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## Art from a Fractured Past

Milton, Cynthia

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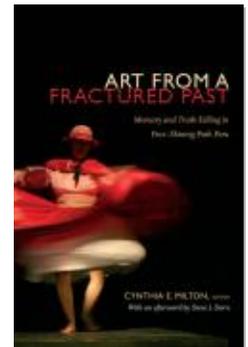
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PART ONE / VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF RECENT PASTS



IMAGES OF TRUTH / RESCUING MEMORIES OF PERU'S  
INTERNAL WAR THROUGH TESTIMONIAL ART

A lone woman wipes tears from her eyes with one hand. In her other hand she absentmindedly holds a wool spinner. One of her shoes is broken. Her back is slightly hunched forward, not from the weight of her satchel but from her sadness. This drawing, done in pastel watercolors, is entitled *Behind the Shadow of Pain* (*Tras la sombra del dolor*, fig. 1.1).<sup>1</sup> There are no scenes of violence, yet her pain is visible to us. Such is the capacity of art to recount experience.

Visual art offers a powerful means of nonverbal expression. Art is also one of the many modes by which individuals and groups forge acts of remembrance. Through a consideration of a corpus of artistic works that emerged around the time of the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación; CVR), this chapter explores the ways that art recounts the years of conflict and what pasts are recounted. In preparation for the release of the commission's findings, and later as part of the symbolic reparations promoted by the CVR, a series of art contests entitled *Rescate por la Memoria* (*Recovering/Rescuing Memory*) were held in the Peruvian highland departments of Ayacucho (2003, 2004) and Huancavelica (2004).<sup>2</sup> A consortium of NGOs called Colectivo Yuyarisun (We Are Remembering) organized the initial contest in an effort to spread awareness of human rights and to establish a collective memory project.<sup>3</sup> For the initial contest, held in the department of Ayacucho in 2003 just prior to the publication of the CVR's *Final Report*, members of Yuyarisun traveled to community fairs in eight provinces of Ayacucho, where they invited youth and adults to express through art their thoughts about truth, justice, reparation,



FIGURE 1.1. *Behind the Shadow of Pain* (*Tras la sombra del dolor*), by Luis Cuba Arango (Pampamarca, Vinchos). Reprinted with permission from Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 17.

reconciliation, and the internal war years. Posters and radio slots advertised this contest and those that followed. For the first contest, a total of 175 different works were submitted in the categories of poetry, stories (both comics and short stories), song, and paintings. In response to the initial contest's success, on the request of communities, and with the support of international funds, the Asociación de Servicios Educativos Rurales (Association of Rural Educational Services; SER) repeated the art contests the following year in urban Ayacucho (receiving 301 entries) and in the department of Huancavelica (with 129 entries). Subsequent spin-off regional art contests were held in Sacsamarca and Lucanamarca.<sup>4</sup>

The over six hundred artistic works submitted for the *Rescate por la Memoria* (*Recovering/Rescuing Memory*) contests in Ayacucho (2003 and 2004) and Huancavelica (2004) depict the experiences of people in regions directly affected by

the conflict. In this chapter, the focus is on the painted drawings (*dibujos pintados*) and comic strips (*historietas*). Much of their content supports the CVR's conclusions in the *Final Report*. Yet the testimonial framing and the visual impact of these works recount the past in a different way and perhaps in so doing offer divergent perspectives of "truth." The images of truth presented in the contests emphasize general collective memories of artists' communities that resonate with the CVR's findings, while also revealing specific individual and community experiences of suffering as they affected victims along ethnic, gender, and generational lines. The images further challenge the notion of possible national reconciliation as heralded by the CVR, and make clear demands for the recognition of the continuing plight of those who live in former conflict zones. And it is the memories of childhood at a time of great uncertainty, atrocity, and hardship that are most often brought to light in these testimonial artworks.

### Human Rights Art in the Highlands

Art as a means to recount experience has long been cultivated by government and human rights groups, who have often employed different artistic media to encourage local residents to depict their daily life. For instance, in the 1990s, agronomists asked peasants to map out their hamlets and agricultural practices in order to better provide them development assistance.<sup>5</sup> A decade later NGOs, such as the Institute for the Investigation and Promotion of Development and Peace in Ayacucho, used similar practices to encourage participation in elections and as a way for residents to indicate potential problems such as excessive distance between their homes and voting stations. Some early maps were "drawn" by placing beans; later approaches used pencils and paper. In addition, NGOs improvised plays with residents in order to better understand communities' relations and needs. In an attempt to prepare individuals and groups affected by the internal conflict to testify before the CVR, members of SER convened workshops with community members and leaders in which they mapped scenes of violence onto large sheets of white paper using colorful felt pens; only a few of the original maps remain. A second workshop was held after the CVR as a means to record this information as a collective memory project.<sup>6</sup>

Encouraging the description of community life through art in Peru dates back to at least 1984, when various NGOs, with the support of Oxfam, held a *National*

*Peasant Drawing and Painting Contest* (*Concurso Nacional de Dibujo y Pintura Campesina*) for rural folk to illustrate daily life.<sup>7</sup> The first contest was held on June 24, the Día del Campesino (Day of the Peasant; also the Día de San Juan). A contest was held almost every year until 1996, when funds ran out; the ten contests generated 7,004 artworks. One objective was to promote awareness of and respect for diverse cultures in Peru. During the years when these contests took place there was a sense that a “creative meeting” with the “peasant population” was needed at a time of extreme inflation, growing poverty, and escalating violence.<sup>8</sup> A portion of this collection, around 3,500 works, is now held at the Centro Cultural de San Marcos, where some have undergone a process of restoration and digitalization.<sup>9</sup>

The decision whether to privilege drawing and painting in the national contests over more local, long-standing artforms—for instance *retablos*, *mates burilados* (carved gourds), and *tablas*—posed some concern for the organizers of the national contests. They were aware that the use of paper and pencil was connected to outside culture, that of the “conquistadores,” and other artforms such as textiles and painted gourds were more established modes of highland cultural expression.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, one of the consequences of these art contests and other NGO workshops may have been the teaching of occidental methods of representation and narrative structure, such that the form of expression influenced the content. Furthermore, while such technologies of expression might solve the problem of how to enable auto-representation, the fact that such artworks are produced for specific consumers might in fact lead to the exoticization of participants and their work.<sup>11</sup>

Each year brought greater participation in the national art contest, despite economic crisis and political violence.<sup>12</sup> Organizers ran announcements on the radio, on programs such as *Tierra fecunda* (*Fertile Earth*), and circulated posters publicizing the contest.<sup>13</sup> The participants were of all ages, came from poor regions, and worked in humble professions: they were small-scale farmers, laborers, homemakers, carpenters, artisans, pastors, drivers, itinerant salespeople, domestic servants, small-scale businesspeople, tailors, herders, knife sharpeners, bricklayers, porters, fishermen, washerwomen, and green grocers.<sup>14</sup> Though prizes were awarded in various categories (such as for materials used by artists),<sup>15</sup> the motivating factor for contestants seemed to be more than just the

chance of winning, but offered the opportunity to communicate their knowledge, customs, problems, and hopes.<sup>16</sup> According to one participant from Ancash, “I want to make known the crucial moments through which we are living in our province and in Peru in general.”<sup>17</sup>

The *National Peasant Drawing and Painting Contests* were predecessors of the *Rescate por la Memoria* (*Recovering/Rescuing Memory*) contests, which were held during the following decade in the postwar highlands. Indeed, some of the coordinating organizations and individual members overlapped, including SER and Oxfam. However, while the earlier series of contests aimed to encourage rural folk to depict their social, historical, and cultural realities (including daily life, fiestas, changes in communities, personal dramas, and political violence), the *Rescate por la Memoria* contests, held during and after the truth commission’s work, focused specifically on the internal war. In the earlier contests, none of the entries that dealt with the theme of political violence had been awarded prizes, apparently because they did not meet the aesthetic criteria of the judges.<sup>18</sup> In the *Rescate por la Memoria* contests, the winning entries were chosen not only for their aesthetic quality but also for their “vision of events during the armed conflict.”<sup>19</sup>

### Art as Testimony

In the context of the CVR’s truth-seeking, the forum of an art contest changed from a means of describing daily life in general to that of providing testimonies of violence specifically. In part the shift reflects the evolving objectives of the participating NGOs from promotion of development policies to promotion of human rights. The shift also may be part of a global trend in post-conflict transitional justice practices whereby art is increasingly employed as a tool in peace building, healing, and reconciliation.<sup>20</sup>

The *Rescate por la Memoria* contest pieces implicitly combine the primary experience of trauma with testimony. While there is a field of art studies that addresses traumatic memory, it is not clear from these art contests whether the intention was to use art as a medium for overcoming trauma. The title of the contests suggests a possible awareness of a psychological condition or practice, since “rescate por la memoria” denotes “recovery of memory” (as well as “reclamation” or “rescue” of memory). However, it does not seem that the contest

organizers had any intention to retrieve buried or suppressed memories, such as childhood memories that come to light in adulthood. Rather, the entries suggest that these memories were never buried but were un(der)acknowledged by general Peruvian society and possibly at risk of nonrecognition.

A subtle distinction needs to be made between what visual studies and trauma studies consider testimonial art and the artworks considered here.<sup>21</sup> These two domains consider literature and formal art—that is, art done by professional artists—as a means of bearing witness to an event and working through an individual or collective traumatic experience, for example the works of Marcelo Brodsky in Argentina or Doris Salcedo in Colombia.<sup>22</sup> The *Rescate por la Memoria* contest works differ, not only because the participants are not professional artists for the most part but also because their aim does not appear to be to *work through* a traumatic experience (though the coordinators of the contests might have hoped for this outcome). Rather, the contest entries suggest an urgency to bear witness in the sense of *testimonio*, that of denouncing or condemning injustices (though professional artists may intend this as well).<sup>23</sup> In their entries, participants attest to what they directly witnessed and how their lives and communities have changed as a result, and they structure these memories into artistic narratives. Because of this emphasis on bearing witness and narrating in the face of indifference and injustice, the artforms studied here are similar to *hibakusha* testimonial art, that is, art by survivors of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki whose recounting of experience was prohibited by the post-war state. Thousands of paintings and drawings, many on small scraps of paper, depict scenes and effects of atomic bombing.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, the emphasis in the *Rescate por la Memoria* contest works seems to be placed on the *testimonio*—the function of art is to recount and denounce experiences to specific audiences: the judges who evaluate the entries, the bystander community who were neither direct victims nor perpetrators of violence, those who govern, and future generations.<sup>25</sup>

How subsequent viewers, whether judges of the contest, Peruvians, or researchers, interpret these works necessarily changes the meaning of this art's testimonial function. That is, judges (made up of local artists and musicians, NGO members, and academics) might assess the testimonial content and the aesthetic quality.<sup>26</sup> A Peruvian viewing these works online or as part of an exhibition might receive

them as secondary witnesses to the initial acts. And a researcher, like me, might try to “read” these works for their testimonial content and narrative constructions of the past.

There are constraints, however, both to critically evaluating these works as *art* and to using them as documentary *evidence*. As John Berger has written in reference to *hibakusha* art, one cannot critique the artistic qualities of these haunting images, for “one does not musically analyse screams.”<sup>27</sup> There are also limits to analyzing art as documents that are authentic and accurate, a requirement that artistic images be somehow tethered to truth.<sup>28</sup> The murkiness of memory and time, and of the temporal political present in which the images have been produced, all contribute to the distancing of artistic images from an uncompromised reality. One should be particularly careful with any assumption that these images and the artists represent a “real subaltern voice,” as though marginalized groups are somehow closer to reality with their “blunt, coarse, obvious, physical” depictions, and that only urban, educated classes alone hold the capacity for aesthetic artifice.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, central to interpreting these paintings is the tension created by the origin of their production.<sup>30</sup> These were not spontaneous works. Rather, the contributors were responding to a call for artwork on the theme of the internal war in contests sponsored by NGOs.

Furthermore, there is also the problem of interpreting distinct cultural and historical referents: it is difficult to skillfully read intention into symbolic works without a certain level of cultural immersion.<sup>31</sup> The symbol of the condor is a good example of the limits of interpretation. A condor in a painting might be a representation of a huge carrion bird. Or it could represent a military helicopter, or something else altogether. A select group of the armed forces wore black shirts with an image of a condor on their chests. According to Arianna Cecconi, some highland campesinos dreamt of condors just prior to the arrival of military helicopters, premonitions of the violence to come.<sup>32</sup> Several artists make reference to the same event by including depictions of helicopters dropping bombs: military incursions into Parco Chacapunco in 1986. Yet, the many appearances of helicopters in the *dibujos pintados* remain curious. As Ramón Pajuelo also notes in reference to the *National Peasant Drawing and Painting Contests*, helicopters were relatively rare in Ayacucho.<sup>33</sup> The repeated presence of the helicopter in these paintings thus may highlight the brutality of the military,

and the constant fear of their sudden arrival. Similarly, the presence of the Apu (mountain spirit) in these artworks might hold different meanings: according to Ceconi, for residents in Chihua and Contay the Apu “can appear in dreams to protect or to punish, to bring wealth or to make an animal disappear, to seduce or to bring illness” and may take many forms such as a landowner, a soldier, an animal or a condor, among other powerful entities. In the Waswantu plateau of Víctor Fajardo (studied by Jonathan Ritter here), one resident notes that Apus “are witnesses to our suffering, to what has happened to the population.”<sup>34</sup>

Despite the possible dangers of misinterpretation and overestimation of these graphic works’ ability to represent “reality,” I wish to read them for their testimonial narrative (the representation and the content) without challenging entirely the motives of the witness-artists or the completeness of their memory and depiction. Indeed, it is the framing and rendering of their testimonial narratives for a specific audience and the tensions over their production and meaning that are salient to their memorial, communicative, academic, and aesthetic value.<sup>35</sup> Yet, by analyzing the testimonial narrative, I do not wish to entirely strip away the sensual aspects of art or its ability to transmit meaning and emotion. For while art as a mode of communication might depict events with some accuracy, art can also “bring other eyes and hearts closer.”<sup>36</sup>

### Testimonial Framing

The *Rescate por la Memoria* contest entries depict and denounce the years of violence and demand alleviation from continued hardship. Participants recount their stories. They do so by way of various framing techniques. In these works, the artist might employ a labeling system of A, B, C . . . or 1, 2, 3 . . . to enable viewers to follow the intended sequence of events, similar to the engraving techniques found on carved gourds (*mates burilados*). See, for instance, the winning entry for the first Ayacucho contest, *La gran señal de nuestros recuerdos (El cementerio del horror)* (*The Great Symbol of Our Memories [The Cemetery of Horror]*, fig. 1.2), by Manuel Huamán Gutiérrez from Quinua.<sup>37</sup> Placed in the frame of a cross, scenes “A” and “B” depict the killing and rape first by the military, followed by Shining Path’s brutal reprisal. Scene “C” illustrates survivors burying their dead. The last scene, “D,” has community members embracing, perhaps a reference to return and repair, or more likely to departure as suggested by the

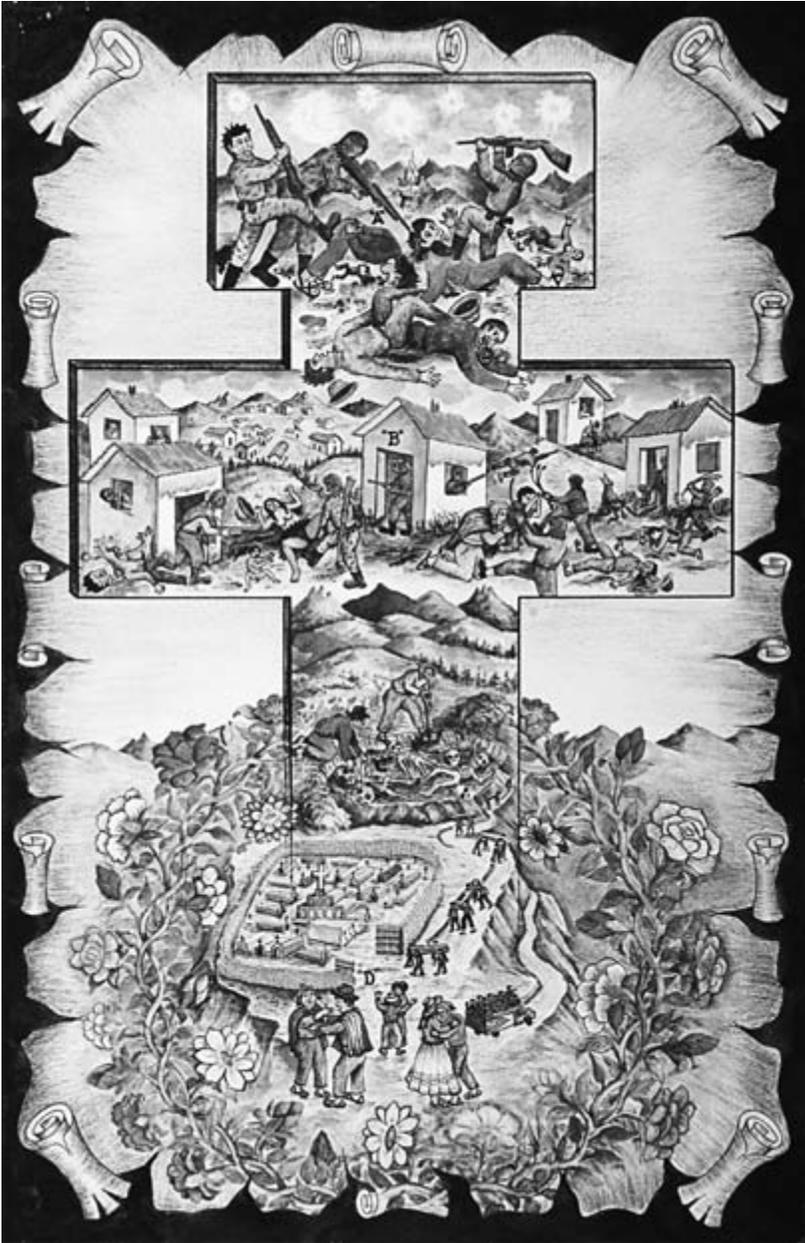


FIGURE 1.2. *The Great Symbol of Our Memories (The Cemetery of Horror)* (*El gran señal de nuestros recuerdos [El cementerio del horror]*), by Manuel Huamán Gutiérrez (Quinua). Reprinted with permission from Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 11.



FIGURE 1.3. *Reality (La Realidad)*, by Pablo Huamán Gutiérrez (Quinua). Reprinted with permission from Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 18.



FIGURE 1.4. Last frame in *Thus Began the Sad Life* (*Así comenzó la triste vida*), by Gonzalo Fernández Condoray (Viscatampata Orccohuasi, Huanta). Reprinted with permission from Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 91.

descending truck, a depiction of the waves of internal refugees. A similar entry, *La Realidad* (*Reality*, fig. 1.3), by Pablo Huamán Gutiérrez, also from Quinua (they are likely related), shows the same events in a numbered format with some differences.<sup>38</sup> He adds a scene (“5”) of the military returning after Shining Path. In the last segment (“6”) the community rebuilds their houses, and community members greet recently returned emigrants. Flowers similar to those found on the doors of *retablos* adorn the edges of this work.

In the case of the *historietas*, or comic strips, the framework of serial scenes ensures that readers follow the intended order. In the submission *Así comenzó la triste vida* (*Thus Began the Sad Life*, fig. 1.4), Gonzalo Fernández Condoray tells his story chronologically in five frames, using the first person singular.<sup>39</sup> The sequence recounts his life during the height of the violence from 1982 to 1984, when his community, Viscatampata Orccohuasi (Huanta), was forced to hide from both Shining Path and the military in caves for more than a year. Eventually driven from the caves by starvation, they sought refuge in a military base in Putis.

“Here died hundreds of people, men, women, and children, in this same year, after a short time with the military. Here ended my family as is: my grandparents, my uncles and aunts, and much of my community and other communities.”

Captions that accompany the pictures read like journal entries. These descriptions might be used to clarify the context surrounding the work, but they also strengthen an artist’s claim to veracity. The use of dates in the works further suggests a concern to document and pinpoint the specificity of remembrances. For example, in the painting *Sangre que corre* (*Flowing Blood*, fig. 1.5), by Edmundo Soto Vásquez of Concepción, above the scene of three dead men, a lone woman, two soldiers, and smoldering rooftops, the artist has written in pen “In the Plaza of Pirhuabamba on October 9 in the year of 1993, at five in the afternoon, they killed 15 *ronderos*. Burned houses.”<sup>40</sup> By placing a date, artists assert that specific events occurred at certain times, in certain places, and that despite the passage of time these events are not forgotten but are images engraved into their memories. Such claims of veracity might be in response to the potential threat of forgetting, indifference, and skepticism by spectators. And indeed, by incorporating written text, the artists might be expressing an awareness of the primacy given to written texts over visual and oral witnessing, a powerful dynamic of exclusion. Veracity might be easier to establish through written than pictorial narrative.

While the entries themselves are based on individual participants’ memories, their perspectives often represent that of the community. In this way, individual and collective memory may fuse. The narrator takes an omniscient position (seldom using the first person or making the artist-witness’s presence explicit). The scenes rendered are of the village or a group. Many include the central plaza or church. The perspective is that of a bird’s-eye view of the community: in some works, a condor, dove, or vulture may fly in the upper portion. In an entry for the Huancavelica contest, Santos Belito Unocc from Chacapunco placed the sun and a condor in the top center (fig. 1.6).<sup>41</sup> In between the bird and a mountain peak he wrote: “Apu Echoccallan de Parco Chacapunco in 1986, September 28.” Here, the mountain spirit (Apu) also witnessed what happened on this day to the community at its base.

Some artist-witnesses distance themselves from the events by making animals the protagonists who recount events. In two *historietas* from the 2003 Ayacucho contest, birds and dogs narrate the comic strip. In the first part of the *historieta*,



FIGURE 1.5. *Flowing Blood (Sangre que corre)*, by Edmundo Soto Vásquez (Concepción, Vilcashuamán). Reprinted with permission from Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 29.



FIGURE 1.6. *History of 1986, Shining Path Massacre (Historia de 1986, Matanza del S.L.)*, by Santos Belito Unocc (Chacapuncu). Reprinted with permission from Asociación SER, *Rescate por la memoria*, Huancavelica, 24.

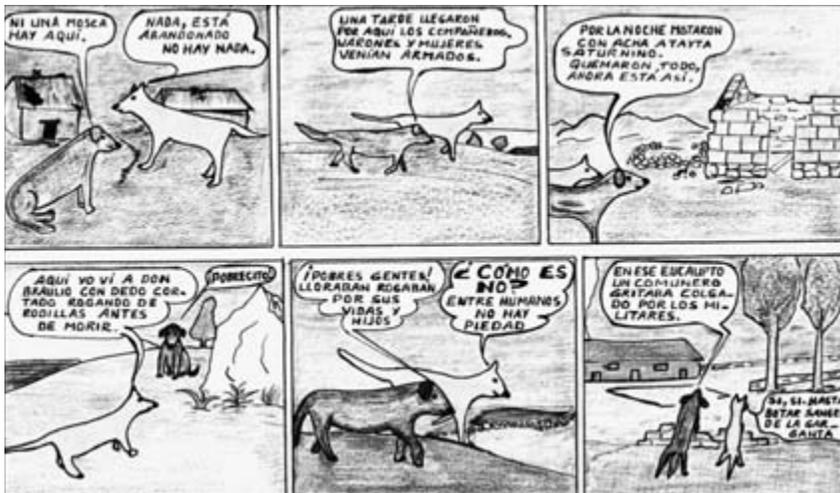


FIGURE 1.7. Excerpt from *A Return to the Past and between the Struggle* (*Una vuelta por el pasado y entre el esfuerzo*), by Luis Ayala Mamani (Chiara, Huamanga). Reprinted with permission from Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 63.

*Una vuelta por el pasado y entre el esfuerzo* (*A Return to the Past and Between the Struggle*, fig. 1.7), two dogs, calling each other by the racialized terms “Zambo” and “Cholo,” converse about what happened in the now abandoned community.<sup>42</sup> They name specific individuals who were killed and where their bodies can be found. They pose questions and provide answers, for example: “How can this be? Between human beings there is no pity.” Such narrative tricks allow the artist to make general comments and observations without taking an authorial stance as a firstperson witness. The protagonism of dogs is further interesting, since witnesses to the CVR referred to the way they were “treated like dogs” by the military and Shining Path and how cadavers were left to be devoured by dogs. In several other *Rescate por la Memoria* contest entries, Shining Path and the military refer to their victims in racialized and dehumanized terms as *perros* (dogs).<sup>43</sup> In this particular *historieta*, the tables are turned as dogs, using humans’ pejorative names to address each other, question the perpetrators’ humanity.

Another noticeable aspect of these artworks is their specific placements of acts of violence. Many map past violence by placing spatial markers that indicate where events occurred. The use of maps to narrate the violence might be a direct

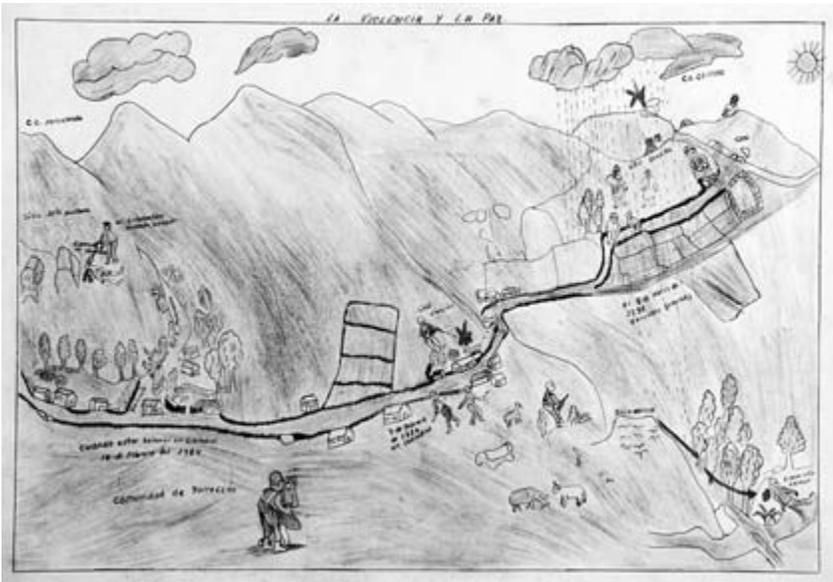


FIGURE 1.8. *The Violence and the Peace* (*La violencia y la paz*), by Leonidas Huamán Lolay (Chaynabamba). Reprinted with permission from Asociación SER, *Rescate por la memoria*, Huancavelica, 29.

legacy of earlier exercises with human rights groups, such as earlier agricultural and electoral maps, and the workshops in preparation for the truth commission's arrival. The mapping techniques in the later artworks entered in the *Rescate por la Memoria* contests hints that participants in earlier NGO workshops might have understood the mapping exercise as not just one of conveying information but also as an artistic endeavor. Similarly, artist-witnesses may have understood the making of works for the *Rescate por la Memoria* contests as artistic endeavors that included the conveying of information.

The *Rescate por la Memoria* contest maps situate the violence with physical markers of roads, buildings, central plazas, homes, animal corrals, mountains, valleys, and rivers. Through these markers, artist-witnesses could indicate several temporal events on the same plane. Thus, a depiction of Shining Path and the military in the same painting may not necessarily mean a direct confrontation between the two. In his painting *La violencia y la paz* (*The Violence and the Peace*, fig. 1.8), Leonidas Huamán Lolay depicted three different days: February

15, 1984 (during Carnival), February 7, 1986, and April 9, 1990 (during the general elections).<sup>44</sup> In some of the works that map memories of past violence, the aesthetic appears secondary to what seems like an urgent need to document. For instance, Julio Gómez Aguilar of Churcampa has crudely drawn roads, trees, and buildings in his entry, *Maraypata (Flat Basket)*.<sup>45</sup> He has written down the locations of where community members died: “Aquí murieron Gregorio Quispe y [illegible]” (“Here died Gregorio Quispe [and someone else]”).

In fact, surprisingly few of the submissions in the original Ayacucho (2003) and in the Huancavelica (2004) contests seem to take a purely symbolic or abstract approach to their subject. This was not the case for the urban Ayacucho contest of 2004, when many entrants give the impression of striving for “Art.” Perhaps the most marked difference between the contests in Ayacucho (2003) and Huancavelica (2004) on the one hand and the contest in urban Ayacucho (2004) on the other is that the *dibujos pintados* have lost some of their testimonial character in exchange for a more polished look. While most of the former entries displayed specific scenes of violence, around 75 percent of those submitted for the 2004 contest in urban Ayacucho present general paintings of suffering and violence without indicating specific events. One *dibujo pintado* is reminiscent of Jackson Pollock, with spattered paint.<sup>46</sup> A more polished look is also visible in the *historietas* category of the 2004 Ayacucho contest. With superhero-like figures and sound effects of “BLAM!” “BOOM!” and “RATATATA,” these narrative sequences are closer to Marvel comic books in style than the *historietas* entries of the 2003 Ayacucho and 2004 Huancavelica departmental contests, though their content recounts similar tragedies.

The shift in artistic style of the 2004 urban Ayacucho from the departmental contests might be because the entrants interpreted the 2004 contest as more about aesthetic than testimonial expression. They might also have been responding to what they thought might have better chances of winning.<sup>47</sup> Or established and budding artists might have decided to use this new art forum as a means to draw attention to their work. While we do not have information on participants’ professions in 2003, the departmental Huancavelica contest and the urban Ayacucho contests of 2004 demonstrate important differences: in Huancavelica, none of the participants were identified as “artists” or “artisans”; in urban Ayacucho, these two categories account for 11 of the 243 contributors,

in addition to some who described themselves as graphic designers. In both cases, students were the largest category (33 of 112 in Huancavelica, or 29 percent, and 123 of 243 in urban Ayacucho, or 51 percent). No one identified as an “agriculturalist” submitted a work in the urban Ayacucho contest, whereas 22 percent of Huancavelica’s 2004 entrants labored the land.<sup>48</sup>

### Generational, Gendered, and Racialized Memories

In summarizing the internal armed conflict, the former truth commissioner Carlos Iván Degregori described the victims as “poor, rural, indigenous, and young.”<sup>49</sup> The same description could be used to describe the entrants of the *Rescate por la Memoria* contests. The majority of participants in the contests were between the ages of eighteen and thirty, from poor, rural highlands, which are considered largely “indigenous/peasant” regions. While the strong presence of youth in the *Rescate por la Memoria* contests may reflect postwar demographics and may indicate the target audience of the organizers, it also suggests who would be attracted to taking part in such a contest: students. As one of the judges, the anthropologist José Coronel, noted, the *Rescate por la Memoria* contest allowed “these young Andeans to bolster their expressive capacity.”<sup>50</sup> In Huancavelica, of the ninety-seven participants whose age is known, nearly half (48 percent) were under thirty or younger.<sup>51</sup> In the urban Ayacucho contest (2004), of the 219 entrants whose age was indicated, 134 (61 percent) were under thirty.<sup>52</sup> In both cases, most of the women who submitted works were younger than twenty-five. That is, during the “militarization of the conflict” (the phrase used by the CVR to indicate the greater presence of the military in the region), from 1983 to 1986, many *Rescate por la Memoria* contest contributors were between the ages of four and twelve. They had been children during the three worst peaks of deaths and forced disappearances: in 1984, 1989, and 1990.<sup>53</sup>

Thus, these contest entries represent memories of a generational experience. They are testimonial accounts by individuals who at the time were children or young adults who witnessed the violence committed by the armed forces and Shining Path in their communities: torture, rape, death, disappearance, hunger, massacres, executions, clandestine burials, and forced migration. For instance, one participant, Vicente Unocc Sedano, called his work showing different violent events *Cuando era niño* (*When I Was a Child*). In a separate description attached to

the work, he noted his age when the depicted events took place: he was nine or ten years old when three women in his community were killed and three others harmed (in 1982); he was eleven years old when the army “mistreated” professors, students and community members and “men, women and children [were] tortured in 1983”; fourteen when there was a battle between Shining Path and the military; and fifteen when “El Señor Satos Lara was assassinated in the mountains by three unknown Senderos who placed on him a sign saying ‘informer.’” As a consequence of these many years of violence “we are all traumatized.”<sup>54</sup>

Perhaps because so many of the works in the *Rescate por la Memoria* contests are from individuals who were children at the time of the violence, many of the submissions reflect a strong sense of nostalgia for childhood and the past before the war.<sup>55</sup> For instance, in the *historieta* titled *Mi Familia* (*My Family*, fig. 1.9), Félix Chocce Belito describes in seven frames the happiness of his family in the community of Parco Alto, where they had enough to eat and a cow to milk. Suddenly, in the eighth frame, the military appears (as though from nowhere), and his father begs them to take pity on his family, for whom he provides. In the ninth frame is a single grave.<sup>56</sup> This romanticization of the past might reflect a child’s perspective of childhood in peacetime, despite hardship. Chocce Belito was twenty-nine at the time of the contest and would have been around nine in 1984. However, this nostalgic return to the past before the violence erases the root causes behind the initial success of Shining Path and the endemic poverty these regions suffered before the internal war.

One of the heart-wrenching results of the conflict was the creation of orphans. According to the CVR, widows and orphans were the Peruvians for whom the violence had the most devastating consequences, not only in the loss of family, belongings, and resources but also in lasting psychological and social harm.<sup>57</sup> The former coordinator of the Mental Health Unit of the CVR, Viviana Valz-Gen, describes the sudden transformation by political violence of a person into an orphan as a “fracture in the life process” that “results in rage, rupture of world order, the loss of sense in the most basic of things.”<sup>58</sup> This experience of becoming an orphan is attested to in the works of the *Rescate por la Memoria* contests. The participant Rosario Milagros Laurente Chahuayo entered both a drawing and a photograph (the only one for the Huancavelica contest). Her black-and-white charcoal drawing, *Huellas en el Alma* (*Traces in the Soul*, fig. 1.10), shows a

# Mi Familia



FIGURE 1.9. My Family (Mi familia), by Félix Chocce Belito (Parco Alto). Reprinted with permission from Asociación SER, Rescate por la memoria, Huancavelica, 82.



FIGURE 1.10. *Traces in the Soul (Huellas en el alma)*, by Rosario Milagros Laurente Chahuayo (Huancavelica). Reprinted with permission from Asociación SER, *Rescate por la memoria*, Huancavelica, 15.

young girl weeping.<sup>59</sup> The hat of a loved one rests in her hands. She included an explanatory description: “in the image [we] see a girl from Huancavelica with a hat remembering the pain and affliction of an unexplainable violence. [We see the] face of pain and loss of innocent people. In the pain there is no difference between day or night.”<sup>60</sup> The participant offers two versions of the same drawing, the one shown here with charcoal on white paper, and another with white pencil on black paper, to emphasize presumably the blurring of time and the transposability of day and night.<sup>61</sup>

Youths had a unique experience in the internal conflict. Shining Path recruited young people from communities and, if no volunteers came forward, would intimidate them into joining. They were also subject to targeting by the military who suspected them of being Senderistas or at least sympathetic to Shining Path. Official suspicion was cast especially on university students.<sup>62</sup> Students were rounded up and carted off to prison just for attending class or having suspicious reading materials.<sup>63</sup> Some never returned.<sup>64</sup> For instance, an undergraduate student in the *historieta* titled *Un día cualquiera de 1990* (*Any Day in 1990*) by Paul Silvera Cuki of Huamanga asks where his classmates have gone.<sup>65</sup> His neighbors tell him that his classmates were seized for being *terrucos* (terrorists). The protagonist asks himself how this could be when they are such good guys, “pero si son buena gente.”

The entries also show gendered differences in experiences of the armed conflict—one of the truths of the violence on which the CVR and art converge. Men and women were affected differently by the internal war: over 75 percent of the victims were men over age fifteen (most between the ages of twenty and forty-nine) and were local leaders targeted by Shining Path, or were killed or disappeared by state forces; most of the women who died were the victims of indiscriminate violence and massacres leveled against whole communities. Because of their gender, women were subjected to rape and forced domestic duties (such as cooking and tending to injured members of the armed opposition and the military).<sup>66</sup> Sexual violence was underreported to the CVR, and only 538 rape cases were registered. Of these, all but eleven were committed against women, and 83 percent were attributed to the armed forces. That it was taboo to speak of sexual violence was made explicit in several of the entries to the *Rescate por*

*la Memoria* contest.<sup>67</sup> But the *Rescate por la Memoria* contest submissions also demonstrate that women, like men, played many roles beyond that of victim. Some women chose Shining Path membership, and some organized their communities against Shining Path and military incursions. They searched for their disappeared relatives, put their dead to rest when possible, and cared for their surviving families.<sup>68</sup>

Gendered differences are evident in the choice of contest categories. Interestingly, while women only made up a quarter of the entrants in the original *Rescate por la Memoria* contest in the department of Ayacucho (2003), they accounted for nearly half of the entries in the song category, and many also submitted poetry, perhaps reflecting the strong oral and lyrical tradition of the region.<sup>69</sup> The following year, poetry accounted for more than a third of all of women's entries in urban Ayacucho, where women made up a fifth of the participants. In Huancavelica, poetry made up nearly a third of the entries by women, who represented a quarter of the participants.<sup>70</sup> In all three contests, men disproportionately outnumbered women in the "narration" category.

In addition to these gendered experiences and approaches to recounting the internal war, racial and ethnic dimensions should also be taken into consideration. The racialized aspect of the war is made clear not only in the violence committed against women, who were almost exclusively Quechua-speaking campesinas,<sup>71</sup> and the non-Spanish speaking victims in general who accounted for three-quarters of the dead and disappeared, but also in the contrast depicted between the coastal-mestizo armed forces and highland residents.<sup>72</sup> The *Rescate por la Memoria* contest images illustrate a gulf of power and of foreignness separating perpetrators and victims. The untitled drawing by Fortunata Yance Flores (fig. 1.11) shows a size difference between the *sinchis* (a special division of the police forces) and the local residents. While there were at most 120 *sinchis* in Ayacucho, their ability to get places quickly by helicopter made them seem more numerous. And indeed, they just seemed bigger, an exaggeration noted by the CVR "because for the most part the *sinchis* were from the coast [*costeños*], for them to go to Ayacucho would mean a meeting with an 'other'—Quechua-speaking Andean—with a different cultural trajectory. In the same way, the local population saw these police members as foreigners. In [one testimonial] description, they say [of the *sinchis*] that 'they were tall, white: they seemed like



FIGURE 1.11. Untitled, by Fortunata Yance Flores (Santillana, Huanta). Reprinted with permission from Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 38.

Americans and were in camouflage uniforms. They called them the *sinchis*.”<sup>73</sup> Language similarly marked an ethnic frontier between those from the coast and those of the highland: in the drawing by Fortunata Yance Flores the soldiers speak in Spanish and the campesinos in Quechua, reinforcing the perception of the cultural and physical distance of the “other.”<sup>74</sup>

#### Dissonant Memories: Local Depictions versus the Truth Commission

Certain visualized memories recur throughout the *Rescate por la Memoria* contest works, providing a pool of common referents. Many works show animals, birds, religious symbols, skulls, and bones. These common referents mostly testify to human rights violations, yet they do not harmonize fully with the cvr’s narrative, despite the commission’s focus on victims and enormous compilation of testimonies.

The artworks presented as part of the *Rescate por la Memoria* contests illustrate principally two agents of violence: the armed forces and Shining Path. Though some works show communities caught between two sides, such as the

work entitled *Entre dos fuegos* (*Crossfire*), for the most part these works depict alone either the state forces or Shining Path. Yet participants did not portray them in equal measure. More artworks had as their subjects severe abuses committed by the armed forces than by Shining Path.<sup>75</sup> Of the forty-four drawings and paintings in the 2003 Ayacucho contest, thirty-two depict massacres, torture, battles, or other human rights violations. Of these, seventeen testify to abuses by the armed forces, six to Shining Path violence, eight to both agents, and one to *ronderos* (local defense groups).<sup>76</sup> The remaining drawings are general scenes of suffering and community. The emphasis on the human rights abuses committed by state armed actors stands in contrast to the findings of the CVR. The commission attributed 54 percent of cases ending in death or disappearance to Shining Path. The armed forces and police were found responsible for 35.6 percent.<sup>77</sup>

The reason that more *Rescate por la Memoria* contest entrants chose to depict scenes of violence by state armed forces than by Shining Path is complicated, allowing for many possible interpretations. Abuse by the military, police, and other state actors may have been greater and could have been underestimated by the CVR. The entrants might have seen the NGO contest organizers and judges as agents who could transmit their grievances to the state, and to help seek reparations. Participants might have considered the audience (including fellow community members) as more likely to hold the armed forces accountable for their acts than to try to bring the elusive Shining Path to account. Or perhaps the violence committed by the state seemed a greater injustice than that committed by Shining Path, since the armed forces were supposed to protect citizens rather than harm them, as is suggested in the title *Las sombras de la injusticia* (*The Shadows of the Injustice*).<sup>78</sup>

By documenting and denouncing state violence, the contest contributors present a world upside down, where citizens are the victims of state repression.<sup>79</sup> The brutality of the armed forces made them like Shining Path. Thus, in one *dibujo pintado* (fig. 1.11), a dark-hooded *sinchi*, standing on the hill in the center of the frame, holds a red Sendero flag and shouts “Viva la patria, carajo” (“Long live the country, dammit”). Below his is a scene of devastation wreaked upon a defenseless community.<sup>80</sup> Similarly, the drawing *Las dos caras de la moneda*

(*The Two Sides of the Coin*) divides the canvas into halves, with Shining Path on the left and the armed forces on the right, both committing atrocities.<sup>81</sup> The many images that equated state violence with that of Shining Path challenge discourses about the armed forces as heroic yet simply tarnished by some bad elements who committed individual excesses. Rather, these works depict the systematic use of killings, repression, sexual violence, and terror by state agents against Peruvian communities.

Another possible explanation as to why more of the entries portray state rather than Shining Path violence lies in the category of “victim”—a category all the more requiring of a clear definition since the subsequent implementation of an advisory committee for reparations in 2007. Participants may have interpreted in a particular way who are “acceptable victims,” that is, victims worthy of sympathy (and perhaps recognition and reparations) in national and NGO discourse. In post-Shining Path Peru, there is still little room for a “victim” who might have sympathized with or participated in Shining Path at one point or for the abuses within communities that residents committed against one another as part of the escalating violence.<sup>82</sup> Thus, communities may have made decisions internally not to openly bring up possible Shining Path connections in their past. Rather, the trope of the *comunidad asaltada*, a passive community struck by Shining Path or by state agents, is the strongest victim trope, as is portrayed in the entry *Entre dos fuegos* (*Crossfire*),<sup>83</sup> which shows a state helicopter dropping bombs and Senderistas firing up into the sky, while a community sits by. The child who is too young to be attributed partisanship is another trope for the “acceptable victim” as in the drawing *Los Inocentes* (*The Innocents*, fig. 1.12) that depicts a blindfolded child clutching a doll, with guns held by a Senderista and state agent aimed at her from opposite sides.<sup>84</sup>

What is perhaps most striking in the contest works is the near absence of the theme of reconciliation. In the original contest in the department of Ayacucho (2003), few works make an explicit overture toward reconciliation. The pencil-and paper-drawing titled *Verdad, justicia, reparación y reconciliación* (*Truth, Justice, Reparation, and Reconciliation*) evokes the possibility of reconciliation in its title, yet the drawing itself is obscure as how this might be secured: the image shows a cross, a cactus, a candle, a ghost, and a dove.<sup>85</sup> One other submission,



FIGURE 1.12. *The Innocents (Los Inocentes)*, by Henry Riveros Alvizuri (Ayacucho). Reprinted with permission from Asociación SER, *Rescate por la memoria*, Ayacucho, 68.

*Yuraqurpicha* (*Little White Dove*), simply places a dove of peace in the center.<sup>86</sup> The contest in Huancavelica that was held a year after the CVR's work ended revealed more pessimism about the chances of reconciliation: not a single work submitted to that contest seems to overtly raise the possibility.

Rather than focusing on reconciliation, many witness-artists chose to address questions of remembrance, continued poverty, and the base of rubble on which a new era must be built. One painting repeats the message of remembering, *Recordando para no volver a vivirlo* (*Remembering So as Not to Live It Again*, fig. 1.13), a brightly painted image with vivid hues of purple, blue, green, and peach, showing a woman with a young child in her arms and surrounded by her memories of suffering, which stand in stark contrast to those of her daughter, who was born after the war and thus thinks only of full crops and school.<sup>87</sup> One painting depicts people moving on, not because of having reached a kind of reconciliation with their past or with others, but by growing crops on their dead: *Sembrando sobre nuestros muertos* (*Planting Seeds on Our Dead*).<sup>88</sup> *La Realidad* (*Reality* fig. 1.3) depicts in the foreground residents rebuilding their homes and embracing returning community members; this scene is about repair rather than reconciliation.<sup>89</sup> One entry rejects the possibility of repair: *Desgarros irreparables* (*Irreparable Lacerations*) shows a man with tears in his eyes (perhaps a self-portrait), a weeping woman, a coffin, and the initials MRTA (Revolutionary Movement of Túpac Amaru).<sup>90</sup> The submission *Huérfano de Dios y entenado del Diablo* (*Orphan of God, Stepson of the Devil*, fig. 1.14), possibly by a family member, is very similar.<sup>91</sup> It shows the same weeping woman in the bottom right. But in this painting the artist has included rape, torture, and executions by the armed forces. In the background are the electric towers that provide electricity to Lima, targeted by Shining Path. Graffiti of MRTA and Shining Path are painted on the walls. In the bottom left, sharing the foreground with the weeping woman, is a small malnourished boy with an amputated leg. Over him is draped a torn Peruvian flag with the inscription "Forjemos un Perú de paz sin violencia" ("Let's build a Peru of peace and without violence"), a call for peace but not necessarily reconciliation.



FIGURE 1.13. *Remembering So as Not to Live It Again (Recordando para no volver a vivirlo)*, by Zoraya Zevallos Delgado (Lima). Reprinted with permission from Asociación SER, *Rescate por la memoria*, Huancavelica, 12.



FIGURE 1.14. *Orphan of God, Stepson of the Devil* (*Huérfano de Dios y entenado del diablo*), by Edwin Montañéz Ángeles (Huancavelica and Lima). Reprinted with permission from Asociación SER, *Rescate por la memoria*, Huancavelica, 27.

### Conclusion: Rescuing Memories through Testimonial Art for a New Peru

The memories of these contests' participants do not yet fit into a national narrative of the years of violence. While the symbols, scenes, and referents in these works are probably recognizable at the level of the community, they take on the quality of "lore" at the national level, things that bystanders may have heard about but do not necessarily fully believe.<sup>92</sup> A dramatic example of this is the massacre in December 1984 of 123 men, women, and children from nearby villages who took refuge in the military base at Putis, only to be murdered by their hosts shortly after their arrival. Though depicted in the *Rescate por la Memoria* contest (for instance, in the *historieta* titled *Así comenzó la triste vida* [*Thus Began the Sad Life*], fig. 1.4) and attested to at length in the CVR's *Final Report*, this massacre did not gain national recognition until the exhumation of mass graves in May and June 2008. Now Putis has become an emblematic case of the internal

war, “showing a reality beyond that which one imagined.”<sup>93</sup> These artworks thus do not reveal secrets, a characteristic sometimes attributed to *testimonio*.<sup>94</sup> Rather, these are known experiences. Nor do these artworks recover lost memories; instead, they are rescuing experiences that are at risk of marginalization in national discourses. Thus these artworks indicate their intended audience: the artist-witnesses are drawing and painting for the nation, in particular for those who did not experience the violence firsthand. They want other Peruvians to know about the many hamlets like Putis, the former torture centers such as Cabitos, and the mass graves scattering the countryside. These artists denounce human rights abuses and injustices, and they demand recognition and alleviation of ongoing hardship. Their artistic responses to atrocity explore the possibilities of empathy, provocation, and disturbance that unsettle extant hegemonic accounts.

By way of aesthetic visual representations, participants have given their testimony and presented their versions of truths to the viewer. Thus, these artist-witnesses seem to wish to enter into the national debate over the war years. However, it is questionable whether these artworks and the memories they represent have contributed to a sustained national discourse. In part, the marginal status they continue to have as “folk art” (or *popular*) reflects the lack in Peru of an inclusive narrative of the internal war years. And even though these depicted memories present images of truth that complement other historical truths in circulation about the years of violence, like those published in the CVR’s *Final Report* and brought to surface with the exhumation of mass graves, these artist-witnesses’ memories and those of other individuals and communities affected by the violence continue to be pushed to the edges of public discussion, only to be brought up by those with power when politically convenient.<sup>95</sup> It is not that these memories are forgotten. Rather, they face national indifference. In the postwar political climate, successive governments and elites have largely ignored the internal war or attempted to rewrite the narrative as one of a national tragedy during which the armed forces defended the nation. The dominating discourse of this heroic narrative renders individual and collective memories that run against it loose, scattered, and without large-scale resonance.

Ultimately, these artist-participants challenge this indifference, rewriting, and forgetting. They acknowledge the humanity of the artists and their com-

munities, and they denounce the utter wrongness of the violence that was committed. Acting as a bridge between the past and the present, these artworks encourage the hope that one day their memories will contribute to the creation of an inclusive nation, where such atrocity could not happen again. In one artist's optimistic drawing of smiling people gathering around a possible country called, "A New Peru," figures tell the viewer about how good life could be: "Enough with hatred, let's unite our efforts to build a promising country for all Peruvians!" This would be a country "where everyone is treated equally." "We all want a better life where no one of any class is marginalized." "Yes! Where everyone contributes and we all get ahead!"<sup>96</sup>

## Notes

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1. Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 17.

2. Here I am considering only two categories: *dibujos pintados* and *historietas*. My exclusion of written entries (narrations, essays, and poetry) is not meant to perpetuate perceptions of highland communities as solely illiterate. The original contest in Ayacucho in 2003 had a "written *historietas*" but not a "narrative" category, which was offered in the Huancavelica and Ayacucho contests of 2004. All three contests had a category for song, and both Huancavelica and Ayacucho 2004 included a category for photography. The works submitted are reproduced in Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*; SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Ayacucho*; and SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Huancavelica*.

3. Colectivo Yuyarisun was formed in 2002, composed of the Federación Agraria Departamental de Ancash (Departmental Agrarian Federation of Ancash), the Federación Departamental de Clubes de Madres de Ayacucho (Departmental Federation of Mothers' Clubs of Ayacucho), the Centro de Investigación Social de Ayacucho (Social Investigation Center of Ayacucho), the Instituto de Investigación y Promoción del Desarrollo y Paz en Ayacucho (Institute for the Investigation and Promotion of Development and Peace in Ayacucho), and SER. Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 5. The later contests were organized by SER.

4. SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Sacsamarca*, and Falconí, Jiménez, and Alfaro, *Lluqamarka*. The fourth contest, held in 2004 in Sacsamarca to pay homage to the victims of this region, is discussed in Caro's chapter here.

5. For instance, organizers from governmental antipoverty programs aimed at rural communities such as the National Program for the Management of Watersheds and Soil Conservation (PRONAMACH). Workshops were held to assist highland immigrants in Lima, such as workshops on drawing comics with residents of Lima's Villa El Salvador neighborhood in the 1970s. See Acevedo, *Para hacer historietas*, 11.

6. Conversation with SER members Ricardo Caro and Javier Torres, November 3, 2005.

7. Nine Peruvian NGOs working on agrarian development launched the first competition in 1984, with the involvement of the national campesino union. Contests were held each year from 1984 to 1990 and then in 1992, 1994, and 1996. Kelleher, "Much More Than a Competition," 112. By 1990, the seventh contest, over fifty groups participated. Bonilla et al., *Imágenes y realidad a la conquista de un viejo lenguaje*, 35.

8. Bonilla et al., *Imágenes y realidad a la conquista de un viejo lenguaje*, 29.

9. The San Marcos Cultural Center displayed some of these works from June 23 to August 26, 2005. Museo de Arte de San Marcos, *Imágenes de la tierra*.

10. Bonilla et al., *Imágenes y realidad a la conquista de un viejo lenguaje*, 31. Many entries came with written descriptions, either explanations of the artwork or texts for which the artwork was a further explanation; see Ansión, "Presentación," 22, 23. Karen Lizárraga, among others, situates the tradition of drawing as descended from sixteenth-century drawings of Guaman Poma de Ayala. Lizárraga, "El registro andino." Though variations of Guaman Poma's images circulate widely in Peru, it is a bit of a stretch to consider these artworks direct descendants.

11. Cánepa, "Representación social y pintura campesina," 12–13.

12. During the first six years of the contest, 2,469 people participated. After 1987, regional contests made a preliminary selection of works to be submitted for the *National Peasant Drawing and Painting Contests*. For this reason, the actual number of participants and works exceeds this figure. Bonilla et al., *Imágenes y realidad a la conquista de un viejo lenguaje*, 37. Kelleher, "Much More Than a Competition," 120.

13. Conversation with Nelly Plaza, one of the contest's founding organizers, June 21, 2011.

14. Bonilla et al., *Imágenes y realidad a la conquista de un viejo lenguaje*, 42n3.

15. According to Nelly Plaza, there were some seven or eight categories of evaluation and prizes were awarded in each category. Conversation, June 21, 2011.

16. Bonilla et al., *Imágenes y realidad a la conquista de un viejo lenguaje*, 38.

17. Ansión, "Presentación," 21.

18. Ansión, "Presentación," 23. Pajuelo analyzes some of these images in his essay "Miradas del horror."

19. Reynoso, "El Concurso y los participantes," in *SER, Rescate por la memoria, Ayacucho*, n.p.

20. On local technologies of social repair, see Pilar Riaño and Erin Baines "Transitional Justice and the Everyday."

21. Guerin and Hallas discuss the nexus between visual studies and trauma studies in their introduction to Guerin and Hallas, *The Image and the Witness*. Testimonial art, according to LaCapra, is a kind of performative, "traumatized or post-traumatic writing ('writing' in the broad sense that extends to all signification or inscription)." LaCapra's conceptualization of testimonial art includes both the witnessing and the working through of trauma. LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, 105.

22. Trauma art refers to professional artists who use art as "a vehicle for the interpersonal transmission of an experience," an experience that the artist might not have had firsthand. Bennett, *Empathetic Vision*, 6–7.

23. For a review of the origins and scholarly debate over testimonial literature, see Mallon, "Editor's Introduction."

24. Maclear, *Beclouded Visions*, 190n. 7. Brett, *Through Our Own Eyes*, chap. 4.

25. Indeed, in this way, the artworks seek justice and recognition from an intended audience beyond that of judges and commissioners to include bystanders, like with other mechanisms of trials and truth commissions. Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness*, 74–79, 146.

26. Similarly, the organizers of the *Rescate por la Memoria* contests refer to the entries as "testimonios" by hundreds of people who lived the violence in one form or another. Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 5.

27. Quoted in Maclear, *Beclouded Visions*, 17.

28. Guerin and Hallas, introduction; Maclear, *Beclouded Visions*, 23. Bennett considers "trauma-related art" transactive rather than communicative, in that it "touches us, but it does not necessarily communicate the 'secret' of personal experience." Trauma art thus conveys "truths" "because it reaches us through our senses." Bennett, *Empathetic Vision*, 8–9.

29. Maclear, *Beclouded Visions*, 21. This unfortunate tendency to view "folk art" as somehow closer to a nonaesthetic reality is similar to the national reception for *retablos* as described by Ulfe in her chapter here. On the limits of asking testimonial literature to represent authentic subaltern voices, see Beverley, "The Real Thing," and Mallon, "Editor's Introduction."

30. Cánepa makes this same point in regards to earlier *National Peasant Drawing and Painting Contest* works, "Représentation social y pintura campesina," 12–13.

31. In the earlier national contests, NGOs encouraged contributors to include letters with their entries: “the letters are decisive as many of them help us [Peruvians not from the region, the contest organizers, and judges] to understand better the images especially for those of us who are not of the same ethnic origins.” Bonilla et al., *Imágenes y realidad a la conquista de un viejo lenguaje*, 162.

32. Conversation with Arianna Cecconi, August 20, 2008. Cecconi, “Dreams, Memory, and War.”

33. Pajuelo, “Miradas del horror,” 96–97.

34. Cecconi, “Dreams, Memory, and War,” 409; Ritter’s chapter here.

35. As Cánepa has argued for the *pintura campesina* of the national contests, if we look just at the figurative representations in these works, we will lose out on the possibility to see the “complex dynamics and cultural, social and political negotiations that are accomplished through visual language.” “Representación social y pintura campesina,” 13.

36. Vergara states this as one of the key reasons why graphic images of violence, regardless of their disturbing content, should be published. Vergara, “La memoria de la barbarie en imágenes,” 18. This sentiment is shared by Kyo Maclear, who writes that art can also draw us, as viewers, “emotionally and intellectually toward the unknown.” Maclear, *Beclouded Visions*, 24.

37. Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 11. This winning entry is also on the cover of Theidon, *Entre prójimos*.

38. Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 18.

39. Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 89–91.

40. Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 29.

41. SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Huancavelica*, 24.

42. Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 63–65.

43. For instance, a Senderista shouts out “mueran como perros” (die like dogs) in the entry titled *Rescate por la memoria*, which depicts a Shining Path massacre, in Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 14. Based on her interviews with survivors, Theidon recounts how community members described the war using dehumanizing terms such as “we lived and died like dogs,” in *Intimate Enemies*, 54.

44. SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Huancavelica*, 29. Two descriptions accompany this work. One explains what happened on the days of massacres (*fiestas carnavales comadres fiesta*, and a general election). Another text says “the terrorists [*terrucos*] gave speeches gathering together the residents [*comuneros*] of Chaynabamba; in this way [Shining Path] managed to recruit leaders, and they gave them [these new leaders] a book that was like a credential or a guide.”

45. SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Huancavelica*, 45.

46. “Tiempos de sufrimiento y dolor,” by Percy Lozano Vivanco. SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Ayacucho*, 65.

47. Commentators on the *National Peasant Drawing and Painting Contests* noted that the previous year's winning entries would influence the following year's submissions. One can see this in the *Rescate por la Memoria* contests: after the first prize went to a stylized cross (fig. 1.2 here), the following year in Ayacucho and Huancavelica several contestants offered similarly adorned crosses.

48. SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Huancavelica*, n.p.; *Rescate por la memoria, Ayacucho*, n.p. Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, does not provide the ages or professions of participants.

49. Degregori, "Heridas abiertas, derechos esquivos," 81.

50. Coronel, "Presentación," in Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 5.

51. That is, forty-seven participants were under thirty years old, and of these, twenty-five were under twenty-five years old. SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Huancavelica*, n.p.

52. Of these 134 participants, ninety-one were younger than twenty-five years old. SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Ayacucho*, n.p.

53. CVR, *Ayacucho, informe final 1980-2000*, vol. 1, 10.

54. SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Huancavelica*, 23.

55. Of course, any age group can experience nostalgia. How nostalgia plays out in post-conflict Latin America is a field for further research and at present seems to mainly be the concern of academics working on post-Communist Europe.

56. SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Huancavelica*, 82-83.

57. Larrabure, *Ciertos vacíos*, 15.

58. Viviana Valz-Gen in Larrabure, *Ciertos vacíos*, 77.

59. SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Huancavelica*, 15.

60. A similar caption accompanied her photographic entry: "the pain without consolation of a young indigenous girl from Huancavelica. She holds a hat in her hands, that on taking into her hands she remembers her loved ones. The cries of sorrow [*llanta*] overwhelm her and the idea of remaining alone is her only companion." From yuyarisun.rcp.net.pe/yuyarisun.php?id=catalogo-dibujo2, accessed January 8, 2008.

61. This theme of day as undistinguishable from night is repeated in Jiménez's drawing *Como el día era la noche* in *Chungui*, 2005, 170-171, and in Cecconi's conversations with Ayacuchans, "Dreams, Memory, War," 413.

62. The enrollment in universities boomed in the decades preceding the war. The Universidad Nacional San Cristóbal de Huamanga (UNSCH) grew from 228 students in 1959 to over 6,000 by 1980. On the role of politicization by Shining Path in UNSCH and other universities, see CVR, *Informe final*, vol. 3, chap. 3.6, and vol. 5, chaps. 2.18-2.21.

63. See, for instance, the *historieta Sin título* in Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 97-99.

64. One of the human rights violations cases of which Alberto Fujimori was found

guilty was the disappearance and death of nine students and one professor taken from Lima's La Cantuta University in 1992.

65. Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 96.

66. CVR, *Informe final*, vol. 8, chap. 2.1.

67. Leiby, "Digging in the Archives," 86–88; Theidon, "Gender in Transition," 417–418; CVR, *Informe final*, vol. 8, 64, 89. Both Leiby and Theidon note that women spoke mostly in the third person when discussing sexual violence. Likewise, some of the most disturbing and graphic images of violence in the first Ayacucho contest went unsigned. Similarly styled drawings suggest the hand of one artist who with less graphic scenes of violence included her name. This decision to not sign some of her works yet to include her name for others reinforces Leiby and Theidon's point about the use of anonymity and the third person.

68. For instance, the entry without a title by Isabel Marquina Sulca depicts in the top left corner a female Senderista relaxing at a table, drinking and conversing with others. Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 36. *Escenas de horror (Scenes of Horror)* shows a woman walking with her two small children through the violence, by candlelight. Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 20.

69. Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 7.

70. SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Ayacucho*, n.p. SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Huancavelica*, n.p.

71. Bueno-Hansen notes that the CVR had separate sections on gender and race, thus decoupling two key categories of analysis for understanding violence against highland and Amazonian women. Bueno-Hansen, "Engendering Transitional Justice," 69–70.

72. In Peru, geography "racializes" people. The racialized dimensions of the conflict were central to the CVR's conclusions that highlighted discrimination by mestizo elite and governmental agencies against Peruvian highland and Amazonian lowland populations, which was mirrored by Shining Path's treatment of the same groups. On the intricacies of race and ethnic identities in Peru, see de la Cadena, "Discriminación étnica," and *Indigenous Mestizos*.

73. CVR, *Informe final*, vol. 2, 148–149.

74. Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 38. This is also the case in the entries without titles by Crispín Villar Potosino and Magaly Cabrera Pereyra, 42, 43.

75. Ramón Pajuelo similarly notes his surprise at the stronger presence of images showing counterinsurgent forces over Shining Path in the *National Peasant Drawing and Painting Contests*. Of the thirty-four images he analyzed, the majority fell into his category "Military Incursion." "Miradas del horror," 94.

76. These numbers are based on my interpretations of the actors depicted in the drawings and paintings printed in the contest publications. In the Huancavelica contest, the

MRTA also appears as a perpetrator of violence whose impact is depicted via images of destroyed electrical towers and graffiti.

77. On the armed actors in the conflict, see CVR, *Informe final*, vol. 2.

78. By Honorato Suañe Yupanqui, Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 38.

79. The contests in Ayacucho and Huancavelica differ from the Second Homage to the Victims and Heroes in Sacsamarca where participants were asked to depict and reflect specifically on the community's victorious battle against Shining Path in May 1983. Interestingly, as Ricardo Caro notes in his chapter here, even though the police helped to root out Shining Path from Sacsamarca (and one policeman died along with fifteen Sacsamarca community members), the police presence is noticeably underrepresented (if not entirely absent) in the paintings.

80. Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 38.

81. By Leoncio Laura González (Chincho, Huancavelica). SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Huancavelica*, 19.

82. Theidon recounts the heart-wrenching story of the “widow in the cave,” about a woman who witnessed her neighbors' killing of her husband. Out of fear for herself and her children, she retreated to a cave. Later, when she wished to publicly recount her experience to NGO representatives, male community members quickly silenced her as not knowing what she was talking about. Theidon, *Intimate Enemies*, 159–164. This story not only highlights who are “permitted victims” within communities but also the gendered dynamics of who is allowed to tell local truths. I thank Steve Stern for sharing this idea of the “permitted victim.”

83. By Jorge Luis Vera Lozano (Rancha, Ayacucho). Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 40.

84. SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Ayacucho*, 68.

85. Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 35.

86. Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 22.

87. SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Huancavelica*, 12.

88. SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Huancavelica*, 25. The Yuyarisun website provides a different title for this work, *El Agricultor (The Farmer)*. Félix Chocce Belito also entered a *historieta*, *Mi familia*, and a poem, “Mi familia y mi hogar” (“My Family and My Home”).

89. Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 18.

90. SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Huancavelica*, 28. A description accompanies this entry: “it expresses Peru torn apart before the loss of a loved one, killed unjustly in the war by the MRTA, Sendero, and the Army; it also [expresses] the pain and suffering of a mother and a peasant child.” From [yuyarisun.rcp.net.pe/yuyarisun.php?id=catalogo-dibujo2](http://yuyarisun.rcp.net.pe/yuyarisun.php?id=catalogo-dibujo2), accessed January 8, 2008.

91. SER, *Rescate por la memoria, Huancavelica*, 27.

92. Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile*, esp. 130–131.

93. Rojas, “Para comprender Putis y Cabbitos,” 77.

94. In the case of known secrets coming to light through art, see González, *Unveiling Secrets of War in the Peruvian Andes*, esp. chap. 6.

95. An example is the renewed interest by the Peruvian government as of 2012 in the massacre of Lucanamarca when it created a “National Day against Terrorism” on April 3, the day of Shining Path’s massacre of some sixty-nine Lucanamarca residents in 1983. Yet no such equivalent project for a commemorative day exists for Putis, or other cases of state violence. Indeed, the day that commemorates state armed forces highlights their heroism “The Day of Military Courage,” April 22, the day of the successful military rescue of hostages held for nearly four months by the MRTA. On the political uses of the Lucanamarca massacre, see María Eugenia Ulfe and Vera Lucía Ríos, “Lucanamarca querido” (Beloved Lucanamarca), *NoticiasSER*, March 14, 2012, [www.noticiasser.pe](http://www.noticiasser.pe), accessed June 30, 2013.

96. *Antes . . . después (Before . . . After)* by Rubén Gómez Carrasco, Colectivo Yuyarisun, *Rescate por la memoria*, 101.