



Framing Disappearance: H.I.J.@.S., Public Art and the Making of Historical Memory of the Guatemalan Civil War

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Abstract

Geographers describe how social movements elaborate alternative histories in public spaces. However, few studies have examined how such alternative histories are conditioned by underlying historical narratives. We engage this topic by analyzing public art created in 2004-5 by the Guatemalan chapter of a transnational organization called *Hij@s por la Identidad y la Justicia contra el*

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Olvido y el Silencio, Sons and Daughters for Identity and Justice Against Oblivion and Silence, (H.I.J.@.S.). Composed of the sons and daughters of people whom the Guatemalan government forcefully disappeared and murdered during the Civil War (1960-1996), the group seeks to maintain a historical memory of the war and represents an important voice of the Guatemalan left. Our analysis shows how public art created by H.I.J.@.S. resists the continued effects of enforced disappearance by elaborating historical memory in which the disappeared have a place. We also document how images and texts created by the group privilege the actions of *ladinos*--Guatemalans who identify as non-indigenous--and their organizations and open limited space for imagining Maya agency or the possibility that Mayas were subject to enforced disappearance. We suggest that differences in the ways Mayas and *ladinos* are portrayed in public art created by H.I.J.@.S. in 2004-5 is an effect of the leftist historical narrative that informed the group's work at the time. While we agree with H.I.J.@.S. that there is a battle to be waged against official histories of the war, we argue that leftist historical narratives must also be transformed to be more inclusive of indigenous knowledges.

Introduction

Throughout the Cold War in the Americas, military and paramilitary groups forcefully "disappeared" those they presumed to be their political opponents (McClintock, 1993). Peasants, church officials, activists, professionals, students, labor leaders, politicians, and even soldiers thought to be collaborating with the opposition were forcefully disappeared (H.I.J.@.S., 2012a). They were kidnapped, murdered and often tortured, but the violence of enforced disappearance extended beyond the body of the victim. Kidnappings occurred in broad daylight to terrorize the population (Schirmer, 1989; Grandin, 2004). Government agents eliminated records belonging to the disappeared, refused requests for information, and sometimes stole photos and other possessions from the homes and offices of victims (Taylor, 1997). By victimizing individuals and collectives at multiple spatial scales through the tactic of enforced disappearance, state forces have sought to transform memory and ultimately history (Schirmer, 1989; REMHI, 1998). Enforced disappearance has created resistance wherever it has been employed, and that resistance has also taken form through multiple and interconnected spatialities. Varied tactics of resistance have included protest marches, legal challenges, truth commissions, forensic anthropology (to identify human remains), testimonials, and public art and performance² (Schirmer, 1989; Taylor, 1997; Harbury, 2000; Bosco, 2006; Longoni and Bruzzone, 2008).

² We use the term "public art" in a vernacular sense. For scholarly discussion of public art, see for example, Knight (2008).

In this article, we critically examine the work of an organization that resists enforced disappearance by creating historical memory of victims and perpetrators. Composed of the children of people who were disappeared during the Cold War in Latin America, *Hij@s por la Identidad y la Justicia contra el Olvido y el Silencio*, Sons and Daughters for Identity and Justice and Against Oblivion and Silence, (H.I.J.@.S.) emerged in Argentina in 1995. In the past fifteen years, the organization has spread throughout the Americas including Guatemala, where this study is focused. Guatemala is a crucial place for H.I.J.@.S.' work because of the violence of the Guatemalan Civil War (1960-1996) in which hundreds of thousands were killed and tens of thousands disappeared and tortured. Unique among the American Cold War conflicts, the Guatemalan Civil War was classified by United Nations-sponsored Truth Commission reports as genocide, because the population, lived spaces, and culture of Maya people were disproportionately targeted by government forces (CEH, 1999)³. Linked genealogically and politically to members of the revolutionary movements that opposed the government during the Civil War, H.I.J.@.S. in Guatemala represents an important voice of the contemporary Guatemalan left.⁴ Armed with tactics of performance art and a critical understanding of the power of urban space, H.I.J.@.S. has found creative ways to confront human-rights abuses perpetrated by the military during the Civil War, including enforced disappearance.

This paper uses textual and visual analysis to examine how enforced disappearance is represented in public art created by H.I.J.@.S. in 2004-5 in the historical and political center of Guatemala City. In analyzing a collection of murals, posters and stencil-graffiti, we aim first to show how the images and texts resist the continued effects of enforced disappearance by creating a historical memory in which the disappeared have a place (H.I.J.@.S., 2012a). To do this we analyze the references and iconography contained in the artwork and then describe how the public display of H.I.J.@.S.' texts and images harness the power of city spaces. H.I.J.@.S.' appropriation of public space, we demonstrate, is crucial in the group's efforts to circulate alternative histories of the Civil War and of enforced disappearance. We also examine patterns of inclusion and exclusion in the public art, focusing particularly on the roles and relations of Mayas and *ladinos* in the artwork. In this paper we employ "Maya" to refer to persons who identify as indigenous and live in MesoAmerica and "*ladino*" to refer to persons who live in Guatemala and identify as non-indigenous.⁵ Our analysis shows that H.I.J.@.S.' public art challenges official

³ The evidence that genocide was committed by U.S. backed Guatemalan forces has been further illustrated in the recent genocide trial against former general and dictator José Efraín Ríos Montt.

⁴ Hereafter, we use "H.I.J.@.S." to refer to the Guatemalan chapter of the organization.

⁵ In contemporary Guatemala, *ladino* is often understood as the negation of indigenous identity. A popular phrase heard in Guatemala captures this meaning, "I am ladina/o, because I am not Indian" (Bastos, 1996; Martínez Peláez, 2009). At the same time, in Guatemala, those who identify as "Maya" take part in a

depictions of the Guatemalan Civil War in important ways, but nevertheless privileges the actions of leftist *ladinos* and their organizations and opens limited space for imagining Maya agency or the possibility that Mayas were subjected to enforced disappearance. We discuss representations of Mayas and *ladinos* because these are the identities depicted in the public art that we studied, not because they are the only available ethnic identities in Guatemala.

In focusing on H.I.J.@.S.' public art from 2004-5, this paper contributes to critical geographical literature in two ways. First, it enriches a growing body of work concerned with how social movements challenge official histories through the use of public space (Whelan, 2002; Bosco, 2004; Legg, 2005). While geographers and other scholars have written about how these "counterhistorical" movements elaborate their alternative histories by creating sites of memory, less is known about how historical narratives condition the alternative histories that such groups produce (but for related work see Taylor, 1997; Schirmer, 1989; Legg, 2005). In the case of H.I.J.@.S., alternative histories that the group circulates are informed by the dominant leftist historical narrative of the Guatemalan Civil War. We suggest that this narrative permits H.I.J.@.S.' public art to create historical memory of the victims of enforced disappearance but reinforces a modernist vision in which *ladinos* are figured as the protagonists of Civil War resistance and Mayas as having limited agency. Our second contribution to the literature relates to the existing work on H.I.J.@.S. which primarily focuses on the group's activities in Argentina and Uruguay, e.g. Taylor, 2003; Levey, 2010. In the paper, we extend the scholarship on H.I.J.@.S. territorially and conceptually by describing the group's activities in Guatemala (see also Sundberg, 2007), and by focusing on issues of ethnicity in H.I.J.@.S.' struggles for social justice.

Studying H.I.J.@.S. in Guatemala is urgent at this time because the current Guatemalan administration is actively trying to bury the history of the disappeared and has failed to protect youth organizations like H.I.J.@.S.⁶ An important reason for this is that President Otto Pérez Molina is deeply implicated in the Guatemalan genocide. He served as an intelligence chief for the Guatemalan army during the bloodiest years of the Civil War in the Guatemalan highlands where much of the genocide took place (Doyle 2011). During his first two years as president, Pérez Molina closed the Archives of Peace project, a

historically grounded and socially constructed collectivity that is tied to common indigenous ancestors, history, and culture (Bastos, 1996; Fischer and McKenna Brown, 1996)

⁶ According to Raul Nájera, a leader of H.I.J.O.S.-Guatemala, during Otto Pérez Molina's term the organization's office has been vandalized and members have received violent threats. In recent years, leaders of other youth organizations have also been killed including several founders of the Maya-Kaqchiquel cultural group *Sotz'il Jay*, Lisandro Guarcax (August 2010) as well as Ernesto and Carlos Emilio Guarcax (May 2009), Victor Leiva, one of the founders of *Caja Lúdica* (February 2011), and Catalina Mucú Maas, Alberto Coc Caal, and Sebastian Xuc Cac (February 2011) from the Cultural Association *Ak' Tenamit*.

United Nations initiated effort designed to expose human rights violations committed during the Civil War, and sent a representative to the International Criminal Court to make the case that no genocide occurred in Guatemala. In this context of re-militarization, harassment of human rights workers, and denial of the genocide, critical examination and support of H.I.J.@.S.' work is urgent.

Our personal encounters with H.I.J.@.S. shape the scholarly interventions we make in this article. Kevin met members of H.I.J.@.S. in Vancouver, Canada. Later, while conducting doctoral research in Guatemala in 2004-2005, he re-connected with group members including several who had been in Vancouver. He photographed H.I.J.@.S.' public art in the *Centro Histórico*, then left copies of the images with the group (all photos are Kevin's unless otherwise indicated). Alicia, like many members of H.I.J.@.S., was born during the Civil War in Guatemala. Her connection with H.I.J.@.S. has been through interviews conducted as a member of the Los Angeles-based radio collective, *Contacto Ancestral*, which was created in 2003 by Maya immigrants (for more on *Contacto Ancestral* see Estrada 2013). We make our analysis in solidarity with the project of H.I.J.@.S. which we see as powerful and needed. In this paper we contribute to the conversation that H.I.J.@.S. initiated when the group placed texts and images on the walls of the *Centro Histórico* in 2004-5.

The paper is divided into four main sections. The first situates our analysis in the literature on counterhistorical movements and in relation to other studies of groups that use spatial tactics to resist ongoing effects of enforced disappearance. The second section provides historical context describing the Guatemalan Civil War, and the third describes the time (2004-5) and place (*Centro Histórico*) where H.I.J.@.S. created the public art that is the focus of this article. The empirical section of the paper examines how iconography, references and the creative use of urban space allow this public art to constitute a historical memory of the Civil War and of enforced disappearance in particular. We conclude by arguing that the battle for historical memory of the Guatemalan Civil War must not only confront official histories but also overcome exclusionary aspects of leftist historical narratives.

Counterhistorical movements and resistance to enforced disappearance

Our analysis is situated within a growing geographical literature on how traditionally marginalized groups "attempt to legitimize their own version of history by creating places of memory and memorial landscapes" (Whelan, 2002; Bosco, 2004: 381; Legg, 2005; Hoelscher, 2008; Forest and Johnson, 2011). Stephen Legg uses the term "counterhistorical movements" to emphasize that these groups are not merely seeking to remind society of forgotten events or individuals, but actively resist official histories by strategically creating memorial sites in the name of alternative historical narratives (2005). Because these groups lack the resources to create permanent sites of memory, they often use inexpensive techniques such as graffiti, performance art, or "vandalism," to

mark exclusive areas such as waterfronts, tourist districts, government offices, and already existing monuments, transforming these spaces in the process. By appropriating public spaces, this memory work can transform individual and societal understandings of history (Sluka, 1992; Young, 1993; Peteet, 1996; Whelan, 2002; Till, 2005; Hoelscher, 2008; Kane, 2009; Forest and Johnson, 2011). Through our analysis of H.I.J.@.S.' public art, we add to geographical literature concerned with how counterhistorical movements resist enforced disappearance (Bosco, 2004, 2006; Levey, 2010).

Our work also builds on a wider interdisciplinary literature which describes how varied movements mobilize urban spaces in ways that draw attention to the violence of enforced disappearance (Wolffe, 1993; Goldman, 1994; López, 1998; Arditti, 1999; Taylor, 2003; Vanegas-Benavides, 2005; Bosco, 2006). For example, much has been written about how in the early 1980s thousands of people in Buenos Aires created 30,000 life-sized cut-outs of human bodies and affixed them all around the city, e.g., Longoni and Bruzzone, 2008; Druliolle, 2009. The creation of these “silhouettes,” as they were known, sent a message to authorities and momentarily brought the disappeared into the city streets for all to see. Scholars have also documented many instances in which the relatives and friends of the disappeared in Chile, Argentina, Nicaragua, Guatemala and elsewhere, have used their own bodies “to claim the space left vacant by [the] disappeared...” by walking through the streets, sometimes wearing white masks or special costumes, and with photographs of the disappeared affixed to their clothing (Tully, 2004: 273; see also Guzman Bouvard, 1994; De Bonafini, 2000; García, 2002.) A third group of studies has examined the spatial and institutional arrangements through which these movements mobilize support and negotiate with state apparatuses that promote enforced disappearance (Schirmer 1989; Bosco, 2004, 2006). We seek to build on these geographical studies by describing how H.I.J.@.S.' public art appropriates the public spaces of Guatemala City to construct historical memory using murals, graffiti and stencils. Our work extends existing studies of public art in Guatemala City, as, for example, the work of Contreras (2009) and Hoelscher (2008), by focusing specifically on enforced disappearance and by providing a critical analysis of the left's historical representation of Mayas.

We are particularly inspired by scholarship which explores how tactics of resistance may inadvertently reinforce the ideologies of repressive states that carry out enforced disappearance. Performance studies scholar, Diana Taylor documents how the influential Argentine social movement, Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, demanded the return of their disappeared children by drawing on conservative subject positions including the good apolitical mother and housewife. Although these figures provided cover from which to make demands on the brutal Argentine regime, they nevertheless posed a risk to the struggle because they reinforced the kinds of patriarchal relations that permeated the state including its machinery of enforced disappearance (1997, see also Schirmer,

1989). We extend Taylor's work on gender, nation and enforced disappearance in Argentina by critically examining representations of ethnicity in public art created by H.I.J.@.S. in Guatemala City in 2004-5.

To analyze representations of ethnicity in H.I.J.@.S. work, we return to the subject of counterhistorical movements. These movements resist official histories by creating memorial sites, in this case public art, in the name of alternative historical narratives (Legg, 2005). Consciously applied or not, historical narratives have tremendous influence over the kinds of memory work that such movements carry out (Till, 2005). H.I.J.@.S.' public art conforms to one of three alternative historical narratives that circulate in Guatemala today and through which Guatemalans remember the Civil War and the role of Maya people in the conflict (Hale, 2006)⁷. According to Hale, the Revolutionary Triumphantist Historical Frame (hereafter the Revolutionary Frame) emerged within the revolutionary organizations that opposed the Guatemalan government and to which many of H.I.J.@.S.' parents belonged. This leftist historical frame depicts the war as a struggle between the forces of social justice and the defenders of the inequitable and violent status quo. Consistent with the modernist politics of the revolutionary leadership, the Revolutionary Frame positions *ladinos* as the protagonists in the war and Mayas as having limited agency but possessing great strength (physically and in terms of numbers) (Saldaña-Portillo; 2003; Hale, 2006). Likewise, the histories embodied in H.I.J.@.S.' public art of 2004-5 figures *ladinos* as protagonists and opens limited spaces for imagining Mayas as participants in the struggle or as victims of enforced disappearance. The depiction of Mayas as possessing limited agency and the lack of Maya subjects of enforced disappearance in H.I.J.@.S. texts and images is consistent with the Revolutionary Frame in the sense that enforced disappearance was the tactic that the Guatemalan government used in its efforts to eliminate leaders of resistance (those with agency).

Framing the history of the Civil War in Guatemala

Characteristic of the Revolutionary Frame, H.I.J.@.S. public art (and much academic scholarship) imagines the origins of the Guatemalan Civil War in relation to the coup d'état that toppled democratically elected president, Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, in 1954 (Hale, 2006). The coup was orchestrated by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency with the support of Guatemalan elites and the owners of United Fruit Company, a multinational company with strong ties to the U.S. State department and massive land holdings in Central America.

⁷ These narratives are alternative in the sense that they differ from the official, state-sanctioned, historical narrative in which Maya people were depicted as naïve pawns of terrorists (revolutionaries) who threatened the Guatemalan nation. The other two narratives are *Dos Demonios* and *Maya Vindication* (Hale, 2006: 87). *Dos Demonios* depicts Mayas as caught between the two devils: government forces and revolutionaries. "Maya Vindication" understands the violence of the war as a particularly brutal moment, a third holocaust, during 500 years of ongoing colonial repression.

Leaders of this powerful military-industrial complex targeted the Arbenz Guzmán administration because they believed its efforts to improve social welfare, and particularly a national land reform, threatened their economic and political interests. The repression that followed the coup evolved into nearly three decades of military rule characterized by unrelenting human rights abuses. The resulting discontent, including within the Guatemalan military, led to the formation of guerrilla organizations that fought the Guatemalan government until Peace Accords were signed in 1996 (Handy, 1989, 1994; Tarracena Arriola, 2004).

During the Civil War, the Guatemalan military directed massive violence at the civilian population. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s tens of thousands were killed in Guatemala City and the rural eastern provinces by a counter-insurgency apparatus trained and provisioned by the United States military (Grandin, 2004). Guatemala became the first country in Latin America where forced disappearance was used systematically (McClintock, 1992; Kisler, 2010). Although “enforced disappearance” is a term that has most often been used to describe targeted assassinations of *ladinos* in urban areas, Mayas were also disappeared in rural and urban spaces (Schirmer, 1989, 1998; CEH, 1999; see also Menchú, 1982; Montejo, 1987). Unlike other Cold War struggles in Latin America, the Guatemalan Civil War is classified by truth commission reports as genocide because Mayas and their culture were disproportionately targeted by the military (CEH, 1999). Most of the killing that comprised the genocide took place in the 1980s when the Guatemalan military massacred hundreds of Maya communities claiming that these communities supported the revolutionaries. To put the Guatemalan violence in context, the 45,000 people disappeared and the 250,000 killed during the Civil War represent half of the total disappeared and killed during the entire Cold War in Latin America between 1966 and 1986 (CEH, 1999; Grandin, 2004; Kisler, 2010).

The genocidal violence of the Civil War was not unprecedented. Beginning in the 16th century, Spanish colonists perpetrated mass violence against indigenous people in the territory that would eventually become Guatemala (Castro, 2007; Martínez Peláez, 2009). Since the establishment of the Guatemalan state in the early 19th century, national leaders viewed the indigenous population as an obstacle to national modernization that would have to be integrated or destroyed (Martínez Peláez, 2009). While the revolutionary leaders who fought the Guatemalan government during the Cold War sought to win the support of Mayas, they shared some of the modernist views of their adversaries. They viewed racial difference as an obstacle to class-based solidarity and ultimate victory. As a result, Maya served and died in the state- and revolutionary armies, but *ladinos* on both sides limited the possibilities of Mayas to obtain leadership positions (Hale, 2006).

In 1996 the last peace agreements were signed between the revolutionaries and the Guatemalan government, and the war was officially declared over.

However, for two main reasons, a lasting peace appeared unrealistic. First, many of the inequities that had sparked the war remained such as mass poverty, unequal land distribution in the countryside, and institutionalized racism against Mayas. While the Peace Accords promised a more just and democratic Guatemala, the institutions supporting the Accords did not have the power to enact the structural changes that the revolution had not produced. Second, military leaders and others guilty of war crimes remained in positions of power in government and elsewhere. In this context, a variety of organizations sought to discover the nature of the wartime violence as a step towards social justice. The Catholic Church and the United Nations sponsored truth commissions which demonstrated that the military had committed the vast majority of the killings (93%) and classified the war as genocide (REMHI, 1998; CEH, 1999; Figure 1). As well, the *Fundación de Antropología Forense de Guatemala*, Guatemalan Association of Forensic Anthropology, (FAFG) began the laborious work of unearthing mass graves and identifying the bodies of the dead including the disappeared. The combined work of the truth commissions and the forensic anthropologists has allowed people to finally begin to locate the bodies of their disappeared relatives and initiate legal processes against victimizers including the current genocide case against former dictator José Efraín Ríos Montt (Figure 2).



Figure 1. Names of the victims of massacres and of enforced disappearance are written on the pillars of the National Cathedral located in the Historic Center of Guatemala City. These names are taken directly from Truth Commission reports produced by the Catholic Church.

H.I.J.@.S. and the *Centro Histórico* in 2004/5

H.I.J.@.S. is one of many organizations that emerged in the postwar period to fight for social justice. The group demonstrated publicly for the first time on 30 June 1999. The date is symbolic, because for more than forty years the state observed the 30th of June as *Día del Ejército*, military day. Every year on that day, the military marched through the streets of Guatemala City in full combat gear. In 2008 the public denouncements, marches, and disruptions by

¿Tienes un familiar
DESAPARECIDO
entre 1960 y 1996?

llama al
1598

con **ADN** los
estamos identificando

Una muestra de saliva
es suficiente

www.fafg.org

Banco Genético Nacional de Familiares y Víctimas de Desaparición Forzada
Mi nombre NO es **XX** con ADN los estamos identificando
Fundación de Antropología Forense de Guatemala

Fundación de Antropología Forense de Guatemala

Figure 2. This poster reads: Do you have a DISAPPEARED relative between 1960 and 1996? Call 1598. With DNA we are identifying them. A sample of saliva is sufficient.

human rights organizations, brought an end to this tradition. This was an important achievement for H.I.J.@.S., because central to their political project is an end to military power and impunity. As part of this mission, the organization seeks to maintain collective memory of the disappeared and continue the struggles and activism in which the disappeared *viejos* (parents) of H.I.J.@.S. members participated (H.I.J.@.S., 2012a). As Diana Taylor notes, members of the organization “see themselves linked genetically, politically, and performatively” to their disappeared parents (2003, 69). The struggle for the disappeared is thus crucial to the unity and practices of the organization, which often draw on past repression to confront oppression in the present and vice versa by weaving affective and material representations of the disappeared into the fabric of public space (Levey 2010). The links with their disappeared parents as well as to other national and transnational social justice organizations contributes to the strength of the organization and to H.I.J.@.S.’ capacity to memorialize the victims of enforced disappearance.

Like the *Plaza de Mayo* in Buenos Aires, where protests against enforced disappearance have been happening for decades, Guatemala’s *Centro Histórico* represents a strategic location to create and spatialize the historical memory of the disappeared (Bosco 2004). The zone is filled with buildings and organizations such as the Presidential Palace, the National Cathedral, and the Central American General Archive that are implicated in enforced disappearance. Paramilitaries disappeared people as they walked through the *Centro Histórico* on their way home from protests, and they murdered others in the streets including Guatemalan anthropologist Myrna Mack Chang.⁸ The military also operated several torture chambers in the area. Today, popular organizations with historic links to armed revolutionaries are located within the *Centro Histórico*. Like H.I.J.@.S., many are dedicated to revealing the histories of enforced disappearance, and are staffed by people who are children, relatives, or loved ones of the disappeared. In addition, the *Centro Histórico* is full of commercial activity. Locals and tourists alike crowd shops and restaurants, buy food and souvenirs from street vendors, and watch each other along bustling 6th Avenue, or *la sexta*, which crosses the *Centro Histórico*. By strategically placing art and images that evoke the victims of enforced disappearance in the *Centro Histórico*, H.I.J.@.S. seeks to transform an urban landscape already deeply inscribed by the events of the Civil War, a landscape which is continually (re)creating the national collective consciousness.

The year that H.I.J.@.S. placed these images and texts in the *Centro Histórico* was a particularly important one for resisting militarism generally and enforced disappearance in particular. In 2004 there were diverse official and

⁸ Anthropologist Myrna Mack Chang was stabbed 27 times. She was murdered when leaving her office at the Association for the Advancement of Social Science in Guatemala (AVANCSO) on 11 September 1990.

unofficial commemorations of the 50th anniversary of the CIA-led coup, which toppled President Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán and brought an end to what Guatemalans remember as the country's ten-year "Democratic Spring." Furthermore, in 2005 an immense Police Archive was discovered containing documentation of enforced disappearances and other human rights abuses that occurred during the Civil War.⁹ Additionally, in 2004 charges were brought against former Guatemalan president, General José Efraín Ríos Montt, for his role in organizing riots in Guatemala City the previous year. The figure of Ríos Montt is important because during his administration (1982-3) much of the genocide in Guatemala took place. Thus, 2004/5 was a year in which events and personalities of the war years reverberated through the Guatemalan social body, and thus, a particularly important year to reframe the nation's history in ways that would open spaces for remembering the victims of enforced disappearance.

Locating the histories of the disappeared in murals of Cold War geopolitics

This section analyzes two murals which in complementary ways create historical memory of enforced disappearance in the *Centro Histórico* (Figure 3). Entitled *Intervención Gringa 1954-2004*, the first mural was created by H.I.J.@.S. to contribute to a national dialogue on the 50th anniversary of the U.S. led overthrow of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán.¹⁰ Painted in spring of 2004, and erased approximately one year later, it covered an entire city block within two hundred meters of the National Palace and depicted successive waves of "gringo" military-, economic- and cultural imperialism. Framing this vision of U.S. imperialism are images of liberation: the face of President Arbenz Guzmán on the left and words attributed to revolutionary hero, Ernesto "Che" Gueverra, on the right ("I'd rather die fighting than live on my knees.")

The military segment of *Intervención Gringa* contains elements for assembling an institutional history of enforced disappearance that also exposes the brutality of combined U.S.-Guatemalan counterinsurgency practices during the Civil War (Figure 4). The initials, MLN (*Movimiento de Liberación Nacional*), on the stock of the gun reference a right wing political party that was implicated in some of the earliest instances of enforced disappearance in the mid-1960s. In the 1970s, during the mandates of two MLN-affiliated presidents, the Guatemalan government and paramilitaries systemically disappeared thousands of people in the capital city in what current president, Otto Pérez

⁹ Members of H.I.J.O.S. studied and published materials from these important archives (<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB170/index.htm>). The archive contained documents describing the forced disappearance of Edgar Fernando García in 1984. Guatemalan congressperson Nineth Montenegro who was the partner of García founded the human rights organization *Grupo de Apoyo Mutuo* (GAM) which continues to be active in the struggle against enforced disappearance (Schirmer, 1989).

¹⁰ The word, *gringo*, can be used as a derogatory term in Latin America for a person from the United States. It is used in this way to signal that U.S. interventions are rejected (See Nelson 1999 for discussion of "gringo/a").

Molina, described as the “most successful [period] in combating urban insurgency (Quoted in Schirmer 1998: 158). Subsequent U.S. military support for the Guatemalan army, which continued



Figure 3. “Intervención Gringa, 1954-2004.” The text in the first panel reads from left to right: Guatemala in spring / More than 250,000 victims / Gringa Intervention 1954-2004. In the second panel, the text reads: Alienation / Culture of Violence and Fear / 50 Years / Memory, Resistance, Hope, Struggle, Justice.

into the 1980s, is represented by a gun stretched across gravestones marked with the names of predominately Maya communities where the Guatemalan military carried out massacres during the Civil War. The juxtaposition of the skull-flag with the gun and the acronym, MLN, emphasize the deadly role of the United States in funding and training the perpetrators of enforced disappearance and Civil War violence (McClintock, 1992; Grandin, 2004).

The MLN worked with a death squad called *Movimiento de Acción Nacionalista Organizado* (MANO). Members of MANO, which literally means “hand” in Spanish, would stencil an image of a white hand outside the homes of

people they forcefully disappeared.¹¹ The black handprints throughout the mural



Figure 4. Military intervention in “Intervención Gringa, 1954-2004.”

simultaneously contest and echo this terrifying iconography.¹² The uniqueness of the black handprints (of the sons and daughters of the disappeared) remind passersby that the disappeared, tortured and murdered had their own individual lives and histories. The footprints painted near to the trigger of the gun marked “XX” elaborate the connection between military intervention and enforced disappearance as this sign was used to identify “unknown” and unclaimed corpses which appeared in Guatemalan morgues during the war (Figure 5).

A snake, painted with the colors of the United States flag with swastikas instead of stars, symbolizes U.S. economic intervention (Figure 6). Emerging from the barrel of a gun, the snake metaphorically connects the violence of the Civil War to free trade agreements, promoted by the United States. On the tines

¹¹ The “white hand” and its terror re-appears in post-war Guatemala with the *mano dura* (strong hand) symbol of the current *Patriota* (Patriotic) Party led by Guatemalan President, and former military general, Otto Pérez Molina.

¹² In 1980, the Catholic Church in Zacualpa, Quiché was taken by the military. Community members were kept at the Church and tortured. On the Church walls are the bloody handprints of tortured victims of the attack.

of the trident, emerging from the mouth of the snake, are the initials of hemispheric and regional free trade agreements and on the staff are the initials of then President Oscar Berger's political party, "Grand National Alliance." In the background are the names and symbols of U.S.-based multinationals that, along with Guatemalan

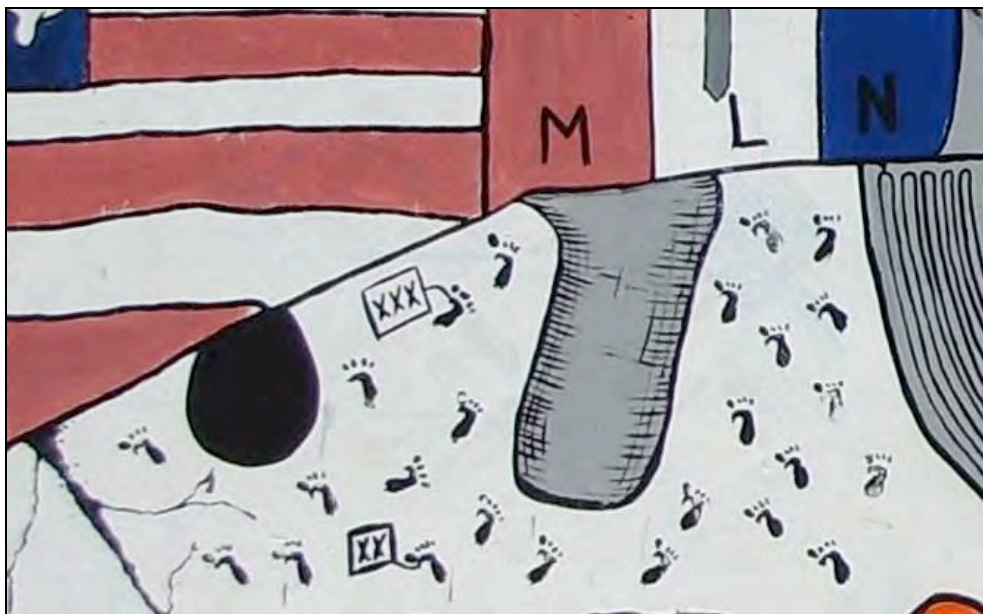


Figure 5. Foot prints with “XX” tags used on unidentified corpses during Civil War.

elites, benefit most from these neoliberal agreements. U.S. cultural intervention is depicted as a knife dripping with blood and inscribed with the names of predominately U.S. media outlets. A banner with the words, “Culture of violence and fear,” suggests that media contributes to varied forms of societal violence. Helping to communicate this message are the zombie-like stick figures and the image of the woman’s body on which is printed the phrase, “More than 200 women murdered in 2004 –June...” (Figure 3).

While enforced disappearance became less common during the periods that H.I.J.@.S. characterizes as economic and cultural intervention, related kinds of violence continued to occur. When individuals and communities resist neoliberal resource extraction, such as mining, or oppose free trade agreements, targeted assassinations have been used against them (Velásquez Nimatuj, 2005; McNeash and Rivera, 2009; Maheandiran et al., 2010; and see <http://www.rightsaction.org/>). Like enforced disappearance, these killing are often carried out by paramilitary organizations, routinely go unpunished, and are made to look like the result of organized crime, leaving friends and families unsure who killed the victims and why. The figure of the women references

femicide, a violence that also has much in common with enforced disappearance (Figure 3). Perpetrators, who often torture and rape their victims, act with almost complete impunity (Taylor, 1997; Schirmer, 1998; CEH, 1999).¹³ The presence of the black handprints along the length of the mural hints at the importance of enforced disappearance, assassination, and femicide in making possible this history of continuous and violent intervention.



Figure 6. Economic Intervention in “Intervención Gringa, 1954-2004.” T.L.C.: Tratado de Libre Comercio, P.P.P.: Plan Puebla Panamá, ALCA: Área de Libre Comercio de las Américas.

Drawing on a variety of codes, symbols, acronyms, and figures, the mural draws attention to imperial violence that affected *ladinos* and Mayas alike. However, because of the way the mural depicts this violence, the presence of Mayas appears to be very limited. Consistent with the Revolutionary Frame, the agents depicted in the mural are restricted to *ladino*- and North American individuals and organizations including *ladino* revolutionary heroes, Guatemalan

¹³ According to a report by the Guatemala Human Rights Commission, “Guatemala registered over 4,300 violent murders of women from 2000 to 2008, and shockingly 98% of the cases remained unsolved” (2009). [http://www.ghrc-usa.org/Publications/Femicide_Law_ProgressAgainstImpunity.pdf]

political parties, and multinational companies. In contrast, the Maya role in the war is represented by images of gravestones with the names of the most infamous massacre sites. Furthermore, stick figures and handprints, representing people whose rights were systematically violated by militarization and U.S. intervention, offer no information about the racialized nature of the war in which 83% of the people killed were Maya, nor about the ways that Mayas resisted and/or became implicated in the war. Similarly, symbols like the swastika for fascism draw attention to the violence of transnational systems without capturing the particular ways that Mayas were articulated in the struggle.

Within a few minutes' walk of the palace, located in a more residential area of *Centro Histórico*, is another mural (Figure 7). At first glance, it seems to address some of the missing elements of the first by showing Mayas resisting United States imperialism and commemorating the disappeared. On the left side of the image, Mayas are depicted placing roses on the gravestones of the collective dead—the 45,000 victims of enforced disappearance and the victims of the genocide. In the background is an enormous colorful kite, which in Maya cosmology, symbolizes a connection between the living and the dead. On the right side of the mural, are gravestones marked with the names of infamous massacres including what are sometimes noted as the first (Panzós 1978) and last (Xamán in 1995) massacres of the Civil War. In this mural, unlike *Intervención Gringa*, the Maya dead and the disappeared are surrounded by symbols of resistance as well as exuberant flowers that reach to the sky where a brilliant sun, painted with the word “resistencia,” shines down. Additionally, the boot of Yankee imperialism that aims to fall on the massacre sites is threatened by strong arms reaching up from the earth. The broken sword and the apprehension on the faces of the military-, business-, and death-squad men riding the Yankee boot reiterate the strength of the resistance.



Figure 7. The Youth claim memory, truth, justice.

Whereas the second mural represents Mayas as participating in the Civil War and its aftermath, it does so in ways that are consistent with the Revolutionary Historical frame. The two figures are meant to be living Mayas, but the images are static, faceless, and appear to be painted onto the kite rather than kneeling in front of it, suggesting that the kite will carry them away from the world of the living to the world of the dead. Moreover, the incorporation of the kite is important since it recognizes Maya cultural practices, but it is also a stock prop in *ladino* representations of Maya spirituality in Guatemala. As in *Intervención Gringa*, agents of political change are *ladino* or North American: the cartoon imperialists and [the names of] the largely *ladino* youth organizations H.I.J.@.S. and the Association of Christian Young People (Affiliated with YMCA-Guatemala). The mural opens the possibility for imagining the Maya as having been victims of enforced disappearance and as participants in healing the wounds of the Civil War, and this is crucial for imagining social justice in Guatemala. However, because Mayas are represented in stereotypical ways the artwork opens limited space for imagining Maya agency and the decolonization of leftist historical representations.

Mobilizing historical memory of the disappeared with poster art

In late May 2004, H.I.J.@.S. members wheat-pasted large red and black posters on the walls of the *Centro Histórico*. On the posters are photographs of 144 faces and the words, “45,000 detained and disappeared by the Guatemalan military. WE DEMAND MEMORY, TRUTH AND JUSTICE” (Figure 8). The poster also features the date of an upcoming meeting in which people would gather to discuss the situation of the disappeared. At the bottom of the poster are the names of the sponsoring organizations: H.I.J.@.S. and the *Asociación de Familiares de Detenidos-Desaparecidos de Guatemala*, Association of the Relatives of the Detained and Disappeared in Guatemala, (FAMDEGUA). In a variety of ways, the posters provide continuity with the historical project of the murals. However, the posters are different in that they, more overtly than the murals, invite passersby to become involved in the struggle. This attempt to mobilize the population is made possible through the elements of the poster: the written message, the photographs of the faces, and the placement of the posters in urban locations that evoke the tensions of the Civil War.

The written message frames a relation between the actions of the military in the past and the necessity of struggle in the present. Historical memory is at the center of this relation. Lifted directly from the Truth Commission reports, the statement, “45,000 detained and disappeared by the Guatemalan military” is a part of the historical memory H.I.J.@.S. seeks to circulate (CEH, 1999). This statement also serves as an accusation that justifies action, specifically the struggle for “MEMORY, TRUTH AND JUSTICE.” The logic of this action lies in the order of the terms. Memory must be recovered so that the truth can be known and justice done. Thus, historical memory of enforced disappearance

forms not only the basis and justification for struggle, but also the mode of struggle.



Figure 8. We demand memory, truth and justice.

The photographs of the faces of the disappeared reinforce the discursive work of the written text by embodying the 45,000 victims. Seeing the individual photos can lead passersby to transcend the cold statistic and recall their own biological and social connections to missing relatives and friends (Taylor, 2003). Remembering these connections can form the basis for the mobilization that H.I.J.@.S. seeks to produce. The photos are especially important because the state has sought to destroy or erase other materials around which people might have mobilized, e.g., bodies, photos, histories, social connections, state records. Second, the photos of the tortured and killed which re-appear in the poster strengthen the accusation against the military because many of the photos were taken directly from government archives. In an interview conducted for *Contacto Ancestral* in Los Angeles, Raúl Nájera, member of H.I.J.@.S.,

commented that many of the images of the disappeared came from the files that the state used to track and forcefully disappear people. He explained that some photos came from the Public Prosecutor's office (*Ministerio Público*) while others came from the Guatemalan Military dossier of 173 disappeared people, released by the National Security Archive in Washington, DC in 1999.¹⁴ Third, the fact that these photos were retrieved and put on public display also reinforces the message of the text by suggesting that the struggle may succeed; if such incriminating documents can be found, why couldn't perpetrators be identified and brought to justice? Lastly, the power of the poster to mobilize is also strengthened by the characteristics of the photos: because the disappeared stared directly into the camera when they were photographed, the portraits in the poster gaze out into the eyes of those walking by including their victimizers and the younger generation that did not experience the war directly.

The potential of these posters to constitute historical memory and to mobilize support for H.I.J.@.S. project is also realized through the spatial arrangement of the posters. Because the posters were mass-produced, they could be placed in locations that draw out the tensions – historical and contemporary – of post-war Guatemala (see also Hoelscher, 2008). For example, a poster on the wall of the *Ministerio Público* (MP) draws attention to the role this institution played in carrying out often-violent orders of eviction against *campesinos* (Figure 9). The graffiti above the poster which states, “*no mas desalojos*” (no more [rural] evictions), evokes the connection between disappearance and violent eviction including the many rural evictions that the newly elected president, Oscar Berger sanctioned at the time (Velásquez Nimatuj 2005). H.I.J.@.S. was particularly involved with a group of people who had occupied a farm in western Guatemala called *Nueva Linda*. The farm had been occupied in protest of the October 2003 unresolved disappearance of Héctor Reyes, a *campesino* leader who had worked there. After the occupiers were brutally evicted from the farm by Guatemalan security forces including members of the MP on August 31, 2004, members of H.I.J.@.S. organized a solidarity campaign in support of the daughters of the disappeared *campesino* leader and the survivors of the eviction (Procuraduría de Derechos Humanos, 2004; Rodríguez, 2007; Lassalle, 2007; McVicar, 2009).¹⁵ The combination of H.I.J.@.S.' solidarity work and the placement of the poster and graffiti on the wall of the

¹⁴ Among the 173 photographs that appear on the military dossier is a photograph of Maya writer Luis de Lion. He is listed as number 135 and killed three weeks after his abduction on May 15, 1984. He was abducted in the *Centro Histórico* near the corner of 2nd Avenue and 11th Street. See <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/guatemala/index.htm>

¹⁵ These violent evictions continue to take place; on March 18, 2011 over 600 families were forced to leave the Valley of Polochic in Alta Verapaz, Cobán. The town was militarized and as a result of the confrontation between community members and the military, two *campesinos* were killed. See http://www.prensalibre.com/noticias/justicia/Protestan-Colom-desalojo-violento-campesinos_0_446955454.html

Interior Ministry draw attention to the continuities between Civil War- and contemporary state violence and enforced disappearance.



Figure 9. On the wall of the *Ministerio Público, Public Prosecutors Office*. The graffiti reads, “no mas desalojos”, no more [rural] evictions.

While the original posters have now mostly been removed from walls by human action or the elements, the digital images from the posters continue to circulate (Figure 10). Since 2004, H.I.J.@.S. continues to paste individual portraits from the poster on city walls and to pin the images to their clothing in demonstrations (Figures 11, 12, and 13). Like-minded groups have, since the 1970’s, also used some of the same images of the disappeared in their own events, e.g., *Asociación de Familiares de Detenidos-Desaparecidos de Guatemala* (FAMDEGUA) and *Grupo de Apoyo Mutuo* (GAM).¹⁶ Images of these demonstrations (including the photos of the disappeared) have reappeared in newspapers, blogs, and on social media sites such as Facebook. Thus, like phantoms, the disappeared continue to haunt the urban spaces of Guatemala as well as the cyberspaces where H.I.J.@.S. are active. The presence of these

¹⁶ GAM began to use photographs of their disappeared relatives in their first public demonstration on June 4, 1984.

images spatially anchors the histories of the victims of enforced disappearance and counters official histories of the war (For related discussion, see Contreras (2010) and Hoelscher (2008)).



Figure 10. Decomposing poster with faces of the disappeared.

As the preceding paragraphs document, the posters contribute to H.I.J.@.S.' project of creating historical memory of enforced disappearance, and they do so in ways that elaborate and extend the work of the murals. However, the content and placement of the posters also continue to highlight the central role of *ladinos* and their institutions in the Civil War and to de-emphasize the agency of Mayas. This is evident first in the text of the poster which frames the war as a struggle between *ladino* groups (revolutionaries against the army) without referencing the genocide. The red and black of the poster reinforces this effect by drawing a connection to revolutionary movements that embraced international socialist and communist ideological structures, but rarely incorporated Maya political frameworks (but see Grandin, 2004). Further, regardless of the actual ethnic identities of the people that were photographed, the conventions of police photography and the size of the images in the poster erase many of the "markers" of indigeneity that would be recognizable to many Guatemalan passersby; e.g., clothing and names. This is particularly the case



Figure 11. Wheatpasted posters of the faces of the disappeared on the walls of the *Centro Histórico* in August 2012. The texts read above and below the faces reads, “Where are they? / For memory, truth and justice. / Neither forgiveness nor oblivion.”

because most of the photos used in the poster were taken from official identification documents, which historically have been used by the state to impose *ladino* (national) identity on Maya citizens, as, for example, in the imposition of Western clothing and Spanish names. Thus, while H.I.J.@.S. appropriated the power of these photos to circulate a leftist history of the Civil War, the images also have a subtle agency of their own that limit the possibilities of imagining the disappeared as Maya.



Figure 12. Eyes of the disappeared stare out into Sixth Avenue from a closed store-front in August 2012.

If H.I.J.@.S. exists, then so too must their disappeared parents

Stencils permit artists to “successfully (albeit ephemerally) invade and recast the feeling tone of the central, investment-rich [urban] spaces with legible and occasionally intriguing messages” (2009, 12). Recognizing this, members of H.I.J.@.S. used stencil graffiti to further elaborate historical memory on the walls of the *Centro Histórico*. One way the stencils accomplish this is by referencing the temporality of the (ongoing) struggle with the Guatemalan military. Looking defiantly towards the future, one stencil reads, “dreams will never be exterminated by the boot of the military.” Another reflects on the past to predict the future of the struggle, “suffering so many blows of the hangman... we cannot die because liberty cannot be killed.” In response to those who object to H.I.J.@.S.’ work, the group responds by drawing connections between past military violence and present struggle: “Why are you indignant if I paint ‘your wall’ with my cry [*grito*] when the rich and their army have stained our history with blood?” (Figure 14). The reference to “our history” marks a grassroots (and inter-generational) collective memory that continues denouncing the military sixteen years after the signing of the Peace Accords.



Figure 13. Use of street- and transit signs to reinforce the political message. The street signs, left to right, mean, “stop” and then “5 Street A” and “Alley of Pain.” The pictures, and names, of the disappeared are pasted over a campaign sign for a presidential candidate. Photo by Manuel Felipe Pérez, August 2012.

H.I.J.@.S. members composed stencil graffiti to build on understandings that passersby would have about the Civil War. The stencil which reads, “250,000 reasons to demand justice” is a reference to a widely publicized Truth Commission report and specifically to the number of people killed during the war (CEH, 1999). The report strongly condemns the role of the military, and so with just a few words and a number, the stencil deploys the accusations of the report. Likewise, the acronym, H.I.J.@.S., which is signed at the bottom of each stencil, reminds passersby who know of the organization (and many do) that the

disappeared exist and that they have not been forgotten.¹⁷ If the disappeared had not existed, how could they have had children? Moreover, if their parents had not been murdered, why would these young people be covering the walls of the *Centro Histórico* with stenciled messages and graffiti?

In addition to taking advantage of existing knowledge, the stencil graffiti also capitalizes on urban space as a resource. As Contreras observes, the colors of the walls of the *Centro Histórico* are used to make the stenciled messages stand out (2010). For example, the blue paint used to stencil “*250 mil razones para exigir justicia*, 250 thousand reasons to demand justice” strikingly contrasts with the yellow of the wall behind (Figure 15). Other stencils are drawn to take advantage of framing created by architectural features (Figure 14). Combining careful lettering with the placement of stencils at eye level also helps attract the attention of people who read official signs but would ignore graffiti. This is because the standard black lettering of the stencils resembles official and commercial signage, e.g., no parking. Thus, the stencils increase the chances that people who might otherwise ignore “activist” art will stop and read the group’s messages.

The stencils made by H.I.J.@.S. invite passersby to recall traumatic memories, the disappeared, and the dead. In doing so, they mark the city’s “skin,” as one stencil affirms, and work towards the creation of an alternative historical memory. Similar to the posters and murals however, the stencils also emphasize the agency of *ladinos*. Like H.I.J.@.S.’ other public art, the stencils are written in the official national language of Guatemala, Spanish, and include no references to Maya texts or histories. And though the messages are brief and do not visibly celebrate *ladino* historical and cultural symbols, the absence of Maya culture, history and experiences reinforce a *ladino* historical narrative. This omission is specifically evident in the stencil that states: “Why are you indignant if I paint ‘your wall’ with my cry [*grito*] when the rich and their army have stained our history with blood?” This stencil, like many of the others discussed, frames the war as a national (class) struggle that pits the military and elites against the people but obscures the role of racial ideologies and relations during the war. Thus, the stencil graffiti reinforces the patterns of representation embodied in H.I.J.@.S.’ other public art.

¹⁷ H.I.J.O.S. is both the acronym for the group and the Spanish word for “sons and daughters.”



Figure 14. Why are you indignant if I paint with my cry on “your wall” while the rich, with their army, have stained our history with blood?

Conclusions

We conclude by tracing in greater detail the connections between H.I.J.@.S.’ public art and Hale’s notion of the Revolutionary Triumphalist Historical Frame. The Revolutionary Frame situates the overthrow of President Arbenz Guzmán as the beginning of the Civil War in Guatemala and as proof that free elections do not offer protection from *gringo* imperialism, which can ultimately be defeated only by armed revolution. The mural, entitled *Intervención Gringa* embodies this historical vision perfectly, beginning as it does with the overthrow of democratically elected President Arbenz Guzmán and ending with the defiant words of Ernesto “Che” Guevara and the raised fists



Figure 15. 250,000 reasons to demand justice

of revolution. Drawing on the Revolutionary Frame, the murals, posters and stencils transmit the courage of revolutionary struggle and open spaces to remember fallen revolutionaries, including the victims of enforced disappearance, as heroes and martyrs of a just cause. By using images and texts to appropriate the spaces of the *Centro Histórico*, H.I.J.@.S. challenge the official history of the war in which revolutionaries are positioned as terrorists.

A second important feature of the Revolutionary Frame is that it represents *ladinos* and their organizations as protagonists in the revolutionary movement and Mayas and their organizations as having participated in the war through their strength in numbers rather than their leadership. This ethnocentric vision is rooted, according to Hale, in the view of *ladino* revolutionaries that “Indians could only be emancipated under the leadership, and in accordance with the political vision of more enlightened [*ladino*] leaders” (89). While H.I.J.O.S would reject the ethnocentric and masculinist logic of past revolutionary leaders,

the public art we analyzed nevertheless hews closely to this description. Ladinos and their organizations are the protagonists of sociopolitical change depicted in the artwork. As well, the focus of the public art is the struggle between *ladino*-led revolutionary- and state armies. In contrast, Mayas are portrayed as having little agency, as suffering in the war without playing an active role in the role, nor as having been victims of enforced disappearance. The differential representation of Maya and *ladino* participation in the war is significant because, as H.I.J.@.S. argues, “memory is... the seed of rebelliousness (*rebeldía*).” The more fully and successfully H.I.J.@.S.' public art portrays the struggles of the Civil War including the struggles of Mayas *and* *ladinos*, the more powerfully contemporary struggle can draw on that history as a resource (See also Hale 2006). The implication of this discussion (and of our analysis more broadly) is that the battle for the memory of the Civil War must engage not only with official histories but also with the exclusionary aspects of alternative historical narratives.



Figure 16. The faces are of disappeared and martyred heroes of the revolutionary movement: (from left to right) Efraín Bamaca "Everardo" Velásquez, Rogelia Cruz Martínez, María Chinchilla Recinos, Alaide Foppa de Solórzano. This mural was photographed in August 2012 and was painted on the same wall shown in Figure 7.

Given the limits of the Revolutionary Frame in depicting historical memory of the Civil War, one logical alternative is to create public art that pivots around other frames. Public art recently created by H.I.J.@.S. suggests that the organization is in fact experimenting with alternative frames (Figure 16).

A mural, painted in 2012 on one of the same walls the group used in 2004-5, depicts faces of the disappeared and martyred on a landscape composed of mountains and ears of corn (symbol of Maya cosmology as represented in the sacred Maya text, *Popol Wuj*). H.I.J.@.S. uses a photograph of the mural to illustrate a recent press release in which the organization proposes a battle to confront official histories and reclaim the memory of past resistance (H.I.J.@.S. 2012b). This call to action is a continuation of H.I.J.@.S.' ongoing struggle for "memory, truth and justice," but the history that the mural references with corn husks and mountains evokes, at least in part, a Maya history of resistance. In this way, the mural no longer draws only on the temporality of the Revolutionary Frame. Further research should analyze H.I.J.@.S.' new public art and how it draws upon alternative historical narratives to open more possibilities for recovering historical memory of the Civil War and of the victims of enforced disappearance.

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