.

Land reform certainly broke the personal slavery relationship between landowners and peasants under the landowner system since the Meiji era. This was an epoch-making change that carried out the modernization of rural Japan (Jianting, 2017). This reform basically intended to eradicate Japanese military power under the command of the U.S. Occupation Army, hence the reform was not focused on farmer's need. This governmental or political reform caused two challenging issues for farmers and agricultural sector. First, the target of the reform was limited to farmland, not to the vast forests and others, and the subsequent farmer's livestock industry and forest. The aim was restricted to developing the Japanese agricultural sector. Secondly, the government gave land titles to farmers, but with little support or advice in terms of production and efficiency, and to some extent, farmers had to manage on their own, and some were more able to do so than others.

However, it is true that the land reform brought a drastic change in landowner system by converting 4.3 million acres of farmlands, which were 72% of the total number and handing this over to 6 million farm households, where it became productive land mainly for food production (Matsuoka, 2003). Under capitalism, only people who have some capital can enjoy the social benefits. In case of agricultural sector, if farmers have bigger lands, the production will increase more compared to small farmers then they will get more advantages in business management and social welfare. It will cause more discrepancy between the rich and poor. Hence, the way the independent farmers have land was not equally distributed, rather it is concluded as an imperfect tenure land property. To achieve a true independent development, it is important to consider democratic reform and excluding monopolies. As mentioned before, the inequality in land distribution in Colombia is remarkable and most of arable lands are dominated by few actors. Therefore, simplification of actors would give an effective solution to reduce the disparity.

2.4 Land Reform in the Philippines: Contested Terrain

In the Philippines, various armed groups have been rebelling against the government after the independence in 1946. In 2014, the Philippine government and the largest force of Islamic armed forces against the government Moro

Islamic Liberation Front (Moro Islamic Liberation Front: MILF) signed the "Bangsamoro Comprehensive Agreement", which intend to establish Bangsamoro Autonomous Government by 2016. This comprehensive peace agreement is based on the framework agreement signed by both parties in October, 2012. The framework agreement provided a roadmap for establishing an autonomous government of "Bangsamoro," which means Muslim nations and ethnic groups, in 2016.

During the transition period until the establishment of the autonomous government, a transition committee will be set up to coordinate the basic law and reconstruction and development program of the new autonomous government, and once the basic law is enacted, the Bansamoro transition organization will be established as a provisional government. The transition mechanism leading to the establishment of the new autonomous government and the outline of the autonomous government have been established. However, core issues such as the allocation of authority and resources between the Philippine government and the new autonomous government, the transition process to the establishment of the new autonomous government, and the normalization of the MILF, including the gradual disarmament, have been postponed. In the end, these issues were later agreed and signed as an annex. In other words, the agreement and signature of these annexes led to the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.

The Mindanao conflict is often seen as "government versus anti-government" captured by the composition of the national power struggle and the religious conflict of "Christians vs. Islam". The background of the conflict is "the land of ancestors," which is the biggest issue in peace negotiations. Also, the central government took the regional territories in the name of the process of decentralization. In other words, the impediment to Mindanao peace is the biggest concern of the peace agreement. There is inequality over the distribution of resources and wealth and political decision-making in the ancestral land issues. Even among the same Islamic groups, disparity exists. Only the clans that have built a relationship with the government will have land, water rights, local government personnel rights, and enjoy other benefits.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Philippines was under the control of the United States. Companies origin from The United States did investment in Mindanao for the development of corporate plantation management. Since 1920, the settlement has started and many farmers with difficult economic situation due to poor crops sought fertile Mindanao land, which also pushed the policy forward. Following the U.S. migration policy, the Philippine government has settled on farmland to protect peasants. Although the land was intended to be redistributed originally, but it was not viable, as a result, the policy focused on settlement in the forest area. Not only government-led public settlements, but also voluntary settlers have increased, and eventually the number of voluntary settlers was overwhelmingly larger than settler motivated by the policy. Most of the settlers were Christians. The land was legally acquired and registered in accordance with the land registration law at that time.

These movements may be promoted by demographic pressures and increasing land scarcity. It also may be accelerated by new ways of foreign investment or by immigration and reforms in labor markets, or large incorporation into international market. Migration policies also brought about major changes in Mindanao's population and land ownership structure. Christian

dominance became stronger in terms of the social and economic aspects and Islamic people became a minority and started to be recognized as a marginalized group. Historically, Islam was introduced in the 13th to 14th centuries in the southern Philippines. The Kingdom of Lou, the Kingdom of Maguindanao, centered on the southwestern part of Mindanao established with the Sultan (king) at the top, Datu (noble). A hierarchical society consisting of slaves was formed gradually. Then Spain attempted to conquer the kingdom, including the northern part of the Philippines.

Colonization by Spain progressed, but Spain was defeated by the United States in the Spanish-American War in the latter half of the 19th century. As a result, the entire region of the Philippines was transferred from Spain to the United States in the early 20th century. The United States launched colonization policy in the Philippines which created a situation that many Christians occupy most of the lands. Although local autonomy was recognized in the area, the residence of Muslims and hill tribes in the southern Philippines were not recognized as a civilian people and they do not have enough ability to form a government, hence the United States did not allow them to have autonomy.

However, this colonization caused ethnic nationalism. The Philippine government also conducted discrimination and prejudice due to differences, such as restrictions on employment opportunities. In the first place, Manila is the political center of the Philippines, and Mindanao is geographical far from central function. For the Philippine government, Mindanao was considered just an area for housing policy and foreign currency acquisition and they do not respect rights of Islamic people and cultural aspects. All land was officially subject to registration through Land Registration Act No. 496 enacted in 1902. The state has the authority to issue a land registration certificate. Due to this land registration law, some Islamic leaders enjoyed it to expand the ownership of the land. Many Muslims claim that they own the land as it comes from ancestral biography and it is understood that the land will be inherited as a part of custom and tradition. Therefore, they do not have or need the concept of land registration or ownership. In addition, they did not register the land because the registration process was complicated and bureaucratic, and they could not understand the process. Muslims resisted against land requisition against Christian people as Christian settlers expanded their land ownership through legal procedures, land disputes intensified in Mindanao region (Buendia, 2006).

Horizontal inequality due to this mass migration of Christians and their land seizure led to an economic disparity between Muslims and Christians. It seems that many of the ancestral lands owned by the Muslim people were fertile, but that fertile land was robbed by Christians by legal procedures, resulting in low agricultural productivity. Cramer comments on agricultural aspect saying that with regard to the case of violent in countryside conflict in the Philippines, externally sponsored peace negotiations in Mindanao, as well as being undermined by arbitrary and externally imposed deadlines, risk failure partially due to their lack of appreciation of the profound historical roots of agrarian change and patterns of labor mobilization, illegal accumulation strategies and changes in population (Cramer, 2011:279). Islamic groups were forced to live in a remote area and was forced to live a difficult life. Muslims in Mindanao were originally engaged in agriculture, and land loss meant the shortage of food and income for them. They could not either borrow financial support from the bank due to lack of legal status, and their living conditions got worse.

It is widely understood that the Mindanao conflict has been Muslims versus Christian, but it is not the religious conflict caused by the difference of "religious" itself, but the difference is political and social exclusion and economic marginalization of Islam brought by central government and the US. Also, although the same Muslim, there is inequality seen between "those with interests vs. those without interests" lying between each other. The Islam against Christianity's horizontal inequality got deeper after the Philippine government's independence. It is due to the policy taken by the United States or the policy taken by the United States during the era of US rule. The macro-level composition of the Mindanao conflict has the four dimensions of horizontal inequality, the economy, physical, social, cultural and political one. This structural problem is like a complex conflict of interest between different organizations and groups. A major impediment to Mindanao peace process derives from the issue of inequality between those who have interests and those who do not, which relate to their interdependence with the central government. Both lands Equalizing ownership, access to political power, and economic interests is a key point, and it would lead to a solution. This aspect should be fully considered in advancing peace negotiations in Mindanao. Also, relating to Colombian case, the Philippine case suggests that it is fundamental to include minorities, local people and victims to enhance participation by women and young people. In the implementation process of PDET, these factors should not be ignored. Although the Mindanao case shows religious character, which is not seen in Colombia, the other factors such as participation by local communities and people affected by the conflict have more influence on the implementation process.

2.5 Land reform *in extremis*: Cambodia

The Cambodian conflict began in the 1970s, when a large-scale massacre occurred from April 17, 1975. After the era of the Pol Pot faction (Khmer Rouge) on January 7, 1979, in 1991. It continued until the Paris Peace Accords. It was not until the late 1990s that a certain security was achieved. Cambodia was fragile after independence in November 1953 and the country was involved in the East-West confrontation of the Cold War structure. As a result, nearly a quarter of a century since the 1970s, Cambodia suffered civil war and turmoil. Throughout the 1980s after the collapse of the Pol Pot administration, the four domestic powers which divided into two groups and confronted each other. Later, Countries that supported each power participated in the process to resolve problems and initiatives was taken by Cambodian people with a compromise toward a solution.

International discussions have paved the way for a solution. At the end of the 1980s, the Soviet Union collapsed, and China and Vietnam began to seek economic reform routes. Under the influence of the end of the Cold War structure in the international community, discussions on the conclusion of a peace agreement began in Paris. Consequently, Vietnamese troops stationed in Cambodia also completely withdrew from Cambodia in September 1989. Cambodia has experienced all kinds of destruction throughout the era of civil war. Many people lost their lives. The civil war caused not only the destruction of infrastructure, the destruction of legal systems, and the collapse of family systems.

The economic impact affected the country in a wide-ranging though some parts could be recovered in the short term, such as human resources, and legal system. After the collapse of the Pol Pot administration, food assistance was urgently provided by the international community for about two years. After that, the People's Revolutionary Party supported by Vietnam ruled the country in 1980. As the period of 1980s was in the middle of the Cold War, countries including Western nations could not support A small amount of assistance was provided mainly by the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries, but it was not sufficient for the land destroyed by the civil war. In the late 1980s, when the Cold War structure weakened, support given by developed countries gradually began to come in. The Cambodian government adapted the new administration after elections in 1993.

The National Reconstruction and Development Plan (NPRD) was formulated. In NPRD, there were six axes stipulated in the document. First, development as a law-abiding country. Second, economic stabilization and structural reform aiming to double GDP by 2004. Third, human resource development and enhancement of education and medical care to improve people's lives. Forth, infrastructure and public facilities Restoration / reconstruction and maintenance. Fifth, reintegration of Cambodian economy into regional and international economies. Sixth, rural development with emphasis on origin and sustainable environmental and natural resource management. These six strategies were set as goals. In 1996 the "First Socio-Economic Development Plan 1996-2000" (SEDP I) was formulated to improve rural infrastructure equipment, which includes introduction of monetary economy, improvement of livelihood in rural areas, promotion and attraction of private investment, private sector of state-owned enterprises issues such as commercialization and strengthening of administrative services were raised.

Land conflicts have increased rapidly in Cambodia, including large-scale infrastructure construction sites such as dam development. The local human rights group the Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights LICADHO announced that the number of households newly affected by the land conflict in 2014 and it was more than three times that of 2013. They issued a statement urging the government to take immediate measures. On the other hand, the Cambodian government insisted that the information was incorrect saying that land disputes have decreased in recent years according to their official data. The Cambodian government requested that LICADHO provided the data to the government, but it is unclear if the government will rethink its view.

Local human rights groups reported that the number of households affected by the surge in land conflicts in Cambodia was more than three times that of the previous year 2013. They urged the government which was led by Prime Minister Hun Sen at that time, to come up with a long-term solution rather than making empty promises. LICADHO, a human rights group, said it was identified that an estimated 49,519 new victims of land disputes in 2014, counting 10,625 households or individuals. This was a significant increase from 3,475 households in the previous year, nearly double the 5,672 households in the previous year. But the government's hold a press conference claiming the findings were "false", even though the group had already blamed the increase in April 2014. LICADHO criticized that the government's denial and lack of action were "especially embarrassing" referring the Preah Vihear land dispute. In the incident,

a 19-year-old Cambodian was killed when the army fired at a group of farmers who were the opponents of the land conflict. LICADHO claims that the root causes of land conflicts are corrupt, politically dependent judicial systems, misuse of military power, including military personnel, and public-private coalitions.

As mentioned above, land conflict is a deep problem for Cambodia. It is a problem that both local and urban residents are facing. It could affect the country's stability in a profound way as the UN Special Rapporteur on Cambodia's Human Rights Situation warns. Land grabbing has adversely affected 770,000 people, according to estimates collected by the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH), a trusted NGO. The land acquisition amounts were calculated at least 4 million hectares. Land reform which was implemented after the Khmer Rouge administration in 1975-79, which forced large-scale evacuation and relocation, followed by land rights turmoil and illegally occupied land when refugees returned in the 1990s. According to a report by Human Rights Watch, the prime minister's rule is characterized by menacing and political manipulation, and a land crisis affecting many Cambodians has been triggered by his government in recent years.

2.6 Connecting Land Reform with Peacebuilding

The Cambodian case indicates a complicated process for land reform implementation. Clarifying land tenure is extremely difficult and it involves more than 2 actors at least. Both Cambodian and Colombian cases are struggling with identifying who owns lands. As some lands are given to actual landowners who gained them through a legal process during the conflict and the victim who had to leave the place due to the conflict and they are reclaiming the lands which belonged to them originally. Therefore, it is fundamental to clarify legal framework, involve victims, internal displaced persons and minorities and respect their opinions before implementing the process.

2.7 The Context of Cordoba

The Department of Cordoba, like other parts of Colombia, has suffered from decades of violent conflict and armed confrontations between left and right, rich and poor, causing a great deal of internal displacement, both within the region and to the capital city. There were a number of illegal armed groups in Cordoba and the place had an optimal condition for paramilitaries to form themselves as organisations, historically. Since 1970, the Popular Liberation Army (EPL) held the presence in the region more precisely between Antioquia and Cordoba collaborating with syndicate and student movement and seized strong control. This caused social conflict in the department and the farmers lost their land.

This guerrilla movement remained in the department until its demobilization in the 1990s. After FARC joined in Córdoba, the territorial dominated by the EPL had decreased. EPL had activities in the areas known as Alto Sinú (municipalities of Tierralta and Valencia) and Alto San Jorge (Montelíbano), in which the EPL had already been established. This guerrilla movement was decimated by the FARC in the 1990s and FARC consolidated

their presence in the area through fronts 18, 36 and 58. Regarding the ELN, their presence was in the Alto Sinú area.

The ELN also had a strong support from peasants and students; however, they were not strong as other armed groups in Cordoba as other illegal armed groups had great influence in the region, which is currently totally extinct. As for the paramilitaries, they emerged in the department in the name of self-defense groups that intend to defend themselves from an aggressor and maintain the control of a territory without pretending to expand the group. Since the strongest economy was livestock, the large number of farmers and ranchers in the department felt that the guerrillas were a threat for their life (Ortiz, 2010).

2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I included 3 cases related land issues from Japan, The Philippines and Cambodia. Each case has different background and outcome even though there are similar factors such as inequality in distribution of lands. Japanese case may imply the need of drastic situation to conduct a significant land reform. However, it is not viable in this present era and it should be done through democratic process avoiding conflicts and reducing concentration of land ownership. Land reform in Colombia is still in a stage where public hearing and community meeting are being conducted. It is recommended that the country should consider opinions from local communities affected by the conflict to avoid the repetition of the conflict.

Chapter 3 The Case of Montelibano

3.1 Introduction

The PDET program has several aspects of advancing structural reform in rural areas in Colombia, like the area around Montelibano. In the terms set down by the Final Peace Accord, this includes several measures such as the following:

“...measures to promote appropriate use of the land in accordance with its suitable purposes...to stimulate [land] titling, restitution and equitable distribution...by guaranteeing progressive access to rural property to those who live in the countryside, and, in particular, to rural women and to the most vulnerable communities, and by legalising and democratising property and promoting broader ownership of land, so that it fulfils its social function” (*Acuerdo,....: 10*).

It is considered that that in the territorial approach it is essential to address the historical problems of the environment rural areas, such as the persistence of poverty and inequality, insufficient structural reforms and regional and sectoral gaps between urban and rural. The priority attention for territorial development would be in the construction of local institutions, starting from alliances legitimized by the effective participation of various actors: civil society, organizations, the public and private sectors, the market, among others. Its contents must transcend the strictly economic and offer a social inclusion approach and productive. They must be determined with the development perspective that the different actors of rural society but facilitating mechanisms and opening spaces for participation from the bottom. In Colombia, peasant entrepreneurship and associativity have been a constant in the rural development policies, especially since the 1980s, when the implementation which recognizes the importance of the peasant economy and its participation in initiatives within the Integrated Rural Development approach (DRI).

These models are based on the capitalist development paradigm followed by countries with greater wealth, in which a good part of the rural inhabitants migrated to the cities, which implied that a small group of producers remain in agriculture, with good levels of access to resources and that they produce crops competitively. Regarding the Law 160 of 1994 on "Agrarian Reform and Rural Rural Development", the institutional action was oriented to the allocation of subsidies to peasants for the purchase of land, including those who were displaced by violence living in urban areas. The space for peasant reserve zones created and business development zones, although their purposes and characteristics were not specified. However, a radical redistribution of land has not been sought so far, they did facilitate peasant access to land unproductive wastelands and large estates—, Colombia became a country having most of its population in the rural areas to have it in urban areas, with a high concentration of rural land expressed at a Gini coefficient of 0.86 in 2009 (Ochoa, Camacho and Chavur, 2018).

The issue of land specifically land distribution in Colombia has taken a leading role on the public agenda, both for the negotiations in Havana (started publicly in 2012) and for the Victims Law and Land Restitution (Law 1448 of 2011). This law pretends the ways of repairing the victims of the armed conflict, one of them is the restitution of land to dispossessed peasants and other social groups, accompanied by secondary policies that provide productive aid to those who they return to their home land in the rural area. Law 1448 of 2011 has been established with the following objectives: contributing to the restoration of the effective enjoyment of the rights of the displaced, dispossessed population and other victims of dispossession caused by violence, strengthening the judicial and administrative apparatus; and create conditions to consolidate peace and national reconciliation. This legislation sought to institutionalize the social responsibility of the State in repairing the victims of the internal armed conflict. Regarding legal procedure for victims, the article 5 of Law 1448 describes as follows:

“PRINCIPLE OF GOOD FAITH. The State will presume the good faith of the victims referred to in this law. The victim may prove the damage suffered, by any legally accepted means. Consequently, it will be enough for the victim to summarily prove the damage suffered before the administrative authority, for it to proceed to relieve her of the burden of proof. In the processes in which administrative reparation measures are resolved, the authorities must resort to rules of evidence that facilitate the victims the demonstration of the damage suffered and will always apply the principle of good faith in favor of them”.(Ley 1448 de 2011).

In the first place, the victim is not responsible to have legal proof as many people could only preserve their lives by fleeing the violence, and some battered evidence to prove his status as a victim. In this case, it will be the occupant who will have to prove that s/he acquired the property in an honest and upright manner (principle of good faith). In Second, the victims will be recognized regardless of whether the perpetrator is a legal or illegal armed actor (principle of equality), which includes victims of State terrorism. Finally, the measures aimed at addressing heightened vulnerability will be differential by age, gender, sexual orientation and disability situation.

3.2 The Ferro-nickel economy

There are six rich veins of copper in Colombia and they are in Cerro Matoso, Planeta Rica and Ure from Cordoba and Ituango, Medellin and Morro Pelon from Antioquia. If we look at the mining sector at national level, GDP rose at 2.1% during 2019 while petroleum and natural gas sector increased their GDP by 2.4% as well compared to the previous year. According to DANE, the sector developed metallic mineral extraction and increased the profit at 6.6% compared to 2018.

In 2019, The U.S company Drummond made a profit of 6,71 billion dollars with 3,43 % increase compared to 2018 and became again the largest actor in the mineral sector in Colombia. The company produces 32,7 million tons of carbon in 2019 which reflected 5,5% increase to the previous year and exported 31,1 million tons of mineral products to different countries. As the material is highly demanded in the international market, several foreign companies have

been interested in mega projects conducted in Colombia collaborating with the state. However, the contracts condition has often been unfavourable for Colombia and has left environmental problem and provoked internal displaced person.

Cerro Matoso (the place name is also used for company name) in Montelibano ferronickel was discovered by Royal Dutch Shell in 1940. The company started exploitation in 1958 and got mining contracts from Richmond Petroleum Company of Colombia. The contracts allowed Royal Dutch Shell to extract mine in 8,000 hectares approximately (Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular, 2014:26). Most of projects were big scale, but there are some smaller mines locally owned.

These mining projects in the area have been causing serious conflicts in terms of environment, employment and territory issues with local communities including with indigenous people. The indigenous people in the area are mainly small farmers, some work in mines, growing for subsistence and local markets.

Machado seeks land inequality in Colombian context with historical perspective looking at *baldíos* and land transference to immigrants. Colombian laws define Baldíos as a property which belongs to the state and is located in rural areas. The baldíos also should comply with basic requirement set by the agrarian reform law. The baldíos are distinguished from public property. Both are owned by the state and will not be impounded. The difference between them is Baldíos can be transferable and the public one is untouchable.

According to the author, baldíos were sold to pay public debt and were given to militaries as a compensation to their contribution for the independence. Regarding land transfer to immigrants and foreign companies, it was a great failure caused by the government during la Gran Colombia period, which lasted from 1819 to 1831. For him, it was an internal colonization at a local level (Machado, 2017).

Regarding the situation in Montelibano Cordoba, the local habitants demanded an autonomy in terms of administration and finance intending to receive some royalties of the ferronickel extraction projects. Also, it should be noted that this new city i.e. Montelibano was founded in the sixteenth century as part of San Jose de Ure, the community was constructed with the constitution which aimed for liberty for black slaves (Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular, 2014:27).

The mining companies BHP, Drummond and Cerro Matoso S.A. have been exploiting ferronickel in the region for four decades approximately (). Ferronickel has multiple industrial purposes, especially the material is suitable for stainless steel products. Also, nickel is an important material for automobile, health, and electronic devices industries as its conductive feature and resistance.

The company Chevron and Hanna Mining Company were merged in 1970 and created Conical S.A.(Cordoba). In 1979, the Colombian government awarded a concession project to Conical S.A. and Billington Overseas Ltda. for the extraction for metals in Cerro Matoso. This concession contract was renovated in 2012 and it was renovated in 2012, which is valid until 2029 with the possible extension to 2044. Now, Cerro Matoso S.A is working as a subsidiary company for the transnational company South 32 owned by BHP Billiton and Cerro Matoso S.A has 99,9% mining concession since 1996. The

activities for mining exploitation conducted by the big company have brought a rapid economic growth in the region and its growth was faster than entire department i.e. Cordoba. The profit brought in Montelibano allowed local people to invest more projects such as infrastructure, education, and welfare (Viloria de la Hoz, 2009).

3.3 Violent Conflict in Montelibano

According to the Observatory of Memory and Conflict in Montelíbano, 95 military actions and 12 massacres occurred in the past, most of them perpetrated by paramilitaries. This municipality was controlled by the 18th and 58th Front of the FARC until 1997. Along with this armed activity conducted by FARC, the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia was formed. This provoked confrontation between the FARC and the paramilitaries until 2007 and had caused violence in the municipality. After the Justice and Peace process in which several paramilitary structures were demobilized, and the Peace Accords in Havana, in which the FARC guerrillas demobilized, the violence continued in the south of Córdoba. As recorded by various media, the areas that were controlled by the FARC are now in territorial dispute among the ELN guerrillas, criminal gangs and drug trafficking.

In March 2019, the W Radio station published that the Ombudsman's Office warned of a possible mass displacement in at least four villages in Montelibano. They also denounced the constant threats to social leaders and journalists by the Rastrojos. On the other hand, the economy of Montelibano is concentrated in mining, especially the Cerro Matoso project. The Constitutional Court, in March 2018, concluded that the exploitation of ferronickel in Cerro Matoso is causing serious impacts on health and the environment, after the community filed a protection action. According to the document presented to the court, the mining activity is causing respiratory suffering and skin diseases in the community. Women have also suffered miscarriages and people with cancer have developed. In addition to this, the mining is provoking environmental issues such as contamination and destruction of nature. The court admitted that there is contamination of several rivers and water around the mine and the environmental damage is evident. For this reason, the high court decided that the Cerro Matoso company would repair the victims with the creation of a Special Ethno-development Fund and if it does not comply, it would face the suspension of extractive activities (Rutas del Conflicto y La Liga, ND).

3.4 Strategic Interventions in the Land Question

A historical event occurred on 23 June 2020. The big company Cerro Matoso donated 370 hectares of collectively owned land to 7 communities including 6 indigenous councils of the Zenu community and the Bocas de Ure community (Ruiz, 2020). The handover will benefit 705 families and give the communities a positive impact on their access to territory, food supply and community administration. As described above, this is a truly historical event considering the access to land has been always a central and difficult issue for ethnic communities in Colombia. This transfer based on dialogue between local communities and the mining company will open new opportunities for land distribution in other parts of the country.

3.5 Conclusion

Montelibano has historically suffered severe conflict and attracted multinational companies especially mining to the region. The abundant natural resource specifically ferronickel allowed foreign companies to exploit the resource and caused conflicts with local communities. After the sign of peace agreement and establishment of PDET, people affected by the conflict have gained more attention and some positive events including the handover of the land from Cerro Matoso to local and indigenous communities. However, the program contains not only land reform but also educational and health development. Hence, a drastic land reform, which would change social structure has not been seen in this case.

Chapter 4 Paramilitary Land Reform? The Case of Tierraalta

4.1 Introduction

According to the Consultancy for Human Rights and Displacement,^{4,163} people were displaced in 2005, 6,773 people in 2006 and 6,836 people in 2007. The figures show how the number of displaced people increased in the department of Córdoba after the demobilization of the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC) and recently, in 2011, there were seven massive displacements in the Tierralta and Puerto Libertador areas.

Regarding the guarantee of safety conditions in the life of the claimants, to avoid the repetition of the victimizing events, no sentence has been imposed orders of protection or support by the public forces on the claimants. This fact is highly important considering that at least 5 land claimants have been murdered in the department of Córdoba between 2007 and 2013 (Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular, 2014:74). More recently, Hermes Vidal Osorio, a peasant claimant of lands located in the municipality of Tierralta, was assassinated on March 28, 2013 (Agencia Prensa Rural, 2013)

4.2 The context of violent conflict in Tierraalta

The recent assassination of María del Pilar Hurtado, community leader in Tierralta indicates that paramilitaries are now controlling the department. Colombian newspaper El Espectador reports that everyone in Tierralta knows who they are because they go from business to business collecting extortion money, because they roam the streets and because they kill in broad daylight. But no one complains, because they have already verified that the only thing that can happen if they do so is that they too are killed (El Espectador, 2019).

According to information from the press and from Cinep's Human Rights and Political Violence Database, the first massacre was committed against the Emberas indigenous people in the municipality of Tierralta in 2005. Tierralta municipality whose responsibility is attributed to paramilitary groups and at the end of 2001 FARC allegedly attacked the region. In February 2002, paramilitary groups committed massacres against Emberas indigenous people in Tierralta, Montelíbano, and Puerto Libertador. A new massacre was committed in September of the same year against peasants from the Tierralta municipality, in October 35 peasants were killed amid the crossfire of guerrillas and paramilitaries in Puerto Libertador (Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular, 2014:98).

In August 1979, Incora established an indigenous reserve destined for the Iwagadó community located on the Rio Verde based on Law 135 of 1961, under the jurisdiction of the Tierralta municipality, which did not happen with the community of Karagaví, located on the banks of the Sinú and Esmeralda rivers, between Tierralta and Ituango. While this was happening, Interconexión Eléctrica S.A. (ISA) contracted the final designs of the Urrá Hydroelectric

Project, without having informed either of the two communities about this plan, for which an area of their traditional territory was reserved. Indigenous people from all over the country searched for him for 10 days in the villages of Tierralta, assuming that his disappearance violated the life, culture and dignity of all the indigenous peoples of the country and not only of that traditional indigenous leader whose ancestors, Jaibanás and spiritual leaders of his people taught him that "you have to walk with others and always with your heart". Paramilitaries kidnapped the governor of the Alianza de Cabildos del Río Esmeralda, Alirio Pedro Domicó, who was found assassinated with eight bullets, on June 26, 2001 (El Tiempo, 2001).

These armed groups caused the assassinations of leaders, forced disappearances, burning of houses, recruitment and displacement. According to the Human Rights Observatory of the Vice-Presidency of the Republic, between 1998 and 2008, 112 members of the Embera Katío ethnic group were murdered, 66% of these murders were carried out between 2000 and 2002 (74), when the highest levels of homicides against this community. In that period, the Embera Katío ranked third nationwide in terms of homicides against indigenous people, after the Kankuamo and the Nasa, and 49% of the total fatalities in this community, which lives in areas of the departments of Chocó. In the municipality of Tierralta, 69% of violent deaths occurred, with a total of 56 out of 38 fatalities belonging to the Alto Sinú council Libertador (Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular, 2014:55).

The high correlation between regions with natural resources and the impoverishment and displacement of indigenous peoples emphasizes the importance for more recognition, protection and support for indigenous communities, especially in the context of extractive industries such as mining, oil and gas and agro-industry. These activities threaten resource access, contaminate resources and displace the most marginalized groups in the areas in which they operate. Despite controlling 28 per cent of the national territory, indigenous territory is 98 per cent forest. This implies that sustainable agro-forestry and the protection from deforestation lead to indigenous struggles. According to Beiman Jiménez, indigenous territories need protection from encroachment by both agricultural producers and extractive industries such as mining, hydrocarbons and industrial agriculture (McKay, 2018:167).

In 2011, former President Santos admitted the “Victims and Land Restitution Law” (Victims’ Law), which came into effect in 2012; the same year in which the peace negotiations started. This law was designed to return illegally acquired land to their rightful occupants – those who have been displaced from 1991 – giving them legal tenure rights and providing them with other ways of reparation and support. Also, Special Decrees were made in 2012 to restore territorial access and control to indigenous peoples (Decree 4633) and afro-descendants (Decree 4635) who had to escape from their home due to armed conflict.

As mentioned above, article 5 of Law 1448 assumes victims claiming land restitution are acting in good faith, hence the opponents must prove that they acquired the land legally via a willing-seller willing-buyer principle and could not have known that the land they bought was an area of forced displacement. When another party claims ownership over the same parcel as a claimant, they are referred to as opponents. Opponents may be displaced persons themselves who were forced to leave from their original places, settling on apparently unused

land, or who purchased land through apparent legal means but which was actually land of other people who had to leave their place. On the contrary, opponents could also be agro-industrial companies seeking to expand their production (McKay, 2018:172). In addition, the Victims Law was not prepared enough for its implementation during the former president the Santos government for its impact on the process of restitution of land to the dispossessed and displaced from the field by the armed conflict.

The law was based on two considerations that broke the policy trends consolidated during the former president Uribe administrations. They were recognition of the existence of an internal armed conflict, and the existence of victims and displaced by violence in addition to the responsibility of the State to attend to their claim. Since the enforcement of Law 1448 began, which recognizes the rights of victims and the restitution of lands to the legitimate owners dispossessed by the perpetrators, there have been assassinations of leaders who defend the people whose lands were dispossessed and the creation of groups that intend to help the victims (Machado, 2017).

On the other hand, it is important to highlight that Law 1448 did not initially include ethnic and tribal groups and did not carry out prior consultation with them for their expedition, but rather extraordinary powers to the president to issue decrees with force of law that concern these communities, taking into account jurisprudence, proper law and the right to consultation previous. Thus, Decree Law 4633 was issued later for towns and indigenous communities and the Law 4635 for black, Afro-Colombian, Raizales and Palenqueras communities; with the peculiarity that, in the case of indigenous people, territorial rights are restored to them.

Unfortunately, the entire constitutional body does not consider peasant communities as full social actors, but as simple small producers who must be treated as individual applicants under Law 1448, unless they are constituted as a collective prior to the abandonment of the properties or dispossession (Ochoa, Camacho and Chavur, 2018). However, land policy designed for vulnerable people is not always beneficial one for them according to Borras. A pro-poor land policy is a public policy which intends to protect and proceed the access to the land and property interest of working-class people. People with low economic condition in rural area have different social classes and strata of landless and land-poor peasants and farmers in most agrarian settings; small owner cultivators, small-scale cultivators, middle peasants, landless rural labourers, subsistence fishers, indigenous peoples, pastoralists, both male and female. Borras finds landbased social relations by landed property rights;

“It is these relationships among groups of people or social classes that are the subject of any pro-poor land policies. Land policies are not technical-neutral devices. When implemented, land policies impact differently among different social classes and groups of people, favourably or otherwise. Not all land policies are categorically meant to favour the poor. Not all officially labelled as pro-poor land policies automatically result in pro-poor outcomes. Not all well-intentioned land policies actually benefit the poor. There are unintended and unexpected land-policy outcomes, both positive and negative” (Borras, 2009:10).

If an area of land that should be restituted has an existing agro-industrial project which is under operation by landowners who claim to have gotten the property in good faith, then it is not obligatory that they return the property to its rightful owner i.e. victims who were deprived of their land. In other words, the agro-industrial project is prioritized over the right of the displaced victim who wish to return to his or her land. However, agro-industry companies have to offer the displaced victim a contract to work for the industry as a laborer on his or her own land. The alternative is to offer the victim adequate economic compensation, but in no circumstance will the displaced victim regain control over their lands if an occupant acquired it “in good faith”. This article sets the Victims’ Law 1448 below the standards set by the 2005 United Nations “Pinheiro Principles” on Housing Property Restitution for Refugees and Displaced Persons. Article 2.1 of the Pinheiro Principles (McKay, 2018:172).

Also, it is important to remember the concept of the word ‘redistribution’ as it is often seen that vulnerable people are not fully able to enjoy the redistribution policy. Borras defines the principle of redistribution explaining that that land-based wealth and power are transferred from the monopoly control of either private landed classes or the state to landless and near-landless working poor. It changes the relative shares of groups in society (Borras, 2009). This means that redistribution implemented by the government should be a drastic one, which gives a reform among social structure.

4.2 Paramilitary violence and land conflicts in Tierraalta

Paramilitary groups mobilize two types of capital or resources. Firstly, violent capital, i.e. the control of organized violence: homicides, threats, forced displacement or forced disappearance. Secondly, ‘social capital’ (Sciarrone 2000), constituted by a vast support connection, that contains elected officials (mayors, governors, MPs) and public ones. This allows paramilitaries to obtain access to public treasury and to influence administrative decisions, particularly in the enforcement of property rights.

Moreover, paramilitaries’ economic networks have not been affected by the legal system. Hundreds of thousands of hectares of land violently grabbed from peasants remain in the hands of paramilitary front men or associates. These land properties have been legalized and partly integrated into the global economy via agribusiness and the land market (Grajales, 2011:772). In some cases, small groups of entrepreneurs pay private armies to intimidate and disappear the leaders of the victims demonstrations, as happens in Urabá antioqueño, this situation of attack on the heads of the movements of land restitution does not set off security alarms, but it does undermine solidarity and activism of the victims. Between 2012 and 2013 there were 16 deaths of leaders of restitution processes throughout the national territory. This systematic strategy already accumulates a total of 66 leaders since February 2005.

Informality in land tenure is high and prevents access to credit services, assistance technical and state subsidies and participation in the land market. The inhabitants with informal property owners are second-class citizens. In general, informal tenure households tend to be poorer. Colombia has a prodigious backward in ordering, control and regulation of the ownership of land and

territory. The historical land issue is always present in the debates on the rural sector, has revolved around the dispute over the appropriation of land between peasants and large landowners, and the indigenous struggle for the recovery of land ancestral.

In this situation, it is hard to expect a real land redistribution. As Borras indicates this is a restitution without redistribution. It happens when large-scale land-based wealth and power transfers are carried out in the name of the poor. However, in fact, the latter does not have any significant effective access to or control over the land resources transferred. Specially, some post-conflict situations where land restitutions were carried out by large amount of lands or territories being given to communities or the state, without any process of democratizing access to and control over these land resources and territories (Borras 2009). This suggests that a land reform should be done with the initiative taken by communities and local institution and not affected by local elites and large-scale landowners. Therefore, it is fundamental to identify key actors who would bring an effective change considering local context and culture. Otherwise, a policy may cause more conflicts in the region as big landowners try to protect their interest and take measures to secure their lands.

4.3 Paths out of violence: implementing PDET

Cordoba has been the structural region for paramilitary project. Their power structures consolidated through the hacienda model, since then, this included private security groups that monopolized the use of force at the local level and established social and cultural dynamics in which the defense of private property, the livestock model and agro-industrial extraction should be focused on by means of arms. Additionally, they joined this project and other actors who saw in the insurgency a common enemy: drug traffickers. Thus, over the decades, the upsurge of violence in the department has also been influenced by drug trafficking, mainly because many of the drug transport ways across the department have historically been controlled by paramilitary groups with agreements both with guerrilla fronts with a presence in the area and with groups of the public force that allow transit. Between 2002 and 2005, the process of demobilization of paramilitary groups active in the country.

The municipality of Tierralta, Cordoba, was the epicenter of this process. The groups that controlled the department of Córdoba and some parts of Uraba. Despite the demobilization, the criminal actors that were part of the paramilitary group, the AUC - now called Criminal Bands (BACRIM) remain active in the department. This is the case of the Urabeños or the Úsuga Clan, who have a presence in greater or to a lesser extent and with different degrees of influence on all municipalities. The demobilization of the Self-defense groups should have brought low crime rate and avoided victims caused by criminal activities, the situation uneasiness in the department has increased notoriously over the last few years. Considering situations like the three massacres that occurred in the 2010 in the municipalities of Montelíbano and Puerto Libertador, which left a balance of 17 victims.

It is said that demobilization called new security disturbance. After the land reform process of 1968 and Law 160 of 1994, which they did not structurally

modify the land distribution system, Law 1448 of 2011, the Victims and Land Restitution Law was established. Córdoba was one of the prioritized departments to initiate the processes of land restitution due to the magnitude of dispossession and the abandonment of registered lands during the period in the conflict. This policy has been framed by the complexity of the cases presented and in the even more complex context of department, as the elites. local and regional groups that control political power. This power has been resistant to the implementation of policies in favor of small peasant producers, since a redistribution in the region implies, necessarily, touching the large properties that have been in business for more than a century in a few hands.

Chapter 5 Recent Developments: 2020

A recent dossier elaborated by ART about PDET reveals little advance in land distribution in Montelibano. According to the report, Montelibano aims to be a municipality with agroecological and agro-industrial development highlighting innovation by 2028(ART, 2018). The program should focus on afro and indigenous community through the projects for strengthening agro-industry, infrastructure and improvement in terms of transport connection between the state and the department. The program also should regulate multinational company's activities and recommend them to observe regulations related to environmental protection. The municipality has been implementing good practices, civic participation with women empowerment and integrity with ethnic minorities. Also, the housing and education are contemplated in the program.

The report also indicates that Montelibano does not count on an action plan or municipal policy for social and ethnic regulations. Most local farmers in different parts of the town does not possess the lands, which generally owned by big scale landowners. Small-scale farmers do not have land formally and only central government can fix it. The principal products cultivated in Montelibano are rice, plantain and corn, which are produced by small or medium scale farmers. The mining company Cerro Matoso is a still worrisome for indigenous communities in Montelibano because it affects job opportunities especially for young people in the community.

Besides there is no adequate policy for food security and infantile malnutrition is one of the biggest concerns in the region. Local communities do not have a proper implementation way to enhance productivity due to lack of training and economic support given by local government. The report concludes that the municipality is not implementing programs for constructing peace culture and promote the reconciliation in the region where the armed conflict left many victims.

According to recent information about implementation of PDET in Tierralta, which is being administrated by ART, they have been working on plans and projects for territorial renovation, economic reactivation and strengthening local institutions so that the region would be more sustainable. Tierralta intends to become a region with pacific interculturality, free of corruption, which would lead to development in the region. The program also focuses on environmental protection and biodiversity. However, there have not been conducted any training program, technology transfer and enhancement of productivity for agricultural products. The report indicates that there is no guarantee to exercise civic rights in politics, economics and environmental issues and this lack of security has caused territorial and social conflicts (ART, 2018).

Young people do not have enough opportunities to participate effectively in the community. Policies and projects designed by local institutions are not focusing on young people and participation by women and indigenous people are not significant in the councils. ART admits that they have not been able to improve the substitution process for illicit product because majority of local farmers cannot prove legal relation about land tenancy. The territorial problems have become worse than before due to the lack of adequate planning.

Furthermore, the guarantee for farmer's security is not enough and human rights defenders are being assassinated because of the weakness of democratic framework, implementation of the ley and presence of landmines.

Chapter 6 Conclusions and Modest Recommendations

Colombia suffered an internal armed conflict for more than 5 decades mostly caused by the FARC who are now disarmed. Due to the conflict and other factors mentioned through this paper, the country has experienced difficulties in terms of exercising sovereignty and proper governance over the Colombia territory especially in rural areas where people had to flee and greatly affected by the armed battles. These regions have faced multiple problems about public services, fragility of institutions and infrastructure. Hence, it was quite natural that the government and the FARC agreed to put the priority on the comprehensive rural reform in the peace negotiation process as the reform comes first among the 6 core points in the accord document. So far, we have seen the efforts that local institutions have done.

The program intends to promote civic participation, social-economic development, secure for public goods and services such as water, electricity, health and education, guarantee the food security and recognize the right of the different ethnic communities that inhabit the territories (*El Acuerdo Final* 2016). Also, it seeks to strengthen participation from local people and social leaders including human right defenders. It is highly recommended to include them in the decision-making process as they know well about the problems that exist in the municipalities.

As we can see, the program PDET itself is well designed and covers almost all issues which rural regions face. However, the implementation process has shown difficulties so far due to assassination of social leaders and conflicts over land caused by interest in cocaine business among criminal groups, paramilitary and former member of the FARC. I believe that there are 2 reasons for this. First, the inequality of land distribution is extremely high, and the government is not paying attention to legal process regarding the land redistribution. According Cardona, 42 % of landowners who own big scale lands do not know the origin of their lands (Cardona, 2018). It is understandable that conducting a drastic land reform which might change social structure is not viable. However, the 2 cases imply that the conflicts over land will not be eradicated if this structure remains. Secondly, the program is designed too well to implement all contents. Hence it is recommendable that the PDET limits their objectives in a viable scope and focus on them with more efficiency.

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