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Economic transition, territorial reorganization, ecological progress in the territories of the post Colombian armed conflict

An analysis of the contextual conditions and the state of implementation of the contents of territorial planning of the 2016 Peace Agreement, case study of San José del Guaviare.

KEY WORKS

Transition to the fossil post, regeneration of territory, peace process, rural development, ecological progress, Colombia

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Charras, municipality of S. José del Guaviare, entrance to the reception camp and rehabilitation of former combatants FARC (Espacios Territoriales de Capacitación y Reincorporación (ETCR), 20 ottobre 2018



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ABSTRACT

The agreement signed in Havana, in 2016, between the FARC (Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces) and the Central Government of Colombia, one of the emerging nations on the economic and social level of Latin America, cradle of biodiversity and natural resources, is not only trying to close over fifty years of social, environmental, economic and military conflicts, ending, perhaps forever, a season of war full of crimes and tragic consequences for civilian populations, long believed to be infinite.

He also put on paper a long list of commitments between the conflicting parties, among which those of an economic and territorial nature strongly emerge, destined, in the intentions of the contracting parties, to draw a new strategic structure in vast regions of the country, with a prevalent agricultural and pastoral-forestry value.

Commitments, and tools, which are addressed, in particular, and for the most part, to the so-called profound Colombia (F. Diaz Diaz. D. Unigarro, 2018); that large part of the country that in the long years of the armed conflict has constituted a separate territory, largely a land of exodus and abandonment, for a long time separated and distant from the large urban areas, where in the long years of the most intense armed conflict, a growing multitude of new settlers has also been concentrated, attracted by the new economies generated by the conflict, largely illegal.

A territory which is still a separate part of the national territory, in which the State does not yet seem able to assert its control. A territory where latent forms of armed conflict seem to re-emerge and reaffirm the historical irreducibility of a conflict that is based on nodes that are still unresolved, that see as protagonists, and very often still as victims, different groups of populations, such as indigenous populations, peasants and white settlers, attacked by the development of new economies based above all on the return of the agricultural latifundium.

Because the 2016 peace agreement is also and above all, at least on paper, an important sum of new planning and planning commitments; proof of this is that within it the word “plan” - intended both

in terms of a socio-economic development and rebirth program, and also as a program of works of obvious meaning and territorial value - appears in repeated and constant forms. For example, regarding numerous instruments at national level, for the development of different types of civil infrastructures, or for the defense against integral risk, or for different plans and programs in support of rural communities, true perennial victims of the conflict, together with the peoples natives, awaiting compensation.

But three years after the signing of this agreement, what is the current state of planning and implementation of these programs, and how have these programs tried to conceive, and put on the agenda, an idea of a new territory project, linked to a hypothesis of economic transition, of territorial reorganization and ecological progress in the territories of the post-Colombian armed conflict?

In essence, is the Peace Agreement building a new, more equitable and inclusive, and more sustainable country, or is something else happening?

The paper tries to answer this question starting from the examination of the contextual conditions and from the analysis of the territorial public government programs, compared with the radical processes of economic and territorial transition in progress, starting from the analysis of a definite territorial condition, of which there has been recent experience, related to the case study of the department of Guaviare, placed at the threshold of the Colombian Amazon region, and specifically in the veredas of Charrasquera and Charras, in the municipality of San José del Guaviare, object of a recent international participatory planning workshop. An experience that is illustrated here as an experience of interest, also towards new, desirable paths of transition to the post-fossil (and the overcoming of the coalera economy) that could in future be carried out here and in other regions of the country.

The hypothesis that advances, even beyond the real extent of the (so far modest) public actions implemented in this region by central and local governments, as well as more generally in the whole country, is that the occasion of peace represents, in the case in question - and by extension, for many similar territories, of which the Colombian nation and the regions of underdevelopment is full - still today, and not for long, a formidable opportunity to experiment, through participation and bottom-up action, new models of post-fossil transition and new social and ecological progress. The defense of the extraordinary environmental value of these territories passes, however, through the defense of those who live in these territories, which must be recognized, also through extraordinary support measures, the role of guardian inhabitant, protagonist of the transformation and ecological reconversion of lands and places still deeply marked by the newly concluded armed conflict.

1. The thesis of this paper

No country in the world can boast a recent history comparable to that of Colombia. No war, at least in this century, has ever ended with a peace agreement, built by the parties in armed conflict around a table, in the metamorphosis of one of the warring parties from a fighting force into a democratic political party, in the fundamental recognition of everyone's rights to peace, and to agreement, and of the underlying reasons for the same conflict. No agreement has ever blacked out so many issues, and has also attempted to plan a scenario of common national development, starting with the examination of the social conflicts underlying the conflict itself, and by the search for hypotheses of economic transition and territorial reorganization of a country upset, and destructured in the foundations, for more than 50 years of civil war. This is what happened in Colombia, just three years ago, at the end of a long peace-building process, and arrived at its outcome thanks to the participation of several international actors, in the agreement built in Havana, in Cuba, in 2016, and finally signed in Cartagena, on 26 September of the same year.

It is a case that such an agreement arrives, opening a new and complex and contradictory phase of implementation of its contents, within a very particular historical phase on the global scale. A phase in which, albeit with fatigue and varying degrees of attention, - growing, among the inhabitants of nations, less within their governments - a growing awareness of the global environmental crisis seems to emerge at global level, linked more and more unequivocally to climate change (climate change), whose disastrous and catastrophic effects appear more and more evident (drought, famine, extreme weather events, such as tornadoes and floods) in the countries of the South of the World, or within the tropical and sub-tropical belt to which Colombia itself belongs.

This country, by a strange conjuncture of history, local and global, has before it, therefore, the extraordinary opportunity to rethink from the foundations— because of a peace process that finally overcomes the most obvious human catastrophe (war) -its own model of development, together with its own regional planning, built deformed and incomplete precisely because of a long believed interminable conflict¹. And in reason, also and above all, of its particular ecological and environmental richness. Just to be clear, Colombia is home to a significant part of the world's "green lung", or rather the world's "faucet"², that region of Amazonia, which is once again being

¹ By virtue of the substantial inaccessibility and insecurity of vast areas of the country covered by the civil war, the country shows an impressive deficit of civil infrastructures, starting from those roads, railways, airports and intermodality, towards which a relatively rich nation like Colombia should now address the greatest efforts, while respecting its extraordinary ecological and environmental values, paradoxically safeguarded, or at least in part, by the conflict.

² "The Amazon rainforest is the largest in the world and is a very complex ecosystem that is not yet well known. It occupies an immense area - 5.5 million km² -, has about 16,000 species of trees and plants and is undoubtedly the kingdom of biodiversity. However, it is not - as we often hear it called - "the lung of the world", because the enormous quantity of oxygen produced by it is consumed mostly within it by the decomposition of plant organisms and the animals that inhabit it. Nevertheless, it plays a fundamental role in maintaining the balance of the entire planet. For a long time it was observed with amazement that the rainy season begins in the Amazon two or three months earlier than in the other tropical regions: between December and May, the seasonal winds carry the humidity from the ocean that puts an end to the dry season, but in southern Amazonia the precipitations occur already in October, without therefore depending on the humidity coming from the seas. Meteorologists have observed that this early phase of rain corresponds to a general greening of the forest, thus understanding that it depends on the phenomenon of transpiration: plants, in fact, absorb water from the soil through the roots, which is transported through the stem up to the leaves and therefore from these it is mostly released back into the environment in the form of water vapor. The Amazon therefore produces rain alone. Not only that, though. This enormous mass of water vapor, which forms a sort of river in the sky - a sort of second plane, the Amazon - is carried by the wind, thus probably also contributing to triggering the rainy season. Plants would therefore not only be the beneficiaries of seasonal rains, but also their producers. This would also explain why with the progress of deforestation there are increasing phenomena of drought. More than an oxygen dispenser, therefore, the Amazon seems to be a water dispenser, no less important in

called into question in its own survival by the disastrous choices of the new reactionary governments in the region, and can be considered as a true environmental sanctuary as a whole, due to its extraordinary biodiversity, second in the World to Brazil³. It is because of this, that the thesis advanced by this paper, starting also from some observations and direct experiences conducted by the author in the Colombian department of Guaviare, at the gates of the great Amazonian region of Colombia, examining the starting conditions of this great historical process– the history and reasons of the armed conflict, the peace process, the post-agreement phase; the general and territorial commitments made within the agreement, what is being tried to do, what has been done, what can be done to protect this extraordinary heritage - It is also, and above all, a fundamental vision, and at the same time a political declaration: there can be no peace in Colombia without overcoming the conditions of inequality and poverty which were at the root of the armed conflict; without, therefore, greater justice and greater social equity; and social justice and equity cannot be achieved without the gradual overcoming of the present market economy, late capitalist, dissipative, based on the intensive exploitation of fossil energy resources, and the irreversible destruction of ecological and environmental heritage; without, in other words, implementing advanced forms of ecological progress in the country. On the basis of this vision, today more than ever the country can and must build a new territorial order, starting from the resolution of the local conflicts that have been the basis of the armed conflict for decades, also resolving the environmental conflicts that have now entered the strategic agenda of the nations because of the climatic emergency, a war that the whole planet has begun to fight, and that awaits to be faced and resolved, before it is too late.

the general regulation of the climate.

["http://www.treccani.it/magazine/atlante/scienze/Amazzonia_rubinetto_del_pianeta.html"](http://www.treccani.it/magazine/atlante/scienze/Amazzonia_rubinetto_del_pianeta.html)

³ <https://scuola.repubblica.it/puglia-bari-lsfermi/tema/colombia-secondo-posto-mondiale-per-le-biodiversita/>

2. The starting conditions: the armed conflict, the peace process, the post-agreement

A quick historical discussion of the Colombian armed conflict, in its various geographical and historical articulations, leads meanwhile to recognize as its fundamental basis a very clear and defined territorial issue, linked to the material living conditions of peasant populations, who live in conditions of serious poverty, dispossession of resources and exploitation in large-scale farmland for cultivation and rearing, often also in the founding role of actors of processes of colonization of still natural territories, put in play around the 50's in the first powerful economic development met by the country since the second post-war period⁴. The FARC– Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces– were born, at the beginning of the 1960s, as a direct offspring of the many revolutionary movements that were developing throughout Latin America in those years, encouraged by the success of the revolution of the Cubans“barbudos” in 1959⁵. The action of these military political

⁴ "Since the beginning of 2013, within the peace talks taking place in Havana, the guerrillas have called for the creation of a mechanism to clarify the roots of the armed conflict in Colombia. After many meetings, the Government and the FARC agreed on the formation of a Commission, in support of the ongoing negotiations in Cuba, concerning the discussion of the themes of the victims and of justice. Furthermore, it was established that the Commission would collect the different views on the conflict without pretending to convert them into an "official story". At the end of the month, a document on the Colombian armed conflict drawn up by 12 well-known intellectuals in the country, one half chosen by the Government and the other half by the FARC, was published. The Jesuit priest Javier Giraldo Moreno, accompanying the Community of Peace of San José de Apartadó, was among the 12 intellectuals questioned for the drafting of the thesis on the genesis of this war ". One of the most interesting aspects of its historical reconstruction is the one concerning the enormous phenomenon of land stripping of peasants, a phenomenon of which there is no trace in any discussion of the conflict to which reference has been made so far in this text, starting with Wikipedia entry reported in the initial notes. "In some areas, the brutal repression of the state, pushes groups of people to emigrate and settle in wild areas where, in the same decade, cultivations of coca are organized and the trade in illicit drugs develops. The plot of the "war against drugs" and the "war against the insurgency", both oriented and monitored by the United States (DEA and CIA), leaves room for very contradictory analyzes. Starting in the 1980s, the progressive fusion of the most powerful coca growers and drug traffickers with paramilitarism meant that the war took on even more dramatic contours. The narco-paramilitarism gives way to a huge stripping of land, through massacres and massive displacement of the population, which causes about 6 million internally displaced people and usurps approximately 8 million hectares of land. At the same time, US observers coined the term "narco-guerrilla" to justify their intervention on the social and armed conflict in Colombia, thus violating the principle of international law on non-intervention in domestic matters in other countries. After 30 years of violent abduction of the earth (1981-2011), not counting the earlier periods of no less violent, the current Santos government promulgated, in 2011, the Law 1448 which provides mechanisms for the restitution of lands taken or forcibly abandoned, but with systems so ineffective that, if one had planned to solve 160,000 cases, in the first four years of the law's validity, after three years, only 1,434 cases were resolved, not even reaching 1% of the established program. "His important testimony is available online, from which the previous notes were extracted, at:<https://www.operazionecolomba.it/colombia/2343-le-radici-del-conflitto-armato-in-colombia.html> .

⁵ At the root of the FARC can be counted the experiences conducted by some fighting communist groups, known as Autodefensas Campesinas, born with the aim of protecting the peasants from the spread of conservative militias, during the conflict that sees them opposed, in the "period of Colombia's history that goes from the late forties to the fifties, known as La Violencia "(...)" on the one hand, guerrilla groups close to the Liberal Party and other minor communist-inspired groups, and on the other armed groups close to the Conservative Party and forces of the government, initially led by conservatives and then military personnel. "" In the early 1960s, in the wake of the enthusiasm aroused by the Cuban revolution, several armed groups were born in Colombia trying to imitate the strategy of barbudos giving life to small "outbreaks" revolutionaries "in the countryside". THE FARC are officially born in 1966, and for decades they were the main armed group of the Colombian internal conflict. "In 1964 another guerrilla group was born on the initiative of Fabio Vásquez Castaño, which will have a prominent role in the conflict. Like other armed groups born in previous years, the basic idea is to imitate the Cuban revolution by creating a small "guerrilla outbreak" destined to expand. After a period of training in Cuba between 1962 and 1963, the new group takes the name of Brigada pro liberación Jose Antonio Galán and chooses San Vicente de Chucurí as an area of operations. On 4 July 1964 the group changed its name to Ejército de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army, or ELN) ". Among the ranks of the ELN we must also remember the figure of the priest and guerrilla of the National Liberation Army Camilo Torres,

avant-gardes, located by small nuclei mainly in the southern territories of the country, in the regions around the capital, Bogotá, soon meets the favor and popular support of large peasant communities, betrayed by agrarian reforms often left alone on paper. In various areas of the country, from the 1970s onwards, the FARC gradually succeeded, with the support of the peasant population, in establishing itself as the sole de facto authority of the regions in which they operate, due to the substantial absence of the State⁶. Even in the case of the Guaviare region, which is in particular the focus of this paper, the administration of the FARC replaces that of the State, developing a historical story that starts around the 1950s, and is typical of many processes of “reclamation” and of the creation of new agricultural territories, which mark the stories of many “developing countries”⁷. It is a fact that the process of colonization and creation of new agricultural land takes place, in the territory in question, by the gradual erosion of natural territories, with a gradual shift of an “agricultural frontier” which will subsequently find normative definition, also within the instruments introduced by the Peace Agreement. New lands, “redeemed”, initially dedicated to ordinary crops (orchards, pasture) and to the spread of the animal husbandry, on what was then to appear northern limit of the vast Amazonian Colombian region, according to the water line of the river Guaviare, which gives its name to the region itself, a powerful tributary of the Orinoco river, that marks wide stretches of the border between Colombia and Venezuela. The FARC administration in these lands, which lasts until the years of the agreement, particularly in the most extreme territories of the region, guarantees elementary forms of social status, defence, community organization, education, and also basic legal conditions, which also lead to forms of environmental protection⁸, as a partial protection of the Amazon border constantly violated by new crops. The advent, perhaps contemporary, to the FARC administration of these territories, of the cultivation of coca , - cultivation according to some endemic, in the Amazonian territories, and of great agricultural and income productivity, “mala planta” which grows naturally and with great ease and

supporter of Liberation Theology. "After the victory in the 1966 elections, the Liberal Carlos Lleras Restrepo, candidate of the Frente Nacional, tries to resolve the causes that cause the guerrillas to enjoy some support among the peasants. He therefore launched an agrarian reform aimed at redistributing the unproductive estates to farmers, and encouraged the peasant trade union organization to give the government clear interlocutors and bring the state back to the countryside.

However, the agrarian reform proves to be a failure, held back by too many resistances, while the main trade union organization of peasants is politicized approaching far-left currents. In the early seventies, under the rule of the conservative Misael Pastrana Borrero, considered close to the landowners, the peasant organization becomes a security problem, as it encourages and guides the illegal occupation of large estates by farmers as a reaction to insufficient land redistribution ". Source: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conflitto_armato_colombiano

⁶ "The FARC know (...) between the end of the seventies and mid-eighties an enormous expansion, which allows them to open new guerrilla fronts in many areas of the entire country. In 1982, defining themselves as a revolutionary army, they added to their name the words of Ejército del Pueblo (People's Army, FARC-EP) and equipped themselves with a military plan aimed at conquering the entire country. This plan includes the creation of an "Eastern Bloc" towards the border with Venezuela, a block that will become the most important division of the guerrilla organization ".(Wikipedia, op. cit.)

⁷ Even this story has never been written yet, and deserves to be reconstructed, analyzed and treated, starting from the collection of direct testimonies of the protagonists still alive, or of their children. This is the case of Ricardo Arciniegas, leader of the Fundación Convencia Sostenible, based in San José del Guaviare, son of one of the first settler agronomists in the Region, who grew up within these processes. See the interview conducted in 2019, available at the Dropbox address: https://www.dropbox.com/sh/73x92eqix80j2bo/AAAiBL_vg4KadrQ7wVFLde2Na?dl=0. In essence, at the beginning of this process of colonization, the Colombian State recognizes the title of legal ownership to the peasants who earn the right to land by eroding the forest. This starts a process of deforestation that, albeit with different intensities, it proceeds inexorably until our days.

⁸It is a question of modes of government exercised, it seems, by the story of witnesses gathered on site, even in particularly bloody and Jacobin forms. Capital executions and limb impairments were common practice, at the time of the FARC, against those who violated these rules.

productivity, also in these territories— creates the conditions for the establishment of a delicate balance between environmental respect and the development of a production chain from which, over time, revolutionary armed groups will be increasingly dependent. The FARC live on the edge of the forest, which for them is at the same time a refuge, from the armed raids of the Regular Army as much of the paramilitary groups that often act under the cover of the governmental forces, and also economic resource, because in its interior find further profitable “illegal” cultivation and important phases of the coca production process itself.

The 1980s marked the history of the country and of the armed conflict because of the birth of paramilitarism, of extreme right-wing armed groups linked to drug trafficking and the start of the first peace process.

The armed conflict, especially around the 2000's, also scatters the Guaviare region with an impressive number of tragedies and deaths, and forever characterizes the history of some of its centres. This is the case of Mapiripan, on the left bank of Guaviare, in 1997 one of the most appalling massacres in the history of the country, perpetrated by the paramilitary forces of the extreme right AUC, to the detriment of the civilian population. The armed bands, landed in the airport of S. José del G., pass in their way of death also for Charrasquera, with the complicity of the army regular. It's just one of the most tragic episodes of an eternal conflict, lasting over 50 years, which according to official data has left more than 250,000 dead, 50,000 missing, almost 9,000,000 victims (displaced, dead, wounded, victims of violence of all kinds), almost one out of 5 Colombian. A conflict that continues to produce victims, in the difficult phase of the post-conflict and the building of a peace “veredera y durable”, which still appears to be an objective, rather than an outcome.

These are the numbers that explain, on the one hand, the perennial tragedy of a country born of ancient tragedies— the Spanish conquest, the genocide of the pre-Columbian peoples who inhabited it, the repopulation of blacks torn from mother Africa— and passing from tragedy to tragedy. On the other hand, all its territorial imbalances, the abnormal data of an urban population beyond the world average, even within a huge country - five times Italy! but with less population, just under 50 million inhabitants— largely concentrated in a few large megalopolis— Bogota: 9 million, Medellin 3; Cali, 2, Barranquilla, 1.5 - where an overwhelming majority of the population— torn from war to the territories of origin - lives in huge chunks of informal city and without services, “barrios marginal”, of pure social exclusion, almost always in indescribable conditions of risk and urban degradation. Because this is in essence, this country: a terrestrial paradise of natural riches and biodiversity, from which multitudes of people fled, to escape the endless wars of armies, paramilitaries, narcos, “communist” guerrillas, narco guerrillas. To go to popular neglected corners of city, with no prospects of life, and well-being.

A country to be repopulated, reorganized, planned in its entirety, where endless war has prevented the construction of infrastructures, motorways, airports (except those used to the narco traffic networks) reoccurring now, finally, lands left free from war, provided that this is true at all.

3. The contents of the peace agreement

Because it has to be said, without a shadow of a doubt.

“That of Colombia is a difficult peace The sixty-year war between central power and revolutionary forces- Farc in head- is theoretically archived.

The peace, signed in Havana in June 2016, put an end to a real massacre, which cost 250,000 dead, 50,000 missing just under 7 million displaced The weapons, however, still do not remain silent and too many groups- ex-Farc rebels, drug traffickers, former paramilitaries– they took advantage of the post-war limbo to seize entire territories and control them.

For the Colombians everything remains complicated and seems almost not believe at the end of the war. Already the day after the agreement of Havana a popular referendum blocked the agreement. Elections in March 2018 seem to have confirmed the state of insecurity The winner was an old politician, Uribe, already very tough President of the Republic, who said what the Colombians wanted to hear: we will not become a socialist country. Fear is born– and is fed by the agricultural oligarchies who control the Country– by the proximity with the turbulent Venezuela of Maduro. The arrival in politic of the Farc, which with a linguistic trick kept the name, although becoming a party, did the rest. The new party of former guerrillas took just 0.4% of the votes. Even in an extremely fragmented political reality like Colombia, it is nothing. Thanks to the rules of the peace agreement, however, 10 former revolutionaries entered the parliament anyway, even if they did not exceed the 3% threshold provided by electoral law”⁹.

Peace may not yet exist in Colombia, but the agreement has been reached, and it deserves to be examined carefully, in all its contents, in the meantime in the general terms, and then to examine those of territorial interest, and urban planning, which also exist and appear relevant.

Because it is a dense agreement, that granted to the Havana, and then signed in one of the symbolic places of the country’s colonial history, the Cartagena de Indias, at the end of 2016. Addressing the key issues of the country, and its development, starting with the agrarian question, the reason for a “*reforma rural integral*” to which is dedicated the commitment to put “a brake on the always excessive cravings of the landowner oligarchy”¹⁰, always owner of the land, and therefore of the country. Through commitments for access to and use of land, with the creation of a “fondo de tierra”, consisting of 3,000,000 hectares free of charge for landless farmers; subsidies and special credits for the formation of small peasant property; the formalisation of 7 million hectares of small and medium-sized rural property; the definition of “agricultural frontier” to protect areas of environmental interest (to which we will return later); the strengthening of rural reserve areas ¹¹; the construction of a “multi-purpose land registry” and the definition of new instruments of agricultural jurisdiction. It is an agreement that addresses, the issues of spatial planning, and basic infrastructure of rural territories, with an impressive list of new tools for physical planning and development planning (on which we will still return). It also tackles the question of political participation, defining statutes of guarantee for the exercise of political opposition; guarantees of physical security for the exercise of such opposition; an Integral Security System for Political Exercise (SISEP) –vital measure, in a country where every political formation has seen its leaders

⁹ <https://www.atlanteguerre.it/conflict/colombia/>

¹⁰ Ibidem.

¹¹ These are particular areas, Zonas de Reserva Campesina (ZRC), established by the Colombian law of 1994, as territories entirely managed by the peasants, subjected to forms of collective ownership and to a democratic and participative government. “La reserva campesina es un figura de ordenamiento territorial protegido que busca entregarle a los campesinos las tierras que son del Estado pero que no están siendo aprovechados, con el único fin de beneficiar las comunidades campesinas, la economía campesina y los ecosistemas, con objetivos sociales, económicos, culturales y ecológicos. El objetivo de las zonas de reserva campesina es generar las condiciones para la adecuada consolidación y desarrollo sostenible de la economía campesina y de los colonos en las zonas rurales, con el fin de superar las causas de los conflictos sociales que las afectan, y en general, crear las condiciones para el logro de la paz y la justicia social en las áreas respectivas.” https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reserva_campesina

systematically murdered and/or physically eliminated -; an accurate list of measures to support citizen participation; an equally accurate and complex system of measures to support electoral participation. The end of the conflict is also the subject of the agreement, together with the theme of accompanying victims, rehabilitation“” and reincorporation“” to the civil society of the vast army of ex-combatants, the fight against illicit drugs , and to the tools of implementation and verification of the agreement.

Regardless of the idea that everyone may have made of the historical meaning and current political value of the FARC, a fighting group of perhaps noble initial ideals, compromised by decades of obvious connivance with the narco traffic, and responsible, as a whole, (even if it is true that the criminal responsibilities are individual) of a numerous sequence of crimes and killings, also humanitarian (on this they still investigate and judge the judiciary of the country, it is almost to be moved to see in this long list of political commitments a programme of social democracy, oriented towards principles of solid democratic egalitarianism.

“But the memory of five decades of war, with hundreds of thousands of dead and millions displaced, weighs in the memory of those who have suffered everything. Moreover, the question of the territories left free by the FARC, with their withdrawal and re-occupied by drug traffickers or by rebel gangs, which have closed them to anyone, remains open”¹².

And together with this, the condition of a country that still appears to be largely prey to illegal groups, often armed, which tend to take the place of now pacified fighting organizations, crossing with the mafias and criminal groups that are rebuilding, even after peace, and perhaps thanks to peace, new economies and new balances of conflict and war, as many national and international observers seem to suggest. The impression, in essence, is that the country’s security and legality framework is not very far from the picture illustrated in the side figure, produced in 2015, reproducing a condition contemporary with the peace agreement. The only positive aspect is perhaps given by the remarkable attention that many groups of the Colombian civil society and peace movement are devoting to this monitoring, that is partly supported by the action of many international associations, and by the institutional action of UN bodies which have this kind of function precisely because of the peace agreement.¹³

¹² <https://www.atlanteguerre.it/conflict/colombia/>

¹³ Oficina en Colombia del Alto Comisionado de las Naciones Unidas por los Derechos Humanos
<https://www.hchr.org.co>

<https://www.facebook.com/onudhcolombia/> En el país, el Alto Comisionado abrió Oficina en 1997. La sede principal está en Bogotá, y tiene once oficinas: Barranquilla, Barrancabermeja, Cali, Cúcuta, Florencia, Medellín, Mocoa, Neiva, Quibdó y Villavicencio, además cuatro oficinas satélites: Apartadó, Buenaventura, Montería y Tumaco; y dos presencias coordinadas desde Bogotá en Arauca y Amazonas que cubren diferentes regiones del país.
<https://www.hchr.org.co/index.php/sobre-nosotros/onu-ddhh-en-colombia>

4. The territorial and urban planning content of the peace agreement

The complex and dense text of the Peace Agreement of 2016, albeit updated in accordance with the post-referendum of the same year, is of particular interest also with regard to programmes of a territorial nature contained within the same agreement.

Within the context of the topic of VIARY INFRASTRUCTURES AND TERRITORIAL ADAPTATION, it is possible to consider:

1. Plan Nacional de Vias Terciarias (National Plan of Tertiary Road)
“The development of this plan will ensure the active participation of rural organisations and communities in the definition, execution and maintenance of road works at tertiary level. The recruitment of local staff and the use of materials from the land should also be a priority, as a way to stimulate the economy and increase the income of rural households”.
2. a National Risk Mitigation Plan, where “according to the particularities of the territory, appropriate technological solutions for the recovery of existing irrigation infrastructure and technical assistance to rural communities in maintenance, administration and sustainability will be implemented, - environmental and economic - of irrigation and drainage plans. This plan should promote appropriate water use practices as a way to prepare communities to mitigate the risks caused by climate change”
3. a National Rural Electrification Plan, the purpose of which is to expand electricity coverage in areas for rural communities, through the use and implementation of energy generation technologies suitable for the rural environment and its communities”.
4. a National Plan of rural connectivity to the network, whereas “will be responsible for developing adequate infrastructure to ensure high-speed Internet access for municipal sources and residential areas”.

In the context of DESARROLLO SOCIAL/ Social Development, are then present:

5. a National Rural Health Plan
6. a Special Plan for Rural Education
7. a National Plan of Rural Housing

In order to STIMULATE THE COUNTRY ECONOMY:

8. a National Plan to support the rural economy
9. a National Technical Assistance Plan, that “will seek to stimulate the productive capacities of the rural, family and community economy through the provision of full technical and technological assistance, which will include a participatory and community monitoring system. It also provides for the protection of indigenous seeds, the promotion of seed banks for communities and the strict regulation of transgenics in order to safeguard genetic heritage and biodiversity as sovereign resources of the Nation”.
10. a National Plan of subsidies and credit to support farmers, family and community economies.
11. a National Marketing Plan
12. a Progressive Plan for Social Protection.
13. a System for the progressive guarantee of the right to food.

In essence, 13 targeted actions, in which the word Plan, to be understood as a programme of actions of a social economic nature, but of unavoidable content territorial planners, appears as many as 12 times!

In short, as you look at it, a wide-ranging program, where obvious shortcomings also appear. For example, the absence of a specific consideration of environmental issues, related to the work of conservation and protection of large regions of the country subtracted from destructive development

and “protected” paradoxically, precisely because of the war, and often only nominally protected by national and regional Parks. Although attention of this kind can be traced in the not insignificant forecast to equip the post-conflict regions with new and adequate “Plano de Zonificación ambiental”/Environmental zoning plans, through which the Government intends to take account of the coexistence and development of rural communities and their participation as a key element in achieving the closure of the “agricultural frontier”, as an element of separation between man-made land and protected land (special areas of environmental interest, forest reserve areas, national parks, etc.). Together with this, there is no definition of specific plans of ensemble, of protection and enhancement of the enormous potential and natural, archaeological, historical and cultural patrimonies taken away from own use by the presence of armed conflict. But above all, in relation to the set of instruments deployed, it is not clear the public financial coverage – perhaps because, in a hyper-liberal country as Colombia has always been, the hypothesis is always that of recourse to private commitment and capital – but which deserves to be observed and monitored, being among other things one of the commitments signed by the parties in the Peace Agreement.

It is within these new co-ordinates that interesting prospects of territorial reorganization and good development of the country open up, a subject to be made specific interest of a whole season of scientific research, and also specific proposals for cooperation in both educational and scientific fields, as will be seen below.

But what is, today, three years after the signing of the agreement, its state of implementation? What is happening, now in the territories affected by the armed conflict, to the ceasefire of the weapons, in the time of the coming peace?

5. The state of implementation of the Agreement

As is quite easy to understand, a verification of this kind is outside the direct tasks and objectives of this paper, and is, rather, the reason for a research still to be defined, parallel moreover to the activities that various national and international organizations are carrying out precisely because of one of the main commitments of the peace agreement. But even here, it is almost obligatory to try to carry out some quick considerations on the maintenance of the agreement and its implementation at least in relation to three main factors. The first concerns the set of actions to support the victims of the conflict¹⁴, the second the condition of former fighters¹⁵, The third is the agrarian reform which is probably the backbone of the whole agreement, the eternal promise that every Colombian government has put before the reasons for the armed conflict in every recent epoch. Within this text, we will focus primarily on this third element. It is interesting to cross-reference this assessment with two official instruments:

- - The first is the political document at the beginning of the Duque¹⁶ Presidency, entitled 'Paz con legalidad';
- The second is instead a real programmatic document, of economic nature, the National Plan of Economic Development, first formal act of commitments of the new Presidency of the Republic, after the victory in the presidential elections of 2018, which saw the right-wing candidate, tied to former President Uribe, prevail over that of the Left¹⁷, whose slogan - Pact for Peace, Pact for legality - vehemently expresses the political agenda of the new administration.
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¹⁴ For the development of this aspect, refer in particular to the government website Sistema Nacional de Atención y Reparación Integral a las Víctimas, <http://www.portalsnariv.gov.co>, e il sito: <https://www.unidadvictimas.gov.co>

This site shows encouraging data on social assistance (“Así ha avanzado la reparación a las víctimas: Víctimas registradas históricamente: **8'847.047**; Sujeto de asistencia y reparación: 7'133.504) which should, however, be crossed with the observations of the various non-governmental agencies active on this crucial aspect of the Agreement. Between these: Compañía de Jesús en Colombia, <https://www.cinep.org.co/Home2/>; http://dirittiumanincolombia.blogspot.com/2010_10_24_archive.html; Forjando Paz, <https://forjandopaz.org>, he organization that edited the illustrated brochure on the Peace Agreement received as a gift from the ETCR of Charras, by Ricardo Semilla, former FARC commander of the Guaviare region! And above all with the data and monitoring activities carried out by international agencies such as the Oficina en Colombia del Alto Comisionado de las Naciones Unidas por los Derechos Humanos, <https://www.hchr.org.co>, <https://www.facebook.com/onudhcolombia/>.

¹⁵ <http://www.reincorporacion.gov.co/es>, “La ARN es una entidad adscrita a la Presidencia de la República que, de acuerdo con el Decreto Ley 897 del 29 de mayo de 2017, tiene como objeto "gestionar, implementar, coordinar y evaluar, de forma articulada con las instancias competentes, la política, los planes, programas y proyectos de Reincorporación y Normalización de los integrantes de las FARC-EP, conforme al Acuerdo Final, suscrito entre el Gobierno Nacional y las FARC-EP el 24 de noviembre de 2016, a través de la Unidad Técnica para la Reincorporación de las FARC-EP; y de la política de reintegración de personas y grupos alzados en armas con el fin de propender por la paz, la seguridad y la convivencia". Adicionalmente, la ARN diseña, implementa y evalúa la política de Estado dirigida a la Reintegración social y económica de las personas o grupos armados al margen de la ley que se desmovilicen voluntariamente, de manera individual o colectiva. La ARN trabaja en coordinación con el Ministerio de Defensa, Ministerio del Interior y de Justicia y con la Oficina del Alto Comisionado para la Paz”.

¹⁶ <http://www.reincorporacion.gov.co/es/agencia/Documentos%20de%20ARN%20en%20Cifras/ARN%20en%20cifras%20corte%20mayo%202019.pdf>

¹⁷ https://www.aboutenergy.com/it_IT/topic/vittoria-duque-colombia-polarizzata.shtml#

As Marco Zupi remembers ¹⁸,

“On the subject of agrarian reform, burning in a country where the 1% of the Colombian population owns 60% of the land, the FARC had proposed the creation of the Campesinos territories ¹⁹, from 8 million hectares of Farmers' Reserve (ZRC), in order to grant full rights to farmers on the basis of the formalisation of their ownership, in a country where 50% of farmers do not legally own the land they cultivate. The compromise reached includes a commitment a distribution plan for farmers of three million hectares, the regularization of another ten million hectares now cultivated by farmers without title of owners and access to credit, but under no circumstances may the principle of private property be questioned nor can any form of expropriation not provided for by the law in force (risks reported by Uribe in the referendum campaign). There are still a number of points, or *salvedades*, on which no agreement has been reached, and it will be a matter of verifying in the future the operational direction that will follow the commitment made. The new agreement provides that the promotion of the rural economy should not be defined as opposed to the large-scale economy and that harmonisation should be found. The picture is uncertain: Colombia is the only country in Latin America that has not seen forms of land redistribution, but the landowner oligarchy, which has always opposed agrarian

¹⁸ Marco Zupi, La Colombia e il processo di pace, in Osservatorio di Politica internazionale, n. 72 - febbraio 2017, CeSPI, Centro Studi di Politica Internazionale: <http://www.cespi.it/it/ricerche/la-colombia-e-il-processo-di-pace>, pag. 4.

¹⁹ In the text of the Agreement and in the sector regulations are the "zonas de reserva campesina", parts of the territory administered by particular rules, in defense of local economies and societies (Note by the author).

“La **reserva campesina** es un figura de ordenamiento territorial protegido que busca entregarle a los campesinos las tierras que son del Estado pero que no están siendo aprovechados, con el único fin de beneficiar las comunidades campesinas, la economía campesina y los ecosistemas, con objetivos sociales, económicos, culturales y ecológicos.

El objetivo de las zonas de reserva campesina es generar las condiciones para la adecuada consolidación y desarrollo sostenible de la economía campesina y de los colonos en las zonas rurales, con el fin de superar las causas de los conflictos sociales que las afectan, y en general, crear las condiciones para el logro de la paz y la justicia social en las áreas respectivas. (...) En Colombia fueron establecidas por la ley 160 de 1994,1 según la cual “son zonas de reserva campesina las áreas geográficas seleccionadas por la junta directiva del organismo competente de tierras, teniendo en cuenta las características agroecológicas y económicas regionales” (artículo 80) y también todas “las zonas de colonización y aquellas donde predomine la existencia de tierras baldías”, excepto las que se declaren de desarrollo empresarial (artículo 81).

Cada reserva campesina cuenta con su plan de vida o desarrollo y manejo ecológico, así como con reglamentos sobre propiedad, unidad agrícola familiar, funcionamiento, requisitos y obligaciones de los ocupantes. En las reservas campesinas solamente puede realizarse compraventa de tierras entre campesino sin sobrepasar un límite de tamaño en propiedad de una persona o familia.

En 1997 se constituyeron las reservas campesinas de Calamar (Guaviare) y El Pato – Balsillas (San Vicente del Caguán). En 1999 la de Arenal (Bolívar) y Morales (Bolívar). En el 2000 las de Cabrera (Cundinamarca) y Bajo Cuembí (Puerto Asís). La reserva del Valle del río Cimitarra, en el Magdalena Medio, fue constituida en diciembre de 2002, suspendida en abril de 2003 y reactivada en febrero de 2011.2

Hasta 2013 existía por lo menos 17 solicitudes comunitarias para la constitución de zonas de reserva campesina, 7 de las cuales ya estaban en trámite para su aprobación: Sumapaz en el Distrito de Bogotá, Catatumbo, Ariari-Guejar-Cafre y Losada-Guayabero en el Meta, dos en los Montes de María (Bolívar) y una en territorios de cuatro municipios de Cesar.” Fonte: https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reserva_campesina#cite_note-3 Ai fini della ricerca in corso diventa prioritario valutare lo stato dell'arte su questo argomento.

reform, no longer has the unchallenged power of the past, in the face of a constant strengthening of the urban bourgeoisie”.

Three years after the signing of the agreement this is precisely the aspect on which several observers see the greatest delay.

The real litmus test in the implementation of agrarian reform is however represented by the framework of resources in the field, modest in relation to the enterprise on the agenda. According to Mauricio Uribe López, in his recent speech, (March 2019), explicitly referred to the content and economic commitments defined in the National Development Plan of the new Duque government

(...) Apart from not being the result of a social agreement, the plan lacks institutional, financial and technical resources geared to implementing a redistributive agenda. The plan does not contain any tax proposal based on the progressivity of expenditure and taxation. Nor does it include measures committed to the democratisation of property or the dismantling of class barriers. (...) As far as the Colombian countryside is concerned, the government's development proposal completely lacks a fair perspective in so far as it favours agro-industrial enterprises and ignores their socio-economic importance, the politics and the environment of the peasant economy.

(...) The traditional anti-farmer prejudice of our development style will intensify with the implementation of this plan. The farmer shines with his absence in the document. In fact, the word "farmer" very rarely appears in the text. Farmers' well-being is only mentioned in objective 15 on the security and coexistence of citizens, in which it is stressed that the integrated rural security system is intended to "ensure the well-being of farmers".

In the document there are no areas of peasant reserve. Nor the land fund. (...)

The multi annual investment plan for the four-year forecast amounts to 1,096.1 billion pesos, of which 10 billion 375 billion are for rural investment. I mean, investments in the Colombian countryside represent only 0.94% of the development plan. This would mean more than 2.5 billion per year, which means that the amount maintains, albeit with a slight increase, traditional low levels of investment in the sector. (...) ²⁰.

The conclusion of this author is particularly bitter, and would seem to leave little hope for the success of the whole peace process:

“Therefore, things, land use conflicts, land conflicts and lack of productive and income opportunities in the Colombian countryside will make peace much more difficult to build”²¹.

²⁰ Cfr: Mauricio Uribe López, Plan de desarrollo: adiós a la reforma rural integral, 11 marzo 2019 <https://www.sur.org.co/plan-de-desarrollo-adios-a-la-reforma-rural-integral/>

²¹ *Ibidem*.

6. The state of progress of the planning tools promoted by the Peace Agreement.

As highlighted in previous paragraphs, The Peace Agreement defines one of its most innovative features precisely in the wide attention given to the implementation of territorial government instruments. To define at national level the state of even training of such instruments is still outside the scope of this contribution, and may constitute the background of a research of great interest. Purchase strategic value attempt a whether or not partial operation of this kind narrowing the field to the Department of Guaviare, on the basis, meanwhile of the literature accessible through the network, supported by the experience of the partial visit of this territory during two international workshops, carried out in collaboration with some Colombian and foreign universities²².

First of all, it seems appropriate to emphasize the particularity of this territory, also representing more general conditions, concerning the country as a whole and the processes characterising the post-conflict and post-agreement phase.

As far as the instrumentation at the national level will be made only a few hints, taking up some considerations already carried out in the previous paragraphs, always in relation to the case of the study.

This is the case, to begin, of the already mentioned National Development Programme – *PDN Plan Nacional de Desarrollo*²³ widely criticized for the substantial omission, within it, of the agrarian question. Many commentators see the overall philosophy of this instrument as a veritable reversal of the many assumptions and commitments of the peace agreement. It is a programme marked by a clear neo-liberal ideological matrix, which devotes most of the State's resources to the country's infrastructure, with extensive references and openings to the contribution of private capital. As at national level, also at regional level, this Programme is divided into several "Pacts"²⁴. Specifically, the expression used is that of "Pactos por la productividad y la equidad en las regiones"; every macro region of the country is therefore defined in this way, and it becomes interesting to analyze with a little of detail what such "pact" provides for the region in question. The region, or rather the macro region in question is that of the Amazon, that in the national PDC brings together– and this is certainly a positive aspect – as many as 6 departments, including that of Guaviare, held together by the common belonging to the great environmental system of the Colombian Amazon. The contents of the pact, however, concern only objectives of great generality, held together by a basic vision that assigns to the area the role of "Amazonía viva, diversa e integrada. Lograr el aprovechamiento y el cuidado del patrimonio natural y cultural en función de un modelo de desarrollo sostenible y diferencial":

- "proteger y conservar los ecosistemas de la Amazonía, combatiendo la deforestación;
- Conectar la región y garantizar el acceso a los servicios públicos de la población rural dispersa.

²² WORKSHOP INTERNAZIONALE *PENSANDO EL TERRITORIO VEREDAL*, *Indagini e prime idee di sviluppo ecosostenibile nei territori soglia della Colombia profunda*

Workshop di indagine territoriale condivisa per il riconoscimento dei beni comuni territoriali della comunità di Charrasquera, in San Jose del Guaviare, Colombia, I edizione: Venerdì 19 - Lunedì 22 ottobre 2018: II edizione: 15 – 22 marzo 2019.

²³ PDC, op. cit., pag. 194.

²⁴ This expression, recurrent in the text, is questioned due to the absence of a completely absent negotiation process in the formation of the instrument. Patti with whom? And pacts for who, and for what? "The development plan proposed by President Iván Duque Márquez contains a series of" pacts "that have not been discussed or agreed with different actors and therefore do not deserve to be qualified as such. In addition to some "transversal" and "regional" agreements, there are three "structural agreements" that form the basis of the plan: legality, entrepreneurship and equity. The navigation letter of the government corresponds, of course, to what is known as misleading advertising, since in its title "pact for equity" there are two terms that are not credible: pact and fairness ", Cfr.: M. Uribe Lopez, op. cit.

- Promover la multiculturalidad y aprovechar la biodiversidad de la región.

Objectives of great generality and difficult not to agree with, within a geographical area where the same document recognizes the presence of 58% of the deforestation realized in the whole country, due to the great extension of the economies of “*ganadere*”, of the animal husbandry, where 73% of the areas dedicated to the “*resguardos indigenos*”, portions of territories of relative administrative and legal autonomy of the native peoples, are located.

But that find little development in the definition, still very general, of the strategies of the program, and even less foothold in the limited framework of resources that the plan dedicates to its implementation in the local territories. Where there is room for commitment to “Promoveremos el control de la deforestación en el arco amazónico y manejo de la frontera agrícola; and that addressed to strengthen “la condición de la Amazonia colombiana como sujeto de Derechos (dando cumplimiento a la sentencia STC 4360-2018)”. This is, it is worth pointing out, a very important legal fact, also taken up by the European press (El País, 2018), realized in relation to the recourse of some jurists to the Colombian Constitutional Court in defense of the young generations that recognizes specific rights to the Amazon, like the people.

“It is clear to the Supreme Court that the Colombian state, despite various international commitments, has not done enough to curb deforestation and climate change in the country. The High Court stated this directly in its ruling and urgent orders to the Presidency and several entities demonstrate the importance of attacking this issue as soon as possible. Among some of its decisions is the order to the Presidency and the Ministry of the Environment to, within a period not exceeding four months, formulate an action plan shortly, medium and long term to combat the rate of deforestation in the Amazon, where the effects of climate change are addressed.”

Attention should therefore be focused on the state of training and implementation of the other spatial planning and planning instruments set out in the previous notes (paragraph 4).

a. *National Plan of Tertiary Roads* ²⁵

This is an important program, which as we will see below presents great opportunities for the country, but also great risks regarding the environmental and social impacts of the works it contains. It foresees, as is the norm for the country, its implementation through the active participation of rural organizations in the definition, the execution and maintenance of road project, but at present its level of definition is unclear, and mainly its financial commitments appear modest at present.²⁶

In any case, this is a project in which all departments are invited to update their road plans to the PRIIT (Plan Regional de Infraestructura Intermodal de Transporte) methodology, giving more space to their management in order to consider the integration of the modalities through the nodes of transfer, trying to make more efficient the mobilization of goods and people, giving priority to the concept of transport.

It is therefore clear that economic development is always at the heart of these programmes, always of extractive type and in any case entrusted to administrations that do not have tools to organize a new mode of management of the infrastructures and that therefore dedicate themselves to limited maintenance, mostly concentrated in areas owned by large landowners, often coinciding with the same administrators. In fact, therefore, still some good intentions, difficult to find in concrete and effective actions

²⁵ Paragrafi a cura di Ludovica Simionato.

²⁶ <https://www.mintransporte.gov.co/publicaciones/7037/gobierno-destinara-500000-millones-para-vias-terciarias-en-2019/>

*b. National Plan of Risk*²⁷

It is, as is easy to understand, an instrument of the highest strategic value, even vital for a nation exposed to any potential catastrophic event, both natural and artificial. The Plan in question, Plan Nacional de Gestión del Riesgo de Desastres 2015-2025, with a validity of ten years, is still firm to its preliminary definition of 2015, by the important Unidad Nacional para la Gestión del Riesgo de Desastres (UNGRD).²⁸ Being a National Plan active on a huge territory— about 5 times the Italian territory— it would be of great interest to deepen its contents and articulations to the local scale. No such elements were found for the territory in study. An element of interest in this respect is the definition of innovative and participatory risk management systems, open to participation of the inhabitants of the territories, such as “public warning systems“ and “crisis maps” managed through the network. A measure certainly interesting and advanced, that screech with the almost total lack of access to the Internet of great part of the marginal territories²⁹.

c. National plan for rural electrification

This plan seeks to address one of the most obvious deficits in post-conflict rural areas, by promoting appropriate technologies in rural areas. To do this, the Institute for Planning and Promotion of Energy Solutions for Non-Interconnected Areas - IPSE, divides the country's electricity interconnection into two independent systems. The Andean areas, the Caribbean, part of the Orinoquía and a minimal part of the Amazon are within the Interconnected National System (SIN) with power generation and transmission networks. The rest of the country (including the islands of San Andrés and Providence) is located within the unconnected areas (ZNI) representing 52% of the national territory, of which 39 are municipal and 5 are departmental capitals. Almost the entire territory of the Amazon region is in this condition, in fact constitutes almost 70% of the ZNI. The obvious problem of how to reconcile energy security and respect for the environmental values characteristic of these regions would be solved, according to the IPSE, through an organized development of renewable energy sources.

However, priority is given, also within this programme, to new infrastructures supporting new urbanisation programmes, which require secure and permanent electrical connections for their operation. For example, energy support at ports and airports, which could not be used in the absence of electricity or with an intermittent supply.

d. National Rural Connection Plan

Guaranteeing access to the internet, a fundamental means of connection with the rest of the world, is one of the measures longer present in the agreement. The plan contains two specific objectives:

- a) Promoting access to information and communication in all municipal centres in the country through the deployment of high-speed networks.
- b) Stimulate the use of the Internet through the provision of public access solutions to built-up areas with more than 100 inhabitants distributed in priority municipalities (PDET)³⁰. Neither of these measures was observed during the two missions carried out in the Guaviare Department between the end of 2018 and the beginning of 2019.

e. The National Rural Health Plan concerns measures and actions aimed at strengthening infrastructure and improving the quality of the public health network in the Colombian countryside.

²⁷ <https://www.preventionweb.net/english/professional/policies/v.php?id=46814>

²⁸ <http://portal.gestiondelriesgo.gov.co>

²⁹ Alertas Públicas y Mapa de Crisis, herramientas de alertas sobre fenómenos naturales en Colombia

<http://portal.gestiondelriesgo.gov.co/Paginas/Alertas-Publicas-de-Google.aspx> . Mapas de crisis:
<http://google.org/crisismap/colombia>

³⁰ https://www.mintic.gov.co/portal/604/articles-75888_recurso_2.pdf

The absence of health security measures is one of the main causes of the territorial exodus, regardless of nations and latitudes.

f. Special plan for rural education

It is aimed at increasing the quality of rural education also through the verification of conditions of suitable educational infrastructure. No intervention of this programme was observed in the visited territories.

g. National plan for rural residence

Through the identification of risk categories and lack of supply of drinking water, the plan is strongly linked to the allocation of land funds, as provided for in the Peace Agreement, one of the most delayed aspects of this agreement.

The analysis of the conditions of rural residences covers an insignificant percentage of the studies carried out at departmental level, where the data are spread over a very large area.

Without going further, or rather relying on other research opportunities the state of the art of the various other programming tools and economic aid of national value as:

- the National Plan of increment of the peasant economy
- the National Technical Assistance Plan
- the National Grant and Credit Plan
- the National marketing plan
- the Progressive Social Protection Plan
- the System for the progressive guarantee of the right to food,

recognizing its usefulness and necessity, the common features, held together by the identification of different forms of association of work, improvement of connections, participation of administrations, protection of workers' rights and training in the field, and aimed at strengthening a stronger economy because associative, stimulating, competent and competitive, it is easy to imagine the poor state of implementation of such programmes at local level

Everything is then hindered, in the most extreme regions, as in Guaviare, at the gates of the "Colombia profunda", from the forms of protection operating within specific regions such as forest reserve and resguardos indigenous which often make the implementation of such programmes particularly difficult.

At the end of this long paragraph, it is advisable then to devote further attention to the state of the art of the instruments that regulate the administration of the areas of environmental interest, and to their current declination for the territories under study.

The Environmental zoning plans

As already introduced in the initial notes of this text, the Peace Agreement initiates the development of:

1. an Environmental zoning plan to delimit the agricultural border and characterise the different environmental zones of each territory. Therefore, special environmental management areas can be identified as moors, basins and wetlands, among others. This plan shall be implemented within a period not exceeding 2 years.
2. For the development of the Environmental zoning Plan, the government will take into account the coexistence and development initiatives of rural communities and their participation as a key element in reaching the closure of the agricultural border.
3. Support for rural communities in areas of special environmental interest (forest reserve areas, national parks, etc.) In the structuring of development plans, including resettlement programmes,

where this is essential to maintain the environmental balance - or community rehabilitation programmes compatible with the closure of the agricultural border”.

In the Guaviare region, in 2016 a first study was produced for areas of this interest, in the form of an accurate document called “ZONIFICACIÓN AMBIENTAL Y ORDENAMIENTO DE LA RESERVA FORESTAL DE LA AMAZONÍA, CREADA MEDIANTE LA LEY 2a DE 1959, EN EL DEPARTAMENTO DE GUAVIARE, also because of the presence in the department of two important National protected Forest reserves and important areas of “resguardos indígenas.”³¹ This kind of instrument, almost contemporaneous to the signature of the peace agreement, dated October 2016, sets the basic regulatory conditions for the protection of the environmental and anthropological cultural heritage of the region, regulating its uses, to the point of defining, to the benefit of native populations –Nukak ethnicity– real “life plans”. This plan acts, or rather attempts to act within one of the regions most affected by dissipative processes – deforestation, diffusion of latifundium, aggression of native territories – and it is therefore of particular interest to assess its effectiveness, precisely because of these processes, as will be attempted in the final paragraph of that paper.

The Guaviare region is also affected by a Sustainable Development Plan of the Peasant Reserve Zone , established within it.

Finally, two additional economic planning and programming instruments introduced by the Peace Agreement also apply within the region:

- the Territorial Approach Development Programme (PDET – Programa de Desarrollo con Enfoque Territoriale)³²
- Planes de Acción para la transformación territorial/ Action plan for territorial change in its dual form Planes de Acción para la Transformación Regional PATR³³, and Municipal pacts , covering the different municipalities in the Department. Here you can find the strategic dimension of participation, both on the overall scale, and on the scale of detail, for every single town hall.

In the first case – PDET – s an instrument directly linked to the national instrument of the same name, dealt with in the previous notes. It is in essence a strategic plan, which defines, for particular territories of the country, the reference framework for action programmes – defined by further more detailed strategic plans - through which to implement the socio-economic development of these regions. At present, work has begun on 16 PDET, concerning and aggregating 70 municipalities in the country, mostly occupying peripheral regions, according to new inter-departmental borders, with ethnic groups (resguardos indígenas), and affected by armed conflict ³⁴.

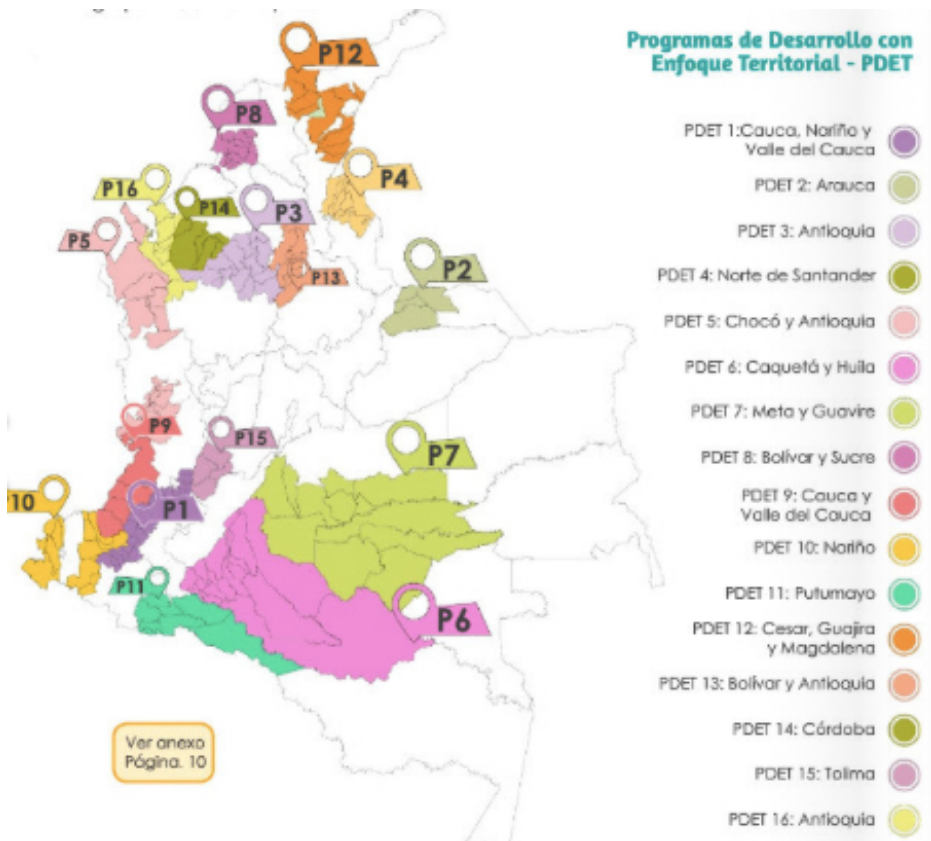
³¹

³²

³³

http://www.renovacionterritorio.gov.co/Documentos/planes_estrategicos/programas_de_desarrollo_con_enfoque_territorial_pdet/planes_de_accion_para_la_transformacion_regional_patr

³⁴ The State reserves the right, however, compatibly with the availability of resources, to launch new similar development tools also in other regions of the country of equal emergency..



As highlighted in this image, the Department of Guaviare is affected by the PDET n. 7, which brings together this department to that of the Meta.

These plans are born as tools of participatory planning / planning within the strategy of the integral agrarian reform to guarantee the structural transformation of the countryside and the rural area, to allow the fair reallocation between the countryside and the city in the post-conflict, through the launch of sectoral plans, programs and measures relevant to the Peace Agreement.

We have therefore arrived at the heart of the territorial strategy of the Agreement, or rather the instrumentation that should accompany what the country has been waiting for many decades: the return of the "desplazadas" populations, escaped from the territories due to the conflict (insert photo exhibition Chiostro di San Augustin) in the territories of origin, or the repopulation / new population of large regions through which to resolve the agrarian question that has always gripped the nation, and which is linked to the localization of people and the right to land.

These plans are in fact an absolute novelty in the territorial urban planning of the country, they have a fixed duration - 10 years - and can be formulated only once. We are therefore in the presence of a peculiar instrument to the Peace Agreement, which arises in implementation of this, and assumes a time limit for its implementation, which evidently relates to a hypothesis - perhaps optimistic - of duration of the same post-agreement phase / transition to peace. The goals / objectives of these plans are produced and subsequently incorporated within the PDN (Plano de Desarrollo National), which establishes general criteria and objectives (as seen in the previous notes). These plans must guarantee the incorporation of the ethnic, gender and "differential" approach³⁵.

³⁵ Cfr: <https://forjandopaz.org/wp-content/uploads/flipbook/21/mobile/index.html#p=3>, pag. 2.

Although the process of structural transformation of the countryside, in the intentions of the central government, should concern all the rural areas of the country, priority is given to the municipalities that need to accelerate the implementation of the final peace agreement, the criteria that have guided this priority they are the level of poverty, the impact suffered by the territories in the armed conflict, the inability of local institutions in the administration and current management of the territories, the presence of illegal crops and other illegitimate economies. All factors widely present within the Guaviare area. In the case of the examination, the PDET n. 7 is articulated and relates to other plans of greater detail: the Planes de Acción para la transformación territorial / Plan of action for territorial transformation, in their double articulation in Planes de Acción para la Transformación Regional PATR, and in municipal Pacts.

I PATR, in accordance with Decree n. 893/2017, have a duration of 5 years.

They are therefore the Municipal Agreements³⁶ the conclusion of this complex construction of strategic instruments, where each municipality reaches its own programmatic dimension, in relation to the general criteria and objectives defined in the upper planning levels.

Leaving for another occasion a further analysis of the contents of these plans, together with their state of realization - which appear, having come to the point, that is, to the size of the previously summarily described Municipal Pacts, often real "shopping lists" of the desires of the communities local, as it is customary to do in the standard procedures of these kinds of plans - without even the argumentative rhetoric of such plans, such as participatory swot analysis, vision, strategic axes, actions and projects - it is immediately evident how on this side of planning also an "extreme" region like Guaviare has managed to equip virtually every kind of instrument, as required by the Peace Agreement.

The suspicion is that this considerable mass of available tools does not correspond to a real capacity for governing the transformations by public authorities, as we will analyze in the following paragraph, and corresponds more to a narrative-political finality than expected transformations, in the most deleterious sense of the term.

The tools of ordinary planning, prior to the Peace Agreement

The discovery and analysis of this in many ways imposing urban planning instrumentation produced by the Peace Agreement could lead one to think about the absence, or at least the backwardness, of the ordinary planning tools for the territories of interest to the Agreement. On the other hand, a general analysis of these tools for the case study in question presents different elements of surprise in this regard, and leads to some final critical considerations.

POT (Plano de Ordenamiento Territorial³⁷)

³⁶ E' possibile attingere alla documentazione relativa ai municipi di interesse del caso allo studio attraverso il portale nazionale <http://www.renovacionterritorio.gov.co> all'indirizzo: http://www.renovacionterritorio.gov.co/Documentos/planes_estrategicos/programas_de_desarrollo_con_enfoque_territorial_pdet/pactos_municipales

³⁷ "Il Piano di pianificazione territoriale, POT, è definito come l'insieme di obiettivi, linee guida, politiche, strategie, obiettivi, programmi, azioni e norme adottate per guidare e gestire lo sviluppo fisico del territorio e l'uso del territorio. Pertanto, questi piani sono strumenti tecnici e normativi sviluppati da comuni e distretti, con i quali sono regolati i terreni rurali e urbani e stabiliscono linee guida per l'ubicazione della popolazione, l'edilizia abitativa, le attività socioeconomiche, l'infrastruttura stradale, i servizi pubblici, la delimitazione di aree protette e pericoli naturali per un periodo di 12 anni.

In termini generali, un POT è costituito dai seguenti componenti: (1) Generale, costituito da obiettivi, strategie e contenuti strutturali a lungo termine; (2) urbano, costituito da politiche, azioni, programmi e norme per incanalare e gestire lo sviluppo fisico urbano; e (3) rurale, costituito da politiche, azioni, programmi e norme per guidare e garantire l'interazione adeguata tra gli insediamenti rurali e la sede municipale, nonché l'uso conveniente della terra.

The POT is, according to the Colombian national regulation on urban planning, the law 388 of 1997³⁸, the urban planning instrument which every municipality or district of the country should have. Based on the population of each municipality, law 388 of 1997 defined three different types of plans to be developed:

- a. Territorial Order Plan (POT): Municipalities with over 100,000 inhabitants.
- b. Basic territorial planning plan (PBOT): Municipalities between 30,000 and 100,000 inhabitants.
- c. Basic spatial planning scheme (EOT): Municipalities with less than 30,000 inhabitants.

This kind of plan must be ascribed to the tradition of the instruments that regulate the physical transformation of cities through rules and drawings (zoning), but also contains contents of a structural nature.³⁹

Il POT (Plano de Ordinamiento Territorial) of municipality of S. José del Guaviare

Not all Colombian municipalities have urban planning tools. The municipality of San José del Guaviare has a territorial ordering plan, which due to the urban dimension of the municipality - is of the PBOT type (basic territorial planning plan).

The documentation of this plan is online, and can be downloaded from the page:
<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1J24YA1dODnbnPkPcJFSHDk6WOqh6i6-D/view> .

The Plan defines the structuring system of the entire territory, the soil classification system, and the rules of transformation, conservation and protection.

.....

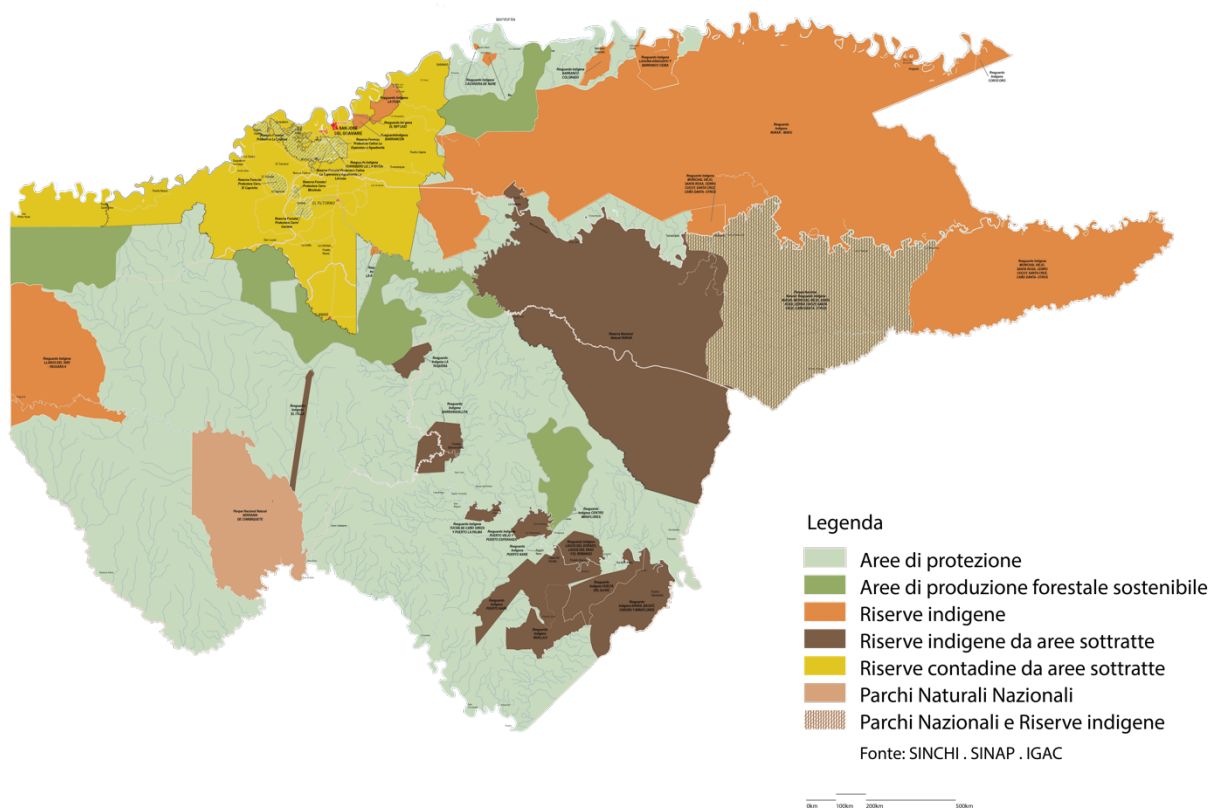
In essence, an ordinary Plan exists, even if dated (the date obtained from the online documents dated April 5, 2001), and although it is poor in terms of graphics and technical drawings, it contains a system of norms that the environmental aspects also refers to the superordinate legislation which regulates part of the territories of the municipality itself.

Dovrebbero tenere conto dei seguenti fattori determinanti: (1) questioni relative alla conservazione e protezione dell'ambiente, delle risorse naturali, alla prevenzione delle minacce e ai pericoli naturali; (2) le politiche, linee guida e regolamenti in materia di conservazione, conservazione e utilizzo delle aree e degli edifici considerati patrimonio culturale della Nazione e dei dipartimenti, compresi quelli storici, artistici e architettonici, in conformità con la legislazione corrispondente; (3) l'identificazione e l'ubicazione delle infrastrutture di base relative alla rete stradale nazionale e regionale, ai porti e agli aeroporti, ai sistemi di approvvigionamento idrico, igienico-sanitario e di approvvigionamento energetico, nonché le linee guida per le loro aree di influenza; (4) Le componenti della pianificazione territoriale dei piani integrali di sviluppo metropolitano, nella misura in cui si riferiscono ad eventi metropolitani, nonché le norme generali che stabiliscono gli obiettivi e i criteri definiti dalle aree metropolitane in materia di pianificazione del territorio comunale." Fonte: <https://observatorioplanificacion.cepal.org/es/planes/plan-de-ordenamiento-territorial-de-colombia>

³⁸ <http://www.minvivienda.gov.co/LeyesMinvivienda/0388%20-%201997.pdf#search=0388>

³⁹ <http://www.minvivienda.gov.co/viceministerios/viceministerio-de-vivienda/espacio-urbano-y-territorial/plan-de-ordenamiento-territorial>

Reserva Forestal de la Amazonia (Ley 2/56), y las Reservas Forestales de Preservación de la Lindosa (Ley 89/89), de la Serranía de El Capricho, de la Cuenca de los caños La Esperanza, La María, Caño Negro y Agua Bonita



The forest reserve areas established through the issuance of Law 2a of 195, and are oriented towards the development of the forest economy and the protection of soils, water and wildlife. They are not protected areas, however there are areas within the National System of Protected Areas - SINAP and collective territories.

PLAN DE DESARROLLO DEPARTAMENTAL 2016-2019, “Guaviare Paz y Desarrollo Social”

On WEB⁴⁰ this additional tool is also available, made for use by the Department from the Universidad de Los Andes, one of the most prestigious Colombian universities.

The Sustainable Development Plan of the Campesina del Guaviare Reserve Area, April 2011⁴¹

Areas of the peasant reserve (ZRC)

The legal life of the areas of the peasant reserve (ZRC) is born with the Law 160 of 1994. According to this rule, the ZRCs have the purpose of regulating and ordering the rural property, reversing the processes of concentration and acquisition of the abandoned lands, to be redistributed between indigent peasants, because they are victims of conflict and property deportation, in the idea of "making entrepreneurs" such subjects, within particular community rules and protection conditions.

⁴⁰ <https://ceo.uniandes.edu.co/images/Documentos/Plan%20de%20Desarrollo%20Guaviare%202016%20-%202019.pdf>

⁴¹ Plan de Desarrollo sostenible de la Zona de Reserva Campesina del Guaviare Convenio de Asociación No. 617 de octubre 26 de 2011 INCODER – Cooagrogaviare, <http://anzorc.com/download/pds-guaviare/>

The truth is that, until three years after the law was issued, between 1997 and 1999, the government began to constitute only a first ZRC, exactly in Guaviare, above all in response to the strong pressure of the settlers and peasants who massively participated in the "marches" farmers of 1996, in the departments of Guaviare, Caquetá, Putumayo and Magdalena Medio.

The established ZRCs, however, did not gain sufficient momentum and support from the state to consolidate during the 2000s. Worse, for a long time they were stigmatized, and their organizations and leaders threatened or displaced.

Currently, and after the long period of stagnation, the ZRC has regained validity, mainly due to the demands of local communities.

At a time when the country faces the challenge of returning the land to the victims of internal armed conflict and rural development by the national government, everything concerning land policy becomes a crucial and definitive issue not only for the present and the future of settlers and peasants, but to overcome conflict, spatial planning and the development of productive models in the perspective of environmental sustainability.

The Gobernación de Guaviare & ASONOP in 2007 called for an Environmental Management Plan (PMA) to make the area suitable for agricultural development in the area. This decision was reported following a major urban expansion of the city of San José del Guaviare, capital of the Department, to the establishment of areas of Indigenous Reserve close to the city, and to the strong exodus that forced many farmers to move towards the centers more.

In 2012 in the "Sustainable Plan de Desarrollo" as regards the possession in the forest reserve areas, the current occupants present an atypical situation because the right of ownership is excluded by any procedures for the recognition of acquired rights given that, due to the legal nature of this territory, it is impossible to recognize informal relations with the territory that cannot be regularized in the form of securities.

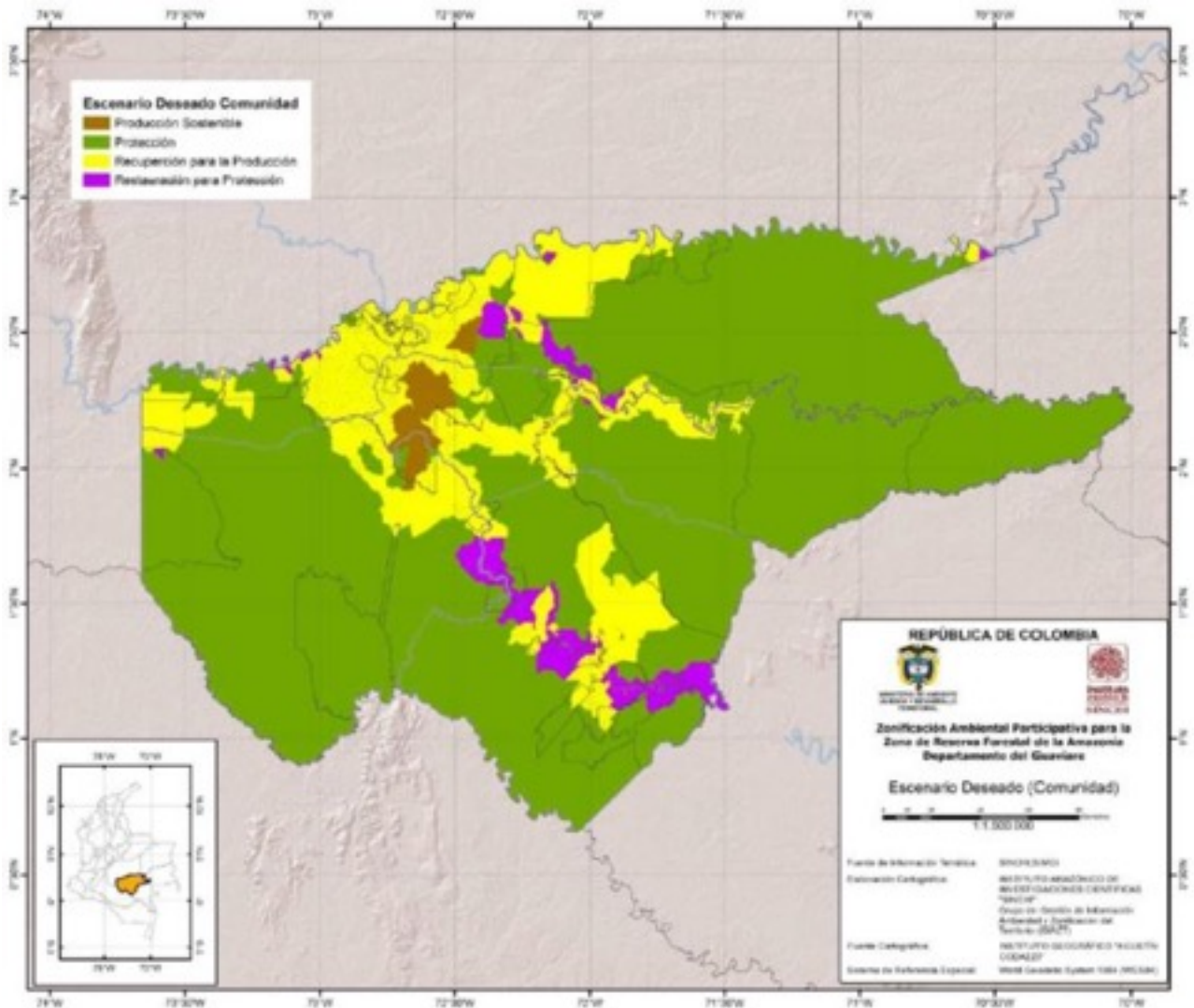
From this it opens up a hoped-for scenario designed by the same local communities, in which the peasant reserve area is evidently more developed

In 2015 the PMA is made public by identifying the area that still today is the Contadina reserve.

In the figure below, representing the "Scenario hoped for in 2012", the areas designated for reserva campesina are indicated in yellow.

What appears to be at stake, in this complex framework of ordinary and extraordinary instruments, is how to put together the recognition of the right to the land of peasants, even within possible agricultural repopulation programs, and the protection and respect for the forest Amazonian, in this region particularly exposed, historically, and also, as we shall see, in the present post-conflict period, to a strong process of deforestation.

The concern that arises, compared to a situation of apparent wealth of instruments and regulations, often conflicting, and to the obvious inability of the public administrations of the State to guarantee the government of territorial transformations - in situations characterized by high levels of corruption and "distance" administrative from the real problems -, that this wealth also represents a limit and a strong risk for the effectiveness of such government.



Participatory environmental zoning for the Zona de Reserva Forestal de la Amazonia, Department of Guaviare. Scenario wished for in 2012. In yellow the areas destined to reserva campesina. In yellow, areas intended for the expansion of the Campesina Reserve Area (areas with administrative status and special owner), in purple: restoration areas for environmental protection.

Source: ZONIFICACIÓN AMBIENTAL Y ORDENAMIENTO DE LA RESERVA FORESTAL DE LA AMAZONÍA, CREADA MEDIANTE LA LEY 2a DE 1959, EN EL DEPARTAMENTO DE GUAVIARE Informe final, Volumen 4. Zonificación y propuesta de ordenamiento Ambiental, Bogotá D.C., Octubre de 2016 pag. 63 <https://www.sinchi.org.co/files/PUBLICACIONES%20DIGITALES/Zonificación%20Ambiental%20y%20Ordenamiento%20de%20la%20Reserva%20Forestal%20de%20la%20Amazonia/Fase%20I%3A%20Departamento%20del%20Guaviare/light2%20F1%20Vol%204%20Zonificación%20y%20propuesta%20de%20ordenamiento%20ambiental.pdf>

7. The territorial transformations of post-conflict. The case of S. Josè del Guaviare. Direct observations and testimonies, 2018 and 2019.

The vast framework of territorial planning and planning tools put in place by the Peace Agreement, and which, alongside critical areas of interference and intersection, with that of ordinary instrumentation can now, at the end of this article, be put to comparison with the framework of the most recent territorial processes and transformations, starting from the analysis of the case study of the Department and of the municipality of San Josè del Guaviare, already the subject of several in-depth analyzes in the previous paragraphs. The occasion is given by field observations conducted on the occasion of two recent international missions,⁴² which allow us to provide at least some updated accounts of situations and conditions experienced directly..

On the basis of the studies carried out so far, the choice of the Guaviare pilot case of the recent research activities undertaken in collaboration with the colleagues of the Salle is more clear⁴³.

The Guaviare, in fact, presents in itself all the critical characteristics of the territories of the post-armed conflict, having been, in the past years, also the site of dramatic war and criminal events, but also and above all of the environmental conflict still in progress, as a region to higher rate of deforestation of the entire country, where the development of illicit crops is located, never completely interrupted.

“In the year 2017, Guaviare holds the mayor porcentaje de deforestacion del los departamentos amazonicos with respecto to the area departamental. Esta region presents the mayor presion para la Amazonia for the opening of the frontera agropecuaria, ilegal and informal”⁴⁴

Trying to list these transformations, together with the processes and conflicts of which they are the expression, becomes perhaps the best way to conclude this text, and to open up to the perspectives of research, and action research, that the joint action of different international universities, to continuation of the work started in the first workshops, it intends to soon realize on this interesting territorial test bed.

The processes of deforestation

Without a shadow of a doubt, the ongoing process that presents greater visual eloquence is certainly that related to the progress of deforestation, although some signs seem to denote a recent reduction in this disturbing phenomenon.

A recent article in the national newspaper El Espectador, dated 11 July 2019⁴⁵, presents a still worrying situation, although attenuated by timid signs of counter-trend.

In the last year, in Colombia, “The equivalent of two times (the surface of) Bogotá has been deforested. Although at the national level, the deforestation has been reduced by 10% compared to 2017, some regions continue to worry about IDEAM - Instituto de Hidrología, Meteorología y Estudios Ambientales⁴⁶ and the Ministry of Environment.

L'anno scorso sono stati persi 197.159 ettari di foresta nel paese. Il dato, (...) rappresenta una riduzione del 10% rispetto al tasso di deforestazione registrato in Colombia nel 2017. Contrary to

⁴² The first took place in October 2018, the second in March 2019.

⁴³ It is an project research that has passed the selection within a call of the Universidad de La Salle for the formation of programs of national interest. In addition to the DdA of Pescara, the University of Detmold, Lippe, Germany also collaborates with this research project.

⁴⁴ Op. cit.

⁴⁵ See at: <https://infoamazonia.org/es/2019/07/espanol-en-2018-colombia-deforest-197-159-hectareas-de-bosque/> .

⁴⁶ <http://www.ideam.gov.co/>
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Institute_of_Hydrology,_Meteorology_and_Environmental_Studies_\(Colombia\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Institute_of_Hydrology,_Meteorology_and_Environmental_Studies_(Colombia))

expectations, the government's actions have managed to prevent the deforestation of 40,360 hectares of natural forest. "(...)

"This methodology also revealed that in the Amazon region deforestation increased from 144,147 hectares in 2017 to 138,176 hectares in 2018. This means a reduction of 5,971 hectares, a figure that, although favorable, is still far from promising to reach a rate of deforestation equal to zero in that territory. Already at the beginning of 2018 the then Environment Minister Gilberto Murillo had postponed this objective, after revealing that it would have been impossible to reach him in 2020. (...) Illegal timber trafficking, mining, extensive negligence practices, planting of illicit crops, drug trafficking and construction of unauthorized roads are some of the activities that cause deforestation in Colombia. "(...)

The deforestation indicator has become the top priority within the government," said Environment Minister Ricardo Lozano, according to which the reduction achieved is due to the actions taken by the National Council to combat deforestation, more than nine operations carried out by the Public Force, the Amazon Vision program and the work done by the national natural parks "(...)" In the Amazon, deforestation has decreased by 5,971 hectares, from 144,147 hectares cleared in 2017 to 138,176 hectares in 2018. However, (l "Colombian Amazonia" continues to be the most deforested region in the country (it concentrates 70% of all problems). In fact, of the five most deforested departments, four are Amazonian. The list is led by Caquetá, followed by Meta, Guaviare, Putumayo and Antioquia ". (...)

"The main driver of the loss of forests in the country, according to IDEAM, is the" praderizacion "oriented to the usurpation and acquisition of land, to the development of new plantations of coca crops, to the bad extensive cattle practices, to the extraction illegal minerals and wood, road construction not authorized by the State, extension of the agricultural border in areas not allowed and illegal logging, produced by fire, in that order"⁴⁷.

E' un quadro dunque particolarmente grave, quello che riguarda la regione Amazzonica, dove una pluralità di fattori sta producendo la più pesante aggressione di questa regione della storia.

Numerous contributions published in the number 11/2018 of the prestigious scientific journal of the Sinchi Institute, *Amazzonia Colombia*⁴⁸, warn how deforestation, the presence of mafias and lack of planning are growing rapidly and overflowing into the Colombian Amazonia.

"Since colonial times, the 48 million hectares that make up the Colombian Amazon have received blows from Spaniards, rubber workers, missionaries, settlers and armed groups, but today their biggest executioner is the chainsaw, which in 2017 led to destruction of approximately 144,000 hectares of woods. " (...) "Three regions of Amazonia were the most affected: La Macarena, Caquetá and Putumayo (including Chiribiquete) and the department of Guaviare. (...) Rodrigo Botero, director of the Foundation for Sustainable Development (FCDS) and Dolors Armenteras, of the research group on landscape ecology and ecosystem modeling at the National University, highlight in particular the condition of three critical areas (...): "the acceleration of deforestation and the difficulty of the state to control it move towards preserved landscapes such as the Chiribiquete Natural Park. It also highlights other risks such as public policies that promote the exploration of hydrocarbons in the Caguán-Llanos basin, the development of intermodal transport, cattle breeding and food farming in Guaviare, Caquetá and southern Meta, together with the presence of deserters ex Farc and the arrival of new settlers and large private investors in these regions. "In particular, according to these authors, these are also processes set in motion by planning tools. "In the last four years, sectoral planning tools have been developed that focus on the mining and energy economics,

⁴⁷ <https://infoamazonia.org/es/2019/07/espanol-en-2018-colombia-deforesto-197-159-hectareas-de-bosque/> .

⁴⁸ See at: https://www.sinchi.org.co/files/publicaciones/revista/pdf/11.%20Revista_Amazonica.pdf

the development of agribusiness and the expansion of a multimodal transport network, such as the Master Plan for intermodal transport in the Meta and Guaviare, for the exploration of hydrocarbons, the development plans of the Meta and of the Guaviare through the development of agro-industrial crops and of breeding of livestock supported by forms of illegal appropriation of agricultural and natural lands. "

For these experts, three regions of Amazonia were the most affected: La Macarena, Caquetá and Putumayo (including the very important Chiribiquete natural park, the largest in the nation) and the Guaviare department.

"The Special Management Area of Macarena (AMEM), which includes parts of the southwestern and northern Guaviare Meta, is the most transformed in the last 18 years. Of its nearly five million hectares, it has lost at least 1.8 million hectares of forests (in 2017, 49% of deforestation throughout the Amazon) ".

The role attributed by these authors to the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces is also important and singular, in the period in which these actors of the armed conflict carried out real and proper tasks of government in these regions, or at least they had military control.

"The FARC's have played a central role in defining land use, settlement and planning. Between 2000 and 2010 there was a strong phenomenon of transformation on the Ariari river axis due to the road link between Granada and San José del Guaviare, which marked the beginning of the expansion of a corridor of African palms. This is how the first roads appeared, which reactivated the exploration of hydrocarbons and kept the cultivation of coca. "

La distruzione, riduzione (e parziale ripresa) delle coltivazioni illegali (coca)

It is thus that one of the main objectives, and results, of the peace process - the suppression of illicit crops in the country - is actually reduced by several unofficial reports.

In an article that appeared two months before the presidential elections, Elisabetta Fauda revealed this unexpected aspect of the post agreement:

"Beyond the proclamations of a government that has less than two months of ordinary administration before the change of deliveries, the real truth is that cocaine has once again become a big problem for Colombia. As paradoxical as it may appear, the so-called illegal crops have increased over time between the signing of the peace agreements with the FARC to date, and now they risk becoming the fuel that threatens to ignite the post-conflict. The national police, the United States government, the Integrated System for the Monitoring of Illegal Cultivation (SIMCI) of the United Nations agree on a bleak conclusion: in Colombia, from 2014 onwards, the quantity of hectares cultivated with coca has almost quadrupled. Not to mention that, in addition to having expanded geographically, the crops have modernized and increased their productivity index"⁴⁹.

The impression is that these crops have substantially shifted their headquarters, and today play a worrying role as a bridgehead for a new colonization of the Amazon jungle that proceeds by illegal occupations of inland areas, which often benefit from the "guerrilla routes", activated by the FARC in the years of armed conflict as escape routes, and of the military technical support of new

⁴⁹ <http://www.terredamerica.com/2018/07/06/piantagioni-fuori-controllo-colombia-la-superficie-coltivata-coca-e-quadruplicata-negli-ultimi-tre-anni-il-governo-lancia-un-nuovo-piano-di-eradicazione/> Per resoconti aggiornati su questo tema si veda il sito <https://www.arcoiris.com.co/observatorio-de-tierras-agroproduccion-y-cultivos-ilicitos-colombia/> .

unpublished alliances between armed groups of former FARC dissidents and local and international mafias.

The development of the landed estates, and of the breeding, to replace the structures of local agricultural enterprise of small and medium dimension

In the face of this never tamed and even growing criminal economy, perhaps even in relation to this, it is more than evident, also through direct observation, the spread of new forms of territorial organization linked to the development of agricultural landed estates and animal breeding. It is a territorial organization that is also and above all an economic and social organization, which replaces the previous organization, linked to the cocalera economy, based on small and medium-sized local agricultural structures.

Those who belonged to this kind of economy, particularly flourishing and profitable at the time of the region's FARC domination, find themselves facing few alternatives: that of giving, often illegally, their title to new subjects; become wage labor; find employment and enterprise in new "adventures" of colonization, often accompanied by actions of destruction of wooded areas, widening of the "agricultural frontier" so far consolidated, even in areas protected in an environmental sense or pertaining to the natives (resguardos indigenos).

The consequent infrastructural processes in support of the new economies (penetration roads, electrification, boniche, fincas padronali) to replace the previous territorial organizations

"The model of colonization is marked by the opening of local roads, which have entered the areas of the Chiribiquete expansion, bringing the territories of the indigenous peoples into isolation. In the southern area of the Yarí savannahs, in Chiribiquete, the farms appeared as strong economic weapons "

Botero points out that over the past two years, millennial forests have been demolished and burned in this area, lands that are not cultivated or occupied. "This phenomenon predominates throughout the western border of the Amazon Forest Reserve. Local villagers say they have much to offer families that dissidents are bringing, including farmers who pay for their acquisition and stay. "

"The largest lots, opened between December 2017 and March 2018, were in the expansion phase of Chiribiquete, in the transition area from the savannah to the forest. This is due to the informal roads of San Vicente del Caguán, which serve to consolidate new fronts of colonization and deforestation by large tracts of land. Towards the lower Caguán river basin, in the area of Peñas Rojas, there is a colonization front directed towards the Yarí river, on an old guerrilla track. The large livestock and informal market of the wasteland on the Orteguzaza-Caguán flood is the most affected by the agricultural frontier in this sector. In Cartagena del Chairá there is a scenario of deforestation and massive arrival of farmers. There is a new tendency to open areas of colonization towards the routes of La Quebrada and El Billar, where there are old connecting routes used by the Farc.

"The extension of the agricultural frontier in this region of Caquetá and Putumayo has reached the areas of reserves and indigenous parks, where not only livestock and land grabbing are the engines of expansion. There are also expectations and planning in the transport and energy sector, "says Botero.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ <https://fedcs.org.co/la-colombia-amazonica-al-desnudo/?fbclid=IwAR0iQtSqVXoHXlyq6NV4s4twdWHmFLp1OAepYHi2k3ONksvZAw70sRu4fE8>

The expansion of monoculture agricultural crops and oil palm

In this impressive swirl of transformations induced by the changed military political conditions of the post-conflict there is also room for the growth and development of new powerful agricultural enterprise projects linked to monocultural agricultural cultivation - pineapple - and the development of oil palm. These are actions that see companies that are already active in the field of fossil fuels as protagonists, which can therefore count on large capitals and on the urgency of converting activities and plants due to the deterioration or loss of profit of mining plants.

Exploration and extraction of hydrocarbons and fossil fuels

This activity paradoxically continues, and finds support also within the programs and plans of a public nature, benefiting from the opening and development of new road infrastructures and intermodal systems.

The role of mafia and criminal organizations that have taken the place vacated by the FARC

The solution to the armed conflict developed during the post-agreement period, almost three years after Cartagena, does not seem to have solved even the military or paramilitary aspects of the conflict. Despite the initial success - the delivery of the weapons of over 20,000 armed fighters - there are many signs that indicate processes of replacement and development of new groups and organizations, increasingly characterized on the criminal rather than ideological side.

In many areas of the country, there are also forms of coexistence and agreement between irreducible armed groups - ELN, the National Liberation Army, which remained outside the agreements of 2016, dissident fractions of the former FARC - and the new mafias of the narco traffic, with strong international links with Mexican criminal organizations.

The embryonic development of forms of tourism

It is no coincidence, then, that a possible brake on the development, moreover more than desirable, of new forms of tourism towards destinations unknown to the national tourist public up until now - La Macarena, the Parco della Lindosa, the Chiriquete Park, the Rock Written Stones, the lagoons of the water dolphins, the thermal areas, the City of Stone, only to remain within the department of Guaviare⁵¹- and which are rapidly gaining the interest of the international exterminated public - is represented precisely by these conditions of risk and of insecurity of the places.

It is a case of direct experience downstream of the mission carried out in the municipality of S. José del Guaviare, in the month of March 2019, culminating in an unforgettable tour to visit some of the most important destinations in the region.

On 3 April the national daily El Espectador publishes the news of the threats⁵² of an armed group of former FARC regarding the accessibility of the park of Lindosa (site of the famous rock stones) in

⁵¹ <http://www.mincit.gov.co/getattachment/minturismo/analisis-sectorial-y-promocion/promocion-turistica/guias-turisticas-por-departamentos/descargar-en-pdf-guaviare/descargar-en-pdf-guaviare.pdf.aspx> , by Ministry of Trade: <http://www.mincit.gov.co/minturismo/analisis-sectorial-y-promocion/promocion-turistica> .

⁵² <https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/disidencias-de-farc-prohiben-turismo-en-guaviare-articulo-848419>

the Easter period, news later denied by the local authorities, confirming however in substance the presence of armed groups active in the region⁵³.

It is also a question of understanding towards which kind of tourism the region is addressed, through actions and interventions that appear to be, once again, the product of private initiatives, without a clear public government. The risk is that the absence of a shared vision, ecologically and socially oriented, for the development of tourism in the region will soon dissipate and distort the important opportunities that these territories offer in terms of sustainable ecotourism. It is unfortunately a very concrete perspective, which would lead to losing potentialities that are still all possible today.

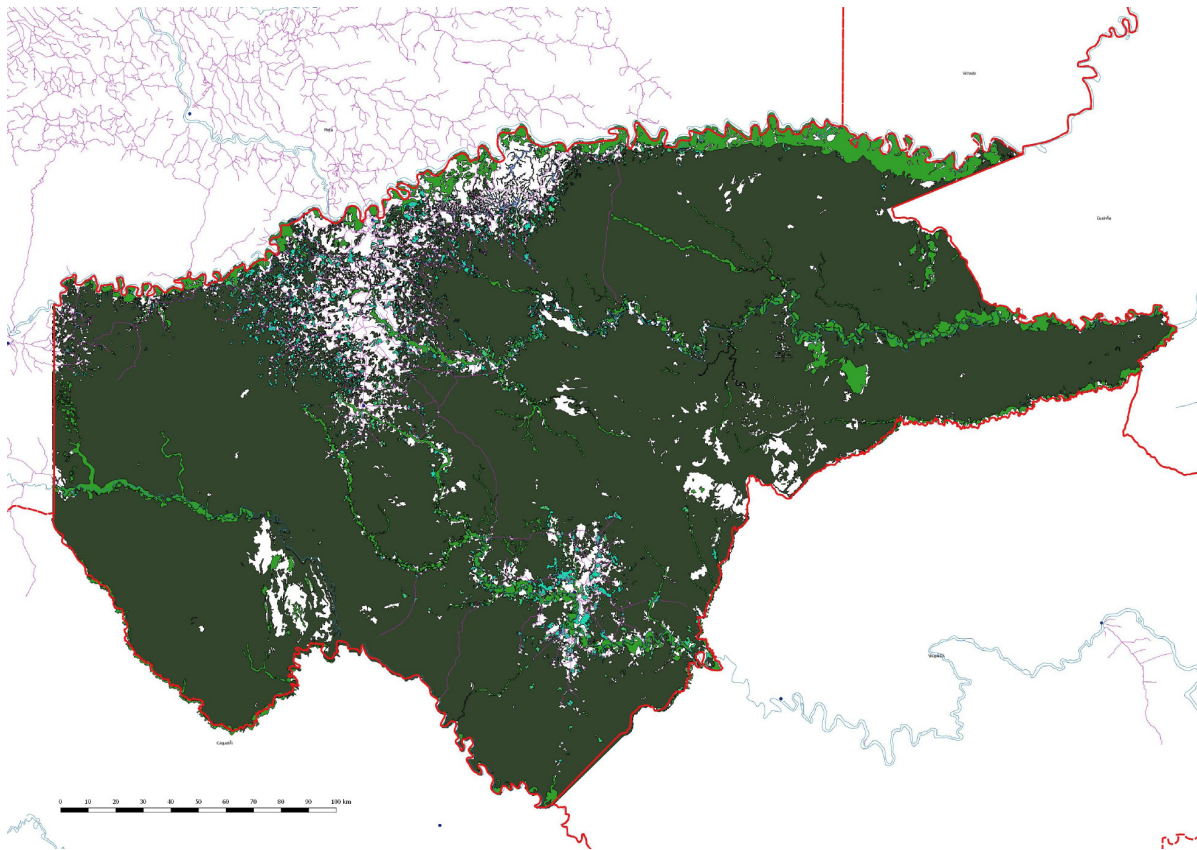
Which territory?

Seen as a whole, the process of transformation underway, even within partial contradictions, actually appears to obey, in an almost implicit form, a territorial design endowed with its very strong logic, which aims, perhaps even more strongly than in the past, to reproduce new and old forms of extractive economies in the territory - hydrocarbons, monocultures, oil palms, prized timber, animal husbandry on specialized pastures (chemical fertilizers) - all strongly alterative and very often destructive of environmental ecological values and the ethno-anthropological riches that constitute its specificity and quality.

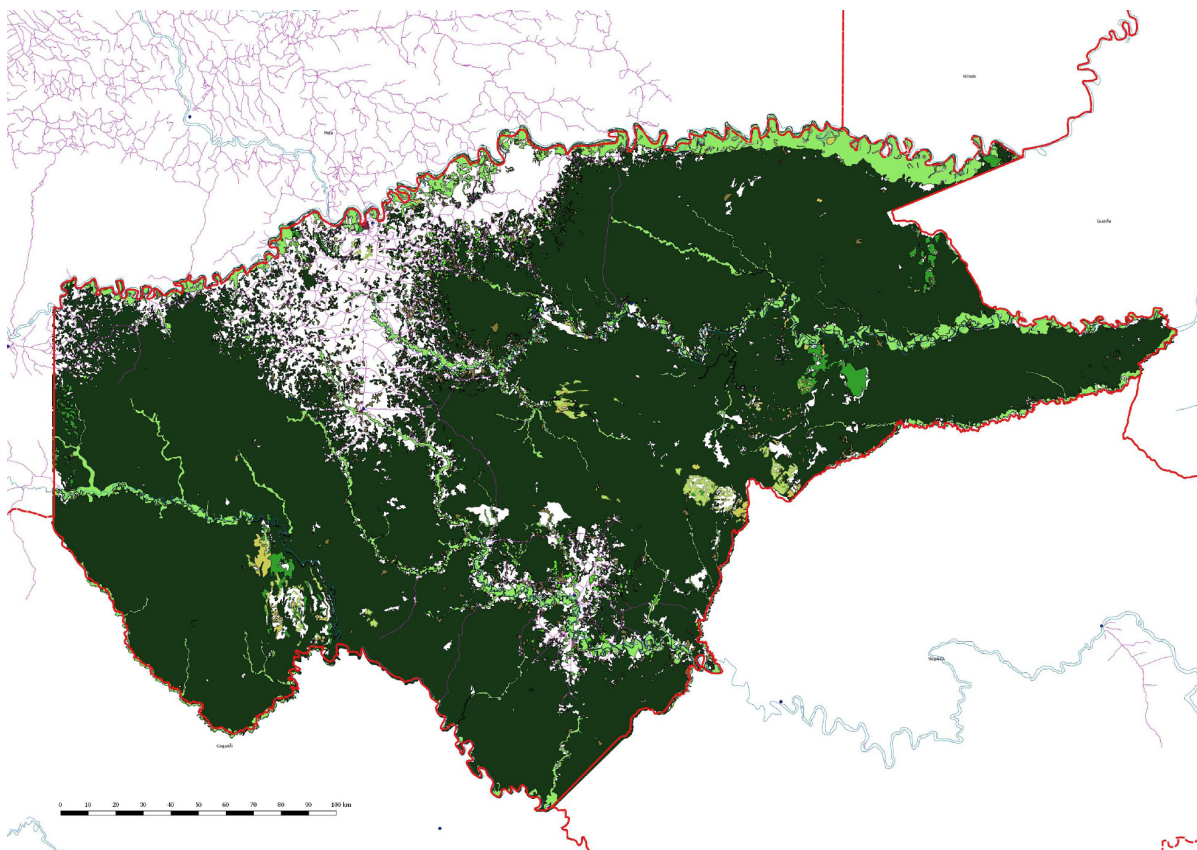
It is a process that sees few winners - the large landowners, coinciding, perhaps, with the actors of the narco traffic, who today invest their great wealth in costly development programs for monoculture and large-scale farms - and numerous losers - the communities of small and medium farmers, who had experienced periods of relative prosperity thanks to the cultivation of coca, indigenous communities, increasingly confined to reserves attacked by illegal invasions, the former FARC rivals who still believe in the peace agreement and remain in the ETCR, which would need new alliances, and greater solidarity and support, nationally and internationally. And yet, as Ernesto Guhl, director of the magazine *Amazzonia Colombia*, states, "The country (and perhaps the whole world, Editor's Note), must understand that the Amazon is different from the rest of the territory from the cultural and natural point of view, since there they inhabit strategic ecosystems and a diverse population of indigenous people, farmers and settlers. Furthermore, its management must have an international dimension, which implies agreements with neighboring countries"⁵⁴.

⁵³ <https://amp.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/autoridades-del-guaviare-desmienten-amenazas-sobre-prohibicion-del-turismo-en-el-departamento-articulo-848871> : "El Guaviare es el centro de operaciones de 'Gentil Duarte', un veterano excomandante guerrillero que abandonó el proceso de paz desde finales de 2016. Desde entonces ha fortalecido una disidencia de las Farc mediante el control del negocio del narcotráfico en el suroriente del país, las extorsiones y la operación coordinada con diferentes actores criminales que se mueven en el departamento y los diferentes corredores del tráfico de drogas".

⁵⁴ <https://fcds.org.co/la-colombia-amazonica-al-desnudo/?fbclid=IwAR0iQtSqVXoHXlyq6NV4s4twdWHmFLp1OAepYHi2k3ONksvZAw70sRu4fE8>



Dipartimento del Guaviare, riduzione delle superfici a bosco, 2002-2014, elaborazione dell'autore in ambiente GIS attraverso Open Data (Fonte: <http://guaviare.gkudos.com/opendata/>).



7. Peace and social justice, territorial reorganization, ecological progress: what can be expected in the near future. Research and international cooperation perspectives

This text started with two fundamental questions. The first concerned the state of the art - state of planning and conditions of implementation and execution - of the many programs and plans of a territorial nature implemented by the peace agreement as a condition of peace and development. The second, more general, concerned instead the question, apparently simple, if the Peace Agreement itself building a new, fairer and more inclusive and more sustainable country.

The answer to both questions does not allow unambiguous answers, but the picture is generally anything but positive, and turns to negative answers.

Many of the instruments declared in the Agreement have still remained on paper, or have known partial and questionable applications, or are of poor urban development⁵⁵.

This is especially the case with the vast set of actions aimed at improving the condition of the historic victims of the Colombian armed conflict, the inhabitants of rural areas - the campesinos that populated the rural areas of the country, displaced and deprived of land ownership - and the native peoples, confined to protected areas today even more unstable and defenseless than at the time of armed conflict. The proof is the growing number of victims, including community leaders, civil rights defenders, former peacekeepers, who paints red (of blood) these first, dramatically disappointing years of post-conflict⁵⁶. But it is above all the current political framework that today makes the future scenario particularly worrying, as many international commentators report, in the most recent chronicles.

And it is the answer to the second question that perhaps leaves even more disappointed. The country is being rebuilt, or perhaps it is being built for the first time, in many of its apparently peaceful regions, in forms not very dissimilar from how it was built in the rules - and not rules - of the hyper-liberal development of the previous decades.

Some hopes remain, so that some forms of social and territorial innovation, only partially tested before and after the agreement - among these, the Rural Reserve Areas, the Parks and the Protected Areas - can find better definition in the resumption of the principles and of the progressive ideas that had driven the construction of the Peace Agreement.

And it is the environmental issue, which remains topical and not only of national interest since the climate crisis is increasingly evident in turning into a real international emergency, the question that still remains on the agenda, without many reassurances that it can be assumed, beyond many affirmations in principle, as a focal point of government action.

⁵⁵ E' il caso dei numerosi strumenti di pianificazione strategica, di cui forse è chiaro il significato politico – creare consenso locale attorno a lunghi elenchi di desiderata pubblici – meno la fattualità, in assenza di risorse pubbliche esplicite e dichiarate.

⁵⁶

The question of the "agricultural frontier",⁵⁷ of the limit to be taken - even in an intelligent, open, integrated form - for the defense of the "tap of the world", the Amazon forest also inhabited by ethnic groups to be protected and defended, which should and could be assumed as a theme of research and action, including joint action by national governments, international support agencies, and in general by other potential partners on the global scene.

Within this, there is ample space for cooperation between universities, local authorities, and associations for the defense of common rights⁵⁸, including on the European side.

Colombia is an extraordinary country, due to conditions of nature, history, and humanity that inhabit it.

This country is experiencing the end of a very long period of civil war, which has imprisoned and distorted its modern development, and the opening of a difficult but now unstoppable process of transition to peace, which can only pass through the progressive overcoming of the enormous social inequalities that still characterize its socio-economic structure. What is certain, and that there is no peace, there will be no peace, even in Colombia, without justice and greater social equity, there will be no transition to peace, and progress, social and economic, without a simultaneous transition of the model of current development towards new forms of greater environmental and social

⁵⁷ "Borde de estabilización. Es un borde indicativo que delimita las zonas de ocupación con altos índices de transformación que concentran el poblamiento de comunidades colono campesinas y urbanas, de los territorios indígenas y las zonas con coberturas amplias de bosques y manejo ambiental especial. El Borde permite orientar la planeación territorial y condicionar la inversión pública social para su consolidación interna. No determina una exclusión de zonas del territorio, sino un tratamiento diferencial." Fuente:

<http://guaviare.gkudos.com/opendata/?q=borde>

⁵⁸ Un interessante esempio di cooperazione da parte di questi soggetti è rappresentato dall'iniziativa di ARCI Toscana sul tema delle Zonas de Reserva Campesinas, di cui alle note seguenti:

<http://www.arcifirenze.it/internazionali/colombia/zonas-de-reserva-campesina-costruendo-la-pace-con-la-justicia-social/>

"Durante le ultime decadi, i governi colombiani hanno portato avanti una serie di politiche economiche di stampo estrattivista, favorendo le imprese multinazionali e i potentati economici regionali. Questo modello di sviluppo accentua fortemente le profonde disuguaglianze sociali e l'alta concentrazione della terra, agevolando i processi di espropriazione e sfollamento forzato a danno dei piccoli proprietari terrieri. Le comunità più colpite sono quelle dei contadini, della popolazione afrocolombiana e degli indigeni.

Questi gruppi sociali, nonostante questo, mantengono un livello di auto-organizzazione molto importante e implementano strategie di resistenza attraverso l'autogestione del territorio, tra cui riveste particolare importanza la promozione delle Zonas de Reserva Campesina (ZRC), istituite dalla legge colombiana: territori interamente gestiti dai contadini, sottoposti a forme di proprietà collettiva e a un governo democratico e partecipativo. Questi processi sono riusciti a garantire la sopravvivenza di intere comunità rurali attraverso l'autogestione, l'autoregolamentazione e il lavoro collettivo.

ARCI Firenze sostiene questi processi contadini democratici e partecipativi attraverso il progetto "Zonas de Reserva Campesina, costruendo la Pace con giustizia sociale".

Luogo e anno: Colombia. Anno 2019-21.

Obiettivo: L'obiettivo generale del progetto è consolidare le Zonas de Reserva Campesina come strumento per la costruzione della Pace nelle zone rurali e come spazio di riconoscimento politico del mondo contadino attraverso un percorso formativo e partecipativo nazionale che porti alla presentazione di almeno due nuove domande di costituzione di 12 nuove Zonas de Reserva Campesina e all'avvio di un percorso virtuoso di riciclaggio e raccolta differenziata dei rifiuti nella Zona de Reserva Campesina di Cabrera.

I/Le beneficiari/e diretti/e del progetto saranno gli/le 540 partecipanti alle attività formative che saranno capacitati nella gestione delle ZRC e nella legislazione che le regola e i/le 360 beneficiari/e che parteciperanno ai corsi sulla gestione alternativa dei rifiuti nelle ZRC. I/Le beneficiari/e indiretti/e del progetto saranno tutti gli abitanti delle aspiranti ZRC che sono 4.687.372.

Risultati attesi:

R1: Le comunità contadine delle zone interessate dal progetto riconoscono il loro territorio come ZRC;

R2: Almeno 12 domande di riconoscimento di nuove Zonas de Reserva Campesina presentate alle autorità statali (4 per anno).

R3: Avviato un percorso giovanile virtuoso di riciclaggio e raccolta differenziata nella Zona de Reserva Campesina di Cabrera.

Le attività principali del progetto saranno:

A1: 18 eventi pubblici di sensibilizzazione e promozione dei diritti delle comunità contadine (6 per anno);

A2: Implementazione di 36 workshop di formazione sulla gestione delle ZRC e sulla redazione di richieste di formalizzazione delle ZRC (12 per anno).

A3: Promozione di 18 workshop di gestione dei rifiuti solidi (6 per anno).

A3.1: Organizzazione di un Incontro di giovani delle ZRC impegnati nella salvaguardia dell'ambiente.

Partner:

"Zonas de Reserva Campesina, costruendo la Pace con giustizia sociale" è un progetto promosso da ARCI Firenze e cofinanziato dalla Cooperativa ARCA. Le attività saranno realizzate in partenariato con ANZORC (Asociación Nacional de Zonas de Reserva Campesina).

sustainability, through the overcoming of the economies of the past, linked to the exploitation of fossil resources, and to those also linked to criminal economies.

The definition of a urban and territorial reorganization and development model where everything is at stake, and where architecture and urban planning can play a role, is under discussion in Colombia, as in many other parts of the world. important, as "devices" for peace and shared progress.

This is the lesson that comes from this country, this is the proposal, together with research and field work, which is offered to us by our colleagues at the La Salle University, and which we want to share, shortly before starting the new inter-university cooperation program that will see us still active, with increasing enthusiasm, in sharing with students, professors, third sector associations, local communities, programs and projects of didactic, scientific cooperation, of community development, equitable and supportive. Research opportunities, degree theses, internships in Italy and abroad, as shown in the latest images of this article.

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