

The Biographical Graphic Novel: Creating Historical Memory in Latin America

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Illustration
Department in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Fine Arts in Illustration

at
Savannah College of Art and Design

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© May 2020

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my mother Angelica María Pinzón Tibaduiza, my father Nelson Millan Paredes, my brother David Millan Pinzon, my sister Natalia Millan Pinzon and my grandfather Gilberto Millán. Thank you to all my family, friends and professors for your support.

In memory of my grandmother Maria Elisa Paredes de Millán, who died in Bogotá while I was studying in Savannah, Georgia.

Table of Contents

Abstract	1
Introduction	2
Thesis Importance	7
The Comic as a Language to Rethink History in Latin America	9
Redrawing the Historical Past - Hector German Oesterheld's Vision of Latin America	14
<i>450 años de Guerra contra el Imperialismo - Creating Dialogue With History</i>	16
Issue # 1 <i>La España imperialista</i> - The Manifesto	17
Tupac Amaru - Creating Identity With History in Comic Books	22
Building a Historical Memory: <i>Rupay- Graphic Novel Stories of Violence in Peru</i>	27
<i>La massacre de Ucharaccay</i>	30
Conclusion -Towards a Pedagogy of Comic Books	37
List of Figures	40
Figures	42
Appendix: Visual Component	69
List of Figures	69
Figures	74
Bibliography	175

Abstract

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May 2020

This thesis focuses on the biographical graphic novel as a fundamental language to create historical memory in Latin America. This rethinking of the past will aim to present solutions to generate transformative memories in order to create a mindset to avoid the repetition of the armed conflict and to promote reconciliation between the victims, perpetrators and society.

This project will analyze two Latin-American comics: *Latin-America and Imperialism: 450 Years of War* by Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Durañona and *Rupay: Graphic Stories of Violence in Peru 1980-1984* by Luis Rosell, Alfredo Villar and Jesus Cossio to understand the importance of telling the hidden stories of Latin America to raise awareness and resistance by understanding the past.

Keywords: Historical memory, graphic novel, biography, illustration, resistance, collective memory.

Introduction

I have explored the reflection on memory and its important role in the human field in different works that have allowed me to enrich my artistic practice and my understanding of this complex concept. My graphic novel *El eterno caminante* (2019) is one of the most relevant examples to understand my interest on memory. This book reflects on the promise of eternity offered by memory and the important role it plays in creating identity and history in an individual (Fig.1).

This promise of eternity can be understood as a struggle against time, against oblivion. In this almost impossible struggle, assemble images plays a fundamental role against this struggle, because they help to archive and store micro-times. In this way, memories are archived and recreate images of the past, which satisfy the need and pleasure of remembrance. Hence the search for archiving can be understood as an intense struggle against the continuity and irreversibility of time.¹

“Promesa de duración, de permanencia – contra el pasaje del tiempo – He aquí lo que las imágenes nos ofrecen, lo que nos entregan, lo que buscamos en ellas.” This is a fragment summarizes what José Luis Brea considers as an image, its function and, above all, the need of man to use it. With this, Brea points out the fight against oblivion, which inevitably brings time. The images, according to Brea, are a promise of eternity, whose purpose is to help the memory so that these memories last forever.²

¹ Jose Luis Brea, *Las tres eras de la imagen* (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 2010), 13.

² *Ibid.*, 9.

Jorge Luis Borges was a key supporter to develop the idea that Brea raises about the promise of eternity. Like Brea, Borges affirms that the fight against the irreversibility of time lies in the promise of eternity: “Negar la sucesión temporal, negar el yo, negar el universo astronómico, son desesperaciones aparentes y consuelos secretos. Nuestro destino no es espantoso por irreal; es espantoso porque es irreversible y de hierro.”³ Aware of our destiny, Borges, in several of his stories, poems and essays, reflects on eternity. Moreover, there are those who affirm that their work can be understood as a metaphor about eternity.⁴ The above reaffirms the importance of Borges's work in the creation of *El eterno caminante*, because this was a starting point to investigate different forms of eternity and their interactions with memory.⁵

With *El eterno caminante*, I could understand the importance of this promise of permanence in relation to an individual memory, allowing me to find new unknowns and explorations in my social and artist practice. One of these questions revolved around collective memory and its importance in the social context: If individual memory can create identity, what potential does collective memory have? This was one of the questions that came up and transformed over time and with my experience.

³ Jorge Luis Borges, *Otras Inquisiciones* (Buenos Aires: Emece Editores, 2005), 771.

⁴ Luis Villa Cañas de Castro, “The Eternal Recurrence in Borges, Blanqui, and Whitman: Return of Philosophy from Nietzsche,” *Estudios Nietzsche*, no. 13 (January 2013): 122-121.

⁵ These notions of eternity are understood by different names and classified into several categories. For example, Borges establishes the notion of circular time and forked time. On the other hand, historically other notions such as the Myse have been created in Abyeme, a concept coined by Andre Breton to explain a complex notion where infinite time and space is created in the plays.

The answer to most of these questions regarding collective memory were resolved thanks to the project *Yacuanquer y Trujillo: relatos de despojos y resistencias* led by the Instituto PENSAR de Estudios Sociales y Culturales attached to the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana-Bogotá (Fig.2)⁶. This mentioned the violation of human rights in the village of Tabor and the Chapacual district to analyze the Neoliberal attack on small Colombian peasant economies. The objective of this project was to empower communities over their territory through the understanding of their history and collective memory. I participated in the project by illustrating a book that compiled six stories told by the peasants where various social injustices were visible. This book served the function of creating a historical memory of the social problems of these communities to find a solution and thus transform the imaginaries of the communities.

This project was very important and transcendental for my career because it allowed me to make very important connections and affirmations that allowed me to establish the importance of my thesis. First of all, the book *Yacuanquer y Trujillo: Relatos de despojos y resistencias* showed me the importance of collective memory in the Colombian socio-economic context for the creation of resistance against the advance of neoliberal economies disguised as progressive proposals that only seek to be on the peasant economy (Fig.3).⁷

The collective memory that is interwoven in this project allowed me to understand how the concept of the *común* or *comunidades* is very important for these communities, because it is part

⁶ The Instituto Pensar is a research organization that studies Latin American social, economic and political issues specialized in Colombia.

⁷ Maria Fernanda Sañudo, “Estado, organización del espacio y economía campesina,” *Aproximaciones a la relación estado y territorio en contextos de globalización neoliberal* (Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2018), 151.

of their lives and economies.⁸ We could understand how *lo comun* is understood in three dimensions: The first in nostalgia of the past, the second revolves around dispossession, and the third is understood as resistance. These dimensions allow us to understand how *lo comun* allows the creation of “bets to put limits on the market, to explore new social and cultural perspectives for the satisfaction of human needs.”⁹

In order to achieve this conclusion, it was necessary to work with the community and to investigate what would allow us to understand the details of the context of these vulnerable group. The dialogue led to the collection of various individual memories that were creating unique collective memories related to the community. In these dialogues, concepts and phrases such as *minga*, *convite*, *de la mano vuelta*, *luchas compartidas* and *cuando el sol sale, calienta para todos; cuando llueve, llueve para todos*,¹⁰ served to exemplify the importance of collective life as stated by Raquel Gutiérrez.¹¹ In this way, the dialogue with the community became a second important element to understand the magnitude of the collective memory and its scope. This dialogue is important to create bridges that allow the connection between the present and the past, and assume a social responsibility with the community itself being consistent with its context and history.

⁸ The term *común* or *comunes* refers to peasant and indigenous practices of working in community. It is against the concept of market and economy created by capitalism.

⁹ Maria Fernanda Sañudo, *Yacuanquer y trujillo relatos de despojos y resistencias* (Bogotá: Javegraf, 2018), 11.

¹⁰ All these colloquiums have been used for decades in these peasant territories and refer to the concept of common, important for the development and progress of the peasant economy.

¹¹ Raquel Gutierrez, *Produccion del común, más allá de la política del estado-céntrico* (Puebla: Traficante de sueños, 2018), 47.

The dialogue with the communities also allowed us to critically analyze history, an analysis of the past that contributed to understanding specific situations and events that have been transcendental for individuals and the community. In this way, thinking critically about history is the third element, to understand the dimensions of collective memory. This critical thinking created a series of stories that sought to rewrite history and thus show a perspective from the peasantry. These stories that tell what was forgotten, censored or simply taken for granted. This critical view understands history as "a prophet with his eyes turned back: for what was, and against what was, announces what will be."¹²

With this, it is understood how, after analyzing history, spaces for dialogue should be created that serve to generate important changes in the communities, and thus avoid the negative repetition of the past. This dialogue brings to the table a fourth element, pedagogy. Without this component, solutions could not be created to change the analyzed history, because pedagogy, as Freire explains, aims to create critical thoughts that promote new perspectives for change and social transformations. This learning and exchange of ideas is understood as something reciprocal that breaks with the pyramids of power ¹³. That is, in the case of the project *Yacuanquer y Trujillo: Relatos de despojos y resistencias*, the community and researchers learn from each other. The farmers gave us the opportunity to know their perspective and experiences in their territory, and we tried to show them what was apparently being lost due to lack of information. These different perspectives allowed the full development of the project and the

¹² Eduardo Galeano, *Las venas abiertas de America Latina* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2004), 22.

¹³ Paulo Freire, *La pedagogía del oprimido* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2005), 55.

approach to the execution of an action plan to achieve resistance to economic dispossession by macro-economies.

Finally, the fifth important element was the conception of illustration as a dialogic language capable of transforming social imaginaries¹⁴ with the creation of memory history. That is, with this project one of the potentialities of illustration in the contemporary Latin American context is evidenced, where new pedagogical strategies are presented to generate dialogues that promote change and social good. To achieve this, the illustrator becomes a researcher and takes an active role. As Sañudo mentions, in this project illustrators had to “visitar las zonas, entrar en las cotidianidades de los habitantes de estos municipios, establecer confianzas y cercanías con ellos y ellas, conocer y comprender sus maneras de producir la vida material y de reproducir la vida”¹⁵, it was a rigorous practice, always committed to the community (Fig.4).

Thus it is understood how these five elements allowed to create an editorial project that evidences six stories belonging to the Yacuanquer and Trujillo communities, and that show the importance of collective memory to create “resistencias y defensa de los comunes”, that which defines as a peasantry and gives them new “formas de habitar y pensar el territorio.”¹⁶

¹⁴ The concept of social imaginaries or imaginarios sociales “están siendo entendidos como esa base social que encierra las representaciones de la realidad, construyendo tanto un modo de ver el mundo, como una vida en común, proporcionando referencias que se encuentran en la vivencia social”; Francesca Randozzo Eisemann, “Los imahinarios sociales como herramienta,” *Imagonautas* 2, no. 2 (June 2012): 78.

¹⁵ Maria Fernanda Sañudo, *Yacuanquer y trujillo relatos de despojos y resistencias* (Bogotá: Javegraf, 2018), 12.

¹⁶ Maria Fernanda Sañudo, *Yacuanquer y trujillo relatos de despojos y resistencias* (Bogotá: Javegraf, 2018), 8.

Thesis Importance

My interest in individual memory allowed me to forge important ideas that managed to weave the notion of the importance of collective memory in the current Latin American context. A context that continues to create strategies to understand the past and create transformative memories that promote reconciliation and resistance against the politics of oblivion.

Some of these strategies have emerged in, seeing in art an outlet to understand various social problems and find a solution to them. As exemplified in the book by *Yacuanquer y Trujillo: Relatos de despojos y resistencias*, the illustration and the role of the illustrator in the contemporaneity also play an important part in what the arts can do for society.

This research will continue to analyze the role of enlightenment in contemporaneity, specifically analyzing its narrative potential. A quality that seeks to promote a ritual thought to establish a dialogue with the community and thus create historical memory. The discursive potential of this language will focus on biographical discourse and its use in Latin American comic. This essay will analyze the role of the comic in Latin America in the context of the post-conflict and will use two biographical graphic novels as an example to understand how this language can transcend the way of understanding history from a critical perspective to create new discourses that are consistent with the social, cultural and political context of each Latin American countries.

I. The Comic as a Language to Rethink History in Latin America

To think about the history of Latin American is to rethink a series of political, economic and social events that have marked people's lives, and the land itself. There is talk of rethinking the history of this continent because the ruling classes have written one that just shows superficial information to avoid a critical analysis of the past.¹⁷

The search for this critical analysis by some individuals and institutions¹⁸ has allowed us to weave a series of thoughts that advocate the decentralization of power and the ideation of new socio-economic and socio-political perspectives that fit the Latin American context itself.

It is evident that different critical social studies of Latin American history have already been raised, such as the one presented by Eduardo Galeano where Latin America is proposed as a richness land that belong to a European capital since the conquest and subsequently to North American capital.¹⁹ Another example is established with Rodolfo Stavenhagen's studies that even refer to the creation of a dominant language and the installation of words created by colonizing processes such as the concept of the *Latin American* word created by "the French imperialist claims" and even the *Hispanoamerica* concept, which took strength in Franco's Spain.²⁰

¹⁷ Paulo Freire, *La pedagogía del oprimido* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2005), 6.

¹⁸ For example the concept *Latinoamericanista* was created by social studies researches to name people who just research different issues in Latin America; Mario Magallon, *Hitoria de las ideas: repensar la America Latina* (Ciudad de Mexico: Siglo Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, 2006), 9.

¹⁹ Eduardo Galeano, *Las venas abiertas de America Latina* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2004), 22.

²⁰ Rodolfo Stavenhagen, *Human Rights*, "Democracy and Development in Latin America," *Economic and Industrial Democracy* vol. 12, no. 1 (February, 1991): 31-41.

These studies have allowed the creation of new perspectives to seek unity and thus transform the social imaginary of an entire continent. However, teaching this new critical thinking to society has become a contemporary educational challenge that for several decades has sought different strategies to establish an inclusive dialogue that generates spaces to foster the importance of this historical rethinking. Part of this educational problem is due to a dichotomy generated by the challenges that have not been able to solve since the XX century, added to those of the XXI century. This problem have been affected by the inequality and the history that:

recorre cinco siglos de discriminación racial, étnica y de género, con ciudadanos de primera y segunda categoría. Recorre una modernización hecha sobre la base de la peor distribución del ingreso del mundo. Recorre décadas recientes en que se ha exacerbado la heterogeneidad de las oportunidades productivas de la sociedad, se ha deteriorado el mundo del trabajo y se ha segmentado el acceso a la protección social, multiplicándose las brechas por doquier. Recorre las asimetrías frente a la globalización.²¹

Fortunately, this educational problem that is understood from a general concept has found different solutions for specific aspects. For example, for Paulo Freire, one of the biggest educational challenges is the *miedo a la libertad*, a fear that arose from a colonizing education that seeks only to transmit information but does not seek to create a critical thought towards this information because of *peligro a la concienciación* that many define as an anarchic thought. In this way Paulo Freire proposes an inclusive education that allows establishing a dialogue between the student and the teacher in order to eliminate the gaps so that the student can investigate problems, analyze them and find solutions. This type of pedagogical approach allows

²¹ Miriam Lorente Rodriguez, “Problemas y limitaciones de la educación en America Latina,” *Foro de Educación* vol. 17, no. 26 (January 2019): 3

changing the institutional educational hierarchy where the student should only be filled with information.²²

For Freire, strategies can be sought to achieve this dialogue, and one of the simplest is to allow the student to ask questions. Subsequently, the student should find answers using different resources. These resources have now become extensive, from scientific research to the arts. This material will allow the student to find an approximation to what would be the formulation of a response through the critical analysis of the material found.

In different countries of Latin America the arts have been used as a tool to find the answers to the questions asked by individuals or communities. For example, in Colombia the artist Ludmila Ferrari worked with some vulnerable communities in Bogotá to help them find solutions to their social problems (Fig. 5). To create these solutions, the artist used tapestry as a way for the community to visually show their individual and collective stories (Fig. 6). The members of those communities created large looms where a forgotten story was shown that allowed them to learn their past and rethink their present to find a better future.²³

This type of social approaches and pedagogies through art, is defined as la *política del arte*, where it is sought to create a transformative art, whose main axis is the social sphere.²⁴ For Ruben Dario Yepes, art can create social changes as long as a specific context and communities

²² Paulo Freire, *La pedagogía del oprimido* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2005), 9.

²³ Ruben Dario Muñoz Yepes, “La política del arte: cuatro casos de arte contemporáneo en Colombia,” (MA diss., Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2010), 91.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

are taken into account. For him, the artist does not create work, but becomes an intermediary to create critical thinking in a specific community or individual.²⁵

This allows us to understand how art serves as a tool to break the *pedagogía del oprimido*, promoting critical thinking that promotes change through the generation of questions to specific problems and then find solutions. This potential of art has opened the doors to different artistic languages to establish a dialogue with the past that gives communities the possibility of understanding the origin of their problems. In other cases, these languages also allow to create memory about the origin of a specific problem and then proceed to find solutions that empower the community and thus create a social change.²⁶

The comic is one of these artistic languages that has taken great importance as the creator of a pedagogical discourse. That speech is generated thanks to the facility to establish a dialogue between the reader and the author. Conversation that can have different levels of complexity as it is a language that continues to be reinvented and that uses text and image as resources²⁷, thus creating an infinite number of possibilities to communicate an idea.

For example, in the specific Latin American context since the 80s and 90s, the comic has allowed for a dialogue with the past in response to a resistance against oblivion after having lived

²⁵ Ruben Dario Muñoz Yepes, “La Política del Arte: Cuatro Casos de arte contemporáneo en Colombia” (MA diss., Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2010),91.

²⁶ David Ramos, *Qué es lo educativo en las obras de arte que abordan las memroias en Colombia?* (Bogota:Universidad Pedagogica Nacional , 2016), 46.

²⁷ According to Scott McCloud, it is not necessary to use text and image simultaneously; Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1993), 62.

through armed conflicts. This conversation with the past is critical and aims to create memories for the search for the transformation of imaginary²⁸ (Fig.7).

The approaches to this critical dialogue are diverse and depend on a specific context. For this reason it is necessary to analyze three possibilities that will allow us to understand how the biographical comic is very important in the process of creating historical memory in Latin America. These three approaches will be understood as: rethinking history, rewriting history and creating collective memories. These three concepts are directly related and it would be unnecessary to pretend to separate them. However, the analysis of three Latin American graphic novels will allow us to specify the importance of each of these aspects and their eventual unity for the transformation of imaginary in the communities.

²⁸ Jorge Catala Crrasco, *Comics and Memory in Latin America* (Pittsburgh:University of Pittsburh Press, 201), 5.

II. Redrawing the Historical Past- Hector German Oesterheld's Vision of Latin America

Yepes establishes transformative art is linked to politics. Therefore, for him the creation of art is a political act, which determines the interests of each of the artists for their specific social context.²⁹For example, in 1972, the Argentine artist Victor Grippo proposed the *Construction of a Popular Oven to Make Bread*, in collaboration with Jorge Gamarra, carried out in the Roberto Arlt Square in Buenos Aires (Fig. 8).³⁰ An act of resistance against the capitalism intervention in the Argentine territory in the 70's, which meant Grippo's political idea of not supporting the hegemonic capitalism forces and identifying with the working class of his country. In this action carried out in the Roberto Arlt Square, the artist built a bread oven, and distributed it to people for free (Fig. 9). This gesture wanted to contradict the new neoliberal market policies where there should always be an economic benefit from the bidder (Fig. 10).

This political position was also expressed by other renowned artists such as Hector German Oesterheld, whose thinking was violently penalized after the 1976 *coup d'état*, with his disappearance and subsequent murder by the Argentine military dictatorship.

Oesterheld is perhaps one of the most important Latin American comic representatives of the 20th century, his work *El eternauta* is established as a masterpiece (Fig. 11-12).³¹ However,

²⁹ Ruben Dario Muñoz Yepes, "La política del arte: cuatro casos de arte contemporáneo en Colombia," (MA diss., Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2010), 91.

³⁰ Gabriela Santander Guerrero, "Historia de las artes combinadas en Argentina," (diss., Universidad Nacional de Arte, 2016),5.

³¹ David William Foster, *El Eternauta, Daytripper, and Beyond: Graphic Narrative in Argentina and Brazil* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016), 4-5.

his political militancy and his relationship with the group *Los Montoneros*³² led him to create works not very well known globally but with a very strong political stance that sought to fight against the latent extreme right movements in his country and the imperialist policies that were shaping the course of Argentine society.³³

From the beginning as a comic story writer, Oesterheld understood the pedagogical and popular potential of comics.³⁴ Since the mid-60s', he understood the political value of his work and decided to start a battle against "cultural colonization and reinvent social subjects to proceed with the final and total liberation".³⁵ This political interest began with the graphic novel, *Vida del Che* (1968) and later radicalized it by joining the revolutionary armed movement of the Montoneros (Fig. 13-15).

His militancy in the Montoneros led him to believe the importance of a critical historical thought to understand Latin American oppression by imperialist forces and thus justify the armed revolution present in his country. In turn, he determined the comic as a language with social responsibility in a specific socio-political context. In 1973, Oesterheld decided to work together with Leopoldo Durañona on a project whose purpose was to redraw the history of Latin America with pedagogical purposes to understand the anti-imperialist idea and create a critical thinking

³² Left-wing guerrilla group created in Argentina.

³³Jorge Catala Carrasco, *Comics and Memory in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 201), 5.

³⁴ Pablo Turnes, "Para leer el imperialismo. La historieta como arma discursiva en 450 años de guerra contra el Imperialismo," *Cuco: Cuadernos de comic*, no. 2 (January 2014): 130.

³⁵ Ibid.

against a past written by a privileged sector. This project became the graphic novel *America Latina 450 Años de Guerra* published as a series of stories by chapters in the magazine *El Descamisado*³⁶ (Fig.16). An analysis will be made of the importance of this work as an example of the reconstruction of a forgotten past and the importance of the comic as a pedagogical entity.

1. 450 años de guerra contra el Imperialismo - Creating Dialogue With History

Hector Oesterheld found in the comic an opportunity to transmit knowledge and saw in this language a unique quality to generate a critical analysis of history in order to transform a society and thus overthrow a dominant and oppressive system. This use of the comic as a pedagogical tool had its highest extent since 1973, when Oesterheld and Leopoldo Durañona decided to give life to the graphic novel *450 años de guerra contra el imperialismo*. This comic served as a discursive weapon to present Latin American history from another perspective. For this reason, each chapter tells different stories whose purpose is to show readers the truth of things and thus justify an armed revolution against imperialism.³⁷

The ambitious project of Oesterheld and Durañona made visible several diegetic qualities of the narrative offered by comic books, which allow readers to understand the importance of sequential art as a pedagogical tool capable of creating historical memory in the Latin American context. Each presented story wants to be a voice to represent a common struggle, which paradoxically began, as Eduardo Galeano establishes, more than four hundred and fifty years ago

³⁶ Official magazine that promoted the guerrilla's ideas to the community.

³⁷ Pablo Turnes, "Para leer el imperialismo. La historieta como arma discursiva en 450 años de guerra contra el Imperialismo," *Cuco: Cuadernos de comic*, no. 2 (January 2014): 111.

in Latin American territory whose destiny remained in the hands of a European and North American capital.³⁸

a. Issue #1 La España imperialista : The Manifesto

In the first issue of the comic book published in the magazine *El Descamisado No. 10* in 1973, Oesterheld presented the proposal for his new work. An editorial project that arose through a lawsuit that reveals a story that was hidden.³⁹

The first page of the comic is a typographical page that is understood as an artistic manifesto because Oesterheld's vision and the *raison d'être* of his new graphic novel are clearly detailed. For this reason, Oesterheld wrote three short paragraphs to present his work and detail what the subtitle of that page connotes “Vamos a contar la historia de cómo nos robó el imperialismo.”⁴⁰ A phrase that directly links *El pueblo*⁴¹ and that affirms an act of dispossession by the Imperialims (Fig. 16).

In the first paragraph of his introduction Oesterheld asked a series of questions:

¿Qué es el imperialismo? ¿Cuándo empezó a enviar sus lugartenientes, sus soldados, sus espías, sus “embajadores”, sus empresarios para dominar y explotar a los pueblos latinoamericanos? ¿De qué maneras las invasiones extranjeras – primero los españoles, después los ingleses y ahora los yanquis’ se movieron y siguen actuando para controlar los

³⁸ Eduardo Galeano, *Las venas abiertas de America Latina* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2004), 16.

³⁹ Pablo Turnes, “Para leer el imperialismo. La historieta como arma discursiva en 450 años de guerra contra el Imperialismo,” *Cuco: Cuadernos de comic*, no. 2 (January 2014):112.

⁴⁰ Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Durañona, “America Latina 450 años de guerra,” *El Descamisado*, July 24, 1973, 25.

⁴¹ The translation of this word is commonly known as *the peoples*. However, as Graciela Salas pointed out, in several Latin-American social studies the word *pueblo* represent a minority, the community of an specific area or the working class of a nation.

gobiernos títeres de los países del continente? ¿Cómo nos quitaron las riquezas, nos destinaron a la miseria, orquestando golpes, bajaron gobiernos populares, mandaron sus tropas asesinas para aniquilar las rebeliones de los pueblos?⁴²

These questions seek to establish critical thinking because they start from a complaint, which is the imperialist control in Latin American territory, in order to generate an awakening in the reader and begin the search for answers to these questions. Fortunately, Oesterheld in the second paragraph clarifies that these answers will be given with the help of the comic book, which will serve as a pedagogical tool to guide readers who want to learn their true history, “*historia verdadera*”.⁴³ Therefore, the second paragraph connotes the idea of rewriting the history to have a new perspective, this different approach of history will be exemplified on the second page of the comic to start the narrative of the stories.

Finally, the third paragraph of the manifesto represents the leitmotif of the stories to be told in *450 de guerra contra el Imperialismo*. This is understood as the constant struggle of the people to free themselves from the oppressor and its consequent failure⁴⁴. In addition, Oesterheld concluded by saying to his readers that there is a concrete struggle that has been continued and has permeated the Latin American people since the times of the conquest. Consequently this last paragraph represents the goal of winning this eternal battle for the first time, through a historical analysis to avoid repeat the past.

⁴² Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Durañona , “America Latina 450 años de guerra,” *El Descamisado*, July 24, 1973, 25.

⁴³ Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Durañona, “America Latina 450 años de guerra,” *El Descamisado*, July 24, 1973, 25.

⁴⁴ Eduardo Galeano, *Las venas abiertas de America Latina* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2004), 226.

On the second page of the first issue, Oesterheld decided to contextualize the reader before telling the “true story” of Latin America. This contextualization is understood as an analysis of the problems that afflict the present and that are clear evidence of a constantly failed revolution. Specifically, Oesterheld lived in a context where the left-wing political movements have been unable to succeed thanks to the coups that occurred in the 1970s, among them the first failed coup d'etat in Chile whose objective was to overthrow the democratic government of Salvador Allende ⁴⁵(Fig. 17).

The contextualization of page two helps to present the importance of the *pedagogia problematizante*, which prioritizes the understanding of the current social and political context in order to create constructive solutions. In this way, Oesterheld used this tool to establish that the problem that prevents the triumph of freedom in the Latin American people in that specific context is imperialism, who when cornered uses all possible tricks to prevent the triumph of left-wing ideas. Furthermore, Oesterheld uses this context to begin a historical analysis in order to show that the imperialist intervention has been present since the conquest, manipulating and pressuring the Latin American people. However, for Oesterheld this history has been censored in order to oppress the freedom of popular thought and that is why it is vitally important to rewrite and analyze it. This critical thinking will give to *el Pueblo* the opportunity to truly know their enemy in order to overcome them, but to know the enemy it is necessary to know yourself first: “La historia de America es la historia de los imperialismos, que crecen y se enriquecen con nuestro trabajo e impiden que nos liberemos y podamos ser dueños de lo que nos pertenece.” ⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Durañona, “America Latina 450 años de guerra,” *El Descamisado*, July 24, 1973, 26.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 26.

To start telling the hidden history of Latin America, Oesterheld unveils a phrase that defines the essence of the conquered and usurped people: “(... Argentinos, chilenos, peruAños, mexicAños y todos los demás, no somos pueblos subdesarrollados. Somos pueblos robados. R-O-B-A-D-O-S). Esta es la historia.”⁴⁷ This phrase suggests how the history known so far has given misinformation regarding the condition of the Latin American people. This manipulation of information turned Latin Americans into inferior beings labeled as underdeveloped, but according to Oesterheld and Eduardo Galeano, if the history is analyzed, it would be revealed that the Latin American people are not made up of underdeveloped countries but rather of a population that was looted , stolen.⁴⁸ And the objective of Oesterheld is to show how this theft by imperialism took place.

Oesterheld began his historical analysis with the Spanish conquest in America, the first imperialist strike. This historical event shows two fundamental characteristics in the narrative of each chapters of the comic book. The first of them is related to Oesterheld's interest in the appropriation of Argentine and Latin American culture in their stories. This interest allows the protagonists to be the Latin American people, ignoring the stereotypes manufactured by North American or European culture that to a certain extent have managed to impose itself on the Argentinian's collective imaginary.⁴⁹ In other words, for Oesterheld appropriating a hero alien to Argentina and Latin American society was equivalent to a distancing from the Latin American

⁴⁷ Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Durañona , “America Latina 450 años de guerra,” *El Descamisado*, July 24, 1973, 26.

⁴⁸ Eduardo Galeano, *Las venas abiertas de America Latina* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2004), 29.

⁴⁹ Hector Oesterheld, “El oficio de las viñetas. La industria de la historieta argentina,” *Siete Días Ilustrado*, no.13 (September 1974):172.

sociocultural context, where the Latin American people ignore their own history and roots, caring more about the history of great power countries such as United States. Therefore, Latin American people live in a *estado de interpretado*⁵⁰, where the ruling classes save them the task of thinking.

For this reason, Oesterheld created local heroes in each of his stories, so that the Latin American people become the protagonists of their own stories, appropriating their past, which would avoid being in a *estado de interpretado*. In the first chapter of *450 años de guerra contra el Imperialismo*, these first heroes are the Indians, who will suffer the first onslaught of the imperialist loot in their own land. In chapter one, the first martyr of this resistance is Tecun Uman, a Guatemalan hero who symbolizes all the Indians of America and therefore the entire Latin American people:

Tecun Uman símbolo de todos los indios de America- Lo enterraron, pero siguió con los ojos abiertos. Porque sus ojos son los ojos de todos nosotros..Convertidos también en indios que se explotan y se matan por obra y gracia del imperialismo ⁵¹ (Fig.18).

Oesterheld managed to rewrite in each panel historical moments that were forgotten, which in turn had the leading role of local heroes who resisted and fought for freedom.

The representation of the libertarian struggle allows to make visible the second characteristic present in each of the chapters of Oesterheld and Durañona's comic book. This graphic novel, makes visible the *Montonero* imagery that seeks to turn *El Pueblo* into an *entidad mítica*. In other words, each of the heroes presented in the stories represents *El Pueblo* who have

⁵⁰Martin Heidegger, *Ser y tiempo* (Madrid : Editorial Trotta,S.A, 2012), 154.

⁵¹ Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Durañona , “America Latina 450 Años de Guerra,” *El Descamisado*, July 24, 1973, 29.

constantly been fighting against imperialism, and have already managed to resist. In the words of Silvia Segal and Eliseo Veron Latin American people are presented in this imaginary as active agents that do not give up.⁵² Thus, the biographical characteristic of *450 años de guerra contra el Imperialismo* seeks to make visible an inexhaustible fight against imperialism, a fight that manages to resist despite its constant defeats. Oesterheld wanted to promote in *El Pueblo* empowerment of their territory and history in order to win the war that has always been fought.

The first issue of *450 años de guerra contra el Imperialismo* synthesizes the important role of history for the transformation of imaginaries because history critical analysis could initiate a new history of independence and numerous positive changes for the Latin American people. It is also important to understand that, like Paulo Freire, Oesterheld understands that *la pedagogía problematizante*⁵³ is a tool to generate these changes, a tool that could be materialized in comic books.

2. Tupac Amaru – Creating Identity With History in Comic Books

The narrative and conceptual structure of Oesterheld is understood with two elements that were presented in the first issue of *450 años de guerra contra el Imperialismo*. These elements are:

- a. Create local heroes to make the Latin American people the main protagonist.

⁵² Silvia Segal y Eliseo Veron, “El amor alucinado”, in *Perón o muerte. Los fundamentos discursivos del fenómeno peronista*. Buenos Aires, Eudeba, 2010, 202.

⁵³ Paulo Freire, *La pedagogía del oprimido* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2005), 30.

- b. Make the *Montonero* imagery visible, where *El Pueblo* is a mythical entity, which is in constant struggle and resistance. Local heroes allow the creation of this imaginary.

These conceptual elements will be in the biographical structure of the comic book. The biographical nature of the stories allows the creation of historical heroes who will become the martyrs who fought for collective freedom. Thus, the martyrs symbolize the people and justify the armed struggle that the *Montoneros* guerrilla group has started. An armed struggle that is justified through a critical analysis of Latin American history.⁵⁴

In the first chapter of the comic book, Oesterheld mentions Tecun Uman, the first symbol of the indigenous resistance and the first martyr. However, Oesterheld did not go into details of Uman's life and fights as he did from chapter two *La Rebelion de Tupac Amaru*, where he had more pages to be able to historically recreate the most important moments of those Latin American heroes.

La Rebellion de Tupac Amaru presents Tupac Amaru II, an indigenous leader who created a large-scale rebellion in the Latin American Andean zone in 1780. Oesterheld presents his narrative leitmotiv where all the heroes die defending their libertarian ideals, in this specific case, Oesterheld used the first four panels to show the torture of Tupac Amaru II, his wife Micaela Bastidas and children (Fig. 19). This difficult moment in Amaru's history is contrasted with some heroic moments of his rebellion with the narrative resource of the flashback. Resource

⁵⁴ Pablo Turnes, "Para leer el imperialismo. La historieta como arma discursiva en 450 años de guerra contra el Imperialismo," *Cuco: Cuadernos de comic*, no. 2 (January 2014):113.

that helps to make visible the mythical entity of Tupac Amaru and allows to understand the violent dynamics of imperialist power to stop the rebellions.

Oesterheld and Durañona highlight the role of torture in the body of Amaru and his relatives, thus showing the control mechanism of the oppressive system, where controlling the body of their oppressed is the most effective way to establish order and alienation.⁵⁵ In addition, this narrative decision shows an ignored, forgotten and censored version of the Spanish conquest that took place due to different social, political and economic factors. One of them is the manipulation of the educational system itself controlled by power organizations who wanted to show history with an Eurocentric point of view.⁵⁶

The history popularly known in Latin America from the times of the conquest until the end of the 80s focused its attention on the life of Christopher Columbus and created a considered number of European heroes who dominated the *buen salvaje*, omitting considerable information about what that conquest meant in the lives of the Latin American people.⁵⁷ For example, in Argentina, some primary schools had a school text called *Cajita de Música*, a book that sought to create a national identity through the teaching of history. On page 78 of this book the discovery of America is taught in prose by presenting this historical event as a fairy tale, where Colon is a poor dreamer and Queen Isabella is a cute and big-hearted queen who helped Colon (Fig.20). This type of historical teaching in primary and secondary schools was governed by a system

⁵⁵ Michel Foucault, *Vigilar y castigar: Nacimiento de la prisión* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2003), 19.

⁵⁶ Mario Carretero, Alberto Rosa and Fernanda Gonzales, *Enseñanza de la historia y la memoria colectiva* (Buenos Aires: Paidós Iberica, 2006), 16.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

created by the Ministry of Education of the Nation that based its objective on “ el reconocimiento de protagonistas individuales y organizada en función de la dimensión político military.”⁵⁸

This type of education about the history of the conquest present throughout the continent was a problem for Oeseheld that prevented understanding the true dimensions of this historical process and exemplifies what Paulo Freire called the *pedagogy of the oppressed*.⁵⁹ However, from the 90's onwards, the interest on making educational reforms with a different historical vision took on an important role, and the questioning of how to teach the history of the conquest was a main debate in different socio-political contexts. For example, critically reviewing the commemoration of Colon's arrival in America established on October 12 allowed people to leave behind the "*españolista*" version of that historic moment and opened the debate on the " existencia misma de monumentos o de contenidos escolares al respecto" in countries like Argentina, Peru and Venezuela.⁶⁰

Despite the fact that the process of rethinking history had significance in the 90s and continues to be important today, Oesterheld understood this process early on, his work and his militancy with the *Los Montoneros* guerrilla group demonstrate this. For this reason, to speak of Tupac Amaru II is to rethink a historical past and understand the true origin of things. For

⁵⁸ Nicolas Krogan, “La enseñanza de la Conquista de América en las escuelas primarias,” *Ariadna Tucma-Revista Latinoamericana* (March 2015).

⁵⁹ Paulo Freire, *La pedagogía del oprimido* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2005), 10.

⁶⁰ Mario Carretero, Alberto Rosa and Fernanda Gonzales, *Enseñanza de la historia y la memoria colectiva* (Buenos Aires: Paidós Iberica, 2006), 14.

Oesterheld, it is important to understand the reasons for Tupac Aamaru II's rebellion and to see how those reasons are constantly repeated in history.

The biographical element of Tupac Amaru II's life allows establishing a mythical entity, a real local hero, who existed in a specific historical past and who fought with his people against imperialism. In this way, Tupac Amaru II, like Tecun Uman, represents the Latin American people. He is a symbol of resistance, which connotes the perversity of imperialism for trying to erase the Inca civilization from history and therefore the history of an entire people (Fig.21-22). To deny this historical past is to avoid free and independent thought,⁶¹ which prevents the transformation of imaginary in the current Latin American context.

At the end of the Tupac Amaru II story, Oesterheld recounts how the butchered remains of Maru's body were shown in the Andean region as a symbol of dominance and fear to prevent future rebellions. In addition, he reports that after the execution of Tupac Amu II, the Spanish created the word *Tupamaro*, a derogatory word to refer to people who sought to have a different mindset than the Spanish crown (Fig.23). Thus for Oesterheld, the entire Latin American people should be *tupamaro*, rebels fighting for the overthrow of the imperialist system.⁶² Tupac Amaru in this way became one of the first Latin American rebels, but not the only one nor the last, as Oesterheld made evident in the other numbers of the series, which sought to rewrite Latin American history through the dietary and pedagogical quality of the comic, language that “function as sites of memory beyond the page, having an increasing impact in an on the public

⁶¹ Eduardo Galeano, *Las venas abiertas de America Latina* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2004), 52.

⁶² Pablo Turnes, “Para leer el imperialismo. La historieta como arma discursiva en 450 años de guerra contra el Imperialismo,” *Cuco: Cuadernos de comic*, no. 2 (January 2014):120

sphere”⁶³, that’s why Hector Oesterheld became another victim of a violent dictatorship and was killed by the Argentinian government in 1978, because Oesterheld was creating historical memory with comic books.

III. Building a Historical Memory: *Rupay - Graphic Novel Stories of Violence in Peru*

Hector Oesterheld understood the important role of analyzing history critically to understand current Latin American problems. However, the armed struggle that he justified failed in Argentina. The Argentine government disappeared him in 1977, an event that shows the actions of the military dictatorships in Latin America and their respective military repercussions. For this reason, between the periods of 1980 and 1990, Latin America experienced a period of post-conflict and post-dictatorships that sparked interest and study of memory.⁶⁴

This interest arose because most Latin American dictatorships or democratic systems decided to use amnesty and *politics of oblivion* as tools to leave behind the trauma of the past.⁶⁵ For this reason, different human rights organizations and other groups decided to create resistance against the *politics of oblivion* and the *política de la memoria*.⁶⁶ These groups sought

⁶³ Jorge Catala Carrasco, Paulo Drinot and Charles Fishman. *Comics and Memory in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017),16.

⁶⁴ Jorge Catala Carrasco, Paulo Drinot and Charles Fishman, *Comics and Memory in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017),13.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 15.

⁶⁶ The *política de la memoria* was a process created to justify military interventions. This justification was given with an assumption of salvation, which was intended to protect the people from falling into the evil hands of communism. For this reason, different governments created memories that always denoted the salvation and destruction of evil thanks to the military forces; Jorge Catala Carrasco, Paulo Drinot and Charles Fishman, *Comics and Memory in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017),13.

to create a memory focused on human rights and the victims, something that the governments never did. For example, in Argentina the group *Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo* was very important and transcended Argentinian and Latin-American. This group was organized by women and was born during the dictatorship of Jorge Rafael Videla in 1977. The objective of *Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo* was to recover the prisoners disappeared by the government alive, in addition they wanted to find those responsible for crimes against humanity to prosecute them.⁶⁷

The emergence of these groups concerned with a censored collective memory sparked interest on some government sectors and other organizations to create commissions that allow recovering a historical past that has been ideologically altered. These commissions known as *Comision de Verdad y Reconciliacion* understood the importance of creating a historical memory to avoid repeating the past to transform the future.⁶⁸ Based on this logic, the history of the victims took on a fundamental role for the construction of a collective memory, which could be made visible through different artist expressions such as comics books, being consistent with a specific context and a specific community.⁶⁹

The opportunity given to comics to create a historical memory of the armed conflict in Latin America has allowed the creation of numerous graphic works whose priority has been to listen to minorities and empower them in their history in order to overcome the trauma of the

⁶⁷ Marjorie Agosin, *Circles of Madness: Mothers of Plaza de Mayo* (New York: White Pine Press, 1992), 19.

⁶⁸ Jorge Catala Carrasco, Paulo Drinot and Charles Fishman, *Comics and Memory in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017), 3.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 167.

past, and progress as a community. The importance of these projects is to promote critical thinking about the past rather than looking for a definitive historical truth. A clear example of this is the graphic novel *Rupay: Historias graficas de la violencia en el Peru 1980-1984* created by Luis Rossell, Alfredo Villar and Jesus Cossio, who created this project with the hope of opening a debate on the Peruvian violent historical past of the 80's to promote the construction of a collective memory in Peru ⁷⁰ (Fig.24).

The graphic novel created by Luis Rossell, Alfredo Villar and Jesus Cossio compiles a series of stories that are based on the *Final Report* made by the Comision de la Verdad y Reconciliacion or CVR. A report completed in 2003 that collected data from an investigation into the years of the conflict from 1980 to 2000. Some relevant data from this report is the number of deaths and missing people in the war is more than ninety thousand. Surprisingly two thirds of the victims lived in remote regions to the main Peruvian cities and did not speak Spanish, but they spoke Quechua or other native languages.⁷¹

Each of these stories seeks to give a voice to the victims who suffered being in the middle of a conflict between the Peruvian government and the guerrilla group Sendero Luminoso.⁷² Therefore, it is important to analyze one of the stories present in this graphic novel to understand the importance of this work and the importance of the inclusion of victims when building a

⁷⁰ Jorge Catala Carrasco, Paulo Drinot and Charles Fishman, *Comics and Memory in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017), 167.

⁷¹ *Inbid.*, 166.

⁷² Sendero Luminoso or Shining Path was a communist guerrilla group organized by Abimael Guzman in 1969. In the period of the 80's it began an act of war against the Peruvian state; Gordon McCormick, *The Shining Path and the Future of Peru* (Santa Monica: The RAND Corporation, 1990), 4.

biographical narrative to generate memory and reconciliation. Although each of the stories told is specific and unique, the story of *La massacre de Ucharaccay* serves as an example to understand how it is possible to create a collective memory that, rather than looking for culprits, seeks to create reparation and an analytical pedagogy of the past to avoid the repetition of the armed conflict.

a. *La masacre de Ucharaccay*

In 1983, a guide and eight journalists were killed in Ucharaccay, a small sector located north of the department of Ayacucho. An event that shocked the international community and was investigated by the CVR, finding several clues that revealed the events that occurred but without finding the true story of what happened. The information that remained in the collective unconscious of the Peruvian population was that the peasant Indians inhabitants of Ucharaccay perpetrated the crime against the journalists and their guide.⁷³

Luis Rossell, Alfredo Villar and Jesus Cossio decided to use the language of comic book to tell this story and reopen a debate where collective memory can transform social imagery. The most important thing to highlight in this artistic decision is to understand the importance of comics in Latin America as a language capable of “incorporate both testimonial and documentary forms, offering the possibility of representing subaltern subjects whit in and of themselves form a part of construction of the text.”⁷⁴ Thus, the biographical comic in Latin America becomes an alternative to emphasize something concrete and consistent with the current

⁷³ Jorge Catala Carrasco, Paulo Drinot and Charles Fishman, *Comics and Memory in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017),167

⁷⁴ Ana Merino, “Memory in Comics: Testimonial, Autobiographical and Historical Space in MAUS” , *Transatlantica* [Online], 1, 2010, Online since 06 October 2010, connection on 30 April 2019, <http://journals.openedition.org/transatlantica/4941> .

Latin American context where the main characters are marginalized beings, the biographical comic in this case offers a voice to those who have never had a voice.

To construct this story, the *Rupay* authors used the final report of the CVR that made victims a priority. In turn, the authors take into account data other people who were related in the investigation but not in the final report as they were not direct victims of the armed conflict. For this reason, the graphic history of the *Masacre de Ucharaccay* and the other stories narrated in *Rupay* are understood as a narrative that contains several layers of different versions of the same event.⁷⁵ This graphic novel manages to contain all the different versions of a single fact harmonically because the authors understand the “ability of comics to mix image with text and in this literary form’s potential to fictionalize the past”.⁷⁶ This allows us to establish how *Rupay's* unique dialogical quality manages to become a document that creates a pedagogical historical memory and transcends more than the CVR's *Final Report*.

In the story of *Masacre de Ucharaccay*, this dialogical quality manages to establish itself from the first page (Fig.25). This page contextualize the reader about the events, connoting that in order to know the information of this massacre, it is necessary to understand what occurred before the events in Ucharaccay. For this reason, the text of the first and second panels directly reports that between January 20 and 22, 1983, an alleged “execution” of seven Senderista guerrilla members was reported by peasants from Huaychao, and the respective image of each panels show the support by the military and the president to the peasants who executed the rebels

⁷⁵ These versions are collected thanks to an investigation carried out by Luis Rossell, Alfredo Villar and Jesus Cossio to obtain the greatest number of primary sources and thus give truthfulness to the narration.

⁷⁶ Jorge Catala Carrasco, Paulo Drinot and Charles Fishman, *Comics and Memory in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017),177.

by their own hands. However, panels three and four show other versions such as supposedly the armed force was the one that coordinated the lynching of the seven guerrillas' members, or even that the seven people killed could be indigenous people killed by police. Finally, the fifth and last panel introduce the journalists who decided to travel to Huaychao in order to learn the true story of what happened. This first page is an example of the complex versions about what happened in Huaychao and how these versions manage to coexist on a page thanks to the dialogical quality of the comic. Furthermore, this brief contextualization allows readers to understand the reason journalists had to enter the territory of Ucharaccay, this is because to reach Huaychao they had to pass through Ucharaccay, where they were killed.

From page four the authors imply that the *Masacre de Ucharaccay* is a fiction based on real events by showing a real photo of the journalist's trip. Panel three illustrates the scene where one of the journalist was preparing to take the photo of the group. The next panel shows the real photograph that Octavio Infante took, evidencing the veracity of the story, whose characters were real. The text of panel five allows the readers to know the real names of the journalist and guide: "de izquierda a derecha : Eduardo de la Piella, Willy Retto, Oscar Sacnchez, Felix Gavilan, Jorge Luis Mendivil, Amador Garcia y Jorge Sedano (Octavio Infante tomó la foto)"⁷⁷ (Fig . 26). This narrative resource of juxtaposing elements from reality in the story is a narrative decision that allow to be consistent with the story of the victims who are generally not well

⁷⁷ Luis Rosell , Alfredo Villar and Jesus Cossio, *Rupay: Historias graficas de la violencia en el Peru 1980-1984* (Lima: Contracultura, 2008). 17.

represented, this technique is constantly repeated in *Rupay* and in other Latin American comic books.⁷⁸

In the specific case of *Rupay*, the juxtaposition of photographs from some newspapers and press headlines also allows readers to understand the imaginary of the Indian and the peasant that was in Peru in the 1980s. This juxtaposing of images is essential in the construction of this graphic novel because it becomes visible how society and journalist's morbid created a savage imagery of the Indian and peasant, which let these communities to be forgotten and violated by the state and the guerrilla group Sendero Luminoso. For example, on page ten of the Ucharaccay massacre, the image of a press headline that establishes the Indians as beasts is shown, and even the word "murderous barbarians" said by Fernando Belaude to referred to the Indians "responsible" for the murder of the journalists (Fig . 27). This implies the stereotype of the Indian and peasant that was created in the 80s, a stereotype that stigmatizes and discriminates against the most vulnerable communities and that has not only marked the history of Peru.⁷⁹

The next pages of the story *Masacre de Ucharaccay* establish three possible versions that led to the murder of the journalists and their guide:

(1) the armed forces were directly responsible for the killings; (2) the campesinos (peasants) were reacting to the threat of a Shining Path attack (and the armed forces warning that "the enemy comes by land"); (3) the journalists were walking into and got caught up in ongoing conflicts between campesinos, as "peasants have their conflicts [*líos*] too."⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Maria Fernanda Sañudo, *Yacuanquer y trujillo relatos de despojos y resistencias* (Bogotá: Javegraf, 2018), 11.

⁷⁹ Jorge Catala Carrasco, Paulo Drinot and Charles Fishman. *Comics and Memory in Latin America*. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017), 187.

⁸⁰ Jorge Catala Carrasco, Paulo Drinot and Charles Fishman. *Comics and Memory in Latin America*. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017), 187.

These versions denote the impossibility of establishing the truth of the facts and the inability to find the culprits. However, Luis Rosell , Alfredo Villar and Jesus Cossio managed to build a historical memory of an unprecedented event in Peruvian history that despite being unique and specific, became a universal story that shows the inevitable consequence of war on people who in most cases have nothing to do with it .For this reason, the most fascinating thing about the historical memory built in Rupay is the strong political intention of the artists whose objective is to avoid being impartial about the violent events that occurred in the 80's.⁸¹ In Rupay's specific case, the authors created a series of collective memories that aim to generate more questions than answers. The foregoing allows readers to inquire about the events that have occurred and therefore show the pedagogical quality of comic books, which serves to generate critical thinking to analyze a specific social and cultural context.⁸² The *Masacre de Ucharaccay* has several panels that illustrates the political act of the authors and the critical thinking they promoted. For instance, on the last page of the story panel five shows a real photograph of an indigenous group from Ucharaccay that is accompanied by a text that shows how the social discrimination of the indigenous people and the guilt they had in the murder of journalists allowed society to ignored or justified the violence by the government and the Shining Path to these marginalized peoples:

⁸¹ As Yepes mentions, all Latin American art work involves a political act. Ruben Dario Muñoz Yepes, “La Política del Arte: Cuatro Casos de arte contemporáneo en Colombia” (MA diss., Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2010), 91.

⁸² Paulo Freire, *La pedagogía del oprimido*. (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2005), 25.

En los años siguientes, esa mirada distanciada y condescendiente será decisiva para que la violencia contra la población campesina y andina sea un asunto de dejar de lado por quienes vivían en Lima y otras ciudades (Fig. 27).⁸³

Therefore, the authors wanted to support the voice of the Indians and peasants who are the ones that always have suffered from irrational battles and wars and therefore “han resistido a los embates del conflicto y a los efectos de la implementación de las políticas neoliberales.”⁸⁴ For this reason, it is not for granted that the authors show in the last panel of the story *Masacre de Ucharaccay* a desolated town where the houses are burning. The text in this panels summarize that after the assassination of the journalist Ucharaccay was attacked several times by the government and Sendero Luminoso killing 135 Indians, by 1984 the town became a ghost town (Fig. 27).

The last panel of the story summarizes the authors' intention to generate a historical memory that takes into account the people most affected by the armed conflict, which in this case are the Indians and peasants. They are survivors because they have “vivido y superado trances muy duros”⁸⁵ and, as Oesterheld states, they have been the first people to suffer the ravages of the land in their own land since the conquest of America.

In this way *Rupay: Historias graficas de la violencia en el Peru 1980-1984* is a work that seeks to teach the past to build transforming memories that avoid the repetition of the armed conflict in Peru and Latin America. This teaching of the past is based on the critical analysis of

⁸³ Luis Rosell , Alfredo Villar and Jesus Cossio. *Rupay: Historias graficas de la violencia en el Peru 1980-1984* .(Lima : Contracultura, 2008). 17.

⁸⁴ Maria Fernanda Sañudo, *Yacuanquer y trujillo relatos de despojos y resistencias*. (Bogotá: Javegraf, 2018), 9.

⁸⁵ John Berger, *Puerca Tierra*. (Madrid: Alfaguara, 2016), 56.

history, where the reader analyzes the historical past on his own, taking into account all the evidence shown in the stories, including the official versions of the victims of the armed conflict.

This pedagogical process is possible thanks to the dialogical potential of the comic that:

“spatialize memory”, and use the panel structure to allow for a multiplicity of temporal moments and for moving forward and back in time, indicates how they invite a series of “negociations” between the reader and the text-image over wich path to take when engaging with the narration of time on the page.⁸⁶

This pedagogy of the past is capable of establishing a freedom of thought so that readers can stop being beings in *estado de interpretado*, because in Freire's words they have overcome the domination by the “*pedagogía del oprimido*”.⁸⁷ What can define the importance of works such as *Rupay: Historias graficas de la violencia en el Peru 1980-1984* that engage with memory and social change from the transformation of imaginary through social pedagogy with the biographical comic book.

⁸⁶ Jorge Catala Carrasco, Paulo Drinot and Charles Fishman, *Comics and Memory in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017),17.

⁸⁷ Paulo Freire, *La pedagogía del oprimido* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2005), 16.

IV. Conclusion- Towards a Pedagogy of Comic Books

First of all, critical pedagogy establishes that historical memory is fundamental to create resistance and liberation. This is because critical thinking is allow communities to start a process of change but without thinking the past communities would not be resolve their problem. For this reason, since a dialogue with the community has been established, a process of rethinking the past is planned so that the community empowered their heritage and thus achieve a liberating social transformation avoiding war.⁸⁸ As a matter of fact, some Latin American rural sectors have been applying new economic systems in their production or establishing alternative systems to manage their farms by using ideas from indigenous ancestral traditions. For example, the *minga* is an alternative where the working class of a community help each other in the production and care of their farms and territories, in other words, all the members of the community collects the produce in all the farms. This collaboration does not have any capital incentive or hierarchies of power; it is generally done with a festive and amicable atmosphere that strengthens community ties. This understanding of the *minga* could not be possible if communities have not analyzed their historic past. The analysis of the past allows communities to create historical memory and collective memory in order to make important changes in the present.

Secondly, it is necessary to emphasize that the critical pedagogy is usually activated by a person or a group that want to help vulnerable populations or society itself. This is the importance of the artistic practices such as biographical graphic novels because through their guidance in the communities a dialogue is created to generate social transformation. These

⁸⁸ Jorge Catala Carrasco, Paulo Drinot and Charles Fishman. *Comics and Memory in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017),20.

artistic practices generally inspired communities to take action. Therefore, communities empowered themselves of their history and territory in order to achieve their objective to overcome the issues of the present. This means that in this social pedagogical art expressions “artist or collectives” separates the artistic work from its own “interiority” because they are working for the communities.⁸⁹

The comic books *450 años de guerra contra el Imperialismo* and *Rupay: Historias graficas de la violencia en el Peru 1980-1984* are examples of how artistic practices can be directed to a critical pedagogy in the Latin American context to contribute to its transformation and to the empowerment of communities to resist against contemporary problems such as the politics of memory or territory dispossession created by the capitalism development model. These pedagogic biographical comic books are important because they seek to create critical thinking in each of the individuals about their own socio-cultural context. The analysis of these contexts allows them to understand a reality that has been manipulated and twisted by the oppressors. After understanding their problems, communities can create their own dialogue in order to organize and create collaborative networks to make sense of the concept of community and to make transforming memories in order to avoid war.⁹⁰

In conclusion, the projects *450 años de guerra contra el Imperialismo* and *Rupay: Historias graficas de la violencia en el Peru 1980-1984* are an accurate and coherent example within the Latin American context, by carrying out an analysis of the past that involve the popular masses or minorities in order to empower the community through diálogo about

⁸⁹ Ruben Dario Muñoz Yepes, “La Política del Arte: Cuatro Casos de arte contemporáneo en Colombia” (MA diss., Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2010),91.

⁹⁰ Paulo Freire, *La pedagogía del oprimido* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2005), 172.

historical memory. This projects show an option where artistic practices can be carried out with the intention of transforming social constructs through education and real ethical commitment.

List of Figures

1. <i>El Eterno Caminante</i> , Book Cover	42
2. <i>Resistencia</i> , Book Cover	43
3. <i>Somos Semilla</i> , Book Interior	44
4. <i>Yacuanquer Community Meeting With the Researchers and Illustrators</i>	45
5. Ludmila Ferrari, <i>Tejedores de historias</i>	46
6. Ludmila Ferrari, <i>Tejedores de historias</i>	47
7. Ludmila Ferrari, <i>Tejedores de historias</i>	48
8. Victor Grippo, <i>Construcción de horno popular para hacer pan</i>	49
9. Victor Grippo, <i>Construcción de horno popular para hacer pan</i>	50
10. Victor Grippo, <i>Construcción de horno popular para hacer pan</i>	51
11. Hector Oesterheld and Francisco Solano, <i>El eternauta</i>	52
12. Hector Oesterheld and Francisco Solano, <i>El eternauta</i>	53
13. Hector Oesterheld, Alberto Breccia and Enrique Breccia, <i>Vida del Che</i>	54
14. Hector Oesterheld, Alberto Breccia and Enrique Breccia, <i>Vida del Che</i>	55
15. Hector Oesterheld, Alberto Breccia and Enrique Breccia, <i>Vida del Che</i>	56
16. Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Duranona, <i>America Latina 450 Años de Guerra</i>	57
17. Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Duranona, <i>America Latina 450 Años de Guerra</i>	58
18. Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Duranona, <i>America Latina 450 Años de Guerra</i>	59
19. Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Duranona, <i>America Latina 450 años de Guerra</i>	60
20. Picollo, <i>Cajita de Música</i>	61
21. Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Duranona, <i>America Latina 450 Años de Guerra</i>	62
22. Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Duranona, <i>America Latina 450 Años de Guerra</i>	63

23. Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Duranona , *America Latina 450 Años de Guerra* 64
24. Luis Rosell, Alfredo Villar and Jesus, *Rupay: Historias graficas de la violencia en el Peru* 65
25. Luis Rosell, Alfredo Villar and Jesus, *Rupay: Historias graficas de la violencia en el Peru* 66
26. Luis Rosell, Alfredo Villar and Jesus, *Rupay: Historias graficas de la violencia en el Peru* 67
27. Luis Rosell, Alfredo Villar and Jesus, *Rupay: Historias graficas de la violencia en el Peru* 68

Figures

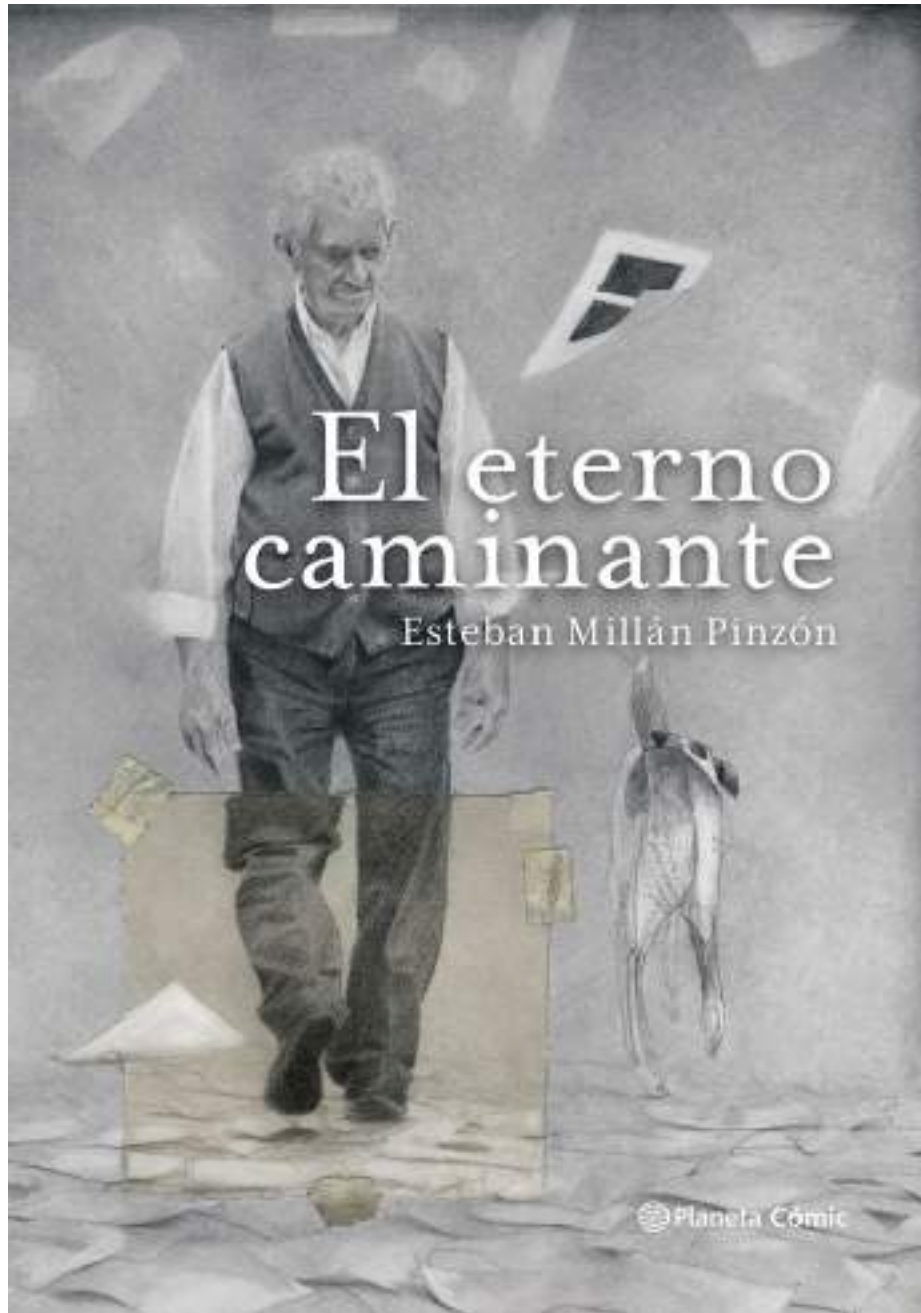


Fig.1. *El eterno caminante* (Book Cover), Graphic Novel, Editorial Planeta Publishers, 2019, Graphite & Digital.

YACUANQUER Y TRUJILLO
RELATOS DE
**DESPOJOS Y
RESISTENCIAS**



Fig.2. *Resistencia* (Book Cover), Illustrated Book, Pontificia Universidad Publishers, 2019, Graphite & Digital.



Fig.3 . *Somos Semilla*, Illustrated Book, Pontificia Universidad Publishers, 2019, Graphite & DigitalCollage.



Fig.4. *Yacuanquer community meeting with the researchers and illustrators, 2017, Digital Photography.*



Fig.5. Ludmila Ferrari, *Tejedores de historias*, 2009, Tapestry.(Yepes Ruben, *La política del arte: cuatro casos de arte contemporaneo en Colombia*, 149)



Fig.6. Ludmila Ferrari, *Tejedores de historias*, 2009, Tapestry.(Yepes Ruben, *La política del arte: cuatro casos de arte contemporaneo en Colombia*, 150)



Fig.7. Ludmila Ferrari, *Tejedores de historias*, 2009, Tapestry.(Yepes Ruben, *La política del arte: cuatro casos de arte contemporaneo en Colombia*, 150)



Fig.8. Victor Grippo, *Construcción de horno popular para hacer pan*, 1972, Photography.
(<https://ciudadcomentada.wordpress.com/1972/09/29/horno-de-pan-victor-grippo-1972/>).



Fig.9. Victor Grippo, *Construcción de horno popular para hacer pan*, 1972, Photography.
(<https://ciudadcomentada.wordpress.com/1972/09/29/horno-de-pan-victor-grippo-1972/>).



Fig.10. Victor Grippo, *Construcción de horno popular para hacer pan*, 1972, Photography. (<https://ciudadcomentada.wordpress.com/1972/09/29/horno-de-pan-victor-grippo-1972/>).



Fig.11.Hector Oesterheld and Francisco Solano, *El eternauta*, Book Cover, 1957.
(<https://culturalgutter.com/2018/01/25/el-eternauta-the-library-in-the-sky/>).

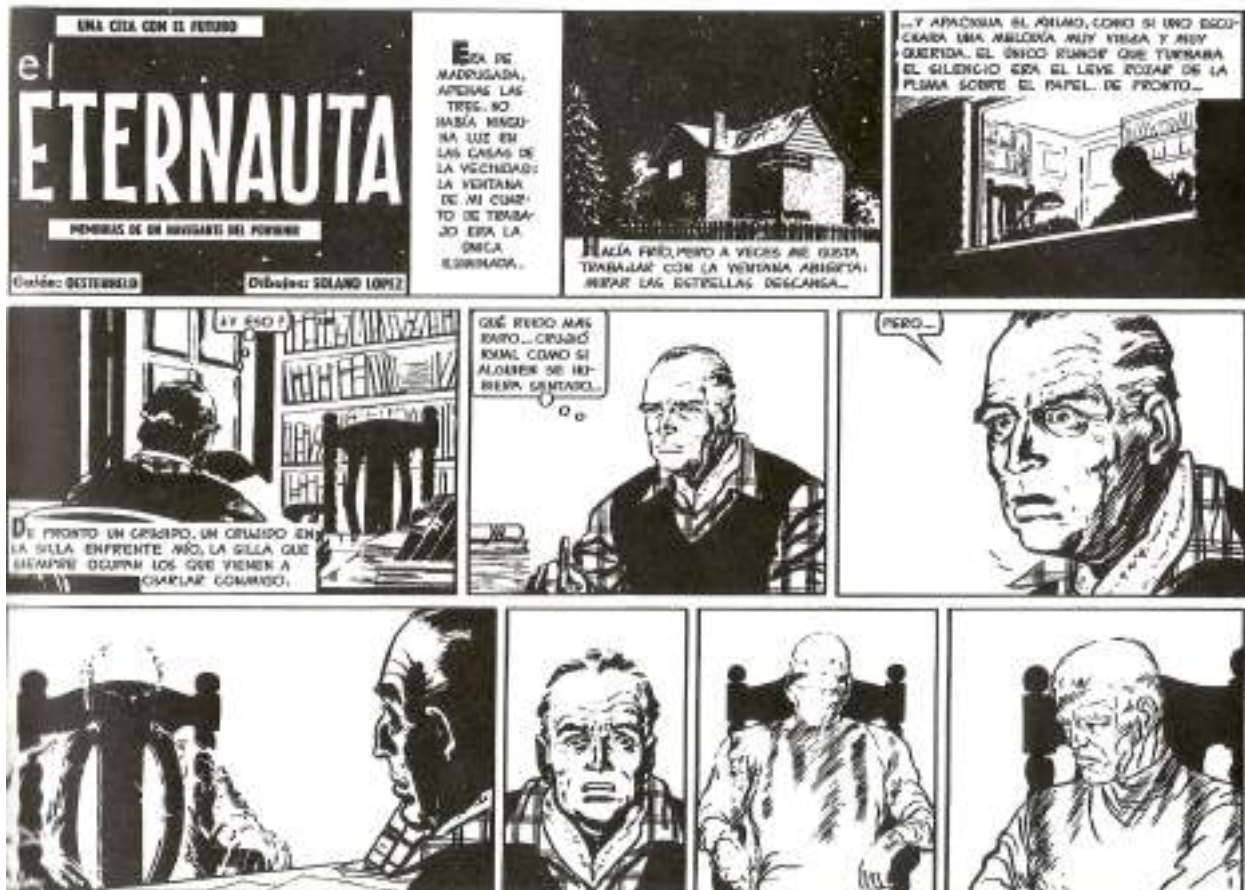


Fig.12. Hector Oesterheld and Francisco Solano, *El eternauta*, Interior Illustration (first page), 1957. (Oesterheld, Solano, *El eternauta*, 2).

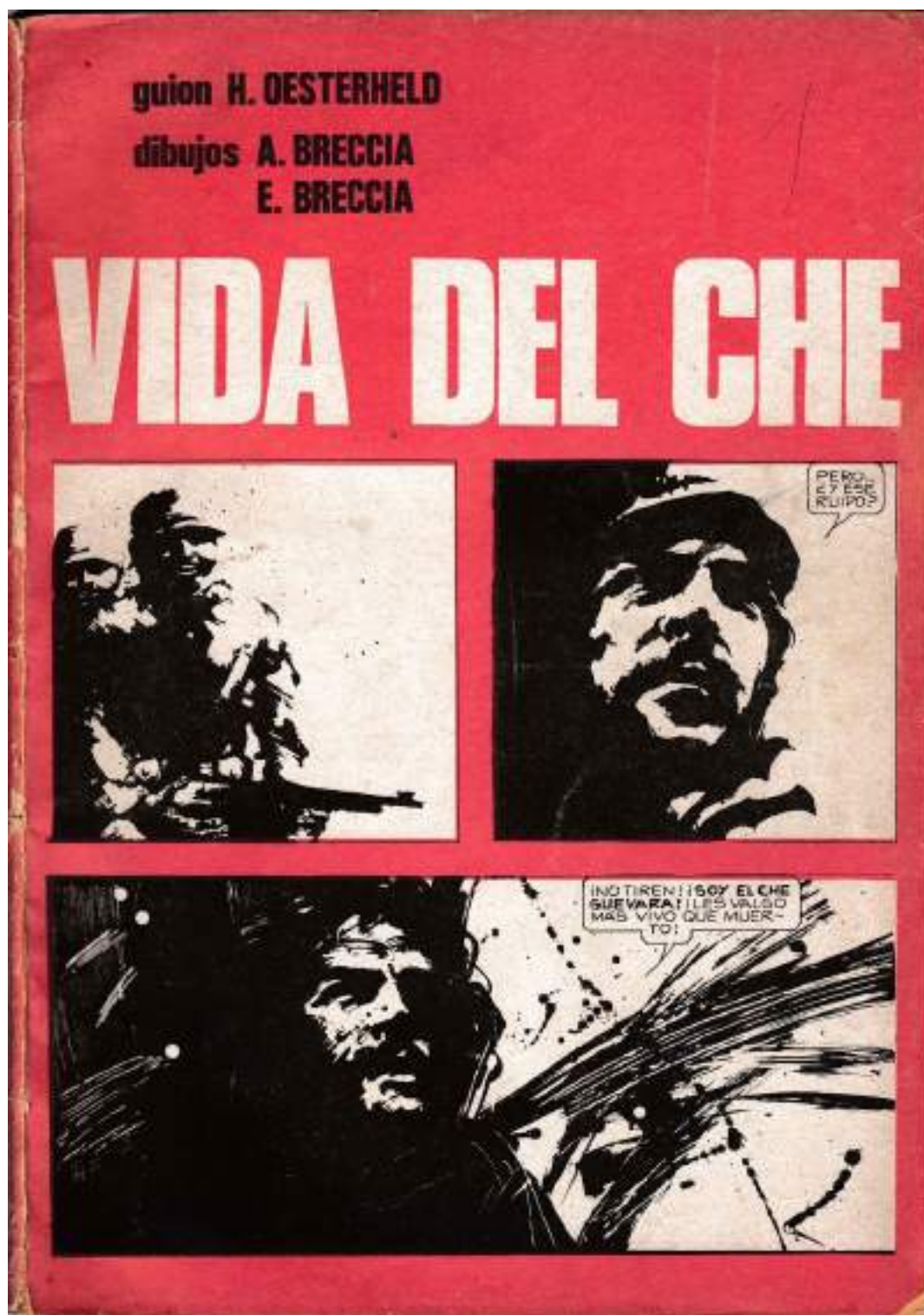


Fig.13. Hector Oesterheld, Alberto Breccia and Enrique Breccia, *Vida del Che*, Book Cover, 1968. (https://historiadeamericalatina.files.wordpress.com/2013/08/vida-del-che_1969.pdf).



Fig.14. Hector Oesterheld, Alberto Breccia and Enrique Breccia, *Vida del Che*, Interior Illustration (Page 7) , 1968. (https://historiadeamericalatina.files.wordpress.com/2013/08/vida-del-che_1969.pdf).



Fig.15 . Hector Oesterheld, Alberto Breccia and Enrique Breccia, *Vida del Che*, Interior Illustration (Page 7) , 1968. (https://historiadeamericalatina.files.wordpress.com/2013/08/vida-del-che_1969.pdf).

**Vamos a contar la historia de cómo
nos robó el Imperialismo**

AMERICA LATINA 450 AÑOS DE GUERRA



¿Qué es el imperialismo? ¿Cómo empezó a ensiar sus departamentos, sus soldadas, sus espías, sus "vehículos", sus empresas para dominar y explotar a los pueblos latinoamericanos? ¿De qué manera los inventos científicos -primero los españoles, después los ingleses y ahora los yanquis- se movieron y siguen actuando para controlar los gobiernos libres de los países del continente? ¿Cómo nos quitaron las riquezas, nos derrocaron a la miseria, arquetaron golpes, bajaron gobiernos populares, mandaron sus tropas asesinas para aniquilar los rebeldes de los pueblos?

Vamos a contar la historia del imperialismo para que cada uno de estas preguntas y muchas más tengan su respuesta. Desde las páginas de **EL DESCAMISADO** sobre estas cosas nuestra verdadera historia. Así fue la realidad de nuestro pasado y así la realidad de nuestro presente. Porque la historia del imperialismo es la historia del Continente Americano -la Patria Grande- y la historia de nuestra Patria.

¡En 450 años de guerra.

Si, de guerra. Porque los pueblos explotados por el levante nunca se rindieron. Pelearon el pecho. Pelearon. Diez veces la vida infinidad de veces en su combate por ser libres. El imperialismo nunca fue una simple forma de dominio de los pueblos. Tiene nombres y apellidos concretos. Tiene hechos y episodios. Tiene bofetes y siempre en su negra historia. Su historia es la que empezamos a contar desde esta página.

Fig.16 . Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Duranona , *America Latina 450 Años de Guerra*, Book Cover , 1973.(Gracci Ricardo, *El descamisado* Vol 10, 15)

La España Imperialista

CONOCER BIEN AL ENEMIGO ES EMPEZAR A VENCERLO. EN ESTOS MOMENTOS Y EN OTROS QUE VENDRÁN UN PUEBLO COMO ESTE DEBE DEJAR LIBRE SU INTERMEDIO QUE ES EL IMPERIALISMO MUNDIAL Y SIGUE RESISTIENDO A LOS PAISES ROBADOS, PAISES ROBADOS DE SU NOMBRE VERDADERO. Y NO PAISES SUBDESARROLLADOS, COMO DICEN LA MENTIRA IMPERIALISTA ARGENTINOS, CHILENOS, PERUANOS, MEXICANOS, Y TODOS LOS DEMAS. NO SON LOS PUEBLOS QUE DESARROLLAMOS. SON LOS PUEBLOS ROBADOS ROBADOS. ESTE ES UN RECOMENDACION.

LOS TROPICOS COMENZANDO LA CARRERA DE CORRER EN SANTIAGO DE CHILE, PARA LLEGAR AL COMANDANTE ALLENDE.

EL GOBIERNO ARGENTINO COMO CAMBIAR EL AUTOGOBIERNO PARA CONVOCAR AL PUEBLO ARGENTINO EN UNO DE LOS DIAS. BARRIL.

LOS ANTIGUOS IMPERIALISTAS DE LA GUERRA AL PUEBLO EN EZEIZA PARA HACER SU CONTRA CON LA LUCHA.

SANTIAGO DE CHILE, MONTEVIDEO, EZEIZA... TRES EJEMPLOS ACTUALES DEL IMPERIALISMO MUNDIAL. TRES EJEMPLOS DE COMO ACTUA EL IMPERIALISMO CUANDO SE LE RESISTE. EL IMPERIALISMO QUE QUERIA HACER UN PAIS DESDE HACE 400 AÑOS, LE BURDA EN LA ARGENTINA EL MOVIMIENTO QUE POR SU PLEBS VENCERLO LUEGO DE TRES AÑOS Y DE TRES AÑOS. Y ENTANES RECONOCER. POR EL SANTIAGO DE CHILE, POR EL MONTEVIDEO, POR EL EZEIZA.

EL ATROCE DEL IMPERIALISMO COMO EL CLASICO SEGUIR LLEVA A RINDIEN.

SEGUIR UN CARRO GRANDE EN LA MARCHA POR EL AER.

LOS AVIAZ DELERAN ANTES DE MUERTE Y OBLIGADOS LA TARDE!

HERNAN CORTÉS. EN LA CARRERA DEL VALLE DE MEXICO. TENOCHTITLAN. LA CAPITAL DEL VALLE EN LA MARCHA.

PERO LOS IMPERIALISTAS EN EL MUNDO. EN EL MUNDO EN UNO. COMO ARGENTINA. LOS IMPERIALISTAS EN EL MUNDO IMPERIALISMO.

CORTÉS MARCHANDO A MARCHA EN EL MUNDO. EN LA CARRERA DEL VALLE DE MEXICO. TENOCHTITLAN. LA CAPITAL DEL VALLE EN LA MARCHA.

CUANDO EN ESTOS MOMENTOS. ALVARADO DESPARANDO EN GUATEMALA. EN ESTOS MOMENTOS. LOS AVIAZ DELERAN ANTES DE MUERTE Y OBLIGADOS LA TARDE! EN UNO DE LOS DIAS. BARRIL. ESTE ES UN RECOMENDACION. ESTE ES UN RECOMENDACION. ESTE ES UN RECOMENDACION. ESTE ES UN RECOMENDACION. ESTE ES UN RECOMENDACION.

Fig.17 . Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Duranona , *America Latina 450 Años de Guerra*, Interior Illustration, 1973.(Gracci Ricardo, *El descamisado* Vol 10, 15)

Fig.4. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, Head of Medusa, 1597, Oil
 (https://www.caravaggio.org/medusa.jsp).



Fig.18 . Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Duranona , America Latina 450 Años de Guerra, Interior Illustration, 1973.(Gracci Ricardo, El descamisado Vol 10, 15)

CAPITULO II

La Reveli3n de Tupac Amar3



EL GUERRO TODO ES UNA LLAMAR DE DOLOR. ALLI EN LA FORTALEZA LE INFLIGEN EL TORMENTO DURANTE MUCHAS NOCHES. PERO LA TORTURA FINAL, LA ULTIMA, SERA FELIZ EN LA PLAZA. MENOS SIN PIEDAD LE ABREN LA BOCA... EL HIERRO BRUTAL...



...NACE PRESA EN LA LERQUER, LA BRANCHA DE UN TIRON ATROZ.



EL DOLOR QUE VENICE, LA SANGRE QUE TIRADA. PERO ES TAN RICO TODAVIA. ALLI ESTA MICHELA, LA HERMOSA ESPOSA QUE TANTO AMA...

...MUERTA EN EL GARROTE, EL SUPLICIO QUE EL VERDUGO DEBE REPETIR UNA Y OTRA VEZ PORQUE EL CUELLO ES DEMASADO FINO Y EL HIERRO NO TERMINA DE ESTRANGULARLA. Y ALLI FERNANDO, EL HIJO...



...OLVIDADO A MORTAL EL INCREPABLE TORMENTO DE LOS PADRES...

LOS VERDUGOS QUITAN LOS GALLOS QUE ANCLAZAN A TUPAC. SE DEMONIAN, Y ES UN MOMENTO DE PAZ ENTRE TANTO TORTURA. MOMENTO PARA VERSE OTRO VEZ...



...MONTADO EN SU CABALLO SU RINCO, RECIBIENDO EL HOMENAJE DE LOS SIERVIENTES Y DE LOS INDIOS QUE SOBREVIVEN EN TUPAC AMARU. EL ULTIMO INDI... TUPAC, UNO RICO Y GUAYO, RECORDADO EN LA ESCUELA QUE LOS ESPANIOLES RESERVAN PARA LOS CIRCUIOS PRINCIPALES.

EL DESCAMISADO

Fig.19 . Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Duranona , *America Latina 450 Años de Guerra*, Interior Illustration, 1973.(Gracci Ricardo, *El descamisado* Vol 10, 15)

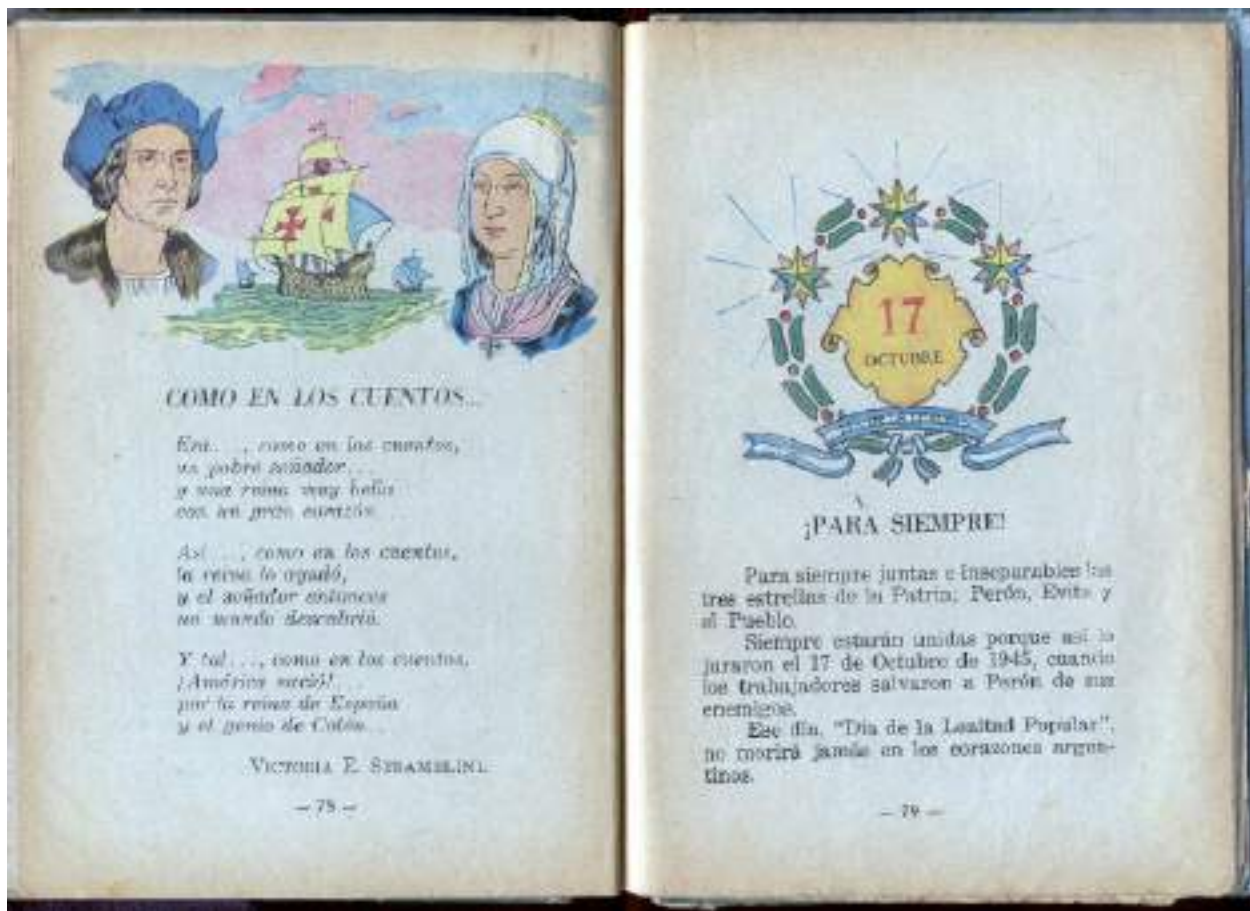


Fig.20 . Picollo, N. L, *Cajita de música*, 1953. Interior Illustration, pages 78-79. Buenos Aires, Editorial Estrada.



Fig.21 . Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Duranona , *America Latina 450 Años de Guerra*, Interior Illustration, 1973.(Gracci Ricardo, *El descamisado* Vol 10, 15).



Fig.22 . Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Duranona , *America Latina 450 Años de Guerra*, Interior Illustration, 1973.(Gracci Ricardo, *El descamisado Vol 10, 15*)



Fig.23 . Hector Oesterheld and Leopoldo Duranona , *America Latina 450 Años de Guerra*, Interior Illustration, 1973.(Gracci Ricardo, *El descamisado* Vol 10, 15).

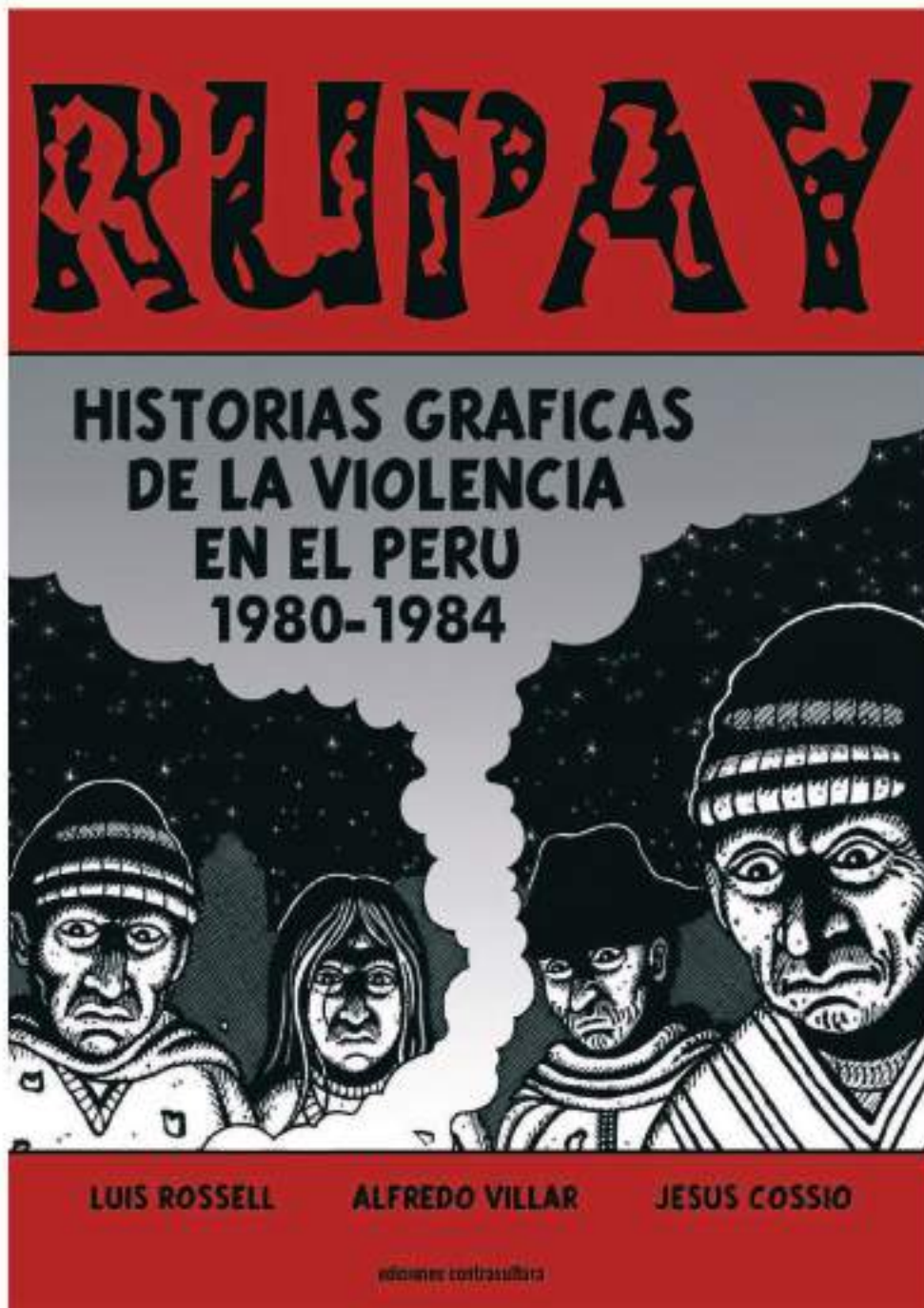


Fig.24 . Luis Rosell, Alfredo Villar and Jesus , *Rupay: Hsitorias graficas de la violencia en el Peru*, Book Cover , 2009 .(Rosell, Luis, Alfredo Villar and Jesus Cossio. *Rupay: Historias graficas de la violencia en el Peru 1980-1984*)



Fig.25 . Luis Rosell, Alfredo Villar and Jesus , *Rupay: Historias graficas de la violencia en el Peru*, Interior Illustration , 2009 .(Rosell, Luis, Alfredo Villar and Jesus Cossio. *Rupay: Historias graficas de la violencia en el Peru 1980-1984*)



Fig.26 . Luis Rosell, Alfredo Villar and Jesus , *Rupay: Historias graficas de la violencia en el Peru*, Interior Illustration , 2009 . (Rosell, Luis, Alfredo Villar and Jesus Cossio. *Rupay: Historias graficas de la violencia en el Peru 1980-1984*)



Fig.27 . Luis Rosell, Alfredo Villar and Jesus , *Rupay: Hstorias graficas de la violencia en el Peru*, Interior Illustration , 2009 .(Rosell, Luis, Alfredo Villar and Jesus Cossio. *Rupay: Historias graficas de la violencia en el Peru 1980-1984*)

Appendix
Visual Component

List of Figures

1.	<i>Neruda</i> , Book Cover A	75
2.	<i>Neruda</i> , Book Cover B	76
3.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 1	77
4.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 2	78
5.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 3	79
6.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 4	80
7.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 5	81
8.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 6	82
9.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 7	83
10.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 8	84
11.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 9	85
12.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 10	86
13.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 11	87
14.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 12	88
15.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 13	89
16.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 14	90
17.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 15	91
18.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 16	92
19.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 17	93
20.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 18	94
21.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 19	95

22.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 20	96
23.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 21	97
24.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 22	98
25.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 23	99
26.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 24	100
27.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 25	101
28.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 26	102
29.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 27	103
30.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 28	104
31.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 29	105
32.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 30	106
33.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 31	107
34.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 32	108
35.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 33	109
36.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 34	110
37.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 35	111
38.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 36	112
39.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 37	113
40.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 38	114
41.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 39	115
42.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 40	116
43.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 41	117
44.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 42	118

45.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 43	119
46.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 44	120
47.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 45	121
48.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 46	122
49.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 47	123
50.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 48	124
51.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 49	125
52.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 50	126
53.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 51	127
54.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 52	128
55.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 58	129
56.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 59	130
57.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 60	131
58.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 64	132
59.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 66	134
60.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 76-77	135
61.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 84	136
62.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 85	137
63.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 86	138
64.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 87	139
65.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 92	140
66.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 93	141
67.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 94-95	142

68.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 107	143
69.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 108	144
70.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 109	145
71.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 110	146
72.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 119	147
73.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 120	148
74.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 121	149
75.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 122	150
76.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 123	151
77.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 124-125	152
78.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 126	153
79.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 128	154
80.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 123	155
81.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 139	156
82.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 141	157
83.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 148	158
84.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 149	159
85.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 150	160
86.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 151	161
87.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 155	162
88.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 162	163
89.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 163	164
90.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 164	165

91.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 165	166
92.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 166	167
93.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 167	168
94.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 168	169
95.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 169	170
96.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 170	171
97.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 171	172
98.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 172	173
99.	<i>Neruda</i> , Interior Book Illustration, page 173	174

***Neruda*- A Biographical Graphic Novel**

Neruda is a graphic novel written by Oscar Pantoja and illustrated by me. This story of 185 pages shows the life of Pablo Neruda as a metaphor to point out the death of freedom in Chile after the violent coup against Salvador Allende's democratic government in September 11, 1973 organized by the United States and the Chilean army forces. For this reason, this graphic novel seeks to create a historical memory to understand the dynamics of dispossession of the capitalist system that seeks to control art and life to control freedom of thought in the Latin American people.

This graphic novel will be published in the second semester of 2020 by the publisher El Rey Naranjo of Colombia. So far the editorial project has two proposals for covers, fifty-nine colored pages and ninety inked pages for a total of 145 pages. To fulfill the contract proposed by the publisher, I will finish the graphic novel on August 2020.

This project allowed me to reflect on the importance of education and comics for the construction of a better Latin America. Reflecting on the past and our history is the best option to understand who we are and to allow us to engage in a dialogue with memory. This dialogue helps us to create transformative memories that raise awareness and promote a freedom of thought based on criticism of the dominant elites of the Latin American continent.

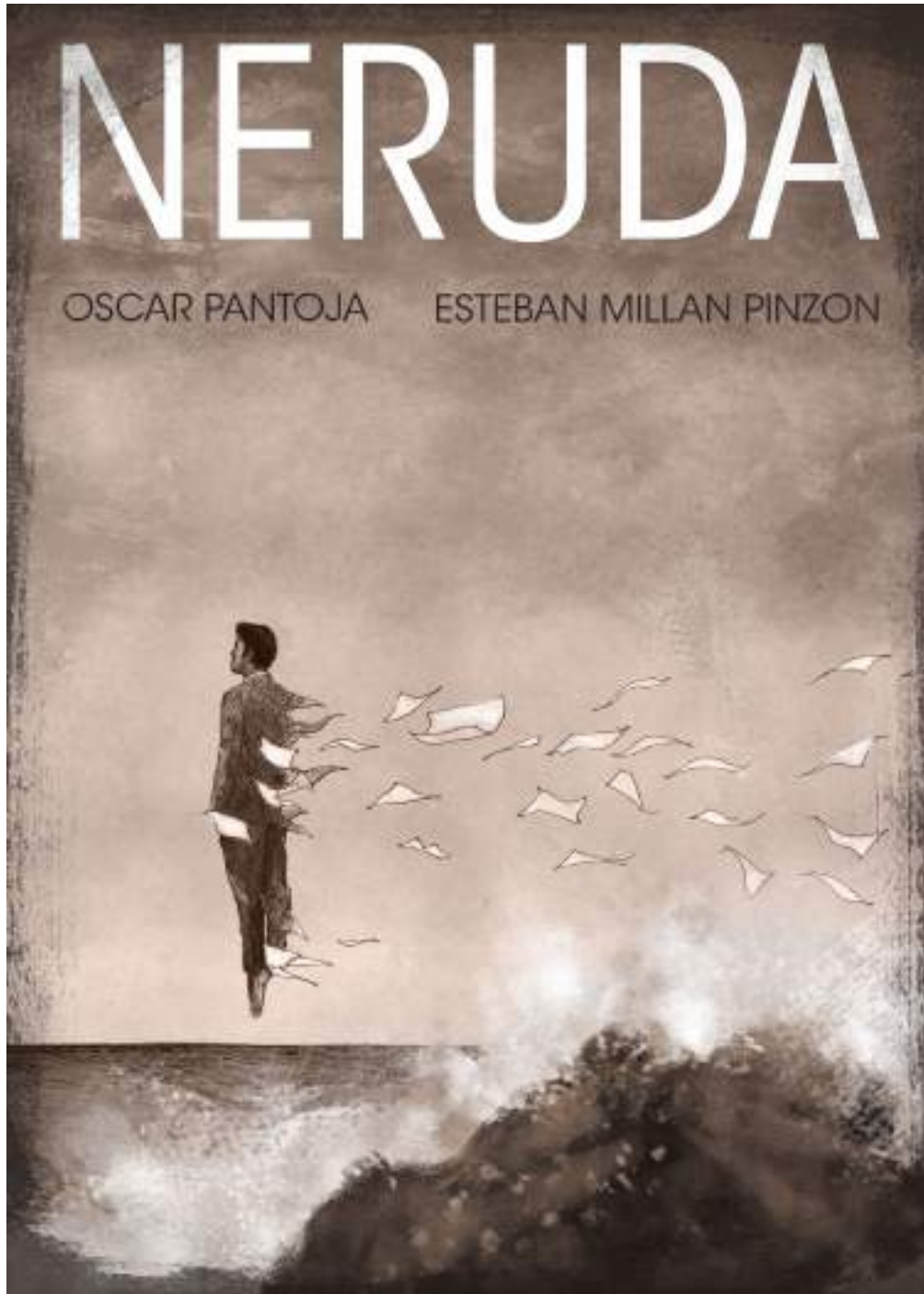


Fig.1. *Neruda*, Graphic Novel Cover Illustration Proposal, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.

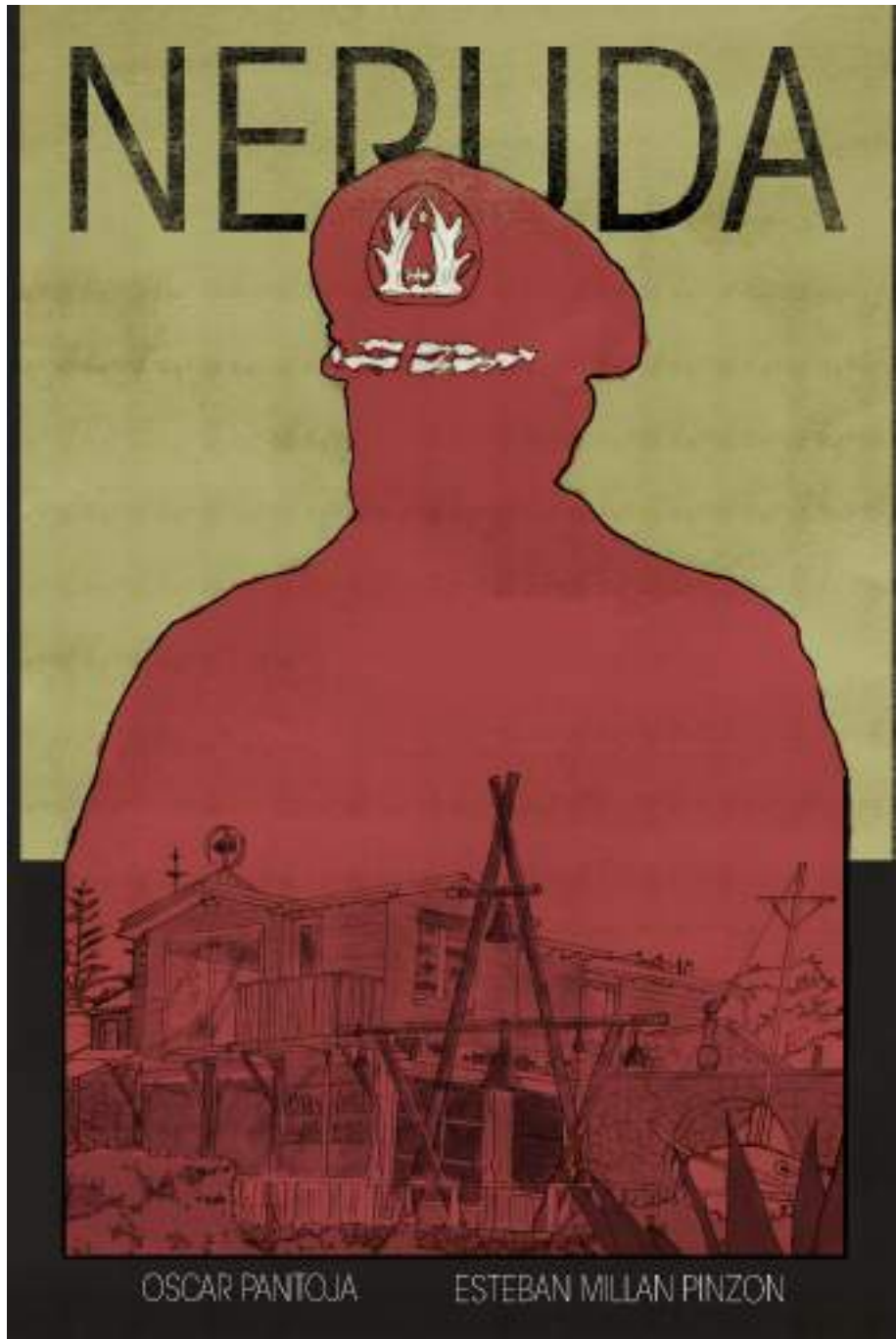


Fig.2. *Neruda*, Graphic Novel Cover Illustration Proposal, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.

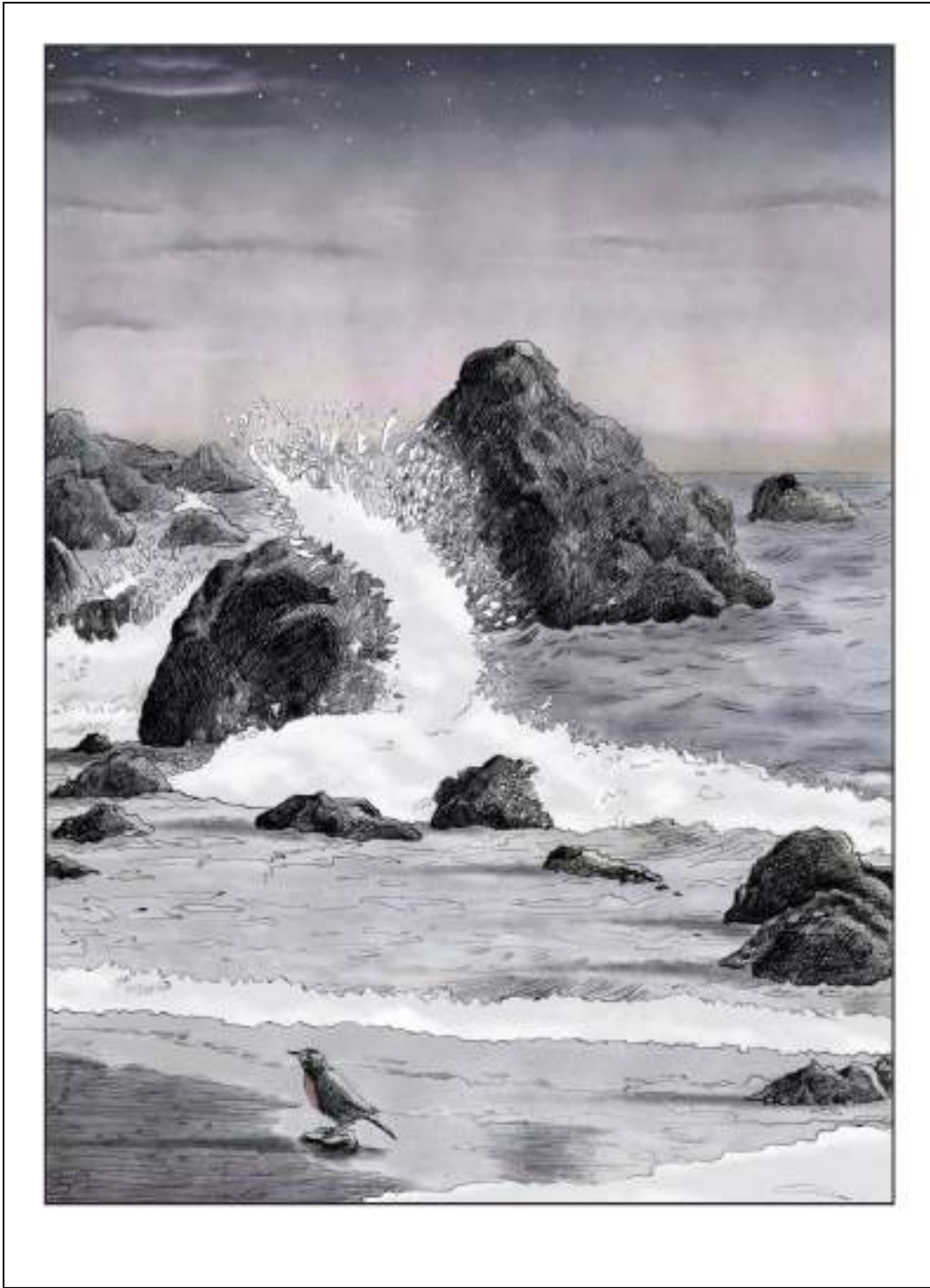


Fig.3. *Neruda Page 1*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.4. *Neruda Page 2-3*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 13.2 x 9 in.

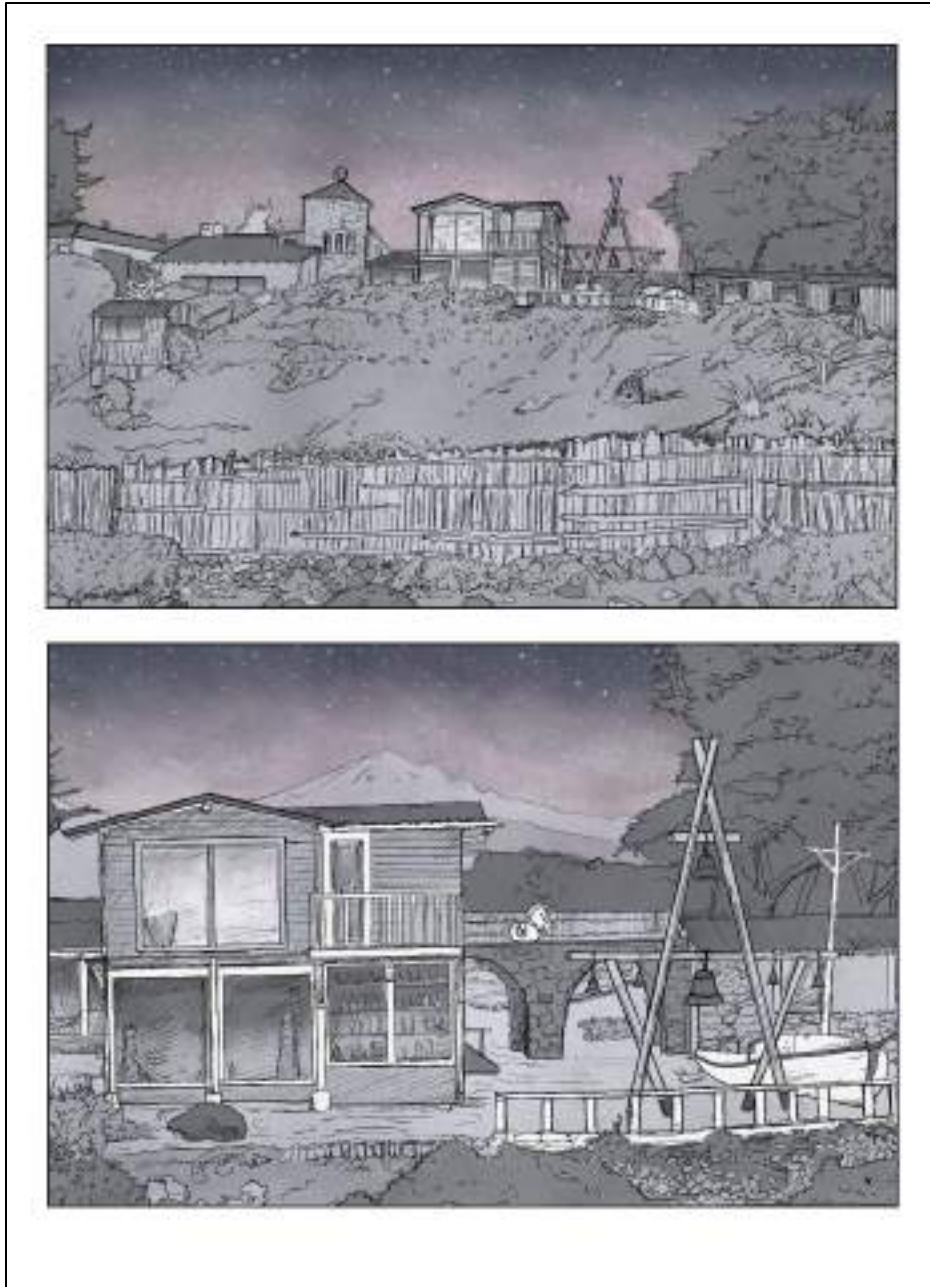


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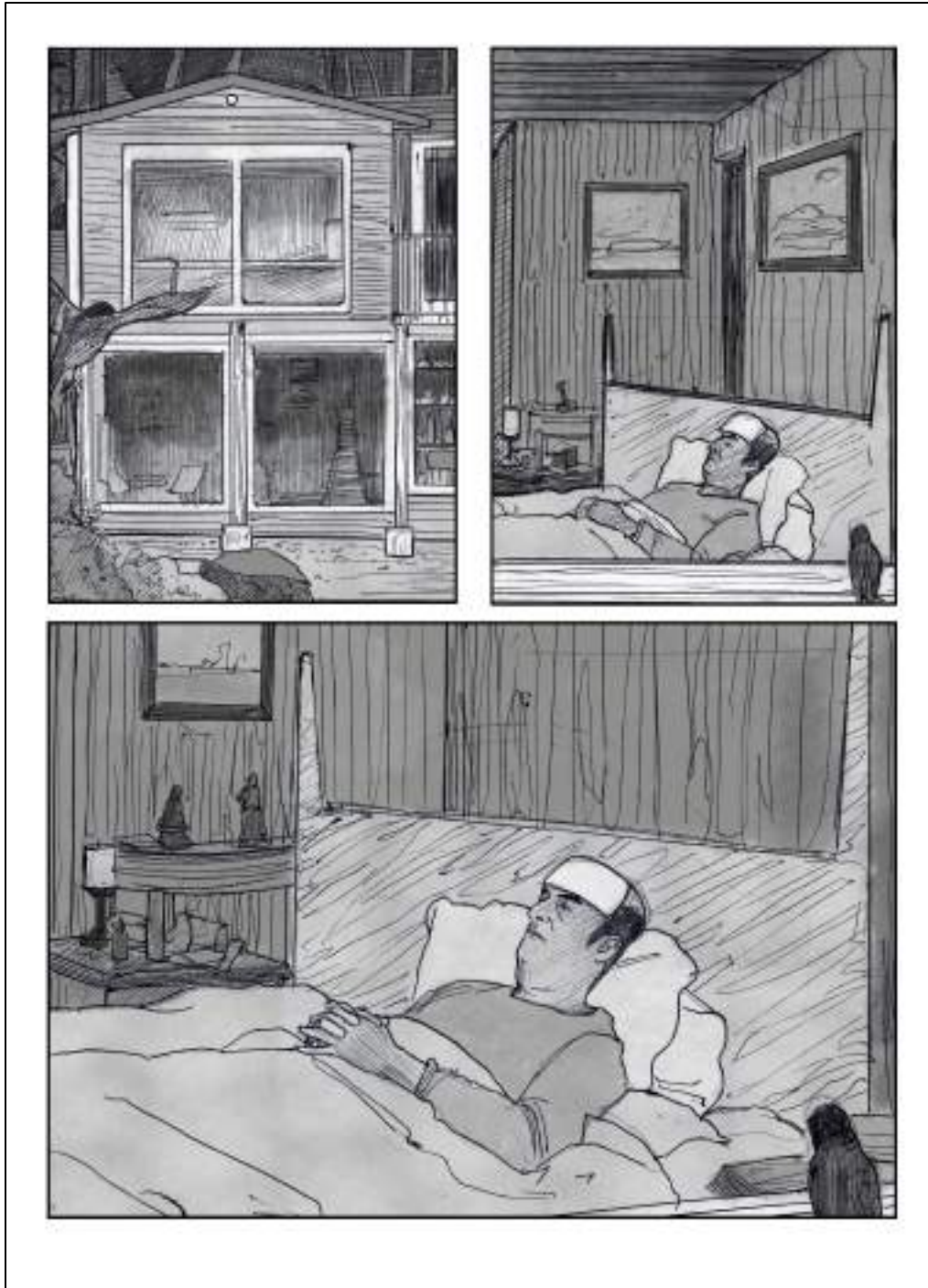


Fig.6. *Neruda Page 5*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.7. *Neruda Page 6*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.8. *Neruda Page 7*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.9. *Neruda Page 8*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.

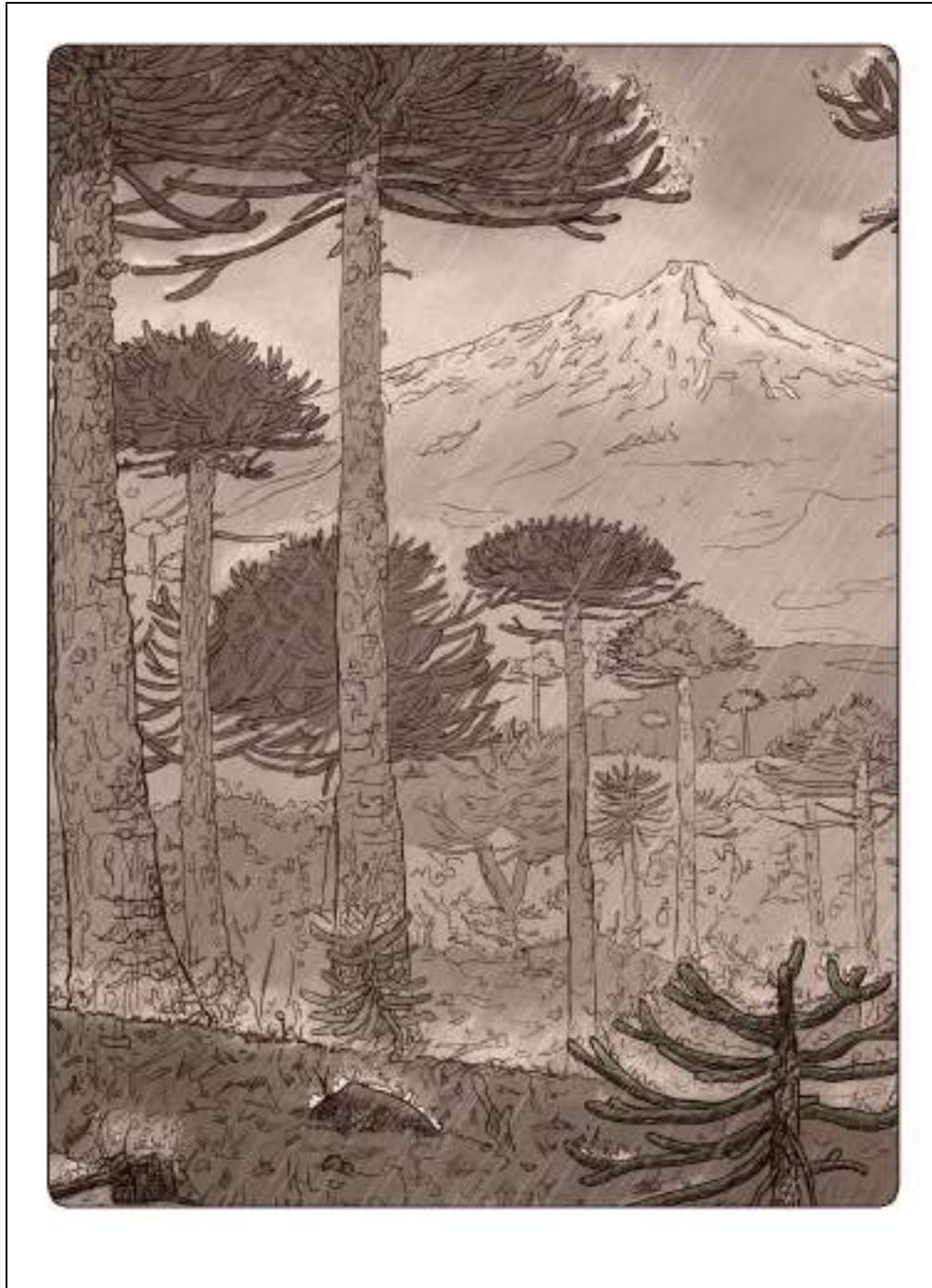


Fig.10. *Neruda Page 9*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.

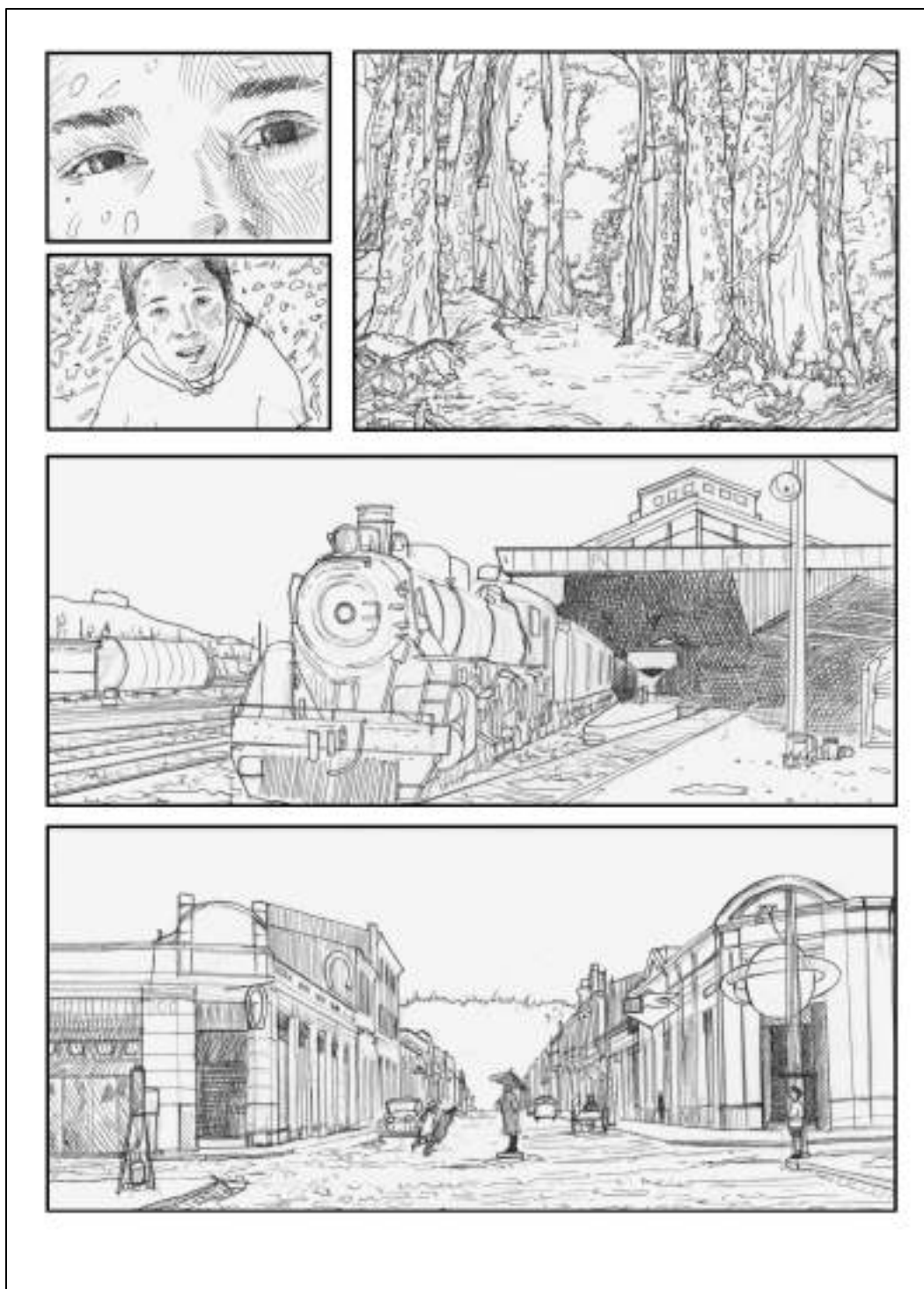


Fig.11. *Neruda Page 10*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.12. *Neruda Page 11*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.13. *Neruda Page 12*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.

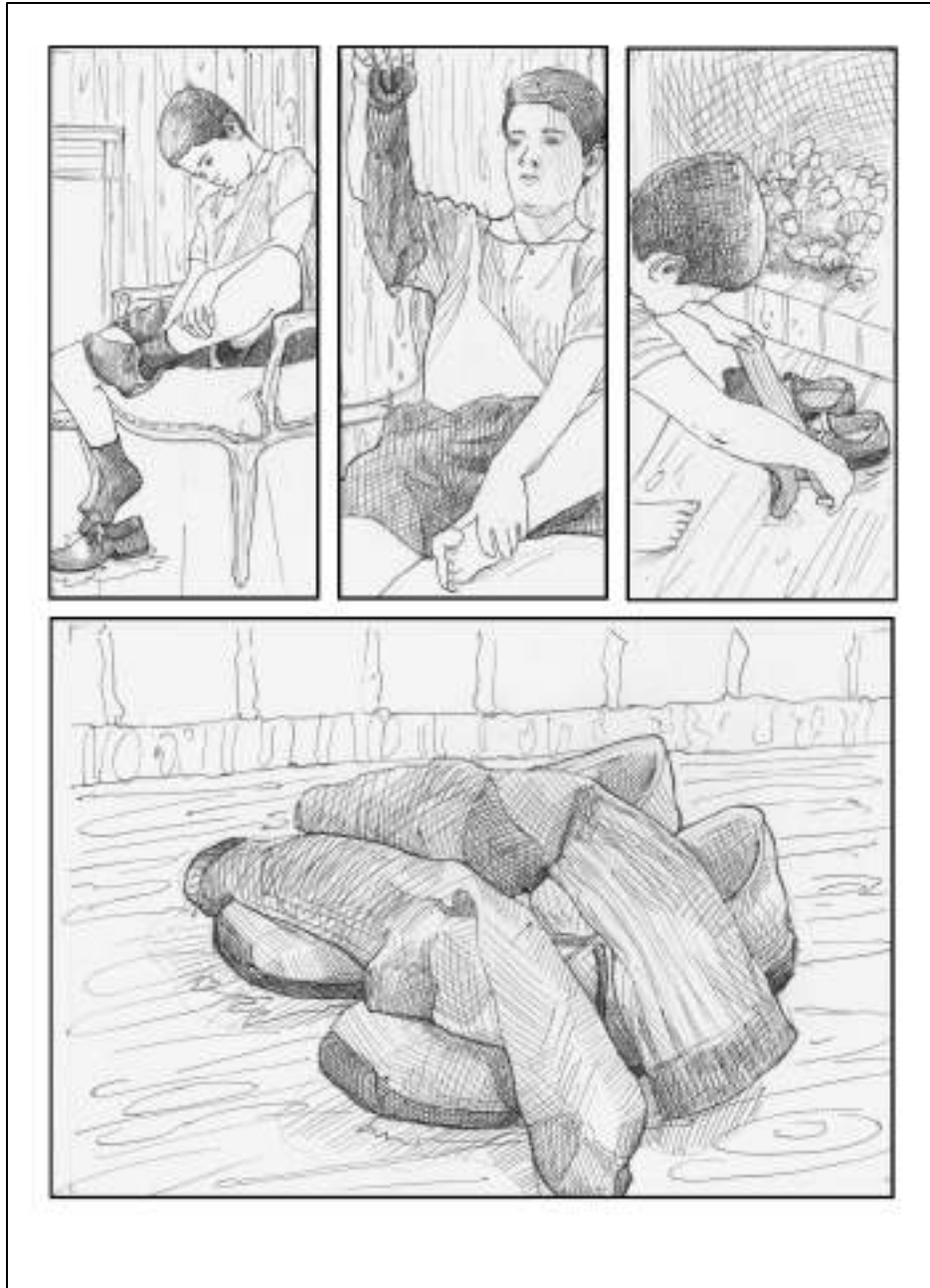


Fig.14. *Neruda Page 13*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.15. *Neruda Page 14*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.16. *Neruda Page 15*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.17. *Neruda Page 16*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.18. *Neruda Page 17*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.19. *Neruda Page 18*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.20. *Neruda Page 19*, Graphic Novel Interior Thumbnail, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.21. *Neruda Page 20*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.22. *Neruda Page 21*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.23. *Neruda Page 22*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.24. *Neruda Page 23*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.25. *Neruda Page 24*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.26. *Neruda Page 25*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.27. *Neruda Page 26*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.

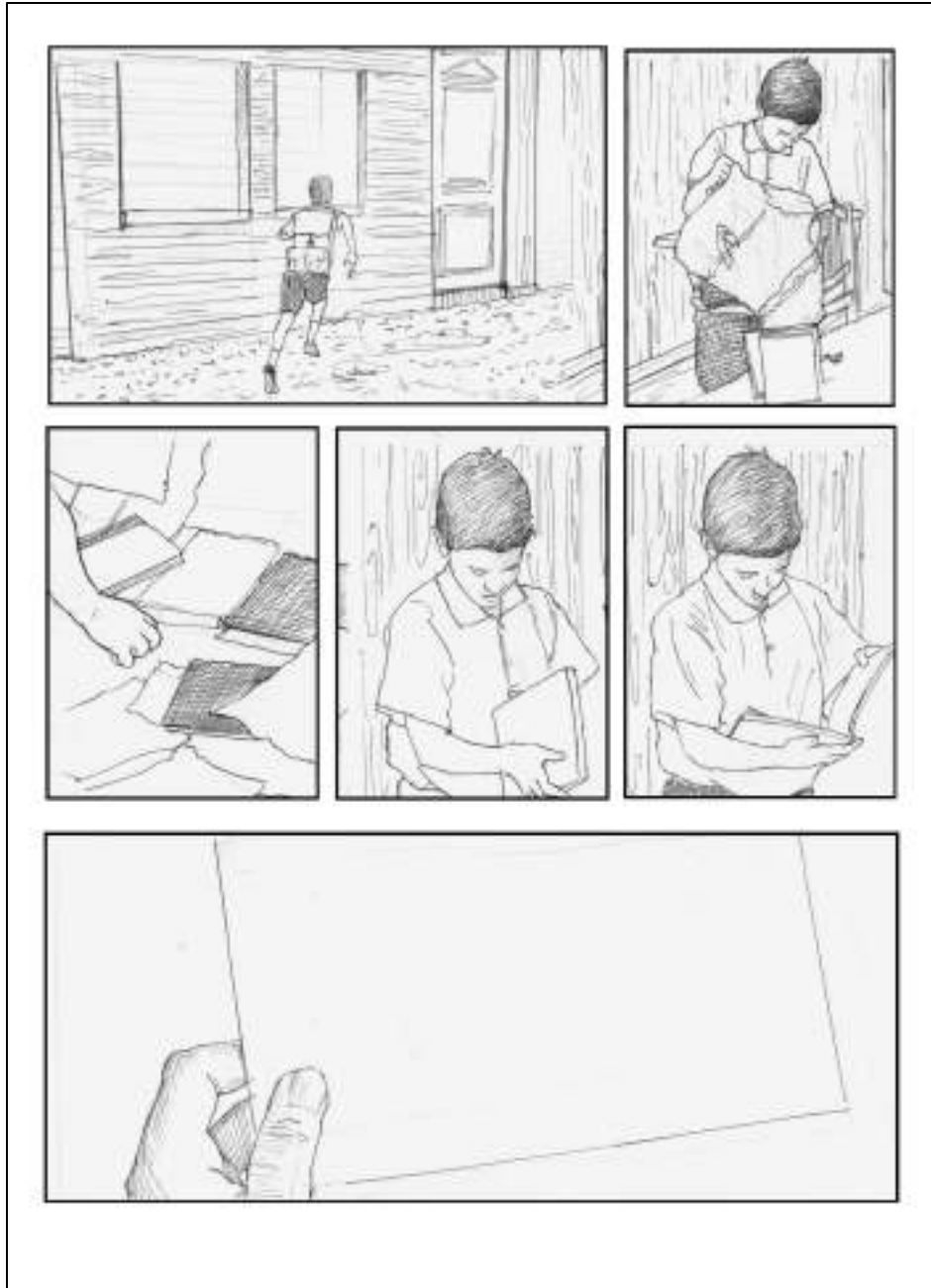


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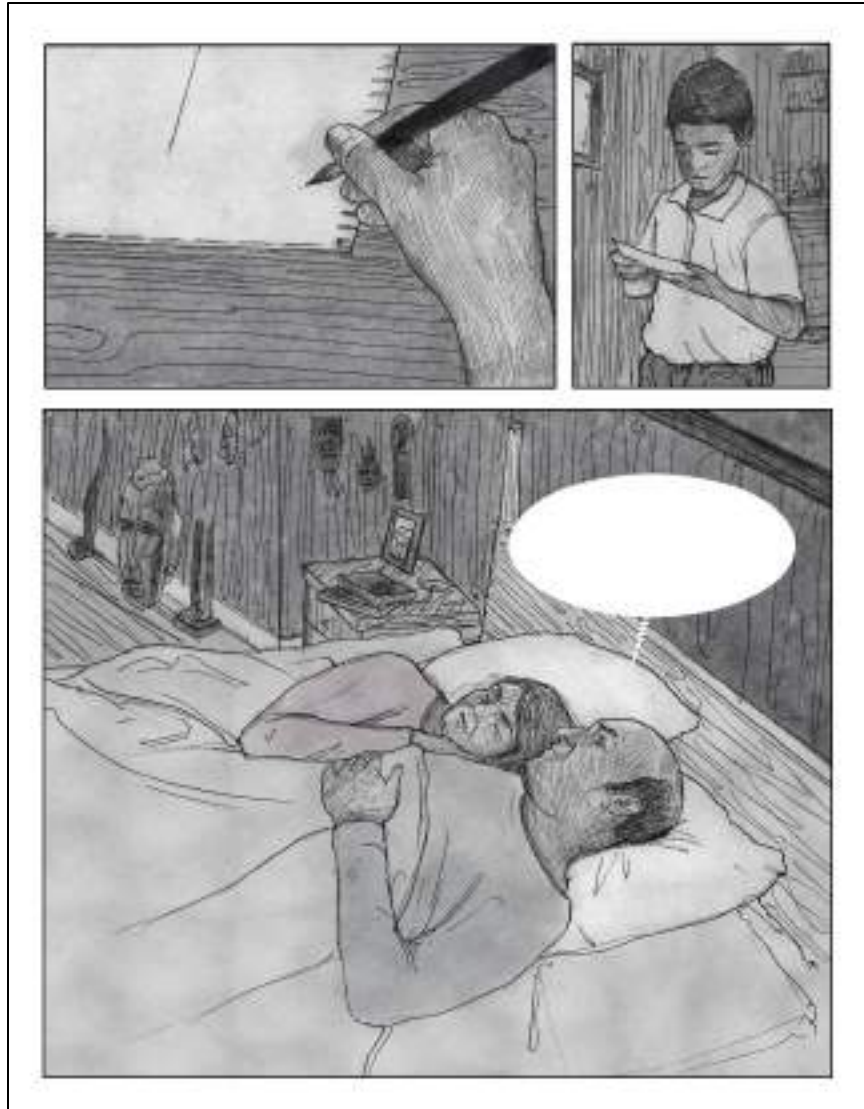


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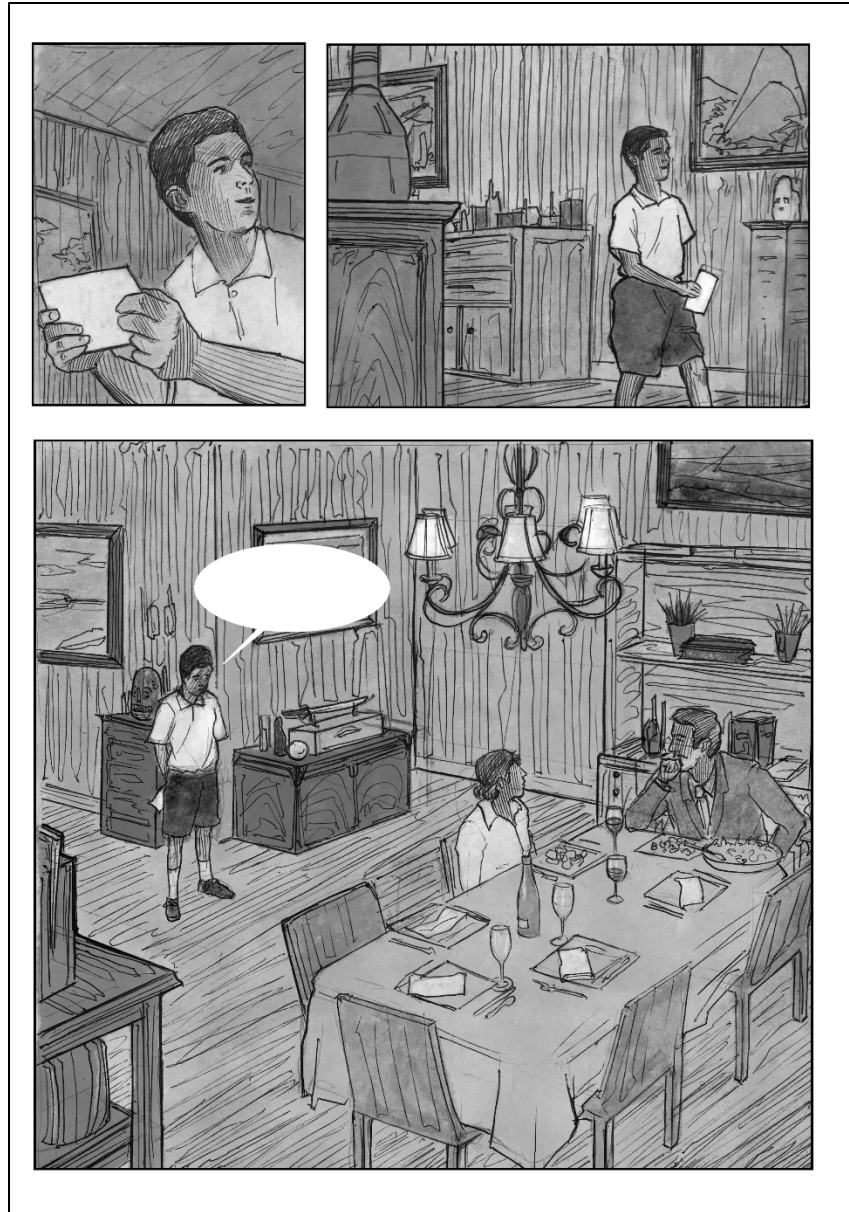


Fig.31. *Neruda Page 30*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.32. *Neruda Page 31*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.33. *Neruda Page 32*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.

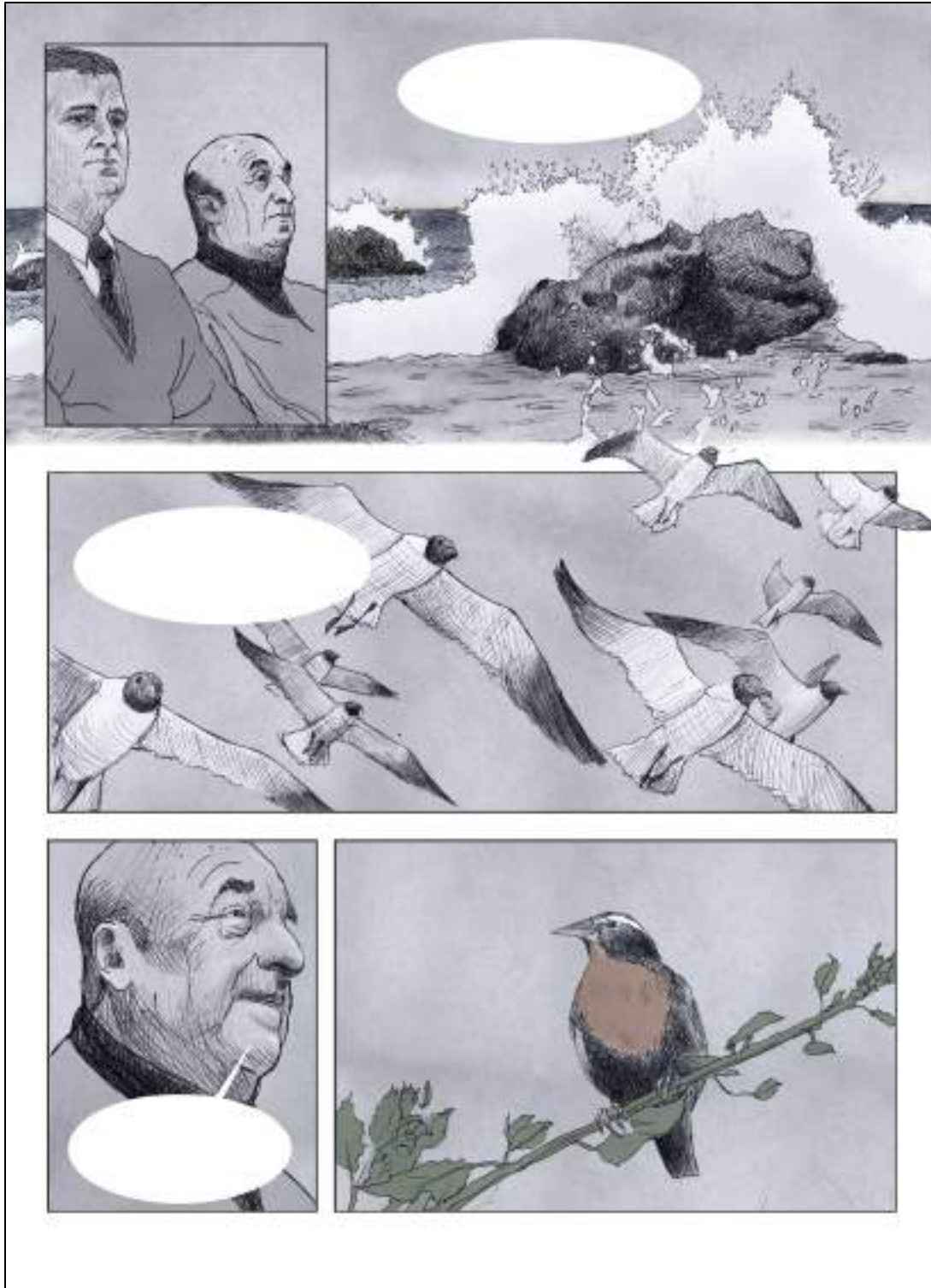


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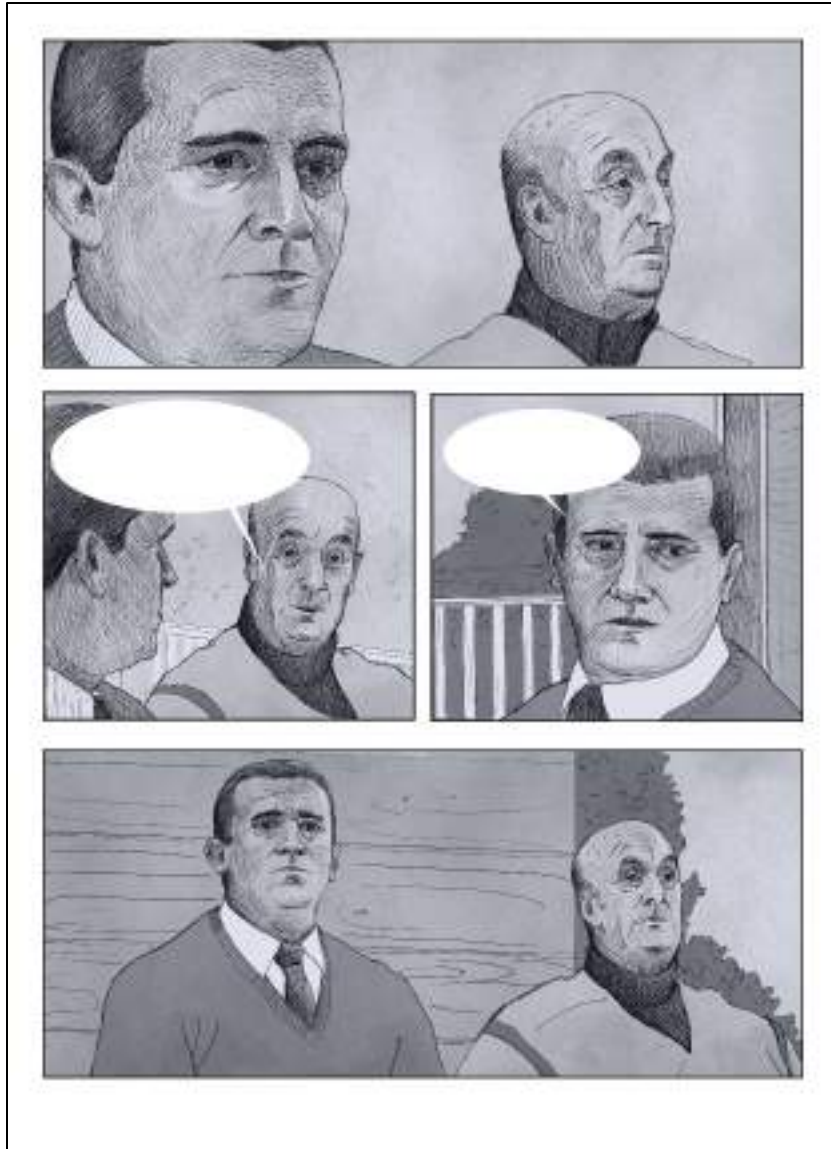


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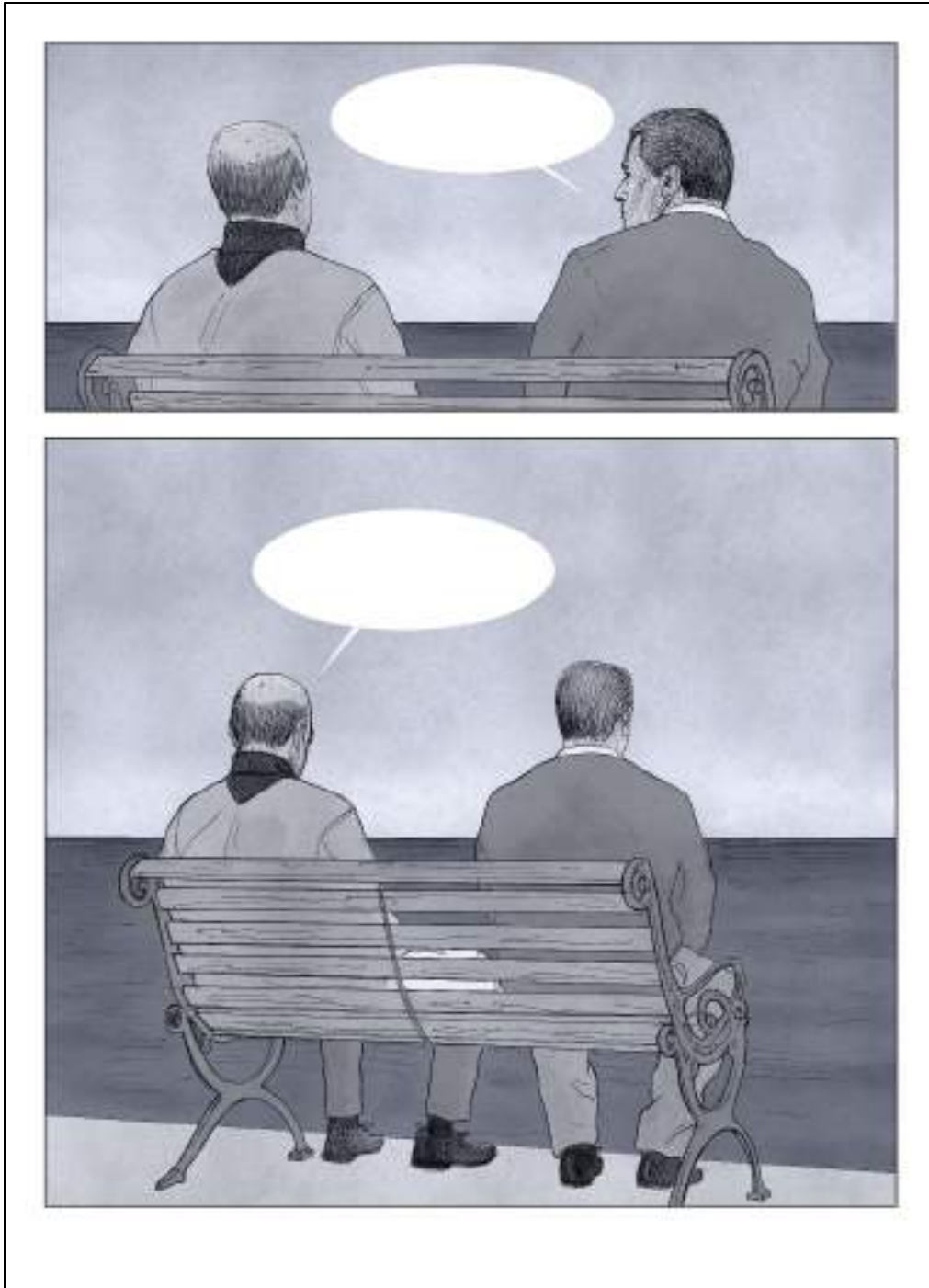


Fig.36. *Neruda Page 35*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.37. *Neruda Page 36*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.

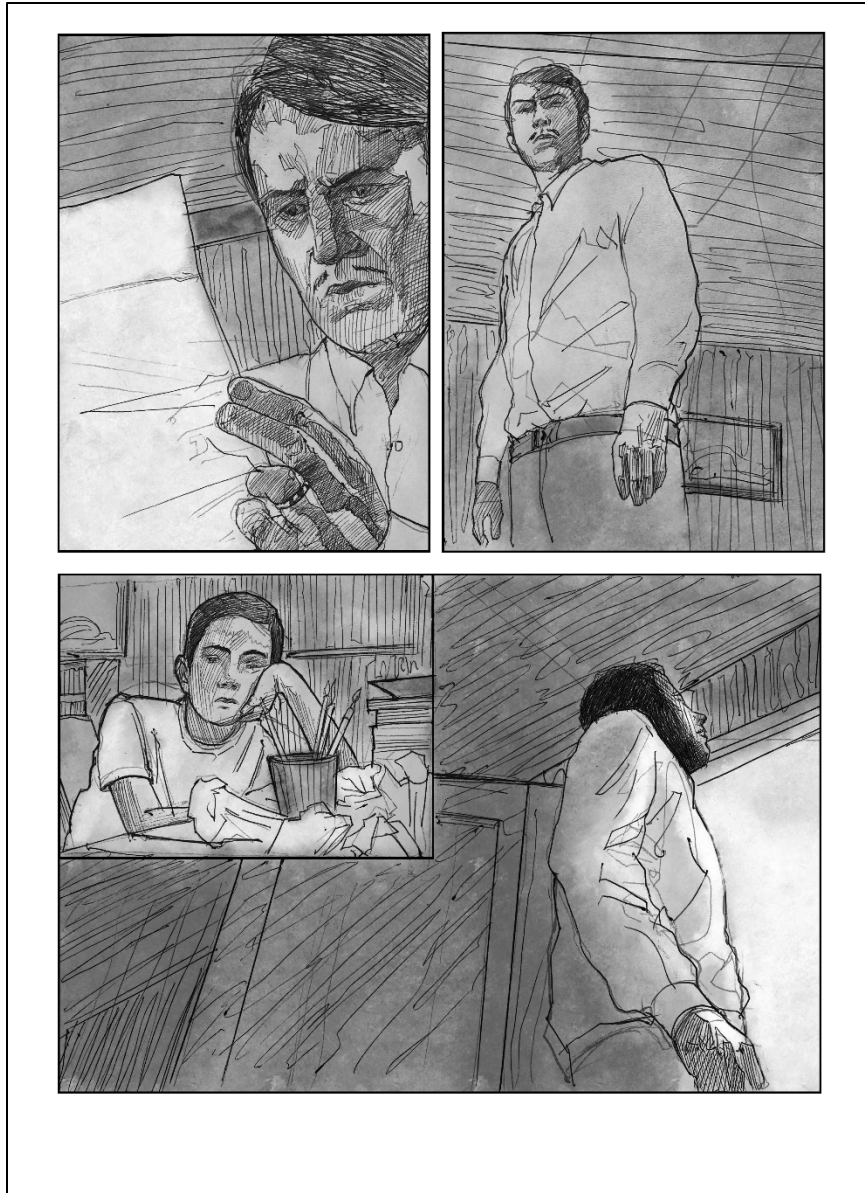


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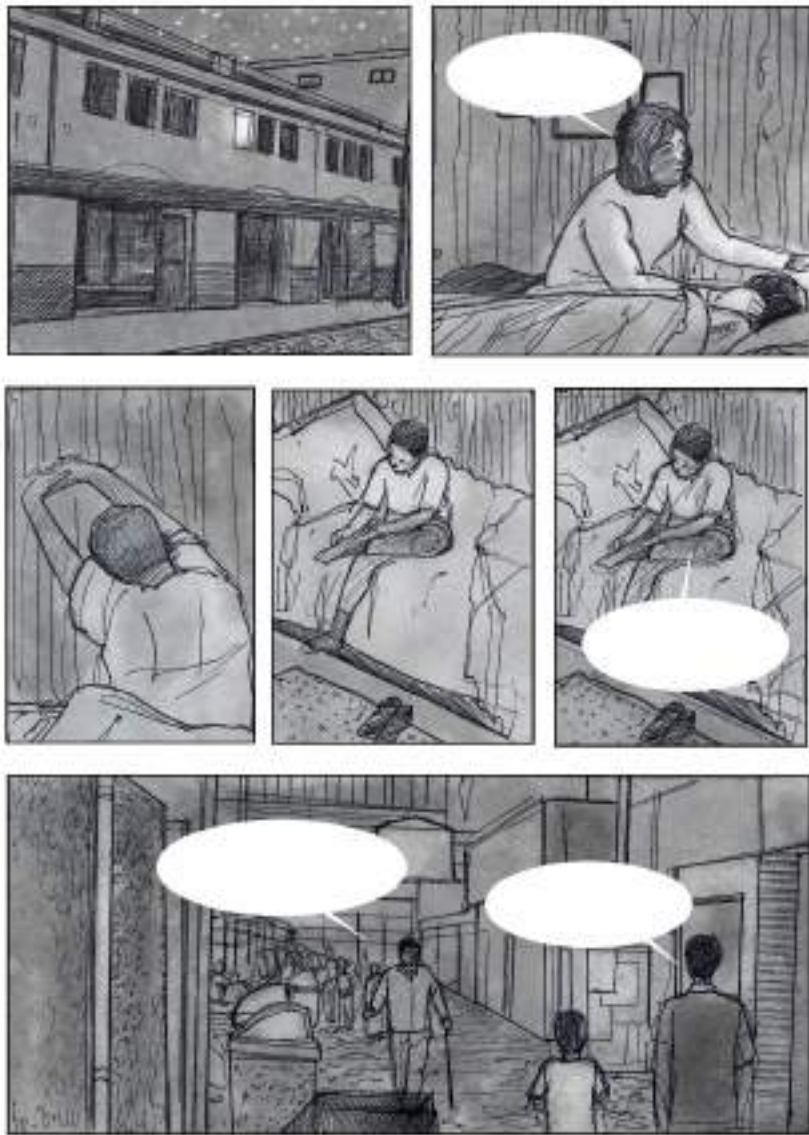


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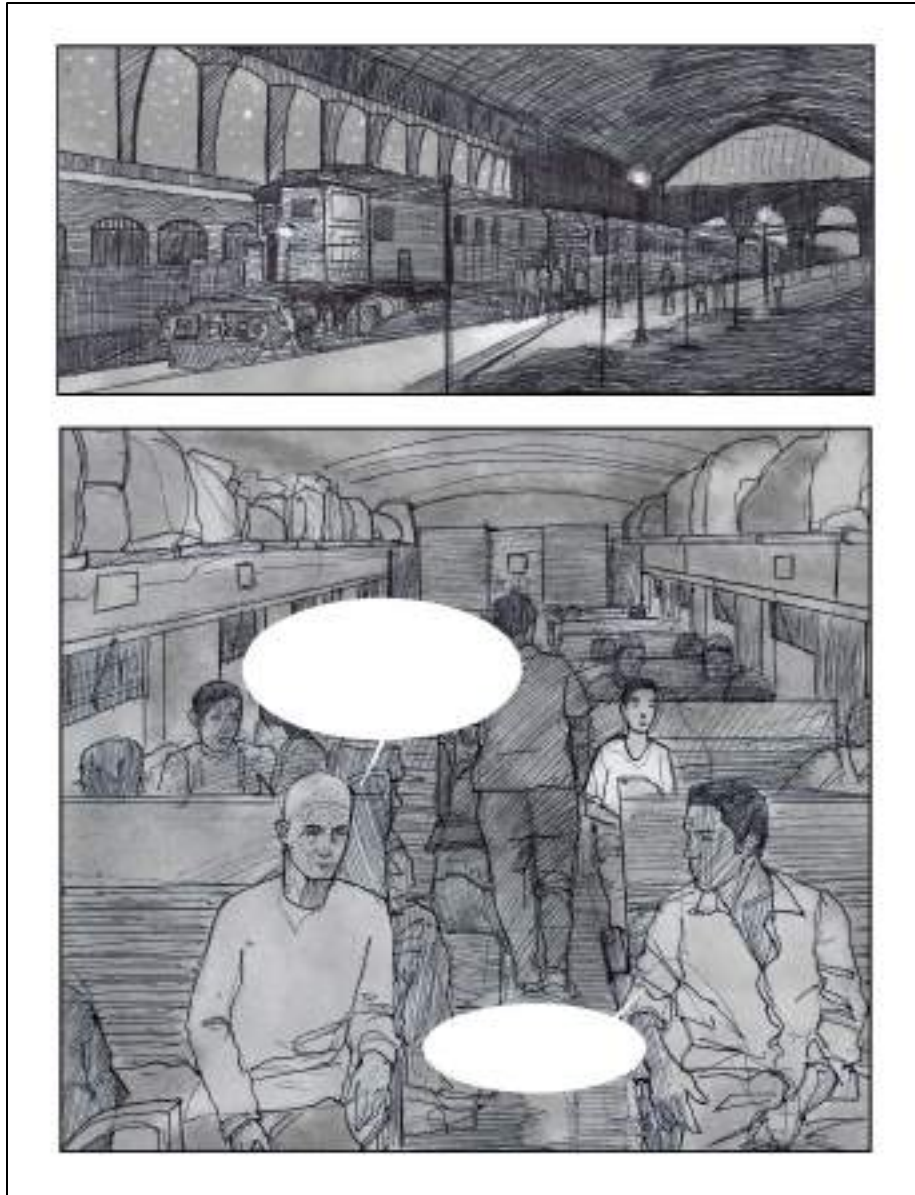


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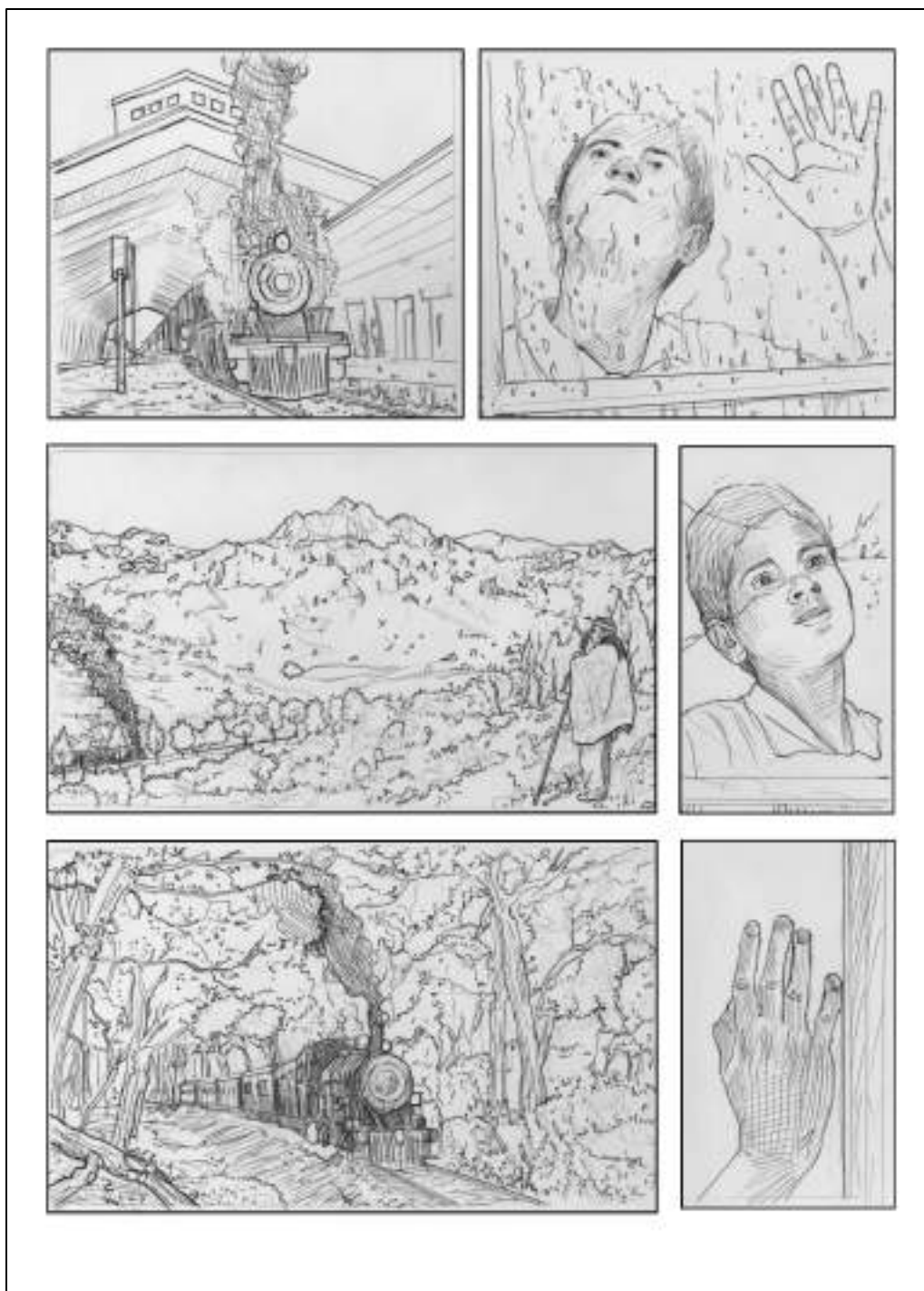


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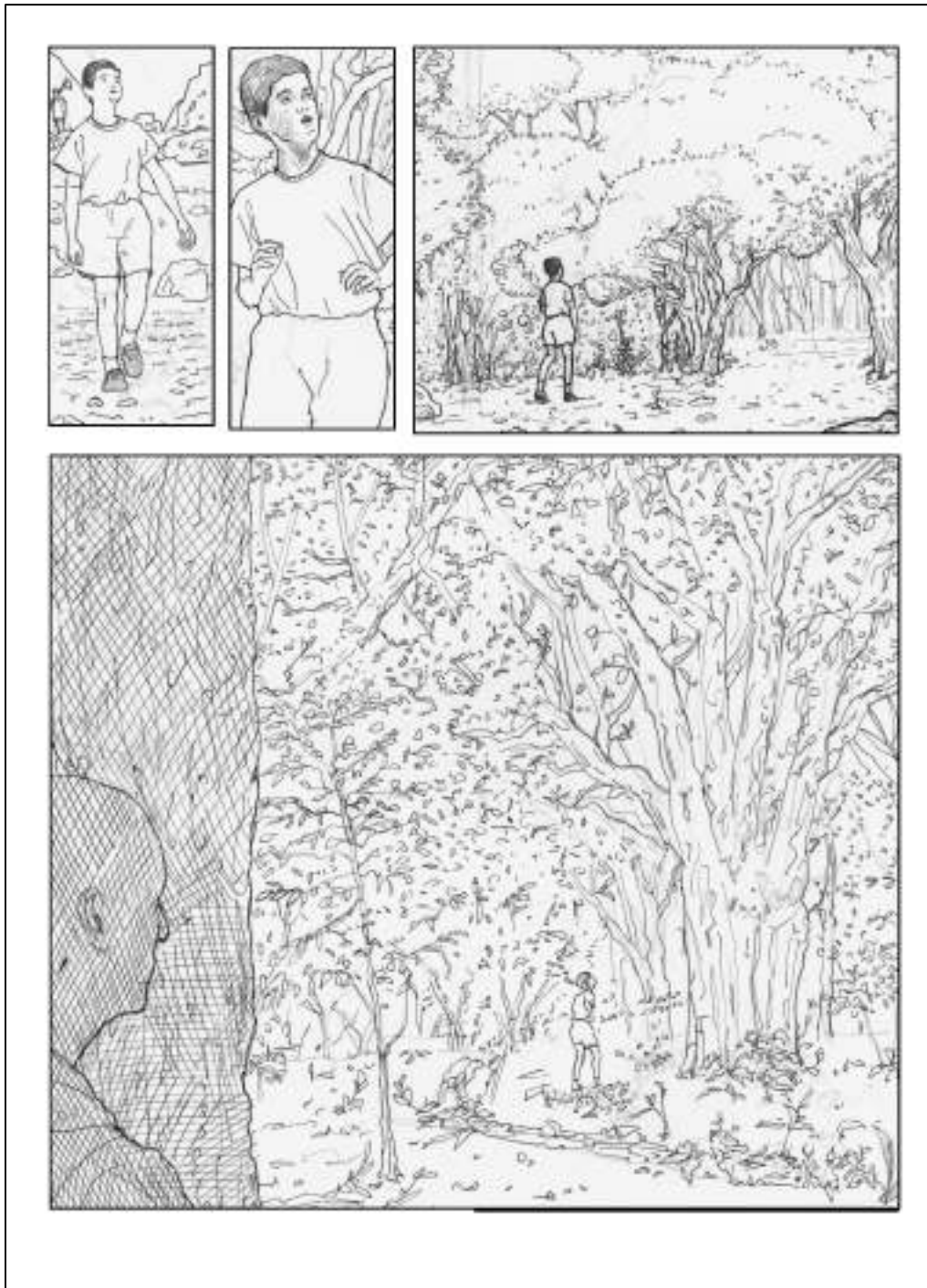


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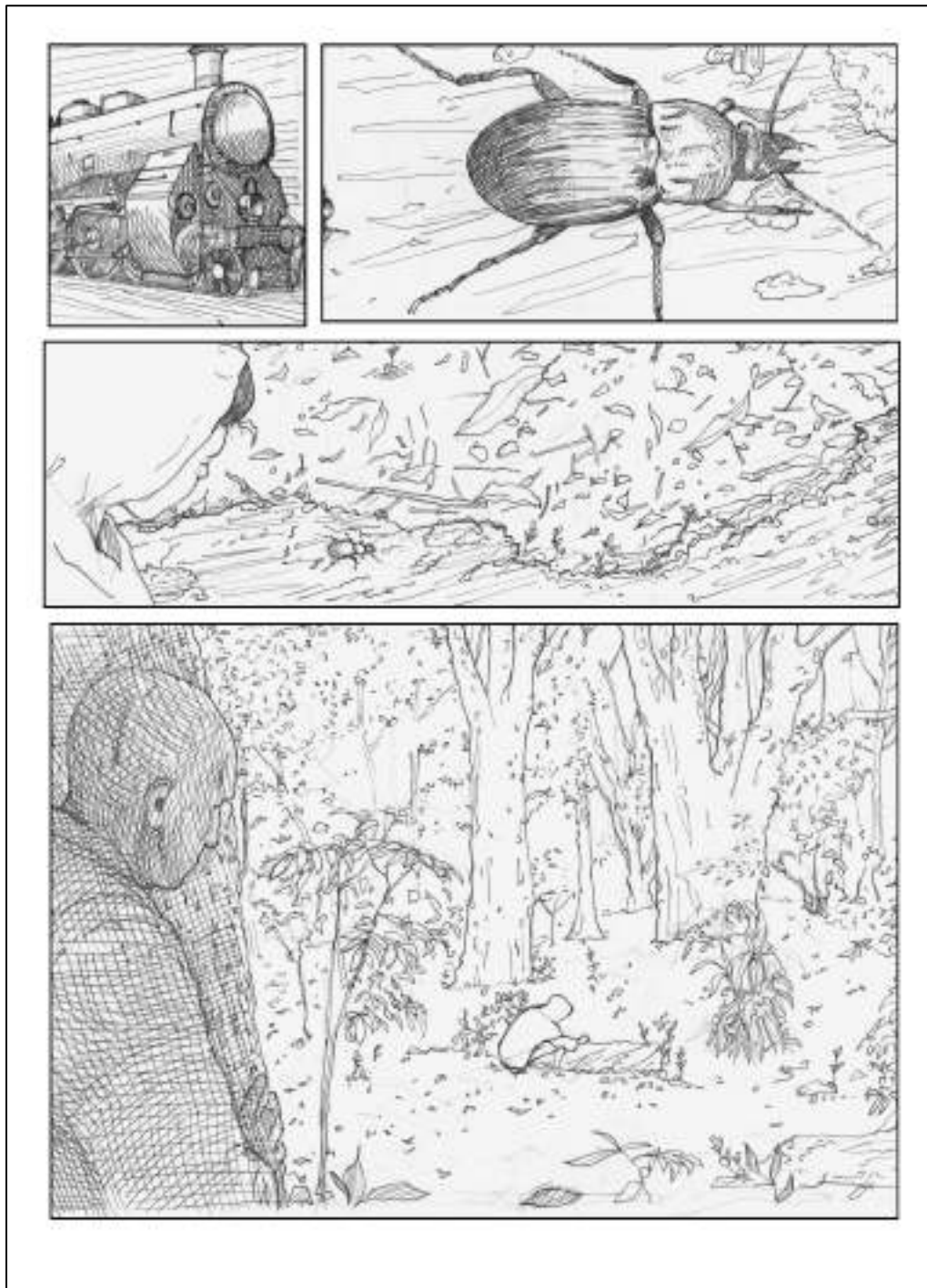


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Fig.45. *Neruda Page 44*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.46. *Neruda Page 45*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.47. *Neruda Page 46*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.48. *Neruda Page 47*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.

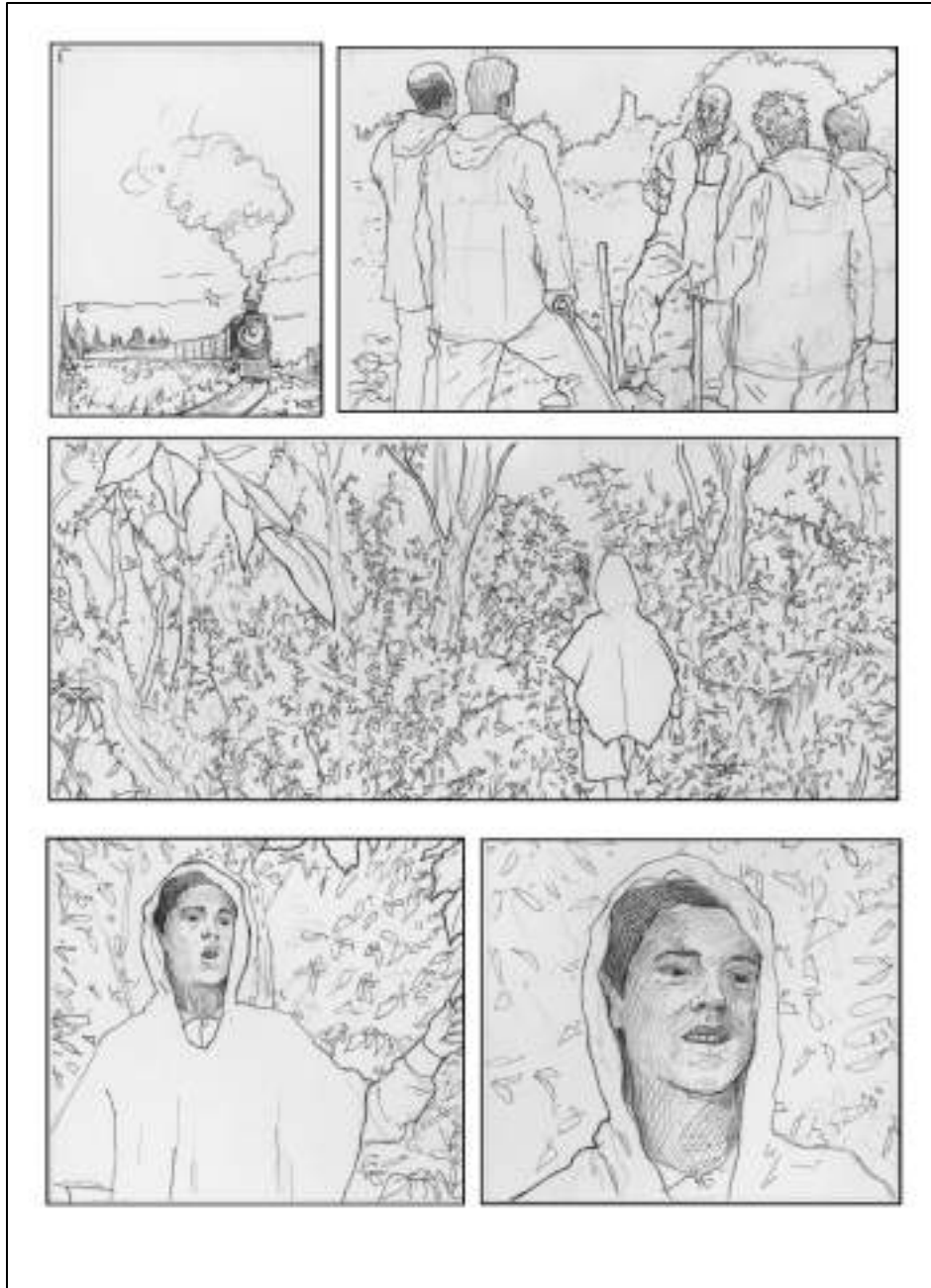


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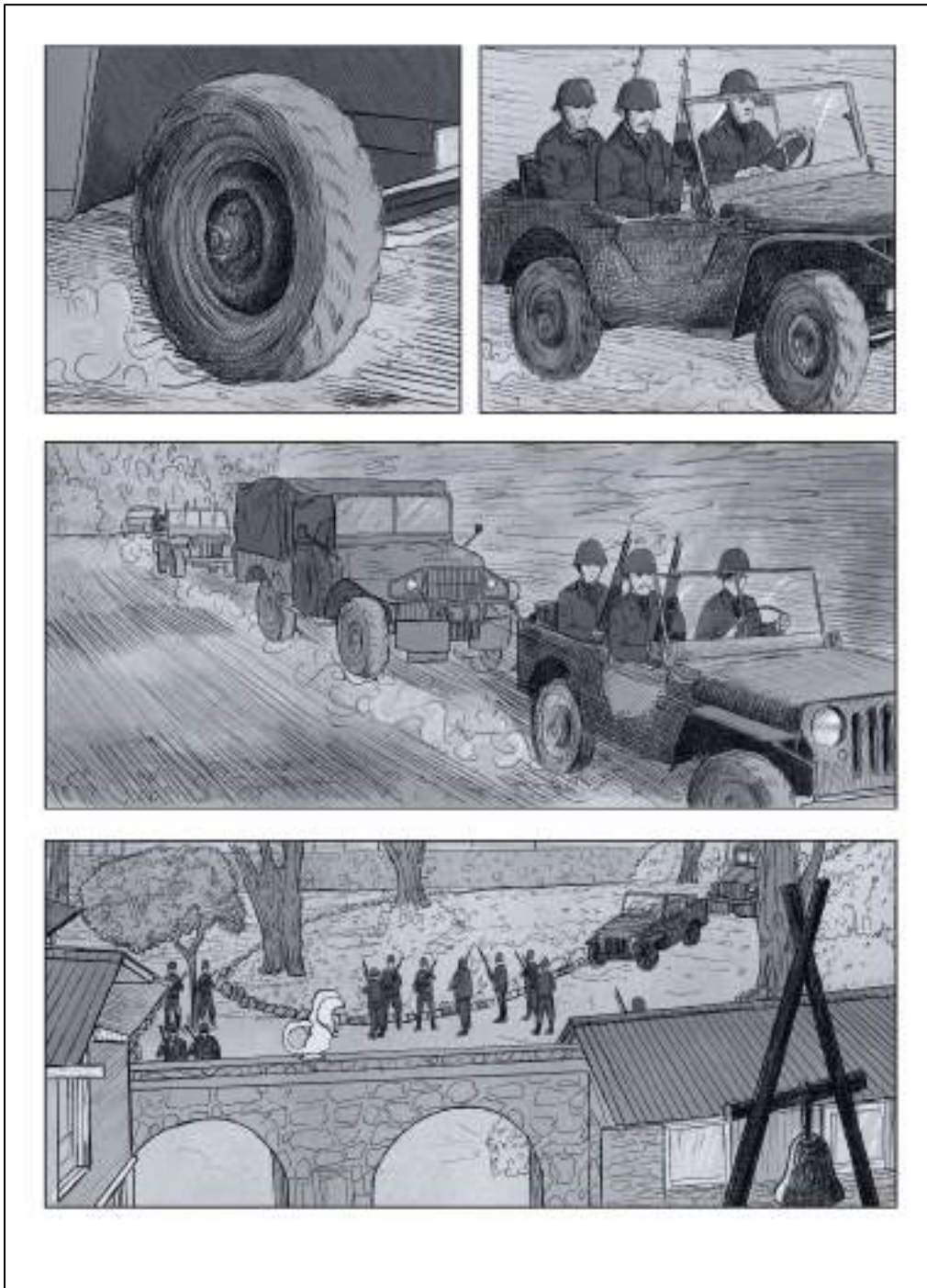


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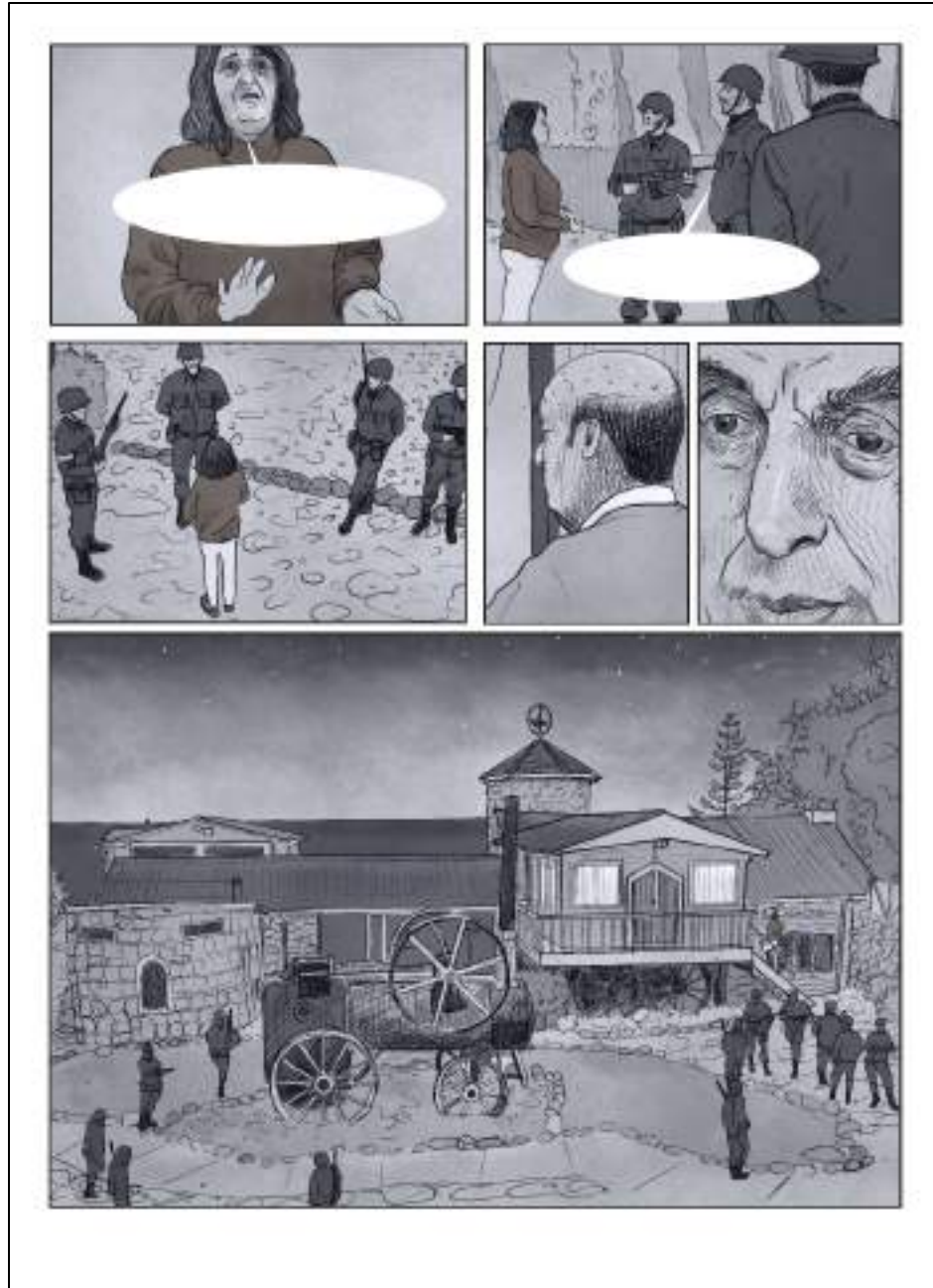


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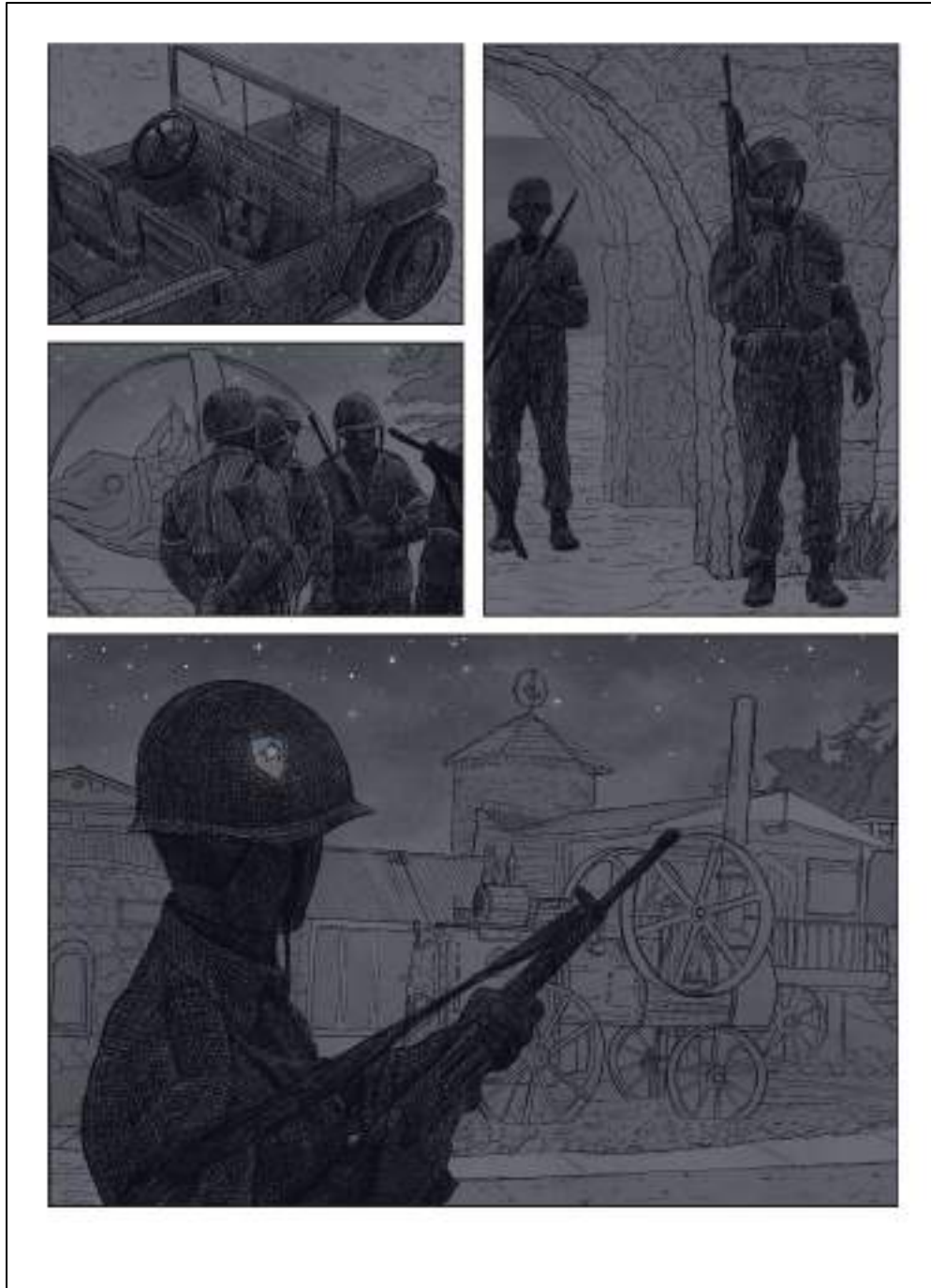


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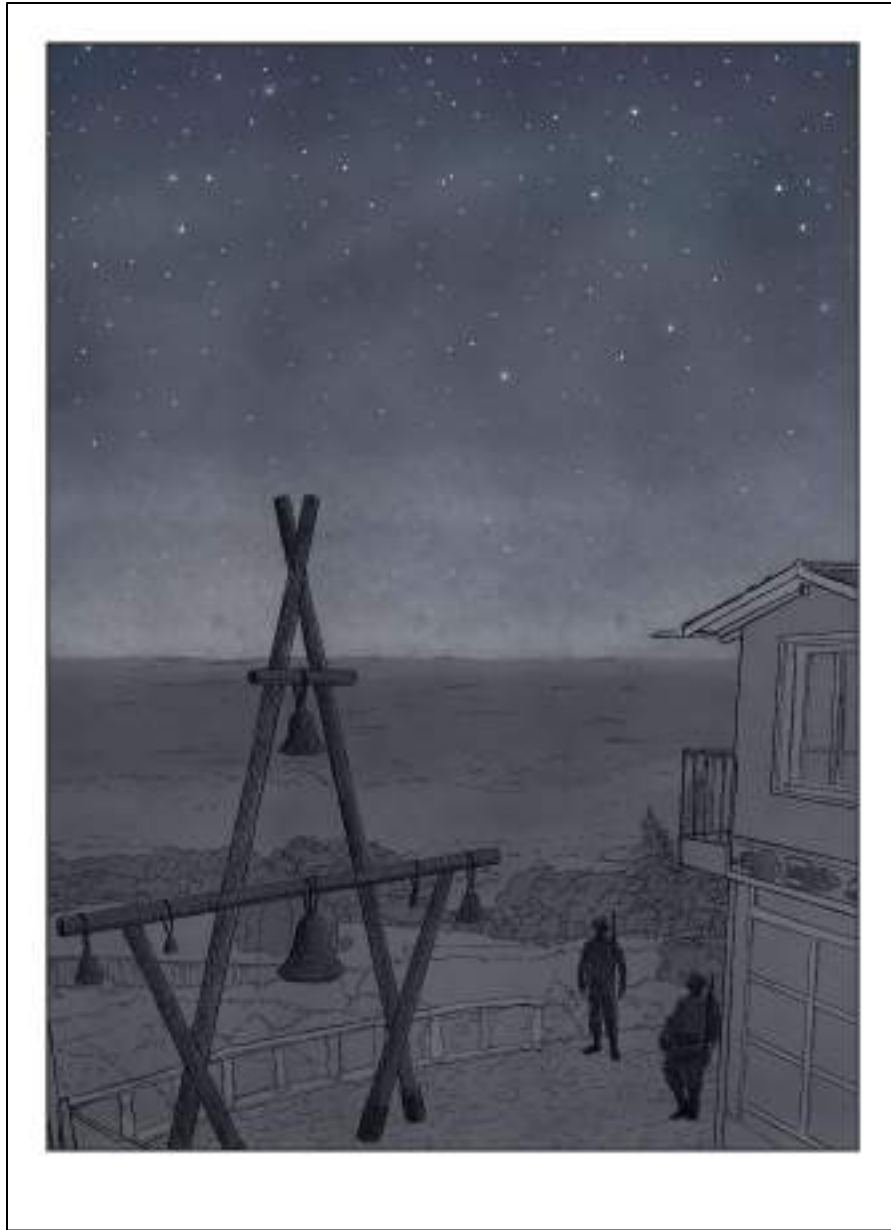


Fig.56. *Neruda Page 59*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.57. *Neruda Page 60*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.58. *Neruda Page 64*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.59. *Neruda Page 65*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.60. *Neruda Page 66*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.

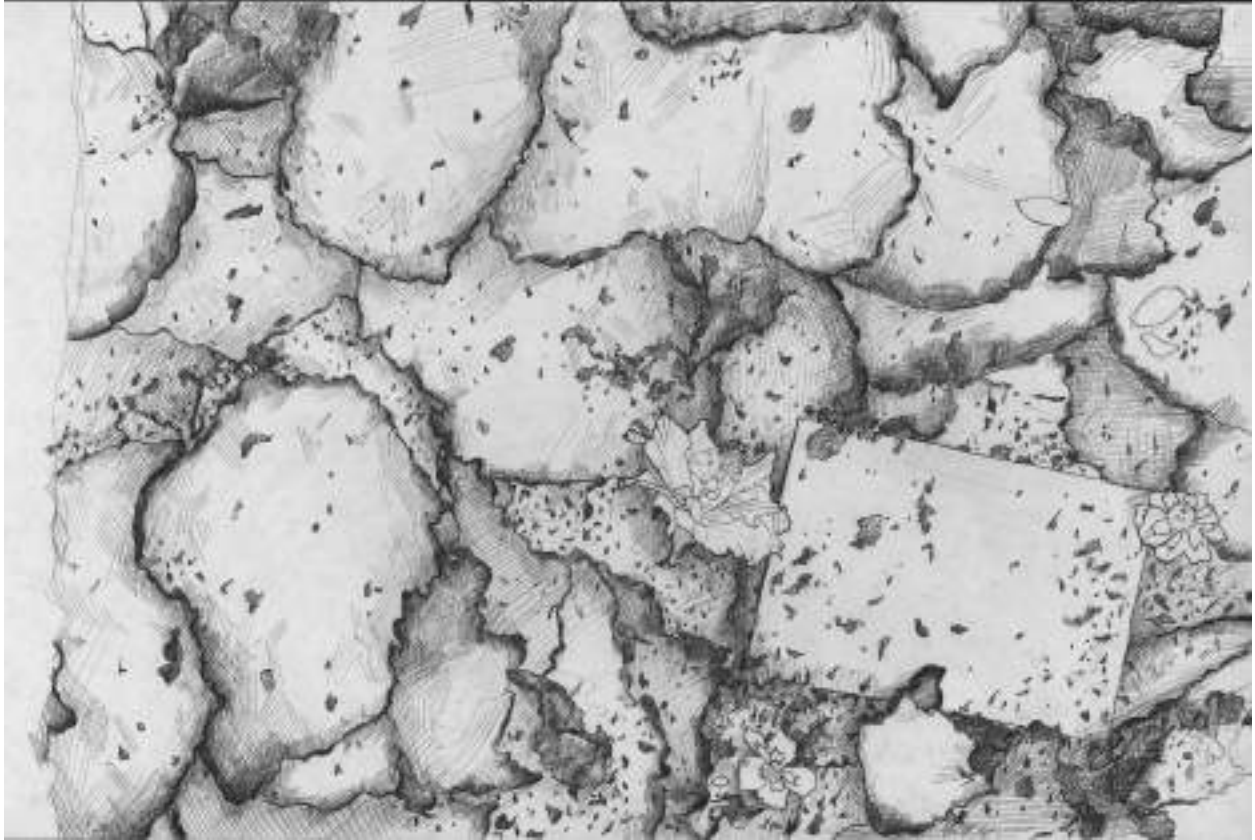


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Fig.62. *Neruda Page 84*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



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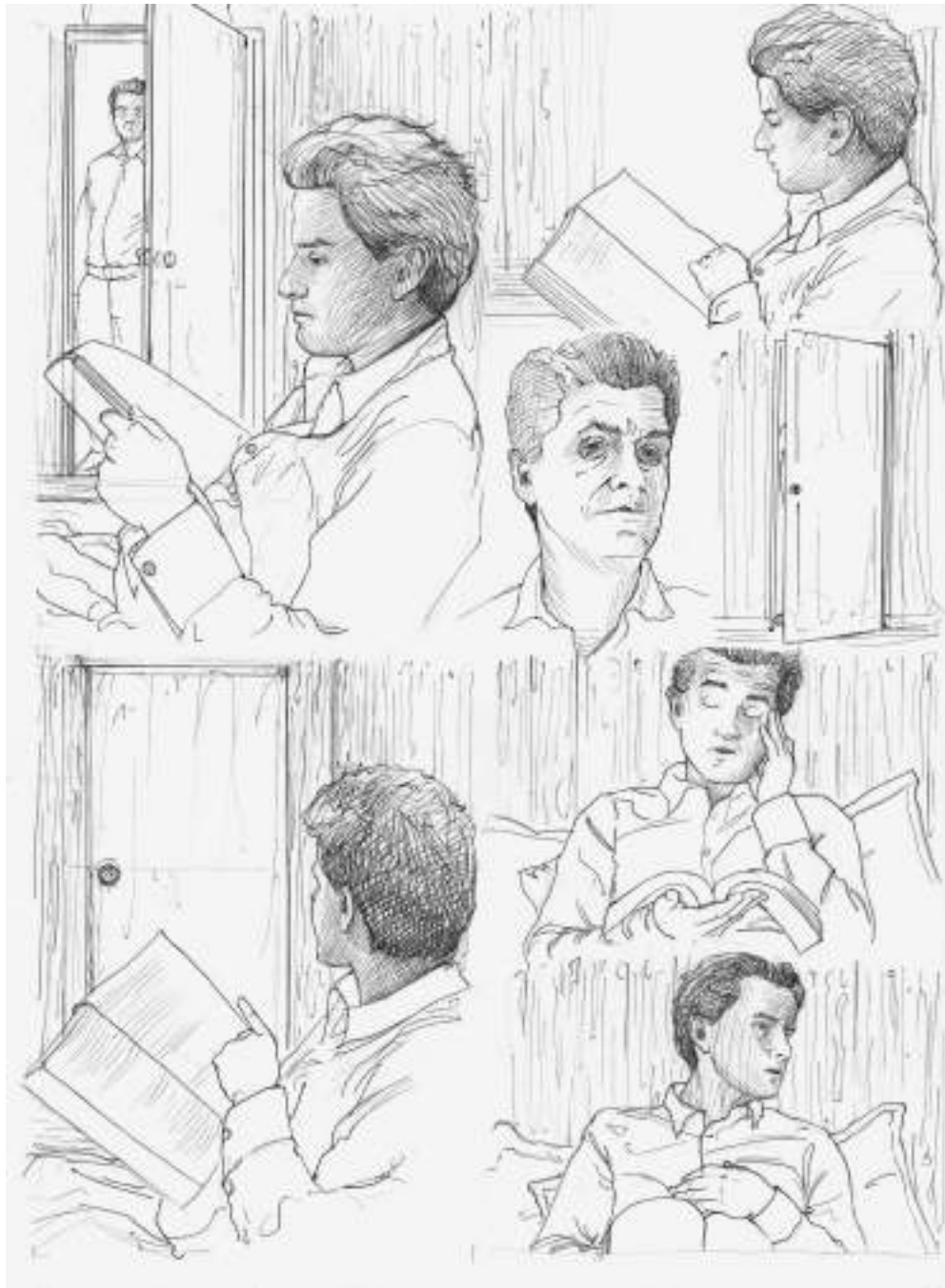


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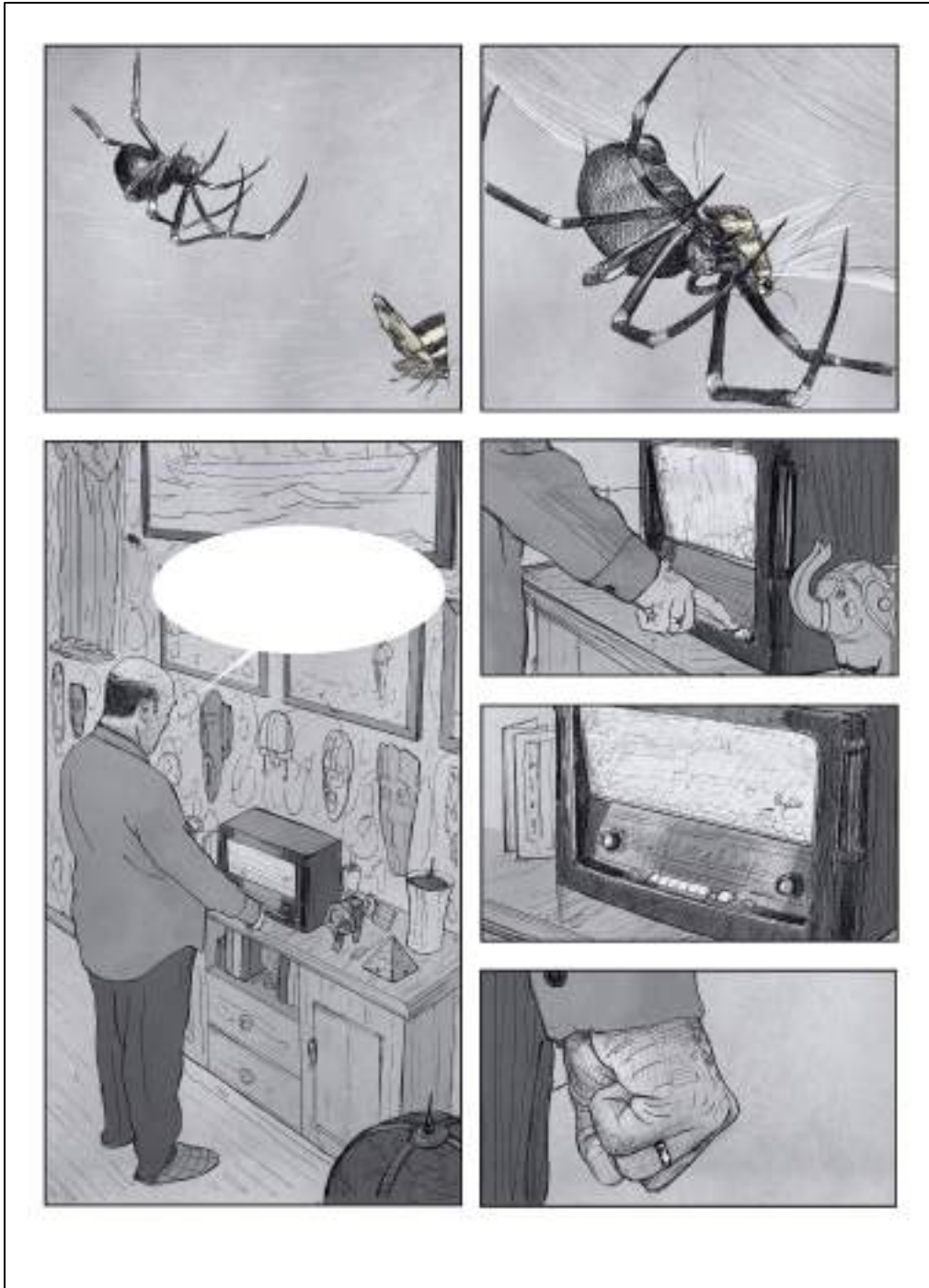


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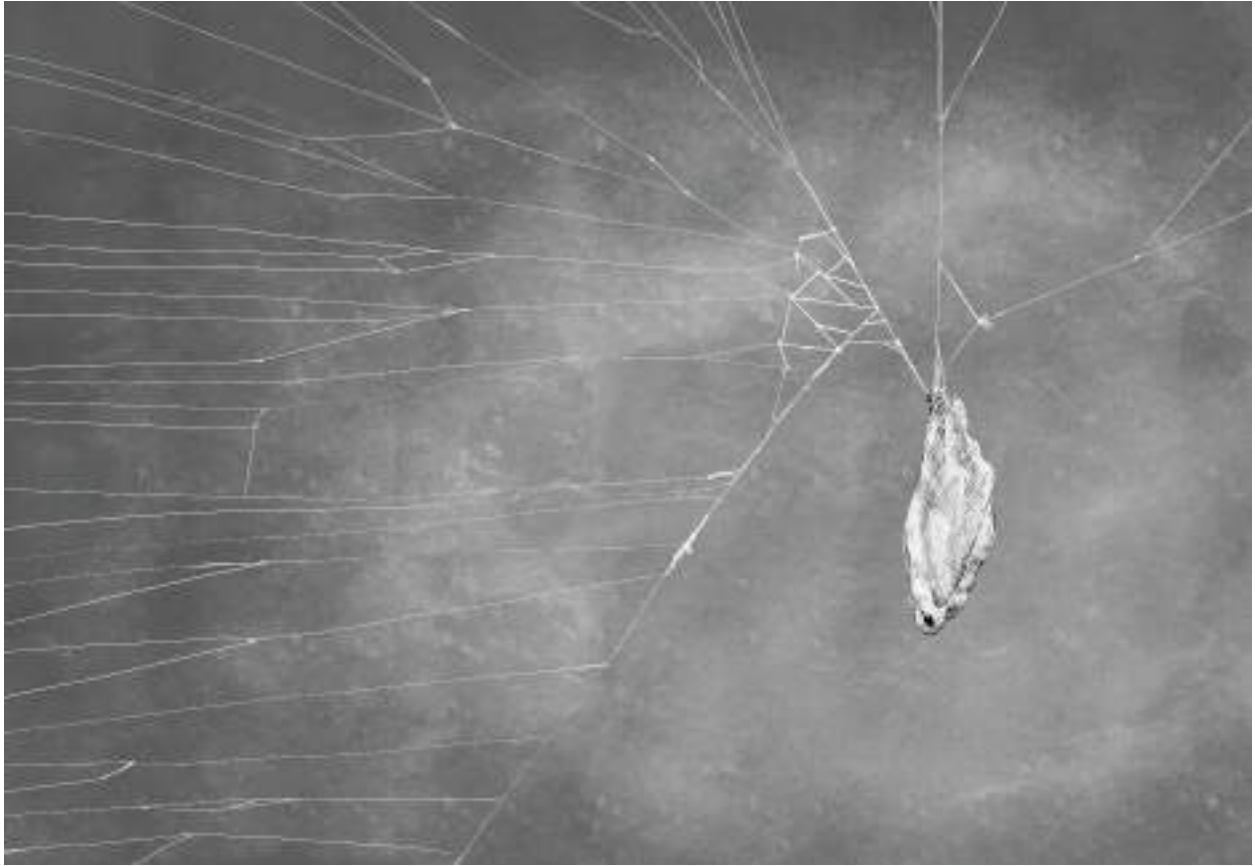


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Fig.69. *Neruda Page 107*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.70. *Neruda Page 108* , Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.71. *Neruda Page 109*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.72. *Neruda Page 110* , Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.

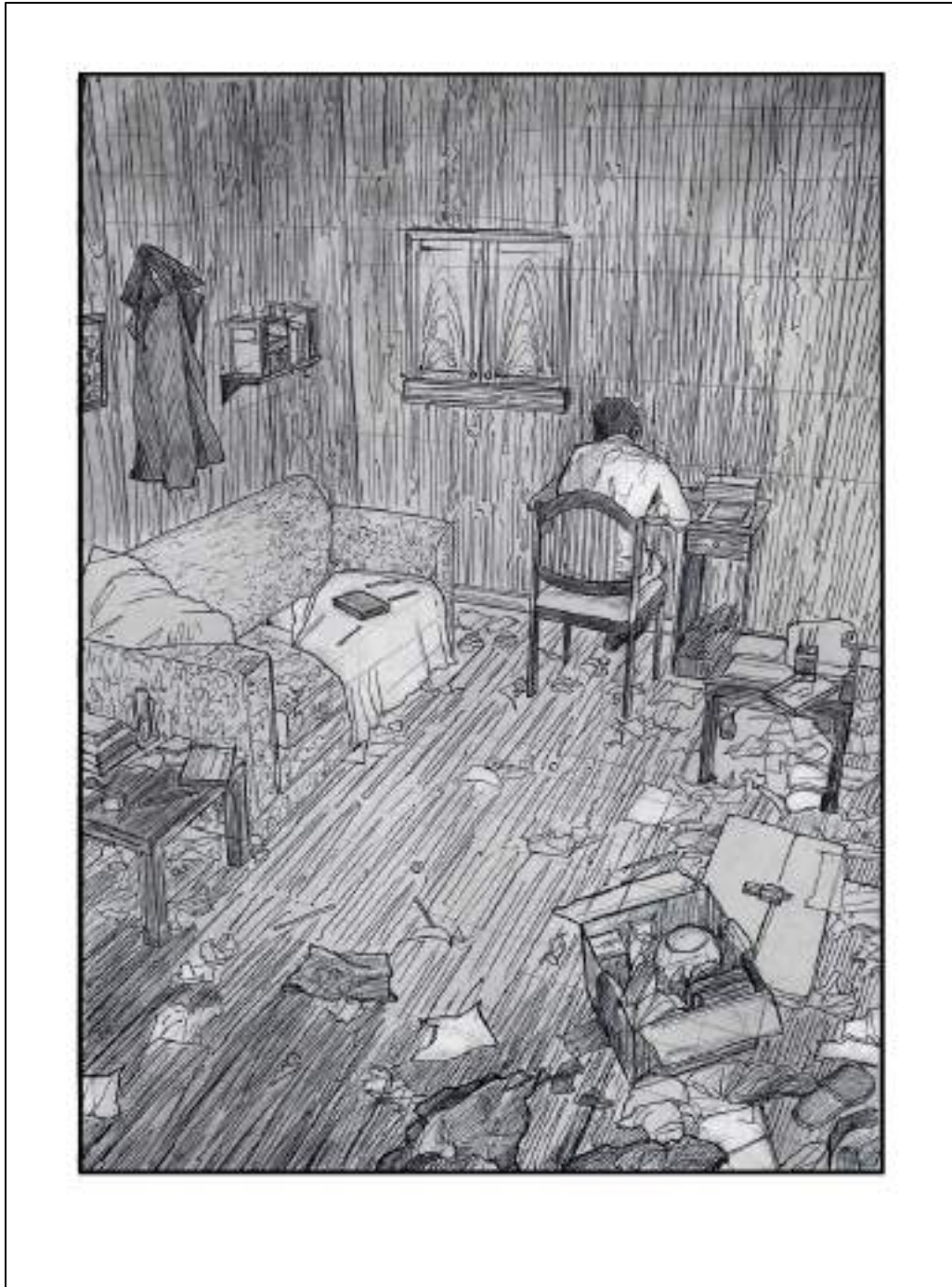


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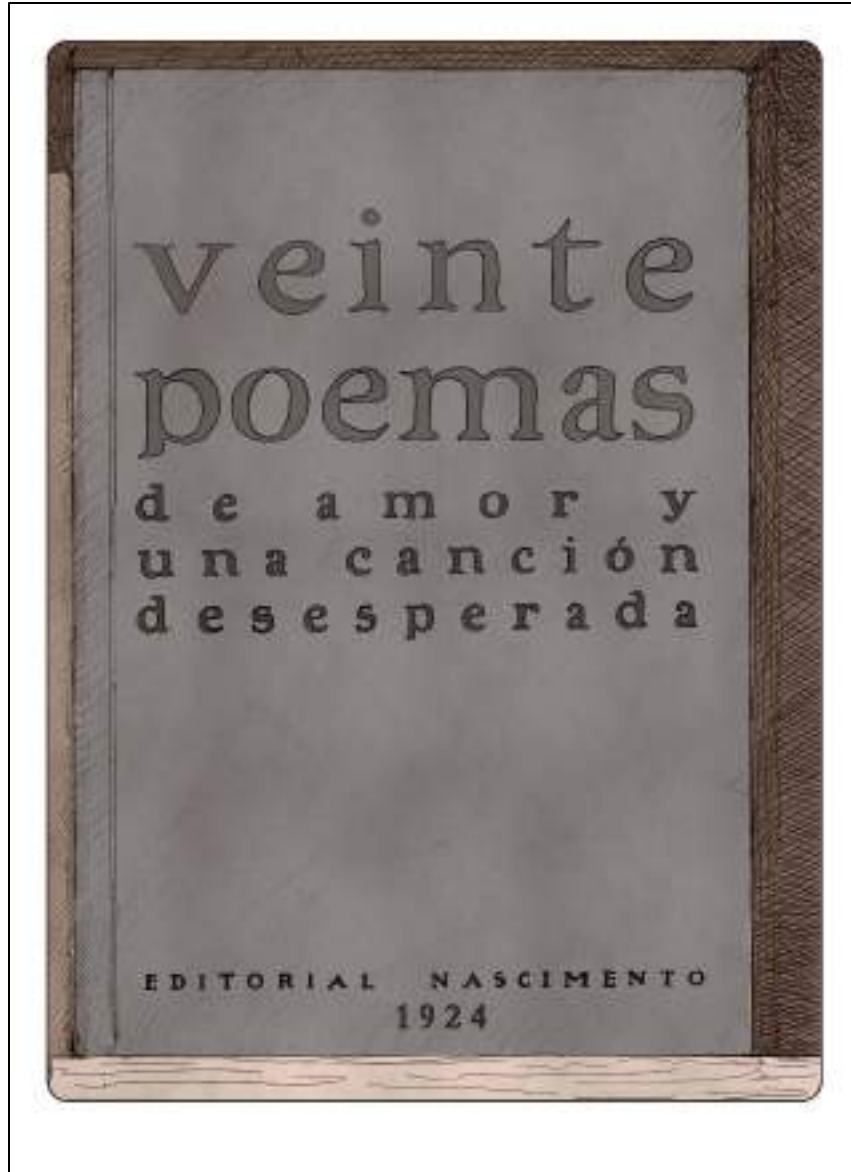


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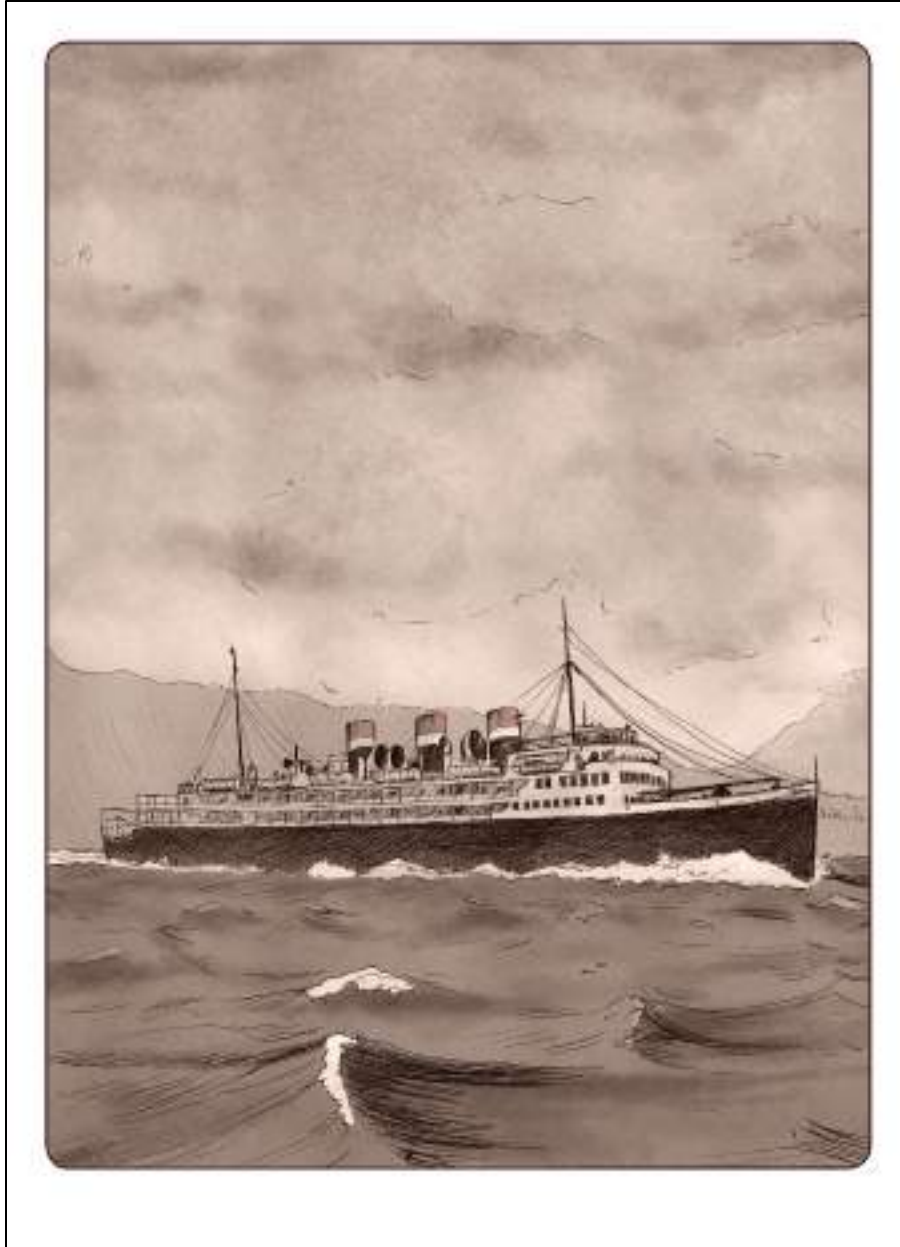


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Fig.77. *Neruda Page 123*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.78. *Neruda Page 124-125*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.79. *Neruda Page 126*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.

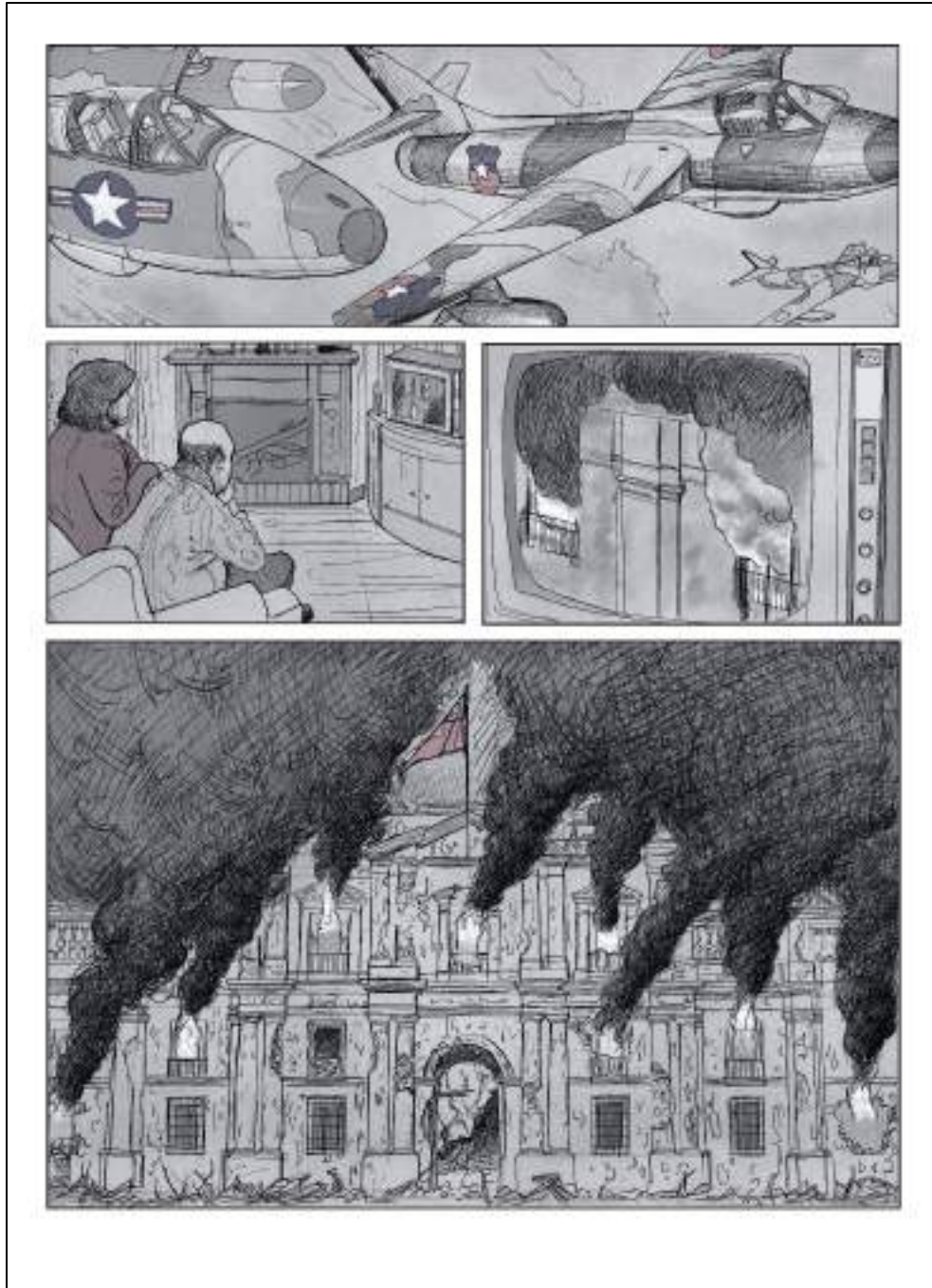


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Fig.81. *Neruda Page 129*, Graphic Novel Interior Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.

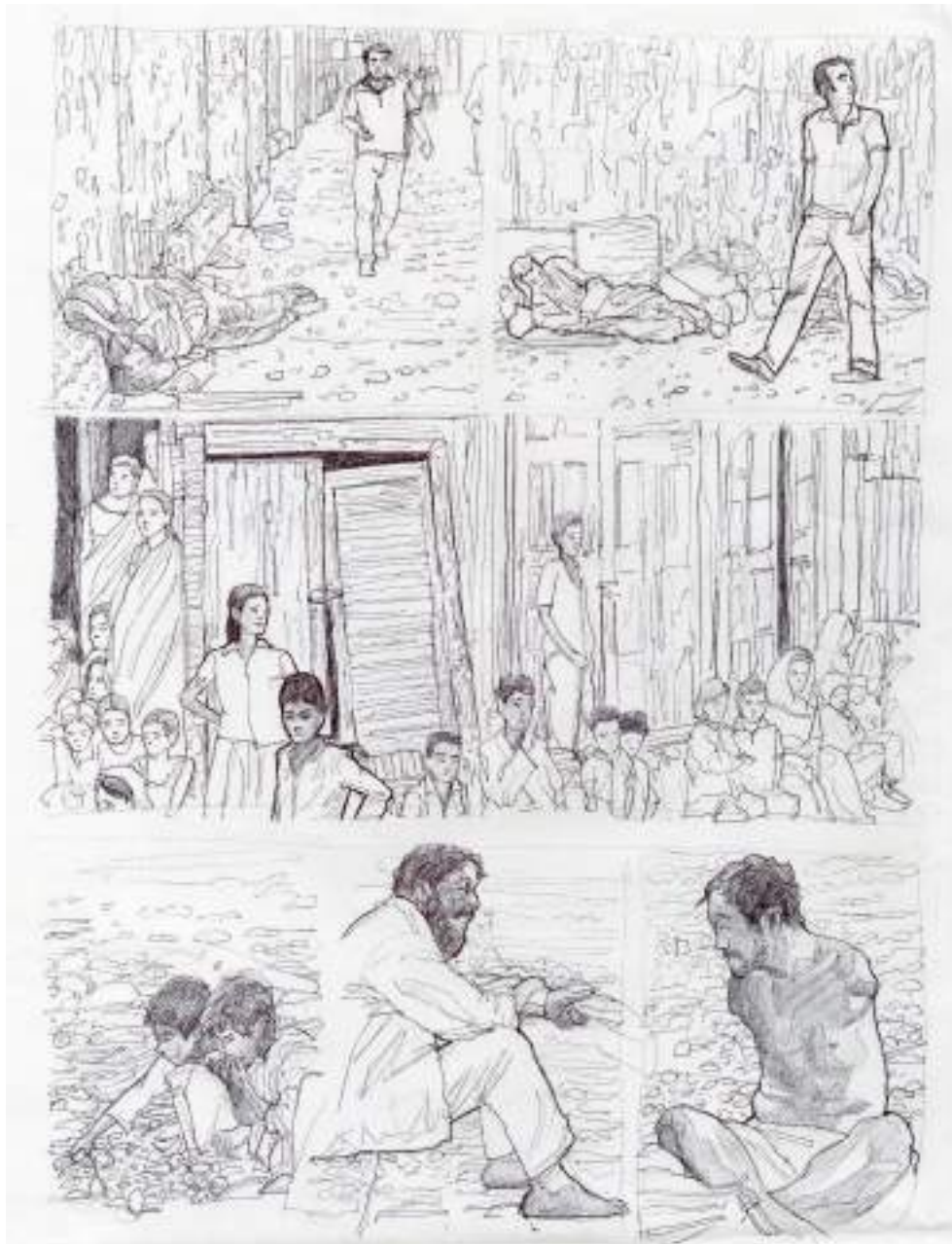


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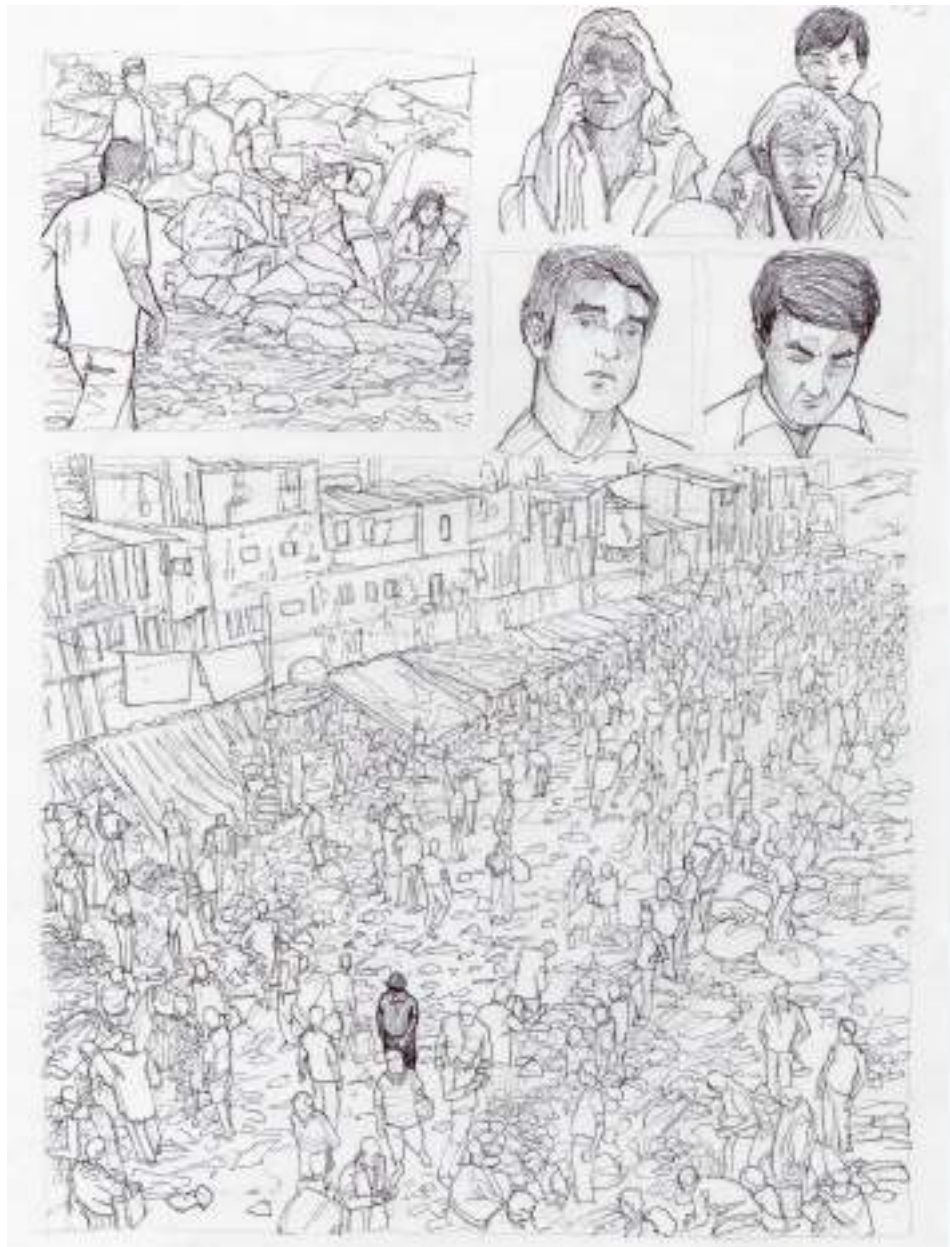


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Fig.84. *Neruda Page 148*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.

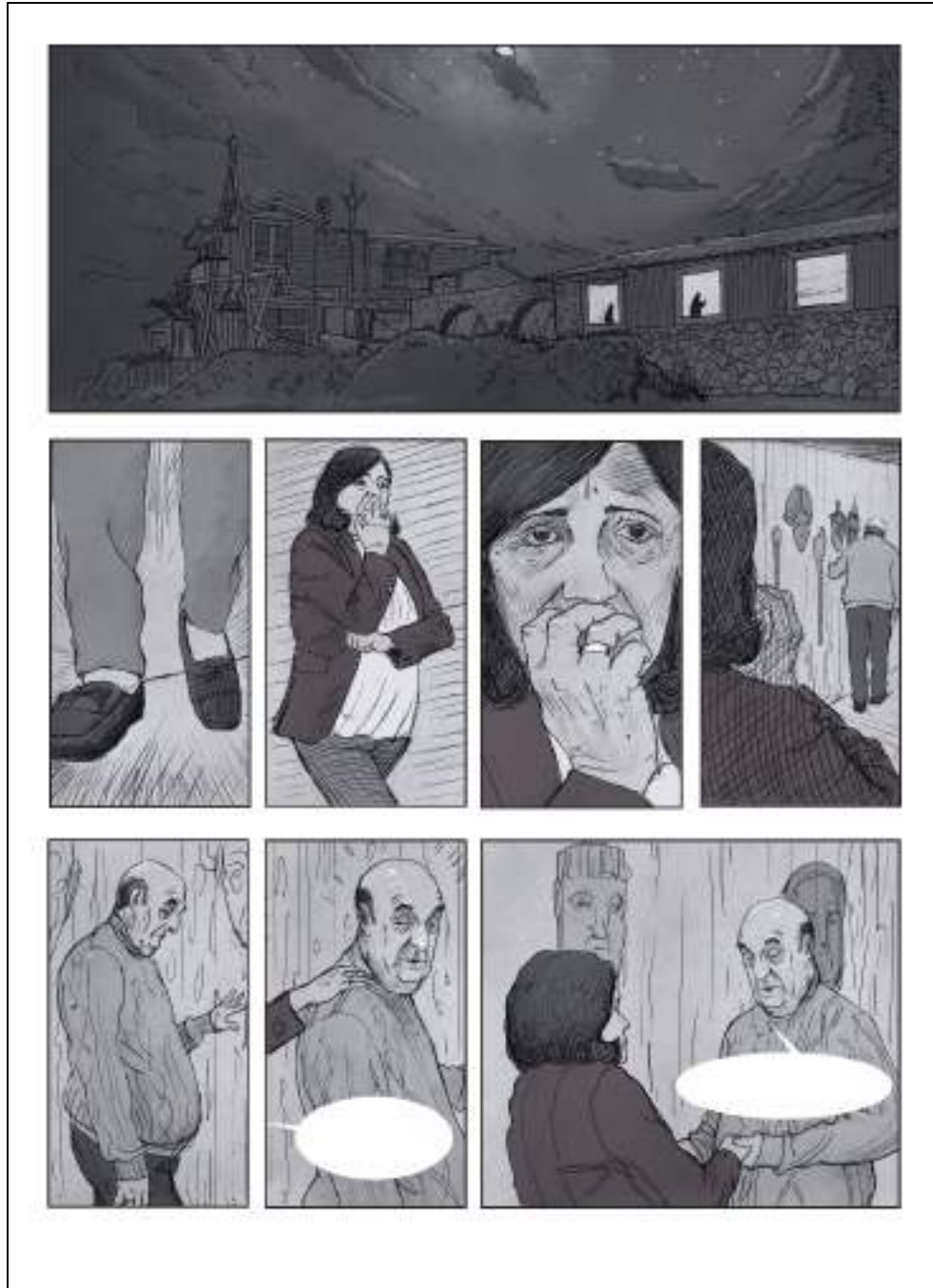


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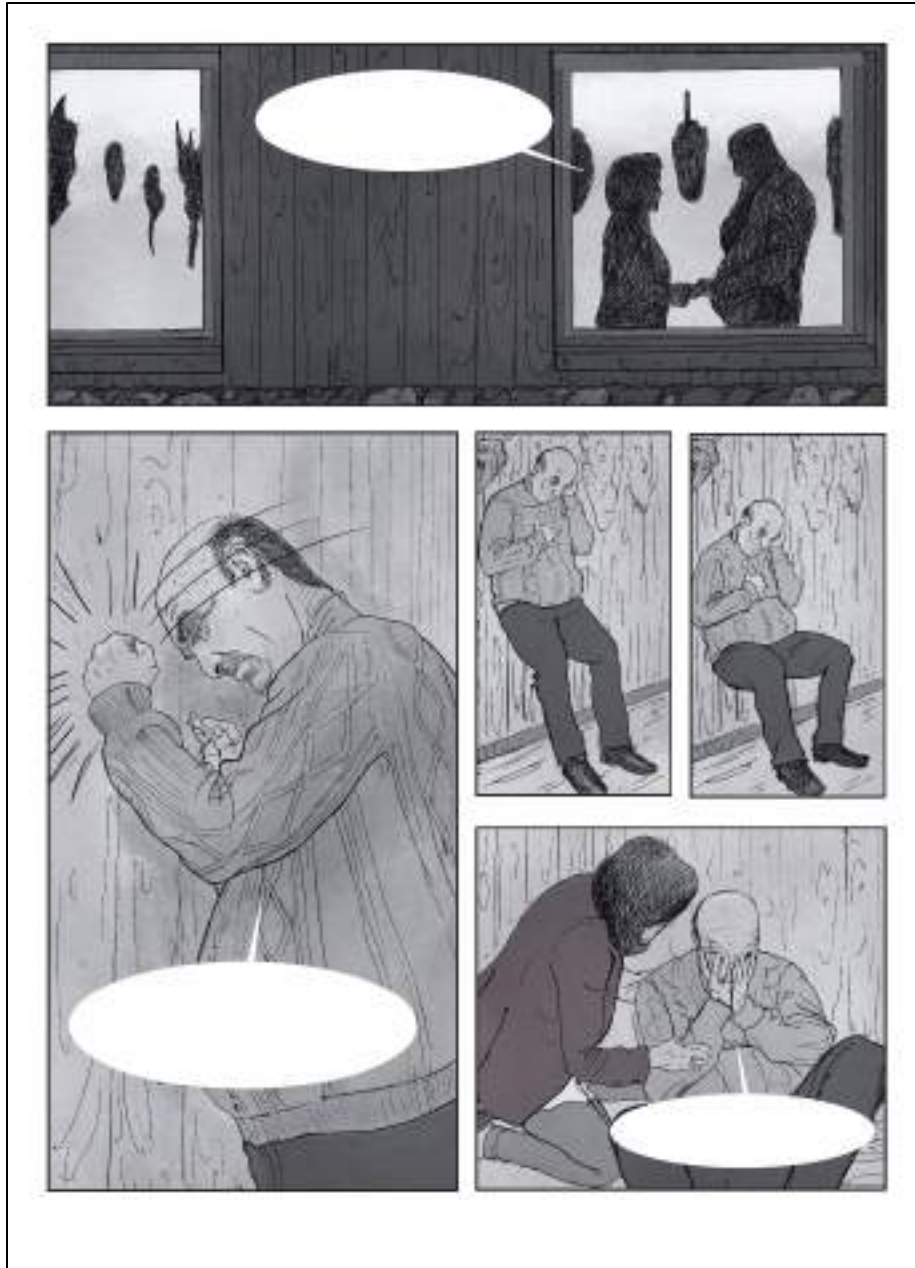


Fig.86. *Neruda Page 150*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



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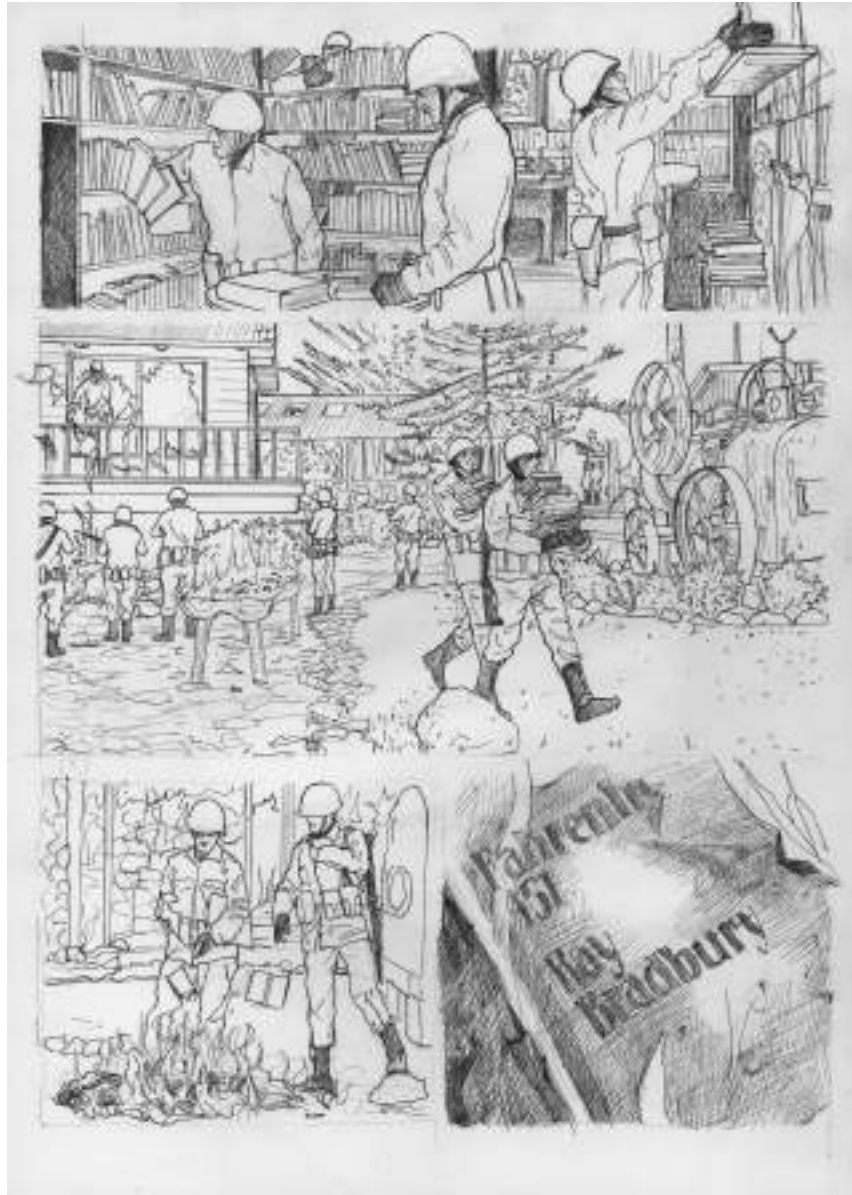


Fig.88. *Neruda Page 155*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.89. *Neruda Page 162*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.90. *Neruda Page 163*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.91. *Neruda Page 164*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.92. *Neruda Page 165*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.93. *Neruda Page 166*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.

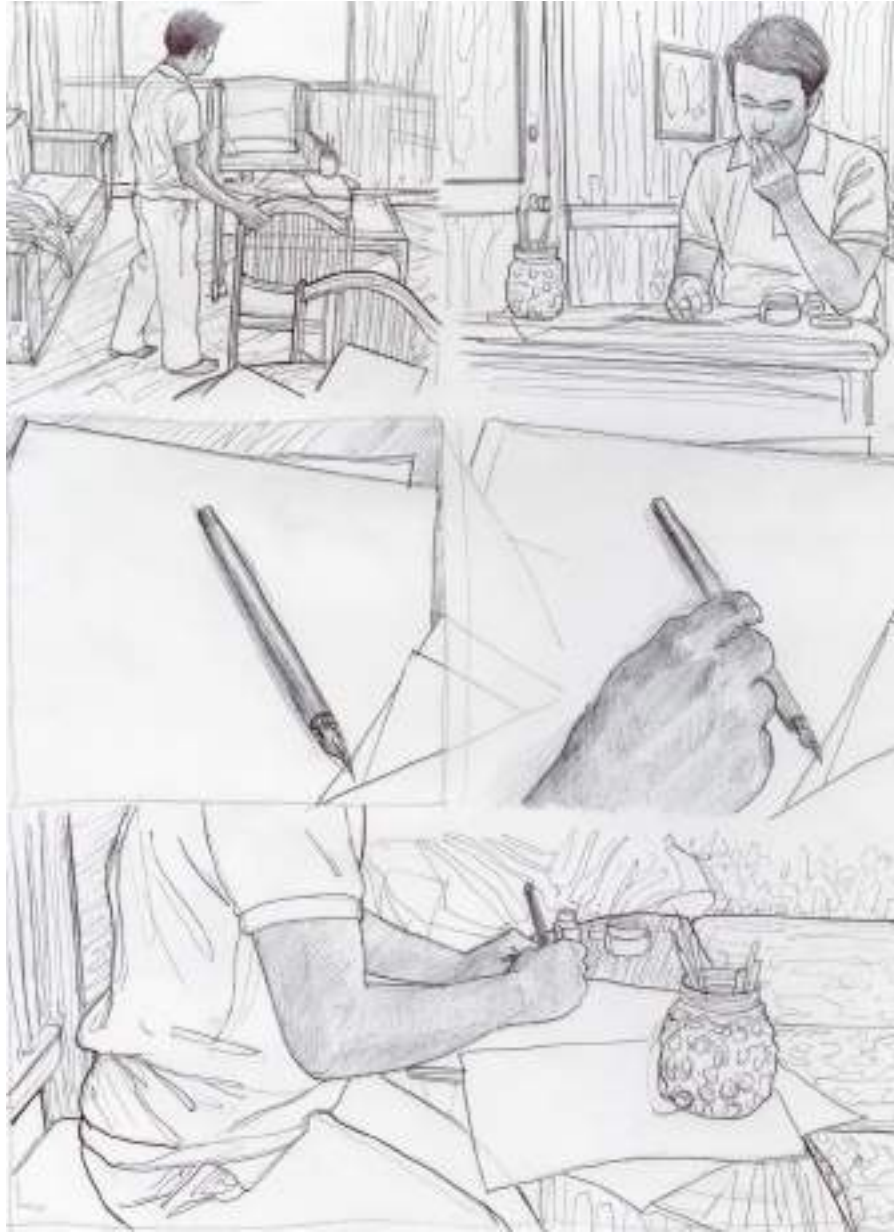


Fig.94. *Neruda Page 167*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.95. *Neruda Page 168*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.96. *Neruda Page 169*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.

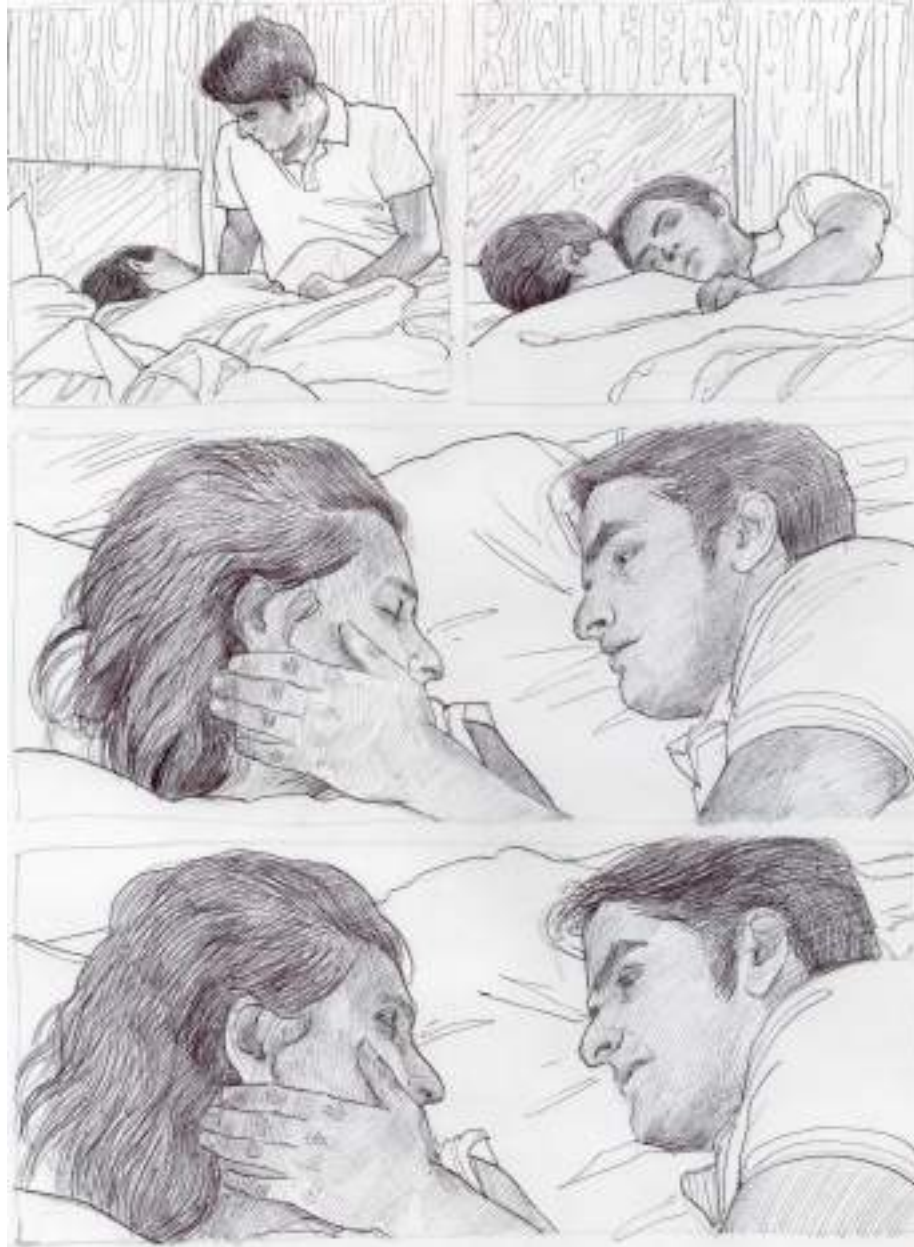


Fig.97. *Neruda Page 170*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.98. *Neruda Page 171*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.

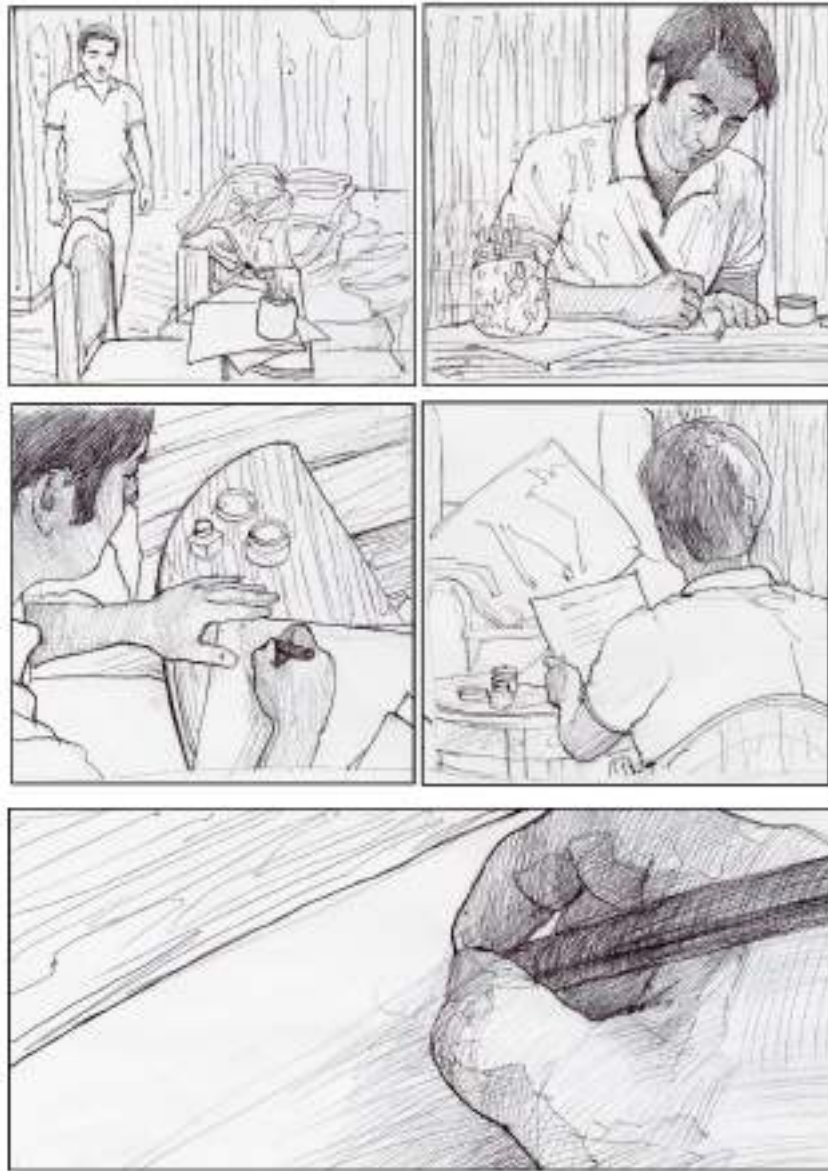


Fig.99. *Neruda Page 172*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.



Fig.100. *Neruda Page 173*, Graphic Novel Interior Ink Illustration, Rey Naranjo Publishers, 2020, Ballpoint Pen on Paper and Digital, 6.6 x 9 in.

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