



The role of Catholic Church in a Culture of Peace:

Analysis of the Colombian Peace Process case

Diana Maria Caetano Furtado Guerra

Supervisor: María Paz Bermejo Pérez

Master in Conflict, Peace and Security

April 2023



unitar
United Nations Institute for Training and Research

Word Count: 13 014

Abstract

This investigation paper aims to analyse the role of the Catholic Church in a Culture of Peace in

the Colombian conflict, particularly in the Colombian Peace Agreement, thus using this conflict as

a case-study. In order to examine this, it has been used desk research and literature research, as

well as a relevant semi-structured interview with a Church's representative.

The Catholic Church has been very active in the Colombian conflict, from the Liberation Theology

roots in the 1960's to recent developments and engagements with local communities and the

government. Due to Colombian's majority Catholic population and the role of the Catholic Church

itself as a provider of support to victims and encouraging forgiveness, it can pave the way to

transitional justice and a more holistic Culture of Peace, that can serve as an example to other

conflicts.

Keywords: Catholic Church, Colombian Peace Agreement, Culture of Peace, FARC, ELN, Inner

Peace, Liberation Theology, Negative Peace, Outer Peace, Positive Peace, Religion, Social Justice,

Special Jurisdiction for Peace, Theory of Peace, Transitional Justice

2





Table of Contents

List of Figures5
List of Abbreviations6
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION
1.1 Statement of Research Problem7
1.2 Objectives of Study8
1.3 Significance of Study9
1.4 Literature Review9
1.5 Hypothesis
1.6 Theoretical Framework of Analysis11
1.7 Methodology11
CHAPTER 2. ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEMS LEADING TO THE COLOMBIA
PEACE PROCESS
2.1 The Liberation Theology as a reflection of Colombia's Social Problems13
2.2 The Catholic Church and the conflict15
CHAPTER 3. THE ROLE AND PARTICIPATION OF CATHOLIC CHURCH IN TH
COLOMBIAN PEACE AGREEMENT
3.1 Contextualization of the Peace Agreement18
3.2 The role of Catholic Church as a Promoter of Transitional Justice20
3.2.1 Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP)24





		3.2.2 Tru	ıth, Coexisto	ence and No	n-Repe	etition Co	ommissi	ion (C	EV)	26
		3.1.3 Uni	it for the Sea	arch for Pei	rsons Pı	resumed	Disapp	eared :	in the co	ontext
		and by r	eason of the	armed con	flict (Ul	BPD)	•••••	•••••	•••••	27
СНА	PTER	4. JOHA	N GALTUN	IG'S THEO	ORY O	F PEAC	CE, ITS	APPI	LICATI	ON TO
THE	COLC	OMBIAN C	CASE AND	THE ROLE	OF TH	IE CAT	HOLIC	CHUI	RCH	29
	4.1	Johan	Galtung's	Theory	of	Peace	and	a	Cultu	re of
	Peace	e	••••••	•••••	•••••		•••••	•••••		29
	4.2	Positive	Peace,	Social J	Justice	and	the	Idea	of	"Outer
	Peace	e"	•••••	•••••	• • • • • • • • • •	•••••	•••••	•••••	•••••	34
	4.3	Positive	Peace,	Transition	ıal J	ustice	and	Idea	of	"Inner
	Peace	e"	•••••	•••••	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	•••••	•••••	•••••	•••••	37
СНА	PTER	5. CONCL	LUSION	•••••		•••••	• • • • • • • • •	•••••	•••••	41
REFI	EREN	C ES	•••••		•••••		•••••	•••••		44
APPI	ENDIX	1: Sen	ni-Structure	d Intervie	ew Sci	ript to	Mons	eñor	Héctor	Fabio
Hena	0	•••••	•••••	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	•••••	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	• • • • • • •	• • • • • • • • • • • •	53





List of figures

Figure 1. Triangle of Violence.	29		
Figure 2. Vertical Development.	30		





List of abbreviations

AUC	Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia
CEV	Comisión para el Esclarecimiento de la Verdad, la
	Convivencia y la no Repetición
CINEP	Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular
CSIVI	Comisión de Seguimiento, Impulso y Verificación a la
	Implementación del Acuerdo Final
ELN	Ejército de Liberación Nacional
EPL	Ejército Popular de Liberación
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia
JEP	Jurisdicción Especial para la Paz
M-19	Movimiento 19 de Abril
PRT	Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores
SIVJRNR	Sistema Integral de Verdad, Justicia, Reparación y No
	Repetición
UBPD	Unidad de Búsqueda de Personas dadas por
	Desaparecidas





CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of Research Problem

Religion is many times associated with a source of violence, but can also be one of peace-making, as religious leaders usually engage closely within communities, in which they are respected and can act as peace brokers, ultimately helping in the promotion of a culture of peace in the long-term. Religion could help diplomats reach agreements when other channels fail and, unfortunately, is often overlooked in negotiation tables, due to the secularization of modern societies.

First and foremost, considering the Catholic Church in Colombia as the major religion in the country, one needs to look at the fifty-year conflict between the left-wing groups Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (hereinafter FARC), the National Liberation Army (hereinafter ELN) and the Colombian Government as a starting point, as it was the most devastating conflict in the country. How can a Religion, even one such as impactful as the Catholic Church promote Peacebuilding and reconciliation in such a polarized and deeply traumatized society? Is it only through its theological approach or is it a combination of it with its community work and its engagement with other political actors? How the help of the Catholic Church is important to transitional justice?

To answer these questions, it may help to analyse the role if the Catholic Church during the Colombian Peace Agreement negotiations and its work with the victims of the conflict, especially its efforts at the implementation of the transitional justice mechanisms, which is another reason why the Colombian case is so interesting to understand. Indeed, not only was it innovative the





way victims were brought into the peace talks, but also the transitional justice system as the implemented system in the conflict shows that there was a deep understanding of the importance of reconciliation, forgiveness and seeking of truth.

These metaphysical concepts are the reason why a Religion such as the Catholic Church can have a paramount position when it comes to promoting and encouraging a Culture of Peace, by reinforcing the work with local charities and towards social justice and making each individual have their own personal growth towards a personal transformation that can be shown outwards.

1.2 Objectives of Study

This investigation paper aims to contribute for the development of a Culture of Peace in which religion is present, as religious actors can promote and religion is often forgotten in negotiation tables, thus contributing to the fields of Prevention and Transformation of Conflict and Philosophy of Peace and Non-violence.

It will be analysed how important was and is the work of the Catholic Church as a present social and theological institution in the Colombian society and the way it was active during the Peace Agreement that resulted in the end of a fifty-year blood shedding conflict with extreme negative consequences to the country. Therefore, it will be extremely relevant to comprehend how can the Catholic Church, as a religion, alleviate and mitigate feelings of vengeance and more conflict, in such a traumatized society. Understanding how the Catholic Church could promote Transitional Justice during the Peace Talks that led to the Final Agreement will also be utmost important.

Through this analysis, it is expected to contribute to further a culture of peace focused not only on "outer peace" (as it has been the main focus of Peace Research so far), but also on "inner peace"





(as a necessary way to broaden the concept of Peace in a more holistic view that can reach a real culture of Peace within individuals). Likewise, it is expected to give Religion a bigger importance as Peacebuilding promoter, rather than Violence promoter, as it happened in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attack, in which Religion became more connected with extremism. For this, it will be used the case study of the Colombian Peace Process to understand what the role of the Catholic Church in a culture of peace is.

1.3 Significance of Study

The study is expected to showcase the relevance of the participation of religious actors in negotiation tables, through the analysis of the role of the Catholic Church in the Colombian conflict, particularly in its Peace Agreement.

In addition, this investigation paper comes in a relevant time, as the current Colombian President, Gustavo Petro has recently invited the Catholic Church to participate in his goal for "total peace", in order to promote dialogues with the ELN and other armed groups and paramilitary gangs, and to reduce the humanitarian crisis experienced in many regions.

1.4 Literature Review

The literature chosen for the study was framed around the research undertaken for the topic and will mostly convene attention to Historical, Peacebuilding and Religion literature (especially Catholic literature about the Colombian Peacebuilding and the work of the Catholic Church during the Peace Agreement and Historical literature on the Colombian conflict).





Besides, there will also be the usage of Peace literature and literature around the topic of Culture of Peace, with a focus on Johan Galtung's works, but also with the description of other authors' views on the topic, especially when it comes to a more holistic approach of peace.

1.5 Hypothesis

This Research Project seeks to make a contribution to Prevention and Transformation of Conflict and Philosophy of Peace and Non-violence, thus making an effort to the future participation and importance of religions as key actors in peace processes, as well as further implementing a needed culture of peace in the world. With that intent, it is used the example of the Catholic Church as the major religion professed in Colombia and all this religion's developments and participations before and during the Colombian Peace Agreement in 24th November 2016.

Therefore, the paper will demonstrate that the Church has been always very active in the Colombian society, not only before and during the conflict, but also during the Peace Agreement negotiations as soon as it was invited to participate as the way to focus on the suffering of the victims and to give them an active voice on the negotiations. It will be, thus proved how important was that moment to the introduction of Transitional Justice as the justice system to repair the victims and promote reconciliation in the country.

Regarding a Culture of Peace, it will be shown how the Church has a transcendental role to help people find their own self enlightenment experiences and transform their own memories to be able to accept and understand forgiveness and reconciliation.





1.6 Theoretical Framework of Analysis

This research paper will provide, in its chapter 4, a theoretical framework of Peace, providing different conceptualizations of the Culture of Peace, but having the ideas of Johan Galtung as basis for it. There will be some focus on the concepts of negative and positive peace and in the concept of Culture of Peace itself and how it translates into the Colombian case and into the Catholic Church experience.

Nevertheless, two other concepts will also be introduced, the one of "outer peace" and the one of "inner peace", in order to explore even deeper its relations with social justice and transitional justice and to understand how interconnected they are and how the Church can have an impact in both of them.

1.7 Methodology

For this research, it will be used, mostly, a qualitative research method, through desk research of literature available. An analytical research method will be used, through an interpretative study, aiming to examine the role of Catholic Church in the developments leading to the Colombian half-century conflict and its impact and participation during the Colombian Peace Agreement negotiations, in order to interpret the actual significance that a religion can have as far as a culture of peace is concerned. It is also going to be conducted a relevant online semi-structured interview, with the use of a predetermined guide to follow and alter accordingly as needed, in Spanish (its transcription will be later translated into English for the purpose of this paper), with a member of the Colombian Catholic Church, delegate of the Colombian Episcopal Conference for relations between the Catholic Church and the State and also appointed as the Church's representative in "its





capacity as permanent accompanier" for the talks between the State and the ELN. It is expected that this interview will help and enrich the study with the validity of its findings, given the importance of the interviewee in the subject. Notwithstanding this, throughout the paper, quantitative research method will be used to analyse the number of people impacted not only by the Colombian conflict, but also by the Catholic Church's initiatives.

The scope of this research paper will be in the context of Prevention and Transformation of Conflict and Philosophy of Peace and Non-violence, with the ultimate goal of contributing to a bigger implementation of an effective culture of peace in global conflicts, taking into account the example of the Colombian Peace Process case study.

With this view, the paper will start with an overview of the research question, followed by chapter 2, focusing on the Catholic Church's background in Colombia (the developments leading to the conflict), namely an introduction to the Liberation Theology in Colombia, and in chapter 3 will be outlined the Catholic Church's participation and involvement in the Colombian Peace Agreement and its institutional mechanisms of transitional justice. This will be the basis for the following chapter, chapter 4, which will then, subsequently, grant a theoretical framework of Johan Galtung's Theory of Peace in order to analyse its application to the Colombian case and the influence of the Catholic Church in a successful culture of peace. Lastly, chapter 5 will provide a conclusion and final statement.





CHAPTER 2. ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEMS LEADING TO THE COLOMBIAN PEACE PROCESS

2.1 The Liberation Theology as a reflection of Colombia's Social Problems

The fifty-year civil war plaguing Colombia arose in the 1960's and left 220,000 people dead, 25,000 people disappeared, over 6 million people displaced and over 7.6 million registered victims over those fifty years (Democratic Progress Institute, 2016, p.1). The conflict was originated after a period known as La Violencia, (The Violence), from 1948 to 1958 (in which 200 000 people were killed) (Casasbuenas, 2019, p.30), due to political grievances opposing the Conservative and the Liberal Party and, in which the Catholic Church was also involved (as the major religion of the country, with 90% of the population identifying as Roman Catholics), as supporter of the Conservative Party, thus reinforcing the hatred from some groups and condemning Liberals as atheists and communists (Levine et al, 1977, p.229). Overall, the Catholic Church was deeply involved in the State, as with the signed concordats between the Colombian Government and the Holy See, the Government was reaffirming its responsibility to protect Catholicism (Forero, 2021, p.1). Indeed, it was only with the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) that the Catholic Church increasingly became neutral and nonpartisan, focusing on its social work (Berkley Centre for Religion Peace and World Affairs, 2013, p.6) and, with the 1991 Constitution, the proximity between the Catholic Church and the State was finally limited and it was granted more freedom of worship (Forero, 2021, p.1).

In the aftermath of *La Violencia*, the guerrillas were created: the FARC (*Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia*) and the ELN (*Ejército de Liberación Nacional*), the EPL (*Ejército Popular de Liberación*), the M-19 (*Movimiento 19 de Abril*) and, afterwards, the *Movimiento*





Armado Quintín Lame and the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT) (Arango, 2020, p.8). Some of them, such as FARC, were composed of peasants and militant communists and others, such as ELN, were composed of left-wing intellectuals and even some Catholic radicals (Klobucista et al, 2017), one of them being Father Camilo Torres, who was interested in the analysis of what today we would call the co-optation of the state by private economic interests (Mesa, 2020) and believed that, his duty as a Christian was to promote revolutionary change (Levine et al, 1977, p.232). The fact that a Colombian priest like Camilo Torres was making part of a guerrilla impacted the Colombian society and became a reference for other people supporting the guerrilla cause (Celis, 2016, p.73). A reference should also be made to another group called Golconda, formed by revolutionary priests, who questioned capitalism (Celis, 2016, p.73). Likewise, also right-wing guerrillas started to appear in 1980, such as the paramilitary group Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC), as landowners wanted to protect themselves from the left-wing groups (Klobucista et al, 2017).

In such a polarized society and in such a turbulent time, the Liberation Theology, born in Latin America in the 70's, appeared as a reflection of what people were living and to deepen the relationship between faith and those situations of conflict that were being experienced in the world, according to Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao (2nd February 2023) and as a unexpected consequence of the Second Vatican Council (Sedwick, 2016, p.4). In this sense, the Liberation Theology had its inspiration in the story of Jesus and, the clerics following that doctrine, also wanted to fight for social justice (Celis, 2016, p.72). It was by paying attention to oppressed and marginalized people that one could understand their call for justice (Carnes, 2016, p.1). In other words, evangelization becomes more than words and is put into practice in a process of politization to reach social transformation (Celis, 2016, p.72), hence due to the wealth and land concentration in Colombia, some Church sectors would support landless people's demands for agrarian reforms (Celis, 2016, 2016,





p.72) and, some guerrillas, particularly the ELN, were inspired with a religious social consciousness (Sedwick, 2016, p.5) that somehow faded with the deaths of influential religious leaders by the mid-90's (Berkley Centre for Religion Peace and World Affairs, 2013, p.6).

2.2. The Catholic Church and the Conflict

The connection of some clerics to these guerrillas increased the violence ignited by uneducated and impoverished people, who thought the Church and the Government were conspiring to dominate the poor and oppressed (Sedwick, 2016, p.5). In addition, FARC took advantage of the close relationship between the Government and the Church to manipulate ethnic minorities in rural Colombia against those two institutions, which led to the Government ceding countryside territory to the authority of FARC during negotiations in late 1990's until the Presidency of Álvaro Uribe (2002-2010), who demobilized the demilitarized areas (Sedwick, 2016, p.6). However, in those same areas, church leaders continued to provide Sacraments to the parishioners, leading to the assassination and threatening of those clerics, displacement of parishes and closure of churches due to violence (Sedwick, 2016, p.6), which also allowed these clerics to be in a positive position to provide support to the victims of the civil war (Sedwick, 2016, p.6). However, throughout the conflict, many religious leaders had to endure kidnapping and killings, such as the killing of Archbishop Isaías Duarte Cancino after a mass in Cali in 2002 (Berkley Centre for Religion Peace and World Affairs, 2013, p.7). In fact, during the conflict, particularly from 1970 to 2015, 78 priests were killed (*Religión Digital*, 2022).

Nonetheless, the Catholic Church has, throughout the conflict, created many initiatives to reach out for political solutions. For instance, in 1995, it was created the National Conciliation Commission, which facilitated discussions between the Colombian Government and FARC in 2007 (Berkley





Centre for Religion Peace and World Affairs, 2013, p.7) and, the Colombian Episcopal Conference has also involved itself in negotiations processes with the FARC, even achieving a small cease-fire in 1984 between the FARC and the Government (Berkley Centre for Religion Peace and World Affairs, 2013, p.7). In fact, the Latin American Episcopal Council is located in Colombia and has always showed its support to the Colombian Episcopal Conference in the facilitation of discussions between the Government and insurgents (Berkley Centre for Religion Peace and World Affairs, 2013, p.8). Also famous are the Development and Peace Programs, founded by Father Francisco de Roux, in the Magdalena Medio region, in 1995, and a model for the coordination of efforts between social and civil society organizations, the business sector, the dioceses in each region (Mesa, 2020) and the Jesuit CINEP (Popular Investigation and Education Centre) for local sustainable development projects, having expanded in the country, thanks to partnerships with Christian communities (Berkley Centre for Religion Peace and World Affairs, 2013, p.9). Likewise, the international hierarchy of the Catholic Church was also supportive of peacebuilding in Colombia, with a visit from Pope John Paul II in 1986 and another one from Pope Francis in 2017, right after the success of the Peace Agreements.

It should be noted that, even though the Catholic Church has had these initiatives and these attempts to help reaching a peaceful solution, the only moment which it could have had a negative impact in the peace process was in the negotiations of the peace agreements (Carnes, 2016, p.2). The Catholic Church kept a neutral position, but there were conservative sectors of the church who opposed to the peace accords, due to their modern agenda with reforms regarding women rights and the legalization of same-sex marriage, as well as LGTBQI+ family models, which they considered it was "gender ideology" (Forero, 2021, p.2). This opposition led to the Colombian people rejecting, by a thin margin (50.2%), the plebiscite submitted by the at time President Juan





Manuel Santos, in the 2nd October 2016, leading to a new version of the agreement to be signed in the 24th November 2016 and exposing structural problems in Colombia (Aguirre, 2016).





CHAPTER 3. THE ROLE AND PARTICIPATION OF CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE COLOMBIAN PEACE AGREEMENT

3.1 Contextualization of the Peace Agreement

It was after 4 years of negotiations, from the exploratory phase (2012 - 2016), that the Colombian Peace Agreement was, finally, reached. The negotiations mainly took place in Havana, Cuba, after having started in Oslo, Norway. The Agreement was finally ratified by the Houses of Congress on the 29th and 30th November 2016, after the signature of the Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace (*Acuerdo Final para la Terminación del Conflicto y la Construcción de una Paz Duradera*) on the 24th November 2016 by President Juan Manuel Santos and the high commander of the FARC, Rodrigo Londoño (Arango, 2020, p.18). The signature took place in the Colón Theatre, in Bogota, ending the longest conflict in Latin America. The Colombian Peace Agreement was even recognized internationally as the most complete of all (Arango, 2020, p.19) and, for the efforts and success, President Juan Manuel Santos received the Nobel Peace Prize in the same year (Aguirre, 2016, p.1).

In December 2016, the Colombian Constitutional Court realized it needed to approve a revised peace agreement with the FARC so that the Congress could prioritize legislation for disarmament and demobilization, which meant that the President could issue executive decrees with the force of law, after being given extraordinary powers for that, in to order to implement the Peace Agreement immediately (Aguirre, 2016, p.1). As a result, some laws were urgent, such as an amnesty to FARC during the demobilization process, the activation of the Special Jurisdiction for Peace, the creation of the Search Unit for Missing Persons, the establishment of a Truth Commission, the establishment of the FARC-EP as a legal political party, the cultivation of illicit crops and the





implementation of the Peace Agreement by future administrations (Aguirre, 2016, p.2). Moreover, the final agreement also contemplated a series of measures concerning food security, return of lands to original owners, expropriation of land that is not being used, rural planning, inclusion of peasants and formalization of ownership and title deeds (Aguirre, 2016, p.3). In addition, the FARC guerrillas agreed to give their arms to the United Nations mission and to concentrate themselves in hamlets (*zonas veredales*) controlled by a tripartite force, consisting of the United Nations mission, armed forces and ex-FARC members (Aguirre, 2016, p.2).

The international community was also very committed to the success of the Peace Agreement, as it can be perceived in the United Nations Security Council Resolution A/RES/2261, through the establishment of a political mission of "unarmed international observers, responsible for the monitoring and verification of the laying down of arms, and a part of the tripartite mechanism that will monitor and verify the definitive bilateral ceasefire and cessation of hostilities, consistent with the Joint Communiqué, beginning all monitoring and verification activities, which will commence the 12 month period, following the signing of the Final Peace Agreement between the Government of Colombia and the FARC-EP" (UNSC A/RES/2261, paragraph 2). This United Nations mission would be also responsible for monitoring the compliance with the final agreement and the international verification component of the Commission for Monitoring, Promoting and Verifying the Implementación del Acuerdo Final) (CSIVI) (Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, p.221).

Indeed, third party observer states and countries that were part in then peace negotiation, such as Norway, Cuba, Venezuela, and Chile, were very important on monitoring the progress of the implementation of the agreement, as they were supposed to request reports on it (Casasbuenas,





2019, p.37). Likewise, the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame in the USA would have a role of verification by providing technical support and monitoring model to the Commission for Monitoring, Promoting and Verifying the Implementation of the Final Agreement (Casasbuenas, 2019, p.37).

3.2 The role of the Catholic Church as a Promoter of Transitional Justice

As far as the Catholic Church is concerned, it was not present in the negotiation table, as pointed out by Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao (2nd February 2023), but it was working very hard accompanying victims and doing a strong pedagogical work in areas impacted by the conflict the most. The Church was actively providing psychological, spiritual and even legal and physical support to victims, through the work with survivors, ex-combatants and communities in order to promote healing and through infrastructures, such as the National Conciliation Commission and the National Pastoral Social Ministry of the Colombian Episcopal Conference (Bouvier, 2013, p.1). The Church was considered important, because it knew all the details of the conflict, could keep dialogue and was impartial (Griffin, 2018, p.1). More than that, it was perceived that the Church could help people to give up on vengeance and to enhance a possibility for forgiveness, truth, justice and reconciliation (Griffin, 2018, p.2). Moreover, many international religious nongovernmental organizations (Catholic and non-Catholic) were also actively working in Colombia, such as Pax Christi International, Catholic Relief Services, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Christian Peacemaking Teams, Caritas International and Church World Service, working together with civil society and towards human development, the denounce of intimidation and the protection of innocent people from the conflict (Berkley Centre for Religion Peace and World Affairs, 2013, p.8).





Finally, when the negotiations reached a moment where the issue of victims and justice were brought about, they practically came to a standstill, the negotiation table began to block, which is why the Government and the FARC decided to invite the Catholic Church, through the Colombian Episcopal Conference (the organizers) to accompany and select, together with the United Nations and the National University of Colombia, groups of victims, so that these victims could give their testimonies at the negotiating table, which changed the course of the negotiation, as mentioned by Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao (2nd February 2023). Particularly, in June 2014, during the peace negotiations, the negotiating parties took the remarkable milestone of inviting five delegations with twelve victims each to listen to their testimonies, in Cuba, which would help in the drafting of Point Five of the Agenda, related to Transitional Justice, and would conclude with the Victims' Agreement signature in December 2015 (Brett, 2022, p.476). The principles for the discussion agenda of the victims demonstrated the international norms on victims' rights and had five objectives: the recognition of victims, the recognition of responsibility, the participation of victims, the principle of reconciliation and the satisfaction of victims' rights (truth, justice, reparation and non-repetition) (Brett, 2022, p.480). However, another problem was the composition of the delegations, which was solved with the aid of a working group to check the selection criteria and, once again the Pastoral Sector of the Catholic Church, together with other organizations, such as Colombia Without Wounds, Visible Victims, National Participation Forum, MOVICE, and the Development and Peace Programmes, offered consultation for this task that had to consider heterogeneity and multidimensional reflection of patterns (Brett, 2022, p.482). Therefore, the delegations consisted 60% of female and 40% of male, with victims aged between 19 and 78 years old and from 25 different departments of Colombia, with different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds and of diverse perpetrators (Brett, 2022, p.482) and, in terms of the type of crimes they had suffered, there were victims of guerrillas, of paramilitary groups, of State agents and of





other illegal armed groups (*Comisión de la Verdad*, 2019, p.4). Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao reminded that this contribution from the Church was a recognition of its presence in the territories and support to the victims and, that the inclusion of so many different types of victims was, indeed, a step towards transitional justice, as the diverse narratives led to the roundtable changing its position and accepting that it was necessary to adopt a system of restorative justice (2nd February 2023).

The participation and inclusion of victims in the peace negotiations was, undoubtedly, a step towards the practice of transitional justice, as its "well-established norm" that ensures a victimcentred approach, allowing to shape and design transitional justice mechanisms (Brett, 2022, p.479). For that, the Final Agreement established the Comprehensive System of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Non-Repetition (Sistema Integral de Verdad, Justicia, Reparación y No Repetición) (hereinafter SIVJRNR) in Point Five of the agreement, is a set of mechanisms to guarantee victims' rights, englobing the Special Jurisdiction for Peace (Jurisdicción Especial para la Paz) (hereinafter JEP), the Truth, Coexistence and Non-Repetition Commission (Comisión para el Esclarecimiento de la Verdad, la Convivencia y la no Repetición) (hereinafter CEV) and the Unit for the Search for Persons Presumed Disappeared in the context and by reason of the armed conflict (Unidad de Búsqueda de Personas dadas por Desaparecidas) (hereinafter UBPD), which had to work in coordination and had a victim-centred approach with the adoption of judicial and extrajudicial institutional mechanisms, reinforced the implementation of restorative justice rather than retributive one and was incorporated in the country's Constitution (Comisión de la Verdad, 2019, p.2). It reaffirmed a restorative justice system, as it sought to restore the harm and reparations to victims in a way that would satisfy their rights and it sought to look for responsibilities and make sure of the non-repetition of crimes, as well as the reconciliation between victims and perpetrators (Llauger, 2022, p.1). Likewise, it also sought to look for the truth and





work for the integral reparation, so that the peace and reconstruction of the country can be solidified (Ruíz, 2018, p.85). Nonetheless, the transitional justice process in Colombia gathers the interaction between restorative and retributive and transformative and restorative measures and, they do not exclude each other, rather they contribute for the consolidation and effectiveness of the process (Abuchaibe, 2017, p.146). This is crucial for the peace process, in order to succeed in the long-run, taking into account previous critics of not having sufficient retributive measures, such as an efficient privation of liberty system (Llauger, 2022, p.1). In addition, the transitional justice measures were supposed to be exceptional (as they exist due to the circumstances at stake and so that the normality can be restored after an armed conflict) and they have a limited period of validity (Abuchaibe, 2017, p.148), which can be extended by the Parliament (Llauger, 2022, p.2).

From the Catholic Church's point of view, this type of justice is favourable, as it based on listening to the victims and repairing their dignity and the harm they had suffered during the conflict, and transitional justice is more focused on human dignity and is closer to the victims' needs, as it was commented by Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao (2nd February 2023). Furthermore, this type of justice, gives the victims visibility and focuses on the victims themselves as individuals, in the truth, in the reparation and non-repetition, incorporates forgiveness and reconciliation, having a spiritual component and going beyond the rationality of law (Arango, 2020, p.48). Sedwick mentions that the Catholic Church has a soft power, which is the "sacrament of reconciliation", helping people to internalize reconciliation in their communities, including former combatants and their victims and, helping to build a culture of peace (2016, p.4) and even assisting in the reintegration of rebel fighters and promoting truth and justice (2016, p.7).





3.2.1 Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP)

The Special Jurisdiction for Peace is the judicial mechanism that came out of the SIVJRNR and is expected to operate for 15 years (Llauger, 2022, p.2). This mechanism is autonomous and independent and is expected to administrate the transitional justice and actuate on the armed conflict related offenses happening before the 1st December 2016, focusing on the most serious violations committed by FARC, the State and third party civilians (Llauger, 2022, p.2). Moreover, the Special Jurisdiction for Peace has an exclusive jurisdiction, which means that only in case someone is accepted under it, the ordinary justice system will stop conducting its investigation (Llauger, 2022, p.2).

More than everything, the JEP has its focus on restorative justice by searching for the truth as the right of the victims, with a particular target on the armed conflict and everything related to it, from war crimes to human rights violations (Ruíz, 2018, p.85), and considering that its scope of application is the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court with the inclusion of mechanisms of extinction and criminal sanction (Ruíz, 2018, p.85). Colombia was the first signatory country of the Rome Statute to negotiate a peace agreement that had to respect the international obligations to the Rome Statute (Burnyeat et al, 2020, p.1).

The access to JEP can be made only if its four requirements are fulfilled: the perpetrator contributes to the truth telling, he recognizes his responsibility for the crimes he committed, he complies with reparations to the victims and commits to non-repetition (Burnyeat et al, 2020, p.8). Currently, 13 576 people have been subjected to JEP (JEP, 2023).

The search for the truth to be offered to be Colombian society, so the right decisions can be made in order to ensure a long-lasting peace, can only be done if the victims' needs are acknowledged and the circumstances of the perpetrators are also addressed, so that relations can be rebuilt





(Llauger, 2022, p.3). This approach expects that the perpetrator feels guilt and shame about his offenses and recognizes his wrongdoing, hence working for forgiveness and compliance with restorative measures that will satisfy the victims, instead of focusing on vengeance (Llauger, 2022, p.3). Notwithstanding, this is not enough for such a polarized society as the Colombian, with a lot of people believing that these measures would originate impunity and a lack of punishment or would even work as a bias in favour of the guerrillas (Llauger, 2022, p.3), which is why it was adopted a mixed system of restorative and retributive justice, where the level of punishment depends on the level of acknowledgement of responsibility of the perpetrator (Llauger, 2022, p.5). In fact, some victim delegates in the peace negotiation knew that there would have to be a middle-term between the victims' rights and the sanctions applied to the perpetrators, justifying it by saying that the punishments would not bring their loved ones back and that the will for peace was greater than the desire for justice (Brett, 2022, p.487).

The Catholic Church has since JEP's early stages, showed its support to the SIVJRNR system and to the JEP itself. Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao commented that in meetings between JEP and the Catholic Church, it was agreed that the Church would make every effort to encourage witnesses to appear and, the JEP asked the Church on several occasions, more precisely, asked the Colombian Episcopal Conference, to encourage people to come forward and give their testimony, telling how they had suffered, in order to create confidence in the system (2nd February 2023). Likewise, on different occasions, the Church has come forward to remind people that the transitional justice system should be approved and defended as a fundamental path to reach peace (WRadio, 2018).





3.2.2 Truth, Coexistence and Non-Repetition Commission (CEV)

The Truth, Coexistence and Non-Repetition Commission is one of the extrajudicial, autonomous and independent mechanism that came out of the SIVJRNR (Llauger, 2022, p.2) was supposed to exist for 3 years (Abuchaibe, 2017, p.149) and, in the end, a final report must be produced (*Comisión de la Verdad*, 2023). It was established in the framework of the Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace, through Legislative Act 01 of 2017 and Decree 588 of 2017. Its main goal is to determine and establish the truth of the events of the armed conflict, contributing to the promotion of the coexistence between perpetrators and victims and the acknowledgement of perpetrators (Llauger, 2022, p.2) and having an academic focus in terms of collecting and processing information and disseminating pedagogical strategies to prevent other armed conflicts from happening (Ruíz, 2018, p.109).

Indeed, the cornerstone of the transitional justice system at stake in the Peace Agreement was the concept of truth, which together in coordination with all the mechanisms available, works for the liberalization of Colombia's History (Ruíz, 2018, p.107), especially in such a dark moment of its History. This will allow the victims to have a deeper and insightful understanding of the events of the armed conflict (Ruíz, 2018, p.107). The perpetrators should present themselves to CEV in order to recognize their actions and obtain the right for extraordinary judicial treatment through JEP (Ruíz, 2018, p.108). As an extrajudicial mechanism, its activities cannot go to ordinary judicial authorities (Ruíz, 2018, p.108).

The President of the CEV is Father Francisco de Roux, who is largely known for his work towards reconciliation and dignification of the victims and was also the founder of Development and Peace Programs in the Magdalena Medio region. Father Francisco de Roux has recently criticized the Catholic Church for the fact that it did not create a real collective exercise of its public ethical





authority, which it should have done it so that it could emphasize the terrible reality (Morsolin, 2022). That is the reason why the CEV's final report (*Informe Final*), with the slogan "*Hay futuro si hay verdad*" ("there is future if there is truth"), presented in June 2022, does not make many references to the work of the Church (Morsolin, 2022).

Apart from that, the Catholic Church's involvement with CEV has translated into its presence in many territorial exercises carried out, in which the Church played an important role in inviting, accompanying and encouraging the communities to give their versions to CEV and, for this, the CEV needed to have a great capacity to listen to the different horizons and distinct perspectives, according to Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao (2nd February 2023). For instance, the Pastoral Social and the Colombian Episcopate has given to CEV the book "*Huellas de Paz*" ("Traces of Peace"), which highlighted 168 significant peace-building processes (Morsolin, 2022).

3.2.3 Unit for the Search for Persons Presumed Disappeared in the context and by reason of the armed conflict (UBPD)

The Unit for the Search of Persons Presumed Disappeared in the context and by reason of the armed conflict is the other extrajudicial, autonomous and independent mechanism that came out of the SIVJRNR (Llauger, 2022, p.2). Just like in CEV, the investigations made by UBPD cannot bring any criminal sanctions before ordinary judicial authorities (Llauger, 2022, p.2). Its objective is to coordinate humanitarian action to look for and locate disappeared persons (dead or alive) in the context of the armed conflict (Llauger, 2022, p.2). In addition, in case someone is found dead, the UBPD needs to identify the family and return the remains to them (Llauger, 2022, p.2). The forensic reports produced by UBPD cannot substitute the ones produced by the ordinary judicial





authorities (Ruíz, 2018, p.110). The UBPD should be aided by the public institutions if needed in order to complete its tasks (Ruíz, 2018, p.110).

In a certain way, the UBPD carries on the work produced by CEV, as it abides the requirements from CEV and attempts to locate the whereabouts of thousands of people (Ruíz, 2018, p.110), as it is wide-known the kidnapping for ransom and disappearing with people for political and military ends, that were commonly practiced by the FARC (Ruíz, 2018, p.111).

Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao remarked that an agreement was made between the Social Pastoral of the Colombian Episcopal Conference and the UBPD to help in some concrete matters related to the identification of victims' organisations, to help establish routes, to encourage people to approach the unit for the search for people reported missing and to help build confidence around this mechanism (2nd February 2023). Indeed, the Catholic Church has shown its commitment, for many times, to accompany the people and social organisations carrying out research, training and raising awareness with activities on the issue and, for instance representing the Catholic Church in the election process of the Advisory Board of the UBPD, through the National Secretariat for Social Pastoral Care (*Pastoral Social Cáritas Colombiana*, 2021).





CHAPTER 4. JOHAN GALTUNG'S THEORY OF PEACE, ITS APPLICATION TO THE COLOMBIAN CASE AND THE ROLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

4.1 Johan Galtung's Theory of Peace and a Culture of Peace

Johan Galtung is considered the "father" of Peace Studies and was the first to propose the notion of "Peacebuilding" (Casasbuenas, 2019, p.13), as a struggle undertaken in order to achieve long-term sustainable peace in a State and that should be made by identifying and addressing the "root causes" of the conflict (Casasbuenas, 2019, p.13).

When theorizing the concept of "Peace" it is agreed that it cannot be fully comprehended without understanding the concept of "Violence". Galtung understands "Violence" as the avoidable offenses to human basic needs and life, which originates that the level of satisfaction of people will be diminished below what was most likely possible (Veres, 2015, p.10), as there is a "difference between the potential and the actual" (Galtung, 1969, p.168). Galtung divided violence in three different typologies, as he believes that there are types of violence that are less visible and all of these typologies are interlinked (Veres, 2015, p.10). Galtung referred to them as the "violence triangle" and mentioned that any type of violence could start in any of its corners and be transmitted to the other corners (Galtung, 1990, p.302).

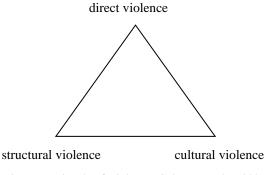


Figure 1. Triangle of Violence (Galtung, 1990, p.302)





The first type is *direct violence*, which happens when there is an intention from an actor to harm or cause damage to another actor (Veres, 2015, p.10), occurring verbally or physically (Casasbuenas, 2019, p.14). The second type is *structural violence*, which happens when there are social injustices, occurring when there is inequality and injustice in the structures of a society, leading to poverty and unequal access to basic needs and services or goods (Casasbuenas, 2019, p.14). Finally, the third one is *cultural violence*, which occurs when a certain culture embeds within the society specific norms that legitimizes other types of violence (Casasbuenas, 2019, p.14).

Galtung further believed that the concept of "violence" led to the one of "peace", which should also be regarded in an extended way (Galtung, 1969, p.183), resulting in two types of "peace". The first one is *negative peace*, being simply the absence of direct violence (Veres, 2015, p.11). The second one is *positive peace* and this one is the absence of structural violence (Veres, 2015, p.11) and the absence of direct violence is not enough to lead to positive peace, there is a need of absence of structural violence to reach it as well (Galtung, 1969, p.183). In other words, a society needs to have social justice (with equal distribution of services and goods) to have positive peace. Galtung called this the "vertical development".

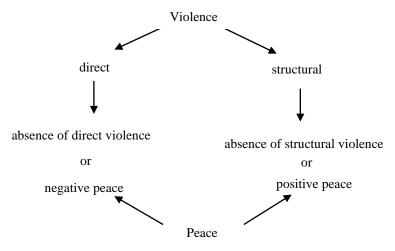


Figure 2. Vertical development (Galtung, 1969, p.183)





Therefore, it is necessary to take into account the ways in which positive and sustainable long-term peace can be reached and this would be done by addressing the root causes of violence and all the different types of violence, the visible (direct) and the invisible (structural and cultural), which is why Galtung proposed the notion of "Peacebuilding" (Veres, 2015, p.11), as described above, to find ways to mitigate a conflict. Galtung defended that positive peace was achieved with cooperation and integration between societies and he went even further by stating that States usually took advantage of concepts, such as "fair war" to justify wars, thus States should look for peace in peaceful ways (Ercoşkun, 2021, p.3). Furthermore, to achieve positive peace and solve the conflicts' root causes, Galtung suggested six areas to work on: equity (as the norm), entropy (not only elites can participate in relations), symbiosis (interdependence), broad scope (in the areas of exchange), large domain (with many parties in exchange) and superstructure (a permanent superstructure that supports Peace work, such as the United Nations) (Taqi, 2020, p.5).

In addition, by introducing these two types of peace, Galtung further developed the idea of Quincy Wright, more than 20 years earlier. Wright had defined "peace" as a balance between political, cultural, social and technological factors that, if unbalanced, conflict would break out (Groff et al, 1996, p.17). Herman Schmidt had also argued, before Johan Galtung, that it was very difficult to agree on what was constituent of peace, thus positive peace was likely to fail (Groff et al, 1996, p.18), which is also why Galtung decided to develop the concept of positive peace, defining it more specifically and stating that it was the absence of structural violence (inadequate social, economic and political structures that if in their maximum potential, would avoid poverty, illness, hunger and death (Groff et al, 1996, p.18). Other views, such as Oliver Richmond's, believe that violence is intrinsic to human nature, hence it is endemic and exists with the support of power relationships, which means that violence can be justified in order to achieve peace (Caro, 2019, p.32). Nonetheless, Richmond also believes that human behaviour can be changed or mitigated





through education, agreement, compromise and redistribution of resources (Caro, 2019, p.32), making peace something that people and States seek and not impose (Caro, 2019, p.32). For that, people and States need to understand the issues behind the conflict and its root causes and have proper knowledge on social justice in order to address all types of violence (Caro, 2019, p.32). Authors such as John Dewey even argue that this type of knowledge should be implemented right from school to children so that they keep these ideals of social justice with themselves during their lives (Caro, 2019, p.51). Oliver Richmond proposes that the best move for Peace Studies would be to go beyond the concept of positive peace and englobe the most varied conceptions of peace in the different cultures and societies in the world (Caro, 2019, p.39). Also, Galtung believes that governments need to provide their people with social characteristics that promote peace, such as justice and education (Taqi, 2020, p.5).

As far as the concept of *Culture of Peace* can be concerned, it can be traced back to the International Congress on Peace in the Minds of Men, organised by UNESCO, in 1989 in Côte d'Ivoire at the United Nations General Assembly of 5th August 1997 (Caro, 2019, p.97). An United Nations General Assembly Resolution 53/243 from 13th September 1999 adopted a "Declaration and Culture of Action on a Culture of Peace", which defines what is considered a culture of peace in its article 1:

"A culture of peace is a set of values, attitudes, traditions and modes of behaviour and ways of life based on: (a) Respect for life, ending of violence and promotion and practice of non-violence through education, dialogue and cooperation; (b) Full respect for the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States and non-intervention in which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and international law; (c) Full respect for and promotion of all human rights and fundamental freedoms; (d) Commitment to peaceful settlement of conflicts; (e) Efforts to meet the developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations; (f) Respect for and promotion of the right to development; (g) Respect for and promotion of equal rights and opportunities for women and men; (h) Respect for and promotion of the right of everyone to freedom of expression, opinion and information; (i) Adherence to the principles of freedom, justice, democracy, tolerance, solidarity, cooperation,





pluralism, cultural diversity, dialogue and understanding at all levels of society and among nations; and fostered by an enabling national and international environment conducive to peace." (UNGA Resolution 53/243, article 1)

Therefore, this declaration suggests a global movement in which governments should be upfront strengthening and promoting a culture of peace for its peoples (Taqi, 2020, p.2). Some authors argue that this declaration is compatible with Self-Transcendence, hence this ideal should be promoted and taught to reinforce the Culture of Peace instead of Self-Enhancement values (Fry et al, 2012, p.21). Something else that should be promoted is the idea of the "Us" as human identity and unity (Fry et al, 2012, p.21).

A particular note to Colombia is that in the 1st September 2014 it was passed the 1732 Educational Law, which proposed the government to promote the teaching and education of a Culture of Peace in the educational institutions in Colombia, as a measure to support the ongoing peace process at the time (Caro, 2019, p.96). Likewise, throughout the Peace Agreement, many times it is referenced the need to promote tolerance, respect for differences, respect for human rights, social justice, reconciliation, democratic culture and equality (Valenzuela, 2019, p.299).

As a result, concerning Peace Studies and Peace Research, one can see that they have been focused mostly in the "outer" or in the surrounding/ environment around man and not so much in the "inner" part of him or in his relationship with himself. Both these notions, together with the concept of Peace Food create the so-called idea of "Holistic Peace" (Singh, 2023, p.25). Toran Hansen refers that Galtung's peace concept was directed to large groups of people (States) (2016, p.213) and there is rather the need to also include the terms "peace within", "peace between" and "peace among", which are, for him, the components of "Holistic Peace". The first one, *peace within*, has to do with the individual's need to understand himself and the world around him, the second one, *peace between*, is the establishment of beneficial relationships with groups around us





and, the third one, *peace among*, is the establishment and support of social, cultural and ecological structures that benefit our needs and our freedoms (Hansen, 2016, p.218). For this reason, this paper will make the distinction between the ideas of "inner peace" and "outer peace", while making the relation between positive peace and social justice and transitional justice with each of those concepts.

Lastly, one final remark to the relevance of Peace in the Catholic Church, as Jesus, the Messiah, is considered as the messenger of Peace in the religion. Jesus crucifixion, for instance, is recognized as an act of Peace, as He chose to go through it withholding any kind of violence (Belliard, 2021). Also, Jesus is referred to as the "Prince of Peace".

4.2 Positive Peace, Social Justice and the Idea of "Outer Peace"

As abovementioned, positive peace is the absence of structural violence, which means that it is not simply the absence of direct violence, but also a process-structure in constant evolution of the fulfilment of all the human needs in social, economic and political structures (Valenzuela, 2019, p.302).

Social justice, in its turn, is described as the equal distribution of wealth, taking into account rights and social welfare (Caro, 2019, p.33). To fully achieve it, one needs to know the rights and also the extent to which one can enjoy those rights, as one may need to transform structures that work against the enjoyment of those rights (Caro, 2019, p.34). Paulo Freire called the process of acknowledging what was oppressing people and taking the steps to transform it as "awareness" (conscientização) (Caro, 2019, p.34). Social justice should not be confused with distributive justice, which is to give people according to what they deserve, their merit (Pérez-Garzón, 2018,





p.28). Besides, social justice is paramount to a culture of peace, as if people feel that a system is unjust, it will undermine its legitimacy (Mishe, 2013, p.21).

Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao described the concept of social justice as long-term and stable relationships in terms of human dignity in which the rights and dignity of communities and individuals are recognized in a lasting and secure way (2nd February 2023). In this sense, social justice looks towards the way to build those long-term relationships that guarantee the rights and growth of all people (Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao, 2nd February 2023). Similarly, the scriptures of the Catholic Church highlight how social justice is important in many passages (Belliard, 2021) and the for the fact that the Catholic Church is a social institution, it has undoubtedly an ethical and theological duty to intermediate in matters of social justice (Belliard, 2021). For instance, in Isaiah 42:1,4,6-7 of the New Revised Standard Version of the Bible, it is proclaimed the "justice of the nations" and justice coming to the oppressed:

"Here is my servant, whom I uphold, my chosen, in whom my soul delights; I have put my spirit upon him; he will bring forth justice to the nations... He will not grow faint or crushed until he has established justice in the earth... I am the Lord, I have called you in righteousness... I have given you as a covenant to the people, a light to the nations, to open the eyes that are blind, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon..." (New Revised Standard Version of the Bible, Isaiah 42:1,4,6-7)

On the other hand, the concept of *outer peace* comes hand in hand with social justice. The concept of *outer peace* is divided into formal and informal strategies. The former ones address the structures of the conflict, the process of democratization, transparency, political and administrative reform (Singh, 2023, p.26). The latter ones address the relationships of the conflict, the intercommunity and intracommunity dialogue (Singh, 2023, p.25). Due to the structural dimension of the concept, it embraces exactly what constitutes social justice, the political, economic and social structures that need to be fully efficient to fulfil people's rights and needs in order to achieve the goal of positive peace. Likewise, in this context the Church has an important role, because by





increasing charities and helping local NGO's, social justice increases and reduces social inequalities, thus people abstain from committing violence.

In Colombia, the notion of social justice was included in its 1991 Constitution as a principle of Social Rule of Law with the aim to assure the minimum means to exercise civil and political rights (Pérez-Garzón, 2018, p.52), that is tied with the binding fundamental principle of human dignity and with the right of material equality to call for actions to overcome inequalities (Pérez-Garzón, 2018, p.54). When it comes to the Peace Agreement, after President Juan Manuel Santos was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize, the high commander of the FARC, Rodrigo Londoño mentioned that the wish from the FARC was for social justice in Colombia, which could have led to some opponents of this guerrilla to demonize the concept (Pérez-Garzón, 2018, p.65). In fact, going backwards, all the process of violence in Colombia resulted from a systematic process of social injustice, structural violence (Arango, 2020, p.38). The Colombian Peace Agreement included measures for political, social and economic change (page 19), apart from the demobilization (Aguirre, 2016, p.3) and had a view over peacebuilding that included the end of direct, structural and cultural violence (Valenzuela, 2019, p.306). The now so-called total peace (paz total) as a goal of the new Colombian Government will only be possible if there is a vanishing of all the violence and victimizing society (Arango, 2020, p.38). Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao described this goal as a very ambitious strategy, with multiple challenges, as there are many groups at stake (including the ELN) and many different situations originating violence (2nd February 2023). In fact, Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao confirmed that, since it is an historical process, the Catholic Church could give a very relevant input and contribution in the agreements, as an accompanier (2nd February 2023). The Church is a special witness to the agreements that are reached and is also there to help build bridges with the communities, which is its main task. (2nd February 2023). To accompany the communities so that they can express themselves, can





participate, can bring their aspirations to the tables, just as the Church did when it supported the process with the FARC by accompanying the victims, in this case the Church also wanted to be there, on the side of the victims (Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao, 2nd February 2023).

4.3 Positive Peace, Transitional Justice and the Idea of "Inner Peace"

Achieving positive peace requires the end of structural violence and, to ban structural violence, there needs to be an effective and efficient functioning of political, economic and social structures. Considered a social institution with ethical and theological responsibilities in social justice (Belliard, 2021), for its importance in the Colombian society, its charity work, international religious non-governmental organizations and work with civil society and communities (page 20), the Catholic Church also supports the social structures in Colombia. That was very clear in the Church's invitation, through the Colombian Episcopal Conference, to the peace negotiation by the Government and the FARC, when it came down to the issues of victims and justice and to select groups of victims to give their testimonies (page 21), resulting in the practice of transitional justice as a "victim-centred approach", establishing a set of transitional justice mechanisms to guarantee the rights of the victims (page 22) and creating safe settings where the conflicting parties could expose their grievances to promote the creation of a solution (Mishe, 2013, p.21).

The bottom line in this case is that religions have a direct role in moving polarized societies towards a "deeper notion of coexistence" (Sandal, 2019, p.6), as religious leaders are usually well positioned within the community, influencing it for the respect they have and also held as impartial, thus more accepted (Sandal, 2019, p.6). Besides neutrality and ability to influence, there are other resources that the Catholic Church usually enjoys when it comes to conflict situations:





moral legitimacy, the ability to reach the public opinion and a vast network of contacts and information (Reychler, 1997, p.6).

Additionally, with respect to transitional justice, it is a critical step in a post-conflict society, because a normal justice system will not suffice to give the most adequate response to all the tragedy and misery that the society has endured (Sandal, 2019, p.9). A post-conflict society that wants to transit into democracy needs to verify the crimes that were committed during the conflict, hold accountable the perpetrators and material or symbolically repair the victims (Trujillo, 2022, p.2) in a new juridical context that prevents the State from promoting the oblivion of what it happened (Trujillo, 2022, p.2). In this context, to implement transitional justice it is necessary good governance and law to reconcile and become a normal functioning society again (Sandal, 2019, p.9), which is why the Peace Agreement in Colombia was so thorough in its Point 5 (SIVJRNR), establishing all the transitional justice mechanisms (JEP, CEV and UBPD), as the agreement fully recognizes the materialization of the recognition of human dignity (Valenzuela, 2019, p.306). More than good governance and law, sometimes it is thanks to the aid of religious groups pressuring governments and promoting transitional justice based on reconciliation, that transitional justice mechanisms become a reality (Sandal, 2019, p.9) and may have a critical role in the construction of memory and in the attainment of hope and justice (Sandal, 2019, p.9).

Transitional justice is based on a more reparative justice than punitive and is focused on searching for peace through reconciliation, while seeking the truth and reparation of victims (Arango, 2020, p.86). For this, the concept of "Christian forgiveness" can help and the victims to heal wounds and restore their dignity and their memory can hope for redemption of a final judgement (Arango, 2020, p.86). There is a healing and reconciliation element, according to Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao, who identifies it as a long chapter of reconciliation and justice, since the latter creates





conditions for the former (2nd February 2023). Justice is placed as a pillar on which people can get to know the facts, feel that their dignity is violated, wounded or recognized and feel that measures are being taken to restore and take the steps towards reunion with themselves and with others, the perpetrators (Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao, 2nd February 2023). Monseñor added that justice has to do with emptying the memory of hatred, not so much forgetting, but emptying the memory of negative feelings (2nd February 2023). The Bishop continued, stating that the revision of the truth was also important for transitional justice, meaning that there is an issue which is how to remember as a people, with a transformative capacity, the events of the past without hatred (2nd February 2023). This step is not always achieved because it depends on people's willingness to leave the situation of hatred in which they were in (2nd February 2023). The system makes it easier for victims and perpetrators to find each other, to recognize each other and listening to each other makes it easier to create a kind of relationship, but the step towards emptying the memory of hatred is a spiritual step taken by each person or by a people, and the Church continues to accompany them in this process (2nd February 2023). Monseñor explained that the Church has a very important role to play in this transformation of memory, but touching the memory is a spiritual process, undoubtedly, because the memory has to become transformative and not simply a growing feeling of revenge or a feeling of reliving the past to create new violence (2nd February 2023).

The spiritual process expressed by Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao leads to the idea of *inner peace*, bearing in mind that only by reaching this "inner peace" or spiritual process, will then people be able to bring about real "outer peace" or social justice in the world (Groff et al, 1996, p.6), especially because if individuals experience fears, insecurities and trauma, they tend to project that outwards in the world around them (Groff et al, 1996, p.6). Inner peace is perceived as an "inner experience of enlightenment" (Groff et al, 1996, p.6), which will help people to reach a process of





healing that will prevent social, political and economic violence, as if there was a personal dimension of peacebuilding (Singh, 2023, p.27). Obviously, this is not always an easy process, because conflict situations result in prolonged trauma and psychological damage, where people tend to feel hopeless, hence "inner peace" focuses on addressing the psychological layers of conflict (Singh, 2023, p.28). This inner transformation can vary in its form, taking the one of the local faith, for instance (Singh, 2023, p.29) and it can stimulate social justice and outer peace (Singh, 2023, p.34).

In the Catholic Church's case in the post-conflict Colombia, the essence of Christianism and God boosts in the victims a search for the truth and for justice, the reparation and non-repetition, it stimulates the forgiveness that many times looks impossible and the reconciliation (Arango, 2020, p.60). Indeed, in such a polarized and traumatized country, it can be through the ideas of love and mercy that forgiveness is born (Arango, 2020, p.60), as without mercy there is no forgiveness and without forgiveness there is no reconciliation (Arango, 2020, p.60). Without reconciliation there is no hope of a better future.





CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION

This investigation paper had as an aim to verify the role of the Catholic Church in a Culture of Peace, through the analysis of its role in the Colombian Peace Process.

For that, it provided an overview of the active and important role of the Catholic Church in the events before the fifty-year conflict in Colombia between the Colombian authorities and the left-wing group of the FARC and during the negotiations for the Colombian Peace Agreement. In other words, from the social problems behind the Liberation Theology to the active role of the Catholic Church in certain communities in Colombia, where it provides support to NGO's and victims, the Church's initiatives, such as Development and Peace Programmes, from its participation in the negotiation table at the Colombian Peace Agreement and its still active role as a participant in the new talks with the ELN guerrillas and paramilitary groups, as recently requested by the current Colombian President, aiming for "total peace" with these insurgents.

The relevance of the Catholic Church in the Colombian society is historical and unquestionable, hence it has made a fruitful impact in a major Christian society, regarding the successful Transitional Justice efforts in the post-conflict setting, involving the creation of special courts and truth-seeking, for instance the JEP, the CEV and the UBPD, established by the framework of the Final Agreement signed between the Government of Colombia and the FARC, through Legislative Act 01 of 2017 and Decree 588 of 2017. This investigation paper has shown that these transitional justice institutions were allowed and have been effective due to the Church's crucial and unprecedent role of accompanying and selecting victims, together with the National University of Colombia and the UN, to the peace talks. The transitional mechanisms have also been further successful thanks to the Church's continuous efforts accompanying the victims and promoting its





teachings of forgiveness, reconciliation, intercultural communication, as well as the Church neutral position in comparison to political actors.

Finally, the paper has culminated with a consideration of Johan Galtung's Theory of Peace to introduce the idea of the role of the Catholic Church in a culture of Peace, describing concepts such as "positive peace" and "negative peace" and "outer peace" and "inner peace". The role of the Catholic Church in a culture of Peace is, therefore, enhanced as a religion with nonviolence and forgiving teachings, as it promotes, not only the absence of war and social justice ("outer" peace), but also the individual enlightenment experience ("inner" peace).

In the aftermath of the Colombian Peace Agreement, the Church has promoted social and transitional justice. With this intent and being a social institution, aiding local communities and promoting reconciliation and forgiveness with its ability to influence people with its sacred texts and sacraments, the Church empowers people to experience their very own personal inner peace, calming their hearts, acknowledging their actions and experiencing heartfelt forgiveness and acceptance for past events, which results in an inner peace that is translated into the so far successful transitional justice that is being practiced in Colombia with the judicial and non-judicial mechanisms to respond to such extensive human rights violations. On the one hand, these unique mechanisms that include restorative sanctions, rather than only retributive ones, promote a culture of Peace with dialogue and reconciliation between the different parties and are only possible, due to the intensive participation of religious actors, such as the Catholic Church, in the post-conflict process, essential in such a polarized society, as the Colombian one. On the other hand, by stimulating an individual transformation and inner peace, the Church is also contributing to the interconnected outer peace formation.





Overall, even though religions have been connected many times with conflict, it is agreed that post-conflict settings (including transitional justice ones, such as the Colombian case) should include religion, as religious actors may indeed have a role to play in post-conflict situations and are often considered more neutral actors than the political ones. More than that, religious actors have a role of transforming and transcending people's lives, memories and experiences in a way that no other political actor can.





REFERENCES

Abuchaibe, H. (2017), *La Justicia Transicional del Posacuerdo con las FARC*, Opera, 20, pp.129-153, available at
«https://revistas.uexternado.edu.co/index.php/opera/article/view/4910/5836», accessed at 23rd February 2023;

Aguirre, M. (2016), *Pathways to peace – A challenging road ahead for Colombia*, The Broker, available at «https://www.thebrokeronline.eu/pathways-to-peace-d26/», accessed 23rd November 2022;

Arango, L. F. R. (2020), El Proceso de paz entre el Gobierno Colombiano y las FARC, Una Aproximación en clave de teología de la acción, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Facultad de Teología, Bogotá, available at «https://repository.javeriana.edu.co/bitstream/handle/10554/53222/El%20Proceso%20de%20pa z%20entre%20el%20Gobierno%20Colombiano%20y%20las%20FARC%20-una%20aproximaci%C3%B3n%20desde%20la%20teolog%C3%ADa%20de%20la%20acci%C 3%B3n%20.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y», accessed at 24th November 2022;

Belliard, N. (2021), *Does the Church have a role in working for Social Justice?*, Spectrum Magazine, available at https://spectrummagazine.org/views/2021/does-church-have-role-working-social-justice, accessed at 27th February 2023;

Berkley Centre for Religion Peace and World Affairs, Georgetown University (2013), Religion and Conflict Case Studies Series, Colombia: Religious Actors Inspiring Reconciliation,





- available at «https://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/publications/colombia-religious-actors-inspiring-reconciliation/pdf_download/en», accessed at 20th November 2022;
- Bouvier, V. M. (2013), *Colombian Churches, Faith Groups Engage to Urge Peace*, United States Institute for Peace, available at «https://www.usip.org/blog/2013/07/colombian-churches-faith-groups-engage-urge-peace», accessed 11th November 2022;
- Brahm, E. (2005), *Religion and Conflict*, Beyond Intractability, available at «https://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/religion-and-conflict», accessed at 12th January 2023;
- Brett, R. (2022), *Victim-Centred Peacemaking: The Colombian Experience*, Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding, 16:4, 475-497, available at «https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/17502977.2022.2104437?needAccess=true&ro le=button», accessed at 23rd February 2023;
- British Academy (2015), *The Role of Religion and Conflict in Peacebuilding*, available at «https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/documents/325/Role-of-religion-in-conflictpeacebuilding_0_0.pdf», accessed at 24th November 2022;
- Burnyeat, G., Engstrom, P., Suárez, A. G. (2020), *Justice after war: innovations and challenges of Colombia's Special Jurisdiction for Peace*, LSE Latin America and Caribbean, available at «https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/latamcaribbean/2020/04/03/justice-after-war-innovations-and-challenges-of-colombias-special-jurisdiction-for-peace/», accessed 20th November 2022;
- Carnes, M. (2016), *Religion in Colombia: Negotiating the FARC Peace Processes*, Religion, the Catholic Church, and Peace in Colombia, Berkley Forum, available at





«https://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/posts/religion-in-colombia-negotiating-the-farc-peace-processes», accessed 11th November 2022;

- Caro, M. I. R. (2019), Developing Peace Education in Colombia: A qualitative enquiry of school practice, University of Manchester, available at «https://pure.manchester.ac.uk/ws/portalfiles/portal/173346930/FULL_TEXT.PDF», accessed at 26th February 2023;
- Casasbuenas, L. M. (2019), The Necessity of a Holistic Peace Building Approach for Effective Conflict Transformation: A Case Study of the Republic of Colombia: An Opportunity to Break the Conflict Cycle, University of Ljubljana, available at «https://repository.gchumanrights.org/server/api/core/bitstreams/a26f592e-a655-4170-9968-b54ff5209081/content», accessed 15th February 2023;
- Celis, L. (2016), *The Legacy of Liberation Theology in Colombia: The Defense of Life and Territory*, Latin American Perspectives, Issue 208, Vol. 43 No. 3, May 2016, 69–84, available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/299474008_The_Legacy_of_Liberation_Theology_in_Colombia_The_Defense_of_Life_and_Territory, accessed 20th November 2022;
- Christensson, V. (2019), Civil society and peace a holy relationship? A case study on the role of faith-based organizations in peacebuilding and their promotion of human rights in Colombia, Uppsala University, Faculty of Theology, available at «https://www.divaportal.org/smash/get/diva2:1415824/FULLTEXT01.pdf», accessed 24th November 2022;
- Comisión de la Verdad (2019), Comprehensive System of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Non-Repetition (SIVJRNR), available at





«https://www.jep.gov.co/DocumentosJEPWP/4SIVJRNR_EN.pdf», accessed at 23rd February 2023;

- Ercoşkun, B. (2021), *On Galtung's Approach to Peace Studies*, Lectio Socialis Review Article, Volume 5, Issue 1, 1-7, available at «https://www.researchgate.net/publication/348576067_On_Galtung's_Approach_to_Peace_Studies», accessed at 26th February 2023;
- Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace (2016), available at «https://www.peaceagreements.org/viewmasterdocument/1845», accessed at 24th November 2022;
- Forero, L. C. P. (2021), *Spirituality and the peace process*, Oigo Paz, available at «https://oigopaz.org/EN/mediacenter/publications/spirituality-and-the-peace-process», accessed 12th January 2023;
- Galtung, J. (1990), *Cultural Violence*, Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 27, No. 3, pp. 291-305, available at «https://www.jstor.org/stable/423472», accessed at 26th February 2023;
- Galtung, J. (1969), *Violence, Peace, and Peace Research*, Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1969), pp. 167-191, available at «https://www.jstor.org/stable/422690?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents», accessed at 26th February 2023;





- Glazier, R. A. (2018), *How Religion Influences Peacemaking*, Peace and Conflict Studies, Volume 25, Nr 2, article 3, available at «https://nsuworks.nova.edu/pcs/vol25/iss2/3», accessed at 24th November 2022;
- Griffin, B. (2018), *Church helps people in Colombia move from 'vengeance' to reconciliation*, National Catholic Reporter, available at «https://www.ncronline.org/news/church-helps-people-colombia-move-vengeance-reconciliation», accessed at 12th November 2022;
- Groff, L., Smoker, P. (1996), Spirituality, Religion, Culture, and Peace: Exploring the Foundations for Inner Peace in the Twenty-First Century, The International Journal of Peace Studies, available at «https://www3.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol1_1/smoker.html», accessed 24th November 2022.
- Hansen, T. (2016), *Holistic Peace*, Peace Review, 28:2, 212-219, available at «https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10402659.2016.1166758», accessed at 26th February 2023;
- Jurisdicción Especial para la Paz, 2023, available at «https://www.jep.gov.co/Paginas/Inicio.aspx», accessed at 25th February 2023;
- Klobucista, C., Renwick, D. (2017), *Colombia's Civil Conflict*, Council on Foreign Relations, available at «https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/colombias-civil-conflict», accessed 5th February;
- Kurpa-Silva, S. (2020), *Inclusivity of the Colombian Peace Process Disputed: Experiences of Leaders of Persecuted Christian Groups*, Tampere University, Faculty of Management and Business, available at «https://trepo.tuni.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/120112/Kurppa-SilvaSalla.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y», accessed at 10th January 2023;





- Llauger, L. T. (2022), *Transitional Justice in Colombia: Between Retributive and Restorative Justice*, E-International Relations, available at https://www.e-ir.info/2022/11/16/transitional-justice-in-colombia-between-retributive-and-restorative-justice/, accessed 12th January 2023;
- Levine, D. H., Wilde, A. W. (1977), *The Catholic Church*, "*Politics*," and Violence: The Colombian Case, The Review of Politics, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp. 220-249, Cambridge University Press, available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/1406129?seq=1&cid=pdfreference#references_tab_contents, accessed at 10th January 2023;
- Manrique, C. A. (2019), Religious Practices, State Techniques and Conflicted Forms of Violence in Colombia's Peacebuilding Scenarios, Revista de Estudios Sociales no. 67, pp. 56-72, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de los Andes, available at «https://revistas.uniandes.edu.co/doi/epub/10.7440/res67.2019.05», accessed at 10th December 2022;
- Mesa, J. F. N. (2020), *Posición de las Iglesias frente al conflicto armado en Colombia y ante la posibilidad de la paz*, Comisión de la Verdad, available at «https://web.comisiondelaverdad.co/actualidad/noticias/posicion-de-las-iglesias-frente-al-conflicto-armado-en-colombia-y-ante-la-posibilidad-de-la-paz», accessed at 20th November 2022;
- Mishe, P. M. (2013), *The Significance of Religions for Social Justice and a Culture of Peace*, Religion Peace Conflict Journal, available at http://www.religionconflictpeace.org/print/18», accessed at 22th November 2022;





- Morsolin, C. (2022), *Francisco de Roux: "Ante la gravedad de lo ocurrido en Colombia, la Iglesia pudo jugarse más a fondo, Religión Digital,* available at «https://www.religiondigital.org/america/Francisco-Roux-gravedad-Colombia-Iglesia-jesuita-paz_0_2492750703.html », accessed at 23rd February 2023;
- Oquendo, C. (2022), "La Iglesia, por su presencia en territorios, podría ayudar con un monitoreo del cese al fuego", El País, available at «https://elpais.com/america-colombia/2022-07-27/la-iglesia-por-su-presencia-en-territorios-podria-ayudar-con-un-monitoreo-del-cese-al-fuego.html», accessed at 10th January 2023;
- Pastoral Social Cáritas Colombiana (2021), "Ustedes lo han hecho con las uñas, con puro corazón, pura entrega, pura decisión, pura voluntad y ahí está la mano de Dios", Monseñor Henao, available at «https://caritascolombiana.org/monsenor-henao-ustedes-lo-han-hecho-con-las-unas-con-puro-corazon-pura-entrega-pura-decision-pura-voluntad-y-ahi-esta-la-mano-de-dios/», accessed 25th February 2023;
- Pérez-Garzón, C. A. (2018), *Unveiling the Meaning of Social Justice in Colombia*, Mex. law rev vol.10 no.2 Ciudad de México, available at «https://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1870-05782018000100027», accessed at 26th February 2023;
- Reychler, L. (1997), *Religion and Conflict, Introduction: Towards a Religion of World Politics?*, available at «https://www3.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol2_1/Reyschler.htm?gmuwrd=sm&gmuw-rdm=ht», accessed at 10th January 2023;





- Ruíz, L. A. (2018), El Acuerdo de Paz de 2017 entre el Gobierno Y las FARC: Un Modelo de Justicia Transicional en Colombia, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, available at «https://e-archivo.uc3m.es/handle/10016/27701», accessed at 5th February 2023;
- Sandal, N. (2019), *Post-Conflict Processes and Religion: An Overview*, available at «https://oxfordre.com/politics/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-678», accessed at 10th January 2023;
- Sedwick, J. M. (2016), *The Role of Religion in Colombia's Reconciliation*, Defense Technical Information Centre, available at «https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/pdfs/AD1024486.pdf», accessed at 23rd November 2022;
- Siddhart, S. (2023), *Holistic Peace as an Integral part of Peacebuilding process and Post- conflict Recovery*, available at http://www.icdv.net/2014paper/ws4_02_en__Holistic_Peace_as_an_Integral_part_of_Peacebuilding_Process_447891966.pdf», 11th February 2023;
- Taqi, Aya (2020), Culture of Peace and Peacebuilding, Non-Violence NY, available at "https://www.nonviolenceny.org/post/culture-of-peace-and-peacebuilding", accessed 3rd February 2023;
- Trujillo, R. A. (2022): *El proceso de paz. Los retos para la sociedad colombiana*, Latitudes, Universidad de los Andes, available at «https://sextante.uniandes.edu.co/index.php/ejemplares/sextante-5/latitudes/el-proceso-de-paz», accessed at 19th December 2022;





UNESCO (1996), From a culture of violence to a culture of peace, Peace and Conflict Issues Series, available at «https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000105029», accessed at 22nd November 2022,

United Nations General Assembly Resolution 53/243, UN. Doc.A/RES/53/243, 13 September 1999;

United Nations Institute of Peace (2000), *Catholic Contributions to International Peace*, available at whttps://www.usip.org/publications/2001/04/catholic-contributions-international-peace», accessed 22nd November 2022;

United Nations Security Council Resolution 2261/2016, UN. Doc.S/RES/2261, 25 January 2016;

Valenzuela, P. (2019), *The values of peace in the Colombian Peace Agreement: discursive progress and empirical hurdles*, Peacebuilding, 7:3, 297-313, available at «https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/21647259.2019.1629522», accessed 12th January 2023;

Veres, S. H. (2015), *Prospects and Pitfalls in the Pursuit of Peace: A Case Study of the On-Going Peace Process in Colombia*, University of Lund, available at https://lup.lub.lu.se/luur/download?func=downloadFile&recordOId=5421967&fileOId=546937 6, accessed at 15th February 2023;

WRadio (2018), *Iglesia Católica dice que JEP no debe ser vista como venganza y pide aprobarla*, available at «https://www.wradio.com.co/noticias/actualidad/iglesia-catolica-dice-que-jep-no-debe-ser-vista-como-venganza-y-pide-aprobarla/20180621/nota/3765135.aspx», accessed at 25th February 2023.





APPENDIX 1: Semi-Structured Interview Script to Monseñor Héctor Fabio Henao

Semi-structured Interview conducted online on the 2nd February 2023

- The interviewer started off with a small presentation about herself and her paper and thanked the interviewee's support and time taken;
- The interviewer asked the interviewee's permission to record the interview;
- At the end of the interview, the interviewer thanked, once again, the interviewee for his time and insightful inputs.

Main Interview Questions translated into English (with possible sub-questions or comments in between):

- 1. Starting off with a historical context, do you think that the development of the Liberation Theology and the social-economic context of the time were the causes of the conflict in Colombia?
- 2. Could you talk about the role of the Catholic Church as a bridge between the conflicting parties in the Peace Process? Particularly, the role of the Church as a mediator and facilitator? Which role did it play?
- 3. What could you tell me about the intercultural dialogue of the Catholic Church with other religions during the Peace Process?
- 4. It is very interesting the approach of the Church in restorative justice, which also has to do with the processes of forgiveness of victims, something I would like to talk about in my paper. In





particular, could you talk about the role of the Church as a promoter of transitional justice in the peace process?

- 5. In relation to the institutional mechanisms of transitional justice in the Peace Process, what role, if any, did the Church play in each of them?
- 6. I am also interested in the relationship between social justice and the concept of external peace and between transitional justice and internal peace, do you think they are clearly related?
- 7. Finally, I understand that my paper has now become a little more relevant, as the new President Gustavo Petro invited the Catholic Church to participate in the total peace with the ELN and other guerrillas. Do you believe that this will be achieved and that there will soon be total peace? How does the Church intend to participate?