

NECROPOLITICS AS SHARED SOVEREIGNTY IN BUENAVENTURA (2002-2010)

By

Maria Fernanda Escobar Rodriguez

Submitted to

Central European University

Department of Gender Studies

*In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Gender
Studies*

Supervisor: Dr. Sarah Smith

Second Supervisor: Dr. Hyaesin Yoon

Budapest, Hungary

2019

Declaration of original content

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of original research; it contains no materials accepted for any other degree in any other institution and no materials previously written and/or published by another person, except where appropriate acknowledgement is made in the form of bibliographical reference.

I further declare that the following word count for this thesis is accurate:

Body of thesis (all chapters excluding notes, references, appendices etc.): 15.022 words

Entire manuscript: 21.368 words

Signed: MARIA FERNANDA ESCOBAR RODRIGUEZ

Abstract

Pacific region of Colombia is characterized for the exuberance and abundance of natural and mineral resources, lack of infrastructure, history of massacre and slavery. This region is inhabit for afrocolombian people, according to the 2005 General Census more than the 90% of people are self-recognized as Afro-descendent (DANE,2005).¹ According to the law 70 of 1993, black, afro communities are recognized and their territories in the rural areas of the rivers and the Pacific basin as Collective Territories of Black Communities (TCCN), where communities are organized according to their own traditional ways of production, cultural practices and collective rights of property. This area has been subject of conflicts, struggles for the defense of territory, focus of extractive,mining projects from multinational corporations, and the presence of illegal armed groups in conflict with drug cartels for the control of territories for the export of cocaine through the Port of Buenaventura. This research proposes to move beyond the understanding of necropolitics understood as regime determined by raced, but also including the gender as a dispositive of control in these scenarios. In this matter, the research would include feminist's scholar and a intersectional analysis of the conflict, understanding the conflict and necropolitical spaces as gendered spaces. The design of the research would be anchored to the concept of necropolitics and all the manifestations of necropower proposed by Mbembe (2003), exploring in this sense in a parallel the study case with the theoretical framework and the concept of War

¹ DANE- National Administrative Department of Statistics (2005). Estructura y composición demográfica de la población [Dataset]. Retrieved May 5, 2019, from <http://sige.dane.gov.co/atlasestadistico/>

machines(Mbembe,2003) (Deleuze-Guattari,1980) to interpreted the connections and incorporation of new technologies and practices to kill in the particular area of the pacific, taking into account that cultural and religious syncretism play a key role for the creation of military strategies Buenaventura. By doing this analysis, I concluded that in the city of Buenaventura exists a shared sovereignty among the different armed actor and Colombian government, characterized as war machines.

Acknowledgements

Escribir nunca es un proceso fácil, incluso cuando existe la necesidad de escribir de sacar a si misma siempre es un ejercicio de exponerse, hacerse vulnerable, ponerse afuera. Debo dar gracias en primer lugar y sobre todo a Luz Marina Becerra, quien ha sido mi mayor ejemplo de entereza, fuerza y vulnerabilidad y a las compañeras de AFRODES y La Comadre que hicieron de mi quien soy hoy, que trenzaron cuidadosamente en mi y conmigo, en los últimos años las reflexiones y experiencias que hoy escribo. Sin ellas, sin su cariño, y sin la comunidad no existirían ninguna de estas palabras, nada de lo escrito es mio, es nuestro.

A mi padrino Jimmy, a Luis Carlos Casto y Charo Mina, a quien agradezco no solo sus inputs en esta tesis, sino el gran camino que has construido teorico y activismo para quienes venimos detrás, tus palabras y tus años de trabajo han sido fundamentales para el movimiento afrocolombiano. A mi familia latina en Budapest, por estar ahí por rodearme y rodearnos de amor y sororidad, por creer siempre en nosotras y por creer cuando ya no creía en mí. To my fellow classmates, to Bala and your morning coffees to wake me up. Paula gracias, por ser un refugio de tranquilidad, por liftme up, por la paz, el cariño y por las sonrisas. Ana, no tengo muchas palabras, I cheerish you gracias por hacer mi vida en Budapest. Cami, gracias por escuchar mis ranting académicos, y por put up with me. A Juli, gracias por creer siempre en mí, por pushing me, por hacerme enojar pero por hacerme creer que realmente soy una mujer fuerte, hemos sido familia. A mi madre y mi abuela.

Writing is never an easy process, even when you needed, because writing is putting yourself out there, make yourself vulnerable.

First of all, I have to give special thanks to Luz Marina Becerra, who is been my biggest example of integrity, strength and vulnerability and to my comrades from La Comadre and AFRODES, they made of me who I am today, who braided carefully in me and with me, in recent years the reflections and experiences that I write today. Without them, without their love, and without the community, none of these words would exist, nothing written is mine, and it is ours.

To my godfather/ Babalawo Jimmy, and specially to Charo Mina, whom I thank not only for her inputs in this thesis, but the great theoretical path that you have built for those of us who are behind, your words and your years of activism have been fundamental for the Afro-Colombian movement. To my Latin family in Budapest, for being there to surround me and surround us with love and sorority, for always believing in us and for believing in me To my fellow classmates that were always there every day, Bala and you morning coffees to wake me up. Paula thanks for being a refuge of tranquility, for always lift me up, for the peace, affection and the smiles. Ana, no words need it, I cheerish you, you make my life here. Cami thanks for listening my academic rantings and putting up with me. Juli, thanks for believing in me, we are family.

Sarah, I'm absolutely grateful for your guidance since day one, your support and care have been fundamental for this thesis. Thank you for untangled with just the right amount of emotional care and theoretical knowledge my messy reflections every time. These reflections were built upon years of activism but put on paper after months or the dedicated scholar guidance from my teachers. Nadia who challenged me while allowing me to find my voice within academia, Hyaesin for expanding with such amenity my own theoretical and epistemological boundaries

allowing me to make risky questions. Thank you Sarah, Nadia and Hyaesin for setting an example on how of feminist academia should be.

To: Ana y Paula, esta tesis definitivamente imposible sin uds!

Table of contents

Introduction.....	1
Sin Territorio, no hay vida/ Without territory, there is no life.....	1
Chapter I: Coloniality and Necropolitics as framework to understand Colombian internal Conflict.	4
Theoretical Framework.....	4
Post colonialism and the “Decolonial turn” in Latin American Academia	5
Decolonial feminist as method.....	9
Implications of Decolonial Theory on knowledge production: My positionality, goals and methods.	10
How can I read the territory?	13
From Biopolitics to Necropolitics.....	14
Chapter II: Background and sociopolitical context of Buenaventura.....	18
Study Case: Buenaventura	20
Demographics and ethnic rights in Buenaventura	21
<i>Socioeconomic characteristics of Buenaventura:</i>	23
The Trap of Mechanisms of Political Representation for Afro-Colombian	24
Negligence, exclusion and impoverishment as State policies.	26

Reading the Pacific Biogeographic and Buenaventura from a decolonial perspective	30
Chapter III: Necropolitics as shared sovereignty in Buenaventura: the struggle for the territory	33
War machines in action: Repertories of violence between 2002-2010 in Buenaventura	34
2002-2004: The period of paramilitary violence	37
Territorial Control	37
Casas de pique.....	38
2005-2010: the period of post negotiation	41
Creation of the enmity on racialized bodies	42
Shared sovereignty, cooperation, coexistence and competency between war machines.....	43
War machines.....	46
Gender dimension of necropolitics in Buenaventura.....	48
Conclusion	50
Sources	54

List of Abbreviations

FARC – EP: Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia - Ejército del Pueblo
[Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia—People's Army]

AUC: Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia [United Self-Defenders of Colombia]

IAG: Illegal Armed Groups

IDP: Internally Displace Person

Introduction

Sin Territorio, no hay vida/ Without territory, there is no life.

In Colombia we have a saying: in the Pacific it always rains, it never clears up – as a way to imply that there is always a storm happening. It always rains water, blood or bullets. It is an area of Biodiversity, humid forest, with a never clear up, a port of slaves, exit of drug trafficking, center of corruption, cradle of palenques, cimarrones and Community Councils, a place where the Atrato River meets the Pacific Ocean, a meeting of Calima's and Wounan with cimarrones. It is a battle field for military forces, drug traffickers, paramilitaries and guerrillas. It is also a place of struggle and resistance from the colony until today, where women are still braiding their hairs inscribing the paths to liberty, where the dead are never gone because we live, worship, talk, and work with our ancestors. It is still the place where our navels are. The Pacific region is diverse in each of its aspects, from its history to the ecosystem and its struggles. I can only imagine it as a giant living territory/organism where its inhabitants coexist in continuous struggle between modernity/capitalism vs ancestrality/decoloniality since the colonization of America.

Buenaventura has historically been a center of receipt and flow of people, goods, and merchandise. It is characterized for being a peripheral city, in the biogeographic pacific region and surrounded by a treasure in terms of biodiversity, mineral resources and timber for export. Paradoxically, it is also marked by its colonial past, by political and economic exclusion in a centralized and primarily racist country. Since 2000, waves of violence have become common in the region, accompanied by the withdrawal of the FARC-EP and the taking over of territory by the AUC, specifically the Calima Bloc, in association with drug trafficking networks. In this context of struggles for territorial control, corruption, and shared

sovereignty, systems of territorial control were strengthened through the production or exposure to death by different actors involved in the Colombian Internal Armed Conflict.

In this research I analyze the context of the Buenaventura region framing it through my own positionality as a white - latinx feminist activist, and in response to the consolidation of a long process of field work with displaced black communities in Colombia since 2012. My aim is to answer the questions that emerged during this process about the possibilities of ally ship and decolonial praxis within academia. In this sense, this analysis is an effort to carry out an analytical exercise integrating decolonial methods/process on my theoretical reflections, which are the methods of the academia which I feel more suitable to interpret the knowledge and experiences from the communities I worked with. With the engaging of decolonial methods, I explore and problematize my positionality (in terms of race and class) and the possibilities of ally ship with the people that was involved in the building of my current academic and theoretical reflections. As latina, I decide to engage my research on decolonial critique, as product of the need to decolonize the Eurocentric epistemology that disregard the localize knowledge, putting in central role the research, reflections and perspectives from ethnic/ racialize communities, thinkers above western scholars. (Grosfoguel, 2011). Following the critics of Grosfoguel (2011) this research work tries to commit itself to having in the center of the theoretical and methodological chapter, Latin American scholar with a decolonial perspective

Thereafter, in this study, by taking into account matters of race and coloniality, I show that both elements are essential for a comprehensive understanding of the social and economic conditions of Buenaventura and the region, and the way the internal armed conflict manifests itself. Through the analytical categories of necropolitics and war machines I explain how the state and different actors of the conflict interacts, expanding the pre-existence literature that

only pointed out the absence of the state and a failed governability in the region. By using both categories, I show that the state is, in fact, exercising a particular sovereignty, in collaboration, cooptation and/or competence with the armed groups: the state is acting as a war machine for the production of necropolitics. Moreover, I incorporate the gender dimension into the category of necropolitics, which is crucial for understanding the intersectionality between race and gender in the production of necropower.

This thesis is composed of two analytical chapters. The first chapter will analyze the administration of death as a device of control, terror and expression of sovereignty in the specific case of Buenaventura, on the Pacific coast of Colombia, using the concept of necropolitics (Mbembe, 2011). The second chapter of this thesis is concerned with the political potentialities of mourning on non-human identities. The goal of the chapter aims to contribute to broadening the interpretation on what is grieveable (Butler, 2004) by integrating decolonial perspective to the political praxis and scholar analysis on this topic.

Chapter I: Coloniality and Necropolitics as framework to understand Colombian internal Conflict.

Theoretical Framework

This research analyze the production of death, using the concept of *Necropolitics* developed by Mbembe (2011) as means to exercise sovereignty and territorial control in Buenaventura. I argue that instead of a crisis of governmentality or crisis of sovereignty from the Colombian State (represented by Army Forces, legislative and executive bodies) the situation is a shared sovereignty held and produced by AUC; FARC-EP, Military Forces and Drug Cartels, defining these as *war machines*. This analysis is built upon a decolonial reading of the contemporary political context of Colombia, specifically on Buenaventura moving forward from current literature on conflict that define the internal armed conflict in Colombia as crisis/absence of the state, to engage with decolonial analysis of the reproduction of other kinds of power sustained by racial hierarchies and modernity, and the of the actions of these actors/war machines on black communities² of Buenaventura. I include literature on the intersection of gender and race from the perspective of feminist scholar's center on the gendered and racialized identities constructed within context of armed conflict. For doing this, I use feminist IR scholars and their conceptualizations on this categories to support the analysis on the gendered and racial dimension of the conflict in Colombia.

My theoretical analysis is based on the reflections on post and decolonial theories developed by Latin American scholars after the decade of 1980's. This analysis is built on the debates around race, modernity, knowledge production, and the use of Eurocentric epistemologies of modern/colonial project from a post /decolonial perspective.³ The structure of this chapter offers an overview of the theoretical debates in academia where I can connect the categories

² According to Law 70/1993, were black communities and their ethnic rights are recognized, defines Black Community as: "It is the set of families of Afro-Colombian descent that have their own culture, share a history and have their own traditions and customs within the a territorie-inhabited, which reveal and conserve an awareness of identity that distinguish them from other ethnic groups"

³The use of decolonial theories to analyze the study case, also allows me to stress and build the reflections around the category of the *self* and *we*, to include the Non-Human as an intrinsic part of the self and grief.

of race/gender/coloniality that allow me to analyze the manifestation of *necropower* in a racialized and post-colonial context, having a decolonial and feminist methodology of analysis.

Post colonialism and the “Decolonial turn” in Latin American Academia

Postcoloniality as a concept / category has raised debates around its definition as a geopolitical category, a theoretical approach, and the way it has been knotted within particular historical facts of Coloniality. Postcolonial studies were born in specific contexts and historical moments of emancipation of countries that were under the British Empire.⁴ In Latin American context the term postcoloniality has been coined by scholars along with the critics of modernity. Scholars such as Mignolo (1997) problematized the use of this category or concept, proposing instead to understand postcoloniality or postcolonial locus as a group of theoretical practices that arises as a response to the context of colonial epistemic heritage in the space between Eurocentric project of modernity and *contra-modern* colonial narratives. (Mignolo, 1997 pag: 2). It is important to point out, that the decolonial turn among Latin American scholars (Quijano, Mignolo, Dussel, Moraña; 2008) emerged from postcolonial theories, as a response to address the particular contexts of emancipation⁵ and mestizaje (mixture)⁶ of Latin America inside the academia.

The group called “decolonial turn” or “decoloniality of power” represented by Castro-Gomez, Dussel, Quijano and Maldonado centered their analysis on the critiques of coloniality

⁴ Nevertheless, both theoretical approaches born from different historic and political contexts, there is an important meeting point and is the critique of modernity and the colonial heritage that justified the world order, or how Quijano defines: “the Coloniality Power”.

⁵ Moraña (2008) offers a broad analysis on the differences and particularities on the Latin American process of emancipation.

⁶ Mestizaje is understood as the mixture between indigenous, African and European during the Colony. This term is often used to describe the historical process that took place in America that led to its current racial and cultural configuration. Peter Wade (1997; 2002) problematize the concept of mestizaje (mixture) in Colombia, as a nationalist ideology, that historically have seek to homogenize and reproduce racism and exclusion. For Wade, (2003) to understand mestizaje in Colombia, is needed to frame it on political and economic hierarchies, as well racial hierarchies.

and modernity in contemporary Latin America, offering a nuanced analysis on the process of ethnic and cultural mestizaje after emancipation.⁷ In this sense, Dussel (2018), argued that the subordination of Latin America from Spain, formed a pervasive logic that has overarched the foundations of the epistemic, cultural and political system of contemporary Latin America.⁸ Quijano (2008) addressed that race has been central for the consolidation of colonial powers within modernity and eurocentrism. According to Quijano and Dussel (2008) power conditions have been based on colonial logics, supported by hierarchical distributions of the populations attending the race category.⁹ The axis of race has been a central element to classify and exert colonial power, linking modernity with race and capitalism and the modern expressions of oppression, as dispossession and extractive economies.¹⁰

Catherine Walsh (2018) considers decoloniality as a perspective, stance, proposition of thought, analysis, sense, making, doing, feeling, action, praxis and, overall, as a way of doing relational praxis and knowledge, from situated knowledges, embodiments and territories. For this research I engaged with decoloniality as method: a way of praxis within academia. Specifically for the purpose of this research, the analysis of Mignolo (2000) and Maldonado (2016) are central in the problematization of the impact and motives of war to particular racialized bodies and ecosystems, linking power and knowledge within post-colonial settings. These analysis have

⁷ This arrangement of authors, is taken from the categorization made by Santiago Castro-Gomez (2007) and John Beverley (2002) where the distinction and relation among subaltern studies, postcolonial theory and decolonial theory for the case of Latin American context is broadly explain. Specially the debates and discrepancies among these theories. Beverley and Castro-Gomez, offer a deep analysis on the discrepancies referring to the role of Marxism in the positionality of subaltern studies and the epistemic differences between postcolonial scholar and subaltern's scholars. Specifically the concept of Coloniality of power and epistemic dimension of Coloniality in this context, reflecting on Coloniality not only as a politic/economic feature, but as epistemic, discursive and symbolic system that give place to the configuration of modernity based in Eurocentric model of world and knowledge, creating here geospatial and racial hierarchies in the world, creating modern subaltern. (Castro-Gomez, Beverley)

⁸ On the creation of modernity in terms of temporality and conjunction with Hispanic-America and class system, in contrast with Wallerstein hypothesis, there is plenty of debate and elaboration from Dussel and Mignolo that I won't go further in this research. Castro-Gomez offer a revision of this debate on his text compiled on the book "Coloniality at large"(2008)

⁹ According to the debates from Moraña ,Dussell, Quijano (2018,Pag 194) , the category of race its theoretical construction exists since the colonization of America, as a divisive element between the conqueror and argument for the claim of superior political subjects and epistemological discourses.

¹⁰ This issue is address also by feminist scholar in the area of IR and conflict studies.

been also built upon of the post-colonial critique of modernity, modern state and Coloniality in which Eurocentrism and European superiority was consolidated after the conquest of Latin America. These studies allows the identification of the pervasiveness of colonial dynamics in contemporaneous conflicts and its analysis as as consequence of the colony.¹¹ I locate myself in the specific intersection of the theoretical reflection on race, colonial matrix of power and the role of modernity in the access and defense of the land/territories. I refer this research as a decolonial method, following the proposals of Walsh and Dussel, not as a paradigm but as a way of doing, thinking, and reflecting, as a process of understanding, embodied and understanding the other, from the shared emotive experiences, where sharing knowledge constitutes itself a space of resistance. According to Maldonado (2016, Page, 10), decoloniality or decolonial praxis in the academia should be configured as an exercise to build a counter-discourse, and other ways to narrate the world that do not contribute to the existing matrix of power.

Latin American scholars (Mignolo, Moraña, 1999; Dussel, Russell) critically analyze the cultural, political systems of symbolic domination that are still present in Latin America, as result of Coloniality and Eurocentrism. Introducing debates around modernity, enlightenment, the establishment of logic of evolutionism, lineal history towards Eurocentric ideas of progress Moraña (2008) highlighted the relationship between modernity and violence, as intertwined in the history of Latin America. Anibal Quijano and Dussel, specifically problematized the relation between Coloniality, production of knowledge and political/economic power, approaching this critique by proposing methodologies and

¹¹ Quijano has argued that there is not a breakthrough in this colonial matrix of power, part of this analysis would be located in that critique of the pervasiveness of the colonial matrix of power and the racial hierarchies from Coloniality/colonial period.

reflections on how to decolonize knowledge production and calling to a decolonial praxis on academia.¹²

The decolonial turn group, Quijano, Mignolo, Dussel, Moraña and Grosfoguel make important contributions to this debate linking race, modernity and coloniality¹³ in Latin America, problematizing the pervasive colonial power in the political, cultural and epistemological spheres of knowledge production in Latin America and the need to decolonize knowledge. Quijano (2008) argues that race is central for the consolidation of colonial power in modernity and eurocentrism. In this sense, Quijano and Dussel (2008) power conditions are currently based on colonial logic, supported by the hierarchical distribution of the populations attending the race category.¹⁴ Also working as a means for the consolidation of the modern project of globalization, where the axis of race is a central element to classify and exert colonial power, linking modernity with race and capitalism and the modern expressions of oppression, as dispossession and extractive economies.¹⁵

The group of Latin American scholars consisting of Quijano, Mignolo, Moraña, Dussel introduced the “decolonial turn”, not as a discipline but as a process after the debates raised by scholars in the postcolonial theory on the relationship between modernity/coloniality and eurocentrism. From this perspective and method, I build the analysis on the production of necropower

¹² From this theoretical debates I would try to build my analysis and engagement with the sources, taking into account decolonial methods and critiques in how colonial history have affected the narratives and construction of history (Quijano, Moraña, Dussel, 2008).

¹³ Coloniality understood as concept from decolonial/post-colonial theories, which links the theoretical debate on modernity, according to Mignolo (2018). The term Coloniality would be used in this text referring to this relationship between modernity and the decolonial approach in the Latin American context.

¹⁴ According to the debates from Moraña ,Dussel, Quijano (2018,Pag 194) , the category of race its theoretical construction exists since the colonization of America, as a divisive element between the conqueror and argument for the claim of superior political subjects and epistemological discourses.

¹⁵ This issue is address also by feminist scholar in the area of IR and conflict studies.

Decolonial feminist as method

Taking into account my own positionality within the studies case and the subject, I engaged with decolonial feminism and intersectionality as methodology tools to analyze the differential impacts of conflict on gendered bodies and racialized bodies. I analyze how the repertoires of violence through which necropower affects and are oriented to harm specifically ethnic communities and women as strategy of war. Also, I engaged with analysis from feminist studies from International Relations discipline as Lauren Wilcox(, to try to highlight the gendered identities created inside the conflict by the different armed actors, as part of the strategies of violence against communities, where race and hierarchical relationship are “gendered” by the military/violent actions of these actors.

Nevertheless, I take distance from conceptualization around gender violence or gender discrimination based on gender as analytical category (Scott,1986), or particular features of weakness or biological characteristics constructed socially (Garcia, 2002). Considering that the process of socialization and construction of gender in this case are traversed by race, ethnicity and Coloniality. In this order, I will use an intersectional approach to understand how gender and gendered identities is used. As I will demonstrated on the analysis, gendered identities are central on the develop of strategies and terror techniques. Feminist analysis of Wilcox (2009) of conflict feed this research to interpreted the role of gender and how is perceived and used for deploy of military and terror strategies and how help to enable sovereignty, territorial control and crimes against cultural/spiritual practices to ethnic communities.

In order to analyze the repertoires of violence described and the direct affectation of afro Colombian women and the communities by extension, I anchored my analytical perspective on feminist analysis of conflict. This perspective will help me to analyze how the process of

“othering” , dehumanizing, and feminization of the communities is deploy as necropower, for the weakening of the social and spiritual community structure of afro Colombian populations. (Wilcox, 2009)

The critiques on modernity and coloniality integrated here, are interpreted trough the critical perspectives of post structural feminism to help to understand how the category of gender has been constructed in this particular context. Specially, because women in the context have been at the center of the violence, but not only as victims. Women have taken a central role on process of resistance, territorial defense and political grass root organization, this political dynamics respond to cultural imaginaries of gender and territory. On this intersection, is where decolonial methodology are fruitful to understand this study case, while integrating postcolonial critiques to analyze the effects of Coloniality, modernity and race on the construction of Nation-State, strategies of violence and securitization of bodies and spaces, like Buenaventura. To understand and analyze the effects of conflict as gendered violence is needed to analyze gender as a non-western category, but as a local interpretation of gender/women/feminine subjects.

Implications of Decolonial Theory on knowledge production: My positionality, goals and methods.

This thesis was born out of the process of feeling, seeing, living, asking, and listening in the Tongas made by Afro-Colombian organizations in which I had the opportunity to participate.¹⁶ Said (1994) introduces a central reflection for the debate on decoloniality in Latin America (Santiago-Gomez) on the Eurocentric approach on sciences and discourses,

¹⁶ The term Tonga is part of the legacy inherited by African cultures, particularly that of the Bantu people, whose mother tongue is the Kilóngo and who, like the minga, barter and changed hands are part of the ancestral practices of labor of the Afro-descendant communities . These are constituted as ancestral methodologies of black-Afro-Colombian communities, rescued and empowered from different educational and political scenarios as a meeting of friends and friends for joint work. The Tongas have as an intention a solidarity articulation where each participant is linked from their knowledge, possibilities and capacities to consolidate a common goal. This term was coined and appropriated by afro Colombian activist as their figure, and place of meeting. (Extract from an internal text from AFRODES)

giving place to a Eurocentric epistemologies and disregarding other local forms of knowledges and narratives, labelling this as premodern, backwards, primitive or as traditional as meaning magical/esoteric, non-rational. The establishment of Eurocentric epistemic as the only one valid and desirable as synonym of development, imposed a lineal way of understanding history and the creation of knowledge, and legitimate this power relationship in Latin America. Said's reflection on the link between power, Eurocentric episteme/enlightenment and knowledge in the establishment of modern colonialism in Latin America. Said's argument on the ontological creation of modernity through Coloniality and colonialism¹⁷, and the implications for the subaltern, peripheral and local knowledges was central in the decolonial turn among Latin American scholars. From these reflections Latin American scholars tackled the cornerstone of modern project and the decolonial scholar centered their critique in the epistemic dimension of Eurocentric thought and coloniality in the Latin American case (Dussel, Castro-Gomez, Fals-Borda). The importance of building upon these reflections and assuming a positionality as a decolonial scholar has not only epistemic implications. Returning to Escobar, modernity in our context has represented the semiotic transformation of our history, the adoption of a vision of history and development that today directly intervene in how we describe our reality, we relate to nature and above all how to domesticate the social / political and economic relations for the imposition of neoliberal economic models (Lander, 2000). Reflecting from a decolonial perspective on the humanitarian intervention, the development discourse is crucial to understand the conflict in Colombia, as well as the peace process and reparation measures during the post-conflict period.

As part of the development of the analysis of this research, I will aim to problematize how the citizenship of Afro-Colombians has been constructed, from a decolonial perspective. This

¹⁷ Coloniality refers to epistemological expropriation, and colonialism to economic and land expropriation. (Said, 1994)

will be, analyze the construction of the “other”, that allowed their physical elimination and expropriation of their lands. The debates on the subjective construction (Castro-Gomez, Said) of the other, from the colonizer or logics of Eurocentric epistemic domination, have been definitive in the relations of power and sovereignty exercised over these territories. In the case of the possibilities of enunciating oneself as a locus of enunciation, and claiming the rights of self-determination of their territories and their bodies, as constituent elements of colonial power in Colombia and in the Pacific Biogeographical.

As Arturo Escobar (2008) points out in his work on the Colombian Pacific Bio -Geografic, with residents and activists, there is a struggle and critics around the knowledge production methods. I encounter myself in a blurry line between academia and activism, especially in terms of sources, research methods and knowledge production/ discourses and perspectives of my analysis. That been said, this research project attends and includes in every step the reflections and non-scholar production from the activists, communities that I worked during these years. The information gathered for the realization of this research combines data from reports from the Research centers, NGO, News, State Reports and non-scholar reports from National NGO's. CNMH, Office of the Ombudsman, Reports from International Humanitarian organizations like Human Right Watch, National NGO and Research centers as CODHES, PCN – Proceso Comunidades Negras, UNCHR, UN Women, WOLA The qualitative information was obtained from workshops, field work, personal testimonies and personal interviews conducted with women from Afrodes in Buenaventura, Bogota, and Tumaco. Also, telephone interviews with Luz Marina Becerra, national spokewomen from La Comadre and Charo Mina Rojas from PCN- Proceso Comunidades Negras.

This research is trace as an oral history exercise, in a common thread that has been building on the exercise of listening testimonies trough the last five years. While the interviews on

which many of these reflections are born are not included literally here, because it would be a methodological effort that exceeds the capabilities and scope of this research if they are the backbone of the reflections conceived in this work¹⁸.

This research actively engages with school and non-school sources, as an exercise to decolonize the way in which the sources for research work are tartar. The criteria for choosing the reports on which the investigation rests is defined by three reasons, I have chosen the reports of two organizations in particular due to the closeness with the material, the organizations and the investigations that fed these investigations. In second place are reports of organizations with strong technical capacity that have allowed them to collect long field work. Thirdly, I am choosing reports that have served as advocacy tools, although do not count with a wide circulation some of those reports are public, and have served as a response to the State's narratives, and in this case they support the creation of a counter-discourse. Additionally, it is necessary to clarify that I have had access to these public reports and also to restrict or reserved access reports (such as those of the Constitutional Court and the Victims Unit in the case of the report for the FUD) due to my own work with this organizations on the field which allowed me to access to be reserved information.

How can I read the territory?

As Lugones (2010) asserts the hierarchy division between the human and the non- human, are part of the heritage of Coloniality and modernity, as an imposition of the western Anthropocene. This division started in the colonization itself and determine now how we can

¹⁸ This part of the research with this organization was made in a context of deep nuances in the relation between the organization, cooperation agencies and the State. Colombia it's now in a Post Conflict process, negotiating transitional justice mechanisms. The research project on the field started in 2013, since then I have conduct more than 500 individual interviews and approximately 50 workshops with 20-25 assistant per session, in 14 cities (Cartagena, Quibdo, Tumaco, Buenaventura, Bogota, Villavicencio, Santa Marta, Riohacha, Bucaramanga, Barranbermeja, Medellin, Soacha, Monteria, Apartado). The research and the interviews conducted were compiled for the purposes of strategic litigation. Big part of the reflections born while the process of making the first report to the Colombian Constitutional Court, in order to demand the State the recognition of Sex Violence as a crime within the Armed Conflict, then is issued the Auto 009/2015.

related in legal and theoretical terms to the territory. For this research this critical reflection of the dichotomy human-non human, would be central to analyze the possibilities in one hand of mourning, and legal reparation of victims, when the victim is claimed to be the territory itself, a non-human identity, that under the Cosmo vision of afro-colombian communities cannot be separated from the self/ human. For this section, I build on the reflections made by Mignolo (1997), and try to distance myself to western- modern rationality, to include the emotive process to define territory, instead I will do a de-colonial reading, where the knowledge about what is the territory, and the role and identity of the territory for the community. After carrying out this process, I can begin to wonder how the colonial heritage and modernity in these racialized and gendered identities and territories work and the implications for the production of necropolitics.

From Biopolitics to Necropolitics

Foucault on his conceptualization on biopower, tries to analyze and describe how State through welfare policies are administrating and controlling life and the production of life, taking distance from the study from the exercise of sovereign power. Further on, Agamben, on his work *Homo sacer*(1995), takes on this concept and reintroduce sovereignty as an element of analysis. Agamben, introduce here the concept “bare life”, signaling another form of exercise of sovereign power over bodies. Moving further Agamben conceptualize sovereign power not only as the capacity of held rights but to the paradoxical status of been exposed the sovereign power expressed through violence. By integrating biopower to the analysis of sovereign power Agamben, analyzes the logics of biopower and sovereignty that allows and created bare life, instead of study the mechanism of administrating and controlling biological/scientific procedures of producing life.

Moving forward the theorization on Biopolitics, I will center my analysis using the term coined by Mbembe. The term *Necropolitics*, was introduced by the postcolonial philosopher Mbembe, and offers a complementary interpretation to biopolitics, focusing in politics as work and administration of death. This concept introduces new elements to understand the role of State on the expression of sovereignty and the effects of Coloniality, overarching his analysis beyond contemporary politics to colonialism. This concept results useful to analyze the nuance and expressions of conflict on racialized bodies, as the study case of this research. Necropolitics emerge from postcolonial critique on Eurocentrism and Coloniality as explicative element of contemporary violence on specific territories and bodies, constructed under the colonial project of modernity. Mbembe, move further from the concept of biopolitics of Foucault, integrating in the analysis of dispositives of power the effect of Coloniality in post-colonial settings. Its important to contextualize the concept of necropolitics, and how is engaging with the scholarly debates on the concepts of sovereignty, terror, state of exception, and politics as form of war from Harendt, Foucault and Agamben. In this scholarly debates and a context of international military occupation from the US on Irak and Afghanistan, Mbembe propose a reflection on the academic debate¹⁹ on the colonial traces on the administration of sovereignty and justification of international occupation. This concept results fruitful for my research in the way that is contesting concepts of sovereignty and state of exception from modernity and proposes to integrate more tactile “foundational” categories as life and death. Mbembe articulate his analysis on the link between biopower, sovereignty and state of exception to answer how the right to kill, who is been killed and the role of life, and death in specific bodies and context. Mbembe tries to explain how is configured the state and the enemy under racial hierarchies product of post Coloniality, stressing and broadening the analytical category of biopower to understand sovereignty as

¹⁹ Is important at the moment of reflecting and Reading Mbembe’s text to place the text in the context where is produce and presented. As well the political context where is written, on the year 2003.

right to kill. Mbembe focus his analysis on sovereignty in a context of modernity logics, and where expressions of sovereignty where the “central project is not the struggle for autonomy but *the generalized instrumentalization of human existence and the material destruction of human bodies and populations*” (Mbembe, 2011, 14). Mbembe gather theorization of Bataille, Hegel and Agamben to define politics as work of death, further on build on the work of Foucault to define sovereignty as the right to kill, relating biopower (Foucault) and state of exception and state of siege, and how this works to legitimize the right to kill and construct the enemy. According to Foucault, biopower acts as the medium to define who must live and must live. Mbembe, instead will focus in the right to kill or who is exposed to death as definition of necropower, taking distance from Foucault’s conceptualization of biopower. Is important to point out that the racism as regulator of death on Foucault economy of biopower, is integrated to Mbembe analysis.

Mbembe on his work Necropolitics (2011), move forward from the concept of biopower, offering and alternative concept to explain and defined sovereignty in postcolonial states, as the sovereign right to kill. In this sense Mbembe argue that politics become necropolitics or politics as work of death, linking with the existence of state of siege and state of emergency as normal, according to the author a permanent normalize state of exception is needed for the production of necropower. This research proposes to move beyond the understanding of necropolitics understood as regime determined by raced, but also including the gender as a dispositive of control in these scenarios. In this matter, the research would include feminist’s scholar and a intersectional analysis of the conflict, understanding the conflict and necropolitical spaces as gendered spaces. The design of the research would be anchored to the concept of necropolitics and all the manifestations of necropower proposed by Mbembe (2003), exploring in this sense in a parallel the study case with the theoretical framework and the concept of War machines(Mbembe,2003) (Deleuze-Guattari,1980) to interpreted the

connections and incorporation of new technologies and practices to kill in the particular area of the pacific, taking into account that cultural and religious syncretism play a key role for the creation of military strategies in Buenaventura.

Chapter II: Background and sociopolitical context of Buenaventura

Colombia was in an internal armed conflict for the last 50 years, until the Peace Agreement in 2016. In 1964, the Internal armed conflict between the Colombian State and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – FARC EP (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia) – started, been the oldest conflict in the continent. According to independent researchs, in (year), the number of internal displaced victims in Colombia was 7.712.506²⁰ people, and most of these victims were rural women from ethnic minorities. In 2012, the peace negotiation started with the dialogues at Havana between delegates of the National Government, chaired by President Juan Manuel Santos, and delegates of the leftist guerrilla FARC-EP with the mutual decision to end the conflict. Finally, in 2016, the General Agreement for the Termination of the Conflict and the Building of a Stable and Lasting Peace was signed with the presence of national witnesses and delegates of the Republic of Cuba and the Kingdom of Norway, who also served as witnesses, and who, since then, settled the process as guarantor countries.²¹

This thesis is framed between 2002-2010, period in which Alvaro Uribe Velez was president of Colombia and that precedes the peace negotiation. This period was characterized by an increase on the militarization of the State and the military budge, with a discourse of securitization of the conflict and the ethnic communities. Uribe Velez promoted his Democratic Security Policy, supported in part by the “Plan Colombia”. Plan Colombia is a bilateral agreement between the governments of Colombia and the United States since 1999

²⁰ Source: CODHES- Consultoria para los Derechos Humanos.

²¹ As a result of a strong opposition from the Right-wing parties in Colombia, the Agreement was subjected to public consultation in the terms of a plebiscite (October 2016), with a result in the polls that showed the prevalence of the “No” against the sign of this Peace agreement versus the “yes” meaning the recognition of the peace agreement and the recognition of peace as fundamental right. After this plebiscite, substantial changes were introduced in the final agreement related with questions of security, gender, participation, and rural/agricultural reforms.

with the goals of “generating a social and economic revitalization, ending the armed conflict in Colombia, and creating an anti-narcotics strategy”. “Between 2000 and 2005, Washington disbursed almost 3,896 million dollars to Bogotá (approximately 75% in military-police aid, and the rest in socio-economic aid), increased its presence in the country with 800 military personnel and 600 private contractors, and converted Colombia in the fifth world aid recipient after Iraq, Afghanistan, Israel and Egypt” (Tokatlián & Revista Semana, 2011).

This Policy brought changes in the National Development Plan, National Budget, and new legislation related to the creation of incentives through directives directed to Generals of high rank of the National Army of Colombia, requiring for the military forces to show an increase on the casualties or “positives” on the elimination of the FARC-EP. According to a recent investigation by the Public Prosecutor's Office, there were around 3,600 extrajudicial executions between 2002 and 2008, the period between the first and the second term of former President Álvaro Uribe (ElPaisInternacional, 2019). During the period of 2003-2006 (or as it is mentioned in this research period after demobilization), paramilitary groups were very active and worked in close link with security State forces and politicians, according to the World Report 2018 from HRW. The presidential term of Uribe Velez was characterized by the national scandal of “parapolitica”, extrajudicial executions from State security forces, electoral fraud in 2002 and 2006 elections, interceptions of communications to journalists and politicians from the left parties and opposition, infiltrations to the DAS (Administrative Department of Security) by paramilitary groups, escalation of conflict and violent reclamation and control over new territories from the AUC (Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia), right wing paramilitary group. According to HRW (2018), in June 2017, Santiago Uribe (brother of former President Alvaro Uribe) went to trial for murder and conspiracy for his role in the right wing paramilitary group “The 12 Apostles” during the decade of 1990s. In the same report is highlighted that “From 2006 through August 2015, 63 legislators were

convicted of crimes related to ‘parapolitics’”. It’s important to notice that the legislators prosecuted were part of the party of Uribe Vélez. According to Semana (2011), 35% of the Congress was controlled by paramilitary forces and the head of the Secret Police was also linked with paramilitary groups during this period

Study Case: Buenaventura

This research focus on the dynamics of conflict on the city of Buenaventura, and For the purposes of this research the area of the municipality of Buenaventura would be understood as the urban and rural area of Anchicayá, Raposo, Yurumanguí River, Bajo San Juan, Bajo Calima and Naya.

This research focuses on the dynamics of the conflict in Buenaventura, a Colombia city located on the coast of the region of Pacific Biogeographic. This region is characterized by the conjunction of dynamics from a triad of Coloniality, biodiversity, and race/racism that have marked the history and expressions of conflict on this region of Colombia²². The Colombian Biogeographic Pacific Region has vast natural, hydric and mining resources with a geographic strategic location, having the main port of exit to the Pacific Ocean. Buenaventura has the main port of Colombia, which mobilizes 44% of the total trade inflow of Colombia (SPR, 2005), and approximately 80% of the coffee that is exported from Colombia. Moreover, it is the main port for the export of illegal drugs and it is constantly targeted by paramilitary groups, leftist guerrillas and drug cartels with the aim of controlling the narcotráfico. Buenaventura is defined as a sanctuary of biodiversity, fauna, flora, minerals resources, and national natural reservoirs where 79% of their ecosystems have not been transformed and have been declared as protected areas for conservation (Ombudsman, 2016). The region is one of the areas of “mega biodiversity in the planet” (Restrepo, 1993), mining focus, and development and extractive economy projects. Nevertheless, is characterized by the lack of infrastructure and State presence. Some scholars explain this lack of attention on the region through the prominence of drug trafficking, violence and colonial heritage²³

²² Pardo (2001), Restrepo (2007) and Escobar (2008) study and analyze the effects of colonization on the contemporary Pacific region. Bonet and Meisel (2006) offer an analysis on the relationship between the biogeographic characteristics of the Pacific Region and the colonial past. They consider the economic development of this region in relation with others of the country.

²³ The establishing of the port since colonization hasn’t seen as a place for the establishment of a city, because of the humid weather and conditions. But more as military fort, port of slaves landing and entrance to the continent with the goal of continuing with colonization (Perez, 2007).

(Perez, 2007). The rich biodiversity, strategic location, and State neglect create a 'breeding ground' for illegal and armed conflict aiming the control, sovereignty and ownership over this territory. As I will present in this thesis, these particularities of lack of state attention are consequence of these factors, but also need to be framed in context of decolonial interpretations and specific ways of exercising sovereignty – in this case through necropower.

Demographics and ethnic rights in Buenaventura

Buenaventura is populated mainly by Afro-Colombian and indigenous population with 81.83% of the population self-recognized as Negro, mulato or Afro-Colombian (DANE, 2005) and 11.60% recognized as indigenous²⁴. This demographic organization on the geographic distribution and assignment of territories of Black Communities and Community Councils by the Law 70/1993. The historical ethnic configuration of the territory is the back bone of the discourse, history and political demands of the political-grassroots Afro-Colombian Movement. According to Pardo (2001) and Restrepo (2013), there was a process of ethnicization during the decade of 1990²⁵. On this decade, ethnic associations of Afro-Colombian and indigenous communities started an intense period of social mobilization and advocacy. The agenda of the ethnic political movement since the decade of 1990 was focused on positioning their own ontological perspective of the territory, knowledge production, environmental protection and the recognition of the Pacific bio-geographic as an autonomous and multiethnic territory (Escobar, 2018). Social movements and academics introduced a decolonial critique on the epistemological approach to territory and culture. This critique also legitimizes a shared Cosmvision/worldview among ethnic communities in their use and relationship with the territory that is specific to their culture. The defenses of this worldviews are at the center of the political resistance in Colombia for overcoming Coloniality and the Eurocentric-modern idea of territory. Escobar& Restrepo(2008) have wrote extensively on this matter and introduced the critique on modernity/Coloniality on the development and process of globalization that the Pacific region has been subjected to.

²⁴ This interaction and shared ancestral territories where the majorities are ethnic communities is a particular feature of this area of Colombia. Because of the slave trade, mestizaje and resistance, this area became the cradle of the first settlements of “cimarrones” or freed slaves. Also, is the place of the recognition of the first Community Council and land registration as collective properties and ancestral territories of Afro-Colombian communities under special jurisdiction, process that took place in the 1990s.

²⁵ I refer to the work of these two authors in particular because they integrated in their analysis and narratives the stories and reflections from the grassroots organization that were part of the process of consolidation of the Law 70/1993. Peter Wade (1993) was the author providing an account of the history of the Afro-Colombians movement as a political movement.

In legal terms, the biggest achievement of the Afro-Colombian movement in the 90's was the release of the Law 70/1993 in which the Colombian State recognized Afro-Colombian population as subjects of ethnic rights²⁶. This law granted the principles of self-determination, political specific rights and institutions to govern and administrate their territories, and the recognition of collective property of the territories inhabited by Afro-Colombian communities. Also, it established a mechanism of obligatory prior consultation of the State with the community before making any decision, like mining licensing, infrastructure projects or any kind of intervention of the territories recognized as property of Afro-Colombian communities or Community Councils of Black Communities. This legal development has been a watershed for the physical and cultural survival of Afro-Colombian communities and the defense of their territories. Sadly, these particularities have been an entry point on the development of repertoires of violence and strategies to create terror.

The particularity on the demographics, socio cultural and spiritual relation, occupation and defense of the territory has been central on the political agendas, processes of resistance and defense of the environment and traditional ways of production, such as agriculture, traditional fishery that are vital for the maintenance and survival of these communities. This process of recognition of collective territories, and the autonomy of the afro communities to decide on their territories created tensions and a violent response from illegal armed groups, military forces, and policies from the Colombian State that wanted to control this lands for development projects, mining, drug trafficking or industrial farming. Other authors, as Montañez & Delgado (1998), pointed out that the pacific region is now witnessing how a law intended to guarantee sustainability, biodiversity conservation, and protection of ethnic communities on ancestral soil, actually it is playing against the interest of armed groups and creating what Oslender (2004) called "Terror Geographies". Oslender (2004) signals that *"...in the face of inactivity and total paralysis of the Colombian State actors, we are witnessing a constant re-mapping of territorialities and borders in the Pacific. The territorial control of the armed actors inhibits the local communities to affirm their territoriality guaranteed in the legislation, but subverted in real life. Thus, an effect of de-territorialization*

²⁶ The premises of this legal development equating Afro-Colombian communities to ethnic subjects are in the ILO C-169 (Arocha, 2004), which brought the legal tools for the defense of their culture and ethnic rights as tribal people with a particular worldview or "*cosmovision*".

of black communities is occurring, which occurs as a result of a geography of changing power [...] characterized by inequality, fragmentation, tension and conflict” Oslender (2004)

As Oslender, Restrepo & Rojas (2004) point out, the irony of what was seen as a watershed in terms of ethnic legislation and, in theory, guaranteed the sovereignty on the collective territories of the afro Colombian communities of the Pacific Region, it turned out putting the communities at risk.

“...just when they receive the legal recognition of being the ancestral owners of the lands of the Pacific (previously considered as 'baldías' or wastelands by the Colombian State), they have been subjected to processes of de-territorialization when they are violently displaced from their lands by the different armed actors that have come to unleash the war, now also in the Colombian Pacific” (Restrepo & Rojas, 2004)

Socioeconomic characteristics of Buenaventura:

According to the last census (Dane, 2005) and the National Homes Survey, in Buenaventura (based on incomes) the poverty rate was 80.6%, with 43.5% in extreme poverty or indigence. development model that this text is criticizing. I introduce this number to stablish a broad overview of the conditions of population in Buenaventura in relation with other regions of Colombia. Also, since I am trying to analyze State policies in this section, is fruitful to include the data upon which these policies are been design. I consider the comparison of this section is useful for analytical terms, to understand how state policies affect or benefit populations in a differential way in the matter of access to basic rights. The Poverty measures according to the NBI (Unsatisfied Basic Needs Index) yielded that 62.7% of inhabitant were living in poverty. Moreover, 38% of the population does not count with any kind of health service (Governacion, 2007). On the matter of guarantee of basic services by the State, Buenaventura only presents 75.9% of coverage on access to clean water, and there is 59.6% of infrastructure of sewerage²⁷. On the area of education, basic and elementary school reach an 86% of access. Nevertheless, the number for technical education only reach

²⁷ According to national census (DANE, 2005), the coverage percentage in Buenaventura is lower than the departmental average that is above 90% in coverage of basic services.

23% and 49% in secondary education with very low quality programs²⁸. The socio economic conditions of the population of Buenaventura are in general below the national average. It is a city with critical levels of inequalities, insecurity and impoverishment with lack of State attention. These inequalities are part of the common popular narrative that see the pacific region as backwards, peripheral and valueless, even among public discourses from politicians and deputies.

Buenaventura is a peripheral city, whose socioeconomic characteristics of unemployment, poverty and inequality can be analyzed under the racial system that sustains it, and the construction of the Pacific Region as a peripheral area of Colombia. Also, there is an implicit racial discrimination in the assignment of jobs in the city as well as a concentration of wealth on the white/mestizo population and settlers in the region. Observatory of Racial Discrimination in Bogota, conducted a statistical and experimental economy study and established “that race is the factor that most strongly affects the probability of a positive response to a job application” and concluded that “having an Afro-descendant phenotype significantly decreases the chances of getting a job interview, while having a white phenotype increases them considerably”. (ODR, 2013)

The Trap of Mechanisms of Political Representation for Afro-Colombian

The Law 70 of 1993, in its article 66, defined a special circumscription for black communities (Comunidades negras) that would ensure two (2) seats for members of black communities in the House of Representatives. However, this article was declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court in the sentence C-484 of 1996 due to procedural

²⁸ According to the SABER test, that aim to evaluate the capacities of students in different grade (7,9 grade), the scores on basic and mid school were below the national average and, according to the ICFES test, 68% of the schools score as low performance. Also, the levels of mortality for malnutrition were of 9% vs. 4% of the regional average, and 26% of perinatal mortality.

faults. Thanks to the Law 649 of 200, there was correct regulation and implementation of the Article 176 of the Colombian Political Constitution of 1991, setting the procedures of implementation for the elections of representatives of the special circumscription of black communities in Colombia. Since then, the only legal requirement for running for these seats as Congressman is to have the endorsement from a NGO, Foundation, or civic organization self-recognized as Afro-Colombian. Nevertheless, according to MAPP-OEA (2010), there is a persistent perverse dynamic where instead of creating more representation for the Afro-Colombian communities, corrupt candidates with not real affiliation to afro communities are taking over the seats on Congress. Research from MAPP OEA (2010) and reports from local news media (ADN, El Pais) denounced that the candidates were taking the seats in name of the Afro-Colombian communities, but they did not have relations or belong to the communities. Instead, they have nexus with paramilitary groups and drug trafficking networks.²⁹ In the same direction, the political party that claim to be representing the afrocolombian/black communities “AFROVIDES” disappeared after numerous accusations for fraud, nexus with paramilitaries, and drug trafficking cartels.

For the last decades it has been observed how these organizations use the special ethnic legislation on their own interest, creating a political party, AFROVIDES³⁰, that, as Duque (2015) claims, it was a “manufacturer” of fraudulent or unlawful political endorsements, using the space of participation of afro-black communities in a legislative body. This institutional framework of electoral fraud favoring political groups with the help of right wing paramilitary groups resulted in the denial of political representation of the black communities. In this scenario, the vehicle for political representation of ethnic minorities

²⁹ Mapp-OEA reported on that year that “what seems to have happened in these elections is that the mafia and the paramilitaries snatched from the black communities the two seats of their representation in Congress”.

³⁰ According to a report published by La Silla Vacía & Medina Uribe 2011, the candidates of this party counted with criminal investigations. Yahir Acuña is under investigation for nexus with paramilitary and “parapolitica” and Robert Jimenez, with origin in an already prosecuted family of paramilitary leaders, is included in the Clinton List (Specially Designated Narcotics Traffickers of SDNT list).

ended been instrumentalized and integrated as part of the “political machinery” of paramilitary groups in Colombia (El Tiempo, 2010). According to civic organizations and independent researchers (Prensa Rural & Cassianni, 2010), the process of election in 2010 was irregular and illegal it was proved to be the consolidation of the political power of right wing paramilitary groups in Colombia. At the moment of inscription of candidates, and the support of paramilitary groups co-opting votes by force, with terror and in some regions, buying votes by paramilitary groups and pork-barrel politics. Another dimension of the irregularities of this elections that also happen on the elections on 2014, was the irregular assignation of endorsement from NGO of recent creation to cover illegal activities. This political Party worked as platform to fulfill the procedure of having endorsement from an afro Colombian organization, on this grey area of the law candidates that are perceived (and are define on the public sphere) as White were claiming to be self-recognized as culturally black or afro Colombian (BBC Mundo & Wallace, 2014). This grey area on the law of special jurisdiction and also in the methods or discourse around ethnicity in Colombia has played on favor of White/mestizo population to take over spaces of ethnic minorities. Adding a new layer to the denial of rights and diminution of the citizenship of the communities, reducing the identity or citizenship of the Afro-Colombian communities to bare life (Agamben, 1998) in terms of participation, recognition of citizenship and political representation for decision-making.

Negligence, exclusion and impoverishment as State policies.

The actions of the government in this case are not limited to the use of violence and production of necropower. Local and National executive Government create policies and promote Development Plans that work as technologies of biopolitics. The actions of the State

through this development policy are key to understand the creation of politics of death in Buenaventura. These policies create a legal and political framework that negate access to right and justice while deepening the conditions of disadvantage and pauperization. I argue that the State, through these policies, development plans, actions or negligence, is actually enabling the weakening of the population, creating the conditions that enable and make possible the exercise of sovereignty of the *war machines*: impunity, weakening and silencing the Afro-Colombian population.

These policies are framed in discourses of modernity, neoliberal models of development, intervention and enunciation of the communities as the “other” - backward other. The implementation of neoliberal policies in Colombia had devastating consequences in the population of Buenaventura. One of the most harmful State measures was the privatization of the Port of Buenaventura in 1991. This affected the city of Buenaventura in a crucial manner. According to activists and scholars (Perez, 2008; Bonilla, 2017), the privatization process caused a crisis of unemployment that inhabitants are suffering until today. During the period of analysis, the Policies and development strategies from National Government and Local Government were characterized by logics of the not recognition of the particularities of the ethnic communities and the imposition of models of development that do not take into account ethnic rights or respond to specific demands from communities or the inhabitants of Buenaventura. For example, the Development Plan of Buenaventura 2004-2007, presented by the Mayor Saulo Quiñones, defined territory as the “social, technical, economic and technological system that contains in a real or latent form the factors capable of causing its own development” (Buenaventura, 2004), which disavows the ethnic legal framework that protect ethnic communities. This policy erased from the public discourse any acknowledgement on the different forms of understanding territory and ethnic forms of organizing around ancestral and ethnic territories. In this logic of development, Presidency,

Planning Secretary and Departmental Governorship, promote projects framed on neoliberal model of development, extractive economy, and administration of life as biopolitical technology, transverse to racialized communities.

These policies and interventions presented a threat to the exercise of the sovereign right of the communities over their lands, the ancestral and traditional ways of production and subsistence, which ended creating insecurity conditions, forced displacement, human rights violations and a space where war machines work in cooperation to exercise necropower, exposing entire communities to death. The strategies from the State were the implementation and promotion of projects focused on large-scale palm oil cultivation and issues of mining license for international companies. The implementation of these policies and investments projects came on hand with alliances with the paramilitary group AUC with disastrous consequences. According to researcher Semillas, 2005, activist groups, reports from Incofer (2005), and the Ombudsman Office (Resolution 39, 2005) agro-industrial projects of palm oil on the region forced afro-Colombian communities to sell under pressure or displaced them from their territories because of threats from paramilitary groups, with deep impact on their culture and economic survival. Research and reports (Semillas, 2005) from this period linked paramilitary groups with Palm oil Companies that caused increments on the forced displacement. Nevertheless, in the area of Buenaventura, the principal dispute has been because of the control of the exits and routes that connect to sea outlets and with the Port, as well as the control of mineral resources (Dominguez, 2017). These dynamics of violence and terror occurred in the context of implementation of “mega-projects” of investment to enhance and expand Buenaventura’s Port, and the improvement of road infrastructure with the intention of captivating international inversion and more commercial flows on the Port. According to the Ombudsman's office (2016) and civil organizations, the implementation of these “mega projects” was accompanied by the collaboration of illegal groups, specifically in

the areas of Bajamar, Commune 6 and 12. This development of infrastructure projects has caused displacements (Ombudsman's, 2016). The State represented by the policies of development and investment projects on the region ended generating dynamics of dispossession, terror, violence and death. In this case, state policies and projects constituted neoliberal projects of development, and were designed in collusion with illegal armed groups.

This particular intersection of policies, development and violence is a vehicle to implement State and private company projects. State (Local Government, Presidency, National Government) and paramilitary groups act as war machines in the methods and tactics to exercise territorial control, exceeding State law configuring dynamics of coexistence, and incorporation between state and illegal armies and supporting their actions on this matrix of biopolitical technologies. The final deployment of necropower in the development model is connected with political and international networks, creating what Mbembe define as enclave economies (2003, p. 33) where the control of the territory, extraction and mobilization of resources creates a space of necropolitics, that also ended merging with local political institutions. In this scenario, the links between political institutions (Mayors, City Hall, Development Secretary, Presidency), transnational companies, and paramilitaries groups are deeply tangled and pervasive, becoming a new interconnected way of sovereignty, territorial control and exploitation of resources. According to recent research (Taula Catalana per la Pau i els Drets Humans a Colòmbia, 2015), one of the cases of this intersection is the case of the Catalan Group Maritime TCB with their project TCBUEN container terminal, that have been influencing the POT- Plans of Territorial organization of Buenaventura on this period. This company started the implementation of the project "TCBUEN" without doing a previous consultation to the community, with the authorization of the Local and National Government. In 2005, on the Commune 5, in Punta del Este, took place the massacre of 12 youngsters, starting a context of intense violence by the AUC, with the assassination of one of the land

defenders of the area in 2007, and continuous violent homicides and forced displacement of inhabitant from the Commune 5. In this context, in 2007, TCBUEN started purchasing properties in this specific Commune 5 (populated by Afro-Colombians) and developed their infrastructure project. (This shared sovereignty through necropolitics the cooperative/competency relationship among actors-war machines. Nevertheless, this particular actions and policies create State actions/or omission create conditions that expose and reinforce the extreme vulnerability and conditions of exposure to death of the population in Buenaventura trough biopolitical policies).

Reading the Pacific Biogeographic and Buenaventura from a decolonial perspective

In the case of Latin America, the emancipation process from Spain was led by white/creole elites, who internalized and reproduced Eurocentric model of thought, religious beliefs and idea of State. Because of the political influence and role of white/creole elites during the eighteen century, Colombia presents a process of mestizaje and sociopolitical configuration that reproduces and preserves the racial hierarchies from Colonial times, which ascertain the kind of citizenship granted to ethnic communities until recently³¹. Due to this heritage, ethnic population is marked as "traditional, backwards, premodern or non-rational". This dynamic of *mestizaje* helps to build the grounds for the establishment of contemporary spaces of exclusion, peripheral regions – as the case of Region of Pacific Biogeographic –, condemned to be the black, salvage area of Colombia and marking the denial of the racialized other as equal in rights, in citizenship. In 2012, for example, the Deputy Rodrigo Mesa, in a

³¹ Oslender, Wade, 1997, 2002 and Grosfugel, 2000 discussed broadly this process of emancipation lead by white elites and the reproduction of coloniality in a “postcolonial” or post-emancipation times in the case of Colombia and Latin America.

debate about investment on Education in the Assembly of Antioquia (El Espectador, 2012), publicly asserted: “*The money you invest in Choco*³² *is like to perfume shit*”

The inclusion and acculturation of these values from enlightenment tradition and the Eurocentric discourses of development – as a linear and progressive process according to the dictates of the western/European development model – instead of seeking better living conditions, it reproduces inequitable relations of subordination maintained from the Colony and the post-independence (Quijano, Dussel, Lander). According to Dussel (1992), modernity and their effects remain until nowadays in Latin America. The colonial traits that came with its reflect and consequence of a long process of colonization, devastation, exploitation and cultural annihilation that give place to this transformation and finally assimilation of new ontologies and epistemological process based on Eurocentric/ colonial discourse. In this sense, the dynamics and the context analyzed here cannot be separated from this long process of colonization and establishment of racial hierarchies, and the imposition of development models and policies based on Eurocentric standards, which legitimize the context where the Colombian internal armed conflict takes place. These same hierarchies, reinforced through these ideas of modernity and racial hierarchies, support the state policies that make possible, legal and legitimate to expose racialized communities to death (Mbembe, 2011). The decolonial scholars Dussel and Castro-Gomez conceive that there cannot be modernity without Coloniality and vice versa. This process of exploitation and expropriation of land exists within a political, ideological and historical framework of modern state in Colombia that justifies and allows the reinforcement of sovereign power as elimination and subordination of the other, in this case the racialized “other”, in need of modernization. This discourse also present a new problematic in the context of post-conflict and peace

³² Choco is the Department located at the north of the Pacific Region of Colombia.

intervention, where the idea in one hand of progress and development (Grosfoguel, 2000) is in the center on the policies, humanitarian and peacekeeping operations nowadays.

Understanding this history has been fundamental to understand the processes of resistance, oppression and dispossession in contemporary Colombia, where the preservation of racial hierarchies and models of pre-capitalist production and exploitation are maintained.

Chapter III: Necropolitics as shared sovereignty in Buenaventura: the struggle for the territory

"They (the government) decide who lives and who dies, who has a value and who does not, and we are clear that we are the ones that have to die, the afros" (Fragment interview to

Charo Mina Rojas, PCN, May2019)

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the actions, interactions and relations among the different actors in dispute for the territorial control on Buenaventura during the presidential terms of Alvaro Uribe Velez (2002-2006 and 2006-2010). I argue that illegal armed groups (AUC, FARC-EP), Police, National Military Forces and drug cartels – behave and can be characterized as war machines, because of their goals and methods to exercise sovereignty as production of death/ necropower. The dynamics and expressions of necropower and production of disposable bodies are deeply co-interconnected and are consequence of the historical colonial order and racism of Colombia. Throughout this chapter I analyze these dynamic and in the final section, I also address the gender dimension of the production of death or necropolitics. To start, in the following section, I show how these different actors/ war machines are acting in the production of death using their own methods and techniques for creating death, disposable bodies, and ‘the enemy’; while expropriating and occupying this territory trough necropower-necropolitics

For analytical purposes I divide the chapter in three sections. The first section focuses on the repertoires of violence during the periods between 2002-2010. The second section, analyzes the internal armed conflict in the area of Buenaventura, as a space of the reproduction of necropolitics, focusing on the methods and techniques of production of death through the work of war machines on the territory. The last section of this chapter will analyze the gender dimension of the production of necropolitics in Buenaventura.

War machines in action: Repertoires of violence between 2002-2010 in Buenaventura

During the decade of 1990, Buenaventura and the pacific region was controlled by the “Frente 30” of FARC-EP, developing specific military actions against forces of the State and local governments, and expanding their own mobiles units. Since then, there has been a dispute between right wing paramilitary’s forces (AUC), leftist guerrillas (FARC-EP), and the drug cartels that were financing both groups to guarantee access and control over routes for drug smuggling. In this period of time, the importance of securing the control over the pacific corridor and the Port of Buenaventura obeys to the context of War against drugs, and the enforcement of air and maritime traffic control that originated changes on the strategies to export cocaine from drug cartels. The focus of the operations in the port of the Pacific Ocean included control over the routes, over supply and processing facilities, the enforcement of traffic networks on the area and the development of new technologies for exporting drugs.³³ In the development of this new technologies and methods for producing and transporting drugs, the communities have been the most affected as victims of forced displacement, forced recruitment, and recruitment for the operation of the submarines or handcrafted semi-submersibles. The operation of these semi-submersibles has been a tactic implemented widely in the last two decades, recruiting local fisherman’s from the area to operate this semi-submersibles. The armed groups recruited local fisherman because they lacked of job opportunities, making them more vulnerable to agree to accept this kind of jobs as the only way of making money. Moreover, they were easier to coopt by threatening, kidnapping, and

³³ Since the 2000’s have been a raising on the develop of fleets of semi-submersibles boats and submarine property of FARC-EP, by drug cartels in Buenaventura(Emol,2011; ElTiempo,2008;RTVE,2008; ElEspectador,2008).

killing their families and because they had a close relationship to the ocean and the rivers, which made them more capable of sailing. In particular, local fishermen were recruited, killed, and sent to die in the water because of the crimes against their bodies remained unpunished and armed groups enjoyed total impunity.

In 2.000, along with the Pacific Bloc, the paramilitary “Calima Bloc” was created under the leadership of Herbert Garcia aka “H.H.”³⁴ with the intention to reclaim the control of the routes of transportation, the territories to establish crops, and the processing facilities of cocaine, and to export cocaine from the Cauca to the Pacific. This new group established their arriving to the region with a massacre in the village of Sabaletas in 2.000 (ElEspectador, 2014), and the massacre of Naya. Despite that the massacre of Naya did not take place on Buenaventura, but it was on the key point on the routes of exit to the port from other areas of production of drugs. Also, was one of the massacres on the region that marked the arrival of Calima Bloc and the means of the AUC. Affecting more directly ethnic communities and provoking the forced displacement of around 6.000. According to the free version of a excombatant Elsuar de Jesús Caro Higueta: “HH affirmed that the massacre was arranged with industrialists and big landowners from the region(El Tiempo, 2012, June 20); On the other hand, from the free versions of postulates of Justice and Peace, it has been established that in this case there was participation by action and by omission of the public force, materialized in at least three ways (El País, 2011, 23 March: El País, 2011, March 25): 1) enabling the roads and lifting the respective checkpoints to ensure the mobility of the paramilitaries from Trujillo” (CNMH, ; 2) clearing specific areas or places for the arrival of paramilitaries” (CNMH, 2018)

³⁴ The Calima Bloc, was conformed at the beginning by militia groups from the region of Uraba and Córdoba from the Caribbean region of Colombia, which were the epicenters of the AUC. The national Ombudsman Office repeatedly reported that in the period of 2002-2004, process of recruitment and forced recruitment took place in the area of Buenaventura, and Valle del Cauca. Because of this particular dynamic, is been label as an “imported army” or “invader army”. Nevertheless, the reports on the number of members is no consistent because of the irregular character of the conflict and the group itself (report No. 2-Ombudsman Office,2018)

These massacres constituted a way of announcing their presence on the territory, warn the residents, and mark their territorial control through terror. During the following years, from 2000 to 2013, Buenaventura saw an escalation in violence, an increment of the presence of paramilitary groups, and an exacerbation of the effects of the internal armed conflict. This period was marked by the reconfiguration of the conflict due to the failed demobilisation process of paramilitary groups in 2004. According to CNMH (2015, 2018) there are two periods of violence in Buenaventura. The first one is the “paramilitary violence” from 2000 to 2004; and the second one which goes from 2005 to 2013 and is called a period of “post negotiation”. Each period showed use of specific repertoires of violence, and mutation of the strategies of terror for the exercise of sovereignty and territorial control by paramilitary and State military forces. These repertoires of violence and a necropower exerted over the population had the goal of controlling the territory. By using strategies of terror, weakening the population, and creating collective forced displacements, the biggest scourge was made to the ethnic communities, which have been uprooted from their ancestral territories, creating dispossession and exposing them to death. According to data from Ombudsman Office, in Buenaventura during the period of 2002-2005 the statistics on expulsion showed an increment of 693%, and increment of reception of 846%; and the period 2005-2010, the official number shows increment on the average expulsion rate of 32.95%, and a reduction on the reception rate to -4.67%. As the numbers show, there has been an intensive process of reconfiguration of the territories and occupation of the rural and urban areas of Buenaventura, caused by the internal armed conflict and the strategies of the AUC, targeted to generate territorial displacement of the communities.

For analytical purposes, I pay attention to the actions and evidence between 2002-2010, referring to qualitative and quantitative data from CNMH (2015, 2018) PCN (2018, 2019, 2012) AFRODES (2012, 2015), interviews, and my own research (2015, 2017). In this

chapter, I describe the repertoires of violence and terror developed in the two periods described above: the period of paramilitary violence, and the one of Post negotiation.³⁵ I specifically focus on the dynamics producing necropower:³⁶ territorial fragmentation, and terror as material and symbolic violence.³⁷ For the development of this analysis I focus on the characterization of the slaughter houses or *casas de pique*, because they represent clear examples of how race is interconnected with the production of necropower and the work of *war machines*.

2002-2004: The period of paramilitary violence

Territorial Control

The arrival of the paramilitary groups, specifically the “Bloque Calima” and “Bloque Pacifico”, to the Pacific region was accompanied by a strategy of militarization of the rural and urban areas, where Police and paramilitaries worked together in the planning of the massacres as joint actions (Obdusman Office, 2018; CNMH, 2015). According to the narratives of ex-combatants, Police, Army and paramilitary sharing information, strategies, and before entering a new area/neighborhood the paramilitary groups were notifying the Police so they won’t encounter in cross fired. This strategies were revealed on the personal accounts provide during the process of “Version Libre” (Free version). This was an option give to excombatients to provide an account of their actions during their time in the paramilitary forces in Exchange of a reduction of their sentence. It is worth noting that the dome of the Bloque commanders were ex-military (Police and Army) and ex-guerrilla (EPL

³⁵ This periodization were not only made by the CNMH, but is part of the general discourse find during the literature review and research.

³⁶ I used these two categories of classification in order to make more clear the relationship between evidence and the term necropolitics, and coming back to Mbembe’s (2011) definition of necropower and the dynamics behind.

³⁷ Considering that Buenaventura is populated mostly by Afro Colombian communities, the territorial fragmentation and damage have to be interpreted in two analytical categories: material and symbolic (Understood as mental, emotional, cultural and damage to ancestrally or spiritual spaces).

and FARC), specially from other regions of the country. (Ombudsman Office, 2018) On the initial years, Police and Military forces helped providing information about community leaders or citizens who made police reports or complains about actions or crimes perpetrated by paramilitaries. Eventually, this citizens were targeted and killed with total impunity and unpunishment of the paramilitaries. This collaboration strengthened the paramilitary strategy in their control over the territory of Buenaventura. The repertoires of violence implemented by these groups were oriented to the generation of terror, forced displacement, territorial control and helped to render invisible the presence of the armed conflict.

Casas de pique

Interviewer: So, the goal was to generate terror?

Interviewed: Generate terror, exactly. More than to recover drugs (Fragment interview to a demobilized combatant referring to the slaughter houses. From the Report of CNMH, 2015)

The slaughterhouses or “casas de pique”³⁸ were established mostly during this period of paramilitary violence as a strategy of terror and creation of “geographies of terror” (Oslender, 2004, 2008; CNMH, 2015). These places were abandoned or occupied houses, destined to dismember and torture people, as a particular terror strategy in Buenaventura. In one hand, the “Casas de Pique” were implemented for logistics reasons: the dismembered bodies were easy to transport, hide, and disappear.³⁹ The disappearance of bodies was part of a strategy to make the conflict invisible to public opinion. By disappearing the bodies, the homicide rates of this period decreased, facilitating strategies of covering the conflict and violence of

³⁸ Researchers and media coverage (Kienyke,2018; ElEspectador, 2014; CNMH,2015, Corpades) this practice of torture and terror is particular of the paramilitary and drug trafficking groups, there is not register of casas de pique from FARC-EP or ELN. In my own experience working on the area is part of the popular knowledge that this is a strategy from paramilitary groups, also it has been in the social imaginary of the people I shared time with, as an institution of the paramilitary on the neighborhoods. Understood by inhabitants as the way of reclaiming the space from these groups.

³⁹ According to multiple testimonies on the sources consulted, the method use was, after dismembered the bodies, the body parts were storage along with stone in separated plastic bags, then throw it into the sea or the swamps.

Buenaventura (Ombudsman Office, 2018; CNMH, 2015, 2019; El Espectador, 2014, 2017; KienyKe, 2012; CINEP, 2014, HRW, 2014). The symbolic use of the *casas de pique*, was part of the repertoires of violence aimed at creating psychological torture and deterritorialization. These installations of torture were simultaneously deploying various strategies to create an atmosphere of terror and fear. I group as it follows: ⁴⁰

1. Symbolic Deterritorialization-Terror Spaces: Taking into account the meaning of the territory for these communities, the implementation of *casas de pique* created new configuration of the territory and the spaces of collective cohabitation, affecting daily and spiritual practices. The transformation of the meaning of spaces to terror spaces caused a process of symbolic /mental/ material deterritorialization (CNMH,2015).

2. Psychological torture: The exposition of death as something public, forced people to witness the killing of others in their own neighborhoods. The propagation of rumors, and the public appearances of perpetrators describing in detail how they were killing people in public spaces, increased the general fear. The goal of this practice was the creation of psychological torture and fear by exposing the violence as something visible and audible for the inhabitants. Moreover, by spreading body parts on rivers, shores and swamps, and creating what the communities called as “rivers of blood”, in relation to the high number of body parts that they tended to encounter in their daily routines, worked as a way of signaling the territorial control and/or warning the inhabitant of what they could face. These practices created a continuous atmosphere of fear in the communities and communicative systems of terror (CNMH, 2015).

3. Sociocultural damage: It involved the transformation of customs, routines, and spaces. For the afrocolombian communities the rivers are a fundamental part of their cosmovision and

⁴⁰ I offer this aggrupation of strategies and mechanisms of terror, after the revision of the following sources: CNMH, 2015; Eltiempo,2017; ElEspectador,2014; Elespanol, 2016; NoticiasCaracol, NoticiasRCN, RevistaSemana,2018,2015,2015b, NewYorkTimes,2015; HRW,2014, 2015.

relation to their surroundings.⁴¹ By creating “rivers of blood”, and transforming the rivers and estuaries into open illegal cemeteries, the AUC in conjunction with the state military forces disrupted and broke the spiritual and sociocultural relationship of the community with the space. Nevertheless, local authorities are aware of the existence of this illegal cemeteries, there haven’t been actions on this matters, complementing the creation of spaces of terror, and affecting the process of mourning and memory of the inhabitant of Buenaventura, on a display of negligence and effort to hide and avoiding to addressed the conflict. Also, they affected traditional ways of subsistence that historically have been based on artisanal fishery. On the other hand, mourning rituals, *novenas*, *alabaos*⁴², funeral services and the relationship with their dead was completely affected. These rituals represent a corner stone in the afrocolombian reproduction of social networks, kinship, ancestrality and reinforcement of historical and spiritual belonging with the territory. Dismembering and disappearing of bodies negated the possibility of traditional mourning processes, creating deep fractures in the social cultural, affective and spiritual networks that had held the communities together.⁴³

As said, the “*casas de pique*” were central in the strategies of producing terror, fear and territorial control. First, they worked as places for the processing and technification of the production of death in mass, and the claim of control over the neighborhoods.⁴⁴ Moreover, they were used as a training and rite of passage of underage combatants, particularly to forced recruit minors. The exhibition of the instruments, methods, and places of torture have

⁴¹ Oslender (2011; 2017) explain the relation of the afro Colombian communities on the Pacific, defining how the communities relate and understand the rivers, as integral part of the sociocultural system. Defining this as aquatic epistemologies. Also, Oslender (2011) define this aquatic space of rivers and swamps as an “assembly of relationships that result of the entanglement of human beings with an aquatic environment - characterized by extensive networks of rivers, the rhythm of tides and labyrinthine mangroves - has impacted on the political organization of this movement”

⁴² On the pacific was custom to have a nine day funeral service, accompanied by singing traditional *alabaos*(funeral and praise songs)

⁴³ A less documented reason for dismembering the bodies is the connection among animist religions (such as Yoruba, and other practices of so called “witchcraft”) and the possibility of the families to mourn the bodies and trough this communication and this costume take revenge (Kienyke, 2015).

produced in the population a process of dispossession from their territories in a material and symbolic level. The population has been not only displaced or confined, but also their relation to their territories was drastically altered, in a re-signification of their neighborhoods as places of terror, fear and torture, and not anymore as their home.

“The slaughter house, were spaces in which victims are tortured in the middle of the neighborhoods of the city, their inhabitants are forced to witness the murders and the dismemberment of people by the illegal armed groups, consolidating a scenario of collective torture” (CNMH, 2015 page 209)

2005-2010: the period of post negotiation

During this period the repertoires of violence changed. They went from a public exposure of death as a mean of geographic re organization, to the invisibilization of the conflict and the creation of new kind of geographic terror, characterized by what residents define as “invisible borders” (CNMH,2015, AFRODES,2012). After the desmobilization of the AUC and the enforcement of the “Democratic Security Plan”, the city went through a process of securitization and militarization. At the same time, FARC-EP started reclaiming again the control over the routes of smuggling drugs on the port. This generated the new configuration of “invisible borders” in which the city was fragmented, and every group was in constant battle for the domain of different neighborhood or communes. In this period, the techniques of terror were characterized by targeted and controlled massacres, with the intention to create new spatial configurations. The massacre of “los matachines” or the “punta del este” constituted a calculated and planned action to inflict terror and damage the whole community, placing the bodies of young afrocolombians as target and symbols of territorial control. In addition, in this period of post negotiation, the borders were created with physical bodies exposed to death. This dynamic caused and increment on the forced displacement of people who went from the rural areas to the urban area of Buenaventura, and forced intra-urban

displacement, where in most of the cases meant re-displacement. These displacements helped to the negation of the conflict, in which the legislation of that moment didn't characterize or recognize intra-urban displacement as a damage product of the internal armed and didn't allow citizens to start process of victim indenmization.

This period was signed by the creation of spaces of armed violent confrontation in the city, forced confinement of the population in their houses, instauration of curfew, and a constant reconfiguration of the borders within the city. Finally, in this 2005-2010 period, the bodies of afro Colombians residents were used as means, strategy, target, and symbols of territorial control in the struggles for territorial control among FARC; AUC; military forces and drug cartels.

Creation of the enmity on racialized bodies

The AUC, as part of the repertoires of violence implemented practices of forced recruitment to minors in Buenaventura. According to data from CNMH, children were recruited from a young age, to develop activities of helpers, messenger in carry on drugs at service of the microtraffic networks in the city. But, as part of the cycle of recruitment at the age of 14, the kids were forced to learn and dismember bodies from people of their own community, and engaged in practices of anthropophagy.⁴⁵ This practices were a way of prove their loyalty and also as an exercise of construction of the enemy, after one person started this practice was automatically identified as the "other" within the community creating a deep fracture on the social structure of the community (CNMH,2018). Specially during the period of posnegotiation, the bodies of afrocolombians were continuously create as extension or representation of the enemy, depending on the street, neighborhood or commune from where

⁴⁵ This information can be found at CNMH reports from 2015,2018 and the report "Niños, niñas y adolescentes en busca de la Buena Ventura" (november 2013), War Child –WCH–, Fundescodes, Servicio Jesuita a Refugiados y COALICO.

the person were standing at the moment. This symbolic and material appropriation of the bodies of the inhabitant allow the exercise of physical elimination by all the actors involved, since they were represented as the enemy, the “other” and the physical frontier of the territory of each armed group became the bodies of the same combatants/members of the afro Colombian community.

Shared sovereignty, cooperation, coexistence and competency between war machines

State forces, the Presidency of Alvaro Uribe Velez and paramilitary groups, were one of the main actors in the area during this period and the ones responsible for most of the massive forced displacement, dispossession, massacres, human rights violations, environmental violations and crimes against culture and humanity in Buenaventura.⁴⁶ The executive power, represented by the President, along with military forces, was at the center of the creation of a state of exception allowing the reproduction of necropolitics. During this period there was an escalation of conflict in the area expressed in torture, mass displacement, and consolidated territorial control by Illegal Paramilitary Groups, during the failed process of paramilitary demobilization of the AUC- Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia group in 2004.⁴⁷ According to records of public hearings on the process of demobilization⁴⁸ and reports of the CNMH (2012, 2015), during this period, central alliances were formed between drug cartels and paramilitaries groups. The character of this relationship between drug cartels and AUC

⁴⁶ The Ombudsman Office on 2016, release a report on the situation of human rights violations on Buenaventura, detailing the influence of AUC and Military and Police forces on the massive forced displacement in the Pacific Region

⁴⁷ Research from the Constitutional Colombian Court, Human Rights Watch, CINEP (Popular Research and Education Center), media communication had demonstrated that this process of demobilization was fraudulent and led to an increase in violence in the territories. In the same way I am taking this period of time prior to the peace negotiations considering the multiple investigations that have proved the links between the increase of paramilitaries with the government of Alvaro Uribe Velez, as well as the resurgence of techniques of torture, terror, and crimes of humanity, violations of human rights committed during the government of Alvaro Uribe Velez.****

⁴⁸ During the process

worked as a platform for the strengthening of military force and territorial control, and at the same time, it allowed the AUC to gain enough political power to push and influence the negotiations with the National Government, in what was discovered to be a false demobilizations process in collusion with the President Alvaro Uribe Velez.⁴⁹ The paramilitary group “Bloque Calima” negotiated with the local authorities the territorial control, and benefits after the amnesty and pardon from the Government (CNMH, 2008).

This close relationship and complicity between the government and paramilitary groups dramatically worsened the conditions of the conflict. The fraudulent demobilization process caused the emergence of new actors in dispute for territorial control and the transformation to of the conflict into an irregular one (CNMH, 2018). It also incremented the forced displacement, violence, and the terror over the territories. Leftist illegal army FARC-EP were in dispute for the control of the territory with the paramilitary group- AUC; the military forces and drug cartels.⁵⁰ This tension caused in the following years the increment of massacres, targeted and extrajudicial killings, forced disappearance, sexual violence, sexual slavery, forced displacement and confining as terror techniques from the different Illegal and legal armed groups in dispute (PCN, 2012). According to Human Right Watch (2010), after the demobilization process, the new paramilitary groups started targeting human rights defenders, social leaders and displaced afro Colombian leaders of the process of land reclamations in the period between 2004 and 2007. The strategies and methods of terror, control of territory, territorial fragmentation and sealing off were part of the manifestation of necropower by different actors involved in the area. It constitutes a particular necropower in

⁴⁹ There is a lot of publications, and sources that has been denouncing the nexus between the President Alvaro Uribe Velez, paramilitary groups and the influence of this forces in forced displacement, terror, state terror, human rights violations, manipulation and electoral fraud. Also accused of influencing voters trough treats from paramilitary groups to vote for candidates from the party of Alvaro Uribe Velez. The most publicly denounced was the scandal of “yidis política” on the Caribbean region of Colombia.

⁵⁰ According to Human Right Watch (2010) the main reason of the massacres during this period, was the struggle for territory control, were leaders from paramilitary groups had sold the routes for smuggling and export drugs from the Port of Buenaventura to other illegal armed groups

terms of the technique and discourse employed, but with one common characteristic: the exposure to death of the civilians and the reclaim of sovereign control over the territory. The struggle for the control of the lands is the result of different political and economic agenda on each group. For the State, represented by the President and the explicit politics on Mining license to international companies and Oil Palm crops. In the case of the AUC, the interest responds to the close nexus to the Government of Alvaro Uribe Velez and the private multinational companies that were financing this groups with the intention of expropriate the lands of displaced people. FARC-EP on the other hand was on the struggle to gain military advantage by controlling more territories and controlling the drug smuggling routes, considering that narcotraffic was one of the principal's sources of financing.

These dynamics created new local cartographies, on what the inhabitants have called "invisible borders" within the city itself. According to these new territorial arrangements, residents weren't allowed to cross determined streets, depending on who was in control of each area. This generated intra-urban displacement and forced confinement.

The strategies of terror of the paramilitary groups configure here particular forms of violence and terror, and the creation of certain bodies as subjects to be killed. In the discourse of the paramilitaries and the Colombian Army, the inhabitants were constructed as a fictional enemy, which allegedly had collaborated with FARC-EP, justifying the targeting and killing of innocent citizens. Paramilitary groups, with the help of state military forces, intimidated and threatened the territories, with the emission of leaflets announcing their arrival (CNMH, 2018). These techniques of intimidation caused forced confinement, forced displacement and prevented the prosecution of justice which resulted in territorial control from the paramilitary groups. To highlight the significance of these crimes, the reports says that, in the period of

time from 2000 to 2005, paramilitary groups committed at least fifteen massacres as methods for reclaiming territory or reaffirming their authority over the community.(CNMH, 2011).

War machines

According to Mbembe, one of the main characteristics of necropower and sovereignty entangled with colonial power, is the exercise of occupation, delimitation, seizure and creation of borders, extraction of resources, control of the population, and the reinforcement of racial hierarchies. Mbembe (2003, p. 27-29) argues that there are particular characteristics that define necropower such as “dynamics of territorial fragmentation, and sealing off” and the perpetuation and establishment of a *state of siege* as one of the strategies of terror where “entire populations are the target of the sovereign” (Mbembe 2003, p. 30). As Mbembe argues, in this geographical area, the sovereign power is not only held up and exercised by the State, but also it is shared and disputed by different actors, both legal and illegal, through the work of *war machines*. In the process of occupation and spacialization of Buenaventura the characteristics of necropolitics exposed by Mbembe and the technologies of biopower are present – being having race the main category of socio-political control and division.⁵¹

As was showed above, the strategies of territorial control and occupation by illegal armed groups and the Colombian State (represented by Presidential policies and Military forces) present characteristic of *war machines* that configured a specific form of necropower. These *war machines* produce necropower trough spatialization, dispossession, forced displacement, confinement, terror, and legitimization of a *state of siege*. The understanding of the actors as *war machines* that produce necropower, give a better account of the dynamics of the conflict in Buenaventura. This category of *war machine* is introduce by Mbembe (2003, p. 30-35)

⁵¹ Mbembe (2003, p. 25-30) refers in his argumentation to spatial colonial occupation to define contemporary occupation or refugee sites. Although I am not referring to this kind of conflict or occupation, I find Mbembe’s analytical category useful to analyze the characteristics of terror, violence and death produced and exercised in Buenaventura.

following the work of Deleuze and Guattari, introducing a critique to the conception of Nation-State. Instead, he gives an analytical approximation of forms of sovereignty outside of the Nation-State, where the Nation-State is not the only actor with the sovereign power to kill, highlighting the co-existence and tension with others actors in conflict for sovereign power and right to kill. An important feature of the conflict in Buenaventura is that the “right to kill” is not exclusive to the State or the national-regular army. In this sense, *war machines* consolidate a better conceptual term to analyze the interactions and strategies of terror deploy in this region. Sovereignty and terror exceed the State where different actors coexist inside and outside the Nation-State.⁵² Here, the war machines are entangled in conflicts, alliances, disputes for power, resources of political, natural, labor, capital, and territorial aspects, and share “features of political organization with mercantile corporation” (Mbembe 2003, p. 32). Moreover, the ways of producing violence, terror and disposable bodies are intertwined with the pervasive colonial discourse of racism. In the case analyzed here, the subject to kill, affected by historical racial configurations, is constructed as the ‘other’ invisible, dead, confined, attacked without punishment, starve, and exposed to death and to be killed. According to Mbembe, Coloniality is a central feature on the way how contemporary wars are develop. For the author as consequence of Coloniality that sovereignty/state of exception is fundament as exercise of power, characterized by the occupation and control of territories. In this sense sovereignty is exercised trough war, necropower were subjects are defined as killable while the different actors take over the control of geographic spaces following logics of colonial occupation and with the work of technologies of biopower as race- racism

⁵² The same field circumscribes its interiority in States, but describes its exteriority in what escapes the States or stands against them” (Deleuze, Gilles and Guattari, Felix. Op. cit., pp. 367-368).

Gender dimension of necropolitics in Buenaventura.

The impacts of internal armed conflict in Colombia have a differential impact on afro Colombian women because of the intersection of being black, displaced and women. The Constitutional Court addressed this different dimension and damage on afro Colombian women through the Order 092/2008, where highlight the existence of multiple discrimination and impacts on afro Colombian women in the context of conflict, defining afro colombian women as special subject of protection.

Gender based violence and sexual violence in the context of armed conflict in Buenaventura is one of the particular strategies of the armed groups on the repertoires of violence and terror techniques to exercise sovereignty and control the territory. The use of gender violence or violence directed to feminine bodies respond to interests and strategies of the armed groups to disarticulate the social and community networks, and to generate displacement.

The violence inflicted on afrocolombian women had particular characteristics and goals that are not present in other geographical contexts of the Colombian armed conflict. The particular strategies of terror have a component of acknowledgement of the social and symbolic role of women in the afro Colombian communities. The crimes against women then caused damages to the cultural, symbolic social structure and the dignity of the community that lead to what has been called as a cultural genocide (CNMH,2015). According to PCN - Proceso Comunidades Negras (2019)gender based violence against afro Colombian women have the goal to support the strategies of dispossession and forced displacement of communities for the exploitation of natural resources. Since the body of women is deeply connected to the territory and the community, were women and territory are no separated, and the affectations to the territory are experience as affectations to their bodies and vice versa. Armed groups use this ontological relation with the territory and the role of women in the

community to make more effective strategies of dispossession.⁵³ One common practice is sexual abuse to other member of the families of social leaders, and to inflict pain on their families as strategy to avoid their political participation and as response of the believe in the community of symbolic death, women's are not been killed but punish.

"The best way to kill is punishment, death is not only physical, it is also symbolic and that punishment is violence, physical punishment, physical violence against the body, but also physical violence and punishment against things that are significant to her as be, that they identify and integrate it, because it is linked to the territory. The women somatize the damage to the territory, the damage of the backhoes in the river, they somatize that damage and they expressed it, in addition to the sexual violence what in the mobilization the impulse was the damage to the territory, they said the territory hurts us. And so we say: the territory is life, and life is not sold, its to love and to be defended "(Interview to Charo Mina Rojas, Leader of PCN, May 2019)

The use of sexual violence as a strategy of war is also due to an intersection between the commodification of women's labor as forced labor, where they are used as free labor for defined work as feminine, as well as sexual enslavement, (insert interview) But also within this sophistication of strategies of violence and terror has also integrated the understanding and symbolic weight of women in the community to fracture community networks generating displacement. In most of the interviews and studies carried out, and in the investigations carried out, the displacements were due to sexual violence that, in addition, resulted in the disintegration of the family unit and the social and cultural fabric of the communities from which they were expelled. Forced women. Similarly, it is deliberately-deliberately-aimed at the feminine body as strategies of eradication or cultural genocide, since traditionally Afro-Colombian women play a central role in the transmission of ancestral knowledge and traditions, from oral memory, midwifery to the mortuary rituals and customs. They also occupy a central role in oral memory and community cohesion in terms of care, psychosocial

⁵³ Nevertheless, sexual violence and gender based violence cannot equate as damage to the territory or equate these categories to all the cases. I'm taking this narrative and this interpretation, considering the effect and the strategies on the specific repertoires of violence put in place in this particular geographical area. Not all the cases women bodies can be linked with an ancestral relationship with the territory or with values as dignity or community damage.

health and traditional medicine, a set of customs and cultural traditions that are being eradicated due to the particular techniques of terror inflicted on the female bodies of Afro-Colombian women.

Conclusion

The internal armed conflict in Colombia has had as its cornerstone, since the era of Violence in the 60-70, the struggle for access and ownership of land. It has been a conflict of high intensity and long duration where the methods of violence and terror have reached peaks of degradation of human rights, through the superposition of different repertoires of violence. Colombia, and the Colombian Pacific as a territory historically populated by ethnic-Afro-Colombian communities, has suffered the impacts of the conflict and the different political, mercantile and developmental agendas of the different groups in conflict: State (Public policies and development models), landlords, AUC, FARC-EP, ELN and cartels of narcotics traffic. In the center of the dispute: the territory. The strategy used: terror, dispossession and displacement of ethnic communities, leaving the communities in humanitarian crisis.

Buenaventura, on the one hand, counts with mega diversity in natural resources, and a strategic location for foreign trade and narcotraffic, while, on the other hand, is intersected by a matrix of colonial power, as Quijano would call it. The city of Buenaventura, specifically the Black/afro Colombian communities had been isolated and neglected from the executive and legislative bodies of the State, with limited participation on their own decisions. It has been portrayed as backwards and obstacles/opponent of modern development. This imaginary within Colombian society, composed of racial and economic hierarchies inherited from Coloniality and the modern colonial project, meet and feed the strategies of necropower and sovereignty of the actors/war machine in dispute for the territory. Because of this context, analyzing the conflict in Colombia, merely as the manifestation of violence between State,

armed forces and illegal armed groups, in an exercise of governability or monopoly of the legitimate use of force does not explain the nuances of the conflict and the exercise of sovereignty.

I conclude that, contrary to the prevailing political and media discourse, Buenaventura is not facing a situation of absence of the Colombian State/Government or suffering from a governability crisis. I argue that, the Government is present through a combination of biopolitical technologies and necropolitics, and it is on the reality exercising control of the population, sovereignty, and securitization with cooperation of war machines. Colombian government is indeed exercising control and state presence in all aspects of life of the afro Colombian communities. Buenaventura, instead of been a forgot city by the State, is actually been highly controlled trough biopolitics/necropolitics and dispossession.

On the one hand, using segregation, denial of political rights, impoverishment, weakening of population, state intervention characterized by agendas of local governments and legislators that have links with illegal armed groups and drug trafficking cartels for the support economic interests on the region configured a highly securitized space. This particular state intervention is aimed to reinforce material and cultural dispossession, reproducing racial stereotypes, and promoting neoliberal development policies that violate the legal sovereignty of communities over their territories. Considering this crossing of multiple victimizing factors and repertoires of violence, the situation of Buenaventura, (and the Pacific) can be called as cultural ethnocide. This is happening through the control and appropriation of the territories by the actors/war machines in dispute. Making use of physical, material and spiritual elimination, through dispossession, forced displacement, and gender-based violence, entire communities are been exposed to death. Considering that, displacement and dispossession are forms of symbolic and spiritual death for the afro-Colombian communities. However, through these technologies, the territory and the communities have been feminized and constructed as disposable and subject to exploitation.

To understand the importance and consequences of necropower terror strategies and technologies in ethnic communities, it is essential to analyze the territory from a decolonial perspective, which allows an understanding of the specificities in the ontologies of Afro-Colombian communities, and a localized experience where they generate and reproduce particular cultural and epistemological features (Escobar, 2001; Oslender, 2008;). The consequences of the conflict and the necropolitic and bio-political technologies are not exclusively directed at humans, but they affect in an integral manner the non-human entities that integrate intrinsic and indivisible ethnic communities. Terror by dispossession, displacement, resignification of public spaces and neighborhoods, infrastructure interventions, extractive economies, are not only techniques of material terror. They also form a network of technologies where entire communities are exposed to death because the territory – including rivers, estuaries and collective spaces – is an extension of the body, the collective body, the spiritual and ancestral thread, and even the reaffirmation of these communities with their own African ancestry. The reason is that the afro-Colombian are living in the territories where they arrived for the first time in Latin America, where their ancestors rest, where the first communities of freed slaves were founded and where their syncretic spiritual worldview was also developed, as indivisible from the space they occupy and they live. Within the specific legislation for black communities, the territory is recognized as property, generator of senses and living entity (Decret 4635 / 2011).

The affectations and terror technologies are specifically focused on occupying, stripping, affecting mobility, appropriation, and relationship with the territory that is in terms of Afro-Colombian ontologies a damage to itself. Without territory there is no life, and without life there is no territory (PCN). A transversal element besides the racial category is the dimension of gender. Within Afro-Colombian communities, women have been at the center of the resistance and of the generation of oral memory and community tissue. The role of women is within the cornerstone of the cultural and political survival of the communities and has been targeted and exposed to specific violence practices to weaken the communities until their dispossession / disappearance.

Understanding these complexities and the State, not as an absent State but as the center of necropolitics against these communities, is crucial for a post-conflict context in Colombia, where legal policies, plans and developments must take into account the existing legal developments that recognize the territory as a victim and the differential impact of the

armed conflict and on the ethnic communities. It is also important to consider the responsibility that the State has in guaranteeing the permanence of the communities in their territories, together with measures of reparation and the guarantee of rights that those entail. Communities are not going to achieve peace through economic compensation, because without territory there is no life.

I conclude with this analysis that the Colombian government/State is acting as a war machine in relations of cooptation, collaboration and competition with other actors in conflict, which are also called War Machines. What was evidenced was the joint work of the State making use of bio-political technologies for the weakening of the populations, and strategies of denial of political rights and reduction of civil rights, or reduction to bare life of Afro-Colombian communities. In Buenaventura, then, there is no crisis of governability or sovereignty, but a shared sovereignty between State / Government and AUC / cartels of drugs during the period studied. The state is governing and making presence through necropolitics based on a racist system, which includes the exposure to death of not only humans, but also non-humans, in this specific case the territory, which is fundamental for the commercial interests of these War machines but, at the same time, it is vital for the survival of black communities, since territory is not an entity separated from the oneself.

Sources

- Arjona, Ana María (2008), “Grupos armados, comunidades y órdenes locales. Interacciones complejas”[Armed groups, communities and local orders. Complex interactions], en: González, Fernán, Hacia la reconstrucción de país: territorio, desarrollo y política en regiones afectadas por el conflicto, CINEP-ODECOFI, Bogotá
- Arocha, J. y Friedemann, N. (1986). De sol a sol. Génesis, transformación y presencia de los negros en Colombia.[From sun to sun Genesis, transformation and presence of blacks in Colombia] Bogotá: Planeta.
- Arocha, J. (1999). Ombligados de ananse. Bogotá: Universidad Nacional.
- Arocha, J. (comp.) (2004). Utopía para los excluidos.[Utopia for the excluded] Bogotá: Universidad Nacional.
- Arocha, J. (2004). Ley 70 de 1993: utopía para afrodescendientes excluidos.[Law 70 of 1993: utopia for people of African descent excluded] 159-178.
- Ballvé, T. (2013), Territories of Life and Death on a Colombian Frontier. Antipode, 45: 238-241. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8330.2012.01046.x
- Basham, Victoria M (2018) “Liberal militarism as insecurity, desire and ambivalence: gender, race and the everyday geopolitics of war.” Security Dialogue 49(1-2): 32-43.
- BBC Mundo, & Wallace, A. (2014, March 12). Por qué dos blancos representan a las negritudes en el Congreso de Colombia. [Why two whites represent blacks in the Colombian Congress] Retrieved June 2, 2019, from

https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias/2014/03/140311_colombia_elecciones_diputados_afros_blanco_negros_aw

Beverley, J. (2003). La persistencia del subalterno.[The persistence of the subaltern] *Revista Iberoamericana*, 69(203), 335-342.

Bello, J. A. y Parra, G. (2016). Cárceles de la muerte: necropolítica y sistema carcelario en Colombia.[Prisons of death: necropolitics and prison system in Colombia] *Universitas Humanística*, 82, 365-391. <http://dx.doi.org/10.11144/Javeriana.uh82.cmns>

Bonet, Jaime y Meisel Adolfo. (2006). “El legado colonial como determinante del ingreso per cápita departamental en Colombia”,[The colonial legacy as a determinant of departmental per capita income in Colombia] en *Revista del Banco de la República*, núm. 942, vol. LXXIX, abril, 32-71.

Bonilla, M. E. (2017, July 21). Los verdaderos dueños de Buenaventura [The true owners of Buenaventura] - Las2orillas. Retrieved June 1, 2019, from <https://www.las2orillas.co/los-multimillonarios-duenos-del-puerto-de-buenaventura/>

Carreño, Gral. M., & Ejército Nacional de Colombia- Dirección de Operaciones. (n.d.). Circular 62162 - Ordenes Complementarias [Directiva]. Retrieved June 2, 2019, from https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/supporting_resources/directive_1_fp.pdf

Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica (2018), Bloque Calima de las AUC. Depredación paramilitar y narcotráfico en el suroccidente colombiano. Informe No. 2,[Calima block of the AUC. Paramilitary and drug trafficking depredation in southwestern Colombia. Report No. 2] Bogotá, CNMH.

Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica (2018), Género y memoria histórica. Balance de la contribución del CNMH al esclarecimiento histórico,[Gender and historical memory. Balance of the contribution of the CNMH to the historical clarification] Bogotá, CNMH.

Chávez, H., & Gregor, M. (2013). Necropolítica la política como trabajo de muerte. Revista Abaco, 4(78), 23–30. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26561866>

Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. (2009). Examen de los informes presentados por los estados partes de conformidad con el artículo 9 de la convención. 75o período de sesiones 3 a 28 de agosto de 2009[Review of the reports submitted by the states parties in accordance with article 9 of the convention. 75th session 3 to August 28, 2009] Retrieved from <https://www.acnur.org/fileadmin/Documentos/BDL/2010/7712.pdf>

Colectivo Mujeres Proceso Comunidades Negras. (2012). Derrotar la Invisibilidad. El reto par a las mujeres Afrodescendientes en Colombia. [Defeating the Invisibility. The challenge for Afro-descendant women in Colombia]Retrieved from <http://www.afrocolombians.org/pdfs/DerrotarlaInvisibilidad.pdf>

Kate Paarlberg-Kvam (2019) What's to come is more complicated: feminist visions of peace in Colombia, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 21:2, 194-223, DOI: 10.1080/14616742.2018.1487266

Departamento Nacional de Planeación – DNP. (2005). “Plan de expansión portuaria 2005-2006: estrategias para la competitividad del sector portuario”[Port expansion plan 2005-2006: strategies for the competitiveness of the port sector] en Documento CONPES, núm. 3342, Bogotá, marzo.

Departamento Nacional de Planeación – DNP. (2006). “Política de estado para mejorar las condiciones de vida de la población de Buenaventura”[State policy to improve the living conditions of the population of Buenaventura] en Documento CONPES, núm. 3410, Bogotá, febrero.

Departamento del Valle del Cauca. “Diagnóstico socioeconómico de Buenaventura”.[Socioeconomic diagnosis of Buenaventura] En <http://www.valledelcauca.gov.co/planeacion/publicaciones.php?id=162>, Secretaría de Planeación Departamental.

Domínguez, M. (2017). Territorios colectivos: proceso de formación del Estado en el Pacífico colombiano (1993-2009)[Collective territories: process of state formation in the Colombian Pacific]. Medellín: Universidad de Antioquia.

Duque Daza, J. (2015). Corrupción, organizaciones criminales y accountability: la apropiación de las regalías petroleras en los Llanos Orientales. Programa Editorial UNIVALLE.

- Dussel, E. D. (1988). Introducción a la filosofía de la liberación [Introduction to the philosophy of liberation](pp. 209-249). Bogotá: Nueva América.
- El Espectador. (2009, January 27). “Narcos” colombianos transportan droga en submarinos fabricados por ellos mismos [Colombian "Narcos" transport drugs in submarines manufactured by themselves]| ELESPECTADOR.COM. Retrieved June 5, 2019, from <https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/articulo112252-narcos-colombianos-transportan-droga-submarinos-fabricados-ellos-mi>
- El Espectador. (2014, October 11). Historia de una “casa de pique” [History of a “house of pique”] Retrieved June 2, 2019, from <https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/historia-de-una-casa-de-pique-articulo-521746>
- El País. (2009, April 25). Fiscalía investiga a ex alcalde Saulo Quiñones . El Pais. Retrieved from <http://historico.elpais.com.co/paisonline/notas/Abril252009/reg3.html>
- El Pais-Co (2011, October 20). Conozca los escándalos que han rodeado la Alcaldía de Buenaventura[Learn about the scandals that have surrounded the Mayor of Buenaventura] El Pais. Retrieved from <https://www.elpais.com.co/valle/conozca-los-escandalos-que-han-rodeado-la-alcaldia-de-buenaventura.html>
- El Pais Internacional. (2019, May 28). Colombia abre una investigación al general señalado por cometer irregularidades en operaciones militares.[Colombia opens an investigation to the general indicated for committing irregularities in military operations] Retrieved June 9, 2019, from https://elpais.com/internacional/2019/05/28/colombia/1559004957_965780.html

El Pais Internacional (2019, June 5). Los ‘falsos positivos’, un capítulo oscuro de la historia de Colombia[The 'false positives', a dark chapter in the history of Colombia] Retrieved June 9, 2019, from

https://elpais.com/internacional/2019/06/04/colombia/1559680921_517540.html

ElTiempo. (2008, February 5). Cayó el “ingeniero” que hacía los submarinos de la mafia[Captured The "engineer" who made the mafia submarines]. Retrieved June 10, 2019, from <https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/CMS-3947349>

Emol. (2011, September 24). | Emol.com. Retrieved June 09, 2019, from <https://www.emol.com/noticias/internacional/2011/09/24/504882/flota-de-submarinos-para-el-trafico-de-droga-incautados-en-colombia-suba-a-66-naves.html>

Escudero, O. (2011). Soberanía, guerra y muertos vivientes Glosas a “Necropolítica” [Sovereignty, war and living dead Glosses to "Necropolítica"](Melusina, 2011) de Achille Mbembe. *Africaneando, Revista de Actualidad y Experiencias*, 3(7), 85–94. Retrieved from www.ozebap.org/africaneando

Escobar, Arturo (2008) *Territories of Difference: Place, Movements, Life, Redes*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. 456

Fierke, Karin (201). *Critical approaches to international security*, Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 44-85 (Chapter 1: Definitions & redefinitions).

Genel, K. (2006). The Question of Biopower: Foucault and Agamben. *Rethinking Marxism*, 18(1), 43–62. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08935690500410635>

Grosfoguel, R. (2000). Developmentalism, modernity, and dependency theory in Latin America. *Nepantla: Views from South*, 1(2), 347-374.

Grupo Semillas. (2005, August 19). Palma africana en los territorios de las comunidades negras de Jiguamiandó y Curvaradó, Chocó [African palm in the territories of the black communities of Jiguamiandó and Curvaradó, Chocó] *Semillas*, 24/25. Retrieved from <http://www.semillas.org.co/es/palma-africana-en-los-territorios-de-las-comunidades-negras-de-jiguamiand-y-curvarad-choc>

Hoffman, D. (2011). *The war machines: young men and violence in Sierra Leone and Liberia*. Duke University Press.

HRW. (2015, March 4). Colombia: New Killings, Disappearances in Pacific Port. Retrieved June 8, 2019, from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/03/04/colombia-new-killings-disappearances-pacific-port>

HRW-Human Rights Watch. (2017, November 13). Los incentivos perversos detrás de los “falsos positivos” [The perverse incentives behind the “false positives”] [Press release]. Retrieved June 7, 2019, from <https://www.hrw.org/es/news/2017/11/11/los-incentivos-perversos-detras-de-los-falsos-positivos>

Human Rights Watch. (2018, January 18). *World Report 2018: Rights Trends in Colombia*. Retrieved June 7, 2019, from <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2018/country-chapters/colombia>

- Kienyke. (2015, September 17). Confesiones de un asesino de las 'casas de pique' de Buenaventura. [Confessions of a murderer of the 'houses of pique' of Buenaventura] Retrieved June 3, 2019, from <https://www.kienyke.com/krimen/confesiones-de-un-asesino-de-las-casas-de-pique-de-buenaventura>
- Kienyke. (2018, May 4). Revive el temor por las casas de pique en Colombia.[Relive the fear of the houses of pique in Colombia] Retrieved June 3, 2019, from <https://www.kienyke.com/krimen/asi-funcionan-las-casas-de-pique>
- La Silla Vacía, & Medina Uribe, P. (2011, October 6). ASI, Afrovides y Aico, fábricas de avales. [ASI, Afrovides and Aico, endorsement factories.] Retrieved June 2, 2019, from <https://lasillavacia.com/historia/asi-afrovides-y-aico-fabricas-de-avales-28163>
- Lagos Caamaño, Jorge. (2012). Desobediencia epistémica. Retórica de la modernidad, lógica de la colonialidad y gramática de la descolonialidad.[Epistemic disobedience. Rhetoric of modernity, logic of coloniality and grammar of decoloniality] Alpha (Osorno), (35), 210-214. <https://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0718-22012012000200015>
- Lander, E. (2000). Ciencias sociales: saberes coloniales y eurocéntricos [Social sciences: colonial and Eurocentric knowledge] (pp. 11-40). Buenos Aires: Clacso.
- Lewis, R., & Mills, S. (2003). Feminist postcolonial theory: A reader. Routledge.
- Línea de Investigación Tierra y Conflicto. Área de Memoria Histórica, & CNRR, C. N. de R. y R. (2009). El Despojo de Tierras y Territorios. Aproximación conceptual.[The dispossession of lands and territories. Conceptual approach] Bogota.

- Maldonado-Torres, N. (2016). Outline of ten theses on coloniality and decoloniality. Retrieved from Foundation Frantz Fanon:
<http://frantzfanonfoundation-fondationfrantzfanon.com/article2360.html>
- MAPP OEA. (2010). Kit de análisis electoral - Elecciones Presidenciales y Legislativas 2010. [Electoral analysis kit - Presidential and Legislative Elections 2010] Retrieved from
https://moe.org.co/home/doc/moe_mre/KIT%20ELECTORAL%20COMPLETO.pdf
- Mignolo, W. (1997). La razón postcolonial: herencias coloniales y teorías postcoloniales. Postmodernidad y postcolonialidad. [The postcolonial reason: colonial legacies and postcolonial theories. Postmodernity and postcoloniality] *Breves reflexiones sobre Latinoamérica*, 51-70.
- Mignolo, W. D., & Walsh, C. E. (2018). On decoloniality: Concepts, analytics, praxis. Duke University Press.
- Mina Rojas, C., Machado Mosquera, M., Botero, P., & Escobar, A. (2015). Luchas del buen vivir por las mujeres negras del Alto Cauca.[Struggles of good living for the black women of Alto Cauca] *Nómadas (Col)*, (43).
- Moraña, M., Dussel, E. D., & Jáuregui, C. A. (Eds.). (2008). Coloniality at large: Latin America and the postcolonial debate. Duke University Press.
- Muelle, C. E. (2017). Cómo hacer necropolíticas en casa: Ideología de género y acuerdos de paz en Colombia.[How to do necropolitics at home: Gender ideology and peace agreements in Colombia.] *Sexualidad, Salud y Sociedad (Rio de Janeiro)*, (27), 172–198. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1984-6487.sess.2017.27.10.a>

New York Times. (2015, July 17). La violencia y el progreso se enfrentan en una ciudad en el Pacífico colombiano.[Violence and progress are faced in a city in the Colombian Pacific] Retrieved June 7, 2019, from

<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/14/universal/es/la-violencia-y-el-progreso-se-enfrentan-en-una-ciudad-en-el-pacifico-colombiano.html>

Ombudsman,O. (2005). Resolución Defensorial no. 39[Ombudsman Resolution no. 3] (39), 1–42.

Ombudsman, O(2016). Problemática Humanitaria en la Región Pacífica Colombiana - Subregión Chocó[Humanitarian Problems in the Colombian Pacific Region - Chocó Subregion] Bogotá

Oslender, U. (2004). Geografías de terror y desplazamiento forzado en el Pacífico colombiano: conceptualizando el problema y buscando respuestas.[Geographies of terror and forced displacement in the Colombian Pacific: conceptualizing the problem and looking for answers]*Conflicto e (in) visibilidad. Retos en los estudios de la gente negra en Colombia*, 35-52.

Oslender, U.(2008) Comunidades negras y espacio en el Pacífico colombiano. Hacia un giro geográfico en el estudio de los movimientos sociales[Black communities and space in the Colombian Pacific. Towards a geographical turn in the study of social movements] Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia, Universidad Colegio Mayor de Cundinamarca y Universidad del Cauca

Oslander, U. (2008). Another history of violence: the production of “geographies of terror” in Colombia's Pacific coast region. *Latin American Perspectives*, 35(5), 77-102.

Parashar, Swati (2013) “What wars and ‘war bodies’ know about international relations.” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26(4): 615-630.

PCN- Proceso Comunidades Negras. (2019) *Combatiendo a las mujeres negras como si fueran un enemigo bélico. Las violencias de género en mujeres negras del Norte del Cauca, Tumaco, Buenaventura, Atlán. [Fighting black women as if they were a war enemy. Gender Violence in Black Women in North Cauca, Tumaco, Buenaventura, Atlán]*

Pérez-Valbuena, Gerson Javier (2008) "Historia, geografía y puerto como determinantes de la situación social de Buenaventura," [History, geography and port as determinants of Buenaventura's social situation] Chapters, in: Vilorio-de-la-Hoz, Joaquín (ed.), *Economías del Pacífico colombiano*, chapter 2, pages 55-81 Banco de la Republica de Colombia.

Prensa Rural, & Cassianni, A. (2010, March 23). Las curules afros se quedan “en cuerpo ajeno.” [Afro curules remain "in someone else's body"] Retrieved June 2, 2019, from <https://prensarural.org/spip/spip.php?article3774>

Rodríguez, C., Cárdenas, J. C., Oviedo, J. D., & Villamizar, S. F. (2013). La discriminación racial en el trabajo: Un estudio experimental en Bogotá [Racial discrimination at work: An experimental study in Bogotá] *Documentos Dejusticia*, 7. Retrieved from http://www.odracial.org/files/r2_actividades_recursos/600.pdf

Said, E. W. (1995). *Orientalism: western conceptions of the Orient*. 1978. Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin, 115.

Semana. (2011, April 18). Guía práctica para entender el escándalo de la 'para-política.'

[Practical guide to understand the scandal of the 'para-politics.']. Retrieved June 9, 2019, from <https://www.semana.com/on-line/articulo/guia-practica-para-entender-escandalo-para-politica/84455-3>

Serje, M. (2005). *El revés de la nación: territorios salvajes, fronteras y tierras de nadie*. [The reverse of the nation: wild territories, borders and no man's land] Univesidad de los Andes, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Depto de Antropología.

Serna, D. R. (2017). *El territorio como víctima. Ontología política y las leyes de víctimas para comunidades indígenas y negras en Colombi*. [The territory as a victim. Political ontology and victim laws for indigenous and black communities in Colombia] *Revista Colombiana de Antropología*, 53(2), 85-113.

Sociedad Portuaria Regional de Buenaventura – SPRB. (2005). *Buenaventura CiudadPuerto*[Buenaventura City Port] Cali.

RCN RADIO. (2018, September 7). *El terror a las “casas de pique” regresó a Colombia*. [The terror of "casas de pique" returned to Colombia] Retrieved June 9, 2019, from <https://www.rcnradio.com/colombia/el-terror-las-casas-de-pique-regreso-colombia>

Restrepo, E. (2013). *Etnización de la negridad: la invención de las' comunidades negras' como grupo étnico en Colombia*. [Ethnicization of blackness: the invention of 'black

communities' as an ethnic group in Colombia] Popayán: Editorial Universidad del Cauca.

Taula Catalana per la Pau i els Drets Humans a Colòmbia. (2015). *ASEDIO A LAS COMUNIDADES LOS IMPACTOS DE UNA EMPRESA CATALANA, GRUP TCB, EN BUENAVENTURA, COLOMBIA*. Retrieved from http://www.taulacolombia.org/sites/default/files/informe_buenaventura_int_act_0.pdf

Territorial, D. de P. y ordenamiento (2007). Proyecto de Plan Municipal de Desarrollo, Municipio de Buenaventura "Gobierno para todos en equidad y justicia [Municipal Development Plan Project, Municipality of Buenaventura "Government for all in equity and justice] Buenaventura: Direccion de Planeacion y ordenamiento territorial. Alcaldia Municipal.

Tokatlián, J. G., & Revista Semana. (2011, April 18). Plan Colombia, plan de guerras.[Plan Colombia, plan of wars] Retrieved June 7, 2019, from <https://www.semana.com/online/articulo/plan-colombia-plan-guerras/75210-3>

Wade, P. (1993). El movimiento negro en Colombia[The afrocolombian movement] *América Negra*, 5: 173-191.

Wade, P. (2002) *Race, nature and culture: an anthropological perspective*. Pluto Press. Londres

WADE, PETER. (2003). Repensando el mestizaje.[Rethinking on mestizaje] *Revista Colombiana de Antropología*, 39, 273-296. Retrieved June 10, 2019, from

http://www.scielo.org.co/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0486-65252003000100009&lng=en&tlng=en.

Wilcox, Lauren (2009) "Gendering the cult of the offensive." *Security Studies* 18(2): 214-240.

Whitehead, N. L. (2013). *Hambre divina: La máquina de guerra caníbal*. "[Divine Hunger: The Cannibal War Machine]. *Mundo Amazónico*, 4, 7-30.

Wright, M. (2011). Necropolitics, Narcopolitics, and Femicide: Gendered Violence on the Mexico-U.S. Border. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 36(3). Retrieved from <http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/t-and-c>

Zelik, Raul, (2009), "¿Gouverne mentalité del terror? Sobre la relación entre hegemonía y violencia dominante", [Gouvernamentalité of terror? On the relationship between hegemony and dominant violence] en *Revista Ciencia Política*, volumen 4, número 7, Bogotá, Universidad Nacional de Colombia