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Total peace is not possible with active neo-paramilitarism



Sources: Rebellion

"Total peace" as a government strategy to definitively eradicate violence from Colombian society is a great success of President Gustavo Petro.

It has gradually shown each of its components to address the specific and regional manifestations of social and armed conflict with its different actors as an expression of different social, political, ideological, historical, territorial, ethnic and criminal phenomena.

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The reforms to Law 418 of 1997 (see <https://razonpublica.com/ley-orden-publico-la-paz-total/>) that are being processed with an urgent message in the Congress of the Republic with important advances, will undoubtedly be an adequate institutional platform as a legal framework of reference for the dialogues and agreements reached with the revolutionary guerrillas (FARC EP, ELN, Nueva Marquetalia and EPL) of Marxist base. Leninist, Camilist and Maoist who are present in the territory and on the borders.

A new criminal law aims to establish the rules of subjugation of criminal structures (Urabeños, Rastrojos, Pachencas, Zotas, Espartanos, Milagrosa, Caparros, Flacos, Palustres and others), linked to the international drug trafficking business and the national business of microtrafficking, corruption and the displacement of peasants to dispossess them of their lands.

However, there is a very serious problem that will continue to weigh on the progress of total peace. I refer to differentiated neo-paramilitarism as a political and military fact associated with the power of the Armed Forces and oligarchic elites, who use it to sustain with violence the privileges and structures of domination over society and the state as Samuel Huntington clearly demonstrates in his classic work "The Soldier and the State", that I recommend returning to because of the validity of its analytical considerations (See [chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/ https://www.press.umich.edu/pdf/0472109693-em.pdf](https://www.press.umich.edu/pdf/0472109693-em.pdf)).

As is well known, the paramilitaries emerged in Colombia in February 1962, after a visit to the country by General William P. Yarborough, (1962), director of research at the Special Warfare Center of Fort Bragg North Carolina in the USA), in charge of reevaluating the military strategy of the United States in Vietnam, Algeria and Cuba, who drafted a Secret Supplement to the Report of his visit that referred to the creation of organizations of "type anti-terrorist" and for the "anti-communist struggle", in the following terms: "an agreed team must be set up right now in the country to select civilian and military personnel for clandestine training in repression operations, in case they are needed later".

In execution of this counterinsurgency strategy, and supported by the National Security Doctrine, on December 27, 1965 the government of President Valencia issued Decree 3398 (later Law 48 of 1968 during the government of Lleras Restrepo) that allows the Military Forces to organize "national defense" and "civil defense", and train and equip inhabitants in guerrilla resistance zones with weapons for private use and organize armed groups. of Self-Defense coordinated by the National Army, in order to involve them directly in the confrontation and support them in the counterinsurgency struggle, that is, these norms were the legal basis for the promotion and organization of the self-styled "self-defenses" or paramilitaries. Regulations that were declared unenforceable or unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Justice on May 25, 1989. Since 1969, a series of Counterinsurgency Manuals and Regulations were issued by the Colombian Army, which would demonstrate the creation of paramilitary groups under the approval of the Colombian government, in Huntington's analytical perspective.

Later these self-defense groups such as those of Magdalena Medio, those of Urabá, Córdoba, Los Llanos, Cundinamarca and Valle del Cauca mutated into the well-known Convivir, created during the government of Ernesto Samper (1995), which would then give rise to the massification of the paramilitary groups led by the Castaño brothers and accompanied by the factions of the extreme right involved with the drug trafficking mafias such as those linked to Uribeismo and the Democratic Center.

Such paramilitary groups and their blocs were apparently demobilized in 2005 and subjected to the Justice and Peace Law (or Law 975) that granted judicial benefits to groups involved in massacres, displacements, land dispossession and crimes against humanity.

Even so, a phenomenon of similar characteristics reappeared in the following years (2006-2022) that has been called neo-paramilitarism in which hundreds of paramilitaries, military, politicians and other public officials have been involved. Counterinsurgency neo-paramilitarism continues to be the armed and violent wing of regional elites (political, business and military) to preserve their privileges in all social orders.

Neoparamilitary groups are the Urabeños, the Rastrojos, the Paisas, the Caparros, the Pachencas, the Puntilleros, the Cuchillitos, the Centauros, the Carranceros, the Pradas, the

Flacos, the Oficina de Envigado, the Cordillera and others that will need to be characterized with regard to total peace, which are actively promoted by battalions, brigades and Fudras of the army, despite the limited changes that have recently occurred in the Armed Forces after the inauguration of President Gustavo Petro on August 7.

The leaders of this neo-paramilitarism already know each other. There are several names: Siopas, Chiquito Malo, Gonzalito, Palustre, alias el Mono, Coronel Mira (Cartago), Toto (Quindío), Jorge 40, los Prada (Aguachica), Don Antonio, Diego Vecino, Ramon Quintero RQ, Rodrigo Flechas, Macaco and his brother, Juan Sin Miedo (GZuluaga), Jorge 40, sons of Ramon Isaza, Jorge Pirata (Pacho, Cundinamarca), AGasca, Nebio Echeverry (Guayabero), el Gurre (Granada, Meta), Don Antonio (Barranquilla), Juancho Dique, Ismael (San Andresito de Bogotá in La Jiménez with 20) and others who are already coming to light, who, hand in hand with Uribismo, are reorganizing new networks of neo-paramilitarism in Antioquia, Urabá and Meta.

Unfortunately, the current leaders of total peace are ignoring this serious problem that will surely affect the dialogues and negotiations underway with the different guerrilla groups, because bilateral or multilateral truces are determined, the army continues with its operations and offensives manipulating this nefarious neo-paramilitarism that already wreaks havoc in the territories of Cauca, Nariño, Caquetá, Guaviare, Meta, Arauca, Catatumbo, Córdoba, Choco, Antioquia and on the border with Venezuela, causing incidents with deaths of soldiers such as the one that occurred several days ago in Argelia Cauca.

Without eradicating this neo-paramilitarism, the advances of total peace are complicated and delayed.

Note. Very surely the dialogue and negotiation tables that conform with the guerrillas of the ELN, the FARC EP, the New Marquetalia and the EPL will require new studies of the phenomenon of violence that hopefully will not repeat the documents of the so-called violentologists and rather resume the line of the work of Monsignor Guzman. de Umaña and Fals Borda (1960), based today on the epistemologies of the South, complex studies of poverty, transdisciplinary philosophical analyses and the knowledge of local communities. "Local studies" should be the route to follow in these cases, to avoid the documents of

Bogota academic experts disconnected from the territories and full of theories that are the result of decontextualized desk work.

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