

# THE INCLUSION ONF AFRO-COLOMBIAN AND INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES: A LONG ROAD IN THE AGENDA OF SOCIAL REVINDICATIONS OF THE COUNTRY

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#### RESUMEN

A partir de un conjunto de autores, cuyas reflexiones se enmarcan en la temática de la colonización europea, la discriminación de los pueblos afrodescendientes e indígenas y las transformaciones lejanas y recientes dadas en los procesos de modernización, particularmente para Latinoamérica, este artículo reflexiona sobre lo que se denomina la herencia por superar, en torno a la discriminación y negación de los derechos de las comunidades minoritarias y los retos que supone una sociedad que apenas se está apropiando de la idea de "diversidad", como una alternativa válida para Colombia y el resto de esta región, en la defensa de lo que en esencia somos: diversos.

Palabras clave: identidades étnicas, diversidad, modernización e inclusión.

#### **ABSTRACT**

From a group of authors, whose reflections are framed in topics such as European colonization, discrimination against afro-descendants and indigenous peoples and the transformations given in the processes of modernization (particularly for Latin America and Colombia),

this article reflects on which it calls "theinheritance to overcome", concerning discrimination and denial of the rights of minority communities and the challenges of a society that is just appropriating the idea of "diversity" as a valid alternative to defend what in essence we are: diverse.

**Key words:** ethnic identities, diversity, modernization, inclusion.

#### INTRODUCTION

It is interesting for analysis in terms of the flourishing interest for the rescue of ethnic identities1 in the country and the different expressions of these in the academic context and other scenarios of revindication of the rights of African-descendant and indigenous communities, that the presence of this topic comes so late in the process of the modernization of Colombia, notwithstanding the early emancipatory struggles of the economic and cultural shackles imposed by Spain during the colonial period. After two centuries of independence, a true process of visibilization of these problems that generate a series of revindications of the rights of these communities has only just begun.

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<sup>1.</sup> We understand by ethnic identities, those recognised by Wade Peter. (2000), in the sense that it is about revindication of the "cultural differentiation" that includes the spacial, in this definition is recognized that it includes the struggles for the rights of minority sectors, among the majority ideology for spaces of recognition of differences and territories that give them the right not only to survive but to be and develop integrally. (Pág. 25)

With regard of the opportunity that compensation supposes, through education, among others, the rights denied for so many years to the Afro-descendant and indigenous communities to a participation of equity and harmony on the political, economic and social stage, in general; imposes the need that these revindications form part of the agendas of the social movements that today claim for education with quality and equity. It is worth calling attention to some of the historical conditions in which the recognition of these communities has been constructed, and precisely, the gains and challenges that still need to be faced on the stage of the fortunate transformations that have orientated the developments of the XX century, in terms of strengthening diversity as a necessary condition to guarantee equity and the healthy coexistence of our communities in the XXI century.

#### AN INHERITANCE TO OVERCOME

From the analysis that A. Benedict (1993) y J. Konig, do (1994) it is understood that the ideas "the biological and ecological contamination that accompany the planetary dispersion of the Europeans and European power from the XVI century" the processes of emancipation of the Creole did not die. The above suggests that if at one point the indigenous people were recognized, it was not to include them as part of society, as to their obligations and rights, due to the fact that the gap between what was said and what was expected from them was too great. Among other things, because these were used only to sensitize in respect to the possession of a geographical and political space, with the pretension of differentiating them from Spain, but in the perspective of a concept of Creole nation in all respects exclusive.

It could be argued, in light of this analysis, that although with the civilizing processes slavery was formally collapsed, in practice, the conceptions of disdain for cultural differences had done too much damage in the mentality of the Creole population, which undoubtedly can still be evidenced, not only in the recent Constitution of 1991 for the specific case of Colombian, but in the repertoire and organizational forms that ethnic groups have had to fend for to gain more spaces of inclusion.

These spaces of inclusion, materialized in laws and in some important material and symbolic resources, are disputed in a Colombian reality that has been demonstrating that the principle of ethnic - cultural autonomy and that of authenticity, concepts that cement new forms of multicultural relationships (understanding these as the projections that give sense to personal and collective life) will not gain validity or effectiveness as to the ethnic groups, in their condition as constituent members of the civil society, do not appropriate of the spirit of rights granted by the Constitution.

If the view of Alain Touraine (1988) is shared that, "ethnicity as a historic subject of resistance and builder of culture, must not lose from sight the context of state - nation and the game of international relations, such as mechanisms to shore its cultural projects, and that the constitution of a multicultural and intercultural society is a challenge of a democratic project of world visions"; the category "ethnic" appears as a historic product and it must be recognized that this revindication can be placed in a place and time, and as such, it is still connected the same as the colony, with the places of power that, in a sophisticated manner, the privileged groups preserve with new organizational forms through which they continue to defy the most elemental rights of the mentioned communities, albeit, in a game of relationships of greater political complexity.

Immanuel Wallerstein (1979) proposes that, in as much "the states do not develop and cannot be comprehended except in the context of development of the world system", the

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phenomena such as social classes, religious, national and ethnic groupings cannot be comprehended outside of these, because they form part of their effects in the long term. In this sense, it results almost inevitable that in the intent to comprehend the difficulties that the recognition of ethnicity has had to sort, it is necessary to place it in the frame of the implications that the arrival to Latin American territory, colonization had on the part of the European economy and, fundamentally, the conceptions about the populations that were in the process subjected. It is true that in the view of Wallerstein, the capitalist world system did not only begat slavery, but also freedom, at least that is what his reflexions indicate in terms of the differences between the center and the periphery, and the types of workers that served as a basis. However, it is in this Euroscentristic model, in which from the classifications of whites, blacks, indians, coloureds, mulattoes, among others, from the vision of power, identities are established in which the colony had classified the population to give sustenance to a model of subjugation of some, Indians and blacks, and the empowerment of others, coloureds and whites.

"In the areas of the centre, the cities flourished, industries were born, the merchants became significant economic and political force, of course, agriculture was still, throughout the XV century the activity of the majority of the population ... the occupational spectrum in the central areas was very complex. It included a great parallel remnant to those on the periphery ... but the tendency in centre was towards variety and specialization ... the world economy in this epoch had various types of workers: there were slaves who worked on sugar plantations and mining operations of excavation on the surface. There were the <<servants>> that worked in great dominions where grain was harvested and wood gathered,

there were tenant farmers dedicated to various types of crops for the market (including grain), and salaried workers in some agricultural productions. This was realized by 90 to 95 percent of the population of the European world economy. There was a new class of free small owners. (yeomen)". (Pág. 121)

Eln relation to this, it is possible to appreciate that while capitalism in its beginnings endorsed the exacerbated forms of slavery, it is also true that in its bosom it generated the forms of liberation that today give body to the struggles for identity and recognition that this document addresses.

With the arrival of the Spanish to America, according to Luís C. Castillo (2006), not only was the European economy "nurtured" and therewith its consolidation as "configurator of world history" it also transnationalized a model of configuration and classification of the identities from the ethnic-and racial imposition and discrimination. This manifestation is more clearly understood if analyzed in the light of the events narrated by Konig and Benedict in relation to the struggles of emancipation of Grenadians and the efforts lead by these in the configuration of a national identity necessary for the cause. According to these, at the fall of Hasburgo dynasty that of the Bourbons followed, which faced the crisis of the Spanish Empire, developing a series of measures aimed at recovering the space lost by Spain in the framework of the European economy, through a series of economic and political adjustments, both within the country and outside of it, and especially, in relation to the American colonies in which was placed the hope of its economic redemption.

These measures consisted of, according to his analysis, in reorganizing the colonial administrative apparatus through ministries selected under the direction of officials in charge of

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answering directly to the King, "such reforms were not only directed towards increasing the efficiency of the state administrative system, but would also serve to fortify the central power, that is to say, the crown, its control and authority in all the spheres of state life". (Pág.54). Which merited the creation and/or extension of colonial institutions and naming a bureaucratic administrative staff in charge of channeling the production of the colony to the outside such as: new viceroyalties, general captaincies, royal coffers, court of auditors, hearings, regents, judges, prosecutors, general inspectors, superintendents.

These last were of great importance for the crown, since the Royal Treasury was placed in its charge and therefore control of "financial and fiscal affairs".

With all this, and notwithstanding the interrelation with the sensibilities that the illustration provokes, Benedict proposes that in this configuration the identities already mentioned, maybe the most decisive element was increasing the number of civil servants who by reason of reforms the Spanish Crown thought necessary and with it, the invasion the narrow spaces of power for the Creoles, and in particular, the discriminating conceptions that they brought over the native population, including that in spite of their kinship with them, they were not born in Spain: the creoles.

These measures, consistent in expanding and modifying the network of civil servants to control the Colonies productive and economically, were dominated by a centralist policy and one of accentuation of the discrimination compared to the natives who, together with the identification of a territory and a body of common identities, as Benedict affirms, contributed in an important way in the configuration of the interests and identities in respect to the conformation of the nations.

... there was almost no example of a Creole that ascended to a position of official power in Spain. Besides the pilgrimages of the Creole civil servants was not just obstructed in a vertical sense. If the civil servants of the peninsulas could travel from Zaragoza to Cartagena, Madrid, Lima and again to Madrid, the Mexican "Creole" or "Chilean" served only in the territories of colonial Mexico or Chile: its lateral was as constrained as their vertical ascent ... but in this obstructed pilgrimage they found travelling companions that came to feel that their camaraderie was not just based on that particular pilgrimage but rather in the shared fatality of the transatlantic birth".

Benedict, Anderson. (1993).

Benedict plantea that the imaginary community, basis of the construction of the nationalist identities, is, to a certain extent, reinforced by the circulation of encounters. Encounters in which a common code was constructed in respect to the territory and discriminations that were accentuated by the reforms in which the Spanish civil servants concentrated the spaces of power in the bosom of administrative units that, conjugated, became a space and cause to be defended.

At the same time, Benedict suggests that in the conformation of the Grenadian identity although there is a causality not easy to ignore the economic aspirations and the illustration in the conformation of the identity conscience of the creoles, is the conscience of space given in a certain measure by the configuration of the administrative units designed by the Spanish to control the territory, as well as the conscience to share with others the fatality of the "transatlantic birth" that was circulated in the newspapers and pilgrimages of the Creole civil servants. These proposals of the author in question, concurs with that of Ernest Renán

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(1987) when pointing out that the conformation of a nation is not necessarily the result of a shared language or shared race or shared religion or shared geography, this is, he says:

... a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things that, to tell the truth, are actually one, constitutes this soul, this spiritual principle, one is in the past the other in the present. One is the shared possession of a rich legacy of memories; the other is the current consent, the desire to live together, the will to continue making worthwhile the heritage that has been received undevided. (Pág. 91)

In this setting originates and is consolidated the process of emancipation in all of Latin America in which the Spanish Empire is finally defeated in the period of the 1800s and early 1900s.

To refer only to the case of Colombia, according to Peter Wade (1997), notwithstanding the marked "racial and cultural mix" mix, the population was classified according to the canons of the society based on castes in which the social strata were appointed by the degree of this racial mix. The author states that among the disputes of the period, the end of the XIX century, those consistent in defamation could be found, in terms of delegitimize the racial heritage of someone; there was he states, " an obsessive preoccupation with color and social status". Interestingly in the reflexions of Wade, who in the period of consolidation of the republic, influenced by liberal ideas, the recognition of the minorities in question has not been made possible, which the author resolves chronicling that even though the lights of change pointed to a greater inclusion of the sectors and to reforms in the conceptions of exclusion in Europe, this revolution that inspired it had come about exactly there, in a Europe whose population composition was radically different from the American and obviously the Colombian. In consequence, the impact could not be the same, and as a matter of fact it was not. Although the process of

incorporation of the country to the currents of modernity brought with it great discussions about the Latin American identity, it failed to make a nick in the hopeful mood about the blessings that continuity of whitening would bring, as a guarantee of the purification and improvement of the Colombian race. Maybe because of this, the author notes, it was much more convenient and dignified, given the liberal winds that were blowing, to place a romantic halo to the indigenous cause that ended up transforming into a welfare policy, more than in a recognition of the importance for the development under discussion of the new nation, the blacks and indigenous could imply.

The seed of differentiation by way of contempt for the non mixed or European culture had been planted, just as the author narrates quoting Creole affirmation:

Work being an unfailing condition of progress, he does not exist among the savages as a brute, harvest without having planted, and for the same they are slaves: for it is law that the truth, wellbeing and liberty cannot be achieved except by virtue of continued efforts: work means effort, and in effect, work is the voyage towards civilization, it the law of activity undertaken in man, it is progress itself .... (45).

In synthesis, for the analysis that we resort to as a reference of this text, the republic elapses without giving greater importance to the Afrocolombian and Indigenous, beyond the necessary discourse to acquire the basis of the authenticity that the nation required, to give it its own status; after all is said, this discourse had fed the independence cause.

For Touraine (1987) it is indispensible that drawing close to the phenomena of recent society, among them those relevant to ethnicity, is done in relation with a view to the macro

dynamics in which the whole modern world order moves, beginning from the processes of

modernization that are generated after the second world war and provokes in the words of E. Hobsbawm (1996), "Grate transformations that the rhythm of life of the communities". According to this author, nothing was the same after the transformation that happened with the social revolution of the years post 1945, this is, he says, "the most intense, fast and universal" of the until now known transformations of humanity. This transformation translated into a "grouping of quantitative and qualitative alterations of human life", which, according to Touraine (1987) "had repercussions on the conceptions with which social action and especially, the new subjects had been seen", now with the protagonism and revindication done by the actors of the social arena, until now unknown as the youth, women, homosexuals and ethnic groups among others.

This recognition is important, since, this analysis necessarily remits to the advent of a society in which the actors stop being the ones who traditionally dominated the Latin American and world panorama, and this influences the phenomena in question. Identity, then, in essence is that, new actors with their stances, revindications and forms of organization propose challenges and alternatives to the traditional order and with it, a re-ordering of the rules of the political, social and economic game.

Hosbawm states that the decades between 1945 and 1990 are the setting of a generalized transformation of the accustomed orders in the different societies of the world, among which is highlighted: the collapse of peasantry? the enlargement of big cities, the proliferation of communication networks, residential complexes and commercial services; the rise

of literacy of young students, professionals, educational institutions, telecommunications, rebellions and demands for better salaries and work conditions, the decadence of the old industries of the XIX century, the transnationalization of industries, the increase of migrations, the entrance of women to the labor market and salaried professions, and the rebirth of feminism; the changes in the composition of family, in sexual conduct, birth control, youth culture, revindications beyond class devisions, the sophistication of crime etc.

In the political plain the emergence of the civil society is expressed in the demand for the democratization of the system of power. If this demand has been made in almost the totality of Latin American countries, the democratic revindication continues to expand with great vigor in other latitudes where different forms of autocracy still prevail. Still countries that seemed condemned in the name of economic efficiency and social discipline, to support authoritarianism indefinitely, start to seriously shake the foundations of this type of political regimen as is the so eloquent case of South Korea. In the social plane the renovation of syndical action appears as the most genuine result the strength of civil society. On the cultural plane, the recognition of cultural or religious identities, repressed for a long time in the name of national unity reveals the unvielding aspirations of the societies to cultural pluralism. On the economic plane the dispute between the civil society and the state is presented as an opposition between "neoliberal" tendencies that propose the submission of all the activities to the mechanisms of the market and the "statists" currents that propose the keeping of sectors considered

<sup>2.</sup> In this sense, it does not stop being interesting the agregate that Francisco Delich (2004) makes, stating that the farmer disappeared statistically but did not die. This mutated he says, "day laborers, workers or servers in the rural sector itself, roles that feed a new system of social relationships and transforms families and their daily life."

strategic in the public domain or under some form of state dominion". Fernando, Sabsay. (1987, 8).

A whole variety of changes that, in synthesis, can appear simple, but that belong to a complex network of relationships that despite their particularities, according to the author, have as a fundamental characteristic, "its degree of generality". Changes that include modifications in the Latin American stage, which is called to affect the panorama referring to the position of the minority groups in the country; among them, afro-descendent and the indigenous to turn the diversity into a reality, as a richness and distinctive characteristic of the Colombian and Latin American identity.

#### THE OPPORTUNITY IN THE CRISIS

As an overview is given of the characteristics of the regions before the eighties, a crucial decade for the new categorization of ethnicity, that is, of the afro-descendant and indigenous in the country as set forth by Escobar, Álvarez and Dagnino, (2001), it is important to refer to the notes by Marcelo Cavarozzi about the development of Latin America, (1991), in the sense of identifying the challenges faced by the region in its path towards the possibility of consolidating a democracy in the framework of the political and economical difficulties that took place in the region with the crisis of the eighties.

According to him, from the thirties the majority of the Latin American countries established their processes of development, based on what is denominated as Centralized State Matrix (MEC), characterized fundamentally by making the State the maximum market regulator and proposes from this, an economy based on the substitution of imports and an effort to ndustrialize the countries in the structure of fairly closed economy, framed in an effort to centralize, from power, the expressions of the

icivil society. Cavarozzi addresses the problem of the crisis of Latin America in frame of the transformations of the eighties, in particular, the phenomenon of the recession from 1982, when, says the author, a financial crisis of considerable magnitude explodes from which is diffused a set of generalized restructurings in the region.

His notes suggest a dynamic of development framed in the export order that coincides with the references, in the same sense, of does the following overview:

During the first half century that followed independence, Latin America experimented only in the best of cases some very modest economic growth rates and at least in Spanish America, violent political and ideological conflicts as well as a considerable political instability. Apart from the war between Mexico and the United States (1846-1848) and of frequent foreign interventions, especially British, there was also, at the end of the period, two important conflicts between Latin American states: the war of the triple Alliance (1865-1870) and the Pacific war (1879-1883), contrasting with this, the half XX century and especially the period that ended with the First World War, was for the majority of the Latin American countries an "golden" age characterized by the economic growth induced in a predominant form by exports, material prosperity (at least for the dominant and middle classes of the cities).

In this sense, Francisco Delich (2004) suggests that the region has been sustaining its economy in the export model and land possession constitutes almost a replica of the colonial model in which centralization, authoritarianism, interventionism, patronage and rights

substituted for favours were its common expression. A synthesis of the model is described in the text of Delich (2004), citing Burricaud:

The oligarchy is a network of families with patrons. These families base their wealth in exportation agriculture, (sugar, cotton), in mining exploitation and banking, insurance real estate speculation. The oligarchy defined as such, manifests relatively precise, coherent and stable guidelines with respect to economic policy. This set of guidelines that I called the Creole liberalism culminates with the freedom of exchange, changes and birth of capital. These necessary freedoms have proportioned rules of conduct, diverse governments that happen. In our political dynamism, the oligarchy that is not closely connected to any particular political party, practices a kind of control or dictatorship. (Page.45).

The author reports that with the announcement of the Mexican Government to not pay the foreign debt to the United States, not only is revealed a crisis that has already been in progress but is also manifested an intensification of it linked with the relationships of the commercial type of Latin America with the rest of the world and that, especially, affected the resources in loans, and foreign investments in the region.

Among the important aspects about the crisis that author reviews, is highlighted the fact that so far five of the countries in the region have had divergent government strategies, that from the eighties they take similar headings framed in the struggles to consolidate democratic forms of governance which, in reasons of the author, these are forces of weight to explain in part the crisis, since it suggests that the region as a whole, despite their differences,

expressed an aggregate of problems to which they tried common responses.

Cavarozzi and Zunkel coincide in the sense that in the sixties Latin America tried to address the crisis called underdevelopment through an economic development model of industrialization by import substitution, "of development towards the inside" of a protectionist nature, interested in the expansion of the internal market that neglected the policies of long term development, necessary to respond to the new challenges both internal and external, especially, the sustainability of the democracy that collapsed beginning in the eighties. This is a crisis that is traversed by the surges of claims from renewed organizations, which also suggests changes in the composition that the traditional parties had boasted. These changes in the appropriate mechanisms by the system until this moment suggest a renewal in the general structure of the regimes, which seems to have forced a redistribution both in the exercise of power and economic resources.

Nevertheless, Cavarozzi adds to the analysis of Zunkel not only a passage full of aspirations of various sectors for power, but that denounces the attrition of the traditional parties, which for his criteria, could generate instability in the measure in that this represents a crisis in the institutions that served as a strainer to the collective expressions. There is, according to him, "weakness of the contemporary representative institutions in the region", that shows a process of democratization "still open in majority of cases" and that it is subject both to modalities of transition that distinguishes each one of them in their respective countries, which leaves space for the authoritarian expressions, including, for military regimes, but also gives room for the expressions of a group of organizations that outside of politicization makes an effort to gain spaces of participation in public policies and in topics that were not on the agendas of the different governments, such

is the case of the participation of the ethnic minorities.

This analysis suggests that the glimmers of civil society emerges in a generalized panorama of strategies of control over all the forms that it can, in a determined moment, challenge the prevailing order, so, it is in the spaces generated by the winds of democratization and the crisis that these expressions, unconventional, permeate the traditional structures of power.

In conjunction, the structures of Latin American development, affirmation of José, J. Brunner, (1991), allows to infer that there is an awakening more or less chronologically homogenic of the different expressions of civil society, starting from the crisis generated in the eighties that had been taking shape in the previous decade. According to him, the process of modernization of the Latin American culture, started firmly in the fifties which still prolongs today, it is not the son of positive, liberal and socialist ideologies but rather of the unfolding of universal schooling, electronic media communication and the formation of a culture of an industrial base that tends to convert in a network of circuits in those that its singularity is that of transforming into an interior labyrinth of meanings". It is worth pointing out that, if the approaches of de M. Romero (1991) are catered for, there would have to be assumed that there is in the eighties a series of circumstances in the structure of the different political regimes of the Latin American states that made possible the rise of the expressions of the civil society.

In this wide frame, the analysis in reference to the country collects all the aspects previously stated to the Latin American case less, in the words of Romero, the economic crisis, since this, for reasons that do not come to the case, were not as accentuated as in the rest of Latin America. Colombia, however, faced for the period of the eighties, an acute crisis that threatened with taking it to a collapse. Maybe therefore, the affirmations of this same author in the sense that this has been the most acute crisis the country has faced since its constitution into an independent republic. According to Romero, "the nature of the political regime, and the exclusions / inclusions that this defines, also affects the possibilities and forms of this horizontal voice", that is to say, the form of the political regime enables or not the expressions of the civil society, which is in this case "the horizontal voice" which he refers to.

It turns out to be paradoxical that it is in this crisis, in which as a response channels are opened to the participation of the civil society to find a way out of the conflict and it leads to constitution of 91, which ends up becoming in greatest space of representation of the until then denied rights of the afro-descendant and indigenous communities.

"Violence and war throw out contradictory results...One of the effects that political violence has produced in Colombia is the appearance of different modalities of civil resistance, especially from the decade of the nineties of the twentieth century, when non violent forms of action started germinating, to counteract the effects that the armed conflict was producing in the unarmed population and try forms of finding peace...In the eighties the armed conflict had suffered a radical transformation due to the increase of the drug trade and its conversion into a war machine: its war against the state, -the

so called narco-terrorism-, the paramilitaries against the guerrilleras, these against the previous two, the United States against <<drugs>> other minor actors against their own enemies, all of



which generated armed actions and affected principally civilians".
Hernández, Jorge. (2004).

The indigenous and afro-descendant communities have achieved on the stage of the Constituent a representation of their interests that is consecrated in the 7th, 10th, 330th articles and law 70 that break the idea of territoriality of the nation, not only because it obligates the state to recognize and protect the condition of "ethnic and cultural diversity" of the Colombian Nation, but because it recognizes within it, the legitimate right of the creation of alternative forms of living, governance and inclusion, now not from the postulated traditional liberal of equality, but from a renewed one: the recognition of differences. In respect to this, Charles Taylor refers to that it is about a policy of respect to differences in that which is recognized "the potential to shape and define our own identity as individuals and as a culture". It is about, in his analysis, a rejection of a policy of European legacy that ignored the value of other cultures different from the white.

The indigenous and afro-descendants materialize, with their struggles, a nationalist policy of the territories, demanding the right to give their own strategies of governments, to not participate in the armed conflict and also that their territory does not form part of it. With this it is not that the end of a struggle materializes, since, despite the recognition obtained with the consecration of their rights in the constitutional charter, the threat of violence and so many years of a history of invisibility are still part of the challenges.

In this panorama in which the country has been capable of forging ahead, in the midst of the most serious crises and even to respond to the challenges of overcoming the civil wars, must now provoke the overcoming of the problems

of iniquity that characterizes it, in the perspective of creating better conditions for the strengthening of a civil society and a political class capable of transforming traditional patronage practices that subordinate the common good to special perks.

A country with better opportunities of inclusion and, as is obvious, which lavishes an education that promotes fair play and the values that allow us to overcome the absurd idea that anything goes. With it, a society that, in the construction of common codes, is able to give itself the opportunity to recognize its cultural diversity and win most just of battles: the true acceptance and respect for the rights of the indigenous and afro-descendent communities as part what we so proudly are.

#### CONCLUSION

Recognize, as proposed by J. Konig, (1994) that ethnic identities and their rights before and after the colony were denied and instrumentalised from power, previously by the European segregation and its ideas about biological and ecological contamination posed by the natives of America, and, later, contradictorily, because of the Creole segregation that had assimilated a large portion of the prejudices of which in their moment they themselves were victims, is to accept that although spaces have been gained for the acceptance of diversity, the residual effects of this discrimination still continue in effect and that, in consequence, the heritage to overcome continues on the agenda of the social transformations of the country and without the slightest doubt, on the education agenda.



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