6

# Causes and effects of war, means of production and development in Colombia



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# **ABSTRACT**

This text links important theories about the State, society, and development, important edges for the analysis of the social sciences, relating it to forced displacement due to war, economic interests, and the means of production in Colombia. This a topic that is important to address with authors who have

contributed to the science of political economy, transcendental for the historical evolution of man. It is important, then, on the one hand, to make an introduction from the theory, as well as not to lose sight of the abstract and concrete categories in the study of displacement due to the armed conflict. As well as sustaining the general vision of the historical context in the Colombian war, without losing sight of the object of study from the dialectic: the massive and violent displacement of the peasant and worker population, due to economic interests, the hoarding of the land and natural resources. A bibliographical methodology is used, retaking the method of dialectical materialism. These advances are part of the research thesis for the doctorate in Development Studies.

Keywords: Development, Forced displacement, Land, Social classes, Colombia.

# 1 INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Throughout history, Homo sapiens have transformed the process and therefore the productive mode, making changes. Man, a term used in this writing, as a scientific category, performs work and this differentiates him from other species, conscious work. The transformation of nature, the use of tools, and the production of objects or products are the main characteristics of social and productive relations. Man appropriates the natural conditions that surround him to carry out production. The dilemma, better still, the object of study, arises when man to appropriate natural resources exerts violence on other men, who are within those resources and means of production, populations that originally belong to those territories, and rural peasant populations that own small parts of the land in the form of plots. SMALLHOLDINGS.

The State is a product of society to the extent that it developed, and is not imposed from outside as Hegel claims, refutes Engels (1884); in the historical evolution of man he says that it was in civilization that the State was formed, because both in the epochs of savagery and barbarism there were group societies with modes of production different from the current one, and in the transition that makes from barbarism to civilization is where private property appears. Engels (1884) speaks of three stages in his study of the family, private property and the state, which are savagery, barbarism and civilization. Private property, then, is a question of civilization, which had been occurring since the end of barbarism. Among other causes such as the division of labor, the passage from nomadic to sedentary dynamics, planting and cultivation, the creation of tools for work, the breeding of animals that man began to domesticate, that is, the appropriation of natural resources, they created the idea of private property: private ownership of the soil and the natural resources that exist in it. Thus, private property, although a category proper to the capitalist mode of production, arose earlier in the transaction between barbarism and civilization.

# 2 CONTEXT AND SOCIAL RELATIONS IN COLOMBIA

The war that currently exists in Colombia is one of the oldest, if not the oldest in America. From the historical context, the duration is about 60 years, depending on the perspective of each author, historian or subject. Regarding the duration, Ospina (2013) says: "A peasant who had been part of the liberal guerrillas, Manuel Marulanda, was the founder of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – FARC, which would wage a fifty-year war against the State" (p. 186). Although a peace treaty was signed in 2016 between the state and the FARC, some dissidents reintegrated into the conflict. There is also another guerrilla group called the National Liberation Army - ELN and has its antecedents in 1964. In addition to the interests and economic, political and social conjunctures that influenced the origin of the guerrillas in Colombia, the Cuban revolution that triumphed in 1959 was of great inspiration, according to Villamizar (2017), both for these and for other guerrillas that were created in the second half of the twentieth century. However, the two oldest guerrilla groups, which have endured the longest in time and that still exist in Colombia are the FARC and the ELN, the first with dissidents that reformed the guerrilla group and continue at war against the State of Colombia with about 20 structures operating in almost 13 departments and between 1200 to 1500 combatants, according to (FIP, 2018, p. 6), and the second that carries out a peace process with the State, but no agreement has been reached.

A war for the struggle of the soil, of the resistance of a social class to the dispossession of the means of production. A war that has generated a loss of space and land for more than 8.3 million violently displaced people, and about 220,000 deaths. This population has lost its means of production, the different armed groups have monopolized the land, as we will see later. Osorio (2010) cites something interesting in this regard: "Stripped of means of production and life, the pauper "belongs to capital before being sold to the capitalist." The pauper, the poor, the peasant, the worker, the day laborer, a social class that we will analyze later better to give it a greater scope from the contributions of Marx. Osorio (2010) rescues this phrase from Marx, and illustrates very well the dynamics of the working class dispossessed of the means of production by a class that owns capital and land that seeks to increase the tenure of the means of production, a conflict that what it seeks, in part, by dispossessing the territory of the peasant is to turn him into a wage earner and that the only thing left to survive is

the labor force. It is a matter of survival assures the author. The worker, now dispossessed of the means of production, enters into a logic: the forced need to sell his labor power to survive.

The occupation of the land has a background that García (1977) called a seigniorial republic, thus calling small castes that founded their power and wealth on the occupation of lands in Colombia, in the manner of a feudalism inherited from the colony, and a conformation of powers that is based on privileges, preferences and / or gifts given to peasants in the region. to position themselves and gain influence and leadership in the territory. The landowning class emerges in an important way in the history of land control in Colombia. The iniquitous partitioning, hoarding and occupation of the landlord class encouraged discontent among the peasants who emerged in the armed struggle. The history of man is a constant struggle of social classes. Marx (1988), as well as arguing that the class struggle is violent, as history itself has shown. Every social class that has wanted to rise to power in pursuit of the common goal of its interests has done so violently. As the state has always acted in a violent and repressive way, it protects the interests of the ruling class. (Lenin, 1978)

The National Center for Historical Memory, hereinafter CNMH (2018) explains that the land problem has always been at the bottom of conflicts in the history of Colombia, because in addition to the soil, the existence of natural resources has further valued the land to sell them or failing that, that the State delivers them to national and / or transnational and multinational mining companies. A specific case is brought up, the case of El Cerrejón, the largest open-pit coal mine in the world, which is operated by Carbones del Cerrejón, an Anglo-Australian company; this coal extraction is carried out in La Guajira, a department in the Colombian Caribbean, one of the driest and poorest territories in the country.

The struggle for land has led to violent repressions against peasants to buy their land at derisory prices, as well as to usurp it, generating homicides and massive displacements, as will be seen later, of more than 8.3 million people displaced by the war in Colombia. In these land dispossessions the armed groups have different objectives, here's an explanation from the Memory Center:

The greatest impact of armed violence was the displacement, abandonment and dispossession of land by small farmers, which concentrated tenure, reduced food production and shifted land use towards cattle ranching and palm and forest plantations. The territory had a different value for guerrillas and paramilitaries. The former were interested in seeking sympathizers and collaborators among the local population and in influencing community action boards, social organizations and trade unions, but they had no interest in the appropriation of land as capital. The paramilitaries, on the other hand, were born to protect the lands of drug traffickers and large landowners, and soon their bosses were interested in appropriating large tracts of land for themselves and their front men. (CNMH, 2018, p. 72).

Marx (1984) implicitly explains that the accumulation of capital generates a collective misery of the working class and therefore a conflict in society: social relations become increasingly tense, as also exposed by Silver and Sahan (2015). In the historical evolution of man there is a class struggle:

the three most common historically, oppressors and oppressed, in the contemporary context of these last three centuries: the working class, the capitalist class, and the landlord. A class struggle between peasants and workers, and a bourgeois and landowning class sponsored by the State of Colombia lays the foundations of the armed conflict for the struggle of the soil, and the natural resources that exist there.

The same State of Colombia through CNMH (2015) says that violence reconfigured the structures of agrarian property and of course there was a change in vocation, especially rural throughout the twentieth century. Hundreds of thousands of peasants had to sell their plots, their smallholdings at very low prices, or on the other hand they were violently displaced. About 2 million hectares, equivalent to 393,648 plots were dispossessed during the wave of violence of the fifties. This data indicates that each peasant owned, on average, 5 hectares. While there is a violent and forced displacement of population, there is an abandonment, and therefore a dispossession of territories that concentrates the land in the hands of large landowners, capitalists and / or landowners, since the lands exceeding 500 hectares, which represented 32% of the agrarian territory in the year 2000, became equivalent to 62% 9 years later, in 2009, in the hands of only 4% of owners, according to (CNMH, 2012, p. 74).

According to the CNMH (2018, p. 48) Salvatore Mancuso, architect and commander of paramilitary groups, who was extradited to the United States by the government in 2008, explains in statements that among the objectives of the conflict against armed groups included recovering lands abandoned by landowners that in the armed struggle were occupied by guerrillas; It also states that a landed cattle rancher in the department of Córdoba accumulated more than 150,000 hectares of land acquired from victims of forced displacement due to the violence of the war. According to Rebelión (2022) Uribe Vélez, politician and businessman who has held several positions among which stands out director of Civil Aeronautics, governor of the department of Antioquia, congressman and president of the Republic was promoter of the Convivir, Cooperatives of surveillance and private security for agrarian defense in the department of Antioquia. This figure of private surveillance created by the same State of Colombia in the early nineties, laid the foundations of paramilitarism in Colombia, because when legally weakened by the Constitutional Court, its militants migrated and created paramilitary armed groups, one of the main historically: United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia AUC, formed in 1.997. However, paramilitarism has its antecedents in the seventies and eighties of the twentieth century. The State, in addition to having its repressive police forces, its military forces of violent offensive, forms and groups paramilitary groups for the protection of the interests of the ruling classes: landlord and capitalist and/or landlord-capitalist. Osorio (2010) argues that: "For the dominant classes,

the passage from dynamic nuclei of the state apparatus to antagonistic forces implies the cession of spaces that demand a retreat of positions to reorganize their forces" and continues:

Their accumulation of forces will operate both within the state apparatus itself, fortifying and establishing wars of position from the spaces they still control there (legislative power, judiciary within the armed apparatuses of the state, etc.) and from outside this apparatus, encouraging the organization of mass movements, paramilitary bands, establishing new territorial seats, dismantling the economy, combining legal and illegal actions. (Osorio, 2010, p. 84).

It was precisely Marx who laid the foundations and opened the debate on social classes, although modestly he does not accept it as explained by Modonesi et al (2017). When he began his writing on social classes, in Capital, he suspended that particular theme, although in all his work it is widely exposed. Modonesi et al (2017, p. 8) explain that there are classical authors after Marx who made contributions to the social theory he initiated on the subject of social classes and in general to Marxist theory, among whom they mention: Lenin, Gramsci, Palmer Thompson, Nicos Poulantzas, Erik O. Wright, Antonio Negri, John Holloway, with references to Rosa Luxemburg, Georg Lukac, Jean Paul Sartre and Ralph Miliband. From these valuable contributions in the consequent theoretical debate of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, an exhibition of social classes will be carried out studying even more contemporary authors.

# 3 SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The category of social classes is important in the construction of this research, with the support of the contributions also granted by Dos Santos (1973) then an analysis will be carried out to elucidate the social classes that are involved since the beginning of the war in Colombia, which as seen above, He has a historical background close to 60 years old. At the end of the third volume of Capital, Marx (1984) exposed three main social classes such as: the capitalist class, the landlord class and the working class, who have their sources of income in profit, land rent and the sale of labor power, respectively. However, due to the later contributions of the classical authors mentioned above and some even more contemporary, in the very debate of social classes, they were elucidated even more. It should be remembered that, although Marx (1988) names only these three main social classes, in his great work The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, he repeatedly mentions and rescues the importance in this historical context of the peasant social class. Thus, a categorization of the social classes involved in the armed conflict will be carried out.

The social class that since the beginning of the armed conflict in Colombia over the land struggle has had a strong resistance is the peasant class. Márquez (2019) explains that the peasant class is the one that owns a portion of the land, it could be said as a smallholding or plot. These small peasants, as Marx and Engels (2011) call them in the Manifesto of the Communist Party, have a small

production system in which most of the time a form of social organization participates: the family. However, when they manage to have a greater production, either because the land is more extensive or fertile, or because the mode of production reaches to have greater productive efficiency, that peasant buys labor power. It is there that the other social class very involved also in the violent displacement due to the war in Colombia is elucidated: the working class.

It is necessary to differentiate well between the peasant class and the working class, because in Colombia there is a confusion of the categories, using the term peasant both for the workers, those subjects who are not owners of the means of production and who sell their labor power, and the peasants or small peasants as seen above. who own small units of land, and the means of production. Márquez (2019) explains that this working class workers are wage earners in the countryside, in crops, in livestock, in the different forms of agricultural production, temporary workers, day laborers, those who sell their labor power for wages, of course many of them do not receive the payment of social benefits, only the salary of the day: the day, week, fortnight, month, semester, or payment of their labor power for the harvesting, harvesting, or sowing season.

So far, we have seen two classes: the peasant and the working class. Marx (1984) exposes a social class that monopolizes capital, invests it in the very cycle of the mode of production, and accumulates it. This social class is the bourgeois class, a scientific term used by Marx, which manifests itself through companies, national or transnational corporations. There is a movement of capital in the dynamics of globalization, as Veltmeyer (2020) explains, this process obeys the development of the capitalist mode of production, where capital crosses the borders of the Nation State, and favors the free market, the dynamic circulation of the productive system. Development is the growth of the capitalist productive process, the accumulation and growth of capital, within the nation state as well as in the global space. This movement of the production process occurs in Western countries dominated by developing countries, which seek the surplus value generated by the mass that sells its labor power at a lower price as in the case of Latin American economies. Once they capture the surplus value, they obtain the profit and again there is a movement of capital towards the countries that hold economic power at the global level. Déniz (2011) explains this dynamic very well in the colonial period: "The economic surplus produced by the colonies does not become capital inside them, but flows abroad where it does become capital" (p. 162). This process of wealth accumulation through foreign investors in Latin American countries, such as the specific case of Colombia, is still coming to life, as a current dynamic.

There is also a national capital, of capitalist families and investors who have achieved accumulation for decades. Many of these capitalist investors who in Colombia own the means of production, who buy labor power, sometimes also own the land. At the national level, then, three forms

can be presented in the oppressor class: the class that owns capital and the landowning class that monopolizes and lives on the rent and exploitation of the land. So much so that also, the class that owns capital can in turn own the land, or the landlord class that owns the land sometimes does not own capital, therefore does not buy labor power.

#### 4 METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

(Osorio, Sf) explains that in the method proper to historical materialism that Marx exposed throughout his work in collaboration with Engels they proposed to carry out the study of abstract categories to the extent that some of a concrete type can be elucidated. That is, it is very important in the study of social relations, the study of the concrete categories that are elucidated in the research problem, as they are working in a specific way, without losing the notion of totality where it is of course an abstract type category. Once you go to the concrete, the idea is to return to the abstract, to the totality. To say then, while it is possible to study and elucidate little by little the concretion of variables that make up the whole, we must return to the totality that does not cease to be an abstract category. (Osorio, Sf) adds something very important in terms of the concrete and the totality:

It is important to emphasize that the isolation of simple elements is carried out with categories that reveal the social relations that underlie the processes, and that the process of abstraction is a moment of analysis that seeks, as a final objective, to give an account, of complex totalities, or in Marx's language, of a "concrete" as a "synthesis of multiple determinations" (p. 11).

It is also important to take into account something that (Osorio, Sf) calls the levels of abstraction, and emphasizes that scholars of Marxism have not been able to take this into account and therefore consider it in their studies. He then adds:

When we speak of levels of abstraction we refer to the totality that is reconstructed in knowledge and to the consideration of a simplified reality (more abstract) or a more complex one (less abstract). In short, there are totalities with varying degrees of abstraction. In Marxism we can distinguish the following: mode of production, capitalist mode of production, world system, pattern of reproduction of capital, social formation and conjuncture. (p. 18).

I discussed this earlier when talking about social classes and the importance of these categories in the research problem.

(Osorio, Sf) also explains that in Marx the study of social relations is very important to understand the development of men, since the history of men has been a social relation of a mode of production, that of today of course the capitalist mode of production, and this is one of the things that differentiates Marx from neoclassical economic studies. The author explains: "For neoclassical economics and rational choice "collectives do not act, they have no interests; The collectives have no

plans [...]. The one who truly acts, has interests, plans, etc., is the individual. This is, in short, the thesis of methodological individualism" (p. 3).

While in Marx the social relations of men are essentially important in neoclassical economics, it is the individual who is important. This last vision is of an idealistic type, since the history of men is of social relations that are part of the modes of production. It (Marx-Engels, 1980) asserts the following about social relations and the mode of production:

The economic forms under which men produce, consume and change are transitory and historical." And he adds: "By acquiring new productive forces, men change their mode of production, and with the mode of production change all economic relations, which were only the necessary relations of that particular mode of production. (p. 533).

Regarding the method and thought of Marx (Rodríguez-Rodríguez, n.d.) he assures that Althusser proposes to consider it as Marxist science and dialectical materialism as Marxist philosophy. There is then a specification of what is science in Marx and philosophical thought as proposed by Althusser.

# **5 SOME EMPIRICAL DATA**

According to the GMH Historical Memory Group (2013) the victims of the armed conflict in Colombia have been recognized only since 1985, in legal terms. However, before this period, between 1958 and 1985, there are 11,238 victims in the GMH database who have not been recognized by the State. Subsequently, between 1985 and 2013 the armed conflict in Colombia has caused 220,000 deaths, of which 81.5% are workers and peasants, that is, a part of society that is not militarily involved in the armed conflict, and 18.5% is combatants. Thus, those most affected by the war are people militarily alien to the armed conflict. Portelli (1977) makes an explanation of Gramsci's contributions, where a distinction is made between civil society and political society. It also insists that the State is the combination of civil society and political society.

The Unit for Attention and Integral Reparation to Victims, National Information Network (2019) says that between 1985 and 2019 there are about 8.3 million people violently displaced because of the war in Colombia. Bonilla (2019) makes an explanation from the spatial and territorial point of view, and in terms of the intensity of displacements explains that the 5 departments with the highest number of victims are Antioquia in the first place, located on the Andean region, central to the country; second, Valle del Cauca, a department located in the Pacific region, with a strong presence of Afrodescendant population; in third and fourth place the departments of Nariño and Cauca, also located in the Pacific region, these two with the presence of indigenous population and communities; and in fifth place the department of Magdalena located in the northern region of the Colombian Caribbean, with

the presence of both Afro and mestizo population. The three regions of Colombia where the population has been heavily displaced violently because of the war are Andean, Pacific and Caribbean, in the center, west and north of the country. A society, seen in this text as the working and peasant classes, those classes studied and sustained by Marx (1984); strongly violated by a war with interests of a bourgeois and landlord class over land and natural resources, interests that the State protects very well, to the detriment of the working and peasant class, and for the benefit of the capitalist and landlord class, interests that seek to increase the means of production, including the soil. Astate that is increasingly distant from society, as Engels (1884) argues.

Osorio (2010) explains that there is a certain distance between the State and capital, as demonstrated by the production model in this recent neoliberal stage. However, there are also relations between the state and capital, that investor class, for the sake of favoring the mode of production. In short, in the capitalist economic system, private investment, capital, prevails over the public, the State favors the economic interests of capital, the slogan of freedom, of free market, is demagoguery, leads to a process of hoarding of the means of production by a capitalist and landowner social class, which in turn leads to a process of buying and selling the labor power of an increasingly peasant population. more wage-earning, as long as there is a loss of their means of production.

# 6 DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

In this text, then, the epistemic construction of the displaced population, of the subject displaced because of the violence of the war in Colombia, is very important. In this debate there are many contributions from both institutions and authors who revolve around the causes of the environment, of wars. Among the most outstanding contributions can be seen that of the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights IIHR (1993), where it explains that displacement occurs due to man-made circumstances and emphasizes violence. While the UN Commission on Human Rights, issues a broader concept by integrating aspects derived from violence and also of a natural type, it then states in the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement:

For these Principles, internally displaced persons are defined as persons or groups of persons who have been forced or forced to flee or flee their home of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or man-made disasters, and that they have not crossed an internationally recognized state border (UN, 1998, p. 2).

There is an important contribution concerning international competences, as well as geographical and spatial demarcation, in the context of forced displacement due to the violence of wars and armed conflicts, which is as follows:

Unlike refugees, who have an established system of international protection and assistance, persons displaced within their national borders fall within domestic jurisdiction and under State sovereignty, without the international community having the necessary legal or institutional basis to intervene in their assistance. Thus, IDPs depend on their governments to assert their rights and freedoms, with the government itself or its military forces in many cases causing displacement or preventing access to their citizens (Barutciski, 1998, p. 11-14).

However, in particular, a proposal was made on this topic in which important aspects of the subject, violence, amaneza and intimidation are integrated. The proposal states:

The subject is displaced to another type of space, in which he lives with the perception of a different time and therefore is stripped of his territory and everything with which he interacts there, both material and immaterial. This occurs because they feel or are threatened, intimidated, or because they have suffered any type of mistreatment by armed groups, whether official or unofficial, as well as war confrontations and conflicts caused by paramilitary self-defense groups, guerrillas, State military forces and drug trafficking groups (Bonilla, 2019, p. 53).

This contribution was made in a research that was carried out between 2014 and 2015. It should be added that this displacement occurs in the interior of Colombia, which mostly happens from rural to urban territories. A massive displacement to cities, the main ones with the greatest reception of displaced population are Bogotá and Soacha, the latter located adjacent to Bogotá, in the metropolitan area.

On this occasion we want to provide a construction from historical and dialectical materialism, being consistent with the perspective addressed in this writing, for which a restructuring is proposed, a category that will surely be complemented as progress is made in research on displacement and economic interests and land in Colombia:

Because of the war in Colombia, which is based on the struggle for the territory and natural resources that exist there, the subject is displaced to another type of space, in which he lives with the perception of a different time, therefore, he is dispossessed of the land and the means of production, as well as everything immaterial with which it interacts there. The subject is threatened, intimidated, or suffers any type of violence by armed groups, among which are the guerrillas, military and paramilitary forces of the State and drug trafficking groups.

However, during the eighties and nineties and the first years of the twenty-first century, a certain part of the displaced population became refugees, as defined by UNHCR (2011) explaining that until 2011, 1,364 people had taken refuge in Venezuela. There is then a movement of displaced population from Colombia to Venezuela, through the Caribbean regions, but especially from the Orinoquía and the Andes. Regions shared between the two Bolivarian countries of Colombia and Venezuela. From the departments of Meta, Vichada, Casanare, Arauca, Norte de Santander and Guajira which are the closest to Venezuela.

# **6 CONCLUSIONS**

Colombia, a country that because of the economic interests of the soil and natural resources that exist there, have been violently displaced more than 8.3 million people. War in which there are several armed actors such as guerrillas and military and paramilitary forces of the State. As previously studied a state that protects the interests of the ruling classes through its military and paramilitary armed forces. A class struggle is evident in the historical background of the Colombian armed conflict: between the peasant, worker, landowner, capitalist and/or capitalist-landowning social classes. The state acts in favour of the ruling classes and to the detriment of the dominated classes, protecting the hoarding and rent of the landlord class and capital of the capitalist class.

Engels (1884) assures that it is in the transition between barbarism and civilization that the bases of the capitalist productive system are gestated: the division of labor, private property, the hoarding of natural resources by man, the accumulation of land and capital. Engels then states: "The cohesive force of civilized society is the state, which, in all typical periods, is exclusively the state of the ruling class, and in all cases, a machine essentially designed to repress the oppressed and exploited class" (p. 97).

The armed conflict in Colombia has a historical history close to 60 years, a conflict in which the appropriation of the land and natural resources that exist there has always been at stake. A class struggle between peasants, owners of small amounts of land, against the ruling class that monopolizes the means of production, and wants to extend its rule and accumulation: landlord and capitalist, and/or landlord-capitalist.

In Colombia, the war for economic interests of land and natural resources has generated a displacement of more than 8.3 million people, violently, to buy their lands at derisory prices, or fail that, monopolizing territories of peasants who owned 5 hectares of land, on average each.

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