On the "Expropriation of Dignity." A report on the situation of the national strike in Colombia, 2021.

Cali, Colombia April 28-May 10, 2021

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Context

On April 28, 2021, we witnessed the most recent wave of social mobilization in Colombia. It started with a call for labor unions1 presented by National Strike Committee to exercise their right to social protest against the tax reform proposed by Iván Duque Márquez' administration. The regional capital cities of Cali, Medellín, Bogotá, Pereira, Barranquilla and Bucaramanga registered mass gatherings in the early morning. In Cali, the day started with a symbolic act organized by the Southwestern Indigenous Authorities Movement (Movimiento de Autoridades Indígenas del Sur Occidente, AISO). They reclaimed their history and toppled the Sebastián of Belalcázar statue in the northwest of Cali. Eleven days later, this act is becoming a part of the emblematic social, political, and economic events of the first decade (?second decade?) of the twenty-first century.

Here are the most common chants in the mass gatherings:

"They are messing with the generation that has nothing to lose"

"We have had to fight for everything since we were born, we're not giving up now"

"They took so much from us, they even took our fear"

"They're killing us" "Colombia, S.O.S."

"Without precedent," says Enrique Santos Calderón, Colombian journalist, to describe this emblematic moment: "15 people died in 1977 during the National Strike in September; the days-long unrest in cities after the electoral fraud against Rojas Pinilla in April 1970 only ended after a drastic national-level curfew was imposed by President Carlos Lleras; and the molotov cocktails and rock throws from the violent student protests in the 1960s and 70s. None of these can compare to what we are witnessing today, in our country."

The Office of the Human Rights
Ombudsman (Defensoría del Pueblo)
summarized the events the following way:



¹ Entre ellas: Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (CUT), Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CGT), Confederación de trabajadores de Colombia (CTC), Confederación de Pensionados en Colombia (CPC), Confederación Democrática de Pensionados (CDP), Federación Colombiana de Trabajadores de la Educación (Fecode), Dignidad Agropecuaria, Cruzada camionera, entre otros. Recuperado de:https://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/comite-nacional-del-paro-quienes-son-los-organiza-dores-del-paro-nacional/202104/

47 murders by the police force (ESMAD anti-riot police, National Police)

12 rape cases

548 disappearances

963 unjustified arrests

Innumerable cases of brutality against civilians, especially against racialized and poor young residents.

The access to data and precise numbers are challenging to read, and they are essential for understanding the gravity of the situation in the nation, especially in Cali².

The high courts declare the following:

"The tragic events of the past week are a difficult learning experience for Colombia. It is time to take responsibility for this painful lesson, which history repeats, again and again: the irrational violence does not resolve social conflicts. Constitutional and legal processes - those which are arrived at in democratic ways, with agreements with respect to democratic institutions - those are the appropriate instruments for breaking the spiral of violence, death, and destruction³.

International organizations keep a watchful eye over the complex Colombian context, as well. First, the Special Report on vigilance, protection, and stimulation of the freedom of speech in the Americas, from the Interamerican Commission of Human Rights (Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos, or CIDH), demanded that national authorities respect and carefully investigate the various denunciations that they received regarding human rights violations of the protestors, and to create a space for dialogue including, specifically, social organizations.⁴

CIDH has categorically condemned the use of excessive force by the police. They allude to the horrendous deaths that occurred during the protests. 15-17 year olds from the periphery of the city have been killed by the police in Cali.

What is happening in Colombia? What is going on in Cali?

We offer facts to answer these questions in the following pages in order to present evidence to better understand the complex social panorama in Colombia, with Cali as its epicenter. We will refer to this context as the "expropriation of dignity," to use Bernadette Atuahene's term.⁵ The North American lawyer argues that:

"The most damaging circumstances are not just the expropriation of property but as well as dignity, in the taking away deprivation of property that exercises acts of dehumanization (not recognizing the humanity of an individual or a group), infantilization (restricting the autonomy of an individual or a group, based on not recognizing and respecting the full capacity of reasoning). This is called the expropriation of dignity, and occurs when a State destroys or confiscates, directly or indirectly, the property rights of owners and occupants as a result of dehumanization or infantilization, whether it be intentional or not. These cases of expropriation of dignity may occur in a liberal regime wherein the forced expropriation of ownership is exceptional; during the massive restructuring of ownership rights provoked by social agitation or a regime change." (Atahuene 2021, 21)6

² See https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/temblores-reporta-aumento-de-detenciones-y-violencia-policial-en-el-paro-nacional/

³ See https://www.ramajudicial.gov.co/web/guest/-/comunicado-de-las-altas-cortes-de-justicia

⁴ See https://twitter.com/CIDH/sta-tus/1390793800017227778?s=20

⁵ See https://www.icesi.edu.co/editorial/quere-mos-lo-nuestro/

^{6 &}quot;Hay circunstancias más perjudiciales en las que el despojo ha implicado no solo una expropiación de la propiedad sino también de la dignidad, en tanto la privación de la propiedad se ejerce con actos de deshumanización (la falta de reconocimiento de la humanidad de un individuo o un grupo) o infantilización (la restricción de la autonomía de un individuo o grupo, basada en el hecho de no reconocer y respetar su plena capacidad de razonar). Esto se denomina una expropiación de la dignidad, que ocurre cuando un Estado destruye o con-

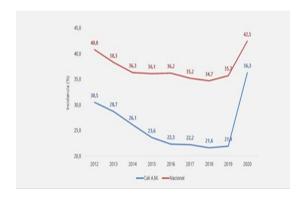
Between April 28 and May 9, people called for and participated in mass gatherings in order to draw attention to the social injustice which they have historically confronted,7 face the national narrative expressed in categories such as "these indians," "vandals," "terrorists." By the end of May 9, President Duque announced a measure of militarization for Cali, the removal of civilian blocks. and that "the indigenous go back to reservations (resguardos). The ongoing national narrative, presented in videos, on social media, memes and presidential addresses, represents indigenous peoples as 'sub-persons." Bernadette Anahuete explains: "«Sub-persons» are those that have been dehumanized or infantilized, which is why they are denied the recognition of humanity or full mental capacity. Although the physical bodies of sub-persons are visible, their dignity is invisible." (Atuahene, 2021, 101). The categorical marker offers tools to explain what is happening in the region (See Appendix 1).

The data collected by DANE in 2020 makes it clear that more than 21 million people (42.5%) live in poverty--with a monthly PNB ("ingreso per cápita") of around \$92 a month. The extreme poverty and complex poverty clearly exists in the entire nation. An estimated 7.4 million people (15,1%) live in extreme poverty with \$38 a month. 3.5 million reached poverty levels between 2019 and 2020, with 2.8 million reaching extreme monetary poverty ("pobreza monetaria").

fisca, directa o indirectamente, los derechos de propiedad de dueños u ocupantes obteniendo como resultado su deshumanización o infantilización, ya sea de manera intencional o no. Estos casos de expropiación de la dignidad pueden ocurrir en un régimen liberal en el que la expropiación forzosa de la propiedad es excepcional; durante una reestructuración masiva de los derechos de propiedad provocada por la agitación social o el cambio de régimen" (Atuahene, 2021, 21).

7 On the petitions, see: http://www.indepaz.org.co/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/DECLARA-CIO%CC%81N-POLI%CC%81TICA-COMITE%CC%81-06-05-21-2.pdf

Table 1. Financial poverty in Colombia. Results from May 2020-21



Source: DANE. GEIH 2012-2020. Pobreza monetaria en Colombia. Resultados 2020 Mayo 2021.

DANE reports that after Bogotá, Cali is the most affected by extreme poverty and poverty increase in 2019 and 2020 (Table 2). An estimated 36.5%, or 900,000 people, live in poverty--10.6% more than in 2019. The extreme poverty affects 342,000 people (13.3%)--an 8% increase.8

Table 2. Evolution of population in financial poverty in 23 cities. Results from May 2020-21.

Dominio	2019	2020	Diferencia	Aporte(%)
Bogotá	2.246.851	3.357.585	1.110.734	31,3
Resto urbano	4.944.099	5.799.855	855.756	24,1
Call A.M.	558.360	934.350	375.990	10,6
Medellin A.M.	921,111	1.255.526	334.415	9,4
Barranquilla A.M.	489.536	797.114	307.578	8,7
Bucaramanga A.M.	344.142	509.177	165.035	4,6
Cartagena	345.304	486.166	140.862	4,0
Pereira A.M.	182.349	260.463	78.114	2.2
Cúcuta A.M.	385.743	458.432	72.689	2,0
Villavicencio	152.512	221.715	69.203	1,9
Ibagué	168.066	236.965	68.899	1,9
Santa Marta	219.752	279.642	59.890	1,7
Valledupar	172.663	230.835	58.172	1,6
Manizales A.M.	87,429	138.559	51.130	1,4
Neiva	111,408	158.803	47.395	1,3
Monteria	129.346	172.177	42.831	1,2
Sincelejo	99.848	138.188	38.340	1,1
Pasto	141.055	178.842	37.787	1,1
Armenia	100.785	134.246	33.461	0,9
Tunja	64.192	89.512	25.320	0,7
Riohacha	124.322	148.432	24,110	0,7
Popayán	115.224	131.466	16.242	0,5
Florencia	71.626	83.789	12.163	0,3
Quibdó	66.595	72.510	5.915	0,2
Rural	5.227.726	4.747.214	-480.512	-13.5
Total nacional	17.470.042	21.021.564	3.551.522	100,0

Source: DANE. GEIH 2012-2020. Pobreza monetaria en Colombia. Resultados 2020 Mayo 2021.

It is equally important to note

8 On extreme poverty and poverty lines in the nation, see:

that the most impoverished cities of Colombia in 2019 and 2020 were Quibdó and Riohacha, with 57.1 and 66.1%, respectively. [3] The poverty rate in those cities continues to increase at the same pace as Cali, thus remaining the poorest cities in the nation. [4]

This pattern occurs in the state of Valle del Cauca (after Bogotá), with the highest indexes of poverty in the country between 2019 and 2020, with around 1/6 million people in poverty. [5] Similarly, Guajira and the Chocó are the poorest departments with a respective 66 and 64% of the population and the municipality of del Valle having witnessed the highest increase with 14.6% in 2020, compared to 1.1 million people to 1.6 from 2019 to 2020.

In this context:

- We reject and denounce the politics of death that continue the extermination of ethnic peoples in Colombia. Our youth continue to live without peace in rural and urban territories that are marked by social injustices and by violence that encourage their annihilation. The young people of Quibdó, Timbiguí, the Aguablanca District of Cali, and other racialized territories, continue to look for ways to remain alive in the midst of illegal and state-backed armed groups that shed blood and bullets, that force young black people to death, violence, dispossession, and forced displacement. In the current context of the national strike, they continue to live at war and different manifestations of the historical and structural forms of racism. Our fundamental rights are not guaranteed, nor is our right to live.
- We urge that the government and state institutions respond to the urgent need to stop the daily harms towards ethnic

peoples.

- We call for an immediate plan to overhaul in order to protect life and guarantee opportunities for the young, who are also protagonists of the systematic extermination.
- We express our concern for the neglect and indifference of local and national governments in attending this crisis and the increasing violations of human rights and International Humanitarian Law (IHL) in various territories We call on the international community to ally, unite, and nurture the young people and children who are racialized and impoverished in the nation, constantly at risk, threatened for their lives. Within a hundred days, 40 teenagers were murdered in Quibdó. By April 24, the Puerto Saija community in Timbiquí had to endure 5 hours of cross-fire, and in the District of Aguablanca, at least four young people disappeared in less than four days. Enough!
- The National Strike has awakened a sense of void of democracy, and that dignity of life is deserved, and alerted the threat of human rights and of the well-being of many families. It has helped to birth new forms of solidarities, but this will not be enough. The country must mobilize in order to end the massacre of young people, boys and girls, and must stop the bloodshed of our black/Afrodescendant people. The flags draped in the sentimentality of citizenship should no longer nourish their red color with the blood of the descendants of black/ Afrodescendant people, who do not even have the opportunity to protest or enjoy the potential victories that the strike will leave for the rest of society.

- We declare that without indigenous and Afrodescendant peoples, there is no multiethnic or pluricultural nation.
- We recommend an international investigation on the state of the disappeared.
- We demand governmental actions that rectify the reparation of dignity for ethnic peoples that have been stigmatized in our national context.

Appendix 1: Brief Timeline

Day	Date in 2021	Main Events	Source
1.	Wednesday, April 28	The peaceful gatherings begin in the main cities. Young protesters assassinated in popular neighborhoods in Cali.	https://www.elespectador.com/ colombia2020/pais/las-reglas- para-darle-garantias-a-la- protesta-que-pidio-el-acuerdo- de-paz-y-no-ha-legislado-el-
		Murder of Marcelo Agredo.	congreso/?cx_testId=17&cx_ testVariant=cx_1&cx_ artPos=1#cxrecs_s
			_
		Cases of brutality and lethal violence on behalf of the public forces	https://cuestionpublica.com/ monologos-del-adios-sobre-la- muerte-de-marcelo-agredo/
		Jovita Osorio: She was sitting at home, when ESMAD threw tear gas in her home, and asphyxiated her.	https://www.elespectador. com/colombia2020/pais/ los-rostros-de-las-victimas- mortales-durante-el-paro- nacional/?utm_source=ee. com&utm_medium=widget_ lateral_articulos&utm_ campaign=ultimas_ noticias&cx_testId=6&cx_ testVariant=cx_1#cxrecs_s https://www.youtube.com/
			watch?v=YgBdsfqE5jQ&ab_ channel=RutasdelConflicto

Day	Date in 2021	Main Events	Source
2.	Thursday April 29	Murder of Miguel Ángel Pinto en Cali. Cases of brutality and lethal violence from police forces	https://www.elespectador.com/colombia2020/territorio/miguel-angel-pinto-una-victima-invisible-de-la-policia-en-puerto-resistencia-en-el-paronacional/?cx_testId=16&cx_testVariant=cx_1&cx_artPos=0#cxrecs_s https://twitter.com/laorejaroja/status/138814422069 5797760?s=20
3.	Friday, April 30	Unidentified police (not in uniform) capture citizens. In Popayán: a citizen registers a Federal Police capturing people arbitrarily, who happen to be in the street. The police attempt to hurt the citizen for recording the capture. Kidnapping of protesters In Cali: Loma de la Cruz. The police kidnap and harass protesters before they even arrive in the main concentration of the protest.	https://twitter.com/laorejaroja/status/13882089 71471679489?s=20 https://twitter.com/laorejaroja/status/1388144220695797 760?s=20

Day	Date in 2021	Main Events	Source
4.	Saturday, May 1	Police repression.	https://twittercom/ArielAnaliza/ status/ 1388673704377389056 ?s=20 https://twitter.com/ JulianJaraUribe/ status/1388681781029871622 ?s=20
5.	Sunday, May 2	 In Ibagué: While a group of people is protesting at night, a witness terrifies that Andrés threw a rock at Esmad, who retorted with gunshots and murdered him. More cases of disappeared people reported in cañaduzales in Cali-Palmira, after an encounter between protestors and public forces In Palmira: police brutality in the midst of a peaceful protest, 36 individuals have disappeared. The authorities deny the facts despite videos documenting the kidnapping of citizens. 	https://www.infobae.com/ america/colombia/2021/05/03/ clinica-confirmo-que-muerte- de-santiago-murillo-en-ibague- fue-causada-por-un-disparo- de-arma-de-fuego/ http://www. elnuevodia.com.co/nuevodia/ actualidad/judicial/466047- aparecen-nuevos-videos-de-la- muerte-de-santiago-murillo https://www.elespectador. com/noticias/nacional/paro- nacional-en-palmira-noche- violenta-tras-manifestaciones- del-dos-de-mayo/

Day	Date in 2021	Main Events	Source
7.	Tuesday, May 4	Although President Duque removed the reform, the gatherings continued, focused on economic inequality and poverty, the repression of the government intensified since April 28, and the assissination of various young people at the hands of the police. All protests faced violent cases of police brutality and military repression, dozens of people died, and over 1,000 people were injured. Several encounters between military police and citizens in the concentration area in La Luna in Cali-Valle del Cauca. Murder of Kevin Agudelo Police Intervention Bogotá: Kenedy neighborhood. "Velatón" against the murders that occurred during the national strike. The police interrupted with brutality and fired gunshots at the citizens. Violent intervention and abuse of power. Censorship: The internet is powered off in Cali. On May 4 at night, while in Siloé and other areas, the police commit violent attacks against protesters, the internet breaks down and makes it almost impossible to share videos of the police brutality. An eleven year old boy is found dead. in Cali: in Siloe. Gunshots fired indiscriminately by the National Police kill an 11 year old. A seven year old is also reported injured.	https://www.portafolio.co/ economia/reforma-tributaria/ presidente-duque-retiro-la- reforma-tributaria-551562 https://www.elespectador.com/ colombia2020/pais/los-rostros-de- las-victimas-mortales-durante-el- paro-nacional/?fbclid=lwAR3plvX RS2RjNS1KNZ9L8CU8ucF47sW q_268lsZ4gdo8W1dvShr089TeJsl https://www.eltiempo.com/ justicia/investigacion/como-fue- el-ataque-de-policias-a-comision- humanitaria-en-cali-585866 https://www.pulzo.com/nacion/ paro-nacional-denuncian- violenta-accion-policia-siloe-cali- PP1048663 https://www.pulzo.com/nacion/ paro-nacional-disturbios-barrio- castilla-bogota-PP1048938 https://www.elespectador.com/ tecnologia/netblocks-alerta- interrupcion-de-internet-en- cali-durante-el-paro/ https:// www.instagram.com/p/ COgGDYPtuYN/?utm_source=ig_ web_copy_link https://noticias.canal1.com.co/ nacional/nino-11-anos-murio- durante-incursion-policial- cali?fbclid=lwAR167 NyvQsNIO-VtuyrKRreeDUC8l9u WSjs3UnQZX6s0EPdDtGKEWo R9D8c https://www.infobae.com/america/ colombia/2021/05/04/confirman- identidades-de-tres-muertos-en- siloe-por-hechos-de-violencia-en- la-noche-de-este-lunes/

Day	Date in 2021	Main Events	Source
8.	Wednesday, May 5	Confrontation between civilians and military at the concentration point of the Siloé in Cali-Valle del Cauca. Confrontation between civilians in	https://www.semana.com/nacion/ articulo/atencion-informe-de-la- defensoria-del-pueblo-habla-de- 24-muertos-y-89-desaparecidos- en-las-protestas/202131/ https://www.nytimes.
		the Ciudad Jardín neighborhood in Cali-Valle del Cauca.	com/2021/05/05/world/americas/ colombia-covid-protests-duque. html?searchResultPosition=1&fbcl
		The student leader Lucas Villa is assassinated in Pereira. Viaducto de Pereira: Lucas was in a peaceful protest during the night, when eight shots were fired from a private van. That night he was in an Intensive Care Unit. Shots were fired from National Police helicopters in Buga-Valle of Cauca. News breaks about the young afro-colombians who were assassinated during the national strike.	id=IwAR0wzQaCsYAfPNZMq11Kr GQc_xmuUtggI-vOQCt- NzCt3pJOPccwcsQqlpA https://www.theguardian.com/ world/video/2021/may/05/ colombia-protests-what https://www.bbc.com/ news/world-latin-america- 56983865?fbclid=IwAR0CNi0jKKxiVSQt4ZrjWmDI- W4c3KZC9aat14XSmkqL9yc4I1K LREf5c https://cnnespanol.cnn. com/2021/05/07/lucas-villa- colombia-protestas-pereira-orix/ https://www.infobae.com/america/ colombia/2021/05/08/autoridades- de-risaralda-entregan-nuevo- parte-medico-de-lucas-villa-este- 8-de-mayo/ https://lasillavacia.com/ataque- lucas-villa-amenaza-mano- negra-contra-las-protestas- pereira-81446 https://twitter.com/pocacos_a/ status/1389961707519451140?s= 20 https://lasillavacia.com/brutalidad- policial-protesta-deja-cada-vez- mas-victimas-81369. https://www.qhubocali.com/ judiciales/27-homicidios-esperan- respuesta/

Day	Date in 2021	Main Events	Source
9.	Date in 2021 Thursday, May 6	Hunger, angst, unknown, frustration, impotence, these are the most common expressions used in Cali, 8 days after the start of the national strike. Civilian police shoot protestors in Cali. Videos show the moment when, in Ancla district, at 3pm, men in civilian clothes step out of a van and shoot protestors in the district. Afterwards, it is revealed that the van's license plates are National Police and in the van, there were Police uniform jacquets. Abuse of power. A child with Down Syndrome is beat up. In Medellín: police men hit a child with Down Syndrome as he tries to protect his mother.	https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/may/06/colombia-protests-violent-unrest-police-crackdown https://www.pulzo.com/nacion/videos-policias-vestidos-civil-disparando-cali-PP1049423 https://humanaradio.com.co/policia-de-cali-confirmo-que-camion-con-civiles-que-dispararon-a-manifestantes-en-cali-son-personal-activo/ https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/paro-nacional-policia-admite-que-camion-con-hombres-vestidos-de-civil-es-suyo/
		It is reported that they broke his clavicle.	

Day	Date in 2021	Main Events	Source
10.	Friday, May 7	 Southeast of Cali: Friday 7th, at night, a medical mission was attacked in the Luna sector, Numerous protestors were there to be attended, when a private van drove by. One person was wounded. Tanks fire at protestors. 	https://cuestionpublica. com/desaparecidos-paro- naciona-2021/ https://www.eltiempo.com/ colombia/cali/paro-nacional- nuevo-presunto-ataque-a-bala- a-manifestantes-en-la-luna- cali-586949 https://www.lafm.com.co/ colombia/cifra-de-desaparecidos- en-el-paro-nacional-ascendio-
		The director of Human Rights Watch in the Americas speaks up about police brutality, especially the tanks used to fire lacrimogenos gas or deafening bombs on the protestors.	548-segun-defensoria https://www.elespectador.com/ colombia2020/pais/relatos- del-horror-las-torturas-que- habrian-sufrido-capturados- por-la-policia-en-el-paro- nacional/?cx_testId=17&cx_ testVariant=cx_1&cx_ artPos=0#cxrecs_s
		Assassination Attempt of Hector Fabio Morales In Pereira: people are gravely wounded from the gunshots; he was offering first aid to the protestors.	https://www.theguardian.com/ global-development/2021/may/07/ colombia-protests-police-covid- poverty-violence https://www.eltiempo.com/ colombia/cali/paro-en-cali- no-mas-balas-no-ataquen-
		An army reserve soldier caught doing illegal intelligence gathering. • Cali: Calimio district - a video	a-la-mision-medica-587015 https://www.instagram.com/p/ COmKqj4tUur/?utm_source=ig_ web_copy_link
		is published in which an army reserve is seen taking photos of the protestors in the middle of the gathering.	https://fb.watch/5mM-F3-R27/ https://www.instagram.com/p/ COYM05Mjswq/?utm_source=ig_ web_copy_link
			https://twitter.com/laorejaroja/ status/1390854183591432192?s= 20
			https://twitter.com/AIntales/status/ 1309090963545713432192?s=20
			https://rutasdelconflicto.com/ especiales/victimas-mortales- paro?s=08

Day	Date in 2021	Main Events	Source
11.	Saturday, May 8	Main Events Death of Elvis Vivas West Cali March East Cali March: Black women defending black lives. The police fire gunshots indiscriminately in Ubaté. A video of a citizen shows the police shooting in the streets of Ubaté in the early morning. Gunshots fired on protestors Cali: portada al Mar Civilian videos register a private van attacking them in a peaceful protest. Unidentified police. Medellín: Deseos Park. Human Rights personnel records unidentified police provoking riots.	https://www.infobae.com/ america/colombia/2021/05/08/ murio-joven-que-habria- recibido-brutal-golpiza-en-una- subestacion-de-policia-en- madrid-cundinamarca/ https://fb.watch/5mQow7vJzh/ https://twitter.com/AIntales/ status/1391123976924106758 ?s=20 https://twitter.com/AIntales/ status/1390901692837908486 ?s=20

Day	Date in 2021	Main Events	Source
12.	Sunday, May 9	Planes and nocturnal disturbance by ESMAD and the army in Cali Confrontations among civilians in various parts of Cali (Jamundi, Pance, Ciudad Jardin). Attacks on the Indigenous Minga. Cali: the Cañasgordas sector and Ciudad Jardín. The minga is attacked by armed civilians, 10 are wounded, the facts are confusing but people around the scene record the police grabbing civilians that were in the confrontation. Attacks on the protestors. Cali: Melendez neighborhood. The police shoot protestors overnight. Illegal use of fireams.	https://www.eltiempo.com/ opinion/editorial/doce-dias- de-protestas-editorial-de- el-tiempo-del-9-de-mayo- de-2021-587074 https://www.semana.com/ nacion/articulo/por-favor- autoridad-expresidente-uribe- sobre-caos-en-cali/202131/ https://www.elespectador. com/noticias/politica/ retornen-nuevamente-a-sus- resguardos-presidente-duque- a-las-comunidades-indigenas- en-cali/ https://www.bluradio.com/ blu360/pacifico/duque-ordena- levantar-bloqueos-aumentar- fuerza-en-cali-y-que-retornen- indigenas-a-sus-resguardos https://www.facebook. com/ricardo.barona.90/ videos/10159070189314788/ https://www.radionacional. co/actualidad/cali- enfrentamientos-minga- indigena-civiles https://www.instagram. com/p/COqsYgmNeHt/?utm_ source=ig_web_copy_link https://www.instagram.com/p/COq0TOAno6g/?utm_ source=ig_web_copy_link https://www.instagram.com/ tv/COrLWw2jHIW/?utm_ source=ig_web_copy_link https://www.instagram.com/ tv/COrLWw2jHIW/?utm_ source=ig_web_copy_link https://twitter.com/ JulianJaraUribe/