

# Symbolic Reparations, A Good Joke

**Doris Sommer\***

While academic humanists today feel besieged by budget cuts and are increasingly resentful of students and colleagues who prefer more “useful” work, and thereby deepen the cuts, constitutional lawyers in Bogotá, Colombia, are seeking us humanists out, specifically a group coordinated by the Cultural Agents Initiative at Harvard University. This is a case of the law appealing to art in order to fulfill duties; and it presents a complement to other cases we have seen in which art chooses to tease the law in order to achieve its irreverent effects. To be really useful in upholding the Law of Victims, Colombian legal theorists call on humanists and artists to help interpret new legislation that guarantees comprehensive human rights to victims of armed conflict. How many other opportunities exist for the arts and public policy to suture wounds to our body politic? This is not a rhetorical question, but an appeal for a collaborative research agenda.

## MIMICRY AND MOCKUS

Colombia’s Law 1448, passed in 2011, insures comprehensive reparations—including symbolic reparations—for victims of armed conflict since 1985. Victims before that date cannot make comprehensive claims, but they are nevertheless entitled to symbolic reparations. Bogotanos do not have to imagine how symbols and arts re-frame legal culture in practical ways. They have lived the change. Even without the instructive examples from South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission—which recognized symbolic reparations as available remedies, along with other material and institutional responses to Apartheid—Bogotá is itself spectacular and exemplary regarding symbolic contributions to society. A quirky mayor elected in 1995 turned pedestrians into performance artists and began to transform the city from the most chaotic, dangerous, and corrupt place on the planet—throughout the 1980s and most of the 1990s—to an oasis of recovering civility.<sup>1</sup> Mayor Antanas Mockus com-

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\* I am grateful for advice on an earlier draft of this essay from Ana María Reyes, Assistant Professor of Art History at Boston University.

1. DORIS SOMMER, *THE WORK OF ART IN THE WORLD: CIVIC AGENCY AND PUBLIC HUMANITIES*

plemented his antics with stiff fines for infractions and bold calls for administrative reform, calls that got responses from re-invigorated citizens. By the end of his two terms in office, when homicides had plummeted by 70% and tax revenues climbed 300%, Mockus's program of Civic Culture showed impressive statistical results.<sup>2</sup> The change would have been unthinkable without creative arts and aesthetic judgment. "When I feel stuck," he would say, "I ask myself, 'What would an artist do?' And when that doesn't work, I reinterpret."<sup>3</sup>

"Professor Mockus, What gave you the idea to replace the traffic police with pantomime artists?" It was an obvious question for the recent mayor, but if the student hadn't asked, I might not have learned that one principle of his astounding success is a disarming sense of humor. He knows when to take a joke seriously and how to set off ripples of shared fun. This joke is his impish misreading of an insult for having done practically no good during the first month of his administration. "When there's nothing to be done, it's time to bring out the clowns," was the dismal conclusion.<sup>4</sup> After a short pause, Mockus lit up. "That's a great idea!"<sup>5</sup> He would propose replacing some embarrassingly corrupt traffic police with a few funny mimes poised to make people laugh at lawlessness. Citizens would learn to play together in a public space and to love the protective props of striped cross-walks and red lights. The center city would, for a while, stop giving traffic tickets and discontinue—for good—the bribes demanded by uniformed officers. As more mimes trained to take over for traffic police, that unfriendly force faced dissolution nine (gestating) months after the experiment started.

Mockus had purposefully misinterpreted mockery as a marching order. A metaphor for defeat was realized as an advance in the war of position called Civic Culture. With characteristic and calculated cluelessness, like an artist, the mayor chose to hear a literal message on the surface of the familiar figure of speech. Another time that Mockus chose to listen badly on purpose was when he and Adriana Córdoba were planning their 1996 wedding. The dilemma was where to get married, and the solution was to turn a dead metaphor into living language. Finding a spectacular venue would allow the public to participate. There would be no list of special guests for the celebration of an elected civil servant, but rather, a general invitation to the city. Churches were out of the question because the still devout groom had been excommunicated for marrying and divorcing a previous partner. Mockus asked his fiancé for a recommendation. She

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2 (2014).

2. *Id.* at 22-23.

3. *Id.* at 2.

4. *Id.* at 27.

5. *Id.* at 27.

teased him: “If you want a three-ring circus, why not get married there?”<sup>6</sup> Mockus and his bride did just that—inside the tigers’ cage as the tamer whipped his wards away from the happy couple and from the terrified elephant they rode.

By twisting a common expression out of its familiar shape and defamiliarizing it by an intentional mistake, Mockus made a work of relational art that engaged an entire city on the streets and at the circus. Sometimes, and probably often, creativity follows from purposeful misunderstanding. This is why bilingual and bicultural games are a source of endless fun and wisdom as they track the artful failures of language.<sup>7</sup> Misunderstanding, intentionally or not, is also why foreigners help to keep democracy dynamic, by asking unlikely questions that stimulate justification or reform.<sup>8</sup> Mockus, with his Lithuanian name and his Colombian allegiance, lives a cultural complexity that matters for democracy. One effect is “learning to listen better,” as when he honors literal meanings and also anticipates mistakes in multicultural settings.<sup>9</sup> For example, he wrote an essay on “Cultural Amphibians” to argue for translation as a basic pedagogical skill.<sup>10</sup> I am convinced that this keen observation takes advantage of his own bicultural formation that shuttles between languages. Educators, he writes, are fundamentally amphibious because they move material from one register of language and experience to others; without this agility for translation, teachers could not teach.<sup>11</sup> The same ability to interpret elements of one code in terms of another allows cultural amphibians to participate in legal, moral, and cultural expressions without violating their personal integrity. Amphibians help to bridge the dangerous divorce of law from morality and culture by translating the reasons of one into the others. “The idea of modern democracy is inseparable from the possibility that different reasons may back up the same rules.”<sup>12</sup>

#### SUBSTANTIAL OR SYMBOLIC?

“Symbolic reparations” probably sounds like a bad joke, for good reason. Juxtaposing the two registers of art and law shows the breach between them; it plays a game of smoke and mirrors, disappearing material damages into the thin air of art. ¿No? How can reparations be symbolic? How do you recover real losses through words and images? Tell me that

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6. *Id.* at 27.

7. DORIS SOMMER, *BILINGUAL AESTHETICS: A NEW SENTIMENTAL EDUCATION* (2004).

8. See BONNIE HONIG, *DEMOCRACY AND THE FOREIGNER* (2003).

9. Antanas Mockus, *Ampliación de Los Modos de Hacer Política*, *COLLOQUE CERI*, Dec. 2004, at 15.

10. Antanas Mockus, *Anfibios Culturales y Divorcio Entre Ley, Moral y Cultura*, *ANÁLISIS POLÍTICO*, Jan.-Apr., 1994, at 37-48.

11. See *id.* at 40.

12. Mockus, *Anfibios Culturales y Divorcio Entre Ley, Moral y Cultura*, *supra* 38.

you have suffered the death of family members, loss of limb, land, livelihood, education, and political participation. And I'll tell you that there is an apology or a monument that will make you feel better. In fact, this representational remedy is among the recommendations of the report submitted in 1998 by The Truth and Reconciliation Commission ("TRC") in South Africa.<sup>13</sup> On advice that Colombia solicited from the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, symbolic restitution appears in the comprehensive scope of Colombia's Law 1448, along with 1) monetary indemnification, 2) restitution of lands, 3) political reparations, and 4) employment reparations.<sup>14</sup> (*See Figure 1.*)

*Wiedergutmachung*, a word meaning literally "to make things good again," is the official German word for reparations. It names a particular program of the guilt-ridden, post-WWII state, whereby each month the German government still pays off Jewish survivors of the war. This is an economic remedy that purports to "repair" the damage done by a rather successful extermination campaign. Some people may not know that among the costs to Germany for losing the war have been monthly checks cut over lifetimes to sometimes doggedly persistent survivors. I know because my own long-lived parents were among the remnant that relentlessly drew these modest monthly wages of guilt. Julius and Adela Sommer never doubted the practical utility of these small amounts of money, though the income hardly amounted to much. It barely improved the scrappy and then fuller lifestyle of incorrigibly optimistic immigrants. Even as newcomers in the 1950s, my parents knew that the *Wiedergutmachung*'s handouts were more symbolic than sustaining.<sup>15</sup> They were an incontestable message, repeated a dozen times each year, that Germany owed Jews a continuing debt. It was a public admission of responsibility and a practical performance of collective contrition. As gestures, the checks paid by Germany achieved a worth far in excess of their material value. This joke, at least, was not at the expense of Jewish lives.

In other words, symbolic reparations may sound like a lame response to catastrophe, a magic show to replace real responsibility with abstractions that cannot feed or clothe or house or educate distressed and displaced

13. Press Release, S. Afr. Dep't of Justice & Constitutional Development, *Justice Invites TRC Beneficiaries to Claim Their Financial Reparations* (Nov. 2011), [http://www.justice.gov.za/m\\_statements/2011/20111108\\_trc-list.html](http://www.justice.gov.za/m_statements/2011/20111108_trc-list.html); *TRC Category — 4. Reparations*, TRACES OF TRUTH, [http://truth.wvl.wits.ac.za/cat\\_desc.php?cat=4](http://truth.wvl.wits.ac.za/cat_desc.php?cat=4) (last accessed May 25, 2015). The five elements are: redress, restitution, rehabilitation, restoration of dignity, and reassurance of non-repetition. *Id.*

14. See CODE CIVIL [C. CIV.] art. 1448 (Colom.), <http://www.alcaldiabogota.gov.co/sisjur/normas/Norma1.jsp?i=43043> (last accessed June 20, 2015).

15. Yad Vashem, *Reparations and Restitutions*, SHOAH RES. CTR., [http://www.yadvashem.org/odot\\_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%205817.pdf](http://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%205817.pdf) (last accessed May 25, 2015).

victims of war.<sup>16</sup> But it is worth considering whether or not symbolic reparations will be the most significant element among those that constitute the comprehensive program legislated by the Inter-American Court. This is not only because material resources will prove to be disappointing in the face of overwhelming demand, but also because symbolic work and its contributions to Civic Culture may unclog lines of communication and suture political wounds that otherwise fester and erupt.<sup>17</sup>

#### BACK TO BOGOTÁ

The Inter-American Court's advice to include symbolic reparations must sound uncanny for Colombia, where it is difficult to doubt the efficacy of art and the real civic effects of symbolic interventions. Some grumpy conservatives manage to doubt anyway. But the recommendation to include symbolic reparations is either uncanny – both familiar to Colombian experience, and strange because it is the Court that requires creative interventions – or the recommendation is an echo effect in the Court chambers. Echoes come from South Africa's admirable lessons on the efficacy of arts for peaceful political transition, as one can tell from the borrowed wording in the Organizations for American States ("GAO") Guidelines for Comprehensive Reparations ratified in 2008,<sup>18</sup> a full decade after similar language was written into the TRC's Final Report.

But surely another strong inspiration comes from the country that solicits inter-American advice. Its recently rehabilitated capital city offers *cultura ciudadana* as a model for national, and even international, civic development.<sup>19</sup> According to President Juan Manuel Santos, *cultura ciudadana* is the only reliable foundation for constructing sustainable peace in a country that has been at war with itself for the past 60 years.<sup>20</sup>

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16. I thank human rights lawyer and consultant Marco Abarca for pointing out the contrast between contemporary European and inter-American definitions of symbolic reparations. In a letter dated April 9, 2015, he quotes a December 16, 2005 resolution adopted by the U.N. General Assembly on the *Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law*, G.A. Res. 60/147, U.N. Doc. A/RES/60/147 (Dec. 16, 2005). Europeans interpret "satisfaction" as it responds to three types of loss and damage: pecuniary damage, non-pecuniary damage as compensation for anxiety, inconvenience and uncertainty resulting from the violation, and costs and expenses. *Id.* ¶¶ 18-19. All three are considered symbolic reparation. *Id.* ¶ 22. But the remedy is not binding. The Inter-American Court, on the other hand, defends the principle of human rights as natural rights, and requires states to develop reparations through bottom up dynamics in which victims participate in the construction of symbolic remedies.

17. *TRC Category — 4. Reparations*, *supra* note 12.

18. INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, PRINCIPAL GUIDELINES FOR A COMPREHENSIVE REPARATIONS POLICY 1 (2008), <http://www.cidh.oas.org/pdf%20files/Lineamientos%20Reparacion%20Administrativa%2014%20mar%202008%20ENG%20final.pdf>.

19. Through his consultancy, Corprovisionarios, Mockus and his team respond to requests for advice from Latin American leaders.

20. See "Cultura Ciudadana es Camino para Consolidar La Paz," Santos, POLÍTICA (Oct. 2, 2014), <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/gobierno/presidente-santos-habla-de-cultura-ciudadana>.

Santos won the presidential election against Mockus in 2010. Four years later, with some traction achieved by Santos at the Havana peace negotiations between Colombia and the FARC, Mockus supported the President's re-election against intransigent conservatives. The two leaders, who allow for disagreements on a range of issues, serve as a model for the kinds of collaborations that can save Colombia from continuing chaos.

Promisingly, and poignantly, OAS history began in Bogotá, the founding site for the American Charter of Human Rights in April 1948.<sup>21</sup> It is almost a miracle that the original Charter—which would be adapted eight months later by the United Nations—was ratified just days after the assassination of Liberal leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán that unleashed riots called *el bogotazo* ["Bogota riots"] in the center of the city. Soon the entire country began to tremble in a series of assaults associated with an indelible date: *el nueve de abril*. Presidential candidate Gaitán and his populist party fell victims to a war that began with misinformation<sup>22</sup> and continued in armed conflicts, displacements, and violations of human rights, practically until today.<sup>23</sup>

And now, Bogotá is again at the center of inter-American attention. As the national government continues peace talks in good faith with rebel leaders, despite loud objections by defenders of strong-arm law enforcement, new institutions, such as the Peace Commission and the Victims' Unit, speculate on how to construct peace in a country where no one remembers what peace feels like. Colombia cannot simply repair itself. It cannot provide reparations for citizens who have long been victims of structural inequalities that lead to violence. Together, victims and victimizers will have to invent programs that weave together conflicting claims, demands, and expectations. The unnerving scope of the challenge is an incentive for the ambitious, multi-dimensional, Comprehensive Program of Reparations, recommended by the OAS Court and adopted by Colombia's program in Transitional Justice.

But already, the overwhelming numbers of victims—to date about 7.5

como-camino-para-alcanzar-la-paz/14627893.

21. See *American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man*, INTER-AM. COMM'N ON HUMAN RIGHTS, <http://www.cidh.oas.org/Basicos/English/Basic2.american%20Declaration.htm>.

22. For an excellent book on the de-humanization of the "enemy" party in the press, mostly in the conservative paper of Laureano Gómez, *El Siglo*, see JAMES D. HENDERSON, *THE LAUREANO GÓMEZ YEARS, 1889-1965* (2001).

23. La violencia began two years earlier in 1946 but fuel was thrown in the fire of discontent and political polarization after the assassination of Gaitán. La violencia started when the conservative party regained control after Liberal rule with much retaliation. Gaitán's popularity as a presidential candidate among el pueblo but not Liberal elites was one reason why Liberals did not have a united front and lost presidential elections in 1946. Gaitán's popularity was continuing to increase and many thought he had a great chance of winning in the next elections. He was never elected president and was always shunned by the political class as being too much like el pueblo. See Ana María Reyes, "Dis-Cursis Beatriz González, Strategic Localism, and the Critique of Cultural Modernization in 1960s Colombia" (forthcoming).

million have registered for reparations—means that some of Colombia’s resources will not suffice to answer legitimate demands.<sup>24</sup> The money for indemnification, for example, will surely run out. And other demands may be as impractical for the government as for the victim themselves, since “repair” to a state previous to conflict is the recreation of conditions that lead to conflict. Consider, for example, the critique offered by James Robinson of the demand for restitution of land: the only meaningful answer to inequality is enhanced education for poor and displaced victims.<sup>25</sup> They cannot go back to zero-sum struggles over land now monopolized by big (legal and illegal) business. The only way out of poverty and violence is to go forward in skilled livelihoods that count on innovation and increasing resources.<sup>26</sup> This is a shift from agriculture to a culture of creativity.

#### PRE-TEXT FOR REFORM

Mockus knows that reforms in education are reforms in culture, and that civic culture is a comprehensive approach to bringing law, morality and culture into productive harmony. The current tensions among these value systems generate personal and inter-personal civil wars. Teachers, journalists, civic leaders, priests (Antonio Gramsci’s organic intellectuals) are “cultural amphibians,” as Mockus calls us. We can be agents of change to the degree that we manage to translate from one system to another. Without this coordination of legal and moral systems through culture, how could Law 1448 presume to guarantee that the damage to victims will not be repeated? President Santos is convinced that Mockus is right, and so are many other Colombians, including the constitutional lawyers who appeal to humanists. Legal scholar Yolanda Sierra leads the group “Arte y Derecho,” comprised of constitutional scholars and experts in cultural patrimony and education. Their goal is to offer guidelines and recommendations to the Inter-American Court on how to interpret symbolic reparations. Their efforts to develop the document led to consulting professor of art and literature Jose Falconi. He then convened a group of art historians and the combined group met in Bogotá during January, 2015.<sup>27</sup>

Licenciada Sierra stayed focused on the specific issue of how best to advise judges who were instructing local governments to provide symbol-

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24. See *Seis Millones de Víctimas Deja el Conflicto en Colombia*, SEMAN (Aug. 2, 2015), <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/victimas-del-conflicto-armado-en-colombia/376494-3>.

25. James A. Robinson, “Colombia: ¿Esta Vez es Diferente?” EL ESPECTADOR (Jan. 17, 2015), <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/colombia-esta-vez-diferente-articulo-538466>.

26. See *¿Cómo Modernizar a Colombia?*, EL MUNDO (Dec. 13, 2014), <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/elmundo/modernizar-colombia-articulo-532967>; see also Robinson, *supra* note 25.

27. Art historians include Edward J. Sullivan, Robin Greeley, Michael Orwicz, Ana Maria Reyes, and Lile Rexer.

ic reparations. Since the courts have little experience in this area, inadequately instructed judges assume that they should require the construction of monuments (of sometimes disappointing or even counter-productive quality). But we humanists strayed into general questions of what symbols do and what culture means. At stake in the debate are both the punctual advice lawyers need to offer judges and the broad ambition of constructing a sustainable culture of civility. For this, particular legal decisions can become wedges into fundamental institutional change, meaning cultural change to follow Mockus, Santos, and Gramsci too.

Culture is a key word that is hard to define but seems easy. With a nod to Raymond Williams whose *Keywords* (1976)<sup>28</sup> is a reference book for practically all of our related disciplines, I note that culture has two general uses: one that refers to a self-perpetuating system of values and practices (favored by social scientists including lawyers and the Fribourg Declaration on Cultural Rights) and the other use that describes interruptions in systems, surprises, and defamiliarization (favored by humanists). The two meanings are practically opposed to one another. In the breach between system and interruption is an opportunity for real contributions of art to politics. The prologue to *Keywords* recalls a crisis of comprehension in everyday words like “culture” that spurred Williams to write a 1956 book of essays and the current lexicon. He simply did not understand what people meant after he returned to campus from World War II’s battle fields. Thirty years later, he decided to make two separate entries for the simple word. And more than sixty years after the *bogotazo*, a post-conflict Colombia will have to entertain at least two meanings, the one defended by the Fribourg Declaration and the other that invites surprise and thrives on pleasure, a culture of art-making.

In fact, Sierra appreciates the power of art in reparations, even if this does not yet amount to its power to change social dynamics. In her critique of a dubious monument decreed by the local court of Las Brisas—the statue of a peasant returning from the fields on a donkey with saddlebags—she juxtaposes a work of collective quilting. (**See Figures 2-4.**)

The statue was paid for by the paramilitary alias “Diego Vecino” as part of his sentencing, which obliged him to pay both monetary and symbolic reparations to his own victims.<sup>29</sup> She brings the counter-example of a quilt sewn by a group of women victims of the March 2000 massacre in

28. See RAYMOND WILLIAMS, *A VOCABULARY OF CULTURE AND SOCIETY* (1976).

29. *Un Monumento No Sana Las Heridas*, EL MERIDIANO (Oct. 2013), <http://www.elmeridianodesucre.com.co/region/item/28895-un-monumento-no-sana-las-heridas>. It is not clear who commissioned the artist. But it is a result of the Justice and Peace Law of Colombia that demobilized paramilitaries (“paras”) could receive lighter sentences if they repaid their victims for harm done. This is different from the 2011 law where state funds are distributed through the courts to the victims unit. Direct reparations for paramilitary victims are related to expropriations from the paramilitaries themselves and the courts. In the cautionary case of reparations by alias Diego Vecino, the statue remains as a monument to himself.

Mampuján. They learned the skill from an artist invited by Juan Manuel Echavarría. To commemorate the cruelty of paramilitary forces, the women recreated a scene of Afro-Colombians' first collective trauma, the Middle Passage, or Travesía, this time with "paras" on deck, hanging blacks and throwing them overboard.

Echavarría's work includes personal contributions to collective healing. A feature-length 2013 film, *Requiem N.N.*, documents the creativity of people in Puerto Berrío who, for over 30 years, have fished out the remains of victims of violence drifting down the Rio Magdalena. Instead of sending these unidentified corpses, NNs (No Names), to a mass grave, townspeople have adopted the bodies, given them names, and decorated their tombs. In exchange, they are awarded protection and special favors. Some adopters even baptize the nameless victims with names from their own lost family members, seeking and giving dignity.<sup>30</sup> (*See Figure 5.*)

Parallel to the work that courts can do, in a country with many more victims than can be processed in conventional, time-and-money consuming cases, a Victims' Unit has been established to offer more immediate relief. This admirable and agile complement to the courts often facilitates dynamics of symbolic reparation in which victims engage in creative responses to trauma.

#### WHY ART WORKS

If symbolic reparations seem like a lame response to the overwhelming challenge of reconciliation, one defense of this measure—along with the other material and institutional guarantees to victims—is precisely that it seems unimportant and therefore unobjectionable. A work of visual art, a new ritual, a performance, need not be overtly political. In fact, if they are works of art, political positions are probably unclear at the surface, a measure of relief from partisanship that allows people of various positions to consider the piece together. This is a Kantian vision of aesthetics: that which excites disinterested pleasure can open up clogged systems precisely because it allows a pause from politics as usual. It pursues that which does not exist yet and can be constructive.

Friedrich Schiller got closer than did Kant to the political consequences of aesthetics, because he expanded the term to include a moment of judgment during the process of making art, not just perceiving it.<sup>31</sup> Symbolic—or artistic—reparation can be a wedge into the difficult political work of constructing a civic culture. Why? Precisely because it looks lame, unimportant, and therefore unworthy of the kinds of battles that have kept

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30. Adapted from *REQUIEM NN* (Lulu Films 2013), <http://www.requiemnfilm.com/about.html>.

31. See Friedrich Schiller, *Letters Upon the Aesthetic Education of Man*, reprinted in *Literary and Philosophical Essays*, 32 HARVARD CLASSICS 1909-14.

Colombia at war. Making new non-partisan works of art seems and is politically innocent in this partisan sense; but it is fundamentally constructive politically.

Who needs the Humanities today? Everyone does. Otherwise we give up all hope of freedom and social justice, along with general human development in the tradition of enlightened modernity. Modernity has not failed, Jurgen Habermas wrote years ago, to nudge us beyond pessimism; the problem is that we have not achieved it yet.<sup>32</sup> One fundamental reason for the delay has been the demotion of Judgment as a core faculty of human understanding. Judgment never gained the ground that Immanuel Kant hoped to win away from imperious Reason in his *Critique on Aesthetic Judgment*.<sup>33</sup>

To pause for Judgment, beyond reason, would be to regain a measure of our humanity, a freedom from the gridlock of mathematical thinking. The Humanities stage that pause; they train the faculty of Judgment by pausing to consider works of art and human creativity, in general. It is the faculty that everyone needs in order to stop and to take stock of what one is doing. This is one fundamental reason to study culture through the Humanities.

Today more than ever, language, literature, and related fields of cultural constructions strain against the predictable, compact and self-perpetuating and sometimes defensive notion of culture that still informs the social sciences. For humanists as well as artists, culture has an almost opposite value from compactness. It means the interruption of shared practices; and it excites the kind of disconcerting delight that Kant appreciated as the stimulus for free Judgment and for candid unscripted conversations. Those disinterested and delightful moments can lead to inter-subjective agreements, to common sense. This faculty for pausing to step back and take stock is basic to all disciplines and to constructing peace. But the best training ground for Judgment is the carefree area of aesthetics. The reason Kant gives in his *Critique* is simple: deciding if something is beautiful responds to an intense experience without obeying any established principles. Therefore, the decision is free from prejudice. Aesthetic Judgment is an exercise in unbiased evaluation, a knack that science and civics need as much as art does. So, interpreting art can train us to support urgently needed change. This is not a deviation from humanistic attention to the mechanisms of art production and reception. It is a corollary and a homecoming to civic education.

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32. Jürgen Habermas, *Modernity: An Unfinished Project [1980]*, in *CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY* 444 (Craig Calhoun et al. eds., 2012).

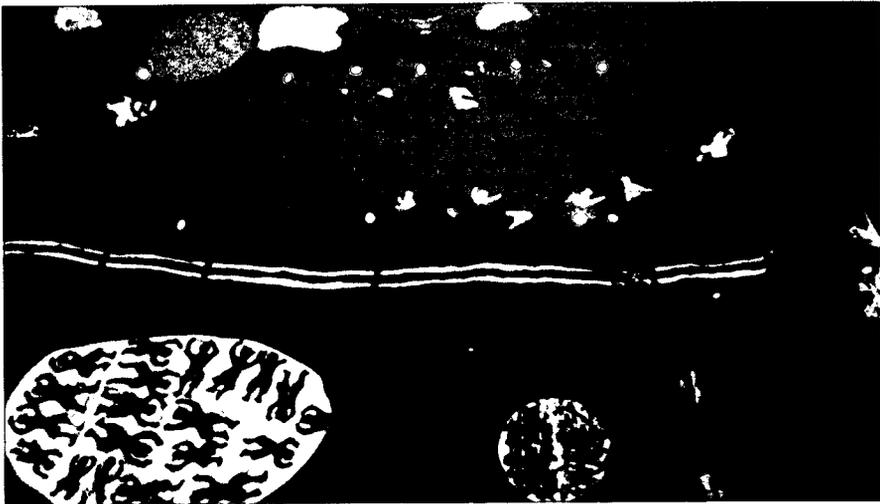
33. IMMANUEL KANT, *THE CRITIQUE OF JUDGMENT* (J.H. Bernard trans., Hafner Press 1951) (1790)



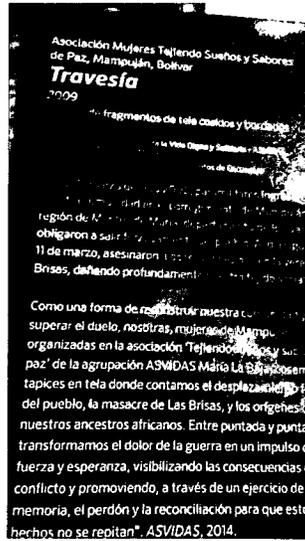
*Figure 1.* Zapiro, “Reparations on High Seas,” in “Traces of Truth: Documents Relating to the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission” (Historical Papers, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, [http://truth.wvl.wits.ac.za/cat\\_descr.php?cat=4](http://truth.wvl.wits.ac.za/cat_descr.php?cat=4)).



*Figure 2.* Wilger Sotelo Monument to 12 workers who were massacred by paramilitaries in San Cayetano and Las Brisas, commissioned by “Diego Vecino” (paramilitary alias), in “Un monumento no sana las heridas” (*El Meridiano de Sucre.com.co*, October 28, 2013).



*Figure 3.* Asociación Mujeres Tejiendo Sueños y Sabores de Paz [Association of Women Weaving Dreams and Tastes of Peace], Detail of *Travesía (Voyage)*, 2009. Quilt to honor the March 2000 massacre in Mampuján.



**Figure 4.** Asociación Mujeres Tejiendo Sueños y Sabores de Paz [Association of Women Weaving Dreams and Tastes of Peace], Plaque for *Travesía (Voyage)*, 2009. Quilt to honor the March 2000 massacre in Mampuján. (Photograph by Doris Sommer, Museo Nacional de Colombia in Bogotá, 2015).



**Figure 5.** Juan Manuel Echavarría, *Réquiem N.N.*, 2006-present. Photograph of columbarium. Puerto Berrio, Colombia. (Réquiem NN, 2013, <http://www.requiemnfilm.com/about.html>).

