

Architecture

of

Transitional

Justice

The Cooperative as Part of Post-Conflict Reconciliation in Colombia

Federico Ortiz Velásquez



Research Booklet

Research Booklet

MSc Thesis

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01

Architecture of Transitional Justice Production of Space as Part of Transitional Justice in Post-Conflict Colombia, The Case of Granada

Abstract

The recent Colombian Peace Agreement between the government of Juan Manuel Santos and FARC-EP offers the opportunity to analyze the transitional justice model, that aims to address the past violent events and the future of the victims. The lack of involvement of architecture in the post-conflict dialogue on transitional justice, however, reveals the non-existent relationship and coordination between the agencies of architecture and realpolitik. To fill the gap, my research addresses the role of architecture in Colombian post-conflict environment. It studies the development of transitional justice through its spatial manifestation, whose goal is to achieve peaceful coexistence between people and reconciliation with the violent past. The paper focuses on Granada as a case study and the involvement of agrarian practices to confront the critical economic condition after the conflict, offering a range of symbolic and pragmatic architectural interventions which will then be the cornerstone of my design project.

Keywords

Architecture, transitional justice, Colombian Peace Agreement, social tolerance, Granada, productive processes, identity, territory.



Marcha del Ladrillo. © Jesús Abad Colorado.

Introduction

“After every war someone has to clean up. Things won’t straighten themselves up, after all”¹ wrote the Polish poet and Nobel laureate Wisława Szymborska.

This research explores the role of architecture in the Colombian Peace Agreement and post-conflict recovery, leading to the following research question: *How can architecture bridge the gap between a violent past and the promise of a peaceful future, focusing on the social and productive practices broken by conflict?* I will contribute to the ongoing discussion on the role of architecture in post-conflict recovery of societies, by studying the possibilities for spatial manifestations of transitional justice (TJ) in built environment. Briefly, those manifestations can be described as the collective construction of space, the participation of victims in relevant activities, and achieving peaceful coexistence among the people who will inhabit these spaces. First, I contextualize the agency of architecture in post-conflict reconstructions, aiming to present this research and project as a further step from the memorialization interventions. Piquard and Swenarton² recognize the current focus of the studies of architecture and conflict in the destruction of symbolic architecture and heritage, urban planning politics and reconstruction in the aftermath; yet, a more profound potential of architecture is possible and requires exploration. Architecture in the aftermath of wars usually operates as a tool of commemoration and provision of basic needs, mainly housing, with highly symbolic constructions. Memorials, monuments, documentation centers, history museums, shelters and housing units, infrastructure reconstruction (such as schools or hospitals), became the center of attention of scholars and politicians alike.

In order to connect the agencies of architecture and political sciences, I define *the architecture of transitional justice* as the spaces intended to face/fulfil both functional and commemorative conditions/needs in the post-conflict context, where processes of TJ are taking place, and serve as the provider of space for reparation, prosecutions, and truth-seeking. Mihaela Mihai, political scientist who has addressed the link between architecture and transitional justice, suggests in her paper that “notwithstanding the weight of symbolic constructions and sites and their centrality to transitional justice projects, the relationship between past

violence and the built environment cannot be reduced to them. A more encompassing account of architectural TJ must address the challenge of redesigning and re-signifying a broader category of buildings.”³ In the Colombian case, these exercises of redesign and resignification escalate beyond the urban to the landscape and territorial scale, as there is not a specific typology of architecture with strong symbolic meanings that was targeted, politicized or built in response to the war. As the Colombian architect Camilo Restrepo accurately stated in the interview I carried out, “social infrastructure is always necessary for this context. We have a lack of square meters, institutions, infrastructure, that with or without architects, with or without good architecture needs to be done.”⁴ It is my stance that the architecture of transitional justice should operate through the construction of these institutions and infrastructures.

To answer the question I raise above, I apply the following methodology: First, this research establishes a theoretical framework and conceptual base, with the deep reflection on the current discourses on architectural production in post-conflict scenarios, and particular emphasis on notions of transitional justice and social tolerance, as the physical and political space in which encounters take place. Social tolerance is the encounter between social groups, in this case victims and perpetrators, with a specific goal: the acknowledgment and acceptance of differences in others, leading to a collective construction of peace. Secondly, I conduct a series of interviews. The term “converse” comes from the Latin *con*: meeting/cooperation + *versari*: to go around something. To converse, to talk and discuss ideas about post-conflict spaces is fundamental to encompass different perspectives from different fields of knowledge and different actors; from the head negotiator of the agreement, to victims, architects, artists, and former FARC members. Thirdly, I mapped the territorial (rural) and urban scale of Granada (Antioquia), the chosen case study. As Crampton and Elden identified within Foucault’s discourses on cartography, “Foucault’s work suggests that mapping is not just the manufacture or printing of a map at a particular time by a particular person, but that maps are both a product of and intervention in a distributed series of political knowledges.”⁵ Mapping is a relevant tool for this research that expands the comprehension of the repercussions of conflict in the territory, becoming in Krygier and Wood’s words, “not representations so much as propositions or arguments.”⁶

1. Wisława Szymborska. *The End and The Beginning*. from *Miracle Fair: Selected Poems of Wisława Szymborska*. W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York, NY. Translated from the Polish by Joanna Trzeciak. 2001.

2. Brigitte Piquard and Mark Swenarton. *The Journal of Architecture: Leaning from architecture and conflict*. 2011. 1-13, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602365.2011.557897>

3. Mihaela Mihai. “Architectural Transitional Justice? Political renewal within the Scars of a Violent Past.” *International Journal of Transitional Justice*. 2018. 12, 515-536.

4. Personal Interview. Medellín, Colombia, 19 December 2019. See “Conversations around Conflict, Architecture & Peace.”

5. Jeremy Crampton and Stuart Elden. *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*. London: Ashgate, 2016.

6. John Krygier and Dennis Wood. *Ce n’est pas le monde*. In Martin Dodge, Rob Kitchin and Chris Perkins editors. *Rethinking maps*, Abingdon. Routledge, in press. 2009.

Lastly, the field trip in Granada served for the grounding of theories and concepts sketched beforehand, proving their presence and spatial translation *in situ*. These four steps will serve as a theoretical and experimental foundation for the architectural project I will design in the aforementioned municipality of Colombia.

This paper's primary geographical focus on the rural environment of Colombia. The conflict in this country was mainly happening in rural areas, where the State had less control. Criminal organizations - mainly guerrillas and paramilitaries - operated with a certain freedom. Colombia's internal conflict is the lengthiest armed conflict in the western hemisphere. Historically, there is no specific determinant on the exact moment when it started. Some historians locate it around the 1920s when the first violent confrontations started over the land ownership. Land ownership, in fact, may be the common ground that connects different perspectives on the origin of the conflict, since the agrarian factor triggered the confrontations between guerrillas and State. Javier Giraldo,⁷ member of the Historical Memory Commission of the Conflict and its Victims, argues that the ownership of land is directly related to the three basic needs: housing, food, and work/income. If the State cannot guarantee these needs, it basically legitimizes the rebellion of its citizens, which explains the emergence of the insurgency.

Other historians locate the beginning of the internal conflict around the mid-1960s with the birth of FARC – the *Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia* – in 1964. Their origins can be traced from a group of self-defense farmers with liberal tendencies, who were displaced during the period of La Violencia,⁸ later adopting communist ideologies inspired by Marxist-Leninist theories. This is also the result of a broader context, the Latin American liberation fights fueled by the United States-Soviet Cold War tension. During this time, the ELN, the *National Liberation Army*, emerged as the third participant in the conflict. Various paramilitary organizations have also been involved in the conflict, especially the AUC, *United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia*. Military, paramilitary, guerrillas, domestic elites and multinational actors have been fighting since for the control of this resource-rich territory.⁹ Both farmers and rural areas have been the main victims throughout the Colombian conflict, and are now at the center of the discussions towards the peace-building, especially after the signing of the agreement in 2016.

7.

El Heraldo. Las teorías del origen del conflicto armado en Colombia. Last modified February 18, 2015. <https://www.elheraldo.co/politica/las-teorias-del-origen-del-conflicto-armado-en-colombia-184562>

8.

La Violencia (The Violence): political violence spread throughout Colombia, between 1948 and 1958, as a result of political tension between liberals and conservatives, resulting in more than two hundred thousand deaths and two million displaced.

9.

Kimberly Theidon. "Transitional Subjects: The Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Colombia." *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, Vol. 1, 2007, 66-90.



Granada, Antioquia. © Federico Ortiz Velásquez

10. What is the “memorial architecture” that was agreed in Havana? ¡Pacifista! Last edited December 1, 2016. <https://pacifista.tv/notas/para-que-sirve-la-arquitectura-comemorativa-que-se-pacto-en-la-habana/?fbclid=IwAR0oA1rzGDYPjYpMJIh58MN75ICtcZNaM-o1Yyo5WHu8a2R4v-I5KSi8gow>

11. Mesa de Conversaciones. Final Agreement for the termination of conflict and the construction of a stable and lasting peace. Edited by Oficina del Alto Comisionado para la Paz. 2016.

12. What is the “memorial architecture” that was agreed in Havana? ¡Pacifista! Last edited December 1, 2016. <https://pacifista.tv/notas/para-que-sirve-la-arquitectura-comemorativa-que-se-pacto-en-la-habana/?fbclid=IwAR0oA1rzGDYPjYpMJIh58MN75ICtcZNaM-o1Yyo5WHu8a2R4v-I5KSi8gow>

13. Personal Interview. Bogotá, Colombia. 10 December 2019. See “Conversations around Conflict, Architecture & Peace”.

The Colombian Peace Agreement between the government of Juan Manuel Santos and FARC-EP opened the doors for new conversations, discourses and perspectives regarding a new conflict-free society, unfamiliar to young generations who do not know how to live without war. Although the current presence of armed actors such as ELN, paramilitaries, among others, could question the use of the concept of “post-conflict” in Colombia, I frame this research in the post-conflict context since the end of the violent clashes between the two main actors mentioned above – State and FARC EP – created the opportunity for new discussions in architecture, thus benefiting from the momentum created by the Peace Agreement.

As highlighted by ¡Pacifista!, the fifth point of the Peace Agreement talks about the reparation of the victims and the creation of a new model of transitional justice, which now I will address in more depth.¹⁰ The fifth point consists of 75 items designed to redress the lives of the victims of the conflict. The third point of the Agreement talks about the “Collective reparation at the end of the conflict”,¹¹ addressing the concept of “Collective reparation plans with a territorial approach”. This concept promises to acknowledge the damages on the property and contribute to the transformation of living conditions of communities through several elements, among them the “Material and symbolic measures aimed at addressing the damage.” According to the Agreement, this point is about “measures aimed at direct, individual and collective victims, such as dignification, memory, tributes and commemorations, infrastructure projects and commemorative architecture”.¹² Oddly, this is the only point in the 310-page document of the Agreement where the term *architecture* is mentioned.

In the interview I carried out with Humberto de La Calle,¹³ the head of the Negotiating Team on behalf of the Government of Colombia, I asked him to clarify these interventions; de La Calle stated that *collective reparations* are a way in which the State fulfils its responsibility to work with communities, not only by addressing the assets of each one of the victims, but “the collective vision of the reparations”, namely project for the community, including the repair of physical infrastructure. In addition to that, he states, “about the commemorative manifestations, what was actually agreed upon was to destroy the weapons that had been delivered by

FARC to the United Nations, to make memorials with a commemorative purpose,” which later became the artwork *Fragmentos*, by Doris Salcedo.¹⁴

Furthermore, I examined the use of the concept of space in the final Peace Agreement document, aiming to find out what kind of spaces are discussed and described, already knowing that the concept of *architecture* was completely disregarded. The results revealed rather democratic and public understanding of space in the post-conflict stage. What this document highlighted was the importance of spaces for – democratic – processes: spaces for community dialogue and collective mourning which allow individual and collective expressions of suffering; spaces for political announcements; spaces that recognize victims and accountability; spaces for conflict reconciliation, intercultural spaces for harmonic co-existence, etc. As architects, we already believe that our practice is a relevant agent that facilitates social processes through spatial organization, creates the right conditions, triggers activities and behaviors. The lack of architects’ involvement throughout this process, however, drew my attention. Given the previous context, a second research question arises: *what is the role of architecture within Colombia’s political and social transition from conflict to peace?*

To face this question, my research does not encompass the whole national scale, but rather focus on one place: Granada, in Antioquia. This municipality was fundamental for the territorial control over the area, given its important location, thus becoming a strategic operational field for guerrillas like FARC and ELN, paramilitaries, and the national army. Granada, located in the eastern region of Antioquia commonly known as the Reservoirs,¹⁵ has predominantly mountainous landscape in the middle of the Andes, an average altitude of 2050 meters above the sea level, and eleven thousand inhabitants with a strong agrarian identity. This municipality was a strategic territory for all parties in the conflict, and I argue that it is also a strategic territory for peace building through achieving social tolerance in a municipality where victims, former guerrilla members and new inhabitants coexist, where architecture can perform as a tactical tool for restitution and progress. A second goal is to make this case study a model for future analysis and interventions for other municipalities of the country.

14. *Fragmentos*: Counter-monument, conceived by the artist Doris Salcedo and carried out with the collaboration of women, victims of the Colombian armed conflict, is operated by the National Museum of Colombia of the Ministry of Culture. Through this project the artist has conceived a place that seeks to create dialogues from a new physical and conceptual platform, which proposes a constant reflection on the effects and ruptures of the Colombian armed conflict. Retrieved at <http://www.museonacional.gov.co/micrositios1/Fragmentos/index.html#section-about>

15. The administrative division of Eastern Antioquia divides the region in four main subregions: Altiplano, Embalses (where Granada is located), Páramo, Bosques.



Fragmentos, by Doris Salcedo © Federico Ortiz Velásquez

The territories where conflict took place have a significant symbolic meaning for their inhabitants. As Elden¹⁶ highlights, “Lefebvre suggests that space is the ultimate locus and medium of struggle, and is, therefore, a crucial political issue. For Lefebvre, space is not just the place of conflict, but an object of struggle itself. It is for this reason that he claims that ‘there is a politics of space because space is political’”.¹⁷ In the Colombian context, guerrillas and paramilitaries acted under the politics of terror, with the ultimate goal of creating the atmosphere of fear, instability, and taking the control over space. Elden also brings forward an interesting link between “territory” and “terror”, in regard to the writing of theorists such as William Connolly, who argued that:

*[T]erritory is formed both from the Latin terra—land or terrain—as is generally recognized; but also, from the notion of territorium, a place from which people are warned. Terrere is to frighten away, and thus on this argument “territory” and “terror” share common roots. We can see this in practice too, in that creating a bounded space is, already, a violent act of exclusion; maintaining it as such requires constant vigilance and the mobilization of threat; and challenging it necessarily entails a transgression.*¹⁸

Besides the threats and feelings of terror, violence appears as another relevant trauma. I employ the definition of violence as the behavior involving physical force intended to hurt, damage, or kill someone or something.¹⁹ Observed through the context of conflict in Granada, violence was exercised on the built environment as the mean of power-expression. Attacks on urban settlements and car-bombings, destruction of infrastructure, and checkpoints were some of the tactical tools that guerrilla, paramilitaries, and army used in order to control this territory. These operations led to the disruption of the links between people and their habitat, their practices and their identity. This is where transitional justice becomes a relevant mechanism. So far it was mainly discussed within the realm of political sciences and law, while completely disregarded by architects, creating a gap of knowledge between these two disciplines. The architecture of transitional justice could address the question of the role of spatial practice within post-conflict social recovery, and clarify what Herscher asks in this seminal essay: “where architecture ends and violence starts, how to locate architecture –‘here’– concerning

16. Stuart Elden. *Terror and Territory: The Spatial Extent of Sovereignty*. University of Minnesota Press. 2009

17. Henri Lefebvre [1972] 2000:59; see Elden 2004



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18. William Connolly. *The Ethos of Pluralization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1995.

19. Violence. Definition by Oxford Dictionary. Retrieved online at <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/violence>.

20. Andrew Herscher. "Warchitectural Theory." *Journal of Architectural Education*. 2008. 35-43

war – 'there' – ."²⁰

Architecture of Transitional Justice

To elaborate on the architecture of TJ, understanding the concept and role of TJ is critical. Mihai, who I also interviewed during this research, has addressed the relationship between TJ and architecture from the domain of political science, triggering some thoughts and, in my opinion, raising more open questions. She states that TJ covers institutional mechanisms that society employs in order to deal with a past of violence and injustice. Truth commissions, criminal trials, restitution, compensation, and lustration are frequently used to remediate the legacies of authoritarianism or civil war.²¹ Hazan points out that these mechanisms were theorized and developed at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of 1990s, and focused on authoritarian regimes towards acknowledging human rights violations committed by these regimes while institutionalizing the rule of law within a defined national space. He showcases Argentina and Chile dictatorships, Central and Eastern Europe communist regimes, or South Africa, as countries where "TJ symbolically embodied democratic change."²² What is fundamental in TJ is its approach towards victims, placing them at the main focus of discussions and actions. Colombia has institutionalized the model of TJ under the name of JEP, *Jurisdicción Especial para la Paz*, in Spanish, or Special Jurisdiction for Peace, in English. Established in 2017 after the signing of the Peace Agreement between the government of Colombia and FARC, it investigates and prosecutes the former members of FARC, members of the public force and third parties who have participated in the Colombian armed conflict.

To involve architecture in TJ processes means to expand the process of peacemaking from exclusively political domain and address the role of space in achieving the justice from many different perspectives: social tolerance as the peaceful coexistence of different social groups or, spatial reconciliation as the re-signification of spaces with traumatic legacies to be inhabited again. Speculations regarding the spatialization of TJ may start from a territorial approach, building on the discourses of the peace agreement. Alejandro, a former guerrilla member who operated in Eastern Antioquia and Medellín, is currently part of the

21. Mihaela Mihai. "Democratic 'Sacred Spaces': Public Architecture and Transitional Justice," in Nir Eisikovitz, Claudio Corradetti and Jack Volpe Rotondi (eds.), *Theorizing Transitional Justice* (Ashgate). 2014

22. Pierre Hazan. "Beyond Borders: the new architecture of Transitional Justice?" *International Journal of Transitional Justice*. 2017. 11, 1-8.

political party of FARC which now operates under the name of *Fuerza Alternativa Revolucionaria del Común*, or Common Revolutionary Alternative Force, in English, stated in the series of interviews that:

*[W]e work on activities with a restorative approach. What does that mean? That we must go to the territories where the war was lived so intensely, go there and start building, not only the truth, but peaceful territories with the communities, and give hope to the new generations. Then, that's what JEP is trying to achieve.*²³

Colombia already tried to apply a model of TJ before, Law 975 or Justice and Peace Law from 2005, promoted by former president Alvaro Uribe, facilitating the demobilization and reincorporation of paramilitaries. Where JEP differentiates with the former model is on the acknowledgment of several actors (FARC, members of the Public Force, and third parties) who intervened in conflict and the necessity to listen to their versions of the truth of past events that would lead to the construction of collective and global truth. Regarding this issue, Alejandro states that:

[O]ne aspires that those high officials and leaders also tell the truth, or at least they are forced to tell it. Obviously, JEP will not be able to do many things, but this is a model of transitional justice which is very different from other models in the world. To know the truth will be very complex in the Colombian case. We have to talk, tell our side of the story, and bet on the issue of truth. Not only from our side, but from every perspective, all cultures and all edges.

Besides the previous model of TJ, Colombia's Victims and Land Restitution Law no. 1448 from 2011 "set in place a large-scale reparations program for victims of the country's internal armed conflict. (...) Law 1448 is an ambitious assistance and reparation program, having registered almost 16 percent of Colombia's population as official victims of the conflict."²⁴ This is highly relevant in terms of architecture, as there is a democratic and collective perspective that space has to facilitate. As stated by Dixon, assistance is for the short-term stability, while

23. Personal Interview. Medellín, Colombia. 20 December 2019. See "Conversations around Conflict, Architecture & Peace".

24. Peter J. Dixon. "Reparations, assistance and the Experience of Justice: lessons from Colombia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo." *International Journal of Transitional Justice*. 2016. 10, 88-107

25.
Ibid.

reparations are provided for longer-term transformations.²⁵ This research aims to explore the possibility of a production of a long-term intervention that acknowledges transitionality - adaptability over time - as a fundamental quality of the architecture of Colombia's post-conflict society that seeks to implement the peace agreement. Some previous spatial interventions, made before the agreement and having no relation with TJ, have been built in Colombia and Latin America and could be associated with the idea of the architecture of transitional justice in terms of program and community approach. The well-known public escalators of Comuna 13, one of the most dangerous and most impoverished neighborhoods in Medellín, performs as part of a more extensive infrastructure system, working together with a library, school, and public space. Built in 2012, the escalators have triggered the development and regeneration of the neighborhood, attracted new activities and tourism, told the story of the pain that took place there, and facilitated the construction of a new narrative. The interventions in Medellín and the urban acupuncture implementation made by Jaime Lerner in Curitiba, Brazil, are examples of what could be done at this stage, by integrating urban and rural dynamics with economic processes through institutional frameworks.²⁶

One of the main challenges of TJ is to include the rural and remote communities, rather than focus solely on urban areas, as its absence from the rural regions of the country is evident. In my conversations with locals from Granada, I highlight interesting points of view in regard to this issue. Claudia Giraldo, director of Tejipaz,²⁷ an association invested in a fair-trade of local producers of coffee and panela, said to me that "If we start generalizing with people, they do not know what those things (TJ) mean, because those are terms, acronyms. All I do know is that most people know TJ because of what is spoken on the media, that usually is not showing things as they are and the essential part of the process is often not communicated."²⁸ Kieran McEvoy states that "the 'overselling' the capacity of major legal institutions to deliver forgiveness, reconciliation, or other features associated with post-conflict nation-building may well encourage unrealizable public expectations and ultimately an unfair assessment that such institutions have 'failed'."²⁹ A relevant concept has to be taken into account here, transitional justice from below.³⁰ This basically summarizes McEvoy's perspective on the elite-driven transitional justice processes and the need to scale them down to the individuals,

26.

Fabiano Micocci. "Envisioning a Post Conflict Tripoli: the inclusive urban strategy and action plan." In Footprint-Spaces of conflict. Delft Architecture Theory Journal V.10. 2016. 57-78

27.

Tejipaz is a non-profit entity, but also as a Simplified Joint Stock Company (S.A.S) for the marketing of products in Granada, Antioquia since 2016. This association works with victims of the conflict, mainly farmers, supporting their agrarian practices through fair-trade processes.

28.

Personal Interview. Granada, Colombia. 16 December 2019. See "Conversations around Conflict, Architecture & Peace".

29.

Kieran McEvoy. "Beyond Legalism: Towards a Thicker Understanding of Transitional Justice." Journal of Law and Society. V.34, N. 4. 2007.

30.

Ibid.

groups and communities who were victimized during conflict, in places where the lack of State institutions and increases the marginalization. The cases of Northern Ireland and Rwanda exemplify this theory, as processes highly distant and disconnected from their primary focus group, the victims.

Communities, historically important for shaping the built environment through their traditional, and cultural practices, networks, and habits, must become the primary resource for economic and spatial interventions.³¹ They should be at the center of the decision-making, and architects should act as mediators between society and space, therefore between disciplines. What can facilitate the TJ processes is acknowledging the bottom-up approach,³² where communities are encouraged to be more proactive in the process of social (and, I argue, also physical) reconstruction.

The case study in this paper has a strong collective identity. Granada is known as "the cradle of cooperativism" and it has developed a series of cooperatives, private initiatives, with the aim to strengthen the productive and social potential the community has, by focusing mainly on agrarian practices and support for local farmers. Besides the cooperatives, the association of victims ASOVIDA³³ and Tejipaz play a fundamental role as associative entities that could be further aided by architecture in order to reach wider masses. Whether fully public, private, or public-private partnerships, their role in such communities is essential.

The architecture of transitional justice then becomes the translator, the agent of conversion between political discourses and grass-root actions. In this sense, I propose three main architectural elements relevant that can serve as the bridge for this discussion: *program*, *in-between spaces*, and *materiality*. Firstly, I argue that the programmatic condition of the post-conflict architecture should be addressed through specific site conditions, which will raise symbolic, pragmatic, and ethical considerations. On the one hand, the program will deal with the economic layer of post-conflict, particularly, the need to achieve economic stability and productivity once the conflict is over. This is immensely relevant and statistically proven, as half of the countries resume large scale violence within five years after the conflict because of not achieving economic stability.³⁴ On the

31.

Nasser Golzari and Yara Sharif. "Reclaiming space and identity: heritage-led regeneration in Palestine." The Journal of Architecture: Learning from architecture and conflict. 16:1. 2011. 121-144.

32.

Patricia Lundy and Mark McGovern. "Community, Truth-Recovery and Conflict Transformation "From Below." In Gabriel Ruiz Romero. "Voices around us: Memory and community empowerment in reconstruction efforts in Colombia." The International Journal of transitional justice. V 6. 2012, 547-557.

33.

ASOVIDA: Asociación de Víctimas de Granada, Association of Victims of Granada, in English.

34.

Gerd Junne. "The Good Cause." Interview by Architecture of Peace research project. Video, 0:35. <http://architectureofpeace.org/about/>



Identity. © Federico Ortiz Velásquez

other hand, architecture becomes the facilitator of temporal programs. Chenou, Chaparro-Martinez, and Mora³⁵ identify other activities the architecture of TJ can accommodate beyond its main programmatic layout, working, for example, on collective processes between individuals of different groups (former combatants, victims, non-victims) towards achieving social tolerance even when they do not have a full comprehension of TJ. For instance, an exercise was developed in Antioquia by Maperos Campesinos (Mapping Farmers), an initiative where 25 farmers participated in a cartography workshop in order to understand their territory while adopting mapping technologies, all in effort to improve their communities.³⁶ The project of Maperos Campesinos addresses this issue:

[T]he fact that participants discursively distance themselves from what they see as an essentially judicial and institutional process does not mean that their practices are not contributing to a reconceptualization of transitional justice processes towards more participation and empowerment of communities. On the contrary, the outcome of the mapping process contributes to formal transitional justice processes, thereby including technological practices ‘from below’ in the realm of transitional justice.³⁷

Secondly, these new institutions could focus on the quality of spaces for encounter, economic production, and creation of new collective perspectives that could operate under concepts that have already been addressed by some architects: the concept of *freespace* by Grafton Architects, or *field conditions* by Stan Allen. I take here one of the definitions of *freespace* by Farrell and McNamara from the “Freespace Manifesto”: “freespace can be a space for opportunity, a democratic space, un-programmed and free for uses not yet conceived. There is an exchange between people and buildings that happens, even if not intended or designed, so buildings themselves find ways of sharing and engaging with people over time, long after the architect has left the scene. Architecture has an active as well as passive life.”³⁸ On the other hand, I use Allen’s definition of field conditions as the acceptance of the real in all its messiness and unpredictability, bottom-up phenomena defined not by overarching geometrical schemas but by intricate local connections.³⁹ In light of these definitions, program and freespace perform in a complementary rather than a competitive way.

35. Jean-Marie Chenou, Lina Chaparro-Martinez and Ana María Mora Rubio. “Broadening Conceptualizations of Transitional Justice through Using Technology: ICTs in the Context of Justicia y Paz in Colombia.” *International Journal of Transitional Justice*. 2019. 13, 92-104.

36. Maperos Campesinos -Cartógrafos Sociales y Comunitarios. Fundación OpenStreetMap Colombia. 2017. <https://medium.com/@fosm/maperos-campesinos-cart%C3%B3grafos-sociales-y-comunitarios-78b0fd075ddd>

37. Jean-Marie Chenou, Lina Chaparro-Martinez and Ana María Mora Rubio. “Broadening Conceptualizations of Transitional Justice through Using Technology: ICTs in the Context of Justicia y Paz in Colombia.” *International Journal of Transitional Justice*. 2019. 13, 92-104.

38. Yvonne Farrell and Shelley McNamara. “Freespace Manifesto.” Accessed January 15, 2020. <https://www.readingdesign.org/freespace-manifesto>

39. Stan Allen. *From Object to Field*. AD Architecture after Geometry, Profile Np. 127, John Wiley & Sons Ltd (London). 1997. 24-31.

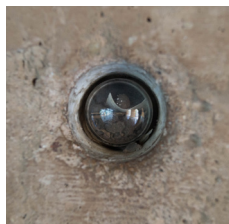
Thirdly, I propose to take on the material condition of this TJ architecture. I already established that the architecture of transitional justice defines the role architecture plays within the sociopolitical processes after the conflict, and open the door for further interdisciplinary discussions on the issue. So, what should it precisely express through its materiality and tectonic? How should the architecture of transitional justice actually look like? The first argument that I state here is that the material condition will be consequent to the *field condition*, or *freespace*. According to Allen, architects like Renzo Piano work in such a way; for Piano, a joint is not an accidental intersection of two materials, but a locus of intensive design energy that conditions the form of a whole.⁴⁰ Luc Reyhler defines these disciplinary transgressions as “peace architecture”,⁴¹ which draws attention on the architecture that can be used in peace-building processes.

Ideally, post-conflict interventions should create the right spatial conditions to trigger the collective construction of peace and do so by focusing on the facilitation of two main processes: social tolerance and (spatial) reconciliation. The Memory, Peace and Reconciliation Center, designed by Juan Pablo Ortiz Architects, exemplifies how architecture takes such processes one step further. Designed and built in the middle of the peace process, the building hosts victims and visitors in a pedagogical environment where “values capable of achieving sustainable social development based on the respect of life, no violence, truth, justice, and reconciliation are extolled.”⁴² The Center is built under the land, structuring the spatial layout through a central courtyard, while the entrance hall stands out as the only vertical element, a solid volume inspired by land construction ancestral systems. During its construction, 2,000 persons were invited to participate in symbolic ceremonies where they were asked to contribute by bringing a tube with soil from their places of origin and peace-related written statements. Once the construction was over, the tubes were taken to the entrance hall and incrustated in the walls. I visited the project in December 2019 in Bogotá as part of my research, where I analyzed the architectural gestures – entrance hall, underground spaces, and central courtyard – and their relationship with the activities hosted. The building hall creates a transition from the street to the courtyard, where silence is predominant, and the glass facades allow visitors to see what is happening inside. I witnessed a group of victims sewing large fabrics for an art installation

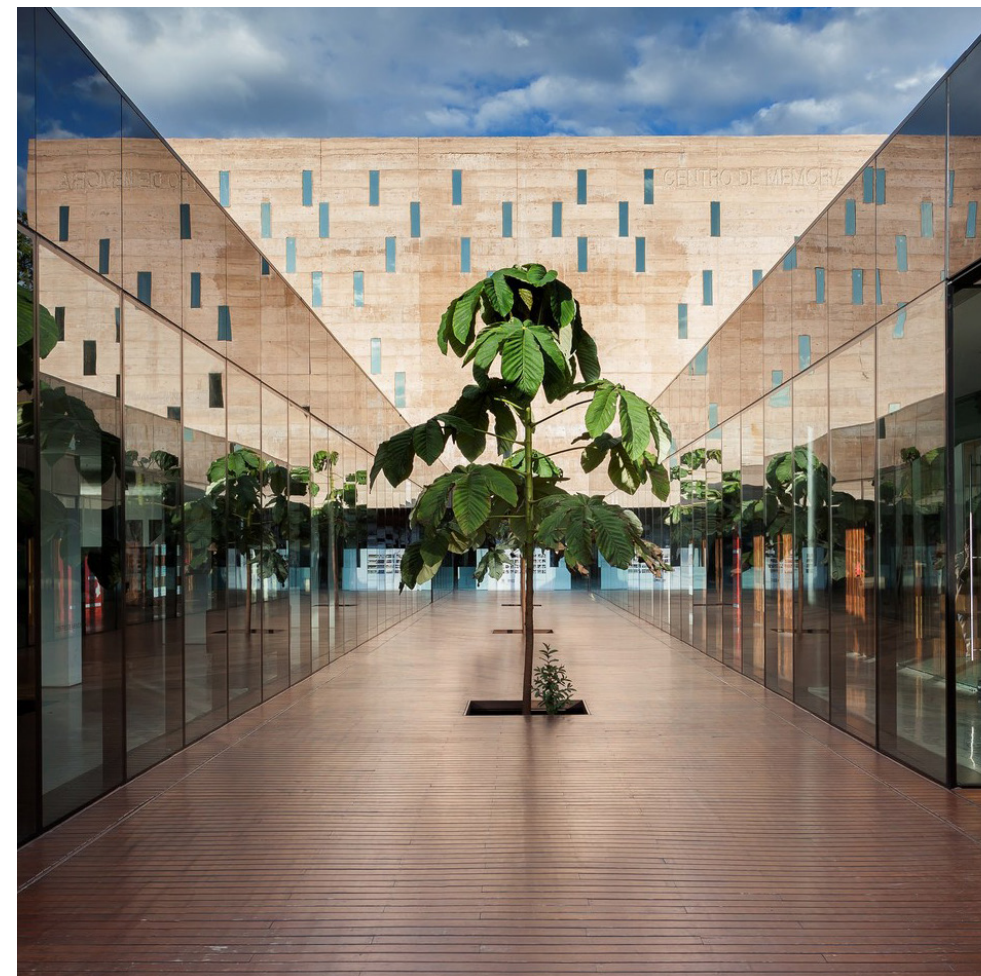
40.
Ibid.

41.
Luc Reyhler. “Peace Architecture, Peace and Conflict Studies: V. 9. N. 1. Article 2. 2002. <https://nsuworks.nova.edu/pcs/vol9/iss1/2>

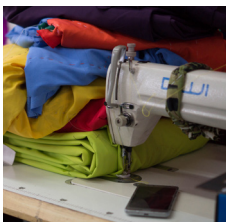
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Memory, Peace and Reconciliation Center © Rodrigo Dávila



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43. Mesa de Conversaciones. Final Agreement for the termination of conflict and the construction of a stable and lasting peace. Edited by Oficina del Alto Comisionado para la Paz. 2016.

44. Aleksandar Stanicic & Milan Sijakovic. (Re) building Spaces of Tolerance: A "Symbiotic Model" for the Post-War City Regeneration. Architecture and Culture. 7:1. 2019. 113-128.



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to take place in the Justice Palace, a seminar on land mining taking place in the adjacent room, and an exhibition on the history of the conflict in Bogotá in the other side of the courtyard. The construction processes, spaces, and activities of The Memory, Peace and Reconciliation Center illustrate how architecture can be a fundamental agent for peacebuilding in Colombia.

Building Social Tolerance, Reconciliation, and Peace in Granada

The Colombian Peace Agreement defines tolerance as "harmony between differences"⁴³ and frames it as a value that has to be applied and defended as a condition to achieve peace, social and economic progress. Stanicic and Sijakovic state that the physical and political space in which encounters take place frames social tolerance, a common ground found by rebuilding the collective spaces for a better, shared future.⁴⁴ In this paper, I won't address post-conflict reconstruction *per se*, as in Colombia there is no damaged architecture to be rebuilt anymore. I will instead focus on the construction of new spaces as part of the same process. It is my position that common grounds must be identified and addressed by architects through the programmatic, spatial, and material conditions described before.

This common ground, in the Colombian case, can be found in traditional practices that were broken by conflict, namely, activities regarding agriculture, arts, and crafts. I focus the attention on agrarian practices, mainly the coffee production as it has a strong link with the landscape, it exemplifies the rural scale of conflict, and it has a crucial importance for the local economy. Coffee has had the quality of bringing people together for centuries in Colombia, and it is still a valuable source of collective activities, organization, and development as a society. Hence, it represents an important activity around which we can build social tolerance between different social groups in a common rural background. To give an example, FARC members, as part of the peace agreements, must reincorporate to the society after spending a period of time in the "*veredal zones*", temporal areas that former guerrilla members have to inhabit in order to make a transition towards civility. Many production processes have started in these areas, as Alejandro states in his interview, expressing that:

*[T]here are a lot of cattle raising, a lot of agriculture, and we have come across with what I call the "golden seed"...And I say "golden seed" because we found that there is a special coffee produced there (Santa Lucía, Ituango), and this means that it will have a greater value in the market, several partners are betting on it, they are betting very strongly on the issue of coffee, even creating a brand called Café Paramillo. And we have gone to the market and it is delivered roasted or ground, and is on a very good road. So those are the kinds of experiences that have been advancing.*⁴⁵

I argue that the practical work/labor related to collective identity can aid the construction of tolerance and reconciliation. In this regard, reconciliation has been a key issue addressed by the Peace Agreement as an essential step towards peace, expressing the need for creating meeting points between victims and perpetrators:

*[R]econciliation at the 'social and individual levels' and 'national reconciliation' are explicitly listed among the ultimate goals for Colombian TJ and DDR programs. TJ measures, such as reparations for victims, truth telling and special prosecutions, as well as ex-combatant reintegration efforts, are said to contribute to 'repairing the social fabric' at the local level. However, the ways in which state-level processes achieve this purpose locally are not so clearly stated. Such aspirations appear to be based on conventional wisdom about the benefits of TJ mechanisms and commonplace beliefs about healing and forgiveness.*⁴⁶

I argue that reconciliation cannot only be related to the social condition between the actors of conflict, - it has to be - extended to include spatial conditions as well. To reconcile with the space, with the territories that have a strong traumatic symbolism, with the places that farmers inhabited for generations, means that those spaces must be re-signified. The loss of land, houses, and the familiar environment with its social underpinnings, correlate to the loss of social relations⁴⁷ that can be restored through territorial and architectural projects, namely through the architecture of TJ. An effort to restore and improve these broken links through the spatial production will put standard tools architects use - design approaches

45. Personal Interview. Medellín, Colombia. 20 December 2019. See "Conversations around Conflict, Architecture & Peace".

46. Juan Diego Prieto. "Together after War While the War goes on: victims, ex-combatants and communities in three Colombian cities." The International Journal of Transitional Justice. V. 6. 2012. 525-546.

47. Brigitte Piquard and Mark Swenarton. The Journal of Architecture: Leaning from architecture and conflict. 2011. 1-13, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602365.2011.557897>.



Collective Production of Space © Arquitectura Expandida

and methods - to test, especially from a point of view of identity and programmatic possibilities that need to be addressed.

Moreover, the public character of this architecture involves a broader audience, as Pablo de Greiff has suggested, where the primary domain of application of reconciliation should not be the personal, but civic and political.⁴⁸ I expand the civic application into the construction itself, since involving the community in the (re)building of public buildings and spaces and increase social tolerance as well. The involvement of the community on construction sites becomes a challenge since regulations demand safety and quality standards these projects will have to meet. To do so, I propose prefabrication and DIY alike construction methods as a good response, where the community members can participate in regulated and safe places for the fabrication of building elements. Prefabricated rammed earth walls, or wooden and bamboo structures, are good examples of this. Ruta 4, a design studio focused on social architecture in Colombia, employs bamboo structures and wood for their buildings in different scales; projects like Colorín Colorado – ludic community space – and Casa Ensamble Chacarrá – cultural pavilion – have been successful interventions in precarious contexts. These community-based programs may become the toolbox for architectural design rather than simply the construction of spatial structures.

The spaces where violent events happened are loaded with traumatic memories for the victims who went through them. Therefore, I argue that there is painful psychological links between victims and such spaces. The process of re-signification can take place here, where architecture hosts the reconciliation with the past and the space. This concept is transversal throughout the conversations and interviews I conducted in Colombia. Humberto de La Calle points out that

*[I] am surprised that you said it because the less used concept is that of “reconciliation.” Here we talk about the war of the weapons, the guerrillas, the transitional justice, but we as Colombians forget that the real objective of all this is reconciliation, and it is something that has practically been forgotten in this country, especially in the public discussions.*⁴⁹

48. Pablo de Greiff, ‘The Role of Apologies in National Reconciliation Processes: On Making Trustworthy Institutions Trusted,’ in *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*, ed. Mark Gibney, Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann, Jean-Marc Coicaud and Niklaus Steiner (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania.) 2008. 121. In Juan Diego Prieto. “Together after War While the War goes on: victims, ex-combatants and communities in three Colombian cities.” *The international Journal of Transitional Justice*. V. 6. 2012. 525-546.

49. Personal Interview. Bogotá, Colombia, 10 December 2019. See “Conversations around Conflict, Architecture & Peace”.

50. Personal Interview. Medellín, Colombia. 20 December 2019. See “Conversations around Conflict, Architecture & Peace”.



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51. Tom Avermaete. The Architect and the Public: Empowering People in Postwar Architecture Culture. The Berlage Report on Architecture, Urbanism and Landscape. No. 14. 2010. 83-95.

52. Gabriel Ruiz Romero. “Voices around us: Memory and community empowerment in reconstruction efforts in Colombia.” The international Journal of transitional justice, V. 6. 2012. 547-557.

53. Ibid.

Camilo Restrepo defines reconciliation as getting together with others, others besides the ones of the same kind. He notes that Colombia is a very divided country, in terms of geography and social conditions, but acknowledges that architecture can become the meeting point within these processes: “How will I create reconciliation when this is an archipelago? That is the issue. How to build bridges? Perhaps that is architecture; architecture might be the bridge.”⁵⁰ Who is the “other”, in this case? The “other” is a farmer victim of conflict, a former guerrilla or paramilitary, a new resident of the municipality, a young person wanting to be involved in productive processes. The space won’t only serve to coffee producers, or victims, or former combatants, but all of them, as a condenser of activities, creating participants instead of users. Avermaete emphasizes the importance of such approach by quoting Giancarlo de Carlo, when he suggests that “Architects like De Carlo claimed that not only did architecture have to be reformed and take an explicit societal function, but moreover the common man should have an engaged role in the design and building process: ‘In reality, architecture has become too important to be left to architects.’”⁵¹

I will address the aforementioned conditions through an architectural intervention in Granada, where I acknowledge and encompass the traditional practices present in the conflicted territory in a new transitional, collective and institutional project. Here, I explore how the previous concepts of transitional justice can be translated into a built form in the chosen case. The three architectural principles for the architecture of TJ can be applied in Granada in the following way: first, the institutional frameworks already present in the municipality could support the idea of creating a cooperative space and coffee processing plant as the main program. Ruiz Romero, in his research on Granada that focused on “ASOVIDA’s experiences of reconstructing social relationships within the broader context of Colombia’s ongoing transitional justice process,”⁵² similarly highlighted the value of collective work among victims placed in an institutional space. His argument “[...] It demonstrates how victims’ initiatives for social reparation and reconciliation can strengthen the social bonds broken by violence.”⁵³ Secondly, the materialization of these ideas can be reduced to the idea of creating a building with a strong collective meaning: the agrarian cooperative; usually, cooperatives involve mutual assistance in the work towards a common goal. However, my project see-

ks to go beyond the program of a cooperative as such, and works as an institution for production, encounter, and commemoration, as a part of a larger system of spaces which encompasses the *Salón del Nunca Más*⁵⁴ and symbolic spaces for the community of Granada beyond the borders or the urban area, hence located in the intersection of the territorial and social layers of the municipality.

The cooperative primary focuses on coffee production at the center of activities. Coffee is an omnipresent product in Eastern Antioquia, with 535 coffee veredas, 11.854 farms, 9.636 productive hectares, and 10.624 planters, all members of the primary coffee cooperative, the Cooperativa de Caficultores de Antioquia,⁵⁵ and also many non-associated farmers. Granada alone has a strong coffee tradition among its inhabitants, but given its centrality in Eastern Antioquia, it could become a primary point of logistics in the region. Local institutions like Tejipaz could immensely profit from such a collaborative spatial intervention. Coffee processing plants are meeting points for coffee producers who usually inhabit remote areas; these central spaces become lively institutions for encounter and co-production. However, such intervention will fall short if only one social group – coffee producers – are part of it, and consequently no social tolerance would be achieved. Therefore, the complementary operation between program and freespaces I argued before could prove to be fundamental within the architecture of transitional justice projects in Colombia, where the cooperative operates on almost every aspect of life, bringing children, youth and elderly together as a mean of reconciliation and recovery based on productive and creative activities.

The Memory, Peace and Reconciliation Center I previously analyzed provided some insights on the employment of architecture to redress victims and address peacebuilding processes in the urban context of Bogotá. Nonetheless, I analyze here two projects in suburban neighborhoods that might have similar conditions as Granada. Casa de la Lluvia [de Ideas] and Casa del Viento are small pavilions designed by Arquitectura Expandida in the outskirts of Bogotá with relevant social and cultural components, spatial flexibility, community participation, and use of local materials. The Casa de la Lluvia [de Ideas] or Brainstorm House, in English, is a communal space designed and built with the community of an impoverished neighborhood. The pavilion hosts multiple activities in a space made out of bam-

54. The Salón del Nunca Más, or Never Again Hall, in English, is a commemorative space created by the community of Granada in 2010 as a response to the violence the municipality experienced, and the construction of exercises of memory regarding victims, disappearances, and death.

55. Data extracted from <https://www.cafedeantioquia.com/>



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56.
Arquitectura Expandida.
Casa del Viento: Una
Biblioteca Comunitaria para
San Cristóbal de Bogotá.
Archdaily. Last edited June
17, 2014. <https://www.archdaily.co/co/02-370514/casa-del-viento-una-biblioteca-comunitaria-para-san-cristobal-de-bogota>

57.
Ibid.

boo, plastic and zinc sheets. Similarly, the Casa del Viento, or Wind House, is a building with light materials and simple construction details. The bamboo structures provide the main layout and identity of the spaces, with structural connections that could be disassembled and taken somewhere else, becoming a space that “carries with it a message far more powerful than the lightness and transparency it kindly projects.”⁵⁶ These pavilions are freespaces that host multiple activities; they are an adequate response to low budgets and the need for flexibility.

Notwithstanding the spatial qualities and the attention of the details of these pavilions, I highlight the involvement of the community through processes of design and construction above the architecture of the space itself. The reason lies in the symbolism behind children, women and men of different ages, victims, and professionals from different disciplines, working towards a common goal, building the space they will inhabit. The collaboration between them goes beyond the construction itself; it is a pedagogical method focused on “pedagogies of the territory, the training of trainers and the methodologies of text-context readings addressing the different dimensions of the territory.”⁵⁷

I argue that the freespaces will form the main spatial layout of my design. In the project, the massing I propose faces the main activity hub of the municipality, the central square. It is an infill in two urban blocks that connect the square with the creek in a challenging topographic condition, cascading its program in the slope and unfolding a journey through outdoor and indoor spaces for the users and visitors of the cooperative. The freespaces perform as the place for unpredicted activities, for encounters between the groups as the democratic spatialization of reconciliation: on one hand, a series of courtyards will increase the indoor-outdoor programmatic connection, shrinking and expanding the semi-public spaces as the users or visitors walk through the project. On the other, the adaptation to the topography makes space for terraces that cascade in the site. These two main spatial strategies aim to provide the right conditions for unpredictable local connections as an open system.

As for the material condition, there are two local materials inherent in the identity of Granada: brick and rammed earth. Brick might be the most common



Collective Production of Space / Rammed Earth Walls © Iwan Baan



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building material employed in this region since the mid-20th century, easy to transport, build and maintain. *The Brick March*, one of the most symbolic events to take place in Granada represented the reconstruction of the townscape after the bombing of 2000. Hundreds marched around holding bricks in their hands and, according to the interviews I carried out, were used for the reconstruction of the housing units. Rammed earth has been a common material in the Andean region of Colombia since colonial times, Granada is not the exception, and many rural houses and public buildings have been built with this material, now replaced with contemporary building systems. Both brick and rammed earth can be employed for the materialization of the architecture of TJ to the smallest scale, encompassing the involvement of the community as part of the processes of construction. In my project, I propose to use prefabricated rammed earth walls as a mean to involve the residents in Granada in the construction of the cooperative in safe working conditions, similarly as victims were part of the construction of Fragmentos, where women -victims of sexual violence during the conflict – built the aluminum plates which were later use to cast the iron from FARC's weapons, becoming the floor and main artistic installation.

Conclusion

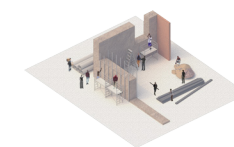
This paper has argued on the relevance of involvement of architecture in the process of transitional justice in Colombia, reflecting on the spatialization of political measures induced to address victims' rights after the end of the conflict. Architecture has proven to be a facilitator of social tolerance and reconciliation in other contexts, and Colombia's condition provides an opportunity for new explorations. On a larger scale, I sought to provide a framework on research methods concerning Colombian municipalities that have been affected by the conflict in a socio-economic and spatial condition, focusing on the resignification of rural territories. However, I acknowledge the vast diversity of cultures, geographies, and other specificities that may occur in each of these cases. Such specificities will have to be taken into account by the architects intervening in these territories. On a smaller scale, I provided conceptual tools for programmatic, spatial, and material developments of architecture of transitional justice. This holistic approach can be developed recognizing the specific conditions of identity (meaning pro-

gram) and culture (meaning the use of space).

I find transitional justice as the right concept to address the architectural interventions in the post-conflict stage of Colombia. Despite the criticism JEP has faced by extreme right-wing parties, it has proved the importance of TJ in the in processes of truth seeking and recognition of guilt by different actors involved in conflict. JEP operates from March 2017, and its restoration and restitution processes, where architecture could actively operate, have not yet begun. In this sense, my research serves as a conceptual foundation for new discourses and conversations regarding the role architecture can, and I argue, must play in the post-conflict Colombia.

However, and as also addressed by the authors I mentioned above, an educated reader could justifiably criticize the use of transitional justice as the right umbrella term for such an association between architecture and political sciences. Yet, I agree with Mihai on the use of this concept "to draw this – academic – audience's attention to a particular, so far little explored, aspect of such processes."⁵⁸ My aim with this paper, therefore, was to expand the understanding of TJ beyond the narrow circle of political science and, hopefully, make it part of victims' – and even actors' – dialogues on the collective construction of peace.

Lastly, I will raise a question regarding the collective work I mention throughout my paper. The democratic construction and use of space described in the Peace Agreement is something yet to be explored on a larger scale, not only by architects but by the institutional frameworks that will participate in the construction of such spaces. *Arquitectura Expandida* studio demonstrated how architecture is part of collective processes of design and construction on a smaller scale in Colombia, where being in direct contact with participants, physical and cultural environments have advantages and responsibilities over other disciplines. I provided ideas on the importance of residents from Granada working together in the development of the project I design in the following stage, enhancing social tolerance and reconciliation processes amongst people and spaces, taking into account traditional practices – agriculture – and construction materials – bricks and rammed earth –. I explore the ideas and principles presented above on an



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58. Mihaela Mihai. "Architectural Transitional Justice? Political renewal within the Scars of a Violent Past." *International Journal of Transitional Justice*. 2018. 12, 535.

architectural intervention, with agriculture at the center of the economy, to submit a proof of concept through a space situated in the center of economic, social and symbolic dimensions, therefore, situated in the political dimension of post-conflict Colombia.

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The End and the Beginning

After every war
someone has to clean up.
Things won't
straighten themselves up, after all.

Someone has to push the rubble
to the side of the road,
so the corpse-filled wagons
can pass.

Someone has to get mired
in scum and ashes,
sofa springs,
splintered glass,
and bloody rags.

Someone has to drag in a girder
to prop up a wall,
Someone has to glaze a window,
rehang a door.

Photogenic it's not,
and takes years.
All the cameras have left
for another war.

We'll need the bridges back,
and new railway stations
Sleeves will go ragged
from rolling them up.

Someone, broom in hand,
still recalls the way it was.
Someone else listens
and nods with unsevered head.
But already there are those nearby
starting to mill about
who will find it dull.

From out of the bushes
sometimes someone still unearths
rusted-out arguments
and carries them to the garbage pile.

Those who knew
what was going on here
must make way for
those who know little.
And less than little.
And finally, as little as nothing.

In the grass that has overgrown
causes and effects,
someone must be stretched out
blade of grass in his mouth
gazing at the clouds.

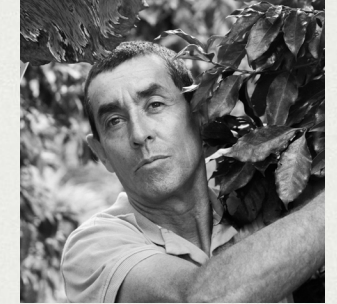
—Wisława Szymborska

02

Conversations on Architecture, Transitional Justice, and Peace.

Delft, Bogotá, Medellín and Granada.

Converse comes from the Latin *con*: meeting/cooperation + *versari*: to go around something. To cooperate in the collective construction of a peaceful country.



Conversation with Humberto de La Calle Lombana, lawyer and Head of the Negotiating Team by the Government of Colombia in the Peace Agreement with FARC-EP.

Bogotá, December 10th, 2019.

FO I am going to start with a very general question and is, according to your experience, how do you see the relationship between architecture and politics, taking into account the past of the country and the current context?

HC The first thing that serves as an introduction to answer truthfully is that I had never made a specific association between conflict, peace agreement and architecture, and now, the most general question about politics and architecture. I will try to make an effort but it really is something new for me, it is not something I had thought about. Let us say that it occurs to me to say that the political configuration of a society is expressed architecturally and with greater extent in urban issues, not only in the architecture of individual housing solutions or administrative or bureaucratic projects of the State, but in the configuration of the cities where some circumstances are derived, for example, as in Bogotá, where the division by social strata is generating a territorial location that corresponds to a certain social class, which takes a dynamic that is sometimes difficult to correct. There have been mayors who have tried to modify this and even eliminate the idea of social stratification, but there is a very heavy tradition in this terms, with the rich neighborhoods, the most expensive and other developments to which obey to political conceptions, because the type of activity is either the provision of services or industries, and its location in relation to the population segments.

I can also add to this that I was inspired in recent discussions with the case of Bogotá; for example, between the noise problem at the El Dorado airport in front of nearby residential buildings. It is an issue that is relatively new, the preservation of silence in terms of the vision of the environment, it is something that came to happen recently when those neighborhoods were founded around the El Dorado

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landing track, the noise was practically like a kind of burden that citizens had to bear and that there was no discussion about the matter. Let's say that simply to address the question more generally, it seems to me that politics influences and affects the spatial location in the functionality of cities. Also in the countryside, let's say, the structure of land tenure is also expressed architecturally in a political conception and I would add to finish, because I repeat that this is not my specialty, but as an experience that impressed me greatly and that is clearly linked to politics, and is the configuration of Brasilia, the capital of Brazil. Brasilia was designed in a centralized planning process. In the spirit of building an artificial city, then as you know it very well, it has more or less the shape of a plane. The Government is located in the head, the cabin, and then the city is segmented according to certain specialties.

There is an area for churches, one for embassies, and one for the notaries. What is interesting first is a critical situation because human life is not like that, and it is impossible to stop submitting it to the straitjacket of a design made by bright architects, but really what they are creating is something very artificial and as a consequence of that is what finally occurred: Life is changing the initial design that is being destroyed by force of particular decisions. I think this, and I suppose you know, it is also worth mentioning, because it is related to the question; the configuration of the residential part had very wide avenues in front of the facades, even with very few pedestrian areas. It is not a walkable city, it was not at least at the beginning, and some alleys behind the houses with logistics supplies purposes. What has happened is the exact opposite of what the designers thought. Life today is in the small alleys and that is where restaurants, small shops arise, because in the other avenues, I repeat, it is not possible to walk it and then what they generate is almost a dead city on one side and life is in a different place than the planners thought.

FO I agree, people felt more comfortable with a suitable scale for the pedestrian and so they appropriated and changed the city.

From a conceptual and spatial perspective, what does it mean to build peace for you?

HC This is for me a very important question because when we arrived in Havana (the location for the negotiations between the government and FARC), the background in the matter of negotiations with 4 different guerrilla groups, almost all of them failed with the exception of one in 1991, being the most important at that time, the M19, with which a peace agreement was reached but from the other experiences, especially with FARC and ELN, had not reached good terms in the moment; part of the diagnosis and the way we conducted the negotiations was to find that those previous negotiations, the successful one or the failed ones, were peace processes in Bogotá, on the cusp, they were decisions between the guerrilla commands and the political elite that took place as a kind of final agreement of abstract pact between people who lived in the capital or who had a centralist mentality, all forgetting the space and the way the conflict spatialized throughout the national geography.

That is why at that time we said, in particular there is a very interesting exhibition of Sergio Jaramillo, the High Commissioner of Peace, who was part of our delegation, and that I recommend it between your readings, is something he pronounced at the Externado University of Colombia, if I am not mistaken, **where he emphasized why this was a “territorial peace”, because the achievements were to be made in the territories and that is why the fiber that led the negotiations was in the integration of the communities, including the guerrillas without weapons integrated into the community based on a very active participation process in each of the regions, which involved not only participation and decentralization but a vision of a territorial peace in the sense that is not only the architecture of the agreed.** What was agreed is always directed particularly in the issue of post-conflict and the implementation of the agreements, towards the most affected communities. From there come some of the pacts, for example the choice of prioritized territories based on the history of the conflict, the places most affected by the conflict to begin the development of the so-called Territorial Development Plans that had then to be taken of prioritization and then the other plan called PNIS, which is related to the substitution of illicit crops where a whole territorial framework is reflected in the agreement and in particular in subsequent developments.

FO Going through a more specific part of the agreements, 3. In the third part of the agreement, “Collective reparation at the end of the conflict”, is the point of “Collective reparation plans with a territorial approach”. This section of the document promises to recognize the damages caused in the communities and to contribute to transforming their living conditions through several elements, among them the “Material and symbolic measures aimed at addressing the damage”. According to the Agreement, this point is about “measures aimed at direct, individual and collective victims, such as dignification, memory, tributes and commemorations, infrastructure works and commemorative architecture”. I would like to know what the document was referring to with this type of architecture, also because this is the only paragraph in the 300 pages of the document where the word architecture is mentioned.

HC I take a step back to take your question from the beginning, because precisely one of the innovations we achieved in Havana was a figure that already existed, but very timidly, and it was that of the “collective reparation” because in general, the model which was used in the negotiation that succeeded as I mentioned with the M19 in 1991, or the ones with other groups, the failed ones, always thought of individual reparation.

We found, and I repeat, there was some background in the so-called Victims Law, but it developed in the agreement. The idea of “collective reparations” which involved communities as such is probably the most visible example, that of the massacre of Bojayá and the great tragedy that was lived there, and in what way then the State assumes a guideline that involves linking to the community and not only in the patrimonial aspects of each one of the victims, but also the collective vision of the reparations that includes the repair of infrastructure in the case of Bojayá, for example, the church which was destroyed, and the repair and the search for memory implies the reconstruction of the building in the original terms. So let’s say that is a first step.

Then, about the commemorative manifestations, what was actually agreed upon, and it is likely that you are right that it was probably not expressed in

the text of the agreement, and I would now not be sure if there was an additional memorandum, but the purpose was to destroy the weapons that had been delivered as they went to the United Nations to make memorials with a commemorative purpose. One at the United Nations, another one here (Bogotá), which later became the exhibition or the Fragmentos Museum is just a derivation of what was agreed upon, and I think there is another one, another monument is planned but at this moment I don’t remember where it should be located.

Fragmentos is built with material from molten weapons. It is an extraordinarily simple architecture and also very creative because on the basis of a colonial house or a colonial construction, inside this development was made which for me is very overwhelming, because what I find is that the floor is built out of fragments, as the name of the museum makes references of, in the fragments of the arches, it was a very clean, very simple thing, halls that would allow many uses but what is there is a very particular and very special atmosphere.

As for the United Nations there is a difficulty because it was processed by the Government, who had the responsibility with the New York authorities, to find a large site for something that would be supposed to have an important monumental size in the city of New York; and that was going pretty well, even with the difficulties of building an important mass [sic] in New York, it really isn’t that easy in terms of permits, of urban regulation. But unfortunately for some bureaucratic accident in the end, the budget was allocated by the new government. The current budget was much lower than the original idea, so the monument was made now is a much more modest way in the gardens of the United Nations and is simply a kind of commemoration.

As I said before, without a great architectural display in essence, that was the reference to these commemorative monuments that obviously also have the purpose of recalling the agreement itself but also the victims, especially always very directed at the victims. Then, as you know very well, there is the Museum of Historical Memory conceived by the District of Bogotá and also has an architectural inspiration. I find it very interesting and very striking, and also in the interior of the building, because a series of very impressive symbolic elements.

FO What I highlight, for example in Fragmentos, is how Doris Salcedo defines it, as a counter-monument. The post-conflict discourse in architecture is full of concepts such as monumentality, and she transforms it into counter-monumentality to escalate it to the victims, to take it to a space of conversation and not of only admiration.

HC What you say seems very pertinent to me because if one reflects, unfortunately a very important input in the history of mankind derives from military actions and wars. Then it is very common that the squares of the different cities of the world have statues of military warriors to commemorate their victories. The defeats are really not commemorated by anyone and that prints a military and warrior seal to some narratives. It is not an antimilitarist attitude, I do not say this with passion, but of course it would be very nice that the squares had more statues of thinkers, philosophers, writers, and not necessarily military, not for personal contempt, I repeat, but because they are military epics with blood and victims. Therefore, what Doris Salcedo says is also very interesting, because in fact, what we live here is the fragments of the weapons but it is not a glorification of combat. There are no statues of the guerrillas or the military.

FO The peace agreement is a military end to the conflict, but the real process towards peace begins here, at the moment we are living now, a process of reconciliation between victims and actors, between people, past and with the territory as well. In your opinion, what would be essential to recognize, incorporate into this process towards peace, what is something impossible to forget?

HC Well, that question is music for my ears because it started from an absolutely correct vision that I want to elaborate a little more and it is also something that seems abstract but is not and had a very important practical effect. **We strive to understand that the conversations in Havana had a purpose that was the end of the conflict and that is what the agreement document is called, it is the End of Conflict Agreement, which is a different allusion to that of peace.**

You mentioned it tangentially. Peace is a much larger elaboration that de-

mands much more time. In fact, a 15-year implementation of the agreements is already planned, but it is not only a problem of time or resources but also of the spirit of conscience of Colombians. Peace building is not a subject of the former FARC or the current or former government. Peace is the product of actions of society itself and it seems to me that this main separation between the notion of peace and the notion of an end to the conflict was one of the strategic elements that allowed, in common agreement with the guerrillas, to establish a detailed and concrete agenda for the first time in the past, in the conversations that failed.

For example, in Caguán, people were so vague and so general that it seemed that all national problems were going to be resolved at a table of conversations, which is ridiculous. It is really not only impossible and utopian, because that is not what it is about. Therefore, if you examine the six agenda items that are specific points aimed at ending the conflict and opening a stage of peace building, which then, as you rightly said, allows you to point out that the military elements are not what cover the entire agreement. Obviously, the process of abandonment of weapons and their delivery, etc., was regulated, as was the case, **but the agreement goes far beyond that. It is a road map where ideas are incorporated, a path for Colombia.**

I'm going to give you two or three examples: one that is the Rural Reform. Now unfortunately stagnant because I see no will in the government or in Congress to genuinely fulfill what was agreed. **The Rural Reform is a very old idea in Colombia, we had been seeing the attempts to seek greater equity in the countryside and a more dignified life for the farmers for more than a century and a half. Among other things this is an agreement that has no ideological character, unlike what happened in the 50s and 60s, in the playful sense that for the first time establishes that in areas where there is inability of families to access the land and enjoy a dignified life in the absence of compliance with the law of the presence of the State, because there the Rural Reform operates with greater intensity without prejudice to areas where there are practically no communities and there may be much more vigorous agroindustrial developments in the face to a modern agrarian economy.**

So, let's say, even though the agreement is something very balanced done with full respect for the rule of law and private property, all the so malicious and harmful actions that, based on fake news, saw the agreement as the giveaway to a guerrilla group were not only false but in the rural case absolutely counter-evident, because it is repetitive in the agreement, that is, the sources of the areas that are going to be used in the land fund primarily come from State actions and not from costs that affect individuals, because the first input for the Land Fund was or is the recovery of land in the hands of corrupt, of drug traffickers, which is the obligation of the State, and according to experts, there may be between 40 and 50 percent of the necessary land without the need to go into expropriations, also in areas within the agricultural border to avoid what happened back in the 50s, when colonization spaces were opened for the ex-combatants of that time, which has generated an ecological disaster, because what was called "Taming land" meaning to deforest large areas in order to create agricultural spaces. They sent the guerrillas to the periphery and that was improperly expanding the agricultural frontier. **That point is a point for Colombians, who look at the farmers but what it is looking for is to stabilize the countryside. And as long as we do not achieve that, it seems to me that there will always be the risk of falling into violent demonstrations, here it is clear that one thing is the six end points of the conflict but another is the construction of peace.**

The same follows for point number 2, which is the one of the political reform, also what it looks for is to change harmful, "unhygienic" political traditions, to call it that way, which establish black holes to an electoral system of representative democracy that left intact, which has not been changed in its conception of Western democracy but that demands very serious work. On the one hand, legislative, but on the other also of a cultural nature to fight corruption, improve the commitment of politicians to the great problem of Colombia, which is inequality. Unfortunately, what was done here was to create a commission of experts that established the route to improve the exercise of politics in Colombia and the Government presented a very shy project that was also defeated, in addition to being shy, it did not pass in the decisions in the Congress and this is the moment when the subject is still being discussed. But there again shines that differentiation. The end of

the conflict with its military contours and the return of the guerrillas is something different from having a better, cleaner politics in Colombia.

And the third is that of transitional justice. What it seeks is to recognize the totality of the responsibilities of the perpetrators, to avoid a certain selective myopia of people who live only on one side or the other because this is preached from all extremes. They only see the criminal actions of the enemy but do not confess in what way. Their allies also contributed to the conflict. This is the case, for example, unfortunately, of military personnel who diverted their path and third party funders of the war. **That is why one of the essential elements of transitional justice is the concurrence of all and not just the FARC.** Unfortunately, there are also political groups that oppose this and oppose the agreement, trying to destroy that unity and to seek separate prosecutions, in particular against the military, which is a mistake, because it is also a paradox, because it would turn the military into a more vulnerable portion to, for example, any international action of the Court of Rome or any multilateral action because what justifies a treatment that is essentially equivalent between military, guerrillas and third parties, as it is the notion of the end of the conflict, is under the umbrella of the end from the conflict separating the military, I repeat, instead of favoring them, it makes them more vulnerable.

Anyway, that is another discussion, but in general it seems to me that there are some absences from the State, of breaches of the issues that are more structural. What the Government has done lately must be recognized, an effort on the issue of reinstatement, especially what the base guerrillas call, but often neglecting those other elements that are, say, structural changes in the Colombian society to get where you said it very well. **I am surprised that you said it because the less used concept is that of "reconciliation." Here we talk about the war of the weapons, the guerrillas, the transitional justice, but we as Colombians forget that the true polar star of all this is reconciliation and it is something that has practically been forgotten in this country, especially in the public discussions.**

FO I completely agree with you, and that is for example what now makes a difference from the Justice and Peace model (transitional justice model of 2005 in

Colombia, which was applied in the negotiations between the state and the AUC paramilitaries).

HC Exactly.

FO Since we are talking about transitional justice, I want to elaborate more on the subject, because for me it is a fundamental concept for my master's thesis. Transitional justice is a mechanism that is discussed at highest levels of politics and judicial. There are academic theories such as "transitional justice from below" that discuss the need to scale these mechanisms to the lowest levels to create a true impact. What impact can a Special Jurisdiction for Peace (current model of transitional justice in Colombia) have on these more local and community levels, for example in rural municipalities?

HC That is key. **What you said is absolutely key because the construction of the system is fundamentally based on placing victims on the front line of what transition justice implies.** But secondly, a territorial conception, I repeat, the concept both in the presence of the so-called Special Jurisdiction of Peace or JEP and in particular in two institutions, the Truth Commission and the Commission and Institution dedicated to the search of people considered missing, whose work is purely territorial and in fact is what we are already beginning to see. The JEP has begun to assume certain cases that are under investigation, for example, recruitment, and a call to initiate investigations in the subject of recruitment; the kidnapping process is quite advanced and all this implies a regional presence and basically some narratives from the regions in front of the people who actually had to suffer the scourge of violence. The first way to approach this, which coincides with your question, **all this works territorially**, I don't want to use the word de-centralized, it is just that.

It is there, in the territories, where this has to be developed and particularly, as I said, the Truth Commission is receiving those inputs from the point where the events occurred, that is a first element. The second one that is key and implicit in your question is the system which is called in its full formulation Comprehensive System of Truth Justice Reparation and Non-Repitition. This is essential because

many of those who criticize the system have limited themselves to looking at the problem of sentences with a microscope. The purely judicial problem, which is an optical error, because it is the "justice" element, as I have just said, is part of a much more complete system. But if we go to the issue of justice properly there is something that has not been understood, but there is the "germ", it is in what way the alternative penalties contribute to solidify a transitional justice process. The penalties classically, the notion of penalty has had many philosophical variations but it really is not the time to enter into a recount. But, let's say, the latest demonstrations and in particular in Colombia have what is called a "retributive character". The penalty is achieved as with two purposes, one of resocialization of the offender, but fundamentally the punishment. In that sense, the expression "retributive" are punishments to the offender for having done wrong, and that is the truth to the use of any Colombian who asks what is a penalty, not to punish criminals, because in addition the resocialization is theoretical, It is a place where prisons are not properly a site of resocialization.

There is when it arises one of the first resistances [sic] we live. But this starts, as I said, from the perspective of the victims. When I personally went to many forums with the presence of victims, what they told me is **"it doesn't help me that a guerrilla member from the secretariat goes to the La Picota jail in Bogotá. We want them to go to our communities, look the victims in the face, recognize them and also repair the site."** That is why we have the transitional penalties in which we agreed to have a part of retributive content, that is, a message to society that condemns the events and crimes that were committed, but **a high remuneration content, so it is real , not of classical deprivation of liberty, it is not about bars, but the confinement or restriction of liberty in the areas where the defendant operated primarily for the purpose, as I said, of recognizing his victims, of asking for forgiveness but also to repair the damage caused. There are already some provisional developments while reaching the final sentences.** To give an example, precisely in Antioquia, demining areas where the guerrillas have participated in promoting humanitarian demining to return to safe areas as a form of reparation for victims and also of prevention of future aggressive actions. That is the kind of conception of penalties, unfortunately, some Colombians did not understand us, and they do not leave the classical structure of saying "crimi-

nals to jail”.

Here it really has, I reiterate, once again it has an element of retributive sentence, a message to society that these crimes are not justifiable and the use of violence has to be separated from the exercise of politics, but restorative content and of commitment of non-repetition, which I repeat, is the integral vision of the system, a system that also draws on extrajudicial elements as I have just said. You made a mention that seems correct to me, the Law of Justice and Peace (2005) of the Uribe government in front of the paramilitaries had a wrong conception, and that is to think that the whole process is judicial, so each one of the accused is subject to a process that should end with a sentence. This has walked a little but the stretch is still very long. At some point, I remember, as two years ago, it was calculated that at the rate at which the Justice and Peace Jurisdiction was going, we were going to take a hundred years to produce all the sentences. That is why the path that we chose was different, it was the one of the prioritization of contextual investigations, to look as I said, criminal types to establish those responsible and then also seek solutions, not necessarily judicial for people who simply tell the truth and repair, well, they can get much faster decisions. And all that, I repeat, not limited to the tradition of judges that all they understand is retributive penalties. In addition, the second defect the Justice and Peace process throws a good dose of truth. In this I want to be objective, that is plausible, but it became a judicial truth. **That is why we said that the Truth Commission is not judicial, the person who comes to the jurisdiction has to go to the Commission to tell their truth without prejudice to a kind of judicial judgment and is an innovation that has been recognized in the world.** It amazes me how the agreement has so much prestige outside Colombia and so many detractors here. A very good part of this from the use of so much false information.

FO You might wonder what all this we are talking about has to do with architecture, and I want to elaborate a little here. The territorial approach is fundamental, especially when we talk about rurality; because here we don't have the amount of architectural elements that the built urban environment does. Then we speak from the territory as such, from the landscape as an element of intervention. This then has to do with transitional justice because there are relationships between

post-conflict space interventions and reparative mechanisms. For example, there is a theory of an Edinburgh political scientist who calls it “architectural transitional justice.” She sets the example of two Nazi bunkers, in Vienna and Hamburg, buildings that could not be demolished, and which were intervened to change their use. One is an aquarium and the other is a power plant. She calls them examples of “architectural transitional justice” because it is taking an element of the past and turning it into something that serves the present. Actually, in Colombia we don't have elements as strong as a bunker, as fundamental architectural pieces, but the landscape and the land become such an element to re-signify. I would like to know what you think about how that rural territory can be re-signified. For example, today at the Memory, Reconciliation and Peace Center, I was talking with two victims of antipersonnel mines, in Arauca and Santander, and for them, that territory became a symbol of terror, terms that also have a certain etymological relationship from Latin. So those territories sometimes become necessary to re-signify, and are the possible intervention sites. What do you think of this?

HC As I said at the beginning, this is very new for me and is something I had not thought about, and that is why I have to confess, the construction of your thesis and your research work has drawn my attention. Indeed, what you says is true and we know that there is neither a Nazi bunker nor the underground residence of Mr. Churchill in London. **But of course in the territories was where the violence operated. And anyway there are meanings that relate to architectural forms.** I have the memory when we promoted the gender approach that was recognized worldwide, but unfortunately based on lies here they tried to say that what we were was adopting the so-called gender ideology to destroy the Western family etc. which hurt many people, unsuspecting voted against the plebiscite believing that it was a form of destruction of the family, when the gender approach was looking to show that the Colombian women has been the biggest victim as a mother, as a wife, as a daughter, but also as a victim of sexual violence and almost sexual slavery. That is why I have the memory in one of my visits to Montes de María defending and explaining the agreement, a leader who rebuked me and said “What do they say in Bogotá against the gender approach, these gentlemen are not understanding any of that in the capital.” **Then she told me “Do you want me to show you the house where they raped 200 women, by members of FARC,**

members of the Army, third parties, paramilitaries?”. Then, there is an expression in a building of a macabre story.

Let’s say that I think that connection is very interesting and there will be more difficult here to the extent that we do not have the specific sites as it happened with World War II, but in any case, it is still the recovery of the territory and also the use of its symbols which should lead us to this. I would just like to add an additional element, listening to you, because one of the strong themes of the agreement is that of the closure of the agricultural frontier and that of the preservation of the environment, the recovery of the paramos reserve areas etc. That also has an expression of peace now that we are living in the country.

All these marches and manifestations of dissatisfaction (here it refers to the marches movements that the country is currently experiencing), particularly of the young people, have surprised me a lot. How there has been something very spontaneous youthful and cheerful here. But the mantle of one of the dissatisfactions but also of a different vision on the part of young people, which unfortunately some have not understood, is related to the issue of climate change. The young people who are now protesters, since their early childhood were born with the terror of seeing that the planet could be destroyed. When I was young, the literature that came to us from Europe was the existentialist literature that was based on the terror of atomic destruction, but it was less acute because it was always said “well, if an atomic bomb falls, most likely nothing will happen to us, it will not destroy the whole planet.” But now we are talking about the destruction of the planet. It seems to me that this has also generated a different vision in particular of young people regarding politics, economics, consumerism. What makes sense to be a lifetime competing simply to consume more goods while the planet collapses. **In other words, the agreement takes a lot of strength in the aspects of territorial protection. Ethnic issues, the recognition of the rights of Afro communities, which also comes from the Constitution of 91’, but here it is ratified and it also has its territorial expression.**

FO Transitional justice also recognizes the transitional period the country faces from an armed conflict towards peace. Do you believe that spatial interventions

that occur in this period should also be transitional? Should they recognize that there is a period of atypical temporality in the country that is open and flexible to changes that occur over time while strengthening or creating this peace?

HC Without any doubt. I think it is evident, for example, territorial expression in certain geographies. For example, of development plans, they are temporary, which are indeed transitional. They are solutions that in the future will enter the ordinary macroeconomic vision and will surely not have these special conditions. **Then, in effect, here is a vision of the construction of the territory and the recovery of transitional memory that will surely be expressed in urban and architectural expressions. Then it seems to me that this is a correct vision and I think it is due to a transitional achievement.**

FO Memory is fundamental within post-conflict, it is the recognition of the truth and the centrality of the victims. You mentioned it in an interview sometime this year for Semana Magazine, with María Jimena Duzán, expressing that it is impossible to talk about oblivion in Colombia. Imagine a rural municipality in which repeated acts of violence for many years took place. What do you think is the healthiest or most appropriate way to intervene in such places?

HC Yes, this point is very interesting because at some point in the past there were thinkers who believed that memory was counterproductive. There is a book by an author called David Rieff, which is called “Against Memory” saying that forgetting is really what heals, while memory relives wounds. **But today this has no discussion, because internationally it is recognized that one of the rights of the victims is the memory, the truth, the recognition of their tragedy and in particular an entire international scaffolding is built on the basis of an agreement, the first agreement that is celebrated in the world after the Rome Statute is this, it would have been impossible to comply with them being within the Rome Statute, if not, what I would have said is again “let’s forget everything, let’s sweep under the carpet and nothing happened here”.** That is no longer viable for a thousand reasons, and also because the victims will not accept it. **Then, let’s say, that is an element of the essence of the search for a path, which, as you point out, is progressive towards peace in which many more elements**

have to intervene. I believe that the recovery is something that we had already touched on, a good part of this must have a commemorative character and the urban and rural reality must be plastically shaped, elements of remembrance of all the victims and perpetrators, which is, I insist, essential, because if what we have is a deformation to hide part of the responsibilities, what will generate is seeds of new violence, it is a mistake. Here the only way to turn the page is to recognize all the responsibilities and that surely should have expressions in the territory of multiforms and in a thousand ways.

FO It is important to maintain a balance in this type of interventions. Because the commemorative part is fundamental, while the pragmatic part as well. The Peace Institute in Amsterdam notes that statistically, 50 percent of countries that do not financially consolidate this post-conflict process in the first five years fall into an even greater conflict.

HC These statistics are valid and then it was endorsed by Vicenc Fisas, who is the director of an institute in Barcelona that collects the comparative experiences, and in fact that is a risk because very good part, as you said, of the agreements roll back and destroy if we do not act quickly, particularly on issues of reinstatement of ex-combatants. But I want to insist that today the agreement is not exhausted. I don't want to turn this conversation into a topic of discussion about the current government. It is not about that, but it seems to me that the vision is too curtailed when one thinks that this is a military solution and the reinstatement of the base ex-combatants because these resources explicitly the government in fact understands them with the directors of that guerrilla organization, which I believe, there is a big ideological ballast, but an absolutely wrong conclusion. Then, in effect, I think the path is this and the expression has to take into consideration, an integral application of the agreement and within the post-conflict discourses is also general.

FO Returning to more spatial issues, monuments and memorials are the most common types of architectural intervention, as we have already discussed in this interview, as presences of remembrance and commemoration. What do you think can be designed and built beyond memorials and monuments? And what do you

think is the role or responsibility of architecture and architects at this stage of the post-conflict?

HC I am not sure if what I am going to say would correspond to a notion of architecture, but it does have an effect on the territory. For example, some of the opponents of the agreement argued that the administration should be individual. That the agreement put an end to the guerrilla activity and therefore it was necessary to punch the table and say "Well, now each of you is a common citizen and go look for the path of your life individually."

We opposed to that because FARC themselves wanted, transitionally as you said it very well, and we agreed. A process that initially had a certain collective character among other things for the protection of society. I don't understand how the critics never understood us, because they said "oh well this is going to be filled with criminals in the cities", and not just the opposite. If you maintain a non-mandatory collective reinstatement in the first place, because the agreement does say whoever wants to seek his own life does so and there may then be an individual relationship with state agencies.

But maintaining a certain degree of collective work is a protection to maintain a certain degree of unity of the ex-combatants and probably to free themselves from the temptation to return to crime. But secondly, because also maintaining something in the organization generates what is called accountability. To whom society is going to ask for accounts if what is coming is a diaspora. A kind of metastasis of ex-combatants that each takes its route.

Why I say this has to do with space: I am not sure that this corresponds to the notion of architecture but the collective form that allowed the creation of a cooperative entity called ECOMUN, as it is reflected in some type of transitional collective exploitation. Some said that we were importing socialism and that it was the catastrophe, that it was the death of private property, an exaggeration even laughable because ten thousand combatants will not change Colombia's private capitalist economy, but certain collective exercises, I repeat, have some advantages and will be expressed in a territory where there

will be, for example, buildings to collectively assume some of the reincorporation processes.

I will give an example, not properly from a conflict, but taken from the Spanish experience. Regarding the role of the farmer in a society that is so individualistic, some very creative formulas were sought and found, to maintain land ownership at the head of farmers who do not want collective farms, but in the face of the process of globalization of the economy as there is a series of indispensable actions in terms of pest control, search of meat markets, quality assurance for the consumer, particularly in developed countries. **Then there are some cooperatives where the farmer produces on his land, delivers the product of their crops and the cooperative takes care of the international aspects of quality, of complying with all the standards and the cooperator the farmer is not the products but operated since the operation also receives, let's say, participation, and is a good way to reconcile that is also expressed architecturally.**

FO And to close there is something that is mentioned that is very important, is the collective layer and collective construction process, both physical and conceptual. It is more than proven that when the community builds the spaces they will inhabit with their own hands, the sense of appropriation is much stronger. In the case of Granada in 2000 there was a car bomb that destroyed four blocks of the municipality. Later in 2001 there was a march that was called the Brick March of this photograph of Jesus Abad Colorado.

HC This is wonderful. The result is frankly sublime. What a great thing (while looking at the photograph)

FO So that photograph was very strong because it talks so much about reconstruction, physical reconstruction but also about the reconstruction of all these social issues and dynamics that have been lost because of the conflict. So how do you see this collective reconstruction?

HC For example, this photograph is very telling, because the participation element that is racing in the agreement and in the formulation of development plans is

essential and allows me to simply remember something that you as an architect surely know, but it is worth mentioning in this context, and it is the need to flood Guatavita to create the reservoir. What the government did, we are talking about decades ago, was to build a marvelous new town, but with a great architecture, white villages similar to those of southern Spain, very well endowed, let's say, a thing with very distant standards of the original population of the farmer population with the farmer customs and then that was at first a true failure, because farmers wanted to have were their chickens, or some had pigs, then it was a dramatic thing to see those beautiful little houses, so well built, so well designed, so is a little like in Brasilia, life came there and that life really didn't fit there. Then the city was transformed.

Someone may say, going back to the past, but what is reality, how the human species expresses itself, forms a culture. This photograph is showing that Guatavita's mistake is not made, but to the extent that the community participates because the final architectural product is consistent and harmonious with life and culture.

Conversation with Alejandro, former guerrilla member, currently part of FARC political party.

Medellín, December 20th, 2019.

***The photograph was not allowed by the interviewee.**

FO Alejandro, in the context of the investigation you can tell me a little about yourself.

A Who am I? I am a normal former guerrilla member, and now, in this process we are fulfilling tasks that the party (FARC) properly defines. I was in the guerrillas for a few years, I operated a lot in the East of Antioquia, I also operated a lot in the city of Medellín.

FO Could you tell me what you (FARC) do in this space (the political headquarters).

A From the agreements, a task scheme was established, such as a Pert Diagram, which are parallel with the agreements. We have a main task, apart from the five points that come to the agreement, an internal task of ours, where we go from being a military organization, or military-political, to be only of political party. We have always been a party, but we were a party in arms. Now the idea is a party that seeks power options, trying possibilities from another perspective; We tried for more than 50 years and the story didn't come out, it's about continuing.

In practice we have not renounced any of the strategic postulates on the political proposal, we are making progress on that. In that direction, we have to create spaces where we are. The agreement established that, depending on the circumstances of the war, what they called "temporary zones", the famous "veredal zones" were established. They were going to be simply points where people were going to concentrate, they were going to start making the transition to civility. In that order, after the weapons are handed over, which is a very critical point, which is even the one that has us today in discussions about the dissent and other things, these ve-

redal areas became known as **"Territorial Training Spaces and Reinstatement". Basically, what they intend is to prepare people for their transition to civility. That has been very complex, you need to have many perspectives encompassed. The truth is that in the agreement it was not very clear what will happen with that transit to civility, and that is why we went from 24 central training spaces, to almost double, that is, more than double, we already have more than 60 spaces where people have gone to find where they can begin to rejoin.**

And in that story, well, in addition to the breaches and the processes so slow that the State has, is that way how the State understands the process and that every time the idea seems to be sabotage it. Even with very serious expressions like "we are going to break the agreement", and we, anyway, insist. **In that insisting we have been looking for ways to understand that transit, doing self-management processes, of looking for ways to insert ourselves into the process within the economic model, and how can it be operated in a more productive way within the center of the system. We were already productive in war, but we did not care about the issue of selling (goods) or not, it was simply a problem of subsistence, because our people worked on agriculture because there were precisely blockages to enter food as far as we were, it was the way to solve that type of things.**

Now we know that we have to start producing to try to solve the problem, and the problem is not only of our families but is a problem in collective terms. Basically, that is what brings us to the city of Medellín; in Medellín what is created is from the agreement, a space where we can develop political activity as such, the strengthening of the party. And around this space is where people have been going around, not all, because that is something else; In Medellín there are almost 300 former guerrillas and only 100, 110, 120 comrades come here, the rest are trying to survive. So, we are losing that momentum that we won during all these years, it has been lost with the issue of how the reinstatement occurs. Basically, that is what we are doing here.

FO Does this have a regional scope?

A Yes, regional. As a party we have a normal structure, like any organization, there are local instances and regional instances. What is done here is simply to select within all that organization chart, who are going to be advisors, who are going to do political activities, who are going to be doing organizational activities, finance, etc.; that within what they have to do with the internal functioning as a party. Parallel to that, there is the issue of reinstatement; the agreements established that there was going to be an accompaniment in terms of individuals, of former guerrillas, because there it is established that there is 90 percent of the minimum wage that is the bar that was going to be guaranteed during the first two years. It was assumed that in the first two years our people were going to prepare for what was going to be a productive project where they were instilled, but the institutional offer has fallen short, and is what comes to us as a bit tangled, because precisely, the way institutionality works makes it very heavy, very difficult. Obviously, we were not prepared to understand that these proposals have to go, not through one, but through many institutions, but they also need to have certain forms of presentation and obviously that has delayed many things.

The other thing is that, for example, the Constitutional Court established that there were more or less 10 million hectares that were going to be formalized, not formalized properly with an Agrarian Reform, simply that the tenure that farmers had during 30, 40, 50 years, just start appearing legally. That has not been possible, not even a million hectares have been addressed, and that formalization, which is not for us, has delayed the issue of reinstatement, the productive issue and the economic issue, **because the vast majority of people from FARC are people from rurality, what they have is experience in the field, and although we were a long in the war, they know how to produce, and what we have learned over time is that here we have to create certain alliances to be able to enter strong in the market.**

And here is a hypothesis that I have there: we lost a great opportunity on the issue that in these territorial spaces were created “citadels of the future”, citadels that were far removed from urban centers, far removed even from municipalities. So that means that we obviously find that deep Colombia that has suffered all the difficulties of war, where there are no basic services, where there are not even land

communication routes, and obviously trying to solve that in two years was impossible. However, we continue to make the bet and some things are still showing.

It has not been easy, but around this, apart from the “tramitomania” (excessive bureaucracy) used in the institutional framework, if we have found some key allies: the academy, some business foundations, the UN mission has been key in this whole process, without them, it would not have been visible, it has not been given much strength in regard to how the agreement was signed. Properly in the particular case of Medellín, of the 300 people in the city, most are obviously from rural areas and face very complex situations; the guerrilla member does not know how to pay the rent, services and utilities, then, with that 90 percent of a minimum wage, two or three get together to rent a ranch over there and see how to start surviving. Many will not even have finished elementary school, others have mainly had to go to work at night worrying about their training in productive practices.

Others acquire some skills that have been managed, that they recognize that knowledge learned in the war: there is the case of nurses, the case of motorists, etc. It has been tried to certify that, which initially allows them a technical certificate and in the medium term that of technologist. And those who decide to continue improving their education as professionals. That is the panorama of the people who are here right now in the cities of Medellín, Bogotá, Cali, Barranquilla.

FO And do you know how this works in the rural context, is there also an association like this?

A Yes. **In this process some entities have been created that seek, from the institutional framework, to attract resources, not only from the national order but also from the international community. Those entities are cooperatives; In each territorial space these associative entities have been created, and what they intend is to rescue all this experience of war in a productive way.** For example, in the case of Antioquia we are talking about 10 cooperatives, although there should only be 4; one for Anorí, Santa Lucia, another for Dabeiba and another one elsewhere. So, there are ten associative forms that group between 40

to 50 former guerrilla members and from there, with that entity, the productive projects to which we are betting are presented. **There are a lot of livestock, a lot of agriculture, and we have come across what I call the “golden seed”. For example, in the case of Santa Lucia, among more than one hundred boys there, for example there were about 90 who signed up for the livestock issue, although very complex, the technical recommendations said, “it is very hard what you are raising cattle because they are very pending areas, they have problems with the fields”. And I say that “golden seed” because we found that there is a special coffee produced there, and this means that it will have a greater value in the market, and that several partners are betting on it, they are betting very strongly on the issue of coffee, even creating a brand called Café Paramillo. And we have gone to the market and it is delivered roasted or ground, and is on a very good road. So those are the kinds of experiences that have been advancing.**

FO And in eastern Antioquia?

A The east of Antioquia is a calamity, I say. Although we made a lot of presence in this territory, the perception that exists from there is that the guerrilla was defeated, and since it was defeated, a space was never generated that would allow somehow to **“reunite with the territory”** and give answers for what happened during war. There is the issue of reconciliation, but also the legal issue, then we have to go to the territories, go to try to build, not only memory, but look at what happened and try, in some way to the extent of our possibilities, of telling truth, truth for the victims, truth for the territory, and build what was called “territorial peace”. Eastern Antioquia was not selected as a space for the PDET (Development Program with Territorial Approach) and It was a very affected area, the explanation that some scholars give us is that this region has very strong local powers and they are not interested at all on the PDETs, nor for the Havana Peace Process to be discussed.

But that is from the local powers; but the organizations of victims are demanding us to go there and that is where we are building, or better, rebuilding that relationship that was very broken

FO For example in Granada, Pastor Alape (member of FARC Secretariat) went personally to apologize in the church.

A But things cannot be so mediatic. Pastor did go and assumed the responsibilities as secretaries of what happened there. But the context is much more complex than simply a timely event. Now, on November 7th, 2019 there was a meeting with social organizations, with organizations of victims, with the Church; what is being treated is precisely that reconciliation process, because we are trying to look at how to give way to all that is already accumulated. The eastern Antioquia has another peculiarity, and unlike other regions of the country, they have signed what is called a pact for peace in the region. In addition, we have made it clear on that meeting that the construction has to be collective, they can no longer only follow the FARC version. **So, we hope that other people, that other actors of the war who were here also make presence, but also tell what happened. And that is where we aspire that military and police who are part of the JEP (current model of Transitional Justice), paramilitaries, come and try together to reconstruct that truth. And it is going to be a very hard truth for both sides, very hard for the victims, but it will also be a very hard truth for those of us who were in the territories somehow influencing and operating in the conflict.**

Ideally, the military would tell us what they thought when they began to implement the pilot plans and how they understood, in strategic terms, the conflict in the east.

FO For example, in the case of Granada, where in the framework of Democratic Security this municipality was called a “war laboratory” and therefore it was also a very violent place.

A That’s why I say we have to understand how politicians and how generals tried to defeat the insurgency. And that is a very hard thing, that people can understand, how they managed to get into a territory to control it, where simply what is secondary is the safety of the population. Plan Colombia, even before starting to be applied, already had some warnings. What the scholars said was that “if the Plan Colombia is applied, simply in the first stage, there will already be 300 thou-

sand displaced.” So that means that there is a responsibility of the State because they knew what was going to happen, knowing that it could have been solved in another way, which is what we are trying today.

Then we should understand that “war laboratory” that was implemented but not only in the East of Antioquia, it was also in Urabá or Magdalena Medio. Each General had his vision of this story, and what happened with the territories is that they were turned into laboratories of some practices, which went hand in hand with paramilitarism, which is documented. What does not exclude us from some mistakes that were made in the territories, product of the same confrontation, product of many of our guerrilla people did not understand that moment either. We tried to control from our insurgent legislation and that is sufficiently documented in the subject of conferences and plenary sessions. We even had a regulation that was recommended to the civilian population, some minimum standards regarding how the confrontation was developing in the territories and that required the State not only protection, but clarities regarding that.

A long time ago at the United Nations, it was recommended to the Colombian State that precisely, as there was a very strong and prolonged internal conflict, to remove the positions of the military bases outside the contact of the population, to take out the police which had a whole counterinsurgent formation, remove it from the urban centers and locate them to precisely prevent the civilian population from suffering the greatest damage.

FO What does it mean for peace to be territorial?

A First, population has to be placed. **And what does it mean to be territorial, it means that it begins spreading from the territories (rural contexts) to the outside, and this has been understood very well by the international community, and it is how we do in those territories where the war was so cruel and so hard, what we do is to show that there is an option, that there is an option especially in terms of the Special Jurisdiction for Peace. How to ensure that in these territories where, due to the conditions that were imposed from above, all these phenomena of the armed conflict developed, and how to do so that**

this does not happen again.

I was not very clear, but I have been working on the issue of reconciliation for almost three years now (since the signing of the agreement), and on that subject I find that **a first step is to meet with these communities, and we will meet in these (peace) terms.** That is why the issue of forgiveness, which is more of the individual perspective, should not be the fundamental premise. The first step is to meet, listen, understand what happened to them, what happened to us. And from there tell ourselves those truths, and that will give us the possibility that in the future it is likely that the victims will simply say “I do not forgive them because it is very difficult to forgive someone when I simply lost a relative, a partner, or children”. It is very difficult to assume those losses and much more in such a culturally conservative environment as ours. But it is very feasible, and we have experienced it, that we meet, and in that encounter, the reconciliation process is feasible, it is very viable, and has a lot of strength.

It is possible for people to reconcile with us but not to forgive us, but we are already moving forward, and that is a very strong input for the construction of territorial peace, to understand that problems are resolved from here and that the strength of this agreement has to come from the territory because, in these years that the agreement has been underway, it is being demonstrated that the institutionality has no interest in fulfilling, not only what has been agreed, but also giving voice to all those who have never had it for many years.

FO So this has to do with reconciling with the territory. How does someone reconcile with the territory?

A To reconcile with the territory...it happens that there are very hard perversities. I don't know if you've ever read anything about the conception of war and here Machiavelli is still valid, among others. What is war? It is a way of doing politics, but since we signed the agreement and we agreed on quitting on being armed in the territories where we were present and made control, deforestation, mining, agribusiness is entering very aggressively. And what didn't happen in 50 years of war is happening now.

And I give you an example. The concern from of all those who were making presence in the territories, is how to stop what did not happen in the past, and the most graphic way, as stated before by one comrade of the 30th that at that time was the commander of the front 36th , “nobody likes to be knocked out of the house”, and at this moment they are starting to do that. And it happens even with the very beautiful experience, the Bio Expedition in Anorí. It was possible to build an expedition process and it was a way of making visible what was happening in the territory and how the people of this regions began to appropriate the value that it has. The expedition finds that there are many species that are not even classified, there are 20 species that science did not know existed. We even found one which was supposed to be extinct. So, it was very interesting; but the most interesting thing was that in this case the university, the academics, played an important role betting on us, because they do the work with former guerrillas, they work in community, and obviously with students and teachers.

It manages to materialize, and how it is managed to take to the territory and how they must begin to assume the territories. How these people are empowered to new territories of these processes: that is what the impact on the territories means. Could this become territorial peace? That is what we aspire to. One of the difficulties in the Bio Expedition was precisely that, as there are still illegal agents, there is presence of the ELN, they had to talk to them.

Although the agreement in Havana is not peace per-se, it is a breaking point in a war that takes more than 200 years and **the opportunity to begin to look at the possibility that the new generations, which is not our case, neither you nor me, they are born in a country that is at least trying to leave the issue of conflict behind.** It is not complete, but it does depend a lot on Colombians to be empowered by this. And this is the perversity of these issues, people believe that the agreement only benefits FARC. No, 90 percent of the agreement is precisely for Colombians, it is Colombians who have to look at how they make it possible. And that even today we are seeing it with people on the streets (regarding the public marches), if visibility is not achieved in another way, this cycle of violence is reproduced for another 200 years.

Territorial peace comes out with such elementary accounts as that, to recognize the potential of species and diverse wealth that exists in the territories, that is shown to the world, but also to show people of such contexts, that know where they are. That's why I talked to you now about coffee. People bet on the cattle raising issue and it turns out that this is not the strong one, the strong issue there is coffee, and that is happening as well now with ecotourism. Ecotourism is raising awareness, not only outwardly but inwardly, of what we have in the territories. We know by war some areas that Colombians do not know, and the foreigner less, and that is what we Colombians have not been able to understand, what the agreement is allowing us.

FO To close, transitional justice is a fundamental mechanism in this peace process. But it is always something that is discussed in the upper layers of politics and justice. How do you think it can escalate and become an important tool in a rural municipality?

A It turns out that in the agreement, precisely with that concern appears the Integral System of Justice, Reparation and No Repetition. That “No Repetition” has to start from the territories. But besides that, there is a responsibility of ours with “TOVAR”; **I work on the activities with a restorative approach. What does that mean? That the territories where the war was lived so intensely, we must go to those territories to start building, not only the truth, but to look at how we started to build peace territories with the communities, and give another hope for the new generations. Then, that's what JEP is trying to bet on.**

Here the basics are where we said that we want the truth, but it cannot only be our truth, but from all those who, in some way, were involved in this issue. And that is where, for example, the paramilitaries have said “Well, we have given a lot of information to the Prosecutor’s Office, they have not done anything with that. But we are para-economic, we did this, but there were others who were behind us funding it. “ Then those are those kinds of truths that are going to be very complex. The paramilitaries themselves once said: “Colombians are not prepared to hear the truth.” And those are going to be the hard truths. Hard truths because there were things that although in war, or at least from the beginning of our con-

ception, were not the objective, but happened. But we cannot focus only on what happened, and that is why I tell you that the issue of forgiveness is very complex. It comes from the very individual perspective, and not from the collective. The collective should seek reconciliation and how we bet to build a country, to build society that we have not known in peacetime.

One aspires that those high spheres also tell the truth, or at least they are forced to tell it. **Obviously, the JEP will not be able to do many things, but this model of transitional justice, which is very different from other models in the world, is that these truths will be very complex in the Colombian case, and we aspire here that those who have to go, we have to go to tell our part and bet on the matter of truth. But not only ours, but of all, of all cultures and all edges.**

FO And that is what differentiates the JEP from the Justice and Peace model (former transitional justice model applied in 2005 for paramilitaries).

A Exactly. There are even many people who were in Justice and Peace who are asking to be heard on this stage. That is why even in the high spheres, as you said, political and military power does not want this story. There is another very particular one that you even find with a statement where there is Rito Alejo (retired general of the army) in a video, where he asked, “who is more guilty, the one who gives the orders or the one who executes them?”. And this shows the magnitude of what we are facing. It is very likely that we, as former guerrillas will never enjoy this process, it is very likely, they are killing us. They are killing the social leaders who had the potential to give strength to this process, they are killing them, and us too. But we are sure that in about 10, 15, or 20 years those other generations will look at that breaking point that came with the agreement, we are betting on that.

Conversation with Camilo Restrepo Ochoa, architect and director of AGENDa, agency of architecture.

Medellín, December 19th, 2019.

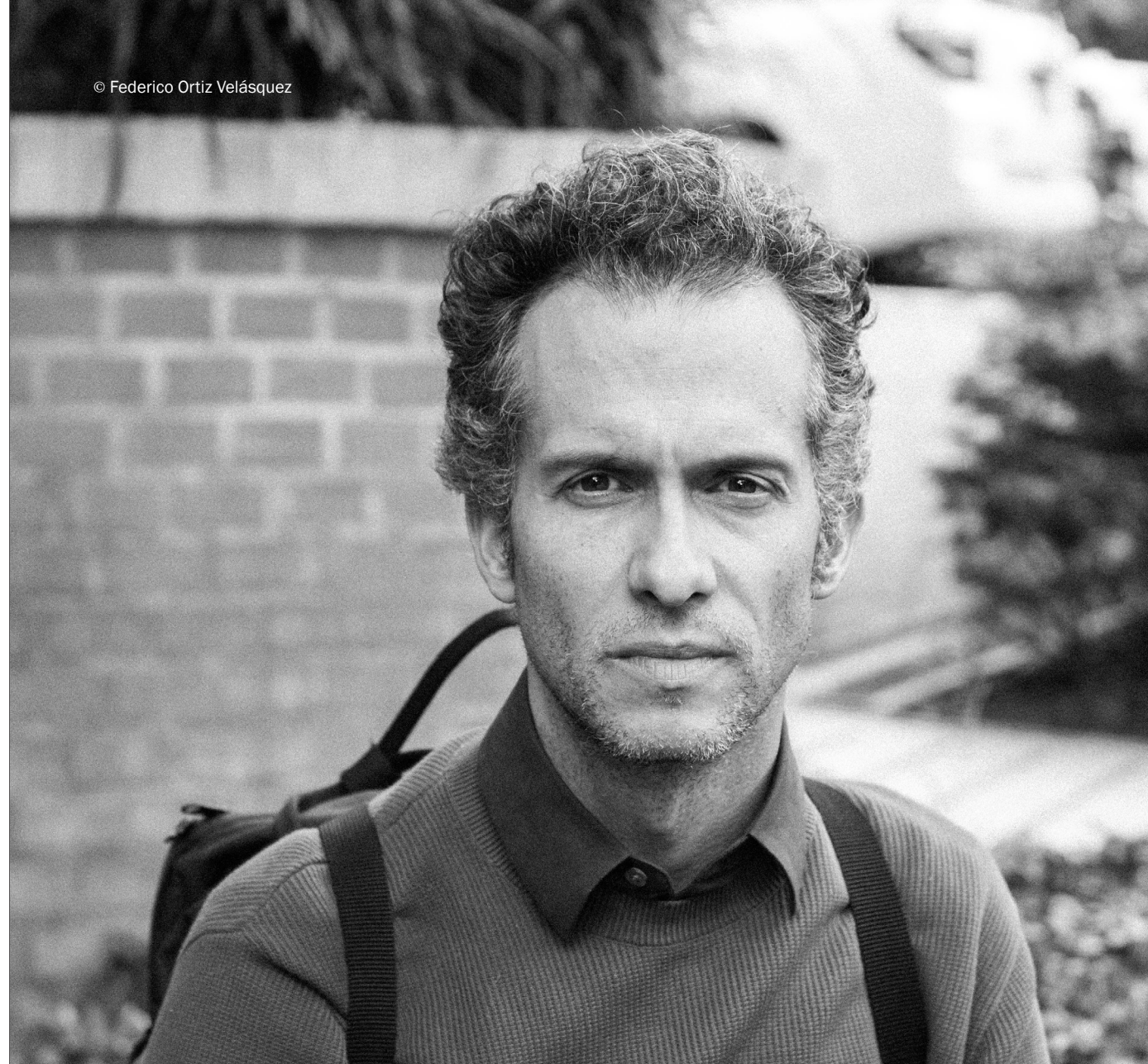
FO Let's start with an overview of your background. Now, in a conference a few years back you mentioned that architects must make ourselves necessary agents and remain close to the ones that make decisions of collective interest. What is the relationship between architecture and politics in Colombia?

CR I think it's a very ambiguous relation. On one hand, it has become somehow fancy, or, in other words, instrumental for politicians, to make use of architecture as a driver for transformation or change. On the other hand, from the perspective of disciplinary interests, trying to suggest or imagine that architecture has cultural value. It's none, there is no relation between politics and architecture. And the fact is that politicians, despite their ideas, political ideas or political interests or drivers, are willing, most of all I would say, to be in the picture. And it has become somehow trendy in a way that if you make architecture of a certain quality, you have more exposure in the era of media as we are today. I don't think if there were no social networks, or the media was present, politicians would be as willing to do things as they are right now.

On the other hand, social infrastructure it's always necessary in this context. We have a lack of square meters, institutions, infrastructure, that with or without architects, with or without good architecture, needs to be done. But anyway, the responsibility falls to the hands of politicians. How do they want to use the tools that architecture provide in order not only to accomplish the picture but to drive a change.

FO I believe it was in the same conference where you mentioned the concept of "Arquitectura Mestiza" (Crossbreed Architecture). Could you elaborate a bit about this?

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CR When we were working on the idea of “Arquitectura Mestiza” we were mainly thinking about how we live in different areas at the same time. We live in a technical era of technology, bytes, chips. But at the same time, we live in an era of handcraft, pre-industrial techniques, pre-figurations of modern society as contemporary society and even ancient ways of organizing society. So **I guess architecture becomes a meeting point, not only for history, but also for different ways of seeing and responding to things that need to be addressed right now with the difficulty of attending, not only contemporary problems, but historical problems that have not yet been addressed anyway.**

FO And is this concept only useful to the Colombian context?

CR No. I guess that as days go by, it will become increasingly more useful anywhere in the world. While Europe gets a lot of immigration right now, Europe will be facing a lot of problems, and it's now facing them, regarding lack of labor in one hand, lack of qualification of these immigrants in a way, a cultural conflict that it's embedded between the clash of two times, two civilizations, or maybe more collide on one single territory. At the same time the demands of climate change will require look to materialize in a different way. I guess, and I will add that we are reaching some kind of a ceiling of how we relate with technology. I guess in the coming years we'll see more and more people getting bored and getting tired of digital resources as mobile phones, social networks, and all this. I guess we will enter a kind of hiatus, of skepticism around technology and that will make us turn to a different direction, not to not to avoid technology, but to look at it in a very different way with less fascination as we do right now.

FO Now, coming back to politics, Colombian politics and the current situation, the peace agreement, within 300 pages, only mentions the term Architecture in one paragraph. I want to talk about this, what is the role of architecture and architects within the Colombian post-conflict stage?

CR It's a very difficult question because, on one hand, my immediate reaction will be to answer no, there is nothing we can do. **On the other hand, if we are able to link ourselves with necessary projects, or necessary networks that are inter-**

vening in the territory, then, we are very much needed. The problem is that if we as architects would like to see ourselves as a group, as a collective, we are lost.

FO We, as architects?

CR Yes, we as architects, as a common group that its unified or assembled as a group. From that perspective we have no power. Nobody as a Society of Architects is making the lobby, on one hand. Second, we as Colombians are very greedy. So, if there were such a group trying to make a connection with it, the distribution of work won't be able to happen. It will be taken by two or three, and they will try to make it all without sharing it. And that means a huge problem, not only for the development of the discipline, but also for their homogenization, of how we understand space and the possibilities for these spaces to become transitional spaces as such.

It's a very difficult question because I don't see anyone working on it, especially hand by hand with the government. We have now beautiful experience working with a private company for tourism in a very complicated area which used to be one of the summer houses of the FARC, that municipality was where they spent their vacations. But everything is coming from the private sector, a private company that is very rare to find, with a very interesting DNA about sustainability, not only environmentally speaking, but socially speaking. And it's an exception of the rule and I don't know how many of these we can find in our territory.

So, I'm not so sure what's what can the role be. **If we isolate architecture as a discipline. we could perhaps have a lot to do, if we keep our frame related to what we do which is, somehow, negotiate space with built form, I mean, with constructions.** Not with assemblies of discussion of too much talking. I do agree we need to build form as an argument, as a fact, as something that exists. In that sense, if we are able to embed what we do into discussion, I guess it can happen, it can be useful, but we don't have the resources or the media as a profession, as a group. And that's a big loss. And as individual architects, it depends a lot on how we are able to engage the discussion, either by bringing ourselves to discussion with the public which I mentioned before, seemed very unlikely. Or been very

lucky with very good clients.

There is a link of course (between architecture and post-conflict) in the need of infrastructure. But, take the peace agreement out of the equation, we have always had this lack of infrastructure, and where are the architects? Where is the Society of Architects making the lobby, or making the proper negotiations, making our voice heard, in the discussion of infrastructure, in the discussion of “Ley de Economía Naranja” (Orange Economy Law)? There is no participation of architecture there, because we, on one side, we haven’t been able to manage that architecture as a cultural value, product, if you want to put it into that labor of product, has a lot to give to the Colombian product, to the construction of an experience in a country as a rule, a tool for social development. But nobody’s having that conversation, and nobody’s willing to do it. On one hand, as I mentioned before, because the ones that have contact with the power or the people that are in power, they only want to make it for themselves. And second, there is a very big gap between how we understand architecture from this perspective and how do our society as a whole understand architecture. If this discussion was taking place in Holland, or Switzerland, or Germany, the meaning of architecture would be completely different. We don’t have institutions as the NAI, for example, or as the BSA in Switzerland, or even Colegio de Arquitectos in Spain. And there, everybody loses with this connection; the question is how to make it happen.

FO What does it mean to build peace, both conceptually and physically?

CR I think it’s very important. **This society doesn’t know any other way of understanding our relation, beside war or violence. And having the peace process been put through with all the imperfections that we can claim, it’s a huge success from that perspective.** We have to make it happen properly, and I think that our society is so blind about it, and is so afraid of learning to live in another way that that’s why everybody, or at least still there is somebody against it, because they have no other way of knowing a different way of life. And with it, politicians will have to keep reimagining themselves, and of course they lack imagination, so they will be useless.

FO For a victim, and for society as a whole, the past is filled with symbols of pain. What is the role of memory in architecture? How to translate these symbols into space?

CR I’m not so sure if we can... I’m not so keen to the idea of memory, but much more into the idea of history, which are different. History is able to provide the narrative. Memory somehow becomes more individual. And for this society, we lack a historical sense of things. With it, it provides a lack of idea of society, who we are. **It’s a very broken society, very torn apart. It’s not a shared history for many reasons. One, it’s the geographical issue, I wouldn’t claim there is one Colombia, there are many Colombias. Culturally speaking is very different what happens in Antioquia from what happens in the Caribbean coast, within the Caribbean coast there are very different logics. But we haven’t been able to accept that we either have many different histories and with them an idea of difference. Or either, to create more or less a cohesive idea of history that will make us value what we have done, be critical with what has happened and be able to look forward.** Memory, I think it’s very narrow, because it’s not collective, while history can be. Memory refers to single facts or to single events, while history perhaps provides a more open understanding, opens in a way a discussion, goes further back into a wider span of time. While memory for me seems more like a personal condition. History or historical views need today to be taken more into account as a wide conversation.

FO And this takes us to the discussion of memorials and monuments. How do you see these kinds of interventions, of commemorative interventions?

CR I guess they will have to be analyzed one by one. **I wouldn’t summarize, or try to give an answer that will frame them all at once. If you look at the memorial in Bogota “Fragmentos” I think it’s fantastic. That one is not only beautiful but intelligent, makes you look down, which, as a physical behavior is interesting, why you look down, not up. Second, it brings a common surface which is a surface of iron melt, of the melting of the weapons which somehow creates a common ground, that somehow has this geography, you know, and I think it’s beautiful from that perspective. Also, the fact that many different agents**

participated in it.

If you want to talk about the memorial that it's going to be built here in Medellin made be for the victims of Pablo Escobar, I think it's crap. I think it's a very bad memorial. It's naive, from every perspective, it's naive, trying to bring participation from a very stupid point of view, that people can bring something in and add something to it, which I think, and it prevents people from thinking, on one hand. Second, formally speaking, it is so clumsy. Third, the materiality, of this very old idea that you reflect yourself in a black stone. It's fantastic when you think about the Vietnam Memorial in Washington, of course. But it's only a one trick pony. If you try to repeat it here with the shape of mountains and then with a walk in between, with a garden, I mean, it's so naive, it's so bad, and it's so stupid. I'm sorry but I cannot find other words. It lacks culture, that's the problem. It lacks an understanding of culture as such, an understanding of what history means, of what the memorial can do. It's just so naive.

FO And what could be done beyond commemorative conventions?

CR Reinforce democracy, there is no other way. **Provide information, provide education, provide liberty, freedom, not take decisions for others; let people think and analyze, critical thinking.** Otherwise there will always be two or three leaders, and followers. But nobody's having a meaning or a way of thinking or a way of doing. And democracy cannot be built upon that. And that's the problem that we face here. It's a fake democracy, that's the problem.

FO Now that we're jumping into a political layer of the conversation, Transitional justice is a mechanism discussed in the top levels of politics and institutions. There are a few theories such as transitional justice from below, which discusses the need to escalate the mechanism in the lowest scale, in order to create real impact, because, people from the countryside don't know what transitional justice is. How do you see this in the Colombian context reaching the rural municipalities that suffer the most during the conflict?

CR For me the problem, not the problem, maybe the opportunity is the following

(while sketching): This is our territory...Cities-Countryside-Rurality-Wilderness. The conflict really happened here, in the rurality, most of the victims were here, partially in the cities. What's the economic dynamic right now, cities tried to swallow ground from rurality, to be activated as countryside. Countryside, we can define it as a transition, an area between the cities and rurality where the loss of production takes place in order to let the city grow, or the population here be modified from a rural culture to urban culture. Triggered by the flow of capital, by three different facts. One, **activation of land**, or urbanizing. Second, **the social migration of these people, the farmers that don't want to be farmers anymore and want to go to the cities, so it's social. And the third is environmental, is the replacement, and perhaps even, elimination of food supplies.**

At the same time when we look at the tools we have as architects, our tools go like this: Here, in the city, we have design, we have architecture, more or less until here (rural) it begins to diminish. Because we have to accept somehow that architecture is urban, always. When we do the drawing the other way (from wilderness to cities), we put here science, sociology, archeology, anthropology, all these sciences. At the more and the deeper we go into the territory, the more biological these become. Scientific research, biology, ecology, the study of endemic species, etc. Now, when we see this, the traces of built architecture are somehow very high here (cities) and somehow low here right on here (rurality), there is nothing here in reality (wildness). **Here in rurality used to be, and I'm getting to the point of the coffee production infrastructure, it's Infrastructures for the production of food. Call it coffee, flowers, cacao. Then the production from here (rural) to there (wildness) mainly illegal, which is drugs. When you place this into the wilderness, these become temporary sheds, things that cannot leave any trace of architecture's built form.** When you go here (countryside) you have architecture, and, let's say, urban solutions with non-architectural forms, which is the informal settlements, and somehow, these informal settlements go straight to rurality or even come from there. When you think about the historical heritage, in the case of Antioquia, our only built heritage is here, at rurality. Heritage, Here (cities) has become almost none.

When you tried to look at the map, you tried to see what's the role of architecture

and in the big discussion into the territory, you see it's very limited, because as a tool that can be displayed, you can display it at the urban. Somehow here (talking about countryside), if it was a very clear policy of what to do with this transitional territory, because then you could provide some areas of intermediate development that are not anymore little towns, small towns lost in the middle of nowhere, but have not yet become cities, but anyway will provide opportunities for people here. I guess the limit of architecture is this: when you cross this threshold (between rurality and wildness), architecture disappears.

FO But then, if conflict mainly staged in the rurality, shouldn't also the spatial Interventions take place there?

CR Yes, but the problem is that we have that more or less 84 percent of the Colombian population is urban, and 16 percent more or less, rural. Which means this: who will get the highest education? Urban. Where does our strange idea of democracy is more rooted? Urban. Who's taking the decisions? Urban. **So, when FARC and the conflict was in its full speed, a curtain was drawn here (between countryside and rurality), and this curtain was used by many different agents for their own benefit. One, the mining companies; when you look at the Colombian territory, we are almost all declared by territorial mining titles coming from abroad, and that's a huge problem. Second, as long as these politics didn't take place here, this curtain was not going to be tear down. So we will give them time for people, or for small groups, to make their interest happen, while they were making small efforts here and leaving this aside.**

And that's the problem. The problem is that for these last 20 years, our country was somehow being sold or given away to mining companies, and we didn't even know it. Now that we are opening our eyes we are realizing what's going on, and perhaps it's too late. And what was the role of architecture? None. What was the role of citizens? None. What was the role of democracy? None. And the problem leads of course to a very immature society, that doesn't believe in politicians. **Of course, there is always the train of corruption, that takes the money that supposedly goes from here (cities) to there (rurality), and is diverted into many other ways and never arriving here (rurality), keeping the status quo. That's**

the matter.

FO As we were talking earlier, transitional justice acknowledges the transitional stage of the country, because it's a transition between a conflict towards peace. This transitionality acknowledges political, social, economic and geographical conditions. Should also every intervention within his framework, be transitional as well?

CR Yeah. Yeah I guess so, but not only in Colombia but the world itself. Climate change is a reality, the feeling of being fed up with traditional politicians as well, all around the world. I wouldn't claim that capitalism is the reason for it; you can call it capitalism, you can call it socialism, you can call it whatever model you want. The problem is humanity, why do we consider important, are we able or selfish enough, or generous enough to stop being so selfish. I don't think it's a problem of the economic model, it's a problem of human kind. And that requires a much deeper intervention. So I think that this is an era of transition, of everything. How to address it, that's the question.

There are certain authors that have good answers to it. If you read the "Down to Earth" by Bruno Latour, it's interesting the way he proposes things. I guess Europe should play a bigger role in the discussion, and democracy should be reinforced everywhere. The values of illustration are somehow, everywhere.

FO And do you think transitional justice could be translated in spatial terms? As a mechanism, as an instrument.

CR I wouldn't say transitional justice, I would say it should be a national policy. Our society is absolutely an equal, inequity is everywhere and in the cities are such. Cities have the form or the shape of their societies, and that's what you can see here, so it's not a matter of transitional justice. I would say it, should be a national policy, beside the transitional justice.

FO Besides the Agreement

CR Of course, of course. I mean, if this society is willing to make an agreement, a common agreement, to be able to live together in this shared territory, that's one of the facts that we need to address. Just take, for instance, the "estratos" (economic stratification of classes in Colombia), the idea of "estratos"... Come on, it's Middle Ages! And it's a policy since 1960s. So, where are the progressive view of economy and society, coming out and saying "we need to readdress the office estratos and change it", it's not coming to the discussion.

I guess it goes far beyond transitional justice, and we have to make peace ourselves, first with the territory. How many friends you have in Pasto, in Cucuta? Besides Antioquia, I guess I have no friends in other parts of the country. **So, that's the first thing, break these geographical barriers.**

FO Which is something that's also somehow part of the discussion, because within the agreements, reconciliation is one of the major concepts. But then, they only talk about reconciliation between agents and victims, but not about reconciliation with the territory, with the spaces where these events happened.

CR For me, **reconciliation means getting together with others, not the ones of your kind, with others. And how are you going to get together with other if I cannot even go there, because there is no media, or no mediums to go down, there are no roads, it's impossible to go by boat, it's impossible to go by air. How will I create reconciliation when you can, when this is an archipelago? That's the thing. How to build the bridges? perhaps that's architecture, architecture might be the bridge.**

FO The project of the coffee cooperative is located in a rural context. What is the impact of such building within the mountainous and agrarian-driven context of Ciudad Bolivar, in Antioquia? How can a building like this operate in a territorial scale?

CR I think, for us, **as we understand the architecture, is a description of geography, as a common point for things, people, situations, or networks to meet. A coffee cooperative in Ciudad Bolivar somehow plays the same role. Somehow**

from the materiality, the engraving of the panels, we are making echoes of the history and the codes, historical codes of the area. From the possibility of being able to insert the community center inside up production plant, we were trying to bring society into it. Not only to bring the coffee under production but to get together as a common activity, allowed us to make a building open for people to meet. Also, at the same time, to be able to create, or reinforce, or even, bring in the culture of shared the values. Because most of the times, **coffee growing families work very lonely, they are very independent; not to say selfish.** So, this was created in a different model for people to bring the coffee, being able to talk with someone they didn't know and share some ideas or processes or thoughts. **And then create a common product that can have a value of protecting the territory or a very particular condition of locality, projected into a global network which is coffee.**

FO But then choosing a location to intervene in the rural context is more complicated than the urban, I would assume. How do you choose? In your case, how did you decide the location of intervention?

CR I was not taking place in the selection of the site. But they selected the site because **there are many associates in that area, which were somehow far from the logistics, from the main network of logistics for coffee. So sometimes for them it was very hard during the coffee to the collection points.** So they were able to find that they were more than 700 families in a very short radius, with very interesting plantations and also the diversity of farmers. There was some that had, I don't know, one hundred hectares, but some others had only two or three. So it allowed them to have a very wide range, not only of members of society, but also as different profiles of coffee because somewhere between twelve hundred meters above sea level and somewhere almost eighteen hundred or two thousand, in a very small range. So that allowed them also to link society, product, profile of the cup, so it was an interesting spot.

FO It is also the case of Granada, and that's why I'm interested. That's a possible occasion of intervention, is a similar condition.

What is the social value or the social meaning of coffee and coffee production for people in Antioquia?

CR I would expand it even to Colombia. Colombia has always been linked to coffee culture and coffee plantation. Coffee, on one hand I guess, we don't use that as much as we could. All the world drinks coffee, take the world on a diet of coffee and see what happens, it will be a mess. **And I think coffee has shaped our culture because for many years, especially during the 20th century, most of the infrastructure was built through and by the income produced by coffee. So I guess, coffee has defined our geography as much as geography has defined our coffee. And the sub product of that is our societies.**

What it's somehow a paradox, is that the welfare state of all these societies related to coffee, they don't even depend fully on the local decisions, they are embedded in a global network. **Nobody trading coffee in New York will ever give a damn about what happens to them, as long as they get the price they want. And that's one of the threats of this shared economy we have right now.**

I think that, if Brazil decides to flood the market with coffee, then the price will go down immediately. If they begin to retain the production, the price will go up. And everybody has to play by those rules. Unless you create these specialty coffee programs, that somehow what's been going on now the last year. Now you can see a pound for forty five, seventy dollars, while a pound in the New York Stock Exchange can go between one and one point eight, two dollars if you're lucky. So it demands a lot of imagination, to be able to escape from these networks.

FO Can these kinds of practices re-signify or rebuild these links that were broken because of conflict?

CR I hope they will. **It's a wonderful tool anyway. Because it creates community projects, community perspectives. And I guess from that point of view it can create a very different sense of society, and what to expect from it.**

FO The last one related to a photograph which is very famous by Jesus Abad Colo-

rado. What do you think the role of the collective construction in the post-conflict stage?

CR I think it's interesting. I think the riots or the protests that were taking place two or three weeks ago are absolutely necessary. I think it's an expression of change, not only for what they demand, but also for the possibility of many people from very different levels of society agreeing and coming out to protest without being labeled as guerrilleros. Of course the tradition, the most traditional conservative politicians will call them as such. But I think it's an interesting way of describing there is something going on, something's changing and I don't know exactly what. I think if society is somehow understanding, and the newer generations demanding a different logic, a different country.

When you think about Alvaro Uribe, and Centro Democratico, and all these right wing politicians, they picture themselves in a 19th century Colombia. And so does the left. And that's interesting as confusing at the same time. When you listen to Gustavo Petro, it's the same rhetoric from a very overcooked socialism of the 20th century that takes you nowhere as stupid as this conservative view of society and economy of the right. But the interesting thing is that many of the leaders that came out and have been speaking and pressing the negotiations, don't attend any of these sites. That's what amazes me the most, what I find more interesting of what's going on. It's a third way of doing things: Either the right, or the left. Either Uribe or Petro, which in the end are the same. But different sides of the same coin. Unnecessary for our country.

Conversation with Mihaela Mihai, Senior Lecturer in Political Theory, Programme Director Msc International Political Theory, University of Edinburgh.

Delft, November 26th, 2019.

Interview conducted via Skype.

FO From your studies or from your perspective, how do you see the relationship between architecture of politics within the contemporary discussions undergoing in wider perspective, worldwide?

MM I think as I was saying earlier, I am not a specialist in architecture and I've been reading a lot of work on architecture which is however, located within the social sciences, political science and the humanities. So, my sense is that there is a tendency to exaggerate, in current conversations, the power that architecture has to create or to provide the propitious circumstances for a desired type of politics, usually democratic politics. So, in general, I think that there's this tendency to exaggerate the power that architecture has in relation to politics. Architecture is also sometimes thought to very clearly translate or express certain political ideals. And in general, it is invested with this exaggerated power to represent, to express and to do things to people. And I find this a little bit problematic and throughout my readings in architectural theory I've learned, and I'm persuaded by this idea that the power of architecture is actually quite limited and a lot of the things we attribute to architecture are all our projections, what we would like architecture to do. So, this is my sense about the debate on the relationship between politics and architecture. There tends to be an over investment in seeing architecture as this very powerful political force that can express ideas, can create types of subjects, can determine behavior in ways that I think are quite far from reality.

FO This is also a discussion that we have here in the faculty all the time regarding architecture and politics, because somehow, I agree as well with your paper that architecture can trigger can be of provocateur of many things. But then we cannot come up with the final answer for anything. We can create these spaces to allow

conversations and new perspectives and allow discussions. But then we cannot have the last comment on anything.

MM Just to give you an example, I was at the main political science conference in the US a few months back and there was a panel on architecture and political theory and there were people who very strongly argued that, you know, living in a socialist block of flats makes you miserable and that it's bad architecture. And they were very clear about what is good democratic architecture and what is bad non-democratic architecture. And I had to say, look, I mean, if what you have a term of comparison is other socialist buildings, you will not have the capacity to say, "this is good, this is bad". If you lived your entire life in a socialist block your experience is normalized. The idea that you will be automatically miserable if you are in a socialist block makes no sense.

FO I know you have read like Lebbeus Woods, for instance. But then what kind of other interaction with architecture have you had so far? What kind of authors?

MM It's mostly of the authors that I cited in the paper. That's basically the extent of my engagement with architecture at a scientific level. But you know, I'm curious and I read things, but I couldn't say that the other authors I read, I read them as a scientist and I've read them academically, it is mostly for my intellectual curiosity. I just came back from a conference, it's a British association, architecture and the humanities and there I attended panels on Aldo Rossi, the modernists and the utopians. But this is not really something I have read in depth.

FO Ok. I'll start with some comments or questions, better, in regards with a paper of Architectural Transitional Justice? Political Renewal within the Scars of a Violent Past. So, the first one would be: where does this concept of architectural transitional justice come from? How did you conceive this concept?

MM Yes, as I was saying before we started the recording, I always worked on the politics of memory and on the institutions that societies are establishing to deal with the painful violent past and transitional justice is a technical term. There is a very big field of research, but the term also covers institutional practice. There

are many international organizations, national organizations that use this term when they go into post-conflict contexts and try to institutionalize certain practices, certain fora for dealing with the past. **Just to give you a couple of examples, criminal trials of former dictators and perpetrators of violence, are a typical mechanism of transitional justice. So is the truth commission or the truth and reconciliation commission, lustration, reparations, compensations. These are typical mechanisms of what is technically understood as traditional justice, both academically and politically, institutionally. So, this has become a very big field. It's riddled with a lot of problems.** And in my work, I try to show the limits of how the idea of transitional justice is understood and is applied in practice. But this term has a very large currency in academic and political debates. So I thought I wanted to draw attention to the architectural and the material part of processes of engagement with the past and deploying this concept was a way of getting people's attention in the journal that's dedicated to this topic. My article was a way of saying, look, we can think about architecture in relation to transitional justice. Whether the term Architectural transitional justice holds on its own, it's to me a little bit besides the point. **What I think is important is to think about processes of engaging with architecture that's been part of the war machine, of violent war machines in the past, and how we can think about it in a way that doesn't erase the past, but also doesn't remain stuck in the past.** I mean, the title of the article is Architectural transitional Justice, question mark. My question mark was to signify that uncertainty about the conceptual point.

FO it's a starting point for debate.

MM Yes.

FO Okay, good. And that's interesting as well, because now you got, for instance, my attention, the attention of an architecture student. And that's the point of starting these conversations from these kinds of questions. So that's very interesting. Obviously, when my research paper is done around March or April next year, I would also like to share it to you.

MM Well, I'm sure it's going to be a process of mutual learning because I said, you

know, I'm sure I have a lot to learn from architects.

FO Okay. The second question is, what made you shift the focus from the symbolic coming more give perspective on architecture regarding transitional justice that you acknowledge in your paper and then why you think it's important to look at different perspectives rather than the commemorative ones?

MM I think that in general, people from the humanities and from the social sciences, whenever they talk about the materiality of the past, they look at human remains, they look at cemeteries., they look at highly symbolic buildings. And they think about architecture, they limit their discussion about architecture to the symbolic. So, this is one of the limitations in the field. And secondly, **whenever they think about architecture and violence, they think about architecture as the target of violence. But they don't think about the architecture that was part of the mechanism of violence, or not so much.** For me, it was interesting to decenter the conversation and not look again at monuments that have been bombed, at state or official buildings that have been bombed or look at, you know, cemeteries or mosques or churches that have been destroyed. I wanted to look at buildings that have been purposely built for the purpose of sustaining the political effort to fight. So that was what I was thinking: we need to go beyond these limiting visions that sees architecture only as a target of violence, and look beyond symbolic architecture. I was also very inspired by reading Andrew Herscher's work on warchitecture and listening to interviews with him, because I think he has a very important point to make in terms of how we understand the relationship between architecture and violence. And in this way, I also depart from Woods, although it is a bit more complicated with Woods because he also understands capitalist's expansion through architecture as a form of violence. But his drawings and his discussions, he thinks about architecture as the object of violence as opposed to the subject of violence.

FO Woods it's a very different character in this kind of discussions. He's quite unique and also being a paper architect makes him more complicated because he's theories never got materialized. So you have to look at them with certain distance as well.

MM Well, you see, I mean, I'm a theorist, so I'm going to say this: I think it's reductive to always prioritize buildings and built architects, because I think that is a very reductive idea of architecture as a practice. And that's why in one of the versions of the paper I say, well, look at Woods' theory as political theory, and decenter built outputs in our understanding of architecture as an institution. And also, I think that I wanted to decenter the role of philosophy, also political philosophy in relation to architecture, because it does tend to be the case that architects look at philosophers for ideas, concepts, inspiration. But the opposite is not necessarily the case. What I tried to do in the paper is simply to decenter political theory and political philosophy and look at architectural theory as theory on its own, not something that has to be defer to philosophy as a source.

FO I see your point there. Moving to the third question. Do you think these I mean, you kinda answer at the ready, but then do you think that architectural transitional justice should be counter-monumental. Does monumentality matter or does it play an important role in the architectural transitional justice?

MM I guess it depends on how you define it, what you understand for monumentality because you know, the examples that I discussed with the paper are massive constructions. So, if you think it is a matter of scale, simply of scale, you can think about them as being monumental. And I guess it depends on what kinds of material you're working with. I think it depends on what shape and what function the buildings that are subjected to this intervention in the wake of violence is. If you were talking about something, a prison or a clandestine detention center or something like that, I have difficulty understanding how the notion of monumentality would apply. You know, it could be like Argentina, the Garage Olimpo, the garage where people were tortured was exterminated. That's just an ordinary building that the word monumentality would never come to mind. How do you define monumentality?

FO Well, I would define monumentality in terms of post-conflict interventions, where in certain agent of power will materialize their perspective of the past events in a more triumphalist perspective, these kinds of question was more related to

post-conflict interventions and the value of a monument itself, post-conflict kind of intervention, which is quite common worldwide.

MM When you say monumentalization, you mean memorialization? So, it's not about scale. I think that I'm interested in ways of dealing with this building that is not reduced to memorialization. As I said in the paper, there is memorialization in both towers I discuss, but, if the only purpose of all intervening in the building is to memorialize what happened there, then the idea of freespace no longer make sense, because you don't allow for multiple use and multiple imaginations to come into place. You over-determine from the beginning the purpose of the building, and that's memorialization, and there's no space for interacting with it in alternative ways, it's just for memorialization, piety or remembrance, ethics, etc. So, if you impose the purpose, you close the possibility of engaging with the building otherwise.

FO The next question, you argue that architecture can support, though not ensure political renewal? I know your field of study is politics, but do you think that architecture can support other processes rather than political renewal? Socio-economic kind of processes, processes in a country that's going through a transitional stage.

MM Yeah. Yeah. This is this is very interesting. I think when I was writing those words, what I meant to suggest was this was a very modest idea about what architecture can do anywhere, everywhere. So, I was trying to say that it can facilitate some things but not ensure anything. When I talk about renewal, it's a vague term. So, I was thinking that it could be, you know, vague enough and general enough to encompass a variety of processes. It could be about political engagement, political participation, it can be about socio-economic redistribution, political reconstruction. Did you have something specific in mind?

FO Well, based on the research that I've done so far, especially on the comments from an institution in Amsterdam where they research about conflict in different contexts, they mentioned that reassuring economic renewal in a post-conflict environment is fundamental because within the first five years of post-conflict, half

of the countries cannot reassure these economic stability or growth, then they go back to conflict not only because of economics, but then it's quite an important layer as well.

MM Absolutely, I don't want to foreground the role of architecture here. I mean, one of the contexts I'm familiar with is the South African context and you have this whole discussion about reconciliation and forgiveness and so on and so forth, and the Rainbow Nation. But actually, if you look on the ground, the society is still geographically segregated and a large part of the black population live in very precarious townships, squats and all kinds of provisional architecture that becomes permanent because there is no radical redistribution. **But, for that to happen, of course architecture can be a partner, but it's a matter of political will first and foremost, it's a matter of political decision making at the top level. It is a matter of legislations, it is a matter of many things before it is a matter of architecture.**

FO That's interesting as well. You mentioned that architectural transitional justice must address the challenge of redesigning and re-signifying a broader category of buildings that played an integral part of that geography of violence. Later, you argue that the paper seeks to expand the concept of scars by Woods purposefully built architecture. In my research, about the Colombian conflict, I don't find such a strong element in architecture that could be redesign; Colombian conflict was mainly staged in the rurality and has a strong link with the territory. In this case, I argue that the Colombian landscape, the specific territories which were symbols of violence are the elements to intervene, (re)design and re-signify. Colombian conflict is mainly rural rather than urban, it's harder to find these kinds of typologies like de Flak Towers you mention in your paper. What do you think of this? Can the freespaces, according to Woods, also take place in different scales?

MM Look, I think this is a contribution where the proof will be in the pudding on the argument that you are trying to make. When you say landscape, what do you mean by that? You mean conflict zones or militarized zones?

FO Yes. I'm thinking about specific geography that were combat zones, basically,

or controlled zones, or spaces where massacres occurred, or places that have an important symbolism because of what happened there and then could also be re-signified.

MM I see, this is very interesting. I think first of all, I think expanding the idea of the freespace to go beyond very clearly defined buildings in the way you discuss to areas, spaces, places, from my limited knowledge, I would be very curious to read such an expansion. I'm curious on how you would do that. And I think that, top off my head, I don't see why it wouldn't work, **but I have a question because this kind of the re-signification of places, where there were massacres, raises a lot of ethical issues: which places can be repurposed and redesigned and reinvented in the way that I suggested? It requires democratic consultation and requires inclusive discussions, deliberations because there are some places which, some people say, must and should left untouched, as memory places, as the spaces where any intervention would be a violation of the dignity of the dead.** This raises an interesting ethical conundrum. So, I would say yes, I would love to see this on paper, but it requires a high level of reflexivity on what can be ethically done.

FO I think it's relevant and something to highlight in the process of my research. Regarding the two examples presented in the paper, there is indeed cultural and political renewal within the new functions of the Flak Towers in Hamburg and Vienna. Although you mention that these examples are not motivated by pragmatic concerns about building reuse, do you think these new functions of the buildings (a power plant and an aquarium) are relevant? Or, do you think the new program or activities contained in ATJ projects are not as important as the statement of transforming an element of the past into something new for the future?

MM I think it will matter. I think it matters what takes place because of the ethical considerations I discussed above, and it will also matter because of the shape of common sense, the general ideas, the general political culture of the community. **People will be more likely open to certain projects rather than others, and because I want to decenter on the role of architects in determining what will go on in the building, then one has to be very sensitive about the cultu-**

ral parameters within which this repurposing happens. So the community might have quite pragmatic concerns, the community might have ethical concerns about what happens in that building and what it would be replaced with, how it would be transformed so that it no longer means an instrument of violence, but an instrument or a place for experimentation and so on and so forth. I was just talking to an Austrian woman, and she was saying, she found that the use of the tower as an aquarium as highly offensive to the memory of the Jewish people. So, you see, what would pass as an appropriate use would very much depend on the community involved and the people who would be consulted by the architect in the practice of re-signifying.

FO I completely agree, because I remember visiting this aquarium in Vienna. I didn't enter, but then just seeing that is was just an aquarium was disappointing. I felt weird when I saw the reference on the paper with the aquarium. I mean, I understood the example. But then I wanted to ask about the program because an aquarium is something that doesn't offer any value to its context. So, I completely agree with you that these kinds of intervention, and programs are important in the sense of how they relate to people from that context, and how architecture must perform in the future. But I think it is a wasted opportunity for a stronger statement.

MM This is the point, a stronger statement by whom and for whom. This is the thing that we need to try very hard to give up. As scientists, as architects, we are not here no make a statement, we are here to listen to people and what they want to do. By the way, I just recently was in Vienna and this is no longer an aquarium, they removed the artwork that was on the top, and they are covering it all, and I hear a hotel is in the making, which is the end of the freespace.

FO Architecture, as stated in the paper, serves as a facilitator, a provocateur, a helper. Where do you think the limits of architecture are, in its possibility to support political renewal?

MM I think is very difficult to give a very general answer to this question, but I think how the extent of architecture's power over individuals depends very much

on what kind of individuals inhabit it. **Because individuals don't come to architecture as tabula rasa, as empty vessels ready to be filled with whatever architecture can provide. They come with their own culture references, they read space in a certain way, they read symbols in a certain way, so the effect the architecture role has in a function of the ways in which it is built, the symbols that are imprinted on it, the organization of space, but also, the kind of baggage that people bring into it.** The effects will be somewhere between the individuals and the building, in the in-between, that's why it cannot be controlled, it is something that we have to accept as unstable and variable depending on contexts. It very much depends on who's inhabiting it, what kind of history they have, what cultural references they have, how they understand the past, how open they are to understanding things differently - this is a very complex phenomenon that happens in between.

This is also in the same question that people have about works of art, and how people should understand works of art and what effect art has on people. There is no such thing as generalized effect that a painting or a novel has on every reader, it very much depends on the positionality of the reader and their baggage, hopes and expectations.

FO That is also quite a challenge here because one has to address these interventions in spatial terms, both for individual and collective narratives that are part of it, and then may become contested when people disagree in these kinds of interventions.

MM Yeah, **but the fact of disagreement should be welcomed, because, if we are committed to freedom and freespaces, disagreement is hopefully something that we can accommodate.** This is a first point I want to make. And second, **the individual and the collective are not clearly separable, because individuals are always embedded within collectives, and individual memories and individual aspirations are always filtered through the collective imaginary of the past, the present and the future.**

Conversation with Erika Diettes, visual artist.

Bogotá, December 11th, 2019.

FO I will begin with a very broad question. Is there a relationship between your artistic practice and architecture? And how is the relationship between art and architecture in general?

ED Well, let's say that this relationship today, with my next work called Oratorio, for the disappeared, the work of architecture is the hand of an architect. The work of raising the space in the beginning was very intuitive, obviously it is not from the knowledge of architecture, but if you look at an artwork like Río Abajo in its primary stage, the route is planned, that the work was not on the wall, but we had to go around. All this was a very intuitive approach. It was a tour, in fact in that first Río Abajo that took place in Granada, Antioquia, we arrived at the house that today is known as the Salón del Nunca Más (Memory Hall). When I went to Granada, they had just acquired that house, it had no electricity, it was like taking a ruined house and making an exhibition there. So that first museological-physical route was also given from the language of the same house with the exhibition, it was not a situation that I had planned beforehand, I did not arrive with a render to make that exhibition, it was a "Well, here we have this, we will hang it this way". We did not have electricity, so we looked for candles. Then it was like a series of elements that me, as an artist, what I did was to listen to what was there, and see what was there. It is a lie to think that one arrives as an alien and raises one thing, that seems disrespectful to me. I think it is more sensitive to let the same need and the same logic and spirit of the work take that form. After that first, the second, the third, is coming; One says, "Learning from this is the journey." Then over the years there is a work like Río Abajo in Manrique, where I went to design the theme of the road blocking the spaces with candles. So, what I did was to start blocking spaces with candles. This route is considered as a bit more planned. Then a work like Sudarios (Shrouds), for example, which is a work where architec-

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ture is the framework, because the language to churches or temples, the layout of the work comes from space, from the Church, from that sacred space. They have not always been Catholic churches, many Catholic churches converge of course, obviously my imaginary in Sudarios shows all the wealth of the Baroque. But that, for example, is an approach where architecture is what determines which shroud is higher. All the layout of each exhibition of Sudarios has been given by the architecture. The images are the same 20, which in fact that exhibition does not stop surprising me to the extent that I have been in towering churches, or other small chapels, so I always say “Here I am missing 20 shrouds” and no, the exhibition could be presented for 1000 square meters or for 10, because it always worked with the same 20. Even in the Dominican Republic chapel, which was a small chapel, the tour was impressive with the same 20 images, the same I was with in Liverpool’s cathedral, which is the largest Anglican cathedral. So, it is an issue in which architecture determines the flow of the exhibition.

Already an exhibition like Relicarios (Reliquaries), without a doubt the route is designed so that the spectator bends down, that the darkness speaks to you, that the darkness gives space to light. More than designing the focal point of light, what we were doing was creating darkness. It is an exercise where people think we were putting the lights and it is the opposite, we are creating darkness so that light can be seen. Architecture, I think is fundamental, is our body’s relationship with space.

FO Yes, I felt Relicarios as something very intimate because the fact of having the object of bending over and looking at properly what is there becomes very personal and also in that case the Museum of Antioquia, in the particular room in which it was exhibited lent itself to that, because there are also other exhibitions in other places with a larger space, but the effect of intimacy was not lost as I understood it in that case. And with Sudarios it becomes interesting on the scale, because sometimes in the chapel you feel closer to the piece on that scale, that remoteness in a large cathedral may not be lost.

ED There is something very nice about Sudarios, for example, in the cathedral of the Dominican Republic. You entered through the shrouds, you actually had to

touch the shroud to be able to move from one side to the other because it was a very small chapel. There are other cathedrals where shrouds are very high, however I always try to leave one below, unless religious worship somehow prevents the real flow of the Church. I think that there is also something very nice in terms of respecting the life of each space. There was one in which I had to raise a shroud a little more because it was a cathedral where they made many burials, for example, then the priest told me “here we cannot, because it is where it goes”, then we must raise it more. This type of thing that seems to me to be different to arrive as an artist and put the exhibition and other to interpret life, architecture, go up and down according to that vital journey, because it is finally an artwork that speaks of life.

FO Here as a researcher and artist I imagine that you try to have a certain objective to look for during the process of creating the artwork. For example, Relicarios, which portrays a series of objects of family members of missing or murdered people were handed over and kept, you acquire a responsibility with them, and at the same time there is a very personal and subjective link with the artwork because of your uncle’s story, which I understand is also exhibited there. How is the relationship between your work as an artist and the victims with whom you share and with those who collaborate to produce these artworks?

ED I think there are two things which are important to highlight. One is the figure of the artist, because it is also something that in this journey I have asked myself a lot, what does it mean for people that one is an artist, that more than an opposite relationship is one is a horizontal relationship. I carry more than 400 testimonies received, one by one, without recording, paying attention, where you have to have your five senses multiplied by seven because you cannot let anything slip away; your body, your willingness to listen. When they give me the testimonies, the photographic device is such, if there is no background there are some lights, people know that they are going to the artist, the photographer. I have always found it very interesting what it is that one brings with that title (as an artist). Finally, it is a formality, it is a formality to say that it is the artist, but what is there that makes people effectively release a shirt of his missing son kept for 20 years, why not give it to the sociologist, or why not deliver it to the Salón del Nunca Más, or the Center

for Historical Memory.

I think it is worth analyzing that figure of the artist, what it is that provides what obviously comes from a work of many years, Rio Abajo, Sudarios, Relicarios. Relicarios was a work that, in its initial approach, was an act of madness, it was “I am going to release these objects”. I come from a journey like the one in Río Abajo, like the one in Sudarios. It was an artwork that I had to contain even because if not, I would still be doing Relicarios, it is a project that had to be treated very carefully both in the physical processing of the objects and in the emotional part of the mourners. I have always worked hard with a person who is an expert in grieving, she is a sociologist who has worked throughout the eastern part of Antioquia because at that time of the principles of work and psychosocial support of the Sineb; She worked in Sonsón, Argelia, Nariño. I always worked with someone who knew how to understand things that the artist is not prepared to.

I believe a lot in the professions and in the specificity. As much as I want to create a tall temple, I need an architect who knows it will not fall down. Also, the subject of interviews and psychosocial support, I think you have to be very responsible and very ethical, in terms of how you treat such a complex, difficult, and unfair concept as the grief, grief for violent death, grief for disappearance. I think that first of all, there is an ethical sense of working with the bereaved. I think this is an important line in my work; some people read it as a work of death, a work of disappearance and it is quite the opposite, because it is a very vital work, it is a work from the grief. I am not working from death, I am working from the bereaved. So when you already have the responsibility to honor the memory, because the responsibility is to honor the memory of a death that should not have happened, tragic, unfair and irreparable, horrifying, because normally it sounds redundant not to say a horrific death but there are different ways to die in this country that can be more traumatic indeed, to pick up the son cut into pieces on a tray, to the son who died from a shot; but how do you tell someone which child's death is more tragic?

Working from that frequency implies an enormous responsibility, it implies an emotional strength, which means that I am very fragile, because I recognize the

ability to not have that strength. So, it has also been a very human work, both in me as an artist, as the people who help me, as the people who work and enter into this process, that is the architect, the carpenter who helped me design the boxes, the conservative that today is the one that takes care of this work. At the ethical level it is a project that must be taken care of in every possible way and for me that the limit, the absolute barrier, is always being to protect the life of the bereaved. **We must also understand that we are in the context of a conflict that has not stopped, that if there is a post-conflict or post-truth or whatever we want to call it from politics, but there, in the rural territory, we cannot understand it in the same way as the processes are understood.**

In rural regions there are people who are in danger, and one becomes aware of it because of the conversations with the bereaved. One also has to start to intuit that person suddenly if it is clear what it would mean for me to say his or her name in Bogotá in an interview. I prefer not to do that. There is a lot of knowledge, let's say, and a lot of responsibility to take great care of the information given to me. For instance, all my notebooks, all my fieldwork already rests in the library of the University of Tulane as a sealed file, nobody has access to that file, which for example are decisions that one has to make, that suddenly I would become a better artist in the eyes of many people, that I published those notebooks, I could use it for my benefit. I know that the correct moral, ethical response to reality is just the opposite, it is to protect that information. And as I say, the limit to me, the limit is the moment when I can put someone's life at risk. From there the art is secondary. I believe that it is precisely that clarity that makes people trust a process like Relicarios, that people know what I am saying, what I promised is what will happen. In fact, the reliquaries keep secrets, some have objects that cannot be seen, because when we delivered the objects, we promised that they wouldn't be visible. But the person had the space to tell, to let go, to let go of those objects that were suddenly ashamed for any reason, or to tell it on a level of intimacy because it is a project that is intimate, it is a project about the intimacy of grief, which when you think like that means that it is a project about humanity. Then, for example, a mother handed me a handkerchief that had her son's sweat and she said to me, “people think that I am filthy for keeping this, it is because I am unable to get rid of it.” Then it is to give space to those secrets, to those things

that are there, that are not made for the public but in the privacy of the process. I think that it is very important to think that the artist as the figure of a custodian. In the case of my work, I feel that I am in custody of the information, the privacy of the grief and the objects that remain, which are all these acts of love, because each reliquary itself is an enormous act of love.

FO Very interesting that is what you mention. Your work talks about shaping grief, the grief because of death or the absence of a loved one. How do these meanings, these concepts translate into tangible and visible elements?

ED Shaping grief for the spectator, because for those who are grieving, their life is grief itself. When you lose a loved one and more when we speak in a violent context, the biggest loss is always your own. There is no way to compare a son or a father with that of another. The biggest loss that you are going to have in your life is your own, but if we add to that a context of displacement, if we add a context of war dispossession, where the deaths, if you allow me the term, are so horrifying, indeed grief is the same presence of the survivor, it is the form is the mother who is Madre de la Candelaria. That is the form, but how we translate it? Giving it that unique form that is each grief, because the reliquaries finally, where I got to 165 because it was what emotionally, economically and how far life gave me, until there. Each locket is unique but is part of an infinity.

Let's say that the idea of the reliquaries is precisely from what is limited, that is my ability, to give the idea that this is something that follows, so it is to give form to a thing that is unique but that we know is infinite. So that, for me, was the intellectual work of Relicarios, which was to generate a serial form as the cube, the cube contains, but at the same time it is not the same, it is not something that can be seen only fast and it does not matter to have seen one or to have seen the 165. That is where I think the intellectual exercise was very interesting because, in fact one person for example told me "it is that there were many, 50 did not matter, or 10 ". And I said no, it will be missing, on the contrary. I did 165, if we go with a figure that is not 220 thousand that should be done, it is just that, one by one. What allows you to be really telling the grief of a country like Colombia, that there is a very deep investigation and that there is, I do not like to name it that way but I feel

that it must also be named, there are victims at the hands of all armed groups that until that moment there was. Then, there are victims of paramilitaries, there are guerrilla victims, and victims of false positives. There are all types of victimization, there is sexual violence in the context of the conflict; there is a very large study of finding perhaps victims of certain milestones that is not limited to that. But there are victims of the Avianca plane, the one that Pablo Escobar had blown up, for drug trafficking, there are victims of El Salado.

But it is important to name it because Relicarios adds to those griefs that are unique and unrepeatable and seen from the pain of each home. There is no framework that justifies horror in any way, so I think that finally that is the country we are. That is also what suddenly allows certain polarizations and allows everyone to feel that justice has not been done with their grief, and instead we justify everything, so "They killed him for something" Yes? "Because I would be picking coffee." That type of phrase is to look for a justification for not really looking at the pain that we are.

FO I feel that with your work you have to try maybe to break it, break the asymmetry that may exist socially between victims and the rest. And that also seems interesting to me, that projection as I may not be a victim, but what can I project and feel. We will never be able to feel the total dimension of the grief but that you can know that this asymmetry exists and that you can recognize it, and that something can be done about it.

ED And look that an architectural decision was actually made there, because it was when we were already designing a bit the exhibition in the museum, which was the Museum of Antioquia, the first place where I started to make Relicarios and I knew that I wanted them to look at the same level. Then some came from the museum team and said "Maybe it would be nice if some went up" and I said "no, no, no, they can't go up, there's none that can go up, nor can we", for example, because it was considered for the tour of the museum, that it was easier to tighten here some reliquaries so that there was a corridor in the center.

FO Not to hierarchize.

ED Indeed, because then, what does this group have to do with this other? It has to be a peer issue. There the rules come in, that there is a distance between one or the other, or the distance for the wheelchair, and you begin as an artist to understand all this approach of audiences that is different, when you are mounting your exhibition in your brain. We did a very nice job with the Museum of Antioquia because the first part of the exhibition was with the mourners, it was behind closed doors. It was a very nice job because it was knowing the bereaved, where they came from, under what conditions they came from, so we knew clearly what relatives came in a wheelchair so a locket would not be left just at the back, so they were the first. Well, as a whole conscience from the physical path thought for the mourner that was very important. For example, although a mother who has three children in Relicarios, they are not spread all over the place. It is thinking in all those things, that if you are clear that the most important thing is the emotional experience, that you cannot make a mistake.

I thought a lot for example, there is a family that has five reliquaries. So, how do you take that person who is alone before those five reliquaries? We go over and over again to keep them together, so if she can for example, surround them, then no, we put them in a row but in such a way the journey was thought, because in the museum we also think a lot about that. In fact, there was a team of doctors too, who had worked with victims, then if someone passes out, we can take care of them. Yes, it sounds like an exaggeration, but when you have worked so long in the grieving processes you know that it is very important that if a person has five reliquaries, they will not want to turn their backs on any of them, so what we do is to generate the space where they can sit on the point of view of the reliquary so they can see them, then this one turns here, these already come from the front and these two turn as well, so that they can surround them; that kind of thing that we had to deal with in Relicarios, our main spectator was a real mourner who was going to visit the locket and all the extended mourners who were going to leave, as you were saying.

FO There is a book called Desde el Salón del Nunca Más (From the Hall of Never More). It is a collection of stories of 20 different people. One of them talked about how the Memory Hall of Granada had become a cemetery, because it is the place

where people commemorate their missing relatives, and mothers came in every day sometimes and if they did not find their son's photo, they were desperate, because they had shifted it. What do you think about this type of spaces, for example in the case of the Hall, which are referred as cemeteries?

ED I think it's inevitable. There are many particular cases that must be acknowledged, because when we study something of German architecture, there was a way, symbolically it was so systematized, so horribly systematized, that in a way there is a way in which you can symbolically group. **There is a way where you can say "I am representing this". In Colombia we need many forms, we need a monument, we need the Salón del Nunca Más. Memory initiatives must be multiple, many, in many ways, so it is inevitable that it will end up becoming a cemetery, like the Hall.** It is undeniable and inevitable that an exhibition as Relicarios at the Museum of Antioquia ended up being a graveyard. It was a very rare thing because in addition the museum has a very large tourism, it is also a tourist area. People as soon as they saw Relicarios lowered their voice, entered with their heads bowed. It ended up becoming a graveyard, people began to pray and there were mourners who visited the museum every Sunday. Then we realized this, the director immediately said, "the mourners of Relicarios, free entry as many times as they need." There are many things that have to be adapted. I think that if we only deal with the part of "then the Hall of Never Again becomes a cemetery" and the day the photo is lost we generate great emotional damage, it is loose. Yes, I think that's where you have to work. in a set of things, because if what you do is displace that trauma or that grief, that loss, we are not helping in the grieving process. And maybe, if you are channeling everything to find the person who did that and put him/her in jail or kill them, that will be loose. I believe that the processes have to be very accompanied.

Colombia is undoubtedly a country that needs a lot of psychosocial attention. We have a problem of mental trauma; In fact, recently I was at a conference in which Relicarios was thought of as something that contributed mentally because what it does is moving a little that object, literally that object, which is stored in the house, then the mother is crying while sneaking around with her son's shirt. I think the act is liberating, what Relicarios generated is the mother who had to

hide the shirt because the other children said “Mom, every time you take off that shirt you start crying and it gets bad. I’m going to throw it away”. Not as an act of evil, it is from their own urgency to solve an issue. The mother delivers that object, the object remains as a reliquary, the reliquary returns to their home in a photograph because that is the other part that perhaps is not told so much of the reliquary, in Antioquia each mourner received a photograph. Today that photograph is on a small altar where the Virgin is. That fear, that anxiety that they do not lose the object, that “today is the child’s birthday and they have not seen the shirt”, that “today I have to iron it because today would be Christmas”. You take those out, see that it is a process that is not limited to the locket. But if the anxiety remains at the same level for the photo, the process has not been fulfilled.

You have to do an emotional job. Is it architectural? Yes; is it artistic? Yes; but it is also a theme of how it is told, how it is released, how it is put in public.

When you put it in public then it is not you alone with the shirt, but you become other mothers with other shirts. That already becomes the mourning of a country, then if you are enlarging it you are giving space to the bereaved of inhabiting itself again and it is not only to bear the loss. **I think that a very holistic work of many disciplines is important because the responsibility of the artist and, in your case the architect, must transcend the final result of the work, of space. It is a much longer process that includes a series of disciplines and people and that makes it more valuable and more important, if it does not fall short. It falls short and you destroy yourself.** If I carry the four hundred stories that have been given to me, I am finished, and sometimes my own life is enough. Nor can it be an exercise that if you, through your ability, your talent, your wisdom, your knowledge, whatever it is that makes you here today, if you don’t use it to be a tool that transforms, and if you don’t learn to function like a funnel, because it’s like working like a funnel, all that information comes in and all that is painful, incomprehensible, unfair. One becomes an emotional archive of all this. If you don’t take it out and transform it, it’s a very horrible path for you.

FO I start to experience it a little when I am dealing with this issue, sometimes there are days that become very heavy.

ED And it’s normal, because if not, you’re doing it superficially. Then those who tell you “take distance”. And I say, what is the possible distance? If I am in my workshop with a sad mother who tells me how her three children were killed, what is the possible distance? The possible distance is zero. This is very beautiful, but it will cost you, because it will cost you emotionally a lot. But you do need to have a series of alerts. The moment you can do it differently you are not doing well. Always remember that all that is what you design, it is so that it is in the building, that is in the hydraulic system that you are going to help you do to people. It is for that, if not, it is not really worth it.

FO Something that we had already mentioned before, about the spirit of the artwork. You say that the spirit of the artwork is in the plasticity of the elements. If we talk about architecture and space, do you think the spirit can also be in plasticity, or rather in the materiality of those architectures?

ED For the first time I am venturing to generate a space. Then I could answer it later, but for now it has been the other way around, it has been how the work, especially in a work like Relicarios for example, the sacredness of the work has resulted in the space where the artwork inhabits becomes sacred. Then it has been the character, the spirit and the plasticity of the artwork that permeates the space. For example, an exhibition that was a bit weird, which was held at the General Santander Cadet School. I had a red mat and it was a room where I said, “Here is impossible, impossible, impossible, impossible”. We had to invent a roof to put the lights on. I said, “this exhibition is impossible, this budget has no logic”. But they insisted to me so much that it was because the police, as institution, was facing the stage of post-conflict. It was before this government, since there was an idea of hope, there was such a beautiful feeling that they insisted so much on the exhibition that we made possible within a space which had no logic for such exhibition. I tell you that it was impressive as all the cadets, the people who toured that exhibition, the gestures of respect to a site that was a convention center, they all took off the kepis (police hats), wore their kepis in a position of honor, crouched. there was something that I said, architecturally, here there were not those elements that you find when you enter a church, a cathedral, but then it has worked out how the sacred character permeates space.

This for the first time venturing into a space, but I think that the two things certainly support each other. It is different to travel to certain memorial spaces, where one says, “the architect had a clear idea”. For example, the Museum of Jewish History in Poland is beautiful, the route of that museum, because it is not a war museum, it is different for a museum to work through certain areas of the Holocaust. It is a very nice organic tour where you go through the history of pain, but you don’t leave the space with an idea of war, you leave with life, which is different. Or a museum in Berlin, which in my point of view is an emotional journey. It is a space that could be called successful, or as the memorial of September 11, the part of the water, where it is recognized that space is achieved in a respectful way, because I believe that memory spaces have to be spaces where you have to find out about the horror, but you have to leave wanting to live. They have to be spaces that somehow change you, transform you internally, that you want to be part of a better society, that you leave thinking that you do count and that your presence and your actions do count. If we add one by one, if we get 100 people to go to the memorial and 99 leave thinking that their existence is of some use, and can raise a better world.

It is not loading the story of the tragedy for the sake of loading the story of the tragedy, it becomes exhausting. It becomes an inert path for all. The nice thing is that someone comes out wanting to be an architect, for instance; that is what I think is transformative, if it is not transformative it makes no sense.

FO I go back to one things you said, I would like to know your opinion between what is a memorial and the monument. You see some differences, some relationships?

ED There is an interview that they did to me many years ago when there was still no relation yet with the peace process debate; the issue of how the Museum of Memory is imagined was being considered. I think as in the spaces, the monument of the military or the monument of the individual person in our history is very complex. Here we would be changing the monuments every five minutes. But I think that it is important how the debates around memory spaces have two positions: the one that says that is irrepresentable and another that says is not

irrepresentable because it is not unimaginable, because it already happened.

We are in two completely different territories. What happened to me in Germany, we have studied all that... you arrive in Berlin, you go to the monument, you cross the space and it is very emotional. I work a lot from emotions, for me definitely the spectator, the mourner, who walks through it is finally to whom it is addressed. I think it must be something transformative, in being something that allows you to pray in whatever you believe, or to keep silent. When we went to Auschwitz, for example, I knew we weren’t going to Auschwitz as such, we were going to pray for my husband’s family. In Germany (in the Memorial of the Murdered Jews of Europe), for example, he stayed a moment outside, he could not enter, I walked around and photographed it. He could not resist it, and it is wonderful that it generated that. From where I was standing, in fact, there was a family playing on the top. **I think that you have to respect life, I think that you cannot become something indoctrinating, of a thing that “here you have to come to look at the suffering”, I saw the girl who was playing around, my husband who could not look, the innocent girl who jumped from side to side, her mother was there talking on the phone, in the long run everything that happens here is wonderful, because I know that life is imposed. I think you also have to understand that life is imposed and hopefully that still goes on.**

The horror stories only seem exhausting, humanity would not endure only that. After that monument we went on another tour and suddenly I began to see the stolpersteine stones, for me it was pure magic, our gaze on Berlin never took off again from the floor. My conclusion is that the monument is needed to understand what the dimension was, because if you look only at the stolpersteine stones you don’t understand, when there are things you don’t understand, you discover 10, 20, 200, but you don’t know what they are. If you think about it, both spaces are needed, it is needed, it takes so much ... I think that the monument can somehow function as something more abstract, where everyone feels represented, and that is the difficult thing.

I believe that all forms are needed. For example, in Argentina, when I was exhibited at the Haroldo Conti Cultural Center which is where the former ESMA was

located, in the most cruel or iconic clandestine detention center in Latin America. What I liked about that space of the Museum of Memory is that you find, even the space where you stand, the casino, the museological setting of that place is crazy. The ground rises, because the space is judicial evidence. You cannot take and set up a museum and let everyone step on because it is still legal evidence. For example, I liked that space which is raised from the floor, you as a spectator are never treading. You are not stepping on the memory, first, and second, I do think it is very important to think about a space where people want to go to. I believe that nothing is more inert than a memory space without an audience.

FO I want to talk from a slightly more geographical and territorial perspective, especially with Río Abajo, an artwork that has important territorial significance, where the river symbolizes the cemetery and becomes a symbol of pain. An excerpt from a video of this work mentions that “If they spoke, if only the rivers spoke, they would tell us where they are.” In the processes of justice, memory and reparation, reconciliation is a fundamental concept, speaking of reconciliation between conflict actors, perpetrators and victims, but I also think that about reconciliation of people and those territories where these acts of violence occurred. How do you think it works or could work, in this reconciliation between a victim and the space where this happened?

ED We must make a reconciliation with space. We must make reconciliation with the dead. You have to make reconciliation with yourself. There is a theme and it is from the perspective of grief; if we understand that we are a grieving country, that I think that is what we need, if you manage to generate in some way dynamic, symbolic acts, monuments, counter-monuments, meeting points, whatever, because we are going to do it all at the same time.

I remember when the theme of the peace process began, when I was working in the rural regions and the issue of forgiveness as a concept, forgiveness was revictimizing for certain people; one lady told me “I do not want to forgive the person who killed my son”, I said that it is valid for you to say that; Somebody tells her is valid, and she lets it go. But then, it also becomes something that from the atrium, from the church, they were told “if you don’t forgive, you are not helping

to build the country.”

If you are a religious lady and you are told that you are bad for not forgiving the one who killed your son and you are not building country, it’s emotionally horrible, it is terrible. We must generate many fronts of psychosocial support where these things can be released. What happens to me with the territory ... **I went to a space that I think is one of the things that has touched me the most, I think it has given me a dimension of what is the war in Colombia, a municipality in Antioquia. We walked about five hours to reach that path, a spectacular landscape, the mountains in green, 40 types of green, the almost perfect clouds, the blue sky, cows ... we were arriving there, and a lady who was with me said this phrase that I think is the strongest and is “under this sky we all mourn”. And you look at the contrast of the absolute beauty you have in front of you, you understand the horror that was lived there. Then they began to describe the facts of terror. Another woman told me “they were bombarding every day in here, we were already used to the time when the Army started throwing bombs.”**

But the hardest thing for them was to control the animals’ schedule, so the day of the shooting, which was a day in between, that is, Monday, Wednesday and Friday, since the cow did not produce any milk. When you understand that it is like all that extension, because the cow has to be calm to be able to give milk, you must have fed them at a certain time. Then you will not go out with your cows if you know that today is Wednesday and at six in the morning the bombing begins. You keep your cows and the whole rhythm, that of the cow, of the chickens is messed up. And under that sky they mourned. I think that there are ways to re-signifying those spaces. Again speaking of Argentina, what happened for example at the Haroldo Conti Cultural Center, where the tanks were, nowadays it has a theater, a movie theater, a bookstore that specializes in dictatorship Human Rights books, it is a space where you quietly see an art exhibition that has to do with the subject, you see it full of students, it is a place that at five in the afternoon you have to stand in line to buy a coffee. There are music concerts and people sit outside to drink their mate. People want to go to plays, go to exhibitions. It is a space where perhaps many victims still have a hard time, but the next generation has appropriated it as a cultural space. As a space to know what happened.

It is also important that the spaces for victims and commemoration of victims are not only for victims. I think that is where a big mistake falls because the victims do not want to talk to themselves. When they gave me the objects for Relicarios, and heard these are words from one of the bereaved women: “My brother wanted to travel the world and I know with you he will do it” I knew, for her, spiritually, that object will travel.

If we understand all of this as an exercise to be overtaken by life instead of death, it fulfills a function. If it does not run with time then it runs the danger of time, these things that cannot be sustained, that cannot be maintained, cost a billion, I say that the idea of sharing certain reflections in space is wonderful, but you also have to generate spaces that allow life to be possible, such as not being a space where you are taken when you are in eighth grade in Social Sciences, because you are forced to go to a national museum. The topic of prayer I think is important, the memory spaces which in my opinion work have spaces that allow you to be silent.

FO It is not only the symbol but the atmosphere.

ED Exactly. Somehow one understands that without having a sign that says, “You must lower your voice.” The memory spaces that I find right have that, and they take you out wanting to live, those that are failed take you on with expressions such as: “My God, humanity is horrific!”. That is important to understand, because they become spaces that are punishing and I believe that the victims themselves want to re-signify, from the perfect life that was happening before. But it is also valid that if a victim does not want to return too, you know, because the return is also becoming an obligation for certain people. It is valid to say that they do not want to go back there.

FO The return to the homeland is almost as complex as the displacement.

ED Indeed, or even worse, because then it is to return for what? I believe that the victims have to be given the time they need, I believe that the one who has been a victim, the truth that does what serves to rebuild, re-inhabit, and in an ideal world

achieve a life with less pain. And we must understand that it is living with pain, they will not be repaired, they will not be transformed, no, it is learning how to live with the loss, and that must also be respected from the discourses.

FO To close, in 2000 the second strongest car bomb occurred in the country, there were about 400 kilograms of dynamite in a town of 5000 people, where almost 70 percent had been displaced. A year later they made this march, it is a photograph of Jesus Abad Colorado, this march that is called “the brick march”, where people symbolically carried bricks, talking so much about the physical reconstruction of their town, but also about that social reconstruction in the middle of the conflict. In the post-conflict, collective work is fundamental. How do you see that relationship, that collective work, what does this photograph make you think, of people all together carrying a brick?

ED I go back on the subject of the individual emotions. **I would think it is very important that these initiatives don’t come from the community to address the community, only.** Grief, from where I have known it, not everyone has the strength, not everyone wants to have it; obviously from the macro discourse of the country we need great gestures, but in reality, not all victims have the strength and do not want to have it. These are the victims that are more political, which is a fringe or a very small number of what really is the pain of this country, not everyone can be Francia Marquez. It’s wonderful, but what about Doña Ana Ligia, whose son was killed, she is just waiting to die ... She told me, “I wake up because I have to get up, because I realize I opened my eyes.” Then there is a very large strip of country that does not have that capacity and that is where I believe the memory exercises, where we must understand that it is not the victims who have to rebuild this country.

In addition, at certain times, there are certain speeches that are so tyrannical that the victim has to survive, rebuild, also tell us the memory and hopefully publish it themselves. That’s where the strip of people like you where, the strip they call “the privileged”, just from that place of strength, who do not have to rebuild anything, because it is our country, that’s where it is worth it, knowing that you can put all your knowledge, your wisdom, your strength at

the service of those others. I would believe that it is wonderful, for example, in today's country, where young people manifest themselves in another way, what if the reconstruction of that town, those who are carrying the brick, are not only inhabitants of Granada. The reconstruction task cannot belong to the victim. Nor am I advocating a welfare idea, which is also understood as a welfare when is not. It is a shared solidarity.

Conversation with Claudia Giraldo Gómez, director of Tejipaz, a non-profit entity for the marketing of agrarian products in Granada, Antioquia, since 2016.

Granada, December 16th, 2019.

FO Claudia, could you tell me about your work in Granada and how Tejipaz was born.

CG First I was a local manager. Regional governments were obliged to implement actions to counteract what was happening during the armed conflict, so they began to carry out, for example, with the Government of Antioquia of Aníbal Gaviria, management strategies, beginning to have community managers with the pilot project of ten municipalities in the East of Antioquia, Granada among those, to have an orientation in human rights. Orientations in access to productive projects, to housing, to everything that was being violated, to look for repairs, because there was nothing, we had no way to work. They gave me a small sheet and told me “that’s what you have to work on, see how to do it”; The 10 of us met once a month and did what we had to do. Some had displacements, others had returns, and we began to direct social action. From these processes, over time, Tejipaz was born, arises “from being to be able to do”. It is something that did not come from nothing, but is the result of many things that came before.

FO Tejipaz is an interdisciplinary association with a very clear interest, what is the value of this interdisciplinary work, of people with such diverse knowledge in this collective construction? What is the value of interdisciplinary work in peace building?

CG We are all different, but we all complement each other. There are times when that helps us to accept and then know each other. For me, it is a great joy because one is aware of that, one makes each person a reflection of what is happening in the environment of each individual. Doing what one likes, then there is a bit of every being that is here. Those are things that are priceless, very valuable and

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very significant. I think it is to be able to understand and know that in this process we are just a moment along the way.

FO The slogan of Teqipaz is “from being, to doing.” What goes through your head if I ask you about “From being to inhabiting”?

CG In these past months I am doing that exercise, from “the being to be able to inhabit”. And in these moments and thinking about another context of being to be able to inhabit is something that, in my way of thinking, has to do with living or surviving; when we are surviving, we are not living because we are only living day by day and stopped perceiving the other elements that are in our habitat.

FO I make the question in that sense because I question this as an architect; I am neither a sociologist nor an anthropologist, so I concentrate on investigating spatial relationships on this subject, acknowledging the participation of others.

CG Yes, for example, that is very respectful. It’s like when you say, “a dignified life.” For dignity to be practiced, it is a confusing perception, that for some something may be dignifying and for others not. I, for example, in my activities that I have done as a teacher of literacy spoke to them (peasants) of minimum wage. There are others, for example, in the work that I have done when we met the managers; First we started from 10 municipal managers from the East and then we started around 47 departmental managers that we have now, where projects in completely equal conditions are proposed, with completely different contexts; for example, indigenous people making a house with cement...

FO Speaking of more territorial issues, cultural and economic processes collapsed because people had to leave Granada during the conflict. Now that people are coming back, what is the mentality? What do people do once they return to Granada?

CG Granadians who return to the municipality seek a way to survive. The population that went to the city and failed to find economic stability after living in the conflict, and returning is very difficult because it is to raise a farm again, people

come with precarious economic conditions, in addition to that, to meet again with their sorrows and pains, of their loved ones, of how their farms were, how it was and I say it because I am living it, my father died for not having displaced in 2003. That happened almost 20 years ago, years we are still trying to come to terms with. I have been trying to reactivate the farm for more than a year and a half, I have spent more than 10 million pesos without counting the time invested. There is not even 2 percent of what the farm was, with three houses, it was a farm designed for the five children (three men and two women). For men it became an investment because they could have the land and continue to sustain their lives in the countryside and the quiet life, as I lived it. Because it was not a survival mode, or at least what I lived, because at least one lived well but not in abundance, because the technology was not so advanced.

The issue of returning and returning to these contexts again, when they come to a rural life, for example, for children and young people, is the main displacement because they have already settled into an urban life and when they moved they are very small, so it is a threat, a source of violence for them because that is another space and they already feel they are going to be accepted in urban areas, to people from the mountains, because here there is a very strong social division between the rurality and the city and that is what we are looking for in these gaps, between the city and the rurality, to close gaps. Then that part becomes very complex and as displacement becomes longer and people take longer to return, more difficult it becomes, because everything is already totally destroyed or deteriorated over the years. It is a bit difficult and beyond that to return to its place, then again, those ghosts of what was the conflict and fears reappear.

FO The conflict in Granada was territorial in the sense that the different actors conceived that place as a strategic space for its location and expansion. Subsequently, with their tactics and attacks on the territory, such as the blasting of energy towers, land mines, the attacks on the urban area, among others, they turned that territory into a symbol of violence. Is there a feeling of terror, fear or pain in front of these elements, in front of a tower, for instance?

CG For example, the urban area has already been rebuilt, it already has another

space despite what was lived. These processes have been built in rural areas because they are an important way to elaborate mourning processes and to claim something that Colombians do not have, which is memory. There is a lot of memory work, the history of the country, and that makes us become less conservative of our culture, we have no tradition, then we are everything and nothing, we do not have something to connect with each other, I do not know if it will be the spatial location, for being a municipality in between a strategic corridor. Granada has its name because of Granada, Spain, Granada has its symbol on the shield, when the grenade does not even exist here.

FO an imposed identity?

CG It is an imposed identity, and not even we have wondered why it is there. In 2011, when I was a community manager, we did an exercise to look at what the needs were. We did some Treats, here in Granada they are called Treats; It is called Treats to a social and community activity, developed by the Community Action Board of the Veredas, it is something where the whole village goes out to fix a path, a route, or help a sick family. Then a treat is made to go to their farm to collect their coffee. It is a gift day a month to do a job on the veredas, for the community, but it is material, physical. Then we are going to think about the municipality, and we are going to think about the municipality as everyone's house, symbolically the house. So, what does a house have? A basis in a government. What is the roof; what are the columns; what are the walls, facades and the garden. Then, according to that, the proposal was agreed, and it turns out that the mayoral candidate who took the proposal from the people was the one who won in 2011.

In 2019 the agenda was also updated, the Citizen Agenda "Granada, building a dream" Why building a dream? Because we are all part of that dream, how we want our municipality to be, how we want our municipal house. It was done through the same scheme, through Treats, participation meetings, and the new changes are updated and passed.

FO What are the activities of the people do when they return to the municipality,

how are the current living conditions?

CG For example, people come back with a small capital seeing how they will invest it, where they can "jornalear", or work on whatever turns up. Today we are promoting change, and the dynamics are transforming a lot, it is true that it has a great impact on what we are doing, people are already working on some products. I dream of making a mall with the products from everybody, which we can say that we have everything here, from beds, furniture, to soap and food. People are already imagining, creating.

FO Granada has great value to work collectively, with associations, cooperatives and institutions which are committed to community processes to move forward. Women have led many of these processes: memory, restructuring and revitalization of the municipality. What is the value of women in this post-conflict process, and intergenerational work?

CG It was the opportunity. Because in the conflict men and young people were murdered the most. Men had to take a step to the side, and then women had to move their family forward, their children. Even in United Victims for Life, most were women because we as women are protectors, mothers who do not want more dead children, we do not want our husbands or our brothers dead. This makes this love stronger, a collective voice is created, and those values are transformed. As Granada is so rooted in machismo and women are machist as well, because is our culture, today for me this is a positive thing about the conflict, the opportunity for women's participation. Here more women come with their products and we are giving them a little more prominence in the process.

FO Going to more political issues, transitional justice is a judicial mechanism to clarify the truth, to seek justice and reparation focusing on the victims. What is the opinion of the victims in Granada regarding transitional justice, the JEP?

CG If we start generalizing with people, they won't know what those things mean, because those are terms, acronyms. All I do know is that most people know it for what they speak badly in the media that do not show things as they are, and the

essential part of these processes is not communicated. These days it is happening with what was discovered in Dabeiba (a mass grave of people executed by the State). I say “God, go to the cemetery of Granada, Santa Ana, there is a place where there are a lot of bones because it was so full of all those who were thrown in there, because all the armed groups were there.” That is the positive side of the Dabeiba case, because it becomes visible, positive in the sense that citizen knew about these cases but have never been visible to the country, and that is what the JEP does, make visible what has been invisible.

FO For example, I had the opportunity to speak with Humberto de La Calle about this, and about the criticisms that JEP receives at the local level, while internationally is admired.

CG But you know why, because we are ignorant and have not had the opportunity to study. I have the possibility to say what I say because I had the opportunity to study, because I have been in training. And it is a very low percentage of society that can experience these things.

FO Tejjipaz seeks to weave again those ties that conflict broke, ties between people and territory as a process of reconciliation. How does this process of reconciliation work between the returning victims and the space they inhabit from the social, economic and environmental perspective of reconciling with the space?

CG In the environmental perspective, you can make accounts of what is being thrown to the earth to make it produce, how much it is and what is being produced that you eat, and everything you are spending on it; socially, it is to generate that awareness of how to take a clean product or work with fair trade, where we are all winning, improving an environment; **and economically, if you don't have the basic needs solved, people can't think, can't act, can't dream, can't create or imagine.** I put myself in this Tejjipaz challenge because I am risky, although many people question me why I got into this. And **from the difficulty comes the opportunity.**

FO What does it mean to build peace?

CG Looking at options from being, connecting with other people to generate opportunities and other ways of seeing life, looking from the past so what is bad is not repeated, because it is a strength of the present that what we do today build our future, and that for me is to build peace.

FO And what does it mean to you that peace is territorial?

CG Peace is personal. Because it depends on your individual peace to generate peace in your environment. The more difficulties my being has, the harder it is to live in peace. So, territorially I can say it because it is the territory where one lives and how it can be generated so it is improved. Because peace is all over the territory. We as human beings have our territory, so how we live well there, and how in living well, we build those tissues. Within the peace agreements it is constantly repeated that peace is territorial because it has always been external. There have always been talks of peace; It is thought as the agreement up there, of the Government, while it is what we are living here. How many peace agreements we have here in our communities? So, for example, it was asked to go very far, and it has felt very far.

FO What kind of spaces do you think would improve the current condition of Granada? For example, when I was talking with Don Arcesio, a coffee grower from Granada, he told me that schools are the central spaces for communal activities on the Veredas, and without them, that community could not function.

CG In that order of ideas, many schools are uninhabited because there are no children, so these could become business spaces, higher education spaces, and transformative spaces. For example, in those schools for me would be the perfect places of the current industries, because they are destroying them. And as Don Arcesio says, the school is the central place where everything happens in each village, and if there are no children, then there are adults.

Conversation with Gloria Quintero, Director of Salón del Nunca Más.

Granada, December 18th, 2019.

FO Gloria, could you tell me about yourself, about your life in Granada.

GQ My name is Gloria Quintero. I've been in Granada all my life, I had to move away for two months during the conflict, but I returned. I love my land, that's why I'm here. I say I don't see myself living in a city, it's not my dream. Here I live quietly, economically it can be relaxing because you can live without needing much money, not like in the city. It is something that I have in my heart, for the territory and for my municipality.

FO How was the Salón del Nunca Más (Memory Hall) born?

GQ The Salón del Nunca Más is a dream of a few, but at the same time of many, without knowing what memory even was. The goal was to have a wall where we could have the photos of our loved ones. We did not dimension what memory was; The dream was to pay tribute to those who died and disappeared in the conflict. This is how the room was born, the goal was to have that place.

FO How is peace built?

GQ It is built from each of us. When we don't judge, we don't point out, we don't stigmatize others, from there we build peace. Because sadly we are, as most human beings, branding one another, categorizing, for one reason or the other. I think it's about putting ourselves in the other's position to build peace. I think, if we all put ourselves in the place of the other, the ones from below, but those above even more; that 10 percent who governs us, who put themselves in our position here, this would change.

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FO And if I ask you, physically, spatially, how do you build peace? Do you think a building, a space can build peace?

GQ Yes, **a space can build peace, and the Memory Hall builds peace, because it is a space where the story of the conflict is told. But not generating hatred in the person who listens; the idea is not to tell the story of conflict and to produce hate, to produce anger towards the other. The idea is that through knowing, you can tell many things, talk and build peace from many moments because it is through that place that you can do different tasks at different times. For example, the dialogue.**

FO Conflict in Granada was territorial, in the sense that different actors conceived that place as a strategic space for their location and expansion. Subsequently, with their tactics and attacks on the territory, such as the blasting of energy towers, land mines, the attacks on the urban area, among others, they turned that territory into a symbol of violence. Is there a feeling of terror, fear or pain in front of these elements, in front of a tower?

GQ Not at this time, but there are memories. There is that memory and there are places. There is a place, Alto del Palmar, coinciding with the Santuario route, it is a soccer field. It is a point, like many here in the urban area, or in the rural area, or for example, El Carmelo. El Carmelo, where the monument is, was a point of death. People were in the buses and there was the first stop, the first checkpoint, farmers began to descend and were killed there. Those are places that generated fear at that time. Or, for example, there are some people who still say to me “Whenever I pass through Alto del Palmar I feel something bad...”, because many people had to witness the deaths of others at those checkpoints, when they stopped and stigmatized and violated people. It never happened to me, but there are many people who lived that and had to remain silent.

There are places that do generate this remembrance, but do not have that meaning of terror. For example, where the car bomb occurred, that place does not generate fear because of all the activities that were generated now.

FO It was already re-signified.

GQ Exactly, it has already been re-signified, they no longer generate that fear and that memory that would always be; The story is told, but you can see how there is life in this place, they are places where there is already joy and hope.

FO Do you think that these places, where violent events occurred, are the places where spatial interventions should take place?

GQ Yes, I think these are places marked by conflict, although we already live in normality, they are places that should be re-signified in some way. For example, the “Volver al hogar” (Returning Home project), where a task of resignification of a place was done, where people were always brought, a checkpoint. There are many points like that one, so we do exercises with children and young people, for example, to go and carry a flower, and show that there is already life. For example, we have in mind to do something at El Palmar, there is nothing consolidated, but there is the idea of doing it.

FO Territorial control through infrastructure attacks and checkpoints on internal roads were current during conflict. How did social dynamics change because of this?

GQ The main actors arrived in Granada in the 80s. **First ELN and then FARC; and those attacks were a way of seeking resources and generating fear, of demonstrating power. But it didn't affect us as an urban community. Who did it affect? Farmers.** So, I cannot speak from the rural position, I am a farmer, but I live very close to here (the urban center), so I did not live it. I do know that guerrillas themselves picked up the wire, or farmers who did it too. Then, when the paramilitaries entered, they began to kill these people, it is when there are other agents who began to be affected with the blasting of energy towers towards '97 and '98. Then, the community began to be affected by the blasting of towers, especially people who picked up the cables or transported it.

FO In the 80s Granada had 20 thousand inhabitants; in the heaviest moments of

the conflict it had about 5,000 inhabitants, and today we talk about 11,000. The return becomes a very complex fact, just as the displacement was initially.

GQ It was more difficult before. **I think the return is more complex. The uprooting is difficult; there are farmers who were economically strengthened in the cities, they are people who even now have many economic resources, so talking about return also seems so complex because this return is a form of state support. Bring back by flight the ones that were through that, and most have returned.**

FO What are the activities that people are doing now?

GQ Most start with productive projects. These are the projects that have had the most support; a coffee project, a project delay... but that is not a proper restoration. One day I made the tour with some tourists for Tejipaz, and it hurt me more than them, to know the history of the poor peasant who was displaced, and when he came back he had to return and had to adapt everything to be able to work more and for me it was very hard. I, who am a farmer, I go to my land and find what my family worked for so much, and that there is nothing. So where is the support? I say we need more psychosocial support at this time than before. As, for example, you are the farmer who struggled to get his land, to build his farm and then you have to leave because of fear. Because they will recruit your children, because they will kill you, for more reasons, simply out of fear; and come back and find nothing for what you fought for, and that there is no such accompaniment and support, so what will you live of in the meantime? For me, returning is very hard.

When many people from here left, for threats or any reason, and many left only with what they were wearing, and after 15 days someone or themselves returned for something, and things were gone, no utilities, everything was ripped off. Imagine now, after 10 or 15 years.

FO And there are still many uninhabited houses.

GQ Sure, there are still many, is that some paths were uninhabited. And now

the field has aged, now there are no children in some paths. **Before the conflict there were 100 or 120 children in the schools of Las Veredas, now there are some with 5 children. The ladies told us that “We are going to die and this is going to end.”** And sadly, the government and institutions that must support the peasant are there, indifferent. Because of that I now say, how do we build peace? Put yourself in the peasant’s shoes, Mr. President, congressmen, but no, they are there in their circle and they don’t realize anything.

FO Speaking of memory and identity. Granada still has an agrarian, peasant, coffee identity. How do you think memory is commemorated? Do you think the Hall does that job or should it be a more extensive job?

GQ The Hall fulfills a part. But much is missing, starting here in the field. Farmer people do not know the Hall. It is a job that must be done, bring memory to the field and build memory from the field. Last year (2018) we did the exercise a young man and I, since I started that visit with tourists, we motivated people to talk. **And another thing that is very necessary that I say that this memory, is that people begin to tell where there are mass graves; The farmer has the story of the disappeared, not all, but a lot. They were there, or they know. Many farmers working their land have found things, and cover them up and pretend they saw nothing, for fear of being involved. But from the field there is much work to do, to build truth.**

FO And how to strengthen agricultural identity?

GQ I think there is a lot of support for the field, so that the young person is motivated to stay. Because the young man, what motivation he has, because the idea is to earn money and in the country he will not do it. I say that it comes from government projects that are put in the shoes of the peasant. It is the only way, those who are managing resources. Sadly, in the peace accords, agrarian reform is in the Constitution. It has been written about it, but what will become consolidated in reality? We do not know, but I say that there must begin the process of strengthening the field, that there has to be support. But it is not about giving to the peasant for no reason, it is about fair trade, that the peasant sell directly to

the consumer. I think, for example, if I know that you grow potatoes, I go and buy them from you. There are no intermediaries, it is cheaper and there is fair trade.

FO It also has to do with cooperatives, which are very common here.

GQ Although it is also difficult, **but cooperatives are essential here, for example to strengthen the economy, so that the farmer can take out a loan.**

FO What is the value of oral history in the process of recognizing the past and building the future in peace?

GQ It is very important, because after speaking you heal up, you manage to forgive. Thus, knowing the story of the other and sharing with the other, not only focusing on my pain and my story. So, it is fundamental, fundamental to build peace. For example, there are many farmers full of resentment, so how do you heal? Getting them to talk. They have received many abuses by the Army, and I tell them that it is necessary that it be known is because it is part of the story, it is the story that you lived that we do not know, because you have the idea that the peasant has only lived the horrors on the part of the guerrillas, but no, there have been many to blame. Why do the guerrillas come to the field with that freedom, to make laws? Because there is no state presence in the countryside; All life in Colombia, the countryside has been forgotten, but some landowners appear without saying names, as former presidents, buying half Colombia. And what about the countryside? It is essential to build peace here, and to do what we are doing, dialogue.

The dialogues we had were so beautiful. They made me laugh, sorry for them, when they told me that when there were clashes in the upper side of the town, they all went to someone's house, got under the bed, and pushed and pulled each other to get in there. But you imagine at that time, you didn't know that story, you usually don't know yourself. And that's how memory is made; the field has to speak, for me the field has to speak.

FO What relationship exists between spaces such as the Hall and its memory processes, with spaces such as Tejipaz, where productive processes are carried out, towards the next step?

GQ We strengthen each other. A joint work is done. Because retaking the work that the peasants are doing, rediscovering, that is also part of making memory. Now work is being encouraged and cultivated as organically as possible so that good practices can be done, that is to return to memory, because years ago no chemicals were used; I remember when I was a farmer and I had to go pick up dung, load it in sacks and throw them in the fields. That is also to remember what they do here, return to what we did before, which was better and we ate healthier.

FO The brick march in 2001 was an important symbol for the memory of the people of Granada, the victims and the people who wanted to be heard. Using a very symbolic element such as brick, portraying the desire to rebuild what was destroyed by the car bomb and also rebuild the social elements that the conflict destroyed. From the symbolic and anecdotal stance, what happened to those bricks?

GQ The brick was returned. **The march of the brick was symbolic, but it was also a contribution to the reconstruction or economic contribution; the people of Granada bought the brick and then returned it, then there was the resource and the brick.** This happened months after the attack, and it motivated people to go out and join together, because people no longer saw each other, in 2001 this town was very lonely. It was something of symbolic union, but also to contribute and start the reconstruction from each individual, each person from Granada could contribute to the reconstruction of the municipality itself.

FO Now, speaking of bit political issues, transitional justice is the judicial mechanism to clarify the truth and seek justice and reparation focusing on the victims. What opinion do the victims have regarding this?

GQ It is a hope, but we are also sadly in a country where there is so much corruption that they are manipulating there. But there is hope that many things can be built there.

FO These are mechanisms that are discussed at the highest levels of politics and justice. Do you think they can have an important impact on the more local levels

of the communities?

GQ I doubt it a lot, I doubt it a lot because it's like there's nothing to touch them with. There are a few people who want to do something in these institutions, but there are others who do not leave, because this is the country where every day there are news that disappoint you most of all. Why? Because hope is lost, for example, I say it from those of us who have had relatives disappeared. It is more difficult and more complex and one who is aware of what the country is, of what moves in the country with respect to these facts. Just look in this country how we are born, what a shame to use this expression, but look at who they named as director of the Memory Center. The memory center is fundamental in the construction of truth in this country and someone who says that there was no conflict, that denies everything, there are no certainties.

For me there is uncertainty and I do not know how to get to these gentlemen and these people in the high command of Colombia so that they are sensitized and really get to put ourselves in our place and look at changes, but sadly, what happens? Every day with a new president, more things are being manipulated, instead of clarifying them.

FO Within the peace agreements it is constantly repeated that peace must be territorial. What does it mean for you to have a territorial peace?

GQ First from ourselves, from where we are. **May peace begin here in the small space where I am, and from there we can build something big. I say from the work that we have done here in Granada, with small things, with small acts, we have politically influenced the construction of peace in the country. So, we have been an example, model of creating initiatives of forgiveness, of reconciliation, of building memory, building memory even without knowing what memory is.**

Then I say that first it is from everyone's space, our territory, and then go building on a larger level. This is how we come to a total peace of the country.

FO And how to reinforce these processes from an economic standpoint?

GQ Through investments in projects but also through education. Sadly, they didn't teach us about what they gave us, and neither did they educate us on how we should spend what they gave us. So that there is follow-up, that the farmer has fair trade, where the farmer is the one who earns the most, not the intermediary, because it is always the middle man who wins, and it is very important that the marketing of the products in Granada to be strengthened.

FO In the post-conflict, reconciliation is fundamental, but not only reconciliation between people but also reconciliation with the territory that became a symbol of terror. How do people reconcile with the territory that was once their home but was also a symbol of pain, death and displacement?

GQ This is a process that has been carried out during all the work we have done by heart. With memory we have achieved that, and what the return does, for example, is the result of reconciliation with the territory. But there is not much accompaniment in these processes, I think that much today that is missing in that reconciliation with the environment, with all the terror that was generated.

Conversation with Mario Gomez, philosopher and resident of Granada.

Granada, December 16th, 2019.

FO Mario, could you tell me about yourself, about your life in Granada.

MG I was born in Granada and I studied primary school here, then high school in the municipality of Sonsón, and I studied my bachelors at the Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, in Medellín. I came back to Granada in the year of 1982 and started to work here in the municipality, first as a librarian, then as chief of cultural extension, and then also as secretary of education; then, in 2017 I retired as a worker of the municipality.

FO You are also known here as the historian of the municipality.

MG Well, yes, they say, but I am not a historian, because my specialty is not history, I am a philosopher, I studied philosophy and letters. But of course, there are some affinities, we also work a lot here, we founded the Center of History, and that's why they call me like that, but no, I'm not a historian.

FO From that perspective as a philosopher, and in the background as a connoisseur of the history of Granada, how is peace built?

MG That is very difficult. **I believe that the basis of peace building is that people have their basic needs covered. In order not to repeat what everyone says, that there is first social justice and then peace, to the extent that communities and our inhabitants have the basic needs covered, peace is built to that extent, and everyone has the same rights. In that sense it is built, the rest is just theory.**

FO From a more territorial point of view, the conflict in Granada was territorial in the sense that the different actors conceived this place as a strategic space for

Polanco Ortiz Velásquez



its location and expansion. Subsequently, with their tactics of attacks on the territory, such as the blasting of energy towers, mining of lands, the attacks on the urban center turned this territory into a symbol of violence. Is there a feeling of fear or terror in front of these elements?

MG I have another feeling on this subject. When I came here to Granada in '82 to work, guerrillas were just starting to arrive, and practically it was a social displacement of guerrillas, they were taken out of the Magdalena Medio region. When FARC arrived in that area, Puerto Boyacá and Puerto Triunfo, they were their lands at that time, but they began to kidnap cattle ranchers, steal cattle and all those things, then at that time what is called MAS is called, it is called Death To Kidnappers (Muerte a Secuestradores, in Spanish), which was a paramilitary organization. Then they displaced the guerrillas from that area of the Magdalena Medio.

Then they entered through San Luis towards this area and, slowly, slowly entered, first San Luis, then San Carlos, and in about 1983 or 1984 they entered Granada. And they started doing political work with the people, talking with the people and they became embedded in the daily life of the community, and since there was not much presence of the State, they assumed the role of the State in that area. They did justice, they arranged marriages, they fixed boundaries. They even drove development in the area, worked in communal action, built roads, like that in all those things. Then that was turning into a very close coexistence between the farmers of the area and the guerrillas. And here were the two guerrillas, the FARC and the ELN. But first the ELN entered with a slightly more social and more political conception of the situation. Instead, those of the FARC were a bit more military. And when they took over the territory, the State practically realized that it had lost the territory and the importance of the municipality as a strategic location, because from Santa Ana, the Medellín-Bogotá highway could be blocked, paralyzed. Then the army and the government realized it very late, and only around 1990 began to react. Then began the paramilitary attack which was the one that produced the entire battle, the entire war itself, the war that started at that time, between 95 and 96, and then it was a war declared in 97, 98 until 2005 more or less, the paramilitary war.

That's when the disappearance, the deaths, the evictions of land, the displace-

ments occurred. Because with the paramilitary attack, the guerrillas also began to squeeze the community, and resented that they began to demand from the farmers that they had to link directly to the war on the mountains, they were given an alternative, whether they collaborate, or leave. Many people decided to move away and especially in 1998 there were lots of people coming out, traveling with everything, with refrigerators, dogs; Around 500 dogs appeared around here. The guerrillas were wrong with that strategy, because they were left alone, and they (paramilitaries and army) ended them. They did not know how to handle this properly, and with the paramilitary attack, more than 2,000 people died and at least 500 disappeared, in such a small town like this. That demonstrates the cruelty of the war, and how fearful the situation was in here.

With the issue of the towers, those were practically guerrilla defense mechanisms to make themselves felt in the rurality. **The neighboring farmers of the towers did have many problems because the paramilitaries called them guerrillas, or at least collaborators, and those areas close to the towers were left alone, depopulated, because people had to move away; there are three power lines passing by Granada, so you can imagine.** That is way the Energy Battalion was created here, a battalion in charge of taking care of that energy enclave, located in the limits of Granada and San Carlos.

In 2005 the military and paramilitary attack managed to decimate the guerrillas. When the peace agreements arrived, there was already this "peace of Uribe", that peace of the deaths.

FO We previously talked about displacement, where around 70% of the town was displaced. At the worst moment of the conflict they were about 4 or 5 thousand inhabitants, now they are about 10 and 11 thousand. What do people do when they return?

MG People, in this area of El Eden, of Malpaso, are the same people who left; the farmers who left managed to return and about 100 or 200 families from these areas returned. Other people who have come are not returned, they are relocated from other parts from Northern Antioquia like Tarazá, Bajo Cauca, Remedios,

Segovia, El Bagre. Many people have come from those areas and have come to repopulate; they have come here because they have fled from the problems they have there. Even in previous times, the guerrillas also brought many people from other places, for example, in Santa Ana, and they looked after them there.

FO Many young people were recruited, and when the conflict ended, they returned to their families as well.

MG Yes, there are many people like that, especially farmers, many children of farmers were recruited, almost all the young farmers in the area of Tierra Caliente. Parents who did not want their children to be in it sent them to Medellin or Cali when they were around 12 or 13 years old. Many others had to join the guerrillas.

FO A generation of farmers was lost.

MG A few have been reinserted. Here in town they are fine, they have no problems with people.

FO All this process of talking about the topic of history of conflict and peace is essential for you to tell the story so that other people understand it. What is the value of oral history in the process of recognizing the painful past and taking the next step towards the peaceful coexistence?

MG A lot of work has been done on the subject of memory, oral and written. The Salón del Nunca Más (Memory Hall) was an idea we had in 2004, an idea to create the memory hall. The paramilitary attack was very strong and violent, where they pointed and threatened many people. The paramilitaries changed their strategy and began to disappear the bodies of people they killed, rather than leaving them there; Around 300 missing people can be located in Granada. This practice was crueler, there was no need to bury 2 or 3 every day, but they had disappeared people every day and people didn't know anything. This area must be full of mass graves.

FO The brick march in 2001 was an important symbol for the memory of the

people of Granada, of the victims and of the people who wanted to make themselves heard using a very symbolic element such as brick, talking about rebuilding what was destroyed by the car bomb but also those social elements that conflict destroy. From the anecdotal standpoint, what happened to the bricks that people carried?

MG On December 6, 2000, the seizure and destruction of that part took place. Fortunately, the community reacted quickly, it was given the task of rebuilding the physical part of the town that was destroyed, because the attack went directly to the heart of the town, to the commercial part. Reconstruction work was done in two years, showing people's capacity.

The reconstruction was difficult, because at 6 months after the reconstruction began, they killed the manager, who was the former mayor. In 2003 the reconstruction was inaugurated, and by 2004 and 2005 people were already doing their things again in that place. The bricks are there, they were used in the reconstruction, because they were stacked there and yes, they are there.

FO Going to more political issues, what do victims think about JEP?

MG People were not involved in the issue of peace agreements. **When the agreements were achieved, people were already at peace here, we had already buried the dead.** Pastor Alape came here and apologized for what was done. People have forgiven, but we do not have legal proceedings, because the judicial processes which took place in here are false positives processes, and have already been clarified, the State has already recognized that. What we are waiting for is collective reparations. Of the 7,000 victims here, the state has already recognized some, through individual reparation. But people say that they are now waiting for collective reparations.

FO And do people know what collective reparation is?

MG We have talked about **repairs that benefit the entire community**, how the road to San Carlos should be paved, or restore the building that is the center of

culture. We are waiting for this, and that it is a project that benefits the entire community.

FO The agreements speak of peace being territorial. What does that mean to you?

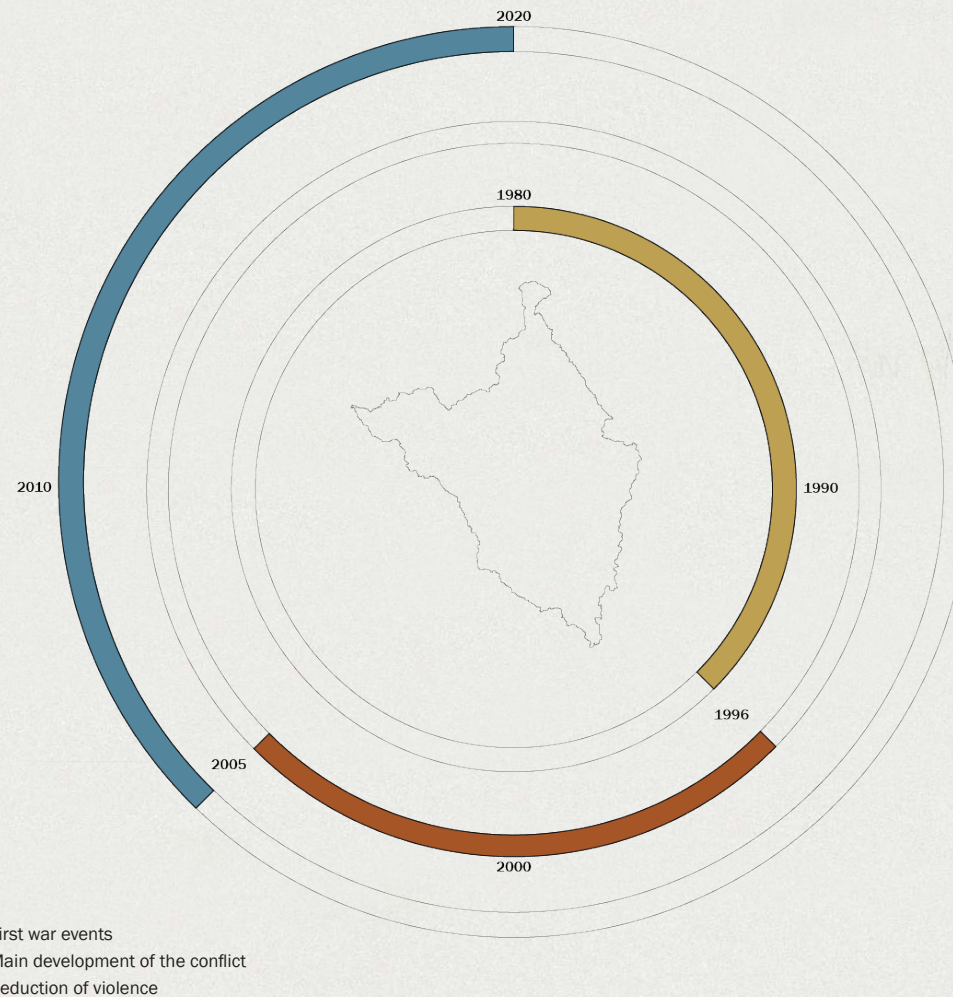
MG Let the reparation be for the rural inhabitants. **We don't have many land problems here, but we have to work hard so that the farmers have a way to live their lives in a dignified way, which is their farms, their lands, their parcels, to manage to have all the rights that every common citizen has, and current energy services, education, transportation, that their children have the possibility of going to school, secondary and university education, and that life passes in a normal way.** In that sense, we can talk about the territoriality of peace, which reaches everyone, both urban and rural.

03

A. Timeline - Conflict in Granada

The following timeline has been constructed with several references and aims to give the reader a more clear understanding of the extension of conflict over time in Granada, the actors involved, and the location of some specific events.

Documents such as the Granada: Memorias de Guerra, Resistencia y Reconstrucción, by the Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica; Desde el Salón del Nunca más, by Hugo de Jesús Tamayo Gómez, and the timeline exposed in the wall of the Salón del Nunca Más itself, serve as basis for this timeline.



1935: Road connecting Medellín and Granada

Before the main conflict (**1980-1996**) it was a guerrilla hegemony. Starts with the arrival of ELN in Santa Ana, engaging activities of farmers, gaining support and power, also because of the lack of presence of the state. FARC is the counter balance of ELN; they arrived in 1987 with a stronger military style, without any attachment to the territory they controlled, compared with ELN.

1988: attack from both organizations under the name of Simon Bolivar guerrilla coordinator.

Even though some sympathized with guerrillas, their practice, mainly extortion and kidnapping created a distance from an important part of the community, who saw the sympathy for paramilitaries (AUC) to be present in their territory since mid-nineties.

The eighties are the time of larger expansion of guerrilla control in Colombia. FARC, ELN, M-19, EPL, Quintin Lame, mainly, had presence under different practices in different territories of the country.

The location of hydroelectric plants in the subregion of reservoirs of eastern Antioquia underlies conflict. In the locations where these mega projects were built had a general rejection, first because of the allocation of large communities, and the lack of participation of communities in the decision making of these processes. These dynamics were attractive for guerrillas, to take resources and incomes from these projects, and canalize the discontent of society. Also, the complex geography, the amount of food available, and the location of strategic corridors for different fronts like Eje Cafetero, Magdalena Medio y northeastern Antioquia.¹

ELN decided to amplify their mass-work, strengthening their presence in strategic economic areas and intensify the prolonged popular war. They had in eastern Antioquia their strategic niche. Their main focus was on the corridor of the Medellín-Bogotá highway, the area of reservoirs and the “borderland” municipalities in the peripheral areas near Medellín. The Carlos Alirio Buitrago front had a

1. Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica. Granada: Memorias de Guerra, Resistencia y Reconstrucción. 2016. P. 64

discrete presence in its beginnings in Granada, having Santa Ana as center of operations. Their strategy was focused in permeate the social and political dynamics, allowing them to unnoticed and as part of the community. This actor started to attract people by being friendly, giving away food and money to supply people’s necessities of health and others. As some said, ELN were filling the void of order and control: The offer of security and their capability of conflict resolution within the community, even with selective murders and displacement against their community members.

Granada was a virgin territory and the presence of only ELN didn’t bring much violence.² Since the early eighties the National Liberation Army (ELN) settle in Granada, coming from the Magdalena Medio region; in the vicinity with San Luis formed the Carlos Alirio Buitrago front, nodal point of the armed conflict in the region. In the early part of the 1980’s two guerrilla fronts, Carlos Alitio Buitrago from ELN and 9th front from FARC appear in the map, supported by other military structures like Front 47 and José Maria Cordoba bloque, both from FARC as well, and front Bernardo Lopez Arroyave from ELN. Their presence in the territory was hegemonic and with a very low violent intensity and affectation of civilians, given the lack of opponents

1987: the 9th and 47th fronts of FARC arrived in Granada, posing to the ELN a clear dispute for control of the territory and its population. FARC were looking for a territorial expansion in Antioquia, until now considered the rearguard of FARC in Urabá. Their presence also responds to the agreements of cooperation with ELN after the rupture of dialogs with the government of Belisario Betancour in 1984. FARC implemented the military strategy towards the destruction of electric infrastructure and gaining territory through small contributions to communities, like economic support to specific families. But FARC had a larger military capacity than ELN and their differences in approach would be evident in the future. FARC had an “occupation army” given the length of soldiers, being more authoritarian and crueler with the community.³

1988: The first guerrilla urban assault in Granada took place. Violence grows in this moment, when both FARC and ELN work together in an attack to the urban

2. Ibid, 67.

3. Ibid, 69.

4.
Ibid, 70.

area of Granada, with 80 soldiers, attacking Caja Agraria, a coffee store and a cooperative office. From now on, people noticed that a conflict was starting.⁴ The nineties were the time of larger uncertainty in events related to conflict in Colombia. During the presidencies of César Gaviria and Ernesto Samper, the expansion of guerrilla towards economic integrated areas and urban settlements was evident. What happens in Granada in this period, responds to a new national conflict dynamic and specificities of the territory.

At the beginning of the nineties there is a fight for territory control between FARC and ELN, where at the beginning the ELN had 80% of the territory and the FARC 20%, by the end of this decade the figures had been reversed, during this time the population was the victim of constant confrontations and abuses.

Kidnapping of Mayor Carlos Mario Zuluaga Gomez.

Murder of three police officers in the colosseum.

Massively displaced inhabitants of the town of Santa Ana and surrounding villages. Some parts have suffered the displacements of 92% of its inhabitants, going from having 6,500 inhabitants in their best times, to 1600 in the urban area, to have 600 in the early 2000s, and in the most critical time, 3 elders. Nowadays, veredas such as Florida are absolutely abandoned, while other have two or three families, after having been veredas with 85 and 90 families.

1996: Armed strike with attacks towards vehicles and energy towers, blocking circulation and access to Granada. As a reaction, the army increased their attacks, especially in Santa Ana, where some ELN camps were destroyed. By the end of 1996, paramilitaries started to appear. Mainly, the presence of paramilitaries is interpreted as a reaction to the attacks of energy towers. Selective killings and patrols from luxurious cars started to be noticed by the community, without any surveillance from the government.⁵ Paramilitaries amplified their control in the reverse way compared to guerrillas; starting from the urban settlement and then spreading towards the rural areas. This happened because there was institutional complicity (mainly support of the Army).⁶ To do so, they installed checkpoints

5.
Ibid, 74.

6.
Hugo de Jesús Tamayo Gómez. Desde el Salón del Nunca Más., Crónicas de desplazamiento, desaparición y muerte. Granada, Antioquia 1992-2005. La Carrera Editores E.U. 2019

in the exit route of the town, in order to control names of people coming in and out and execute the ones listed in their notebooks as collaborators of guerrillas. Paramilitaries: their access in the municipality was through the borders with Santuario, and from there their focus was on taking away the support guerrilla had, by pointing and making as military objectives the people inhabiting the territory under guerrilla control. The “cousins” was how people referred to the strange interaction between army and paramilitaries.⁷ The informants networks were very important for the interaction between actors. The confrontations between ELN and FARC also created good conditions for paramilitars to settle.⁸

1997-2005: period known as the “all-out war” or “truth war” which is defined as the conflict against the local community. Military strategies like combats, attacks, assaults, ambushes and bombing took place in Granada; but also, displacement, selective murders, demises, leading to and humanitarian crisis. Cuenca de Santa Ana, where FARC mainly settled, was one of the main territories or stages for conflict; population decreased from 3000 to 320 people in its rural area, while its urban area was only inhabited by 9 people in the most violent moment of conflict.⁹

1997: With paramilitaries, mainly Bloque Metro de las Autodefensas Campesinas de Cordoba y Urabá (ACCU), Bloque Héroes de Granada which were part of Bloque Cacique Nutibara from Medellín. During this time, guerrilla groups put more pressure on the community, to make them choose a side. Actions mainly took place in Santa Ana, Cuenca of Calderas and Tefetanes river, expanding and affecting the urban area of the municipality, San Matías and Zona Fría.

Guerrilla had their “wasp plan” with kidnappings, attacks and ambushes in the Medellín-Bogotá highway. From 1997, FARC decided to boycott the local elections, influencing the power relationships between locations and social groups.¹⁰ Kidnapping became a larger practice. An OEA commission in October of this year was victim of this practice.¹¹ During this period, Santa Ana and Granada became the center of attention.

ELN used this moment to present their political proposal of National Conversion and set the foundations for a dialog with the national government.

7.
Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica. Granada: Memorias de Guerra, Resistencia y Reconstrucción. 2016. P. 111.

8.
Ibid, 114.

9.
Ibid, 20.

10.
Ibid, 76.

11.
Ibid, 77.

1998: local major is kidnapped again, as part of ELN's strategy to push for a dialog, the relocation of military bases in urban areas, and the creating of a regional energetic forum.¹²

12.
Ibid, 81.

The lowest percentage of participation in presidential elections is recorded here: only 8% of the population voted, because of fear over FARC's retaliation. As mentioned before, AUC arrived in Granada in this time and things got more complicated. The national government showed an unclear posture, on one hand promoting the negotiation and end of conflict, and reinforcing the military response denying the existence of paramilitaries, on the other.¹³

13.
Ibid, 82.

Paramilitaries make the announcement of an offensive against Granada, because it was known as a guerrilla sanctuary; they did so by showing the creation of five different blocks of combatants: Bloque Occidental, Bloque Norte, Bloque Llanero and Bloque Metro. Paramilitaries settled in different locations around Granada, with the objective of taking the control of eastern Antioquia region.¹⁴

14.
Ibid, 83.

Paramilitaries spread posters saying "Farmer, tell guerrilla to respect you, to not ask for favors, to not involve you in war, to not be cowards, to fight their own war and don't force your participation. If you do so, we will respect you. Guerrilla members, either you wear uniforms, or you die as civilians."¹⁵ AUC main "excuse" to go to Granada was to stop guerrilla from sabotaging the Medellín-Bogotá highway and stop the attacks towards electric infrastructure.

15.
Ibid, 84.

To get to Santa Ana was their main military objective.

In this moment, the new military strategy of the army was showing progress and results, with their incursion in locations to have a tactical advantage against FARC, like in La Llorona and the use of helicopters and planes, thanks to the budget created by Plan Colombia.¹⁶

16.
Ibid, 87.

Between 1998 and 1999 the confrontation increased. Guerrilla, Army and Paramilitaries fought for the control on the main circulation corridors, especially between Santuario and Granada, leading to the Medellín-Bogotá highway. After

more than 10 years of guerrilla control, the arrival of paramilitaries began as the conflict for territorial control, which in any case, didn't belong to the community anymore.¹⁷ Operation Lucitania was one of the first ones, from the army. Images of bombings and attacks became common for locals of Santa Ana, and they called this moment as the arrival of the Truth war.¹⁸ Army discovered a house with 36 beds, anti-air refugees and tunnels that connected the house with other houses owned by farmers.

17.
Ibid, 88.

18.
Ibid, 90.

Under the name of "guerrilla helpers" the army destroyed and stole a series of houses owned by farmers, forcing them to displace to the urban area. These actions created a backup from ELN; but to show they still had power, they decided to put their flag in an antenna in the urban area, mining the surrounding to protect it.

The Medellín-Bogotá highway was another important stage for confrontation between groups. "It was the crown's jewel", the three main actors focused most of their soldiers and tactics there, in order to get its control.¹⁹

19.
Ibid, 92.

Energy towers: from the eighties, the conflict started to evidence the blowing of infrastructure and extortion to electric and oil companies, as a way of income generation and pressure to the national government, also to distract military tactics.²⁰ Only between January and August of 2001, 203 towers were blown in Antioquia, 113 in the eastern region, 51 of those in Granada.²¹ As mentioned before, paramilitaries stated that, for every tower blown, there were going to be 10 farmers killed; it started to happen and affected the commercial network of the community as well, with farmers collecting and selling cables from the towers, also becoming military objectives. Although the main interest was on the highway, they also located their actions in El Ramal, El Concilio, Vahitos and Minitas, located in Zona Fría, close to the urban area.²²

20.
Ibid, 94.

21.
Ibid, 95.

22.
Ibid, 96.

1999: 3 police officers attacked

2000: paramilitary massacre in Alto del Palmar, 4 young people dead.

19 people massacre by the paramilitaries.

On December the 6th, in retaliation for what happened on November the 3rd,

FARC, with its fronts 9, 34 and 47 takes the town center, detonating on the main street of the municipality a car bomb of approximately 400 kg of dynamite (the second most powerful car bomb detonated in the country), followed by countless bombings with pipettes, actions that lasted between 11 in the morning of December 6th and 5 in the morning of 7th. It was 18 hours of terror that left 23 dead, large number of injured, 131 houses and 82 commercial buildings destroyed, and 313 damaged, in a radius of 7 blocks.

Military road checkpoint: control of circulation spaces. Mainly the route between santuario and Granada. In El Palmar, for instance, there was a permanent paramilitary checkpoint, also in El Cebadero, El Carmelo, La María and El Ramal, Alto de La Cruz, etc. These checkpoints were always related with murders and kidnappings.²³ The organizations had notebooks and lists of names with people who they had to kill.²⁴ These lists were constructed with information from informers from the community.

2000-2005: Implementation of the strategy of counter-guerrilla, by the 4th brigade of the army, making Granada a stage for experimentation in these kinds of military operations, having at least 10 of them between 2000 and 2005.²⁵

According to PNUD, there were 46 massacres were 248 people were murdered. There were 56 disappearances and 33 cases of torture. Most of the victims were farmers: 651 were murdered, 18 suffered extra judicial executions and 85 died in massacres, these last numbers region wise.

2001: 3 farmers slaughtered in the vereda of Minitas

2001: 30 deaths in the town during July

2001: murder of the mayor Jorge Alberto Gomez Gomez in the square and 4 other people in the vereda of El Cebadero

7 farmers were massacred in the vereda of El Vergel

23.
Ibid, 106.

24.
Ibid, 107.

25.
Ibid, 18.

kidnap mayor Ivan Dario Castaño Gomez

2001, 2002, 2003: mass displacements in the rural area

2002: Alvaro Uribe is president of the country. He starts the negotiations with paramilitaries. FARC tries to retake the urban area of Granada, but this time their efforts were controlled by the army, because the region of Eastern Antioquia became a priority in terms of security and control for this president. By the end of 2002, paramilitaries declare a cease of fire, translated in the historical decrease of murders in Colombia. this year was when conflict was experienced with more intensity. Guerrilla increased their measures as they were feeling the pressure from paramilitaries. Threatened farmers from Santa Ana and around, saying they had 15 days to displaced from their lands or join their organization.²⁶

26.
Ibid, 116.

ELN orders closure of the municipal administration until the paramilitaries finish the food block.

Paramilitaries raised a flag in the municipality, at the site called El Cabezón.

FARC demands the resignation of all the mayors of the East of Antioquia.

Paramilitaries increase pressure on the civilian population through selective deaths.

FARC try to take the municipality, the army repels the attack.

2003: effectively is the last year of conflict in Granada; the reconstruction of the urban area is finished. The first project for the displaced community who was returning to Granada was inaugurated, which was a farm bought by the city hall near the urban area, in order to reestablish the processes of work and production. The terror was still present in the rural areas.

Artifact explosion in the urban area, 4 people die and 14 wounds left.

Harassment by armed groups in the opening ceremony of the reconstruction project and the presidential visit.

Harassment of the police command, launching a cylinder that failed to explode. Grenade launcher attack in the urban area.

13 wounded in terrorist attack, bomb camouflaged in bulk of oranges.

FARC slaughters 4 people and incinerates 4 ISAGEN-owned vehicles on the Tafatanes vereda.

2004: from January to July, 35 energy towers were dynamited by the ELN.

2005: 35 families displaced due to threats from the army, in the Arenosa, Tablazo, and Las Palmas.

Attack on a bus in La Quiebra, 2 people die.

The decrease of the population in Granada as a result of the conflict is estimated in the order of 64% between 1999 and 2003. Its fluctuation is high and it is difficult to obtain a population data close to reality, currently it is estimated at approximately 10,000 inhabitants. The data obtained by different means are very diverse (DANE, SISBEN, municipal surveys). 2012: 80% of people from Granada were considered victims of the conflict.²⁷

2009: Salón del Nunca Más / Never Again Memory Hall is created

2016: The referendum to approve the Peace Agreement with FARC took place in Colombia. The results showed a 50.2% against and 49.8 in favor. Granada mainly voted against.

Memory and Conflict National Observatory (CNMH) reports 460 victims of selective murders, 2,992 demises, 59 murders in 10 massacres, 98 victims of kidnapping and 50 of sexual violence. The Unique Registry of Victims (RUV) reports

27.

Hugo de Jesús Tamayo Gómez. Desde el Salón del Nunca Más. Crónicas de desplazamiento, desaparición y muerte. Granada, Antioquia 1992-2005. La Carrera Editores E.U. 2019. P. 315.

33.719 victims of forced displacement.²⁸ 128 children were orphans according to Bienestar Familiar.

Association TEJIPAZ is created.

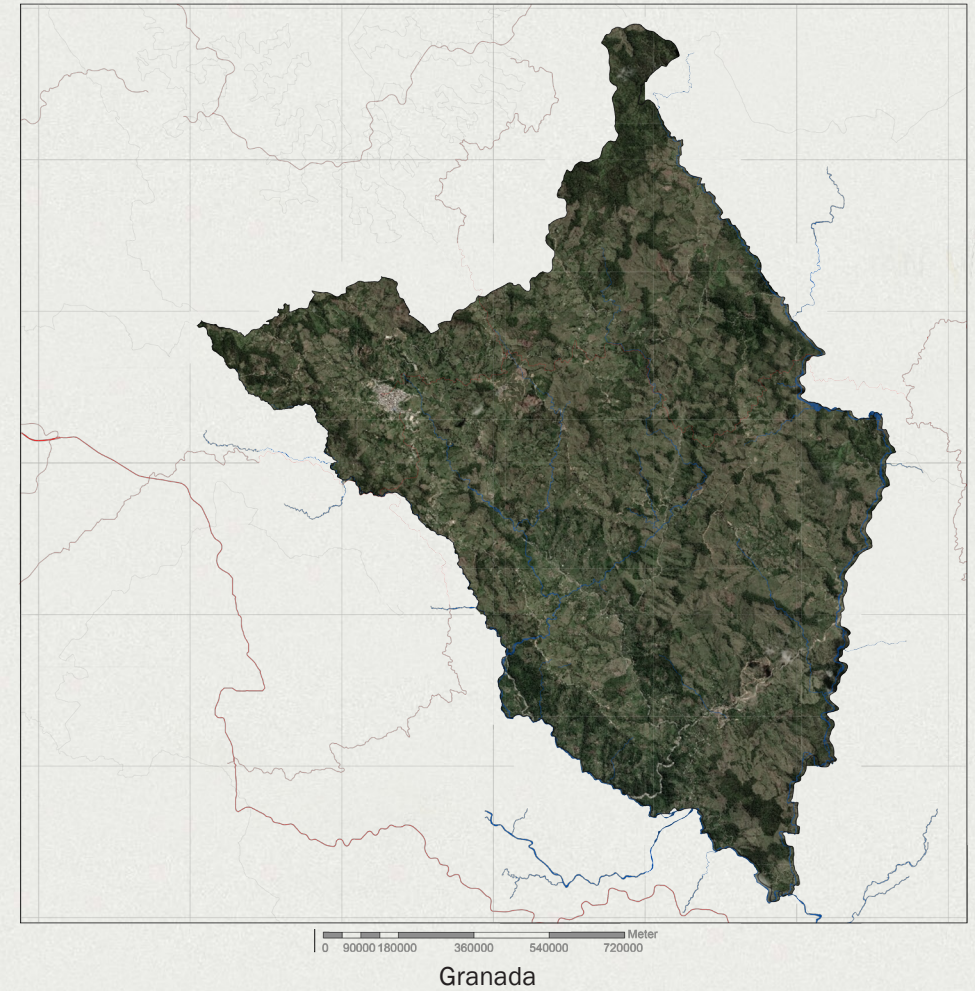
28.

The RUV reports 35.782 direct or indirect victims of conflict in Granada. Nevertheless, this number is not precise due to the incongruence in the overall number of victims (one person could have reported several victimizing episodes).

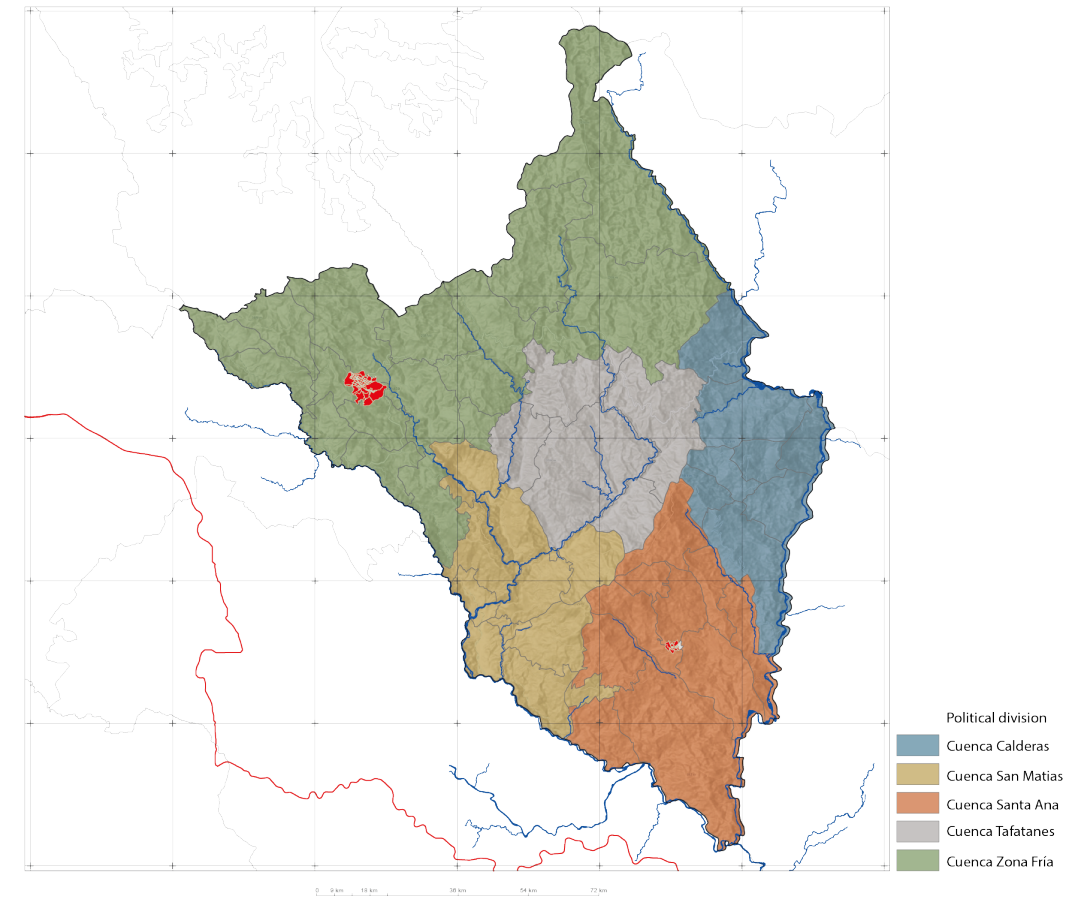
03

B. Mapping

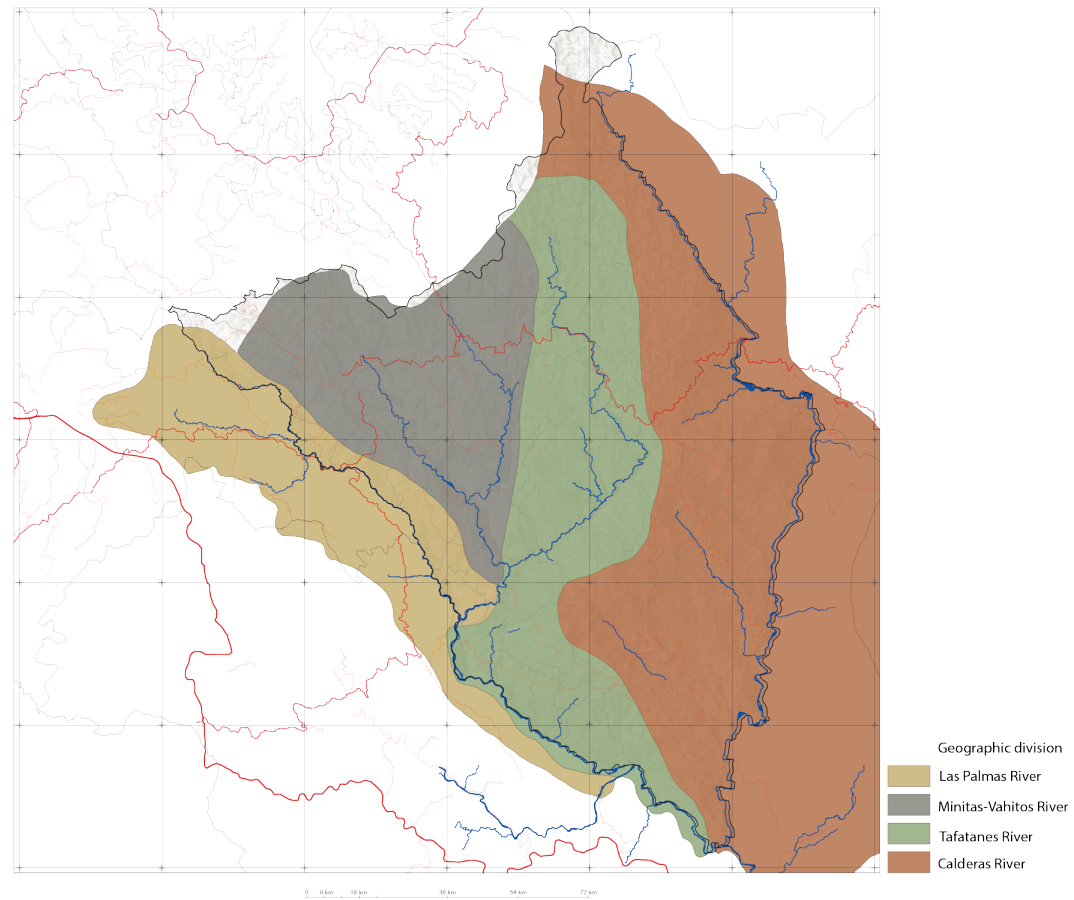
As described in the methodology applied for this research, I performed a series of mapping exercises in the territorial (rural) and urban scale of Granada, the chosen case study. As Crampton and Elden identify within Foucault's theory, "he shows that many problems of politics require spatial knowledge." Mapping is a relevant tool for this research, expanding the comprehension and awareness of the repercussions of conflict in the territory, becoming in Krygier and Wood's words "not representations so much as propositions or arguments."



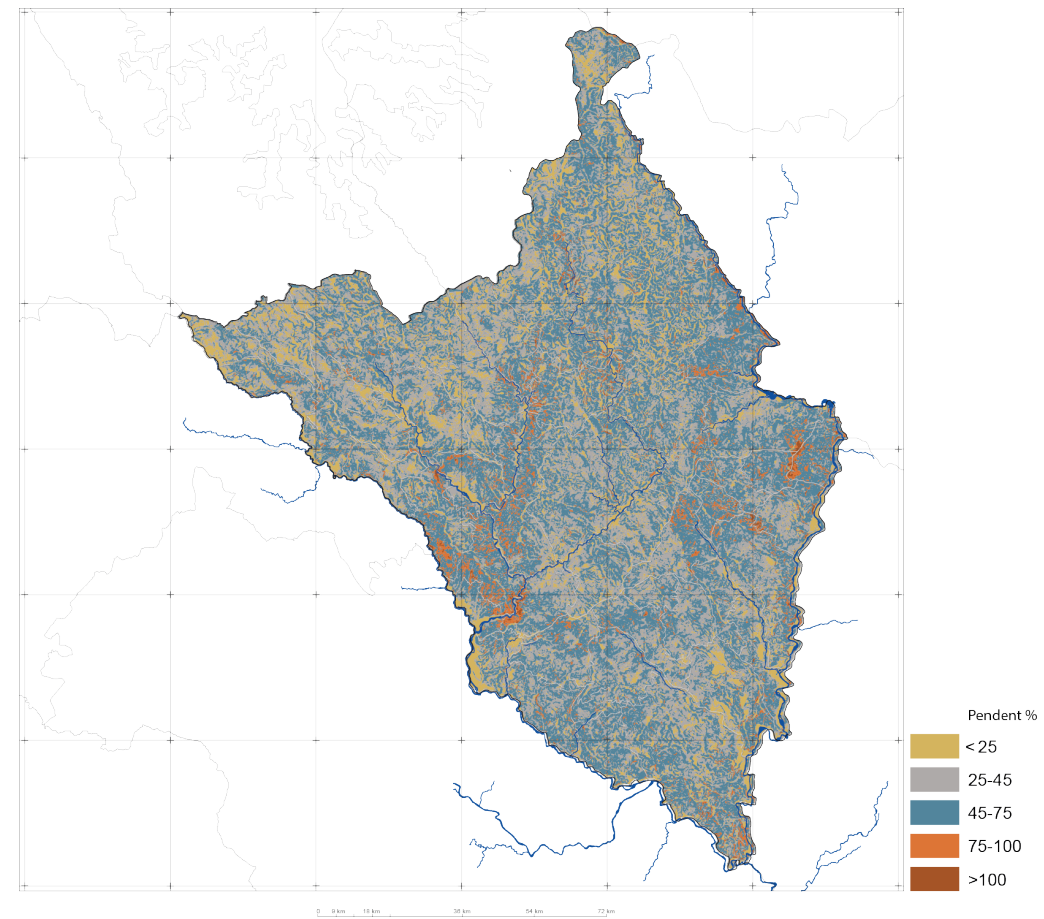
Firstly, I visualize the political and geographical division of Granada, to understand the extension of the war in these landscapes, trace the names of the different locations - veredas - where the organizations settle and performed and comprehend the geographic relations of such cases of the mountainous landscape.



Political division

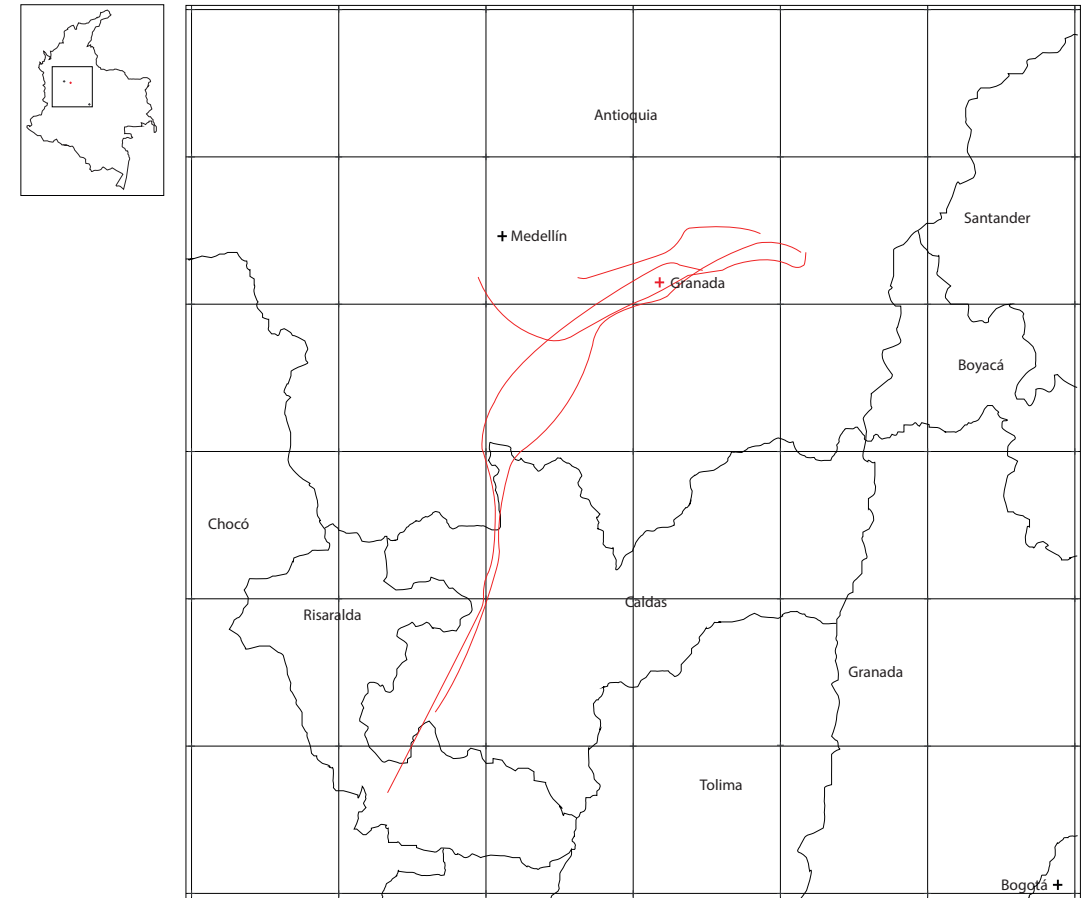


Geographic division

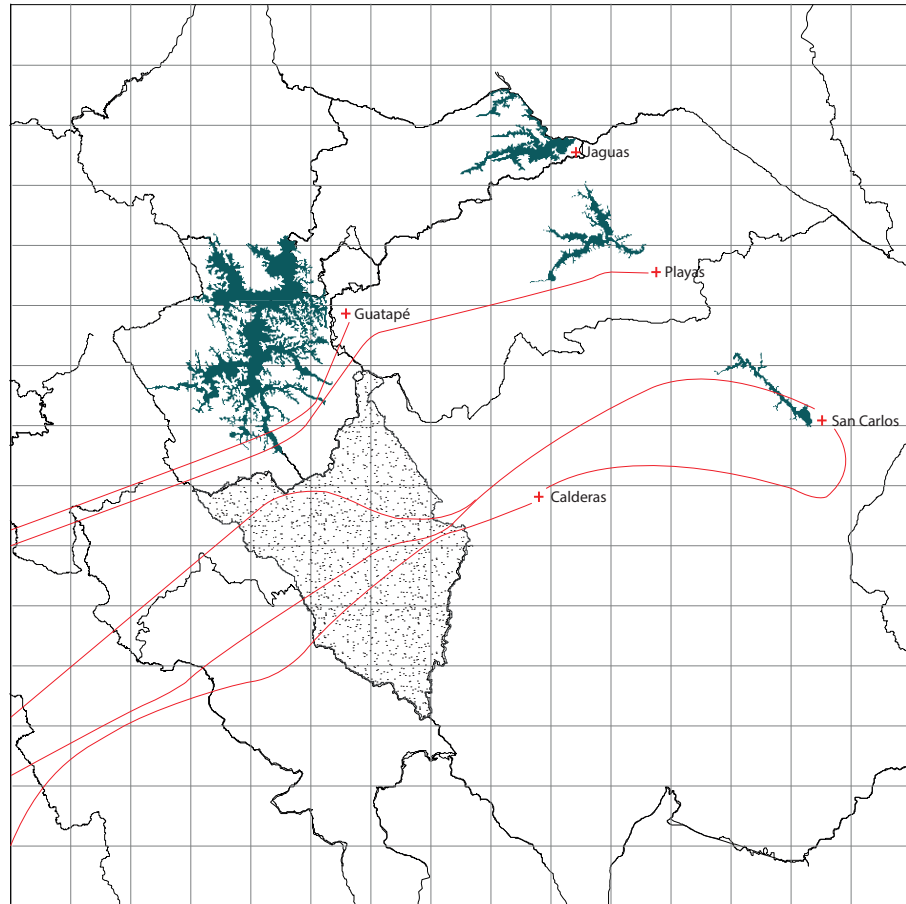


Topography

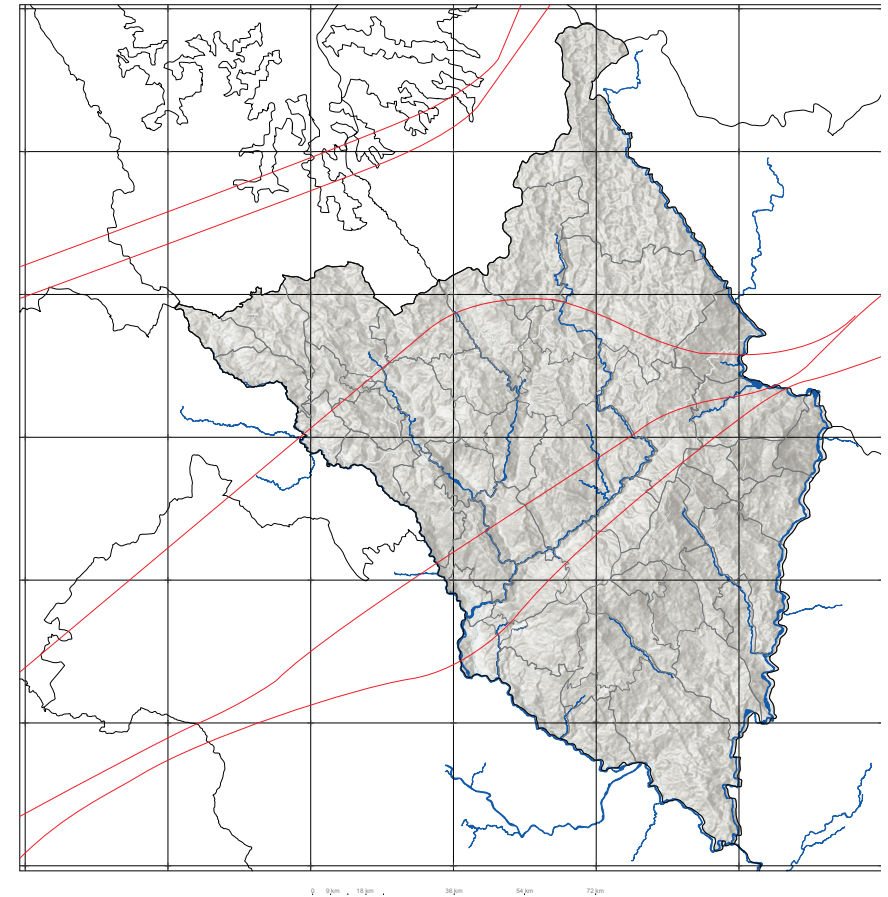
As I elaborate on the paper, the control of the energy infrastructure was fundamental for the territorial control of Granada and its neighboring municipalities. This resource-rich region has three main energy lines passing by the landscape. Guerrillas, in their aim to show their power, repetitively bombed the transmission towers, and paramilitaries, in response to that, massacred families of local farmers as retaliation for their supposed “support” towards the guerrilla organizations.



Transmission lines: National

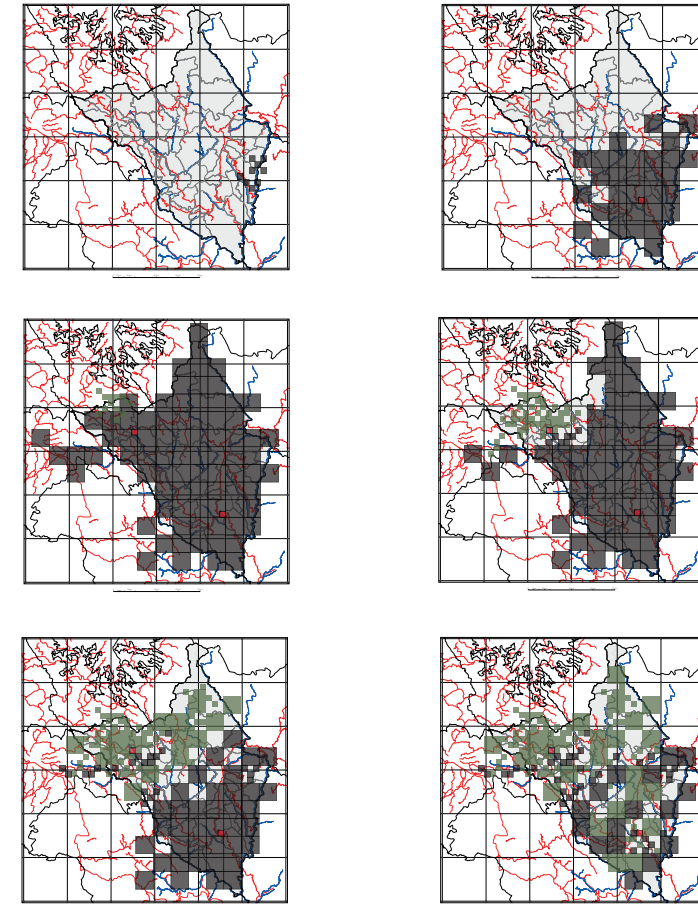


Transmission lines: Regional

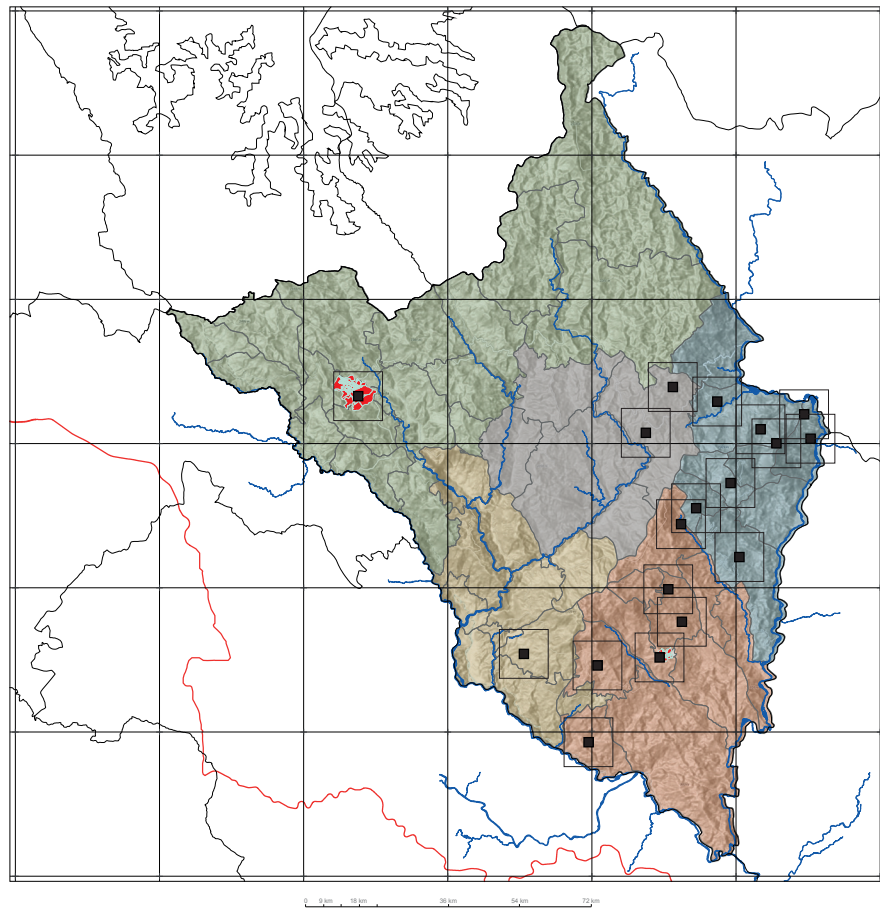


Transmission lines: Municipal

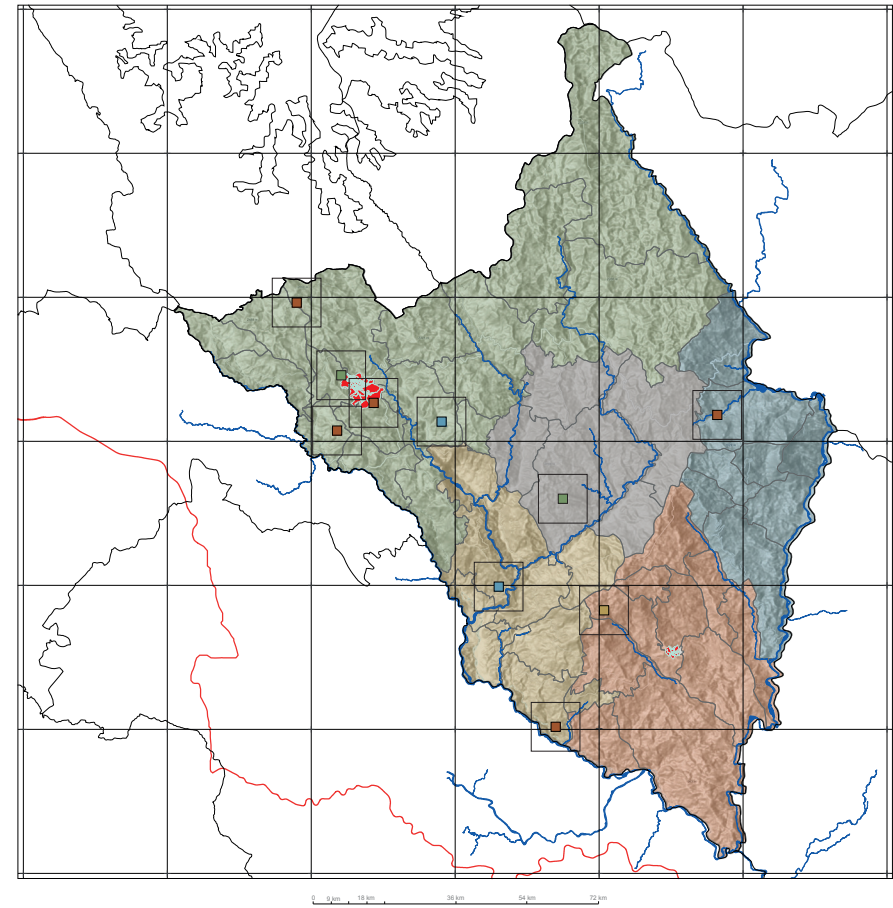
How to understand the spatialization of the conflict throughout the territory? These maps visualize how guerrillas and paramilitaries spread around Granada, fought for its control, and the sorrow they left behind with extrajudicial executions - performed by the State - massacres, and murders, directly linked with mass displacement and the abandonment of the rural areas as they were known.



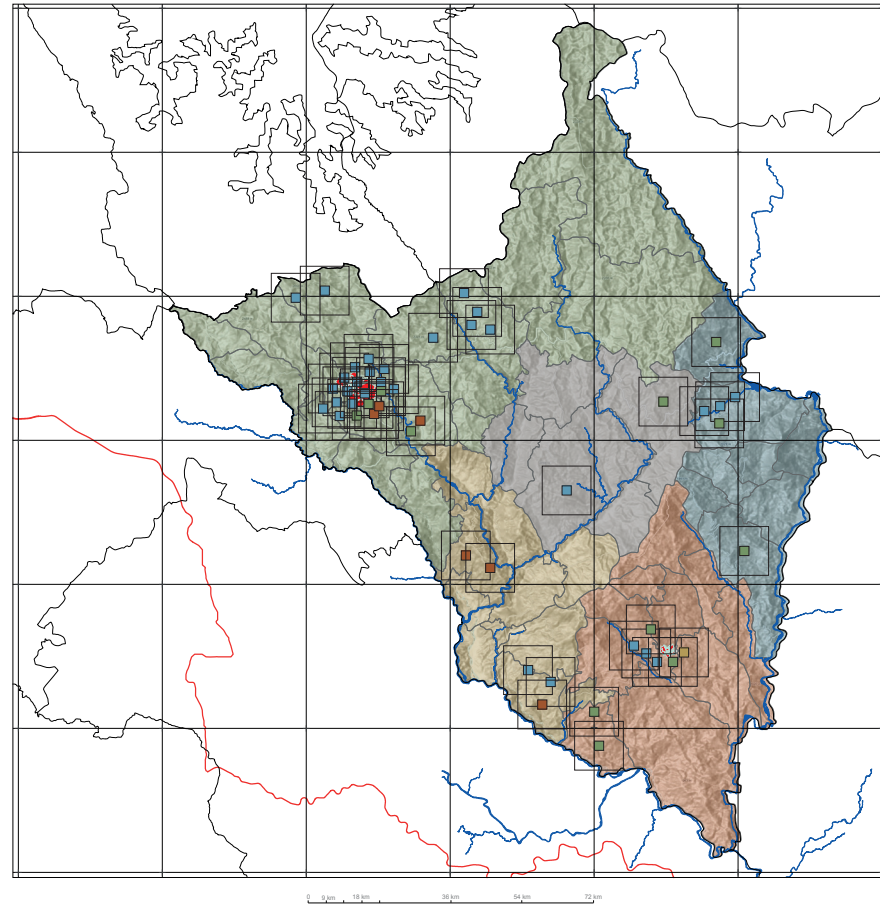
Interpretation: Territorial control 1980-2000.



Extrajudicial executions

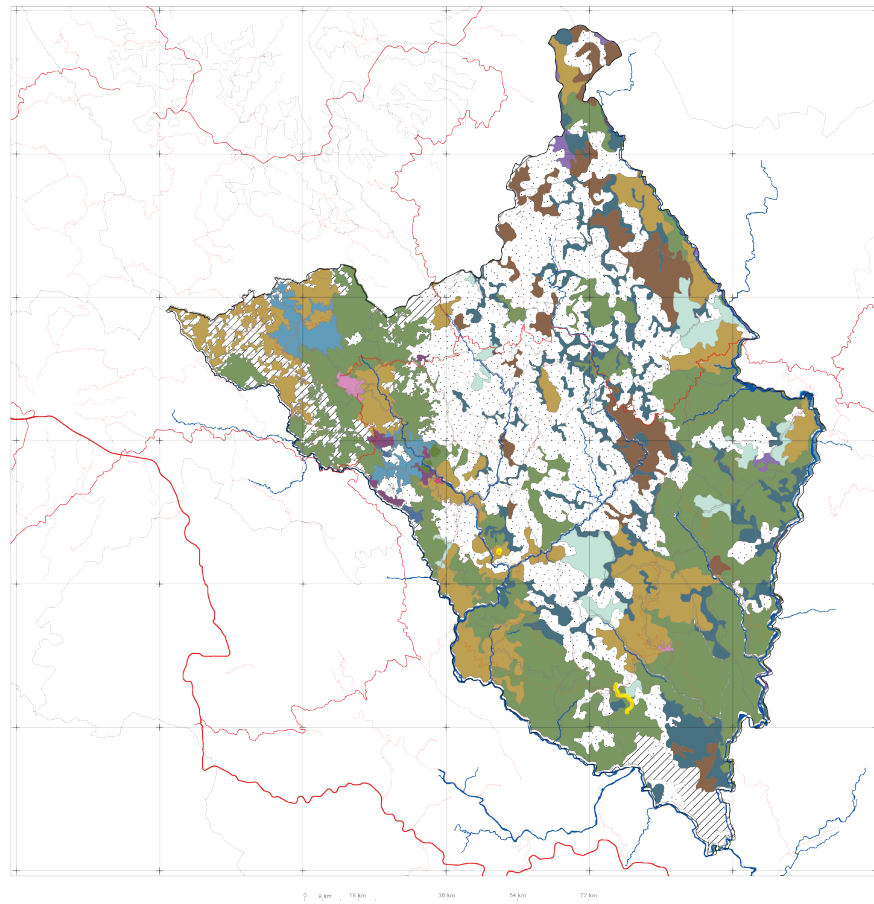


Massacres.

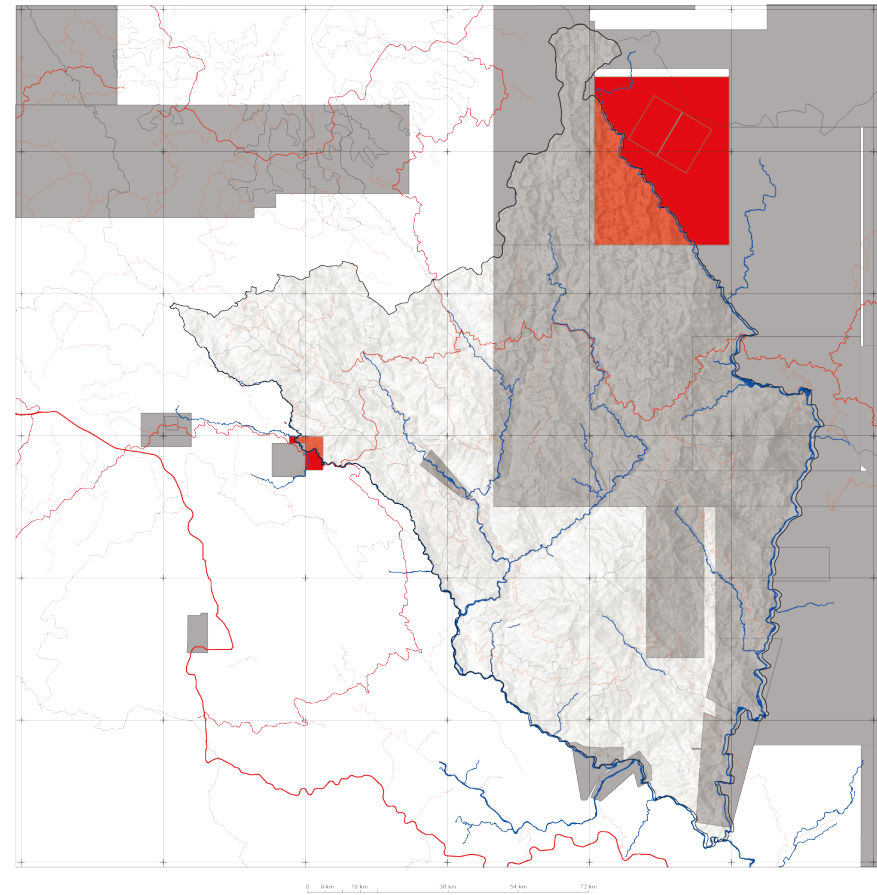


Murders

Besides the trauma and stigma many locations of this municipality carry, some indirect consequences of the conflict could be mapped. The fracture on the agrarian practices and the use of soil disrupted the lifestyle and economy of Granada; Mining emerged as a silent hazard throughout Colombia while everyone was in between war times.



Post-Conflict Agrarian Condition



Post-Conflict Mining

03

C. Photographs by Granada residents

Lastly, during my field trip to Granada, I gave three Ilford XP2 Super Single Use Black + White disposable cameras to three residents. One to Adrian, a young person who helps in Tejpaz. Alirio and Nelly, a couple of coffee producers, got the second camera. The third camera was given to Laura, a barista at the Café de la Memoria. The task was simple, to take photographs for two weeks of activities, moments and spaces that, in their perspective, build peace and social tolerance between locals and visitors. I use these photographs as interpretations of the kinds of conditions that can take place in my architecture project. Some results of these photographs are presented here.









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