

State Violence in Peru: From the Internal Armed Conflict (1980-2000) to the “Bicentennial Generation”

Announcement published by Anouk Guiné on Thursday, July 8, 2021

Type:

Call for Papers

Date:

April 15, 2022

Location:

Peru

Subject Fields:

Latin American and Caribbean History / Studies, Women's & Gender History / Studies, Holocaust, Genocide, and Memory Studies, Human Rights, Military History

International Symposium

August 3-6, 2022

San Cristóbal de Huamanga National University, Ayacucho, Peru

State Violence in Peru : From the Internal Armed Conflict (1980-2000) to the “Bicentennial Generation”

Venue : Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de San Cristóbal de Huamanga (UNSCH) and Centro Cultural UNSCH, Ayacucho, Peru.

Date : August 3-6, 2022 (4 days).

Organizers :

Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga (UNSCH), Peru.

Groupe de Recherche Identités et Cultures (GRIC), Université Le Havre Normandie, France.

Facultad de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, Universidad Nacional de Educación Enrique Guzmán y Valle (La Cantuta), Peru.

Programa de Psicología Social de la Memoria, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de Chile.

Grupo de Trabajo Memorias Colectivas y Prácticas de Resistencia, Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO).

Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana (UAM-Xochimilco), Mexico.

Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas y Sociales (IIHS), Universidad Nacional de la Patagonia, Argentina.

Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain.

Red Iberoamericana Resistencia y Memoria (RIARM).

Asociación de Escritores de Ayacucho (AEDA), Peru.

Círculo de Estudios José María Arguedas, Ayacucho.

Colectiva Huancayo Feminista (Universidad del Centro del Perú).

Citation: Anouk Guiné. *State Violence in Peru: From the Internal Armed Conflict (1980-2000) to the “Bicentennial Generation”*. H-Announce. 07-08-2021.

<https://networks.h-net.org/node/73374/announcements/7907974/state-violence-peru-internal-armed-conflict-1980-2000->

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Grupo Pólemos (Research on Critical Theory), Perú.

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Graciela Estrada, Universidad Nacional de Educación Enrique Guzmán y Valle (La Cantuta), Perú.

Alfredo Torres, Grupo Acontecimiento, Universidad Nacional Federico Villareal (UNFV), Perú.

August 3 to 5, 2022 : Local, national, and international academic presentations.

August 6 : Session for the citizenry of Ayacucho and Peru who would like to testify in public ; people affected by state violence ; dissident military and police officers ; former militants of subversive groups, general public.

Call :

The symposium is part of the context of the 200th anniversary of the Peruvian Independence, and is intended to think and reevaluate the Internal Armed Conflict or civil war (1980-2000), its final and consequences up to present day, from the meaning of the bicentennial commemoration to the analysis of the continuum of forms of state violence, as well as the uses of insurgent violence by the Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path (PCP-SL) and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), 41 years after the beginning of the conflict in Ayacucho and 18 years after the publication of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR).

Faced with a state that, according to the Ayacucho historian Sergio Gamboa, “excludes the revolutionary past of the independence movements because it threatens the ‘stability of the present’ and the official writing of history” (Ángeles, 2021), we start from the context of criminalization of dissidence and censorship to freedom of expression and thought, neo-coupism, corruption in the high echelons of power and in the police force, senderización of the otherness or the so-called terruqueo (accusing someone of being a terrorist). We also look at the social struggles of peasant communities for the environment (mining, water) and stoppages of workers of the agro-export sector after November 10, 2020, a period corresponding to the massive citizen movement of the “Bicentennial Generation” (an

expression coined by the Peruvian sociologist Noelia Chávez) against state corruption and, for many, in favor of a new constitution, which resulted in arbitrary detentions, aggressions, kidnappings, assassinations, persecution, and political trials that entailed both human rights and constitutional rights violations. For instance, since January 2021, in the Southern Macro-Region of Perú, the mobilizations by grassroots organizations fighting as “native peoples” against the “decolonization of the country” continue and have declared themselves the “All Bloods” Plurinational Constituent Assembly, unleashing strong police repression.

Thus, the colloquium will focus principally on the forms of domination and state violence bearing extreme violence or state terrorism (Ríos Sierra & García de las Heras González, 2019), employed during the “Antisubversive War,” which was a planned and systematic offensive against Andean and Amazonian populations suspected of belonging to insurgent organizations, people “up in arms,” “terrorist organizations” (PCP-SL and MRTA), and relatives of subversives. What were the civilian responses to state violence ? What role did the groups of relatives of the detained and disappeared played facing state violence ? The symposium will also tackle the use of violence by the PCP-SL and the MRTA as a strategy to seize power and a political-military tactic opposed to the Peruvian state violence. In addition, it will analyze the continuum of forms of state violence up to present time, in relation to popular social struggles for citizen rights, memories silenced and hindered by the state, and advances and omissions in public policies in the area of social justice from 1980 onward.

State violence can be defined as an “instance that disguises and reinforces class violence” from the “juridical-state” (Nave, Vermeren, 2003) through the monopoly of “legitimate” force, repression, and violence wielded by the state with its armed forces and the police. In the Peruvian case, it was exercised throughout the 20th century : in the 1920s and 1960s, facing peasant uprisings in the southern region and central highlands, and in the 1970s, because of land seizures in Andahuaylas-Apurímac. This class violence, aiming at protecting the economic, political, and social interests of national elites and dominant social groups, historically had a backlash in the insurgencies and guerrilla movements through their “revolutionary model” of counter-violence against state violence targeting the poorest citizens, mostly in Andean and Amazonian rural zones.

What were the economic conditions that caused the PCP-SL and the MRTA to emerge and the war to last for more than 10 years ? How were these conditions generated ? How does the state prevent or stop preventing conditions of oppression imposed in the context of “class struggle” from continuing ? According to the Peruvian psychologist, Ana María Guerrero (2015) : “We should not forget the massacres of peasants perpetrated by the state before the PCP-SL entered the scene.” What the Permanent Commission on the History of the Army (CPHE) described as “a chasm that began in the pageantry of the few and the survival of the many” (2012), has been solved yet ? How did the context of political corruption, starvation, malnutrition, and poverty come about ? Why and how did an armed insurgent response arise ? (Lust, 2018 ; Meza, 2011). Why did important segments of the Peruvian population saw in the Maoist “People’s War” the possibility of “ending the long capitalist domination externally imposed in Latin America and the Third World” ? (Scott

Palmer, 2014). And during the internal war, why were prisons—as the Ayacucho sociologist Carlos Infante (2007) puts it—the places where “all the state’s repressive hatred was condensed through the use of force and laws [...], forms of subjugation also extended to the population as a whole” ?

Although this call focuses in the Peruvian case, it seeks to construct a broad perspective that places this particular process in the regional and global context. The development of armed groups, guerrilla movements, and insurgent struggles, responds to conditions of strong oppression, repressive violence, and military dictatorships, common features to different Latin American countries. Strategies of persecution of such struggles also had common characteristics to the region, which must be analyzed in order to understand the exercise of repressive violence in our recent history. Thus, we aim at establishing a dialogue between the Peruvian process and other Latin American experiences.

Participants are invited to speak on one or more of the following topics (see details below) about Peru and other Latin American or Iberian countries :

- 1) Origins of social struggles. Justification and practice of the use of political violence by insurgent groups.
- 2) Theories, policies, strategies, and application of counterinsurgency ; theory of the “criminal law of the enemy” (Günther, 1985), and repression of current mobilizations.
- 3) Gender violence and sexual violence by the state (Internal Armed Conflict and “Bicentennial Generation”).
- 4) State violence in art, culture, and education.
- 5) Justice and reparations.
- 6) Hegemonic and counter-hegemonic memories, testimonies, archives, and places of memory.
- 7) Limits of the victim/victimizer dichotomy.
- 8) The Bicentennial Generation : Crisis of the Peruvian state, youth response, and social mobilizations.
- 9) Dialogues between the Peruvian experience and other Latin American or Iberian experiences.

Axis of work :

- 1) Origins of social struggles. Justification and practice of the use of political violence by insurgent groups. This axis looks at the theoretical, ideological, strategic, tactical, and political motivations for initiating a process of armed struggle with the objectives of taking power, self-defense or emancipation. It includes the study of other motives to resort to political violence, as well as the research that assesses the impact that the use of this violence has had on the objectives of armed organizations or concrete political decisions. Within this topic, we receive papers on the guerrillas of the 1960s ; comparative studies about the character and use of insurgent violence by the PCP-SL and the MRTA ; historical works about the armed struggle, the political context of the 1980s in Peru, and the situation of economic, political, and social rights that favored the process towards violence with political purposes. Also, we invite presentations that analyze the strategies of the PCP-SL and the MRTA, especially their grassroots work through which they gained supporters

and sympathizers among the population (Ruiz Torres, 2019). We are particularly interested in testimonial research of the militants of those organizations. This axis expects to be contributing to the reconstruction of the memory of the insurgents, both in Peru or in other Latin American countries.

2) Theories, policies, strategies, and application of counterinsurgency ; theory of the “criminal law of the enemy” (Günther, 1985) and repression of current mobilizations. This axis focuses on the study of the evolution of antisubversive manuals ; the tactical, strategic, and operation levels against “terrorism” ; the role by the United States and other countries in teaching and applying the counterinsurgency framework, as well in the coordination among countries ; the debates about expressions and euphemisms used to name state violence ; the militarization of the antisubversive policy ; dynamics of mobilization of civil population, either forced or voluntary, from the formation of the so-called Self-Defense Committees in the countryside (Mache, 2003), and “urban patrols” in towns ; “anti-terrorist” legislation ; exceptional justice ; paramilitary groups (Rodrigo Franco, Grupo Colina, Terna) ; unconventional methods of anti-subversive warfare or “low intensity war ;” the “Elimination of terrorism” in the National Agreement (2002-2020), and other defense and security policies up to present time. We also consider papers about dissident military and police officers, and forced military recruitment ; racialization of anti-subversive policies and techniques, and women in counterinsurgency. We are interested in research about the application of counterinsurgency, including mechanism of instrumentalization and politics of fear ; anti-terrorist media campaigns ; state-controlled media ; abusive control of rural communities from military bases and police posts ; massacres ; genocide of indigenous peoples ; crimes against humanity (e.g., Accomarca, Uchuraccay, and other cases) ; “cleansing” campaigns ; arbitrary detentions ; extrajudicial executions ; forced disappearances (i.e., the case of journalist Bustios) ; crematorium ovens (i.e., La Hoyada human oven in the vicinity of the Cabitos barracks in Ayacucho) ; clandestine cemeteries ; mass graves ; torture centers (Cabitos, Estadio de Huanta) and torture techniques ; the role of the Catholic church and other churches in anti-subversion ; the anti-subversive strategy in the urban context, especially against trade unions, universities, and shanty towns ; repression of the “Bicentennial Generation” movement and other current social struggles and mobilizations ; criminalization of protest and criminal law as social control mechanisms ; political persecution and civil death in the 21st century ; militarization of emergency states ; state violence in the Valle de los Ríos Apurímac, Ene, and Mantaro (VRAEM) ; the transfer of the “fight against terrorism” to common crime and the so-called pandillaje (gangs) (Viotti Barbaloto, 2018).

3) Gender violence and sexual violence by the state. According to the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR), both the armed and the police forces perpetrated about 83% of cases of rape during the Internal Armed Conflict, at least until 1995. We receive papers and testimonies about rape by state agents in the Anti-subversive Military Bases (Cóndor, Chalhuanca, Apurímac, etc.), military bases, (Abancay), army bases (Huamanga, Cayara, Carhuarán, Chungui, Chapi, Pampacangallo, Ayahuanco, Accomarca, Pichari, Putis, Manta, Vilca, Huancavelica, Julcamarca, Pampas, Lircay, etc.) (Crisóstomo Meza, 2015), military barracks (“Los Cabitos”, navy barracks -Huanta stadium-, Cangallo, Vizchongo,

etc.), police posts (Ocross, Huancapi, Tambo, Andarapa, Lambrama, etc.), intelligence centers (“Casa Rosada”, DIRCOTE Ayacucho), detention centers, prisons, raids, and emergency zones. We are also interested in works on different modalities of rape : rape before killing (i.e., cases Accamarca and Castro-Castro) ; individual and collective rape ; rape perpetrated by Rondas Campesinas (peasant vigilante patrols) ; subversive men tortured and raped by military women, and humiliation of the male enemy through his feminization or social devaluation. We consider works about other forms of sexual violence by state agents : forced nudity or stripping with observation ; electric shocks ; forced unions ; forced prostitution ; sexual slavery ; forced pregnancy ; forced maternity ; forced abortions (post-rape or not, through pills, beatings, and torture) ; forced sterilization (under Fujimori’s government). We will focus on the psychological, physical, and psychosocial impact on the victims and the targeted communities, their voices and testimonies, and the children of women raped by the military. We will analyze the reasons for the lack of judicialization of cases of sexual violence, rape, and forced sterilization ; the current trials, the impunity of the military, and the “feminization of human rights international law and of the Inter-American system” (Zelada & Ocampo Acuña, 2012). Other topics of reflection are the military discourse and its representations about the sexuality of Andean women ; the racialization of sexual violence against women ; the hierarchization of rape victims ; the sexualization of the enemy based on the ethno-racial divide, and rape cases of dissident soldiers perpetrated by other military during the conflict (Granados, s.f.). Finally, we welcome papers on hate crimes (homophobia and transphobia) committed by state agents (1980-2021), and current state violence against women (i.e., abortion prohibition ; unsafe abortion-related deaths ; sexual aggressions in protests).

4) **State violence in art, culture, and education.** In the cultural field, many authors of both fiction and non-fiction, journalists, workers at media outlets, filmmakers, cartoonists, and visual artists have captured in their production memories, narratives, representations, and discourses legitimizing forms of domination and state violence. Conversely, other authors, journalists, filmmakers, musicians, artisans, and artists in general have condemned state violence in different ways. In turn, the state, through its many institutions (DIRCOTE, LUM, etc.) has censored, criminalized, and persecuted art works and cultural productions related to the armed conflict (Loarte Villalobos, 2020). In the educational field, we aim at analyzing state violence against certain school contents on the armed conflict (Jave, 2017) and the police role in schools to shape historical memory. We expect to receive testimonies of teachers from Ayacucho and the rest of the country about the way in which they teach that historical period ; the pedagogical tools that they possess or lack in relation to memory, freedom of expression and opinion, censorship, self-censorship, and the stigma that they may carry.

5) **Justice and reparations.** This axis will cover the negative impact of the unfinished transition (from the Paniagua government in 2000-2001) in terms of reparations and justice ; the advances and weaknesses of governments, the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, the Public Prosecutor’s Office, and the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights in the development of such policies (since the CVR’s recommendations), concerning men and women affected by state crimes and the search for disappeared people (there are 21,244

cases in Peru). We look at cases denounced and filed ; cases with sentences but without convictions ; claims against the state regarding the identification, exhumation, and delivery of bodies (for instance, without the participation of relatives) ; symbolic and economic state violence against victims with multiple affectations ; both military and state violence against organizations of victims (ANFASEP in Ayacucho, AFADEVIG in Lima) ; associations dealing with non-emblematic cases (ADEHR) ; social and psychological effects of military impunity ; Andean women's work on justice and reparations facing the state ; the relationship between Andean communities and the state at the local level regarding reparation policies ; obstacles in accessing reparations ; collective reparations for internally displaced people ; the problem of social programs replacing reparation policies ; delayed trials, and instrumentalization of victims.

6) **Hegemonic and counter-hegemonic memories, testimonies, archives, and places of memory.** This topic deals with the construction of official memory ; insurgent and revolutionary memories about state violence ; state violence against places of memory (i.e., the Museum of Memory in Ayacucho) ; state violence and hegemonic memory within places of memory (i.e., Place of Memory : LUM) ; state violence in the "memory as salvation" framework (Stern, 2009) ; epistemic and symbolic violence in the military spaces of memory (e.g., El Pentagonito ; museums of war veterans ; the "Chavín de Huántar" Contemporary Military Museum) ; epistemic violence in the CVR final report ; access and restrictions to consult state archives (e.g., to the anti-subversive manuals, in accordance with the transparency law) ; obstruction to access to certain collections about the internal armed conflict at the National Library of Peru ; archival violence ; subaltern violence ; police archives ; military archives ; available archives ; silenced archives ; destroyed archives ; forms of commemoration and memorialization by the military ; memories of military women and former female insurgents ; memories of members of peasant vigilante patrols ; memories of the student movement ; oral memories ; subaltern memories ; popular memories ; memories from art and visual accounts about state violence ; CVR testimonies of the military ; testimonies of soldiers in trials ; mistreatment of Andean women in military trials ; memories of the Peruvian Armed Forces graduates ; memories of men affected by the compulsory military service during the conflict ; memories of exiled soldiers ; memories of relatives of the military and former insurgents ; academic works by military personnel about the conflict ; controversies about the memory of the "Bicentennial Martyrs."

7) **Limits of the victim/victimizer dichotomy.** This axis centers on trials against the military and former insurgents ; reparations for military and former insurgents ; disabled military and disabled former insurgents ; dissident military and police officers ; mental health of the military and former insurgents ; reparations for military women, ronderas, and former female insurgents ; civil death for former insurgents either prosecuted or released from prison ; human rights in prisons during the COVID-19 pandemic ; social constructions and hierarchization of the disappeared people and in relation to the delivery of human remains, according to the "victim" statute ; debates about petitions of amnesty and reconciliation.

8) **The Bicentennial Generation : Crisis of the Peruvian state, youth response, and social mobilizations :** This axis examines the events after November 10, 2020, when amidst

contradictions between the Executive power and the Congress of the Republic, the later was dissolved, resulting in the first vacancy and dismissal of president Martín Vizcarra. Then, Manuel Merino authoritatively assumed the presidency for 6 days along with Premier Antero Flores Araos. After massive citizen protests in the country against this institutional coup, with an unprecedented state repression that caused the slaughtering of two young people by the Lima police, the transitional government of Francisco Sagasti and Premier Violeta Bermúdez emerged. Mobilizations by mostly young and female population were massive and there were arbitrary detentions. At the beginning of 2021, organized groups arouse demanding a new constitution and setting up popular assemblies to discuss it. We seek to problematize the expression “Bicentennial Generation,” its meanings, who among young Peruvians identify themselves with this label and who do not, and what implies the institutionalization of the “Bicentennial Generation” by the state. This axis also reflects on the criminalization of protest in relation to the unsolved problems of the Internal Armed Conflict, and how this impacts on the protests by the agro-exporter sector for labor rights ; the indigenous and peasant struggles for territorial rights ; the struggles of retirees for the right to a decent pension ; the Defense Fronts (Frentes de Defensa of the country regions and Lima) ; trade unions ; student unions ; women’s popular organizations ; collectives ; both education and health sectors, particularly in the context of a capitalist agenda and state violence amidst the COVID-19 pandemic. We inquire about the continuities and changes in the 21st forms of mobilization, militant action, types of claims, and forms of state repression. In addition, we are interested in exploring the relationship between old and new grassroots organizations. We will also focus on the criminalization of dissidence and media campaigns by conservative groups like Lampadia (part of the U.S. Atlas Network) against mobilizations for a new constitution in Latin America.

9) Dialogues between the Peruvian experience and other Latin American or Iberian experiences. This axis tackles the theories, policies, strategies, and applications of counterinsurgency ; criminal law of the enemy ; sex violence as a warfare method and crime against humanity ; state violence in literature, cinema, art, the media, the Catholic church, and other churches ; justice and reparations ; memories, testimonies, and archives ; state repression of current social struggles ; the transition to democracy as sponsor of the “theory of the two demons” (i.e., the Spanish case and others).

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Deadline for abstract submissions : April 15, 2022.

Extension : Abstracts should have a title and a 200-word limit.

CV : Attach a short bio that does not exceed half a page. Indicate whether the speaker is non-academic (artist, writer, social leader, etc.) or academic (specify degree and affiliation).

Panels : For panels of 3 to 4 speakers, submit a single document with the panel's title and each abstract with its title.

Abstract languages : Quechua, Spanish, Portuguese, French, English or German.

Working language during the event : Spanish with translation into Quechua for the last day.

Contact : coloquiounschbicentenario@gmail.com

Contact Info:

coloquiounschbicentenario@gmail.com

Contact Email:

coloquiounschbicentenario@gmail.com

URL:

<https://gric.univ-lehavre.fr/spip.php?article356>