Memoria Abierta was formed in 2000 with the objective of providing a social memory that influences Argentine political culture, contributes to the construction of a national identity and consolidates democratic coexistence.

Memoria Abierta gathers, preserves, organizes and disseminates the documental files of human rights organizations as well as the archives of individuals and institutions that are related to State terrorism. It produces testimonies on social and political life in the 60’s and 70’s and works on the spatial dimension of memory of the period of political violence in Argentina.

To fulfill its aims of transmission of memory and the provision of easy access to documents, Memoria Abierta develops educational tools, composes texts and audiovisual material and stages exhibitions which offer representations of the past establishing connections with contemporary events and situations.

Our work methods promote alliances with groups and organizations of civil society and the state to encourage the creation of spaces for debate. Memoria Abierta participates in the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience along with other regional and global institutions that work to prevent all forms of authoritarianism.

Asamblea Permanente por los Derechos Humanos (Permanent Assembly for Human Rights - APDH)
Centro de Estudios Legales y Sociales (Center for Legal and Social Studies -CELS)
Comisión de Homenaje a las Víctimas de Vesubio y Protobanco (Commission of Homage to the victims of Vesubio and Protobanco - two of the dictatorship’s illegal detention centers)
Fundación Memoria Histórica y Social Argentina (Argentine Historic and Social Memory Foundation)
Madres de Plaza de Mayo - Línea fundadora (Mothers of Plaza de Mayo - founding line)
Servicio Paz y Justicia (Peace and Justice Service – SERPAJ)

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Workshop

Architecture and Memory

Buenos Aires, Argentina.

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Introduction

Transmission holds a central place in works about memory. Transmission needs the multiple and creatively articulated accounts that result from the search of new sources and systematic study. Therefore, in Memoria Abierta we collect and protect documents, we produce testimonies and we support investigations that look for the truth. We also help and give support to legal proceedings offering our interdisciplinary work. Our sustenance is the force of the archives we have organized and made available for public consultation.

It's very hard work to counteract the oblivion that results from the passage of time and the feebleness of memory - so vulnerable to cultural pressures. However, this is also about rejecting the versions that try to minimize, deny or erase what happened modifying its character or showing a less monstrous face for State terrorism: the use of a systematic program for the extermination of thousands of citizens, especially the political opposition, most of them young people.

Memoria Abierta fosters a kind of social memory that can influence the political culture of Argentina, and can help to the construction of identity and the consolidation of democratic coexistence. To accomplish this goal, we also work with territorial and spatial memory relating to the times of political violence.

The Spaces

The street, the main urban space where daily life unfolds, was the witness and the stage for persecutions and disappearances during the times of State terrorism. Public space, however, was not the only place marked by terror. Buildings and private houses, factories and schools, as well as military institutions and police stations also gave shape to the context in which the repression system set up by the State itself was put into practice. Those spaces left marks in the cities, the suburbs and the country, and gained dimension and specific meanings with time.

The sudden, violent and deliberate action of murdering or kidnapping during daytime sends a message that endures in time leaving an emptiness that's the prelude to disappearance. This terror message summarizes the method used and guarantees its efficient transmission. Today many of those places remind us of disappeared lives and challenge fear in every tile, every slab, plate or tree. They tell us about who those people were, what their ideas were and what they thought.

The Sites

A program of architecture with very specific needs grew inside public buildings, schools or offices that seemed to operate normally. It shaped the spaces into dark settings that were adjusted to each building keeping the same sequences and the same names: the "cucha" (basket), the "tubo" (tube), the "leonera" (lion's den), the "pañol", etc. It reproduced the clandestine machinery that under strict control subjected the victims to a gradual loss of their identities till their death in the darkness, jail and torture.
Finally it protected all this process with the observance of strict security measures.

A short while ago, some of these sites which had been Clandestine Detention Centres (CDC) were dismantled and today they are empty. This emptiness, which already transmits very powerfully, questions and challenges us to think about what we will do with them.

Different actors in our society have addressed these concerns and have developed concrete actions in those places. Firstly, they sought to identify the victims individually or in groups and tell about who they were and what they fought for. Later, some of these CDCs started to propose themselves as sites of memory, which could act as triggers and bind their story with recent history: a museum or an interpretation centre within or outside the surrounding area of the clandestine centre.

This Workshop

With the support of the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, on August 31st, 2009, Memoria Abierta organized the workshop "Architecture and Memory" in Buenos Aires, Argentina. This workshop was open to the public and had three goals:

- Discuss the contributions and resources of a discipline like Architecture to intervene in the spaces transformed by State terrorism.
- Contribute to the efforts to protect memory with an interdisciplinary perspective -like Memoria Abierta has done for years through research, and by supporting initiatives proposed in different parts of the country.
- Show to the wide public the discussions and dilemmas encountered when thinking about the use that can be given to different spaces of memory, as illustrated by some encouraging experiences that developed in the country which, in some cases, foster dialogue beyond the actors directly involved in these endeavours.

The present publication transcribes the lectures presented, which articulated around three forums that tried to promote reflection on the possible use of those spaces, taking into account the disturbing relation among these places, the memories of those who spent time there, and the memory of society as a whole: Memory and City: the Transformation of Urban Spaces; Monuments: an expression of memorialization in the city; and Experiences in the Treatment of Spaces in Recovered Sites.

It's part of the work of Memoria Abierta to research the treatment of places where painful events occurred and of places that try to remember them in the cities. For this reason, we immediately gave our support to the initiative of the Argentinean Embassy in South Africa, which takes place in the context of the Bi-national Commission agreements for cooperation between the two countries.

The Workshop in Buenos Aires and the texts we present today are specially appropriate to show the reflections of architects and social scientists when it comes to thinking about places of memory and their relation with the cities. We hope that what South Africa and Argentina learn about the ways in which we transmit memory of our recent history to the new generations, using the places where those events happened, can serve as a common ground from which we may project ideas for a fruitful cooperation.
The past of both countries is remarkably different, but the present holds common challenges. The "Architecture for memorial sites of conscience" seminar that will take place in Johannesburg in October is a good time for us to think together about the best ways to contribute to the public policy enforced by our States regarding transmission of memory, symbolic reparation and protection of historical heritage. Some sites of memory let us use this triple perspective.

Buenos Aires, September 2009
Memory and City: the transformation of Urban Spaces
I would like to start by explaining that the purpose of this presentation is just to share with you some inspiring ideas that can help as a tool for thought. That is to say, this lecture will not reach conclusions or definite arguments that can be incorporated into the problem under discussion. These problematizations are just the result of reflection, the experience of urban living and the discomfort caused by certain thoughts. This presentation will have served its purpose if useful as a tool for thinking.

As stated by the title of the presentation, I will be discussing the relation between city and memory. This is not a fancy or arbitrary relation. The city is not a mere recipient of the organic functions of human beings, but rather a place for the subjective constitution of the life of the human race; then, memory or its different records will be unavoidably linked to the way of understanding the city. A city is made of space and time; i.e., of material and immaterial, visible and latent memory. A city is made of places, and a place is a location where something happens, a location where an event occurs –making the place possible. And memory is just that; an undefined and complex encounter between space and time.

I invite you to consider two questions that will help us understand the complexities of the problem we are set to discuss and which comprise two different ways of considering this issue.

The first has to do with the different conceptions of knowledge. There’s a popular idea about knowledge –far more popular than imagined– you will probably recognize easily, which says something is learned when there’s no need to think about it again. Another way of thinking this could be expressed in opposite terms: something is learned when there’s need to think about it again. This statement makes us think, and look into matters that haven’t been thoroughly analysed: What’s tradition? What’s our responsibility in regard to it? When does tradition nourish the present time? Or does it only freeze the past? Tradition is something we have to know how to use or something we have the responsibility to construct? What does it secure in our thoughts? These are reflections about the past that can be reviewed or understood in very different ways. Knowledge can reassure us or it can mobilize us and make us connect with the beating of life.

The second question is a problem extracted from the wonderful book by Paolo Virno *The Memory of the Present*, in which Virno develops –using a highly sophisticated conception of the mnesic phenomenon of the *déjà vu* – an organization of temporality and historical time that can help to our discussion. Without going into long descriptions, Virno offers us a symbolic organization of time beyond its division into past, present and future, and considers the time problem in terms of Virtuality and Present Time, as a temporal coexistence that makes of the indefinite past the field of virtuality. In other words, potentiality and the present action, all together in the same instant –being that the reason for the *déjà vu* phenomenon in as much as it is in the instant that time splits and the phenomenon of false identification results. That is why the memory of the present. For the purpose of this discussion, it will be enough to think of that Virtual-Present temporal dynamic. In other words: infinite virtual field and permanent updating. Again, a memory of the present.
With this introduction, let us now consider the problems that concern us, under the hypothesis that each view or record of the city relates to a specific kind of memory. The way we see the city is inherent to the memory we attribute to it. Let us start with the city.

To certain architectural and urban thought tradition, a city is basically its material and symbolic organization; the organization of its buildings, objects and images. According to this tradition, a city is its planning. In other words: a large material and stable composition that organizes places, spaces, locations. The city of the planned spaces is the city of the predetermined itineraries, of the pre-thought experiences.

In that sense, planning is a way of thinking spaces, but it is also a way of relating to life. Under the planning paradigm, a way of looking is created, a way of feeling, of acting, of being in the world. That's its political condition, which we could call macro politics.

The planning operation has a whole, structural reading, which focuses on hierarchical points, on the basic, most relevant and monumental points, and on their interrelation. This is the State's account par excellence, a fiction based on the illusion that the State can discipline the market. That is the urban plan.

But we face a problem: How can a plan hold the multiform nature of life? How can a planned material organization be forced upon life, which signifies and re-signifies places all the time?

If we call planned city this version of a city, we can provisionally call “urbe” –as per the name given by Manuel Delgado– another record of the urban. The urban is “… the ways of life, the proliferation of related, displaced and unstable intricate workings…” Against the apparent stability of the city, instability is it’s true self; against material determination, it’s the indecisiveness of sense that constitutes it.

We are talking about life unfolding in the city, even in spite of the city. We are considering another logic, in another record of space and time. The urban would be fluidity, heterogeneity and multiplicity.

If the structure of the city offers us stability and permanence, the urban dynamic introduces us to movement. It’s not like one thought challenges the other; they are different records of one same cultural phenomenon. On the one hand, the city is seen as a stable, relevant, monumental structure; on the other hand, the urban is instable, immanent, singular, unyielding to pre-determined plans.

If the planned city is structured, the urban is non-structured –it’s something that is structuring itself permanently and is subject to provisional forms. Its way is mobility; its balance is unstable; its situation is bustling. In short: micro politics.

Indeed, the view we have of the city conditions our notion of memory. What is memory? From a certain point of view, memory is the daughter of repetition. According to that record, memory objectifies itself in different devices. The monument is an example: the museum, the archive, the historical document are other instances of the same objectification. In this sense, memory represents the past concentrated in one object.

But this device demands delegation. The archive, the monument, the historical documents are responsible for memory and memory becomes institutional patrimony and loses, in this way, all spontaneity. Representative objects are exclusively responsible for memory governance. When we see them in the city, representation offers us a well-known sequence: monument, square, avenue, museum, sculpture, portrait, etc. The monument reminds us of a battle; the avenue, of a significant event; the representative building, of a commemoration.
Relevance guarantees permanence in the city. If memory is relevant, monumental, urban memory is limited to objects, and therefore it exists only where it was pre-determined by the public official, the urban planner or the institution.

From another point of view, memory is neither a representation of the past nor an objectification of past happenings, nor finished construction. Memory is a group of heterogeneous, undetermined forces, which affect a space, an object, and transform them in PLACES. That’s the reason why if memory is living indecisiveness, there are no institutional devices that can naturalize it (as Musil would put it, there’s nothing more invisible than a monument), nor material format that can freeze it. Therefore, memory constructs its own forms.

Memory becomes immanent then, made of various marks and affectations (deliberated or not, contradictory or not, programmed or not) –marks and affectations that build the city. From this perspective, memory is the city itself.

From the point of view of this record of the city, memory is a present construction, an operation that is permanently updated –in as much as it is permanently inhabited, affected, travelled through, thought of or marked by present life. Its updating will rely more on its vital power than on the refurbishment of its buildings, objects and images. It’s always a present construction. Back to Virno, this is a memory of the present. From this point of view, city and memory are, in the words of Michael de Certau, “practised spaces,” territories in permanent construction.

Therefore, we can view the city not only in its significant points, but in its infinite places, i.e., the spaces that are marked by experiences of other nature: the corner where I met my wife; the street I used to walk with a friend that’s gone; the square I crossed thousands of times on my way to school.

But there are also the collective marks: the “public denunciations” at the door of Videla, the human figures painted on the wall, the corner of de Mayo Avenue where a comrade was battered, the scarves painted on the floor of Plaza de Mayo.

Neither the corner, nor the street, nor the graffiti nor the “public denunciations” allow themselves to be taken in by the planned city, or any other device for memory invisibility. Possibly none of these places is of significance for the monumental city, but the important thing is how a subjective event modifies the sense of a space and turns it into a space of sense.

Under this light, the city also creates its own places of memory. A spontaneous memory, permanently updated and marked. In this sense, we could argue that the city is more than its plan and material structure: it’s also a territory of events, a territory of situations, and a great engraving surface.

We can think of many urban situations in which the city becomes a place of memory. Let’s think of Puente Pueyrredon, and let’s think of the bridge where Kostecki and Santillián were shot dead there. That bridge was not built as a monument; however, it’s a repository of memories –it’s a memory of the Argentina of pickets, of the events that took place on December 19 and 20. Its solid and immutable materiality does not hold what happened; its sense is altered. The bridge gains new memories and new senses because the event introduced a new affectation. Crossing the bridge involves, after the killings, an unavoidable question.

We could argue the same of a more recent event, like Cromañón. Nobody would have ever imagined a sanctuary in that place. However, what happened ascribes new meaning to it. It’s a memory of the unstable Argentina, of a way of constructing culture, etc.
The problematization field that opens up here is infinite and surely each of you will remember and recreate memorable situations on your way around the city.

But the city is also a huge engraving surface. I’d like to share with you an experience you might have heard of, which is of interest for this discussion. This is Austria, in 1988 in the city of Graz. There Hanz Haacke rebuilds the monument that the Nazis set up in 1938. His intervention is very interesting because he maintains the monument as it was. Even with a phrase that reads “300 gypsies killed, 2,500 Jews killed, 8,000 political prisoners killed or dead in captivity, 9,000 civilians killed in war, 12,000 disappeared people, 27,900 soldiers killed.” After the rebuilding, the monument is hit by a Neo-Nazi bomb and the city decides to keep the monument in that state.

Let’s consider what Haacke does. For him, public monuments are not finished objects but configurations in construction, that is to say, social engraving surfaces. Therefore, the intervention of Haacke is one other intervention in the dynamic of memory. If the public monument is the place where the past is collectively processed, where a fight for sense takes place, the attack to the restored monument seems to be an ironical confirmation of this thought. The attack might well be seen as one other intervention in that engraving territory. If the city had decided to restore the monument again, that new restoration would have also been another intervention in the field of sense.

Again, with this reflection, we open up to a vast field of thought. It’s the city itself where the past collectively processes itself, the battle field for sense. The city is then a huge palimpsest where we mark our history, our life.

We have visited different records of the notion of city and memory. And this itinerary let us formulate a concept: the “city-memory.”

What is the city-memory then? A tension, a tension and an encounter between two ways of perceiving space and time: a relevance view that considers fundamental moments, and an immanent view that considers all kinds of moments. Between a city made of a hierarchical memory and another made of life as it happens.

Owing to this tension our way around the city-memory implicates us as inhabitants, as inseparable actors from the actual construction of the city; and the city can then be other.

Notes
[2] On June 26, 2002, several organization made up of unemployed people led a day of protest blocking the main access to the city of Buenos Aires. About 2,500 demonstrators tried to interrupt traffic circulation along Pueyrredon bridge that connects the city with the town of Avellaneda. The security forces suppressed them strongly, causing confrontations with protesters, many of whom tried to flee to the Avellaneda train station, a few blocks away.
At the railroad station Darío Santillán (21 years) was killed by members of security forces while assisting Maximiliano Kosteki (24 years) who had been mortally wounded a few yards away. The autopsies revealed that both deaths were caused by shotguns blasts belonging to the Police of Buenos Aires.
[3] República Cromañón was a disco located in the Once neighbourhood of the City of Buenos Aires. The night of December 30th 2004, during a rock band concert, the place burned down and 192 people died and at least 1,432 were wounded. It’s one of the worst non-natural tragedies in Argentina.
I’d like to start by taking a minute for something that is more than a formal thank you: it’s a real honor for me to have been called to participate in this Workshop that is part of the launching of a valuable enterprise, the book *Memorias en la Ciudad. Señales del terrorismo de Estado en Buenos Aires*. I received it a week ago and since then I haven’t been able to stop glancing it through: any page you choose by chance is a world of memories, but also of precise information. It’s a trigger for memories and stories. When the book was under way, we had a conversation about what kind of book it would be, if a map, a guide or an atlas. Now it’s finished, I realize it’s something even different; an instrument that allows the reader to find his or her bearings in all the maps, in all the guides; an artefact that allows the reader to find himself in the city and in history. So that’s why it resembles a compass. With the seriousness and discretion that characterizes all its enterprises, Memoria Abierta has succeeded in giving expression through this collective work to a series of qualities it’s difficult to find together, and which I’d like to mention however briefly: the book is objective without being neutral, it’s open without being relative, it succeeds in showing the plurality of meanings that characterizes the “places of memory” and is able to use them all in a narrative that is neither confusing nor generic; in sum, it accomplishes personalization without individualism and recognition without museification. I think they have produced an object that from now on will be irreplaceable to find your way in the city. Therefore, I thank you for having invited me to take part in this event.

Actually, memory is a topic that has been widely discussed lately: as a philosophical, psychological or political problem it has been largely discussed, and an audience far larger than the usual experts has become familiarised with a series of authors, including Maurice Halbwachs, Paul Ricoeur, Tzvetan Todorov, Andreas Huyssen, to name just a few of the most frequently quoted authors. Today we are called to discuss a much more specific topic, although it’s equally vast, which is the relation between memory and city, but at the same time we cannot ignore a more general dimension to the problem—a dimension that should be the base for any specific reflection. To avoid speaking at length about a well-known matter, but also to avoid skipping a dimension I use in my arguments, I propose a formula that summarizes a complex weave of positions: the formula is that of the “Fair Memory”. I think it can be very useful to apply this formula to the city—much in the same way a scientist puts a reactive in a test tube expecting an outcome that may change the nature of the matter with which he or she is experimenting. This is a long standing formula that has caused wide discussion, but I’d like to focus now on a book about “memory and oblivion” in our recent history that develops this issue magnificently: I’m talking about the latest book by Hugo Vezzetti, *Sobre la violencia revolucionaria*. Vezzetti says that between amnesia and a memory captured by ghosts of the past “there’s a mobile, uncertain, conflictive space”, a space that wants a balance between the abuse of memory and the deficit of it, between past and present. And it also shows us how the formula applies to the relation between memory and the realization of justice, and thus it gets a moral and cultural construction.

Well then, leaving aside the “fair memory” idea in the background, against which we can compare elements in the urban problematic, I’d like to continue by trying to understand the relation between memory and history in the city, because the city is the place *par excellence* to understand that between both terms, memory and history, there is a far more conflictive than complementary relation. In this
sense, I think you'll be able to identify some several differences –I hope we will be able to apply in later discussion– with the idea of “city-memory” that Pablo Sztulwark has just developed.

There's already a classical definition of city in the culturalist tradition (a tradition that gathers names like Lewis Mumford or Aldo Rossi): the city is perceived as a collective work of art, a product manufactured through time by a community that, thanks to its permanence in the city, can see its own continuity, the common bonds that link it with ancestors; in the words by José Luis Romero the city turns cultural heritage into an object that gives rise to historical conscience. This definition supposes a certain kind of virtuous circle between city and society: the city defines a community that by building its own city recognizes itself as a community, i.e., by building its city it builds its identity. The city can hold the representations created by the collective image, and at the same time, the city is the text of that collective history. Therefore, for Maurice Halbwachs the city is the basis of collective memory. But here we start analysing the term “memory”, because the idea of “shared memory” in Halbwachs always involves a present task, the retrospective construction of a shared past. In other words, for him the key to the city does not lie in memory as permanence, but in history as evolution.

Actually, the city is the place that registers par excellence the conflict between the new and the existent, between preservation and transformation: it's the place where history is taking place, where the passage of time becomes more evident and where present time determines the interpretation of the past. That's why Aldo Rossi, as if he was also thinking of the “fair memory” notion, differentiates between “pathological” and “propelling” permanencies. And for that reason also Sigmund Freud used the paradigmatic example of the city, the eternal Rome, to show the impossibility of memory in the city. For Freud, the city is an example that by opposition permits to understand the untransferable specificity of psychic life: while the psyche can always recover or revive apparently forgotten memories, in the space of the city, however, historical succession can only be reflected by means of an impossible juxtaposition. Because a new construction has been built in the place of that old building, that old house or that monument: to live, the city has needed to demolish and replace its various pasts, and only a very small part of them is preserved, rarely in their original state. The city, thus, is the example that shows that historical life progresses by means of demolishing and replacing, and that, therefore, the material memory is the subject of a structural conflict, and I'm not talking about the conflict of interpretations that memory always involves, but to a conflict that is inherent to the actual material essence of the city, to the space-time impossibility of lasting without undergoing transformations.

How must the city remember then? That was the original role of monuments: –remind, teach, name: those are the meanings of the term in Latin–. But precisely because of the historical nature of the city, the monument can only be thought of as an exceptional fact, as a call of attention, from a present to some past, that the city-society decides to give to itself. And that's the reason why the monument has been, in modernity, the singular fact that gives rise to reflection about what must be protected from destruction –in other words, from the historical life of the city– and in which way that must be done. There's an early 20th century theoretician, a fundamental writer in this field, who exposed the conflict inherent to the idea of monuments in modern cities. He is Aloïs Riegl, who in El culto moderno a los monumentos points to the contradictions between the three types of very diverse values that coexist in our idea of monument. In the first place, there's the most modern value (that Romanticism had put in vogue) of age, in which the important thing is the mark of time on the material object, and that, therefore, makes restoration unfeasible; that's the case of ruins that must be preserved as such because it's precisely the way time has affected them what is valued. In second place, there's the historical value, which the monument bears in its capacity as document (not because of what it actually reminds of, but of what it can itself teach); in this case, contrary to the previous one, it's the evocative
capacity of the monument that is valued—and for it to be complete, it requires repeated restorations and reconstructions, even from scratch (our city provides many examples of this: the Cabildo or the replica of the house of San Martín. They are educational models of works that bear an instructive message). Finally, there’s the artistic value, i.e., the capacity of the monument to generate emotions in the public through aesthetic recognition that can only happen if it is in line with contemporary taste. The problem put forward by Riegl is that those three types of values coexist in the modern cult to monuments, involving different interpretations that should imply in turn diverse strategies to approach the monumental question in the modern city—something that can be fully grasped after this exposition if we think of all the different connotations that surround a preservation-monument, like the ESMA, and a creation-monument, like for instance the Park of Memory. What each of them presents, what each of them can fully accomplish with its monumental functions should be completely different, although the memory polices that apply to them are not always aware of that difference and may not act accordingly.

But I’d like to focus on a diverse conflict implicit in the monumental question in contemporary thought, which could be summarized—very briefly—by saying that monuments on the one hand and preservation on the other, in a relatively short period, have inverted their ideological sign within the culture of the city and architecture.

Indeed, it could be argued that in the 19th century monuments occupied a progresist place in the social imaginary, in as much as the liberal and democratic nationalism, as part of its objective of constructing the “imagined community” that is the State-Nation, enlarged the mausoleum of heroes to include next to religious and monarchic figures, ordinary men, men of science, men of politics. As shown by Maurice Agulhon, a new humanist idea of the hero was created, which would produce an endless multiplication of civic monuments, like monuments to progress, and therefore, in the 19th century an incisive criticism of the “statue-mania” would start, carried forward by the anti-republican right that criticized that democratizing will of the new civic mausoleum of nationalism. We could establish a linking of ideas in this sense, that connected the theory of Rousseau, who no longer saw public space in the enlightened way—as a neuter self-government environment of civil society—, but as a place for active “soul training”, with the nationalizing concern of Ricardo Rojas, among us, who proposed a “pedagogy of statues” imagining that the city had to function as a book of history to daily inoculate the values of a national culture to the immigrant mass, which in that way would find a way of cultural integration that would complement school. It’s remarkable the nineteenth-century awareness of the capacity of architecture to create an environment favourable to certain ideals and values that form a national community, just as was pointed out by John Ruskin—the source for many in that monumental cycle— in Las siete lámparas de la arquitectura: “we can live without architecture, but without it we cannot remember”.

But this progresist vision of the monument changed drastically in the 20th century due to a series of factors: either because after Second World War there was a shift from State-Nation memory to the memories of the terrorist State, producing an absolute inversion in the sense that the State had had till then or because there was a downturn in monumental rhetorical conventions, so it was impossible to reach any agreement regarding what could be remembered and how to do it. There’s a poem by Bertolt Brecht that perfectly describes this change process; it’s name is “Libro de lectura para los habitantes de la ciudad”, which is like a training manual that tells citizens: “Erase your imprints” (“Watch, when you think of dying, / that no stone betrays the place where you lie / with an inscription giving / your name and the year of your death. / Once again, / erase your imprints!”). It’s worth noting that the grave is the most primary monument, the monument par excellence because it
unites the happening and the “imprint” that fixed it, the material remains and their evocation. What has happened that those imprints must be removed from the city too? Walter Benjamin has made a famous interpretation of that poem, saying it is the situation of an immigrant in a strange city, but also of the social fighter that is surprised at his society, because for Benjamin cities have become battle fields in which you cannot possess anything that can leave a trace, a memory: not only because it would betray the fighter, but also because the new “poverty of experience” that the modern city has imposed must be answered with a cultural asceticism able to break with any aftertaste of tradition. And there is also an idea about political imposition, of the museification and officializing drive involved in any monumental endeavour; an idea that connects very clearly with the anti-monumental proposals of contemporary art -as shown by the different “counter-monuments” of artists like Horst Hoheisel, probably very well-known by all of you. It is a conflict inherent to contemporary art: how to represent the unrepresentable, but above all, how to renovate the sense of what needs to be remembered or paid tribute to once all “art” resources have been exhausted. The will to “erase all imprints”, of de-territorializing the official marks of the city is one of the paths followed by contemporary art, although – and this is a conflict that Graciela Silvestri pointed out very well in her article about the Park of Memory– we still expect other meanings of art, other reconciliations. This is also the “dilemma of the monument”, as Beatriz Sarlo called it in a recent article about the paradoxes that produces the Monument to the Jews killed in Europe that was built in Berlin by the architect Peter Eisenman –the tension between its anti-symbolic purpose intended to produce in the visitor an exceptional experience and the uses the public makes of it, consuming it as one more piece in the contemporary metropolis. On the other hand, we can find a mirror-like movement of ideological sense in architectural preservation culture: if the monument went from being progresist to reactionary, preservation went from being conservative to progresist. What really changed in the 20th century was the founding idea of modernism regarding the relation between city and progress. The reconstruction of European cities in the second post-war period produced a state of revision inside the urbanistic thought that aimed at all the modernist principles that were valid till then, given that the loss of historical marks in the city had not translated into a better urban functioning, but into anonymity and uprooting. Then, as from the 50s, a new idea of historicity in the city started to develop (as part of a new sensitivity that many years later some called “post-modernism”), which led to reflection about permanencies, urban morphology and historical monuments that did not exist in the “progresist” vision (in a broad sense) of modernism. In Argentina, this new appreciation of the history of the city occurred in a very particular moment, precisely during the last dictatorship. There was then a very diverse combination of factors that seemed to converge in the new appraisal of heritage preservation, from the anti-dictatorship mobilizations against the planned demolitions to build highways through the Museo de la Ciudad and the official preservation of San Telmo, to the appraisal of Palermo Viejo, which gathered the symbolic qualities of the neighbourhood and the “casa chorizo”** with the possibilities of a new real estate target. This multiplicity of factors –linking opposing political values, institutional aspects and market trends– coincided also with the devaluation of a traditionally transforming form of architecture: social or collective housing; also entrapped between the anti-authoritarian objections of critical sociology and the new force with which the right surged the Welfare State. A new cycle started then in the architectural thought dominated by the existentialist keys of “inhabiting”. That way it was easy to go, in matters of the city and history, from a vision of history and memory like that of Aldo Rossi, clearly committed with a transforming project, to a vision like that of Pierre Nora in Los lugares de la memoria, clearly conservative, in the sense that it is a nostalgic view of that lost capacity of the city to construct a national community.
And as a more recent variation in this cycle of ideological alternations, there appears a reaction in the most contemporary urban thought against restoring value to historical centres, a reaction against the spectacularized result—and therefore, banal and fetishist—produced by public policies and urbanistic discourses about public space and memory in the last two decades—arguments that finally proved more appropriate to “urban marketing” than to heritage and city public appraisal.

On the other hand, it should be noted that all these changes of sense come hand in hand with a strong change in society in relation with the past. Some authors talk about a society that’s in a “state of memory”. How to remember, and specially, how to order memories if everything becomes a memory? Is there a more “important”, “fairer” memory? How can it be decided? Contemporary literature has analyzed this problem as something typical of contemporary condition (which some theoreticians like Marc Augé call “super-modernity”), a product of the combination between time acceleration (“history hot on our heels”) and a corresponding disintegration of the idea of progress. Now, given this explosion, how do we think of that particular sector of memory that comprises the “signs of State terrorism”? We know we are before a special kind of memory. In words of Hugo Vezzetti, State terrorism created “exceptional conditions that touch the limit of experience”. Mass extermination, disappearing, the Trial of the Juntas: they are key points in Argentinean history. But in a society in “state of memory”, how do we handle the diversity entity of memories?

Let’s take two examples to illustrate this problem: Cromañón[1] and Malvinas. In Cromañón there is to my mind, the belligerent imposition of a sectorial memory. Bartolomé Mitre street, the street where the disco was located, has been closed since the night of the tragedy by the will of the relatives of the victims, many of them survivors. Based on a notion of “victims” undoubtedly related to the fight against State terrorism, the force of that demand has been so strong, reaching into the guilty consciences of the political class of the city, that has succeeded in keeping closed a key part of the street in an already congested city. You could imagine what would happen if those affected by analogous tragedies had taken similar measures: the road where the kids of the Ecos school in Chaco died would be closed, since it was an accident that combined the same elements: neglect on the part of the transport company, public corruption for the absence of controls, etc. Not to mention that the street where the AMIA was located would be closed too, and that of the Embassy of Israel, and also Av. del Libertador where Keivis was—a precedent of Cromañón in the 90s. The truth is the victims of Cromañón forced their grievance and protest on one of the most visible places of the city. On the other hand, the surviving soldiers of Malvinas could never in all this time obtain acknowledgement and visibility for that national tragedy—an absence of visibility that has turned that tragedy into something private, only of interest to the relatives of the victims. They have indeed managed to get some official monuments—“official” in the most inexcusable sense of the term—; empty of all social content because they have not been able to prevent society—which first got excited about the war and later ignored it—from washing its hands of its most direct and most unprotected victims, also victims of the dictatorship. It’s as if society had attributed the tragedy exclusively to its direct victims—what victimizes them twice (it’s a well known fact that there were more suicides after Malvinas than casualties in the battle field), as if the only way in which our society is able to express collective shame for that war was indifference.

I wanted to illustrate my point using two cases that have no memories related to the crimes of State terrorism (although in the case of Malvinas this is debatable) to show more clearly that the presence of memory is a social fact that constructs itself every day and is not always related to the degree of political or social importance of the fact it remembers. If in the memory of State terrorism there was no Malvinas, it’s non only because of the huge work carried out by human rights organization and activist sectors of society, but also because of the Trial to the Juntas and the way in which since 1983 there
has been a joint action pursued by diverse directly affected sectors and the State that succeeded in making it a public matter of first importance, a matter society could not turn a cold shoulder on easily. Otherwise, memory is subordinated to the stronger or weaker force of sectorial fights. Still it’s important to see that this is not a finished issue: the diverse ranks of social memory are always changing. Particularly if we note that our society in “state of memory” has historically had huge difficulties for memory at the same time.

How long do memories last in our city? Let’s have a look at the toponymy of the City of Buenos Aires: comparable to the “statue-mania” in the European cities is our fight for the names of streets. Here we have encountered —and still do— all kinds of symbolic fights. We are always changing the names of streets, and we have come to the absurdity of naming “Jorge Luis Borges” a section of Serrano street. And in so doing we have destroyed the sense of a poem for which the writer deserved to be remembered: his “Mythical foundation of Buenos Aires” founded the city in the area demarcated by Guatemala, Serrano, Paraguay and Gurruchaga streets —now Guatemala, Borges, Paraguay, and Gurruchaga. But let’s look at a much more complex case, in regard to which it is more difficult to use irony. This has to do with one of the memories that modifies our perception of the city. The case of the imposition —belligerent in Cromañón too— of a change in names from “Estación Avellaneda” to “Estación Darío y Maxi” was effected to remind us of the criminal act that ended with the lives of those two activists[2]. But why must the memory of that crime compete symbolically with the name of the station where it all happened? Why try to invalidate with the later memory of those killings, the social memory that was slowly constructed through decades of workers fights? That’s what many of us associate the name “Avellaneda” with: factories, work, fights. How do we settle memory fairness?

Firstly, the fact that there’s no basic memory, but different accounts, cannot suppose that these can be left to the proliferation of sense: sometimes sense multiplication is a clear evidence of simple absence of sense. Do we have to celebrate that proliferation or shall we join the difficult and ungrateful task of thinking and deciding? Of course, this does not mean we should seek to impose one account as the official memory; that would be a pyrrhic success (and I believe we suffer that in the field of human rights as a result of a certain officialization that has come about during this government). The main task of memory is to allow the accounts to construct their own statutes of justice in a permanent search for greater consensus. Consensus is temporary, fragile, and transitory, in constant negotiation and reconstruction. But we cannot simply accept that memories compete for their place in a similar territory, subject to the force of each of the “interested sectors”, because that would amount to accepting a certain free market in memory. The exceptionality of memory of State terrorism imposes other duties, and this has inner and outer implications for the movements of human rights because it makes us think not only of the way to justify a differential appraisal of that memory in regard to other partial memories, but also because it demands a conquering will from all society, a will to translate the fight into memory and justice, of universalizing values that break with some deeply rooted habits in this same sector. And for that universalizing task, the territory of the city is —as this great book Memorias en la ciudad shows—a platform that’s so complex as extraordinary.

The task for memory in the city is then the task of Sisifo. Given that it’s in the city where time goes by faster and where space more quickly reconstructs itself, where days are renovated stone by stone and meaning by meaning, we should still attempt to support and recreate its character as symbolic universe, as a means for public identification, neither private nor sectorial. And this involves recovering the idea of public space that is able to set, however temporarily, some values of the shared memory, of the “fair memory”. Even knowing that the fight against sense fragmentation —in this case due to the random multiplication of sense— is a fight that needs to be restarted each day.
Notes

* Reviewed version by the author of the transcription of the lecture presented at the “Architecture and Memory” Workshop, Monday August 31, Centro Cultural General San Martin. A short list of books mentioned in the body of the text has been added.

** TN: Type of house that puts the rooms in a straight line, bordering with an internal patio.

[1] On June 26, 2002, several organization made up of unemployed people led a day of protest blocking the main access to the city of Buenos Aires. About 2,500 demonstrators tried to interrupt traffic circulation along Pueyrredon bridge that connects the city with the town of Avellaneda. The security forces suppressed them strongly, causing confrontations with protesters, many of whom tried to flee to the Avellaneda train station, a few blocks away.

At the railroad station Darío Santillán (21 years) was killed by members of security forces while assisting Maximiliano Kosteki (24 years) who had been mortally wounded a few yards away. The autopsies revealed that both deaths were caused by shotguns blasts belonging to the Police of Buenos Aires.

[2] República Cromañón was a disco located in the Once neighbourhood of the City of Buenos Aires. The night of December 30th 2004, during a rock band concert, the place burned down and 192 people died and at least 1,432 were wounded. It’s one of the worst non-natural tragedies in Argentina.

Mentioned texts:

Physical memorialization in official policies: balance, criticism and challenges

Gonzalo Cáceres, Rodrigo Millán and Valentina Rozas

Two polarities

“Transition to democracy or post-dictatorship?” The dichotomy settled in during the early 90s when the Aylwin\textsuperscript{1} Administration had just begun. Indeed, both alternatives represented much more than academic rhetoric. Those who understood the Chilean process as a transition process regarded civilian command, consensus and the need for stability as the goal and target of the government. Those who preferred to refer to the newly inaugurated period as a post-dictatorship, focused on the early rusting of coordinative reformism which proved unable to pierce a hole on the institutional fence guarded by the sentries of the authoritarian project.

Together with “Transition or post-dictatorship?”, “Truth or justice?” was other couple that characterized the Chile of Aylwin or Frei Ruiz-Tagle\textsuperscript{2}. While “Transition or post-dictatorship” brought up the binominal electoral system, the senators appointment and the qualified quorums necessary for any significant reform, “Truth or justice” appealed to a broader field, where ethic was present too, but also to a much more precise field. Undoubtedly, “Truth or justice” would not exist as a dilemma if the human rights of thousands of people had not been systematically violated in Chile during the military dictatorship.

With dichotomies like these, the Chilean experience balance risks swelling its charmless look. It’s not our interest to use make up on a course of action that created dissatisfaction both in Chile and abroad. Rather, our concern is to attempt a first reflection on the exiting tension between Democratic Restoration and Human Rights. Fear not, we are not going to focus on the politological view. We know the purpose of this forum is to revisit the worrying relation between urban planning, testimonial places and places of awareness. Based on the City-Memory polarity, we will unfold our arguments appealing to concise contextualization. Which arguments? The ones that mostly refer to the memorializations present in contemporary Santiago.

A one-destination transition?: Impunity

Let us not beat around the bush. Many people believe that during the restitution of democracy in Chile there was widespread and shameful impunity. The lack of an expedite trial to the militaries that designed and directed the repression process proves it. This was proved further when 10 years later, Pinochet –with his rights and privileges revoked and under prosecution– retired from political life without sentence. I repeat this, without sentence. But impunity in Chile had spread its tentacles far beyond Pinochet himself. It was always present as an idea and its sticky nature refers us to the various attempts to legislate in favour of Truth without Justice. Although it may be hard for us today to find the original promoters, truth without justice, as you know perfectly well, involves exempting the killers of legal liability in order to clarify the destination given to the remains of the repression victims.

In other words, autocrats co-opted democrats and punched their ethical rubber floats, to do later nothing to avoid it. Fortunately, the relation is neither as linear nor as shameful. How come the

If we focus on prosecutions, in 1997 there were 251 while in 2004, 372. As José Samuel Valenzuela states, it seems that the international arrest of Pinochet is one variable among others that allow us to understand the steady rise in prosecutions and sentences. Today the prosecuted total more than 450.

The new couple: Justice and Memorialization

In retrospect, and while the discussion on “Transition and Post-dictatorship” remains open for analysts, “Truth or Justice” split in an unforeseen way: Justice and Memorialization.

Unlike the demand for Justice, in which human rights organizations challenged governments on a very diverse range of scenarios, the claim for memorialization finds a convergence area in the agendas of both human rights organizations and the State itself.

This concurrence was still challenged by a range of conflicts. As it happens with many other experiences, it’s almost impossible to report a memorialization process, with its pertaining constructed form, without conflict. Therefore, going back to the Chilean experience, how far did memorialization go
if conflict was exiled from politics and general consensus had no counterweight? At the time of politics without conflict, memorialization remained a promise of organizations, but its realization in the city was marginal and generally peripheral. If we look at bigger-scale projects, not microscopic ones, by the 90s we could count two of these in Santiago: the Memorial of the General Cemetery, built in one of the access ways to the main cemetery of the city but at that time without a modernization plan (it’s worth noting that the memorial was opened during the holidays, on February 26, 1994); and a Museum-Park built in the pre-Andean periphery and opened in March, 1997. The park is of public access, but its use is reported as controversial by the residents in irregular settlements located in its vicinity.

![General Cemetery of Santiago Memorial (1997).](image1)

**Actions that become policy**

The relation between politics and human rights, the same as the relation between city and memory, shifted under the Administration of Ricardo Lagos. “Justice as far as possible” was replaced as *dictum* by “Institutions work.” This doesn’t come as substantial news, so much so because it’s a phrase coming from a society used to indirect political language. However, this meant Lagos was legitimizing the actions performed by the judges that reinterpreted the amnesty in 1978. The consequences of this were very significant and explain why the staff officers of repressive organizations are at present deprived of their freedom in general.

Secondly, the expression “reconciliation” lost historical centrality. The conflicts between 1998-1999 with the international arrest of Pinochet—a true psychological return to the Chile of Unidad Popular—acquired such hateful expression that undermined its credibility. Even the Catholic Church could not accept reconciliation without an important and previous dose of justice.

Thirdly, Lagos had the task of formulating an official policy on Human Rights during his Administration (*No tomorrow without yesterday*). Although he did not use physical memorialization as a reparatory element, he did think of human rights as an essential part in “the development of education”.

Fourthly, his Administration has the credit for having listened, recognized and compensated the people that having been physically or psychologically assaulted by agents of the State, did not die. Let’s remember that the Report of the National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture estimated more than 25,000 qualified victims. Following Steve Stern, this is a figure that underestimates a much more complex reality. For instance, the number of high public officials that are not in the list is remarkable in both quantitative and qualitative terms.
Fifthly, most physical memorialization projects started but not concluded under his Administration. The mention of this seems to be of the utmost importance. Even more so, to relate memorialization works with the urban modernization that Santiago underwent during his Presidency. To our mind, his Administration understood such works as part of an urban art endeavour. Urban art that left the periphery and the predictable places behind and progressed towards the centre of the city, although its shift was not without conflict. It’s worth noting that the interest for the centre continues the policies fostered by Aylwin and Frei, which resulted –during the 90s and even today– in a large plan of infrastructure (a subway train line runs across the centre only 500 metres from another parallel line), equipment (the reform of Plaza de Armas is completed) and subsidies to finance residential verticalization of depressed areas.

More precisely, the realized projects of physical memorialization created a new presence in the city. Small and even minute, their expressive materiality would no longer be limited to places of restricted access (cemeteries or fenced parks) but it would for instance coat a bridge in neglect or, using the transparency of glass, be attached to areas adjacent to military active places.

These new materialities clearly tell about new authors, new approaches and a greater mobilization of resources. Memorialization, understood as public art, is part of the pro-urban face of “Lagos urbanism”, reminding us of his known preference for private self-mobilization infrastructure.
It’s a paradox needing further analysis that which has the pro-urban face of Lagos matching a phase of city optimism with one of pessimism among the local intellectuals convened to speak about the city of Santiago.

Finally, with Lagos, a second line of memorialization is developed. Although his government can not be accused of “allendizing” the polices of symbolic reparation, the figure of the socialist president is present in the inauguration of a sculpture in his honour and the re-opening of Puerta de Morandé 80.

The limited steps taken by his Administration multiplied when Bachelet turned the Salón Blanco de La Moneda into a Museum, gave subsidies for artistic performances to the memory of his personality and actively contributed to the organization of Fundación Salvador Allende in a state-owned building given in lease. Based on the above, and not even referring to the situation in the provinces, it’s not surprising that the second honorific mention in the National Museum Contest on Memory features the figure of Allende for its project.
What’s also significant—and evidence of the capillary “allendization” that spreads across wide sectors of the Chilean society—is that nobody objected to what we could understand as an “allendist” colonization of the image of the National Museum.

Using Allende as an emblem of the Museum requires extending the limits back beyond September 11, 1973. Such extension, which would mean opening a Pandora’s Box of uncontrollable consequences for the promoters of the Memory Museum, seems impossible. This is an operation cut out from a group, the victims, and also from time in a very precise and controversial way.

The government of Bachelet, memory and memorialization: Exploring beyond self-justificatory descriptions

What can we say about the physical memorialization component in the Human Rights policy implemented by Bachelet’s Administration? It’s a predictable report: a) projects have multiplied in the city and its spread is justified on reparatory grounds, b) its physical scope has confirmed their visibility and centrality to the point of being considered an active part in some heritage itineraries, c) most of the initiatives are selected by public bidding and so authorships multiply, especially of artists and architects, d) public biddings are financed by the Human Rights Office, Ministry of the Interior, and their materialization is set in concurrence with the organizations that required them (sometimes using direct
assignment modality), e) every project involves an artistic dimension, of variable scope, and also includes the victims’ relatives in their collaborative methodology, and f) at least one of the public biddings, which corresponds to a Historical Monument located in a disfavoured sector of the General Cemetery of Santiago, was announced by the National Monuments Council and not by the Ministry of Public Works. The expansion in the public faculty registry is an important matter although we haven’t been able to identify a substantial presence of Municipalities in memorialization projects.

Up to here we have followed a functional approach that takes us to self-justificatory description. Leaving this approach aside, we can say these projects tell about an essential concomitance. State and civil society come together to work on joint initiatives that, despite specific conflicts and delays of all kind, are finally inaugurated. These are the State and human rights organizations, especially that of the Disappeared Prisoners and that of the Political Executed. Unlike Argentina, Chile has kept the unity of its organizations.

A second visible trend is the interest of Bachelet for continuing the designs of Lagos although she had to deal with the crisis of the wrong identities in Patio 29[7] and the scandal of the unjustified beneficiaries. Despite all this, Bachelet persists. After all she suffered repression herself and seeks to process her own trauma. More physical memorials are built with public funds (of diverse origin), and also testimonial places, where activist culture is strong, as in places of awareness. Both fall within a broader heritage logic that turn them into “milestones” to be visited during Heritage Day. For instance, the former military quarters called “Yucatán,” now Londres 38.

A third trend is the interest in advancing daily socialization of human rights values. This is not about symbolically remembering when standing before a singularly-built form. Here the figure of the Museum comes on stage. Indeed, it’s only a few months to the opening of the Memory Museum, also called Memory Museum on Human Rights. While the construction and design of the exhibition progresses – as you may imagine, works are being rushed so that the Museum may be opened before the end of mandate, and therefore, before the possible end of the coordinative cycle–, they are also building, in Santiago too, a cultural library-centre devoted to almost the same ends as the Memory Museum, but of inferior museographic excellence. The house of José Domingo Cañas, we are informed, will host a library.

Finally, and essential to our purpose today, is to reflect about the urban project that hosts a specific piece of work. To our mind, one of the main attributes of the Memory Museum is its insertion as a piece in a greater plan. The Museum, of neo-modern architecture with no mannerisms, is one in a line of
public assets and avant-garde architecture that include hospitals, the University of Santiago (former UTE), libraries, high schools, museums, cultural centres and park-style areas.

On a side area in Downtown, the Matucana row can change the geography of opportunities for all the western side of Santiago. This is a sector that before the dictatorship witnessed the fight of popular urban sectors. That is the reason why the inclusive heritage of Victor Jara comes to mind when we talk of the western area of Santiago. In 1972, his album *La Población* looked at a child of the poor periphery, with hope:

> "Fragile as a kite
> Over the Barrancas roofs
> Played a boy, Luchin, with hands blue with cold
> Together with a cat and a dog,
> The horse gazing at him…"

Hope that resembles our hope about the Matucana row, and which is not too different from the hope of Jara in 1972 when he sang:

> "If there are children like Luchin
> Eating dirt and worms
> Let’s open all the jails
> So they may fly as birds"
Notes

[1] Patricio Aylwin Azócar was President of Chile from 1990 to 1994.

[2] Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle was President of Chile from 1994 to 2000.

[3] Ricardo Froilán Lagos Escobar was President of Chile from 2000 and 2006.


[5] Salvador Allende. Chilean politician. One of the founders of the Socialist Party in his country where he held the position of secretary general from 1943 to 1970, when he was elected President, being the candidate of an alliance formed by socialists and communists. His government was the first case of "peaceful way to socialism" in Latin America. It promoted policies of nationalization of companies and production and it boosted consumption through salary rise and prices freeze. On September 11, 1973, he was deposed and died resisting the military coup of General Augusto Pinochet, who had the support of the United States.

[6] Michelle Bachelet is the current President of Chile. Her mandate started on March 11, 2006.

[7] In September, 1991, the excavation of unidentified tombs in Patio 29 of the General Cemetery that was used as place of illegal grave of executed politicians during the military dictatorship began. The bodies found were sent to the Legal Medical Service, which two years later could start returning the remains to the families. After several complaints and suspicions of serious mistakes in the identification process, in 2006 the Legal Medical Service admitted, after the intervention of the courts, that at least 48 of the 96 victims had been misidentified.

[8] Víctor Jara. Chilean musician, singer-songwriter and stage director. He came from a peasant family of Ñuble and became an international referent for his protest songs and as a singer-songwriter. He was tortured and killed in the old Chile Stadium (now Víctor Jara Stadium) by the repressive forces of the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, who deposed the government of Salvador Allende on September 11, 1973.
Memory and City: The Transformation of Urban Spaces

Questions from the audience

For Adrián Gorelik. You said there was a great difference between the city-memory as described by Pablo Sztulwark and the city as conflicts of memory that you propose; what’s that difference?

For Pablo Sztulwark. Regarding the difference between the city concepts put forward by Pablo Sztulwark and Adrián Gorelik, must inherent conflicts of memory in contemporary cities be resolved?

For Gonzalo Cáceres. Regarding the Matucana Row you mentioned by the end of your presentation, was there any planning behind this Row that gathers an already opened library, a Museum on construction, a hospital, a University and a marginal population of workshops, markets and popular housing?

Answers

Adrián Gorelik: Firstly, Pablo Sztulwark said that the city is the space for memory. I intend to show that there’s a very conflictive relation between memory and history, and that the city is the place for history. Still, the idea of social memory proposed by Halbwachs considers that memory –as Pablo Sztulwark aptly explained– is constructed at the present time. However, the definition of memory given by Pablo doesn’t allow sense ascription, and I think that memory also involves a fight for ascribing sense.

Secondly, the definition of city given by Pablo (with which I really concur), if carried to extremes, if we pull from the threads of the implied logic in this idea of city, we would find a situation in which the discussion of values is avoided. I’m not saying that the conflict must be resolved, because that would require an authority that cannot possibly exist. There’s no authority for memory. But I think that with the idea that memory can mill around, build and destroy itself permanently, we finally avoid the discussion of values. And I think that is a very important discussion; I think it’s very important to fight for ascribing sense.

That’s the difference I see between our presentations. But this is a difference that comes up if we stretch our positions too far.

Pablo Sztulwark: The problem I see is that Adrián Gorelik is talking about certain implicit things in the discourse, and I understand the standpoint from which he talks. But I don’t agree with the implicit meanings he reads in my discourse. I think that the idea of memory construction as permanent construction still creates provisional senses. But in turn, I think that memory ascription, from a historical point of view, has always been linked to institutions and organizations that can do that. As I see it though, in this fight for sense in contemporary society, the possible institutions we could consider for this are completely swept by the flow of sense to which we are permanently exposed. When I visited Auschwitz and saw the thematic park organized there, I became aware of the fact that you can’t fight
against the mechanisms of spectacularization without constantly problematizing memory. These mechanisms are not limited to memory matters, but are also present in modern life and govern cultural, economic and social issues we deal with every day. Spectacularization has always existed. I don’t see why my critical thinking regarding the ways of constructing memory challenges the presentation of Adrián Gorelik. But I can still see that Adrián’s account deems it possible to construct forms of permanent control and construction in a society where sense is continuously altered. Commitment should be with the fight rather than with consolidation.

Gonzalo Cáceres: With the idea of “fair memory”, we get closer to the idea of “fair city”. In so doing, certain questions that have lately been neglected in discussions on urban planning can be claimed back. Firstly, we can get back the idea of project orientation, an essential matter that has been evaded due to the enduring neo-liberal urban intervention in the city. Therefore, when we talk about ‘fair memory’ we bring into discussion an issue that has to do with education, with the future. The city as a civil classroom where multiple actors concur and differ, and that finds materialization in the museum – which can also be understood as a mobile figure, with its meaning altered according to the passage of time.

Regarding the Matucana Row, which I think is not called so by the public officials in Chile, is a kind of accumulation of scattered works that uses no urban planning. It has been the result of actions that coincided regardless of planning. I showed a maybe too idyllic image of it. If we drew our attention to it, we would see that there are parts in that row our look could not hold with optimism. If we attentively looked at the Matucana Row, we would see some issues related to the idea of “fair city”:

Firstly, the Matucana Row seeks to transform the geography of opportunities so as to mitigate the idea of a segregated city. The construction of a cultural row –and not only cultural but expressive symbolic in this part of the centre of Santiago de Chile– tries to ease this deficit. Probably it can only do it provisionally.

Secondly, the fact that this Matucana Row includes the Memory Museum also incorporates other challenges to a “fair city” –which should bear this “fair city” signified in the Museum. I don’t see this in the agenda of those who are in charge of the Museum at present. Some of the most fundamental prerogatives are not being followed. In that sense, I think that the social function of the intellectual is not only to be a spoil regarding activist memory but also to always incorporate a revisionist look regarding such memories. I think that the Memory Museum is assuming an activist memory only. This should be ok as long as there is a framework for discussion. But the Museum is assuming this activist memory using an irrefutable figure: the figure of Allende. Because of its monumentality, and in the shadow of its monumentality, everybody tends to hush rather than speak up.

I think that by paying homage to that monumental past, the Museum –which is presented as a national one– would be limiting its coverage to the events that took place from September 11, 1973 to March 10 1990. Those will be the only events; the monopoly of the Museum. Everything that did not fall within that period would be evaporated. And I think that, nowadays in Chile, that would amount to an operation of oblivion. That is so because today, for instance, the most serious problem regarding human rights in Chile has to do with the rights of the Mapuche community. Therefore, if the Museum operated only as the reservoir of an activist memory, linked to the dictatorship period in Chile, it would erase everything going backwards and forwards. To me this means going too far and a mistake into the future.
Monuments: an expression of memorialization in the city
Monuments: an expression of memorialization in the city

International bidding for the construction of a
Memorial to the Jewish Holocaust Victims

First Prize: Sebastián Marsiglia and Gustavo Nielsen, Architects.

Remembering is a vital activity that gives identity to our past and defines our present. Memory is of selective nature: a complex dialectic system between oblivion and memory. Personal and social memories are always subject to construction, negotiations and repression. They are blurred and imperfect, not permanent. In modern societies, collective memory is negotiated in the values, beliefs, rituals and institutions of the social body.

Shoah museums and monuments always keep a kind of contradiction in size between the representative and metaphoric space, generally huge, and the objects to be exhibited, typically of small format. Peter Eisemann reports the lack of dialogue between both proportions in the written speech for its urban memorial in Berlin. The enlargement of the Jewish Museum of Libedskin is great but does not solve the conflict: it has huge irregular empty spaces that plastically and efficiently tell of the anguish of existence and the question of death, but when those spaces are occupied by domestic objects recovered from concentration camps, the architect resorts to very orthodox glass windows.

The thing is that the presence of these simple objects (suitcases, letters, pictures, shoes, utensils, clothes, books) is essential because social memory turns into individual memory, telling us about people like us that ceased to exist amid dreadful punishment: persecution, torture, humiliation, imprisonment, shootings. The topicality of the presence of such objects, similar to the ones we use every day at any moment in any society, points to the risk that disaster may strike again. The visualization of those sad objects is essential to understanding the Holocaust.

Our project works on a system of stones that bear the imprint of daily objects: umbrellas, notebooks, dishes, clothes, etc. These imprints are accomplished using cement casting on those objects. The operation destroys the object. The imprint uses the iconic profile of the object as a metaphor of the element that disappeared in the imprint process.
Imprints are signs that human beings leave along their way through the world; they are traces, vestiges of one civilization. The imprint of those daily objects on the stone represents a kind of urban fossil of great impact. They form a collection that bears witness to human life—using objects but leaving them aside too.

The stones will be piled to form a wall. They are 114 parallelepipeds of reinforced concrete forming a front of 1m, with variable heights and widths. Heights fluctuate between 60cm and 1.40m. Widths are three: 30cm, 60cm and 90cm. Colours vary slightly too; concrete will be pigmented in some cases.

Stones will be exhibited as relics and illuminated like sculptures. Each stone will contain the imprint of one sole kind of object. If they are utensils, the concrete will be cast on spoons, knives, forks, dishes, jars and pudding molds. If they are elements of personal hygiene, the casting will be performed on combs, ornamental combs, brushes, brooches, razors. In the case of clothes, they will include shoes, cushions, belts, shirts, dresses, handbags, glasses. To make the monument more appropriate by the community, donations of objects will be accepted and will give form to this existential puzzle. Objects will have their actual size.

This collection of absences operates a transfer of memory; from the dead memory of gone objects to the living memory of the strollers. It will be the stroller that will remember the memory of a city, of hundreds of lives. This will be an ice-melting operation on the petrification of memories. Based on the work of Jochen Gerz, we have attempted to build a monument that remembers oblivion.

The wall is 39m long and has a maximum height of 4m; it stands by the bank of the railroad that accompanies Dorrego Avenue. It's not intended to hold a central position, but rather suggest an itinerary, and merge with the surroundings of Paseo de la Infanta. We also concur with Jochen Gerz in regard to the denaturalization of urban monuments. The monument we design will be visible from Libertador Avenue and from the Infanta arches, and it will hold a covert rather than central position. Here the monument has the modest format of a landscape wall. The strollers will walk on a garden block platform, which will look like a green and living floor.
Night illumination is low, from the flooring, so the people who visit the monument at night will cut the rays of light when passing, projecting human shadows on the stones, in a spontaneous and involuntary intervention.

As artists, we are interested in the relation between our existence and total existence, the connections between present time and past happenings. Therefore, this monument of modern aspect does not only refer to the Shoah. The wall is fragmented in two parts. The first has only 29 stones, the number of victims in the terrible attack to the Embassy of Israel in Argentina. The second half is made of 85 stones, the number of victims in AMIA (Argentine Israelite Mutual Association).

The metaphor is that of memory imprinted on stone. Hundreds of individual memories that give shape to the collective vicissitudes of a people. Imprints for memory.
Architecture, Site and Memory:
a reflection on the insertion of Architecture and the Park of Memory into the urban coastline of Buenos Aires.

Alberto Varas

The occupation of idle lands like those that surround the buildings of Ciudad Universitaria\(^1\), the urban re-insertion of mono-functional fragments like the University campus, and the reconstruction of the contemporary urban landscape of the city are some of the problems that Buenos Aires faces, together with the renovation of its infrastructure and the reconstruction of interstices found in the urban weave of consolidated districts in the city.

Buenos Aires is now undergoing necessary contemporary interventions into its urban and natural landscape, into its coastline and into its new open spaces.

The stereotyped conception that last century-turn landscape interventions –Bosques de Palermo or Costanera Sur\(^2\)– could or should be imitated could only have led to a nostalgia for the past that would have reflected a lack of trust in the future of our city.

These neighbouring lands to Ciudad Universitaria –because of their proximity to mass activities or because of the lack of open spaces for the general public–, are being recreated, with an eye on preserving its natural environment, and treated with a view to create a contemporary urban space that may be used and enjoyed by the whole citizenship.

To satisfy the claim of the citizenship for open spaces, urban and landscape design interventions must permit a re-consideration of the relation between the natural and the superficial in which the coexistence of urban life and natural life –or its representation– can become one of the culture values of the city –without one affecting the other.
Therefore, the parks projected in the Ciudad Universitaria area try to strike a balance between the presence of nature—the natural landscape—and the presence of the city with its infrastructures, recreational uses, architecture and public walks. Moreover, they try—as in any big-scale intervention—to resolve the identity of the site within a conception that values natural elements—as pedagogical factors—and elements of use—educational, recreational and architectural programs—and by coexisting with the urban, they can stand as the starting point for the creation of contemporary urbanity: a new public space.

Architecture and Memory

It could be argued that one of the virtues of Architecture that prevails in our time is its material character, its being a stable cultural text.

With society being what it is, even called “liquid” because of the fluidity with which meanings, discourses and past events become blurred, it’s often Architecture that lays the stones that make cities the most significant creation in human history.

It’s not as if cities keep still; they are organisms in permanent mutation. However, the footprints of human evolution that materialize in buildings and urban spaces form layers that, as geology and archaeology teach, permit the reconstruction of the passage of time.

Monuments

A monument is the site par excellence where a moment of history is placed; it’s the site of the materialized memory where time stopped figuratively to bring to memory a tragic or extraordinary event.

The passage through the city can be imagined like a gigantic metronome that beats at the pace of the life it holds and stops for an instant when in front of a monument, forcing us to draw our attention to an
event that must not be forgotten. At that instant, an embryo of memory is created; and embryo that will add to that of thousands whose metronomes will stop at that or other instant.

The Park of Memory

As for the Park of Memory, one of the greatest challenges for the Project is to recover—for the benefit of public use and Memory programs— the seriously deteriorated area of the river bank of Ciudad Universitaria and its neighbouring lands. And there’s also the social benefit that can be obtained from an intervention like the one put forward—considering the emblematic role of social use of that area.

The strategic incorporation of the Park of Memory into the Project offers a reference of meaning that endows “historicity” to an area that has been an anonymous border of the city and a witness to the most tragic hours in the Argentine history.

Park of Memory and the Monument like an “open wound” that reaches the river.

Monument to the Victims of State Terrorism

It was of the utmost importance in the design of the Parks of Ciudad Universitaria the decision to incorporate into its program, and as fundamental elements, monuments that refer to tragic events in the recent history of Argentina—the memory of which has been incorporated into the Park of Memory and the Monument to the Victims of State Terrorism that stand as generators of a recycled coastline of monumental scale.

The idea of thematizing these undefined territories with landscape treatment in line with the Monuments presence supposed another great challenge for the parks project: how to give the urban space and coastline a scale and character appropriate to the new significative dimension.

It might be useful in this regard to remember a paragraph of the text on the Monument to the Victims of State Terrorism that in 1998 accompanied the presentation of the project for the Parks of Ciudad Universitaria. It read:

“The monument is built on an artificially created field, a landfill recovered from the river.

It’s an area demarcated by a small cleared hill, with no vegetation whatsoever.

The Monument is in itself a cut, an open wound carved into the hill.

By means of landscape intervention, outlining and slow and difficult construction works to create the artificial hill, we recreate the effort that’s needed to construct a non-violent society
and State, and also the wound inflicted by violence and the ideal of purity and hope embodied in the field lacking in vegetation.

The names are written on steles of porphyry along the trail that starts at one of the squares in the rector’s office area of the University and ends at the river, on the Monuments Promenade.

This walk uses a ramp, in a procession fashion, leading to the names of each of the people that disappeared or were killed.

Midway through the trail there’s the Information Centre. This is a room for multiple uses of 900 m² and of the characteristics of a small museum in which collective memory will be kept alive through art, research and public meetings.”

The Park of the Memory in Buenos Aires and the Monument to the Victims of State Terrorism are works offered to the Argentine citizens, who have known the tragic origins that motivated their construction, as instrument for catharsis, as materialization of memory. However, as is the case with other great memorials in the world, it is also offered to all humanity –given the universal dimension of its meaning– as a contribution of our country in the field of architecture and great contemporary territorial interventions, as an urban piece of much content.

In this sense this work has universal scope, which puts it in dialogue with other great memory architectural works.

The Monument is part of the landscape, the sky and the river, while it also gives form to that landscape. At that place people were once thrown into the river and no land existed; in that same place, there is now a site of reminiscence and contact with the most permanent things in life: soil, water, the horizon, the city, the things that cannot be removed and are also the materials used in the architecture of the Monument and the Park.
This is not a grandiloquent Monument; it is set on the actual soil of the city and resorts to spatial sensations shared by all inhabitants of Buenos Aires: the views of the river, the horizontal skyline, the fairly abrupt changes in the city (although there are things that won’t be moved in the city).

The Monument takes holds of the river, the urban horizons, the noises and the silence...

The Monument, the Park and the landscape have thus merged together into one sole and unique vision.

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Notes

[1] Ciudad Universitaria is a campus of the University of Buenos Aires where there are several Schools. It is located in front of the Río de la Plata in the Northern side of the city.

[2] The Bosques de Palermo are a green area of 25 ha. with trees, rose gardens and artificial lakes. In this part of the city are the Planetarium, the Japanese Garden, the Zoo and the Botanical Garden.

The Costanera Sur is an area of public walks in the Southern side of the city. In land recovered from the river is now a nature Reserve.
Monuments: an expression of memorialization in the city

Questions from the audience

For Gustavo Nielsen. The concrete blocks in the Memorial to the Holocaust will have different colours?

Gustavo Nielsen: Stones will be pigmented. These are things we are learning to do as we go. We are meeting with specialists in concrete, because concrete castings on elements like bottles, made of glass or plastic, are different from castings made on porous objects like books. In any case, the process destroys the objects. Initially, we will ask the Jewish community to give these objects. But it will go further than that; I will give many of the objects, and friends of mine will give objects too. Also, part of the budget will be used to get these objects.

As I was saying, these blocks will be pigmented with different colours. Even if these monuments are supposed to remind people of terrible events in history, we shouldn’t forget they will be part of the city, they will form walks. Although this is very moving –this is a project I’m very fond of– I would like it to be perceived more naturally. People will walk past this place. We didn’t want the monument to be all grey. We always thought of it as some kind of collage that could hold different colours. A more plastic thing, if you wish.

For both, from Adrián Gorelik. I’d like to show the different perspectives proposed by these two monuments. I think that both monuments hold a clear distinctive position towards the relation with the city and daily life. Gustavo Nielsen made a point of having the monument be perceived naturally, so it could also be a recreational place. The Monument of the Park of Memory has a more solemn character that relates to the place not by blurring itself or merging with the landscape (rather, with the possibility of taking root there) but by creating a highly distinct space.

These different perspectives fall within the context of a broader discussion in which Western society has found itself immersed after the Holocaust: Memory has to work for or against naturalization? I think that the Memorial to the Holocaust victims is closer to the perspective of naturalization in the city. The Monument of the Park of Memory seeks to break with naturalization, it seeks to create an exceptional place, a solemn place where you can stand back and think about something that deserves a moment away from the city pace.

Gustavo Nielsen: I don’t think the monument I presented falls within the perspective of naturalization in the city. For one thing, there are no objects to see; just the imprints of those objects on an element used by architects: concrete. Concrete is a very noble material, very good for building what must not be forgotten.

Alberto Varas: I was enthralled by the reflection of Adrián Gorelik on memory naturalization. I think deep down it has to do with the stability of meaning attached to things. We, as architects, use hard elements, but the question of durability is still there. Our contemporary society is a very sly society, in
the sense that it makes us believe that there are things that last forever when actually they don’t. And if there’s something we know –even when every day there are fewer things we can be sure of– is that every product of this society will be absorbed by this flow of cultural and physical consumption in cities. Maybe we should reflect on what we should do about the way contemporary cities swallow up things, because it’s not only memory they swallow up; they swallow up everything.

So I believe that participation in these kinds of monuments is soft. But we architects use certain stability of elements --for instance concrete, as discussed--, which I think is an advantage of architecture, its stability and gravity. I believe it’s this fact that determines the character of the monument. I think we must be as light as possible to be contemporary, but we should also mind lightness does not involve the naturalization of memory. That’s the hardest part.
Experiences in the Treatment of Spaces in Recovered Sites
Marks to Remember

The Provincial Archive of Memory in Córdoba opened its doors in March 2007, taking hold—as set forth by Act 9286—of the buildings that were the quarters of the Police Information Department (D2) and operated as Clandestine Detention Centers (CDC) in the 70s. This place is located in the centre of the city of Córdoba, only a few metres from the main square, opposite to the Cathedral and next to the Town Hall.

The purpose of the Archive is to build a Net of Memories among the different Clandestine Detention Centers in Córdoba, La Perla, D2 and Campo La Ribera, creating strategic programs and projects based on their location, and giving to each a role according to its placement in the territory and its scope.

We believe that the best way to address the topic of Memory and its uses is by giving response to the need of society, proposing a working space that’s useful not just to remember what happened, but as a way of participating, spreading information, educating and communicating, in a referential building that has gained new functionalities to promote the protection of all Human Rights.
Some objectives of the works:

- Recover the itineraries made the detainees and identified, based on the different oral testimonies gathered by the Provincial Archive of Memory.

- Propose different spaces where the present Social Movements fights can find expression, like activities and exhibitions, as a way of laying claim to the fights of the past.

- Create specific working spaces for the development of activities by the Commission of Memory and Archive of Memory: administrative offices, meeting rooms, file cabinet rooms, research room, public consultation room, library, etc.

- Propose spreading, promotion and denouncing spaces.

- Propose recreational and meeting spaces, like a cinema room / a multi-use room, a cafeteria, exhibitions, etc.

Pulling down Oblivion

After two years of research, we opened the “Site Museum”, i.e., the place identified by most of the testimonies gathered to date as a space where people were detained and tortured. This applies to the first and the second buildings that form this building complex, where architectural works of demarcation and preservation have been carried out.

The walls that were built once the dictatorship ended were pulled down. These distorted the original space of the D2, affecting the identification of the usual itineraries the detainees were made to follow in this Clandestine Detention Centers. By pulling down these walls, we could recover the memory about the space and bring to light the repressed stories.
Demarcating and Transforming the Walls of Terror

Demarcation is a complex task since the D2 was used as place of detention from 1974 to 1978. During each of those years the Clandestine Detention Center had different dynamics. That’s why the work of gathering testimonies is essential: it allows us to learn from the people who were kept there, and to know what the place was like.

Memory Layers

The oral testimonies allowed us to give new context and understand the functions of this former Clandestine Detention Center, by comparing them with the original plans and see the modifications made from the year 1977 to date. We could identify certain spaces of great symbolic power that recurrently appeared in the oral testimonies: backyards divided and fenced with walls; “the tram” (space identified by survivors as the place where they spent most of the time); elements that are no longer there, like cement benches.

It is a known practice that of “blurring” spaces to weaken the testimony of the survivors and former detainees, but there are innumerable references to architectural space in the oral accounts: “I remember these black and white floor tiles, the cement benches, the backyard and the steps….” These are marks, traces that cannot be erased; therefore, the identification and the demarcation of those marks was a key point considered in the design, to protect and preserve the site as per THOSE accounts, since the identification of spaces by former detainees is a very important reparatory act for them as subjects of rights.

Addressing the creation of a Memory Site is complex, especially in the building of the former D2, which also keeps memories in its walls, memories of buildings that have witnessed repressive actions since the times of the colony. Spaces hold very high symbolic value.
The criteria used in the works to restore value, especially to the most significant spaces, had to do with uncovering, unveiling; so as to later reveal all those memories that had been hidden for so many years. Because walls speak, and spaces are reconstructed through testimonies, because traces are there and they are part of our identity.

An exhaustive study was carried out in every room revealing gates, doors and windows of the original construction, which were closed, hidden. The main itinerary the detainees were forced to follow was reconstructed too.

Works were carried out on the preservation of the adobe (mix of mud and straw) walls that had existed since the construction of the original houses, on the scraping of the different paint layers of the walls of the former D2, on the dismantling of all the ceiling work that covered wooden ceilings and vaults, and on the preservation of the original tiles of all the backyards as a way of giving expression to all the different eras the building witnessed, and in so doing, give back its identity to the building.

Today this former Clandestine Detention Center is a site museum located exactly in the same place. That is to say, the place was not created to be a museum; rather it’s a museum by itself.

The space has different itineraries, signalled with testimonies written on the walls. Some signalling has to do with sensations, space and the places occupied by the detainees. And there is other more technical information, regarding the use of the offices, backyards, basements, etc.

At the centre of the museum lies cultural repression; the Library of Banned Books. It was originally planned as a temporary structure but it aroused so much interest, generated such feedback that went on growing and today it occupies a larger space. Another permanent exhibition is “Lives to be told”; in this room, relatives, friends and comrades use albums to reflect the life story of the disappeared.
It was also inaugurated a denunciation room that is called “Escrache’s room” recovering the way the organization HIJOS demands for justice. In this place we try to give visibility to those RESPONSIBLES for crimes against humanity in this former Clandestine Detention Center.

Reparations in those places of the building that will be used for offices and activities of the institution continues as well. This work is done in places that were not systematically used for detention, torture and murder. This, however, doesn’t mean that at some point in the history of this Clandestine Detention Center some detainees have not went through there.

Reconstruction work in these sites is done in an interdisciplinary way by the people of the work teams of the different areas. We believe this is the only way to exchange views, ideas, information and researches which then could be physically materialized in the space, giving place to the memories of extreme experiences lived in this place, symbol of State terrorism actions in our province.

Memory site’s entrance
Experiences in Treatment of Spaces in Recovered Sites

Alejandra Buzaglo

Today, Monday, August 31, 2009, is a very important day to the people of Rosario. Today was the first day in the first oral trial for crimes against humanity that were committed during the military dictatorship in Clandestine Detention Centers (CDC) of Rosario and Greater Rosario. Three military people and two civil agents will be tried. This is a very significant day because it’s the beginning of a new phase in the long popular fight for memory and against all kinds of impunity. This is a day to accompany plaintiffs, families and lawyers, who in a very unequal fight have been working hard against a State system that offers no guarantees of justice. We don’t forget Julio López.

The Area of Human Rights in the Architecture, Planning and Design School of Universidad Nacional de Rosario, created in 2006 and which I head since then, has contributed with the plans and models of five sites where Clandestine Detention Center, overcrowding and disappearance of people operated. There’s no precedent to the use of this kind of materials in trials for crimes against humanity that were committed during the last military dictatorship in Argentina.

Model for “La Calamita” (CDC)

The Area of Human Rights in the Architecture School has been working on the approach to two issues that intimately relate to Memory: the work on the Clandestine Detention Centers (CDC) and the memorials. We have helped Federal Justice since they first requested in 2005 in the execution of a model for “the Calamita”, former clandestine centre of detention, overcrowding and disappearance of people, which operated in Greater Rosario, specifically in the locality of Granadero Baigorria. A
Experiences in the Treatment of Spaces in Recovered Sites

The recurrent issue we encountered then for the first time is that there’s absolutely no documentation that registers the existence of those buildings. In the municipal offices, in the real estate registers for public or private works those documents have also disappeared. In the building that held the former Police Headquarters, a building that is registered as architectural equity of the city and that is located right in the centre of Rosario, the refurbishing works carried out to accommodate the former Information Services (that also operated as CDC) are not registered either.

The reconstruction work of both the disappeared documentation and the building sections is a task that requires collaborative work of different fields. In this sense, collective work is of the utmost importance for us. This need for work in collaboration relates also to the problem of memory and refers to the question of who are the people socially authorized to select and interpret those events of the past that will form part of our memory. We believe that memory does not belong to any sector, and this is not a politically correct statement. For us, this involves intellectual work and action that requires the effort to listen to other voices and speak other languages. And we are not only talking about considering the fields of the disciplining and the disciplined. We are talking about the need to incorporate knowledge from outside that world –knowledge that is part of the construction and political fights for memory. Speaking other languages is in fact something positive. It’s a necessary limit that reminds us that “we” –because of our different fields or any of our differences– do not understand one another easily or without conflict. We propose to work on that premise –that we don’t understand one another– and acknowledge that every effort in that direction needs to go against easily accessed notions, in terms of what can be decoded and translated.

We wonder about the possibility of some kind of social legitimization of memory actions though certain social practices. This relates to very concrete issues: we are concerned about demarcated places that are vandalized, destroyed for diverse and complex reasons we won’t be examining now, and about other phenomenon that is even more worrying, indifference. When sharing different experiences across the country, we have seen there are different spaces, sites recovered by families, human rights organizations, which are accepted by the rest of society but from a distance. There is a recurring identification construction: “they, human rights people, and us.” So, who are concerned about matters linked to memory? How do we interest broader sectors of society in memory actions? The concern for this phenomena relates to the question about the possibility of social legitimization of memory actions.

We re-read Elizabeth Jelin and she explains that “the interpretations and explanations of the past, as manifestations of political positions and fights for memory, cannot be transmitted automatically from one generation to the other, from one period to the other. It requires two things: First, creating the basis for an identification process, for our intergenerational expansion. Second, giving the possibility to the recipients to reinterpret, re-signify and convey a different sense, and not to repeat or memorize. Actually, once the subjectivity level is involved, reinterpretations, re-significations and re-readings cannot be avoided. Because history itself, truth itself, gain diverse senses in different contexts. And the succession of cohorts and generations inevitably involves the creation of new contexts.”

Now, how do we –constructors of spaces, artists, architects, people who leave imprints, physical marks in the cities– deal with this?

This is another task in which the Area of Human Rights works, reflection and proposals for memorials. The notion of anti-monument it’s interesting. The group of artists and intellectuals that developed this concept says that the traditional rigidity of monuments in fact promotes oblivion, calms down anxieties for memory claims, and finally freezes memory in an object whose plan for permanence condemns it to
indifference. Horst Hoheisel is one of the representatives of this thought stream and he has collaborated in the Area of Human Rights in his two visits to Rosario.

It’s important to understand that monuments are pieces of the planned city. The planned city is the city of the pre-determined walks and the pre-thought experiences. Pablo Sztulwark explains: “Monuments are key pieces in the memory of history; they make us remember by repetition”. This “they make us remember” refers precisely to an experience somebody pre-thought: “the Author.” Author and Work, this last concept dates to Classical Times: Work - Obra - opus. The idea of the monument is compared to that of the Work, as well as the connection with the person in it. We can associate this with Roland Barthes and his proposal regarding the categories of Work and Author in “From Work to Text”. You may remember that, in the words of Barthes, “the Work has one sole possible meaning, one meaning: what “the Author wants to say.” Barthes says there’s an activity of the subject, which is a central category of modernity, before the literary work. He says that at the birth of the reader –paid with the death of author-- there is a work, a production, in what he calls reading “raising the head.” We could argue that that activity of the reader before a literary text is a characteristic of the subject-work of art relation in general in modernity. It’s an activity that triggers subjectivity; it’s the subject that determines significations in this wave of threads with the thousand lights of culture. Here’s another issue linked to the role of the State: what happens when it is the State that takes on the role of “Author”? This is another issue that has been greatly discussed, and so I’m mentioning it.

Now, is it possible for the subject to go into the work of art? How can he or she participate, or incorporate himself or herself to it?

The present boom of communication and information technologies greatly affects the conformation of contemporary processes of subjectivization. It’d be interesting to reflect on the post-modern subject and his or her progressive transformation into a passive onlooker. That transformation refers to an onlooker educated to be passive: he or she looks, and his or her activity limits itself to pressing the button on the remote control, he or she does not promote anything, at the most, he or she consumes things. This takes us to another issue that is also linked to the actions we propose and it’s the topic of the body: its possibility of fragmentation, its stripping, the prosthesis, the subject-machine hybridization, the body without organs, which are only a few of the topics that fold and unfold around this issue.

Our proposal is to break this passivity, leave aside the role of onlookers and commit the body in our actions too. This relates to performance, or in Latin America, also called the art of action that opens up as an emerging field for new artistic and academic interventions. Performances function as vital acts of transference; transferring social knowledge, memory. As an incorporated practise, together with various cultural discourses, it offers a certain form of knowledge. This is a both “real” and “constructed” phenomenon. Its ephemeral nature permits other experiences, its reproduction through other registers like the “word of mouth”, accepting that no form of documentation or reproduction can capture “the live”, at the most, it produces new materials for reflection.

This is necessarily linked to the concept of “representation,” which recalls a break between what’s “real” and its “representation” –something the “performance” notion has productively complicated. There is some conflict around the representation as distortion that wishes for a non mediated presence. The representation somehow outshines the thing. It's interesting and also striking the critical concurrence of the idea of representation, today being reintroduced from unforeseen perspectives by characters of very different personal, ideological, philosophical background, like Carl Schmitt, Walter Benjamin or Martin Heidegger. The last ones also with an interesting reflection on the place occupied by the technique and certain loss of the aura of the piece of work, of its here and now in the time of
technical reproducibility. Benjamin makes reference to filming, to the camera that replaces the eye, to mediations, to the artefacts that take the place of the audience. He also proposes an interesting question that is the politicalization of art before the nationalization of policy or art by the art of the liberal proposal. Heidegger criticizes representation for obscuring the self: it would be metaphysics finding justification in technique –knowledge and justification as tekne. An issue widely discussed today in the field of architecture.

Now, does memory have ontological consistence? We could say that psychoanalysis is a theory about memory but, does memory have material or materiality? Henri Bergson tells about two types of memory. The technical or constructive memory, which is based on repetition and motor habits, and the vital memory, which revives a past event in its singular originality.

We find in the collective, participative, performative work some clues with which we have been working in this regard. The “ant work”, the “word of mouth”, what is conveyed through experience. The memorial in Cafferatta and Ayolas in the city of Rosario is an attempt to give an answer to the concerns around the memorials and the marks in the city –being itself a bearer of information. Recovering anonymous, ordinary sites is a way of opening memories too.
As a brief introduction to Memoria Abierta, we could say that this non-governmental organization gathers, organizes and spreads the documental heritage of human rights organizations and of other institutional and personal archives linked to State terrorism. It produces testimonies about social and political life in the 60s and 70s and it works on territorial and spatial memory of the period of political violence in Argentina.

The idea today is to talk about memory places in sites that were once Clandestine Detention Centers (CDC). To this end, I will show you some projects developed by the Topography of Memory program.

Topography of Memory is one of the four programs in Memoria Abierta. In fact, it was the third program to be organized and it’s still shaping its sense, scope and objectives. In these years we have developed some memory actions and works on territory and spaces affected by State terrorism.

Therefore we study, systematize and produce documentation on sites, buildings and spaces that were used as places of temporary detention, Clandestine Detention Centers –as well as on spaces of tribute and remembrance.

It is about getting to know those places and offering tools to exploit their potentialities for collective memory.

Map of places of temporary detention and Clandestine Detention Centers
Experiences in the Treatment of Spaces in Recovered Sites

The first structuring project in this program is the map of places of temporary detention and Clandestine Detention Centers. This map, in permanent development, started in 2004, and attempts to be a tool for knowledge and interpretation of the essential spaces used in the implementation of State terrorism.

Based on cartographical interventions and simple interactivity, it is possible to locate each site with its name and the data about its military zone – according to the division in areas, sub-areas and zones used by the Armed Forces to geographically organize the clandestine repression.

The data also includes the dates in which the centres operated, the names of the repressors and, in the most populated cities, pictures.
Moreover, the map allows us to visit other documentary sources that include fragments of texts and testimonies that present various issues related to: repression as an institutional policy of the Armed Forces, the characteristics of the repressive system, captivity, resistance and social behaviour, fears, participation and complicity.

This is a tool that connects us with the provinces and the cities with which we developed this joint work, sharing objectives, individual visions and the difficulties we face for the materialization of these basic tools.

We also developed static maps of cities and their surroundings noting the places of temporary detention and Clandestine Detention Centers, which can be printed out and taken to spaces that have no computers or Internet.
At the other end of this frame vision, there’s the development of the interactive CD called “El Vesubio” Clandestine Detention Center—a CDC that was demolished—, which seeks to reconstruct, through testimonies and virtual reconstructions, the characteristics of the site inside.
This CD offers impressions and accounts from survivors that together and with the help of Architecture developed an animated atmosphere that serves as accompaniment and, also, as visual support to the testimonies connected to that site.

Therefore, this is a search for a memory aesthetic of the site. It is also a representation of a traumatic past that tells about experiences like the kidnappings, the arrival at the site, torture and captivity.

This work also includes 100 documents that tell the efforts to find the history and the lists of the victims and the repressors.
In the case of the CD of “El Vesubio” Clandestine Detention Center the contribution of the research performed by the Commission of relatives, former detainees who later disappeared and comrades in the “El Vesubio” and “Protobanco” CDC was very important.

The work has been presented, requested and incorporated into different legal proceedings.

Judicial inspections

Memoria Abierta contributes to proceedings in various ways. The Topography of Memory program specifically intervenes in judicial investigations – an instance in which the judge and the witnesses in the probable cause proceeding walk around the former clandestine centre site to verify its identification.
In this fundamental and reparatory step for the victims, a written record is issued summarizing all past occurrences. Here again there’s the possibility to intervene in each one of the segments of the text, by showcasing the filmed fragments of the moments when the witness returns to the specific space and identifies it.

The text becomes images of witnesses identifying the site. Simultaneously, pictures and models help locate the trail showed during the judicial inspection.

All these combined components conform an audiovisual judicial record that proposes a representation of the legal act, rich in the expressivity of images and sound, which essentially consolidates its capacity as evidence.

By request of the courts, since 2006 Memoria Abierta has performed audiovisual judicial records on the inspections to the following Clandestine Centres of Detention: Police station No. 1 of Monte Grande, Automotores Orletti, Seré Mansion, Puerto Belgrano Naval Base, Marina Baterías Infantry Base, Sheraton, La Tablada Regiment, Federal Coordination, Posadas Hospital, Police Station No. 3 of Castelar, Police Station No. 2 of Haedo, Air Brigade of El Palomar and the Air Brigade 7 of Morón.
This work has a more direct link to architecture in terms of design of memory spaces.

The connection of the program with the Seré Mansion Clandestine Detention Center, located in the district of Morón, Buenos Aires province, started with a technical architectural counsel. The contribution grew together with the promoting space formed by survivors, human rights organizations and neighbours, and it is fostered by the Municipality and its Human Rights Directorate.

In the area of 3 hectares that the Seré Mansion and its gardens occupied, many years ago the Municipality installed infrastructure to practise sports and cultural activities. The site, which had been demolished, was literally erased under a soccer field.

Today after the implementation of an anthropological and archaeological project of recovery of foundations and basements, the site gained new visibility. This step contributed to the organization of objectives and activities sustained in time by setting up priorities -always subjected to budget possibilities.

The first step was to move the headquarters of the Human Rights Directorate to a pre-existing building not too far from the site, while the excavation was slowly gaining visibility.

After the intervention, when the site was given the outside layer that now contains it, the space acquired a new identity as a recovered site.

The architectural project we started consisted in helping to the process of excavation, from redefinitions to the identification and reconnaissance of excavated material, the decision about the big lights in the site, the limits to intervention, the inside itinerary of the excavations, the laboratory, the rooms and the services.
Some architects contributed with their ideas to the needs and formal definitions for the project. Later, with a reduced group of members of the archaeological and anthropological teams, the Human Rights Directorate and the Municipality Planning Area, we helped to document and supervise the tender works. The second stage in the tender process is now completed.

**Human Rights Walk**

The Human Rights Walk is an old project from one of the Human Rights Organizations that are part of Memoria Abierta: Fundación Memoria Histórica y Social Argentina.

After a long and persistent administration accompanied by Memoria Abierta, the Government of the City of Buenos Aires started in 2007 the construction of this public space of 6 hectares within Parque Indo-americano, to the south of the City of Buenos Aires.

This is a forest formed by twenty small hills where various groups pay homage to comrades that disappeared from secondary schools, University schools, communities, national groups and different unions and activities. Each group chooses its own native specie hill and, in small squares, it places its tribute with the list of the disappeared. A winding trail goes up and down the hills forming a Walk and when reaching the centre of the venue, a paved area of big dimensions proposes a tribute to all the victims of State terrorism.

This attempt to identify the parts and the whole at one time and in one space proves the diversity of collective memory in which we identify ourselves and to which we belong.
About the speakers
About the speakers

Memory and City: The Transformation of Urban Spaces

Pablo Sztulwark is an architect. He started his professional career in 1973, and obtained different awards for projects and works of his authorship. At present, he has his own studio, Estudio NE3 Arquitectos. He was a jury in different contests and in the SCACPAU architecture biennial of 2006. He is a Full Teacher in the Common Basic Cycle of Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA) and a Graduate-School Teacher in the Architecture, Design and Urbanism School of UBA. He published articles on culture and architecture magazines and participated in books like Crítica del testimonio and Espacio-Tiempo, pensamientos practicados, among others. In 2004, he published Arquitectura plus de sentido, with Ignacio Lewcowicz and in 2009, Ficciones de lo Habitar.

Adrián Gorelik was born in Mercedes, Buenos Aires, in 1957. He is an architect and PhD (doctor) in History (both degrees by Universidad de Buenos Aires). He is a Teacher at Universidad Nacional de Quilmes and a researcher with CONICET (National Council for Scientific and Technical Research). His field of research is urban cultural history. He is a member in the board of directors of Prismas. Revista de Historia Intelectual and he was deputy director of the magazine Punto de Vista. He was awarded the Guggenheim Fellowship (2003) and he has been Visiting Professor in the Centre of Latin American Studies of Cambridge University (2002) and the Graduate School of Design, Harvard University (2005). Among others, he published La grilla y el parque. Espacio público y cultura urbana en Buenos Aires (1998); Miradas sobre Buenos Aires. Historia cultural y crítica urbana (2004) and Das vanguardas a Brasilia. Cidade e arquitetura em América Latina (2005).

Gonzalo Cáceres Quiero is a historian and holds a Master’s degree in Urban Development. He is a Teacher at Pontificia Universidad Católica of Chile, and at present he is working on his doctoral research about disintegrative polices in the restless Santiago of the long 60s. During 2008, and in his capacity as scholar of Instituto de Estudios Urbanos y Territoriales (former CIDU), he coordinated and was a member in the projectual research team that was awarded first place in the Concurso de Anteproyecto e Intervención y Puesta en Valor del Monumento Histórico Patio 29 of the General Cemetery of Santiago de Chile. The lecture he will present in this workshop was prepared in collaboration with Rodrigo Millán and Valentina Rozas.

Monuments: an expression of memorialization in the city

Gustavo Nielsen was born in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1962. He is an architect and has his own Architecture studio in the area of Chacarita. As a writer he has won the Municipal Literature Prize and the First Biennial of Young Art, among other awards. His short-stories are included in anthologies of Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Venezuela, Germany, Mexico and Spain, and in many local and foreign magazines and newspapers. He published the novels La flor azteca (Planeta, 1997), El amor enfermo (Alfaguara, 2000), Los monstruos del riachuelo (with Ana María Shua, Alfaguara Juvenil, 2001) and Auschwitz (Alfaguara, 2004). And the short-story books Playa quemada (Alfaguara, 1994), Marvín (Alfaguara, 2003), Adiós, Bob (Kłódzkiowski Publisher, 2006) and La fe ciega (Páginas de Espuma, 2008).

Alberto Varas is an architect and teacher of Architecture and Urban Planning in Universidad de Buenos Aires and professor in the PhD (doctorado) program of the same University. He has his own studio, Estudio Alberto Varas & Asociados / Arquitectos de Buenos Aires and he is founder partner of Grupo VOV established in La Coruña, Spain, in 2002. He was Director of the City Architecture and Urbanism Laboratory of Universidad de Palermo between 1995 and 2000. He was lecturer and Visiting Professor in foreign institutions and universities (Harvard University, San Pablo University, Milan Technical College, Technical University and Arts Academy of Vienna, City Council of Madrid, Colombian Association of Architects). He projected many built works and was awarded prizes in contests that have been published in Argentina and abroad. Between 1990 and 2008, he was awarded five times First Prize in the Annual or Biannual Prize on Architecture SCA / CPAU. The Architecture Biennial of Quito gave him its International Honourable Mention in 2002 for the Access Square to the Park of Memory in Ciudad Universitaria. In 1998 he was awarded the Vitruvio Prize for professional careers given by Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes. In 2002, he obtained the Konex Prize for his contribution to architecture in the five-year period 1992-97 and, in 2003, the First Prize to the Best Intervention in Built Equity for the Retiro Terminal Station. He is the author of several articles and expert books, among others Buenos Aires Metrópolis (1997), Buenos Aires Natural + Artificial (2000) and Buenos Aires, una trilogía metropolitana (2006).
Experiences in Treatment of Spaces in Recovered Sites

**Natalia Ferrero** is an architect graduated from the Architecture, Urbanism and Design School of Universidad Nacional de Córdoba. She did her thesis research with an intervention project at the Human Rights Participation Centre of the former Buen Pastor prison. In 2007, she participated in the collective determining project for the former “EX D2” Clandestine Detention Center and the physical examination of the building. Since 2008 she works in the Memory Sites Area for the Provincial Memory Archive of Córdoba, carrying out many interventions in collaboration with the rest of the areas of the Archive: general project of building refunctionalization for the head office of the Commission for Memory and the working areas of the Provincial Memory Archive; determining the “EX D2” Memory Site Clandestine Centre of Detention; intervention in the collective design of a “recreational space” at the premises of the former Campo de la Ribera Clandestine Centre of Detention. At present, she is designing the new building for the final location of the archive with documentation found at Police Stations of Córdoba. She participated in various exhibitions and seminars: “Federal Network of Memory Sites Meeting”; “Memory Nucleus”; “Research and Memory Sites”; “Architecture for Memory.”

**Camila Iglesias** is an architect graduated from the Architecture, Urbanism and Design School of Universidad Nacional de Córdoba. In 2007 she participated in the collective determining project of the former “EX D2” Clandestine Detention Center and the physical examination of the building where it operated. In 2008 she entered the Memory Sites Area for the Provincial Memory Archive of Córdoba, carrying out many interventions in collaboration with the rest of the areas of the Archive: general project of building refunctionalization for the head office of the Commission for Memory and the working areas of the Provincial Memory Archive; determining the “EX D2” Memory Site Clandestine Centre of Detention; intervention in the collective design of a “recreational space” at the premises of the former Campo de la Ribera Clandestine Centre of Detention. At present, she is designing the new building for the final location of the archive with documentation found at Police Stations of Córdoba. She participated in various exhibitions and seminars: “Education and Memory Workshop”, “Federal Network of Memory Sites Meeting”; “Memory Nucleus”; “Research and Memory Sites”; “Architecture for Memory.”

**Alejandra Buzaglo** is an architect. Pre-qualified Teacher of Architectural Project in the Architecture, Planning and Design School (FAPyD) of Universidad Nacional de Rosario (UNR) since 1996. At present she is doing her PhD (doctorado) in Architecture and the Philosophy course at the UNR. She gave graduate courses at the UNR on Landscape Project and she was a teacher in the Course for New Students in FAPyD of the same University. She is a researcher with UNR since 1999. She published several research works, essays and works on magazines and specialization books. She presented lectures, coordinated debates and gave lectures at national and international congresses. She completed many works and projects (www.viubuzaglo.com.ar). She participated in various public and private project contests and she was awarded various prizes. She is a member of the jury body of the Architects Association of Rosario. Since 2005 she collaborates with the Federal Court No. 4 and the Oral Court of Rosario in cases of human rights violations. She participated in works in honour of popular military people who disappeared. Since 2006 she is the head of the Area of Human Rights in the FAPyD of UNR.

**Gonzalo Conte** is an architect graduated from Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA). Between 1984 and 1991 he worked as a teacher of Architectural Design in the Architecture, Design and Urbanism School of UBA. Between 2001 and 2004 he worked as technical assessor for the Pro-Monument to State Terrorism Victims Commission. Since 2004, he coordinates the Memory Topography program of Memoria Abierta. This Area works to create a public database on sites related to State terrorism and gives assistance to places associated with the recovery of Clandestine Detention Centers and other spaces of repression and resistance. In turn, this contributes to reflection on the story to tell and the way to tell it.
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