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 INFO DIRONDCP WASHDC//OR//  
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STATE ALSO FOR ARA/PPC, S/IL  
 NSC ALSO FOR RICHARD FEINBERG  
 LABOR ALSO FOR ILAB  
 DEA FOR OF, OFL, DO, AO, AX, OC, NK  
 CINCSO AND CINCLANT ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
 TAGS: KPRP, PINS, SNAR, PGOV, PHUM, ELAB, ASEC, CO  
 SUBJECT: TRIP REPORT: CAUCA -- INDIANS, AMAPOLA AND  
 - THE CHRONIC CONFLICT OVER WHO OWNS THE LAND

REF: BOGOTA 2514

SUMMARY

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1. (C) POLOFF VISITED POPAYAN, THE CAPITAL OF CAUCA, ONE OF COLOMBIA'S MOST CONFLICTIVE REGIONS, MARCH 2-3. CAUCA ATTRACTED WORLD ATTENTION IN DECEMBER 1991 WHEN 20 INDIANS WERE KILLED BY A PARAMILITARY SQUAD IN

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: DAVID W COX  
 DATE/CASE ID: 26 MAR 2009 200800720

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WHAT WAS CALLED COLOMBIA'S FIRST AMAPOLA (HEROIN POPPY) MASSACRE. ONE OF COLOMBIA'S SMALLEST AND POOREST DEPARTMENTS, RURAL AND INDUSTRY-LESS CAUCA, WHERE LAND IS THE ONLY SOURCE OF WEALTH, IS HOME TO BOTH COLOMBIA'S LARGEST INDIGENOUS POPULATION AND ITS MOST INTRACTABLE LAND DISPUTES. IT WAS PRIMARILY TO WIN BACK LAND LOST TO LARGE LANDOWNERS THAT CAUCA'S INDIANS, WHO WIELD POWER OUT OF PROPORTION TO THEIR NUMBERS, FORMED THE REGIONAL INDIGENOUS COUNCIL OF CAUCA (CRIC) IN 1971. BY ALMOST ALL MEASURES, CRIC HAS SUCCEEDED, HAVING RECOUPED MORE THAN 80,000

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HECTARES, WITH THE HELP OF INCORA, THE GOVERNMENT'S  
LAND REFORM AGENCY.

2 (U) CAUCA ALSO WAS HOME TO THE INDIGENOUS GUERRILLA GROUP, QUINTIN LAME, WHICH MADE PEACE IN 1991, AND NOW BELONGS TO THE AD/M-19 ON THE NATIONAL LEVEL. QUINTIN LAME EX-COMBATANTS, HOWEVER, HAVE HAD MORE SUCCESS THAN THEIR CAUCA M-19 COMRADES IN TURNING THEIR SWORDS INTO PLOWSHARES.

3. (C) WHILE CAUCA TRADITIONALLY HAS PRODUCED MARIJUANA AND COCA, THE NEW SCOURGE OF AMAPOLA, PRIMARILY PRODUCED BY INDIANS, NOW IS CONSIDERED ITS PRINCIPAL SECURITY THREAT. TO ITS SURPRISE, HOWEVER, THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN JOINED BY A WELCOME ALLY IN THE FIGHT AGAINST AMAPOLA, THE INDIANS' OWN LEADERS, WHO FEAR AMAPOLA WILL FINISH THE DESTRUCTION, BEGUN BY COLOMBUS, OF THEIR CULTURE. SINCE A MAY 1992 INDIGENOUS/GOVERNMENT ACCORD KNOWN AS "LA MINGA," INDIANS HAVE MANUALLY ERADICATED THOUSANDS OF HECTARES OF AMAPOLA WITHOUT VIOLENCE OR GLYPHOSATE. WHILE CAUCA WAS UNDERGOING AERIAL SPRAYING AT THE TIME OF POLOFF'S VISIT, INDIGENOUS AREAS, THANKS TO "LA MINGA," WERE NOT.

4. (U) FIRST AND FOREMOST OF CAUCA'S OTHER SECURITY CONCERNS IS THE GUERRILLAS, WHO BESIDES PLAYING A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN POPPY PRODUCTION, ALSO ARE INVOLVED IN RANSOM KIDNAPPING, EXTORTION AND ROAD PIRACY. IN THE POLITICAL ARENA, CAUCA IS IN THE MIDST OF A TRANSFORMATION, AS CIVIC MOVEMENTS BEAT THE TWO

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TRADITIONAL PARTIES IN THE 1992 MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS. MEANWHILE, COLOMBIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION, UNDER THE BANNER OF "TERRITORIALITY," HAS CREATED A CONFLICT BETWEEN PRIVATE PROPERTY RIGHTS AND THE INDIGENOUS' COMMUNAL OWNERSHIP TO USHER IN THE 21ST CENTURY. END

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SUMMARY.

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- THE CHRONIC CONFLICT OVER WHO OWNS THE LAND

5. (C) POLOFF VISITED POPAYAN, CAPITAL OF CAUCA DEPARTMENT, MARCH 2-3, WHERE HE MET WITH POPAYAN ARCHBISHOP AND EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE VICE-PRESIDENT ALBERTO GIRALDO JARAMILLO; SECRETARY OF GOVERNMENT (THE DEPARTMENT'S SECURITY CHIEF) NELSON PAZ ANAYA; NATIONAL REHABILITATION PLAN (PNR; THE GOC'S CIVIL COUNTER-INSURGENCY AGENCY) REGIONAL DIRECTOR JUAN JOSE FERNANDEZ MERA; COLOMBIAN AGRARIAN REFORM INSTITUTE (INCORA) REGIONAL MANAGER LARRY GUERRERO OLMEDO; EX-QUINTIN LAME GUERRILLA NOW INDIGENOUS SOCIAL ASSOCIATION (ASI) LEADER HENRI CABALLERO; REPRESENTATIVES OF THE REGIONAL INDIGENOUS COUNCIL OF CAUCA (CRIC) AND THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PEASANTS (ANUC); POPAYAN PERSONERO (HUMAN RIGHTS OMBUDSMAN) MARIA C. BALDRICH; EX-M-19 GUERRILLA COMMANDER NOW EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE FOUNDATION FOR THE REINSERTION OF DEMOCRACY (FUNDEMOS), THE M-19'S REINSERTION ORGANIZATION IN CAUCA, EDGAR ZUNIGA DOMINGUEZ; EX-M-19 INSURGENT NOW FUNDEMOS TREASURER  
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AND POPAYAN DEPUTY PERSONERO AMADEO CERON CHICANGANO;  
AND OTHERS.

CALOTO -- COLOMBIA'S FIRST AMAPOLA MASSACRE

6. (U) CAUCA ATTRACTED INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION IN DECEMBER 1991 WHEN 20 PAEZ INDIANS WERE MASSACRED BY A PARAMILITARY SQUAD IN CALOTO IN NORTHERN CAUCA. THE VICTIMS BELONGED TO A COMMUNITY OF SQUATTERS OCCUPYING A CORNER OF THE "EL NILO" ESTATE. AFTER YEARS PASSED WITHOUT RESOLUTION OF THE DISPUTE, THE OWNER APPARENTLY SOLD THE FARM (PROBABLY AT AN EXORBITANT PRICE THAT INCORA COULDN'T PAY) TO NARCOS APPARENTLY WANTING TO CULTIVATE AMAPOLA. AFTER THE INDIANS FAILED TO HEED SEVERAL WARNINGS, THE NARCOS, WITH THE AID OF LOCAL SECURITY FORCES (A POLICE MAJOR AND THE COMMANDER OF THE LOCAL POLICE ANTI-NARCOTICS UNIT FACE ADMINISTRATIVE BUT NO CRIMINAL CHARGES; REFTEL), USED VIOLENCE TO REMOVE THEM. A FEW MONTHS LATER, THE GOVERNMENT EXPROPRIATED AND DISTRIBUTED THE LAND TO THE VICTIMS' FAMILIES. VARIOUS PERSONS WITH WHOM POLOFF MET CITED CALOTO AS THEIR WORST FEARS COME TRUE OF WHAT COULD RESULT FROM A MIXING OF AMAPOLA AND CAUCA'S TRADITIONAL LAND CONFLICTS.

WHAT IS CAUCA?

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7. (U) CAUCA DEPARTMENT IS LOCATED IN SOUTHWESTERN COLOMBIA, AT THE BIRTHPLACE OF FOUR OF THE COUNTRY'S MOST IMPORTANT RIVERS -- THE CAUCA, PATIA, CAQUETA AND MAGDALENA (COLOMBIA'S MISSISSIPPI) -- KNOWN AS THE  
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MACIZO COLOMBIANO. POPAYAN (FOUNDED IN 1535) WAS ONCE THE CAPITAL OF A SPANISH INTENDENCIA THAT STRETCHED FROM ECUADOR TO THE CARIBBEAN, BUT SAW ITS TERRITORIES AND FORTUNES DIMINISHED TO THE EXTENT THAT IT'S NOW THE CAPITAL OF ONE OF COLOMBIA'S SMALLEST AND POOREST DEPARTMENTS. POPAYAN HAS LONG BEEN SUPERSEDED BY CALI (CAPITAL OF NEIGHBORING VALLE DEL CAUCA DEPARTMENT) AS SOUTHERN COLOMBIA'S PRINCIPAL CITY.

8. (U) CAUCA'S ECONOMIC STAGNATION HAS CAUSED IT TO FALL BEHIND MOST OF THE REST OF COLOMBIA IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC TERMS. FROM 1950-88, CAUCA'S ECONOMY FAILED TO DOUBLE WHILE THE COUNTRY'S MULTIPLIED BY FIVE. WHILE COLOMBIA'S POPULATION GREW AN AVERAGE OF 3.4 PERCENT A YEAR DURING THE SAME PERIOD AND MADE THE TRANSITION FROM PREDOMINANTLY RURAL TO PREDOMINANTLY URBAN, CAUCA'S GREW ONLY 2.4 PERCENT A YEAR AND REMAINED RURAL. THE MAJORITY OF RESIDENTS IN 33 OF

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THE CAUCA'S 37 COUNTIES (MUNICIPIOS) LIVE IN POVERTY.

9. (U) WEALTH IN CAUCA HAS ALWAYS BEEN IN THE LAND, BUT WHILE THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR HAS MAINTAINED ITS PREMIER POSITION IN THE DEPARTMENT'S ECONOMY, IT CONTINUES TO BE BASICALLY LABOR-INTENSIVE, WITH A RELATIVELY LOW APPLICATION OF TECHNOLOGY, CAPITAL AND AGGREGATE VALUE. INDEED, CAUCA CONTINUES TO HAVE VERY LITTLE INDUSTRY, LIMITING EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR ITS 800,000 RESIDENTS.

10. (U) WHAT HELPS DEFINE CAUCA IS ITS INDIGENOUS POPULATION, 130,000, THE LARGEST OF ANY COLOMBIAN DEPARTMENT, COMPOSED OF SEVERAL TRIBES, INCLUDING PAECES (BY FAR THE LARGEST), GUAMBIANOS, YANACONAS, COCONUCOS, TOTOROS, EMBERAS AND INGAS. WHILE CAUCA HAS MORE BLACKS AND ALMOST AS MANY NON-INDIAN CAMPESINOS, ITS INDIGENOUS POPULATION HAS WIELDED POWER OUT OF PROPORTION TO ITS SIZE BECAUSE OF ITS

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UNITY OF PURPOSE AND COMMUNAL VALUES.

CRIC AND THE NON-VIOLENT INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT  
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11. (U) IN 1971, CAUCA'S EMERGING INDIAN MOVEMENT GAVE BIRTH TO THE REGIONAL INDIGENOUS COUNCIL OF CAUCA (CRIC). AMONG THE ORGANIZATION'S OBJECTIVES WERE TO STRENGTHEN THE POSITION OF THE "CABILDOS" (INDIAN COMMUNITY GOVERNING COUNCILS), PRESERVE INDIGENOUS HISTORY, LANGUAGE AND CUSTOMS, AND END THE FEUDAL, SEMI-SERVILE "TERRAJE" SYSTEM, WHEREBY INDIANS PAID TERRATENIENTES (LARGE LANDOWNERS) RENT IN THE FORM OF LABOR TO LIVE ON AND FARM A PARCEL OF THE ESTATE. CRIC'S TOP PRIORITY, HOWEVER, WAS "TO RECUPERATE THE LANDS OF THE ORIGINAL RESGUARDOS (RESERVATIONS)," ACQUIRED FROM THE SPANIARDS BUT TAKEN BY TERRATENIENTES.

12. (C) AS CRIC MARKS ITS 22ND BIRTHDAY, IT CAN ONLY BE TERMED A SUCCESS, HAVING ACHIEVED ALL OF ITS OBJECTIVES, INCLUDING THE "RECUPERATION" OF MORE THAN 80,000 HECTARES. TODAY, CAUCA'S INDIANS LIVE IN 48 RESGUARDOS OCCUPYING A SIXTH OF CAUCA'S 29,000 SQUARE KILOMETERS. EVERYONE POLOFF SPOKE WITH SAID THE HISTORICAL TERRATENIENTE/INDIAN LAND CONFLICT WAS MOSTLY RESOLVED. REGIONAL INCORA (LAND REFORM AGENCY) HEAD GUERRERO TOLD POLOFF HIS STAFF RECENTLY HAD LISTED THE DEPARTMENT'S 10 TOUGHEST LAND DISPUTES; ONLY ONE WAS BETWEEN A TERRATENIENTE AND INDIANS. MEANWHILE, CRIC'S SUCCESS HAS SPAWNED COPYCAT REGIONAL INDIGENOUS COUNCILS IN OTHER DEPARTMENTS.

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13. (C) CRIC'S SUCCESS IN "RECUPERATING" LAND HAS NOT BEEN WITHOUT STRUGGLE. FROM THE START, CRIC HAS EMPLOYED A POLICY OF OCCUPYING PROPERTIES TO CREATE A CONFLICT INCORA WOULD BE FORCED TO DEFUSE. ONE CRIC REP SAID THAT EVERY TIME INCORA ANNOUNCES THAT IT HAS DISTRIBUTED "X" NUMBER OF HECTARES TO "X" NUMBER OF CAMPESINOS OR INDIANS, WHAT IT FAILS TO MENTION IS HOW MANY PEOPLE LOST THEIR LIVES TO GET INCORA TO ACT. THE CRIC REPS SAID THE GOC AT TIMES ACTS OUT OF CONCERN FOR ITS IMAGE ABROAD. ONE CRIC REP SAID "INCORA ALWAYS ACTS WHEN SOMETHING LIKE CALOTO HAPPENS." WHEN POLOFF REPEATED CRIC'S CRITICISM TO INCORA CHIEF GUERRERO, HE RESPONDED, "COLOMBIA IS LIKE ANYWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD; NO ONE GETS ANYTHING WITHOUT A STRUGGLE."

14. (U) WHILE CRIC'S ORIGINAL OBJECTIVES HAVE MOSTLY BEEN MET, SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS FOR CAUCA'S

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INDIANS LAG BEHIND THOSE FOR THE DEPARTMENT IN GENERAL. ONE OF CRIC'S PRESENT FOCUSES IS TO PROVIDE THE INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES WITH NEEDED SOCIAL SERVICES, THUS FILLING THE VOID LEFT BY AN ABSENT GOVERNMENT.

15. (U) MEANWHILE, CAUCA'S INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT IS NOT WITHOUT ITS DIVISIONS. CRIC IS DOMINATED BY CAUCA'S (AND COLOMBIA'S) LARGEST TRIBE, THE PAECES. WHILE SOME GUAMBIANOS (CAUCA'S SECOND LARGEST TRIBE) LIVE ON PAEZ RESGUARDOS, AND THUS BELONG TO CRIC, MOST GUAMBIANO COMMUNITIES BELONG TO ANOTHER MOVEMENT, THE INDIGENOUS AUTHORITIES OF COLOMBIA. PAECES AND GUAMBIANOS HAVE OFTEN COMPETED FOR THE SAME LAND.

QUINTIN LAME AND THE ARMED INDIAN MOVEMENT  
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16. (U) ANOTHER DIVISION IN THE INDIAN MOVEMENT WAS OVER "FORMS OF STRUGGLE." CRIC HAD ALWAYS ADVOCATED  
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NON-VIOLENCE; HOWEVER, IT'S TACTIC OF OCCUPYING PROPERTIES EARNED A VIOLENT RESPONSE FROM TERRATENIENTES, WHO FORMED SELF-DEFENSE AND PARAMILITARY GROUPS (SELF-DEFENSE GROUPS WITH GOVERNMENT SECURITY FORCE COLLABORATION) TO PROTECT THEIR PROPERTY. INITIALLY, INDIANS SOUGHT THE PROTECTION OF THE GUERRILLA GROUPS OPERATING IN THE REGION -- THE FARC AND M-19. THE COMMUNITIES, HOWEVER, FOUND THE GUERRILLAS HIGH-HANDED, AND CONFLICTS EVENTUALLY AROSE, ESPECIALLY WITH THE FARC, MOTIVATING THE COMMUNITIES TO LOOK TOWARD A HOMEGROWN SELF-DEFENSE FORCE FORMED AND CONTROLLED BY THE CABILDOS.

17. (U) WITH HELP FROM THE M-19, THE "QUINTIN LAME ARMED MOVEMENT" WAS BORN IN 1984, NAMED AFTER QUINTIN LAME, AN INDIAN WHO FROM 1914-18 LED AN ARMED RESISTANCE TO THE DISMANTLING OF CAUCA'S RESGUARDOS. THE NEW GUERRILLA GROUP WAS FORMED TO DEFEND THE COMMUNITIES AGAINST (1) THE TERRATENIENTES' VIOLENT RESPONSE TO THE LAND OCCUPATIONS, AND (2) THE FARC'S INCREASING ATTEMPTS TO PENETRATE AND DOMINATE THE RESGUARDOS. WHILE THE INDIGENOUS LEADERS WITH WHOM POLOFF MET ALWAYS SPOKE OF QUINTIN LAME IN ITS EARLY STAGE AS BEING A PURELY SELF-DEFENSE GROUP, REGIONAL PNR CHIEF FERNANDEZ SAID IT WAS CLEAR THE COMMUNITIES FROM THE START HAD USED QUINTIN LAME AS AN OFFENSIVE WEAPON TO ASSIST THEIR PENETRATION AND OCCUPATION OF ESTATES.

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18: (U) ANOTHER QUINTIN LAME FUNCTION WAS ACTING AS AN  
INTERNAL POLICE FORCE FOR THE RESGUARDOS, WHERE LAND  
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DISPUTES ARE COMMON BETWEEN DIFFERENT INDIAN  
COMMUNITIES LIVING IN THE SAME RESGUARDO (E.G., PAECES  
VS. GUAMBIANOS) AS WELL AS BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL  
FAMILIES. COMMON CRIME AND PERSONAL CONFLICTS ALSO  
ARE COMMON.

19. (U) WHAT INITIALLY DISTINGUISHED QUINTIN LAME FROM  
COLOMBIA'S OTHER INSURGENT GROUPS (BESIDES BEING  
COMPOSED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY OF INDIANS) WAS ITS  
LIMITED SCOPE, GOALS AND OBJECTIVES. QUINTIN LAME  
LACKED IDEOLOGY, NATIONAL OBJECTIVES AND OPPOSITION TO  
THE POLITICAL/ECONOMIC SYSTEM AS A WHOLE.

20. (U) THOSE DISTINCTIONS BEGAN TO BLUR IN THE LATE  
1980S, HOWEVER, MUCH TO THE DISSATISFACTION OF THE  
INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES THAT HAD CREATED THE ARMED  
GROUP IN THE FIRST PLACE. QUINTIN LAME JOINED THE  
OTHER INSURGENT GROUPS IN THE GUERRILLA COORDINATING

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BOARD, OBLIGATING QUINTIN LAME TO SHARE THEIR IDEOLOGY AND GLOBAL OBJECTIVES. MEANWHILE, BACK HOME, QUINTIN LAME INSURGENTS BEGAN TO SHOW ALMOST AS LITTLE RESPECT FOR THE CABILDOS AS HAD THE FARC. AT THE SAME TIME, THE COMMUNITIES WERE COMING TO REALIZE MOST OF THEIR LAND DEMANDS THROUGH CRIC'S PEACEFUL ACTIVISM. EVENTUALLY, THE COMMUNITIES WITHDREW THEIR SUPPORT FROM QUINTIN LAME, ASKING THE ARMED GROUP TO DISBAND, WHICH IT DID.

21. (C) FORMER QUINTIN LAME GUERRILLA HENRI CABALLERO TOLD POLOFF QUINTIN LAME HAD FAILED AT THE ONE TASK FOR WHICH IT WAS CREATED -- TO DEFEND THE COMMUNITIES. CABALLERO ATTRIBUTED MUCH OF THE PROBLEM TO THE FACT THAT, AS A GUERRILLA GROUP, QUINTIN LAME HAD TO STAY ON THE MOVE, WHEREAS TO BE EFFECTIVE, A SELF-DEFENSE AND/OR INTERNAL POLICE FORCE NEEDED TO MAINTAIN A PERMANENT PRESENCE.

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WHAT'S HAPPENING WITH THE INDIANS NOW

22. (C) CABALLERO RECALLED FOR POLOFF A MEETING HE AND OTHER QUINTIN LAME LEADERS ATTENDED WITH THE FARC'S GENERAL SECRETARIAT IN LA URIBE, META DEPARTMENT, IN LATE 1990 AT WHICH THEY EXPLAINED TO FARC HEAD MANUEL MARULANDA AND THE REST WHY QUINTIN LAME HAD DECIDED TO CALL IT QUILTS. UNTIL RECENTLY, CABALLERO SAID THE FARC AND ELN HAD RESPECTED QUINTIN LAME'S DECISION; HOWEVER, SINCE PRESIDENT GAVIRIA DECREED A STATE OF INTERNAL DISTURBANCE IN NOVEMBER, ALLOWING HIM TO BEGIN AN ALL-OUT, INTEGRAL WAR AGAINST THEM, CABALLERO SAID THE FARC AND ELN HAD INCREASINGLY MADE INCURSIONS INTO CAUCA RESGUARDOS, AND HAD BEEN MORE ABUSIVE IN THEIR DEALINGS WITH THE COMMUNITIES AND THEIR CABILDOS. CABALLERO BELIEVES THE PEACE TALKS AND THE INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION THEY ATTRACTED HAD KEPT THE GUERRILLAS ON THEIR BEST BEHAVIOR, BUT THAT NOW WITH THE PEACE PROCESS DEAD AND THE BATTLE FOR PUBLIC OPINION LOST, THE GUERRILLAS HAVE NOTHING TO PURSUE BUT MILITARY AND TERRITORIAL GAINS, AND NEED BE LESS CONCERNED ABOUT HOW THEY ACHIEVE THEM.

23. (C) THE FARC AND ELN ARE NOT WITHOUT SUPPORT IN THE COMMUNITIES, CABALLERO SAID. WHAT THEY OFFER IS "JUSTICE." THE COLOMBIAN NATIONAL POLICE (CNP) DOESN'T ENTER THE RESGUARDOS, AND THE UNARMED CABILDOS ARE RELUCTANT TO GET INVOLVED. THE FARC AND ELN PROVIDE A SOMETIMES WELCOMED POLICE PRESENCE AND PRIVATE JUSTICE.

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24. (C) IN WHAT COULD BE TERMED A VICIOUS CIRCLE, CABALLERO SAID THERE RECENTLY HAD BEEN RENEWED CLAMOR FOR AN INDIGENOUS SELF-DEFENSE FORCE. THE INDIGENOUS SOCIAL ASSOCIATION (ASI), OF WHICH HE IS NOW A LEADER AND CRIC, HOWEVER, WERE ARGUING AGAINST, SAYING SUCH A FORCE WOULD BE NO MORE SUCCESSFUL IN PROVIDING PROTECTION THAN QUINTIN LAME, WHILE AN ILLEGAL ARMED GROUP WOULD ATTRACT A VIOLENT RESPONSE FROM THOSE IT WAS INTENDED TO DEFEND AGAINST AS WELL AS FROM THE SECURITY FORCES. FURTHERMORE, HAVING ARMED MEN IN THE COMMUNITIES WOULD BE A PROBLEM ITSELF; THEY WOULD DISOBEY THE CABILDOS, AS WELL AS USE THEIR GUNS FOR PERSONAL REASONS.

25. (C) CABALLERO AND OTHER EX-QUINTIN LAME GUERRILLAS NOW BELONG TO THE INDIGENOUS SOCIAL ASSOCIATION (ASI), AN ORGANIZATION FORMED BY CRIC, QUINTIN LAME AND OTHER CAUCA INDIAN GROUPS AFTER QUINTIN LAME DISBANDED. THE

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R 161816Z MAR 93  
 FM AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6059  
 INFO DIRONDCP WASHDC//OR//  
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 DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC  
 DEPTLABOR WASHDC  
 DEA WASHDC  
 DIRFBI WASHDC  
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
 AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA  
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
 AMEMBASSY LIMA  
 AMEMBASSY MEXICO  
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 AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR  
 USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM  
 USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA  
 DIA WASHDC  
 CIA WASHDC

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 LABOR ALSO FOR ILAB  
 DEA FOR OF, OFL, DO, AO, AX, OC, NK  
 CINCSCO AND CINCLANT ALSO FOR POLAD

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TAGS: KPRP, PINS, SNAR, PGOV, PHUM, ELAB, ASEC, CO  
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DEMISE OF QUINTIN LAME RESOLVED THE DISPUTE INSIDE THE INDIAN MOVEMENT BETWEEN THOSE FAVORING AND OPPOSING ARMED STRUGGLE, AND THUS HAS ENABLED CRIC AND EX-QUINTIN LAME GUERRILLAS TO NOW WORK TOGETHER. DESPITE ITS NAME, ASI IS MORE THE POLITICAL ARM OF THE INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT, WITH CRIC PERFORMING THE SOCIAL WORK.

26. (U) FORMER QUINTIN LAME GUERRILLAS HAVE HAD A RELATIVELY EASY TIME OF REINTEGRATION INTO CIVILIAN LIFE. BECAUSE OF THE UNIQUE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INDIGENOUS CULTURE AND QUINTIN LAME AS A GUERRILLA GROUP, THE COMBATANTS NEVER WERE FULLY DIVORCED FROM THEIR REGION, FAMILIES, COMMUNITIES AND LAND. BECAUSE THE COMMUNITIES HAD SUPPORTED THE INSURGENCY, THE EX-COMBATANTS WERE WELCOMED BACK.

REINSERTION HAS BEEN TOUGHER FOR THE M-19

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27. (C) THE SAME HAS NOT BEEN TRUE FOR AREA M-19 EX-GUERRILLAS, ACCORDING TO ZUNIGA DOMINGUEZ, FORMER M-19 COMMANDER AND NOW EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF FUNDEMOS, THE FOUNDATION FORMED BY CAUCA M-19 EX-COMBATANTS TO FILL THE VOID BETWEEN THEIR NEEDS AND WHAT THE GOVERNMENT IS DOING. ZUNIGA TOLD POLOFF THAT HIS FORMER COMRADES, WHO HAD CONSTITUTED CAUCA'S LARGEST AND MOST COMBATIVE GUERRILLA FORCE, HAD SUFFERED GREATER PROBLEMS (INCLUDING PSYCHOLOGICAL) IN MAKING THE TRANSITION. HE AND FUNDEMOS' TREASURER, AMADEO CERON CHICANGANO, AN INDIGENOUS FORMER M-19 COMBATANT, SAID THAT SOME (RELATIVELY VERY FEW) CAUCA M-19ERS HAD CONTINUED OR RETURNED TO LIVING BY THE GUN, NOT FOR POLITICAL REASONS, BUT TO MAKE A LIVING.

NGOS GIVE GOC GOOD GRADES  
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28. (C) MOST NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION TYPES WITH WHOM POLOFF SPOKE GAVE THE RELEVANT NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AGENCIES GOOD GRADES. INCORA, PNR AND THE INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS COMMISSION ALL HAD THE CONFIDENCE OF INDIAN AND CAMPESINO LEADERS. THEIR PERFORMANCE AND ACCEPTANCE SEEMED TO BE ENHANCED BY THE FACT THAT ALL THREE REGIONAL OFFICES WERE HEADED BY CAUCANS.

LAND CONFLICTS: IT'S EVERYONE VS. EVERYONE  
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29. (U) WITH LAND BEING CAUCA'S MAJOR SOURCE OF WEALTH AND EMPLOYMENT, THE CONFLICT FOR ITS OWNERSHIP IS EVERYONE VS. EVERYONE. IN ADDITION TO THE

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PAST-ITS-PEAK CONFLICT BETWEEN INDIANS AND  
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TERRATINIENTES, THERE'S THE ALSO HISTORICAL CONFLICT  
BETWEEN PAECES AND GUAMBIANOS, AS WELL AS CONFLICTS  
BETWEEN INDIANS AND/OR CAMPESINOS AND/OR BLACKS.  
POLOFF WAS TOLD OF A RECENT DISPUTE WHERE INDIANS AND  
BLACKS HAD OCCUPIED THE SAME ESTATE AT ABOUT THE SAME  
TIME. INCORA WORKED OUT AN AGREEMENT WHEREBY EACH  
GROUP WOULD GET HALF THE PROPERTY. ADDED TO THESE  
OLDER, MORE TRADITIONAL CONFLICTS ARE THOSE INVOLVING  
LARGE VALLE DEL CAUCA SUGAR CANE GROWERS, WHO HAVE  
BEEN BUYING UP LARGE TRACTS IN NORTHERN CAUCA, AND, AS  
IN THE CASE OF EL NILO, NARCOS BUYING PROPERTY TO  
CULTIVATE AMAPOLA.

30. (U) INCORA SEES AS ITS PRIORITY THE RESOLUTION OF  
CONFLICTS BEFORE THEY TURN VIOLENT, AND IT HAS BEEN  
SUCCESSFUL. IT IS NO SMALL FEAT THAT INCORA HAS  
GREATLY RESOLVED THE MOST VIOLENT CONFLICT, THAT  
BETWEEN INDIANS AND TERRATINIENTES OVER FORMER

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R 161816Z MAR 93  
FM AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6060  
INFO DIRONDCP WASHDC//OR//  
NSC WASHDC  
DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC  
DEPTLABOR WASHDC  
DEA WASHDC  
DIRFBI WASHDC

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AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY LIMA  
AMEMBASSY MEXICO  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR  
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM  
USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA  
DIA WASHDC  
CIA WASHDC

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CINCSO AND CINCLANT ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: KPRP, PINS, SNAR, PGOV, PHUM, ELAB, ASEC, CO  
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RESGUARDO LAND. CONFLICTS INVOLVING BLACKS, FOR  
EXAMPLE, BECAUSE OF THEIR LESSER ORGANIZATION AND  
MILITANCY, SELDOM TURN VIOLENT.

31. (C) WHILE EMPHASIZING THAT HIS OFFICE'S BUDGET HAD  
BEEN SUFFICIENT TO MEET CAUCA'S LAND  
PURCHASE/DISTRIBUTION NEEDS, INCORA CHIEF GUERRERO  
REGRETTED THAT IN  
CORA NO LONGER WAS IN THE BUSINESS OF  
FUNDING AN INTEGRAL AGRARIAN REFORM, I.E., LOANS,  
TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, ETC., WHICH CAUCA SORELY NEEDS.

AMAPOLA AND LA MINGA

32. (U) BOTH THE NATIONAL AND DEPARTMENTAL GOVERNMENTS  
CONSIDER A NEW SCOURGE -- THE CULTIVATION OF AMAPOLA  
(HEROIN POPPIES) -- WHICH HIT CAUCA IN 1991, TO NOW BE  
CAUCA'S PRINCIPAL SECURITY THREAT. CAUCA IS ONE OF  
THE DEPARTMENTS WITH THE LARGEST NUMBER OF HECTARES  
UNDER AMAPOLA CULTIVATION. ONE GOVERNMENT STUDY

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REPORTS THAT AMAPOLA CULTIVATIONS HAVE BEEN FOUND IN

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16 OF CAUCA'S 37 COUNTIES.

33. (U) WHILE AMAPOLA IS RELATIVELY NEW, CAUCA HAS TRADITIONALLY PRODUCED PRIMARY MATERIALS FOR NARCO-TRAFFICKING, FIRST MARIJUANA THEN COCA. WHAT'S DIFFERENT ABOUT AMAPOLA IS THAT WHILE MOST MARIJUANA AND COCA CULTIVATION IN THE DEPARTMENT HAS BEEN BY CAMPESINOS, THE AMAPOLA IS OVERWHELMINGLY GROWN BY INDIANS. WHILE CULTIVATIONS ALSO EXIST AT LOWER ALTITUDES (MOSTLY BELONGING TO CAMPESINOS), AMAPOLA IS BEST GROWN ABOVE 2,000 METERS, WHERE THE VAST MAJORITY OF CAUCAS INDIGENOUS RESGUARDOS AND COMMUNITIES ARE FOUND, IN EASTERN CAUCA IN COLOMBIA'S CENTRAL CORDILLERA (MOUNTAIN RANGE).

34. (U) POLOFF FOUND A CONSENSUS THAT INDIANS AND CAMPESINOS HAD TURNED TO AMAPOLA BECAUSE TRADITIONAL AGRICULTURE WASN'T PROFITABLE IN CAUCA EXCEPT FOR LARGE SCALE LIVESTOCK RAISING OR THE SUGAR CANE PLANTATIONS IN THE NORTH, PARTLY DUE TO THE LACK OF CREDIT AND INFRASTRUCTURE, INCLUDING ROADS. WITH AMAPOLA ON THE OTHER HAND, THE NARCOS OFFER FREE SEEDS AND SOME OF THE MONEY UP FRONT.

35. (C) PNR DIRECTOR FERNANDEZ SAID THE AMAPOLA PRODUCTION WAS CONTROLLED BY THE URDINOLAS' NORTHERN VALLE DEL CAUCA CARTEL. HE PARTIALLY ATTRIBUTED A RECENT FALL IN PRICES TO THE SERIOUS DAMAGE DONE TO THE MARKETING INFRASTRUCTURE BY THE APRIL 1992 ARREST OF CARTEL HEAD IVAN URDINOLA AND MORE RECENT ARRESTS

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AND SURRENDERS OF OTHER KEY ORGANIZATION MEMBERS.

36. (U) WHILE THE ODDS WOULD SEEM AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT IN FIGHTING THE AMAPOLA SCOURGE IN CAUCA, IT HAS ACQUIRED A VERY IMPORTANT ALLY IN THE STRUGGLE, I.E., THE INDIANS THEMSELVES. NOT ONLY DOES THE GOVERNMENT VIEW AMAPOLA AS THE DEPARTMENT'S PRINCIPAL SECURITY THREAT, BUT THE CABILDOS AND CRIC CONSIDER IT THE PRINCIPAL THREAT TO THEIR POWER AND INFLUENCE AS WELL AS TO THE INDIGENOUS CULTURE AND WAY OF LIFE.

37. (U) WHILE THE INDIANS LIVE IN COMMUNITIES AND FARM COMMUNALLY IN ACCORD WITH THE COLLECTIVE NATURE OF CULTURE, THE AMAPOLA USUALLY IS GROWN IN SMALL PRIVATE PLOTS. THE RELATIVE INDIVIDUAL WEALTH OF COMMUNITY MEMBERS CULTIVATING AMAPOLA HAS GENERATED INDIVIDUALITY, MATERIALISM, NEGLECT OF FOOD CROPS, DISRESPECT FOR THE CABILDOS, AND VIOLENCE. CRIC,

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R 161816Z MAR 93  
 FM AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6061  
 INFO DIRONDCP WASHDC//OR//  
 NSC WASHDC  
 DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC  
 DEPTLABOR WASHDC  
 DEA WASHDC  
 DIRFBI WASHDC  
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
 AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA  
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
 AMEMBASSY LIMA  
 AMEMBASSY MEXICO  
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 USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM  
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 DIA WASHDC  
 CIA WASHDC

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THE CHRONIC CONFLICT OVER WHO OWNS THE LAND

WHICH WAS FORMED TO ENHANCE THE AUTHORITY OF THE CABILDOS AND DEFEND THE INDIGENOUS CULTURE, BEGAN TO SEE SOME OF THEIR HARD-WON GAINS GOING DOWN THE TUBES. MEANWHILE, THE INDIGENOUS VALUE THE ENVIRONMENT, BUT BECAUSE AMAPOLA GROWS BETTER IN VIRGIN LAND AND BECAUSE GROWERS HAVE BEEN LOOKING TO HIDE THEIR CULTIVATIONS FROM AUTHORITIES, A LOT OF AMAPOLA HAS BEEN GROWN IN ISOLATED, NOT PREVIOUSLY CULTIVATED AREAS, RESULTING IN A GREAT DEAL OF DEFORESTATION AND SUBSEQUENT RELATED ECOLOGICAL PROBLEMS.

38. (C) THE RESULT OF THE INDIGENOUS LEADERS' FEARS WAS AN INITIATIVE BY THEM TO GET THEIR COMMUNITIES TO ERADICATE THE AMAPOLA THEMSELVES, WITHOUT VIOLENCE OR GLYPHOSATE. IN MAY 1992, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, CRIC AND THE CABILDOS SIGNED AN AGREEMENT KNOWN AS THE "MINGA" (A TRADITIONAL INDIGENOUS CONFERENCE TO CONVOKE FORCES TO

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COLLECTIVELY ACCOMPLISH A TASK), WHEREBY THE INDIANS PROMISED TO MANUALLY ERADICATE AMAPOLA IN THEIR COMMUNITIES IN EXCHANGE FOR GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, TO BE ADMINISTERED BY PNR. THE GOC IS PRESENTLY IN THE MIDST OF SPRAYING AMAPOLA CULTIVATIONS IN CAUCA, BUT INDIGENOUS AND GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES ALIKE TOLD POLOFF INDIGENOUS AREAS WERE NOT BEING SPRAYED. WHILE THE INDIANS HAVE MANUALLY ELIMINATED THOUSANDS OF HECTARES, CRIC LEADERS SAID THE MINGA WAS FALLING APART BECAUSE THE GOC HAD NOT COMPLIED WITH ITS END OF THE DEAL. PNR OFFICIALS TOLD POLOFF THEY HAD JUST COMPLETED STUDY OF WHAT ASSISTANCE THE COMMUNITIES NEEDED, AND THAT IT WOULDN'T BE LONG BEFORE THE AID BEGAN TO FLOW.

THE GUERRILLAS

39. (U) FIRST AND FOREMOST OF CAUCA'S OTHER SECURITY CONCERNS IS THE GUERRILLAS, WHO ARE INVOLVED IN NARCO-TRAFFICKING (PARTICULARLY AMAPOLA PRODUCTION), RANSOM KIDNAPPING, ABDUCTION OF SECURITY FORCE PERSONNEL, EXTORTION, ROAD PIRACY, MURDERING CAMPESINOS AND INDIANS BELIEVED TO BE COLLABORATING WITH THE SECURITY FORCES, AMBUSHES AND ATTACKS ON THE SECURITY FORCES, ASSAULTS ON TOWNS, AND FORCED RECRUITMENT.

40. (U) FOUR FARC AND THREE ELN FRONTS (INCLUDING THE MANUEL VASQUEZ CASTANO, ONE OF THE ELN'S MOST RADICAL) OPERATE IN CAUCA. SINCE THE EPL, M-19 AND QUINTIN LAME MADE PEACE IN 1990-91, THERE HAVE FROM TIME TO

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TIME BEEN REPORTS OF VARIOUS DISSIDENT BANDS OF THE  
THREE GROUPS OPERATING IN THE DEPARTMENT, BUT THEIR  
EXISTENCE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN SHORT-LIVED OR NEVER  
SUBSTANTIATED.

41. (C) AS IN THE REST OF COLOMBIA, THE FARC AND ELN  
HAVE MOVED INTO THE AREAS OF CAUCA VACATED BY THE NOW  
DISARMED M-19 AND QUINTIN LAME. THE FARC AND ELN HAVE  
DIVIDED UP CAUCA, WITH THE FARC TAKING THE NORTH AND  
THE ELN THE SOUTH. WHILE IT'S THE FARC THAT HAS MOVED  
INTO MOST OF THE INDIGENOUS AND BEST AMAPOLA PRODUCING  
TERRITORY, ELN FRONTS ALSO ARE INVOLVED IN POPPY  
CULTIVATION. THE GUERRILLAS GUARD AMAPOLA CROPS, AND  
IN SOME CASES APPEAR TO HAVE THEIR OWN. PNR CHIEF  
FERNANDEZ TOLD POLOFF AERIAL SURVEILLANCE HAD SPOTTED  
POPPY FIELDS ON RESGUARDO LAND, BUT HIGHER ("SEVERAL  
DAYS WALK") THAN WHERE THE INDIANS LIVE OR FARM.  
AUTHORITIES BELIEVE THOSE CULTIVATIONS MUST BELONG TO

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	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	ASDS-01	/029W	

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R 161816Z MAR 93  
FM AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6062  
INFO DIRONDCP WASHDC//OR//  
NSC WASHDC  
DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC  
DEPTLABOR WASHDC  
DEA WASHDC  
DIRFBI WASHDC  
AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA

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AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY LIMA  
AMEMBASSY MEXICO  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
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GUERRILLAS.

42. (U) MEANWHILE, INDIGENOUS LEADERS REPORT THREATS FROM GUERRILLAS OVER THEIR EFFORTS TO ERADICATE THE CULTIVATIONS IN THEIR COMMUNITIES. THEY ALSO COMPLAIN ABOUT GUERRILLA RECRUITMENT (FORCED AND OTHERWISE) OF THEIR COMMUNITIES' YOUTH. MEANWHILE, IN SOME LAND CONFLICTS BETWEEN INDIGENOUS AND TERRATENIENTES, THE GUERRILLAS ACTUALLY PROTECT THE TERRATENIENTE BECAUSE HE'S BEEN SUCH A GOOD AND COOPERATIVE PAYER OF EXTORTION.

43. (C) VARIOUS SOURCES, HOWEVER, TALKED OF HOW CAUCA'S GUERRILLAS APPEAR TO HAVE LOST INTEREST IN POLITICAL WORK, AND THUS HAVE LOST INFLUENCE AMONG THE PEOPLE. PNR CHIEF FERNANDEZ SAID THAT IT USED TO BE THAT WHEN A PNR PROGRAM OFFICER VISITED A RURAL COMMUNITY, SOME RESIDENTS WOULD RAISE POLITICAL/IDEOLOGICAL COMPLAINTS, AND AT TIMES ARMED  
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INSURGENTS WOULD ATTEND THE MEETINGS. FERNANDEZ SAID THERE CONTIN  
UE TO BE COMPLAINTS, BUT NOW OF A MORE  
DOWN-TO-EARTH VARIETY.

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## POLITICS

44. (U) CAUCA IS IN THE MIDST OF A POLITICAL TRANSITION. THE DEPARTMENT SHARES WITH THE REST OF COLOMBIA POLITICAL DOMINATION BY THE TWO TRADITIONAL PARTIES, THE LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES, WHO ALONG WITH THE CATHOLIC CHURCH HAVE SUPPORTED THE INTERESTS OF THE DEPARTMENT'S ELITE, THE TERRITENIENTES, WHILE ENGAGING IN A STYLE OF POLITICS CHARACTERIZED BY CLIENTALISM AND CORRUPTION.

45. (U) IN 1988, CIVIC MOVEMENTS COMPOSED OF INDIANS, CAMPESINOS, BLACKS, LEFTISTS AND OTHERS FORMED IN VARIOUS COUNTIES TO COMPETE IN COLOMBIA'S FIRST MAYORAL ELECTIONS. THEIR MODERATE SUCCESS WAS EXTENDED IN 1990, AND IN THE MARCH 1992 BALLOTING, CIVIC MOVEMENTS WON MOST OF THE DEPARTMENT'S MAYORAL RACES.

46. (U) CRIC, ASI, THE M-19, AS WELL AS THE PATRIOTIC UNION (UP; THE ELECTORAL FRONT OF THE COLOMBIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, THE POLITICAL SIBLING OF THE FARC GUERRILLAS) HAVE ALL PARTICIPATED. THE MIX IS DIFFERENT IN EACH COUNTY. THE BIGGEST MOVEMENT, MACIZO COLOMBIANO, HAS RUN CANDIDATES IN SEVERAL SOUTHERN CAUCA COUNTIES. ELSEWHERE, EACH COUNTY MAY HAVE ITS OWN MOVEMENT.

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47. (U) MEANWHILE, THE CIVIC MOVEMENTS' SUCCESS HAS LED TO A DIVISION IN THE DOMINANT LIBERAL PARTY BETWEEN "TRADITIONALISTS" AND "REFORMISTS." THE TRADITIONALISTS (LED BY AMONG OTHERS SEN. AURELIO IRAGORRI) WANT TO CONTINUE POLITICS AS USUAL, WHILE THE REFORMISTS (LED BY GOV. TEMISTOCLES ORTEGA NARVAEZ) BELIEVE THE CIVIC MOVEMENTS' SUCCESS SPELLS CONTINUED TROUBLE FOR THE LIBERALS UNLESS THEY REFORM. SOME REFORMISTS, STILL A MINORITY IN THE PARTY, SUPPORTED CIVIC MOVEMENTS IN THE LAST MAYORAL ELECTIONS AGAINST TRADITIONALIST LIBERAL CANDIDATES.

48. (U) THE QUESTION FOR THE CIVIC MOVEMENTS IS WHERE TO GO FROM HERE. SO FAR, THEY HAVE LIMITED THEMSELVES TO MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS. WHILE THERE'S BEEN TALK OF COMPETING IN 1994 CONGRESSIONAL AND GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS, THAT WOULD REQUIRE A YET-TO-BE-CONSTRUCTED

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	INM-02	INR-00	LAB-04	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SIL-00	SNP-00	SP-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	ASDS-01	/029W	

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R 161816Z MAR 93  
 FM AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6063  
 INFO DIRONDCP WASHDC//OR//  
 NSC WASHDC  
 DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC  
 DEPTLABOR WASHDC  
 DEA WASHDC  
 DIRFBI WASHDC  
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
 AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA  
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
 AMEMBASSY LIMA  
 AMEMBASSY MEXICO  
 AMEMBASSY QUITO  
 AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR  
 USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM  
 USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA  
 DIA WASHDC  
 CIA WASHDC

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STATE ALSO FOR ARA/PPC, S/IL  
 NSC ALSO FOR RICHARD FEINBERG  
 LABOR ALSO FOR ILAB  
 DEA FOR OF, OFL, DO, AO, AX, OC, NK  
 CINCSCO AND CINCLANT ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
 TAGS: KPRP, PINS, SNAR, PGOV, PHUM, ELAB, ASEC, CO  
 SUBJECT: TRIP REPORT: CAUCA -- INDIANS, AMAPOLA AND  
 - THE CHRONIC CONFLICT OVER WHO OWNS THE LAND

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LINK BETWEEN THE VARIOUS MOVEMENTS.

TERRITORIALITY  
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49. (U) THANKS TO COLOMBIA'S NEW 1991 CONSTITUTION, CAUCA'S CHRONIC LAND CONFLICTS ARE ABOUT TO ENTER THE 21ST CENTURY, UNDER THE BANNER OF "TERRITORIALITY." TRANSITORY ARTICLES 329 AND 330 PROVIDE FOR "INDIGENOUS TERRITORIAL ENTITIES" (ETI), THE EXACT POWERS AND BOUNDARIES OF WHICH ARE STILL TO BE DETERMINED BY THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN CONSULTATION WITH THE INTERESTS INVOLVED. WHAT IS CLEAR IS THAT ETIS WILL BE COMPOSED OF THE AREAS SURROUNDING EACH RESGUARDO. THE INDIAN COMMUNITIES WILL HAVE YET-TO-BE-DEFINED POWERS OVER THEIR SURROUNDING ETI, INCLUDING "TO COLLECT AND DISTRIBUTE FUNDS" AND "ENSURE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LEGAL RULES CONCERNING LAND USE AND SETTLEMENT."

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50. (U) ARTICLES 329 AND 330 HAVE SET UP A CLASSIC CONFLICT BETWEEN THE COMMUNAL PROPERTY OWNERSHIP OF THE INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES AND THE PRIVATE PROPERTY RIGHTS PRESENTLY ENJOYED IN THE EVENTUALLY ETIS. IN CAUCA, SO FAR ONLY CRIC HAS PRESENTED TO THE GOVERNMENT A PROPOSAL FOR IMPLEMENTING THE ETIS. PNR DIRECTOR FERNANDEZ AND ANUC CAMPESINO ACTIVISTS TOLD POLOFF THE NEW INDIGENOUS TERRITORIALITY ALREADY HAS LED TO VIOLENCE BY CAMPESINOS FUNDED AND ARMED BY NARCOS CONCERNED ABOUT THEIR OWN PRIVATE PROPERTY RIGHTS. MEANWHILE, WHILE THE POTENTIAL FOR CONFLICT IS LESS CLEAR, TRANSITORY ARTICLE 55 GIVES THE PACIFIC COAST'S BLACK COMMUNITIES THE RIGHT TO COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP OF LANDS THEY HAVE SETTLED.

COMMENT  
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51. (C) CAUCA SUFFERS FROM VARIOUS PERPETRATORS OF VIOLENCE: GUERRILLAS, NARCOS, SELF-DEFENSE AND PARAMILITARY GROUPS, COMMON CRIMINALS AS WELL AS FROM ABUSES BY SECURITY FORCES. THERE SEEMED TO BE AGREEMENT AS TO THE REASONS: (1) THE DEPARTMENT'S RURAL POVERTY AND SCARCITY OF URBAN EMPLOYMENT, (2) THE MULTI-ETHNICITY OF THE DEPARTMENT'S POPULATION (INDIANS, MESTIZOS, BLACKS AND WHITES), WHICH COMPLICATES CONFLICTS, (3) THE SAME ABSENCE OF A CIVIL STATE PRESENCE (HOSPITALS, SCHOOLS, ROADS, ETC.) AND A PERMANENT SECURITY FORCE PRESENCE SUFFERED BY RURAL COLOMBIA IN GENERAL, AND (4) THE SAME IMPUNITY SUFFERED BY ALL OF COLOMBIA.

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52. (C) THAT SAID, POLOFF FOUND A CERTAIN OPTIMISM  
AMONG THE GOVERNMENT AND NGO FIGURES WITH WHOM HE  
MET. COLOMBIA REALLY HAD CHANGED AND IT DID HAVE A  
NEW CONSTITUTION AND THOSE CHANGES HAD REACHED RURAL  
CAUCA. THERE NOW ARE THREE INDIGENOUS SENATORS (TWO  
FROM CAUCA). INDEED, FOUR INDIANS HAD PARTICIPATED IN  
THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY (THREE FROM CAUCA). THE  
NEW CONSTITUTION'S PROVISIONS FOR "TERRITORIALITY"  
OFFERED CAUCA'S INDIANS AND BLACKS MORE CONTROL OVER  
THEIR LIVES. MEANWHILE, THE POLITICAL SYSTEM WAS  
EVOLVING, WITH THE TRADITIONAL PARTIES REFORMING IN  
RESPONSE TO THE END OF THEIR HEGEMONY, AS THOSE  
TRADITIONALLY EXCLUDED FROM POLITICS MADE INROADS.  
EVEN WHERE CAUCA'S MOST INTRACTABLE PROBLEM, LAND  
CONFLICTS, AND THE FRIGHTENING NEW SCOURGE, AMAPOLA,  
WERE CONCERNED, POLOFF FOUND BELIEF THAT THE WORST WAS  
ALREADY BEHIND THE DEPARTMENT, I.E., THAT INCORA, WITH  
A PUSH FROM CRIC, HAD THE MOST CONFLICTIVE LAND

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	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	ASDS-01	/029W	

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R 161816Z MAR 93  
FM AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6064  
INFO DIRONDCP WASHDC//OR//  
NSC WASHDC  
DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC  
DEPTLABOR WASHDC  
DEA WASHDC  
DIRFBI WASHDC  
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DISPUTES IN CHECK, AND THAT THE INDIGENOUS/GOVERNMENT  
ALLIANCE AGAINST AMAPOLA MEANT THAT THAT  
JOHNNY-COME-LATELY PROBLEM, WHILE FAR FROM FINISHED,  
NOW LOOKED FAR LESS FRIGHTENING. END COMMENT.

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\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* n/a  
\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* CONFIDENTIAL

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