



Centre for  
Human Rights and  
Restorative Justice

# COLUMBIA INTERVIEW CODING

Columbia Truth Commission

## Abstract

Coding for Columbia interviews discussing the Columbia Truth Commission.

Chelsea Barranger

## Table of Contents

Coding for the Columbia Interviews .....	2
Columbia Interviews Coding References .....	4
<i>Commission</i> .....	4
Funding .....	10
Issues Addressed .....	10
Mandate .....	11
Opinion of .....	12
Origin.....	15
Relationship to .....	16
<i>Forgiveness</i> .....	18
<i>History</i> .....	19
<i>Human Rights Violations</i> .....	22
<i>Indifference</i> .....	24
<i>Indigenous Community</i> .....	25
<i>JEP</i> .....	26
<i>Justice</i> .....	29
<i>Kidnapping</i> .....	32
<i>Memorialization</i> .....	34
<i>NCHM</i> .....	36
<i>Paramilitary Groups</i> .....	38
<i>Politics</i> .....	39
<i>Reconciliation</i> .....	41
<i>Truth</i> .....	42
<i>Victims</i> .....	47
<i>Violence</i> .....	53
<i>Women</i> .....	55
<i>Youth</i> .....	56

## Coding for the Columbia Interviews

The following chart breakdowns the themes and sub-themes used for coding the Columbia interviews.

Coding Theme	Description
Commission	Discussions or references to the truth commission - why they were created, mandates, what the interviewee thinks of them, etc.
Funding	Discussions or references to TRC funding
Issues addressed	Discussion or references of issues addressed by the TRC
Mandate	Discussions or references to TRC mandates
Opinion of	Discussions or references of the interviewee's opinion of the TRC
Origin	Discussion or references to the origin or creation of the TRC
Relationship to	Discussions or references to the interviewee's relationship to the Commission
Forgiveness	Discussions or references to forgiveness
History	Discussions or references to history
Human Rights Violations	Discussions or references to human rights violations
Indifference	Discussions or references to indifference
Indigenous Community	Discussion or references of Indigenous communities
JEP	Discussions or references to the JEP
Justice	Discussions or references to justice
Kidnapping	Discussions or references to kidnapping
Memorialization	Discussions or references to memorialization, commemoration, ceremonies of remembrance, etc.
NCHM	Discussions or references of the National Centre for Historical Memory
Paramilitary Groups	Discussions or references or paramilitary groups
Politics	Discussions or references to politics
Reconciliation	Discussions or references to reconciliation
Truth	Discussions or references to truth
Victims	Discussions or references to victims
Violence	Discussions or references to violence
Women	Discussions or references to women

Coding Theme	Description
Youth	Discussions or references to youth

## Columbia Interviews Coding References

This section contains all coding references from the Columbia interviews.

### *Commission*

Discussions or references to the truth commission - why they were created, mandates, what the interviewee thinks of them, etc.

<Files\Columbia\Carlos Beristáin - Interview Transcript> - § 13 references coded [26.93% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.12% Coverage

**CB** -I am a commissioner.

Reference 2 - 2.09% Coverage

**CB** -There are two main reasons. First, a historical demand from the victims made for many years in which they have reclaimed an independent, unbiased research of what actually happened in the conflict. Second, in the framework of the peace process, both the government and the FARC shown interest in having a TRC that contributed to the elucidation of truth. Victims from different sectors made a specific request to implement a TRC in this scenario.

Reference 3 - 4.15% Coverage

**CB** -That's a broad question. This is a commission that works within the context of conflict continuation. It was designed to be the commission of the armed conflict closure, but it's a commission that, given the political conditions of the conflict, the absence of a process with the ELN and the continuation of insubordinate cells of the FARC and the paramilitary groups, is unfortunately challenged by the perpetuation of the conflict and that represents an enormous challenge for a commission that should be focused in a post-conflict period, while we are here (working) in a post-agreement period. Besides, it's a commission that works in a very complex country with a long conflict dynamic, it is in fact the TRC that has to analyze the longest period of conflict in the world and also one of the most complex ones and these conditions make the difficulty of the task in hand very difficult.

Reference 4 - 1.21% Coverage

**CB** -Well, first, the mandate includes an elucidation of the human right violations committed in the country and the international humanitarian right. In terms of the difficulties and the task in hand, of course the TRC can't address each case individually. Ther

Reference 5 - 1.66% Coverage

There has never been a TRC, a JEP and a Search Unit. That is pioneering work and represents challenges in terms of articulation and the types of truths that will be produced by these institutions in their different periods of mandate. We have a 3-year mandate, the JEP has a 15-year mandate with chance of extension and the search unit has a 20-year mandate.

#### References 6-7 - 4.08% Coverage

**CB** -This TRC was born out of a really important process of discussion and deliberation. The first commission of this type was the one that was established in South Africa. [incomprehensible] people applied, then there was a selection and finally Nelson Mandela chose the commissioners. Here, there has been a whole process of application of individuals and NGO's that postulated people on their behalf, a national and international committee with considerable legitimacy in its selection process and a large participative process. In those terms, the TRC has been transparent and participative. In terms of the work done during the first six months, we focused on visiting multiple regions, talking to the victims, with different sectors here and worldwide. Additionally, the TRC faces a context of polarization that has only taken place after its mandate in other TRC processes. Give

#### Reference 8 - 2.24% Coverage

**CB** -Well, I think that since the very beginning there has been an attempt to frame the work of the TRC. When you start making accusations with qualifiers, you get off to a bad start. That is common in polarized environments or from those who want to polarize politics. The TRC will have to be analyzed in terms of what it says in the report and not based on the idea each person has regarding the members of the TRC or stigmas or stereotypes that are still circulating in the country.

#### References 9-10 - 7.72% Coverage

**CB** -First, to build an institutionality with a considerably limited lifespan as to build teams, houses, find resources, in a context of shortage. These are evident difficulties. For instance, for the work being done internationally, we can't rely on public funding. We must reach out cooperation resources, find who may help finance the work we are doing in Colombia out of the country. That has been a gigantic challenge. Then there's the other challenge, which consists of building something that integrates the two perspectives of the commission. One is the perspective of the elucidation of the truth and the complex mandate of finding about historical human rights violations, the relationship between conflict and paramilitarism, narcotrafficking, land plundering and the responsibilities of each in this conflict. On the other side, the line of social dialogue. We open spaces for dialogue and acknowledgement among different sectors, and this is not a work that can be done during 3 years behind a desk or interviewing people around the country and then publishing something. It has to be something that allows actual social dialogue, a public debate, a social framework where these things can be discussed. This is evidently difficult in the Colombian context, because we would need more political support in favor of peace in order for this to

facilitate these spaces of acknowledgement for the victims. The acknowledgment of the perpetrators has also been significant and we are working towards having them make a public statement in which they talk about their responsibility and participation taking into account the dignity of the victims in this process. These

Reference 11 - 0.94% Coverage

**CB** -Taking into account my experience I would have liked things to be more agile. I would have liked having a more favorable political environment and also not having to work in such a precarious context.

Reference 12 - 1.90% Coverage

In the Colombian case, people have spoken more even during frightening moments -some people have dared to do the bravest things – but the working conditions are much worse than what we had there (Guatemala) in terms of safety in strategic regions of the country. So I would have liked that to be different. In terms of our work, I think we need...I would have liked to move forward faster and with less rhetoric.

Reference 13 - 0.83% Coverage

**CB** -It doesn't because that would depend on the political atmosphere, but it does imply that we need to "extend" our mandate for a time frame we were not supposed to be analyzing.

<Files\Columbia\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 13 references coded [22.10% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.49% Coverage

DA -We've had some exchange, some meetings, I've had the chance of coinciding with the director of that institution, the priest Francisco de Roux. We have contact in very specific activities in which we coincide in our work with the victims of the armed conflict, but we do not have any sort of joint project because we are somehow differentiated.

Reference 2 - 0.75% Coverage

That has to do with memory but they, I suppose, gather a large amount of data that become a source for studies with a broader scope. More of an interpretative nature, I'd say

Reference 3 - 1.25% Coverage

DA -That sprouted from the negotiation between the previous government and the guerrilla group FARC. It was a sort of concession with the purpose of elucidating the events that took place during the Colombian armed conflict for more than 50 years, although it still seems to be taking place.

#### Reference 4 - 2.25% Coverage

DA -Well, as a government official, I have the command of establishing contact with the new system, the one that emerged from the peace agreement made with the FARC. It's a system integrating the TRC, the Search Unit and the Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP). So, by law and official politics we must find a way to interact, understand and cooperate with each other in different fields. Now, as a personal opinion I believe that TRC around the world have not always been effective to reach the objectives commanded to them.

#### Reference 5 - 3.36% Coverage

Here, everything has been relatively brought to the surface: The influence of narcotrafficking, the perversion of the paramilitary groups, the degradation of the guerrilla groups, the participation in criminal actions by the military and public forces... but here, here the state in its multiple instances, say, the armed forces, plead to defend the constitution and the laws. They do not receive a mandate to kill people or there's no plan such as the one that took place in the South cone, El plan Condor (Operation Condor). In that sense I think the TRC leaves some space to think, if they are to use the same parting point. I believe academic research regarding the armed conflict must be in charge of specialized people or research groups, of which there are plenty of in the country.

#### Reference 6 - 0.86% Coverage

DA -I think that impoverishes the debate. How could you say that what is being done by the TRC has leftist postulates? Or that what we do here has right-wing postulates? I think that's not the problem.

#### Reference 7 - 1.19% Coverage

What I do ask from people is professionalism in their work. That's not being left or right, not even neutral. It's just being professional. That's what I ask the groups who work with the victims. And I am physically incapable of knowing or seeing what they are doing all the time

#### Reference 8 - 1.59% Coverage

So I don't think that characterization is appropriate. I think the differences are perhaps theoretical or methodological, or even politic, but in a wider spectrum. For instance, as I said before, it may be the case that TRC are more valid in contexts in which dictatorships end and government archives have to be opened to find out what human right violations were made.

#### Reference 9 - 0.79% Coverage

DA -I must be respectful with that. They must deliver an inform, they have plenty of resources and qualified officials. People who have studied the conflict from different perspectives

#### Reference 10 - 2.75% Coverage



Another factor must be also taken into account: the TRC sheds a light on diversity matters. It's not the same studying the conflict in a zone of illegal mining, a zone of illicit crops, a zone of agroindustry such as the banana or coffee zones, or a touristic zone...anyways, wherever you may go. Or in the larger regions that characterize the country. In the east of the country (Llanos Orientales) conflict is not experienced in the same way as in the Andean zone, which has subzones itself. So all this makes room for different methodologies. I hardly have time for the issues at home to know more about what they are doing on that matter.

#### Reference 11 - 2.62% Coverage

DA -It will depend on its academic value, its political tone, the universality of the work done, and whether or not the report will be permeated by political, ideological, sexual or religious interests of any kind. I consider that it won't hopefully be a juridical report, because juridical or legal issues are under the responsibility of other organisms. A TRC is not looking for information such as "who was the responsible of this kidnapping?" I mean, it does, but its objective is to look at the problem as a whole, with all of its edges and using all sources that must be consulted. It's a complicated work.

#### Reference 12 - 0.97% Coverage

DA - ¡Ah! First of all, that the appointment as it went was not the most adequate. Working with people from abroad and all that... I didn't really like it. That's basically it. There may be more things, but I prefer not to say.

#### Reference 13 - 2.25% Coverage

DA -Well, it hasn't shown anything yet. They are missing a year to finish their work. I don't know what they will say so I can't be really affected because there is no product yet. We will have to wait for the process to be more mature and the results can be known. But, just take a look at this, the exercise made during the peace agreement with the FARC...they ordered 16 scholars to produce texts with the intention of knowing the truth about the Colombian conflict. All 16 documents were different among each other [laughs].

<Files\\Columbia\\Sigifredo López -Interview Transcript> - § 8 references coded [13.34% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.80% Coverage

SL - Well. The truth commission is an organism created by the system due to the peace agreements reached in La Habana and which pretends to rescue the truth of the events that took place during the armed conflict.

#### Reference 2 - 0.58% Coverage

SL - My participation was mainly as a victim of a kidnapping by the FARC, the kidnapping of the deputies from the department, of which I'm the only survivor.

#### Reference 3 - 1.09% Coverage

SL - Yes. As director of the foundation "Defensa para los inocentes" (Defense for the Innocent) we are representing the families of the deputies in this Commission in the face of the versions that are being told by the FARC about the events that took place during the kidnapping of the deputies.

#### Reference 4 - 1.39% Coverage

SL - I think that the objective, the mission and the nature of the TRC are quite important for future purposes – to gather the truth and once its mission has been accomplished by 2023, to have it become memory that must be protected so that future generations know what actually happened in the Colombian armed conflict and moreover to prevent these incidents from happening again.

#### Reference 5 - 1.98% Coverage

It (TRC) is fundamental as an objective. Every peace process must involve a TRC. The problem with this particular TRC and all of the organisms in charge of preserving memory (in the country) is that... countries during or after a conflict are often highly polarized. War polarizes and divides society in two factions and this division remains even after a peace agreement is reached. It is for this reason that it is said that post-conflict is even more violent than the conflict itself, and that is what we are currently experiencing here. T

#### Reference 6 - 2.58% Coverage

SL - Doing something more balanced. I mean, having presence of both right-wing and left-wing people in it. Or having a more significant presence of victims. Victims give balance. Because amidst current polarization we have two organisms: one leaning to the right and the other one leaning to the left. The only organism keeping a balance is the JEP. Why does it actually get to do it? Because there's confrontation between the versions of the victims and the versions of the aggressors. Judges will make a judgement only after hearing both sides. Only then, can it actually flourish a more balanced truth, more real. Instead, there are political manipulations around the truth in the other two organisms.

#### Reference 7 - 2.30% Coverage

SL - I believe the TRC main goal is quite important, and that the people who are in charge of it are...Nobody can say the priest De Roux... right wing opposers criticize him. I believe in him. But I also believe this TRC has not searched well enough for the victims' testimony. I fear that balance may be lost and that it ends up presenting a truth from the groups that were initially revolutionary but ended up degenerating in terrorist groups and groups of bandits who were safeguarded by the peace agreement and sheltered in it to end up well because they had been doing really bad and to make up the end of the conflict. The

#### Reference 8 - 2.61% Coverage

SL - They have some tasks, methodologies and objectives. I would say that their differential approach is of great relevance. The fact that they have regional commissions, that they're moving across the territory and that that have researchers. What I do not know -I've been to some events and meetings organized by them- is who they have interviewed; if they have interviewed victims, if these victims are only paramilitary or state victims or if there's also victims of the FARC. That's where it will be clear... if they only interview state or paramilitary victims, then the vision is mainly leftist and that's what's going to be reflected in the inform. If they interview all victims then it may be more balanced.

#### Funding

Discussions or references to TRC funding.

<Files\Columbia\Carlos Beristáin - Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [1.12% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 1.12% Coverage

For instance, for the work being done internationally, we can't rely on public funding. We must reach out cooperation resources, find who may help finance the work we are doing in Colombia out of the country. That has been a gigantic challenge

#### Issues Addressed

Discussions or references of issues addressed by the TRC.

<Files\Columbia\Carlos Beristáin - Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [7.72% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 7.72% Coverage

**CB** -First, to build an institutionality with a considerably limited lifespan as to build teams, houses, find resources, in a context of shortage. These are evident difficulties. For instance, for the work being done internationally, we can't rely on public funding. We must reach out cooperation resources, find who may help finance the work we are doing in Colombia out of the country. That has been a gigantic challenge. Then there's the other challenge, which consists of building something that integrates the two perspectives of the commission. One is the perspective of the elucidation of the truth and the complex mandate of finding about historical human rights violations, the relationship between conflict and paramilitarism, narco trafficking, land plundering and the responsibilities of each in this conflict. On the other side, the line of social dialogue. We open spaces for dialogue and acknowledgement among different sectors, and this is not a work that can be done during 3 years behind a desk or interviewing people around the country and then publishing something. It has to be something that allows actual social dialogue, a public debate, a social framework where these things can be discussed. This is evidently difficult in the Colombian context, because we would need more political support in favor of peace in order for this to facilitate these spaces of acknowledgement for the victims. The acknowledgment of the

perpetrators has also been significant and we are working towards having them make a public statement in which they talk about their responsibility and participation taking into account the dignity of the victims in this process. These

<Files\Columbia\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 2 references coded [3.49% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.75% Coverage

That has to do with memory but they, I suppose, gather a large amount of data that become a source for studies with a broader scope. More of an interpretative nature, I'd say

Reference 2 - 2.75% Coverage

Another factor must be also taken into account: the TRC sheds a light on diversity matters. It's not the same studying the conflict in a zone of illegal mining, a zone of illicit crops, a zone of agroindustry such as the banana or coffee zones, or a touristic zone...anyways, wherever you may go. Or in the larger regions that characterize the country. In the east of the country (Llanos Orientales) conflict is not experienced in the same way as in the Andean zone, which has subzones itself. So all this makes room for different methodologies. I hardly have time for the issues at home to know more about what they are doing on that matter.

## Mandate

Discussions or references to TRC mandates.

<Files\Columbia\Carlos Beristáin - Interview Transcript> - § 3 references coded [3.70% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.21% Coverage

**CB** -Well, first, the mandate includes an elucidation of the human right violations committed in the country and the international humanitarian right. In terms of the difficulties and the task in hand, of course the TRC can't address each case individually. Ther

Reference 2 - 1.66% Coverage

There has never been a TRC, a JEP and a Search Unit. That is pioneering work and represents challenges in terms of articulation and the types of truths that will be produced by these institutions in their different periods of mandate. We have a 3-year mandate, the JEP has a 15-year mandate with chance of extension and the search unit has a 20-year mandate.

Reference 3 - 0.83% Coverage

**CB** -It doesn't because that would depend on the political atmosphere, but it does imply that we need to "extend" our mandate for a time frame we were not supposed to be analyzing.

<Files\Columbia\Sigifredo López -Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [1.39% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.39% Coverage

SL - I think that the objective, the mission and the nature of the TRC are quite important for future purposes – to gather the truth and once its mission has been accomplished by 2023, to have it become memory that must be protected so that future generations know what actually happened in the Colombian armed conflict and moreover to prevent these incidents from happening again.

### Opinion of

Discussions or references of the interviewee's opinion of the TRC.

<Files\Columbia\Carlos Beristáin - Interview Transcript> - § 5 references coded [10.86% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 4.15% Coverage

**CB** -That's a broad question. This is a commission that works within the context of conflict continuation. It was designed to be the commission of the armed conflict closure, but it's a commission that, given the political conditions of the conflict, the absence of a process with the ELN and the continuation of insubordinate cells of the FARC and the paramilitary groups, is unfortunately challenged by the perpetuation of the conflict and that represents an enormous challenge for a commission that should be focused in a post-conflict period, while we are here (working) in a post-agreement period. Besides, it's a commission that works in a very complex country with a long conflict dynamic, it is in fact the TRC that has to analyze the longest period of conflict in the world and also one of the most complex ones and these conditions make the difficulty of the task in hand very difficult.

Reference 2 - 1.63% Coverage

In those terms, the TRC has been transparent and participative. In terms of the work done during the first six months, we focused on visiting multiple regions, talking to the victims, with different sectors here and worldwide. Additionally, the TRC faces a context of polarization that has only taken place after its mandate in other TRC processes. Give

Reference 3 - 2.24% Coverage

**CB** -Well, I think that since the very beginning there has been an attempt to frame the work of the TRC. When you start making accusations with qualifiers, you get off to a bad start. That is common in polarized environments or from those who want to polarize politics. The TRC will have to be

analyzed in terms of what it says in the report and not based on the idea each person has regarding the members of the TRC or stigmas or stereotypes that are still circulating in the country.

#### Reference 4 - 0.94% Coverage

**CB** -Taking into account my experience I would have liked things to be more agile. I would have liked having a more favorable political environment and also not having to work in such a precarious context.

#### Reference 5 - 1.90% Coverage

In the Colombian case, people have spoken more even during frightening moments -some people have dared to do the bravest things – but the working conditions are much worse than what we had there (Guatemala) in terms of safety in strategical regions of the country. So I would have liked that to be different. In terms of our work, I think we need...I would have liked to move forward faster and with less rhetoric.

<Files\Columbia\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 9 references coded [15.87% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 2.25% Coverage

**DA** -Well, as a government official, I have the command of establishing contact with the new system, the one that emerged from the peace agreement made with the FARC. It's a system integrating the TRC, the Search Unit and the Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP). So, by law and official politics we must find a way to interact, understand and cooperate with each other in different fields. Now, as a personal opinion I believe that TRC around the world have not always been effective to reach the objectives commanded to them.

#### Reference 2 - 3.36% Coverage

Here, everything has been relatively brought to the surface: The influence of narco trafficking, the perversion of the paramilitary groups, the degradation of the guerrilla groups, the participation in criminal actions by the military and public forces... but here, here the state in its multiple instances, say, the armed forces, plead to defend the constitution and the laws. They do not receive a mandate to kill people or there's no plan such as the one that took place in the South cone, El plan Condor (Operation Condor). In that sense I think the TRC leaves some space to think, if they are to use the same parting point. I believe academic research regarding the armed conflict must be in charge of specialized people or research groups, of which there are plenty of in the country.

#### Reference 3 - 0.86% Coverage

**DA** -I think that impoverishes the debate. How could you say that what is being done by the TRC has leftist postulates? Or that what we do here has right-wing postulates? I think that's not the problem.

Reference 4 - 1.19% Coverage

What I do ask from people is professionalism in their work. That's not being left or right, not even neutral. It's just being professional. That's what I ask the groups who work with the victims. And I am physically incapable of knowing or seeing what they are doing all the time

Reference 5 - 1.59% Coverage

So I don't think that characterization is appropriate. I think the differences are perhaps theoretical or methodological, or even politic, but in a wider spectrum. For instance, as I said before, it may be the case that TRC are more valid in contexts in which dictatorships end and government archives have to be opened to find out what human right violations were made.

Reference 6 - 0.79% Coverage

DA -I must be respectful with that. They must deliver an inform, they have plenty of resources and qualified officials. People who have studied the conflict from different perspectives

Reference 7 - 2.62% Coverage

DA -It will depend on its academic value, its political tone, the universality of the work done, and whether or not the report will be permeated by political, ideological, sexual or religious interests of any kind. I consider that it won't hopefully be a juridical report, because juridical or legal issues are under the responsibility of other organisms. A TRC is not looking for information such as "who was the responsible of this kidnapping?" I mean, it does, but its objective is to look at the problem as a whole, with all of its edges and using all sources that must be consulted. It's a complicated work.

Reference 8 - 0.97% Coverage

DA - ¡Ah! First of all, that the appointment as it went was not the most adequate. Working with people from abroad and all that... I didn't really like it. That's basically it. There may be more things, but I prefer not to say.

Reference 9 - 2.25% Coverage

DA -Well, it hasn't shown anything yet. They are missing a year to finish their work. I don't know what they will say so I can't be really affected because there is no product yet. We will have to wait for the process to be more mature and the results can be known. But, just take a look at this, the exercise made during the peace agreement with the FARC...they ordered 16 scholars to produce texts with the intention of knowing the truth about the Colombian conflict. All 16 documents were different among each other [laughs].

<Files\\Columbia\\Sigifredo López -Interview Transcript> - § 4 references coded [9.48% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 1.98% Coverage

It (TRC) is fundamental as an objective. Every peace process must involve a TRC. The problem with this particular TRC and all of the organisms in charge of preserving memory (in the country) is that... countries during or after a conflict are often highly polarized. War polarizes and divides society in two factions and this division remains even after a peace agreement is reached. It is for this reason that it is said that post-conflict is even more violent than the conflict itself, and that is what we are currently experiencing here. T

#### Reference 2 - 2.58% Coverage

SL - Doing something more balanced. I mean, having presence of both right-wing and left-wing people in it. Or having a more significant presence of victims. Victims give balance. Because amidst current polarization we have two organisms: one leaning to the right and the other one leaning to the left. The only organism keeping a balance is the JEP. Why does it actually get to do it? Because there's confrontation between the versions of the victims and the versions of the aggressors. Judges will make a judgement only after hearing both sides. Only then, can it actually flourish a more balanced truth, more real. Instead, there are political manipulations around the truth in the other two organisms.

#### Reference 3 - 2.30% Coverage

SL - I believe the TRC main goal is quite important, and that the people who are in charge of it are...Nobody can say the priest De Roux... right wing opposers criticize him. I believe in him. But I also believe this TRC has not searched well enough for the victims' testimony. I fear that balance may be lost and that it ends up presenting a truth from the groups that were initially revolutionary but ended up degenerating in terrorist groups and groups of bandits who were safeguarded by the peace agreement and sheltered in it to end up well because they had been doing really bad and to make up the end of the conflict. The

#### Reference 4 - 2.61% Coverage

SL - They have some tasks, methodologies and objectives. I would say that their differential approach is of great relevance. The fact that they have regional commissions, that they're moving across the territory and that that have researchers. What I do not know -I've been to some events and meetings organized by them- is who they have interviewed; if they have interviewed victims, if these victims are only paramilitary or state victims or if there's also victims of the FARC. That's where it will be clear... if they only interview state or paramilitary victims, then the vision is mainly leftist and that's what's going to be reflected in the inform. If they interview all victims then it may be more balanced.

### Origin

Discussion or references to the origin or creation of the TRC.



<Files\\Columbia\\Carlos Beristaín - Interview Transcript> - § 2 references coded [4.54% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.09% Coverage

**CB** -There are two main reasons. First, a historical demand from the victims made for many years in which they have reclaimed an independent, unbiased research of what actually happened in the conflict. Second, in the framework of the peace process, both the government and the FARC shown interest in having a TRC that contributed to the elucidation of truth. Victims from different sectors made a specific request to implement a TRC in this scenario.

Reference 2 - 2.46% Coverage

**CB** -This TRC was born out of a really important process of discussion and deliberation. The first commission of this type was the one that was established in South Africa. [incomprehensible] people applied, then there was a selection and finally Nelson Mandela chose the commissioners. Here, there has been a whole process of application of individuals and NGO's that postulated people on their behalf, a national and international committee with considerable legitimacy in its selection process and a large participative process. I

<Files\\Columbia\\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [1.25% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.25% Coverage

**DA** -That sprouted from the negotiation between the previous government and the guerrilla group FARC. It was a sort of concession with the purpose of elucidating the events that took place during the Colombian armed conflict for more than 50 years, although it still seems to be taking place.

<Files\\Columbia\\Sigifredo López -Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [0.80% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.80% Coverage

**SL** - Well. The truth commission is an organism created by the system due to the peace agreements reached in La Habana and which pretends to rescue the truth of the events that took place during the armed conflict.

### Relationship to

Discussions or references the interviewee's relationship to the TRC.

<Files\\Columbia\\Carlos Beristaín - Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [0.12% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.12% Coverage

**CB** -I am a commissioner.

<Files\Columbia\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [1.49% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.49% Coverage

DA -We've had some exchange, some meetings, I've had the chance of coinciding with the director of that institution, the priest Francisco de Roux. We have contact in very specific activities in which we coincide in our work with the victims of the armed conflict, but we do not have any sort of joint project because we are somehow differentiated.

<Files\Columbia\Sigifredo López -Interview Transcript> - § 2 references coded [1.67% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.58% Coverage

SL - My participation was mainly as a victim of a kidnapping by the FARC, the kidnapping of the deputies from the department, of which I'm the only survivor.

Reference 2 - 1.09% Coverage

SL - Yes. As director of the foundation "Defensa para los inocentes" (Defense for the Innocent) we are representing the families of the deputies in this Commission in the face of the versions that are being told by the FARC about the events that took place during the kidnapping of the deputies.

## *Forgiveness*

Discussions or references to forgiveness.

<Files\Columbia\Sigifredo López -Interview Transcript> - § 2 references coded [1.14% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.61% Coverage

?

SL - Logically they have asked for forgiveness, but it was more of a political gesture than a heartfelt gesture in order to have access to the benefits of the JEP. B

Reference 2 - 0.53% Coverage

ce. They asked for forgiveness and it was given to them, and they won't spend a single day in prison even if they committed atrocious crimes. Tha

## *History*

Discussions or references to history.

<Files\Columbia\Carlos Beristáin - Interview Transcript> - § 7 references coded [14.95% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.63% Coverage

**LT** -To get started, I would like to ask you why did the government decide to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission here in Colombia.

**CB** -There are two main reasons. First, a historical demand from the victims made for many years in which they have reclaimed an independent, unbiased research of what actually happened in the conflict. Second

Reference 2 - 0.79% Coverage

That's the challenge to understand those massive violations of Human rights in a wider and historical logic, and also to make an analysis of collective responsibilities. I

Reference 3 - 2.34% Coverage

In this country, there has been a law for victims before a TRC. A NCHM (National Center for Historical Memory) that was born before the TRC. In other places, processes of memorialization and symbolic restitution were already taking place led by the NCHM and the Historical Memory Group, which made meaningful contributions but also had limitations. The NCHM has had a change of direction recently, which of course frames the space of the TRC and also what will be said by it in terms of this memorialization

Reference 4 - 1.23% Coverage

Given the history of the Colombian conflict, the history of the peace process, etc. the work is being conditioned due to some sectors which have questioned the development of the work without, say, having conducted a thorough analysis or an effective participation.

Reference 5 - 0.66% Coverage

The director of the NCHM has, since he was first appointed, denied the existence of the armed conflict and that is for us totally out of place.

Reference 6 - 3.05% Coverage

Then there's the other challenge, which consists of building something that integrates the two perspectives of the commission. One is the perspective of the elucidation of the truth and the complex mandate of finding about historical human rights violations, the relationship between conflict and paramilitarism, narco-trafficking, land plundering and the responsibilities of each in

this conflict. On the other side, the line of social dialogue. We open spaces for dialogue and acknowledgement among different sectors, and this is not a work that can be done during 3 years behind a desk or interviewing people around the country and then publishing something. I

Reference 7 - 5.24% Coverage

**CB** -I think the complexity of the issue has become more evident. There's this idea...I came from El Salvador and Guatemala right before arriving to Colombia for the first time and my friends told me "Why going to Colombia? No one can understand [that conflict!]" There's the FARC, the EPL, the ELN, the police, the military forces, the paramilitary forces and many more groups. The complexity of this conflict is made evident in the work we're carrying out, as well as the different layers of it. There are, of course, things that have been seen before, but we've seen them from the victims' accompaniment. Sometimes not having enough time for having a broader perspective of the issue. This work allows us to have a broader perspective of the armed conflict in the different regions of the country, the different moments of its existence, but I do believe it raises large issues in terms of what is the actual responsibility of the different actors, and specifically the state, in the perpetuation of this situation of violence for so long and why, notoriously, peace attempts have failed after so many times of being close to reaching it.

<Files\Columbia\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 2 references coded [4.03% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.26% Coverage

It's not the same thing the perspective of the historian who is writing about the conflict and who is mainly concerned about the facts and the interpretation of these than the perspective of the anthropologist who is looking at behaviors, prejudices, customs, habits during conflict, lifestyles, etc. Or the perspective of the economist who is focusing on economic behaviors and fluctuations, or the influence of narcotrafficking from an economical point of view, or the perspective of a philosopher or any other social scientist

Reference 2 - 1.77% Coverage

**DA** -Yes, some of them, others I was already familiar with. It's difficult. I have a book that might come handy to you. A book by Daniel Pecauc. A book in which he states that violent phenomena can't be explained from a single perspective or a total history. That's the history of the conflict! We're never having that because there are many ways of thinking and many frontiers from which this issue can be tackled.

<Files\Columbia\Sigifredo López -Interview Transcript> - § 5 references coded [7.47% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.45% Coverage

Only a serious and thorough dialectical exercise that allows dialogue around the issue of truth might help us move on and become more objective because without doubt history is told by the victors and in this conflict, regardless of their armed surrender, it was the FARC who are the victors in terms of their given possibility of telling their own biased and adjusted version of truth. The gover

#### Reference 2 - 1.34% Coverage

. And they continue denying it and treating victims as stupid, which naturally causes outrage because truth keeps being pushed out only with the purpose of appearing in History as if they were not murderers, but they really were... war is absurd, and fighters lose sense of reality and the principle of respect to the fellow's dignity and then everyone distorts truth.

#### Reference 3 - 1.54% Coverage

EP. But right now, when it comes to recognize the truth, they are just doing it halfway with the purpose of avoiding appearing in History as responsible of atrocious crimes and in the case all this political polarization, leads the JEP to stop being a closure organism and they are taken to international judiciary instances. That is what's currently happening and that's why they insist on denying their actions.

LT -

#### Reference 4 - 2.23% Coverage

So I think we the victims have more moral authority and our word is closer to the truth than that of the participants of the armed conflict because they have interest in being presented to History in a way -none of them wants to be presented as the murders they were- I repeat, the TRC mission is interesting, really; the differential approach is one of the best things in its articulation; the regional work too; their research methodology is surely great. The issue is who they have approached, which participants have been sought to tell them the truth and what is going to be summarized at the end.

LT

#### Reference 5 - 0.91% Coverage

ship. It has to be recorded in History, the truth has to -official or not- say it. What we have here is a struggle for the truth by all actors involved so as not to appear as murderers and try to wash the blood in their faces in front of history.

L

## *Human Rights Violations*

Discussions or references to human rights violations.

<Files\\Columbia\\Carlos Beristaín - Interview Transcript> - § 4 references coded [8.96% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.47% Coverage

**CB** -Well, first, the mandate includes an elucidation of the human right violations committed in the country and the international humanitarian right. In terms of the difficulties and the task in hand, of course the TRC can't address each case individually. There are 9 million victims in this country according to official numbers. That's why the TRC has to move between the cases we will have to work on because they will exemplify other broader dynamics and what we've called victimization dynamics and the explicative contexts. Peopl

Reference 2 - 1.79% Coverage

That's the challenge to understand those massive violations of Human rights in a wider and historical logic, and also to make an analysis of collective responsibilities. In other TRC responsibilities have not been analyzed. We are responsible for an analysis of collective responsibilities in these violations. And well, that's what characterizes it with regards to similar processes. Thi

Reference 3 - 1.64% Coverage

One of the things that has caused the most victims is the stigmatization of the other and that is part of what has to be overcome. I may not be politically aligned with a, b or c, but if I analyze the human right violations these sectors have suffered, I must be as careful and committed as with the people I identify with or the people I've worked with.

Reference 4 - 3.05% Coverage

Then there's the other challenge, which consists of building something that integrates the two perspectives of the commission. One is the perspective of the elucidation of the truth and the complex mandate of finding about historical human rights violations, the relationship between conflict and paramilitarism, narcotrafficking, land plundering and the responsibilities of each in this conflict. On the other side, the line of social dialogue. We open spaces for dialogue and acknowledgement among different sectors, and this is not a work that can be done during 3 years behind a desk or interviewing people around the country and then publishing something. I

<Files\\Columbia\\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 3 references coded [7.75% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.59% Coverage

So I don't think that characterization is appropriate. I think the differences are perhaps theoretical or methodological, or even politic, but in a wider spectrum. For instance, as I said before, it may be the case that TRC are more valid in contexts in which dictatorships end and government archives have to be opened to find out what human right violations were made.

#### Reference 2 - 1.30% Coverage

-Regarding human right violations, they must recall and explain the human rights situation in the country. I don't know how they are proceeding. I have the idea that human rights have a universal character, that is to say, that they are applicable as means of protection for all human beings in the world

#### Reference 3 - 4.85% Coverage

For a long time, the responsibility of that protection was in charge of the state, and dignitaries were the ones who make the agreements in that matter. But at the end of the past century and beginning of the current one, the International Court of Justice and other institutions and individuals with political power and leadership have taken responsibility for dealing with groups with political aspirations within the context of armed conflicts, but these must submit to the currency and respect of human rights. In a dictatorship the responsibility lays on the politicians because they control everything, but this is more complex in a democracy. That's one of the biggest problems we currently have in our country. An armed insurrection of different groups against a state that was - and is- democratic. It's an exceptional case in the world. African conflicts do not resemble ours, nor do Latin American conflicts, although they do share some similarities. The major difference is that these conflicts took place in military dictatorships. So there are many particularities. I couldn't say what they're actually doing in this area.

<Files\\Columbia\\Sigifredo López -Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [1.09% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 1.09% Coverage

But rebuilding the truth is hard, I repeat, because of the confusions brought by the war, the wounds and polarizations that it leaves behind, and because ultimately the military who committed human rights violations may have been pressured or thought they were fighting for saving the homeland. Th



## *Indifference*

Discussions or references to indifference.

<Files\Columbia\Carlos Beristáin - Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [1.49% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.49% Coverage

How can one explain that? How can one contribute to an explanation that help shake that reality people have been insensitive with for so long? It is also notorious to see the indifference towards so much visible suffering in the country and how a blind eye is turned or otherwise how all this suffering has been justified.

## *Indigenous Community*

Discussions or references to Indigenous communities.

<Files\Columbia\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [1.00% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.00% Coverage

Another example, an indigenous community may suffer more from the conflict than a regular civilian population because their cosmogony may be in much more considerable danger of being affected or even disappearing during a conflict.

<Files\Columbia\Sigifredo López -Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [1.02% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.02% Coverage

The issue of raped women, children, the indigenous communities who have been systematically affected and chased, and the black people... all this has been considerably important, but at the same time, where there's ideologization it withers, it stains and it demeans the results.

## *JEP*

Discussions or references to the Special Jurisdiction for Peace.

<Files\Columbia\Carlos Beristaín - Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [2.61% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.61% Coverage

This is also a commission that is currently working in a different context, it is part of a broader system that includes the JEP and the Search Unit. No other commission has ever worked in such a context. There has never been a TRC, a JEP and a Search Unit. That is pioneering work and represents challenges in terms of articulation and the types of truths that will be produced by these institutions in their different periods of mandate. We have a 3-year mandate, the JEP has a 15-year mandate with chance of extension and the search unit has a 20-year mandate.

<Files\Columbia\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 2 references coded [2.40% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.12% Coverage

DA -Well, as a government official, I have the command of establishing contact with the new system, the one that emerged from the peace agreement made with the FARC. It's a system integrating the TRC, the Search Unit and the Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP).

Reference 2 - 1.28% Coverage

The victims who suffered moral damage have the expectation of having some sort of truth, justice and forgiveness, which means perpetrators approach the TRC, the JEP or the supreme court of justice and ask for forgiveness and explain the incidents. That somehow helps people deal with their mourning.

<Files\Columbia\Sigifredo López -Interview Transcript> - § 9 references coded [13.20% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.86% Coverage

SL - For instance, the Peace Special Jurisdiction (JEP) tells the kidnappers “Gentlemen, what happened in the case 01 with all the kidnappings that have taken place in Colombia?” and in such case they give a way-too-broad version of the kidnapping and they say they were kidnapping as means to become a state inside a state, a belligerent group with territorial domain and then they were acting as if they were a state, charging taxes through kidnapping to those who were considered oligarchs and landowners.

Reference 2 - 1.60% Coverage

So in the particular case of the JEP, the FARC have provided significantly distorted versions, and they have been reluctant to recognize, for example, the fact that the kidnapping and assassination of the deputed was a war crime and that they were wrong. So they try to embellish that reality and hide it by saying “it was perhaps another armed group that entered the camp”. No, it was them, and it has been proven by several analysis. An

#### Reference 3 - 2.13% Coverage

?

SL - Logically they have asked for forgiveness, but it was more of a political gesture than a heartfelt gesture in order to have access to the benefits of the JEP. But right now, when it comes to recognize the truth, they are just doing it halfway with the purpose of avoiding appearing in History as responsible of atrocious crimes and in the case all this political polarization, leads the JEP to stop being a closure organism and they are taken to international judiciary instances. That is what's currently happening and that's why they insist on denying their actions.

LT -

#### Reference 4 - 1.11% Coverage

That's the context I'm talking about in the case of the JEP. Therefore, we have 3 organisms. The center for Historical Memory, the JEP which must listen to the victims and accused to administer justice and another more which is not judicial but only has the mandate of gathering of truth, that is the TRC.

#### Reference 5 - 2.54% Coverage

And in the center, we have the JEP, which aims to judicially listen to these gentlemen for later absolving them. That's what the peace agreement was for. It's a kind of restorative justice instead of punitive. But even then, to absolve these people they need to be heard first and that's where there's a confrontation between the version of the victims and the kidnappers and it is in this scenario that I claim they are not acknowledging the truth and by not doing so they risk being expelled from the JEP and be taken to international courts because a denial of justice is taking place. That's the organism I'm focusing on. With regards to the TRC, we haven't been called yet, but we certainly

#### Reference 6 - 1.39% Coverage

TRC. I prefer believing in a confronted vision, more dialectical – which is what the JEP is currently doing by listening to the perpetrators, calling the victims and asking “do you agree with this given version or not?” and then forming a criterion that will be surely expressed in their sentences. There is then a more interesting dialectical exercise aligned with the truth.

L

#### Reference 7 - 0.45% Coverage

ll be. What I've observed so far is that all these organisms (JEP, TRC, CNMH) have shown initial respect for the victims.

Reference 8 - 0.76% Coverage

. I repeat, from the three organisms I stick to the JEP because it is a dialectical exercise, because there's a given authority from the judges when they listen to both sides involved and reach a consensus. I

Reference 9 - 1.35% Coverage

. I repeat, there's another truth in between that, being controversial and dialectic, may be more adjusted and believable, being the one told by the JEP. That's what I'm going to say in a document I'm preparing because, I repeat, everything that is taking place in Colombia, the articulation of three truths: two particularly interested truths and one more balanced. I

## *Justice*

Discussions or references of justice.

<Files\Columbia\Carlos Beristáin - Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [2.72% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.72% Coverage

**CB** -Well, I mean, restoration and justice are too broad terms because we don't have a mandate or a possibility to...but it has indeed brought a space for people to participate and feel their stories are actually told, that they will be treated well and that we are doing something meaningful for the country. At least for the victims who are participating... we've collected 550 testimonies of exiled victims. No TRC has collected 550 testimonies in 23 countries. I hope we can reach 1000 testimonies, and these include stories that cover more than two-three hours on really important matter. W

<Files\Columbia\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 3 references coded [8.66% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 4.32% Coverage

Regarding peacebuilding and reconciliation, I think it involves many elements. It's not just the will or the agreement between conflicting parts. It's not just the cessation of hostility between both sides. It must also involve a space for applying justice to war crimes, if not on all crimes. I mean, insurrection, illegal possession of weapons, rioting or deaths in combat...these can be solved through amnesties. But there are grave crimes in the Colombian conflict committed by several actors. I will mention a case on each side: the massive kidnappings and indiscriminate attacks with weapons against the civil population by the FARC, the mass murders led by the paramilitary groups and the false positives by the state forces. These are unforgivable crimes. They may have special treatment in the context of a peace agreement, but they are nevertheless unforgivable, and can't be amnestied. So I believe peace involves an additional factor to the ones aforementioned, which is having some sort of justice.

Reference 2 - 3.74% Coverage

The victims of looting and displacement want to return to their land and recover their properties. That's material restoration. The victims who suffered moral damage have the expectation of having some sort of truth, justice and forgiveness, which means perpetrators approach the TRC, the JEP or the supreme court of justice and ask for forgiveness and explain the incidents. That somehow helps people deal with their mourning. And there's another type of restoration, which is the symbolic restoration of which we are the ones in charge -and partially the TRC-. It consists of informing people about the events that took place (during conflict) because there can be people who don't understand why this happened. They may wonder "why was my son murdered?" "why did they take my daughter?" "Why did they rape her?" So this type of exercises contributes to victim restoration.

Reference 3 - 0.60% Coverage

I consider that it won't hopefully be a juridical report, because juridical or legal issues are under the responsibility of other organisms.

<Files\Columbia\Sigifredo López -Interview Transcript> - § 5 references coded [10.22% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.54% Coverage

EP. But right now, when it comes to recognize the truth, they are just doing it halfway with the purpose of avoiding appearing in History as responsible of atrocious crimes and in the case all this political polarization, leads the JEP to stop being a closure organism and they are taken to international judiciary instances. That is what's currently happening and that's why they insist on denying their actions.

LT -

Reference 2 - 1.77% Coverage

d. And in between, there's a justice organism that must listen to both aggressors and victims to administer justice. That's the context I'm talking about in the case of the JEP. Therefore, we have 3 organisms. The center for Historical Memory, the JEP which must listen to the victims and accused to administer justice and another more which is not judicial but only has the mandate of gathering of truth, that is the TRC. But these organisms intertwine and have different interests.

Reference 3 - 1.75% Coverage

m. That's what the peace agreement was for. It's a kind of restorative justice instead of punitive. But even then, to absolve these people they need to be heard first and that's where there's a confrontation between the version of the victims and the kidnappers and it is in this scenario that I claim they are not acknowledging the truth and by not doing so they risk being expelled from the JEP and be taken to international courts because a denial of justice is taking place.

Reference 4 - 2.58% Coverage

SL - Doing something more balanced. I mean, having presence of both right-wing and left-wing people in it. Or having a more significant presence of victims. Victims give balance. Because amidst current polarization we have two organisms: one leaning to the right and the other one leaning to the left. The only organism keeping a balance is the JEP. Why does it actually get to do it? Because there's confrontation between the versions of the victims and the versions of the aggressors. Judges will make a judgement only after hearing both sides. Only then, can it actually flourish a more balanced truth, more real. Instead, there are political manipulations around the truth in the other two organisms.

Reference 5 - 2.58% Coverage

ce. They asked for forgiveness and it was given to them, and they won't spend a single day in prison even if they committed atrocious crimes. That was the agreement made and the one many people criticize, but that's how it went. As a result, no matter what they say, they won't be judged. But even though, they don't want to be presented in the records as murderers, knowing that both sides committed massacres. I am not here judging one side or the other. I'm pointing at both sides, as responsible of atrocious crimes, condemnable in the face of history and God. Every massacre is condemnable, has it been perpetrated by paramilitary or the guerrilla groups, state agents or financed by businessmen. All



## *Kidnapping*

Discussions or references to kidnapping.

<Files\Columbia\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 2 references coded [2.12% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.14% Coverage

I will mention a case on each side: the massive kidnappings and indiscriminate attacks with weapons against the civil population by the FARC, the mass murders led by the paramilitary groups and the false positives by the state forces. These are unforgivable crimes.

Reference 2 - 0.99% Coverage

A TRC is not looking for information such as “who was the responsible of this kidnapping?” I mean, it does, but its objective is to look at the problem as a whole, with all of its edges and using all sources that must be consulted.

<Files\Columbia\Sigifredo López -Interview Transcript> - § 5 references coded [10.51% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.13% Coverage

SL - For instance, the Peace Special Jurisdiction (JEP) tells the kidnappers “Gentlemen, what happened in the case 01 with all the kidnappings that have taken place in Colombia?” and in such case they give a way-too-broad version of the kidnapping and they say they were kidnapping as means to become a state inside a state, a belligerent group with territorial domain and then they were acting as if they were a state, charging taxes through kidnapping to those who were considered oligarchs and landowners. That with regards to extortive kidnapping. As for political kidnapping, they said they deprived people from liberty as means to reach a prisoner exchange, which mainly takes place between states, or in the case of internal armed conflict, between the state and insurgent groups. But these groups needed to have a status of belligerent groups with a given political status and not that of terrorists as they did back then. But besides that, there was notorious confusion such as in the case of the kidnapping of the deputes: we were civilians, by no means fighters. Fighters are indeed object of prisoner exchange, but not civilians. Civilians are kidnapped. And according to martial law, there’s a moral and ethical obligation from insurgent groups to deliver civilians and to keep them away from the confrontation while it takes place and for this reason humanitarian agreements were made. Th

Reference 2 - 1.60% Coverage

So in the particular case of the JEP, the FARC have provided significantly distorted versions, and they have been reluctant to recognize, for example, the fact that the kidnapping and assassination of the deputes was a war crime and that they were wrong. So they try to embellish that reality and hide it by saying “it was perhaps another armed group that entered the camp”. No, it was them, and it has been proven by several analysis. An

#### Reference 3 - 1.53% Coverage

But even then, to absolve these people they need to be heard first and that's where there's a confrontation between the version of the victims and the kidnappers and it is in this scenario that I claim they are not acknowledging the truth and by not doing so they risk being expelled from the JEP and be taken to international courts because a denial of justice is taking place. That's the organism I'm focusing on. Wi

#### Reference 4 - 0.71% Coverage

SL - No, I haven't. I will be called as a victim (from the kidnapping). That case you mention was a matter of investigation because, as they said, my nose resembled that of a guerrilla man. I re

#### Reference 5 - 1.53% Coverage

They told me I would be called as a victim and witness of a kidnapping committed by the FARC, and as the last survivor of a massacre to contrast what was said by the FARC. The JEP already gave us the directions (versions) of the FARC and we as victims have pointed out some observations and the dialectical exercise will continue under construction within the trial that is taking place against the members of the FARC.

## *Memorialization*

Discussions or references to memorialization, commemoration, ceremonies of remembrance, etc.

<Files\Columbia\Carlos Beristaín - Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [5.35% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.35% Coverage

**CB** -In the Colombian case, there are many things that have begun to appear in different contexts, fragmented if you may (memorialization). In this country, there has been a law for victims before a TRC. A NCHM (National Center for Historical Memory) that was born before the TRC. In other places, processes of memorialization and symbolic restitution were already taking place led by the NCHM and the Historical Memory Group, which made meaningful contributions but also had limitations. The NCHM has had a change of direction recently, which of course frames the space of the TRC and also what will be said by it in terms of this memorialization. It will have to do not only with the final report and its diffusion but also with public spaces. In Colombia, public spaces have no memory of the armed conflict, except for some monuments to the fallen army men dead in the war. There are no public spaces that are occupied by the memory of the victims and that is an important challenge: to think how memory could cross the boundaries of the museums and closed exhibitions so that it is also present in the society. That is one of the challenges we have ahead.

<Files\Columbia\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 4 references coded [3.33% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.90% Coverage

They have as main function the elucidation of truth, whereas we are responsible for a much more elemental but equally important task which is the memory of the different victims of the Colombian armed conflict.

Reference 2 - 0.69% Coverage

Therefore, in some moments such as meetings or events, book fairs, commemorations of tragic events, we coincide, but as I said we do not have any joint project.

Reference 3 - 0.85% Coverage

There's also the NCHM, which is the entity in charge of executing symbolic restoration -not material- and we basically work with memory and we are in charge of building the National Museum of Memory.

Reference 4 - 0.88% Coverage

DA -I somehow answered that already. Collective memory does not exist but in plural terms. I mean, there are memories based on differences. Case in point, here we have the so-called differential approaches.

<Files\Columbia\Sigifredo López -Interview Transcript> - § 3 references coded [4.30% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.39% Coverage

The government also distorts theirs, and victims, who are usually the big losers, lose the chance of sharing their truth, which should be a more centered perspective. Say, the peace agreement dictates that victims are at the center of the agreement but we really haven't been, and that is reflected even in the investigation about truth and preservation of memory taking place.

Reference 2 - 1.19% Coverage

SL - Speculating, I think that the NCHM will write some documents that preserve a vision from the state and the right-wing and will pretend that such is the official truth for the generations to come and will present documents, videos, monuments to try to say "the bad guys were from one side and the other ones not so much".

Reference 3 - 1.71% Coverage

In the CNH what they did is a museum in which events that remember what happened in the kidnapping are presented. It's in a hall, in the assembly. They just filled out the inform "¡Basta ya!" (that's enough!) which consists of the most relevant moments of the conflict. There's a chapter dedicated to the Valle deputies, so there's a book about it which mentions us and closes the case. Besides that, there's nothing else. Let's say that's what has been done so far.

## *NCHM*

Discussions or references to the National Centre for Historical Memory.

<Files\Columbia\Carlos Beristaín - Interview Transcript> - § 2 references coded [3.63% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.35% Coverage

In this country, there has been a law for victims before a TRC. A NCHM (National Center for Historical Memory) that was born before the TRC. In other places, processes of memorialization and symbolic restitution were already taking place led by the NCHM and the Historical Memory Group, which made meaningful contributions but also had limitations. The NCHM has had a change of direction recently, which of course frames the space of the TRC and also what will be said by it in terms of this memorialization. I

Reference 2 - 1.27% Coverage

The director of the NCHM has, since he was first appointed, denied the existence of the armed conflict and that is for us totally out of place. It seizes the frame of acknowledgement for 9 million victims in the country, and that does bring an implicit political position. Th

<Files\Columbia\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 2 references coded [1.25% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.40% Coverage

DA -I've been living here for a year, leading the National Center of Historical Memory (NCHM)

Reference 2 - 0.85% Coverage

There's also the NCHM, which is the entity in charge of executing symbolic restoration -not material- and we basically work with memory and we are in charge of building the National Museum of Memory.

<Files\Columbia\Sigifredo López -Interview Transcript> - § 7 references coded [6.98% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.98% Coverage

sts. That's how, for instance, the right-wing government and its interest on shredding the peace agreement to pieces and having the war return names as director of the Center for Historical Memory a person who actively denies the existence of the armed conflict. Ultim

Reference 2 - 1.05% Coverage

. In that sense, a lot of people are rushing to say that they (the Center for Historical Memory) are justifying the abuses committed by the paramilitary forces and they are only condemning those committed by the guerrilla army. But they (the right-wing) in turn argue quite the opposite.

Reference 3 - 1.08% Coverage

t. On the contrary, the National center for Historical Memory has collected the same versions but with an opposite interest. Since the arrival of the current president one and a half years ago, things have been changing to the point of conflict denial. Everything is on the other way around. And

Reference 4 - 0.50% Coverage

Hence the Center of Historical Memory became a pro-establishment aiming to present the newer generations an official version of truth. Th

Reference 5 - 0.84% Coverage

Nevertheless, I insist, there is a pronounced tendency in the Center for Historical Memory to officialize a truth aligned to the right-wing beliefs, and there's also fear regarding the fear with the leftist position of the TRC. I p

Reference 6 - 1.34% Coverage

For instance, if you talk to the director of the National Center for Historical Memory (Dario Acevedo) he will not acknowledge the existence of conflict basing his arguments on right-wing ideology and even if he is listening to you, it will be impossible to influence his way of thinking and what he's already decided to do with the Center for Historical Memory. And

Reference 7 - 1.19% Coverage

SL - Speculating, I think that the NCHM will write some documents that preserve a vision from the state and the right-wing and will pretend that such is the official truth for the generations to come and will present documents, videos, monuments to try to say "the bad guys were from one side and the other ones not so much".

## *Paramilitary Groups*

Discussions or references to paramilitary groups.

<Files\Columbia\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 3 references coded [5.19% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.60% Coverage

Here, everything has been relatively brought to the surface: The influence of narcotrafficking, the perversion of the paramilitary groups, the degradation of the guerrilla groups, the participation in criminal actions by the military and public forces... but here, here the state in its multiple instances, say, the armed forces, plead to defend the constitution and the laws.

Reference 2 - 2.10% Coverage

Here we don't have guerrilla groups but types of guerrilla groups. It's not the same, say, the FARC to the ELN or the EPN. Besides, we had paramilitary groups since the 60's, when they were allowed by the law as peasant armed forces at the service of the military in their quest to establish order and chase criminals. Recently, paramilitary forces have self-financed with narcotrafficking, have attacked civilians as rearguard of the guerrilla groups and have committed numerous massacres.

Reference 3 - 1.49% Coverage

But there are grave crimes in the Colombian conflict committed by several actors. I will mention a case on each side: the massive kidnappings and indiscriminate attacks with weapons against the civil population by the FARC, the mass murders led by the paramilitary groups and the false positives by the state forces. These are unforgivable crimes.

<Files\Columbia\Sigifredo López -Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [1.05% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.05% Coverage

. In that sense, a lot of people are rushing to say that they (the Center for Historical Memory) are justifying the abuses committed by the paramilitary forces and they are only condemning those committed by the guerrilla army. But they (the right-wing) in turn argue quite the opposite.

## *Politics*

Discussions or references to politics.

<Files\Columbia\Carlos Beristáin - Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [0.93% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.93% Coverage

This is evidently difficult in the Colombian context, because we would need more political support in favor of peace in order for this to facilitate these spaces of acknowledgement for the victims. Th

<Files\Columbia\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 3 references coded [9.49% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.38% Coverage

Within the framework of conflict, Colombia always kept a democratic system, liberal, with some momentary restrictions, but it was never governed in dictatorial terms and in that sense it is not possible to find a hidden command, which is what TRCs somehow look for, what is hidden, what hasn't been brought to the surface.

Reference 2 - 3.26% Coverage

For instance, it was traditional in the country to have traditional hegemonic parties up to the 80's: the liberal and conservative parties. A new constitution was written here in 1991, it was called the constitution for the peace, which generated a dismantling of the traditional political structures. Nowadays, there are plenty of political parties, majors are chosen by popular vote, there is a large amount of movements that are municipal or departmental, even national. Governors are also chosen by popular vote, something that didn't happen before. This is thus a country that has opted for a reformist path. And nevertheless, even if that (the constitution) was one of the demands of the rebel groups, once established they continued with their insurgence.

Reference 3 - 4.85% Coverage

For a long time, the responsibility of that protection was in charge of the state, and dignitaries were the ones who make the agreements in that matter. But at the end of the past century and beginning of the current one, the International Court of Justice and other institutions and individuals with political power and leadership have taken responsibility for dealing with groups with political aspirations within the context of armed conflicts, but these must submit to the currency and respect of human rights. In a dictatorship the responsibility lays on the politicians because they control everything, but this is more complex in a democracy. That's one of the biggest problems we currently have in our country. An armed insurrection of different groups against a state that was - and is- democratic. It's an exceptional case in the world. African conflicts do not resemble ours, nor do Latin American conflicts, although they do share some similarities. The major difference



is that these conflicts took place in military dictatorships. So there are many particularities. I couldn't say what they're actually doing in this area.

<Files\Columbia\Sigifredo López -Interview Transcript> - § 3 references coded [10.32% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.49% Coverage

sts. That's how, for instance, the right-wing government and its interest on shredding the peace agreement to pieces and having the war return names as director of the Center for Historical Memory a person who actively denies the existence of the armed conflict. Ultimately, this pretends to present and to protect a distorted version (of what happened in the conflict) from the government's perspective. In

Reference 2 - 6.25% Coverage

SL - For instance, the Peace Special Jurisdiction (JEP) tells the kidnappers "Gentlemen, what happened in the case 01 with all the kidnappings that have taken place in Colombia?" and in such case they give a way-too-broad version of the kidnapping and they say they were kidnapping as means to become a state inside a state, a belligerent group with territorial domain and then they were acting as if they were a state, charging taxes through kidnapping to those who were considered oligarchs and landowners. That with regards to extortive kidnapping. As for political kidnapping, they said they deprived people from liberty as means to reach a prisoner exchange, which mainly takes place between states, or in the case of internal armed conflict, between the state and insurgent groups. But these groups needed to have a status of belligerent groups with a given political status and not that of terrorists as they did back then. But besides that, there was notorious confusion such as in the case of the kidnapping of the deputes: we were civilians, by no means fighters. Fighters are indeed object of prisoner exchange, but not civilians. Civilians are kidnapped. And according to martial law, there's a moral and ethical obligation from insurgent groups to deliver civilians and to keep them away from the confrontation while it takes place and for this reason humanitarian agreements were made. That was impossible to reach between the Colombian state during the government of Alvaro Uribe and the FARC because both sides prioritized their own interests of carrying on with the confrontation and to take advantage as much as possible, regardless of the lives and dignity of the kidnapped deputes families.

Reference 3 - 2.58% Coverage

SL - Doing something more balanced. I mean, having presence of both right-wing and left-wing people in it. Or having a more significant presence of victims. Victims give balance. Because amidst current polarization we have two organisms: one leaning to the right and the other one leaning to the left. The only organism keeping a balance is the JEP. Why does it actually get to do it? Because there's confrontation between the versions of the victims and the versions of the aggressors. Judges will make a judgement only after hearing both sides. Only then, can it actually flourish a more balanced truth, more real. Instead, there are political manipulations around the truth in the other two organisms.

## *Reconciliation*

Discussions or references to reconciliation.

<Files\Columbia\Carlos Beristáin - Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [1.54% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.54% Coverage

**CB** -I hope the inform can be a mirror in which Colombia take a good look at itself to make decisions on how to rebuild the country, how to make it more equitable and inclusive, and that means for us generating a positive healthy crisis that help things change, to not continue on the path that has been all this time in the country.

<Files\Columbia\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [4.32% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 4.32% Coverage

Regarding peacebuilding and reconciliation, I think it involves many elements. It's not just the will or the agreement between conflicting parts. It's not just the cessation of hostility between both sides. It must also involve a space for applying justice to war crimes, if not on all crimes. I mean, insurrection, illegal possession of weapons, rioting or deaths in combat...these can be solved through amnesties. But there are grave crimes in the Colombian conflict committed by several actors. I will mention a case on each side: the massive kidnappings and indiscriminate attacks with weapons against the civil population by the FARC, the mass murders led by the paramilitary groups and the false positives by the state forces. These are unforgivable crimes. They may have special treatment in the context of a peace agreement, but they are nevertheless unforgivable, and can't be amnestied. So I believe peace involves an additional factor to the ones aforementioned, which is having some sort of justice.

## *Truth*

Discussions or references to truth.

<Files\Columbia\Carlos Beristáin - Interview Transcript> - § 7 references coded [10.45% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.72% Coverage

Second, in the framework of the peace process, both the government and the FARC shown interest in having a TRC that contributed to the elucidation of truth.

Reference 2 - 1.66% Coverage

People have told us “we want a truth that explains the reasons why “not just a truth that describes the violations but offers reasons, what has made the conflict possible and also for us to know what have been the factors of persistence during all these years that have impeded Colombia to reach peace every single time, with violence intensifying each time.

Reference 3 - 1.08% Coverage

There has never been a TRC, a JEP and a Search Unit. That is pioneering work and represents challenges in terms of articulation and the types of truths that will be produced by these institutions in their different periods of mandate.

Reference 4 - 0.57% Coverage

Truth can't be negotiated, you have to let things speak for themselves, to have an effective research and start from there.

Reference 5 - 2.45% Coverage

Also, say, to offer an inclusive truth, that encompasses the perspectives of the different victims and responsible actors of the conflict and at the same time provides rigorousness when confronting the country with the indisputable facts about the things that speak for themselves and that must be heard. We also need a truth that generates a much-needed empathy from those who have lived aside the conflict and who haven't been affected or preoccupied by it, to those who have not been sensitive towards the victims in the country

Reference 6 - 3.05% Coverage

Then there's the other challenge, which consists of building something that integrates the two perspectives of the commission. One is the perspective of the elucidation of the truth and the complex mandate of finding about historical human rights violations, the relationship between conflict and paramilitarism, narcotrafficking, land plundering and the responsibilities of each in this conflict. On the other side, the line of social dialogue. We open spaces for dialogue and

acknowledgement among different sectors, and this is not a work that can be done during 3 years behind a desk or interviewing people around the country and then publishing something. I

Reference 7 - 0.90% Coverage

Also, in terms of social dialogue, we've made 5 events (truth meetings), numerous audiences of hearing around the country, and we continue discussing how to move forward and strengthen our work.

<Files\Columbia\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 3 references coded [4.76% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.90% Coverage

They have as main function the elucidation of truth, whereas we are responsible for a much more elemental but equally important task which is the memory of the different victims of the Colombian armed conflict.

Reference 2 - 2.75% Coverage

DA -I couldn't say that. What the law says, to us in particular, is that the law for victims is valid for every citizen and that the state and its organizations cannot build official truths. What does this mean? That the state is not called to interfere with an issue that is polemic, political, that can be academic and that will always be controversial. And we understand official truth as that which is produced by dictatorial rules in order to homogenize population. In the frame of a democracy it is preferable to have circulating all sorts of interpretations regarding these issues. It's preferable to forcing people think in a given way.

Reference 3 - 1.11% Coverage

But, just take a look at this, the exercise made during the peace agreement with the FARC...they ordered 16 scholars to produce texts with the intention of knowing the truth about the Colombian conflict. All 16 documents were different among each other [laughs].

<Files\Columbia\Sigifredo López -Interview Transcript> - § 17 references coded [28.60% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.39% Coverage

SL - I think that the objective, the mission and the nature of the TRC are quite important for future purposes – to gather the truth and once its mission has been accomplished by 2023, to have it become memory that must be protected so that future generations know what actually happened in the Colombian armed conflict and moreover to prevent these incidents from happening again.

Reference 2 - 1.38% Coverage

For instance, they claim that the TRC that was created is a commission led by left-wing people with the purpose of presenting the FARC as the “good ones” and the government agents as the “bad ones”. Amidst this polarization, we the victims are trapped and so is the truth because without a doubt there are clear interests and ideological tendencies that are by no means a lie.

#### Reference 3 - 2.81% Coverage

Only a serious and thorough dialectical exercise that allows dialogue around the issue of truth might help us move on and become more objective because without doubt history is told by the victors and in this conflict, regardless of their armed surrender, it was the FARC who are the victors in terms of their given possibility of telling their own biased and adjusted version of truth. The government also distorts theirs, and victims, who are usually the big losers, lose the chance of sharing their truth, which should be a more centered perspective. Say, the peace agreement dictates that victims are at the center of the agreement but we really haven't been, and that is reflected even in the investigation about truth and preservation of memory taking place.

#### Reference 4 - 1.34% Coverage

. And they continue denying it and treating victims as stupid, which naturally causes outrage because truth keeps being pushed out only with the purpose of appearing in History as if they were not murderers, but they really were... war is absurd, and fighters lose sense of reality and the principle of respect to the fellow's dignity and then everyone distorts truth.

#### Reference 5 - 0.61% Coverage

Hence, we are currently witnessing all this in the difficulties of the FARC to confess the truth and we the victims receive that (behavior) as a revictimization.

LT

#### Reference 6 - 1.54% Coverage

EP. But right now, when it comes to recognize the truth, they are just doing it halfway with the purpose of avoiding appearing in History as responsible of atrocious crimes and in the case all this political polarization, leads the JEP to stop being a closure organism and they are taken to international judiciary instances. That is what's currently happening and that's why they insist on denying their actions.

LT -

#### Reference 7 - 1.74% Coverage

SL - I believe that the Commission is doing...the thing is that we are talking about two things. We are talking about three organisms in charge of salvaging truth. The TRC, which is the one you are currently studying, it's the one created in the Habana agreements, and it's being directed by the priest De Roux with the purpose of gathering information about each incident during the war. It gathers truths from fighters and some victims, but it is by no means complete. We t

#### Reference 8 - 1.40% Coverage

Hence the Center of Historical Memory became a pro-establishment aiming to present the newer generations an official version of truth. Then we have the TRC marked by strong left-wing ideological tendencies aiming to present a truth from their perspective to the future. And in the center, we have the JEP, which aims to judicially listen to these gentlemen for later absolving them. T

#### Reference 9 - 1.26% Coverage

on. With regards to the TRC, we haven't been called yet, but we certainly hope they do. I'm not sure if they are solely listening to the victims of paramilitarism or FARC victims, but this polarization is heavily affecting the understanding of truth, its search, its consecution and the preservation of the historical memory of that truth.

LT

#### Reference 10 - 2.21% Coverage

SL - What I say is that the ideologization of the search for truth permeates everything. The differential approach is very important indeed. The issue of raped women, children, the indigenous communities who have been systematically affected and chased, and the black people... all this has been considerably important, but at the same time, where there's ideologization it withers, it stains and it demeans the results. That's what I mean. This -the TRC- was well designed, but in its implementation the ideologization of the process of search for truth is permeating the process and the result as well.

#### Reference 11 - 2.30% Coverage

SL - I believe the TRC main goal is quite important, and that the people who are in charge of it are...Nobody can say the priest De Roux... right wing opposers criticize him. I believe in him. But I also believe this TRC has not searched well enough for the victims' testimony. I fear that balance may be lost and that it ends up presenting a truth from the groups that were initially revolutionary but ended up degenerating in terrorist groups and groups of bandits who were safeguarded by the peace agreement and sheltered in it to end up well because they had been doing really bad and to make up the end of the conflict. The

#### Reference 12 - 1.09% Coverage

But rebuilding the truth is hard, I repeat, because of the confusions brought by the war, the wounds and polarizations that it leaves behind, and because ultimately the military who committed human rights violations may have been pressured or thought they were fighting for saving the homeland. Th

#### Reference 13 - 2.48% Coverage

We believe it is our truth what is worth and not the truth of the extremes. Nevertheless, I insist, there is a pronounced tendency in the Center for Historical Memory to officialize a truth aligned to the right-wing beliefs, and there's also fear regarding the fear with the leftist position of the TRC. I prefer believing in a confronted vision, more dialectical – which is what the JEP is currently doing by listening to the perpetrators, calling the victims and asking “do you agree with this given version or not?” and then forming a criterion that will be surely expressed in their sentences. There is then a more interesting dialectical exercise aligned with the truth.

L

#### Reference 14 - 2.23% Coverage

So I think we the victims have more moral authority and our word is closer to the truth than that of the participants of the armed conflict because they have interest in being presented to History in a way -none of them wants to be presented as the murders they were- I repeat, the TRC mission is interesting, really; the differential approach is one of the best things in its articulation; the regional work too; their research methodology is surely great. The issue is who they have approached, which participants have been sought to tell them the truth and what is going to be summarized at the end.

LT

#### Reference 15 - 2.56% Coverage

ry. And that's a problem because truth is a collective construction, because respect is not just listening but analyzing if that person or victim be it from left or right may or may not ultimately be right, and not just staying still in the same ideological position that will decide what is it that is going to be summed up and shown for posterity. If I have a truth in my head and that's going to be unmodifiable, well then there's no point in initiating a dialogue, in listening, in doing field work and pretending I'm in a process of collective construction when I'm already settled with my conclusions. That's not honest, and it wouldn't be honest if it's happening on the one side or the other.

#### Reference 16 - 0.91% Coverage

ship. It has to be recorded in History, the truth has to -official or not- say it. What we have here is a struggle for the truth by all actors involved so as not to appear as murderers and try to wash the blood in their faces in front of history.

L

#### Reference 17 - 1.35% Coverage

. I repeat, there's another truth in between that, being controversial and dialectic, may be more adjusted and believable, being the one told by the JEP. That's what I'm going to say in a document I'm preparing because, I repeat, everything that is taking place in Colombia, the articulation of three truths: two particularly interested truths and one more balanced. I

## *Victims*

Discussions or references to victims.

<Files\Columbia\Carlos Beristáin - Interview Transcript> - § 13 references coded [12.83% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.14% Coverage

We give voice to the victims.

Reference 2 - 0.78% Coverage

First, a historical demand from the victims made for many years in which they have reclaimed an independent, unbiased research of what actually happened in the conflict.

Reference 3 - 0.43% Coverage

Victims from different sectors made a specific request to implement a TRC in this scenario.

Reference 4 - 1.29% Coverage

There are 9 million victims in this country according to official numbers. That's why the TRC has to move between the cases we will have to work on because they will exemplify other broader dynamics and what we've called victimization dynamics and the explicative contexts. Peopl

Reference 5 - 1.10% Coverage

There are no public spaces that are occupied by the memory of the victims and that is an important challenge: to think how memory could cross the boundaries of the museums and closed exhibitions so that it is also present in the society.

Reference 6 - 0.81% Coverage

In terms of the work done during the first six months, we focused on visiting multiple regions, talking to the victims, with different sectors here and worldwide. Additionall

Reference 7 - 0.87% Coverage

Now, from the victims' perspective, there's a considerable hope in the TRC but also unrest towards the fulfillment of the peace agreements and the difficulties brought by this situation.

Reference 8 - 1.64% Coverage

One of the things that has caused the most victims is the stigmatization of the other and that is part of what has to be overcome. I may not be politically aligned with a, b or c, but if I analyze the



human right violations these sectors have suffered, I must be as careful and committed as with the people I identify with or the people I've worked with.

Reference 9 - 1.26% Coverage

The director of the NHCM has, since he was first appointed, denied the existence of the armed conflict and that is for us totally out of place. It seizes the frame of acknowledgement for 9 million victims in the country, and that does bring an implicit political position.

Reference 10 - 1.05% Coverage

We also need a truth that generates a much-needed empathy from those who have lived aside the conflict and who haven't been affected or preoccupied by it, to those who have not been sensitive towards the victims in the country.

Reference 11 - 0.93% Coverage

This is evidently difficult in the Colombian context, because we would need more political support in favor of peace in order for this to facilitate these spaces of acknowledgement for the victims. Th

Reference 12 - 1.31% Coverage

At least for the victims who are participating... we've collected 550 testimonies of exiled victims. No TRC has collected 550 testimonies in 23 countries. I hope we can reach 1000 testimonies, and these include stories that cover more than two-three hours on really important matter. W

Reference 13 - 1.23% Coverage

The TRC also has to figure out why, if you take a look at the statistics, seven out of 10 victims have appeared in the period encompassing 1997 to 2007, or 1998-2008, 10 years out of 60 years of conflict. 70% of victims have appeared in a time frame of 10 years! I

<Files\\Columbia\\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 8 references coded [14.13% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.77% Coverage

We have contact in very specific activities in which we coincide in our work with the victims of the armed conflict, but we do not have any sort of joint project because we are somehow differentiated. They have as main function the elucidation of truth, whereas we are responsible for a much more elemental but equally important task which is the memory of the different victims of the Colombian armed conflict.

Reference 2 - 0.94% Coverage

They have their own methodology, which aims to build knowledge for future explorations. They are also consulting victims, but they receive them individually in houses they have set up in different regions of the country.

#### Reference 3 - 2.87% Coverage

DA -It's inevitable, because there is a whole system of entities related to victims that was created in 2011. Since the Victims and Land Restitution Law, or Law 1488 was passed, these entities have as head office the National System of Restoration, Reincorporation and Non-Repetition, which is in charge of material and integral restoration of the victims. It has a land unit, and another unit of economic compensations. Such entity is in charge of recognizing victims all over the country and abroad. It makes a list, using a technology to determine if the person's claim of victimhood is indeed valid or not. They are the ones who have the national registry of victims.

#### Reference 4 - 0.44% Coverage

This is not a bilateral conflict; it has numerous perpetrators and victims. It's difficult to analyze.

#### Reference 5 - 2.18% Coverage

It's just being professional. That's what I ask the groups who work with the victims. And I am physically incapable of knowing or seeing what they are doing all the time. I just tell them "the moment you replace victims when they are talking, you are violating a fundamental law of our job". In our work you need to respect what victims say along the way, regardless if one may or may not agree with them, because that is the basic part of their memory and their personal experience and you can't mess with that

#### Reference 6 - 2.00% Coverage

DA -Victims have different expectations. The victims of looting and displacement want to return to their land and recover their properties. That's material restoration. The victims who suffered moral damage have the expectation of having some sort of truth, justice and forgiveness, which means perpetrators approach the TRC, the JEP or the supreme court of justice and ask for forgiveness and explain the incidents. That somehow helps people deal with their mourning.

#### Reference 7 - 3.11% Coverage

It consists of informing people about the events that took place (during conflict) because there can be people who don't understand why this happened. They may wonder "why was my son murdered?" "why did they take my daughter?" "Why did they rape her?" So this type of exercises contributes to victim restoration. Now, the treatment of victims is a very complex issue, since it involves psychological, economic, moral and material aspects. And there are many of them. Victims are difficult to reach, there's no muscle or entity large enough to make a significant work that can positively impact such a large number of victims. What has been done in eight years of work in this center is too little compared to what has to be done.

Reference 8 - 0.81% Coverage

DA -I couldn't say that. What the law says, to us in particular, is that the law for victims is valid for every citizen and that the state and its organizations cannot build official truths.

<Files\Columbia\Sigifredo López -Interview Transcript> - § 12 references coded [20.31% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.58% Coverage

SL - My participation was mainly as a victim of a kidnapping by the FARC, the kidnapping of the deputies from the department, of which I'm the only survivor.

Reference 2 - 1.38% Coverage

For instance, they claim that the TRC that was created is a commission led by left-wing people with the purpose of presenting the FARC as the "good ones" and the government agents as the "bad ones". Amidst this polarization, we the victims are trapped and so is the truth because without a doubt there are clear interests and ideological tendencies that are by no means a lie.

Reference 3 - 1.39% Coverage

The government also distorts theirs, and victims, who are usually the big losers, lose the chance of sharing their truth, which should be a more centered perspective. Say, the peace agreement dictates that victims are at the center of the agreement but we really haven't been, and that is reflected even in the investigation about truth and preservation of memory taking place.

Reference 4 - 0.61% Coverage

Hence, we are currently witnessing all this in the difficulties of the FARC to confess the truth and we the victims receive that (behavior) as a revictimization.

LT

Reference 5 - 0.87% Coverage

e. We the victims haven't been called to talk about the case of the murder of the deputed. I really don't know if aggressors and kidnappers have been already called, but if they keep just one version that's all they're going to get. On th

Reference 6 - 1.26% Coverage

on. With regards to the TRC, we haven't been called yet, but we certainly hope they do. I'm not sure if they are solely listening to the victims of paramilitarism or FARC victims, but this polarization is heavily affecting the understanding of truth, its search, its consecution and the preservation of the historical memory of that truth.

LT

#### Reference 7 - 2.58% Coverage

SL - Doing something more balanced. I mean, having presence of both right-wing and left-wing people in it. Or having a more significant presence of victims. Victims give balance. Because amidst current polarization we have two organisms: one leaning to the right and the other one leaning to the left. The only organism keeping a balance is the JEP. Why does it actually get to do it? Because there's confrontation between the versions of the victims and the versions of the aggressors. Judges will make a judgement only after hearing both sides. Only then, can it actually flourish a more balanced truth, more real. Instead, there are political manipulations around the truth in the other two organisms.

#### Reference 8 - 2.92% Coverage

SL - I believe the TRC main goal is quite important, and that the people who are in charge of it are...Nobody can say the priest De Roux... right wing opposers criticize him. I believe in him. But I also believe this TRC has not searched well enough for the victims' testimony. I fear that balance may be lost and that it ends up presenting a truth from the groups that were initially revolutionary but ended up degenerating in terrorist groups and groups of bandits who were safeguarded by the peace agreement and sheltered in it to end up well because they had been doing really bad and to make up the end of the conflict. The positive aspect of all this is that violence rates have plummeted. That's what we the victims look for, that there are no more victims, because human life has no price.

#### Reference 9 - 2.61% Coverage

SL - They have some tasks, methodologies and objectives. I would say that their differential approach is of great relevance. The fact that they have regional commissions, that they're moving across the territory and that that have researchers. What I do not know -I've been to some events and meetings organized by them- is who they have interviewed; if they have interviewed victims, if these victims are only paramilitary or state victims or if there's also victims of the FARC. That's where it will be clear... if they only interview state or paramilitary victims, then the vision is mainly leftist and that's what's going to be reflected in the inform. If they interview all victims then it may be more balanced.

#### Reference 10 - 2.23% Coverage

So I think we the victims have more moral authority and our word is closer to the truth than that of the participants of the armed conflict because they have interest in being presented to History in a way -none of them wants to be presented as the murders they were- I repeat, the TRC mission is interesting, really; the differential approach is one of the best things in its articulation; the regional work too; their research methodology is surely great. The issue is who they have approached, which participants have been sought to tell them the truth and what is going to be summarized at the end.

LT

Reference 11 - 1.42% Coverage

Is

SL - No, the truth is that there are concerns that have become public thanks to some journalists, analysts, victims, that the TRC approach is unbalanced or will be. What I've observed so far is that all these organisms (JEP, TRC, CNMH) have shown initial respect for the victims. We as victims are heard, we are respected when we speak, but that doesn't change their intentions at all.

Reference 12 - 2.46% Coverage

C?

SL - Well, just to clarify, I won't subdue, because that's what perpetrators do. They told me I would be called as a victim and witness of a kidnapping committed by the FARC, and as the last survivor of a massacre to contrast what was said by the FARC. The JEP already gave us the directions (versions) of the FARC and we as victims have pointed out some observations and the dialectical exercise will continue under construction within the trial that is taking place against the members of the FARC. In turn, the TRC told me that they would call me to let me know the same thing that was said by the FARC and know my opinion about it, but that hasn't occurred yet. The

## *Violence*

Discussions or references to violence.

<Files\Columbia\Carlos Beristaín - Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [1.73% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.73% Coverage

This work allows us to have a broader perspective of the armed conflict in the different regions of the country, the different moments of its existence, but I do believe it raises large issues in terms of what is the actual responsibility of the different actors, and specifically the state, in the perpetuation of this situation of violence for so long and why, notoriously,

<Files\Columbia\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 2 references coded [2.21% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.73% Coverage

Recently, paramilitary forces have self-financed with narcotrafficking, have attacked civilians as rearguard of the guerrilla groups and have committed numerous massacres

Reference 2 - 1.49% Coverage

But there are grave crimes in the Colombian conflict committed by several actors. I will mention a case on each side: the massive kidnappings and indiscriminate attacks with weapons against the civil population by the FARC, the mass murders led by the paramilitary groups and the false positives by the state forces. These are unforgivable crimes.

<Files\Columbia\Sigifredo López - Interview Transcript> - § 7 references coded [6.86% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.58% Coverage

SL - My participation was mainly as a victim of a kidnapping by the FARC, the kidnapping of the deputies from the department, of which I'm the only survivor.

Reference 2 - 1.45% Coverage

. To say the least, in Colombia there have been more than 300 social leaders murdered in the current year, quite a large number. As if we still were in war. We've seen a reemergence of cars bomb, fires, kidnappings, armed strikes... this is all too serious and it shows us a polarized society, and truth is the first thing to be kidnapped – so to say- because there are two distinctive interests.  
T

Reference 3 - 1.37% Coverage

So in the particular case of the JEP, the FARC have provided significantly distorted versions, and they have been reluctant to recognize, for example, the fact that the kidnapping and assassination of the deputed was a war crime and that they were wrong. So they try to embellish that reality and hide it by saying “it was perhaps another armed group that entered the camp”.

Reference 4 - 0.87% Coverage

e. We the victims haven't been called to talk about the case of the murder of the deputed. I really don't know if aggressors and kidnappers have been already called, but if they keep just one version that's all they're going to get. On th

Reference 5 - 0.64% Coverage

. The positive aspect of all this is that violence rates have plummeted. That's what we the victims look for, that there are no more victims, because human life has no price.

Reference 6 - 1.12% Coverage

The guerrilla men who kidnapped, murdered and committed all kinds of taunts said the same thing in the name of Revolution and in the name of life they murdered and in the name of freedom they kidnapped, it was all a mess. And us, the civilians, were trapped amidst this barbarism and confusion of values. W

Reference 7 - 0.83% Coverage

ar. Both sides committed barbaric acts, atrocious acts, war drove them all insane. This is not about some being “good” and the other “bad”. All of the parties committed atrocious crimes and therefore all of the parties are bad.

## *Women*

Discussions or references to women

<Files\Columbia\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [0.63% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.63% Coverage

Women, children, adolescents suffer more because they are recruited at early stages of their life, because they are raped, both males and females.

<Files\Columbia\Sigifredo López -Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [1.02% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.02% Coverage

The issue of raped women, children, the indigenous communities who have been systematically affected and chased, and the black people... all this has been considerably important, but at the same time, where there's ideologization it withers, it stains and it demeans the results.



## *Youth*

Discussions or references to youth.

<Files\Columbia\Darío Acevedo - Interview Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [0.41% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.41% Coverage

Young population is not the same as an elder population. That shows there are diverse memories.