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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE THIRD DECADE  
TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Report by Mr. Maurice Glèlè-Ahanhazo, Special Rapporteur  
on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination,  
xenophobia and related intolerance

Addendum

Mission to Colombia

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## Introduction

### A. Purposes of the mission

1. In accordance with his mandate as renewed by Commission on Human Rights resolution 1996/21 and approved by Economic and Social Council decision 1996/259, the Special Rapporteur visited Colombia from 28 June to 15 July 1996, by agreement with the Colombian Government. The purpose of the visit was to study, together with the Colombian authorities, the obstacles preventing the full implementation of measures to combat racism and racial discrimination. It also addressed the concerns of Colombian non-governmental organizations which had transmitted information to the Special Rapporteur concerning the persistence of racism and racial discrimination in various forms. <sup>1</sup>

### B. Conduct of the mission and working methods

2. The Special Rapporteur focused his attention primarily on the Afro-Colombian and Amerindian communities who, according to their own statements, are the communities most exposed to racism and racial discrimination. The Arabs or Turcos ("Turks") <sup>2</sup> most of whom are of Lebanese origin, and the Jews are well integrated and have no problems of racism or racial discrimination.

3. The departments of Chocó and Nariño, which the Special Rapporteur visited, are among the poorest in the country and attest to the marginalized status of the Afro-Colombians and Amerindians. There is an astonishing lack of basic infrastructure in these departments and living conditions are precarious, unlike in the Andean region where most investment has been concentrated. In fact, it was not without danger that the Special Rapporteur reached the city of Buenaventura, department of Valle, after an epic journey over a narrow road (the only means of access) which wound through hills and valleys, highlighting the dilapidated state of part of this department.

4. The Special Rapporteur regrets not having been able to visit a resguardo <sup>3</sup> in order to familiarize himself with the living conditions of indigenous populations in rural areas, despite several applications to the Colombian authorities. A final attempt was made in Quibdó but was unsuccessful owing to the activities of guerrilla movements in the region. He nevertheless believes, on the basis of the testimony of the representatives of Amerindian organizations who met with him, that he acquired a sound understanding of the problems confronting the members of the indigenous communities.

5. The Special Rapporteur was accompanied by an official of the Centre for Human Rights and two interpreters from the United Nations Conference Services Division. The detailed programme of the visit, with the names of the people, institutions and organizations he met, appears in annex I of this report.

6. The Special Rapporteur wishes to express his gratitude to the Colombian Government for the welcome it extended to him and for providing him with working conditions that enabled him to successfully conduct his mission by meeting high-level officials (ministers, heads of departments, ombudsmen,

personeros (municipal councillors), representatives of the Office of the Attorney-General and the Public Prosecutor's Office, members of Congress such as Mrs. Zulia Maria Mena Garcia, Senator Lorenzo Muela, the head of the Office of Indigenous Affairs and the head of the Office of Afro-Colombian Affairs (Ministry of the Interior), and representatives of indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities in the different regions of the country, in Bogotá, Buenaventura, Cali, Cartagena, Quibdo and Tumaco. He would also like to express his gratitude to the municipalities that received him, in particular those of Cali, Buenaventura and Quibdo, and to the different communities that he met, particularly those of African origin, with whom he shared cultural evenings: African history, anthropology and dances. They expressed their attachment to their ancestral roots and their keen desire to establish intercultural relations with Mother Africa. The Special Rapporteur promised to speak on their behalf to UNESCO, which has produced important learned publications on African culture and their relations with the African diaspora, and on indigenous and Caribbean cultures. Those meetings were most interesting and rewarding.

### C. General

7. The Special Rapporteur finds that, since colonization, Colombia has been experiencing persistent structurally and economically entrenched racial discrimination in the form of domination by Whites over Amerindians and Afro-Colombians. This system has been perpetrated through education, the media, the economy and interpersonal relationships, although great hopes were raised by the historic institutional turning-point for the country represented by the adoption of the 1991 Constitution and transitional article 55, which became Act. No. 70 of 27 August 1993. The Special Rapporteur has noted that: (a) the indigenous and Black populations have been and are marginalized, they are the poorest and most vulnerable groups, and they live in unfavourable economic and social conditions, in appalling shanty towns such as Aguablanca in Cali and the intolerably unhygienic Quibdo market; (b) racial discrimination seems almost natural, unconscious, as illustrated by a weekly television programme Sábados Felices, which ridicules Blacks; even the most militant human rights activists only realize the discriminatory nature of this popular programme and its incitement to racial hatred when their attention is drawn to it; (c) questions on the number or percentage of indigenous people and Afro-Colombians in the army or navy, the diplomatic corps or the Catholic hierarchy are met with awkward replies or an embarrassed silence, as if the questions were unusual.

8. The 1991 Constitution and Act No. 70 of 1993 recognize and guarantee the rights and fundamental freedoms of the indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities, especially their right to collective ownership of the land and the right to preserve their natural identity, which led the Colombian Government to write the following in a report to the Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery: "Because of the major institutional change which the adoption of the 1991 Constitution represented for the country, not only is the Government's current policy and goal to promote recognition of ethnic and cultural diversity, but there is now legislation in existence to support the development of the country's black communities, thereby putting an end to racial discrimination".<sup>4</sup> Colombia has gone beyond the stage of debating whether to recognize the different ethnic groups and their rights and

has proceeded to the formulation of the constitutional and legal principles establishing the necessary conditions for raising the standard of living of the members of the Black and indigenous communities, as illustrated by the provisions of the 1991 Constitution and transitional article 55, which has become Act No. 70.

9. But equality of rights is not yet reflected in everyday life, owing to the slow pace of sociological and political change, resistance from the controllers of capital, clashing economic interests and the resultant widespread violence. The political will to proceed with reforms exists among the liberals and democrats, but is encountering resistance. The indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities, who have no watchword but the 1991 Constitution and Act No. 70, to which they constantly refer, are concerned at the administrative delays and afraid of losing the gains they have made under the Constitution to the major development projects which, they believe, are aimed at divesting them of their land. They also criticize the establishment of "special public order areas" intended "to combat drug-trafficking", but which they feel are in fact "dictatorships" where many members of their communities are murdered. Furthermore, administrative detention on mere suspicion of a misdemeanour or offence against public order results in population displacements, according to the people with whom the Special Rapporteur spoke. These groups fear the changes in lifestyle imposed by large modern farms and fisheries and the harm to biodiversity caused by the destruction of the environment. But these communities are organizing themselves and mobilizing, together with the forces of progress, to ensure that the hopes raised by the fundamental texts lead to action, since there is a gap between what the law says and what happens in practice; the Colombian Government affirms that it is attentive to this legitimate expectation.

#### I. A COUNTRY MOVING TOWARDS RACIAL AND ETHNIC INTEGRATION

##### A. Ethno-demographic data

10. Of a total estimated population of 37 million, <sup>5</sup> the indigenous or Amerindian populations comprise 600,000 people, or approximately 2 per cent of the population, <sup>6</sup> subdivided into 81 ethnic groups spread throughout the country, with high densities in the Andean and Amazonian regions. <sup>7</sup>

11. The Afro-Colombians, who are made up of descendants of Africans and of persons of mixed descent, either African and European or Creole <sup>8</sup> or African and Amerindian, number approximately 6 million (16 per cent of the total population). <sup>9</sup> They live in all parts of the country, and particularly in the large cities (Cali, Cartagena, Barranquilla) and along the Atlantic and Pacific seaboard.

##### B. Constitutional and legislative guarantees

12. The 1991 Constitution, which was the outcome of a large-scale political and social movement in which, notably, the indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities took part, recognizes Colombia's ethnic and cultural diversity and provides the country with the necessary tools to protect that diversity and eliminate any form of discrimination.

13. Thus article 13 of the Constitution stipulates that all Colombian men and women are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection and treatment by the authorities. This provision prohibits, inter alia, discrimination based on race, national or family origin, language or religion. It also expressly stipulates that the State "shall promote the conditions necessary in order that equality may be real and effective and shall adopt measures in favour of groups which are discriminated against or marginalized."

14. Based on this constitutional framework, legislation and regulations have been adopted to ensure respect for traditions and to improve the economic development of the Afro-Colombian and indigenous communities, which are recognized as distinct collective subjects within the Colombian nation.

15. Pursuant to the provisions of transitional article 55 of the 1991 Constitution, which provides for the enactment of a law recognizing the right of the Black communities to collective ownership of the uncultivated land on the territory inhabited by them, the Colombian Government has been engaged in consultation with the Afro-Colombian communities. This process has culminated in the establishment of a National Commission and various regional advisory commissions, which submitted to the Congress of the Republic a bill that became Act No. 70 in 1993. This act establishes a precise legislative framework for improving the living conditions of the Black communities. The following are the most significant features of the Act:

(a) The establishment of a special constituency to provide the Black communities with a minimum of two seats in the Congress of the Republic;

(b) The right to collective ownership for the communities which have been occupying uncultivated land in rural areas adjoining the rivers of the Pacific Basin;

(c) Rights over the resources of the subsoil;

(d) The right to an education geared to these communities' needs and cultural aspirations (ethnic education); and

(e) Participation by the Black communities in the fundamental bodies for defining social policies, such as the Territorial Planning Councils (Consejos Territoriales de Planeación) and the Executive Boards of the Autonomous Regional Assemblies (Consejos Directivos de las Corporaciones Regionales).

16. Act No. 70 should, inter alia, resolve one problem of the Black communities that is directly linked to the question of the right to housing, by legalizing a de facto situation: the awarding to community members who have been living in areas adjoining the rivers of the Pacific basin for many years of land which has never been delimited and to which they have never held a written deed of title. They had thus found themselves in a situation of apparent illegality vis-a-vis the settlers and large landowners in the region and had no way of safeguarding their means of subsistence.

17. As regards the indigenous populations, it is important to note at the outset that their assertion of identity and aspirations to autonomy led in the colonial era to the delimitation of territories enjoying a degree of autonomy, the resguardos, which were under the authority of Amerindian chiefs, the Cabildos. After Colombia achieved independence, attempts were made to dismantle those territorial entities but, thanks to resistance by the indigenous populations, the protected areas over which the indigenous communities have inalienable collective ownership rights were maintained and strengthened by Act No. 89 of 1890. Subsequent laws would be based on those acquired rights and new resguardos would continue to be established.

18. Thus in accordance with the provisions of transitional article 56 of the 1991 Constitution, Decrees Nos. 1088 and 1809 of 1993 were adopted, establishing regulations relating to the right of the indigenous communities to govern themselves according to their traditions and customs, as laid down in article 330 of the Constitution. This article reads as follows:

"In accordance with the Constitution and the laws, the indigenous territories shall be governed by councils formed and regulated according to the customs of their communities and shall exercise the following functions:

- (a) Supervise the application of the legal regulations concerning the use of land and settlement of their territories;
- (b) Design the policies, plans, and programmes of economic and social development within their territory, in accordance with the National Development Plan;
- (c) Promote public investments in their territories and supervise their proper implementation;
- (d) Collect revenue and distribute funds;
- (e) Supervise the conservation of natural resources;
- (f) Coordinate the programmes and projects executed by the different communities in their territory;
- (g) Cooperate in maintaining public order within their territory, in accordance with the instructions and decisions of the national Government;
- (h) Represent the territories before the national Government and the other entities within which they are integrated; and
- (i) Other matters stipulated by the Constitution and the law.

Natural resources in the indigenous territories shall be developed without harm to the cultural, social, and economic integrity of the indigenous communities. The Government shall encourage participation by representatives of the communities concerned in decisions adopted in relation to that development."

19. Article 246 of the Constitution confers jurisdiction on the indigenous communities, and article 171 provides for the introduction of a special Constituency for the election of two senators for the indigenous communities who must have held positions of traditional authority in their respective communities.

20. The new constitutional provisions, which attest to a policy of non-discrimination, thus pave the way for the gradual integration of the various components of the Colombian nation, integration which is apparent in some of the progress achieved.

### C. Progress achieved

21. There is, generally speaking, a growing awareness among the Colombian authorities at the national, departmental and municipal levels of the problems of Afro-Colombians and the indigenous populations. This has led to an effort to improve the participation and political representation of these communities and the establishment of ministerial or other departments responsible for examining their problems and finding solutions. The preparation of special economic and social development programmes forms part of this effort.

22. In accordance with the legislation in force (Act No. 115 of 1994), the Ministry of Education has prepared a National Ethnic Education Programme, which establishes a framework for the teaching of the languages and cultures of the various ethnic groups in the territories where they live. This programme will help to revive Afro-Colombian and Amerindian cultures and reverse the acculturation process that has been affecting the populations concerned. <sup>10</sup>

23. National institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights are giving increasing attention to action to combat racism and racial discrimination. The national Ombudsman and the regional ombudsmen in Cali, Cartagena and Quibdo, for example, have begun human rights education programmes for the public, with emphasis on equality and non-discrimination.

#### 1. Efforts in support of Afro-Colombian communities

24. The Black communities are thus beginning to participate in the national planning system. They are, in particular, expected to participate in the work of the National Planning Council through a representative whom they will have nominated to the Government. They will also be equitably represented on the regional planning councils.

25. As regards participation in the development planning bodies, the Black communities will be represented in the regional autonomous assemblies responsible for the areas where the collective ownership deeds will be distributed.

26. One of the bodies deemed to be essential to effective participation by the Black communities is the study commission appointed to draw up a development plan for the Black communities. The commission, established by Decree No. 2,314 of 1994, consists of five experts from the Black communities

specializing in different fields and including an economist, environmental planning expert and a physician, assisted by eight technicians from the communities working directly at the grass-roots level.

27. As the strengthening of community organization is one of the objectives of Act No. 70, a High-level Advisory Commission was established on 29 September 1994 to verify compliance with the provisions of the Act. It consists of representatives of the Black communities in the departments of Antioquia, Valle, Cauca, Nariño, Chocó, Costa Atlántica and San Andrés y Providencia and of government representatives headed by the Deputy Minister of the Interior, who serves as Chairman, his counterparts in the Ministry of Economic Development, Mines and Energy and the Ministry of the Environment, and officials from the National Planning Department, the Colombian Agrarian Reform Institute (INCORA), the Agustín Covazzi Geographical Institute and the Colombian Institute of Anthropology. The commission fulfils a fundamental ambition of the Black communities, namely, to have a forum for direct dialogue between Black representatives and high-level government officials with responsibility for handling questions of interest to them.

28. A regional advisory commission in each department studies regional questions of interest to the communities and transmits them to the High-level Advisory Commission. These departmental commissions are the focal point for a large number of organizations which come from all regions to explain their problems.

29. At the institutional level, a Directorate of Black Community Affairs was established within the Ministry of the Interior to handle questions relating to those communities from the government side. The Directorate was provided with the technological and administrative resources necessary for the performance of its duties. It has drawn up a plan of action providing, in particular, for the preparation of a map showing the locations of the Black communities, the identification of their needs, and follow-up on organizational activities and economic and social development.

30. In some municipalities, Black people are represented on the town council and special administrative units have been established to ensure their economic and social development. Thus in Valle, which has a large Black population (400,000 to 600,000 people out of an estimated population of 2 million), a Black Consciousness and Ethnic Groups Division has been established, employing four people of Afro-Colombian origin. Representatives of the Black community also sit on city council. Similarly, in Cartagena, where approximately 600,000 Black people live, 7 out of 20 members of the city council belong to the Black community, and the municipal government has begun a training programme for Afro-Colombian managers. The municipal department of administrative services and departments of community development are headed by Afro-Colombians.

## 2. Measures in support of indigenous populations

31. A programme of support and ethnic strengthening of the indigenous peoples of Colombia, covering the period 1995-1998 has been prepared by the Department of Indigenous Affairs of the Ministry of the Interior. It covers

several areas, including ethnic education programmes, improvement of health services (including the revival of traditional medicine), continuation of agrarian reform with the assignment of lands to indigenous communities that own none, economic investment, and protection of ecosystems and forests located in indigenous territories.

32. INCORA's purchase of land from private individuals or corporations for the benefit of the indigenous communities has made it possible to increase the number of resguardos. Eighty per cent of the indigenous population (approximately 482,958 people) live on 408 resguardos covering an area of 27,821,257 hectares.

33. As regards education, several public universities have adopted affirmative action programmes for students from indigenous communities. This has enabled 176 indigenous students to enrol at the National University in Bogotá. Advanced learning institutes, such as the Colombian Centre for Aboriginal Language Studies in the University of the Andes, the University of Amazonia and the Universities of the departments of Cauca and Antioquia, have also developed specific programmes on indigenous languages and culture. <sup>11</sup>

## II. SERIOUS OBSTACLES TO BE OVERCOME

34. The Colombian Government has achieved progress in a short time, but a number of serious obstacles are still preventing far-reaching change in Colombian society. These obstacles include the difficult legacy of the past, contradictory legislation and regulations, administrative delays due to conflicts of interest, differing conceptions of economic and social development, ineffective consultation with the populations concerned, notably on the use of territorial resources, and finally endemic violence.

### A. The weight of the past and economic and social disparities

35. The weight of the past is apparent above all in popular culture and certain behaviour by the élites. Thus, it still seems acceptable to ridicule Negroes on television, as evidence in a weekly television programme entitled Sábados Felices, whose racist content has been reported to the Special Rapporteur on several occasions. As a result of the mission, the Colombian authorities, including the regional ombudsman in Cartagena, recently approached the producer of the programme to draw his attention to its harmful effects.

36. Many racist prejudices and stereotypes persist in the collective conscience of Creole and white Colombians, associating black people with ugliness, ignorance, dirtiness, evil, servility, witchcraft and the devil. The former believe that black people should only engage in arduous manual labour, sports, music and domestic work. Generally speaking, the idea that Whites are culturally and biologically superior persists in Colombian society.

37. The following popular sayings, collected from people with whom the Special Rapporteur spoke, reflect the image of Blacks in Colombian society:

"I wouldn't even want a black horse";

"A Black who doesn't commit a crime on the way in will commit one on the way out";

"There's no such thing as a Black who doesn't stink";

"To be happier than a Black using a deodorant for the first time";

"Dressing a Black in a suit won't change the Black and will ruin the suit";

"Blacks in the kitchen and Whites on the rostrum";

"Everything that is ugly and bad is black";

"Blacks laugh all the time to show their teeth, since that's the only white thing they have";

"A running White is an athlete, a running Black is a thief".

38. An example of the use of Blacks for folklore purposes is reported by the Palenqueras,<sup>12</sup> colourfully-dressed women selling fruit, food and sweets who serve as tourist showcases in the cities of Cartagena and Barranquilla. They are photographed for postcards without their consent and placed in prominent positions at official events for decoration purposes. But when they are out of the limelight, they are ill-treated by the police and chased out of the tourist areas to prevent them from plying their usual fruit and flower trade among the tourists.

39. In the press, Afro-Colombians are frequently presented in a negative light, especially as thieves, and black athletes are frequently given racist nicknames such as diablo negro (black devil).<sup>13</sup>

40. According to studies by psychologists and testimony gathered, one consequence of racial discrimination and acculturation has been a severe loss of identity among Afro-Colombians who, according to the CIMARRON movement, include Afro-Indians, Afro-Mestizos and Afro-Creoles. The members of these communities have a low self-image. The children do not know how to present themselves; Mestizos lighten or straighten their hair since "black is ugly". The children do not like their noses; they look down on themselves. Self-discrimination is also observed among Afro-Colombians. Unlike the indigenous inhabitants, Afro-Colombians do not have a collective awareness and solidarity; they are Afro-Colombians, but first they are from Chocó, Tumaco, Uraba, etc. The Afro-Colombians are looked upon as minorities and coexist together with the highly mobilized and mutually-supportive indigenous inhabitants. Thus a broad movement is developing, the "Black Communities Process", aimed at raising the Afro-Colombian communities' awareness of their values and cultural identity, defending them and securing their acceptance in the Colombian national framework. The Afro-Colombians say they want to reaffirm their cultural identity as it has been maintained and developed in the Palenque and CIMARRON movements, which have become dynamic forces that they wish to keep by recovering their traditional territories, including the fishing areas.

41. According to the CIMARRON movement, discrimination against Afro-Colombians may be illustrated by the following: 80 per cent of their basic needs are not met; 60 per cent are living in great poverty, below the poverty line; 79 per cent earn less than the minimum wage; 7 per cent earn wages of less than \$40; and life expectancy is 55 compared with the national average of 60. The CIMARRON movement also maintains that there is discrimination between Afro-Colombians. Water and electricity needs are unmet for 86 per cent of Blacks and 45 per cent of Whites; 10 per cent of Blacks receive piped water as opposed to 78 per cent of Whites; 79 per cent of deaths in the Pacific region are attributable to cholera and the breakdown of health services; similarly, 100,000 out of the 500,000 annual cases of malaria occur in the Pacific region. The following disparities are reported in the area of education:

(a) Illiteracy rates: Blacks, 43 per cent in rural areas and 23.2 per cent in urban areas; Whites, 20 per cent in rural areas and 7.3 per cent in urban areas;

(b) School enrolment rates:

1. Primary: 60 per cent for Blacks as opposed to 70 per cent for Whites in urban areas; and 73 per cent for Blacks as opposed to 41 per cent for Whites in rural areas;

2. Secondary: Afro-Colombians, 38 per cent as opposed to 88 per cent for Whites in urban areas;

3. University: only 2 out of every 100 young Blacks in urban communities go to university; 80 per cent of Afro-Colombians cannot afford university studies.

42. Few Afro-Colombian students attend the National University in Bogotá, which has approximately 25,000 students. Afro-Colombians have to take an entrance examination, and there is no curriculum for them. Racist graffiti singling them out are frequently found on walls. A teacher of anthropology is said to have told one of his students: "Work like a Black so you can earn like a White." There are some private universities, but Afro-Colombians cannot afford to pay the fees of \$2,000 to \$3,000.

43. There is no Afro-Colombian university. Quibdo University, in Chocó, which the Special Rapporteur visited and where he held a working meeting with the Vice-Rector and teaching staff, has 98 per cent Black students and teachers but is not considered to be an Afro-Colombian university since, as the teachers themselves admitted, for a long time they themselves were the vectors of the dominant, essentially European attitudes, affirming and celebrating the superiority of the White man, which aimed at making the Black man White! They had no conception of the development of the black population with all its cultural heritage. According to the people with whom the Special Rapporteur spoke, school, university and cultural life is dominated by racial and racist symbolism; for example, Blacks on television are always

domestic servants; there is not a single Afro-Colombian journalist, except for one sports reporter, and women are used in advertisements for detergents. Recently, however, an advertisement appeared showing a white child and a black child side by side.

44. The people with whom the Special Rapporteur spoke were critical of the city of Cartagena, 40 to 60 per cent of whose inhabitants are black, for never having elected a "Miss Black Cartagena", since the female archetype is the "white woman". He was told that the economic interests which organized the "Miss Cartagena" election want to make a commercial and financial investment; the big companies work for the entire country and for interests abroad, and the country's image must be white.

45. In the city of Buenaventura, where most of the population is black, the Special Rapporteur was told that black people, especially women, are not able to find office jobs because companies require them to meet white standards of beauty, and notably to have smooth hair.

46. The full weight of the past can still be felt within the Colombian armed forces, where access to senior posts is blocked for Afro-Colombians and Amerindians. The widespread racism in the army culminated on 14 October 1995 with the tragic case of cadet Sosir Palomique Torres of the General Santander military academy in Bogotá. This 21-year-old man was subjected to racist harassment and driven to set fire to his hierarchical superior, causing his death.<sup>14</sup> The people with whom the Special Rapporteur spoke consider racial discrimination to be responsible for the absence of blacks in the navy and the diplomatic corps (only one Afro-Colombian, a former Miss Colombia, was reportedly posted to a European embassy as a cultural chargé d'affaires), and the absence of indigenous or Afro-Colombian bishops in the Catholic hierarchy, in a country where the Catholic Church is deeply-rooted and active in the social sphere.

47. The weight of the past can also be seen in the disparity of economic and social statistics relating to the black and indigenous communities, on the one hand, and the rest of the Colombian population, on the other. Centuries of racial discrimination have led to marginalization, and large-scale action will be needed to wrest these communities from it.

48. The image of Amerindians in Colombian society still remains that of the "savage", as indicated by Act No. 89 of 25 November 1890, entitled "[Ley] por la cual se determina la manera como deben ser gobernados los salvajes que vayan reduciéndose a la vida civilizada" (Act determining the way in which the savages who are being won over to civilization should be governed).<sup>15</sup>

49. Socio-economic indicators for the indigenous populations show that 45 per cent cannot read, whereas the national average is estimated at 11 per cent.<sup>16</sup> The percentage of indigenous children enrolled in primary school is 11.3, while the national enrolment rate is 85 per cent. Only 1.25 per cent of indigenous pupils reach secondary level (50 per cent nationwide).<sup>17</sup>

50. In the field of health, infant mortality is estimated at 110 per thousand, or four times the national average. High rates of mortality and morbidity have been linked to malnutrition in the areas inhabited by indigenous populations.

B. Contradictions in legislation and regulations  
and the difficulties of dialogue

51. The contradictions in legislation and regulations are attributable both to the State's desire to assign land to the Amerindian and Afro-Colombian communities and recognize the territorial autonomy of the Amerindian communities, and to its desire to preserve control over the resources of the soil and subsoil and water resources. Moreover, physical planning policies clash with the interests of these communities.

52. In this respect the Special Rapporteur notes that laws and regulations on mining operations and environmental protection conflict with the recognized territorial rights of the Amerindian and Afro-Colombian populations as described above. Thus, by declaring the ancestral lands of the members of the Afro-Colombian communities, in particular those in the Pacific region, "uncultivated land" ( terrenos baldíos ), Act No. 99 of 22 December 1993, which established the Ministry of the Environment and relates to environmental management and conservation, and Act No. 160 of 1994 on agrarian reform hinder recognition of their ownership of this land. Similarly, the creation of national parks and reserved forests in zones that are to be assigned to these populations seems likely to restrict their actual access to the land. Of the 42 national parks, 15 coincide with zones set aside for the resguardos.<sup>18</sup> The Ministry of the Environment, acting through the autonomous regional corporations (corporaciones regionales autónomas), the Ministry of Mines and Energy, and INCORA have issued mining, forestry or agricultural permits to private national or international enterprises or to individuals without discussing with or actually involving the local populations, even though this is required by a number of acts and regulations. This policy jeopardizes the environment and allows entrepreneurs to appropriate the resources (gold, oil, timber, etc.) which could be used to improve the populations' living conditions.

C. Exploitation of natural resources, development projects,  
and threats to the existence of the Afro-Colombian and  
indigenous communities

53. The long-neglected strip of territory along Colombia's Pacific seaboard has become the object of domestic and outside ambitions. The zone known as the Chocó Biopacífico is an almost untouched ecosystem which is very rich in biodiversity and whose species are coveted by profit-seeking international firms.<sup>19</sup> The Afro-Colombian and Amerindian communities, whose way of life and respect for the environment are responsible for the areas's preservation, are gradually being dispossessed of these valuable natural resources. The region's subsoil, with its rich gold reserves, is undergoing intensive mining which, because of the use of mercury, is polluting watercourses and destroying the aquatic flora that provide these communities with food.<sup>20</sup> Intensive forestry is depleting the soil and exposing it to erosion. On account of the growing importance of the Pacific in the world economy, powerful national and

international economic interests are seeking improved access to the sea in order to trade with the Far East. This is bringing heavy pressure to bear on the Afro-Colombian and indigenous communities whom these interests would like to drive out in order to develop heavy infrastructure.

54. A large number of development projects (hydro-electric dams, roads, ports, tourist villages, plantations, etc.) have been, or will be, responsible for the expropriation, expulsion and dismembering of the communities. The construction of the Pan-American Highway, stretching from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, threatens the existence of the Embera and Tule populations where it passes through northern Colombia. Similarly, the construction of the interoceanic canal known as the Atrato-Truandó canal (after the names of the rivers that will flood the canal) heralds an economic and social upheaval for the Chocó region; the Afro-Colombians and Amerindians are fearful of these developments, especially since they have not been involved in these projects and are unlikely to benefit from them.

55. In Nariño department, the construction by a logging firm of the Naranjo canal in the Patia river basin, which has altered the hydrological balance of the watercourses, has had tragic ecological consequences for the region's populations: during periods of flooding, the waters of the Patia river and its tributaries inundate the surrounding settlements, forcing the populations to move. <sup>21</sup>

56. To the north of Cartagena and on its outskirts, and in the area of Boquilla, the inhabitants of the Barú, Tierra Bomba and El Rosario islands have been expelled by the local authorities under pressure from powerful hotel chains, so as to enable tourist complexes to be built.

57. The indigenous populations living in the Colombian Amazon region are also worried about efforts made by certain international companies to appropriate the genomes of medicinal plants such as the yagé, albahaca and ortiga, over which they claim intellectual property rights.

#### D. Administrative obstacles and inertia

58. Of the 600,000 hectares which the Government plans to assign collectively to the Afro-Colombian populations, not one hectare has so far been received by them because of the opposition of powerful economic and financial interests and legislative inconsistencies.

59. The indigenous populations consider that their need for land is being satisfied too slowly. "According to data from the Colombian National Indigenous Organization (ONIC), a total of 1,196,316 hectares are needed in order to establish resguardos; 54,947 hectares are needed for sanitation and 153,898 hectares to expand resguardos. Where uncultivated land is concerned, a total of 4,493,637 hectares are needed to establish resguardos and 132,867 hectares to enlarge them". <sup>22</sup>

60. However, INCORA, the governmental body responsible for agrarian reform, is purchasing only 20,000 hectares a year. At this rate, it will take "70 years" <sup>23</sup> to satisfy the populations' expectations.

61. Moreover, organizations representing the indigenous populations (ONIC, OREWA) informed the Special Rapporteur that the ministerial departments involved in indigenous affairs or the municipalities which receive the funds earmarked for the resguardos fail to pass on a considerable proportion of them. This problem, in conjunction with the land issue, led to the peaceful occupation of INCORA's regional headquarters in Quibdó and the headquarters of the Colombian Episcopal Conference in Bogotá, which was witnessed by the Special Rapporteur on 11 and 15 July 1996.

#### E. Ubiquitous violence

62. The indigenous and Afro-Colombian populations are seriously affected by violence, trapped as they are in the crossfire between the army, the drug-traffickers, the guerrilla movements and the paramilitary groups. In rural areas, where the problem of land ownership and use arises, whether to grow lawful or unlawful crops or to exploit mineral resources, Amerindian and Afro-Colombian leaders are murdered by members of paramilitary organizations armed by landowners or drug-traffickers. The establishment of military bases on the indigenous territories and in the Afro-Colombian communities is perceived as an act of cultural aggression. Moreover, the communities are suffering from the war between the guerrillas and the army, although they are alien to the conflict. Each of the sides involved in the military conflict expects the communities to support its own military strategy, with total disregard for their basic living conditions; as a result, the combatants consider them to be political enemies and legitimate military targets.

63. Since 1990, more than 87 indigenous leaders have been murdered. Many murders have still not been elucidated, such as the killing by hired assassins, in May 1994, of the leader of the Tolima Regional Indigenous Council (CRIT), Yesid Bocanegra Martínez. Nor has any punitive action been taken in response to the massacre, in December 1990, of three Arzario Indians, including the indigenous governor Angel María Torres, known as "El momo", and the indigenous leader Hugues Chaparro; according to the report by the prosecution service, members of La Popa battalion from Valledupar in northern Colombia were involved in this incident. Despite the disciplinary penalties imposed by the prosecution service, the military personnel suspected of this triple homicide were acquitted of all criminal charges by the military criminal court. <sup>24</sup>

64. The situation is particularly tragic in the Uraba region (Chocó and Antioquia departments), where violence is endemic on account of the clashes between the army, paramilitary groups and drug-traffickers. Many communities have been displaced. In June 1996, 165 families belonging to the Zenú indigenous community in the municipality of Necoclí (Antioquia department) in north-west Colombia had to flee from their territory on account of the war.

65. In the towns of Buenaventura and Tumaco, hired killers and members of the police carry out "cleaning-up" ( limpieza ) operations, murdering young Afro-Colombians whom they wrongly assume to be thieves. Graffiti encouraging people to kill Blacks have frequently appeared on the walls of Buenaventura: Hágale un favor a la patria. Mate un negro y reclame un pavo - literally, "Do your country a good turn: kill a nigger and win a turkey". Police officers have been blamed for these graffiti.

### III. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

66. At the end of his visit, the Special Rapporteur held a working meeting with the Colombian authorities, to whom he made his recommendations orally. He informed them of the fear among the populations concerned that legislation would remain a dead letter, because they believe that there is a lack of political will. The Government of Colombia said that it was closely monitoring the situation and asserted its determination to enforce the 1991 Constitution and Act No. 70 and to effect the necessary changes.

67. Finally, the Commission and the international community should be informed that the indigenous communities with whom the Special Rapporteur met, who suffer constant racial discrimination, view the United Nations as "the Messiah" and place all their hopes in it. From Buenaventura to Quibdo, in the small village of Sanceno, and in Tumco, when the discussions were over, the same question was asked: "So what can the United Nations do for us to change and improve our situation?"

68. The Special Rapporteur reiterates his recommendations below:

- (a) An act on racism and racial discrimination should be adopted;
- (b) The programme Sábados Felices should be banned;
- (c) The process of distributing land to the Afro-Colombian and indigenous populations should be speeded up;
- (d) The administrative problems connected with subsidies to the resguardos should be resolved;
- (e) Awareness of human rights should be developed in the army and the police, whose personnel should receive appropriate training;
- (f) The Afro-Colombian and indigenous populations should participate more fully in the taking of decisions of concern to them;
- (g) More respect should be shown for the economic, social and cultural rights of the populations concerned when development plans are drawn up and implemented, especially in the Pacific region;
- (h) The populations should be protected from violence in the areas of conflict.

Notes

1.The file on this sad chronicle is available for consultation in the Centre for Human Rights.

2.This word, which dates back to the time when subjects of the Ottoman Empire emigrated to Colombia, is still part of local usage and has been extended to refer to all Arabs.

3.Territory reserved for an internally-autonomous Amerindian community.

4.Communication, dated 18 January 1995, from the Permanent Mission of Colombia to the International Organizations at Geneva addressed to the Centre for Human Rights.

5.October 1993 census. According to INCORA (Colombian Agrarian Reform Institute), there are some 8 million Blacks among a total population of 37 million. Indigenous inhabitants number 600,000, i.e. 2 per cent of the population; they are divided into 81 groups speaking 64 languages, and are concentrated in the Amazon and Orinoco regions. In Chocó, the coexistence of indigenous inhabitants and Blacks offers encouragement for efforts to seek solutions involving cooperation. In the Pacific region, the population is 90 per cent Black and 3 per cent indigenous; in the Cauca region, the two communities are of equal size.

6.Ministry of the Interior, Indigenous Affairs; Programme of Support and Ethnic Strengthening for the Indigenous Peoples of Colombia, 1995-1998, Santafé de Bogotá, 1995, p. 9; Colombian National Indigenous Organization, Tierra profanada, Grandes proyectos en territorios indigenas de Colombia Disloque Editores, Santafé de Bogotá 1995, p. 13.

7.See annexes II and IV.

8.People of mixed Spanish and Amerindian origin.

9.Interview on 2 July 1996 with Mr. Francisco Serpa, Minister of the Interior. The Movimiento Nacional por los Derechos Humanos de la Comunidad Negra de Colombia (National Movement for the Human Rights of Colombia's Black Community - CIMARRON) estimates that there are actually 15 million Afro-Colombians, i.e. 45 per cent of the total population. The authorities are believed to deliberately lower the figure in order to "whiten" Colombia's population and turn the Afro-Colombians into a minority.

10.For further details, see the following publications by the Ministry of Education: Legislación sobre lad Etnoeducación ; La Etnoeducación ; Realidad y Esperanza de los Pueblos Indigenas y Afrocolombianos ; YO'KWINSIRO, 10 años de Etnoeducación .

11.Colombian National Indigenous Organization, Tierra profanada, Grandes proyectos en territorios indigenas de Colombia , op. cit., p. 14.

12. The Palenqueras are Afro-Colombian women, mostly from the San Basilio palenque, near Cartagena, a territory established in the eighteenth century by Blacks who had escaped from slavery and remained independent until the Republic of Colombia was formed.

13. For further details, see, in the Centre for Human Rights, El Negro en el Humor y en la Telenovela, a study by Eusevio Camacho Hurtado.

14. The file on this sad incident is available for consultation in the Centre for Human Rights.

15. It should be noted that, in decision No. C-139/96 of 9 April 1996, the Colombian Constitutional Court found that the use of the word "savage" violated the Constitution.

16. Office of the President of the Republic, National Department of Planning, Las políticas del salto social, documentos Compes, August 1994, June 1995, p. 316.

17. Document published by the Sub-Directorate for the Analysis and Development of Information and Education, Matriculas, docentes y establecimientos en la educación en Colombia, General Directorate for Overall Educational Planning, May 1994, pp. 9-11.

18. See Tierra profanada, Grandes proyectos en territorios indígenas de Colombia, op. cit.; John Barnes, "The Colombian Plan Pacífico, Sustaining the Unsustainable", occasional paper, Catholic Institute for International Relations, London, 1993.

19. For further details, see communication of 9 May 1996 from the Proceso de Comunidades Negras, "Comunidades negras y derechos humanos en Colombia" (Black communities and human rights in Colombia).

20. Ricardo Castillo Torres, El Canal Naranjo: Historia de una tragedia socio-ambiental en la cuenca baja del Rio Patia (The Naranjo canal: the story of a social and environmental tragedy in the lower Patia river basin), Cali, 1994.

21. Communication of 1 July 1996 from the Colombian National Indigenous Organization addressed to the Special Rapporteur.

22. Ibid.

23. Communication of 1 July from the Colombian Commission of Jurists addressed to the Special Rapporteur.

24. "Comunidades negras y derechos humanos en Colombia", communication of 5 July 1996 from the Proceso de Comunidades Negras addressed to the Special Rapporteur.

Annex I

PROGRAMME OF THE VISIT

28 June-15 July 1996

<u>Friday, 28 June</u>	<u>Bogotá</u>
3 p.m.	Arrival in Bogotá
5 p.m.	Meeting with Mr. Juan Manuel Osorio, Representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ms. Diana Muñoz, Representative of UNDP
<u>Saturday, 29 June</u>	<u>Bogotá</u>
	Rest
<u>Sunday, 30 June</u>	<u>Bogotá</u>
5 p.m.	Visit to the headquarters of the movement for the rights of Colombia's Black community (CIMARRON) for a meeting
<u>Monday, 1 July</u>	<u>Bogotá</u>
9 a.m.	Meeting with representatives of the Colombian National Indigenous Organization (ONIC) and the Colombian Commission of Jurists, and Senator Lorenzo Muela, representative of the indigenous populations in the Senate
11 a.m.	Meeting with CIMARRON representatives
3 p.m.	Meeting with representatives of the Black cultural centre (Las Negritudes) and of the Proceso de Comunidades Negras (Black communities organization)
<u>Tuesday, 2 July</u>	<u>Bogotá</u>
8 a.m.	Meeting with Mrs. Alba Otilia Dueña du Perez, General Manager of the Colombian Agrarian Reform Institute (INCORA); Mrs. Irma Vicenteño, indigenous programme adviser, social solidarity network; Mrs. Luisa Marina Garzón, delegate to the Act No. 70 technical commission; Mrs. Nydia Restrepo de Acosta, deputy legal manager of INCORA; Mr. Cesar Augusto Torres Riascos, manager of the land ownership programme for the Black communities; Mrs. Morcela Bravo, Chief of INCORA's Black and Indigenous Communities Division; Mrs. Constanza Chacón, Minister of the Environment on the Act No. 70 technical commission; Mr. Victor Morales, delegate from the Colombian Geographical and Agricultural Institute

- 10 a.m. Meeting with Mrs. Gladys Jimeno Santoyo, Director-General for Indigenous Affairs, Ministry of the Interior
- 3 p.m. Interview with Mr. Francisco Serpa, Minister of the Interior
- 4.30 p.m. Interview with Mr. Rodrigo Pardo García Peña, Minister for Foreign Affairs

Wednesday, 3 July Boqotá-Cali

- 10 a.m. Interview with Mr. Jaime Córdoba Triviño, Ombudsman
- 2 p.m. Meeting with Mr. Carlos Vicente de Roux, Mr. Jorge Ivan Cuervo and Mrs. Gloria Zamora, Office of the Presidential Adviser for Human Rights; Mr. Danilo Valbuena Usso, Mr. Jorge Rubio Cifuentes, Prosecution Service; Mrs. María Claudia Pulido Escobar, Head of the National Unit of the Office of the Procurator for Human Rights; Mrs. María Clova Galvis, Office of the Procurator-General, International Affairs
- 4 p.m. Meeting with Mr. Gernán Antador, Office of the Presidential Adviser on Social Policy; Mr. Antonio Muñoz Vizcaino, Indigenous Communities Health Care Department, Ministry of Health; Mrs. Angela Bonellez, Directorate-General of Social Security (Health), Ministry of Health
- 8 p.m. Departure for Cali

Thursday, 4 July Cali-Buenaventura

- 11 a.m. Departure for Buenaventura (by road)
- 3.30 p.m. Meeting with Mr. José Felix Ocoro, Mayor of Buenaventura, and Mr. Luis Alfonso Rodriguez, Adviser, Pacific Coast Municipalities Association

Friday, 5 July Buenaventura

- 10.15 a.m. Meeting with representatives of the following NGOs: Proceso de Comunidades Negras, Asociación Nacional de Pescadores, Asociación de Trabajadoras de la Costa Pacífica
- Noon Meeting with representatives of the following NGOs: Asociación de Mujeres Jovenes Afro-Colombianas (AMOJA); Asociación de Mujeres Campesinas; SOWETO Afro-American Study Circle
- 3 p.m. Return to Cali

Saturday, 6 July

Cali

- 10 a.m. Meeting with Mr. Mauricio Guzman, Mayor of Cali, Mr. Jorge Ubemar Delgado, Chairman of Cali City Council, Mr. Reynaldo Botero Bedoya, Regional Ombudsman, Mr. Gonzalo Ortiz Jaramillo, Chief, División Negritudes y Grupos Etnicos; Mrs. Olga María Betancourt, Director of the Under-Secretariat for Specific Groups
- 3 p.m. Meeting with representatives of the following NGOs: Proyecto Comunidad y Etnocultura; Escuela de Medicina Tropical para la Costa Pacífica; Fundación Severo Mulato; Fundación para el Desarrollo de los Afro-Colombianos (FUNDAFRO); Movimiento Nacional de las Comunidades Negras
- 5 p.m. Meeting with representatives of the following NGOs: Asociación Regional Indígena del Valle de Cauca (ORIVAC); Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca (CRIDEC); Corporación Almirante Padilla; Asociación de Jóvenes para el Desarrollo de la Cultura Negra e Indígena

Sunday, 7 July

Cali-Tumaco

- 9 a.m. Departure for Tumaco
- 4 p.m. Visit to the headquarters of the regional palenque (Black community) in Nariño department; working meeting

Monday, 8 July

Tumaco

- 10 a.m. Meeting with representatives of the following NGOs: Palenque Regional Nariño; Unidad Indígena Pueblo AWA; Movimiento Cívico Alerta SOS; Cooperativa de Agricultores del Pacífico; Organización Francisco Pizarro de Salahonda
- 3 p.m. Meeting with Mr. Fernando Pinson, personal secretary to the Mayor of Tumaco; Carlos Eli Barrios Mejía, Vice-Chairman of the town council; Diego Arteaga, municipal councillor
- 5 p.m. Meeting with Mr. Leonardo Sanson, Comprehensive Fisheries Project; Mr. Hector Antonio Angulo, Fundación Congona; Mr. Lidoro Hurtado Quiñones, Bajo Mira y Fra Central Board; Mr. Thomas Eliecer Cortés, Corponariño; Mr. Tito Francisco, Angulo Comunidad; Ms. Nella Gruezo Villarreal, Fundación Rafael Valencia

Tuesday, 9 July

Return to Cali

Wednesday, 10 July      Cali-Quibdo

- 10.30 a.m.                      Departure for Quibdo
- 3 p.m.                              Meeting with Mr. Umberto Mena Mena, head of the cabinet of the Governor of Chocó department; Ms. Emiliana Palacios Valencia, Ministry of the Interior; Mr. Jesús Alberto Mosquera, mayor of the city of Quibdo; Mr. Hector Manuel Hinestroza Alvarez, municipal councillor
- 4 p.m.                              Meeting with Mr. Efraim Rojas Alvarez, Regional Ombudsman
- 6 p.m.                              Meeting with Mr. William Murillo Lopez, Vice-Chancellor of Diego Luis Córdoba Technological University in Chocó; Mr. Néstor Emitis Mosquera, Dean of the Faculty of Education; Mr. Fugi Lucas Gil Ibargüen, Director of the Pilot Experimental Centre

Thursday, 11 July              Quibdo

- 10 a.m.                              Meeting with representatives of the following Afro-Colombian NGOs: Asociación Campesina del Atrato; Movimiento de Comunidades Negras; Palenque Afro-Colombiano; Asociación de usuarios campesinos del Chocó; Red de organizaciones del San Juan; CIMARRON movement
- 11.30 a.m.                         Meeting with OREWA, an indigenous populations' organization
- 6 p.m.                              Interview with Mrs. Zulia Mena García, representative of the Afro-Colombian communities in Congress

Friday, 12 July                      Quibdo-Cartagena

- 10.30 a.m.                         Departure for Cartagena

Saturday, 13 July                  Cartagena

- 9 a.m.                              Meeting with Mrs. Claudia Fadul, Secretary-General, acting Mayor of Cartagena; Mr. Lacy des Cortes, Administrative Services Secretary; Ms. Judith Pinedo, human development officer; Mr. Nicolas Paresa, internal affairs officer; Mr. Alcides Arrieta, Secretary for Community Development; Ms. Joan McMaster, Head of Protocol
- 11 a.m.                              Meeting with Mr. Anibal Olier, Regional Ombudsman

3 p.m. Meeting with representatives of the following NGOs:  
Proceso de Comunidades Negras; Asociación de  
organizaciones de comunidades negras de Sucre; Asociación  
departamental por los derechos de las comunidades negras  
del Cesar; Asociación de mujeres vendedoras de frutas  
"Orika"; Programa etnoeducación Palenque; Comunidades  
Negras de Barranquilla-Atlántico; Centro de Cultura  
Afrocaribe

Sunday, 14 July Cartagena-Boqotá

8.30 p.m. Departure for Bogotá

Monday, 15 July Boqotá

9 a.m. Meeting with representatives of the Coordinating  
Committee of the Indigenous Peoples of the Amazon Basin

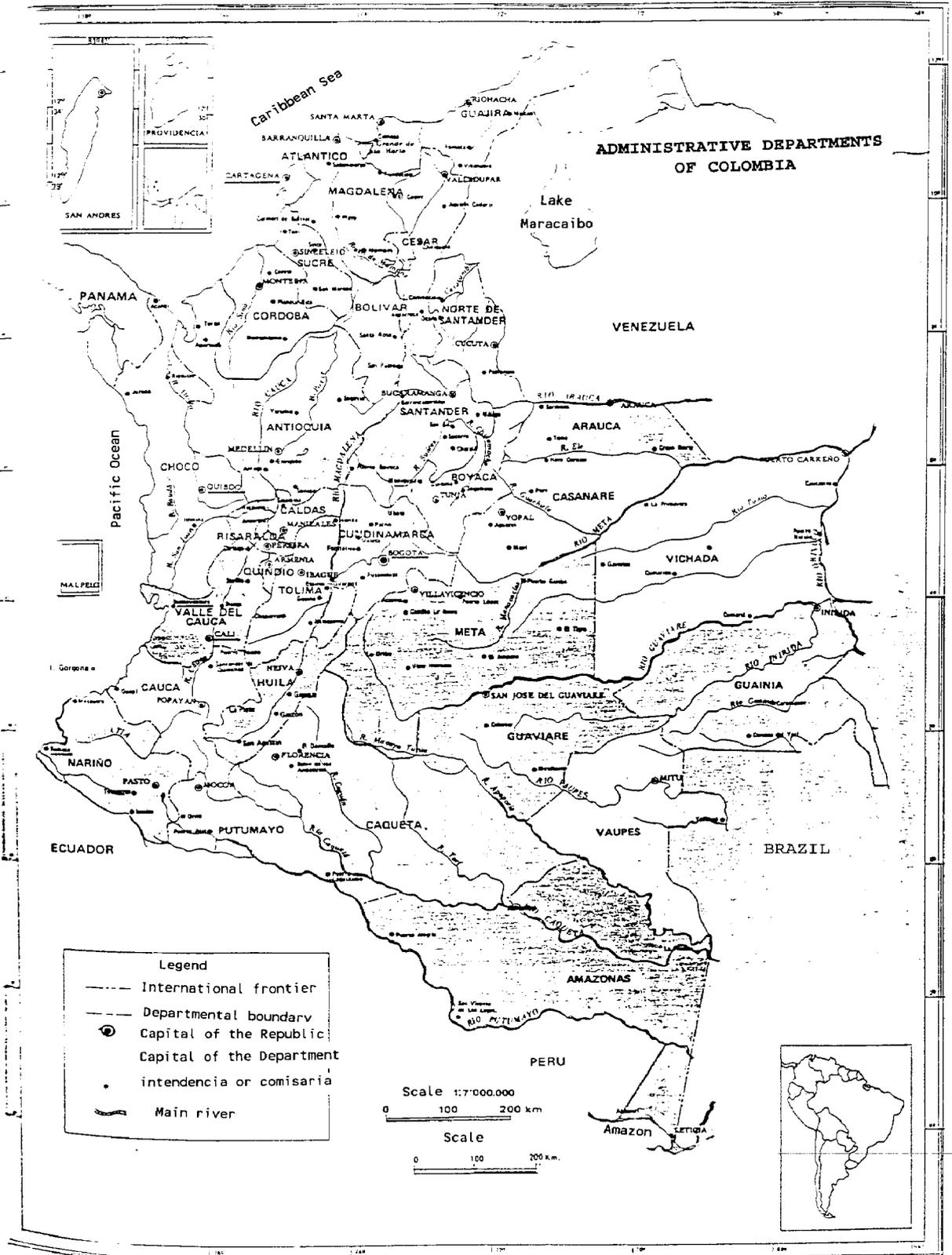
10 a.m. Meeting with Mr. Angelino Garzón, adviser to the Deputy  
Minister of Labour

11 a.m. Review meeting with Mrs. Pilar Gaetan, Director for  
Special Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

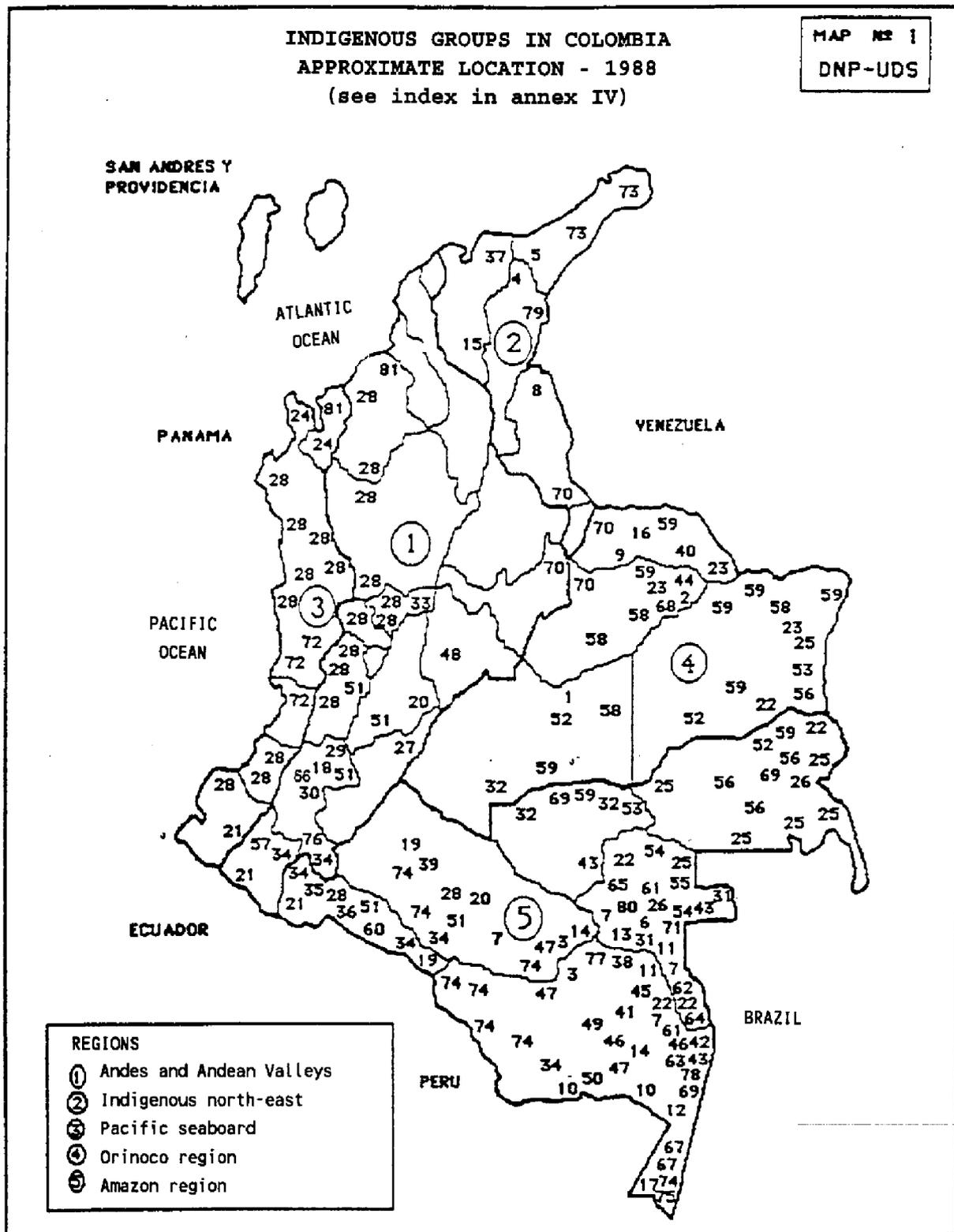
2.30 p.m. Interview with Mgr. Giraldo, Chairman of the Colombian  
Episcopal Conference, and Father Dario Etcheverri,  
responsible for pastoral works and for the Justice and  
Peace Section, followed by a discussion with the Indians  
who were organizing a "sit-in" at the headquarters of the  
Episcopal Conference

6 p.m. End of mission: departure for Cotonou

**Annex II**



Annex III



Annex IV

COLOMBIA'S INDIGENOUS PEOPLES: APPROXIMATE LOCATIONS

(See numbering on map in annex)

<u>Ethnic group</u>	<u>Ethnic group</u>	<u>Ethnic group</u>
1. Achacua	28. Embera	55. Pisimira
2. Amorua	29. Guambiano	56. Puinabe
3. Andoke	30. Guanaca*	57. Quillacinga
4. Arhuaco	31. Guanao	58. Saliba
5. Arzario	32. Guayabero	59. Sikuani
6. Bara	33. undetermined***	60. Siona
7. Barasana	34. Inga	61. Siriano
8. Bari	35. Kamsa	62. Taiwano
9. Betoye	36. Kofan	63. Tanimuka
10. Bora	37. Kogui	64. Tariano
11. Cabiynari	38. Letuama	65. Tatuyo
12. Yuri	39. Macaguaje	66. Totoro
13. Carapana	40. Macaguane	67. Tikuna
14. Carijona	41. Macuna	68. Tsiripu
15. Chimila	42. Macusa	69. Tukano
16. Chiricoa	43. Macu-Nukak	70. Tunebo
17. Cocoma	44. Masiguare	71. Tuyuca
18. Coconuco	45. Matapi	72. Waunana
19. Coreguaje	46. Miraña	73. Wayuu
20. Coyaima	47. Muinane	74. Witoto
21. Cuaiker	48. undetermined**	75. Yagua
22. Cubeo	49. Nonuya	76. Yanacona
23. Cuiba	50. Ocaina	77. Yauna
24. Cuna	51. Paez	78. Yucuna
25. Curripaco	52. Piapoko	79. Yuco
26. Desano	53. Piaroa	80. Yurutí
27. Dujos	54. Piratapuyo	81. Zenu
		Estimated total population 603,280

Source: DNP, "Los Pueblos Indígenas de Colombia, 1989". Estimated population in June 1993.

\* According to recent studies, this group has merged with the Páez ethnic group.

\*\* Descendants of the Muisca, inhabiting the Cota resguardo in Cundinamarca department.

\*\*\* Corresponds to the former mining reducción (resettled community) on the Cañamomo and Lomapieta indigenous resguardo in Caldas department.

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