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Visibilities and violence on the skin of Colombia

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Vida Cotidiana, espacio-temporalidad y Sensibilidades Sociales

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CIES Working Documents

Cies Working Papers is an electronic publication of the Center for Research and Sociological Studies, where researchers in the field of Social Sciences have the opportunity to socialize the advances related to their research as well as the academic and scientific activities in which they participate by disseminating their work.

It is the intention in generating this space that, those of us who are committed to the task of building scientific knowledge from the South, find ourselves in it to write about the inquiries made within the framework of individual and collective inquiries linked to the thematic fields of the areas that convene: Environment and Society, Everyday Life, Space-temporality and Social Sensitivities, Conflict and Social Structure and Methodological Innovations.

This is another opportunity to put on record the interest -shared by many- and the conviction that one of our tasks is to spread the voices of those who have a great deal to say about social, environmental and everyday realities and ways of dealing with them scientifically.

In this sense, the objectives of this publication recover the intentions of the CIES to dialogue and inquire about society from interdisciplinary paths linked to Social Theory and a plurality of research schemes in Social Sciences.

Particularly the creation of this space is carried out with the purpose of making known the projects and lines of work to the scientific community, academic and interested in the topics under study that are developed in this Center.

Center for Research and Sociological Studies

The multiple and complex transformations that are being evidenced at the beginning of the second decade of the twenty-first century in Latin America, the global South and the world are presented to all social scientists as a source of challenges and questions. Therefore, the Center for Research and Sociological Studies (Civil Association – Leg. 1842624) is a space that aims to share, dialogue and investigate society -beyond the adjective from sociology- from interdisciplinary paths that revolve around Social Theory and concrete practices of inquiry.

Presentation

Visibilities and violence on the skin of Colombia

Adrián Scribano, Pedro Lisdero e Ignacio Pellón

The Working Paper that we present in this new edition takes on the challenge of connecting two of its most outstanding identifying features: to be a space of reflexive openness about ongoing social processes, and at the same time, to open up as a territory of academic expressivity of a practice that cannot be conceived without bodies situated in these same processes. Thus, this issue brings together a series of short texts, produced "in the heat of events", as a way of broadening visibility and opening up questions about the recent events that have taken place since the unleashing of the National Strike in Colombia (2021).

By way of opening this polyphonic compendium, we would like to offer some initial coordinates in the hope of recovering the power that they could "give back" to situate us in a complex context.

Visibility...

The eruption of social conflict is sometimes revealing of a state of the situation of the social relations that configure a society. Not only in the implications of this "here and now", but also in the complex historical wefts in which the present is articulated with the constructions of the past. Thus, when the manifestations of conflict raise questions about its unexpectedness, it highlights that the relationship between collective action and "visibility" centrally involves a society's capacity to question its points of view, its myopias, its biases... Perhaps from this theoretical-epistemic starting point, we could recover Melucci's contributions to the problem of the visibility-latency of conflicts. Indeed, the Italian author starts from the recognition of a certain relationship between collective actions and social conflicts. In this sense, although not every collective manifestation implies the existence of conflict, in highly differentiated social systems, and therefore subject to a high demand for regulation and social control, conflicts emerge, led by temporary actors, who operate by "revealing" the central dilemmas in societies (Melucci, 1994).

Thus, in order to understand the complexity of collective manifestations, which can often appear contradictory and unexpected, they must be read through the constant redefinition to which they are subjected, and above all it must be borne in mind that the manifestation of the action itself does not exhaust it. This is because there are underlying conflicts that make up a "network of conflicts", and although they do not become visible at a particular moment (they remain latent), they make up the definition of the phenomenon and are potentially installed in everyday social relations.

Melucci derives - in part from here - his position with respect to "leaving open" certain questions that allow us to understand this emerging conflict from its overflows around the "present times". That which emerges at times as unexpected and incomprehensible from social conflict may be "prophesying" (as "messages that society sends out) about its own processes of re-production and social limits. These conflicts can be the opportunity to understand, from a point of view that involves us as witnesses and actors, the "messages" that we as a society "communicate" about the edges of our practices.

To begin these reflections on the situation Colombia is going through, we would like to make our own the intentions of Scribano, when in his article he invites us to point out impact and importance of these protests as "media and messages" ... and especially to read the expressive resources as a way of paying attention to the particular richness of the emerging sensibilities.

Violence...

In his essays on "Violence", Zizek (2009) alerts us to the complexity of this phenomenon, and particularly warns us about the materiality of "objective violence", composed in turn of a "symbolic violence", as the most primary form linked to the imposition of meaning (language); and a "systemic violence", as "the catastrophic consequence of the functioning of our economic and political systems". Both violences, according to the author, must be differentiated from a "subjective violence" which is "experienced as such in contrast to a background of zero level of violence. It is seen as a disturbance of the "normal" and peaceful state of things" (2009, 9). Instead, objective violence is invisible, as it sustains the normality of level zero against what we subjectively perceive as violent (2009).

If we recover the particular connection between violence and visibility proposed by the author, we can also trace a thread of continuities with what we have been proposing around the events that summon us. That is, if we want to clarify what otherwise appear to be irrational explosions of subjective violence, we must point our gaze towards that objective and systemic feature of a violence which, although pornographically present, is - in Zizek's terms - invisible (like "the famous dark matter of physics" Zizek, 2009, 10).

Once again, the tension between the pornographic nature of a society that naturalises violence and then becomes "scandalised" or "becomes humanitarian" in the face of the emergence of social conflict that makes the "state of situation" visible, is played out in the interstices of reflexive practices such as those we propose here.

It is common to observe fragmented (sometimes splintered) collective actions that respond time and again to the "trap" of "fantasies" and the threats of "ghosts". In conditions of colonial reconfiguration of dependency, it is difficult to outline a way out based on autonomy, dignity and emancipation, but it is

a possibility that should not be denied. The most appropriate thing seems to be to learn to think from the material and discursive fragments that the logics of domination leave as interstices of their homogeneity. In this sense, the commitment we propose here has to do with identifying the messages of protest and social actors and, in this way, working to dilute "fantasies" and combat "ghosts". The collectives have the floor (Scribano, 2005).

Skin...

Between October and December 2019, the renowned Colombian photographer Jesús Abad Colorado, throws into the saturated field of global visibility his exhibition "El testigo" (The Witness). Precisely from the political centre of the capital city, metres away from the buildings that represent power, in the Museo Claustro De San Agustín of the Universidad Nacional de Colombia, the artist presents 500 photographs from a collection of images built up over decades around the country's armed conflict. The impact of the exhibition is in itself a datum: in less than eight months the exhibition was visited by 500,000 people, while it is "accompanied" by a documentary entitled "The Witness, Cain and Abel", available on Netflix, where the British director Kate Horne follows this photojournalist to the sites he has photographed for more than 25 years. (https://elpais.com/cultura/2019/07/03/actualidad/1562129749_693368.html).

Undoubtedly, violence and visibility are placed at the centre of the Colombian scene before the emergence of the events surrounding the National Strike of 2021. The curator of the exhibition expresses in one of her texts:

"The exhibition maintains the ethical tone of Jesús Abad Colorado, where he does not accuse or take sides, but invites to collective responsibility for a painful history that has crossed the country and to a reconciliation to promote hope and reconstruction. The exhibition is presented with the scientific rigour of this journalist, but at the same time with the affection and feeling that characterise him: a loving portrait that is committed to hope and human dignity, evoking reconciliation as an invitation to put ourselves in the skin of the other, in the skin of the war (...) they are photos for the memory of a people, photos that capture that flash of lightning in which history is illuminated. An instant and a feeling that could generate a transformation in the people who visit the exhibition". (María Belén Sáez de Ibarra, <http://patrimoniocultural.bogota.unal.edu.co>)

The aforementioned exhibition clearly speaks to us of a politics of Global sensibilities, which is instituted - as a material condition of the gaze - as a key to understanding the relationship between visibility, violence and conflict that we seek to problematise here. What is "experienced" in-and-before the exhibition is in part "the form" and "the message" of what is potentially expressed in the conflict.

The skin, in the words of the curator or in the images of the photographer, is at the same time the materiality of stories of violence and the border of inscription of the possibilities of making it visible. Emotions (such as anger, impotence, as well as transformative hope) become the clothing of our senses, which enable or mislead the connections between the borders of these individual bodies delimited by their epidermis.



"Initials of the United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia (AUC) branded with a knife by paramilitaries on the arm of an 18-year-old girl they kidnapped and raped in one of Medellín's poor neighbourhoods in November 2002. Photo: Jesus Abad Colorado. (10 September 2019. BBC (10 de septiembre de 2019. BBC <https://www.bbc.com/>)

The texts presented below can therefore be thought of as clues to the ways in which the skin of the social body is woven, and as a way of thinking about our reflexive practice as a component of it. When the authors speak to us of the impotence, of the lack of fear of the young people who went out to march, or speak to us of the renewed marks that repression imprints on the skin, we must also find there a message about what unites us, about what hurts us, and how this constitutes - just at the beginning - what we will be able to do. This Working Document is therefore a moment of visibility of our common skin, an instance of continuity among many that seeks to de-naturalise the violence we carry with us.

Starting from the battle of bodies to the battle for life, on a planet of living beings in freedom, we move towards the battle for the authorship of a world worth living: today more than ever, the fighter is a creator who claims the autonomy of his or her authorial capacity over possible worlds.

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Popular Revolt: young people without fear and historic demands

Isabel Cristina Zuleta

Sociologist, human rights activist, spokesperson for the Ríos Vivos Antioquia Movement (MRVA) and member of the Association of Women Defenders of Water and Life (AMARÚ).

On 28 April we learned that the response to the mobilisation was going to be military, once again. This is nothing new in Colombia. We came from a large mobilisation in 2019 that was suspended because the government called for "a great national dialogue" - pretending to choose who to dialogue with and who not to dialogue with - and did not satisfy or resolve any demands. So, situations and mobilisations were "accumulating".

If we look at the demonstrations, there is a difference between a "popular sector", especially the peasant, indigenous and Afro movements, and a more "urban sector", led by trade unions, who had called for a one-day strike. For some time now, there has been a growing critique from those who argue that when people go on strike it is to stay until there is a minimum of conditions to resolve the situations that motivate the protest. The popular decision showed that it would not be a one-day stoppage, but on the contrary, it would last for a long time. In this sense, we consider that we are no longer in a national strike.

The way things are named is part of the characterisations we make and, therefore, of the possible analysis and proposals for solutions. Some speak of "social explosion", we speak of "Popular Revolt", as a first characteristic, because there is no head, since the strike command, which was initially formed by workers' centres, does not represent today those who are on the streets. Although it is very complex, the majority of those who are protesting (although not the only ones) are young people between 13 and 25 years old, who are not part of the world of work and who are not "politicised". This situation has been exacerbated precisely because the state and the institutions have historically impeded young people from becoming politicised, from engaging in dialogue, not about electoral politics, but about real politics: about the situations experienced in the territories and the solutions that can be found through public policies. The second characteristic is that we have fearless young people on the streets. Thirdly, we have recorded young (very young) people from marginalized poor neighborhoods and girls who have been sexually abused and raped in different ways, all over the country. It is also evident that there are patterns of behavior in the public forces that respond to military logic and privilege the protection of private property.

Another concerning aspect relates to the invisibilisation of the demonstrations. Public opinion, the government and even repression are concentrated in the cities. In the department of Antioquia, most of the municipalities have demonstrated through marches, blockades and sit-ins. However, it seems that

all the focus is concentrated in the Aburrá Valley, in the central areas of Bogotá, Cali, Barranquilla, Medellín, Pereira, and Manizales. There are extremely diverse protests involving children (minors) who have been captured and detained en masse, something that is prohibited in Colombia. These young people do not look scared, they are not afraid. For people who have lived in areas as hard as the ones we have lived in, that is terrifying, that is very scary: that people are not afraid. These kids are not being afraid, they are setting up what they have called "the front line", where they create shields and throw stones at the Esmad (mobile anti-riot squad) and throw back tear gas. We have evidence, that the tear gas being used is expired and when it expires it is poison.

The Medical Mission, which has the characteristics of international protection and should be respected by all actors, has unfortunately been used for many days by the Esmad to transport their ammunition and their men. That's why people no longer believe in the medical mission. This loss of distinction - led by the state - increased the crisis we are living through. On the other hand, we have many young people organised in "first aid" or "pre-hospital care" who are from universities dedicated to the health field. They are not formal health personnel, but young students who organise themselves both to confront the Esmad on the front line and to treat the rest of the protesters. This is done with the support of teachers and nurses who are doing triple shifts in the hospitals (for the Covid-19) and go out to support their children and neighbours in the autonomous and solidarity brigades.

On the other hand, the issue of food has given rise to a different kind of organisation compared to other circumstances; now people are supporting those who are at the different blockade points with food. There are blockades all over the country, they are instantaneous and have no fixed periodicity or leadership. The leaderships are being constituted basically by their strength, their loyalty and the organisational capacity of the young people. But above all, what one can feel in the spirit of the neighbourhood is the rejection of the weak, the fragile. The exaltation of courage, the exaltation of the capacity for confrontation, of this fearlessness, of not being afraid. These types of leadership are quite complex.

In addition, demonstrations in rural areas have very different characteristics. Many of them are historical struggles, such as ours, where we have had a list of demands for more than 12 years. Another is the blockade of the most important project in Colombia, the Hidroituango hydroelectricity megaproject, in very different and very unfavourable conditions. We have to demonstrate in the middle of a tunnel of underground works because that is the space they left us and where there is no possibility of fleeing. The dam wall is completely guarded, we have cameras everywhere, which exposes us even more. This same thing is happening in another part of the country, as in Cauca, where those affected by the La Salvajina hydroelectric plant have been fighting for 30 years. They took over the installations of

Celsia, the energy generation company that owns the dam. These actions are as or more dangerous than making a block. Another department, such as Huila, have 17 blockades, 4 on key roads that cross the country. Another big issue is the profound rejection by the Colombian people of the toll scam. The high costs and the poor quality of fuel, together with the installation of tolls every few kilometres, make it very expensive to get around. Between Turbo and Necoclí, for example, there was a toll that disappeared, as well as many others in the coffee-growing region, while the main tolls (private infrastructure) are completely militarised.

There is another major focus of social discontent, which is the issue of access to education. 'Zero enrolment' (free education) is a slogan that young people sing all the time. This is in addition to hunger in the neighbourhoods and in the countryside, the lack of opportunities, the absence of a clear future, the problems of the peasantry, are issues that emerge sporadically and are sustained continuously. For these reasons, this popular revolt has aroused the interest of a political group in Colombia. Those who are clinging to power want the country to bleed much more because they know they are losing popularity. The leaders of Uribism and the extreme right are calling on the people to arm themselves to defend themselves against the youth and to defend private property. These messages are received by some of the many gangs in the Aburrá Valley (more than 350 armed groups with a lot of military power). There is a difference compared to other cities (Bogotá, Pereira, Barranquilla), which is more hidden and less noticeable: young people who are taking to the streets are those who did not want to join armed groups, who do not want to shoot, who do not want to be in organised crime groups and networks, who want to have a different chance in life. In the struggle they see that possibility that no one has given them because the only options these young people have is to be armed in a group or to be protesting on the streets. That is why the repression is so great and so difficult to understand: every time young people are repressed, they are thrown into the criminal group. This "message" is a warning that leaves us with the certainty that those who are demonstrating in the streets have nothing to do with illegal groups (as the government points out). It also expresses that there is some "awareness" that this country has to change and that, as it is, we can't take any more.

The death of our young people is the cemetery of our future

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Colombia¹ is another case of deaths and mutilations of hundreds of young people due to repression in social protests that constitute a complex, interclass and plural cycle of protests. In this short article, we try to analyze some photos and memes circulated on social networks as an example of the central features of the Colombian protest today.

The main objective is to make visible the content of the disputes, participants and claims that the protest contains. Along with that, we intend to point out the scope, impact and importance of these protests as “media and messages” of social conflict in Latin America in general. We inscribe the analysis carried out on the intuition that there are many similarities between the protests or protests observed in Chile, Venezuela and Ecuador.

One of the keys that we see as central in these cycles of protest is the massive youth participation and the special and indiscriminate repression of young people.

Of course, we know that by not living and experiencing the events in the first person, our perspective must be taken with caution.

¹ I want to express my gratitude to Martha Cecilia Bohórquez Isaza, who provided me with the photos and memes used here.

Meme 1.



We are extremely far from signing the lumpenprogressive narrative of taking as a scapegoat for his resignation to radical transformations to neoliberalism, blaming it for all the evils and hatreds in the region. Now, since the measures of the Colombian government that "generated" the protests are known and presented as reforms, they are related to the set of policies carried out in the last century by various governments in the region.

Latin America, at least since the 1980s, has been the object of reforms and counter reforms in the design and management of the state, many times associated with what is called "neoliberalism" but which obviously transcends. Reducing the state, fiscal balance, labor flexibility, modification of pension systems are nothing more than narrative marks of a politics of sensitivities that systematically includes a clear way of implementing a politics of perversion that complements with its absolute uselessness in terms practical given their obvious results.

The no to the reforms that motivated the strike and the protests is clearly a collective interdiction of a Colombia prey to the drug state, the militarization of life, discrimination and social inequality.

Photo 1.



Photo 2.



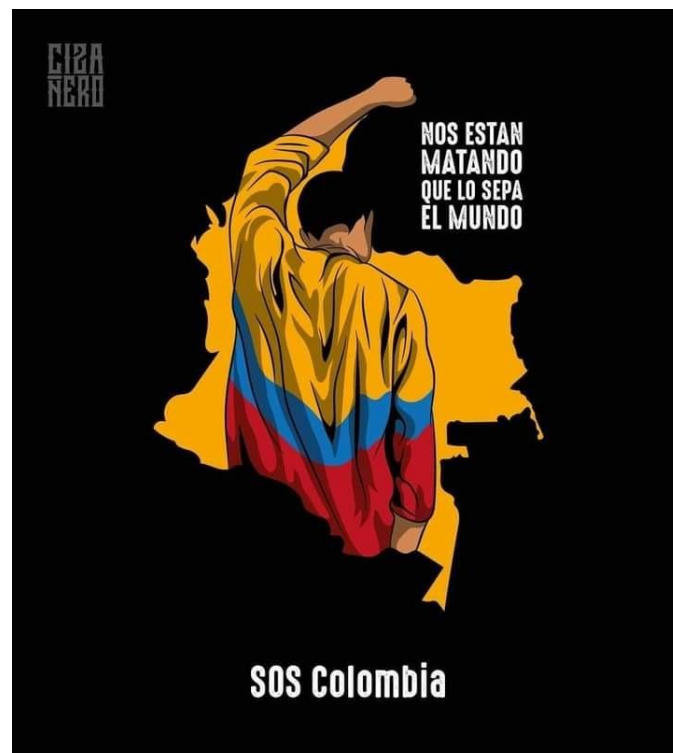
One of the characteristics of this cycle of protest in Colombia is undoubtedly the diversity of conflict networks that converge on the streets of Colombian cities. Firstly, a long history of social inequality, secondly the clear manifestation of the feminist agenda, thirdly the demands of movements that oppose the depredation of natural resources and fourthly the needs of young people in both demands of the social structuring of the new century. In photo number one you can clearly see the convergence of some of these conflict networks that, on the one hand, find sensitivity in the dispute over life horizons a central part of a politics, and that young Colombians make present in the streets together, with an intersection with the issue of job insecurity, informality and lack of employment. It is in this sense that the fragility of not having a job or unstable work prevents us from thinking about a better future, dreaming of a better life, it is also very interesting to note how the issue of Call Centers and work practice in the 21st century is intertwined with the ancient struggles of the first of May. In this sense, it must be understood that today's demonstrations are the disappointments of the past.

On the other hand, in Photo 2 you can clearly see another of the characteristics of this cycle of protest, which is the convergence and dispute between the monopoly of the use of physical force and the monopoly of the use of symbolic force. In this sense, the lie articulates these two ways of doing violence because precisely a political economy of morality implies narration and repression in capitalism, which in the case of Colombia is manifested in its most ferocious extremes. On the one hand, in the invisibility of the conflict networks that it does not repress by not mentioning and on the other hand in the systematic violation of Human Rights what the use of police force implies. This photo makes it clear how a process of ideological surplus value operates by weaving together the two excesses: that of the press that hides / lies and that of the police that punishes, in this sense the protest today in Colombia points in the direction that citizens They are warning about the lethality of the naturalization of these two types of violence.

Meme 2.



Meme 3.



Meme 2 alludes to an international campaign called Colombia Alert International. The axis is the appeal to the name of the president, with the demand to stop the repression; and the description of it as

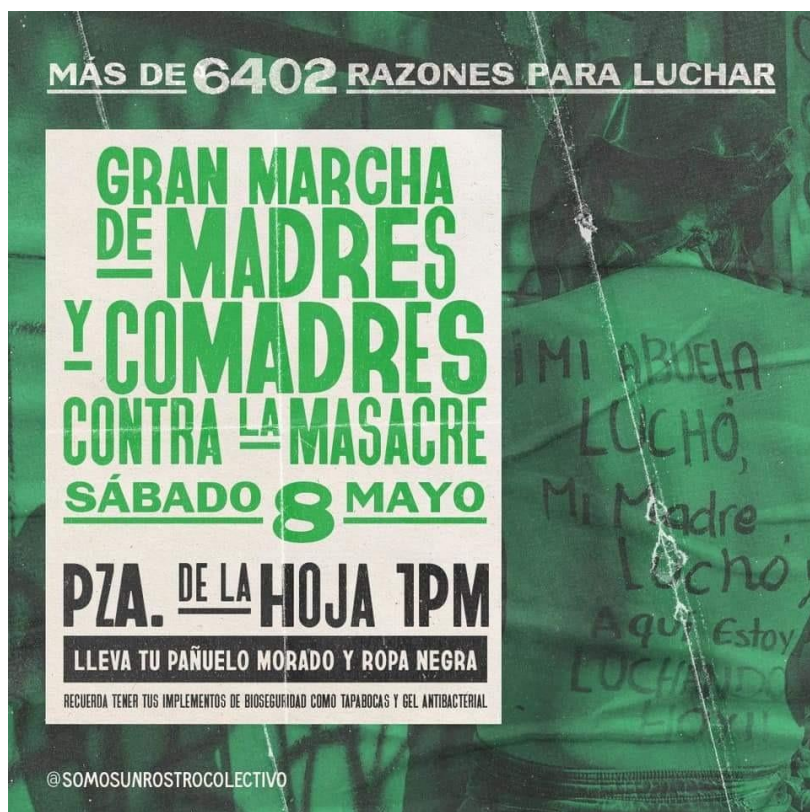
a massacre. In a narrative sense we see the black background and the hashtag, the stop and the word massacre in red evoking pain, blood and danger, an emotional ecology associated with repression. It is evident that, what want to make the world know, what want to alert, to draw attention to, is the scope and depth of the repression, recognizing it. Through the hashtag itself, it is shown that internal forces, civic mobilization, and civil institutions are not enough to make violent state action stop and international appeal must be made.

In meme 3, convergence can also be clearly seen of several elements oriented to visible the need for help, for that reason the SOS Colombia as if it were a ship that is about to sink or be shot down. Among many evocations and messages the following can be highlighted. In the first place, with the text “They are killing us, let the world know”, this cycle of protest establishes the need to make it known that in Colombia, especially young people die, they have those needs, they are especially massacred, for that reason there is a plane dispute of the cognitive and not only of the symbolic that appeals to the logic of death as an inscription surface. Secondly, the young man with his back turned, fist raised, wearing clothes the color of the Colombian flag and the map of Colombia as the inscription surface where the identity people = young = nation expresses the feeling that the repression of young people is also the death of Colombia itself. It is a clear dispute to a political economy of morality that installs young people as hooligans.

Meme 4.



Meme 5.

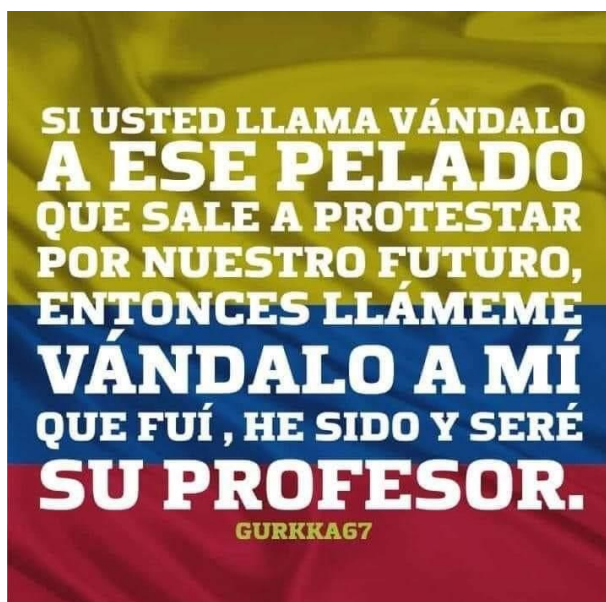


Meme 4 is linked directly to the feminist struggle through one of its organizations, which has the aesthetic set of the meme inscribed in its own name. Who signs this expressive resource is the National Feminist Outbreak and the relationship between image and text clearly transmits an emotional ecology around the anger, the force and the dispute. On the one hand, the photo of a woman where the gesture of the cry is emphasized, which communicates the feeling of rejection of the military occupation of the country as a consequence of the protests. On the other hand, the drawing of the “clenched fist” evoking the collective force of this intervention associated with the name of the movement and thirdly the very sensation of outbreak that demands / evokes respect for life and dignity within the framework of guaranteeing the rights of protest. It is easily detectable the intersection of various conflict networks crossed by the feminist struggle that emphasizes their intention to support the protest against militarization and the massacre.

For its part, meme 5 in the same direction as the previous one is framed in the struggle of the women. women against repression in a call for what was called the Great March of Mothers and Comadres. One of the central aspects of the meme is the photo of the back of a woman in whose shirt an interesting epigenetics of the struggle can be found, clearly marking that since her grandmother and mother the women of her family have fought. Which leads us to point out how this part of the meme underlines the fact that it is a story that is carried on her back, that today she puts it on her shoulder, and

that she makes her flesh denouncing in this way that what is happening in Colombia today it is the result of a long history. Another aspect that is linked to the previous expressive resources is the idea that the march is against the massacre, again the configuration of some deaths, of deaths as characteristics of the systematic State response that is channeled into repression and in that sense very special request to wear a purple scarf and black clothes that allude precisely to the Duel. A third characteristic is the request to cease the massacre. It has a legend that says "remember to have your biosecurity implements such as face masks and antibacterial gel": it is a protest in the Covid context, it is a protest that breaks the defense rules of the pandemic and against the virus but that in any case refers to an action that has 6402 reasons alluding to the protesters injured and affected by this repression.

Meme 6.



Meme 7.



Memes 6 and 7 clearly allude to one of the central features of the protests in Colombia in this year 2021: student participation. In a first approximation we could say that they have three characteristic features or present three themes, one is the fact that both indirectly allude to the leading role of young students in the protest; the other axis, or the other characteristic, is that both dispute a politics of sensitivity where university professors could not be part of those demonstrations because they contradict an academic common sense where ethics and university would be separated; and the third characteristic is the idea that these vandals are his students, they are actually the result of the educational relationship. Let's look at some aspects of these axes.

As we said in the introduction of this brief writing, social protest in Colombia today is strongly nourished by student mobilization and university student mobilization in particular, despite the fact that one of the facets of the mobilization is its inter-class characteristic. They are young people of all classes, they are young people of all educational levels who demand, demand a historical reparation in a context that they analyze and diagnose as the generator of a "no future". It could be said that they are the same young people from Venezuela, they are the same young people from Ecuador and that they are the same young people from Chile, in these marches, in these mobilizations there is a call for attention to the material conditions of existence of youth in Latin America and especially to the complex fabric of a politics of sensibilities characterized by abandonment and neglect.

The other edge that is highlighted in these memes is that they represent the extensive future scope and impact that these manifestations may have since in these two memes the implications regarding the University organization can be observed where there is no longer place to reconstruct conservative or neutral positions : the defense of life has no ideology or creeds and that is why teachers accompany their students beyond the potential sanctions of some universities or some educational establishments. This cycle of Colombian protest shows how the relationship systems of the teaching / learning processes are being restructured at all educational levels in Latin America. In the context of increasing poverty among young people and children, in the context of job insecurity among young people and in the context of dropping out of formal studies, this cycle of protest includes university students and university professors demanding the urgent necessary review of these characteristics of poverty and oblivion.

By way of closing

One of the most striking aspects of the last protest cycles in Latin America and especially in Colombia is the way in which expressive resources in the streets have been modified and the link with participation has been consolidated through the social networks and the opening towards a digital/mobile/virtual sensibility. This suggests a new way of incorporating the everyday and the micro

in macro demands, in new ways of representing disputes in line with a political economy of morality that rejects all kinds of critical expression; these ways of expressing themselves speak clearly of interstitial practices and collective interdictions.

On the other hand, in this summary presentation that we have made regarding the expressive resources of the protest, it is possible to clearly notice the presence of women and their historical struggle that once again accept and welcome popular demands and the emotional ecologies that such demands imply. .

However, what is unprecedented is violence, what is repudiable is repression, meanwhile, hope is the energy of love and trust that classes, genders, and ages, in their plurality, build and entangle.

The popular insurrection against Uribe and the Totalitarianism

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Introduction

For years, Uribism has established a totalitarian regime in Colombia. Hannah Arendt (2004) defines totalitarianism as an extremely authoritarian, one-dimensional regime, with a monopoly of political power and a genocidal police system. As an evidence, she exhibits the outcomes of fascist and Stalinist regimes. In addition, she also warns us of the possibility that post-war societies may become totalitarian societies as well. Arendt's theoretical contributions are especially useful in order to analyze Colombian's present context, as Uribe has unleashed terror, with the assumption of it being an exemplary deterrent in the fight against drug trafficking and guerrilla terrorism. In such an scenario, the international policy deployed by the United States, in permanent complicity with the United Nations, has promoted a totalitarian regime, which has been sustained despite the peace agreement reached between the government of former president Santos and the FARC guerrilla.

Several indictments have been issued against the Colombian government for its persecution strategies and massive assassinations, not only of former guerrilla members but also of social leaders. It is well known through audiovisual material, film documentaries, and texts, among others, that former president Uribe has had close relations with paramilitarism and drug trafficking elements, in order to implement a government strategy for combating and defeating, not only guerrillas, but also multiple social organizations which have been striving for the establishment of democracy in Colombia. Unfortunately, Uribe's criminal acts have remained in the most conspicuous impunity. While during the government of former president Santos homicides of this kind of already took place, during current president Duque's government they have substantially intensified. The soundest insights into such a problem invariably put blame on former president Uribe, due to the fact that he controls important government agencies, which deploy terrorist practices, very much in tune with what Agamben (2005) conceived as the main characteristic of a totalitarian regime, being the most dreadful aspect of such a regime its reinforcement and overload of repressive power, generating persecution and death, as an unappealable demonstration of totalitarianism.

Brief evaluation of the problem

As a response to this outrageous scenario, a plurality of consciences and democratic wills have emerged in nowadays Colombia and, as a result, the totalitarian policy of Uribism appears to be coming to its end. The Colombian people have finally lost their fear of repression and death, and they have decided to engage themselves in a number of popular resistance processes which are currently taking place. Along the last year there have been nationwide protests, which have boost into massive insurrections throughout the country. The demonization of the guerrillas has lost relevance and, with it, the main Uribist justification for genocidal terror. Now we can unquestionably declare that it is peace the slogan that is finally defeating Uribe's totalitarianism: peace as an integrating and significant purpose of the political and democratic struggle of diverse social movements. The history of violence in Colombia has been going on for decades, and the processes which oppose Uribism contain undeniably growing trajectories of organicity. However, it would be naïve, given the country's power structures, to believe that insurrection processes and the electoral triumph of a progressist government would be enough to accomplish peace and justice. In consequence, peace is and must be the milestone in the fight against totalitarianism, both in the state and the social spheres. The challenge is to sustain peace as a platform for the political and organizational culture in Colombia; a goal that at present seems to be successfully being achieved: the collapse of the Uribist regime is in process.

That said, it is important to state that the crisis is also the result of decades of a pervasive neoliberal project; the imposition of the latest tax reform responds to such a logic. The neoliberal economic model has merged in both the United States and Latin America with fascist regimes, as a further manifestation of totalitarianism. Clear examples are Pinochet, Trump, Bolsonaro, Uribe, among the most representative ones. Today it seems that such regimes are in decline. However, neoliberalism prevails in the correlation of forces at the global world. So far, in Latin America, there has been evidence of severe social crises due to neoliberal impositions, which have unleashed political opposition, mass popular insurrections and the establishment of progressist regimes, even if the post-capitalist projection is still pending, which will obviously need a global impact. In Colombia, a progressist government could start with the electoral triumph of Gustavo Petro. However, social movements must consider, as has already been argued, that this electoral triumph does not imply the immediate establishment of a post-capitalist society: overcoming Uribe's domination will require complex institutional strategies and it will take a long time to be implemented.

At present, in the world, a variety of social sectors have expressed their solidarity with the Colombian people through various statements and demands to the international community. It is time for the United Nations to take a stand in defense of the integrity of the Colombian people. Till now the

UN has been very complacent regarding Uribism, since this is the main regional ally of the international policy of the United States, an aspect that further complicates the process of struggle and democratic practices along the region.

By way of conclusion, it is possible to affirm that in Colombia social mobilization is putting totalitarian institutionality in crisis. For the present moment, these struggles require betting on the electoral triumph of a progressist government, which contemplates a post-capitalist utopian horizon, but also a minimum effectiveness on the part of the UN, a body that has so far been indolent in the face of so many massacres.

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Colombia: present and future.

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Over the recent years, Colombia has experienced incredible economic growth. The poverty was radically reduced while the problem of guerrillas was politically resolved. In consequence, it is safe to say the country faces durable political stability that crystallized not only in the economy but also in the check and balance institutions. Regardless of this fact, the recent news revolving around political discontent, social resentments and riots lead us to think something has happened. This raises some vexed questions, what is happening in Colombia? Or to what extent are the neighboring countries next to go through a similar situation?

Latin American countries keep their commonalities and differences. The term Latin America was originally coined by Chilean political scientist Francisco Bilbao -and later popularized by Napoleon III- to denote part of the Americas which have Spanish or Portuguese as the dominant language. Although referring to Spanish-speaking countries, the term strictly associates with Romance languages. Napoleon III envisages engendering a sentiment of reciprocity that narrows the continent to the geostrategic interests of France. In so doing, he overtly acknowledges that Latin American countries should distinguish themselves from the US and Canada. It is important to note that even if Latin American countries share the same cultural legacy, religion and political organization as well as the same language but this does not mean they had not their geopolitical disputes in the past. Over centuries, Latin American countries went through a much deeper climate of political instability, military coups, and internal bloody riots. Latin Americans developed a cultural archetype, inherited from Medieval Spain, where the “Other” is seen as an enemy. For the royal army that conquered the Americas, “the Other” was subject to a bipolar logic of enemy-friend. There was no room for negotiations in which case it explains the number of coups, geopolitical or boundary disputes among Latin American countries since the independence (de Imaz, 1984).

As the previous argument is given, the region was mainly marked by the political internal violence which adjoins to a certain aversion to digest “the Indian element”. As Miguel Angel Centeno (2002) puts it, unlike Europe which is formed by countless different ethnicities, Latin American countries share a similar cultural background. Their elites not only speak the same language but also confront the same pressure groups. In Europe, the nation-state centralized the authority through the creation of an external enemy. European nation-states not only rivalled each other because of serious ethnic differences but also took a direct part in the two Great World Wars. The First and Second World wars allowed the nation-

states to organize their budget with more efficiency than the Latin American states. The efficiency to yield the war was vital to organize the public budget and its expenditures. What is more important, for Latin American elites the problem relates directly with the hypothesis of *the internal enemy*, which means the Indian. With this in mind, elites devoted time and efforts to placating successive riots and rebellions. As a result of this, these states evolved with serious economic imbalances which ushered them to ask for international loans to keep the fiscal stability (Centeno 2002). Of course, the current state of violence in Colombia seems not too pretty different from the past events in Chile, Peru or Bolivia, even with the end of convertibility in Argentina (2001). The authority of politicians is not given to their credibility to confront another neighboring country, but rather with their efficiency in repressing the internal enemy. This was a quintessential feature of politics during the 70s decade in the region. The internal enemy, embodied in the figure of the guerrilla, played a leading role in articulating the power of Juntas in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay. The political violence operated in two combined directions. On one hand, it allowed the reconfiguration of the state undermining the reaction of working unions. This, doubtless, paved the ways for the rise of neoliberalism and the dismantling of the state. On another, the Juntas devoted efforts to domesticating the internal enemy while violating all human rights. The introduction of fear created an estate of exception where the means justified the ends (Korstanje 2020; Timmermann 2020).

Given this grim context, Colombia appears not to be an exception though keeping its originality. Unlike other Latin American countries as Argentina or Chile, echoing professor Marco Palacios, Colombia should be thought of as a *failed Leviathan*. The monopoly of force is not determined by the law in the entire territory. There are zones of exclusion where the law does not apply. These zones were fertile ground for narco-guerrillas without mentioning other separatist movements. The popular opinion mistakenly believes that the problem of violence is centered on the rise of Narco-terrorism. The problem of terrorism for Colombian is not new, but it still waking up a great controversy to date. Palacios argues convincingly that the elite has certainly dreamed the infrastructure of state to protect their interests. To put things in a straight, the lay citizen was automatically excluded from the project. Colombia historically evolved in a dualist structure integrating two opposing dimensions, the great cities as Bogota, or Cali and the hinterland. Since the rivalry between capitalist landowners and peasants have determined by the access to the land, no less true is that neither security forces nor police deployed efforts to regulate the rural hinterlands. Unique in its genesis Colombia debated the hypothesis of the internal enemy and the political violence. Needless to say, the state of conflict we are witnessing today has nothing to do with Pablo Escobar or the separatist demands of FARC. But at a closer look, the theory of living the enemy inside gives us some fresh clarifications. COVID-19 not only ended abruptly with Donald Trump's presidency

but also is harming the credibility of all administrations. In this respect, the first demonstrations began on 28 April because of the federal tax reform headed by President Ivan Duque. These steps were made to mitigate the economic crisis generated by the COVID19. The rallies were organized by trade unions but gradually other groups were joined by middle-class citizens. As it was originally formulated, the bill was withdrawn by the government but the protests have invariably multiplied over the successive days. Nothing seems to be enough to stop the protests. Some of the most violent incidents were reported in Cali while many civilians denounce having suffered human right violations. Having said this, the government blames left-wing rebels for the revolts. What is happening in Colombia?

In earlier texts, I mention that far from being a foundational event, COVID-19 reaffirms the logic of terrorism initiated in 2001. The attacks on the World Trade Center were efficiently coordinated with four civilian airplanes. This was the first time that the most powerful nation in the world, the US was humiliated. In the post 9/11 days, a culture of terror and high levels of anxiety come to stay. One of the frightening effects of terrorism was based on the fact anyone may be a potential terrorist, a friend, a neighbor or a colleague. The fear is psychologically molded by the idea that terrorists look like us and lurk to attack anywhere and anytime! Nobody is safe from terrorism. This turning point not only accelerated the US invasions to the Middle East but closed the doors of the West to the “undesired Others”. The US disposed of strict travel bans –above all for tourist coming from the Middle East- while tightest controls at borders and airports. The climate of securitization the US lived in coincided with certain mistrust for the “Non-Western Other”. To some extent, terrorism gradually mined one of the pillars of Western civilization: the sacred laws of hospitality (Korstanje 2017; Korstanje & Scribano, 2021). In the post-COVID-19 context, all we are potential terrorists or carriers of a deadly virus who may threaten the public order. “The Other” is not an object of curiosity like in the novels that inspired the colonial expeditions, but a potential danger that should be extirpated from society. This happens simply because COVID-19 is undermining the social ties. Still further, the global pandemic is amplifying the social asymmetries and inequalities which are proper of each society. In Colombia, the same very well apply. Over decades of exclusion, citizens are now gaining further traction situating as an interlocutor who confronts directly to the status quo. Here two assumptions should be at least done. On one hand, the aftermaths of COVID-19 are two-pronged approach. In a macro-social direction, it alters the geopolitical relations as well as travel behaviour. On a micro-social level, it re-structures daily unmet demands with the democratic institutions. This invariably suggests that an emerging climate of political instability dominates the scenario of many developed and underdeveloped nations. On another, the future of the capitalism system –far from disappearing as some voices alert (Žižek 2020)- constitutes a new form of labor exploitation based on the manipulation of emotions. Impotence and complacency

surface as two powerful emotions politically manipulated by the status quo. While the former triggers an atmosphere of fear to the invisible enemy –terrorism in the past, and COVID-19 in the present, the latter signals to “an economy of impotence” which suggests that no matter what I can do the rules never change (complacency). This sentiment leads to a political paralysis which creates a gap between professional politics and citizens’ demands. Hence the protests exhibit a profound social discontent that is not rechanneled through formal politics (Bauman, 2013).

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Colombia: el grito vagabundo

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Never has a song interpreted the impotent sentiment of a people like that of the Grito vagabundo. It is a melody that goes back to the arcane times of vallenato, when in 1909 its composer Buenaventura Díaz suffered a disease in the face, badly cured by a home remedy and worse treated by a witch who according to legend deformed his face out of revenge, of what from which the pitiful verses came out: “How do I compose myself today? How do I compose myself tomorrow? / ... How do I compose myself if I live sad? / How do I compose myself, my soul hurts? / I want to scream and they won't let me. / I want to scream a vagabond song./ I want to scream and they won't let me./I want to scream a vagabond song”.

The song would have passed into oblivion had it not been recreated by a great composer and singer who in his short life spread it along with other classics such as the mythical Rafael Escalona (1927-2009), whom Gabriel García Márquez honored in the gallery of *One Hundred Years of Solitude*: Guillermo Buitrago (1920-1949). Short-lived (it is said that he was poisoned) and the eldest son of three other brothers abandoned by his father, he reflected in another famous song, El Huerfanito, the feeling of social abandonment of so many shirtless kids who did not find real or symbolic consolation in Colombia from a Perón or an Evita: “I don't have a father, I don't have a mother, / I don't have money, much less whoever loves me / they call me, they call me the little orphan / ay because I walk, because I walk through the neighborhood / and my brunette , my brunette doesn't love me / hey me, I'm going to the savannah. " Perhaps this comparison is useful to know why the Vallenato Trio of Julio Bovea, who was Buitrago's musical accompanist, was so successful when he settled in Buenos Aires from 1967 to 1975: hurting tango and milonga towards here, sad vallenato towards there are records of a collective spite.

Two enormous events marked the beginning and end of the "Jilguero de la Sierra Nevada", as the precursor of vallenato was called. At the age of eight, the Bananeras massacre would occur in Ciénaga, his hometown, also elevated by the Nobel Prize to the status of a black hole in the Aurelián Buendías saga. And a year before his death, the assassination of popular leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, akin in many ways to Perón's mood, occurred in the context of the Pan-American Conference in which Truman formulated the strategy of “foreign aid” (Point IV) as the pivot of the Cold War, from which counterinsurgency strategies would emerge, sometimes in the guise of doves, more often as hawks.

For this reason, it is explained that the Vagabond Scream had been banned in the regime of the ultra Falangist Laureano Gómez (1950 - 1953). The impediment was reinterpreted as if what one wanted

to shout in the squares was the slogan Longlive the liberal party!, For which whoever uttered it would be worthy of the horrendous flannel cut: a machete aimed at the throat to blind the mouth cords. So the Vagabond Scream would go on to figure the pathos of Edvard Munch's painting of 1893: the astonishing oxymoron of modern times, a silent scream, recreated as a novel with that name by the Argentine writer Florencia Abbate in a large fresco published by Emecé in 2004 against the background of the Corralito tragedy.

The gasps will follow one another in the growing macabre of the four phases of violence in Colombia, not well cured by ephemeral peace treaties: the inter-party (1948 to 1958) settled by agreement of the parties to divide and rotate power with the call National Front; that of insurgent movements (1964-), ceased in part by partial agreements with the 1991 Constitution; that of drug trafficking from 1982; and that of paramilitarism together with drug trafficking and parastatal forces since 1996. This is why in the successive end-of-year parties the classic vallenatos of Guillermo Buitrago sound and resonate in popular and middle-class homes.

Some points are used to untangle the ball of so many years. During the government of Alfonso López Michelsen (1974-1978) the figure of a “sinister window” became famous, which in the Banco de la República was used to launder drug money. Not all, it is worth clarifying, since most of it is recycled in the United States financial system in sophisticated laundering, all the more so after Reagan and Thatcher deregulated the system to the point of causing the great depression of 2008, poorly cured by Clinton / Bush / Obama with more of the same in the logic that crematistics follows after modernity reinvented the medieval slogan of "the bag or life", with a worse scam: "your life for the bag", without the utopian always deleyed on the horizon: “the bag for life”.

López Michelsen, son of another liberal reformer president, dissolved in 1968 the Liberal Revolutionary Movement - a rebellious movement that could have served as a democratic channel for the insurgent movements -, in exchange for the promise of being elected president, to participate in the technocratic Constitutional Reform. of 1968 and to be named first governor of El Cesar, the land of vallenato, which unintentionally / willingly helped change from its libertarian symbol into one of exaltation of the mafias and paramilitarism. The Colombian elite has been tricky since it resisted the Indias’s Laws in 1550 with a hypocritical expedient: "It is obeyed, but it is not fulfilled." The same has happened with drug trafficking as it happened with the "sinister window", with paramilitarism and corruption, regarding which the saying of President Julio César Turbay, who ruled between 1978 and 1982, was classic: "It is necessary to reduce corruption to its proper proportions ". Hence, an excellent writer friend who has passed away, Rafael Humberto Moreno Durán, said sarcastically that "in this country politics is so corrupt that it corrupted even drug trafficking." The elite subverts even the famous

saying of Caesar: "Caesar's wife has to not only be honest but appear so", by another ladino: "It is enough for Caesar's wife to make an effort to appear honest, even if she is not." It is said that drug trafficking is being fought, but the most fierce president opened the airports to Pablo Escobar's traffic when he was director of Aerocivil in 1979.

Translated into real history, the democratic promise of 1991 and his vocation for peace have remained as a rhetorical showcase, as well as the exaltation of the country's civil tradition. Assassinations of great leaders occur every time someone promises a radical change: Luis Carlos Galán, Pardo Buelvas, the same conservative Álvaro Gómez Hurtado, Pizarro León Gómez, Bernardo Jaramillo Ossa, and even journalists who threaten humor like Jaime Garzón or social scientists like Hernán Henao, Alfredo Correa D'Andréis, Jesús Antonio Bejarano, among many others. A new political party, the Patriotic Union, emerged as a civilian option of the FARC, was liquidated with more than three thousand victims in just five years at the time of the 1991 Constituent Assembly. In addition, the victims of forced displacement, the disappeared and the massacres collectives exceed more than ten times what happened in the Southern Cone: a not inconsiderable proportion of about a third on account of some guerrillas that were emboldened with the money from kidnappings and the charges for exported grammage encouraging a general insurrection that not only It never happened, but silenced organized urban protest and fueled the fury of an increasingly sectarian right.

The elite have managed their rhetoric in a sophisticated way that could only be described as a neo-baroque art of simulation that no longer operates by grammar, court, pulpit, chair or poetic ostentation as in the 19th century, but by an economic and technocratic esotericism. that since 1991 deceives with the doctrine of openness, market freedom, the alienation of public goods, subsidies to demand and trickle down. Colombia's inequality, now rising after a slight downward trend, is the third to last in the world due to an acute concentration of economic, political and media power, while academic power is marginal: it took 38 years from 1983 to raise from 0.19% to 0.23% the participation of investment in science and technology with respect to the Gross Domestic Product, not without much colonial setup of simulation of interest. As a result, education is superficial.

Due to its secular poverty, Colombia has suffered more than any other country in the region from what I have called a serious counterfeit of a maximalism of beliefs shaped by the Astete Catechism of 1599 with 350 imperatives disguised as questions to certify Catholic belief (Borges in Ulrika said that being Colombian is an act of faith) and a minimalism of ethics, due to the veneration of an urbanity like Manuel Antonio Carreño from Caracas, dating from 1852: a Manual that turned ethics into etiquette and morality into moralizing. Without a common place for agoraphobic and without a bed for the horror of sex, stately civility has not offered guidelines for dealing with public and private conflicts. As a result sad

and violent passions proliferate and with them zero-sum games from small to large, when not as now crossroads in which all competitors risk losing.

In March 1986, one of the leaders of the M-19, an urban guerrilla unlike the others, was assassinated when he made the mistake of visiting the city moved by a passion for love with the usual calculation in them that they would not be sought where they would be most dangerous. Twenty years earlier Álvaro Fayad had asked to play the role of the most fearless terrorist in Camus's play, *Los Justos*, in which the Algerian writer raised the problem of unjust justice. The director of the play was a psychology student who would dedicate himself to psychoanalysis. After so many terrifying bomb attacks ordered by Pablo Escobar, he would write an essay in which he differentiated between two forms of terror: explosions and implosions. These were the depth charges that affected the subjects with extreme laceration of their inner balance.

From then on I would begin to coin the neologism of *a-motions*: astonishment of feelings that do not surface because they explode in the mind and wound the body with sharp depressions. They do not transit to speech, nor to gesture. It is a picture that could well be generalized to a world like the current one in which depression has come to occupy the first place in the causes of morbidity and mortality, even without taking into account that many so-called organic diseases are induced by disorders in the sema loop, the meanings of life, and the soma, the bodies as seismographic records of external ailments that silently inscribe themselves in the bodies. This picture is aggravated because today the concept of depression is polysemic: economic contraction, like the recent one in 2008 and the present one accelerated by the pandemic; contraction of health, due to epidemics and pandemics; political constraint due to the decline of democracy and ardor of populisms of the left or right; depression of nature due to global warming.

Number 29 of the Cepal Review of 1986 was dedicated to an assessment of the condition of youth in Latin America. The Colombian sociologist Rodrigo Parra Sandoval there summarized a book published in 1985 with conclusions that at 36 years force the observer to ask many questions:

The exhaustion of the modernizing model, the crucial crisis that affects the family and the failures of political institutions and Educational institutions place Colombian youth in a situation of isolation characterized, in the author's opinion, by few possibilities of political participation, a future of unemployment or underemployment, a low-quality education that does not excite and that does not ensure employment or social mobility, and a society without a clear model for the future in which they can insert themselves. Youth also face a chaos of values generated not only by the very rapid succession of three social situations (rural society, modern society and society without a model) but also by the appearance of organized forms linked to it, such as the

underground economy, the economic organization of drugs or dependence on it, corruption in the financial and administrative world and consumerist views presented by the mass media.

So everything was well advised. What is surprising is not the current outbreak, but rather that it did not happen long before and that with all the bets against the risks of the pandemic, young people took to the streets en masse and received so much collective support. The outrage of the youth is understandable because any of them could have been the victim of the atrocity of the nearly 6,500 collective murders - innocent young people tricked into the countryside to eliminate them by disguising them post-mortem as guerrillas to increase the number of casualties-, misnamed false positive. Day after day the insanity of the government of Álvaro Uribe Vélez in his mandate of 2002 and 2010 emerges, a megalomaniac of absolute power guided by his obsession to avenge the alleged murder of his father by the FARC and a staunch enemy of the peace accords, his obsession with controlling the state and not just the government through a soulless delegate. But as in Andersen's tale, "the emperor is naked." It is no longer covered by any cunning rhetoric, especially when in the midst of the pandemic the current government wanted to reissue a tax reform to grace the magnates with the disguise of relief to the poorest, which acted as a trigger for youth rejection.

What can happen? The most optimistic point to a radical renewal of power in the upcoming elections of the first semester of next year, I disbelieve, despite the illusion, because the fragmentation of the so-called "progressive" forces is atavistic. Pessimists estimate that an "internal commotion" will soon be decreed to suffocate the few vestiges that remain of an already malformed democracy because the government has gradually taken over the prosecution, the attorney, the comptroller's office and has the army, the police, the most of Congress and the big press.

For my part I find no choice but to meditate and even implore, because I believe that we are facing a tragic crossroads and a dead end like never before in history and I would fear that we were no longer just a state but a failed society. I am 75 years old and all of them from beginning to end have been marked by violence. My vagabond cry could tear the skies apart.

San José Obrero Seminary, La Esmeralda district, Arauquita municipality in the Orinoquía region of Colombia, May 25, 2021.

Remains Waiting

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Talking about a narrative of violence in Colombia is a topic of so many depths and that includes so many micro / stories, that a general look would fall into two obvious points that are not of interest to this column to reproduce, since they give way to exaltation of overflowing passions that, finally, fall into the dialogue, into the eternal return of the same, into repetitive sections where, even though the mastery of pain operates as a guiding hand for the messages that between the lines leave deaths, disappearances, injuries, misery, authoritarianism and so many inherent collateralities, it seems that everything is taking it to a point of overflow and silence: a fragmentation of great force, but in the end dispersed, where there is a powerful clamor, but still in the making of a voice that picks it up, of a consensus of a country that does not repeat the same anachronistic concepts frozen in discussions in the mid-twentieth century and that thereby make it viable that violence continues to be an efficient state policy to q Those who hold power.

The country today faces a mobilization as dense as it is polyphonic, undoubtedly novel in factors such as inter and hyper connection, but with a violence so sadly typical of our political history, that just by counting the more than 6,400 false positives, a sinister oxymoron of the "democratic security" of the last two decades of a decadent government, it will tell us that death has been such an "institutionalized" practice that the more than 60 dead, 129 missing, 1,060 injured and 1,380 detained, according to variable press data and human rights NGOs on the current strike are not something that shakes the fibers of the exacerbated practices of all sides, while the government puts obstacles, such as cleaning up the mess to have something to present, to the entry of the IACHR to verify what the thousands of cameras and social networks document every day.

Of course, it is natural to talk about the bias of the published material, but the vast majority of images are so forceful that the context in humanitarian terms does not really require great analysis or, how do we debate about what happened yesterday, a month away? unemployed in Cali, when there are many videos where people in civilian clothes shoot at protesters from police groups and, realizing that they were filming them, opened fire on the cameramen? Here the discussion is not whether there are irregularities of those involved in their practices, the Colombian violence is not new, nor is it unilateral, the underlying issue is really the perspective of the country that is needed and of course, the cultural and citizen density of its inhabitants so that unemployment is not another passionate saturation disconnected from the reality of the country that ends in a matter of attrition or, worse still, in a practice that more

than inane, allows the establishment to extend the hand of death as a political stratagem: the Sensitive reason and reasonable sensitivity must prevail in the construction of a great goal / story that represents the resurgence of the nation, beyond fragmentary and ancient sympathies of ideals that in Colombia more than in any other country in Latin America, has a regrettable reference in the oldest armed conflict on the continent.

An interesting principle for the study of the history of the French thinker Michel Foucault in contrast to historiography, was proposed through archeology and although, later on its own author gave prominence to the genealogical function as a method, the structure of the demolition of the universals, of the homogeneity of history, to give way to the enunciations of the actors from their position in the discourse, it pays a tribute to what, as a contribution, can be said of what is happening today in Colombia; And it is that talking about my thirty years of three forced displacements in different parts of the country, from the most tender youth, through the years of early adulthood and now again, is an example that visceral passions border on horror from the Republican conception, mainly due to the inability to agree on differences and define democracy from a perverse authoritarianism, where all dissent is reprehensible and the technocratic middle class defends a status quo more out of ignorance, frivolous careerism, than out of political conviction. That is the crux of the matter: our social critical capacity is lifeless, in addition to the fact that our cultural and educational density is proportional to the historical inequities that surround us.

Displaced from the department of Risaralda with my family with only six years and from Quindío with twenty-three due to university activism, I spent almost a decade of cultural and media work on the border that divides the department of Arauca from the Venezuelan state of Apure, alternating activities in both sides de la frontera as a teacher and director of a community radio station. The region is dominated by violent actors who generate a kind of para / statism where the norms are created by those who hold power over life. However, during that decade, in deep Colombia we witnessed the birth of literature, art, and poetry, for the first time we were able to propose Arauca as the venue for the Medellín International Poetry Festival and we held an international meeting under the aegis of the sociologist and writer Gabriel Restrepo and the National University of Colombia entitled: New Route for Peace and Education, two hundred years after the speech of Simón Bolívar before the Angosturas congress, where he claimed education as the fourth public power. Actions in the key of hope so that peace was not a rhetorical problem, much less reducible to disarmament, but that it had a substrate of *symbolic poesis* where the empowerment of wanting-knowing-doing would free it from the condition of the periphery and I do not mean in geographical terms, but in historical terms and in terms of the presence of the state beyond the foot of force.

The national situation is the corollary of the symbolic violence inserted in a country that has naturalized it in its daily life. It will not be saved if it is not for education as a public power, for cultural densification, for the construction of new collective imaginaries in favor of a citizenry that decapitalizes withered passions. Without this, we will make frenetic tumbles, small jumps from one conflict to another, affecting individuals and communities. The many archives of national violence in the country with the highest rate of internal displacement in the world are reproduced everywhere on a daily basis, just as it happened to us in the last displacement in March of this year to cover in the media the disastrous incursion of the military forces Venezuelan women in La Victoria, Apure state, neighboring Arauquita, Arauca, in an apparent conflict with dissidents from the FARC-EP insurgency where we denounced flagrant human rights violations, including false positives and torture, which earned us persecution media of appellations as absurd as the origins of violence in the country, such as mercenary, destabilizing and a danger to "the homeland", a complex issue, where accusations of much less caliber have cost the lives of thousands.

It is impossible not to observe the situation in Colombia in the light of the millions of interlocutors who mark the tragic destinies of the country; Today talking about unemployment is an allegory of uncertainty, the debate between natural law violence and positive law transcends the limits of legitimacy to establish itself in a dangerous vicious circle; Is there really an underlying intention with sufficient political maturity to guarantee a welfare state? Are we clear about this proposal with the proportionality of the mobilization? Can the established power continue to indolently appeal to the excessive use of force, to the euphemisms of legality, to institutional discourse or, worse still, to distorted nonsense such as that of molecular violence dissipated in the interpretation of a Chilean neo-Nazi? Is it intended to create matrices of public opinion or to indoctrinate the military forces with a new public enemy, the civilian population?

All these elements foreshadow the intelligibility of the current situation from a unidirectional perspective in a poly / discursive historical framework, or is the suicide attack on the cadet school in January 2019 not just as macabre by the insurgency of the National Army of Liberation that swept from a bomb that killed about 17 cadets the possibility of following the program of the New Liberation Route for Peace and Education? As if extreme forces from the left and right agreed that Colombia must face bleeding for an option to prevail. The nonsense of the paroxysm of violence is the greatest fear of its escalation in the country, it is urgent that all the parties in conflict respect peaceful ways, but, above all, the stubbornness of a president who is fragile in his vanity and vulnerable in his decisions is concerned. . To think that there is a teleological character for this spiral as a political stratagem is terrifying, even calculating that the tax measures, unviable and absurd from the beginning, could be conceived as imposed

by force and mockery, shows that the problem is deeper than a tax issue –without ignoring its sharpness- ; Our great dilemma is the proactive dispersion, the rejection of emerging thinking, conceiving peace as a contractual phenomenon without the construction of citizenship and not re / thinking from the superba mastery of the pain of so many years and damages, our own democratic decisions and demands.

For now, it remains to hope that the decisions of the parties reach sensible terms, although that seems unlikely in the short term. The militarization of the cities, the barbaric legitimization of the actions of the institutions, the intense struggle for reason of state, the vanity of pride, leaves, a month after the start of the strike, the feeling that even this scenario is can award electoral opportunism in the midst of the extremely low popularity of the government, in a country that remains dispersed, as can perfectly be seen in the daily dialogues of the people, in the speeches of young people, in the internal quarrels about the spokesperson unemployment and ultimately, in all the fears thrown into a future process. Historic Pact, Coalition of Hope and the like try to hold on to the moment as a political alternative, but without unanimity in sight, any prediction is falsifiable and the election date is still more than a year away to wait for it to be resolved at the polls. the serious dispute between the State and the Nation.

It is not my wish to be pessimistic, but these are the lines of someone who has lived through the heat of violence throughout his life and allows himself a moderate skepticism that he hopes to break very soon. Undoubtedly, the mobilization is of powerful force, hopefully it will also soon be of powerful reason.

Bogotá, Colombia, May 29, 2021.