

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-03138-7 - The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in Colombia: Struggles of the National Peasant Association 1967-1981

Leon Zamosc

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

- ACC (Peasant Colombian Action), 194
- Acción Comunal, 38, 46, 51, 54, 62, 189, 194–5, 223–4n, 253n
- Achí (Bolívar), 128, 182–4
- ADAGRI (Association for Integral Agricultural Development), 44, 83
- agrarian capitalism, 84, 215–6n; ANUC in areas of, 61, 91–3, 140–1, 143–5, 203, 204–7; expansion of, 79, 140, 156, 186, 202; labor absorption under, 138, 143–4; land struggles in areas of, 30, 45, 74, 81–2, 84, 140; regional structures of, 29–30, 31, 32; and repeasantization, 152–4, 165, 203, 208, 209; *see also* agricultural laborers; capitalist agriculture; landowners
- agrarian question, 7, 215–16n; and ANUC's creation, 53–4; and ANUC's struggles, 73, 84–5, 202–3, 207–8; at crossroads during 1960s, 23, 25–8; and peasant struggles of 1920s and 1930s, 2, 12; and political situation of 1960s, 34–9; and prospects for peasant movement, 30–2, 212–3; state policy and, 34–6, 48–54, 97–100, 122–6, 186–7, 204–6, 212; and *Violencia*, 17–18
- agrarian reform: ANUC's demands for, 67–70, 72–3, 172, 200; at center of political arena in 1960s, 46; and creation of ANUC, 50–1, 53; data on, 146–54; landowner resistance to, 29, 49–50, 53, 98–9; López Michelsen's policy toward, 125–6; Pastrana's policy toward, 97–100; and restoration of social harmony after *Violencia*, 16, 23, 34–6; speeded up by Lleras Restrepo, 49–50, 155; *see also* counterreform; *empresas comunitarias*; INCORA; Law 1 of 1968; Law 4 of 1973; Law 6 of 1975; Law 135 of 1961; reformism
- agrarian reform settlements, *see empresas comunitarias*
- agrarian regional structures, 28–31, 74, 221n; *see also* agrarian capitalism; colonization; *latifundia*; peasant economy
- agregados*, 9
- Agricultural Financial Fund, 98, 133
- agricultural laborers, 5, 29–30, 31, 32, 133–9, 140–5, 193–4; ANUC and demands of, 107, 141, 144–5, 203, 205; ANUC and organization of, 140–5, 178, 190, 243n, 252n; characteristics of, 143–4; demands of, 29–30, 31, 107, 141, 144–5, 203, 205; land struggles of, 45, 81, 82, 84, 89; as members of *empresas comunitarias*, 158, 161; working conditions of, 144; *see also* agrarian capitalism; capitalist agriculture; seasonal laborers; semiproletarians
- agriculture, 19–25, 99, 124–6, 133, 143–4, 155, 158–61, 208
- Aguas Dulces (Guajira), 112
- Aguazul (Casanare), 44
- Aguirre, Leonel, 224n, 227n, 232n, 233n
- Aipe (Huila), 45, 70, 81
- Aktie Colombia, 106
- Alliance for Progress, 21, 35, 52
- Alméciga, Carlos, 234n
- Altamira (Huila), 81
- Amazon Basin, 8, 32
- ANAPO, 47–8, 68, 98, 188, 210–11, 223n, 251n
- Andean Ranges, 7–8, 10, 28, 74, 83–4, 95–6, 104
- ANIF (National Association of Financial Institutions), 138
- Antioqueño colonization, 10–12
- Antioquia: agrarian reform in, 36, 110; ANUC in, 92, 102, 112; coffee in, 12; employment in, 135; *empresas comunitarias* in, 160; land struggles in, 45, 75, 82–3, 87, 107, 110, 128; Maoist influence in, 92, 110, 114, 115; peasant demands in, 46; peasant economy in, 28, 32; slavery in, 8
- ANUC (National Association of Peasant Users): and agrarian question, 2, 53, 207–8; agrarian reform central issue raised by, 66–9; archive on, 6, 228n; in areas of agrarian capitalism, 61, 91–3, 140–1, 143–5, 203, 204–7; in areas of colonization, 61, 93–4, 102, 106, 174, 179–80,

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-03138-7 - The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in Colombia: Struggles of the National Peasant Association 1967-1981

Leon Zamosc

Index

[More information](#)

274

Index

ANUC (*cont.*)

192, 204–7, 231n; in areas of *latifundia*, 61, 91–3, 107, 204–7, 231n; in areas of peasant economy, 61, 95–6, 174, 179–80, 191–3, 204; Armenia line of, 101, 103–4, 107, 111, 126, 129, 168, 170; authentic peasant character of, xiii, 61–3, 66; bureaucratism in, 179–82, 199–200, 203, 207, 248–9n, 254n; as class organization of peasantry, 3, 51–2, 66, 193–6, 202, 204; in coffee areas, 140, 144–5; congresses of, 59, 60, 68–9, 101, 103–4, 107, 115, 117–18, 126, 140, 141, 171, 173, 179, 181–2, 187, 195, 197, 200; corruption in, 179, 199, 246n, 248–9n, 254n; created by Lleras Restrepo administration, 3, 43–65, 224n; data collection on, 6, 228n; Declaration of Principles of, 68–9; decline of, 179–201; division of, 70, 100–3, 227n, 233n; and DRI program, 191–3; electoral abstentionism of, 101, 102, 190, 254n; and *empresas comunitarias*, 165–78, 190–1, 192–3, 196, 201, 203, 248n, 255n; Executive Committee of, 59, 62, 71, 126, 140–1, 143, 180–2, 197–8, 225n, 227n, 249n; and financial support from foreign foundations, 106, 118, 169, 172, 173, 179, 199, 205–6, 234n, 235n; heterogeneous class composition of, xiii, 61–2, 66, 140, 204–7; historical relevance of, 2–4, 211; issues for further study of, xiv, 208–12; Junta Directiva of, 59, 62, 70–1, 72–3, 100–1, 107, 118, 127, 140, 141, 171, 173, 191, 197, 227n; land struggles of, 67, 69–70, 71, 73, 74–91, 105–13, 127–9, 182–6, 202–3, 229–30n; leadership, xiii, 55, 57, 60, 62–3, 92, 94, 95, 100–1, 116–17, 139, 176, 177–8, 179–82, 190, 192, 193, 197–201, 203, 205–6, 207, 210–11, 224–5n, 231n, 233n, 246n, 250n, 254n; leftist politicization of, 4, 5, 112–21, 174–5, 210–11; López Michelsen's policy towards, 126–9, 171, 174, 175, 180, 194, 195–6, 198–200, 233n, 248n, 253n, 254n; *Mandato Campesino* of, 73, 97, 100, 107, 140, 166–8, 236n; marches organized by, 55, 104, 109, 110–11, 116, 234n; national scope of, 61–2, 66; opposed to marijuana and cocaine, 139–40; organizational campaign of, 54–60, 66; organizational structure of, 55–9, 63–5; organized as association of users of state services, 50–3, 175; overview of its struggles, xii–xiii, 202–7; Pastрана's policy towards, 100–4; *Plataforma Ideológica* of, 72–3, 140; Political Com-

mittee of, 116–17, 119, 180, 249n, *see also* MNDP; ORP; peasant party; political factionalism in, 120–1, 139, 170, 173, 238n, 246n; radicalization of, 66–74; regional coordination of land struggles by, 90–1; representation in state agencies, 64–5, 175, 225n; repression of, 100, 103–4, 112, 121, 122, 127, 145, 186, 189, 202, 205, 209; return to clientelist politics, 196–200, 209–10, 213; reunification of, 198–200, 210, 255n; semiofficial status of, 59–60; Sincelejo line of, 101–4, 106–11, 126, 129, 140–1, 200–1; strikes conducted by, 93, 94, 112, 143, 179, 204, 231n; uneven development of, 91–6, 168, 170, 207

Aracataca (Magdalena), 111, 128

Arauca, 28, 32, 36, 93, 102

Arbeláez (Cundinamarca), 45

Argelia (Magdalena), 128

Argentina, 15

Arhuaco Indians, 137

Ariari (Meta), 28, 36, 46, 83, 94

Armenia (Quindío), 101

Armero (Tolima), 54, 81

army, 44, 55, 72, 88, 94, 116, 237n

Arroyo de Piedra (Atlántico), 128

artisans, 8, 9

Associations for Land Acquisition, 194

Associations of Beneficiaries of Agrarian Reform, 194, 252n

Atlantic Coast region: Acción Comunal in, 195; agrarian reform in, 149, 151, 152–4; agricultural wages in, 135; ANUC in, 79, 85, 89, 104, 197, 231n; capitalist agriculture in, 133, 134, 152–4; DRI program in, 192–3; employment in, 133, 135, 152–4; *empresas comunitarias* in, 160, 163, 165, 170, 172, 176–7, 244n, 245n; land struggles in, 40–3, 71, 74, 75–80, 85, 88, 89, 90; *latifundia* in, 29, 40, 78–9; Maoist influence in, 114, 116; marijuana in, 137–8, 242n; migratory movements in, 131–2, 149, 154; MNDP's failure in, 189; pasture-rent in, 29, 40, 78–9; peasant demands in, 29; peasant leagues in, 37; rent in, 11, 29, 152; re-peasantization in, 149, 151, 152–4; revolutionary situation in, 116; seasonal migration to Venezuela from, 135–6; sharecropping in, 11, 29, 152; size of self-sufficient family farm in, 220n; slavery in, 8; unemployment in, 130; Violencia in, 85

Atlántico: agrarian reform in, 40–1, 151,

153; ANUC in, 92, 102, 104, 170, 196;

*empresas comunitarias* in, 170, 244n,

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-03138-7 - The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in Colombia: Struggles of the National Peasant Association 1967-1981

Leon Zamosc

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

275

- 245n; land struggles in, 36, 40–1, 67, 69, 75, 77, 86, 128; *latifundia* in, 29, 32, 40; migratory movements in, 131–2; pasture-rent in, 40; peasant demands in, 40–1, 92; peasant leagues in, 40; *see also* Atlantic Coast region
- Ayapel (Córdoba), 79
- Balkans, 2, 35
- baluartes de autogestión campesina*, 168–70, 172, 173, 176, 246–7n
- bananas, 26
- banana zone, 36, 69, 75–7
- banditry, 15–17, 19, 38
- barley, 26, 134
- Barlovento (Cesar), 111
- Barranca de Upía (Meta), 184
- Barrancabermeja (Santander), 43, 129, 185, 191
- Barranquilla (Atlántico), 19, 40, 77, 109, 115, 132
- Barrios, Francisco, 224n, 227n
- Barros, Dagoberto, 233n
- beans, 26, 159
- Belalcazar (Caldas), 45
- Belgium, 235n
- Betancur, Belisario, 197
- Betulia (Sucre), 67, 79
- bipartisan politics, 11, 13–17, 38, 189, 197–9; *see also* clientelism
- Bogotá, 19, 93, 109, 113, 129, 171, 180, 184, 198; ANUC's First National Congress in, 60; ANUC's Reunification Congress in, 200; ANUC's Third National Congress in, 107, 117–18, 141, 173
- Bogotá Plain, 70, 82
- Bolívar: agrarian reform in, 151, 153; ANUC in, 89–90, 92, 102, 104, 196; capitalist agriculture in, 133; commercialization of fishing in, 135; employment in, 133; *empresas comunitarias* in, 168, 176, 190, 245n, 248n; land struggles in, 40, 74, 75, 77–80, 86, 104, 128, 182–4, 185; *latifundia* in, 29, 32, 40, 78–9; Maoist influence in, 79, 114; marihuana in, 137–8; migratory movements in, 131–2; MNDP's failure in, 189; PAN program in, 192–3; pasture-rent in, 78; political factionalism in, 120; sharecropping in, 78; *Violencia* in, 86; *see also* Atlantic Coast region
- Bolivia, 2, 217n
- Bolshevization Campaign, 114–15, 236n
- Bomboná (Nariño), 45
- bondage debts, 9
- Bonilla, Víctor D., 234n
- Bosconia (Cesar), 111
- Bourbon reforms, 9–10
- Boyacá, 28, 32, 75, 82, 86, 102, 143, 184
- Buesaco (Nariño), 45
- Cabuyaro (Meta), 184
- cacao, 26, 97, 158
- Cáceres (Antioquia), 128
- Caimito (Sucre), 128
- Caja Agraria, 36, 64, 95, 200, 225n, 233n
- Cajamarca (Tolima), 81
- Calamar (Bolívar), 40
- Caldas: ANUC in, 102; coffee in, 12; employment in, 135; *empresas comunitarias* in, 160; Indian *resguardos* in, 10; Indian struggles in, 82; land struggles in, 45, 73, 75, 82, 87, 230n; organization of agricultural laborers in, 143, 243n; peasant demands in, 46; predominance of peasant economy in, 28, 32; *Violencia* in, 87
- Caldono (Cauca), 111
- Cali (Valle), 19, 81–2, 103
- Calle, Victor M., 69, 72, 225n
- Caloto (Cauca), 82, 111
- Campoalegre (Huila), 70, 81, 111, 132
- Campo Casabe (Antioquia), 43
- Campo de la Cruz (Atlántico), 40, 67
- Canada, 2
- Canadian International Development Agency, 192
- Canal del Dique (Bolívar), 77
- Cañamomo and Lomapieta Indians, 82
- Candelaria (Atlántico), 40
- capital goods, 19–20, 47
- capitalist accumulation, 12, 48, 99–100, 122–3, 204, 209
- capitalist agriculture, 7, 215–16n; crisis of, 213; and crop specialization, 25, 26; expansion of, 21, 22, 24–5, 45, 79, 81, 130, 133–6, 184; government support of, 53, 97–100, 125, 126, 205; labor absorption in, 133–6, 138, 143–4; vs. peasant agriculture, 23–5; seasonal labor in, 126, 138, 143, 152, 154, 203; *Violencia* and development of, 17–18; working conditions in, 144; *see also* agrarian capitalism; agricultural laborers
- Caquetá: Acción Comunal in, 253n; ANUC in, 102, 180, 231n, 253n; civil strike in, 93–4, 179, 231n, 234n; colonization in, 28, 32, 36, 93–4; INCORA in, 36, 46, 83, 253n; land struggles in, 75, 83; peasant demands in, 46, 83, 93–4, 231n; peasant organization in, 46; politicization in, 34
- Caribbean Littoral, 77, 104, 140, 170

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-03138-7 - The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in Colombia: Struggles of the National Peasant Association 1967-1981

Leon Zamosc

Index

[More information](#)

276

Index

- Carmen de Bolívar (Bolívar), 78, 79, 132  
*Carta Campesina*, 60, 72  
 Cartagena (Bolívar), 141, 191  
 Casanare, 29, 32, 36, 43–4, 75, 83, 92, 102, 182, 184, *see also* Eastern Llanos  
 Castilla la Nueva (Meta), 83  
 Castillo, Gonzalo, 234n  
 Catholic Church, 11, 14, 37, 51, 55  
 cattle: in areas of *latifundia*, 24, 27, 29, 40, 43–4, 45, 53, 74; in Atlantic Coast, 40, 78–80, 133, 182; in colonial times, 9, 10; in colonization areas, 28; in Eastern Llanos, 43–4, 184; in *empresas comunitarias*, 158–9, 160, 162–3, 171, 176–7, 191, 245n; in inner valleys, 81; and labor absorption, 133, 143–4; *see also haciendas*  
 Cauca: ANUC in, 102, 139; *empresas comunitarias* in, 160; Indian demands in, 12, 95, 180; Indian *resguardos* in, 10, 12, 82, 95, 111, 179; Indian struggles in, 12, 69, 82, 95, 111, 179; land struggles in, 12, 45, 69, 75, 82, 87, 95, 111; predominance of peasant economy in, 28, 32; Violencia in, 87  
 Cauca River, 80, 82, 83  
 Cauca Valley, 8, 24, 81  
 centralism, 11  
 CERA (Executive Committees of Agrarian Reform), 73, 107, 140  
 Cereté (Córdoba), 79, 110, 111, 128, 132, 244n  
 Cesar: agrarian reform in, 49, 151, 153; ANUC in, 89–90, 91, 92, 102, 120, 143, 196; capitalist agriculture in, 133; commercialization of fishing in, 133, 135; employment in, 133–5; *empresas comunitarias* in, 170, 174, 245n; land struggles in, 45, 73, 75, 79–80, 86, 91, 111–12, 128; *latifundia* in, 29, 32; marihuana in, 137–8, 139; migratory movements in, 131–2; MNDP's failure in, 189; organization of agricultural laborers in, 143; peasant organization in, 80; ruthless repression in, 111, 120, 128, 170, 240n; and seasonal migration to Venezuela, 136; *see also* Atlantic Coast region  
 Chaparral (Meta), 185  
 Chile, 217n  
 Chimá (Córdoba), 77  
 Chimichagua (Cesar), 73, 80, 111, 234n  
 China, 114  
 Chinchiná (Caldas), 243n  
 Chinú (Córdoba), 128  
 Chiriguaná (Cesar), 128  
 Chocó, 32, 75, 102  
 Chuchurubí (Córdoba), 110, 111  
 Ciénaga de Betansí (Córdoba), 185  
 Ciénaga de Oro (Córdoba), 79  
 Ciénaga Grande (Córdoba), 77  
 Cimitarra (Santander), 129  
 CINEP (Research and Popular Education Center), 6, 228n  
 CIRA (Interamerican Center for Agrarian Reform), 66, 225n  
 class alignments and antagonisms: underlying ANUC's radicalization, 71; underlying ANUC's return to clientelism, 209–10; behind bipartisan politics during "great transformation", 13; and counterreformist alliance, 71, 98–100, 119; effects upon state policy, 3–4, 50–4, 66, 98–100, 124–6, 202, 204, 205–6; and isolation of peasantry, 38–9, 71, 99, 210–11; behind launching of peasant party, 118–19, 142–3; behind National Front, 17, 50, 209; and reformist alliance, 53–4, 65, 66, 71, 98–9, 119, 155, 209; underlying rise of Gaitán's populism, 14; during Violencia, 15, 16–17, 36–7; and worker-peasant alliance, 119, 142–3, 221  
 Cleotilde (Magdalena), 128  
 clientelism: 13, 91–2, 213, 218–19n, 230–1n; and Acción Comunal, 38, 51, 195; ANUC's return to, 197–200, 206, 209–10, 213, 254n; in Atlantic Coast, 91–2, 230–1n; and creation of ANUC, 62, 69; and MNDP, 189, 190; and Violencia, 15, 17, 18; *see also* bipartisan politics, *gamonales*  
 climate, 8, 11, 138  
 cocaine, 138, 139, 242n  
 Codazzi (Cesar), 45, 132  
 Coello (Tolima), 81  
 coffee: ANUC in growing areas of, 140, 180, 235n; bonanza of, 125, 208; and capitalist development in Colombia, 11–12; class sectors and demands in growing areas of, 140; in *empresas comunitarias*, 158; and foreign reserves, 19, 47; improvement of services in growing areas of, 125, 239n; and land struggles of 1920s and 1930s, 12, 13; organization of agricultural laborers in growing areas of, 140, 143–5, 243n; peasant production of, 25, 26; production data on, 12, 19, 22, 26; seasonal labor in, 135; and Violencia, 18  
 collective farming, 115, 154–6, 160–2, 166, 168, 169–70, 216n; *see also empresas comunitarias*  
 colonial agrarian regime, 9–11  
 colonists: ANUC and defense of, 3, 62, 174; demands of, 30, 207; land struggles of,

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-03138-7 - The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in Colombia: Struggles of the National Peasant Association 1967-1981

Leon Zamosc

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

277

- 43, 45, 67, 83, 84, 90; marihuana cultivation by, 137; mobilizations of, 93-4, 179, 204, 231n; subordinated to *haciendas*, 11; *see also* colonization
- colonization: Acción Comunal in areas of, 195, 253n; agrarian reform in areas of, 35, 53; Antioqueño, 10-12; ANUC in areas of, 61, 93-4, 102, 106, 174, 179-80, 192, 204-7, 231n; in colonial times, 10; INCORA's activities in areas of, 36, 146-7, 231n; land concentration in areas of, 28, 93, 208; land struggles in areas of, 10-11, 37, 43, 45, 74, 80, 83; during nineteenth century, 10-11, 217n; peasant demands in areas of, 28, 30, 31, 50, 93-4; peasant organization in areas of, 45-6; potential for conflict in areas of, 32; regional structures of, 28, 31, 32; and re-peasantization, 146-7, 203, 208; size of self-sufficient family farm in areas of, 220n; strikes in areas of, 93, 94, 179, 204, 231n; transient peasant economy in areas of, 28, 93; *see also* colonists
- Communist Party: and ANUC, 70, 75, 102, 113, 118, 198, 206; organizational work in countryside, 141, 194; participation in UNO, 188; splits in, 114; in rural areas after Violencia, 15, 16, 34, 37; and struggles of the 1920s and 1930s, 12, 13; and working class, 14, 119, 123
- compadrazgo*, 91, 230n
- composiciones*, 9
- concierto*, 9
- conquistadores*, 8
- Conservative Party: ANUC's rapprochement to, 197-200, 206; class composition, 11, 13; Conservative Republic, 11-13; followers among peasant leaders, 62, 70, 73, 95; *gamonales*, 38, 189; and landowner interests, 11, 35, 49-50, 69, 72, 98; and National Front, 16, 38; origins, 11; and Violencia, 14-15, 44; *see also* Pastrana administration
- consumer goods, 12, 20, 47
- cooperatives, 179-80, 248n; *see also* *empresas comunitarias*
- Córdoba: agrarian reform in, 36, 41, 151, 153; ANUC in, 89, 90-1, 92, 102, 104, 112, 196, 230n; *baluartes de autogestión campesina* in, 168-9, 172, 173, 176, 246-7n; capitalist agriculture in, 79, 133; civil strike in, 111; DRI program in, 192; employment in, 133, 244n; *empresas comunitarias* in, 168-9, 176, 190, 194, 196, 248n; Fals Borda in, 169, 172, 173, 246-7n; land struggles in, 41, 44, 67, 73, 74, 75, 77-80, 86, 89, 110-11, 128, 185, 229n, 230n; *latifundia* in, 29, 32, 78-9; Maoist influence in, 79, 111, 114, 116; migratory movements in, 131-2, 242n, 244n; MNDP's failure in, 189; pasture-rent in, 78; political factionalism in, 120, 238n; Violencia in, 86; *see also* Atlantic Coast region
- Córdoba (Quindío), 45
- Córdoba River, 41
- Corinto (Cauca), 45
- Corozal (Sucre), 79, 109, 132
- corralejas*, 91-2, 230n
- cotton, 24, 26, 79, 81, 133-4, 136, 137, 143-5, 158, 184
- counterreform, 3, 97-100, 125-6, 167, 186-7, 202, 203; and *empresas comunitarias*, 156-7, 163; and land redistribution, 146, 147; Laws 4 and 5 of 1973, 107, 177
- Coveñas (Sucre), 185
- credit: for capitalist agriculture, 24, 35, 98, 133; and demands in areas of colonization, 28, 31, 93-4; and demands in areas of peasant economy, 28, 31, 95; and *empresas comunitarias*, 155, 162-3, 166, 171, 172, 175, 176, 196; provided by DRI program, 124-5, 191-3, 239n
- CRIC (Regional Indian Council of Cauca), 95, 111, 112, 127, 179-80, 249n, 250n
- CSTC (Confederation of Syndicates of Colombian Workers), 39
- CTC (Confederation of Colombian Workers), 14, 39
- Cuba, 3, 21, 35, 49, 233n
- CUC (Council for Peasant Unity), 200-1
- Cúcuta (North Santander), 83, 135
- Cuéllar, Alfonso, 237-8n, 249n, 254n
- Cumaral (Meta), 45, 184
- Cundinamarca: agrarian reform in, 36; ANUC in, 102; Communist Party influence in, 15, 37, 102, 113; land struggles in, 12, 45, 67, 70, 75, 82, 86; peasant demands in, 46, 70; predominance of peasant economy in, 28, 32; Violencia in, 15, 86
- Currie, Lauchin, 21, 100
- Curumaní (Cesar), 80
- Czechoslovakia, xiii, 97
- Dáger Chadid, Gustavo, 109, 198-200
- DANE (Department of National Statistics), 24, 130, 158
- Decree 134 of 1976, 186-7
- Decree 135 of 1976, 186-7
- Decree 755 of 1967, 51, 54, 60, 175
- Decree 1265 of 1977, 187

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-03138-7 - The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in Colombia: Struggles of the National Peasant Association 1967-1981

Leon Zamosc

Index

[More information](#)

278

*Index*

- Decree 2073 of 1973, 157, 162, 171, 173, 176
- Denmark, 235n
- DOC (Division of Peasant Organization), 59, 60, 62-3, 66, 69, 72, 83, 101, 195, 255n
- draft labor, 9
- DRI (Integrated Rural Development Program), 124-5, 191-5, 201, 212, 239n, 253n
- Eastern Llanos: Acción Comunal in, 195; ANUC in, 83; capitalist agriculture in, 184, 186; land reform in, 44, 83; landscape of, 8; land struggles in, 44, 74, 83, 85, 182, 184, 186, 187; *latifundia* in, 29, 43-4; marihuana in, 137; size of self-sufficient family farm in, 220n; Violencia in, 15, 36, 44, 85, 229n
- ECOPETROL (Colombian Petroleum Enterprise), 43
- Ecuador, 217n
- Egypt, xiii
- El Banco (Magdalena), 80
- El Difícil (Magdalena), 111, 128
- ELN (National Liberation Army), 39, 49, 186
- El Tigre (Antioquia), 43
- employment, 99, 130, 133-9, 165
- empresas comunitarias*, 140, 146, 194, 196, 201, 203, 244n; ANUC and, 165-78, 190-1, 192-3; and counterreform, 156-7, 163; determinants of economic success and failure of, 160-2, 245n; disintegration of, 157, 163-5, 191, 244n, 245n; economic performance of, 162-3; formation of, 154-6, 167; INCORA's bureaucratic control of, 157-60, 162, 175-6, 178, 190-1, 193, 247n; as instrument of reformist policy, 154-5; peasant model vs. institutional model in, 167; social background of members of, 158-60
- encomienda*, 9
- Engels, Friedrich, 215n
- EPL (Popular Liberation Army), 49, 114, 186
- Escobar Sierra, Hugo, 97-8
- Espinal (Tolima), 81
- Europe, 2, 9, 235n
- exports: agricultural, 19, 22, 125; and capitalist accumulation, 12, 99, 122, 123, 204; coffee, 11-12, 19, 22, 25; during colonial times, 8-9; manufactured, 48, 99; marihuana, 137-8; during nineteenth century, 9
- Fals Borda, Orlando, 106, 169-70, 172, 173, 234n, 235n, 246-7n
- FANAL (National Agrarian Federation), 37-8, 40, 41, 45-6, 51, 77, 82, 93, 194, 224n
- FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia), 39, 49, 186
- February 21 Movement, 200-1
- FEDEGAN (Federation of Cattle Breeders), 67, 69, 79, 97, 109
- federalism, 11
- Federation of Coffee Growers, 125, 192, 239n
- FENSA (National Federation of Agrarian Syndicates), 194, 253n
- Flandes (Tolima), 70, 81
- Florencia (Caquetá), 94
- Flores, Clovis, 234n, 238n, 247n
- Florida (USA), 137
- foreign foundations, 106, 118, 169, 172, 173, 179, 199, 205-6, 234n, 235n
- foreign reserves, 19, 47
- Forero Benavidez, Abelardo, 72
- France, xiii, 235n
- Fredonia (Antioquia), 45
- free trade, 9, 11
- Freire, Pablo, 255n
- Frutera de Sevilla Co., 41-2, 75
- Fuente de Oro (Meta), 83
- Fundación River, 41
- FUP (Front for the Unity of the People), 188, 197
- Fusagasugá (Cundinamarca), 45
- Gaitán, Jorge E., 14, 47
- Gamboá, Miguel, 237-8n, 249n, 254n
- gamonales*, 11, 4-15, 38, 62, 66, 91-2, 141, 188-90, 195, 218n
- Garcés, Hugo, 250n, 254n
- Garzón (Huila), 81
- GDP (gross domestic product), 19, 20, 21, 22
- Germany, xiii, 235n
- Gigante (Huila), 81
- Girón (Santander), 45
- Gloria (Cesar), 45
- gold, 8, 9
- Granada (Meta), 83
- green revolution, 21
- Guajira, 32, 75, 86, 102, 112, 128, 137, 139, 242n
- Guambian Indians, 82
- Guamo (Tolima), 70, 81, 132, 230n
- Guaranda (Sucre), 184
- Guaviare, 75

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-03138-7 - The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in Colombia: Struggles of the National Peasant Association 1967-1981

Leon Zamosc

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

279

- guerrillas, 15, 19, 37, 39, 44, 49, 118, 186, 198, 229n
- haciendas*: eviction of peasants from, 67, 79, 110, 111, 182; formation of, 8, 9–11, 40; legislation for redistribution of land in, 49; marihuana cultivation in, 138; peasant demands for breakup of, 45; peasant seizures of, 12, 13, 67, 73, 77–84, 88–9, 109, 110, 112; persistence of, 27; seen as obstacle to development, 12; transformation of, 24; *see also* landowners; *latifundia*
- Hilton, Rodney, xii
- Holland, 106, 235n, 248n
- Huila: agrarian reform in, 36, 151; ANUC in, 89, 90, 91, 92, 101, 102, 104, 112, 174, 196; capitalist agriculture in, 29, 81, 133; Communist Party influence in, 15; employment in, 133, 134; *empresas comunitarias* in, 160, 162, 170, 185; independent peasant associations in, 194; land struggles in, 45, 67, 70, 71, 74, 75, 80, 81–2, 85, 86, 89, 91, 111, 128, 184, 230n; migratory movements in, 131, 132, 149; organization of agricultural laborers in, 141, 143; predominance of agrarian capitalism in, 32; unemployment in, 130; Violencia in, 15, 85, 86
- ICA (Columbian Agricultural Institute), 64
- IDEMA (Agricultural Marketing Institute), 64
- IICA (Interamerican Institute for Agricultural Sciences), 66, 160, 225n
- imports, 12, 19, 123
- INCORA (Colombian Institute of Agrarian Reform): in Antioquia, 110; in areas of colonization, 46, 93, 231n, 253n; in Atlántico, 40–1, 151; in Bolívar, 151, 192; in Caquetá, 83, 253n; in Cesar, 151; in Córdoba, 77, 110–11, 128, 151; data on its redistribution activities, 146–54; early projects of, 35–6; in Eastern Llanos, 83; and *empresas comunitarias*, 121, 154–65, 167, 170–8, 190–1, 193, 201, 245n, 247n, 248n, 255n; in Huila, 151; and land invasions, 70, 89, 90, 103, 104, 105, 184–5, 230n; in Magdalena, 41–3, 151; in Middle Magdalena area, 43; opposed by landowners, 67, 69, 70, 97; peasant representation in, 64, 65, 233n; restricted by counterreformist policy, 98, 104, 157, 184–5, 186–7, 234n; in Sucre, 105, 109, 151; in Tolima, 151
- “independent republics,” 16, 37
- INDERENA (Natural Resources Institute), 64, 233n
- India, xiii
- Indian communities: in colonial times, 8–10, 216n; land struggles of, 12, 69, 82, 95, 111, 179, 204; particularistic demands of, 32, 95, 107, 174, 180, 249n; *see also* CRIC; *resguardos*
- indigo, 9
- industry, 12–13, 16, 19–20, 23, 27, 35, 47, 131
- intermediate goods, 19–20, 47
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 21
- Italy, xii
- Jambaló (Cauca), 111
- Japan, 122
- Jaramillo Ocampo, Hernán, 73, 97, 100–1, 109, 232n, 234n
- Kautsky, Karl, 215n
- Kennedy, John F., 21
- La Antioqueña (Córdoba), 169
- labor force, 19, 21, 29–30, 48, 122, 130, 133, 136, 138, 152–4
- labor migrations, 130, 135–6, 138–9, 163, 202, 242n
- La Doctrina (Córdoba), 41
- La Libertad (Casanare), 184
- La Loma (Meta), 185
- La Mojana (Sucre), 182–4, 186–7, 190
- La Mula (Sucre), 128
- land concentration, 8, 10–11, 23, 32, 66, 76, 84, 192, 203, 208
- land distribution, 24, 150
- land invasions: data on, 75, 76, 77, 84, 132, 228n; description of, 88–9, 229–30n; determinants of success of, 89–91; as form of action, xii, 92; political significance of, 92; *see also* land struggles
- landlord path of agrarian development, 7, 27, 84–5, 100, 207, 215–16n
- landowners: in areas of agrarian capitalism, 17, 24, 126, 133, 145, 184; in areas of colonization, 28, 93; in areas of *latifundia*, 37, 44, 45, 78, 79, 80, 83, 84, 88–9, 91–2, 109, 147; associations of, 67, 69, 72, 79, 98; class power of, 202, 203, 204; and counterreformist alliance, 99; and *empresas comunitarias*, 177, 192; and formation of *haciendas*, 8, 10; and *gamonales*, 188–9, 218n; and land concentration, 23; and marihuana cultivation, 137–8, 139; opposed to agrarian reform, 49, 53, 209;

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-03138-7 - The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in Colombia: Struggles of the National Peasant Association 1967-1981

Leon Zamosc

Index

[More information](#)

280

Index

- landowners (*cont.*)  
 repressive actions of, 103, 111, 127, 128, 182-3, 184; supported by state policy, 35, 97, 98, 186-7, 208; and traditional parties, 11, 13, 50, 98; *see also* agrarian capitalism; *haciendas*; *latifundia*
- land redistribution: checked by counterreform, 98, 122, 157, 202, 208; data on, 146-54; as goal of agrarian reform, 35, 49, 50; peasant demands for, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72, 82, 194; through *empresas comunitarias*, 155-6
- landscape of Colombia, 7-8
- land struggles: and agrarian reform, 146-54; in areas of agrarian capitalism, 30, 45, 74, 81-2, 140; in areas of colonization, 10-11, 43, 45, 74, 80, 93; in areas of *latifundia*, 29, 40-1, 43-4, 45, 74, 78-9, 80, 83; in areas of peasant economy, 74, 95; conducted by ANUC, 67-8, 69-70, 71, 73, 74-93, 105, 109-13, 127-9, 182-6, 202-3; factors in decline of, 138-9, 146, 149, 152, 154, 165, 202-3; and formation of *empresas comunitarias*, 155-6, 161, 166-7; of Indian communities, 12, 69, 82, 95, 111, 179, 204; of 1920s and 1930s, 12, 17; of 1960s, 36, 40-5; peasant radicalism in areas of, 92-3, 102, 207, 231n; and peasant resistance to landlord path of agrarian development, 84-5; political significance of, 91-3, 202, 227n; repression of, 43, 44, 80, 100, 103-4, 109, 110, 111-12, 116, 121, 122, 126-9, 182-6, 202, 205, 213, 240n; during *Violencia*, 15, 17; *see also* land invasions
- land titles: allocated by INCORA, 147, 153, 191; in colonization areas, 28, 149; and *empresas comunitarias*, 156, 170, 176, 177, 191, 245n, 248n, 253n, 255n; and land disputes in Atlantic Coast, 40, 42, 80; and land disputes in Eastern Llanos, 44, 83; and land disputes in nineteenth century, 10-11; land struggles and allocation of, 146-7; and Law 200 of 1936, 13
- Las Palmas (Córdoba), 185
- La Tebaida (Quindío), 67
- latifundia*: agrarian reform in areas of, 49, 50, 53; ANUC in areas of, 61, 91-3, 107, 204-7, 231n; land struggles in areas of, 29, 40-1, 43-4, 45, 74, 78-9, 80, 83, 182; modernization in areas of, 24, 27; peasant demands in areas of, 31, 72; potential for conflict in areas of, 32; regional structures of, 11, 29, 31, 32; *see also haciendas*; landowners; sharecroppers; tenants
- Latin America, xii, 9, 13, 14, 19, 33, 155, 213
- La Unión (Sucre), 185
- Law 1 of 1968, 49-50, 67, 79, 126
- Law 4 of 1973, 107
- Law 5 of 1974, 107, 133
- Law 6 of 1975, 126-7, 130, 138, 187, 202
- Law 14 of 1958, 38
- Law 135 of 1961, 35, 45, 49, 50, 52, 67, 98, 107
- Law 200 of 1936, 13
- Lenin, Vladimir I., 215-16n
- Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel, xii
- Levi, C., xii
- Liberal Party: ANUC's rapprochement to, 197-200, 206; class composition of, 11-13; followers among peasant leaders, 62, 70, 73, 95; Gaitán and, 14; *gamonales*, 38, 189; guerrillas, 15; and landowner interests, 11, 13, 50, 98; and Liberal Republic, 13; and National Front, 16, 38; origins of, 11; radicals in, 12, 13, 14, 36, 39, 47, 107, 188; reformism in, 13, 49, 52, 98; and *Violencia*, 44; *see also* Lleras Restrepo administration; López Michelsen administration; Turbay Ayala administration
- Libreros, Augusto, 234n
- Liga ML (Marxist Leninist League), 79, 109, 110, 114
- llaneros*, 43-4
- Lleras Camargo, Alberto, 16, 34
- Lleras Restrepo, Carlos, 34, 48, 49, 98, 99, 107, 113, 226n
- Lleras Restrepo administration, 34, 43, 47-65, 66, 68, 72, 90, 147-8, 154-5, 166
- Loba (Bolívar), 80
- López Michelsen, Alfonso, 39, 107, 109, 129, 184, 200
- López Michelsen administration, 121, 122-7, 133, 143, 148, 177, 186, 194, 195
- Lorica (Córdoba), 41, 67, 77
- Los Palmitos (Sucre), 109, 185
- Lower Sinú area, 36, 41, 67
- mafia*, 137, 139, 242n
- Magangué (Bolívar), 79, 90, 132, 185
- Magdalena: agrarian reform in, 49, 151, 153; ANUC in, 89-90, 91, 92, 102, 104, 196; banana zone in, 36, 41-3, 69; capitalist agriculture in, 133; employment in, 133; *empresas comunitarias*, in, 170, 174; land struggles in, 40, 41-3, 69, 74, 75, 79-80, 86, 91, 111, 128; *latifundia* in, 29, 32; marihuana in, 137-8, 139, 242n; migratory movements in, 131, 132;



Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-03138-7 - The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in Colombia: Struggles of the National Peasant Association 1967-1981

Leon Zamosc

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

281

- MNDP's failure in, 189; organization of agricultural laborers in, 143; pasture-rent in, 80; peasant organization in, 80; ruthless repression in, 111, 120, 128, 170, 240n; *see also* Atlantic Coast region
- Magdalena River, 11, 40, 80
- Magdalena Valley, 81
- maize, 26, 78, 80, 88, 94, 159
- Majagual (Sucre), 182-4
- Manatí (Atlántico), 40
- Mane (Casanare), 44
- Maoists, 4, 73, 107, 113-20, 171, 201, 205-6, 210, 237n, 246n; *see also* EPL; FUP; Liga ML; ML groups; MNDP; MOIR; ORP; PCML
- Mao Tse Tung, 114
- March of the Bricks (Córdoba), 110-11
- marches, 55, 104, 109, 110-11, 116, 234n
- marihuana, 131, 136-40, 202, 213, 242n
- market: national, 8, 9, 12, 23, 35, 47, 99, 125; international, 8, 11, 48, 99, 122-3
- Marquetalia (Tolima), 16
- Martínez, José, 250n, 254n
- Marx, Karl, xii, 215n
- Medellín (Antioquia), 19, 110, 115
- mercedes de tierras*, 9
- mestizos*, 9-10
- Meta: ANUC in, 84, 102; cocaine in, 139, 242n; colonization in, 28, 32, 36, 83; land struggles in, 45, 69, 75, 83, 128, 182, 184, 185; *latifundia* in, 29, 32; organization of agricultural laborers in, 143; *see also* Eastern Llanos
- Mexico, 8, 137
- Middle Magdalena area, 28, 36, 39, 43, 83, 129, 185
- migration: into areas of colonization, 28, 37; caused by *Violencia*, 17; in coffee areas, 18; from main areas of land struggle, 130-3, 140, 141, 152, 154, 202; rural-urban, 21, 23, 35, 47, 99, 140, 202, 208; *see also* labor migrations
- military, 15-16, 103, 109, 110, 127-8, 183-5
- Mingueo (Guajira), 112, 128, 139, 242n
- minifundia*, 11, 18, 28, 35, 50, 53, 61, 95, 101, 102, 107, 124-5, 191-2, 196, 207, 209
- minifundistas*, 21, 46, 174, 181, 204, 207, 231n
- Ministry of Agriculture, 51, 54-60, 72, 129, 195, 198-200
- Ministry of Government, 71, 72
- Ministry of Labor, 37
- Miranda (Cauca), 45
- miscegenation, 8-10
- ML groups, 79, 114-20, 127, 172, 173, 174, 186, 200, 236-7n, 247n, 250n; *see also* Liga ML; PCML
- MNDP (National Democratic Popular Movement), 187-90, 196-7, 206, 251n, 252n
- M-19 (April 19 Movement), 186, 251n
- MOIR (Independent Revolutionary Workers' Movement), 83, 102, 113, 114, 188
- Mompós (Bolívar), 80
- Monsalve, Hernán, 250n, 254n
- Montenegro, Noel, 234n
- Montenegro (Quindío), 67
- Montería (Córdoba), 73, 78, 79, 90, 110-11, 115, 128, 132, 169, 229n
- Morroa (Sucre), 128
- Morrosquillo Gulf, 77
- Motilones Hills, 112
- MRL (Revolutionary Liberal Movement), 39, 107, 225n
- Mueche River, 82
- Mundo Nuevo (Córdoba), 110
- Nariño: ANUC in, 102, 180; land struggles in, 45, 75, 82, 87; MNDP's failure in, 252n; peasant demands in, 46, 95; peasant mobilizations in, 95, 179; predominance of peasant economy in, 28, 32, 231n
- Natagaima (Tolima), 81
- National Front, 3, 16-17, 34, 38, 39, 47-8, 50, 51-2, 68, 107, 209-10
- National Wage Council, 123, 124
- Neiva (Huila), 70, 90, 111
- New Kingdom of Granada, 9
- Nicaragua, 198
- North Santander, 32, 36, 75, 80, 82-3, 86, 102, 136, 174
- Nunchía (Casanare), 44, 83
- Ochoa, Daniel, 250n, 254n
- OCIDEC (Independent Peasant Organization of Casanare), 113
- Operational Committee, 50-1, 65
- Operation Colombia, 21
- Ordoñez, Octavio, 254n
- ORP (People's Revolutionary Organization), 119, 141-3, 176, 180, 181, 182, 187, 206, 251n
- Ospina Pérez, Mariano, 14
- Ospina Pérez Foundation, 254n
- Ovejas (Sucre), 78, 79, 109, 128
- Pabón River, 110
- Pacific Littoral, 94
- Pact of Chicoral, 98-100, 103, 107, 125, 127, 154, 186, 233n
- Páez Indians, 82

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-03138-7 - The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in Colombia: Struggles of the National Peasant Association 1967-1981

Leon Zamosc

Index

[More information](#)

282

Index

- Paicol (Huila), 81  
 Paillitas (Cesar), 45  
 pájaros, 103, 111, 126, 128, 183-4, 202, 234n  
 Palechor, Gregorio, 249n  
 Palermo (Huila), 70, 81  
 PAN (Plan for Food and Nutrition), 123-5, 191-3  
*parceleros*, 156-78, 190-1, 192-3, 196, 203, 213, 244n, 245n; *see also empresas comunitarias*  
 Pardo Buelvas, Rafael, 125  
 Pasto (Nariño), 95, 127  
 Pastrana, Misael, 60, 68, 94, 133  
 Pastrana, Víctor, 234n, 249n  
 Pastrana administration, 69, 72, 90, 97-104, 105, 107, 122, 125, 148, 194  
 pasture-rent, 29, 40, 78-80, 160, 182  
 Patiño, Higinio, 233n  
 Pato, El (Huila), 16  
 PCML (Marxist Leninist New Communist Party), 79, 92, 109, 111, 114-18, 141, 169-70, 173, 237n, 247n  
 peasant economy, 7, 211-12, 215-16n; ANUC in areas of, 61, 95-6, 174, 179-80, 191-3, 204; vs. capitalist agriculture, 23-5; and crop specialization, 25-6; and DRI program, 124-5, 191-3; in *empresas comunitarias*, 116, 146, 165, 203; importance of, 25; peasant demands in areas of, 30, 31, 95-6; peasant organization in areas of, 45-6; regional structures of, 28, 31, 32, 81, 83; and repeasantization, 149, 152, 153; size of self-sufficient family farm in areas of, 220n; state support to, 53; *see also minifundia*; peasantry; peasants  
 peasant farming, 7, 216n; *see also* peasant economy  
 peasant leagues, 12, 37, 40, 45, 54  
 peasant movements, xi-xii, xiii-xiv, 1-2, 4, 33, 36, 46, 211-12, 221n  
 peasant party, 118, 176, 181, 187-90, 196-7, 211, 250n, 252n; *see also* ANUC, Political Committee of; MNDP; ORP  
 peasant path of agrarian development, 7, 27, 30, 149, 202, 207, 215-16n  
 peasantry: and agrarian question during 1960s, 23-8; ANUC as class organization of, 3, 51-2, 66, 193-6, 202, 204; class sectors and their demands, 3, 28-32, 140; class sectors involved in land struggles of, 84; conciliatory and submissive mood of, 193, 209-10; dissolution of, 23-4, 27, 48, 124, 131, 165, 203, 208; formation of, 9-11, 217; and the left, 119, 142-3, 211, 213-4; political isolation of, 38-9, 71, 99, 220-1; and reformism, 34-5, 36, 49, 50, 53-4, 65, 66, 71, 98-9, 119, 155, 209; and resolution of agrarian question, 50, 207-8, 212-13; and state, *see* state; and Violencia, 2, 15, 17-18, 36-9; *see also* peasant economy; peasants  
 peasants: in eyes of scholars and politicians, xi-xii; landless, 28, 29, 30, 31, 45, 53, 61, 67, 70, 71, 82, 83, 91, 95, 106, 116, 125, 126, 140, 149, 151, 153, 168, 181, 204, 205, 229n, 231n; with land of their own, 3, 5, 7, 17-18, 28, 30, 31, 41, 44, 46, 62, 72, 92, 95-6, 105-6, 107, 124-5, 136, 140, 146-54, 162, 165, 166, 173, 179, 191-2, 195, 197, 205, 207, 209-10, 212, 218-19n, 231n; and political participation, 1-2, 3, 211-12; and resolution of agrarian question, 1, 3; as subjects and objects of history, xi-xii; *see also* colonists; *minifundistas*; *parceleros*; peasant economy; peasantry; semiproletarians; sharecroppers; tenants  
 peasant syndicates, 45, 54, 80, 194  
 Penderisco River, 110  
 Pereira (Risaralda), 73, 197  
 Pérez, Jesús M., 227n, 234n, 235n, 237n, 254n  
 Perón, Juan D., 15  
 Perú, 8, 217n  
 piece-work, 143-4  
 Pitalito (Huila), 81  
 Planadas (Tolima), 81  
 Planeta Rica (Córdoba), 128  
 plantain, 26  
 Plato (Magdalena), 80, 111, 132  
 police, 109, 116, 127, 128, 145, 182, 184, 185  
 Popayán (Cauca), 107  
 population, 8, 12, 19-20, 23, 25, 99, 130-3, 138, 149, 151-4, 217n  
 populism, 14, 16, 17, 47-8, 68, 99, 181, 210-11, 219n  
 Pore (Casare), 44  
 potatoes, 26, 159  
 Poveda, Antonio, 234n, 237n, 251n, 253n, 254n  
 proletarianization, 29-30, 81, 125, 136  
 promoters, 54-5, 59, 62-3, 66-7, 72, 101, 113, 195, 225-6n, 255n  
 protectionism, 11  
 public lands, 10-11, 29, 40, 45, 80, 83, 84, 146-9, 182, 187, *see also* land titles  
 Puerto Berrio (Antioquia), 45  
 Puerto Escondido (Córdoba), 77  
 Puerto López (Meta), 45, 83, 128, 184

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-03138-7 - The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in Colombia: Struggles of the National Peasant Association 1967-1981

Leon Zamosc

Index

[More information](#)*Index*

283

- Punta del Este Conference, 52  
 Purificación (Tolima), 70, 81  
 Purísima (Córdoba), 77  
 Putumayo, 28, 32, 46, 94, 102
- Quinchía (Risaralda), 45, 179–80, 249n  
 Quindío, 32, 45, 67, 75, 82, 86, 102, 135, 143  
 quinine, 9
- Ramos, Félix, 225n  
*reducciones*, 9  
 reformism, 34–5, 68, 98–100, 113, 119, 155, 156, 202, 209, 221n; *see also* agrarian reform; class alignments and antagonisms  
 rent, 11, 29, 49, 130, 138, 152–3, 216n  
 repasantization, 146–54, 203, 209  
 Repelón (Atlántico), 40  
 repression, 100, 103–4, 112, 122, 124, 127, 186, 202, 205, 209, 213. *see also* land struggles  
 research methodology, 5–6, 228n  
*resguardos*, 9–10, 12, 82, 95, 111, 112, 137, 179  
 Restrepo, Sinfiorano, 240n  
 Reyes, Cornelio, 127  
 Reyes Prado, José, 234n, 250n, 254n  
 rice, 24, 26, 78, 81, 94, 133–4, 136, 158, 182, 184  
 Rico, Carlos A., 224n, 227n, 232n, 233n  
 Riochiquito (Cauca), 16  
 Riohacha (Guajira), 112  
 Riosucio (Caldas), 82  
 Risaralda, 32, 45, 67, 75, 82, 95, 102, 135, 143, 252n  
 Rivera, Froilán, 225n, 227n, 234n, 237n, 245n, 254n  
 River Plate, 8  
 Rojas Pinilla, Gustavo, 15–16, 47–8, 68, 122, 219n, 223n, 251n  
 Roldanillo (Valle), 45  
 Rosca Foundation, La, 106, 234n, 235n  
 rubber, 9  
 rural proletariat, 140–5; *see also* agricultural laborers  
 Russia, xii, xiii, 35, 97
- Sabanalarga (Atlántico), 40  
 Sabanalarga (Casanare), 184  
 SAC (Society of Colombian Agriculturalists), 67, 69, 97  
 Saldaña (Tolima), 81  
 Salitre Stadium, 118  
 San Agustín (Casanare), 184  
 San Andrés (Córdoba), 128  
 San Antero (Córdoba), 77  
 San Bernardo del Viento (Córdoba), 41, 77  
 San Carlos de Guaroa (Meta), 83  
 Sánchez, Oscar, 254n  
 Sandinista Revolution, 198  
 San Jacinto (Bolívar), 79  
 San Jorge River, 80  
 San Juan de Aramá (Meta), 83  
 San Juan Nepomuceno (Bolívar), 78  
 San Luis Beltrán (Santander), 43  
 San Martín (Meta), 128, 185  
 San Onofre (Sucre), 67, 77, 128  
 San Pedro (Sucre), 67, 79, 109, 128, 185  
 San Pedro (Valle), 70  
 Santa Elena (Casanare), 184  
 Santa Marta (Magdalena), 196  
 Santana (Magdalena), 80, 111  
 Santander, 12, 28, 32, 36, 45, 46, 75, 82–3, 86, 102, 136  
 Santander de Quilichao (Cauca), 45  
 San Vicente del Chucurí (Santander), 45, 234n  
 Sarare (Arauca), 28, 36, 46, 93–4, 179–80, 248n, 249n  
 Saravena (Arauca), 93, 231n  
 Scott, James C., xii  
 seasonal labor, 126, 130, 135–6, 138, 143–5, 152, 154, 203; *see also* labor migrations  
 seasonal laborers, 83, 135–6, 138, 143–5; *see also* seasonal labor  
 Security Statute, 184–7, 198, 250n  
 semiproletarians, 143, 144, 203  
 SENALDE (National Employment Service), 132  
 services: ANUC organized as association of users of state, 50–3, 175; in coffee areas, 125, 239n; demanded in areas of colonization, 28, 31, 93–4; demanded in areas of peasant economy, 28, 31, 95; and *empresas comunitarias*, 155, 166, 171, 172, 175, 196; provided by DRI program, 124–5, 191–3, 239n  
 sesame, 26, 133–4  
 sharecroppers, 9, 23, 41–2, 91–2, 216n, 218n; land struggles of, 12, 45, 77, 79, 82, 83, 84, 89, 110; and Law 1 of 1968, 49–50; and Law 6 of 1975, 126; as members of *empresas comunitarias*, 158–9, 160; proletarianization of, 81, 136; *see also haciendas; latifundia*  
 Shell Condor Oil Company, 43  
 Shuknin, V., xii  
 Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, 137–8  
 Sylvania (Cundinamarca), 67  
 Silvia (Cauca), 82

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-03138-7 - The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in Colombia: Struggles of the National Peasant Association 1967-1981

Leon Zamosc

Index

[More information](#)

284

Index

- Sincelejo (Sucre), 67, 70, 78, 90, 102, 127, 140, 185, 201  
 Sinú River, 36, 41, 49, 67, 114  
 slavery, 8, 10  
 Socialist Bloc, 73, 92, 113–15, 141, 205, 231n, 236n  
 sorghum, 133, 134  
 Soviet Union, 181, 188  
 soybeans, 24, 134  
 Spanish conquest, 8, 216n  
 Spanish settlers, 8–10  
 state, xiii, 3–4, 6, 11, 17, 50, 202, 204, 205–6, 208–210, 218n; *see also* agrarian question; ANUC; class alignments and antagonisms; INCORA; Lleras Restrepo administration; López Michelsen administration; Pastrana administration; Turbay Ayala administration  
 state of siege, 104, 124, 250n  
 strikes, 93, 94, 112, 124, 140, 143, 145, 179, 204, 231n  
 student movement, 122  
 Suán (Atlántico), 40  
 Suárez Melo, Mario, 53, 59, 223n  
 Sucre: agrarian reform in, 105, 151, 153; ANUC in, 57, 67, 89, 92, 102, 104, 105, 112, 181, 196, 237n; capitalist agriculture in, 133; DRI program in, 192; employment in, 133; *empresas comunitarias* in, 168, 176, 190, 247n; land struggles in, 70, 74, 75, 77–80, 86, 89, 90, 91, 107–10, 116, 127–8, 182–3, 184–5, 229n, 230n; *latifundia* in, 29, 32, 78–9; Maoist influence in, 92, 114, 116; migratory movements in, 131–2; MNDP's failure in, 189, 252n; organization of agricultural workers in, 143, 242n; pasture-rent in, 78; political factionalism in, 120; sharecropping in, 78; *Violencia* in, 86; *see also* Atlantic Coast region  
 sugar, 24, 26, 81, 97, 134, 136, 140, 144, 158  
 Sumapaz (Cundinamarca), 45  
 Supia (Caldas), 82  
 Sweden, 235n  
  
 Tamalameque (Cesar), 45, 80  
 Tejada (Cauca), 45  
 Tello (Huila), 111  
 tenants, 9, 23, 40, 78–9, 91–2, 218n; land struggles of, 12, 45, 67, 75–7, 79, 80, 82, 84, 89; and Law 1 of 1968, 49–50, 79; and Law 6 of 1975, 126; as members of *empresas comunitarias*, 158–9, 160; proletarianization of, 81, 136; *see also haciendas; latifundia; rent*  
 Tenerife (Magdalena), 80  
 “*Tierra, democracia y liberación nacional*,” 181  
 “*Tierra para quien la trabaja*,” 107, 115  
 “*Tierra sin patronos*,” 107, 115  
 Tinajones (Córdoba), 41  
 tobacco, 9, 26, 78, 235n  
 Tolima: agrarian reform in, 36, 151; ANUC in, 89, 90, 91, 101, 102, 104, 112, 174, 196; capitalist agriculture in, 29, 81, 133; coffee in, 12; Communist Party influence in, 15; employment in, 133, 134; *empresas comunitarias* in, 160, 162, 170, 252–3n; Indian *resguardos* in, 10, 12; Indian struggles in, 12; land struggles in, 45, 70, 71, 75, 81, 85, 86, 89, 128, 184, 230n; migratory movements in, 131, 132, 149; organization of agricultural laborers in, 141; predominance of agrarian capitalism in, 32; unemployment in, 130; *Violencia* in, 15, 85, 86  
 Tolú (Sucre), 100–1, 113, 140, 185  
 Tolviejo (Sucre), 77, 109, 128  
 Tomala (Sucre), 181, 250n  
 Toribío (Cauca), 82  
 Torres, Camilo, 44  
 Torres, Juan de Dios, 234n, 235n, 254n  
 Totoró (Cauca), 82  
 trade unions, 12–13, 39, 40, 71, 77, 119, 122, 123, 197, 200  
 transportation, 8–9, 11–12  
 Traven, B., xii  
 Trinidad (Casanare), 44  
 Trotskyites, 70, 73, 107, 113–15, 119  
 Tuluá (Valle), 70, 81, 143, 145  
 Turbay, Gabriel, 14  
 Turbay Ayala, Julio C., 197, 200  
 Turbay Ayala administration, 184, 186, 187, 250n  
  
 unemployment, 47–8, 99, 130  
 United Fruit Company, 41  
 United States, 2, 21, 35, 52, 122, 137, 181, 192, 235n  
 UNO (Union of National Opposition), 188  
 UNRISD (United Nations Institute for Research and Social Development), 6  
 Upiá River area, 182–4  
 Upper Sinú area, 49, 114  
 Urabá (Antioquia), 28, 41, 69, 83  
 urbanization, 13, 19, 20, 47  
 Urrao (Antioquia), 110, 128  
 URS (Socialist Revolutionary Union), 141  
*usuarios*, 50–1, 54, 61, 62–3; *see also* ANUC  
 UTC (Union of Colombian Workers), 14, 39

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-03138-7 - The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in  
Colombia: Struggles of the National Peasant Association 1967-1981

Leon Zamosc

Index

[More information](#)*Index*

285

- Valderrama, J. Emilio, 72, 98  
 Valencia, Guillermo León, 34, 35, 40, 148  
 Valle del Cauca, 12, 29, 32, 57, 70, 75, 81–2, 86, 92, 102, 143  
 Valle de Ubaté (Cundinamarca), 67  
 Valledupar (Cesar), 132, 196, 242n, 244n  
 Vásquez, Jaime, 224n, 227n, 254n  
*vecinos*, 8, 10  
 Venezuela, 41, 83, 112, 130, 135–6, 140, 202, 213, 244n, 245n  
 Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada, 9  
 Villamil Chaux, Carlos, 72  
 Villanueva (Casanare), 184  
 Villavieja (Huila), 70, 81, 111  
 Violencia, 2, 14–15, 21, 219n; and agrarian question, 2, 17–18; as cause of migrations, 17, 131; and class conflict, 34, 36–7; historical interpretation of, 16–17, 209; and land struggles of 1970s, 81–8; political consequences of, 17, 37–9, 82, 94, 186  
 wage laborers, 30, 32, 133–8, 140, 152–3, 162, 203; *see also* agricultural laborers  
 wages, 48, 99, 122–4, 135, 136, 143, 144, 162, 184  
 wheat, 26  
 Womack, John, xii  
 workers' unions, 12, 13, 14, 39, 40, 43, 48, 71, 90  
 working class, 12, 39, 72, 73, 114, 119, 124, 142, 181, 210–11, 238n  
 World Bank, 124  
 Yaguará (Huila), 81, 111  
 Yepes, José del Carmen, 233n  
 Yondó (Antioquia), 43, 128  
 Yopal (Casanare), 44  
 yuca, 26, 78, 80, 88  
 Zapata, Rodrigo, 254n  
 Znaniecki, Florian, xii  
 Zulia (North Santander), 83