CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

EXTREME VIOLENCE IN MUSEUMS OF MEMORY

The place of memory in Peru

Ponciano del Pino and Eliana Otta Vildoso[1]

Translated by Juan Caballero (Spanish and Hispanic Studies, Earlham College)

INTRODUCTION

In 2008, when the idea arose for a museum to commemorate Peru's victims of violence, which took place between the 1980 and 2000,[2] reactions varied widely. While some praised its collective pedagogical value, others called it an obstacle to "reconciliation," thereby aligning themselves with the mainstream position of the government.[3] It would not be the first memory museum in Peru, but it would be the first in the capital and the first to demand recognition from the government.[4]

Contention over recent history is a constant in Latin American countries that have experienced dictatorships and civil wars. The past is hotly contested ground, which explains the high stakes of controlling its representation, particularly with respect to how histories of the past should be recounted and contextualized in the present. What we encounter are experiences that are not restricted to the past in the strict sense of the historical. Rather, the past inhabits people's memories and has impacts on their capacity to live with one another.

How can Peru's violence be represented? How can that representation come from a state, whose responsibility for that history goes without saying, but that includes members of the elite, not all of whom accept responsibility for that history? These questions shape the context in which the LUM was created and color people's expectations for how this history might be remembered in a public place of memory. What kinds of characteristics and perspectives would be appropriate to curation of this past? And which experiences of the Andean and Amazonian populations—those most affected by the violence— should be remembered? LUM's museological strategy was to narrate the violence from other than a post-conflict perspective. The latter would have restricted this period of time to an episode of a static past, bounded by the post-conflict transition. Instead, LUM made the decision to address violence in light of the broader trajectory of struggles for justice, rights, and recognition. For the victims, the human dimension of recognition was the most deeply rooted of their grievances, of the pain, loss, and memory that lacerate and give meaning to their lives. But we are speaking of memory that, in reintroducing the past in all of its density, makes

Taylor and Francis
Not for distribution

visible a more encompassing historical agenda, motivated by exclusion, inequality, and injustice, the persistence of which reminds us of the Republic's massive debt to its Andean and Amazonian populations. That is why, even when the exhibit seeks to reflect the extreme violence of the 1980s, it clearly articulates this position in the present, in memory understood as the conscience of time (Wieviorka, 2015), a fulcrum between past and present. This perspective frames the visual schema of the exhibit, which highlights the past as a continuously evolving presence, and emphasizes the capacity of victims to act as subjects.

LUM: TOWARD AN ARTICULATION OF PUBLIC MEMORY

Much like Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (hereafter CVR, 2001–2003), the LUM was not the outgrowth of an organic process of social struggle for memory and human rights. Its origins, instead, date to a grant from the German government and was thus linked to a specific initiative rather than to a political agenda that mobilized a wide base. What emerged in the public sphere, as a consequence, was an uncritical condemnation of the actions of Sendero Luminoso (hereafter SL) rather than a reflection on them.

In contrast, the leadership of the LUM decided to undertake a consultative process and wrestle with the challenges of organizing a participatory process among actors with very different visions. Rather than negate the multiplicity of memories and tensions among interpretations, we took this complexity as the point of departure in order to affirm democracy (Payne, 2008) and to privilege dialogue and collaboration as ways to accept and work with these conflicts.

Taylor and Francis
Not for distribution

Discussion of the proposal for the museum took place with directly interested parties, such as victims' groups and human rights organizations, as well as with groups that represented families of police victims, representatives from the armed forces and police, government authorities and functionaries, journalists, and artists. We held 14 meetings in three regions intensely affected by the violence: Ayacucho, Lima, and Junín.[5] Based on the information received, we elaborated the conceptual foundation of the LUM which, together with the framework of the High Commission (*Comisión de Alto Nivel*),[6] became central to the design of the permanent exhibition of the LUM.

This design was the basis of a second round of meetings in Lima, which included members of the leadership of ANFASEP[7] and authorities from Uchuraccay and Putis, both Andean communities intensely affected by the violence. At this stage we solicited specific feedback about the content and objects of memory that should be displayed.

Consultative and collaborative processes of curatorial endeavors are increasingly foregrounded in critical considerations of curatorial authority, particularly when the subject matter being "curated" is sensitive and complex (Lind, 2005; Andermann and Arnold-de Simine, 2012). This kind of effort is generally directly towards marginalized indigenous groups, as was the case in the organization of the National Museum of the American Indian.[8] In contrast, consultative processes about traumatic historical events are few in number. In the best of cases, only victims are viewed as legitimate interlocutors. Even more rarely do museums pay attention to the plurality of memories and conflicts surrounding the representation of that past. This is partly because the past is assumed as something done, even when the complexity of how to engage it is

recognized, and partly because of how upsetting the histories are (Lehrer, Milton, and Patterson, 2011).

A core question underlying the curatorial conversation was how to arrive at proposals that would neither silence debate nor exclude differing perspectives (Pastoriza, 2005). Ludmila da Silva asks if these sites should attempt to regulate the memory of the past or rather be open to multiple sentiments, meanings, doubts, and reflections (da Silva, 2014, pp. 17–18; see also Conley-Zilkic, 2014). We had to decide what we hoped to foster among visitors to the museum and what the ideal strategies to achieve it. These questions led us to a discussion of the scale of images. Rather than shocking spectators with the immediate experiences of a "reality" largely unfamiliar to them, we try to offer them a range of *stimuli* that will lead them to think about the origins, characteristics, and consequences of this reality.[9] This active engagement with visitors appeals to their curiosity and analytical capacity rather than to a momentary identification which dissipates rapidly, devolves into mere sympathy with victims, gets bogged down in guilt and blame, or leads to a refusal to know more because of the impact of the images they view.[10]

In addition, we considered the historical moment in which we were designing the LUM museum exhibit. The photo exhibit, *Yuyanapaq, para recordar* ("*Yuyanapaq*, to remember/record"), inaugurated in 2003 and installed in the permanent exhibit of the National Museum, had already drawn attention to the horror of the violence of Peru's civil war and brought it into the public sphere. It had powerfully shown Peruvians the violence that had transpired at a time when it was necessary to substantiate and condemn it without any nuances. We thought that, at this point in time, the LUM, in contrast, should offer itself as a space to foster dialogue and collective reflection on Peru's lived experiences.

Taylor and Francis
Not for distribution

CURATORIAL PRINCIPLES

How best to approach Peru's history of violence, taking into account its complexity, its diverse actors, and historical conditions? Rather than try to narrate all that people lived through during this period, we sought a strategy that would allow people to engage with themes that emerged from the life histories of witnesses who spoke about them in the present. This decision began with the idea of narrating history as proof of what was experienced, a concern that had been evident in many meetings, especially those of victim organizations in Ayacucho. For them, violence is not something abstract: it is rather a concrete reality, embodied in persons and villages with specific pasts, and it condenses their experiences of loss, pain, and suffering in the depths of their being. It is a rupture of the world that marks and defines their life paths. However, this evidence of violence has more than one meaning. It demands not only that we provide "proof" of events that have transpired, but also that it be an act that authorizes a sense of people's struggles for affirmation of their citizenship and defense of their experiences and their identities. It means taking a position against denial and indifference.

Given these goals, we worked to curate local histories. For the hall, *Un pueblo, muchos pueblos* ("One Village/Many Villages"), we chose four communities in order to portray the social and ethnic geography of the violence. This local focus permitted us to give depth to the historical record, and to demonstrate, as the CVR showed

with statistics, that the violence was experienced in highly differentiated ways, and that Andean and Amazonian communities were most affected by it. Three quarters of all the victims spoke Quechua as their maternal language, and 40 percent of them came from Ayacucho, the region hardest hit by the violence.

In *Una persona, todas las personas* ("Someone, Everyone"), there are 18 video testimonies from people affected by the violence who hailed from different places and social conditions, with various political affiliations, and whose modes of expression reflect the cultural diversity of the nation. They include: Luz Yangali, daughter of a local Mayor in Huanta, Ayacucho assassinated by SL; Pascual Romaina, a soldier from Iquitos who lost a leg in an MRTA ambush in San Martín; José Carlos Agüero, son of SL parents who were extrajudicially assassinated in Lima in the 1980s; María González, widow of an Army official killed in combat in the Ene Valley; Giorgina Gamboa, raped at age 15 by police in Vilcashuaman, Ayacucho; Angélica Mendoza (*mamá Angélica*), whose son was kidnapped and disappeared by the Army and who founded ANFASEP; José Antonio García Belaúnde, son of the president of the National Council on Elections who was a victim of SL in Lima; Mariano Gagnon, of New Hampshire, U.S., who founded the Cutivireni mission in the 1960s and remained with the Asháninkas during the worst period of SL repression.

Each testimony contributes to our consideration of the complexity of violence from diverse memories and viewpoints. Tensions thus emerge, challenging totalizing juridical and moral categories, as well as the dualistic categories of victim and perpetrator with which we have been accustomed to viewing the past and that distance us from history. The LUM seeks to be a symbolic meeting point, a space for listening, building bridges among differences, of opening ourselves up to an empathetic disposition for the understanding of the other. To this end we prefer life stories, interested in knowing the characteristics that make a person unique, and how everyone was affected by the violence. During and after the war, each person, immersed in their personal and collective struggles, had to (re)define the course of their lives. These are neither epic stories nor stories of innocent victims. They are human stories, simple and complex, of battles and searches, of suffering and the effort to reconstitute a life.

Rights and Permissions
Not for distribution

Another important curatorial decision was to emphasize the force of the present in the representation of the past. After meeting with authorities from Putis and Uchuraccay it became clear that the exhibit should not solely limit itself to showing the emotional impact of the war. For example, in the case of Putis, we considered covering the December 1984 massacre through images of the exhumations from the mass grave, a display of garments, and the burial, as a closure to this history of horror. While the authorities thought this content was relevant, they found it insufficient that their history was limited to this episode. They believed that it should also reflect everyday life that preceded the massacre, the reconstruction that took place after people returned to the community, as well as their ongoing struggles in the present. Therefore, we decided to take account of a temporal horizon that would establish a continual relationship between past and present.

This perspective has great relevance since we are face to face with populations that have been harshly affected by the violence. It is clear that they are not trying to escape the past, whether by denial, a presentism marked by emergencies, or by a "cruel optimism" that is part and parcel of the logic of standardized progress

(Macón, 2016). On the contrary, they speak of the horrors, losses, suffering caused by the war that lacerate their current memories, and stress demands for justice, just reparations, improvements in the quality of education, the need for development projects, and the creation of districts as forms of recognition for all the losses they suffered during those years. The comments of Gerardo Fernández, the communal authority of Putis, exactly conveys these sentiments at the end of the video of his community "Now we have a dream, of the possibility of symbolic reparation for so much loss: the establishment of Putis as a district."[11]

Uchuraccay became a district in 2014. It was a political form of reparation that enabled, among other things, its access to funds from the national treasury. Thus, struggles for memory make visible the traumatic past of war, but also a more encompassing agenda focused on human and citizen recognition and development. This is one of the values of this active form of remembering: connecting the past with the present can show us the political and ethical potential of memory.

By showing the relationship between past and present, we were also able to demonstrate victims' capacity for action. Making visible this other side of history not only repositions victims' place in this narrative but also re-inscribes the dignity of their struggles, iconically exemplified by the women of ANFASEP. The image of these women, bravely and doggedly confronting power, is seductive. But it is more than that. It is a history of their struggles—which have not ceased since they began mobilizing—in demanding the return of their disappeared loved ones. Pain, poverty, and abandonment continue to be the painful reality of exclusion for many of them. Yet, the paths of their struggles which dignify their place in history are superimposed on that image and they are thereby able to create distance from a representation of themselves as grieving, passive, and entrapped in the past. The focus on such images of victimization, and the idea of seeking compassion in empathy, frequently reproduces old stereotypes that are deeply rooted in our own modes of valorizing Andean peoples.

Taylor and Francis
Not for distribution

REPRESENTING VIOLENCE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE COMMUNITIES

A common critique of memory museums is that they uproot events from their historical context. In Peru, the "origins of the violence" happened in a specific place and time: Chuschi, May 17, 1980. In the first hall there is a timeline, infographics about the armed groups, and images of SL's and MRTA's attacks. But "the violence" is understood in a broader historical context than just through these armed attacks. Accordingly, the hall that opens the exhibit takes visitors through a small corridor where we see images that introduce them to a historical background that explores Peru's social and educational conditions. A description of this and the other halls follows.

Social and educational conditions

The opening wall of the "Education at the Crossroads" exhibit displays a photo of the campus of the National University of San Cristóbal de Huamanga, Ayacucho, followed by two photos of a group of professors from that institution, including, most

notably, Abimael Guzmán, founder and leader of SL. The insurgency is augured by the covers of two books, the work of professors who would also become SL leaders: *Hunger and Hope* (1969), by Antonio Díaz Martínez, and *The Illegitimates* (1980), by Hildebrando Pérez Huanrancca. In subsequent panels the visitor sees images reflecting the impoverished state of Peru's public education system, such as a classroom roofed and walled in thatch.

The expansion of public education in the 1960s without a corresponding increase in the state budget exacerbated a systemic crisis that coincided with political radicalization in Peru, as well as in other parts of the world. It is no coincidence that SL arose from an intellectual project which had germinated in the halls of the university and expanded through the administrative networks of rural education. Alongside these panels, the visitor sees a clip from the documentary "Lucanamarca" by Carlos Cárdenas and Héctor Gálvez (2009), in which Honorario Curitumay speaks about his brother Olegario, a young militant with SL. He was, from an early age, very restless. He paid close attention to radio news, was always interested in learning, and eager to help his family and village rise out of poverty. The video brings us closer to these lives in the countryside by showing how a kid who dreamed of building boats and planes could end up in SL, and what made it possible for these children and teens to consider the SL as a possible life choice. If anything in this testimony should disturb us, it is knowing that this Other, exorcized from official memory, was a typical teen, nurtured on dreams of change and progress.

Figure 23.1 Digital traces that form part of the official document that the Uchuraccay community members sent to the Huanta Subprefect on January 1, 1983

Photo credit: Ponciano del Pino and Eliana Otta.

Across from the Wall of Education, in the entryway to "One Village/Many Villages" and alongside images that introduce us to the Andean landscape, a floor-to-ceiling reproduction of a piece of paper stands, covered with 68 fingerprints and only one signature, that of Constantino Soto. Each fingerprint is ringed by a person's name, which covers the print to keep it from becoming detached and losing its identity. These fingerprints speak to widespread rural illiteracy as an expression of state neglect. Nevertheless, that does not necessarily lead to an embrace of revolution. On the contrary, the page on display forms part of a four-page petition, sent by the authorities and community members of Uchuraccay to the subprefect of the province of Huanta on January 1, 1983, declaring the community assembly's decision to fight against SL. It is one of the few documents showing the early positions taken by these populations with respect to the war. This agency, which the document both enacts and testifies to, was smothered and never recognized after the high-profile massacre of journalists that occurred on January 26, three weeks later (see Figure 23.1).

Violence in the communities

The four communities selected for this exhibit—Uchuraccay, Putis, Puerto Ocopa, and Puerto Bermudez—offer a variety of trajectories during the war. Uchuraccay achieved notoriety for the massacre of eight journalists in 1983, an event that caused both national and international scandal. The media attention Uchuraccay received contrasts with the unreal situation lived by the community of Putis, where one of the Army's largest massacres went undiscovered for two decades. On the other hand, in Puerto Ocopa, Satipo province, SL openly exercised totalitarian authority against the Asháninka people. Hundreds of families lived in captivity, a reality that for some continues to the present. In Puerto Bermudez, in contrast, the Asháninka's organizational and military traditions enabled them to form their own armed forces and stage a successful resistance against the forces of the MRTA. In this section, the Asháninka narrate their epic version of history, without eliding their own crimes.

Taylor and Francis
Not for distribution

Uchuraccay

In the Uchuraccay section, we reproduced a famous series of photographs by journalist Willy Retto, which he took right before his death. The massacre of the journalists in Uchuraccay was one of the decisive moments in the lead-up to the war, and its media impact was far-reaching. The degree to which it was remembered contrasts dramatically with the minimal attention given to the 135 civilians assassinated subsequently by SL and the Army in Uchuraccay. Survivors speak about this little-known reality, recounting not only how the war arrived and how they fled for their lives (living in the mountains, exposed to the elements), but also how they returned and rebuilt their communities a decade later.

The cultural divide pointed to so often as the trigger for the assassination of the journalists, which at its core boiled down to the different languages used by the parties that were implicated, is demonstrated in the audio clip of the town hall meeting that took place between the Uchuraccainos and the Investigatory Commission led by Mario Vargas Llosa. The public can directly access a recording of this historic event, translated into Quechua and Spanish, for the first time ever in this exhibit area.

Next to the video of Uchuraccay survivors we show the testimony of Mario Vargas Llosa, in which he highlights the importance of the case 30 years later as a metaphor for Peru's fundamental problems—a country divided by inadequate communication and misunderstandings. This audio recording has received a cold reception, perhaps exemplifying the very problem to which it refers.

The final panels in the display show contemporary life in Uchuraccay: a goalie blocking a shot and two young Uchuraccainos getting married. After decades of being perceived tragically in the local imagination, it is possible to view the modern-day reality of the community as a space marked by the daily push to grow and reconstitute social bonds that were debilitated by the national conflict. Alongside these examples of a community actively engaged in revitalizing and projecting itself into the future, hangs a document recording Uchuraccay's recent certification as a district. Amidst struggles for recognition and access to adequate public services, successes like achieving the status of a district offer evidence of the agency of communities that have not only survived but also rebuilt themselves, largely on their own.

Putis

A display of garments exhumed from Putis is installed near the panel dedicated to present-day Uchuraccay. What happened in Putis is emblematic of the high number of cases that have remained largely hidden and silenced. In December 1984, members of the Army organized the villagers to dig a trench, supposedly for a fish farm. The Army assassinated the villagers, including women and children, and turned the trench they had dug into a mass grave. Buffeted by alternating offensives by the Army and SL, Putis entered a period of protracted tension; a mass exodus ensued to caves and outlying areas.

Page and Frames
Not for distribution

A small *chullo* (traditional earflapped knitted cap) and a baby's t-shirt, fragile and withered, greet the visitor at the entrance to this section. Both garments were lent to the museum by community leaders. These vestiges of lives absurdly extinguished constitute a disturbing testimony, a symbol of a truth hidden from view in our country for decades. In a similar fashion, the visitor is drawn to a photo of the exhumation, which is guarded by young soldiers and which the families of the assassinated are looking at intently. We see two rows of bodies obviously distinguished by their clothing—two apparently irreconcilable groups that nevertheless have much in common.

For this exhibit, we acquired a variety of objects provided by the affected parties. Along with the testimonies of the survivors, the exhumers, and those responsible for the mass grave itself, there is a pictorial narrative drawn by Gonzalo Fernández Condoray, the survivor of a family that lost almost 60 members. In a synthesized and forceful manner, the history narrates the incursion of the soldiers, the massacre shown in a jumble of bright red, and the lives of those who fled to live in caves.[12] Another survivor, Sergio Condoray, today a leader of the organization of those affected by the Putis atrocities, provided photographs of the places that were used for refuge during that period and we see him in one photo, keeping dry during a rainstorm under a rock. A boulder pockmarked with deep cavities, a cave wallpapered with lichen and moss, and a high-altitude flower known only to those who flee desperately to the highest terrain in the Republic remind the visitor of just how much Peru's landscape and geography testify to what its people have experienced: a territory populated by

histories waiting to be heard and shared, like the many graves yet to be exhumed in Putis. These other graves, mapped out by Gonzalo Condoray on commission from the curatorial team, graphically represent the work yet to be done by a state that is only now slowly turning to the task.

The exhibit also includes a book of proceedings put together by people who returned to Putis under the leadership of then-mayor Gerardo Fernández. This *Libro de Actas* is an exceptional document that speaks to the stalwartness and commitment of a community dedicated to the search for truth and justice. In it, we find exhaustive inventories written in longhand of the names of all those assassinated and disappeared during this period, detailed information about who is responsible for their deaths, the number of widows and orphans who remain, and the diverse kinds of property loss, such as businesses damaged, animals killed or stolen, and fields poached or torched. These materials from Putis are representative examples of the work of memory assumed collectively and carried into the present.

Here again we chose to end with images of the present and a document that testifies to Putis' struggle to achieve jurisdictional autonomy. The latter is one of many bureaucratic processes moving forward in parallel fashion in an effort to obtain hoped-for reparations. In a context of prolonged forgetting and negation, every sealed paper, every acknowledged petition, every signature on an official document, is a small victory fueling the long struggle for access to true citizenship.

Puerto Ocopa and Puerto Bermúdez

Taylor and Francis
Not for distribution

Continuing the tour, the visitor encounters a garment very different in fabric and meaning from those seen earlier. If the painful vestige of clothing of an exhumed child in Putis is incontrovertible evidence of the horror that the Peruvian state tried to hide, here we have instead a well-preserved victory trophy. The *cushma* (tunic) donated by Alcides Quinchuya, Asháninka leader of Puerto Bermúdez, constitutes a reminder of how those who defended their families and lands from a brutal scorched-earth policy adopted by both SL and MRTA in the Amazonian jungle region did so by drawing on their cultural heritage of combat strategies, botanical chemical weaponry, war paint, and dress. Across from this tunic hang some of the weapons the so-called Asháninka Army used to combat and expel the MRTA from its territories after their leader Alejandro Calderón was assassinated.

In this area are two videos. The first, filmed in Puerto Bermúdez, opens as a full moon gradually appears in the dark sky. As it rises, a woman dressed in black and illuminated from within the shadows, tells how she knew war was imminent when she heard a cock's crow in a dream. She recounts how everyone armed themselves with bows and arrows, including women, who had a special weapon all their own called the "cariba." Other testimonies are presented about the recruitment, preparations, and battle with the MRTA. One combatant who shares his experiences is Quinchuya. He speaks with great pride in his native language about the reasons the MRTA came into the area and were resisted, about battle strategies, which included the use of plants to make their combatants more powerful and to make the enemy sleep, and of the knowledge that permitted them to survive the situation. He reproduces some of the nonverbal aural codes for the camera that permitted his people to prevail by communicating undetected in the jungle. The video ends with the song of

an ex-combatant, whose voice carries over the nocturnal landscape dominated by a wide river: "I've been able to defeat the greatest foes that came to kill us . . . with our power we defeated them."

In the second film, the testimonies from Puerto Ocopa offer a different perspective. While the Puerto Bermúdez video affirms a cultural identity based in shared victory, the Puerto Ocopa one reminds us of an ongoing conflict that has not yet ended. Héctor Pachacamac's testimony is a grim example of how SL kidnapped children to increase its numbers. After having survived many years in captivity, Héctor today dedicates himself to caring for his family and helping the police rescue others who are still in captivity. Rosa shared her story only months after being liberated from a camp where she witnessed her husband's murder. The urgency of her entreaties are palpable in this video as she pleads for the rescue of her daughters, still prisoners of SL.

While Rosa had her family and name snatched away (they changed her name to Josefina), Héctor was trained to sing and kill in the ranks of the SL. Both accepted the offer to testify, like all the people we interviewed for the exhibition. These first-hand expressions of lived experience on the part of the most brutalized sectors of the population, delivered in a wide range of languages and media, allow the visitor to see not only victims but also agents of diverse struggles for truth and justice, as well as processes of change and reconstruction. We see self-directed and collective experiences of cultural affirmation, a dynamic proliferation of ambitious and expansive life-projects. Rather than being discouraged by the sluggish and mediocre responses of the state, they continue to make repeated and increasingly energetic demands on the state to comply with its obligations.

Taylor and Francis
Not for distribution

IMAGES OF WOMEN: STRUGGLES FOR RIGHTS AND RECOGNITION AS CITIZENS

At the entrance to the display a woman from the countryside walks in front of a façade of the District Government of Chuschi, where SL perpetrated its first armed aggression by burning the ballot boxes of the May 1980 presidential elections, which took place after 12 years of military dictatorship. In the largest photograph in the hall, another woman submits her vote under the watchful eye of a young soldier. The image—discolored and simple in framing and composition—represents the sabotaged electoral process, which for the first time included illiterate populations, approximately 70 percent of whom were women.[13] The woman holds a bag in her left hand while she puts her vote in the ballot box with her right. She wears a wide-brimmed hat, a sweater, a skirt, and bears a sturdy carrying cloth on her back. Her figure, which occupies almost completely the photo, is emblematic of an emergent process of inclusion that has eventually resulted in the greater presence of women (and of diverse sectors that had previously been excluded) in the country's power struggles.[14]

The next important image of Andean women can be seen from the ramp leading up to the second floor. If the first floor shows the horrors through which the country passed, presented at the scale of communities and individuals, the second floor focuses on collective responses, highlighting the capacity of individuals to organize in order to decisively combat violence and its effects on their daily lives.

The image that introduces us is that of a group of Ayacucho women who, faced with the powerlessness of not being able to find their loved ones, decided to organize

and form ANFASEP in 1983. One of its founders, Angélica Mendoza, became an emblematic figure of resistance amidst terror and orphanhood. The photo has been enlarged to 3 m. by 2.8 m, and shows the organization's march, which was inspired by the visit of 1980 Nobel Peace Prize winner Adolfo Pérez Esquivel.

The women of ANFASEP have generally been represented as passively "awaiting" justice: seated, somber-faced, holding photos of their disappeared family members. For this exhibit we strove to communicate the density of their hope, suffused by their demands: desire for the return of the disappeared; the appearance and identification of a body; the accusation of the guilty; probationary sentencing; non-humiliating reparations; and social recognition to dignify and give meaning to efforts to rebuild their country. We chose to emphasize the active dimension of these women's actions and how the emotions embodied in these women mobilized subsequent responses from civil society to confront the abuses of power and violence at a time when the country had not yet come to understand the full dimensions of the conflict.

In the photo, marching women hold up signs that demand the return of their disappeared family members in the middle of the Plaza of Huamanga which, at the time, was the epicenter of the conflict. At the request of the current leadership of ANFASEP, the visitor hears a recording of the association's anthem, "How long will you remain silent?" (*Hasta cuándo tu silencio?*). Our goal was to contest the usual conventions for representing victims by prioritizing their own voices. We also sought to weaken the monopoly of the visual that prevails in historical reconstruction by appealing to alternate modes of memory. The voices that occupy the expository space echo the initial eruption of ANFASEP into the public space of Huamanga and remind us of the countless testimonies of those who, in different contexts, have "found their voices," joining them to those of others who have lived the same experiences. Although the role of the voice (the scream, the slogan, the song) as political mobilizer is insufficiently theorized, we argue that "in showing something hidden in the personality of an individual, the public declaration of a hidden discourse can help recuperate humanity and self-esteem" (Scott, 2007, p. 247).

Egg and Earth
Not for distribution

These voices highlight the demand for dignity and recognition in a Spanish typical of speakers for whom it is not their mother tongue. In this way, the surprise with which the non-Quechua-speaking visitor receives the phrase "Don't continue *even* prisoned, don't continue *even* tortured" ("*No sigas ni prisionado no sigas ni torturado*") introduces one of the exhibition's short circuits that reminds us of the varied ways we can make connections with the cultures and languages that constitute Peru. In this way, we might also consider the immense efforts taken by those who try to make their experiences understood (learning foreign languages, codes, and conventions) in comparison to the infinitely more modest efforts that those of us who have grown up with a judicial system and an education shaped by a western and Spanish-speaking hegemonic cultural matrix make (or do not make) to understand these different realities.

We also requested the loan of a banner from the COFADER (National Association for Families of the Kidnapped, Detained, and Disappeared of Peru, *Comité Nacional de Familiares Detenidos, Desaparecidos, y Refugiados*), made up of 40 cloth panels embroidered by hand by 40 different women with mementos of their lost loved ones. The inclusion of this banner was also a rupture with the visual rhetoric of photojournalism as a dominant mode of representation and reinforced our decision to

use elements made by those who were directly affected by the violence. We used the banner because it was a special carrier of history (it had accompanied the members of COFADER in many actions in public space). This manual labor of love immediately connects us to an intimate dimension of the struggle thus giving the object a unique aura as a repository of memories, evocations, desires, warmth, and care, which would be difficult to transmit by other means.

The embroidered panels, all elaborated with painstaking detail, show scenes ranging from detentions and assassinations to those of life prior to the conflict. They are complex articulations of the past (family life, work in the fields, homes that were abandoned, crimes suffered), the present (struggles for truth and justice), and the future (the hopes expressed by the banner's materiality: "until we meet again"). Each panel gives form to memories without being framed by an all-encompassing memory or structured by particular guidelines. The multiplicity of visual codes used to communicate so many different meanings speaks to us of an inclusive universe that authorizes its members to freely express their experiences according to their capacities and desires (see Figure 23.2).

The characteristics of this piece recall those of the "Hope Shawl" (*Chalina de la Esperanza*), another collective work on a larger scale, with panels made by hand by a diverse set of women, also intended to publicize the experiences of victims of the conflict, and which is part of the permanent exhibition.[15] Both pieces demonstrate how stitching (or sewing) is readily practiced by Andean women (those most affected

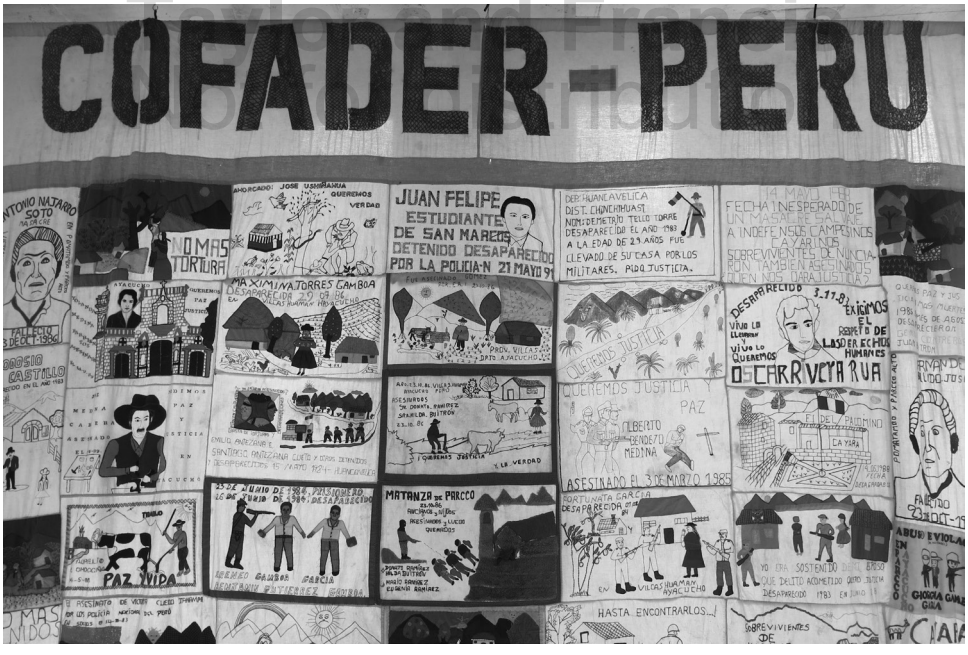

Figure 23.2 Banner made by COFADER (the National Committee of Family Members of the Detained, Disappeared, and Refugees)

Photo credit: Ponciano del Pino and Eliana Otta.

by the violence of the period) who recognize it as an intimate and socially cohesive activity. The work of stitching can be accomplished in tune with the rhythms of daily rural or small-town life, with modest resources and offers great versatility to the creators to make the styles and forms they desire. In this case, the COFADER banner is emblematic of the actions undertaken by women in the most precarious of conditions who collectively organized to intervene in public life demanding rights and justice. Since 1980, they have had to largely abandon their working lives to devote their hands and bodies to traveling to the country's detention centers and centers of power, carrying letters, documents, banners, and crosses, at times yelling, crying, singing, or screaming, but learning together to make their presence felt and in these ways steadily conquering their declared enemy, impunity.

CONCLUSION

The LUM exhibition was inaugurated for the purpose of creating an active process of interpretation and meaning-making among the public. This has changed and evolved over time and in each viewing both the reception and the intentions of the creators remain equally important. The relationship between people and their monuments, as well as the consequences of that relationship within each historical moment, are of central interest in this process (Young, 1993, p.13).

If Young's attention is focused on the fluid relationship between a monument and its public, in the case of the LUM this relationship is the basis of a curatorial endeavor and defines one of its principal characteristics: the temporal fluidity between past and present, which fluidity keeps the exhibit from circumscribing the violence to the period between 1980 and 2000, situating it instead in a longer trajectory of events and within the present of ongoing struggles and demands. This dynamic relationship, between past and present, facilitates an appreciation for the capacity for action among affected populations and to grasp that their immediate demands are situated in struggles for inclusion and recognition of much greater duration. A wide range of local forms and efforts to elaborate these struggles, with alternative forms of remembering and commemorating it, can be seen in the exhibit. They are plainly heard in the testimonies of surviving Andean and Amazonian community members and the villagers displaced to Lima, in the songs of the women of ANFASEP, and in the different musical expressions of the 1980s. They can be read in the proceedings of the Putis meetings and in the graphic history of Condoray. They can be touched in the Hope Shawl or the COFADER banner, which embody a trajectory of life and struggle, condensing interpretations and memories into collages of color and texture. Each voice, object, image, and history is the expression of a major effort to make visible a vital experience in which art, culture, memory and politics fuse creatively to occupy their place in public life.

Taylor and Francis
Not for distribution

NOTES

1 Both authors served as curators of the Lugar de la Memoria, la Tolerancia y la Inclusión Social (LUM).
2 The Maoist Shining Path movement started a guerrilla war against the state in the highland communities of Ayacucho in 1980, resulting in at least 69,000 dead and disappeared (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (CVR), 2003, p.31).

3 For an overview of these varied positions, see Portugal, 2015.
4 Peru's three memory museums prior to the LUM are all in regions more affected by the war than Lima: *Para que no se repita* ("That it not be repeated") established by ANFASEP in Ayacucho in 2004–2005, *La casa de la memoria* ("The House of Memory") established by the local government of the city of Huancavelica in 2010, and the *Walpana Wasi* established by the regional government of Junín in 2013–2014. In addition to these dedicated museums, multiple public memorials have also been established throughout the country, one of the most well-known being *El Ojo que Llora*, ("The eye That Weeps"), built in Lima in 2006. These initiatives responded to the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to symbolically repay to the victims.
5 The 14 meetings between September 2013 and March 2014, and the proceedings form part of a book documenting the conceptual foundations of the LUM (Del Pino and Agüero, 2015).
6 This was a team appointed by the president and charged with taking forward the LUM.
7 Asociación Nacional de Familiares de Secuestrados, Detenidos y Desaparecidos del Perú ("National Association of the Families of the Kidnapped, Detained, and Disappeared of Peru"). For an overview of their work, see the Fetzer Institute's (2017) documentary online.
8 The museum, which originally opened in 1916 in New York City, was turned over to the Smithsonian in Washington, D.C. where it opened on September 2004.
9 Roger Simon elaborates precisely this pedagogical strategy in exhibitions about traumatic pasts which strive to provoke "sustained attention, concern, and corrective action rather than a few days' sensation that is soon forgotten" (Simon, 2011, p. 206).
10 Along similar lines to this theory of an active and reflexive visitor (Andermann and Arnold-de Simine, 2012), there are also notions of a "visitor centered" experience (Conley-Zilkic, 2014), of the eminently interpretive effort of the viewer (Moser, 2010), and of the authority of the individual who models the significance of the museum's texts and experiences (Silverman, 1995).
11 Currently, the village is part of Santillana district in Huanta province.
12 This comic strip was initially published by the Yuyarisun Collective in the first art contest held—of drawings, paintings, songs, histories, and poetry, which was promoted in Ayacucho as part of the work of the CVR: "*Rescate por la memoria*," 2004, p. 89–91. The original drawings are in the SER (Personal communication, Cynthia Milton).
13 67 percent according to Cecilia Bustamante in "The Peruvian Woman in the 1980 elections," (*La mujer peruana ante las elecciones de 1980*), El País, 20/01/08. Web, https://elpais.com/diario/1980/01/20/internacional/317170804_850215.html, [accessed August 20, 2017].
14 This image and action contrast markedly with the almost total absence of representation of women as agents in public life. Deborah Poole, for instance, points out the near-total absence of women in published photos of public and government functions in Cusco (1997, p. 252).
15 This initiative was started in 2010, organized by the Desvela collective to call attention to the 15,000 disappeared still unaccounted for in Peru. It was made with the help of organizations of families of the disappeared, exhibited in the Municipality of San Isidro (where it was censored), in Lima, and in the Geneva headquarters of the Red Cross. Currently it resides at the LUM.

REFERENCES

Andermann, J. and Arnold-de Simine, S., 2012. Introduction: memory, community and the New Museum. *Theory, Culture and Society*, Vol. 29(1), pp. 3–13.

Bustamante, C., 2008. La mujer peruana ante las elecciones de 1980. *El País*, January 20, 2008.

Cárdenas, C. and Gálvez, H., 2009. *Lucanamarca*. Lima: TV Cultura.

Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003. *Informe final, Volumes 1 and 5*. Lima: Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación.

Taylor and Francis
Not for distribution

Conley-Zilkic, B., 2014. Rights on display: museums and human rights claims. In S. Stern and S. Straus, eds, *The Human rights paradox: universality and its discontents*. Madison, WI: Wisconsin University Press, pp. 61–80.

da Silva, L., 2014. Esas memorias . . . ¿nos pertenecen? *Riesgos, debates y conflictos en los sitios de memoria en torno a los proyectos públicos sobre los usos del pasado reciente en Argentina*. http://memoria.ides.org.ar/files/2011/02/TEXTO-LUDMILA-FORO-2-2-1.pdf [accessed February 5, 2017].

Del Pino, P., and Agüero, J.C., 2014. *Cada uno, un lugar de memoria. Fundamentos conceptuales del Lugar de la Memoria, la Tolerancia y la Inclusión Social*. Lima: LUM.

Fetzer Institute, 2017. Memory Walkers: ANFASEP and the Post-Conflict Process in Peru. http://fetzer.org/resources/memory-walkers-anfasep-and-post-conflict-process-peru [accessed August 8, 2017].

Lehrer, E., Milton, C., and Patterson, M.E., 2011. *Curating difficult knowledge: violent past in public places*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lind, M., 2005. The collaborative turn. In J. Billing and L.N. Szerk, eds, *Taking the matter into common hands: on contemporary art and collaborative practices*. London: Black Dog Publishing, pp. 15–31.

Macón, C., 2016. "Mapas afectivos": el MUME y el Parque de la Memoria como matrices críticas para la representación artística del pasado. *Clepsidra. Revista Interdisciplinaria de Estudios de Memoria*, Vol. 3(6) October, pp. 10–27.

Moser, S., 2010. The devil is in the detail: museum displays and creation of knowledge. *Museum Anthropology*, 33(1), pp. 22–32.

Pastoriza, L., 2005. La memoria como política publica: Los ejes de la discusión. In M. Brodsky, ed, *Memoria en construccion: El debate sobre La Esma*. Buenos Aires: La Marca Editora, pp. 1–11.

Payne, P., 2008. *Unsettling accounts: neither truth nor reconciliation in confessions of state violence*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Poole, D.A., 1997. *Vision, race, and modernity: a visual economy of the Andean image world*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Portugal, T., 2015. Lugares de memoria en el Peru: batallas por el reconocimiento. In C. Degregori, T. Portugal, G. Salazar and R. Aroni, *No hay mañana sin ayer: batallas por la memoria y consolidación democrática en Peru*. Lima: IEP, pp. 69–236.

Scott, J., 2007. *Los dominados y el arte de la resistencia. Discursos ocultos*. México: Ediciones Era.

Servicios Educativos Rurales (SER), 2004. *Rescate por la memoria. Porque es necesario recordar el pasado para comprender el presente y así contruir un futuro mejor*. Ayacucho: SER.

Silverman, L.H., 1995. Visitor meaning-making in museums for a new age. *The Museum Journal*, 38(3), pp. 161–170.

Simon, R.J., 2011. Afterword: the turn to pedagogy. A needed conversation on the practice of curating difficult knowledge. In E. Lehrer, C. Milton, and M. Patterson, eds, *Curating difficult knowledge*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 193–209.

Wieviorka, M., 2015. La conciencia del tiempo: la memoria. *Colección Signos de la Memoria*. Santiago de Chile: Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos.

Young, J., 1993. *The texture of memory: Holocaust memorials and meaning*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Taylor and Francis
Not for distribution