***Documentality and Display: Archiving and curating the violent past in contemporary Argentina, Chile and Colombia***

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**I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

Institution: **Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica**

Name and position:

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* **Ernesto James Sánchez,** Direction of the Archives, National Center for Historical Memory, Colombia.

Interviewers: Oriana Bernasconi, Cecilia Sosa, Jaime Hernández and Vikki Bell.

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**II. TRANSCRIPTION**

CECILIA SOSA: Personally, I was very thrilled by the work is being undertaken even from the most liberal perspectives. [The work] of approaching reconciliation speeches, or the most critical research work that you are doing, from a more academic angle, [and] how is it that the work developed by the group of memory studies flow towards the future museum of memory. And all the exquisite work that the archive is developing [inaudible min. 00.33.0]. Perhaps you can tell us a little more about this particular situation in which you find yourself, which at least I do not know.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: I am Oriana Bernasconi, I am also a sociologist, I work in Alberto Hurtado University, which is the Jesuit University of Chile, in Santiago. I have just finished a joint research, together with an interdisciplinary group of researchers. That research lasted 3 years, and it was about how state terrorism has been registered and documented in Chile. [Those documents were] used to assist victims during the dictatorship, to provide legal assistance, to denounce what was happening, and to confront the regime’s versions of what was happening. So, of course, I’m very interested in the performative nature of the records, what they are capable of doing, the stories they tell, the ways in which they help building truths, and what is left out. And I am also very interested [in understanding] how do records, as we say, ‘travel’ or how do they transpose, or how are they used beyond the place where they emerged, and even sometimes beyond the thought systems in which they were created, [beyond] disciplines and epistemes, and how are they used in other spheres of social life, for different purposes. So this is what it happened in Chile.

An archive, that is basically a material trace of a daily practice of resistance against a dictatorship, began to feed the truth commissions in Chile, and keeps feeding the work of justice until today. This record that was created to assist or denounce, is transformed into a legal evidence, assembled in a legal dispositive and used by lawyers. So basically, I am not just interested in how the documents travel, but also in the change of ontology of this unit.

So, we wanted to talk to you, because we understand that Centro de Memoria Histórica is a point of reference for this registration and documentation process. We have already talked to some people from... You were told, right? We went there in the morning and also yesterday, so we know a few things about the history of the genesis of the memory group. I had talked with Andrés Suárez before, but yesterday they told us about the group's passage to the centre in the line of research, about the decision to work with emblematic cases, and they also told us a little about the methodology. They told us about how those researches were conducted. And they told us a little bit about that second stage. People who works here, on record, periodize it. So I am periodizing the history of the organization. Which was rather focused on characterizing the victimizing facts.

And we had this conversation with the museum director. Luis Carlos told us about how the archive has nurtured the first curatorial exercise. And today in the morning we had this great conversation with several members of the archive, from pedagogy and territory, and they told us about how they are supporting the processes of strengthening the documentation that already exists in the communities, and that sometimes is even given to the archive, enriching the human rights archive.

That is what we know so far. Our project, it is definitely not a comparative exercise because it would be very hard to do that. Besides this is only a two years’ project and we are not experts and we do not want to be. So rather what we want to do is to relate these different experiences, understanding that each one is unique. Then, with this group that also has diverse interests we will also visit Argentina and Chile and see what comes out.

I would also like to tell you that as outputs, we will elaborate academic products such as papers, but we also have the commitment to build a report to be disseminated among people who works on this issue, like activists or other human rights archives, [and] hopefully to even [be distributed] beyond this region. So that's why we're trying to talk with people who have all this accumulated experience, so they can talk to us about this in retrospect. We want to make a reflection of what has been done. That is, we want to know how it was done, but we also want to slightly evaluate and see what could have been done differently. What type of things did not work out fine, what things are you proud of?

CECILIA SOSA: And which of the experiences would you replicate in other places?

ORIANA BERNASCONI: They are like very general topics. You will probably want to tell us your own point of view, but that is more or less what interests us. To understand what the archive is now, because we already know the story. So if you can tell us, how is it now?

And as I said before, we are very interested in the uses. So, this archive gathers all the information that was collected to build all the reports made by the study group. So in this archive converges material that was created to try to clarify the truth, with archives that are digitized from the communities, when they have authorized it, with archives of, for example, the Victims unit, which also has a different purpose. So, in this archive that you are building you find plenty of information about multiples violent acts carried out with different purposes and by different actors. So what value do you see in this human rights archive that is being constituted? And what other type of uses could be given?

And we were talking about these very voluminous and very conscientious attempts to register, and as someone said in the morning, 'to support' the truth. That is to say, to understand the document as a support of the truth, or of a plural truth, and the capacity that this exercise has to permeate in this post-agreement society, and to be the foundation of what we agree on. So what are the uses in this delicate process that you are living?

[Laughs]

ORIANA BERNASCONI: That’s it.

MARGOT GUERRERO: I see that our colleagues have already told you a lot.

JAIME HERNÁNDEZ: So, can you tell us who you are?

MARGOT GUERRERO: Yes. I am Margot Guerrero, and until a month ago I was leading the human rights archives department of the Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica. I worked in that place during six and a half years, since it started until now. [During this time] we have been reflecting and struggling about the 'how to do'. I’m willing to participate [in your research] and I’m happy to help you with anything you need.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: My name is Ernesto James, I worked until December of last year with the human rights archives department, accompanying Margot from the beginning, but I focused on one of the components that are contemplated in the law that is the special record of archives of human rights and historical memory. That is the broad picture. How it developed and everything else is something that I will tell you together with Margot, as I will tell you many other things. And now, I am currently doing a work of liaison and articulation, between the direction of museums and the direction of archives. As I was telling you earlier, we saw a close relationship between the traditional way of documenting the conflict -traditional as an archive although with differences in terms of conformation of an archive of human rights-, and the production of objects loaded with this symbolism, in relation, not only with the process of denouncing the violation of human rights, but also with the construction of a memory of rights claim. Which is one of the elements that I think is central to the archive as well as for the museum itself. I don't know if you want me to keep talking about it.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Yes.

MARGOT GUERRERO: Let's see if in this short time I can explain to you what it meant to lead the direction of a human rights archive, bearing in mind that Colombia had never talked about human rights archives before. In Latin America, Colombia is recognized as having a very strong and internationally recognized general archives law, [but it is a law that] never specifically mentioned human rights. However, the law was too broad to talk about human rights. The law did not specifically talk about human rights, but about rights in the widest sense, everything related to international humanitarian law from the archives perspective.

Then our job was limited to three sections of the law 1448 of victims of land restitution of 2011, where it said that our job was to create and manage the human rights archive. And that archive had to allude to the serious violations of international humanitarian law. Another [task] was to create and manage the special registry of archives nationwide. And a third [task] was to make available the information that, voluntarily, was delivered by social organizations or whoever wanted to provide information to this archive.

When you see these three tasks, you ask yourself: Well, how are we going to do this? What guides do we have here in Colombia? In Colombia there is no model. We began to check the national regulations because the issue of human rights and international humanitarian law has in its essence a regulation that must be taken into account, which is the whole issue of access to information and respect for the victims. Then, looking at the national regulations, we realized that it fell short. So we began to look what was being done in other countries in relation to human rights and international humanitarian law, and we found the international principles of the fight against impunity. And we asked ourselves how binding they were with our law? And they were not very binding.

Additionally, we reviewed the Joinet principles, that you must know about them, which are those that refer to information about military intelligence. So, we look at all that. I even had the opportunity to know directly the experience of Guatemala, and as you know, people says that when you arrive to Guatemala you would immediately find archives that were hidden. But we thought, here [in Colombia] there is no archive. Where are we going to get it from? However, that also helped us to start thinking: 'Well, we have to start building the archive'.

So, we began to look at what the historical memory group had done, when they began to work on the issue of emblematic cases. They had collected information from twelve emblematic cases. They told us: 'Well, here are these sources, think about what you can do with this information'. You cannot imagine the teachings that those sources left us, because it is one thing to be a researcher, but quite another is to think about the order that an archive has to have, or apply the regulations and think about the use permits, and make it available to people. When you look at those four steps, you realize that the only thing a researcher is interested about is in collecting the information from the sources, to do his research and that's it.

We realized that here we had photographs, interviews and audio-visual material, [so we asked them:] Where are the informant consents to use the material? [and they replied:] 'We do not have permission to use it'. So we began to think about all the extra documentation that you must have when working with documents of these characteristics. Secondly, we do not own the permissions to make this material available to the public, so even if we wanted to do it, this documentation cannot be available to the public. It is not possible.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Go ask for consents now.

MARGOT GUERRERO: Where? [Laughs]

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: You need to do the whole process.

MARGOT GUERRERO: Yes. The other issue [we had to think about] was how [the work] was going to be organized, so we had to start thinking about how we could collect the sources that had been used in the reports [made by the centre] and how they got there. Because the law also told us that we had to collect information, and to build the archive we had to collect all the sources that participated in the centre's researches. So, this also involved talking with the Grupo de Memoria Histórica, which was in charge of the construction of memory at that time, to see how they were going to start copying that information so it could be used. Regardless of the content, if the person or victim said they gave permission [to use the material], it was wonderful for us, but if they did not give their permission, we [could not do anything].

Another issue that emerged while building that archive was how to reach the social organizations of victims? How could we introduce ourselves as an entity of the State if the State itself has been a repressor? So we began to think that it was a job that should not be done here in Bogotá, instead, it was a job that had to be done in the regions. From that moment on, we began to build a document that we considered to be the first document of what could become a legal policy for the archive on serious human rights violations and violations of international humanitarian law. But we could not build that policy by ourselves. It was a policy that had to be built by sitting and talking directly with the social organizations. And we needed to tell them: 'Look, we are an entity of the State and this is our task’.

It was not easy in the beginning, because we had to gain people's trust. Because at that time, the peace process had not yet been signed, [so] there was still violence. And although today there is still violence, at that it was even stronger in those regions. So, to address this issue you must be very pedagogical. This was another aspect that we took into account. We create a box that we called the 'toolbox for training archive managers', because sometimes we can be pretentious and say: 'I'm going to teach them'. But no, they are the ones who teach us. The victims were the ones who taught us, they were the ones who generously opened their doors and told us: 'Look, I have this information'.

But their knowledge does not obey the logic of an archivist, so from there, we begin to say: 'Classical archivistics here does not apply'. Because if I think I have to organize [that material] as I would do it with the archivist training that I have, I would be doing it wrong. We had to ask the victim: how did you organized your archives? What kind of victimizing event were you involved in? Why did you have to assemble that group of documents to demand your rights? And to come along with you during the documentation process, how do you want to be recognized?

And that was like a permanent dialogue. Because I remember that the first experience we had it was with the archive of Don Jesús María Pérez. We organized it, we tried [to do it], [because] it was the first time we were doing it. He passed away a week ago.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: One week ago?

MARGOT GUERRERO: Yes. He taught us so much. We gave him back his archive organized [by us], and he couldn't find his documents, and we said: Shit! Sorry for the expression. [He told us:] 'No, that is not how you do it'. Fortunately, this happened soon after we arrived. After that, we talked to him, we literally sat at his house and began to take out documents from under his bed and tell him: 'Listen, Don Jesús María, how do you want me to organize it', and he began to tell us.

Most of the archives we have at the moment are accompanied by videos. In those videos [people] tell and explain how they built their own archives, in what kind of victimizing event were they involved, how long they have been in that fight, and [they describe] the resistance practices. And that is what hurts the most. I sincerely tell you that this is a hard work, but at this moment I am convinced that it is a work that must be continued, and that the victims cannot be left alone. But it is a job where respect for victims should be given primacy, [and people should have] autonomy of their information, [and] people should be explained about how their information will be used. They must sign all the required documentation. Why do they have to sign a use permit? Because if you have documentation that you think might be at risk if an entity has it, you better not give it to them. Because we are a state entity and a new one can arrive… That also helped us to earn...

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: The trust.

MARGOT GUERRERO: [It allowed us to earn] their trust. And [allowed] them to believe in us. Because, we cannot deny it, it has been a 50-year war where the country has lied to them all the time, [so] it would be very unfair for us to do the same. So, we must be very clear with them about all this. And if tomorrow we are not here, do not hand over the documents that you have, but digitalize [them] by yourself and keep a copy elsewhere.

I know that [this is something that public officials don't like to listen to]. If they listened to me they would say: 'You should never have said that' but it is true. And thanks to all that, this document exists today, which involved holding almost 5 or 6 meetings in different years.

CECILIA SOSA: This work. [Referring to a document and giving it to them].

[Laughs]

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Oh yes! But they already have it.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: We saw it. Thank you.

MARGOT GUERRERO: And additionally we also rely on many international experiences. We brought international guests, as much as we could. We invited them to ask us questions, to see if we were really doing it fine. So, I think that also helped build support for our work. And today, the idea that this archive exists has strengthened and has been settled.

Another issue was: how to reach the territories, the victims and the social organizations without taking the archives out of their territories? At the beginning we went there just to listen to them and one of the ideas that they keep telling us was: 'Look, many people come here, many of them from international cooperation, and they take with them all our information. They do their research and give us nothing back. Here we never get any retribution. The universities come, the memory group come'. Even the memory group was among those groups! So, that also made them think that their archives should not leave the territories. [So we began to think] how could we build an archive that is available [to the public] and that has their use permission, but that at the same time is organized in the territories, and additionally they are the ones who can continue managing them.

This is how the idea of making the virtual archive emerges. However, you will ask yourself: what was not achieved? Or, what type of doubts arise regarding the virtualization of an archive? The answer is: The costs this may involve. One does not know if in the future a [different] government is going to be willing to keep an updated platform.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: To keep it.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: And ensure the preservation.

MARGOT GUERRERO: [And ensure the preservation] of all the technological devices, so that this may be updated, because technologies are changing at a brutal speed. And this causes changes.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Of course.

MARGOT GUERRERO: But well, we thought, do we do it like that or we wouldn't access the information. There was also the interest from the own social organizations in disseminating what had happened to them. I think that was also a step forward. That they themselves had the initiative. So [one person began saying:] 'Look, I have an archive, I'll add it', [and another person] brought also one, [and another person] brought another one, and in this way many were collected. What we have today is the result of people starting to talk again. [This process] generated that people could begin to trust each other again. Because at the beginning when we arrived in the regions, people did not talk to each other.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Sure.

MARGOT GUERRERO: There was a total divorce. Social organizations didn't even trust each other because of everything that had happened in the territories. This made them start thinking that they had to exchange information. And at this time I think that they are reflecting on that, because soon they should start submitting their reports, for example, to one of the mechanisms that is the Special Jurisdiction for Peace. And these cannot be individual reports; they must be collective ones. And they are going to consider only certain cases. So if they do not join each other, their reports will not have the strength to be solved. So I think that right now they are realizing that, first, their information is very important. Especially at this time - what a shame I am going to say - were we are far from an opening of the military intelligence archives that are the ones that interest us most. We are still in limbo. International experiences have shown us that organizations' archives have atarted to gain great importance. This is because search unit for people considered missing by the clarification commission will work with that information.

CECILIA SOSA: I imagine that when you are telling us this story, you have very specific cases in your mind, could you give us an example of them?

MARGOT GUERRERO: An example is kidnapping. The number of kidnappings is no longer so high, [but] the special jurisdiction for peace is working on it.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Jurisdiction. It is case number 1 of the jurisdiction.

MARGOT GUERRERO: There was a social organization that worked on the issue of kidnapping and it was created here. It was called 'País Libre', and was created by Pancho Sánchez.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Francisco Sánchez. [Laughs]

MARGOT GUERRERO: I’m sorry. Francisco Sánchez. [Laughs].

MARGOT GUERRERO: He was vice president during the Uribe’s government and is currently in the United States as ambassador. He created that foundation because he himself was kidnapped. About three years ago, that foundation went into liquidation and they considered that the site par excellence where their information should be kept was the Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica. And that information is only kept in the centre. And at this moment it has begun to gain prominence because part of the information that is kept there are the psychosocial case folders.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: And [the information of] assistances of the whole process.

MARGOT GUERRERO: And [the information of] psychosocial assistances of the kidnappings.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: [Information] of the kidnappings?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Of the kidnappings. [Information] of the relatives of the kidnapped.

MARGOT GUERRERO: [Information] of the relatives.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Or [information] of the kidnapped after they were released.

MARGOT GUERRERO: Another example, for example, is everything related to what we call 'extrajudicial detentions'.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Oh! The ‘falsos positivos’.

MARGOT GUERRERO: Many militaries are involved in the 'falsos positivos' cases. And the same happen with the record, and Ernesto can talk to you about it now. He is currently working on selecting those cases in which it is already known that the GEP will work. What has been done with the registry, is the exercise of grouping those archives, the ones that we already know that already exist in the regions, so that the GEP can reach social organizations and at least intercede for them.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: To encourage.

MARGOT GUERRERO: To encourage them to get together and make a single report.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: For land restitution, as in the case of Suárez.

CECILIA SOSA: I am sorry for interrupting, but turning to the 'falsos positivos' cases, I keep asking myself the same question, if I understand correctly there are about 5,000 cases of 'falsos positivos' right?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes, at least those are the ones that are more or less documented. However, what the different organizations argue is that there are many more. [They say] that they were even more, around 8,500 cases.

CECILIA SOSA: On the one hand, I would like to know how do you keep the record of each of the cases you have registered. And then, I would like to ask you about the impact of the 'falsos positivos' cases in the field of culture. I recently watched two documentaries, one by Simone Bruno, and another by Alejandra Casandra. In both documentaries, people in the street were asked if they knew what the 'falsos positivos' cases were, and they didn't know. So, it seems that the archive does a comprehensive work of documenting cases, on the one hand with a high level of detail, and [on the other hand] being extremely careful. But then, when one goes out and ask people about it, nobody seemed to know what the 'falsos positivos' cases are. How do you explain that?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: I believe that it is part of the country's own circumstances. Because one would not understand the question that you ask from outside the plebiscite. One would think that since it is a context in which it is known that there was such a serious and systematic violation of human rights by so many actors, the vast majority of the population would not be insensitive. But they don't know much, and I think it's part of the same structure of this country, of this society.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: But is it due to ignorance? or is it to be immunized? or is it a form of protection? Or are all those reasons at once?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No, no, no. I believe that... For you as sociologists, it might be easy to start inquiring about different elements.

CECILIA SOSA: No, no, no. We clarify from the beginning: we are not archivists. I am a restorer of personal property with a master's degree in social sciences. So we have nothing to do with archives, because that is for archivists. We are not archivists. But I have also changed. Maybe that is what made me see it differently.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: I am also a restorer, but I have a master's degree in architectural heritage restoration, so ... [laughs]. They are different fields. But returning to the subject, I believe that the factors are different, that is, you have to look at the level of knowledge that people have about society itself. I mean, if you go out into the streets and ask any university student what happen to them during the armed conflict, [they are not going to answer you because] they did not experience it. The armed conflict did not happen in urban spaces, it happened in 'territorial spaces'. And is in those places where people have an intense knowledge of what reality is.

MARGOT GUERRERO: That is the reality of another country.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Through this process we were able to build politics, since we had the opportunity to make a diagnosis and see what was happening. [We realized that] there was a distrust in the government institutions, that information was taken from the territories, and it is in those spaces where the armed conflict had been stronger. Meanwhile, there is still total isolation about what the conflict was.

MARGOT GUERRERO: Sorry, I didn't want to interrupt you. [But] not even the same public official [knew what had happened]. Because one says: 'Well, the ombudsmen will take over, because it is an instance where the victims go.' But no, the ombudsmen did not even know the law 1448, nor were they interested in knowing it. So the victims were constantly re-victimized, because they were asked what happened and how it happened on numerous occasions, especially in cases of sexual violence. And that is terrible. The women told us this and we said: 'No, this can’t be happening! It is a total ignorance of the State'. So, that is when you realize the reality of this country.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: So you say it's because of the distance [between the places]. Because this was happening...

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: That is one of the ways to explain it. Another way is that we must be transparent and recognize the real impact that the construction of historical memory has had in Colombia. And there has been a real impact on a sector. We cannot say now that this has had a social impact in terms of dissemination, or in terms of validation of the same society, because that is very complex.

CECILIA SOSA: But after what we hear this morning, we are the ones who can say it. The experience of how work is thought in territories, of strengthening the archives, that the archive belongs to the territory and it remains there, being protected, preserved and empowered. And then, that you keep at least one copy, if possible, a virtual one. If all that autonomous knowledge of the territories is kept, we are talking about a concrete work that is done. But still there is no...

ORIANA BERNASCONI: It is not circulating.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes.

MARGOT GUERRERO: We are not going to say that everyone in Colombia knows the Centro de Memoria Histórica. I would almost dare to say that ... well, I don't know. You must ask Gonzalo.

[Laughs]

MARGOT GUERRERO: But I would dare to say that only now, just after the mechanisms were created, it has started to appear the idea of reflecting on historical memory. We have very good reports, but if you think about it, does a report with these characteristics reach the regions? Does it reach a peasant?

ORIANA BERNASCONI: No.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: For that there are pedagogical activities [inaudible].

CECILIA SOSA: So it appears to be like a symmetrical logic between how the communities are thought -as you said so many times- from a very respectful perspective. And on the other hand, there also seems to be a problem between that respect, that in practice of the documentation of the historical memory centre is in relation to the communities, and the way in which that information circulates and changes or not people's life.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes. In addition, there is another aspect in which we must reflect and is the relationship between a state entity such as the Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, and the civil society and the victims. They might be doing some efforts of strengthening minimum capabilities for trying to generate processes. However, what impact can these processes have on a community? And logically, that impact is minimal, because they remain only initiatives and motivations, which arise from very specific sectors of civil society.

CECILIA SOSA: Like a logic.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: In a different logic a long time have to pass.

MARGOT GUERRERO: Here, pedagogy is fundamental.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Something may be achieved now that the mechanisms exist, because it becomes more evident that it is essential to know that information, and that the information is disseminated specially within the whole community. A bit like what happened in the cases of Chile and Argentina [inaudible 39.10.0]. That is, what was the Vicaría de la Solidaridad in its beginnings? It was a very nuclear sector that integrated all the activists. They knew all the cases, but it took a long time for this to happen.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: That's why I asked you that question before. Because it is not just about 'recognizing [that something was happening]', because in the act of recognizing you are taking part, and you getting involved. Many people pretended that they did not know [that something was happening], because this made them feel safe and protected. So that's why I was telling you about this idea of 'immunizing'. Is like to say: 'I better pretend that I don't know [what is happening]'. That is, 'Not knowing [what happens]' fulfils a function that is not only to be uninformed but it also has a social role.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes of course, to 'step back'.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: And I imagine that here, with this conflict coming from so many fronts ...

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Especially when concrete experiences in terms of constitution of memory are occurring in the same neighbourhoods or in the same blocks, where you can find different actors with different interests: paramilitaries, guerrillas. That is why there are so many grey areas within groups that are not interested in showing [what happened]. And that is one of our biggest challenges. I think that María Emma Wills has say it in a very accurate way and that is: In order for these grey areas of knowledge of the conflict to be overcome, truth mechanisms are logically required. [It is required] that society agrees on 'what it happened'. But also [to discuss] why it is that such great degradation circumstances were reached. Because not only a conflict occurred here, but also a huge degradation was allowed to happen.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Yes.

CECILIA SOSA: Is there any record that allows us to know how any of the communities with which you have worked in the archive voted in the plebiscite? From any of the communities that have actually been reached by you with strategies of recognition, visibility, empowerment or accompaniment. Is there any record of that?

MARGOT GUERRERO: No.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: But is there any correlation between how people voted and their belonging to an urban o a rural sector? I mean, between the places where the conflict occurred.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: There is a correlation, at least by sector. When the plebiscite was lost, an attempt [to understand the reasons] was made. This was made because there were some areas that behaved very strangely in terms of conflict. One of them was the Urabá area.

CECILIA SOSA: What do you mean by 'strange behavior'?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: The Urabá area, located in the northern Antioqueño region, is one of the most conflictive areas due to conflicts associated with large banana plantations. In that area there has always been a very strong political activism. Cases of political assassinations against the UP occurred in that place, and they were committed by one of those sectors. In that area, the electoral behaviour of the urban and rural sectors is different.

CECILIA SOSA: And that happens everywhere?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No, maybe not. However, a very detailed analysis should be done, of the urban area, the rural one and...

MARGOT GUERRERO: Economic interests.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: And those interests, since economic interests still prevail throughout the Urabá area. In fact, it is one of the most conflictive areas today.

CECILIA SOSA: But wait, the 'no' vote is a response from ordinary people to economic interests? Why? Does the fact that an ordinary person says 'no' to the peace agreement means that...?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: They didn't care about the peace agreement.

CECILIA SOSA: Oh, ok.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Of course, because a transnational industry was installed. [People say:] ‘They gave us jobs.'

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Like different positions.

MARGOT GUERRERO: Even they themselves consider that [the agreement] has not favoured them much. And that is when you realize that the reality of Bogotá is very different from that of those places.

I believe that one of the richness of the work we did, and that they allowed us to do, was to be close to them, ask them questions and organize working sessions with them. In these spaces, they told us what things they were interested in and which were not, and what did they thought about the academy. Today they see the academy as an ally.

When we started, they didn't want to know anything about the academy. However, nowadays the academy is a great ally. So, there are some relationships that have been strengthened and there are others that have not been favoured at all. But for example I believe that at this time, the academy should be a bit more committed. Because for them [having the academy as an ally] is important. Because, for example, now that there was a change of government, we began to ask ourselves: 'What is going to happen with the information that the centre has?' Because what happens if they name a person who is military for example, as has happened before. With all the rumours that exist, people begin to say: 'The academy is a good ally. We should leave a copy in a university'. And that they themselves are manifesting it is a very good thing. The only thing that we say is: 'Well, if that is what you want, then send a statement.' [Laughs] I told them "manifest yourself."

CECILIA SOSA: But for example, which community asks for that?

MARGOT GUERRERO: That happened in almost every meeting where we were.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: At least in the groups of farmers, who are much more aware because they have -and had in the past- a very important level of organization, and they also have political awareness. There are organizations where you can see that political awareness is what prevails. But there are other organizations, especially those that emerged in 2011 from the victim’s law, that have much more specific interests.

CECILIA SOSA: Economic interests or reparation interests?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: In terms of administrative reparation. That too.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Can I ask you a question?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: After 2011, numerous social organizations were created. Especially with the appearance of the Victims Law and throughout this process of single registration of victims. It seems absurd, but as quickly as they appear, as swiftly they disappear.

CECILIA SOSA: Because it is requested to have an economic administration, and the case must be a victimizing fact. And you need to pay more. And there is a list.

MARGOT GUERRERO: And today many of those people say: 'Look we are not interested in money. I just want to know where my son is. I do not want money from the State'. And that is also a good symptom.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: I have three questions to ask you before you leave. I want to explore on a more microscopic scale.

You were just remembering how valuable it had been to work directly with the communities and get the first-hand information when working with them. I would like to know; what kind of materials do these communities collect to account for the violations they suffered? Were there any differences between the different communities? I know that you call them 'victimizing facts', I don't know how the communities call these acts of violence. I know there are differences in the use of language.

However, I was wondering what kind of materials do communities consider worthy of gathering? What type of document does speak, what does it transmit? Because you said: 'This was the documentary body that they had to present their cases'. In other words, it was a framework that was needed to being qualified as a victim. So, considering all the knowledge that you have gained from working with different communities, whether indigenous, peasant, Afro, or from different sectors, who understood the process of gathering [documents] aimed at qualifying [their relatives] as victims, or as in our case, where there are people to whom when a loved one disappears they gather documents regardless of the reparation, but because it is a document that allows them to maintain a certain emotional relationship with their family member, because 'through these objects I communicate with this person who is absent'. I would like you to tell us about those objects that become part of the archive. What do people consider [as something important to treasure]? What sort of things do people treasure to talk about violence? Are there any differences between how an indigenous person or a person belonging to a minority carry out this process?

MARGOT GUERRERO: [To answer that] I will tell you about the case of Mrs. Fabiola Lalinde. Her son was the first disappeared-detainee. At least 25 years passed before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights recognized that his case was a crime committed by the State. The set of documents she has is the case evidence, each one of them is part of a case evidence that she had to look for. The victims are the ones who have to get the archives, which finally become the evidence of the case. [But] the State should be the one doing that job. Doña Fabiola Lalinde's archive contain the pictures of her son, his ID card, his identity card, and some other documents that an archivist might say: 'This one really doesn't matter.' It also contains the letters that [she] sent him. That whole set of documents is what allowed her to build her demand, and to them to recognize the case.

If you look into the archives we have of social organizations and natural people, in most of the cases they have been built as the sum of a press clipping, a bracelet, a photo, a postcard that they sent. That is why when we started working on human rights and international humanitarian law archives we had to define what an archive was. Because we ended up using a set of documents, but it was a set of documents that had a rationale, which was that they were documents that evidenced victimizing facts. And additionally they were documents that demonstrated all the resistance of social organizations to demand their rights.

Then, for example, one could think that the communities were shy because in their case everything was transmitted orally. The stories are passed down orally. However, with them we could get to work because they had a physical file, it was not an oral one.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes, orality was not registered.

MARGOT GUERRERO: It was the end of the 18th century. It was about the Capuchinos.

ORIANA BERNASCONI and CECILIA SOSA: Yes, we know about that case.

MARGOT GUERRERO: They wanted to do everything by themselves. And even though we knew how to do it, we wanted them to learn how to do it. [We told them]: 'Organize [the archive] yourself, and we tell you how to do it.' They told us: 'Yes, we want to organize it, so hire people from our group to do it'. And that also seemed good to me because it meant teaching them skills that will stay there. [They told us:] 'We want to do restoration', [And we replied:] 'Well, we teach you how to do it and you do it'. They wanted to sew, [so we ask ourselves:] Who knows more about the weaving and sewing of their own documents than they themselves? They did all that by themselves.

Then they began thinking in how to build a policy to manage their archives by themselves. Also, they began looking for other communities’ archives, to see where they were going to centralize their material if that was what they wanted, and thinking that all the agreements should be written in a document. That's when our work with them came to an end. They are currently still building their archive, but they are also thinking that they have to start collecting oral material, because the elderly people are already dying, and they are the ones who knows all that tradition.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: So you are saying that [these archives contain] mainly documentation that is associated with demonstrating the existence of the victimizing event (which is not how they call it). But it is also mixed with - and I'm thinking for example, in the archives of family groups of disappeared detainees- commemoration or remembrance documents.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: There is a lot of that.

MARGOT GUERRERO: They contain a lot of that.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: And you have to add the objects, that is another way of documenting.

MARGOT GUERRERO: It would have been very pretentious to think that we were going to talk to them about historical memory, considering that they are the ones who have been building historical memory for many years. We were going there to look, but to look at them. [We weren't going to tell them:] 'We came to tell you: you have to make this' and neither to tell them what historical memory was about. They carry the memory in their hearts, because they are the ones who have suffered.

CECILIA SOSA: I have a question. Looking at some of the materials that you brought to us, and thinking in a specific case we are working on, do you use an interview guideline or a questionnaire to do what… [Interruption 54.15.9]

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: If you want to know more about what is related to records, we can talk more about methodologies.

MARGOT GUERRERO: I am no longer part of the centre. But everything we did in the regions is already systematized. In all the regions, we organized round tables, we asked questions, [and] there are documents where those answers are contained, [because] they were systematized. I think that could be useful for you.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: A part of that is on the website. I'll tell you later where it is.

MARGOT GUERRERO: There you can see how the position that social organizations have in front of, for example, academia or the State is evolving. For example, regarding the State, they continue to think the same or worse.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Margot, you also talked about something that I found very interesting, which is related to the information exchange. You said before: 'When we arrived at the communities, people didn't talk to each other and there was a lot of distrust, but each one started to create their archive.' There is a value in exchanging information, especially [when someone says:] 'Look, I give you information about your case, and you can have information about mine'. What happens there? Are there any archives that are the result of this exchange? or is it rather...

MARGOT GUERRERO: The simple fact that they had given us [their documentation] is already a manifestation that they wanted to share their information. [They told us:] 'I don't want other people living what I went through' [or] 'I want this to be known by lots of people.' Therefore, the fact that [they accept] being on a platform such as the virtual archive, already demonstrates their interest in sharing their information. That is not easy, because anyway it is their personal life that we are talking about, their privacy is contained there, and they wanted it to have it there so others could see it.

Before I leave, I would like to share with you the question that we asked ourselves in our last meeting that was: How many of the social organizations that have worked with us have visit the virtual archive? We were surprised at the answer: Just a few of them.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Sure. It is a platform conceived from...

MARGOT GUERRERO: University students and people from abroad visit it. So, we still have work to do.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Oh! You are talking about who visit the platform.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Who visit the platform, of course. Because it is available.

MARGOT GUERRERO: We wanted the [communities] to visit it. Yes.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Oh. And they don't do it?

MARGOT GUERRERO y ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No!

ORIANA BERNASCONI: No, that's why I was telling you, because there...

[Laughs]

MARGOT GUERRERO: They are afraid to visit it.

CECILIA SOSA: So, they give their consent for their cases to be there as a virtual copy, but it just stays there.

MARGOT GUERRERO: And we wanted them to use it.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: That is, they do visit it, but they do not do it to make their own...

ORIANA BERNASCONI: That is, they do not use the archive to keep searching.

MARGOT GUERREROA We told [some of them]: 'Look, here are some cases', and then we had to go in and tell them: 'Look, here are cases of kidnapping. Here in Medellín there are cases of kidnapping in this area and in this area.' [We told them:] 'If you get together between 10 or 12 cases you can submit a report to the JAP for a kidnapping case.'

CECILIA SOSA: But hold on, I'm thinking about the virtual archive, who are the ones who don't visit it? Are they peasants? Are they a group of displaced people?

MARGOT GUERRERO: Generally, they belong to social organizations of victims, or they are natural persons or people from the regions that we visited before. In each of these regions, we talked to around 65 or 70 people. And when we asked them: How many of you have visit the virtual archive? They answered that none of them.

CECILIA SOSA: But how many of them have and use a mobile?

MARGOT GUERRERO: Therefore. Yes.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: All of them!

CECILIA SOSA: All of them?!

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Sure. Mobile phones are everywhere. [Laughs]

CECILIA SOSA: Oh, okay. I did not know that.

MARGOT GUERRERO: We had to sit down and explain to the people how to use it. We had to bring a person that showed everyone how they should visit the [virtual archive], explain them what they could find there, what information about other regions was there, what cases were there. But the victims -who were the ones we wanted to reach- don't use the virtual archive. We are far from that. They are not using it. So this has been useful for the academy and to be known in other countries.

CECILIA SOSA: And, has this become a challenge for you? Having to think of new virtual tools. I don’t know. Perhaps you should try to find an attractive element for the communities.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes, I think we have to see how they are represented. Because the form of representation in terms of the information [may be different]. [Maybe we need] a documentary fund.

MARGOT GUERRERO: [Says goodbye] Whatever you need, we can meet again. We can also continue working in the place where we are going.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Today, especially. Good luck!

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Bye, good luck.

[Laughs. They say goodbye to Margot]

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: I believe that there is a great challenge in terms of the languages that we are using today and that are implemented on the website. Now, you can access to the human rights archive through the website and you will find information, but of course, it is a knowledge structure that is more related to a documentary fund or an archive.

But I think this has been a very enriching experience, because it has taught us that having systematized information, which is one of our technical tasks, does not guarantee that it will be used. And that is the big challenge.

At one time, we worked a lot in the training of human rights archive managers in the territories, because we wanted them to empower themselves of their processes, to understand why it is that this information is important to be known, and that they themselves be the ones who design their strategies. However, what was missing there was for the institution to give real elements to civil society so that this could happen. And these are some issues that are not yet solved.

At this moment, there is information in the human rights archive. From outside the country, you can see that there is plenty of information in terms of land restitution, civil society organizations, natural persons. The archive has an organization system, an access system, it has everything you want. But, ensuring that a community uses that information is a huge challenge, and we are not even halfway there.

I will tell you about the case of the Arhuacos. You have probably heard about this indigenous community. The case of the Archivo de Capuchinos.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Oh yes, we were told about it in the morning.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: This is a picture of the moment in which we hand them over.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Where are they here? [They look into a map]

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: The process of handing it over was made in this region, of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, above in the Caribbean of Colombia.

CECILIA SOSA: It was in the Caribbean region, right? [She points something on the map]

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes, the one in orange. The archive of the Arhuaco town, which is located in Nabusímake and in Simonorua essentially, is not part of any of these instruments that you can see here. It is not part of the virtual platform of the archive either. Why? Because what they did, as Margot mentioned earlier, was to organize a process that could be conducted by themselves. They began a process of collecting information that they considered valuable, which corresponded to documentation from 1867 or so, that showed all the process of evangelization carried out by the Capuchinos community in Nabusímake. This process had a tremendous impact towards the indigenous population, in terms of changing their way of dressing, of relating, and even their own infrastructure. For them, logically that archive is very important as a historical archive. Some study groups from the Javeriana had tried to recover that archive. And only very small parts of it had been rescued.

Then, what did we do? First, we saw that there was an important number of documentation that was contained in about 17 boxes, which in turn contained about 60,000 pages. These are 17 boxes of files that are mostly handwritten on paper. I'm describing these technical details so you can see the importance of this documentation.

They have not had access to the information, but neither did they authorize others to access the complete information of that archive. This only occurred when we offered them the following: 'Let's do one thing. You work by yourself on your archive, with people who are designated by your community. And what we are going to carry on is a preservation process to ensure that this material stop its process of damaging. At the same time, we will help you to digitize the information. And if you consider that we should not have a copy, do not give us a copy'. The only thing that mattered to us was to retrieve this information, and that was the first stage. Then they moved to the next stage, where they approved -including authorizations signed by the community council- that the archives were going to be moved to Valledupar. The simple fact of taking them to Valledupar was an achievement. This happen because in Nabusímake they did not have the basic conditions to carry out all these processes there.

The archive was kept in Valledupar for about 8 months, where they worked with the documentation by cleaning it, preserving it and restoring the seams to make them look as they were before. And also in terms of organization, so that they could have a backup of their information. That archive was returned to Nabusímake 2 years ago. From that moment and until now, the following stage has been carried out. This third stage consist in integrating another archive that was kept in Simonorua, with new documentation found it in Nabusímake.

What I want to say is that processes with indigenous communities must be understood in a different way. Their own times are different. One may think that sometimes they take a long time to move to the next step, but they have different ways of understanding. And those different ways of understanding are also reflected in processes like these.

Now, during the week of memory, they are going to hand over the other part, supposedly with installed capabilities that are going to be left in both Nabusímake and Simonorua. However, they have not yet been able to agree on whether they are going to centralize all the information in one place, or if each centre will be responsible for their own information. Because they have neither the infrastructure, nor the people, nor the resources to hire someone to be in charge of providing access to that information. By this I want to show you the complexity of this matter. And I insist, in this specific case, the human rights archive has neither the special record of their files nor copies, nor access to their information. We know that this information is digitized, that copies were delivered, that is being kept in much better conditions than before, and that they are currently using it. In fact, ONIC has been using it to make the reports that submitted to the special peace jurisdiction.

There are cases like the one I just mentioned, but there are other cases that have a different logic in terms of how the information is identified, organized, digitized and made available. One of these cases is the Buenaventura one.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: This one? Buenaventura?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Buenaventura is this region in Valle del Cauca. Down here [Pointing something on the map]. Is one of the most conflictive areas. Remember the 'casas de pique' and everything that happened during the armed conflict, which has to do with the pressure of being a port city.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Okay. And here [pointing something on the map] the drug?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Also.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: What you were saying about the corridors.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Here there are drug trafficking routes, in this area, in this area and in this one [pointing different places on the map].

CECILIA SOSA: Is this the one people call 'Corredor Pacífico'?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: That is 'Pacífico Sur'. In that place all kinds of problems occur, because it is a port, because it is a very wealthy area, there is also a mostly Afro-Colombian population. There are people who arrived to this territory a long time ago, and hold property titles that are not legalized. And this whole process began when land began to be gained from the sea, as there was a pressure to turn the port into one of the transit places for all merchandise in Colombia. There is also a process of land ownership that has been going on for many years. There is pressure from the people who originally arrived there, who did not have titles but who are owners of land by tradition and by being part of Afro-Colombian communities and organizations that are recognized by law, with the special decrees of indigenous communities that it gives them characteristics of association.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: I’m sorry, is that a national law?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: It is a national law. They are decrees law number 46, 33, 34 and 35, of indigenous peoples, Afro-Colombians and rural communities. So, in this place, the way in which the same community has been organized has been completely different. In terms of land struggle, water struggle, but also in terms of maintaining the subsistence exploitation traditions that fishing cooperatives do. In addition, religious communities have a large pastoral-social presence in Buenaventura. So, there you can find many different actors that have long-standing levels of organization. Fishing communities began protesting precisely because their activities were being affected by the construction of the ports. The same happened to the land defenders, since the port required space to be able to locate the large cargo containers, a high demand for obtaining land close to the ports appeared. To this, it was added the problem with water, which as you know in Buenaventura has always been a triggering elements. In addition to this, the presence of Catholic organizations was added.

There, the archives tell us more about this process, because there is the Temistoclés Machado archive, which is a land restitution leader who was recently killed by the fight he had been leading for many years.

CECILIA SOSA: That is the leader who had gone to the attorney general's office.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: That is the leader. The same one. There is a graffiti of Temistoclés Machado.

VIKKI BELL: What is his name?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Temistoclés Machado. His archive is one of the archives that is in the [virtual] human rights archive, which you can access.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Yes.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: So, what is in there? What documentation about Temistoclés you can find there? Basically all his struggle in terms of the communications he sent to the different state entities regarding the ownership of his land. And [documentation] related to a soccer field, because if you remember, basically one of the interests that moved him was his passion for soccer. He was in charge of organizing the soccer teams and everything. So, the land that he was fighting for was that soccer field. Along with that archive, there is the Manuel Bedoya [archive], who is a leader of a fishing community that has worked with the fishermen of Buenaventura, and who works with the different communities that live on the livelihood of fish extraction. There is also the Narcilo Rosero [archive] who is a leader who has fought for the water, not just against the aqueduct, but for the right to have water in Buenaventura.

You have those three archives in there. They are contained in the virtual archive, they are in the registry, they have already passed all the stages. In fact, there you can find videos of each of the cases, which shows how they collected all the different elements until they shaped, what they called, the Centro de Memoria del Conflicto en Buenaventura. There has been an attempt by us to integrate all this information there, because from my point of view, there is an element that propitiates that, and that is that social pastoral, through the bishop, has a certain level of infrastructure and logistical capacity that allows them to make all this happen. Or through the Banco de la República.

There are other cases that are completely different because each territory has its own forms of organization. Therefore, the answers they get are not always the same. What happens in the Nariño area is totally different from what happens in the Caribbean area.

Considering that, it is that the issue of preparing the special register appeared, which is that map that you see there. They asked us to enumerate all the human rights archives that existed in the country. So we ask ourselves, how do we do that? It turns out that social organizations have documented the conflict from their own perspectives. And they have collected documentation of the conflict itself, but also about resistance processes.

On the other hand, there are the state institutions and those large platform organizations such as COES, or as [inaudible 01.17.08] which are the best known, which operate centrally or in Magdalena Medio. We considered that in addition of collecting those formats with which you asked people, we were going to work on the special register of human rights archives.

CECILIA SOSA: This is how you reach people?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes. We reach them with this.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: This is the result.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No, we don't reach people with this. It would be absurd to arrive for an interview.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: No. This is the result that you have at the end.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No. This is what allows us to systematize information under an international standard of archival description.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Are these the 4,000 characterized cases?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No, there are currently 2,043 of these ones.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Oh, because in the morning we were told that there were 70,000 special files.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No, there are about 350,000 documents.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: No. I am talking about special files.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No. The baseline is one thing.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Yes, and it is supposed to be like the universe.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: And you estimate there are about 70,000 special files.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes. Because the universe is given by state entities because logically they are the ones who have the archives about serious human rights violations. But there is also civil society.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Ok. Sure.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: That was the first thing that was done. There are some instruments that you can find on the website, when you click on REAC, that are called: identification and location guides. These identification and location guides allow us to understand a bit how the State works from a functional point of view, and what type of archives produces, that may be related to serious human rights violations. The same can be done in the case of civil society, indigenous or Afro-Colombian communities. You will find a guide of Afro-Colombian communities, indigenous communities, the executive branch of public power, the legislative branch, and state security agencies. So, in there you can find the whole theoretical panorama.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Sure, and that's the result [inaudible 01.19.22.01] too.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: That theoretical panorama gives us the baseline.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Ok.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: That baseline is the one that contains 70,000 special files and more. Making a record of 70,000 files is impossible.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Ok, so of that total there are 40,000? No. 4,000?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No. There are 2,043 identified.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Oh, 2,043.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes, 2,043.

Jaime Hernández: They just told us 4,000.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: They told us 4,000 in the morning, with this form.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No. Within the government plan it was thought that it could be a possible universe of 4,000. Just to move forward in terms of planning. But a process like this requires [deciding] how we do it? How are we going to plan? How many resources do we have? And how many teams do we have? Etc.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Ok, perfect. And from those 4,000 you have registered 2,043?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: 2,043. Yes.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Registered.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: And of that total, you have a copy of some of them and not others.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: With all that information.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: And this form is made from a mixture between archival regulations...?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: and international humanitarian regulation?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Humanitarian regulation? No, no.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: No? like international humanitarian law?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No. This was done following a standard of archival description that already existed ...

ORIANA BERNASCONI: International humanitarian law.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: It is an [international regulation] to describe archive producers. From that regulation we took the way in which we describe the archive producers, which is by using some fields that are there.

CECILIA SOSA: Here, you would include the leader that was killed, for example. The soccer field one.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Sure. That's where the Temístocles Machado archive is located. Those fields are about: aspects of identification, location, characterization, State, documentation that may have, volumes that may have, characteristics. What we did was to add other fields about subjects in which we were interested in, in terms of human rights violations, and in terms of guarantees. Those are the fields that you see later there, that say that there are so many files that are related to forced displacement...

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Okay. And for example, this one here [pointing something], where the list of words related to the violation of human rights is. Is this one a typology that you created? Or is it a typology that the centre uses? Or it was a typology that was using the centre and that uses the victim unit? or is it a mixture?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: It is the typology that emerge as a result of the experience in previous investigations that had been carried out by the Grupo de Memoria Histórica and the centre. All those categories came out from there. Logically the categories that are used in the Victims Unit are also considered. And the same with the ones that are used in terms of international humanitarian law. But you will not find exactly the same.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: So, the international humanitarian law is taken into consideration.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes. That's why we did that. There is a thesaurus about armed conflict that is available on the website, that shows that there are terms that are related. Those were the chosen terms and not others, because they are the ones that are most used by social organizations and victims. There was no other reason.

CECILIA SOSA: I have a question Ernesto. It will help me to understand how this process worked. When you were visiting the community of Manuel Bedoya for example, you interview people from the history centre group, you did the workshops, and when that finished, is it an archive manager who sits down, complete these forms and upload the information into a computer, back here in Bogotá?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Ok. How does this work. One thing is the work done by the historical memory group in its research processes for the clarification reports. Is similar, but the product is not the same. In the particular case of the special registry of human rights archives and historical memory we are interested in the documents that have been produced by the same people from the organizations or communities. As we are interested in those documents, there are special groups that are responsible for implementing the registry process. There are regional groups and at the moment there are 7. Each of them composed of 3 people.

To carry out this, we decided to implement a system that involved the organizations, because we needed to go to people's homes to check on site what type of information they had, the conditions of it and where was being kept. Because we needed to establishing a person-to-person relationship, we thought that these regional groups should be comprised by representatives from civil society organizations, academy, and in some cases, different research actors from the own regions. So, there are very diverse groups across the territories. There is not a single type of conformation, such as: 'it is made up of one archivist, one sociologist and one historian'.

In each case a different relationship is established. In some cases, there are more pedagogues, or more sociologists, or more lawyers, or there are more historians working. To be able to access the information, it is necessary to have established a previous relationship and to find out: what does the person do, what information does he have, whether or not he has an archive, if he has an archive which is its importance. Subsequently you have to go to the site, to the sidewalk, or to any territorial place, and through an interview, ask them about all those elements. Although previously the person must have signed the informed consent, so we can use the information. This one [pointing to an informed consent] is the register consent, and now we are talking about the symbolic objects of memory consent.

Javier: And this is another informed consent?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: That is the [informed consent] of the symbolic objects of memory, that belong to the museum.

CECILIA SOSA: Oh, the one that belong to the museum.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: This informed consent is signed by each individual or their legal representatives. On one hand, it allows us to use the information that is contained in the forms. And on the other hand, they can express whether or not they agree that the information would be publicly available. Basically, we cannot publish the names of the people and neither their personal information.

If you look at the fields of that form, there is one in which people is asked to tell the historical context [in which the violent episode happened]. And especially in the archives of natural persons and families, people are asked to describe the violent episode. They are asked about the full story.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Where? In this one here [she points out something]?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes. The historical context field. It is still the cultural and geographical context, registration of functions, powers, legal sources, administrative structure, document management, conditions, history of the entity, organization or person, date of declaration and review of the entity. This became...

ORIANA BERNASCONI: And that is an open question?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: That is an answer that is not recorded, it is transcribed.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: It is transcribed.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: If a recording is made it must be authorized by the interviewee, but there is not always recording.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: No, of course not. It is recorded just if they authorized.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: But recordings are not always made.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Ok. Then there has to be someone transcribing.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes. That person is...

ORIANA BERNASCONI: So in that field, you update information of the life story of the person, of the complainant, of the victim or of the organization?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: If the person you are interviewing is the mother [of a disappeared], when interviewing her about the documents she has, you have to ask her at least about: what would she like to say? what was the victimizing event that [her son] suffer? because it is the mother who is narrating.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Then, [is information] about the victim.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes, [is information] about the victim. It is the narration about the victim, because they assume that it was a certain actor who committed the victimizing event.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: And when they are telling their stories, do they say a lot about the perpetrators?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Especially in terms of..., look...

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Because I saw...

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Knowing the 2,043 cases is very complicated, because it is a database already very...

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Giant.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Giant. This format has about 85 fields. And not everything is multiple selection. There are some open fields that are, in some cases, the richest ones.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Of course.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes, the [perpetrators] are mentioned in the narrations made by each person or organization. Logically, the FARC, the State and the paramilitaries appears.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: And do they mention them generically? Like, they were 'from FARC' or they appear...

JAVIER HERNÁNDEZ: Are you asking, if they identified the perpetrators by name?

ORIANA BERNASCONI: By names?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No, because they might not identify them.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: So without names. Because I also suppose that inside the town there were also...

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No, they might identify the group to which [the perpetrator] belonged, but they do not identify the actor directly. You don't get there. There may be some elements of that type in the documentation. That is why this process has been so fundamental. Or at least when we told the special jurisdiction of peace, we realized how fundamental it had been. Because we have an overview of what information exists, what person has it, in what location, which more or less shows how some events happened.

If you filter by kidnapping, you find around 600 files that talk about kidnapping. But if you want to find more specific information about kidnappings, you logically require other filters. And I can work with that, but with the cases that the jurisdiction is opening, that are regional cases, from Urabá or from the Cauca area below. It will be much more useful. Because at least some organizations have already been identified.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Are you talking about the database? Not about the archives?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: I am talking about the database, the files that are included in the database. I am talking about sources of information that have been identified. From a total of 2,043, at least 80 files correspond to the Urabá area. Having at least 80 files of civil society organizations is a starting point. We must add to this the relationship between the jurisdiction and the public entities archives.

Then, the importance is that in addition to building a general overview of cases in terms of their identification, location and characterization, the documentation work that the civil society has done become visible. Because they do not want only to show what happened, but to recognize that they have been an essential part of the process in terms of denounce it. That is one of their big claims.

CECILIA SOSA: Yes, and in addition there is the problem that you were saying before, which is that they do not use the archive.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: They may not use it, but it's fine, out of respect for them, it's fine. The changes that have occurred with the increase in emails are not gigantic, but logically it has implications. Having started in 2015 with 14 cases basically, to have 2,043 registered today.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: But this whole archiving process began 6 and a half years ago.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Oh no. On 2012.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: With the Victims Law.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes, since 2012. This process has left us many lessons. One of those lessons is that the victims’ social organizations, in addition to documenting with traditional documents (such as photos, newspaper clippings, documents that they sent to the ombudsman, the ombudsman's responses, the flyers of the first, second and third march they organized, the different mobilizations that the group attended) in some cases they also elaborate lists of the victims.

Those lists are made out of information of victims who have come to these organizations to be part of them, because of the victimizing event that occurred to them, which may have been sexual violence, forced disappearance or forced displacement. So as they get to these organizations, sometimes affiliate listings can be formed.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Lists of their members.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: [Lists] of the members of the organization. And [documentation] of the different actions, or of the different workshops that they have carried out to give psychosocial support or legal support to the victims. That allow us to see the variety that exists, which is not that different than the one you have in Chile. The variety of types of documents is huge, if you include the photographs and some other things. In addition to that there are objects, because it is understandable that a mother is going to have some object of her son. Especially when a forced disappearance has occurred.

Also an organization, for the same psychosocial support process may have implemented different practices, artistic ones but also of other kind, through which they become not just denunciation elements, but also healing ones.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: With a therapeutic purpose.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: The same process occurs within communities. We realized that in addition to [focusing on] the documentation they have in their archives, [which] is fundamental for building memory of the territories, [we must] focus on the symbolic objects of memory they have built.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: I can imagined that in indigenous communities.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: That's why we went there. Because we saw that the social construction of the museum, that you have heard about today, in conceptual terms was being conducted through different meetings with large civil society organizations and with the Latin American network of memory centres. But there is another part. And is that we had to look for a way in which people, at a territorial or regional level, could feel reflected in these processes of memory construction. And that is how we began a process of identifying symbolic objects of memory, which allowed us not only to highlight the big amount of expressions that existed, but also to implement a methodology that was similar to the one of the registry. Then, each symbolic object of memory that is identified today, is associated with the organization or the person who has produced it. They are associated through unique identifiers. So that mean that there is a database management and logistics. This is done so we do not lose track of them, and they don't dissociate. And to be able to locate them territorially and also have those contexts registered, which has been the mission of this organization.

After this, we focus on the object. The object has a technical part, but it also has another significant part that is essential. The technical part is solved, although it is complex, due to the diversity of techniques, materials, formats. Now I’ll show you an example of a memory gallery consists of 64 posters. From a technical point of view, it means writing 64 posters. They are all equally important because they are the result of processes that are made with the social organizations of victims to vindicate memory. And logically, that meaning has to be conferred by the same person who produces it, or by the person who is narrating. Hence the importance of the interview in terms of the significance of the object. That interview has a symbolic value, because it expresses why something was done, why it was done in such a way, why certain materials were used, and why they reached that result. Then there are very beautiful things like the tapestries of Mampuján. There are things that are very interesting. This is a process that is still taking place. Started in 2000. Oh no! This year, like in March.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: The objects' one.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: The objects' one. Of course, it's still a methodology we are testing. it was used as a reference. I don't know if you are familiar with the operation of a museum, but there are some collections software that use standardized fields. So we used a structure from the program of museums network strengthen of the national museum, which uses a basic registration form. And we adjusted our fields, so we could unify the information and understand to what victimizing event it corresponded and to which processes of construction of memory processes corresponded specifically. Was it a disappearance process or peace one?

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Is that in the website?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No. It is not available yet. Because this is an exercise that is just beginning to be implemented by the regional teams, with a methodology and new worksheets.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: And this is done thinking in the museum?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: This is done thinking in the museum.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: But to be part of the national museum? That's what I mean.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Sure. Now, the challenge is to define how will it become part of the museum.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: First you are making a cadastre, and then you will sort the museography issue.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Sure. Because what we are currently [doing] here is identifying [the objects]. But having always in mind that these objects must not leave their territories.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Ok.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Because it is in the territory where objects acquire all their significance, and all their power of speech, their power to contradict, and their power to claim. It is there where they acquire their value. The virtual platform of the museum can be one of the spaces where they are shown. But we also need to guarantee the preservation of their elements. And that is something that is not yet resolved, because institutionally we don't have the capacity either.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Sure.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: And that's when other issues appear, because it is not only to identify, to make visible, and recognize the importance of these processes of memory construction expressed through the different objects, but we must also ask ourselves, what do we do next with that?

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Ernesto, how many objects have you registered until now?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: At this time, we have registered around 50 objects. Now, the number of objects that have been preliminary identified can be much greater. The problem is that it is a very complex process, not only because it requires a description from a technical point of view, but also because you have to go back to the personal interview.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Sure.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Because that's where the value of the process lies. And that is why we are asking people to sign this letter of agreement for using the information, which is recorded in that file and states under what conditions the information can be used. This must be signed, especially when there are pictures of objects. The pictures must be accompanied by a letter of agreement to be disseminated. The same goes for the content of the interviews. What characteristics does it have? and [does the interviewees] agrees on the names to be published? This is something learnt from the registry. We have to reduce our strategies to ensure that the information we have, can finally be used.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Vikki do you want to [ask something]?

VIKKI BELL: Yes, do you want to translate for me? Thanks Ernesto. So I understand that you have a role between the two now. Between the archives and the museum.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Exactly.

VIKKI BELL: And… before you two arrived we were just talking about the tension that you were describing in relation to the idea of memory, so I’m wondering about the tension. You are understanding what this… while I’m speaking to you? Oriana can translate.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: She is saying that before we arrived late today, ...I apologize again, you were talking about a tension that existed between...memory and...?

VIKKI BELL: I don't know because then you entered.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Oh! We interrupted. [Laughs]

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: The memory tension.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: This tension. Memory tension.

VIKKI BELL: Yes. But I’m also wondering if there is a tension between your role within the centre, looking after the archives, and the other one of displaying what the museum will have.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Wait a minute. She says that you were explaining that tension, and we interrupted you when we arrived. So, if you can tell us what that tension is about. And also from that, we would like to know if there is a tension between your role of safeguarding the archive and displaying part of that material, in an exhibition?

VIKKI BELL: Because there has been so much careful work with the archives.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Because there has been such a careful work around the conformation of the archive.

VIKKI BELL: In term of permission.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: In terms of permission.

VIKKI BELL: For showing thing. But the museum has a different role. With other audiences.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: And the museum has a different role. With other audiences.

VIKKI BELL: How do you understand these two roles?

ORIANA BERNASCONI: How do you understand these two roles?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Ok. What I was saying about the tension of the memories, is that there is a tension between the memories of the different sectors, whether of social sectors or of the different organizations. Even among the organizations, tensions are generated in relation to how each one sees how certain events occurred.

You have heard here about certain specific mechanisms, such as the victim participation roundtables. Which are contained in law 1448. These roundtables are one of the spaces of representation to which the victims or the organizations that represent them go to, when victimizing events have happened to them. They operate at a municipal level, in every municipality, and have an election period of two years. So each victim has a representation period of two years. In each municipality, these roundtables are made up of around ten victims of the conflict. In these round tables, tensions in terms of the struggle for memory are discussed, in terms of, for example, what each person considers fundamental in terms of a victimizing event such as gender violence or ...

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Sorry, but we haven't heard about these roundtables. So, you are saying that...

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: They are ‘participation roundtables’.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Okay. And among those ten members, which last ten years, there is a member of the paras, a member of the ...?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No, no, no. [Only] victims participate.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Ok, but that is... Victims...

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No. The reasons why they became victims may be different, but there are no different actors involved. That is, there may be victims of the FARC, or victims of paramilitaries, or victims of the State.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Ok, as a perpetrator.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No. As a victim.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: That is why I'm saying.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes. As a victim.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: So it is a homogeneous group. That is, it is not that you bring together perpetrators and victims in the same group. They are just victims.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes, just victims.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Ok.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: There can be tensions over a same event that occurred on one region. There are those who find that some things are more important, and there are those who find that other things were more important. Or they might discuss about who was more responsible for the conflict. There are those who say that the FARC had more responsibility, there are those who say that paramilitaries, or there are those who say that the State. Logically, the facts attributed to the State are the most uncertain. This is what I meant when I was talking about the tensions generated by the same memory construction processes.

Building reports, such as the UP genocide one is not an easy job. Andrés can tell you more about that. And this is because there is the representative group, which has been fighting for a long time to be recognized as a state crime, but there are also several other groups that also belong to the UP, that may not share the same interests. And you can see that in terms of memory construction processes. And you can see it also in all sectors, from the archives, to the objects, and even within the same museum.

Regarding the other issue, archives are one thing and objects are another. They are totally different languages, with classification systems that require different practices. So I think we should ask ourselves what are we interested about? What do we want that our archives and museum show? Consolidated processes from an archival point of view or from a museological point of view? Or from a memory point of view?

I mean, what is the central interest? If the central interest is the memory construction processes, they express differently, and those are languages that must be articulated and united, and not the opposite. We may be making a mistake and that is not the way, but we think that the processes of memory articulation are generated and expressed with this diversity of languages. In which not only the document or the archive are the important ones, but also the banner used in a march, or the photograph of the first demonstration made by the women. For mothers, both are important, to have the document of the complaint, and to have this element that has an almost symbolic [value] as is the altar she made with her son's objects, which are a portrait, a doll, a cart.

There are some elements there, which from a symbolic point of view in terms of memory construction, are fundamental. And we believe they should be articulated. We know that articulating different languages is complicated, but I think we have to try, especially in a field as rich as it is the field of historical memory construction. Because it is a diverse field, which is not expressed through a single language. I don't know if you know the...

CECILIA SOSA: Sorry to interrupt you. I have to go out to do an errand because I'm leaving tomorrow morning, and I will not have time later. I will leave you, but my colleagues will stay here.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Ok. We will be here if you need us.

CECILIA SOSA: Perfect! [inaudible 1.52.16] Thanks a lot.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: In relation to the construction of memory and the symbology that organizations have built with their own practices, for the women of the Plantón, for example, it is essential to preserve the tapestries of Mampuján. For them, the production of looms is not only an artistic practice, but also a healing practice and a reason to meet. That is, objects are not simply objects, because they are not objects devoid of meaning and symbology. Do you know the work of Erika Diettes?

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Yes. The reliquary. We saw it on the internet.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Was it there?

ORIANA BERNASCONI: No. It was in the ESMA.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Oh, in the ESMA.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: I'm from Chile. Ceci [is from Argentina]. I only saw it online.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes, I was there. And it is shocking how those elements, such as the reliquaries, for each of the relatives of the disappeared who participated in this process, have a different meaning. It gives them almost a power of legitimacy. And the objects also contribute to this, because it is not in vain that these women have come to the conclusion that through sewing they are doing not only a claiming process, but also a resistance one. And that also have an enormous effect in terms of building reconciliation. There, Victor [inaudible 1.54.31.0] and Derrida's work, teach a lot about these different meanings, or these different perceptions about a same object.

And that's it. Now this is in an experimental stage, we are just getting started. I think it has an enormous value since it is one of the ways that makes the process, and not the circumstances, of memory construction more evident.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: I don't know if you have done this during this process, but have you collect the opinions that the same family members have about this? perhaps from the people who own these objects. Do you know what it would mean for them that eventually these objects will become part of the museum in some way? What does that transformation of their objects into museum objects mean to them?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes. I believe that the fact that we do this means recognition to them. Now, we are not going to collect all these objects and incorporate them into the museum's collection. That is not what we want to do. This is about preserve them and to incorporate them in some circumstances into a museum script. This, just in the case that we have the permissions and [the owners of those objects] are aware of it. Now, they are interested in making visible [their cases]. In fact, there are some people that want to donate their objects to the museum, but this is not what we want, it is not our goal.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Of course, you are raising expectations too.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Sure. But anyway there is a level of recognition. Now, it is a big challenge to respond to that level of recognition, because it implies having a very robust platform. And we do have a robust platform in terms of archiving, but we have not been able to guarantee that the information that exists there will really circulate. That is a huge challenge.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Yes. Besides, with this idea that you have of a mobile museum that goes to the territories.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Sure. And we must ask ourselves what real capacity do organizations have to access these virtual spaces. When you plan something like this, it seems very easy. And they may have cell phones, but they may not be accustomed to accessing digital media.

These are some discussions that are worth starting to have and see how it can be resolved, in a much more concrete and consolidated way. And there are similar experiences, such as what the Museo de la Memoria in Chile has done, especially using technology but within the museum. Doing something like that but outside a place implies other things.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: I have a question. There is an issue that has appeared a lot in the conversations, which is nature. The rivers and the biodiversity of the country. From your experience, and this may be more like a generic question, what is the place of nature in the conflict? We have heard this notion of nature as an object or subject of repair, and we also heard that the museum considers three axes in relation to nature: land, water... Also, today at lunch, Jaime's colleagues also explained to us that, when the FARCs were in a territory, some areas were preserved and no one could get inside them.

JAIME HERNÁNDEZ: Yes, it had the opposite effect.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Sure, exactly. We think it is a topic that appears in all the conversations we have had here. And we think that this conflict has also affected the land and the ecology. So I wanted to know if you can share your opinion with us about how do you think that the nature issue appears in the archive.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: I think it is a very important issue because the conflict affected the territories, especially the different elements that shaped the territory. Both, in populated areas and in rural ones. One of the groups that most strongly recognizes the territory as a victim are the indigenous communities. And this is due to their way of relating to the land. They have no doubt about the effects that violence has had on the territory. And besides that, they clearly know which claims must be compensated. These groups are not satisfied with just reveal what happened and how it happened, but they look for ways to reverse the situation. I recommend you to check the report of indigenous communities that was presented.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Made by the centre?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Before the special jurisdiction of peace. The national report of indigenous peoples has already been presented. I don't know if you had the chance to talk to Patrick Morales, wasn't he here? In any of the [meetings]? It is worth having contact with him, especially if...

[An indistinguishable voice interrupts]: Who?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Patrick Morales. He is one of the few people who has worked with indigenous communities. In fact, part of what we have done with indigenous communities has been in association with him. And he has been very successful placing the territory as a victim and fighting for the demands that are being requested by the national report of indigenous people.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: And is there any archive about what we have been talking about? I mean, one that is not about humans, but about ...

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No, but we are going to look for one.

[Laughs]

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: We do not have a specific archive for those issues. However, you can find associations to that topic in the archives, but by looking at a territorial level. For example, in terms of the claims in the area of San Carlos de Ituango because of the dam that is being built, or in terms of what is happening with the large banana plantations in the Colombian Caribbean, or in terms of coal farms. But this is all information that you have to deduce from the archives that already exist.

There may be documentation that describe certain events, but there is not one single consolidated archive about a specific case. It would be very interesting to have one, but I don't think we'll find it. It would be like finding an archive called: 'Serious violations of human rights. Here you'll find them all'.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Yes. They are all mixed up.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: It is necessary to consider what the museum is doing in the territories in terms of places of memory. In those places, people want to show not only the events that happened there, but also the way they claim them.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Compensate.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Not only the place, but the community that lived there.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Of course. Because it is like the guardian of it. Right?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes, exactly.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: And what do you expect from the museum?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: First of all, that they finish building it.

[Laughs]

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: That it become real. And secondly, that it become sustainable, which I think is the biggest challenge that it has at the moment. Because the discourse, as you can see, is ready. It is consolidated because we have been working on it for a long time. However, to guarantee the sustainability of a process like this…

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Are you talking about economic sustainability?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Of course, and not only economic sustainability, but sustainability in the future. That is, the museum requires people, requires resources, requires maintenance.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: It requires a team.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: It requires a team, it requires media, it requires education. So we have a huge challenge, especially once it is built. And the architectural project, is very ambitious and has a high level of significance and impact on the city in terms of memory. So we need to be sure that it can be sustainable, specially with...

VIKKI BELL: Do people have to pay to enter?

ORIANA BERNASCONI: The admission is free.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No, the idea is that it will be free. All our projections say it will be free. Now, that requires other efforts at an educational level and a pedagogical one. You meet the people from the museum, and you saw the bet of the FILBo and that of the Medellin book fair, where academic programming is as robust as the exhibition itself. Because it is from academic programming that these circuits are generated. They are circuits of participation of the communities; of different expressions of the organizations; of different actors whose main theme is conflict.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Ok. One last question. From your point of view, what could the museum do in the post-conflict that has failed to do the own archive?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: I believe that it would be: positioning memory as a topic of public debate. Make it a public good. That is, it would be a challenge that goes beyond the museum's own work. It would really be like to be able to cross those borders that are almost closed ones. And making it an element not only of public debate, but as Gonzalo says, converting memory into a public good.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Sánchez?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes, Gonzalo Sánchez. Yes. It is one of our biggest challenges. Especially at this time.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: A public good as a common good, right? for everybody.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes, exactly. As a common good. If we can achieve any of that, it would be great. Now, there are many chances of this occurring, but there are also some things that make us think that it might not be so easy to achieve. You have been through similar problems [laughs].

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Yes. And sometimes there can be a setback when you think you have gained ground.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes, we believed that we were moving forward, but it turns out that now, with a simple mandate the centre will not have a director for a while, and that slows the work tremendously. But that is how the state works.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: And for example, the information gathered by the truth commission, will it go to the archive or will it be secret?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No. The agreements say that the conclusions of the truth commission must be incorporated into the museum, that is what the agreements says.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Okay. The conclusions of the reports.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes. And not only the report, but also the conclusions of it should be part of the museum's script. That's what the agreements says…

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Those conclusions are like the guidelines. The typical ones that you make at the end of a process, that are for politics.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Exactly. From the point of view of the commission, the jurisdiction [special for peace] and the search unit, we want to show them the importance that, they determine where their archives will go soon. And not only the archives they are producing, but also everything that is contained in the conclusions. And to make them publicly available in one go. Because we don't want to repeat what happened in Guatemala, where the UN simply picked up the containers [with the data], took them away and nobody will be able to access the data for 50 years.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Sure. Like what happens in Chile.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Yes, exactly.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: That's why I was asking you this question, because…

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: And that issue is not solved yet. Hopefully the mechanisms will solve it in advance.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Exactly. Yes. Because in Chile, the political prison and torture commission was declared secret when the reparation law was being made. That is, after having conducted the research.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Exactly. In this case, in the agreements and in the regulation of each of the mechanisms, it was established that each of them will determine what will happen with their archives and what will happen with the information. That was established beforehand.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Oh, then it will be decided on the road. It is not clear then.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: No. What happens is that they haven't decided yet.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: To make the decision.

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: That is, each of the mechanisms can make their own decision. In fact, the jurisdiction may give [some of the data] to the archive of the Centro de Memoria. But we still don't know if the Centro de Memoria will continue. [Laughs] It's stressful.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Sure.

VIKKI BELL: Ok.

JAIME HERNÁNDEZ: Good.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Fantastic. Can I see your wristband? what does it say?

ERNESTO JAMES SÁNCHEZ: Oh, these are the old ones from UNDP.

ORIANA BERNASCONI: Of the UNDP?

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