



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

The unruly image: memory and transmission in Argentina.

Saab, A.P.

Citation

Saab, A. P. (2024, October 15). *The unruly image: memory and transmission in Argentina*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4094509>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4094509>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

FINAL CONCLUSIONS

The Event and Its Consequences

The emergence of the Mothers and Grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo in 1977 constituted, within the context and timeframe in which it occurred, a profound anomaly. Initially perceived as an inconsequential event, it soon metamorphosed into an act deemed both irrational and a logical contradiction. Their appearance challenged not only the prevailing legality but also the protocols governing the presence and actions of a political entity during that particular period and circumstance. Generally, the Mothers did not belong to an opposing political party or a pre-existing human rights institution. They were not, for the most part, political professionals, but they jointly articulated a series of ideas that changed the way we understand the relationships between ethics and politics.

Their appearance challenged existing legality and, at the same time, political protocols – because if the act or gesture of the Mothers and Grandmothers is political, it is so in a very particular sense. It was not about representation, here. The Mothers do not *represent* the interests of any particular social sector. Nor was it about aspiring to the power of the State even if they pressured it. The act of the Mothers is a *presentation*, direct and subjective, and its meaning can not only be described as a claim: it is an act of justice in itself. Justice for the Mothers is not a government program or a plan. It is an act that demands and does justice beyond any legal or police interpretation of this word.

The dictatorship attempted to thwart the emergence of this strange entity in Argentine society at the time in various ways: by ignoring it, prohibiting it, discrediting it, and repressing it. However, persistence and creativity (resources of the weak), and chance, led to a public square in the city centre becoming the site of an event. In this work, I have conceived by event a situated, unpredictable and singular fact that cannot be understood from the prevailing logic and that therefore cannot be easily absorbed into the current explanatory systems without distorting it. Conceived in this way, an event is something incalculable, occurring very rarely, and its fate is generally to fade away and be forgotten unless a faithful subject sustains it over time.

What often initiates an event is an apparently insignificant act. A well-known example is the perhaps not entirely conscious act of Rosa Parks on December 1, 1955, on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama. Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white man on a city bus, defying the customs and regulations of the situation. Her gesture, contradicting the norms, triggered a whole process of struggle against racial segregation in the US, whose

consequences endure to this day. In this sense, an event is how history breaks with nature, and the subject breaks with the structure that initially conditions it. In the Argentina of the seventies, no one had expected, no one could have expected, that a group of middle-aged ladies walking around a monument in a city square would give rise to a process as long and complex as the one that unfolded since then.

The struggle initiated by the Mothers was, in a way, a fight against nonexistence as understood in the philosophical system of Alain Badiou. “Nonexistence concerns a being that appears as ‘nothing’, has no entity; [it exists] in the ontological sense, but not in [a] logical sense” (Gordillo, *Filosofía y política* 537). It exists but is not named; it exists but does not appear in the tally of presences. Jorge Rafael Videla himself, as we have seen, defined the disappeared as beings who “have no entity”. The disappeared were the real (in the Lacanian sense) of the dictatorship, the founding fact that does not appear in the formalization. The Mothers gave volume and voice to this nonexistence. However, the event itself is too fragile; it “is nothing – just a sort of illumination”. It is destined to fade unless someone takes responsibility for what happened, declares it, and works on its consequences (Badiou, *Infinite Thought* 187).

Memory and Politics

The emergence of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo had a series of prolonged consequences, both objective and subjective. Among the former, their decisive contribution to the isolation and downfall of the dictatorial regime, the various trials of coup leaders, and the discovery of remains of disappeared individuals and hundreds of stolen children are noteworthy. Equally important were the subjective consequences. Their relentless activism even led to the partial moral delegitimization not only of the dictatorship but also of the post-dictatorship governments, which were committed to pardoning the oppressors and maintaining a self-complacent narrative about the past.

The political sequence initiated by the Mothers directly led to the emergence of HIJOS and numerous groups that continued and diversified their efforts. Their emphasis on a civilian complicity (in business and ecclesiastical realms) linking the dictatorship to neoliberal policies and the interests of economic elites played a significant role in the 2001 rebellion. Although uncomfortable for the elites, this historical interpretation had to be acknowledged by the Kirchnerist administrations after 2003, becoming part of government discourse and common understanding (Adamovsky, *El cambio* 211).

Even the remarkable concessions by the state regarding human rights during the Kirchnerist era, such as reopening trials against military figures or handing over ESMA to social movements, were closely tied to the moral and political authority of the Mothers. Another factor was the impact of the general uprising in 2001, which shifted the boundaries of what was deemed possible for the Argentine state. However, the Kirchnerist agenda never aimed to definitively end neoliberal transformations that impoverished the majority. Its political role was, rather, to redirect protests and rebuild the legitimacy of the state.

Aligning with the Partido Justicialista, the Kirchnerist movement could not avoid following its conservative drift. Furthermore, Kirchnerism fell victim to the current impotence of any government to alter the course of globalized capitalism. As a result, it became the ideal adversary for the extreme neoliberal right, with its prolonged decline and economic failures exploited by the neoliberal right to discredit the memory movement that the government had incorporated into institutions.

What distinguishes this sequence of struggles is its radical nature, going to the root of issues. Within the political space created by the Mothers, there is a clear intent to politically identify state terrorism. This involved reclaiming the political activism of the victims, preventing what the Italian historian Enzo Traverso has termed the *delegitimization* of collective struggles of the past (“About the complexity”). It also meant resisting the attempts of post-dictatorial governments to turn memory into ritualistic and harmless gestures that facilitate consensus, reconciliation, and smooth business operations. State interests prioritize order and consensus around market economy priorities, while memory practices are acts of justice, inherently ethical and axiomatic, leading to radical experiences.

The television images of December 19 and 20, 2001, with the Mothers protesting against the state of siege and facing police repression, clearly express the role the human rights movement played for decades in defending democratic freedoms against repressive and regressive practices in the post-dictatorship era. The connection of the Mothers and Grandmothers with the state during the Kirchner governments weakened these uncomfortable aspects of memory.

Undoubtedly, in this context, memory practices serve as educational acts. This is not about formal and doctrinal education that attempts to uniformly transmit content decided by the state. Memory practices are actions, gestures, or public acts intended for anyone, forcing casual observers to take a position and think for themselves. Memory practices aim to draw attention to a legacy the state prefers to ignore. If we accept that every educational act is an

act of justice, as disinterested education aims for a just relationship with what is inherited (Romano 161), then education, memory, and justice form a kind of Borromean knot.

The organization HIJOS gave renewed impetus to the aesthetic and political activism of the memory movement. Within this space of images, various initiatives emerged, such as GAC and the Colectivo Situación, which were closely linked in multiple ways to the 2001 popular uprising. In the following years, they actively participated in numerous collective expressions that aimed, alongside a mobilized population, to invent another economy and another country. Another social movement inspired by the struggle of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo was the powerful Argentine feminist movement, whose fights for the legalization of abortion have become legendary.

Cultivating the memory of victims, clarifying the circumstances of their disappearance, and giving artistic and narrative expression to survivors' grief is only half of this unique story. As seen throughout this thesis, the Mothers' movement and its allies generated societal interpretations of the national past that can be extrapolated to other historical moments. Thinking from this broad space of images allows glimpses into a logic of extermination that extends far back in history. It reveals, beyond official histories, a disposition of dominant sectors to defend and expand their sectorial or class privileges through state violence (as seen in the extermination of indigenous peoples in the nineteenth century). It exposes the colonial heritage in its changing articulation with global capitalism.

In the twentieth century, the readiness for the annihilation of political dissent as a political resource prevailed among oligarchic sectors, evident in the Patagonian strikes of the 1930s and the brutal 1955 bombing of the government house and its surroundings. This refutes the so-called "two demons" theory, which treats political violence in the 1970s as a historical accident involving two criminal groups outside the majority of the population. It also directly challenges the denialist version claiming that the Argentine military simply defended the country from a foreign and terroristic attack. The military dictatorship was not an aberration or emergency; it was part of a historical continuity, a foreseeable and calculated initiative of a social order and its economic regime.

Thanks to the memory practices of human rights organizations and their intellectual and aesthetic environment in Argentina, various forms of individual or collective denialism could not impose their agenda of forgetting. This is an exemplary case of how collective memory can stimulate new approaches to historical understanding (Lvovich, "Historia reciente" 115). Violating linear chronology, memory and its present images can establish

novel forms of historical intelligibility, discovering continuities that illuminate seemingly resolved pasts, without falling into teleological or evolutionary orientations.

Memory practices and calls for justice could also point out relevant continuities between the state terrorism regime and the subsequent transition to democracy, i.e., the post-dictatorship period. On March 24, 2001, one of its largest public mobilizations demonstrated how deeply the memory of the dictatorship still influenced civil society's response to human dignity violations.

The current animosity of the new (yet old) Argentine right against memory practices and the collectives supporting them shows how much the neoliberal project, with its "shock therapies" where terror is an economic instrument (Klein 99), needs oblivion. It also demonstrates how the sectors that have always benefited from the militarization of society have not completely depoliticized memory. Moreover, it indicates how much the memory and justice movement had struck a chord essential to the fabric of domination.

The political importance of the image-space founded by the Mothers lies in maintaining a sensitive relationship with the recent past and the inquisitive and political nature of that relationship. Keeping the passage to the past open had significant consequences, including the feat of slowing down and hindering the pace of neoliberal modernity in Argentina for decades. In this line of thought, we could assert that in Argentina, politics – albeit politics without a specific party affiliation, detached from the representation of interests and state power – became a form of engagement linked to ethics (Badiou, "Filosofía, ética y política") and to recollection. It served as an extension of memory through alternative means.

The Media Image and the Dialectical Image

I have identified at least three socially constructed aesthetic configurations within the framework of the memory of state terrorism. The first and foundational configuration is the documentary counter-archive of the Mothers, where, among other things, material evidence becomes a political symbol. The second is the aesthetic-political activism of HIJOS and its followers, and the third is a normalizing configuration subjected to the school archive. The first configuration establishes the critical foundations that underlie a unique space of images. The second directly inherits from the first and forms a kind of aesthetic-political circuit that combines militant activism with a deep exploration of fragments from the past converging in the present. It is within this constellation that the recovery of montage as a critical strategy emerges. Montage seeks to break down or dismantle an image or thing and reassemble its

fragments or pieces in such a way as to generate illumination or discovery. The procedure aims for critical distance as surprise and estrangement, concepts linked to Bertolt Brecht's theatre, surrealism, and avant-garde movements of the early twentieth century. Famous examples of these techniques include Brecht's construction of his *Kriegsfibel* (1955) with texts and photographs, and Hanna Höch's photomontages from the 1920s. However, in Argentina, historical precedents can be traced back to the montages of Grete Stern in the 1950s and even to some works by muralist Antonio Berni. Memory practices employed a variety of artistic resources to account for the subjective fractures produced by state terrorism in at least three generations.

One of these resources was photomontage, which has been studied by Gabriele Bettini and Lucila Quieto. Given the way in which memory images relate the past to present circumstances and the political dimension that remembrance acquires, I associated these practices with Walter Benjamin's ideas regarding the elusive concepts of the image-space and dialectical image. The image-space is not an archive; it can violate or suggest archives but its elements are not objectifiable. The flow of images here produces unforeseen effects, and can define contours and freedoms; it can even provide materials to other areas that do depend on a specific organization, such as legal and educational spaces, and yet, it can escape their classification schemes. It is a space that can torment images until it extracts other meanings because the image is always linked to a function of alterity.

However, memory images also form part of what José Jiménez has described as a kind of global continuum of representation, that is, they are part of the infinite media amalgam in which we live. Artistic images no longer differ from advertising products, essentially commodities of the media flow, not in the level of skill distinguishing their creators or the techniques of their elaboration but because, by singularizing, they interrupt it. More than a "doing", the artist of memory subjects images to a process of differentiation, cutting, and identification in terms of singularity. This means that the memory images, as crafted by HIJOS artists and their allies, are in general pre-existing images (like Marcel Duchamp's readymades) but subjected to an artistic and political process of reconfiguration. This process involves decontextualizing, selecting, and rearticulating fragments with a truth-seeking purpose.

In the image-space, materials from family albums, judicial archives, and culture or information are liberated from the meaningful networks that kept them bound to pragmatic purposes and causal logics. Once disconnected from a linear narrative, these materials are recovered in a new network of associations linking them to the present as potential dialectical

images. Many of the works exhibited in memory museums today are the result of artistic collectives and originated in street actions directly related to protesters or passersby. Emblematic cases include the urban art of the GAC (Street Art Groups) and their moral and political mappings of the city (such as those designed for neighbourhoods inhabited by perpetrators of crimes against humanity; figs. 1 and 2). Persuasion in the art of memory does not consist of offering a finished illusion of reality but of schemata and patterns for action and thought. The proposal is conceived more as a virtual surface where the flaws of the image precisely emerge. Where the flaw is shown, the possibility of critical knowledge exists.

This explosion of creativity converged in the great uprising of 2001. In those days, there was massive disobedience to the political class, and a halt to the imperative temporality of capital occurred. Then, the spectral images of the past returned, summoned by a present “in a moment of danger”, to paraphrase what Walter Benjamin wrote in his “On the Concept of History” (391). A variety of artistic collectives linked to the struggle against impunity and forgetting helped forge an art of revolt. In this massive laboratory for a new coexistence, artists of the second configuration kept the past open and rearticulated it with the present, organizing its images into new configurations of meaning.

The media continuum subjected to the imperative of the commodity subjects reality to appearance, repetition, and banalization. The memory images generated within the image-space founded by the Mothers’ activism complicate our relationship with the past and the present; they are disruptive images, invitations to think or reflective thinking. Therefore, they are also political.

In the third configuration, I speak of images organized according to a school regimen with primarily informative value. The history of a recent past, such as the one at hand, had not been systematically addressed in Argentine schools before. The reason for this was naturally the fear of reopening wounds and contradictions, that is, the absence of consensus on the past. The materials for the school treatment of the dictatorial period were scarce, and many students and their parents opposed schools teaching about such a recent period. It was argued then that the subject did not meet the condition of temporal distance that would have guaranteed the neutrality of the investigation. Neutrality was expected from both history and the school. But neutrality in this context is a positivist nineteenth-century myth.

After 2003, the Kirchnerist governments brought about a change in this situation, relying on new historians who began working on the recent past based on both archival documentation and oral testimonies. This resulted in the most comprehensive and bold educational programs about the recent past. However, I observe an essential difference

between the visual materials of the first version of this effort and the second. In the first version, with the book *Treinta ejercicios de memoria* (*Thirty Memory Exercises*; 2006), I still see a fruitful porosity between artistic or personal images of memory and explanatory texts. In the second version, with the volume *Pensar la dictadura: terrorismo de Estado en Argentina* (*Reflections on the Dictatorship: State Terrorism in Argentina*), I observe that the images have regained a certain tranquillity. By connecting this educational effort to a project of democratic citizenship and aligning itself with a long tradition of school citizenship construction, the volume *Pensar la dictadura* becomes more cautious. It returns to an informative narrative and a functional treatment of images.

In this phase, the images are framed in a chronological and linear narrative around an explanatory text, organized according to a traditional and somewhat authoritarian pedagogical device in the sense that it designates what to see and how to understand it. The sensitive creations from the image space linked to memory practices are excluded. Moreover, the volume *Pensar la dictadura* is incapable of establishing bridges with other pasts and, above all, with the present. It provides valuable encyclopaedic knowledge but excludes other forms of historical intelligibility that would put those facts in a conflictive tension with the present. The transmission of the recent past began with memory practices linked to the struggle against the dictatorship and its legacies. Every memory practice in the space of images founded by the mothers was fundamentally an educational act. This (collective, subversive) act took place outside state institutions and was characterized by horizontality in the exchange of experiences and memories. An educational act, like any act of justice, both understood as an egalitarian interruption of the hierarchical police order, has as its fundamental problem its duration, its sustainability (Gago and Sztulwark). The school organization of transmission was an attempt to give continuity and institutional form to critical memory, but this involved a return to authoritarian and traditional educational structures. The school configuration of the images cannot be understood without taking into account the political decline of Kirchnerism, which has become a tool for social containment and normalization.

The Right-Wing Life

Time has been revealing not only the political power of memory's images but also its fragility. The virtual disappearance of a general egalitarian hypothesis in the realm of ideas and political praxis since the 1980s has left us with a world that is univocal and unilateral. It should be defined as the era of almost absolute dominance of private property and the free

market. If we extend the logical consequences of this dominance over time, humans would have two possible destinies: one characterized by helplessness and destitution, and the other characterized by consumption and possession; some will be losers, and very few will be winners. According to Alain Badiou, this is “the general law of the contemporary world” (*Trump*).

No government, no formal democratic management, can escape this law. Who governs is increasingly irrelevant. That’s why electoral and parliamentary politics has lost all genuine interest and has regressed into a spectacle. That’s why democracy has become an obstacle or an annoying residue for the interests of global capitalism. In the midst of this virulent return of old oligarchic forms of economic domination over the majority, we now witness the emergence of a new class of activists and images that encourage gangster practices in the media or digital social media. It is important to be able to distinguish these images from those that emerged from memory practices. They promote an effective pedagogy with a misogynistic and racist character. They orthopedically impose, through repetition and saturation, reactionary meanings on words that were once associated with the emancipatory impulse (such as freedom, libertarian, justice, politics, equity, or equality). They seize grammars of social resistance to construct a simulacrum of rebellion (Stefanoni). There is no invention and much less creation in this dark circuit – just forgery and manipulation.

In 2015, an unsettling essay on the aesthetics of the post-dictatorship appeared in Buenos Aires. Silvia Schwarzböck wrote in *Los espantos* that the defeat of revolutionary movements in the 1970s had been definitive. The fall of the dictatorship was actually a victory disguised as defeat. According to the author, since then, it is only possible to live “a right-wing life” (23). The victory of Javier Milei in the 2023 elections, the forces and images he mobilized in his support, suddenly reminded us of the magnitude of that defeat. Although the dictators have been judged, although their methods and atrocities have been exposed, none of this can hide the fact that a new era began with them. Today, hope for a more just coexistence seems to have evaporated. The ideas that legitimize inequality and social injustice seem to impose themselves relatively easily and with little resistance. At the root of all this cultural change, there is an increasingly atomized life and a communicational technology that favours isolation.

With the electoral campaigns of 2015 and 2023 in Argentina, narratives associated with the dictatorship were recycled. These old ideas are transmitted on new media platforms. A dark pedagogy has been thriving for decades on social networks, fuelled by a diverse set of powerful foundations (such as Atlas Network) and think tanks scattered throughout the

Atlantic world (Fischer and Plehwe). It is a discourse that combines intellectual propaganda in favour of the free market with unprecedented discursive violence against critical thinking and emancipatory policies. It could be said that advertising techniques based on pure immediacy, consumption, and immediate satisfaction are involved in a strategy of psychic redesign (Valencia and Sepúlveda 76). Many of these media images that populate our devices do not need coherence or discursive consistency: they work on a pre-reflective layer of consciousness that generates emotional dispositions as violent as they are paralyzing. They are characterized by their aggressiveness, repetition, and simplification. They replace the density of paradox with mere falsification, reflection or estrangement with hypnosis. And it is the life of the right, from which none of us can escape, that does not need to create new forms of life. It only produces simulacra, forms of aestheticizing and making fascinating a series of regular and accomplished facts, even if these facts are sometimes atrocious. President Javier Milei was lifted up by these types of images. Media and political right-wing images have always fed on the entertainment industry, but the fascination that Milei exerted on his electorate is intimately related to the new digital obscurantism.

“There is no such thing as society”, Margaret Thatcher said on one occasion, “there are individual men and women and there are families”. The individual that characterizes our time is generally deprived of collective structures of relationship other than those of the market. Every interaction with others is mediated by technical devices of a mercantile nature. The market regulates and economically exploits even the most personal aspects of individuals’ lives. Every interaction with the world is therefore an interaction with the market. Mercantile forms of social relations work on appetite and primary emotions, not on reasons or feelings. They offer an anaesthetic and addictive distraction where conventional politics must obey the law of the spectacle. At the centre of these compulsive images, and as the recipient of these preachings, there is a solitary and often paranoid individual, captured in a logic of war. For this subjective figure, society is an obstacle, and democracy a tedious system of absurd rules.

Much of the folklore disseminated by these new media powers is inherited from old fascism and encourages in young people “two seemingly opposite states, egomania and servitude” (Sontag, *Under the Sign* 91), which is an aesthetic of consumer and soldier. For this diffuse discourse that does not shy away from incoherence, there is no other legitimate life project, no other epic, than that of a business life dedicated to the accumulation of money, and no other passions than those of consumption or war. In an era of shrinking the world and progressive “accumulation by dispossession” (Harvey), the promise of individual happiness

is increasingly unsustainable. In this context, economic power needs resilient subjectivities or militaristic models of subjectivity.

Digital media (series, memes, videos, influencers) successfully disseminate scientific or political delusions. They massively promote regressive sensibilities, absurd conspiracy theories, and a brutal humour that preys on vulnerable social groups. Social networks are not only this, of course, but their rhythms and devices have facilitated the massive cultivation of fascist affections and languages (Sánchez Cedillo 197). One would say that it is a programmed disorientation. From their personal devices, anonymous autocrats spread unabashed aggression towards imaginary or difficult-to-define enemies, but preferably embodied in migrants, feminists, the poor, dissident sexualities, and “communists”. And in Argentina, obviously, they attack the Mothers and Grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo.

The manifest fascination with the military and the businessman probably lies in the not-so-strange alliance between the extreme right and liberalism, as notable in Pinochet’s dictatorship and Javier Milei’s government. As a recent Argentine historian has said, “[i]t’s not that liberalism and reactionary right become indistinguishable: it’s that their difference ceases to be too relevant” (Adamovsky, *Del antiperonismo* 132). The inegalitarian passion of neoliberalism and its marketing aesthetics imply a visual regime based on overexposure and absolute representation where appearance constitutes essence (Schwarzböck 24). If critical memory relied on montage, collage, and street intervention techniques, forgetting spreads through cosmetic (and analgesic) representations of advertising, where the world appears designed, smooth, and seamless, while social networks simultaneously cultivate a mood close to paranoia.

Franco Berardi distinguishes between two types of significant relationships with things: some are conjunctive, and others are connective. I think that images of critical memory would be, in Berardi’s language, “conjunctive images” because the connections they offer are semantic. In these cases, “[t]he production of meaning is the effect of singularization of a series of signs (traces, memories, images, words...) ... The exchange of meaning is based on sympathy, the sharing of a *pathos*” (18). The conjunctive exchange can even give rise to a previously non-existent meaning. “Conjunction, therefore, can be viewed as a way of becoming other” (18). The media image, on the other hand, develops, in my view, according to a “connective” logic that is always syntactic: “The interpreter must recognize a sequence and be able to carry out the operation foreseen by the ‘general syntax’ (or operating system); there can be no margins for ambiguity in the exchange of messages, nor can the intention be

manifest through nuances” (20). According to Berardi, we are undergoing a connective mutation related to new communication techniques.

This means that the space of images that shaped memory practices is part of a mental activity linked to will and intentionality, that is, human agency and political action capable of transforming the environment and changing a life situation. The media image and its connective and syntactic logic, on the other hand, have a “swarm effect” on human behaviour where techno-linguistic interfaces serialize conduct and subjugate imagination (Berardi 24).

The right-wing life assumes a society entirely dedicated to economic valuation, without social or local marks and without a determined historical past. Its current drift seems to be shaping a dystopian, atomized, and surveilled society. The goal seems to be an autistic world where capital flows over a uniform surface, without affective or political obstacles, without frictions and without memory.

Remembrance practices in Argentina have been powerful enclaves of resistance to this progressive dehumanization of the world. We have in the image-space founded by the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo an indispensable legacy for the future. But this cannot replace the lack of a general strategic orientation that restores our hope in a more just society. There is no doubt that the new despotic and denialist administration that took office in Argentina in 2024 has unleashed a fierce offensive against the last defensive structures remaining for the propertyless, workers, and women. Nor can it be doubted that the human rights movement will again act in intimate alliance with social movements. But it will not be enough. We need to start over. We need new images. The challenge of building a free and egalitarian society today requires a multiple and sustained effort for the reconstitution of social resistance bonds. Our time needs the subversive potential of art, of images that remind us of the cancelled futures of the past and reconstruct something like a collective experience from which a new emancipatory fiction can be formulated: a renewal of hope.



Fig. 1. *Pensamientos, prácticas y acciones del GAC (GAC Thoughts, Practices, and Actions)*, p. 170–171. The image corresponds to March 24, 2005. Speech balloons were pasted on the advertising posters along the route of the march on March 24, 2005. These carried the questions: do you know that Carmen, Marcela and Margarita are imprisoned? In Ezeiza, for asking for work? Do you know that there are political prisoners today? What happened to the political prisoners? Do you know that Elsa, Marcela and Selva are imprisoned in Caleta Olivia for asking for work?



MAPA "AQUÍ VIVE UN GENOCIDA". ESCRACHE A JORGE HCTOR VIDAL, BARRIO DE FLORES. 27 DE DICIEMBRE DE 2003.

AQUÍ VIVEN GENOCIDAS. 24 DE MARZO. En el recorrido de la marcha del 24 de marzo, se pegan los afiches que contiene las direcciones de los genocidas escuchados. El afiche se volvió a realizar para la misma fecha en los años, 2002/03/04/06. En cada caso se transformaba el diseño y se agregaban las direcciones de los nuevos escuchados. El de esta imagen pertenece a la versión 2004.

50

51

Fig. 2. *Pensamientos, prácticas y acciones del GAC (GAC Thoughts, Practices, and Actions)*, p. 50–51. Left image: MAP “A GENOCIDER LIVES HERE”. “Escrache to Jorge Héctor Vidal, Barrio de Flores. December 27, 2003.” Right image: “GENOCIDES LIVE HERE. MARCH 24TH”. Along the route of the march on March 24, posters containing the addresses of the genocidal perpetrators are posted. The poster was made again for the same date in the years 2002, 2003, 2004, and 2006. In each case, the design was transformed and the directions of the new scratches were added. The one in this image belongs to the 2004 version.