UC Berkeley
UC Berkeley Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title
Memorials and the Cult of Apology

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6bf2q6h0

Author
Rozas Krause, Valentina J.

Publication Date
2020

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

Memorials and the Cult of Apology

By

Valentina J. Rozas Krause

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Architecture

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Andrew M. Shanken, Chair
Professor Greg Castillo
Professor Julia Bryan-Wilson
Professor Paul Rabinow

Summer 2020

Memorials and the Cult of Apology

© 2020

by Valentina J. Rozas Krause

Abstract

Memorials and the Cult of Apology

by

Valentina J. Rozas Krause

Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Andrew M. Shanken, Chair

Memorials and the Cult of Apology examines how contemporary memorials have come to embody more than memory. It begins with a simple observation of the growing demand for apologies across the globe and the related proliferation of memorials that aim to atone for past injustices. In effect, apologies are being materialized into memorials, a phenomenon of global importance, which presents a major shift in national self-representation. In the broadest terms, my research is an intervention into the cultural history of the built environment. As the first scholarly work to address memorials as apologies, my dissertation builds an empirical and theoretical understanding of multiple aspects of apology and memorialization, of their material forms, the actors involved, and the diverse effects built apologies produce. It uses five representative case studies located in Berlin, Buenos Aires, and San Francisco, to develop this argument. Since memorialization is an inherently interdisciplinary topic, my work incorporates methods, readings, and theories from a vast array of humanistic disciplines, particularly postcolonial theory, Holocaust and human rights scholarship, and debates about justice, recognition, reparation, and morality. My archival and field research combines methods drawn from architectural history and the humanities –close reading, literary interpretation, and storytelling–, which I apply to the formal analysis of built memorials and their urban contexts. This formal analysis is complemented with ethnographic interviews with designers, experts and site visitors, as well as participant observation of both commemorative events and what has been called 'apology activism.'

[This page intentionally left blank.]

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments……v

List of Figures……...ix

INTRODUCTION: *APOLOGY AS*……...xxvii

CHAPTER 1: THE CULT OF APOLOGY……1

Apology and Memory……..1

Apology and Forgetting……..1

Apology in the Expanded Field……..4

Material Apologies……...7

Multimedia Apologies……7

Apologetic Memorials……9

The Cult of Apology……..18

The Age of Apology……18

The Cult of Apology……21

Collective Guilt……27

Conclusion……30

INTERLUDE I: *WILLY BRANDT'S GENUFLECTION*……34

CHAPTER 2: BUILDING APOLOGIES……..45

Introduction……..45

The Beginnings of the Cult of Apology (1983-1987)……..48

West Berlin's Memorial Triad……...48

First Memorial Competition……53

4th of July 1987……58

Documenting Terror and Exposing Guilt……68

The Consolidation of the Cult of Apology (1989-2010)……71

New Berlin's Memorial Triad……....71

Second Memorial Competition……75

Third Memorial Competition ……...87

Conclusion: Topography of a Nude……...92

CHAPTER 3: COMPETING APOLOGIES……97

Introduction……..97

Berlin Tour – Gedenkmarsch……99

Berlin as Colonial Metropole……....103

Wilhelmstraße and An der Kolonnade……105

African Quarter……....113

M*straße……..120
Memorial Inflation……...124
Conclusion……...126

INTERLUDE II: *GEORGE H.W. BUSH'S LETTER OF APOLOGY*……130

CHAPTER 4: EXTENDING APOLOGIES……135
Introduction……135
Landmarking Tanforan……138
Three Plaques……138
Redress, Preservation, and Apology……144
Visualizing Tanforan……....146
Gambatte……....146
Historic Photographs……..150
Memorializing Tanforan……...156
Photographs of the Mochida Sisters……....156
Memorial Plaza……...163
Art in Transit or Shopping Mall Memorial?……166
Future Visitor……170
Conclusion……...171
Epilogue……..173

INTERLUDE III: *MARCHING AGAINST FORGIVING*……...178

CHAPTER 5: FORGIVING APOLOGIES……..185
Apologizing at ESMA……..185
Reconciling at ESMA……...196
Our Auschwitz……202
A Twofold Tale of the ESMA Museum……...207
Curatorial Intervention……212
Conclusion……...220

CHAPTER 6: RESISTING APOLOGIES……...223
Introduction: The Multiple Scales of Club Atlético……..223
Small: Objects……..232
Medium: Building……245
Large: Plaza……254
Extra Large: Neighborhood……267
Conclusion……...273

CONCLUSION: *MORE THAN WORDS*……...278

BIBLIOGRAPHY……...285

Acknowledgements

As many of the characters in my dissertation will reveal, some feelings are difficult to express in words. My gratitude towards my main advisor Andy Shanken is one of them. In other words, he deserves a monument. Writing this dissertation would not have been possible without his tireless support, guidance, and advocacy. Andy has been a constant reader, editor, and critic of almost everything I have written for the past six years. Many of the arguments of this dissertation emerged out of our conversations, shared readings, and his teaching. While my debt to him is incommensurate, my hope is that I can pass along the exceptional mentorship relationship that we have in order to guide, inspire, and support new generations of scholars and practitioners.

Andy was not alone: besides him, my committee members Julia Bryan-Wilson, Paul Rabinow, and Greg Castillo guided me throughout this process, opening rich new disciplines, fields, and methods that allowed me and my work to grow. Thank you Julia for creating such an inspiring community of scholars around you, and for showing me that feminist mentorship can change academia. Thank you Paul for demonstrating that there is nothing more powerful than thinking together, that collaboration should be our highest aspiration, and that long conversations are the first step to get there. Thank you Greg for being a role model, not only as a mentor, but also as a dedicated teacher, curator, writer, and editor. Thanks must also go to Margaret Crawford, who as a teacher and member of my Qualifying Exam committee encouraged my interest in the everyday and the history of urbanism. Additionally, I am grateful to Waverly Lovell and my fellow graduate students in the seminar "Researching California's Built Environment" (Spring 2017) at UC Berkeley for the discussions that inspired chapter 4. Many other members of the UC Berkeley community shaped my work during these past years, including Donald S. Moore, Lauren Kroiz, Greig Crysler, and Teresa Caldeira.

I am immensely grateful for the community of Architecture PhD and MS students that we built around room 470. This is the place in Wurster Hall where we were able to break our solitude, where we learned about each other's work, where we wrote applications, where we discussed the politics of our department, where we gathered to demand an adjustment of our cost of living, where we read and edited each other's work, where we sought out advice, where we cried and consoled each other. Thank you to each one of my colleagues who shared that space with me during the last six years. In particular, I would like to thank my friends and members of our dissertation writing group: Trude Renwick, Jennifer Gaugler, Alec Stewart, Stathis Gerostathopoulos, Jaime Gomez, Elaine Stiles, Eric Peterson, and Noah Allison. My dissertation was read, revised, and improved by each and every one of them, and I owe much of my ongoing love for writing to this group, in particular to Trude. Katherine Bruhn, Noam Shoked, Marianela D'Aprile, Eliana Hamdi Murchie, Amina Alkandari, Alberto Sánchez, Minhae Shim Roth, Sarah Cowan, Roy Fisher, and Olivia Young are also invaluable friends whose advice and companionship have brought much joy to this process.

Beyond UC Berkeley, my work is indebted to Ricard Vinyes, a longtime advocate for my research, who provided feedback on my dissertation at various stages, as well as Richard J. Bernstein and Barry Trachtenberg, who read and commented on several chapters. I am also deeply thankful to the members of the 2018 Summer Institute on the Holocaust and Jewish Civilization at

Northwestern University, as well as the participants of the 2018 "Relevance of Hannah Arendt" seminar at the Institute for Critical Social Inquiry, The New School for Social Research. Their friendship and critique greatly contributed to my work. I also wish to acknowledge that my dissertation benefited from the questions and comments of colleagues at a series of academic conferences and meetings, including the Society of Architectural Historians, the Vernacular Architecture Forum, the German Studies Association, the Latin American Studies Association, the Society for American City and Regional Planning History, the Global Architectural History Teaching Collaborative, and the Princeton University-Mellon Research Forum on the Urban Environment.

Completing this dissertation required a significant amount of travel, funding and, more importantly, collaboration. The first four years of my PhD studies were supported by a generous CONICYT/Becas Chile 72150057 fellowship. I have to thank the Institute of International Studies at UC Berkeley and the Center for Latin American Studies at UC Berkeley for their pre-dissertation research grants that allowed me to travel to Berlin and Buenos Aires during my first two years in the PhD program. I also wish to acknowledge the support of the Global Urban Humanities – Doreen B. Townsend Center Fellowship and thank the Spring 2017 group of fellows for their generous comments on my California-based research. My Berlin-based research was funded by the German Academic Exchange service – DAAD, the Holocaust Educational Foundation at Northwestern University, and the University of California Office of the President MRPI funding MR-15-328710. The Institute of International Studies at UC Berkeley provided additional funding that supported my research in Berlin and Buenos Aires. After 18 months of fieldwork, I was fortunate to return to UC Berkeley to join the Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities as a Albert Lepawsky Fellow, which gave me time and space to write. I am deeply grateful to the group of 2018-2019 Townsend Fellows, who were a weekly source of encouragement and inspiration. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the Mellon/American Council of Learned Societies Dissertation Completion Fellowship, which not only supported my last year of writing, but also provided a community of scholars to lean on.

More than anything else, I am indebted to the many collaborators, friends, colleagues, archivists, and interviewees who contributed to my research in Berlin, the San Francisco Bay Area, and Buenos Aires.

Every time I travel to Berlin, I am welcomed by Ingeborg and Ewald Schürmann, to whom I am immensely grateful for being my family away from home. I also wish to thank the Technische Universität Berlin, and in particular Gabriele Dolff-Bonekämper and her fantastic group of doctoral students of the *Identität und Erbe DFG-Graduiertenkolleg* for welcoming me to their institution as a visiting scholar, as well as for sharing methods, readings, and conversations with me. My work on the Topography of Terror would not have been possible without the monumental effort of the institution's archivist, Ulrich Tempel. Herr Tempel not only opened every possible vault, box, and binder in his building, but accompanied me in the search for documents, drawings, and models to other archives across Berlin. He helped arrange interviews, contacted other archivists, invited me to events and seminars, and was a constant interlocutor. Thanks must also go to Kaspar Nürnberg at the Aktives Museum Faschismus und Widerstand in Berlin, who opened up his archive and office for me to work on so many occasions, as well as Bernardette Fielers at the Senatsverwaltung für

Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen, Andreas Matschenz at the Landesarchiv Berlin, and Frank Schütz at the Berlinische Galerie. I am especially grateful to my interviewees, who spent many hours discussing the history of the site of the former Gestapo headquarters with me. Thank you to Andreas Nachama, Thomas Lutz, Klaus Hesse, Andreas Sander, Erika Bucholtz, Stefanie Endlich, Leonie Baumann, Christine Fischer-Defoy, Dieter Hoffman-Axthelm, Jürg Steiner, Peter Ostendorff, and my deepest gratitude to the late Reinhard Rürup for the candid conversation we shared.

My reserach on postcolonial memorialization in Berlin is indebted to the work of so many activist groups and institutions, including: Berlin Postkolonial, the Komitee für die Errichtung eines afrikanischen Denkmals in Berlin, the Zentralrat der afrikanischen Gemeinde in Deutschland e.V., the Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland, ADEFRA e. V. – Schwarze Frauen in Deutschland, Joliba – Interkulturelles Netzwerk in Berlin e.V., the Afrika Akademie/Schwarze Volkshochshule, the Afrika-Rat Berlin-Brandenburg, and the Institut für diskriminierungskritische Bildung. I am especially grateful to Yonas Endrias, Kristina Leko, and the participants of the "*A Memorial in the African Quarter?"* course of the Afrika Akademie/Schwarze Volkshochshule and the Institut für Kunst im Kontext at the Universität der Künste Berlin. Thank you to my interviewees: Josephine Apraku, Tahir Della, Yonas Endrias, Muchtar B. Kamara, and Christian Kopp.

In regard to my research in the San Francisco Bay Area, I wish to extend my deep gratitude to the members of the Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee, who welcomed me to their meetings with open arms. Chapter 4 would not have been possible without their support and guidance. A special thanks to my interviewees: Jimmy Chan, Jennifer Easton, Harold Kobayashi, Steve Okamoto, Sandra J. Shaw, Ben Takeshita, and Douglas Yamamoto. Additionally, I would like to thank archivist Ingi House at the National Archives in San Bruno, and researcher Mark Castro at the California Historical Resources Information System, Northwest Information Center, Sonoma State University.

My work in Buenos Aires is indebted to Francisca Márquez, with whom I first started researching the city back in 2012, and Adrián Gorelik, who provided crucial insights into the Argentine memorial culture during our meetings in Berlin and Buenos Aires. Thank you to my friend Martín Bergel, who opened up his home in San Telmo for me to stay, and to Carolina Jofré and Gabriela Villalobos, who joined me on many memorial explorations. I am deeply thankful to the Mesa de Trabajo y Consenso ExCDTyE Club Atlético and to the staff of the site of memory who shared their knowledge, their archives, and their events as well as experiences with me. In particular, I would like to acknowledge Silvina Durán, Laura Duguine, Valeria Contissa, and Susana Mitre. Thanks must also go to Alejandra Naftal, director of the Museo Sitio de Memoria ESMA, and the museum's staff members, who helped arrange visits and interviews and provided access to the museum's archive. Additionally, I am truly grateful to have had the chance to interview Miguel D'Agostino, María Eugenia Ursi, Daniel Mercogliano, Marcelo Castillo, Marina Leyes, Gonzalo Conte, Norma Sanchis, and Marcelo López. In Buenos Aires, as well as in Berlin and San Francisco, archivists and historians directly contributed to my research. These include: Vanesa Figueredo at the Parque de la Memoria Archive, Carina Carrizo at the Memoria Abierta Archive, Marcela Asprella at the Comisión Nacional de Monumentos, de Lugares y de Bienes Históricos Archive, and staff

members at the SERPAJ – Servicio Paz y Justicia, the APDH – Asamblea Permanente por los Derechos Humanos and the Archivo Nacional de la Memoria.

Finally, I would like to recognize my family. Thank you to my mother, Mariane Krause, who has been my forever role model. Every step I have taken in academia has been guided by her actions and her words. Thank you to my godparents Susana Camposano and Albert Galaburda, my family in the US, who encouraged me to apply to PhD programs and have been a constant source of support. And thank you to my husband, Pablo Alfaro, without whom none of this would have been possible. I thank him wholeheartedly for moving across the world with me, for learning German and venturing into new jobs for me to pursue my interests. Despite all these sacrifices, his love, patience, encouragement, and understanding have been immutable, and this has made it all worth it.

List of Figures

CHAPTER 1: The Cult of Apology

1.1. Google Ngram viewer for apology, 1940-2008……....
Source:
https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=apology&year_start=1940&year_end=2008&corpus=15&smoothing=3&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2Capology%3B%2Cc0 [accessed 03/25/2020]

1.2. Gravestone at the Waldfriedhof in Munich……
Erected by the Max Planck Society in 1990 to remember the victims of National Socialism and the abuse they suffered in the name of medical research.
Source: Peter Blachian/Max Plack Society.

1.3. General view of the Buch Euthanasia Killings Memorial…….
Located on the Berlin-Buch campus of the Max-Planck-Institut für Hirnforschung. The memorial was inaugurated in 2000, based on a design by artist Anna Franziska Schwarzbach, and is entitled "Wenn ich groß bin, dann..." [When I grow up, then…]
Source: Max-Delbrück-Centrum für Molekulare Medizin (MDC) Berlin-Buch, https://www.mdc-berlin.de/de/news/archive/2000/20001014-wissenschaftsorganisationen_errichten_mahn [accessed 03/26/2020]

1.4. Detail of the central sculpture of the Buch Euthanasia Killings Memorial.……
Source: Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Berlin-Buch_BB005_Wenn_ich_gross_bin.jpg [accessed 03/26/2020]

1.5. Statue of Peace in front of the Japanese Embassy in Seoul (2011)……
Source: The Wall Street Journal, https://www.wsj.com/articles/japan-and-korea-have-long-disputed-comfort-women-1451337632 [accessed 03/26/2020]

1.6. Replica of the Statue of Peace on a bus in Seoul……...
Installation to commemorate the 5th International Memorial Day for Comfort Women, August 2017.
Source: NPR, Ahn Young-joon/AP, https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2017/11/13/563838610/comfort-woman-memorial-statues-a-thorn-in-japans-side-now-sit-on-korean-buses [accessed 03/26/2020]

1.7. Replica of the Statue of Peace in Glendale, CA, inaugurated in 2013……..
Source: BLOG: LOS ANGELES REVIEW OF BOOKS, https://blog.lareviewofbooks.org/essays/glendales-comfort-women-memorial-controversy-symbol-passive-liberalism/ [accessed 03/26/2020]

1.8. Etching of Henry IV kneeling outside the Canossa fortress (not dated)…….
The image has become a popular postcard that can be purchased online.
Source: Amazon.com, https://www.amazon.com/Germany-1050-1106-1056-1106-Kneeling-Fortress/dp/B07DPLTFV2 [accessed 03/26/2020]

INTERLUDE I: Willy Brandt's Genuflection

A.1. Willy Brandt kneeling in front of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Memorial……..
December 7th, 1970.
Source: Rare Historical Photos, https://rarehistoricalphotos.com/warschauer-kniefall-1970/ [accessed 03/30/2020]

A.2. West-side view of the Warsaw Ghetto Memorial……...
by Nathan Rapoport, dedicated in 1948 (2013).
Source: Wikimedia, author Adrian Grycuk, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Monument_to_the_Ghetto_Heroes_in_Warsaw_05.JPG [accessed 03/30/2020]

A.3. East-side view of the Warsaw Ghetto Memorial……
70th Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (2013).
Source: Wikimedia, author Adrian Grycuk, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:70th_Anniversary_of_the_Warsaw_Ghetto_Uprising_09.JPG [accessed 03/30/2020]

A.4. Willy Brandt Genuflection Memorial in Warsaw, 2000……..
Source: Wikimedia, author Adrian Grycuk 2013, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Willy_Brandt_monument_in_Warsaw_05.JPG [accessed 03/30/2020]

A.5. Detail of bas-relief depicting Willy Brandt 's genuflection……...
Source: Wikimedia, 2009, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Willy_Brandt_Square_02.jpg [accessed 03/30/2020]

A.6. Another view of Willy Brandt kneeling……...
in front of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Memorial.
Source: Der Spiegel https://www.spiegel.de/geschichte/willy-brandt-in-warschau-a-946886.html [accessed 03/30/2020]

CHAPTER 2: Building Apologies

2.1. Willy Postwar ruin of the former seat of the Gestapo, 1951……...
Prinz Albrecht Strasse 8.
Source: Landesarchiv Berlin, F Rep. 290 (01) Nr. 0011962. Photographer: Bert Sass

2.2. Birds eye view of the Gestapo site, 1968……
The ruin of the Martin-Gropius-Bau stands in the foreground, and the adjacent site of the former Gestapo seat has been cleared of postwar ruins.
Source: Landesarchiv Berlin, F Rep. 290 (02) Nr. 0128270. Photographer: Horst Siegmann

2.3. German Resistance Memorial, 2017……
Source: Author.

2.4. Plötzensee Memorial……
Source: Gedenkstätte Deutscher Wiederstand
https://www.berlin.de/en/museums/3109425-3104050-gedenkstaette-ploetzensee.en.html
[accessed 04/03/2020]

2.5. Autodrom use of the Gestapo site during the 70s and 80s……
Source: Aktives Museum Faschismus und Widerstand Archive

2.6. Autodrom use of the Gestapo site during the 70s and 80s……
Source: Aktives Museum Faschismus und Widerstand Archive

2.7. Outdoor concert on the Gestapo site……..
For the opening of the exhibition 'Preußen – Versuch einer Bilanz,' 1981. The renovated Martin-Gropius-Bau can be seen on the left side.
Source: Aktives Museum Faschismus und Widerstand Archive. Photographer: Paul Glaser

2.8. Second prize winning master plan for the Prinz-Albrecht-Palais…….
design competition 1983-1984. Architect Giorgio Grassi & team.
Source: Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 168 (Karten) Nr. 753_1_A 4

2.9. Detail and sections of Giorgio Grassi's design for the Gestapo site……
Source: Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep 168 (Karten) Nr. 753_8_A 4

2.10. Alvaro Siza's design for the Gestapo site……
Source: Dokumentation. Offener Wettbewerb Berlin, Südliche Friedrichstadt. Gestaltung des Geländes der ehemaligen Prinz-Albrecht-Palais. Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin, 1987. Topography of Terror Foundation Archive.

2.11. Rafael Moneo's design for the Gestapo site……
Source: Dokumentation. Offener Wettbewerb Berlin, Südliche Friedrichstadt. Gestaltung des Geländes der ehemaligen Prinz-Albrecht-Palais. Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin, 1987. Topography of Terror Foundation Archive.

2.12. Rebecca Horn's design for the Gestapo site…….
Source: Dokumentation. Offener Wettbewerb Berlin, Südliche Friedrichstadt. Gestaltung des Geländes der ehemaligen Prinz-Albrecht-Palais. Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin, 1987. Topography of Terror Foundation Archive.

2.13. Sculptural detail (in motion) of Rebecca Horn's design for the Gestapo site…….
Source: Dokumentation. Offener Wettbewerb Berlin, Südliche Friedrichstadt. Gestaltung des Geländes der ehemaligen Prinz-Albrecht-Palais. Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin, 1987. Topography of Terror Foundation Archive.

2.14. Model of Wenzel and Lang's winning design for the Gestapo site…….
Source: Landesarchiv Berlin, B 009 Nr. 4581, 4582

2.15. Detail model of Wenzel and Lang's winning design for the Gestapo site……..
Source: Dokumentation. Offener Wettbewerb Berlin, Südliche Friedrichstadt. Gestaltung des Geländes der ehemaligen Prinz-Albrecht-Palais. Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin, 1987. Topography of Terror Foundation Archive.

2.16. Plaster model of plaque with inscription……
Source: Dokumentation. Offener Wettbewerb Berlin, Südliche Friedrichstadt. Gestaltung des Geländes der ehemaligen Prinz-Albrecht-Palais. Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin, 1987. Topography of Terror Foundation Archive.

2.17. Sample of NS documents for plaques.....
Source: Dokumentation. Offener Wettbewerb Berlin, Südliche Friedrichstadt. Gestaltung des Geländes der ehemaligen Prinz-Albrecht-Palais. Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin, 1987. Topography of Terror Foundation Archive.

2.18. Master plan and general vista of Wenzel and Lang's winning design……
While it is difficult to distinguish, the vista is directed towards the Berlin Wall, reinforcing its meaning as a monument.
Source: Dokumentation. Offener Wettbewerb Berlin, Südliche Friedrichstadt. Gestaltung des Geländes der ehemaligen Prinz-Albrecht-Palais. Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin, 1987. Topography of Terror Foundation Archive.

2.19. Still of the black box……
Retrieved from footage recorded by a West-Berlin camera team during the celebrations of East Berlin for the 750th city anniversary of Berlin. Filmed at Alexanderplatz, on July 4th, 1987.
Source: Berlin Channel, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lacV56WkAhs [last accessed 04/07/2020]

2.20. Bird's-eye view of the Gestapo site in 1988……
The Martin-Gropius-Bau building can be seen on the left side. Next to it is white pavilion built for the first "Topography of Terror" exhibition and the protection roof erected over the excavated ruins of the former Gestapo in-house prison basement.
Source: Aktives Museum Faschismus und Widerstand Archive. Photographer: Monika Rummler.

2.21. Photograph of the lower level of the "Topography of Terror" exhibition, 1987……..
Source: Aktives Museum Faschismus und Widerstand Archive. Photographer: Jürgen Henschel.

2.22. General view of the white wooden pavilion……
Built to house the first "Topography of Terror" exhibition, 1987.
Source: Topography of Terror Foundation Archive. Photographer: Margret Nissen.

2.23. Detail view of the white wooden pavilion……..
Built to house the first "Topography of Terror" exhibition, 1987.
Source: Jürg Steiner.

2.24. Digging action at the Gestapo site, 1985……
Source: Aktives Museum Faschismus und Widerstand Archive. Photographer: H.P. Stiebing.

2.25. Unearthed continuous line of foundation of the former Gestapo building, 1986……
Source: Landesarchiv Berlin, F Rep. 290 (01) Nr. 0279069.

2.26. Commemorative ceremony for the victims of the Gestapo, 1986……..
Source: Aktives Museum Faschismus und Widerstand Archive. Photographer: Jürgen Henschel.

2.27. View of the interior upper level of the white pavilion……
The ruins of the kitchen cellar can be seen framed by steel beams and guardrails, 1987.
Source: Jürg Steiner.

2.28. View of the lower level of the white pavilion……..
Steiner incorporated the ruins of the kitchen cellar into his design, using the newly uncovered walls as exhibition space, 1987.
Source: Jürg Steiner.

2.29. Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin, 2015……...
Source: Author.

2.30. Interior view of the Jewish Museum in Berlin, 2015……..
Source: Author.

2.31. Demolition of Peter Zumthor's design Stabwerk, 2004…….
Source: Aktives Landesarchiv Berlin, F Rep. 290 (02) Nr. 0413224.

2.32. 1984 Competition entries for the Gestapo site……
Source: Dokumentation. Offener Wettbewerb Berlin, Südliche Friedrichstadt. Gestaltung des Geländes der ehemaligen Prinz-Albrecht-Palais. Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin, 1987. Topography of Terror Foundation Archive.

2.33. Model of Peter Zumthor's *Stabwerk*……...
Peter Zumthor Exhibition, ExperimentaDesign Lisboa, 2008.
Source: ExperimentaDesign Lisboa. Photographer: Pep Romero Garcés

2.34. Views of model of Peter Zumthor's *Stabwerk*……
Source: Atelier Peter Zumthor

2.35. Longitudinal view of model of Peter Zumthor's *Stabwerk*……...
Source: Source: Atelier Peter Zumthor

2.36. *Stabwerk* model interior views of the main exhibition hall……...
Source: Atelier Peter Zumthor

2.37. Ground floor plan of *Stabwerk*……
Archeological excavation marked in yellow.

Source: Atelier Peter Zumthor in Steven Spier, "Place, Authorship and the Concrete: Three Conversations with Peter Zumthor," *Cambridge University Press* 5, no. 2 (2001): 31.

2.38. Façade of Stabwerk, detail view of model……..
Source: Atelier Peter Zumthor in Steven Spier, "Place, Authorship and the Concrete: Three Conversations with Peter Zumthor," *Cambridge University Press* 5, no. 2 (2001): 31.

2.39. Master plan of *Stabwerk*……..
The surrounding site is left untouched and the construction rubble mounts are preserved.
Source: Atelier Peter Zumthor in Steven Spier, "Place, Authorship and the Concrete: Three Conversations with Peter Zumthor," *Cambridge University Press* 5, no. 2 (2001): 31.

2.40. Drawings of Jürg Steiner's winning design for the interior architecture……
Of the new Topography of Terror building, 1997.
Source: Jürg Steiner, http://www.steiner.archi/?p=1609 [accessed 04102020]

2.41. Topography of Terror, 2017……
Source: Author.

2.42. Winning design for the third Topography of Terror competition……...
Architect Ursula Wilms and landscape architect Heinz W. Hallmann, 2006.
Source: Topography of Terror Foundation Archive.

2.43. Base map of the site developed for third competition……...
Archeological remains marked in yellow, 2004.
Source: Topography of Terror Foundation Archive.

2.44. Gestapo 'topographers' during a public act at the neglected site, c.1986……
Source: Aktives Museum Faschismus und Widerstand Archive. Photographer: Riki Kalbe.

CHAPTER 3: Competing Apologies

3.1. The President of the German Federal Council pictured……...
During a visit of the memorial for the victims of the Nama and Herero genocide in Swakopmund, Namibia, 2019.
Source: Deutsche Welle https://www.dw.com/en/genocide-namibia-still-waiting-for-a-german-apology/a-50445209 [accessed 04132020]

3.2. Corner of Wilhelmstraße and An der Kolonnade, 2017……..
Source: Author.

3.3. Corner of Wilhelmstraße and An der Kolonnade during the 2018 Gedenkmarch…....
Source: Christian Demarco.

3.4. Typical Gedenkmarch route through the center of Berlin……
Source: Author on Pharus-Plan Berlin, https://www.berliner-stadtplan.com/Kleine-Praesidentenstrasse-10178-Berlin-Mitte_a4078 [accessed 02182018]

3.5. Promotional poster for the 12th version of the Gedenkmarch, 2018……
Source: Komitee für die Errichtung eines Afrikanischen Denkmals in Berlin (KADIB).

3.6. German Colonial empire and Brandenburg Colonies…….....
Source: http://manufacturingrace.org/1-colonialism-and-race [accessed 04142020]

3.7. Map of the Center of Berlin, 2020……
Source: Intervention by the author on https://www.berlin.de/stadtplan/ [accessed 04132020]

3.8. Wilhelmplatz and Zietenplatz c. 1938……
Source: https://www.berlin-wilhelmstrasse.de/wilhelm-zietenplatz/ & https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Berlin_Ministergaerten_Ausschnitt_Grieben_1904.jpg [accessed 04152020]

3.9. Zietenplatz, 2017……...
Source: Author.

3.10. Old Reichskanzelei (left) and New Reichskanzlei (right)……
Source: Wikimedia.

3.11. The two plaques of Wilhelmstraße standing side by side, 2017…….....
Wilhelmstreet Memory Mile plaque (left), Africa-Forum plaque (right).
Source: Author.

3.12. Two-sided plaque about the African Quarter, 2017……...
Located outside the Rehberge subway station in Wedding.
Source: Author

3.13. Map of the African Quarter……..
Some (but not all) colonial-inspired street names are highlighted.
Source: Intervention by the author on https://www.berlin.de/stadtplan/ [accessed 04132020]

3.14. Christian Kopp and Mnyaka Sururu Mboro……...
Leading members of the NGO Berlin Postkolonial, pose in front of the infamous *Petersallee* with a new street sign.
Source: Berlin Postkolonial.

3.15. Front (left) and back (right) of the African Quarter plaque, 2017……
Source: Author.

3.16. Map of the center of Berlin, 2020……
Source: Intervention by the author on https://www.berlin.de/stadtplan/ [accessed 04132020]

3.17. Sarotti-Mohr logo……
Source: https://www.pinterest.com/pin/289848925995056184/ [accessed 04212020]

3.18. Dekolonize Mitte's M*straße renaming festival, 2017……...
Source: Author.

3.19. Dekolonize Mitte's M*straße renaming ceremony, 2017……..
Source: Author.

3.20. Berlin's Georg Elser Memorial (Klages Design, 2011), 2017……
Source: Author.

3.21. Plaque Georg Elser Memorial, 2017……
Source: Author.

3.22. Georg Elser Memorial inscriptions on the sidewalk……
Located in front of the Africa-Forum plaque, 2017
Source: Author.

3.23. Detail of Georg Elser Memorial inscriptions on the sidewalk, 2017……
Source: Author.

INTERLUDE II: George H.W. Bush's Letter of Apology

B.1. Written apology which accompanied reparations checks, 1990……
Source: Densho Encyclopedia, ID: ddr-densho-153-20, Courtesy of Marjorie Matsushita

B.2. Dachau concentration camp after liberation, 1945……
Source: Densho Encyclopedia, ID: ddr-densho-22-12, Courtesy of Courtesy of Densho, the Saul Collection.

CHAPTER 4: Extending Apologies

4.1. Design proposal for the Tanforan Assembly Center Plaza, December 2016……...
Design by Harold Kobayashi/ Royston Hanamoto Alley & Abey (RHAA)
Source: Courtesy of RHAA Landscape Architects.

4.2. Transformation of the Tanforan site from 1941 to 1987……
Source: Composition by the author based on aerial photographs of the Map and Imagery Laboratory, Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara.

4.3. Forced Japanese and Japanese American incarceration camp locations……
In the US during WWII.
Source: Wikimedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Internment_of_Japanese_Americans#/media/File:Map_of_World_War_II_Japanese_American_internment_camps.png [accessed 04/28/2020]

4.4. Invitation to the first Tanforan Historic Plaque unveiling, February 22, 1981……...
Source: Archive of the California Historical Resources Information System.

4.5. Second Tanforan Historic Plaque, c.1990……...
Source: Burton, Jeffery F., Eleanor Roosevelt, and Irene J. Cohen, eds. *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*. 1st University of Washington Press ed. The Scott and Laurie Oki Series in Asian American Studies. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002.

4.6. Third Tanforan Historic Plaque (2007), 2017……
Source: Author.

4.7. Commemorative Rock Garden (2007), 2017……...
Source: Author.

4.8. Main entrance The Shops at the Tanforan Shopping Center, 2017……..
Source: Author.

4.9. Photograph of the Mochida family from the *Gambatte* exhibition……..
By Paul Kitagaki Jr.
Source: Paul Kitagaki Jr.

4.10. Photographs from the Gambatte exhibition by Paul Kitagaki Jr……..
Source: Paul Kitagaki Jr.

4.11. Paul Kitagaki Jr.'s family waits to depart from 1117 Oak Street, 1942……...
The W.C.C.A. (Wartime Civil Control Authority) Control Station, in Oakland in 1942 for the Tanforan Assembly Center. Kitagaki's grandmother, Juki Kitagaki, 53, is seated at left. Kimiko, his aunt, then 11, receives a pamphlet from a family friend, Dorothy Hightower, expressing her church's good wishes. Grandfather Suyematsu Kitagaki, 65, watches. The photographer's father, Kiyoshi, 14, is at right.
Source: Photo Courtesy of The Bancroft Library. University of California, Berkeley. Caption and image from DENSHO encyclopedia. Photographer: Dorothea Lange, Oakland, California. May 6, 1942.

4.12. Photographic exhibition about Tanforan at the San Bruno BART station, 2017……
Source: Author.

4.13. Once returned to its owners, the racetrack was quickly rebuilt……
And all traces of the assembly center erased, c.1947.
Source: National Archives, San Francisco, Record Group 252, Records of the Office of the Housing Expediter Economic Stabilization Agency 1942-1953. Office of Rent Stabilization. Region VIII. (formerly Region VI).

4.14. Dorothea Lange's original caption of this photograph taken on Jun. 6, 1942…….
At Tanforan says: "San Bruno, California. Another view of the barracks, living quarters for families evacuated from San Francisco on April 29. Note the flower garden and numerous evidences of care of their surroundings. These barracks were formerly horse stalls."

Source: National Archives and Records Administration, Ctrl. #:NWDNS-210-G-C636; NARA ARC #: 537936; WRA

4.15. Dorothea Lange's documentation of the Tanforan Assembly Center, 1942……
Newly built barracks can be seen in the back.
Source: National Archives and Records Administration, WRA.

4.16. Dorothea Lange, Mr. Konda and daughter……
San Bruno Temporary Assembly Center, 1942.
Source: National Archives and Records Administration, WRA.

4.17. Merced Assembly Center Memorial dedicated on Feb. 20, 2010…….....
Source: http://www.amache.org/past-events/ [accessed 01/05/2017]

4.18. Photograph of the Mochida sisters by Dorothea Lange, May 8, 1942…….....
In this case, as in the case of Fig. 4.19. the original caption states: *Hayward, California. Two Children of the Mochida Family Who, with Their Parents, Are Awaiting Evacuation Bus. The Youngster on the Right Holds a Sandwich given Her by One of a Group of Women Who Were Present from a Local Church. The Family Unit Is Kept Intact during Evacuation and at War Relocation Authority Centers Where Evacuees of Japanese Ancestry Will Be Housed for the Duration.*
Source: Local Identifier 210-G-C155, National Archives, Washington, DC, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/537507. Courtesy of the National Archives.

4.19. Photograph of the Mochida sisters by Dorothea Lange, May 8, 1942……..
Source: Local Identifier 210-G-C154, National Archives, Washington, DC, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/537506. Courtesy of the National Archives.

4.20. Photograph of the Mochida family group by Dorothea Lange, May 8, 1942……...
Original caption: *Hayward, California. Members of the Mochida family awaiting evacuation bus. Identification tags are used to aid in keeping the family unit intact during all phases of evacuation. Mochida operated a nursery and five greenhouses on a two-acre site in Eden Township. He raised snapdragons and sweet peas. Evacuees of Japanese ancestry will be housed in War Relocation Authority centers for the duration.*
Source: Local Identifier: 210-GC-153, National Archives, Washington, DC, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/537505. Courtesy of the National Archives.

4.21. Sandra J. Shaw's early concept sketches for the Tanforan Memorial, 2013……
Source: Courtesy of Sandra J. Shaw Studio.

4.22. Plan for the proposed Tanforan Assembly Center Plaza, January 2016……...
Design by Harold Kobayashi/ Royston Hanamoto Alley & Abey (RHAA).
Source: Courtesy of RHAA Landscape Architects

4.23. Wall detail for proposed Tanforan Memorial……
Design by Harold Kobayashi/ RHAA.
Source: Courtesy of RHAA Landscape Architects.

4.24. Model for the proposed Tanforan Assembly Center Plaza, February 2017……..
Source: Model by Harold Kobayashi/ Royston Hanamoto Alley & Abey (RHAA).
Photographer: Author.

4.25. Proposed location for Tanforan Assembly Center Plaza, April 2020……
Source: Courtesy of RHAA Landscape Architects.

4.26. Proposed and revised location for the bronze of the Mochida sisters……..
Within the San Bruno BART station concourse level, 2017.
Source: Courtesy of BART.

4.27. Paver detail plan with donors plaques arranged by size of contribution, 2016……
Source: Courtesy of RHAA Landscape Architects.

4.28. TACMC members and Sandra Shaw posing with the clay sculpture, 2018…….
Source: Author.

4.29. Bronze and wax figures surrounding the sculpture of the Mochida sisters, 2018……...
Source: Author.

INTERLUDE III: Marching Against Forgiving

C.1. Memorial March in Buenos Aires, 2018……..
Source: Author.

C.2. Memorial March in Buenos Aires, 2018……..
Source: Author.

C.3. Memorial March in Buenos Aires, 2018……..
Source: Author.

C.4. "We Do Not Forget, We Do Not Forgive, We Do Not Reconcile" sign……
Memorial March in Buenos Aires, 2018.
Source: Author.

C.5. "Neither forgiving, nor forgetting" written on the pavement……..
During the Memorial March in Buenos Aires, 2018.
Source: Author.

CHAPTER 5: Forgiving Apologies

5.1. Thank-you plaque dedicated to Néstor Kirchner's 2004 apology……
Installed inside ESMA in 2012, 2018.
Source: Author.

5.2. ESMA Site Museum before and after the museum intervention……..
Sources: http://www.diariopublicable.com/especiales/2957-escuela-de-mecanica-de-la-armada.html [accessed 03/05/2019] (left), author (right).

5.3. Human Rights Organizations during the unveiling……..
Of the Thank-you plaque for Néstor Kirchner's apology, October 2012.
Source:
http://www.espaciomemoria.ar/noticia.php?not_ID=109&barra=noticias&titulo=noticia
[accessed 03/05/2019]

5.4. General Map of ESMA during its military use……...
Source: Decreto 1333/2008. Monumentos Históricos Nacionales. Ministerio de Justicia y los Derechos Humanos. Presidencia de la Nación.
http://servicios.infoleg.gob.ar/infolegInternet/anexos/140000-144999/143656/norma.htm
[accessed 05/12/2020]

5.5. Map of the northern neighborhood of Nuñez in the city of Buenos Aires……..
Source: Buenos Aires Ciudad, https://www.buenosaires.gob.ar/laciudad/barrios/nunez
[accessed 05/12/2020]

5.6. Kirchner during his apology speech, 2004……..
Néstor Kirchner and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner during the symbolic reopening of ESMA with a 'recovered' son of H.I.J.O.S., March 24, 2004.
Source: Cristina Fernández de Kirchner webpage, https://www.cfkargentina.com/proyecto-de-ley-de-indemnizacion-y-reparacion-a-los-hijos-de-desaparecidos/ [accessed 03/05/2019]

5.7. Crowds commemorating Kirchner at ESMA……
Source: Cristina Fernández de Kirchner webpage,
https://www.cfkargentina.com/inauguramos-el-nuevo-sitio-de-memoria-en-la-ex-esma/
[accessed 05/12/2020]

5.8. Kirchner first visited the ESMA complex on March 19, 2004……
Days before his apology speech, Kirchner visited the ESMA complex accompanied by human rights organizations and survivors. This was the first time for former prisoners of ESMA to return to their place of torture.
Source: Página/12, in https://revistaharoldo.com.ar/nota.php?id=360 [accessed 05/13/2020]

5.9. Map of the partial appropriation of the ESMA facilities……...
The section marked includes the officers' mess and was part the first section to be expropriated from the navy.
Source: Comisión Bipartita / Archivo Nacional de la Memoria, in
https://revistaharoldo.com.ar/nota.php?id=360 [accessed 05/13/2020]

5.10. Cover of *Puentes* magazine, issue 11, 2004……
Based on León Ferrari's collage series "Nunca Más".
Source: *Puentes* magazine, issue 11, 2004.

5.11. "Escuela Mecánica de la Armada + Detalle de 'Juicio Final' de Memling"……..
By León Ferrari, 1995-6.
Source: Tate Galleries, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/ferrari-the-army-mechanical-school-detail-of-the-last-judgment-by-memling-p79523 [accessed 05/14/2020]

5.12. Map of former ESMA transformed into the Space for Memory……
And for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights, 2013.
Source: Wikimedia,
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Espacio_Memoria_y_DDHH_-_Plano.jpg
[accessed 05/14/2020]

5.13. Cristina Fernández de Kirchner giving the *ESMA Site Museum*……
Inauguration speech, 2015.
Source: Cristina Fernández de Kirchner webpage, https://www.cfkargentina.com/cristina-kirchner-inauguracion-del-sitio-de-memoria-esma/ [accessed 05/15/2020]

5.14. Cristina Fernández de Kirchner visiting the main exhibition……..
Of the ESMA Site Museum during its inauguration, 2015.
Source: Cristina Fernández de Kirchner webpage, https://www.cfkargentina.com/cristina-kirchner-inauguracion-del-sitio-de-memoria-esma/ [accessed 05/15/2020]

5.15. Three stages of development of the main hall of the ESMA Site Museum……
Top: Pre-intervention (c.2013). Middle: Projected museum design (c.2013). Bottom: Completed curatorial intervention (c.2015).
Source: Alejandra Naftal et al., "Propuesta Museográfica. Sitio de Memoria. Centro Clandestino de Detención, Tortura y Exterminio Ex ESMA" (Presidencia de la Nación Argentina, 2013), Archive ESMA Site Museum and Facebook site of ESMA Museo de Sitio.

5.16. Distribution of historical information stations (blue) on each level of the building…...
Source: Alejandra Naftal et al., "Propuesta Museográfica. Sitio de Memoria. Centro Clandestino de Detención, Tortura y Exterminio Ex ESMA" (Presidencia de la Nación Argentina, 2013), Archive ESMA Site Museum.

5.17. Proposed fountain, contemplation rock and projection show……..
For the ESMA Site Museum basement.
Source: Alejandra Naftal et al., "Propuesta Museográfica. Sitio de Memoria. Centro Clandestino de Detención, Tortura y Exterminio Ex ESMA" (Presidencia de la Nación Argentina, 2013), Archive ESMA Site Museum.

5.18. Suspended glass cube proposed for the *ESMA Site Museum*……..
Source: Alejandra Naftal et al., "Propuesta Museográfica. Sitio de Memoria. Centro Clandestino de Detención, Tortura y Exterminio Ex ESMA" (Presidencia de la Nación Argentina, 2013), Archive ESMA Site Museum.

5.19. Exhibition in the basement of the ESMA Site Museum, 2018……..
Source: Author.

5.20. Exhibition in the Salón Dorado of the ESMA Site Museum……
Source: ESMA Memory Site Museum Website: http://www.museositioesma.gob.ar/ [accessed 05/19/2020]

5.21. Kirchner supervising the removal of the portraits of Videla and Bendini, 2004……..
Source: https://archivo.urgente24.com/240000-un-cuadro-trucho-de-videla-para-que-nestor-lo-pudiera-bajar [accessed 05/20/2020]

5.22. Exhibition of the portraits of the perpetrators in Salón Dorado……...
Source: ESMA Memory Site Museum Website: http://www.museositioesma.gob.ar/ [accessed 05/21/2020]

5.23. Proposed exhibition cycles for Salón Dorado……
Source: Alejandra Naftal et al., "Propuesta Museográfica. Sitio de Memoria. Centro Clandestino de Detención, Tortura y Exterminio Ex ESMA" (Presidencia de la Nación Argentina, 2013), Archive ESMA Site Museum.

5.24. Footage of courtroom testimonies throughout the ESMA Site Museum……
Source: ESMA Memory Site Museum Website: http://www.museositioesma.gob.ar/ [accessed 05/21/2020]

5.25. Footage of courtroom testimonies throughout the ESMA Site Museum……
Source: Author.

5.26. *Los Jorges* corridor……...
Source: Author.

5.27. *Casa del Almirante* exhibition……
Source: ESMA Memory Site Museum Website: http://www.museositioesma.gob.ar/ [accessed 05/21/2020]

CHAPTER 6: Resisting Apologies

6.1. Façade ESMA Site Museum……
Source: ESMA Memory Site Museum Website: http://www.museositioesma.gob.ar/ [accessed 05/25/2020]

6.2. Memory Park, 2018……...
Source: Author.

6.3. View of excavation area Club Atlético, 2017……...
Source: Author.

6.4. Aerial view of Club Atlético, San Telmo……
Source: Archive Comisión de Trabajo y Consenso ex CCDTyE Club Atlético.

6.5. View of Plaza 30,000 Compañeros, Club Atlético Memorial…….
Source: Author.

6.6. General view of Club Atlético Memorial during a guided tour…….
Source: Author.

6.7. A group of local students during a guided tour of the excavation area……
Of Club Atlético, 2018.
Source: Author.

6.8. A group of local students during a guided tour of the excavation area……
Of Club Atlético, 2018.
Source: Author.

6.9. Objects found during the excavations of Club Atlético……
Source: Archive Comisión de Trabajo y Consenso ex CCDTyE Club Atlético.

6.10. Object Exhibition of Club Atlético, 2018…….....
Source: Author.

6.11. Office/Lab Site of Memory Club Atlético, Buenos Aires, 2016……
Source: Author.

6.12. Display case with objects found during the excavations of Club Atlético, 2018……..
Source: Author.

6.13. Map of Club Atlético based on survivors' testimony…….
Source: Archive Comisión de Trabajo y Consenso ex CCDTyE Club Atlético.

6.14. Still showing the placement of the ping-pong table……..
From the 3D-reconstruction of Club Atlético.
Source: Huella Digital

6.15. Display case with objects found during the excavations of Club Atlético, 2018……..
Source: Author.

6.16. Disassembled police cap found during the excavations of Club Atlético……
Source: Archive Comisión de Trabajo y Consenso ex CCDTyE Club Atlético.

6.17. Detail plaque and image transferred onto paper……...
Source: Archive Comisión de Trabajo y Consenso ex CCDTyE Club Atlético.

6.18. Exhibition vitrine showcasing the plaque, its transferred image…….
And the periodical in which it was published.
Source: Author.

6.19. Office/Lab Site of Memory Club Atlético, Buenos Aires, 2016……
Source: Author.

6.20. Survivors and victims' families participate in the first excavation……
Of Club Atlético, Buenos Aires, 2002.
Source: Archive Comisión de Trabajo y Consenso ex CCDTyE Club Atlético.

6.21. Survivors and victims' families participate in the first excavation……
Of Club Atlético, Buenos Aires, 2002.
Source: Archive Comisión de Trabajo y Consenso ex CCDTyE Club Atlético.

6.22. Map of Club Atlético based on survivors' testimony…….....
The dark gray rectangle in the lower right represents the area that has been excavated.
Source: Archive Comisión de Trabajo y Consenso ex CCDTyE Club Atlético.

6.23. Original façade of the building used to house the clandestine detention……...
Torture and execution center Club Atlético.
Source: Archive Comisión de Trabajo y Consenso ex CCDTyE Club Atlético.

6.24. Stills from the 3D-reconstruction of Club Atlético…….....
Source: Huella Digital.

6.25. Still from the 'Integral Architectural Representation' of Mansion Seré……...
Architectural drawings, photographs, videos, and written testimony all interact in this representation of a former clandestine detention, torture and killing center outside of Buenos Aires.
Source: Archive Memoria Abierta, in Conte, "A Topography of Memory."

6.26. Stills from the first Jornada por la Memoria [Memory Day] of Club Atlético, 1996…...
Source: Archive Comisión de Trabajo y Consenso ex CCDTyE Club Atlético.

6.27. Totem installed during the first Jornada por la Memoria [Memory Day]……...
Of Club Atlético, 1996.
Source: Archive Comisión de Trabajo y Consenso ex CCDTyE Club Atlético.

6.28. Invitation to commemorate 21 years since the creation of the first silhouette……
At Club Atlético, 2018.
Source: Archive Comisión de Trabajo y Consenso ex CCDTyE Club Atlético.

6.29. Silhouette lighting ceremony, 2018……
Source: Author.

6.30. Stills from the first Jornada por la Memoria, Club Atlético, 1996, writing on canvas…..
Source: Archive Comisión de Trabajo y Consenso ex CCDTyE Club Atlético.

6.31. Stills from the first Jornada por la Memoria of Club Atlético, 1996……..
Burning images of the perpetrators.
Source: Archive Comisión de Trabajo y Consenso ex CCDTyE Club Atlético.

6.32. Plaza 30,000 Compañeros, architect Marcelo Castillo, 2018……..
Source: Author.

6.33. Masterplan and urban location plan Plaza 30,000 Compañeros…….. Architect Marcelo Castillo.
Source: Personal Archive Miguel D'Agostino.

6.34. Main entrance of Plaza 30,000 Compañeros, 2016…….
Source: Author.

6.35. Club Atlético committee members and friends painting over the graffiti……...
On the main entrance of Plaza 30,000 Compañeros, 2018.
Source: Archive Comisión de Trabajo y Consenso ex CCDTyE Club Atlético.

6.36. Inscription "Jail for the Mass Murderers. Judgment and Punishment to all Guilty"….
In the Plaza 30,000 Compañeros, 2016.
Source: Author.

6.37. Map of the neighborhood of San Telmo with the trajectory and stations……...
Of the Club Atlético march.
Source: Source: Buenos Aires Ciudad,
https://www.buenosaires.gob.ar/laciudad/barrios/santelmo [accessed 05/28/2020]

6.38. Invitation for the march of the torches, March 17, 2018…….....
Source: Archive Comisión de Trabajo y Consenso ex CCDTyE Club Atlético.

6.39. Meeting point for the march of the torches in San Telmo, March 17, 2018……
Source: Author.

6.40. Distance between Miguel D'Agostino's release point and Club Atlético……
Source: Author on Google Earth.

6.41. General view of the new Club Atlético museum, architect Marcelo Castillo……...
Source: Marcelo Castillo.

CONCLUSION

D.1. Memorial at the site of the killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis, 2020……...
Source: Getty, published in https://www.gq.com.au/success/opinions/a-timeline-of-george-floyds-murder-and-the-minneapolis-protests/news-story/d7580a45761301dff372ba491be53b65 [accessed 06/01/2020]

[This page intentionally left blank.]

INTRODUCTION

Apology As…

Apology as Cultural Form

When Gavin Newsom, the Governor of California (2019-present), apologized in June of 2019 to the California Native American Peoples for the violence, mistreatment, and neglect inflicted upon them throughout the state's history, he resorted to a well-worn trope of public repentance. In the past decades, presidents, prime ministers, popes, representatives, governors, mayors, councilmembers, and CEOs around the world have made public appearances to offer apologies, make amends for past atrocities, inaugurate a path towards reconciliation, and set an example of repentance.[1] So common is this kind of apology that it has become a cultural form. Increasingly, material memorials or buildings have become usual complements to such apologies. The Governor of California offered his state apology at the confluence of the American and Sacramento Rivers, on a 43-acre parcel recently donated by the West Sacramento City Council to the California State Parks to develop the future California Indian Heritage Center.[2]

Not only did I encounter these types of apologetic rituals as a graduate student in California, but also in Chile, Argentina, and Germany, where I have lived during the past decades. My first experience with what I have termed 'built apologies' took place in 2008, when I participated in a competition to design a memorial to the victims of the military dictatorship in Santiago de Chile (1973-1989). The publicly-funded memorial was to be located in the city's main cemetery, specifically in *Patio 29,* the historic site where, during Augusto Pinochet's 17-year military dictatorship, hidden remains of *detenidos desaparecidos* were found. In the mid-90s, the newly established democratic government started to exhume the bodies in order to identify the victims and return them to their families. However, the accurate identification of the remains defied the scientific knowledge of the time –at least in Chile–, and the process turned into a series of accidents

[1] Office of the Governor Gavin Newsom, "Governor Newsom Issues Apology to Native Americans for State's Historical Wrongdoings, Establishes Truth and Healing Council," California Governor, June 18, 2019, https://www.gov.ca.gov/2019/06/18/governor-newsom-issues-apology-to-native-americans-for-states-historical-wrongdoings-establishes-truth-and-healing-council/; Gavin Newsom, "Executive Order N-15-19," Executive Department State of California § (2019), https://www.gov.ca.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/6.18.19-Executive-Order.pdf; Jill Cowan, "'It's Called Genocide': Newsom Apologizes to the State's Native Americans," *The New York Times*, June 19, 2019, sec. U.S., https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/19/us/newsom-native-american-apology.html; Taryn Luna, "Newsom Apologizes for California's History of Violence against Native Americans," *Los Angeles Times*, June 18, 2019, https://www.latimes.com/politics/la-pol-ca-gavin-newsom-apology-california-native-american-tribes-061818-story.html.

[2] Michael McGough, "West Sacramento Gives California 43 Acres for $100 Million Indian Heritage Center," *The Sacramento Bee*, December 7, 2018, https://www.sacbee.com/news/local/article222781765.html. For more information about the future California Indian Heritage Center, see: https://www.cihcfoundation.org/new-facility and http://www.parks.ca.gov/?page_id=22628 [accessed 03052020].

in which the state returned and then reclaimed bodies based on erroneous data.[3] It is in the context of this disastrous forensic identification of the remains that the call for a public design competition to build a memorial at *Patio 29* emerged. While the competition guidelines called for a memorial to the victims, there were no actual names to identify them. It soon became clear that *Memorial Patio 29* was supposed to do more than just remember; it was supposed to apologize for the misidentifications of the human remains of *Patio 29* during democracy. This experience sparked the question that guides this dissertation: *How can a memorial apologize?*

Within the context of a growing demand for apologies across the globe and a rise in memorial building to convey atonement for past injustices, my dissertation delves into the cultural history of the built environment by analyzing how apologies have materialized into memorials. Apologies have been analyzed as performative acts, as narratives, and as political strategies, yet the form that apologies take in the built environment remains unexplored. The use of memorials as gestures for reparation, forgiveness, and defense sparks a new set of tensions between representation and memory. Transformed into tokens of apology, memorials become markers of a dialogue that recognizes guilt, shame, and victimhood, but that also stresses the importance of forgiveness and forgetting. Such apologetic memorials have a triple temporal duty: they ought to remember past events, shape the identity of the present, and inaugurate new beginnings.

Apology as Material Form

Both apology and memory are slippery terms undergoing rapid change. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, there are differing meanings of apology. While the first definition is the plainspoken meaning intended in this dissertation—apology as "a regretful acknowledgment of an offense or failure"—, it bleeds into another, older meaning, namely "a reasoned argument or writing in justification of something," which corresponds with its original meaning in Greek.[4] In *The Apology*, Plato reproduces Socrates' defense before court against the accusation that he was corrupting the youth of Athens; a case that Socrates ultimately lost. In his speech, Socrates does not

[3] Javiera Bustamante, *Patio 29 : tras la cruz de fierro* (Santiago, Chile: Ocho Libros Editores, 2009); Javier Rebolledo and Luis Narváez, "Patio 29: Muertos Sin Nombre," *La Nación*, abril 2006, http://www.lanacion.cl/noticias/site/artic/20060429/pags/20060429215727.html; Alejandra Chacón, "Patio 29: El Dolor de Verlos Desaparecer Dos Veces," *La Nación*, abril 2006, http://www.lanacion.cl/noticias/site/artic/20060422/pags/20060422002758.html; Francisca Márquez, "Las Heridas Abiertas Del Patio 29," *La Nación*, May 17, 2006, http://www.lanacion.cl/noticias/site/artic/20060516/pags/20060516191747.html; Stephan Ruderer, "La 'Eternización' de Una Memoria Traumática. El Patio 29 y La Política Del Pasado En Chile," *Iberoamericana. América Latina, España, Portugal: Ensayos Sobre Letras, Historia y Sociedad. Notas. Reseñas Iberoamericanas* 13, no. 51 (2013): 105–18; Víctor Osorio, "El Escándalo Del Patio 29: LOS ERRORES DE IDENTIFICACIÓN," *Revista Ercilla, Editorial Ercilla Ltda.*, May 8, 2006, http://www.ercilla.cl/web/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=350&Itemid=4.

[4] "Apology - Oxford Reference," accessed October 9, 2016, http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192830982.001.0001/acref-9780192830982-e-677. In his book on apologies, Nicholas Tavuchis includes a more extended etymological analysis of the word apology. See: Nicholas Tavuchis, *Mea Culpa: A Sociology of Apology and Reconciliation* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1991).

apologize for his 'offense' but lays out the arguments to discredit the accusation altogether.[5] The Socratic apology as defense has remained not only in the etymological root of the word, but also in its contemporary meaning.[6] The multiplicity of meanings attached to apology reveals the shifting role that apologies have played throughout the history of Western civilization. At the same time, it is also instructive in regard to the contemporary interpretations of apology.[7] It is the double meaning of apology as both an acknowledgment of an offense and as a defense of the wrongdoer which makes it a contentious topic. Simply put, it is difficult to distinguish whether a given apology is an honest admission of guilt and remorse or if it is an instrument to restitute the moral standing of the apologizer.

A similar double meaning is rooted in the word *monument*. From the Greek word *mneme* [*'mnemeo' μνημείο*], a monument is both a reminder and a warning. This distinction has not been lost in the German language, in which the words *Denkmal* and *Mahnmal* signify the memory and warning aspects of monuments, respectively. Applying this linguistic distinction to the English language, Arthur C. Danto maintained that monuments are reminders and memorials are warnings. In his essay about the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington D.C., he wrote: *"We erect monuments so that we shall remember, and build memorials so that we shall never forget."* [8] Drawing on Danto, Françoise Choay argues that we build monuments for our heroes and memorials for our victims.[9] Though this may be a useful distinction, the dividing lines between monuments and memorials are less clear in contemporary memorialization: we build memorials for victims and heroes alike, and we try to impede forgetting with memorials as well as with monuments. Further, recent decades have seen the rise of far more memorials than monuments. At the same time, monuments have been under heightened scrutiny, as revealed by the debates around the removal of Confederate monuments in the US, Soviet monuments in the former Eastern Bloc, colonial monuments in Europe and the Americas, and patriarchal statues across the world.[10]

The double meaning of the word *monument* –and of its analogue, *memorial*– as reminder and warning resonates with the two-sided interpretation of *apology* as defense and acknowledgment of guilt. Not discounting the vast array of intentions behind memorials, memorials as reminders are most often uplifting defenses of the past, honoring the deeds and victories that have led us to the present. Memorials as warnings typically involve an acknowledgment of a defeat, pointing towards something that went wrong. The result of the combination of memorials and apologies –memorials

---

[5] Plato, *The Apology and Related Dialogues*, ed. Andrew Bailey, trans. Cathal Woods and Ryan Pack (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2016).

[6] Apology as defense has even been used in the context of the built environment, see: Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* (Edinburgh : J. Grant, 1895), http://archive.org/details/a604881400pugiuoft.

[7] Tavuchis, *Mea Culpa*.

[8] Arthur C. Danto, "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial," *The Nation*, August 31, 1985, 152.

[9] Françoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, 1st English language ed (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[10] Despite James E. Young's effort to distinguish between monuments and memorials, he sees them as comprising all types of remembrance rituals, dates, and objects; monuments are a specific type of memorial that is a physical object used to memorialize a person or an event from the past. Both terms are slippery. Therefore, in this dissertation I use 'monument' and 'memorial' as synonyms. (James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 3–4.)

that function as apologies or apologies that coalesce into memorials– has a meaning that is as unstable as the original components of the equation. This means that reading memorials through the lens of apology fixes neither the multiplicity of meanings of *memorial* nor the ambiguities of *apology*. However, the loose meaning of apologetic memorials is not a negative characteristic; on the contrary, it opens up a field for interpretation.

Apology as Cult

The meaning of apologies reaches far beyond actual apologies. As many scholars of apology have argued, context, politics of representation, and timing play a crucial role in the development of a sincere apology.[11] Building upon these previous examinations of apologies, three overlapping historical phenomena frame the scope of this research project: the boom of memories, which Andreas Huyssen has dated to the 80s; the consequent multiplication of memorials all over the world, which gained early exposure in western academia through the work of James E. Young; and Roy Brook's identification of the 90s as an emergent 'age of apology.'[12] I add to their insights the claim that apologies have become a spatial phenomenon. Once apologies become part of the built environment, they enter a new domain, not only of the public sphere, but also of the everyday.

In this dissertation, I map the emerging cultural phenomenon that I have termed the 'cult of apology' through its global manifestations in specific memorials. Following art historian Alois Riegl's concept of the *cult of monuments*, I argue that the cult of apology developed as a European secular religion, imbued with lessons for humanity to prevent the twentieth-century civilization breakdown from reoccurring.[13] Indebted to Judaic notions of collective atonement and to the Christian practice of private repentance, apologies have come to play an important role in secular societies. For instance, Nicholas Tavuchis and Aaron Lazare have studied the rise of public apologies in the news, revealing how pervasive these statements have become in our contemporary culture.[14] The secularization of repentance practices and the transformation of apology from a private ritual into a public one are two distinctive characteristics of what apology scholars Roy Brooks and John Torpey have termed the 'age of apology.'[15] Consequently, the politics of apology have had an impact on the

---

[11] Tavuchis, *Mea Culpa*; Aaron Lazare, *On Apology* (Cary, UNITED KINGDOM: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2005), http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/berkeley-ebooks/detail.action?docID=422917; Elazar Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices* (JHU Press, 2001); Melissa Nobles, *The Politics of Official Apologies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Jean-Marc Coicaud and Jibecke Jönsson, "Elements of a Road Map for Politics of Apology," in *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*, ed. Mark Gibney et al. (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 77–91.

[12] Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Young, *The Texture of Memory*; Roy L. Brooks, ed., *When Sorry Isn't Enough: The Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice*, Critical America (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

[13] Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origin," trans. K.W. Forster and D. Ghirardo, *Oppositions*, no. 25 (1982): 20–51; Alois Riegl, "Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalpflege," Review, Mitteilungen der K. K. Zentralkommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale, 1905, https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/2813/.

[14] Tavuchis, *Mea Culpa*; Lazare, *On Apology*.

[15] Roy L. Brooks, "The Age of Apology," in *When Sorry Isn't Enough: The Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice*, ed. Roy L. Brooks, Critical America (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 14–15,

public and private spheres of individuals. The cult of apology is situated within this boom of apology, a trend that has been followed by the multiplication of apology scholarship starting in the 90s.[16] Moving beyond words, I argue that the age of apology has been transformed into a cult by tapping into the built environment. The cultish aspect of apologies dwells in the fissures between words and buildings. Rather than resonating with it, this dissertation unfolds the complex and often contradictory relationship between textual apologies and the built environment. After being set in stone, apologies acquire a new meaning and temporal dimension, opening the way for object fetishization and ritual. Like any object in public space, 'built apologies' can be visited, reproduced, repurposed, adored, rejected, and vandalized. These object-based rituals, repeated over time and in disparate places around the world, bear the marks of a cult.

By analyzing the cult of apology as a widespread global phenomenon, my dissertation contributes not only to the understanding of contemporary memorialization, but also to the ways in which different societies deal with past traumas. Looking at the effect that built apologies can have on the surrounding environment, on the actors involved, and on historical narratives, I examine the material aspects of the rite of apology. Historically, my work traces the origin of the cult of apology back to the postwar inattention and later confrontation with the Holocaust. Spatially, the cult of apology begins with post-Holocaust Europe, the starting point of apology as a trope. From here, apology migrated into the post-colonial condition and expanded its influence beyond the West.

Apology as Field of Study

Taking into account memory and memorial studies, my research combines traditionally separate fields of inquiry with multidisciplinary scholarship on apology. I look to historian Kerwin Klein and philosopher Paul Ricoeur, who discuss the rise of memory in the context of the crisis of historiography in the late twentieth century. Klein reads the upsurge of interest in memory as part of an unconscious return to the mystical roots of history, while Ricoeur examines the neglected role of forgetting. Both historicize modern memory as a near pathology in which one can find intrinsically modern dilemmas.[17] The cult of apology is one such dilemma, which I inflect through Hannah Arendt's and Jacques Derrida's works on forgiveness, thus opening up a new way of looking at

---

http://site.ebrary.com/lib/berkeley/Doc?id=10032562; Brooks, *When Sorry Isn't Enough*; John C. Torpey, ed., *Politics and the Past: On Repairing Historical Injustices*, World Social Change (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003); John C. Torpey, *Making Whole What Has Been Smashed: On Reparations Politics* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2006).

[16] To point out a few examples: Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Jacques Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, Thinking in Action (London ; New York: Routledge, 2001); Edwin L. Battistella, *Sorry about That: The Language of Public Apology* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Daniël Cuypers et al., eds., *Public Apology between Ritual and Regret.: Symbolic Excuses on False Pretenses or True Reconciliation out of Sincere Regret?* (Amsterdam/New York: Editions Rodopi, 2013), http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/berkeley-ebooks/detail.action?docID=1402866; Michael Cunningham, *States of Apology* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014); Mark Gibney et al., *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Danielle Celermajer, *The Sins of the Nation and the Ritual of Apologies* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[17] Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse," *Representations*, no. 69 (2000): 127–50, https://doi.org/10.2307/2902903; Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*.

memorials as techniques to create new beginnings.[18] Pierre Nora's, James E. Young's, and Andreas Huyssen's works on memorialization are a point of departure to reassess memorials as historiographical artifacts. Rooted in the late 80s and 90s, these works were fundamental in identifying a commemorative shift from the heroes to the victims within a global discourse of memory.[19] This dissertation examines the increasing demands to see perpetrators apologize for their crimes and breaks down the old binary divide between heroes and victims to consider the effects of guilt, forgiveness, and reparation in contemporary memorialization.

While I am indebted to the literature on apology, it takes us only so far. For instance, J. L. Austin analyzes apologies as performative utterances, Erving Goffman and Nicholas Tavuchis examine apologies as social interactions, Edwin Battistella studies apologies as narratives, and the works of Elazar Barkan, John Torpey, and Melissa Nobles reflect the growing concern on the role of apologies within transitional justice studies.[20] However, none of these works examine how apologies materialize (beyond words, speech, and text) in the form of memorials. My dissertation is the first scholarly work to address memorials as apologies, ushering both apologies and memorials into a new domain of consideration. Be it as an offering of an apology or as a demand for apology, memorials have come to be part of what has been understood as the apologizing ritual. These 'apologetic memorials' play a central role in the expanded understanding of apologies as a multidimensional phenomenon. Engaging with Carl L. Becker's and Mircea Eliade's works on the shifting temporalities of modernity, I argue that, within a visual culture that has long forgotten its oral traditions, apologetic memorials represent something that would otherwise be immaterial.[21] Apologies are speech acts by nature. Embedded in the fleeting present, they lack the potential to endure without the help of textual inscription and visual representation. While in the past apologies had been passed on to the future mainly as words, within our increasingly disposable textual and visual culture, built apologies respond to the growing demand to see, feel, encounter, and touch apologies. As such, apologetic memorials act as reliquaries of a secular ritual that can be reenacted. Given that memorials are objects grounded in the everydayness of public space, they act as liminal spaces that can bind the special space that we deem proper for memory with the contingency of

---

[18] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 2nd ed (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, Penguin Classics (New York, N.Y: Penguin Books, 2006); Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*.

[19] Pierre Nora, ed., *Rethinking France = Les Lieux de Mémoire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7–24, https://doi.org/10.2307/2928520; Young, *The Texture of Memory*; Huyssen, *Twilight Memories*; Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, Cultural Memory in the Present (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2003).

[20] J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, William James Lectures 1955 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962); Erving Goffman, *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order* (New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publishers, 2010); Tavuchis, *Mea Culpa*; Battistella, *Sorry about That*; Elazar Barkan and Alexander Karn, eds., *Taking Wrongs Seriously: Apologies and Reconciliation*, Cultural Sitings (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2006); Elazar Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Torpey, *Making Whole What Has Been Smashed*; Torpey, *Politics and the Past*; Nobles, *The Politics of Official Apologies*.

[21] Carl Becker, "What Is Historiography?," *The American Historical Review* 44, no. 1 (1938): 20–28, https://doi.org/10.2307/1840848; Carl L. Becker, "What Is Evidence? The Relativist View—'Everyman His Own Historian,'" in *The Historian as Detective: Essays on Evidence*, ed. Robin W. Winks, 1st ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1969); Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return: Cosmos and History*, Bollingen Series 46 (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2005).

ordinary life. Unpacking this liminality, I build on Goffman and Henri Lefebvre's work to explicate the role of built apologies in secular societies.[22] Apologetic memorials become constitutive elements of the apologetic exchange that makes these gestures permanent in space, keeps the apologetic dialogue open in time through commemoration, recalls the victims and the offense, expands the apology's public, and creates a record for the future.

If there is one thing that most of the scholarship on apology has in common, it is a measured distrust of the sincerity of apologies and a warning against their overuse as empty political ritual. At the same time, most of these works share an interest in the therapeutic qualities of apologies. I position myself on the more skeptical side of this balance, and argue that apology's adoption of memorial aesthetics should be examined with critical distance. I developed this view because my interest in the material components of apologies emerged out of a study of contemporary memorials, and not the other way around. Looking at the way memorials perform in everyday life shifted my attention from their memory work to their work as apologies.

Apology as Method

Since apologies and memorialization are inherently interdisciplinary topics, my work incorporates methods, readings, and theories from a vast array of humanistic disciplines, particularly postcolonial theory, Holocaust and human rights scholarship, and debates about justice, recognition, reparation, and morality. My archival and field research combines methods drawn from architectural history and the humanities –close reading, literary interpretation, and storytelling–, which I apply to the formal analysis of built and unbuilt memorials and their urban contexts. This formal analysis is complemented with ethnographic interviews with designers, experts, and site visitors, as well as participant observation of both commemorative events and what has been called 'apology activism.' This allows me to study memorials as objects and consider the practices that surround these objects. Doing so helps correct architectural history's bias for studying the design and construction of buildings, often ignoring the afterlives of the interactions between the building and its users, as well as between the site and its context. This is particularly true for the literature on memorials, which is based on the study of isolated objects. Thus, my dissertation contributes to the historiography of memorials by examining not only built memorials, but also present practices, and in some cases future designs. These findings are firmly grounded in space and time by the urban and cultural contexts of my cases.

Given that the multiplication of apologies across nations over the past three decades has started to congeal into a global cult of apology, I use representative –rather than comprehensive– cases across the world to analyze apology's range of physical manifestations. Between January 2017 and May 2018, I completed 17 months of fieldwork in San Francisco, Berlin, and Buenos Aires, working on five main sites. I found that, in Berlin, apologies were torn between the ubiquitous presence of sites that apologize for the crimes against humanity during World War II, in particular

[22] Goffman, *Relations in Public*; Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York: Overlook Press, 1973); Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life* (London: Verso, 2008).

the Holocaust, and the absence of a comprehensive apology and recognition for German colonialism in Africa, Samoa, Tsingtao, and beyond. In the San Francisco Bay Area, I discovered that apology activism was oriented towards impeding the derogation of the 1988 Civil Liberties Act that officially apologized for and recognized the unlawful incarceration of Japanese and Japanese American citizens during World War II. And finally, I turned to Argentina to examine a widespread cultural hostility towards the redemptive promises of apologies. Apologies have a significantly different meaning in each one of these cities, which allowed me to make distinctions. In other words, my method is essentially comparative. By closely examining the profoundly distinct effects of contemporary material apologies across different geographies and cultural contexts, the grounded effects of the global cult of apology can be understood.

Chronologically, the dissertation is centered in the period spanning from the 1980s to the present, the era when the memorials, sites, and museums that I study were conceived and developed. Temporally, there are two contradictory forces that shape my work. On the one hand is apology's attempt to close contentious chapters of the past and inaugurate new beginnings; on the other hand are the multiple practices that try to impede this closure. Writing this dissertation was thus an exercise in tracing unfolding narratives without a clear conclusion or end. Scholarship on the contemporary has long dealt with this paradox, which presents practical obstacles, including rapid obsolescence and looming irrelevance.[23] In my case, it means that I wrote about unfolding objects, which presented varying degrees of instability. Put differently, my case studies were –and in most cases still are– under transformation. Because memory, reparation, and recognition are never-ending processes, I foresee that the memorials I wrote about will change –some more than others– in the coming years. However, I believe that the close analysis of these chapters will provide the appropriate frameworks to understand these cases, whatever shape they take in the future.

Apology as Power

Examined through the lens of apology, contemporary memorials can be analyzed as active agents in social struggles that go beyond the need to remember. In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Michel de Certeau interprets human modes of behavior as an interplay between strategies and tactics: the powerful use 'strategies' based on the control of space, while the subaltern (others) rely on 'tactics' to maneuver time. According to de Certeau, strategies follow a functional rationality, while tactics follow spontaneous trajectories.[24] Even though this framework has been criticized for its reductive worldview, de Certeau's mode of thinking sheds light on the effect that apologies can have on power

[23] Paul Rabinow, *Unconsolable Contemporary: Observing Gerhard Richter* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017); Paul Rabinow and Anthony Stavrianakis, *Designs on the Contemporary: Anthropological Tests* (Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press, 2014); Paul Rabinow, "Midst Anthropology's Problems," in *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics, and Ethics as Anthropological Problems*, ed. Aihwa Ong and Stephen J. Collier (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2005), 40–53.
[24] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

structures.[25] Because apologies can be used both by the powerful as offerings or propaganda and by the subaltern as demands, they can function as strategies *and* tactics. They work with and in time, as the right timing can be crucial for the success of an apology, but also rely on space to convey their message. It is this –the spatial dimension of apology– which this research effort tackles. Throughout this dissertation, I reveal that not only institutions and agents of power –generally the 'guilty'– can transform space to convey apologies, but that ethnic minorities, subaltern groups, and grassroots activists can also make use of space to demand and even resist apologies. Because apologies can shift prevalent power dynamics within the built environment, I examine them from the perspective of the social production of space.[26]

Apology as Narrative

Memorials and the Cult of Apology explores the continuities and discontinuities between textual apologies and physical memorials. Delving into the dimensions of text that remain untranslatable to space, and inversely, analyzing the spatial attributes that remain resistant to language, it engages with fundamental dilemmas of architectural history. The lens of apology tests architecture's capacity to represent or give a spatial dimension to the past and narrate stories of reconciliation. Thus, in essence, this dissertation is about how story-telling affects the meaning and production of space and vice versa –how space shapes narratives. This adds another dimension to the multiple meanings of apology, this time not as defense or acknowledgment of a wrongdoing, but as a story. Nicholas Tavuchis stresses this idea in connection with apology's Greek root *apologos*. He argues that "[a]n apology is a special kind of enacted *story* whose remedial potential, unlike that of an account, stems from the acceptance by the aggrieved party of an admission of iniquity and defenselessness."[27] Tavuchis makes this statement in the context of this claim that apologies are different than excuses, but what I want to stress here is the narrative dimension of apologies. Even though the identification of the cult of apology is based on the extra-textual qualities of apologies, it is necessary to keep in mind that, as objects, apologetic memorials tell stories about the past. In many cases, they carry these stories where words falter. However, objects speak differently than words. Built apologies construct non-textual narratives about the past that can be remembered, reenacted, and experienced.

Much has been written about the selective nature of memory, and of memorials in particular.[28] Placing a certain narrative in space necessarily involves the elision of the multiplicity of

---

[25] Harry D. Harootunian, *History's Disquiet: Modernity, Cultural Practice, and the Question of Everyday Life*, Wellek Library Lectures (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Margaret Crawford, "Introduction," in *Everyday Urbanism*, ed. John Chase and John Kaliski, Expanded ed (New York: Monacelli Press, 2008), 6–11.
[26] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford, OX, UK ; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell, 1991).
[27] Tavuchis, *Mea Culpa*, 18.
[28] Sigmund Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. James Strachey, Anna Freud, and Angela Richards, vol. Volume XIV (1914-1916): (London: Hogarth Press, 1966), 237–58; Nora, "Between Memory and History"; Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*; Young, *The Texture of Memory*; Jelin, *Monumentos, Memoriales y Marcas Territoriales*, ed. Elizabeth Jelin and Victoria Langland, Colección Memorias de La Represión 5 (Madrid : [Buenos Aires] : [New York?]: Siglo Veintiuno de España Editores ; Siglo Veintiuno de Argentina

viewpoints inherent in every human event and every historical account of it. The same can be said about apologetic memorials. As physical manifestations of apologies, these objects embody particular narratives about a community's position regarding the past. That the acknowledgment of a nation's wrongdoings has become a staple of civilization does not mean that post-Holocaust history has no winners and losers. Apologetic memorials exist to balance out these stories, to create new narratives of reconciliation and forgiveness against the ever-present menace of retaliation and vengeance.

If stories are the way in which we carry the past into the future, apologetic memorials portray stories that settle historical injustices in an attempt to prevent the past from being used as justification for future violence. As constructed narratives of the past, apologies are also subject to what Hayden White defined as 'modes of historical emplotment'. The narrative modes in which built apologies present themselves throughout this dissertation range from the tragic self-deprecating story of contemporary Germans dealing with the legacy of Nazism to the romantic drama of self-identification of ethnic minorities in Berlin and San Francisco.[29] It follows that there is more than one way to emplot an apology. In other words, apologies are more than just pathos. In the following chapters, I examine these storytelling nuances through a close analysis of the objects and sites designed to embody these narratives and the actors behind them.

Chapter one, ***"The Cult of Apology",*** lays the groundwork for a multi-sited case study of the cult of apology. Building on two instances of apologies that have resulted in memorials –the Max Planck Society's apology for its role under Nazism and Japan's apology to South Korea for 'comfort women'– this chapter unpacks the relationship between textual apologies and memorials. The fact that the definition of the cult of apology constitutes the inaugural chapter of my dissertation should not be read as a reflection on the nature of my research, which has followed an inductive method based on extended periods of time doing fieldwork and archival research. The cult of apology is not a prepackaged theoretical framework that I have applied to case studies across the globe. On the contrary, it is a interpretative lens that emerged from my research which has allowed me to understand a new dimension of contemporary memorialization.

Based on case studies, the following five chapters analyze a set of forms in which apologies manifest themselves in the built environment. **Chapter two**, ***"Building Apologies",*** traces the origin of the cult of apology in expressions of atonement for the Holocaust and analyzes the representation of the perpetrators in Berlin's *Topography of Terror,* a museum in the former Gestapo, SA, SS, and SD headquarters. Originally a memorial to the victims of the Holocaust created in the early 80s, it is now a documentation center about the 'desk-bound' murderers: bureaucrats like Adolf Eichmann, who arranged forced deportations and commanded killing squads across Europe from their desks in Berlin. The architecture of the site, the main exhibition, and visitors' experiences become inseparable dimensions to tackle the changing meaning of the *Topography of Terror*. The chapter examines the drawings, models, and writings of three distinct architectural competitions for

---

Editores ; Social Science Research Council, [Panel Regional de América Latina], 2003); Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

[29] Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Fortieth-anniversary edition (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014).

the *Topography of Terror*, the curatorial material of three different versions of the main exhibition, three decades of visitor book entries, the observation of contemporary uses, and interviews. Based on this material, this chapter analyzes the impact that ongoing processes of German apology, reparation, and collective guilt have had on the shift of the Gestapo-Terrain from a focus on the victims to the perpetrators.

Chapter three, ***"Competing Apologies",*** looks at the struggle to create memorials to remember Germany's colonization of Africa and reveals how Holocaust repentance has occluded other dimensions of the German past. After decades of colonial amnesia, recent demands for an official German apology to Namibia for the Nama and Herrero genocide have allowed veiled memories to resurface. Starting from the place of an absent memorial and a pending apology –the site where the Berlin Conference was held in 1884–, the chapter tours the topography of the remnants of German colonialism in Berlin. Following the demands of the German Black community to build a memorial on the infamous site of the "scramble for Africa," the chapter combines personal archives, city planning documents, exhibition catalogs, street renaming minutes, pamphlets, political art, interviews, and on-site observation to describe an unfolding memorialization and reparation process. Only two blocks separate the *Topography of Terror* and the site of the Berlin Conference. Side by side, chapters two and three serve to examine tensions surrounding the representation of German apologies.

Chapter four, ***"Demanding Apologies",*** focuses on the future memorial for the *Tanforan Assembly Center* –a former Japanese American Incarceration Camp in San Francisco– and the demand of victims and their families to extend the official apology beyond mere words. A series of on-site historic plaques and an exhibition of Dorothea Lange's incarceration photographs at a nearby train station serve as background to study the development of the new memorial. The design and iconography of the future Tanforan memorial –a figurative bronze surrounded by a landscaped memorial plaza– are analyzed alongside the motivations of the main actors that have shaped it: a group of memory activists, a transit agency, and a shopping mall developer. The Holocaust trope wends its way to Tanforan through the use of 'internment' euphemisms, which local memory activists compare to Nazi-camp euphemisms. "Demanding Apologies" argues that these past and future commemorative interventions reveal the tensions between an unsettled memorial landscape and the Japanese American community's ongoing demands for apology.

Chapter five, *"Forgiving Apologies",* analyzes how Argentine post-dictatorial struggles for justice challenge the cult of apology. With the slogan "Neither forgiving nor forgetting," the annual memory march that takes place in Buenos Aires sets the tone for a strong resistance against apologies, which was shaped during Argentina's transitional justice period starting in 1983. The chapter examines the design debates, actors, and urban context of the Higher School of Mechanics of the Navy (also known as ESMA for its Spanish initials). ESMA is the *locus* of the official apology. It was here where, in 2004, Argentina's president apologized for the state's crimes committed during the military dictatorship (1976-1983). Fixing his words in stone, he expropriated the 42-acre lot form the Navy to transform it into a memorial. Widely known as 'our Auschwitz,' ESMA reveals the influence of the cult of apology even in contexts that reject forgiveness.

In contrast to these official gestures, seemingly uncurated remains of former clandestine detention centers make up most of the memorial landscape of Buenos Aires. **Chapter six, *"Resisting Apologies",*** examines one such site: Club Atlético. Resisting design abstractions and narratives of apology, here archaeology and forensic architecture are used to preserve the site as material evidence for future trials against perpetrators. As in previous chapters, in Club Atlético, apology and the Holocaust appear entangled. Inscribed on the sloping terrain of the site is a silhouette of the disappeared. As the main symbol for the post-dictatorship justice and recognition campaign, the silhouette was inspired by a Polish artist's poster about Auschwitz. By examining the effect of the official apology in this counter-apologetic site, this final chapter argues that resistance to forgiveness conveys a reflection on the materiality of the memory sites. Resisting abstraction, therapeutic narratives, and conventional memorial design, sites like Club Atlético play a critical role in questioning the expansion of the cult of apology.

Apology as End

Finally, what can we learn from the cult of apology? There are potentialities and dangers to this expanding global phenomenon. The seduction of the cult of apology is based on its purportedly twofold healing powers stemming from the reparation for historical injustices and the restoration of a shared sense of humanity. Apologies are meant to ease the pain of an injustice and repair the victims. Extending the apologetic action in space and time, apologetic memorials are intended to transform these expressions of remorse into long-lasting symbols of national, and sometimes transnational, reconciliation. Despite their power, the shortcomings of apologies are manifold: forgiveness can elicit forgetting and the new beginnings promised by apologies can easily slip into an empty rhetoric of reconciliation in the face of persistent injustices. For example, in response to the Max Planck Society's apology for the crimes committed in the name of science by its forebear during the National Socialist regime (the Kaiser Wilhelm Society), Jona Laks, a survivor of the Mengele-Twin experiments, refused to grant forgiveness.[30] During the Max Planck Society's public apology event, she argued that, instead of forgiving, the community of survivors should strive to keep the memories of the atrocities against Jewish people alive.[31] Warning those present not to forget, she added: *"forgiveness erases memory."* [32]

---

[30] Robert Koenig, "Max Planck Offers Historic Apology," *Science*, June 12, 2001, http://www.sciencemag.org/news/2001/06/max-planck-offers-historic-apology; "Hollow Apologies Should Be Avoided," *Nature* 403 (February 24, 2000): 813; Bernd Wirsing, "Not Too Late to Apologize," *Nature* 404 (March 16, 2000): 222. Carola Sachse, "Was Bedeutet 'Entschuldigung'? Die Überlebenden Medizinischer NS-Verbrechen Und Die Max-Planck-Gesellschaft," *Berichte Zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 34, no. 3 (n.d.): 224–41, https://doi.org/10.1002/bewi.201101525.

[31] Max Planck Gesellschaft, "Symposium in Berlin. Biomedical Sciences and Human Experimentation at Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes The Auschwitz Connection. Speeches given on the Occasion of the Opening," 2001, https://www.mpg.de/history/kws-under-national-socialism.

[32] Jona Laks, "'To Remember Is the Warning We Have Been given against Forgetting' Speech given by the Chairwoman of the 'Organization of the Mengele Twins', Tel Aviv" (Max Planck Gesellschaft, 2001), 16, https://www.mpg.de/history/kws-under-national-socialism.

The opposite can be true as well. During the same event, Eva Mozes Kor, a member of Children of Auschwitz Nazi Deadly Lab Experiments Survivors (C.A.N.D.L.E.S.) accepted the apology. Directing her response to humankind in general, she declared: *"Forgive your worst enemy. It will heal your soul and set you free."* [33] Taking into account both these responses to the Max Planck Society's public apology, I suggest that the cult of apology should not be essentialized as either positive or negative; rather, it should be regarded as a method for analyzing the role that the material world – objects, monuments, memorials, museums, and buildings– can play in processes of reconciliation, reparation, and redistribution. Acknowledging both the potentials and the dangers of built apologies, the cult of apology can offer a new lens to examine the built environment and its relationship to current and past struggles for recognition.

[33] Max Planck Gesellschaft, "Symposium in Berlin. Biomedical Sciences and Human Experimentation at Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes The Auschwitz Connection. Speeches given on the Occasion of the Opening," 2001, https://www.mpg.de/history/kws-under-national-socialism; Sachse, "Was Bedeutet 'Entschuldigung'?," 225.

[This page intentionally left blank.]

CHAPTER 1

The Cult of Apology

Apology and Memory

Apology and Forgetting

In 2001, the president of the Max Planck Society, Hubert Markl, apologized for the research abuses that the Max Planck Society's forbear –the Kaiser Wilhelm Society– was involved with during National Socialist regime. As *Science Magazine* reported, during the opening ceremony of a symposium on human experimentation, and in the presence of eight survivors of human experimentation in Nazi murder, concentration, and forced labor camps, Markl offered: "*the deepest regret, compassion, and shame at the fact that crimes of this sort were committed, promoted, and not prevented within the ranks of German scientists."*[1] Although Markl was the first president of the Max Planck Society without academic lineage to Nazi science, his apology did not only emerge out of a personal and institutional reckoning with the past, but it was offered against a specific political background. The previous decades had been witness to a shift within the German scientific community as direct bonds to Nazism and loyalties to Third Reich scientists had been severed by the passing of time and the formation of a new post-1968 generation of scientists. Consequently, the 2001 apology of the Max Planck Society came in the context of growing pressures within the German and international scientific communities for German science to come to terms with its past.[2]The Max Planck Society's apology was not the only measure taken to confront the institution's past: Markl's apology speech was part of an extensive research program (1997-2007) funded by the Max Planck Society to uncover the ties between the Kaiser Wilhelm Society and the Nazi regime. Based on the findings of this program, Markl stated, that *"there is scientific evidence proving beyond the shadow of a doubt that directors and employees at Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes co-masterminded and sometimes even actively participated in the crimes of the Nazi regime. ... The Max Planck Society, as the Kaiser Wilhelm Society's 'heir,' must face up to these historical facts and its moral responsibility."*[3]There were two distinct responses to this apology, as historian Carola Sachse analyzes. Eva Mozes Kor, a member of Children of Auschwitz Nazi Deadly Lab Experiment Survivors (C.A.N.D.L.E.S.), accepted the apology and directing her response to humankind

[1] Robert Koenig, "Max Planck Offers Historic Apology," *Science*, June 12, 2001, http://www.sciencemag.org/news/2001/06/max-planck-offers-historic-apology; "Hollow Apologies Should Be Avoided," *Nature* 403 (February 24, 2000): 813; Bernd Wirsing, "Not Too Late to Apologize," *Nature* 404 (March 16, 2000): 222.

[2] Carola Sachse, "Was Bedeutet 'Entschuldigung'? Die Überlebenden Medizinischer NS-Verbrechen Und Die Max-Planck-Gesellschaft," *Berichte Zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 34, no. 3 (n.d.): 224–41, https://doi.org/10.1002/bewi.201101525.

[3] Koenig, "Max Planck Offers Historic Apology," n/p.

declared: *"Forgive your worst enemy. It will heal your soul and set you free."*[4] In contrast, Jona Laks, a survivor of the Mengele-Twin experiments refused to grant forgiveness to the Max Planck Society, arguing that instead of forgiving they should strive for keeping the memories of the atrocities against Jewish people alive. Warning those present not to forget, she added: *"forgiveness erases memory."*[5] Acceptance and refusal are two types of responses in a varying array of reactions towards public apologies. They demonstrate the complex relationship between forgiveness and memory.

Survivor Jona Laks refuses to forgive, because she rightly associates forgiveness with forgetting. That the words 'amnesia' and 'amnesty' share the same Greek root –'*amnēsia',* meaning forgetfulness– confirms Laks' suspicion.[6] Although Hannah Arendt and Paul Ricoeur have argued that it is impossible to forgive without remembering, Laks' refusal to accept Markl's apology is rooted in a common understanding of the work of apologies.[7] Apologies keep the problematic past at bay; in this sense, they are central elements for our political sphere and in particular for transitional justice. The general understanding of apologies is that they domesticate the past by acknowledging some parts of it and suppressing others.[8] Laks's resistance is based on the notion that, by granting her forgiveness, the Max Planck Society would be let 'off the hook,' ceasing its examination into the role of the sciences during the Third Reich, concluding its memory work, and ending its reparation efforts for the victims of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society's crimes.

The close relationship between apology and memory should not prevent us from understanding the force that apologies can have to elicit forgetting. In *Relations in Public,* Erving Goffman argues that one of the elements of an apology is the acknowledgment of the offense. This primary aspect of an apology necessarily involves a recount of the past; in other words, memory. Both parties of the apologetic exchange agree to remember the wrongdoing, at least initially. It is what happens after the apology is offered and forgiveness is granted that paves the way for forgetting. Goffman also states that apologies entail a splitting of the self: the culpable-self, which is in the past, and the atoned-self which is in the present offering the apology. In other words, a dissociation that suggests a temporal limit to the relationship between forgiveness and the retrieval of memory.[9] Jacques Derrida argues that this is problematic, because it would render forgiveness impossible. Since it is the repented-self which is giving the apology, the guilty-self gets 'off the hook'

---

[4] Max Planck Gesellschaft, "Symposium in Berlin. Biomedical Sciences and Human Experimentation at Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes The Auschwitz Connection. Speeches given on the Occasion of the Opening," 2001, https://www.mpg.de/history/kws-under-national-socialism; Sachse, "Was Bedeutet 'Entschuldigung'?," 225.

[5] Jona Laks, "'To Remember Is the Warning We Have Been given against Forgetting' Speech given by the Chairwoman of the 'Organization of the Mengele Twins', Tel Aviv" (Max Planck Gesellschaft, 2001), 16, https://www.mpg.de/history/kws-under-national-socialism.

[6] Paul Ricoeur considers amnesty to be 'institutional forgetting.' He analyzes the affinity between amnesty and amnesia in the section on forgetting and in his Epilogue on forgiving. See: Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 452–506. Similarly, in German the words 'vergeben' and 'vergessen' are also closely related.

[7] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 2nd ed (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting.*

[8] For an in-depth analysis of the contemporary use, meaning, and shortcomings of apologies see: Jean-Marc Coicaud and Jibecke Jönsson, "Elements of a Road Map for Politics of Apology," in *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*, ed. Mark Gibney et al. (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 77–91.

[9] Erving Goffman, *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order* (New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publishers, 2010).

by way of the splitting of the self into past and present.[10] The splitting off of the guilty-self makes forgetting all the more convenient. In an attempt to solve this paradox, Ricoeur shifts attention away from the divided self and argues that what forgiveness does is that it *"releases the agent from its act."*[11] It is not the self which splits, but we are freed from the responsibility for our actions. However, agency is murky, and here again, the risk is to forget the wrongful act once the apologizer is absolved.

Apologies do more than just select and re-narrate the past. At its best, a 'happy apology' –to use J. L. Austin's term– can have the power to prompt new beginnings.[12] A central aspect of a happy apology is the promise not to repeat the wrongdoing. It is this promise which can lead to a successful apology and forgiveness. Promise and new beginnings are central to *The Human Condition,* in which Arendt develops the philosophical concept of the human condition as the *vita activa*, based on labor, work, and action. Human action in its affinity with natality is at the core of the *vita activa*. While as individuals our lives are finite, as a collective birth and re-birth serve as eternal promises of new beginnings. What makes us human is our capacity to begin something new and take responsibility for our actions. In a reversal of what she describes as the humanistic break of totalitarianism in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Arendt argues that the spontaneity and irreversibility of the consequences of our actions are what make us human. To keep the unpredictability of action at bay, Arendt introduces promise –as the binding promise to start something new– and forgiveness – as the unbinding of the responsibility of our actions– as necessary components of the *vita activa*.[13] Drawing on Arendt's analysis of promise and forgiveness as human powers that can bind and unbind the inherent spontaneity and irreversibility of action, Ricoeur argues that binding and unbinding are at play in the exchange of forgiveness.[14] While the acknowledgment of an offense is binding for the apologizer, forgiveness unbinds her from the responsibility for her action. Forgiveness is a fundamental part of Arendt's political thinking, because without it there could be no promise of new beginnings. Here lies the universal allure of apologies: in their promise to offer new beginnings and restitute things and events to a previous state in order to foster reconciliation.

Jona Laks's unwillingness to accept Markl's apology can be understood as a an act of resistance against the unbinding forces of forgiveness, which can lead to forgetting. Well aware of the motives behind the Max Planck Society's official apology, Laks stated:

> We are the victims. You are the present heads of the Max Planck Society. You want 'to clean up the Nazi crimes.' We want to remember, but you as well. In other words, we are asking you to remember what you want to 'clear up' and then perhaps forget. We will remember in any case. Will you forget in any case?[15]

---

[10] Jacques Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, Thinking in Action (London ; New York: Routledge, 2001).
[11] Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 489.
[12] J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, William James Lectures 1955 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).
[13] Arendt, *The Human Condition*; Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Harvest Book (San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1979).
[14] Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 489–93.
[15] Laks, "Speeches Symposium in Berlin," 17.

Apologies' attempts to 'clear up the past', as Jona Laks put it, are what make them so troubling for the victims and so attractive for the wrongdoers. In addition to 'clearing up,' another common way to describe apologies is as 'closing' a chapter of the past. Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann and Mark Gibney argue that individuals, states, and institutions offer apologies in the hope of 'closing' the memory of an incident.[16] When in 2015, Japan agreed to apologize to South Korea for the abuse of Korean women as sex slaves during World War II, in the context of the so called issue of "comfort women," it did so only on the condition that the apology be final.[17] This was explicitly stated by the Foreign Minister of Japan, Fumio Kishida, as the third a final point of the official apology:

> While stating the above, the Government of Japan confirms that *this issue is resolved finally and irreversibly with this announcement*, on the premise that the Government will steadily implement the measures specified in (2) above [refers to a reparation fund of $8.8 million]. In addition, together with the Government of the ROK [Republic of Korea], the Government of Japan *will refrain from accusing or criticizing* each other regarding this issue in the international community, including at the United Nations.[18]

The unbinding power of an apology is stressed here as an explicit requisite for Minister Kishida's statement. It should not be surprising that this apology and its attempt to close this contentious historical chapter between Japan and South Korea failed, as South Korea's recent demands for a new and this time 'heartfelt apology' reveal.[19] Japan's failure to close the sex slave chapter from its past is not an exception, but re-emerges as a common theme in public apologies throughout this study. In the context of this research project, this 'unhappy apology' should serve as a warning not to forget the distinction between the potential power that lies within 'happy apologies' and the overwhelming reality of incomplete, insufficient, and inadequate apologies, like the one that Japan offered to South Korea in 2015.

Apology in the Expanded Field

Apologies are shaped by their content, as much as by the actors involved and the context of the speech act. Following J.L. Austin and Ricoeur, it is important to consider apology not only as a

---

[16] Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann and Mark Gibney, "Introduction: Apologies and the West," in *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 5.
[17] Choe Sang-Hun, "Japan and South Korea Settle Dispute Over Wartime 'Comfort Women,'" *The New York Times*, January 19, 2018, sec. World, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/29/world/asia/comfort-women-south-korea-japan.html; Ankit Panda Diplomat The, "The 'Final and Irreversible' 2015 Japan-South Korea Comfort Women Deal Unravels," The Diplomat, accessed May 9, 2018, https://thediplomat.com/2017/01/the-final-and-irreversible-2015-japan-south-korea-comfort-women-deal-unravels/.
[18] Foreign Minister Kishida (Japan) and Foreign Minister Yun (Republic of Korea), "Announcement by Foreign Ministers of Japan and the Republic of Korea at the Joint Press Occasion" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, December 28, 2015).
[19] Motoko Rich, "Japan Balks at Calls for New Apology to South Korea Over 'Comfort Women,'" *The New York Times*, January 14, 2018, sec. World, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/12/world/asia/japan-south-korea-comfort-women.html.

speech act that is realized in the utterance 'I apologize', but as a transaction between two speech acts: 'I apologize' and 'I forgive you.'[20] This 'apologetic dialogue' manifests itself in the built environment through built but also planned, destroyed, and vandalized memorials, monuments, museums, and markers. This means that apologies can not only be offered in the form of words and buildings; rather, they can be negated, resisted, rejected, ignored, and accepted by the recipient.

The apologetic dialogue is marked by an overwhelming asymmetry; indeed, Ricoeur calls it a 'vertical asymmetry' which masks the reciprocity of the exchange: *"forgiveness spans in an interval between the high and the low, between the great height of the spirit of forgiveness and the abyss of guilt."*[21] The vertical cut into the apologetic dialogue becomes even deeper when we consider that apologies are necessarily conditional, while forgiveness is unconditional. Apologies are always tied to an end: even in the most altruistic cases, atonement is a request for forgiveness. Contrarily, forgiveness breaks with the proportionality of the guilt and the reciprocity of the exchange. Even if forgiving alleviates the burden, the immense guilt is incommensurable when compared to the minute apology. This is why Ricoeur –reading Arendt– describes forgiveness as an act of love, because love in its radicalness breaks the rules of reciprocity and requires the extraordinary.[22]

Japan's apology to Korea brings up the complicated relationship between the two sides of the transaction: the apologizer and the recipient of the apology. In other words, the politics of representation shape the exchange on both sides of the speech act. The first two points of Minister Kishida's apology to the South Korea, which frame the excerpt analyzed in the previous section, shed light on this issue. The Japanese statement incorporates three elements present in most public apologies. First, Minister Kishida started with a general acknowledgment of wrongdoing: *"The issue of comfort women, with an involvement of the Japanese military authorities at that time, was a grave affront to the honor and dignity of large numbers of women, and the Government of Japan is painfully aware of responsibilities from this perspective."* Second, he became the proxy for the Prime Minister's apology: *"As Prime Minister of Japan, Prime Minister Abe expresses anew his most sincere apologies and remorse to all the women who underwent immeasurable and painful experiences and suffered incurable physical and psychological wounds as comfort women."* And third, Minister Kishida gave a promise to heal the victims' 'psychological wounds' through budgetary measures.[23] The victims are referenced through general statements, such as *"large number of women"* and *"to all the women,"* but no victims of sex slavery were present during the apology or at its arrangement. As a political agreement between two male foreign ministers, the Japanese 'rite of apology', as the neoconservative German philosopher Hermann Lübbe calls it, falls short of an honest apology, amongst other things, because it does not fully recognize the victims of its crimes. While the victims were explicitly recognized in words, in action they were excluded.[24] South Korea's recent demand finds grounds for a new apology based on this exact issue; it argues that the government of the impeached former president Park Geun-hye had no right to accept an apology in the name of the surviving comfort women. Park's follower, president Moon Jae-in, appointed a

---

[20] Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, 45–47; Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 485.
[21] Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 483.
[22] Ricoeur, 482.
[23] Foreign Minister Kishida (Japan) and Foreign Minister Yun (Republic of Korea), "Announcement by Foreign Ministers of Japan and the Republic of Korea at the Joint Press Occasion."
[24] Hermann Lübbe, *Ich entschuldige mich: Das neue politische Bußritual* (Siedler Verlag, 2002).

panel of experts who concluded that *"South Korea had failed to represent the victims' demands for Japan to take legal responsibility and offer official reparations."*[25] In other words, apologies are traversed by politics of representation, or more specifically in this case, the political speech circumvented the victims. Who can speak for others? Who can apologize and to whom? Who can forgive, and in the name of whom?

Moreover, the political context of the Japanese apology also serves to discredit its sincerity. Detractors of the Japan-South Korea agreement pointed out that Japan's apology arose more out of the pressure that the US was exercising in order to control the regional powers against North Korea, than out of an honest repentance for Japan's treatment of women of enemy nations during World War II.[26] This episode reveals how rites of apology are being manipulated in order to balance international relations between nations.[27] Lübbe identifies rites of apology as a new, post-Cold-War phenomenon. He argues that what is novel about contemporary rites of apology is that they function within a realm of extended moral responsibility and an expanded notion of victimization. It is no longer a prerogative of those directly involved to apologize for their wrongdoings, as it is no longer an exclusive right of the immediate victims to be at the receiving end of an apology.[28] That in 1998, during a visit to Africa, President Bill Clinton apologized for the slave trade; or that in 2008 the Prime Minister of Australia Kevin Rudd declared a 'National Sorry Day' to apologize for the mistreatment of Australia's indigenous peoples, are just two examples of the temporal expansion of the range of apologies. To return to our initial example, a similar point could be made about Hubert Markl, who apologizes on behalf of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society, an institution that ceased to exist in 1946.

Issues of representation do not play a role solely on the apologizing side, but also on the potentially forgiving side of the apologetic exchange. When Jona Laks refused to accept Markl's apology, she reflected on the limits of her own representation as a survivor of the Mengele experiments:

> *I am a representative of Mengele's victims*. In other words, I am an emissary in the elementary sense of the word –an emissary of those of Mengele's victims who are still alive. An emissary, not a proprietor. And according to the law regarding emissaries in the Jewish code of observances (Halakha) – if I forgive in the name of the dead, I will be going beyond the bounds of the mission that I have taken upon myself to the point of distorting and destroying it. As for those of Mengele's victims who are still alive, those who are members of our organization, *I have received no permission from them to forgive on their behalf. Nor do I as an individual have the right to forgive*.[29]

Jona Laks's refusal to speak for the dead, stands in clear contrast with the temporal expansion of apologies. Apologies are on the rise not necessarily because we have committed more injustices in

---

[25] Rich, "Japan Balks at Calls for New Apology to South Korea Over 'Comfort Women.'"
[26] David Tolbert, "Japan's Apology to South Korea Shows What Public Apologies Should (Not) Do," *Huffington Post* (blog), January 29, 2016, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-tolbert/japans-apology-to-south-k_b_9111566.html.
[27] Lübbe, *Ich entschuldige mich*.
[28] Lübbe.
[29] Laks, "Speeches Symposium in Berlin," 16.

recent decades, but because we are catching up with centuries of colonial dispossession, slavery, and genocide, amongst the countless horrors that humans have inflicted on other human beings and because those harmed have gradually gained access to a public voice. Apologies are working in an expanded field, to a degree that people, institutions, and nations who are decades –and in some case centuries– apart from the wrongdoing are apologizing to inheritors of a fluctuating category of victimhood passed from one generation to the next. The expansion of the apologetic field has blurred the boundaries between what can be considered a sincere apology and the repetition of an empty political ritual, as well as between what can be forgiven and what exceeds the power of pardon.

Material Apologies

Multimedia Apologies

The existing literature on apologies is centered on the analysis of apologies as performance of a speech act, as text, and as means for political reconciliation. This performative way to think about apologies was inaugurated by the work of J.L. Austin, who uses apology as an example of a performative utterance.[30] Goffman continued this line of work in his *Relations in Public*, analyzing the performative work that apologies can do on the individual and in our relationship with various audiences.[31] Loosely following Austin and Goffman, Nicholas Tavuchis' *Mea Culpa* is considered an inaugural work in the field of the sociology of contemporary apology studies. Although Tavuchis creates a system of categorization for apologies that includes collective apologies, his focus is mainly on the meaning, effect, and context of person-to-person apologies.[32] Also focusing mainly on individual apologies, Aaron Lazare's *On Apology* analyzes the restoration and healing powers of apologies from the standpoint of his experience as a psychiatrist.[33]

The textual approach to apologies, as manifested in the work of Edwin Battistella, foregrounds a reading of apologies as part of a body of literature that has its own rules and conventions. This is why this kind of approach often includes a guide for the linguistic diagnosis of apologies. Battistella suggests six questions to probe the sincerity of an apology: *"1) What is the call to apologize? 2) Is the harm named? 3) What is the language of apology? 4) Is the apology really an account? 5) Does the apology lead to reconciliation? and, 6) is the apology felicitous?"*[34] Only the latter two questions are concerned with the context of the apology, while the body of the analysis is centered on the apology as text.

---

[30] Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*.
[31] Goffman, *Relations in Public*.
[32] Nicholas Tavuchis, *Mea Culpa: A Sociology of Apology and Reconciliation* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1991).
[33] Aaron Lazare, *On Apology* (Cary, UNITED KINGDOM: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2005), http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/berkeley-ebooks/detail.action?docID=422917.
[34] Edwin L. Battistella, *Sorry about That: The Language of Public Apology* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 186–87.

Another approach to apologies emerges out of the study of transitional politics and political philosophy. The latter is represented by the works of Hannah Arendt, Jacques Derrida, and Paul Ricoeur on forgiveness, discussed in the previous section.[35] The former comprises a rapidly growing body of scholarship that examines the scope, extent, and consequences of mostly national apologies. Analyzing the political context of apologies, the politics of representation of the exchange, and the possible outcomes of a given apology, these works enlarge the field of action of apologies to the level of international relations.[36] This brief literature review should serve to reveal three aspects of the study of apologies: their multidisciplinarity, their multimediality, and their manifestation as part of an historical phenomenon. First, apologies have been studied from the standpoint of multiple disciplines, which suggest that apology is a multidisciplinary topic of research. Accordingly, the concept of apology operating in an expanded field does not only refer to an expanded temporality and subject, but also to an augmented disciplinary reach. Second, the medium of apology extends beyond text, as the work on apology as performance, apology as ritual, and apology as monetary reparation reveal, which suggests that apology is a multimedia object of study. And, third, the publishing dates of these scholarly approaches reveal that there has been a nearly steady preoccupation with apology and forgiveness since the late 50s (Arendt 1958, Austin 1962, Goffmann 1971). However, after the 90s, and notably starting in the 2000s to the present, the scholarship on apology starts to multiply (Tavuchis 1991, Derrida 1999, Brooks 1999, Ricoeur 2000, Barkan 2001, Torpey 2003, Lazare 2004, Nobles 2008, Gibney et al. 2008, Celermajer 2009, Segaert et al. 2013, Cunningham 2014, Battistella 2014). This tendency is confirmed by the Google Ngram viewer for apology, which shows a steady incline in the usage of the term starting in the late 70s. This suggests that we might be living in what several authors have called the 'age of apology."[37]

[35] Arendt, *The Human Condition*; Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*.
[36] Some notable examples are: Roy L. Brooks, ed., *When Sorry Isn't Enough: The Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice*, Critical America (New York: New York University Press, 1999), http://site.ebrary.com/lib/berkeley/Doc?id=10032562; Elazar Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices* (JHU Press, 2001); Lübbe, *Ich entschuldige mich*; John C. Torpey, ed., *Politics and the Past: On Repairing Historical Injustices*, World Social Change (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003); Mark Gibney et al., *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Melissa Nobles, *The Politics of Official Apologies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Danielle Celermajer, *The Sins of the Nation and the Ritual of Apologies* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Daniël Cuypers et al., eds., *Public Apology between Ritual and Regret.: Symbolic Excuses on False Pretenses or True Reconciliation out of Sincere Regret?* (Amsterdam/New York: Editions Rodopi, 2013), http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/berkeley-ebooks/detail.action?docID=1402866; Michael Cunningham, *States of Apology* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).
[37] Brooks, *When Sorry Isn't Enough*; Gibney et al., *The Age of Apology*.

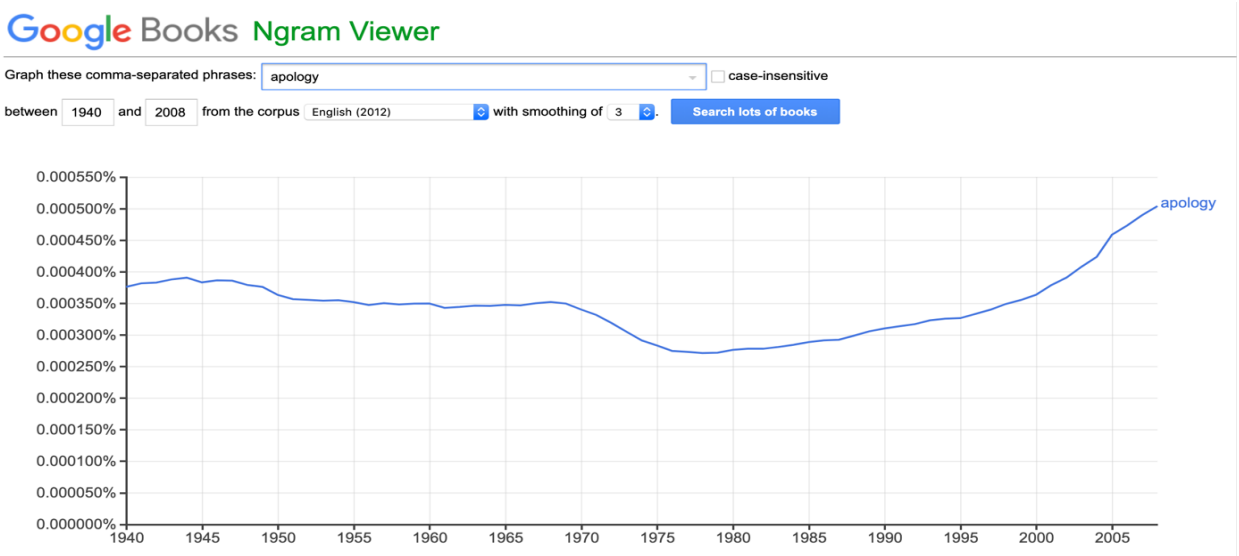


Fig. 1.1. Google Ngram viewer for apology, 1940-2008.

Understanding that apologies are a multidisciplinary, multimedia historical phenomenon, as an architectural historian, I study how apologies have been incorporated into the built environment. I argue that, in the expanded apologetic field, apologies have moved on to new mediums of representation. The temporal and moral expansion of apologies has created the need to express regret in more than just words and, more importantly, to fix the apology in space and time. Within this expanded apologetic field memorials have been invoked to perform those things that apologies seem to fail at: fix narratives in time and space, identify the victims and the perpetrators, and –most importantly– remember. In the context of the rise of the ritual of apologies in the 90s, both sides of the apologetic exchange –repentant states and institutions, as well as victims' collectives– have been using memorials as a deterrent against apologies' inherent forgetfulness.[38] This opens up a new way of looking at memorials. Beyond the traditional function to remember and warn, memorials have come to play a role in the increasing cult of apology. Inversely, the relationship between memorials and apologies allows us to look at a new material dimension of apology. In this sense, this research project is an intervention both in the field of memorial studies and apology scholarship.

Apologetic Memorials

By representing history, memorials play an active role in what John Torpey has labeled 'reparation politics.' Instead of analyzing transitional justice and apologies as separate and opposed ways to confront the past, Torpey argues that transitional justice, reparations, and apologies, as well as memory and memorials –what he calls communicative history– should be understood as sequential steps in a comprehensive definition of 'reparation politics.' According to Torpey, to settle historical injustices successfully, nations ought to follow these steps chronologically, starting with trials and

[38] Several authors agree with this dating of the apology phenomenon. See Gibney et al., *The Age of Apology*; Lübbe, *Ich entschuldige mich*.

ending with memorials.[39] Torpey's approach serves to point out that thinking about memorials as part of reparation politics is not new, given that Truth Commissions have encouraged the erection of memorials as a form of material reparation since the early 90s. What is novel is to examine memorials as actual mediums of the apologetic exchange, and not as the last step in a gradual methodology towards reconciliation. This section discusses how apologies solidify into memorials or, put differently, how memorials can be used to say 'I'm sorry' within the expanded apologetic field.

Let us return to our initial instances, the Max Planck Society and the Japanese apology –two examples of apologetic memorials. In both of these situations, a memorial was part of the apologetic exchange. During his apology, the president of the Max Planck Society, Hubert Markl, described the initiatives that the Max Planck Society organized to *"come to grips with the past."*[40] Amongst these measures, which included the aforementioned research commission, he spoke about two memorials that the institution had created. One is a grave and tombstone for the victims of scientific experiments erected in the Munich cemetery in 1990 (Fig. 1.2.). The Max Planck Society dedicated the memorial when it returned the remains of victims of NS crimes, which had been used as tissue samples and housed in their institutes for more than five decades following World War II.

Fig. 1.2. Gravestone at the Waldfriedhof in Munich erected by the Max Planck Society in 1990 to remember the victims of National Socialism and the abuse they suffered in the name of medical research.

[39] Torpey, *Politics and the Past*.
[40] Hubert Markl, "'The Most Honest Form of Apology Is the Admission of Guilt.' Speech given on the Occasion of the Opening of the Symposium in Berlin. Biomedical Sciences and Human Experimentation at Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes The Auschwitz Connection." (Max Planck Gesellschaft, 2001), 8, https://www.mpg.de/history/kws-under-national-socialism.

Fig. 1.3. (left) General view of the Buch Euthanasia Killings Memorial located on the Berlin-Buch campus of the Max-Planck-Institut für Hirnforschung. The memorial was inaugurated in 2000, based on a design by artist Anna Franziska Schwarzbach, and is entitled "Wenn ich groß bin, dann..." [When I grow up, then…]

Fig. 1.4. (right) Detail of the central sculpture of the Buch Euthanasia Killings Memorial.

The second memorial is a memorial to the victims of 'euthanasia' killings located in the Berlin suburb of Buch. Buch was a place deeply implicated in NS scientific experimentation because it was the seat of several scientific institutions that profited from NS crimes against humanity, amongst them the Hirnforschungsinstitut [Brain Research Institute]. The Max Planck Society, together with the Helmholtz Association and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, dedicated the *Buch Euthanasia Killings Memorial* just a year before Markl's official apology. The memorial is situated in the park surrounding the Berlin-Buch campus of the Max-Delbrück-Centrum für Molekulare Medizin (MDC) (Fig. 1.3.). The center of the memorial is a 107cm cast-iron sculpture by artist Anna Franziska Schwarzbach of a mutilated young child, originally entitled "When I grow up, then…" (1989) (Fig. 1.4.). Schwarzbach rendered the child's face with closed eyes and in soft detail, while the rest of the body appears distorted and presents a rough unpolished surface. The softly rendered face of the child almost conveys a sense of relief and peace, as if death was embraced as an end to the inflicted agony. The sculpture sits atop a plinth, which rests on a rectangular base with three flights of stairs on one side. Three vertical elements are mounted on top of this base, surrounding the sculpture. One of these elements functions as a backdrop for the sculpture and incorporates the *Buch Euthanasia Killings Memorial's* inscription:

> In memory of the victims of National Socialist euthanasia crimes.
> From 1939 to 1944, scientists from the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Brain Research in Berlin Buch used brains from murder victims for research purposes. As duty and warning to scientists and doctors to ethical action, to the respect of the inalienable rights of all people, and to the exercise of social responsibility.

As a symbol of the scientific community's awareness of the murderous experiments, the other two vertical elements are narrower and positioned on one side of the sculpture, creating the effect of partial spatial enclosure and limited concealment. This orients visitors to the inscription: the first sentence is a dedication to the victims, the second is an acknowledgment of the crimes, and the third is a warning for present scientific research. While the memorial sits on one side of a footpath, three cubes made from the same material as the memorial's base extend the space across the other side of the path. By creating a perpendicular axis to the footpath, the memorial draws attention to itself, suggesting different modes of engagement: strolling along the path, sitting and contemplating the memorial from a distance and entering it by stepping into the enclosed space on the base. On the occasion of the memorial's inauguration, the heads of the scientific institutions involved in its creation, including Markl, offered speeches of acknowledgment of the scientific crimes committed during Nazism and outlined measures to confront and repair this past, amongst them the memorial.[41] In their acknowledgment of past crimes, expression of remorse, and promise to repair, these speeches in conjunction with the memorial can be read as apologies. When Markl offered his official apology speech a year later, he actually referenced this memorial as a proof of his sincerity and commitment to atone for the Kaiser Wilhelm Society's past.[42]

In contrast, in the case of the Japanese apology, a memorial was not built, but the apology attempted to spur the removal of an existing memorial. The agreement between Japan and South Korea, which led to the 2015 apology, included a statement about a particular memorial, a comfort women memorial placed in front of the Japanese embassy in Seoul called *Statue of Peace*. Following the three-point apology of Japanese Foreign Minister Kishida, Foreign Minister Yun agreed to uphold Korea's side of the agreement, promising to solve the issue of the memorial:

> The Government of the ROK [Republic of Korea] acknowledges the fact that the Government of Japan is concerned about the statue built in front of the Embassy of Japan in Seoul from the viewpoint of preventing any disturbance of the peace of the mission or impairment of its dignity, and will strive to solve this issue in an

[41] Max-Delbrück-Centrum für Molekulare Medizin (MDC) Berlin-Buch, Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, "Wissenschaftsorganisationen errichten Mahnmal | Max-Delbrück-Centrum für Molekulare Medizin (Press release)" (Max-Delbrück-Centrum für Molekulare Medizin (MDC) Berlin-Buch, October 14, 2000), https://www.mdc-berlin.de/de/news/archive/2000/20001014-wissenschaftsorganisationen_errichten_mahn; Ernst-Ludwig Winnacker, "Rede des DFG-Präsident anlässlich der Einweihung des Mahnmals zur Erinnerung an die Opfer nationalsozialistischer Euthanasieverbrechen in Berlin-Buch." (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, October 14, 2000), http://www.dfg.de/download/pdf/dfg_im_profil/reden_stellungnahmen/2000/rede_win_einweihung_mahnmal_2000_10_14.pdf.

[42] Markl, "Speeches Symposium in Berlin," 8–9.

appropriate manner through taking measures such as consulting with related organizations about possible ways of addressing this issue.[43]

Fig. 1.5. Statue of Peace in front of the Japanese Embassy in Seoul, erected in 2011.

The risk of this apology is not only that it could erase the memory of the comfort women, but that it could also erase its memorial. The memorial, built in 2011, is a bronze statue of a young woman sitting on a chair next to an empty chair that invites passersby to sit next to her.[44] Korean artists Kim Seo-kyung and Kim Eun-sung designed the memorial, incorporating various layers of symbolism within the composition (Fig. 1.5.).[45] The visual cues of the *Statue of Peace* attempt to represent history construed as memory and demand apology at the same time. Looking at the past, the memorial remembers the more than 200,000 women who were enslaved by the Japanese Imperial Army. At the same time, it looks into the future, demanding not only apology, but also justice and reparation. The memorial is part of an ongoing weekly protest, the "Wednesday demonstration" organized by *The Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan* [also called Korean Council]. Since 1992, the Korean Council and its many supporters have been gathering in front of the

[43] Foreign Minister Kishida (Japan) and Foreign Minister Yun (Republic of Korea), "Announcement by Foreign Ministers of Japan and the Republic of Korea at the Joint Press Occasion."
[44] I want to thank Amanda Su, whose work on the comfort women memorials inspired this instance.
[45] For a detailed analysis of the comfort women debate, see: Elizabeth W. Son, *Embodied Reckonings: "Comfort Women," Performance, and Transpacific Redress* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2018); Kimura, *Unfolding the "Comfort Women" Debates*; Soh, *The Comfort Women*.

Japanese Embassy in Seoul every Wednesday to demand justice, apology, and reparation for the victims of the Japanese slave trade. According to the Korean Council, the objectives of the "Wednesday demonstration" are to:

1. *Acknowledge* the war crime.
2. Reveal the whole *truth* about the crimes of military sexual slavery.
3. Prompt an official *apology* by the Japanese Government.
4. Make legal *reparations*.
5. *Punish* those responsible for the war crime.
6. Accurately *record* the crime in history textbooks.
7. Erect a *memorial* for the victims of military sexual slavery and establish a *historical museum*.[46]

This list is a 'happy apology.' The Korean Council demands acknowledgment and truth about the crimes committed and punishment for those responsible. It seeks an official apology and legal reparations for the victims and their families. And, finally, it strives to keep the memory of the wrongdoings and the victims alive through the establishment of a record, a memorial, and a historical museum. While apology is stated here in the third point as a demand for a declaration of 'I'm sorry,' once could consider all of the above-mentioned points as constituent elements of a wholesome happy apology. By acknowledging that justice, reparation, and memorialization are part of the apology that Japan owes to the sex slavery victims, the Korean Council creates its own definition of apology. This new and complex definition of apology allows the Korean Council to demand an apology without giving up on justice, reparation, and memory. It is the difference between the Korean Council's and Jona Laks's understanding of apology that allows the former group to demand an apology and the latter to reject one. In other words, Jona Laks refuses to forgive because she maintains a conventional understanding of apology as a speech act that may or may not be sincere and that has the power to elicit forgetting and forgiving without justice. On the other hand, the Korean Council example shows that apology does not have to mean forgetting. In fact, apology can actively incorporate remembering in the form of documentation, memorialization, and education. Following the Korean Council's example, this new type of complex multilayered, multimedia apology is what this dissertation examines.

During the commemoration of the 1,000th "Wednesday demonstration," on December 14th 2011, the *Statue of Peace* was inaugurated on a small street located only 100 feet away from the Japanese embassy. The memorial sparked majar controversy between Japan and South Korea, which ultimately led to the aforementioned 2015 apology and agreement between the two Foreign Ministers. Frustrating Japan's desire to leave the conflict behind, the "Wednesday demonstration" did not recede after the agreement. The Korean Council did not accept Japan's 2015 apology, as they considered it incomplete because it failed to incorporate all seven points of their demand. Further disavowing the bilateral agreement, the *Statue of Peace* was never removed from the proximity

[46] These objectives are stated on the Korean Council's webpage: http://www.womenandwar.net/contents/general/general.asp?page_str_menu=174 (accessed 07/30/2018)

of the Japanese Embassy in Seoul, and in 2016 a second one was added in the vicinity of the Japanese Consulate in Busan.[47] Extending the demand for apology far beyond the Japanese embassy and consulate in South Korea, replicas of the *Statue of Peace*, and other comfort women memorials, have popped up in buses around Seoul and in cities across the world, including San Francisco, CA; Glendale, CA; Palisades Park and Fort Lee, New Jersey; and recently also in Europe, in Wiesent, Bavaria.[48]

Fig. 1.6. Replica of the Statue of Peace on a bus in Seoul to commemorate the 5th International Memorial Day for Comfort Women, August 2017.

Fig. 1.7. Replica of the Statue of Peace in Glendale, CA, inaugurated in 2013.

The instance of the comfort women memorials reveals how memorials have been used to demand apologies. In fact, once the Korean Council knew that it had rankled the Japanese Government, they were able to use these memorials as threats. Looked at together, the memorials of the Max Planck Society and the 'comfort women' memorials reveal how apology and

[47] Kohei Sakai, "South Korea Promises Efforts on Comfort Women Statue," *Nikkei Asian Review*, February 18, 2017, https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/South-Korea-promises-efforts-on-comfort-women-statue2; Kenichi Yamada, "South Korean City Offers Protection to 'comfort Women' Statue," *Nikkei Asian Review*, July 1, 2017, https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/South-Korean-city-offers-protection-to-comfort-women-statue2; Choe Sang-Hun, "'Comfort Woman' Statue Reinstated Near Japan Consulate in South Korea," *The New York Times*, December 22, 2017, sec. World, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/30/world/asia/south-korea-comfort-women-wwii-japan.html.

[48] Elise Hu, "'Comfort Woman' Memorial Statues, A Thorn In Japan's Side, Now Sit On Korean Buses," NPR.org, November 13, 2017, https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2017/11/13/563838610/comfort-woman-memorial-statues-a-thorn-in-japans-side-now-sit-on-korean-buses; Justin McCurry, "Buses in Seoul Install 'comfort Women' Statues to Honour Former Sex Slaves," *The Guardian*, August 16, 2017, sec. Cities, http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2017/aug/16/buses-seoul-comfort-women-statues-korea-japan; Jacey Fortin, "'Comfort Women' Statue in San Francisco Leads a Japanese City to Cut Ties," *The New York Times*, January 20, 2018, sec. World, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/25/world/asia/comfort-women-statue.html; Sally McGrane, "An Important Statue for 'Comfort Women' in San Francisco," *The New Yorker*, October 12, 2017, https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/an-important-statue-for-comfort-women-in-san-francisco; Sol Han and James Griffiths, "Why This Statue of a Young Girl Caused a Diplomatic Incident," *CNN*, February 10, 2017, https://www.cnn.com/2017/02/05/asia/south-korea-comfort-women-statue/index.html; Associated Press, "First 'Comfort Women' Statue in Europe Is Unveiled," *South China Morning Post*, March 9, 2017, South China Morning Post edition, https://www.scmp.com/news/world/europe/article/2077424/first-comfort-women-statue-europe-unveiled-germany.

memorialization are entangled phenomena. Whether construed as offerings, like the Buch memorial, or as demands, like the *Statue of Peace*, memorials have come to be part of the age of apology. Apologetic memorials are central to apologies, because they can transform a mere speech act into a mark in the built environment, making the evanescent permanent. Within the enlarged understanding of apology, apologetic memorials become constitutive elements of the apologetic exchange, making apologies permanent in space, keeping the apologetic dialogue open in time, remembering the victims and the offense, expanding the apology's audience, and creating a record for the future.

What makes a memorial apologetic? Several authors have provided analytical frameworks to examine apologies that range from a close reading of the apology and a breakdown of its distinctive elements to the evaluation of its political and cultural context.[49] If memorials play a role within the expanded apologetic field, how can these memorials be identified? Apologetic memorials are a specific type of memorial, and as such lend themselves to be analyzed within the framework that the scholarship on memorials has developed over the last three decades. Yet, one might ask: How is the analysis of an apologetic memorial different from that of a conventional memorial? Memorials become apologetic when they take part in an apologetic exchange. Further, apologetic memorials can be identified by their goal of reshaping the relationship between victims, perpetrators, and society at large, which exceeds memorials' conventional uses as markers for mourning, remembrance, and warning. And finally, while all memorials are future-oriented, apologetic memorials seek a particular intervention in temporality: creating new beginnings.

Not all memorials are apologetic memorials, but many memorials can be analyzed through the lens of apology, thus revealing one or more of these characteristics. For example, the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin is not explicitly part of an apologetic exchange; however, its construction can be read within the context of decades of post-World War II German repentance. This means that apologetic memorials usher in a new understanding of the work that memorials do. Apologetic memorials combine the twofold meaning of memorials as warning and remembrance with the twofold meaning of apology as defense and admission of guilt. They can present themselves in a wide array of forms. Apologetic memorials can be an acknowledgment of a fault, like the Tanforan Japanese Assembly Center in San Francisco; an act of repentance, like the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe; a peace offering to the victims, like the Max Planck Society Memorials; a documentation of the offense and the victims, like the Topography of Terror in Berlin; a warning against the reoccurrence of the crime, like the many memorialized clandestine detention centers in Buenos Aires, and a gesture to settle a past dispute, like the museum placed within a site quintessentially identified with the Argentine perpetrators –the former Higher School of Mechanics of the Navy in Buenos Aires. Most sorry memorials belong to more than one of these categories, and more importantly, the apologetic dimension of a memorial is as shifting as the memorial's meaning. There is no fixed typology that could allow us to distinguish apologetic memorials from conventional memorials. In this dissertation, I analyze a wide array of objects, from a documentation center, to a future memorial; from a figurative sculpture to a museum, and from a

[49] Brooks, *When Sorry Isn't Enough*; Lazare, *On Apology*; Battistella, *Sorry about That*; Elazar Barkan and Alexander Karn, eds., *Taking Wrongs Seriously: Apologies and Reconciliation*, Cultural Sitings (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2006).

historical plaque to an archeological excavation. All of these objects are memorials that incorporate an apologetic dimension; be it as offering, demanding, negating, or rejecting an apology. It is important to stress that in none of these cases, the object ceases to be a memorial. Apologetic memorials like these, do not cease to be memorials, instead their meaning exceeds the conventional understanding of these markers as remembrance and warning.

Much has been written about the impossibility to fix meaning in stone. Memorials are thus interpreted as cultural objects that are subjected to their use, interpretation, context, and materiality.[50] James Young's assertion that memorials are the product of what he calls 'memory work' allows us to interpret memorial making as a standing practice that does not end with the completion of a memorial.[51] Similarly, apologetic memorials act within a realm of standing apologies. As Susan Slyomovics put it in her book on German reparations:

> Based on family experiences, I conclude that, between perpetrator and victim (or, in neutral terms, between a bestowing agent and a recipient), *reparations remain an incomplete and unstable process because they are part of a dynamic mechanism* in which money is not the sole determinant.[52]

It is the common understanding of apology as a powerful closing and stabilization mechanism which led survivor Jona Laks to reject the Max Planck Society's apology. However, apologies are not stable. As part of reparation mechanisms, they belong to a dynamic exchange that is never completed or exhausted and that can shift over time. The effect of apologetic memorials on extending the apologetic exchange is remarkable. Unlike the utterance of the words 'I'm sorry,' apologetic memorials extend the apologetic dialogue beyond the instance of the actual statement. Both Max Planck Society memorials aimed at extending the apologetic exchange. Etching the words in stone, in actual places that were tied to the wrongdoings and their memory, these memorials opened up new forms of interaction between survivors, perpetrators, and society at large. Because people can continue to visit these memorials long after their inauguration, the apology continues to be performed for multiple audiences over time and thus stays alive, preventing it from being forgotten. Further, annual commemorations at these sites reactivate the apology. However, to fix an apology in stone has a paradoxical twofold effect. While built apologies may acquire a permanence in space and

---

[50] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Jelin, *Monumentos, Memoriales y Marcas Territoriales*, ed. Elizabeth Jelin and Victoria Langland, Colección Memorias de La Represión 5 (Madrid : [Buenos Aires] : [New York?]: Siglo Veintiuno de España Editores ; Siglo Veintiuno de Argentina Editores ; Social Science Research Council, [Panel Regional de América Latina], 2003); Quentin Stevens and Karen A. Franck, *Memorials as Spaces of Engagement: Design, Use and Meaning* (New York: Routledge, 2016); Jennifer A. Jordan, *Structures of Memory: Understanding Urban Change in Berlin and Beyond*, Cultural Memory in the Present (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2006); Andrew M. Shanken, "Towards a Cultural Geography of Modern Memorials," in *Architecture and Interpretation: Essays for Eric Fernie*, ed. Jill Franklin, T. A. Heslop, and Christine Stevenson (Woodbridge, UK ; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2012), 357–80.

[51] Young, *The Texture of Memory*.

[52] Susan Slyomovics, *How to Accept German Reparations*, 1st ed, Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 236, https://muse.jhu.edu/book/32594.

time that words often lack, built apologies do not get stabilized. Their meaning remains labile. They are open to shifting interpretation, as any object is.

The Cult of Apology

The Age of Apology

Even the most contemporary memorials apologize in terms that the ancients might have understood. The Judeo-Christian tradition offers a long history of apology that continues to inform the contemporary moment. Roy Brooks points out that one of the earliest preserved records of Western repentance is a wood etching of a 1077 scene that depicts Henry IV, King of the Germans and later Holy Roman Emperor, barefoot and kneeling accompanied by his family outside the Canossa fortress, in Italy, seeking absolution from Pope Gregory VII for the investiture controversy which led to his excommunication (Fig. 1.8.).[53] Indebted to Judaic notions of collective atonement and the Christian practice of private repentance, apologies have come to play an important role in secular societies.[54] Many authors have studied the upsurge of public apologies in the news, revealing how pervasive these statements have become in our contemporary culture.[55] Consequently, the politics of apology have had an impact on the public and private spheres of individuals. Even before the women of the #metoo movement brought male sexual violence to light, public apologies for private actions were multiplying on television, magazines, newspapers, and public forums.

Fig. 1.8. Etching of Henry IV kneeling outside the Canossa fortress (not dated). The image has become a popular postcard that can be purchased online.

[53] Roy L. Brooks, "The Age of Apology," in *When Sorry Isn't Enough: The Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice*, ed. Roy L. Brooks, Critical America (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 14–15, http://site.ebrary.com/lib/berkeley/Doc?id=10032562.
[54] Celermajer, *The Sins of the Nation and the Ritual of Apologies*.
[55] Tavuchis, *Mea Culpa*; Lazare, *On Apology*; Nobles, *The Politics of Official Apologies*; Alexandra Herfroy-Mischler, "Post-Transitional Apology: Expressing Contrition Whilist Addressing the Holocaust Transitional Justice's Failure," in *Public Apology between Ritual and Regret.: Symbolic Excuses on False Pretenses or True Reconciliation out of Sincere Regret?*, ed. Daniël Cuypers et al. (Amsterdam/New York: Editions Rodopi, 2013), 167–88, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/berkeley-ebooks/detail.action?docID=1402866.

The secularization of the practice of repentance and the transformation of apology from a private ritual into a public one marks two distinctive characteristics of the 'age of apology.' Public apologies have become part of the political strategies that allow nations to deal with historical injustices. Danielle Celermajer argues that what distinguishes our contemporary 'age of apology' from previous practices of repentance is that apologies deal with collective responsibility and guilt. To recognize collective responsibility exceeds the scope of our justice systems, which can only punish individuals for their crimes. In this sense, public apologies, particularly those directed at minority groups within the modern nation-state and those offered by states and their representatives to groups outside of their direct political influence, reflect the need to acknowledge and punish collective responsibility that courts cannot tackle.[56]

In parallel to the potential of apologies for collective transformation, the age of apology has also been associated with conservative tendencies. Apologies are political instruments; as such, they range from conservative revisionism to postcolonial liberation. In Argentina, for example, in the aftermath of the last military dictatorship (1976-1983), apology was equated with amnesty, paving the way for a general pardon of the perpetrators. Contrarily, human rights activists in Namibia are demanding a wholesome apology from Germany in order to unsettle German colonialism's enduring legacy of injustice and inequality. It is this wide political scope which makes apologies alluring for a broad range of actors, from whole nations to minority groups, from politicians to human right activists. At the same time, the global expansion of apology shows signs of trouble. It should not come as a surprise that Hermann Lübbe, one the main authors within German apology scholarship, is a neoconservative philosopher and politician who has praised early German postwar Holocaust amnesia. He was a fervent advocate for putting an end to the *Auseinandersetzung* [confrontation] with the German past in the context of what German chancellor Helmut Kohl framed as *kulturpolitische Wende* [cultural-political-shift] in the 1980s.[57]

Germany offered the first state apology of the twentieth century –a largely unsuccessful and insincere one– when it signed the Treaty of Versailles at the end of World War I. Perhaps, it was also Germany that offered the second state apology of the twentieth century when, after World War II, it apologized for the crimes against humanity committed during the Third Reich by signing the Luxembourg Agreement of 1952.[58] Although apologies are not a Western invention, these inaugural state apologies reveal how apologies are deeply entangled with the West and with Germany's position within Europe, if not world history. The age of apology can be dated towards the end of the twentieth century, yet the emergence of state apologies as a way to reconcile nations is directly related to World War II, and more specifically to the Holocaust. Celermajer argues that the upsurge of public apologies started during the last fifteen years of the twentieth century, spearheaded by European countries apologizing for their crimes against the Jews. From there, apologies spread

---

[56] Celermajer, *The Sins of the Nation and the Ritual of Apologies*.

[57] On the confrontation between the cultural left, represented by Jürgen Habermas and the neoconservatives represented by Lübbe, see: Robert C. Holub, *Jürgen Habermas: Critic in the Public Sphere*, Critics of the Twentieth Century (London ; New York: Routledge, 1991). In his book, *Twilight Memories*, Andreas Huyssen discusses Lübbe's research on musealization in the context of German postwar memory politics debates (Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (New York: Routledge, 1995).)

[58] Regula Ludi, *Reparations for Nazi Victims in Postwar Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

throughout the world to be invoked in the acknowledgement of postcolonial conditions, including slavery, indigeneity, colonialism, and neocolonialism. Similarly, Brooks describes the age of apology as a phenomenon starting in the late 80s and early 90s, which emerged out of the postwar politics of World War II.[59] Jean-Marc Coicaud and Jibecke Jönsson hold that the need to come to terms with the past has accelerated since World War II and this has been reflected in the rise of apologies. Additionally, Coicaud and Jönsson maintain that the creation of independent states after the end of the Soviet Union, the reestablishment of democracies in Latin America with the end of the Cold War, and the independence movements in Africa during the same time all had a boosting effect on public apologies.[60] Dating the phenomenon between the Holocaust and the end Cold War, Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann and Mark Gibney have traced the emergence of the age of apology back to the social movements of the 60s and 70s. The civil rights movement, the women's liberation movement, and the gay and lesbian liberation movements all demanded acknowledgment of the harms done to their represented groups, which paved the way for apologies.[61]

Most of these authors agree that the Holocaust was a triggering event for the advent of apologies as a historical phenomenon; however, there are some disagreements around the later chronological and geographical expansion of the age of apology. With no intention to close this debate, I follow the widely accepted view that there is a direct causal relationship between coming to terms with the crimes against humanity of World War II and the age of apology. One of the perplexing aspects of apology as a historical phenomenon is that apologies start to rise right when they seem most utterly obsolete: in 1948, after the introduction of the legal category of 'crimes against humanity' by the International Military Tribunal (IMT) in Nuremberg. This means that what distinguishes the twentieth-century rise of apology from early modes is that apologies rise for the unforgivable. Here lies the paradox: late 20th-century apology concerns itself with the oxymoronic condition of unforgivable crimes. Crimes against humanity obliterate the already asymmetrical relationship between the offender and the offended. World War II events demand apologies for something that defies apology, something from which we might never be free, or for which we might never forgive or be forgiven. Unforgivable crimes forestall resolution, but apology still emerges as a form of action, perhaps of ostentatious inutility. Yet, returning to Derrida, this is exactly when apologies are most needed.[62]

The relationship between struggles for recognition of underrepresented groups and demands for apologies reveals that apologies can shift the power dynamics between the powerful and the powerless. In the 'age of apology', the latter can demand apologies from the institutionally powerful, mobilizing recognition of identity, restoration of that what was lost, and reparation on a symbolic and material level. To return to the example of Namibia, recent demands for apology and reparation for the Herero and Nama genocide during Germany's colonial rule in South West Africa reveal that post-colonial struggles have provided a fertile ground for the multiplication of apologies. According to Ricoeur's examination of forgiveness' vertical asymmetry, it is the abyss between the guilt of the

[59] Brooks, "The Age of Apology."
[60] Coicaud and Jönsson, "Elements of a Road Map for Politics of Apology."
[61] Howard-Hassmann and Gibney, "Introduction: Apologies and the West."
[62] Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*.

wrongdoer and the unconditionality of the forgiver which can turn existing power structures upside down.[63] Furthermore, as Melissa Nobles claims, the politics of apology are tied to democracy: it is mostly democratic governments that feel the need to come to terms with injustices of the past.[64] Or, considering the agency of this claim, it is only where citizens have free speech that they can make these demands and remain free.

Following the idea that the age of apology is tied to post World War II reparations, apologies have often been described as a phenomenon of the West. In *The Age of Apology,* Howard-Hassmann and Gibney maintain that *"apology has become the West's own version of the truth commission."*[65] Since the truth-commission has become a non-Western affair, apologies, they argue, function as an equivalent mechanism to search for political truth and reconciliation in the West. There are some issues that arise when apologies get circumscribed to the West, as these authors rightly acknowledge. First, the West becomes difficult to define: Japan has been a prominent participant in a series of apologetic exchanges, which suggests that an expanded notion of the West is needed. Second, most Western apologies necessarily exceed the geopolitical boundaries of what is traditionally considered 'the West': apologies for slavery, colonialism, and economic exploitation are most often directed at peoples and nations outside the West.[66] Further loosening apology's bond to the West, Coicaud and Jönsson go as far as to maintain that Latin America set a precedent for the coming to terms with the past, which guided the expansion of apologies around the world.[67] Nevertheless, the fact that the reach of apologies exceeds the West does not mean that Howard-Hassmann and Gibney's statement is mistaken. The idea that apologies are a Western phenomenon reflects the Judeo-Christian and European context of the emergence of apologies as a historical phenomenon and the western orientation of apology scholarship. However, considering the flow of exchanges between the apologizers and the victims, apologies are a deeply global phenomenon. Yet, this does not mean that apologies are autonomous from political rules and cultural conventions. For instance, Alison Renteln has analyzed the untranslatable dimensions of apologies when shared across cultures.[68] Similarly, in chapter six, I examine how Argentinian memory activists have explicitly rejected the cult of apology. Nevertheless, the multiplication of apologies across nations over the past three decades has started to congeal into a global cult of apology.

The Cult of Apology

The cult of apology is the material expression of the age of apology. I use the term "cult of apology" to designate the proliferation of apologies in the form of apologetic memorials within the built environment. The cult of apology is more than just the sum of its parts: it reflects a shifting attitude towards memorials. Whereas remembrance and warning used to be the main characteristics of

[63] Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*.
[64] Nobles, *The Politics of Official Apologies*.
[65] Howard-Hassmann and Gibney, "Introduction: Apologies and the West," 1.
[66] Howard-Hassmann and Gibney, "Introduction: Apologies and the West."
[67] Coicaud and Jönsson, "Elements of a Road Map for Politics of Apology," 82.
[68] Alison Dundes Renteln, "Apologies: A Cross-Cultural Analysis," in *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*, ed. Mark Gibney et al. (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 61–76.

memorials, new aspects of memorialization have gained importance within the contemporary cult of apology: its power to make judgments on past injustices, acknowledge collective responsibility, and reconcile adversaries. Originally belonging to the realm of apology, these elements have been transposed onto memorials.

The term 'cult of apology' is an homage to Alois Riegl's concept of the 'cult of monuments.' In 1903, while working as Conservator General of Monuments for the *Imperial Royal Central-Commission on the Preservation of Architectural Monuments* in Vienna, Riegl published a draft for a monument preservation law which he introduced with his famous essay "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origin."[69] In this essay, Riegl examines the value system behind the modern idea of historic preservation. Riegl claims that what he calls *Kunstwollen* —our artistic Zeitgeist, or our collective will to art— is subjective and changes through time and from place to place. Against what was believed to be an objectively valid artistic canon, Riegl proposes a subjective emotion-driven artistic evolution. Riegl's theory of value is a critique of the Renaissance idea of prevailing artistic ideals. He maintains that modern appreciation of the monument's past value, which is based on its capacity to remind us of a past deed, stands in conflict with present values, which are grounded in the function of a monument for its contemporary users.

Riegl further unpacks these two categories: present values are comprised of art, newness, and use value, while past values are composed of commemorative, historical, and age value. While past and present values are in tension, Riegl's most important discovery is the rising importance of age value. Unlike art value, which requires trained eyes to be appreciated, or historic value, which only experts can identify, age value springs directly from the passing of time, which he believed could be universally understood. Age value is democratic, even socialistic in Riegl's understanding, because class distinctions, in particular knowledge, do not map onto it. As a reminder of our own mortality, age value has the capacity to appeal to mass feelings grounded in the inevitability of our own decay and return to nature, which evokes a shared sense of humanity. Thus, by appealing to emotion instead of rationality, age value breaks class and education barriers to make an intrinsically human value widely accessible.[70]

Two years after publishing the 'cult of monuments' essay and the draft for the monument protection law, Riegl again stressed the power of age value in inspiring feelings in the masses. He wrote:

> Only based on the existence and the *general dissemination of a feeling*, which, related to the religious feeling, independent of any aesthetic or historical special education, inaccessible to rational considerations, whose non-gratification would simply be

[69] The Central-Commission was later called the Imperial Royal Central-Commission for Artistic and Historic Monuments.

[70] Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origin," trans. K.W. Forster and D. Ghirardo, *Oppositions*, no. 25 (1982): 20–51; Michele Lamprakos, "Riegl's 'Modern Cult of Monuments' and The Problem of Value," *Change Over Time* 4, no. 2 (October 21, 2014): 418–35, https://doi.org/10.1353/cot.2014.0011; John Ruskin, "The Lamp of Memory," in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London: New York: J. M. Dent: E. P. Dutton, 1963).

> considered unbearable, can one justify, with the prospect of success, the creation of a monument protection law.[71]

Explicitly linking age value, religion, and preservation, this excerpt illuminates Riegl's examination of the rise of age value within what he thought would be a religious renewal. At the time of his writing, fin-de-siècle Austria, and Vienna in particular, had been undergoing a contentious secularization process which started with the installation of a liberal government in 1867. During its initial decades, the secularization of the public sphere had two prominent battles: one in public education and another one in the preservation of religious monuments. The *Imperial Royal Central-Commission on the Preservation of Architectural Monuments* was often at the center of these debates because it was under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Cultus und Unterricht [Religion and Education]. Many of the Central-Comission's members had two simultaneous goals in mind: to eliminate religion from the classrooms and to preserve monuments as part of a secular pedagogy of the nation.[72]

The process of secularization did not only affect private spirituality and public education: it also introduced a radical shift in the notion of time. Following the cycles of nature, religious societies conceived of time as a cyclical repetition. However, with the advent of modernization and modernism, time was transformed into a linear progression. In response, memory rose to counter the linear narratives of secularization. Memory has allowed historians like Francoise Choay and Kerwin L. Klein to sneak a metaphysical notion back into the historical discourse. The modern advent of a new concept of history, which replaced the notion of a cyclic religious time with a linear progressive un-repeatable time, cemented the way for the rise of age value and laid the groundwork for restorative historic preservation programs like the one in Vienna.[73]

In the context of Austrian secularization, Riegl's choice of the term "cult of monuments'– *Denkmalkultus* in German– can be interpreted as a replacement cult in the absence of religion. Instead of worshiping God, the modern cult of monuments venerates age. Yet, Riegl's argument has religious undertones that, in his view, would prevent the antagonism of the church toward the 'cult of monuments.'[74] Margaret Olin argues that Riegl explicitly Christianized his cult of monuments.[75] For Riegl, the 'cult of age' was a sign of the rise of a new spiritual 'Stimmung' [mood, or atmosphere] which was part of a religious renewal. Even though he believed in a spiritual renewal, Riegl's religious view was secular. Olin states*: "The 'Alterswert' [age value] translated the lasting essence of the*

---

[71] Alois Riegl, "Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalpflege," Review, Mitteilungen der K. K. Zentralkommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale, 1905, 95, https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/2813/. My translation based on the original: „Nur auf dem Vorhandensein und der allgemeinen Verbreitung eines Gefühls, das, verwandt dem religiösen Gefühle, von jeder ästhetischen oder historischen Spezialbildung unabhängig, Vernunfterwägungen unzugänglich, seine Nichtbefriedigung einfach als unerträglich empfinden lässt, wird man mit Aussicht auf Erfolg ein Denkmalschutzgesetz begründen können."

[72] Margaret Olin, "The Cult of Monuments as a State Religion in Late 19th Century Austria," *Wiener Jahrbuch Für Kunstgeschichte* 38, no. 1 (2016): 177–198, https://doi.org/10.7767/wjk-1985-0107.

[73] Françoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, 1st English language ed (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse," *Representations*, no. 69 (2000): 127–50, https://doi.org/10.2307/2902903.

[74] Olin, "The Cult of Monuments as a State Religion in Late 19th Century Austria."

[75] Olin, 195.

historian's teachings into emotional terms, just as Christianity made Greek philosophy accessible to the masses."[76] Based on his writings, Olin suggests that Riegl identified with the moral philosophical teachings about humanity of Christianity, not with the religious cult. The cult of apology shares this secular understanding of religion with the cult of monuments. Inspired by Riegl's work, I characterize apologies as a cult on three different levels: based on apology's kinship to religion, its moral teachings, and its physical materialization in the form of memorials.

Apologies undoubtedly have an affinity with religion. While for many religions forgiveness is a central moral value, rites of pardon, confession, and even whole days of atonement like Yom Kippur are meant to ease feelings of guilt and strive towards reconciliation. The civil ritual of apologies has incorporated Christian and Judaic rites of repentance into contemporary politics.[77] Confessions have moved from the temple to the television screen. Likewise, memorials and monuments have taken the place of religious sacrifices. The proliferation of secularized religious rituals in the form of memorials is what I call the 'cult of apology.' However, it is not only based on apologies' religious heritage that I call our contemporary obsession with apologies a cult.

The cult of apology is a cult in the sense that it supports a belief system that upholds humanizing moral undertones meant to inform the conduct of its adherents. The moral judgment that apologies pass on the past is a central element of their power. Nations can prove their moral integrity by distancing themselves from their own crimes committed in the past through apologies, just as repentant individuals detach themselves from their own actions. For example, as a demonstration of Turkey's commitment to European human rights values, the European Union initially conditioned Turkey's entry into the EU on its acknowledgment of the Armenian genocide. Rwanda has made the acknowledgment of the Tutsi genocide the center of national reconstruction narratives, looking at Germany as a model.[78] Reversely, genocide survivors, discriminated minorities, and colonized people can reassert their rights and identity by demanding apologies from those who harmed them. Even if these demands never end in a successful apology, the affected groups can still benefit from the recognition of the rest of the world.

Apologies have become a measure of post-World War II civilization, organized around the human rights discourse that emerged out of the radical break with civilization of the Holocaust.[79] The foundation of the United Nations in the immediate postwar, in 1946, and the adoption of Raphael Lemkin's category of 'genocide' during the 1948 *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* are both signs of an emerging human rights discourse.[80] Despite the institutional evidence, the Holocaust-based chronology of the emergence of the human rights discourse has its opponents. With some anti-communist undertones, Michael Ignatieff and Peter Novick maintain that it is after the fall of the Soviet Union that the world can be truly unified behind a human rights

---

[76] Olin, 196.
[77] Celermajer, *The Sins of the Nation and the Ritual of Apologies*.
[78] Jennifer Gaugler, *Using the Past to Build a Future: Historic Preservation and Modern Architecture in Rwanda* (Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2018).
[79] Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*.
[80] Rabinow, "Midst Anthropology's Problems"; A. Dirk Moses, "Conceptual Blockages and Definitional Dilemmas in the 'Racial Century': Genocides of Indigenous Peoples and the Holocaust," in *Colonialism and Genocide*, ed. A. Dirk Moses and Dan Stone (New York: Routledge, 2007), 149–80.

agenda.[81] Paul Rabinow problematizes Michael Ignatieff's supposedly self-evident claim that *"There has been a revolution in the moral imagination in the last fifty years, and its most distinctive feature is the emergence and triumph of human rights discourse as the language of human good."*[82] Rabinow does not question the legitimacy, power, and potential for expansion of the contemporary human rights discourse, but the claim that a simultaneously universal and vernacular human rights culture could emerge without the intervention of normalizing structures, in this case the UN, international aid organizations, and capitalism. Within the set of discursive and non-discursive practices that shape what Rabinow calls the 'human rights talk', I assert that the cult of apology functions as a normalizing shared set of moral codes, intended to expand the secular-moral landscape that emerged from the limit event of the Holocaust.[83]

Following Riegl, I argue that the cult of apology developed as a European secular religion, imbued with lessons of humanity to avoid the twentieth-century breakdown of civilization to reoccur. Riegl's cult of monuments emerges out of a rise in spirituality during a process of secularization; the cult of apology emerges out of a rise in human rights discourse that resulted from a radical break with humanity, the Holocaust. While the cult of monuments venerates age value, the cult of apology worships the values of morality and recognition. Because most of the victims on the receiving end of apologies are outside of the West, as a secular (and capitalistic) religion, the cult of apology rapidly spread from the West to the rest of the world during the last decades of the twentieth century.

The fact that apologies have coalesced into built forms further stresses the idea that apologies are behaving similarly to how age value did at the turn of the twentieth century. The passing of time is not something that lends itself to easy representation. We cannot visualize time itself –other than through the instruments that measure it–, but we can see the traces that age leaves on human beings, objects, and buildings. Both Riegl and John Ruskin reflected upon the effect of time on buildings; while Riegl called it 'age value', Ruskin examined the seduction of ruins as they reflect our inevitable return to nature.[84] Ruskin and Riegl's reflections on age value are responses to the acceleration of time that the combination of modernization and modernism had inflected on the twentieth century citizen of industrial capitals.[85] The rise of age value is, therefore, not only a response to the secularization of the Austrian public sphere, but a response to modernization's constant renewal and the wreckage and turmoil that it produces in the process.[86] Riegl's defense of preservation is a response to this threat of destruction, in which historic monuments become islands

---

[81] Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, 1st Mariner Books ed (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), http://site.ebrary.com/lib/berkeley/docDetail.action?docID=10458846; Carla Alison Hesse and Robert Post, eds., *Human Rights in Political Transitions: Gettysburg to Bosnia* (New York : Cambridge, Mass: Zone Books ; Distributed by the MIT Press, 1999).

[82] Ignatieff cited in Rabinow, "Midst Anthropology's Problems," 45–46.

[83] Rabinow, "Midst Anthropology's Problems."

[84] Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origin"; Ruskin, "The Lamp of Memory."

[85] Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York, N.Y., U.S.A: Viking Penguin, 1988).

[86] Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*. Walter Benjamin's description of Paul Klee's *Angelus Novus* painting (1920) in the "Theses on the Philosophy of History" is one of the most accurate descriptions of this process. Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, 1st ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968), 253–64.

of firm ground amongst a sea of change. For Riegl, monuments that embody age value should be preserved, because they serve as metronomes that measure the passing of time.

Apologetic memorials do something similar to Riegl's historic monuments. Within a visual culture that has long forgotten its oral traditions, built apologies represent something that would otherwise be immaterial. By nature, apologies are a speech act. Embedded in the fleeting present, this speech act has no possibility to transcend without the help of textual inscription and visual representation. While in the past apologies had been passed on to the future mainly as text, within our increasingly visual culture sorry memorials respond to the growing demand to see, feel, encounter, and touch apologies. As such, sorry memorials act as reliquaries of a secular ritual that can be reenacted. The promise of sorry memorials is that they will prevent the humanistic sentiment –which made the apology possible in the first place– from vanishing like mere words.

Finally, the 'cult of apology' is not only indebted to Riegl's 'cult of monuments' but also to Choay's 'cult of culture.' In her *long durée*, which she sees as an allegory of the historic monument, she concludes that our secular age is dominated by a 'cult of culture' which has come to replace religion. Within the cult of culture, historic monuments have become cultural products that are staged, articulated, and edited to cast a pleasing reflection of ourselves under the spell of narcissistic illusion. Choay advances a strong critique of the heritage industry and the conspicuous consumption of the past. She writes:

> As it happens, the image we contemplate in the patrimonial mirror, for all that it is reflected by real objects, is an illusion. The 'recollection' from which it results has erased all its differences, heterogeneities, and fractures. It reassures us and plays its protective part precisely by appearing to suppress the conflicts and interrogations we are unable to face: an efficient device against anxiety and helplessness in times of crisis, but a temporary one: the time required symbolically to suspend the course of history, to catch our breath in actuality, to take upon ourselves once more a destiny, an authentic reflection.[87]

The cult of apology also participates in an illusionary optics of the built environment. The cult of apology belongs to the realm of Choay's ritualized cult of culture, because it allows us to consume not only the past, but the lessons that we ought to have incorporated after the radical break in humanity of the twentieth century. Apologetic memorials can be the outcomes of honest repentance and collective reconciliation efforts, but they can also be used as mere instruments to spread the human rights discourse and consume humanistic values without really enforcing them. It is not the mere existence of apologetic memorials, but our ritualized interaction with these sites, which elicits feelings of belonging in a post-Holocaust global community of moral superiority. In other words, one does not need to be a direct victim or offender to participate in the apologetic exchange that the cult of apology inspires.

When people make the effort to visit a memorial to Holocaust victims during a one-week trip to Europe, or when they decide to visit the *National Memorial for Peace and Justice* in Montgomery,

[87] Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, 171.

Alabama, also known as *National Lynching Memorial*, they become participants of the global cult of apology. Looking at ourselves, as reflected in the cult of apology, we see a civilized, politically correct, thoughtful, and self-conscious human being. What remains to be seen is whether that reflection is a mere narcissistic illusion –in Choay's sense– or if the image of our ideal selves can inspire a more humanistic mode of living in community, fostering what Arendt would call 'plurality'.[88]

Collective Guilt

While the asymmetry between those who offer apologies and those who demand them might seem incommensurate, both sides of the apologetic exchange have one thing in common: a belief in the therapeutic power of apologies. At the level of the individual, Lazare's book is perhaps the most straightforward plea for the benefits of apologies for individual mental health and harmonious living together.[89] At the level of nations, as Celermajer might say, apologies are a necessary complement to the modern justice system because they have the capacity to acknowledge collective responsibility.[90]

The leading role that Germany played in postwar apologies can be seen as a reflection of the 'ordinary men' versus 'willing executioners' debate around the role of ordinary men during the Third Reich.[91] Christopher Browning's and Daniel J. Goldhagen's books on the participation of *Reserve Police Battalion 101* in the killing units in the East sparked a profound debate, one of whose guiding questions was: How to deal with the willing collaboration with the Nazis of ordinary men at all levels of German society? While individuals can be punished for their crimes, law-abiding bureaucrats, conscripted individuals following orders, indirect collaborators, and secondary supporters are hard to single out, let alone judge. To reword Arendt, it is the widespread thin layer of evil, present in the most banal situations and people, that made the radical break in humanity of the Third Reich possible.[92] Apologies rise in the absence of collective punishment for the ordinary presence of evil within a nation or a collectivity. Attempting to acknowledge German collective responsibility for the past, apologies try to repair the schism between collective guilt and individual punishment. As such, apologies act as an entry ticket into the civilized world, for Germany and for nations across the world. Acknowledging historical injustices, imprinting moral judgment on the wrongdoers, and accepting collective responsibility for the past are all ways to repair a nation in order to legitimize future actions.

The cult of apology combines the therapeutic virtue of individual apologies with the reparatory power of national apologies and the restorative potential of monuments and memorials.

---

[88] Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*; Arendt, *The Human Condition*.
[89] Lazare, *On Apology*.
[90] Celermajer, *The Sins of the Nation and the Ritual of Apologies*.
[91] Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Finalsolution in Poland*, 1st ed (New York: HarperCollins, 1992); Daniel J. Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, 1st ed (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996). For more on the actual debate, see: Daniel J. Goldhagen et al., "The 'Willing Executioners'/ 'Ordinary Men' Debate. Selections Form the Symposium April 8, 1996" (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2001).
[92] Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, Penguin Classics (New York, N.Y: Penguin Books, 2006).

Choay and Olin stress the ties between the rise of the European preservation rhetoric with political restoration. The Napoleonic invasions and the subsequent plundering of churches, historic buildings, and cultural goods gave rise to the need to preserve and restore historic monuments. As a response to destruction, restoration had a twofold meaning: following the teachings of Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, it meant to return a building to its original state; politically, it meant to restore the sense of nationhood after a foreign invasion.[93] The growing preoccupation with monuments across Europe around the second half of the nineteenth century reveals a shared belief in the restorative powers of the monument. In the context of the creation of the Austrian *Imperial Royal Central-Commission on the Preservation of Architectural Monuments,* Olin states: "The ability of the artistic monument to unify a people and create national consciousness constitutes its claim on a people's devotion."[94]

The seduction of the cult of apology is based on its twofold healing powers stemming from the reparation for historical injustices and the restoration of a shared sense of humanity to reinforce a tenuous sense of national belonging. Apologies are meant to ease the pain of an injustice and offer reparations to the victims. Extending the apologetic action in space and time, apologetic memorials are built to transform these apologies into symbols of national reparation and reconciliation. Put simply, the cult of apology exists because the politicians, activists, victims' organizations, and neighbours behind the construction of apologetic memorials still believe in the therapeutic power of apologies and memorials. To be clear, scepticism around the healing power of apologies is widespread, as the reaction of survivor Jona Laks to the Max Planck Society's apology reveals. A community's position towards an apology and its physical expression can also shift over time and from place to place, as the following chapters of this dissertation reveal. However, the widespread insistence on apologizing and demanding apologies, along with the gradual transformation of these apologies into memorials, reveals that at least at some points in time disbelief in apologies is suspended.

There are enough reasons to take the warnings against apologies seriously: it is hard to overlook their slippage into forgetting, their promise of easy new beginnings, and their empty rhetoric of reconciliation in the face of persistent injustices. Maybe our current obsession with apologies is just another sign of the increasing superficiality of a double standard that has no problem coexisting with injustice and disparity while proclaiming equality and inalienable human rights. Putting individual, private apologies to the side, as they do not constitute the main focus of this research, we are left with the therapeutic potential of public, official apologies to acknowledge collective responsibility, or what Hannah Arendt called political responsibility. However, even this restorative dimension of public apologies can be put into question. In her report of Adolf Eichmann's trial in Jerusalem, Arendt made a clear distinction between collective guilt and political responsibility.[95] Answering the question of why he had willingly cooperated with the Israeli captors

[93] Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*; Olin, "The Cult of Monuments as a State Religion in Late 19th Century Austria."
[94] Olin, "The Cult of Monuments as a State Religion in Late 19th Century Austria," 181.
[95] Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem.*

who kidnapped him in Buenos Aires in order to bring him to court in Jerusalem, Eichmann argued that he wanted to lift the feeling of guilt that had risen amongst the German youth. He maintained:

> After these conversations about the guilty feeling among young people in Germany, which made such a deep impression on me, I felt I no longer had the right to disappear. This is also why I offered, in a written statement, at the beginning of this examination…to hang myself in public. I wanted to do my part in lifting the burden of guilt from German youth, for these young people are, after all, innocent of the events, and of the acts of their fathers, during the last war.[96]

In the final pages of her postscript to the report on Eichmann's trial, Arendt reacts strongly against this invoked sense of German collective guilt. Arendt argues that collective guilt makes judgement superfluous, releasing the moral responsibility from the individual. In this sense, collective guilt is a cliché invoked to demonstrate a superficial acknowledgment of non-specific, abstract, hypothetical guilt, which blends in with actual action-based guilt. Likewise, it is a cliché for Eichmann to offer himself in sacrifice of German collective guilt; he attempts to transform a judgement for his direct involvement in the mass murder of Jews into a heroic act for the abstract feeling of guilt amongst the German youth. Arendt claims: "*Many people would agree that there is no such thing as collective guilt or, for that matter, collective innocence, and that if there were, no one person could ever be guilty or innocent."*[97] She goes as far as to say that feeling guilty without having committed a crime is as immoral as not feeling guilt after having committed one. Political responsibility is different, Arendt claims: it refers to the historical continuity that every institution has with the deeds, good or bad, of its predecessors.

This is the reason why the Max Planck Society apologized for the crimes of its predecessor, the Kaiser Wilhelm Society: it was an acknowledgment of political responsibility and, in Hubert Markl's words, 'historical' responsibility. However, within actual apologies like this one, the boundary between political responsibility and collective guilt becomes slippery. During his apology speech, Markl touched upon the topic of collective guilt and political responsibility many times. Although distinct concepts, he argued that an honest apology demanded both the admission of guilt for past deeds and the acknowledgment of responsibility to inform future reparative actions. *"The most honest form of apology is therefore exposing guilt,"* he said.[98] Identifying three levels of collective guilt – the guilt of German scientists, that of life scientists, and that of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society–, he apologized for all three.

Karl Jaspers' distinction between political, moral, and metaphysical guilt resonates with Markl's speech. For Jaspers, political guilt refers to "*the joint liability of all citizens for the acts committed by their state*."[99] Moral guilt arises within the individual conscience of those who are capable of repentance for the active or passive acts committed in support of the crimes of their state. Lastly, metaphysical guilt is the guilt for being alive; the guilty consciousness that makes survival a

---

[96] Arendt, 242.
[97] Arendt, 297–98.
[98] Markl, "Speeches Symposium in Berlin," 14.
[99] Karl Jaspers, *The Question of German Guilt*, Perspectives in Continental Philosophy, no. 16 (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), 55.

metaphysical burden in a time when the foundations of humanity are being demolished.[100] All of Markl's levels of guilt share aspects of political and moral responsibility and are distinctly collective. It is because, as human beings, we cannot help but feel collectively, as members of a group or a nation, that political and moral guilt are inseparable and together constitute what Jasper defines as collective guilt. Further, Jaspers argues that collective guilt for the past crimes of a nation is necessary because it is based on the shared feeling of repentance that enables communities to regain their humanity.[101] A very different question would be to ask whether collective guilt can be passed on through the generations. Published in 1947, Jaspers' book on German guilt is an immediate reaction to World War II and mainly speaks to the generation of Germans about to witness the Nuremberg trials of 1948. Arendt writes in a significantly different context: Eichmann's trial began in 1961 and she wrote the report in 1962. While Arendt opposes the idea of collective guilt in any circumstance, it is Eichmann's abuse of the concept alluding to the transmission of German guilt to the next generation which elicits her explicit rejection. Jaspers and Arendt debated relentlessly about the idea of German collective guilt; yet, what I want to stress here is that, within the realm of concrete public apologies, the admission of collective guilt is often considered a necessary step towards honest repentance.[102]

Most apologies do not resist the analytical scrutiny to which I have subjected the Max Planck Society's apology. Hubert Markl's speech not only reveals a serious commitment to bringing the involvement of science with Nazi atrocities to light, but it also reflects a scholarly-informed understanding of the components, risks, and powers of apologies.[103] Unlike the Max Planck Society apology, most apologies do not make the clear distinction between political responsibility and collective guilt that Arendt would like to see. Apologies are slippery in their acknowledgment of guilt. The danger of transforming concrete individual responsibility into abstract collective guilt looms large within the cult of apology. I hold on to this mistrust in the cult of apology's therapeutic potential of acknowledging collective responsibility throughout this research project. Only by examining the work of apologies and apologetic memorials in concrete case studies will my research demonstrate if, and to what extent, the cult of apology is helping to restore a lost sense of humanity and if apologies can foster new ways of living in harmony with one another and with our past.

Conclusion

By looking at memorials through the lens of apology, I strive to usher in a new understanding of contemporary memorialization. Based on instances of apologies and a review of the scholarly debates around apologies, this first chapter laid the groundwork for a multi-sited case study of the cult of apology. I argue that, as a widespread global phenomenon, the cult of apology should not only reshape the way we understand existing memorials, but that it is eliciting its own built apologies

[100] Jaspers, *The Question of German Guilt*.
[101] Jaspers.
[102] Hannah Arendt and Karl Jaspers, *Hannah Arendt, Karl Jaspers Correspondence, 1926-1969*, ed. Lotte Köhler and Hans Saner, 1st U.S. ed (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992).
[103] Markl, "Speeches Symposium in Berlin."

across the world. How concrete apologetic memorials are erected, demanded, ignored, and rejected will be explored in the following five chapters using case studies in Berlin, the San Francisco Bay Area, and Buenos Aires.

Combining memorialization scholarship and apology studies, in this chapter I made two main interventions in this newly framed field. First, I argued that the rising phenomenon of apologies has physically manifested itself beyond words in the form of memorials. Within the 'age of apology', memorials have incorporated apologetic traits to embody guilt, regret, remorse, and reparation. It is an excess of meaning which prompts these memorials into the realm of apologies.

Second, I maintained that the physical manifestation of apologetic memorials in the built environment shows signs of a cult, which based on Riegl, I named the 'cult of apology.' With its temporal and geographical origins rooted in the Holocaust, as a watershed event and breaking point of the Enlightenment as a humanist project, the cult of apology emerges out of the need to rebuild a 'collective moral community' after World War II.[104] As Arendt identified in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, the radical evil of National Socialism revealed the perplexities of the eighteenth century notion of the 'rights of man.' Since the 'rights of man' were regarded as an inalienable, intrinsically human, and equal right, independent of any government or human law, there was no nation-state or institution capable of protecting them beyond its own borders without transgressing national sovereignty. With no superior law to reinforce human rights, the essential recognition of all humans as having equal rights to have rights was thus contingent to the nation-state. Once the rise of tyranny and totalitarianism crushed the humanistic ideals of the European nation-state, an increasing number of minorities, amongst them the Jews, were rendered stateless. And, in this context, being stateless was equal to being rightless.[105] The cult of apology is part of the vast efforts to restore the loss of inalienable human rights. In this context, it does not function in isolation. The cult of apology works hand in hand with transitional justice, economic and symbolic reparation, truth commissions, and human rights organizations, forming a relationship that varies in time and space from collaboration to outward opposition. However, in most of its variations, the cult of apology reflects an active effort to create a collective moral community with a shared sense of humanity. This is why the cult of apology is quintessentially global, because it responds to the vacuum of international institutionality to reinforce inalienable human rights. In this sense, it belongs to post-World War II international human rights discourse, inaugurated with the signing of the United Nations Charter in June 1945.[106] Put simply, the cult of apology must transcend nation-states in order to promote a shared culture of human rights capable of presiding over civil nationally-rooted rights.

Apologetic memorials participate in the cult of apology by grounding historical injustices in actual sites and objects in order to justify future actions and repair them. Because apologetic memorials expand the apologetic exchange beyond the victims and perpetrators by speaking to a wider community, they are an essential element for the proliferation of the cult of apology. As

---

[104] Tavuchis argues that apologies have the power to inspire the recognition of a belonging to a 'collective moral community.' For more details see: Tavuchis, *Mea Culpa*, 128.
[105] Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 290–302.
[106] United Nations, "UN Charter," June 1945, http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/un-charter-full-text/.

physical manifestations of apologies, apologetic memorials become the starting point of a self-reinforcing circle, around which secular rituals of repentance and forgiveness can be reenacted and remembered, expanding the collective moral community that made them possible in the first place.

Finally, since memorials are objects grounded in the everydayness of public space, within the cult of apology they act as liminal spaces that can bind the extraordinary historical events that touched only a few with the prevailing social injustices that speak to the many. Through their simultaneous use of the extraordinary and the ordinary, apologetic memorials can make the historical injustices of a minority visible for the majority of a nation or an international community. It follows that the examination of the cult of apology can not only help to reveal the role of history within a post-nation-state global human rights discourse, but that it can also speak to the essentially local political problem of the position of minorities within dominant communities.

[This page intentionally left blank.]

INTERLUDE I

Willy Brandt's Genuflection

On a gloomy winter day of 1970, Willy Brandt, the Chancellor of the German Federal Republic (1969–1974), stepped out of his car and slowly walked towards the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Memorial, a monument dedicated in 1948 to honor the 1943-act of Jewish resistance against SS Brigades in German-occupied Poland during World War II.[1] Clad in a somber dark coat, the Social Democrat chancellor (SPD) laid a funeral wreath of white carnations on the steps leading up to the west side of the massive figurative bronze memorial, stepped back, and fell to his knees onto the wet pavement.[2] For thirty-seconds Brandt remained still, looking into the distance. In the account of one of the witnessing journalists, the chancellor's petrified expression looked "as if he needed all his strength to fight back tears."[3] No words were uttered, and according to the West German media, the gesture was received as an impromptu, honest, and humble apology.[4]

[1] For a detailed examination of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Memorial, see: James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 155–84.
[2] For an in depth analysis of Willy Brandt's genuflection, see: Valentin Rauer, "Symbols in Action: Willy Brandt's Kneefall at the Warsaw Memorial," in *Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics, and Ritual*, ed. Alexander Jeffrey C., Bernhard Giesen, and Jason L. Mast (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 257–82.
[3] Michael Sontheimer, "Willy Brandt in Warschau: Kniefall Vor Der Geschichte," *Spiegel Online*, December 3, 2010, sec. einestages, https://www.spiegel.de/einestages/willy-brandt-in-warschau-a-946886.html; Deutsches Historisches Museum, "The Warsaw Genuflection: Willy Brandt's Historic Gesture," *Deutsches Historisches Museum: Blog* (blog), n/d, /blog/2016/12/07/392/.
[4] While there have been debates about the spontaneity of the gesture, Brandt himself argued that it was an unprompted impulse, a statement that was confirmed by historical witnesses.Willy Brandt, *My Life in Politics* (New York, N.Y: Viking, 1992); Sontheimer, "Willy Brandt in Warschau."

Fig. A.1. Willy Brandt kneeling in front of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Memorial, December 7th, 1970.

Captured in photographs (Fig. A.1.), Brandt's genuflection became part of a media frenzy in the West. However, in West Germany, the gesture received mixed reviews. A 1970-public opinion poll published in the German magazine *Der Spiegel* revealed that West Germans were divided over the appropriateness of the gesture. The poll "*Durfte Brandt knien?"* [Was Brandt allowed to kneel?] revealed that 41% of respondents considered the gesture to be appropriate, while 48% considered it to be an exaggeration.[5] Despite the West German public's lack of consensus, Brandt's kneeling sent a powerful and long-lasting message: West Germany was peaceful, repentant, and ready to atone for its crimes against humanity. Shortly after, *Time* magazine chose Willy Brandt as its "Man of the Year," and in 1971 the West German chancellor received the Nobel Peace Prize for his accomplishments as a "European Bridge-Builder."[6]

Brandt's apology was more than pure gesture. Indeed, the West German chancellor was in Poland to sign the Warsaw Treaty instituting West Germany's acceptance of the border with Poland established by the Allies in 1945. His visit and the apologetic gesture were thus deeply ingrained in

[5] Sontheimer, "Willy Brandt in Warschau."
[6] Willy Brandt – Facts. NobelPrize.org. Nobel Media AB 2019. Mon. 17 Jun 2019. <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1971/brandt/facts/>

the politics of reconciliation between West Germany and Eastern Europe, known as 'Ostpolitik,' which was initiated during Brandt's tenure as Foreign Minister of West Germany (1966-1969).[7]

In 1989, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, Brandt reflected in his memoir about what had prompted his gesture in front of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Memorial: "*At the abyss of German history and burdened by millions of murdered humans, I acted in the way of those whom language fails.*"[8] Brandt's conscious silence echoes the common expression *"Words cannot be found!,"* which draws out a socio-cultural limit for textual and verbal representation.[9] Through the absence of words, Brandt renders the National Socialist crimes as something beyond the reach of human thought, rationality, history, and forgiveness. However, his gesture suggests otherwise. Kneeling in front of the memorial honoring Jewish resistance, situated in what used to be Warsaw's Jewish ghetto, Brandt participates in a long history of gestures of repentance. The West German Chancellor's genuflection echoes similar gestures by historical figures such as Henry IV, who kneeled in front of Pope Gregory VII seeking absolution. Further, Brandt's inability to reach for words to express Germany's remorse points towards one of the central conundrums of the cult of apology: apologies as a global phenomenon rise alongside the emergence of the Holocaust as a trope for the limits of humanity.[10] Forgiveness is rendered impossible when confronted with the *kairos* –the reconfiguration of chronological time– of the Holocaust, which starts to emerge as a trope and limit event in the 1960s.[11] Thus, despite their futility, apologies rise in the aftermath of the Holocaust.[12] In this sense, Willy Brandt's genuflection is not an exception; rather, it reflects the incipient stages of a shift and re-assemblage of the transnational landscape of German responses towards guilt and repentance.[13]

Much has been written about Nazi trials, Germany's punishment for its crimes against humanity, and postwar German *Wiedergutmachung* [reparation, atonement, redress] politics, which started in the immediate aftermath of World War II.[14] While this debate exceeds the scope of this

---

[7] Peter H. Merkl, "The German Janus: From Westpolitik to Ostpolitik," *Political Science Quarterly* 89, no. 4 (1974): 803–24, https://doi.org/10.2307/2148896; JAMES H. WOLFE, "WEST GERMANY'S OSTPOLITIK," *World Affairs* 134, no. 3 (1971): 210–19; Gert Krell, "West German Ostpolitik and the German Question," *Journal of Peace Research* 28, no. 3 (1991): 311–23; Timothy Garton Ash, *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent*, 1st Vintage Press ed (New York: Vintage Press, 1994); Timothy Garton Ash and Willy Brandt, *Wächst Zusammen, Was Zusammengehört? Deutschland Und Europa Zehn Jahre Nach Dem Fall Der Mauer: Vortrag Im Rathaus Schöneberg Zu Berlin, 5. November 1999*, Schriftenreihe Der Bundeskanzler-Willy-Brandt-Stiftung, Heft 8 (Berlin: Bundeskanzler-Willy-Brandt-Stiftung, 2001); Gottfried Niedhart, "Revisionistische Elemente Und Die Initiierung Friedlichen Wandels in Der Neuen Ostpolitik 1967-1974," *Geschichte Und Gesellschaft* 28, no. 2 (2002): 233–66.

[8] Direct translation retrieved from the German Foreign Ministry, https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/newsroom/news/a-century-of-germanys-poland-policy/2161788 [accessed 03/30/2020]. For more details on Brandt's reflections about his gesture and words, see: Brandt, *My Life in Politics.*

[9] The use of this expression to designate massive crimes has a long history: J Silvester et al., *Words Cannot Be Found: German Colonial Rule in Namibia: An Annotated Reprint of the 1918 Blue Book* (Leiden, NETHERLANDS: BRILL, 2003), http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/berkeley-ebooks/detail.action?docID=253708.

[10] See Chapter One.

[11] On the use of *kairos* to examine the workings of a historical event ,see: Paul Rabinow, *Unconsolable Contemporary: Observing Gerhard Richter* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017).

[12] For a more detailed analysis on the relationship between the Holocaust and apologies, see Chapter 1.

[13] Elazar Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

[14] José Brunner, Constantin Goschler, and Norbert Frei, eds., *Die Globalisierung Der Wiedergutmachung: Politik, Moral, Moralpolitik*, Beiträge Zur Geschichte Des 20. Jahrhunderts, Band 12, zugleich Schriftenreihe des Minerva Instituts für deutsche Geschichte der Universität Tel Aviv; Band 31 (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2013); Manfred Schmitz-Berg,

interlude, what I want to point out is that Brandt's gesture was by no means the first step towards reconciliation with the Eastern Bloc, yet it became a symbol for a much larger, complex, and partly invisible process. In the convoluted aftermath of the Holocaust, memorials quickly became substitutes for nonexistent redress politics and carriers of a superabundance of feelings of guilt, remorse, and retribution that had yet to find the appropriate words to be expressed. Early on, Jewish groups, like the one behind the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Memorial, started to erect memorials to remember the dead and their causes in formerly Nazi-occupied nations.[15] In the 60s, amidst the profound transformations underway in the world, a new generation of West Germans started to adopt this usage of memorials transforming them into material anchors of the ongoing efforts to atone for Germany's wrongdoings of the twentieth-century.

Fig. A.2. West-side view of the Warsaw Ghetto Memorial by Nathan Rapoport, dedicated in 1948 (2013).

Wieder Gut Gemacht? Die Geschichte Der Wiedergutmachungseit 1945, 1. Auflage (Düsseldorf: Grupello, 2017); Constantin Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung: Westdeutschland Und Die Verfolgten DesNationalsozialismus (1945-1954)*, Quellen Und Darstellungen Zur Zeitgeschichte, Bd. 34 (München: Oldenbourg, 1992); J.D. Bindenagel, "Justice, Apology, Reconciliation, and the German Foundation 'Rememberance, Responsibility, and the Future,'" in *Taking Wrongs Seriously: Apologies and Reconciliation*, ed. Elazar Barkan and Alexander Karn (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2006), 286–310; Regula Ludi, *Reparations for Nazi Victims in Postwar Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Susan Slyomovics, *How to Accept German Reparations*, 1st ed, Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), https://muse.jhu.edu/book/32594; Thomas U. Berger, *War, Guilt, and World Politics after World War II* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations*; Suzanne Bardgett, ed., *Justice, Politics and Memory in Europe after the Second World War*, Landscapes after Battle, v. 2 (London ; Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2011).

[15] Young, *The Texture of Memory*.

Fig. A.3. East-side view of the Warsaw Ghetto Memorial, 70th Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (2013).

Like gestures, memorials have been invoked to speak when "words cannot be found." It is not a coincidence that Willy Brandt's genuflection, an overtly Christian gesture, occurred in front of a Jewish memorial. Here, visual representation and commemoration played a crucial role in circumventing the limits of textual representation. Nathan Rapoport's figurative memorial represents the Warsaw ghetto uprising through a heroic group of historical and allegorical figures combining Jewish archetypes with mytho-proletarian socialist realism. While the west-side of the memorial is dedicated to Jewish heroism (Fig. A.2.), the east-side renders Jewish martyrdom in the form of a procession of twelve figures into exile (Fig. A.3.).[16] Both sides are held together by a granite wall echoing the Ghetto walls, and –as James Young points out– the Western Wall in Jerusalem.[17] Thus, by kneeling in front of the heroes of Jewish resistance, Brandt chose a persuasive visual backdrop for his *Ostpolitik*. The chancellor's gesture was paramount, because no form of reconciliation between West Germany and the Eastern Bloc was possible without an act of public repentance. But the backdrop for his gesture was equally important, as the figures of the memorial stood in for a simultaneous recognition of both Jewish and communist victims and its massive structure symbolized yet another wall: the Berlin Wall. The materiality of the monument also reinforced Brandt's message of repentance. The labradorite granite blocks of the monument's retaining wall

[16] Young.
[17] Young, 171.

were repurposed from an existing stock that German Nazi-endorsed artist Arno Breker had ordered during World War II.[18] As if driven by cosmic karma, the granite intended to be used in a monument to commemorate Hitler's victory in Berlin became the main materiality of a monument to Jewish resistance and Hitler's defeat in Poland.

Fig. A.4. Willy Brandt Genuflection Memorial in Warsaw, 2000.

Illustrating the entanglement between apology and memorialization, the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Memorial is not the only memorial featured in this story about German repentance. In December 2000, commemorating the 30-year anniversary of Brandt's genuflection, a monument was inaugurated to honor and remember the gesture (Fig. A.4.). The modest scale of the monument stood in clear contrast to the list of authorities and prominent guests attending the event, including the German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, the Polish Prime Minister Jerzy Buzek, Willy Brandt's widow Brigitte Seebacher-Brandt, and Nobel Prize winner Günter Grass. Located only 700 feet [200 meters] away from the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Memorial, in a park that was developed on the actual historical site of the former ghetto, the Brandt monument mimics its referent. The monument to Brandt's genuflection is also a wall with slightly slanted surfaces –although at a much more modest scale and with brick cladding– and includes a figurative relief placed in its center. While the

[18] Young, 168–69.

brick-clad structure of the monument was designed by architect Piotr Drachal, the bas-relief was conceived by artist Viktoria Czechowska-Antoniewska as a figurative representation of the widely-known photographs of the genuflection (Fig. A.5.).

Fig. A.5. Detail of bas-relief depicting Willy Brandt's genuflection.

The bas-relief depicts Brandt kneeling on the pavement in front of the funeral wreath. The massive group of photographers, authorities, and attendees that can be seen in the backdrop of the real photographs of the event have been omitted, so have the buildings in the horizon. Rendered fuller than any other element in the relief, Brandt's kneeling profile sticks out against a backdrop of flat pavement enhanced with perspective lines. Since the actual Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Memorial is cut out from the frame, in the upper right side of the bas-relief, one of the two menorahs of Rapoport's design metonymically stands in for the whole. Behind the menorah, completing the horizon of Czechowska-Antoniewska's composition, is an unmistakable marker of Jewish martyrdom: three parallel strings of barbed wire. Mimicking Brandt's silence, the use of text in the monument is minimal. The central relief is only graced by Willy Brandt's name and the date of the genuflection,

while a succinct historic plaque narrates the context of the monument's dedication on one of its lateral surfaces.[19]

Few thirty-second gestures have become memorials, which is testament to the importance of Brandt's gesture at the time, and still today. Likewise, the memorial illustrates the urge to make an evanescent gesture like an apology permanent. Brandt's kneeling features prominently in the literature on national apologies and is most often interpreted as a symbol of the new position of West Germany, later reunified Germany, in repenting its crimes during World War II.[20] This should come as no surprise, because, as discussed in chapter one, successful apologies inaugurate new beginnings.

Despite its symbolic power as a turning point towards German peace, reconciliation, and repentance, Brandt's genuflection at the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Memorial prompts multiple questions. Can Brandt's genuflection be considered an apology when no words were uttered? If defined as an apology, is the apology's perceived sincerity related to its apparent spontaneity? If, as claimed by historical witnesses, it was a spontaneous act of repentance, can it be considered a national apology? Without attempting to answer all of these questions, this section on German repentance starts with Brandt's gesture, not only because it is widely accepted as a successful German apology, but also because it signals a turn from textual apologies towards performative acts anchored by memorials to prompt and remember these fleeting gestures.

Brandt's genuflection also works as a reminder of the troubling connotations of collective apologies. The gesture occurred in front of a large crowd (Fig. A.6.), including Walter Scheel, West Germany's foreign minister (1969-1974), later president (1974-1979), and a member of the Free Democratic Party (FDP). Brandt's political past was exemplary: he was part of the German antifascist resistance and was forced into exile by the Nazis. Scheel, however, had become a member of the Nazi Party around 1941/1942 according to a report released by the German parliament in 2011. The same report, German parliament's document 17/8134, also stated that former chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger, a member of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and Willy Brandt's predecessor, had joined the Nazi party in 1933.[21] Long before this report was released, in the midst of the '68 student revolution, West German statesmen had already been publicly accused of being

---

[19] A plaque written in Polish reads: "To commemorate the 30th anniversary of the remarkable gesture of Willy Brandt, in the square named in his honor, this symbol of memory of Polish-German relations was unveiled in the presence of German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder and Prime Minister Jerzy Buzek." In the second paragraph, the text lists the artist Viktoria Czechowska-Antoniewska and the architect Piotr Drachal. Finally, in terms of the initiators of the monument, the plaque states: "The monument arose as a public initiative of the Polish Council of the European Movement, and was undertaken by the Municipal Authorities of Warsaw, and supported by ROBEN and others of good will." I wish to thank Juliet D. Golden and Malgorzata Domagalska for their help translating the plaque.

[20] Mischa Gabowitsch, ed., *Replicating Atonement: Foreign Models in the Commemoration of Atrocities*, Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Hermann Lübbe, *Ich entschuldige mich: Das neue politische Bußritual* (Siedler Verlag, 2002); Garton Ash, *In Europe's Name*; Garton Ash and Brandt, *Wächst Zusammen, Was Zusammengehört?*

[21] Deutscher Bundestag, "Drucksache 17/8134. Antwort der Bundesregierung auf die Große Anfrage der Abgeordneten Jan Korte, Sevim Dag˘delen, Ulla Jelpke, weiterer Abgeordneter und der Fraktion DIE LINKE. – Drucksache 17/4126 –" (Deutscher Bundestag, December 14, 2011), http://dipbt.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/17/081/1708134.pdf; Ralf Beste et al., "From Dictatorship to Democracy: The Role Ex-Nazis Played in Early West Germany," *Spiegel Online*, March 6, 2012, sec. International, https://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/from-dictatorship-to-democracy-the-role-ex-nazis-played-in-early-west-germany-a-810207.html.

Nazi collaborators. In November 1968, Franco-German student activist and journalist Beate Klarsfeld famously slapped Kiesinger during a CDU convention in Berlin and shouted "Nazi, Nazi, Nazi" to his face.[22] In this context, Scheel's presence during Brandt's kneeling reveals the type of reconciliation envisioned by West Germany. It was not a reconciliation based on justice for the victims and punishment for the perpetrators, but a reconciliation based on the construction of a new state of normalcy which did not exclude, but actually incorporated former NS-party members. Put differently, Scheel's presence signals an internal reconciliation of collaborators and a national forgiving of former Nazis, who were given a prominent place at the memorial table.[23]

Fig. A.6. Another view of Willy Brandt kneeling in front of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Memorial.

These two gestures, Brandt's kneeling and Klarsfeld's slapping, confront us with two distinct ways to deal with the German past. While Brandt proposes a return to normalcy based on forgiveness, Klarsfeld rejects the officially imposed model of reconciliation without justice. To return to the monument commemorating Brandt's kneeling, the empty background of the bas-relief reveals the paradoxical nature of the gesture: it asks for forgiveness and proposes a new beginning,

[22] Kristina Schulz, "« Filles de La Révolution » En Allemagne : De 1968 Au Mouvement Des Femmes," *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire*, no. 9 (1999): 257–74.

[23] I owe this argumentative line to Ricard Vinyes, whose thoughtful comments and critiques have greatly contributed to this research project.

while at the same time assimilating former Nazi Party members into the young democracy. By omitting Scheel from the frame, the relief removes the political context, conceals Nazi continuities in West Germany, and reinterprets the genuflection as the deed of one great man.

Heated debates about the appropriateness of collective apologies, and for that matter, guilt, were brought to the forefront after Brandt's genuflection. The famous 1983 *Historikerstreit* during which Jürgen Habermas and a group of historians confronted German victimology discourses asserting the innocence of the German people, is only one of the multiple manifestations of the question of how to deal with the Nazi past in the nation of the perpetrators.[24] These public debates did not only occur on the level of speech and text, but as the chancellor's kneeling shows, were played out in acts of commemoration, monuments, museums, and memorials. In other words, memorialization became one of the most visible signs of Germany's *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* –its coming to terms with the past. There is an abundant and rich literature on this topic, so much so that any new work on World War II memorialization in Berlin should be met with skepticism. Acknowledging this difficulty, the next two chapters present a novel approach to the memorial landscape of Berlin by combining two disparate fields of study –German apologies and memorialization– to untangle the relationship between, memorials, apology, guilt, and forgiveness.[25]

[24] The generational shift that allowed these historical reappraisals to resurface is meticulously examined in Harold Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp, 1933-2001* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); See also: Krijn Thijs, *Drei Geschichten, eine Stadt: die Berliner Stadtjubiläen von 1937 und 1987* (Böhlau Verlag Köln Weimar, 2008).

[25] Roy L. Brooks, "The Age of Apology," in *When Sorry Isn't Enough: The Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice*, ed. Roy L. Brooks, Critical America (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 14–15, http://site.ebrary.com/lib/berkeley/Doc?id=10032562; Mark Gibney et al., *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

[This page intentionally left blank.]

CHAPTER 2

Building Apologies:

Emergence and Evolution of the German Cult of Apology at the Topography of Terror in Berlin

Introduction

As the former seat of the National Socialist Police and State Security during the Third Reich, the Gestapo site now known as Topography of Terror housed the bureaucratic structure of the perpetrators and the victims of Nazi crimes. Between 1933 and 1945, the central administrative offices of the entire surveillance, persecution, and suppression apparatus of the National Socialist (NS) state occupied different buildings of the site then known as the Prinz-Albrecht-Block. NS leaders took over all the buildings on the block, with the exception of the former Arts and Crafts Museum, now the Martin-Gropius-Bau and the Ethnographic Museum.[1] During the last days of the war, bombs and fires deliberately destroyed the NS Government Quarter. Located on the southern end of the governmental axis, the Gestapo headquarters suffered severe but not unrecoverable damage.[2] What the war had started, the early postwar politics of erasure nearly finished, leaving little more than rubble standing. The demolitions, together with the construction of the Berlin Wall, pushed the site even deeper into the unconscious of society and far away into the periphery of the city. Abandoned and covered with heaps of demolition rubble, it became the material proof of a German postwar policy of erasure and oblivion.[3]

---

[1] Stiftung Topographie des Terrors and Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung, *Realisierungswettbewerb Topographie des Terrors.Berlin: 309 Entwürfe - Katalog zur Ausstellung der Wettbewerbsarbeiten* (Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 2006).

[2] Gerhard Schoenberner, "Vom Schuttabladeplatz zum internationalen Dokumentationszentrum - Die unendliche Geschichte der >>Topographie des Terrors<<," ed. Thomas Lutz and Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, *GedenkstättenRundbrief* 4, no. 100 (2001): 35–44.

[3] Christine Fischer-Defoy, "Das Aktive Museum, Das Gestapo-Gelände Und Die „Topographie Des Terrors" – Eine Beziehungsgeschichte," *Mitgliederrundbrief Aktives Museum. Faschismus Und Widerstand in Berlin e.V.*, no. 67 (August 2012): 4–9; Reinhard Rürup, ed., *Topographie Des Terrors: Gestapo, SS Und Reichssicherheitshauptamt Auf Dem "Prinz-Albrecht-Gelände": Eine Dokumentation*, 7. erweiterte Aufl (Berlin: Verlag Willmuth Arenhövel, 1987); Schoenberner, "Vom Schuttabladeplatz zum internationalen Dokumentationszentrum - Die unendliche Geschichte der >>Topographie des Terrors<<."

Fig. 2.1. Postwar ruin of the former seat of the Gestapo on Prinz Albrecht Strasse 8, 1951.

Fig. 2.2. Bird's-eye view of the Gestapo site, 1968. The ruins of the Martin-Gropius-Bau stands in the foreground, while the adjacent site of the former Gestapo seat has been cleared of postwar ruins.

The transformation of the abandoned Prinz-Albrecht-Block into the Topography of Terror has been well documented by scholars, activists, and the foundation that has administered the site since 1992. It is part of the permanent exhibition at the Gestapo site, and has been the subject and inspiration for documentaries, photographic exhibitions, art installations, and many publications. Scholarly accounts have focused on the NS institutions that were housed at the site, the memorial activism that brought the Topography of Terror into existence, and the three decades of memory debates that accompanied its challenging construction. To date, no monographs have been dedicated to the complete architectural history of the site, nor has a history of the exhibitions been issued other than the catalogues published by the Topography of Terror Foundation. The scholarly accounts that deal with architecture and design most often revolve around Peter Zumthor's abandoned project for the foundation, privileging unrealized star-architecture over a reality of provisional and modest buildings.

Seen through the framework of apology, the physical transformations of the site take on a new meaning.[4] From the first debates about the site's history in the early 80s to the inauguration of the museum that has stood on the Gestapo site since 2010, "Building Apologies" examines the material transformations of the Topography of Terror through the lens of apology. While Willy Brandt's genuflection defined a chronological and geographical beginning for the cultural phenomenon traced throughout the dissertation, this chapter analyzes what happens to apologetic gestures when they materialize into something more than a memorial. Beyond the single monolithic memorial built to remember Brandt's kneeling, in this chapter apology, guilt, and forgiveness take on new forms through the incorporation of ruins, museums, pavilions, and exhibitions.

During this time, Berlin changed dramatically; from being the center stage of the Cold War, it went on to become a cultural hub for Europe. Likewise, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the site itself moved from the periphery of West Berlin to the center of the urban reconstruction and real

[4] This chapter is not a history of the memorial site, because scholars including Reinhard Rürup, Gerhard Schoenberner, Stefanie Endlich, Matthias Haß, Christine Fischer-Defoy, James Young, Karen Till, Jennifer Jordan, Jenny Wüstenberg, and Darius Zifonun have successfully undertaken this endeavor. It is also not an analysis of the architectural history of the Topography of Terror, because after three decades, three architectural competitions, and more than 500 proposed designs for the site, it would be a massive task exceeding the scope of this chapter. These are some examples of the vast literature on the Gestapo site: Rürup, *Topographie Des Terrors*; Schoenberner, "Vom Schuttabladeplatz zum internationalen Dokumentationszentrum - Die unendliche Geschichte der >>Topographie des Terrors<<"; Stefanie Endlich, "Gestapo-Gelände. Entwicklungen, Diskussionen, Meinungen, Forderungen, Perspektiven," in *Zum Umgang Mit Dem Gestapo-Gelände: Gutachten Im Auftrag Der Akademie Der Künste Berlin*, ed. Akademie der Künste (Berlin, Germany) (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, Berlin, 1988), 1–103; Akademie der Künste (Berlin, Germany), ed., *Zum Umgang Mit Dem Gestapo-Gelände: Gutachten Im Auftrag Der Akademie Der Künste Berlin* (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, Berlin, 1988); Matthias Haß, *Das Aktive Museum und die Topographie des Terrors*, 1., Aufl. (Berlin: Hentrich und Hentrich Verlag Berlin, 2012); Fischer-Defoy, "Das Aktive Museum, Das Gestapo-Gelände Und Die „Topographie Des Terrors" – Eine Beziehungsgeschichte"; James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 81–90; Karen E. Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); Jennifer A. Jordan, *Structures of Memory: Understanding Urban Change in Berlin and Beyond*, Cultural Memory in the Present (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2006); Jenny Wüstenberg, *Civil Society and Memory in Postwar Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Darius Zifonun, *Gedenken und Identität* (Frankfurt am Main ; New York: Campus Verlag GmbH, 2004).

estate investment plan known as "New Berlin."[5] Divided into two sections, each dedicated to a specific time period –the 80s and late 90s to the early 2000s–, this chapter asserts that the role of apologies evolved in parallel to these radical socio-political urban changes. Looking closely at what came to be known as the 'site of the perpetrators' in Berlin, "Building Apologies" provides insights into the emergence and evolution of the cult of apology and its early challenges. Apologies are undoubtedly a much older phenomenon that exceeds the West, Europe, and the Holocaust. However, I argue that the contemporary conflation of collective apologies with memorials –what I have called the cult of apology– emerged when West Germany relinquished victimization in the early 1980s.[6] The Topography of Terror played a central role in this shift.

The Beginnings of the Cult of Apology –1980s (1983-1987)

West Berlin's Memorial Triad

In the early 1980s, the senate chancellery for the mayor of West Berlin, Richard von Weizsäcker, found himself at a historical juncture. In 1982, the 50-year anniversary of the National Socialist ascent to power was approaching and the city had only scattered sites of World War II memorialization. At the time, the central site of memory in West Berlin was the German Resistance Memorial, which is dedicated to the attempt of a group of military officers to overthrow the Nazi regime on July 20, 1944.[7] Located in the central court of the Bendler Block, the military complex where the conspirators were assassinated on the same day of the failed coup, the German Resistance Memorial was inaugurated in 1953, as one of the first World War II memorials in Berlin.[8] The German Resistance Memorial exemplifies the memorial culture that the Allied Forces established in the postwar years. Attempting to normalize and reconcile the internal divisions of the German society in order to avoid retaliations, West German officials emphasized stories of German innocence and resistance.[9] What is striking about this memorial is how far conceptually it is from apology. Instead of acknowledging guilt or historical responsibility, it heroicizes German resistance, thus acting as a kind of counter-apology.

---

[5] Till, *The New Berlin*; Elizabeth Strom and Margit Mayer, "The New Berlin," *German Politics & Society* 16, no. 4 (49) (1998): 122–39; Elizabeth A. Strom, *Building the New Berlin: The Politics of Urban Development in Germany's Capital City* (Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2001); Jordan, *Structures of Memory*.

[6] For more on West Germany's relinquishing of victimization see Harold Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp, 1933-2001* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 349–71.

[7] The group of officers included Claus Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg, his adjutant Werner von Haeften, Albrecht Ritter Mertz von Quirnheim, and Friedrich Olbricht.

[8] On the initiative of surviving members of the resistance and their families, in 1968 adjoining offices of the complex were transformed to house a permanent exhibition about German resistance. For more on the history of the German Resistance Memorial, see https://www.gdw-berlin.de/en/home/ [accessed 07092019]. See also: J. David Case, "The Politics of Memorial Representation: The Controversy Over the German Resistance Museum in 1994," *German Politics & Society* 16, no. 1 (46) (1998): 58–81.

[9] Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997).

Fig. 2.3. German Resistance Memorial, 2017.

Fig. 2.4. Plötzensee Memorial.

Besides the German Resistance Memorial, the senate chancellery had an alternative site to work with, the Plötzensee Memorial. Dedicated in 1951 at the Plötzensee prison in north Charlottenburg, it is where almost 3000 political prisoners, more than half of them German, were executed between 1933 and 1945.[10] Centered around the empty execution room of the prison, and focusing on well-known political prisoners including some members of the Rote Kapelle [Red Chapel] resistance group, the Plötzensee Memorial also highlighted German resistance and victimhood. However, in the early 80s, a third place, a recently rediscovered lot that housed the Gestapo, SS, SA and SD headquarters, unsettled the tight postwar narrative of these two memory sites constructed in the 50s.

After decades of mundane uses as an *autodrome* –a car circuit for drivers without a license– and construction rubble deposit, in 1979, the efforts of the International Exhibition of Construction and Design in Berlin [Internationale Bauasstellung Berlin- IBA] reignited the debate on the forgotten Gestapo site.[11] In the late 70s and early 80s, the IBA decided to focus on the surrounding neighborhood of Kreuzberg as a place of urban infill and restoration.[12] Kreuzberg had not only been deeply affected by the destruction of WWII and the Cold War death strip that divided East and West Berlin, but was also known as a neighborhood of immigrants and squatters.[13] Centering their attention on Kreuzberg, the architects, historians, and urban planners of the IBA started to collect old plans and archives of the district. Based on these and other findings, architectural historian Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani contributed to a 1979 exhibition catalog with an article about the

[10] For more on the history of the Plötzensee Memorial, see http://www.gedenkstaette-ploetzensee.de/ [accessed 07092019]

[11] Schoenberner, "Vom Schuttabladeplatz zum internationalen Dokumentationszentrum - Die unendliche Geschichte der >>Topographie des Terrors<<"; Rürup, *Topographie Des Terrors*; Zifonun, *Gedenken und Identität*.

[12] This debate can be closely followed in the issues of *Bauwelt*, in particular from 1979 to 1984. IBA members including Josef Paul Kleihues, Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, and Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm were active contributors to the architecture journal during these years. Topography of Terror Foundation Archive.

[13] Esra Akcan, *Open Architecture: Migration, Citizenship, and the Urbanrenewal of Berlin-Kreuzberg by IBA-1984/87* (Basel, Switzerland: Birkhauser Verlag GmbH, 2018); Daniela Sandler, *Counterpreservation: Architectural Decay in Berlin Since1989*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press: Cornell University Library, 2016).

former Arts and Crafts Museum and other ruined buildings of the Gestapo area.[14] A 1982 article by architectural historian Dieter Hoffman-Axthelm followed in the November issue of *Bauwelt*.[15] These two publications caused the forgotten site and its uses during the Nazi regime to resurface, leading to its incorporation into the IBA plans for Kreuzberg.

Figs. 2.5. & 2.6. *Autodrom* use of the Gestapo site during the 70s and 80s.

Additionally, the renovation and reopening of the neighboring Martin-Gropius-Bau in 1981, with the groundbreaking historical exhibition 'Preußen – Versuch einer Bilanz' [Prussia – Attempt to Balance], had a crucial role in resuming public debate about the site (Fig. 2.7.).[16] According to historian Krijn Thijs, the Prussia exhibition revived public interest in wide-ranging historical exhibitions in West Germany, which would later play out in the ambitious "Berlin, Berlin" exhibition which was housed in the same building in the context of Berlin's 750-year anniversary celebrations.[17] This was a major change in perspective, allowing historical reflection to reemerge. After all, in the postwar years, debates around the continuity between Prussia and the Third Reich had transformed the reign of the House of Hohenzollern into a tacit taboo. In an effort to address this silence, like the exhibition at the Topography of Terror would do years later, 'Preußen – Versuch einer Bilanz' attempted to provide a balanced historical account of the Prussian state.[18] The relationship with the Gestapo site was made explicit in a room dedicated to the Third Reich which included a window overlooking the abandoned neighboring site.[19]

---

[14] Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, "Die Analogie Der Widersprüche. Fragmentarische Anmerkungen Zum Gebäude Des Ehemaligen Kunstgewerbemuseums in Berlin," in *Zeitgeist: Internationale Kunstausstellung, Berlin 1982: Martin-Gropius-Bau*, ed. Christos M. Joachimides and Norman Rosenthal (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1982), 49–61.
[15] Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, "Prinz-Albrecht-Palais Oder Reichssicherheitshauptamt?," *Bauwelt*, no. 43 (1982): 1778–87.
[16] Stiftung Topographie des Terrors and Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung, *Realisierungswettbewerb Topographie des Terrors. Berlin*.
[17] Krijn Thijs, *Drei Geschichten, eine Stadt: die Berliner Stadtjubiläen von 1937 und 1987* (Böhlau Verlag Köln Weimar, 2008).
[18] Andreas Nachama, Interview with Andreas Nachama, former director of the Topography of Terror Foundation, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, recording & transcription, October 25, 2017.
[19] Andreas Nachama, the former director of the Topography of Terror was involved in the organization of the Prussia exhibit (Nachama, Interview 2017). Berliner Festspiele and Gropius-Bau (Museum), eds., *Preussen, Versuch Einer Bilanz:*

Fig. 2.7. Outdoor concert on the Gestapo site for the opening of the exhibition 'Preußen – Versuch einer Bilanz,' 1981. The renovated Martin-Gropius-Bau can be seen on the left side.

Encouraged by the Gestapo site's new visibility, activists, politicians, and human rights organizations –including the IBA, the Society of Christian-Jewish collaboration in Berlin, and the International League for Human Rights– started to demand a memorial intervention. Proposals for the abandoned lot ranged from a plaque commemorating the victims, a memorial road extension, a park, a museum of German history, a documentation center and central archive about Nazism, to a Yad-Vashem inspired "open-air memorial" for the victims of the Holocaust.[20] As letters, sketches, and reports of these proposals poured in, the Berlin Senate chancellery started to conceive the Gestapo site, the German Resistance Memorial, and Plötzensee as a memorial assemblage. While the Bendler Block was the site of German resistance, and the Plötzensee prison was the 'site of horror,'

Eine Ausstellung Der Berliner Festspiele GmbH, 15. August-15. November 1981, Gropius-Bau (Ehemaliges Kunstgewerbemuseum) Berlin: Katalog in Fünf Bänden, Rororo Katalog (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1981).

[20] Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 002 Nr. 38213 (1980-1982), the office of the West Berlin city mayor received multiple letters in support of a wide array of memorial programs for the Gestapo site: monument, historic plaque, museum, documentation center and archive at the Gestapo site, etc. Rürup, *Topographie Des Terrors*; Schoenberner, "Vom Schuttabladeplatz zum internationalen Dokumentationszentrum - Die unendliche Geschichte der >>Topographie des Terrors<<"; Haß, *Das Aktive Museum und die Topographie des Terrors*; Fischer-Defoy, "Das Aktive Museum, Das Gestapo-Gelände Und Die „Topographie Des Terrors" – Eine Beziehungsgeschichte."

what the Gestapo site was supposed to represent was uncertain. According to a 1980 report of the Berlin Senate chancellery:

> Against a central memorial in this area stands the fact that Plötzensee is the place of horror memories: Germans of all political and religious orientations and classes, people from 19 different nations, were murdered here. It makes no sense to put an additional site of horror next to this one: that would result in objective falsehood and would harm the confrontation with the 12 years [of Nazism].[21]

To build a proper memorial triad became one of the objectives of the commemoration of 1982. Still missing was a memorial to the victims. Fifty years after the rise of National Socialism, Berliners had not yet come around to dealing with the victims in a material way. In the configuration and reconfiguration of this assemblage of memorials, I recognize the incipient moment of the birth of the cult of apology. At this moment in time, apologies were not yet a cult; however, they projected a growing influence on memorialization debates. This apologetic influence can be traced back to the public search for the appropriate words and forms to house the victims –in other words, guilt and remorse– in the former capital of Germany.

Before the upsurge of memorial debates around the anniversary of the National Socialist ascent to power, the two main West German memorials were about German resistance and victimhood.[22] This postwar political landscape of internal reconciliation without justice was unsettled by the emergence of the Gestapo site, a place unmistakably marked by the perpetrators. Ultimately, in the context of the commemoration of 1982, the role of the Gestapo site as a memorial for the victims was chosen based not on the history of the actual site, but on its relationship to the planned memorial triad of West Berlin. Additionally, the growing influence of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem since its inauguration in 1957, and the unanimous act of the US Congress which created the Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC in 1980, started to congeal into a global demand to remember the victims of World War II. Consequently, in 1982 –just in time to be announced during the 50-year commemoration of Nazism's ascent–, the Berlin Parliament passed a bill in favor of establishing a memorial to the victims of Nazism on what had been the locus of NS terror.[23]

---

[21] Landesarchiv B Rep. 002 Nr. 38213 (1980-82), Senate Chancellery for the Mayor of West Berlin, Richard von Weizsäcker, report on the former Prinz Albrecht Palais, 7.

[22] Before the Gestapo site became part of the public debate of in the early 80s in Berlin, a different site –the house of the Wannsee Conference– was considered the third piece in Berlin's memorial triad. Located in the outskirts of Berlin, the house of the Wannsee conference came to be known as the location were NS leaders gathered to plan the "Final Solution," the extermination of the European Jewry. This was also a site marked by the actions of the perpetrators, not the victims.

[23] Landesarchiv B Rep. 002 Nr. 38213 (1980-82), Senate Chancellery for the Mayor of West Berlin, Richard von Weizsäcker.

First Memorial Competition

Under the patronage of Richard von Weizsäcker, the first design competition for the Gestapo site was held between June 1983 and March 1984. In a preface to the competition guidelines, the mayor of Berlin wrote: *"The task of the redesign is to tie the past to the present, offering a place to reflect without missing the chance to create a site to live and linger for the Kreuzberg district."*[24] In his remark, Weizsäcker highlighted a controversial requirement to the 1983-1984 competition guidelines: in addition to the creation of a memorial to the victims, the participants had to incorporate a park, a children's playground, physical activity areas, and a parking lot.[25] Even before the design submissions were reviewed, the recommended dual program of the site –memory and park– sparked heated debates around the appropriateness of combining memory and everyday necessities on the site of the institutions of terror.[26] In retrospect, members of the jury blamed the ambiguous competition guidelines for the competition's negative outcome.[27]

Fig. 2.8. Second prize winning master plan for the Prinz-Albrecht-Palais design competition 1983-1984. Architect Giorgio Grassi & team.

[24] Translation by the author from the original in German: "Aufgabe der Neugestaltung ist es nun, an die Zeitgeschichte anzuknüpfen, einen Platz zum nachdenken zu geben, ohne die Chance zu versäumen, dem Stadtteil Kreuzberg ein Gelände zum Leben und verweilen zu schaffen." Richard von Weizsäcker cited in Guski and Schauermann, "Topographie de Terrors. Der Neubau Peter Zumthors auf dem Prinz-Albrecht-Gelände in Berlin," 209.
[25] Guski and Schauermann, "Topographie de Terrors. Der Neubau Peter Zumthors auf dem Prinz-Albrecht-Gelände in Berlin," 209; Schoenberner, "Vom Schuttabladeplatz zum internationalen Dokumentationszentrum - Die unendliche Geschichte der >>Topographie des Terrors<<," 38–39.
[26] This controversy ultimately weakened the rules of the competition, and the jury decided that no project would be eliminated even if it did not comply with the demands of the program or the budget, which had been set at 12,3 million Deutsche Mark. Schoenberner, "Vom Schuttabladeplatz zum internationalen Dokumentationszentrum - Die unendliche Geschichte der >>Topographie des Terrors<<," 42.
[27] Rürup, *Topographie Des Terrors*.

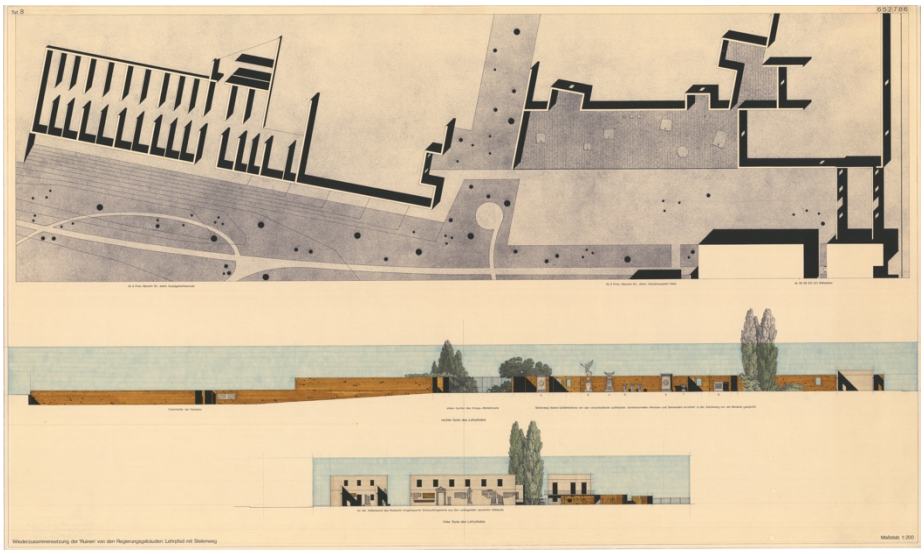


Fig. 2.9. Detail and sections of Giorgio Grassi's design for the Gestapo site.

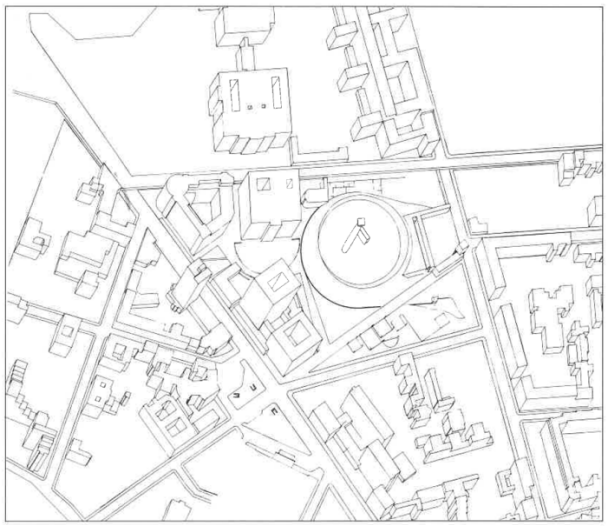


Fig. 2.10. Alvaro Siza's design for the Gestapo site.

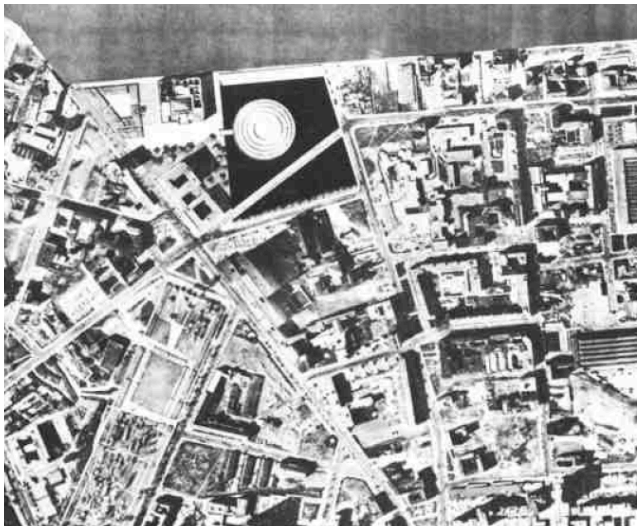


Fig. 2.11. Rafael Moneo's design for the Gestapo site.

Fig. 2.12. Rebecca Horn's design for the Gestapo site.

Fig. 2.13. Sculptural detail (in motion) of Rebecca Horn's design for the Gestapo site.

The total of 194 entries ranged from plans for the reconstruction of the missing buildings by architect Giorgio Grassi (Fig. 2.8. & 2.9.), monumental interventions by Alvaro Siza (Fig. 2.10.) and Rafael Moneo (Fig. 2.11.), to abstract pieces of counter-memory by artist Rebecca Horn (Figs. 2.12. & 2.13.).[28] The first prize was granted to landscape architect Jürgen Wenzel and artist Nikolaus Lang, whose proposal completely flattened the site in order to cover it with engraved cast-iron plates reproducing enlarged copies of Gestapo documents (Figs. 2.16. & 2.17). The only planned openings in a perfectly cast-iron sealed surface were regular perforations for a grid of planted chestnut trees.[29] (Figs. 2.14). The project redesigned the entire Prinz-Albrecht-block, preserving only the Martin-Gropius-Bau and the Europahaus, as the guidelines demanded. To distinguish between the different construction periods of the block, Wenzel and Lang represented these two surviving buildings through roof plans. In contrast, the drawings evoked the missing Nazi-occupied buildings by their simplified floorplans, which highlighted the shadowy, almost three-dimensional grid of trees spread across the site (See Fig. 2.15.). Arranged in parallel to Niederkirchnerstraße (former Prinz-Albrecht-Straße) and the Berlin Wall, the tree-grid shifted the orientation of the site towards the wall, resulting in a perfectly rectangular northern border for the intervention (Fig. 2.18.).[30] Further, the grid retracted significantly to separate from the Martin-Gropius-Bau, creating a clearing-in-the-woods effect.

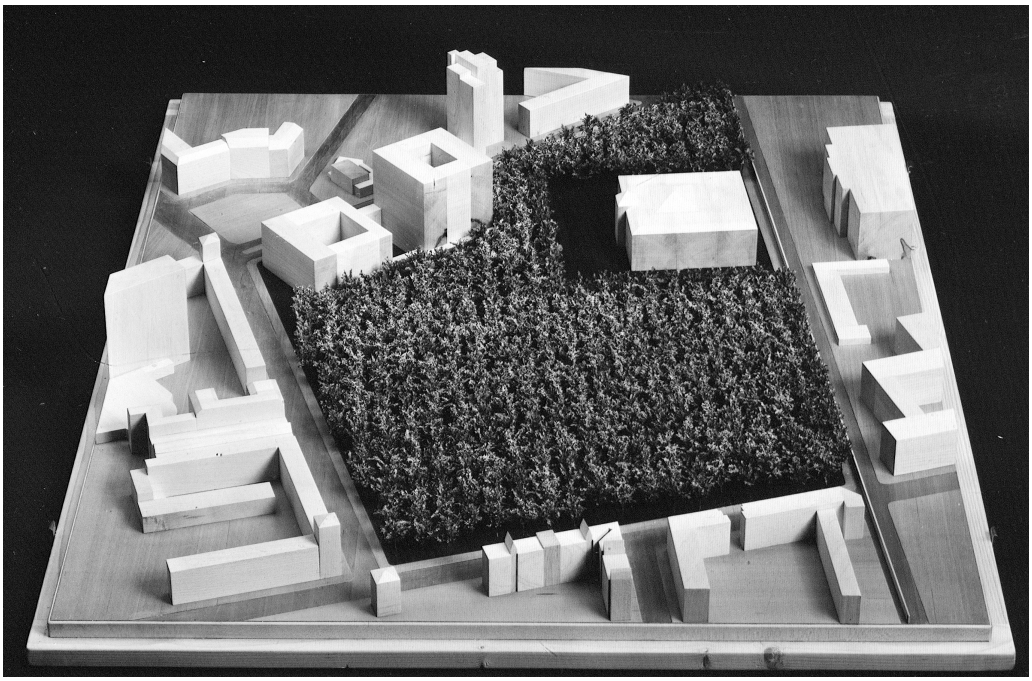


Fig. 2.14. Model of Wenzel and Lang's winning design for the Gestapo site.

[28] Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 002 Nr. 38217, Final Report from the Jury for the 1983/1984 competition for the Gestapo site, 4/29/1984. Some of the competition entries were reviewed in Jochen Spielmann, "Gedenken und Denkmal," in *Gedenken und Denkmal. Entwürfe zur Erinnerung an die Deportation und Vernichtung der jüdischen Bevölkerung Berlins.* (Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, Berlin, und Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen, Berlin, 1988), 7–46.
[29] Ibid., 35.
[30] The arrangement of the grid along the site and its uneven borders bear a resemblance to Peter Eisenman's later project for the *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe.*

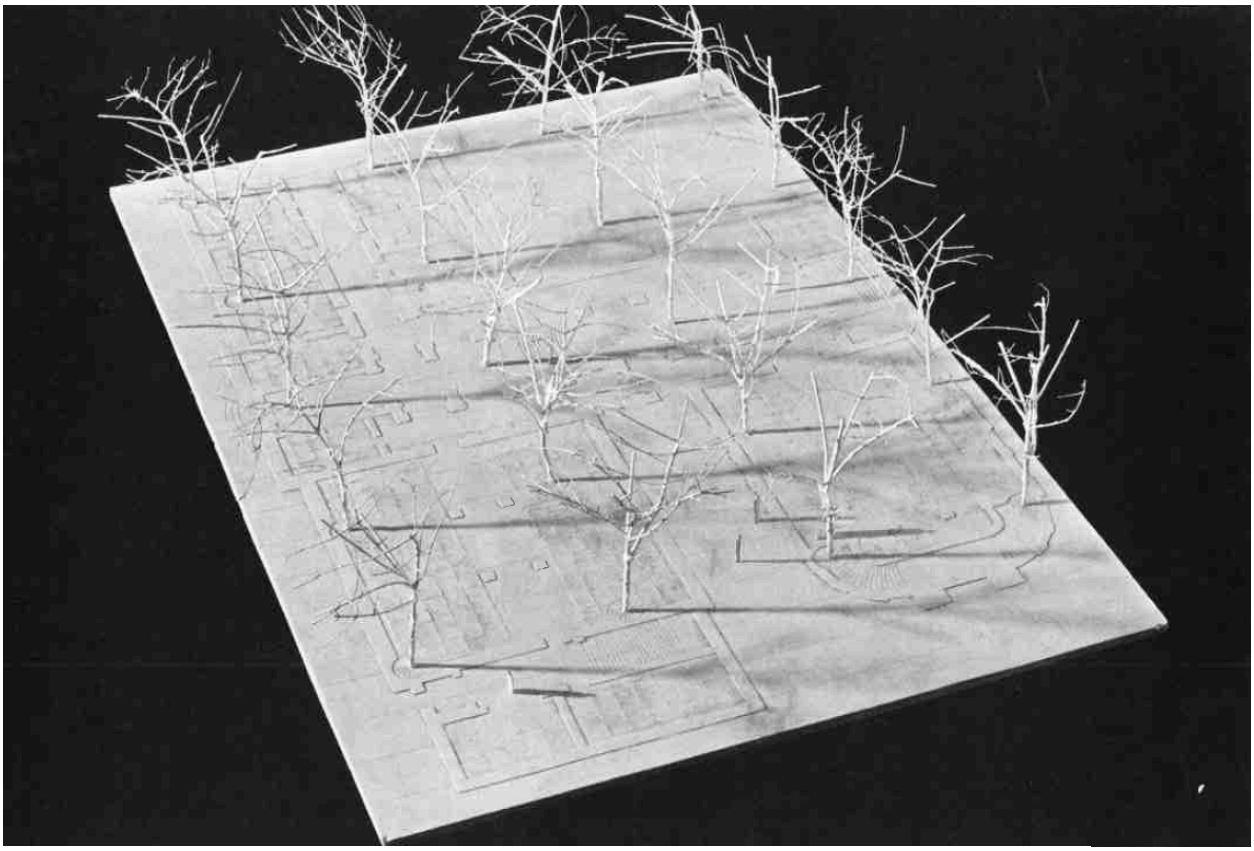


Fig. 2.15. Detail model of Wenzel and Lang's winning design for the Gestapo site.

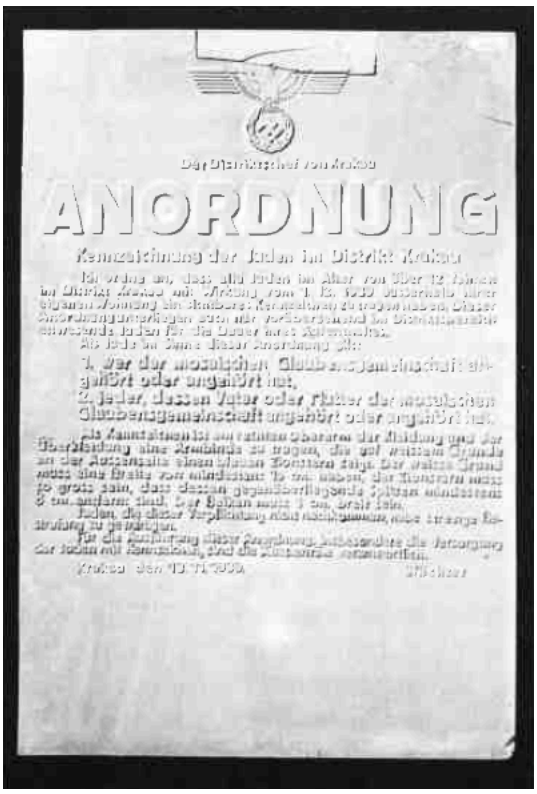


Fig. 2.16. Plaster model of plaque with inscription.

Fig. 2.17. Sample of NS documents for plaques.

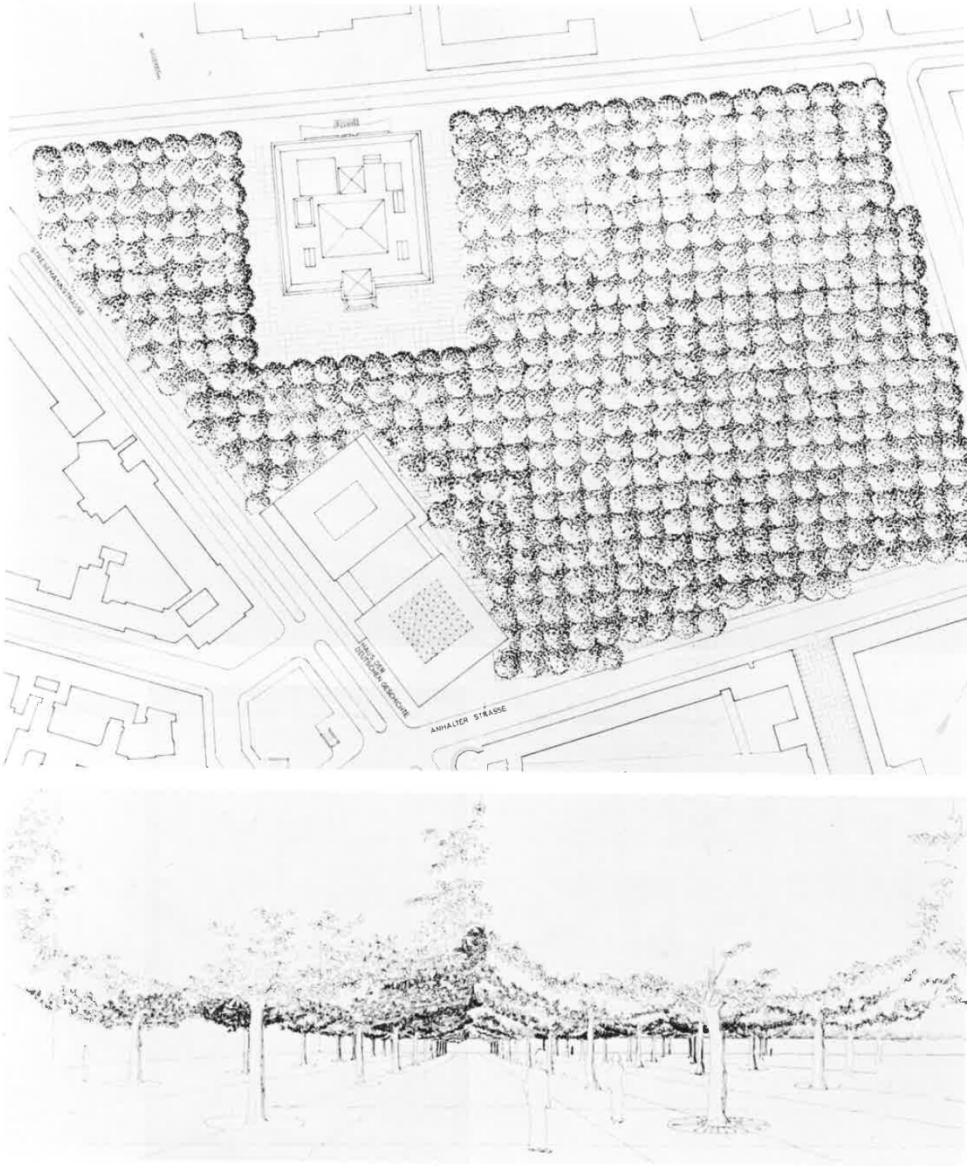


Fig. 2.18. Master plan and general vista of Wenzel and Lang's winning design. While it is difficult to distinguish, the vista is directed towards the Berlin Wall, reinforcing its meaning as a monument.

In the words of Wenzel and Lang: "Starting from the dimension of the managed death, which was conceived, planned, and organized in this area, this surface withdraws from conventional, ordinary, 'normal' criteria of design."[31] Lacking a playground, parking lot, and park, Wenzel's and Lang's design took a clear stance in the dual-program debate about the site. The designers conceived the memory of the victims of Nazism as a rigidly formal and abstract eerie experience detached from the historical remains of the site, but in tune with its archival traces.[32] In his essay about the uncanny,

[31] Translation by the author from the original in German: "Ausgehend von der Dimension des verwalteten Todes, der auf diesem Gelände angedacht, geplant und organisiert worden ist, entzieht sich die Fläche herkömmlichen, üblichen, 'normalen' Kriterien der Gestaltung." Wenzel and Lang cited in Guski and Schauermann, "Topographie de Terrors. Der Neubau Peter Zumthors auf dem Prinz-Albrecht-Gelände in Berlin," 210.

[32] This description of the project echoes Anthony Vidler's definition of the architectural uncanny. Anthony Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1992); Sigmund Freud, "The

Sigmund Freud suggests that uncanny sensations are produced by that which is transformed into something estranged. The design seems to follow Freud's idea of the uncanny as "something which ought to have remained hidden but has come to light."[33] Drawing on Freud and Martin Heidegger, architectural historian Anthony Vidler claims that buildings can be invested with uncanny qualities. Wenzel and Lang incorporate the uncanny in their design through "representations of estrangement", simultaneously rejecting the everyday and aiming to create a new type of memorial environment.[34] Because the design combined formalism and expressionism, the selection of Wenzel's and Lang's entry ignited a long-lasting debate around the suitability of architectural and artistic interpretations for the memorialization of WWII. In the fall of 1984, Wenzel and Lang received a letter from Weizsäcker informing them that the parliament had decided that their design would not be executed, which led to the haphazard development of a provisional white pavilion in its place a few years later.[35]

4th of July 1987

Apology's growing influence in West Germany is perhaps most evident when compared to its counterpart: the total absence of apologies in East Germany. On July 4th, 1987, this difference became most clear as East and West Berlin struggled to represent their Nazi past during the celebrations for the 750-year anniversary of the city. While both celebrations and the events, exhibitions, and concerts surrounding them lasted weeks, even months, on that particular day both East and West Berlin revealed two distinct objects to remember their Nazi past.[36] Both representations broke taboos, disclosing suppressed memories.

Since the division of Berlin had left most of the historically relevant sites on the eastern side, East Berlin celebrated its anniversary with a series of historic restorations, including the Nicolai Viertel and the Gendarmenmarkt. In addition to these preservation projects, the ambitious exhibition "Kunst in Berlin 1648-1987" at the Altes Museum, also in the East, was intended to outshine its western counterpart, the exhibition "Berlin, Berlin" at the Martin-Gropius-Bau.[37] The climax of the celebrations in East Berlin was a five-hour-long historical parade highlighting the 750 years of the city that was witnessed by over 700,000 people.[38] Of the almost 300 frames of the historical procession, only one was dedicated to the portrayal of the Third Reich.

'Uncanny,'" in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. James Strachey, Anna Freud, and Angela Richards (London: Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1953), 335–76.

[33] Freud, "The 'Uncanny,'" 364.

[34] Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny*.

[35] Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 002 Nr. 38213-38223; Guski and Schauermann, "Topographie de Terrors. Der Neubau Peter Zumthors auf dem Prinz-Albrecht-Gelände in Berlin."

[36] I want to thank Ulrich Tempel, the archivist of the Topography of Terror, for pointing out these simultaneous events. For this account, I mainly rely on the work of historian Krijn Thijs, who examined this celebration on both sides of the Berlin Wall: Thijs, *Drei Geschichten, eine Stadt*.

[37] See the catalogues of both of these exhibitions: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Germany : East) and Altes Museum (Berlin, Germany), eds., *Kunst in Berlin, 1648-1987: Staatliche Museen Zu Berlin: Ausstellung Im Alten Museum Vom 10. Juni Bis 25. Oktober1987* (Berlin, DDR: Hensachelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft, 1987); Gottfried Korff et al., eds., *Berlin, Berlin: Die Ausstellung Zur Geschichte Der Stadt: Katalog* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1987).

[38] Thijs, *Drei Geschichten, eine Stadt*, 265.

In between populated scenes of the United Front of the Antifascist-Democratic Parties and the war of resistance, Nazism was represented as a slowly advancing black box covered with inscriptions referencing the victims of fascism. On one of the sides of the cube, the number "50 million" was written alongside the names of concentration camps including Buchenwald, Auschwitz, and Treblinka. On another side of the black box, the Nazi death toll was invoked by words like *Kristallnacht* and *Bücherverbrennung*, which were accompanied by quantities of destruction: the number of lost homes, square meters of rubble, and the number of forced labor victims (Fig. 2.19.). The black box would have been completely devoid of human presence had it not been for the sudden sight of feet moving alongside the wheels of the structure, which stood in stark contrast with scenes of resistance to fascism animated by over 100 participants.[39]

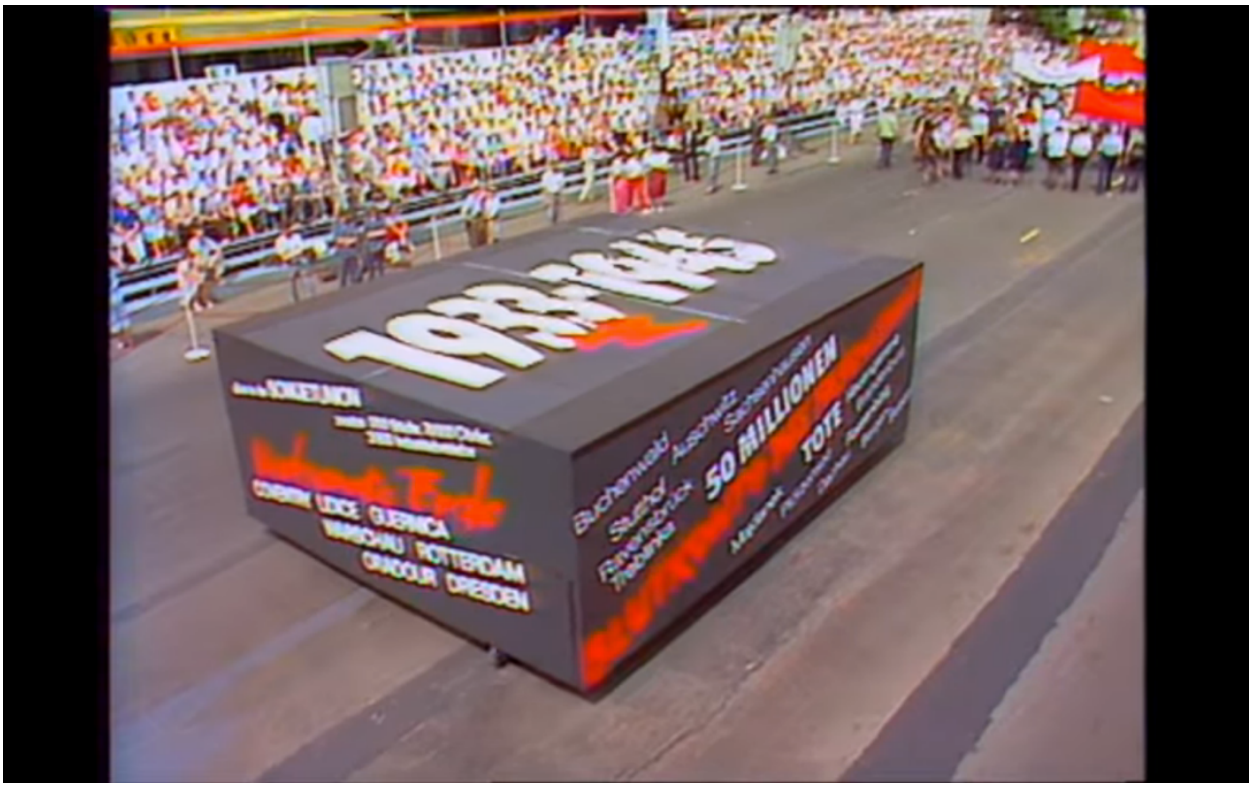


Fig. 2.19. Still of the black box retrieved from footage recorded by a West-Berlin camera team during the celebrations of East Berlin for the 750th city anniversary of Berlin. Filmed at Alexanderplatz, on July 4th, 1987.

To represent Nazism through an abstract black box was not the parade organizers' first choice. Originally, a three-headed fascist monster was planned to roll along the parade with Hitler hat, tin helmet and [gas] cylinder, until Erich Honecker himself vetoed the allegorical representation for its war references. Despite the last-minute abstraction of fascism, Thijs argues that because the historical parade, and the black box in particular, touched upon some of the taboos of the East German society, it had a very positive reception.[40] At the same time, the rolling abstract black box

[39] Thijs, *Drei Geschichten, eine Stadt*.
[40] Thijs, 267–69.

constituted a symbol of the persistent taboos in the history of the capital of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), which stood in stark contrast to West Germany's approach to the representation of Nazism on the Gestapo site.

Protected from apology by the GDR's break with German tradition and the wall, the black box was a memorial for the victims and not an apology. Inscribed with numbers and words, the walls of the black box were not there to provide evidence, but stood as symbols for a loss that was invoked in its incommensurability. As Jeffrey Herf analyses, the memorial culture enforced by the GDR, and the Soviet administration that predated it, was based on a radical break with the Third Reich. The end of fascism was the triumph of socialism, and as such there was no place for victims outside the framework of communist resistance. Unlike in West Germany, former Nazi party members were not incorporated into the judicial system or the government, and the memory of the Third Reich was erased from Berlin through demolitions, name changes, and urban renewal. In this sense, the 750-anniversary parade's reference to victims, and Jewish ones in particular, loosened the tight official narrative about the Nazi past.[41]

Faced with what presented itself as the limit of realistic representation, to avoid a three-headed fascist monster, the organizers of the East Berlin historical parade turned to a combination of formal abstraction and text. Ironically, the black box that emerged out of the censorship of a leader of the German socialist regime anticipated the world-wide popularity of dark cubic abstract Holocaust memorials.[42] The black box's abstraction simultaneously anticipates a future memorial trend and recalls the sepulchral drawing on a long-standing imagery of death and burial.[43]

---

[41] Herf, *Divided Memory*.

[42] Mark Godfrey, *Abstraction and the Holocaust* (New Haven [Conn.] ; London: Yale University Press, 2007); Young, *The Texture of Memory*; James E. Young, *At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); James E. Young et al., *Holocaust Memorials: The Art of Memory in History* (Munich; New York: Prestel, 1994); Peter Eisenman and Hanno Rauterberg, *Holocaust Memorial Berlin: Eisenman Architects* (Baden, Switzerland: Lars Müller, 2005); Peter Eisenman, *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*, Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture 49 (New York: Leo Baeck Institute, 2005).

[43] On the latter, see Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes toward Death, from the Middle Ages to the Present*, John Hopkins paperback ed, The Johns Hopkins Symposia in Comparative History (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975).

Fig. 2.20. Bird's-eye view of the Gestapo site in 1988. The Martin-Gropius-Bau building can be seen on the left side. Next to it is the white pavilion built for the first "Topography of Terror" exhibition and the protective roof erected over the excavated ruins of the former Gestapo in-house prison basement.

On the same day of the black box's unveiling, on July 4th, 1987, West Germany inaugurated a temporary exhibition called "Topography of Terror" at the site that had been the center of operations of the expanding secret police and military and paramilitary forces of the NS regime (Fig. 2.20).[44] This is the moment that catalyzed the Gestapo site, giving it a new name and meaning. The "Topography of Terror" exhibition was planned as an extension and supplement to "Berlin, Berlin," the main West Berlin historical exhibition of 1987, which was housed in the neighboring Martin-Gropius-Bau.[45] Under the direction of historian Reinhard Rürup, "Topography of Terror" followed

[44] The exhibition was originally planned to last only a few months during Berlin's 750th anniversary celebration in the summer of 1987, but after the showing's widely recognized success, it was extended, first for a year, and then "until a better solution was found." Endlich, "Gestapo-Gelände. Entwicklungen, Diskussionen, Meinungen, Forderungen, Perspektiven"; Guski and Schauermann, "Topographie de Terrors. Der Neubau Peter Zumthors auf dem Prinz-Albrecht-Gelände in Berlin."

[45] The "Berlin, Berlin" exhibit (August 15 to November 22, 1987) was developed by intendant Ulrich Eckhardt of the Berlin Festspiele GmbH, under the direction of Gottfried Korff and Reinhard Rürup. See exhibition catalogue: Korff et al., *Berlin, Berlin*.

the principle to "document, not judge" the past of the NS institutions of terror.[46] This careful language reveals the attempt to find a delicate way of broaching the difficult issue without venturing headlong into the realm of apology. Using only original documents and black and white photographs, the main purpose of the "Topography of Terror" exhibition was to present the organization, structure, and consequences of the terror institutions that functioned on the site between 1933 and 1945 (Fig. 2.21.). German resistance also had a presence in the exhibit, although a moderate one, around the narrative of the Gestapo in-house prison.

The exhibition was chronologically expansive; it reached into the past beyond the NS ascent to power and stressed the continuities of the site up to the present. Describing the rise of the surrounding Südliche Friedrichstraße, the exhibition's narrative included a prewar history of the site's context and neighborhood, which served to highlight its drastic occupation during the Third Reich. In a gesture of self-reflection, the last sections of the exhibition addressed the policies of erasure and oblivion of the Gestapo site during the postwar period until its recovery as a *Denk-Ort* [thinking site] in the 80s.[47] Similarly to the principle of documentation, the term *Denk-Ort* willfully avoids more overt memory terms like memorial and monument. Thinking, after all, is in the realm of cognition and rationality, while memory so often ventures into emotion.[48]

Fig. 2.21. Photograph of the lower level of the "Topography of Terror" exhibition, 1987.

[46] The "Topography of Terror" documentation and exhibition was put together by the organizer Berliner Festspiele GmbH on behalf of the Berlin Senate. Direction: Professor Dr. Reinhard Rürup. Academic Collaborators: Frank Dingel, Thomas Friedrich, Klaus Hesse. Academic Advisors: Professor Dr. Wolfgang Scheffler, Gerhard Schoenerner. Design of Exhibition: Claus-Peter Gross, Margret Schmitt. Photo Reproduction: Wolfgang Krolow, Margret Nissen et.al. Arrangement of Descriptive Plates of the Documentation: Studio für Grossfotos Wolfgang Schackla, Gleissberg and Wittstock (typesetting). See: Rürup, *Topographie Des Terrors*; Endlich, "Gestapo-Gelände. Entwicklungen, Diskussionen, Meinungen, Forderungen, Perspektiven," 8.

[47] Rürup, *Topographie Des Terrors*.

[48] Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse," *Representations*, no. 69 (2000): 127–50, https://doi.org/10.2307/2902903.

This last section of the exhibition, titled "From Destruction to Recovery," which dealt with the years marked by erasure and forgetting leading up to the transformation of the site in the 80s, hints at the apologetic undertones of the entire endeavor. While the narrative of the exhibition displayed a measured distance from the perpetrators, postwar oblivion was portrayed as a collective problem of the present, one that the exhibition was attempting to address. Put differently, the deadpan tone of the exhibition's aesthetic and narrative created a measured emotional distance from the actual historical events, and more importantly the perpetrators. However, that distance was constantly bridged through the exhibition's placement within the actual historical site.

Fig. 2.22. & 2.23. General and detail view of the white wooden pavilion built to house the first "Topography of Terror" exhibition, 1987.

Like its East German counterpart, the white wooden pavilion that housed the "Topography of Terror" exhibition was also hastily built as a provisional solution for the upcoming celebrations of Berlin's 750-year anniversary in the West (Figs. 2.22. & 2.23.). After Klaus Grünewald's initial design failed to be executed in time, architect Jürg Steiner took over the design and construction supervision of the pavilion and managed to complete it in only four months. Functionalism, speed, efficiency, and low costs were the main requirements for the pavilion.

In the years prior to the construction of the pavilion, the historical materiality of the Gestapo site had become a contentious topic. Initially, Berlin senate officials stated that, after the demolition work of the previous decades, no traces of the original buildings remained and that the site had to be treated as any other lot in West Berlin.[49] However, on May 5, 1985, the same day of US president Ronald Reagan's and West German chancellor Helmut Kohl's highly criticized visit to the military cemetery of Bitburg, a group of activists, students, and neighbors gathered on the Gestapo site to perform a symbolic digging action to unearth traces of the past.[50] In response to the pressures from the conveners of the digging action –the members of the organization of the *Active Museum of Fascism and Resistance in Berlin* [Aktives Museum Faschismus und Wiederstand in Berlin],

[49] Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 002 Nr. 38220, 38221.
[50] For more details on the controversial double state visit to Bitburg, see: Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau*, 359–63.

the *Initiative zum Umgang mit dem Gestapo-Gelände* [Initiative fort the handling of the Gestapo site], and the *Berlin History Workshop* [Berliner Geschichtswerkstatt]–, in the summer of 1986, Volker Hassemer, Berlin's Senator of Cultural Affairs, approved an official archeological survey and excavation of the site. Archeologist Dieter Robert Frank was in charge of the excavation that uncovered a continuous line of foundation and basement walls along Niederkirchner Straße (former Prinz-Albrecht Straße), as well as remains of the infamous in-house prison cells of the Gestapo, in addition to several other objects from the Nazi period.[51] In response to these remarkable findings, in September 1986, a broad coalition of memory activists, organizations, and cultural institutions organized a commemorative wreath laying ceremony in front of the unearthed Gestapo prison cells, which Karen E. Till calls the first informal memorial at the site.[52] Directly commemorating the victims, this act represents a return to the first memorial competition for the site, which conceived it as a place to remember the victims.

Fig. 2.24. Digging action at the Gestapo site, 1985.

Fig. 2.25. Unearthed continuous line of foundation of the former Gestapo building, 1986.

Fig. 2.26. Commemorative ceremony for the victims of the Gestapo, 1986.

[51] Robert Frank, "Zur Spurensicherung Auf Dem Gelände an Der Ehemaligen Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse Bestand, Veränderungen Und Zerstörungen Im Dezember 1988," in *Zum Umgang Mit Dem Gestapo-Gelände: Gutachten Im Auftrag Der Akademie Der Künste Berlin*, ed. Akademie der Künste (Berlin, Germany) (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, Berlin, 1988), 1–73.

[52] Till, *The New Berlin*, 96–97.

Careful to circumvent the footprint of the former buildings on the site, the location for the pavilion was chosen to avoid interference with the archeological excavations. Yet, the foundational work for the wooden pavilion revealed a new historical vestige: a kitchen cellar. Built during the war, there were no construction records of the kitchen, but the exhibition design's historians believed that it had been an auxiliary service area for the Gestapo building. Unlike the Gestapo in-house prison cellar remains that archeologist Frank had uncovered in 1986, the kitchen had not been a place of torture, but a mundane kitchen in the basement used by Gestapo personnel. Confronted with this new historical vestige, after much debate, the organizers and designers of "Topography of Terror," decided to incorporate the unearthed basement into the exhibition space. The decision was made against the recommendation of Reinhard Rürup, the director of the exhibition, and Claus-Peter Gross, its curatorial designer, who were both against the incorporation of the ruins because they inspired a "false staging of the past" and a sense of "pseudo authenticity."[53] Despite these reservations, Steiner adapted his design to fit the measurements of the kitchen basement. Instead of a floating glass pavilion, the structure became an extension of the existing ruins, which were made accessible with minimal interventions.

Fig. 2.27. View of the interior upper level of the white pavilion. The ruins of the kitchen cellar can be seen framed by steel beams and guardrails, 1987.

Fig. 2.28. View of the lower level of the white pavilion. Steiner incorporated the ruins of the kitchen cellar into his design, using the newly uncovered walls as exhibition space, 1987.

Nothing left a more durable impression on the visitors of that first "Topography of Terror" exhibition than the incorporation of ruins at the historical site. Some of the earliest entries of the 1987-exhibition's visitors book state:

[53] Reinhard Rürup, Interview with Reinhard Rürup, former scientific director of the Topography of Terror, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, Transcript and Audio, September 18, 2017; Reinhard Rürup, "Folter-Mythos," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 17, 1988, Landesarchiv Berlin; Jürg Steiner, Interview with Jürg Steiner, architect of the first Topography of Terror pavilion, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, Transcript and Audio, November 15, 2017.

> These traces *touched* me deeply (27-year-old son of a fanatical SS man) and I'm affected.
> (Berlin, 8/14/1987).[54]

> I was fascinated by the exhibition exactly because *you are here*, directly at the site of terror. (Berlin, 8/15/1987).[55]

> These foundations *speak* the most impressive language and should remain that way. (No place, 8/23/1987).[56]

> This site must remain untouched as a *historical document* for how to deal with history up to the present. (No place, 8/21/1987).[57]

Rürup's and Gross' suspicions were founded. The more than 300,000 individuals from Berlin, West and East Germany, and abroad who visited the exhibition during its first year reacted to the ruins as if they were emanating an inherent sense of authenticity.[58] Well aware of the effect of the ruins on his design, architect Steiner said, invoking Walter Benjamin, "ruins have an auratic power."[59] Visitor book entries and local newspapers bluntly mislabeled the mundane kitchen basement, referring to it as the "Gestapo in-house prison cells," confirming what in the eyes of the historians was a "false staging of the past."[60]

Perhaps the most telling evidence of the early reception of the "Topography of Terror" exhibition and the walking tour of the Gestapo site that accompanied it, is the following visitor book entry:

> So far the best implementation of a memorial without pathos, without heroism, but with a warning about what happened here. The ruins, the fragmentary, does not allow a pure consumer attitude – this is important for this topic. (No place, 8/22/1987).[61]

---

[54] Besucherbuch I 8/8-9/23 1987, 6. Archiv Stiftung Topographie des Terrors. Translated from the original: "Mich haben diese Spuren noch (27-jähriger Sohn eines fanatischen SS-Mannes) sehr berührt und ich bin betroffen."
[55] Besucherbuch I 8/8-9/23 1987, 8. Archiv Stiftung Topographie des Terrors. Translated from the original: "[...] mich hat die Ausstellung fasziniert gerade weil man sich hier direkt am Ort des Terrors befindet [...].
[56] Besucherbuch I 8/8-9/23 1987, 19. Archiv Stiftung Topographie des Terrors. Translated from the original: "Diese Fundamente sprechen die beeindruckteste Sprache und sollten auch so erhalten bleiben."
[57] Besucherbuch I 8/8-9/23 1987, 16. Archiv Stiftung Topographie des Terrors. Translated from the original: "Als Geschichtsdokument auch für den Umgang mit der Geschichte bis in die Gegenwart muss das Gelände seinen jetzigen Zustand behalten."
[58] Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, ed., *Topographie des Terrors: Ausstellungen 1987-2017* (Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 2017).
[59] Quote from Steiner, Interview. See also: Jürg Steiner, "Ausstellungspavillon ›Topographie des Terrors‹ [Project Portfolio]" (Web publication steiner.archi, February 17, 2014), http://www.steiner.archi/?p=2305#more-2305.
[60] Newspaper clippings 1987, Topography of Terror Archive.
[61] Besucherbuch I 8/8-9/23 1987, 17. Archiv Stiftung Topographie des Terrors. Translated from the original: "Bisher beste Umsetzung einer Gedenkstätte ohne Pathos, ohne jede Heroik, sondern mit einem erschrecken im eigenen Kopf über das, was hier geschah. Die Ruinen, das fragmentarische lässt keine reine Konsumhaltung zu -das ist bei diesem Thema wichtig."

This type of reaction was explicitly intended by the creators of the exhibition, who claimed that by documenting and not judging, "Topography of Terror" presented an "objective" appraisal of the past.[62] It is not only surprising that in the late 80s objectivity would be a goal of a West German exhibition about the Third Reich, but also that objectivity itself was presented as an attainable goal. The exhibition suggests that the designers and public experienced the site through two different historical modes of objectivity.[63] On the one hand, the exhibition designers seemed to be working in the nineteenth-century mode of 'mechanical objectivity', based on direct evidence such as documents, photos, and ruins, rather than judgment or audience interpretation. The reception of the exhibition, on the other hand, suggests that 'subjective judgement,' a newer mode of objectivity which acknowledged the intervention of the observer in the production of facts and the need for professionally guided judgment to produce data, was at work. The fact that the designers of the exhibition returned to an older mode of objectivity can be interpreted as a screen memory, to use Freud's term, which made it possible to present material that would not have been permissible if displayed differently.[64]

While the distinction between these historical modes of objectivity is useful, during 1987, both models of objectivity appeared entangled at the West Berlin site. While the materiality of the Gestapo site itself –ruins, construction debris, and the Berlin Wall– was presented as factual evidence, the content of the historical exhibition offered a narrative based on subjective judgment to reinforce the sense of objectivity of the whole. In fact, the exhibition and the materiality of the site together offered etymons about the Nazi past: indisputable, original sources of truth. Objects, like words, have etymologies that can be traced back to their origins.[65] Indeed, objectivity became a leitmotif for the exhibition because it gave the team behind "Topography of Terror" a particular scientific and aesthetic language of restraint to speak about the perpetrators from the position of their West German descendants. It is the double use of objectivity –factual and subjectively judged–

---

[62] Klaus Hesse, Interviews with Klaus Hesse, longtime Topography of Terror academic staff member, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, Transcript and Audio, November 16, 2017; Rürup, Interview; Andreas Sander, Interviews with Andreas Sander, longtime Topography of Terror academic staff member, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, Transcript and Audio, November 8, 2017; Endlich, "Gestapo-Gelände. Entwicklungen, Diskussionen, Meinungen, Forderungen, Perspektiven."

[63] In their book on objectivity, Lorraine Daston's and Peter Galison's argue that objectivity is a historical term that evolved throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. Daston and Galison compare 'mechanical objectivity,' an early nineteenth-century ideal of objectivity based on the accumulation of facts exemplified by scientific atlases, to a twentieth-century 'subjective judgment' approach to objectivity which acknowledged the intervention of the observer in the production of facts and the need for professionally guided judgment to produce data. In other words, the shift in the meaning of objectivity reveals that there are no pure objective facts, but that objectivity is produced through selection, enhancement, and –more than anything– judgement. Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York : Cambridge, Mass: Zone Books ; Distributed by the MIT Press, 2007).

[64] Sigmund Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. James Strachey, Anna Freud, and Angela Richards, vol. Volume XIV (1914-1916): (London: Hogarth Press, 1966), 237–58.

[65] I owe this idea of etymonic objects and buildings to my advisor Andrew M. Shanken. See, Andrew M. Shanken, *The Everyday Life of Memorials* (Forthcoming, Zone Books).

that appears devoid of pathos and heroics to the 1987 visitor, allowing "the site to speak for itself," as Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm later said.[66]

The white pavilion was modern in is aesthetic, functionalism, and content, yet it was not abstract. Confronted with the same problem as the rolling black box –how to represent the Third Reich–, the team behind the West German pavilion used a twofold sense of objectivity to represent the most gruesome crimes against humanity from the standpoint of the perpetrators. Instead of abstracting the war into numbers and figures, "Topography of Terror" presented original documents, photographs, and maps mostly from German archives, thus reflecting the perpetrators' perspective. Unlike the East German tale of rupture between fascism and the GDR, the emergent narrative of the "Topography of Terror" exhibition was continuity. To put it differently, "Topography of Terror", housed in a haphazardly built wooden addition to the main city-anniversary exhibition located in a restored neoclassicist building, presented itself as a factual exhibition about the inability to excise Nazism from the broader history of Berlin and the nation.

Documenting Terror and Exposing Collective Guilt

Focusing on the perpetrators instead of the victims, the first "Topography of Terror" exhibition echoed the unfolding *Historikerstreit* which prompted a reassessment of the meaning of the Holocaust within German history: its uniqueness as a historical event, as well as the guilt and collective responsibility of the German people.[67] Likewise, the West German exhibition showed signs of another historiographical transformation, the *Geschichtswerkstatt Bewegung* [History Workshop Movement], which amongst other principles proposed to "dig where you stand" to uncover micro-histories of the everyday from below.[68] With influences from above –the Historikerstreit– and below –the History Workshop–, the site reflected the historiographical shift of the 80s in West Germany. "Topography of Terror" was the first German site and exhibition to focus on the perpetrators, constituting not only a breakthrough in the *Vergangenheitsbewältigung,* but also paving the way for a new type of commemoration –historical documentation. Since the buildings that contained the NS terror institutions were demolished, their ruins and the excruciating documentation of the archival materials that remained –photographs, maps, reports, and graphs– served to support the new meaning of the site as evidence of the crimes perpetrated by the preceding German generation. What occurred in the late 80s around the new "Topography of Terror" exhibition was a turn in mentality which paved the way for apologies to materialize around historical sites. Although not explicitly focused on apologies, sociologist Dariuš Zifonun's analysis of postwar memory discourses in Germany illuminates this turn towards the acknowledgment of collective responsibility, guilt, and

---

[66] Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, "Lasst Das Gelände Sprechen!," ZEIT ONLINE, June 3, 2004, http://www.zeit.de/2004/24/Topografie.

[67] During the *Historikerstreit* Jürgen Habermas and a group of historians confronted German victimology discourses claiming the innocence of the German people. The debate redefined the dominant historical framework of analysis of the role of Germany in World War II, paving the way for new historical accounts focused on collective and societal responsibility. See: Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau.*

[68] Wüstenberg, *Civil Society and Memory in Postwar Germany*; Sven Lindqvist and Manfred Demmeyer, *Grabe Wo Du Stehst: Handbuch Zur Erforschung Der Eigenen Geschichte*, Gräw Där Du Står.German (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., 1989); Thijs, *Drei Geschichten, eine Stadt*; Till, *The New Berlin.*

regret. Zifonun distinguishes between three different types of commemoration. The first one is what he calls the *Betroffenheitsdiskurs*, or self-deprecating discourse. He uses the Dachau concentration camp as an example of a mode of commemoration where victims take the central stage, perpetrators are virtually unidentifiable, and visitors are prone to identify with the victims. The second discourse he describes is the *Schlussstrichdiskurs*, or literally 'draw-an-endline' discourse, which intended to draw out a limit for social responsibility, collective guilt, and reparations. The third discourse Zifonun identifies, and he does this solely using the Gestapo site as an example, is the *Aufarbeitungsdiskurs*, or confrontation-with-the-past discourse, which unlike the other two discourses involves a careful examination of the crimes, the victims, and the perpetrators. Memory sites can shift from one type of discourse to another. Zifonun demonstrates this point with the transformation of the Gestapo site from self-deprecation embodied by the proposed memorial to the victims of Nazism, to its confrontation-with-the-past epitomized by the "Topography of Terror" exhibition.[69] All three discourses are embedded in the emergent cult of apology as they reveal different modes through which guilt can be publicly addressed, in some cases admitted, and in others neutralized.

Zifonun's categories illuminate the changing meaning of apology, guilt, and collective responsibility in postwar Germany. There are many examples of German self-deprecating memory. Willy Brandt's kneeling inaugurated this mode, and the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin takes it to monumental proportions. The Gestapo site's confrontation-with-the-past discourse is crucial to understand the cult of apology because it inaugurated a new mode of apology. Instead of conflating victims and perpetrators, like the previous West Berlin memorials, the "Topography of Terror" exhibition clearly distinguished between both groups and proposed a detailed analysis of the NS institutions of terror.[70] While the heads of the terror apparatus were named and depicted, the exhibition focused on the institutional structures behind these figures: how they operated and how they made decisions in German and German-occupied territories that ended millions of lives. This reading of Nazism stood in stark contrast to the dominant view that focused on the victims and blamed the Third Reich solely on Hitler and his inner circle. Thus, by revealing a wide-spread terror structure and highlighting historiographical continuities, the "Topography of Terror" exhibition made space for its visitors to reflect on collective guilt.

This new-found German self-reflection was echoed in some of the early remarks in the 1987-exhibition visitors' book:

> Depressing feelings of *guilt* arise in one from the impressive slideshows and photographic reports. As one sees this, one is *ashamed* to be a descendant of such a German generation. (No place, 12/4/1987).[71]

Likewise, identifying herself with the perpetrators and feeling ashamed by this legacy, another visitor adds:

---

[69] Zifonun, *Gedenken und Identität*.

[70] On the distinction between perpetrators and victims, see chapter four of Karen Till's *The New Berlin*, 121–52.

[71] Besucherbuch II 9/24/1987 - 1/20/1988, 89. Archiv Stiftung Topographie des Terrors. Translated from the original: "Es kommen durch die beeindruckenden Diavorträge und Bildberichte bedrückende Schuldgefühle in einem auf. Wenn man das sieht schämt man sich von einer solchen deutschen Generation abzustammen."

> For all those of us who have 'the grace of late birth,' the question arises on which side of the cell door we would have stood, or at what end of the baton or torture-apparatus we would have been. (No place, 9/5/1987).[72]

While not yet a fully-fledged cult, apology's methods can be traced throughout the narrative, evidentiary, and spatial choices behind the 1987 exhibition. There is no explicit apology at the 1987 Gestapo site, no single sentence that says 'I'm sorry' to the victims. Such a phrasing would miss the point of the 1987 exhibition and its main audience: German descendants of Nazism. It is precisely by revealing the names and faces of the perpetrators within a continuous societal fabric that the "Topography of Terror" exhibition redefined the meaning of apology and collective responsibility.

Even though the "Topography of Terror" belongs to the realm of apologies, the actual exhibition and the preservation of material traces shows a critical approach to the cult of apology.[73] Easy identification with the victims is put aside to focus on the 'society of perpetrators' and its continuing effect on the present. Against apology's power to close a chapter of the past and inaugurate a new beginning, the Gestapo site was conceived as an open wound. Finally, against apology's power to elicit forgetting, the "Topography of Terror" proposed to document, investigate, and expose.[74]

The "Topography of Terror" exhibition was not only the first to identify and examine the perpetrators, but it also founded an aesthetic expression for collective guilt. In other words, what emerged there in the late 80s was an aesthetic language to speak about Nazism and its continuities in the present. Objectivity became the driving force for this new aesthetic language. To present an apparently transparent, uncurated, and untainted depiction of the past, the curators and historians behind the exhibition created an aesthetic of emotional restraint based on the presentation of black and white photographs, archival documents, factual narratives, and material remains. In contrast to Wenzel and Lang's artistically-driven monumental landscape intervention and the rolling cubic abstraction of the East, in 1987 a two-fold objectivity became the aesthetic and methodological guide for the site of the perpetrators in the West. The combination of mechanical and subjectively-judged objectivity became the instrument through which German descendants of the Third Reich could present the past in a way that made it fathomable to the rest of the world and themselves. Echoing Edwin Goffmann's theory of the splitting of the apologizer into a guilty and a repentant self, objectivity allowed historians, curators, and architects to create an exhibition that inspired two simultaneous modes of engagement: identification and distance from the German perpetrators. While a shared sense of historicity, class, age, and education prompted an identification with the perpetrators, the existence of the exhibition itself served as evidence to prove that the German majority, and in particular those who visited the Gestapo site, had changed.

---

[72] Besucherbuch I 8/8-9/23 1987, 38. Archiv Stiftung Topographie des Terrors. Translated from the original: "Für alle, die wir "die Gnade der späten Geburt" haben, stellt sich die Frage auf welcher Seite der Zellentür wir wohl gestanden hätten, oder an welchem Ende des Schlagstockes oder der Folterapparatur wir uns befunden hätten."

[73] See Chapter 1: "The Cult of Apology" for a detailed analysis of the concept.

[74] These authors have discussed the development of the open-wound metaphor at the Gestapo site: Zifonun, *Gedenken und Identität*; Till, *The New Berlin*; Jordan, *Structures of Memory*.

The Consolidation of the Cult of Apology (1989-2010)

New Berlin's Memorial Triad

Although the "Topography of Terror" exhibition was supposed to close after the summer of 1987, it remained open for years. After demands for "A heater for everyone", Steiner's white wooden pavilion was secured for the winter and extended indefinitely; in the words of the city mayor, "until something better could be found."[75] By any standard, the "Topography of Terror" exhibit was a success: it was widely covered by the media, acclaimed by experts, visited by thousands, and it even traveled across the Wall to the East Berlin Staatsbibliothek in 1989, passing the rigorous censorship of the GDR.[76] Settling the search for an appropriate name for the site, which had been known as Prinz-Albrecht-Block and Gestapo site in the previous decades, the title of the exhibition became its eponym.[77] While almost every other comment in the visitors' book during the exhibition's first summer requested it to be extended indefinitely, there were divergent opinions on what to do with the site. One visitor wrote:

> The exhibition should stay here and should not be modified in any significant way. We do not need a new competition. The environment works for itself, the photos, the documents –an ostentatious frame would only cloud the view. (No place, 10/13/1987).[78]

Despite these wishes, the Topography of Terror was undergoing some profound changes. The end of the Cold War, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and an expert commission created to prepare a plan for the future of the site concurred to transform the year 1989 into a new beginning for Berlin and the Topography of Terror.[79] In a reunited Germany, the western model of capitalism came hand

---

[75] Besucherbuch II 9/24/1987 - 1/20/1988, 42 (entry 10/25/1987). Archiv Stiftung Topographie des Terrors. Translated from the original: "Eine Heizung für alle." Till, *The New Berlin*.

[76] The 1989 opening of the "Topography of Terror" exhibition in East Berlin, and later in the concentration camp Buchenwald, was part of a bilateral cooperation agreement between the East and West Berlin Senators for Culture, which included the opening of an East German exhibition in West Berlin: "Und lehrt sie: Gedächtnis!" [And Teach Them: Memory!] which was housed in the Martin-Gropius-Bau. This bilateral agreement was part of the increasing cooperation between east and west German politicians ahead of reunification. "Topographie des Terrors wird in Ost-Berlin gezeigt," *Tagesspiegel*, January 21, 1989, Topography of Terror Archive; Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, *Topographie des Terrors: Ausstellungen 1987-2017*. For more newspaper clippings of the exhibition in East Germany, see Pressespiegel 1989, Topography of Terror Archive. About the success of the exhibition, see Stefanie Endlich, "Die >offene Wunde< in Der Stadtbrache: Zum Bauwettbewerb >Topographie Des Terrors<," in *Architektur in Berlin: Jahrbuch 1993/1994*, Architektenkammer Berlin (Hamburg, 1994), 56–61.

[77] While I have been using "Topography of Terror" to refer to the 1987 exhibition, I will hereafter use Topography of Terror (without quotation marks) to refer to the Gestapo site. For more detail about the origin of the Topography of Terror name, see Till, *The New Berlin*, 134–37; Rürup, Interview; Hesse, Interviews; Sander, Interviews.

[78] Besucherbuch II 9/24/1987 - 1/20/1988, 30. Archiv Stiftung Topographie des Terrors. Translated from the original: "Die Ausstellung sollte hier bleiben und nicht großartig verändert werden. Wir brauchen keinen neuen Wettbewerb. Die Umgebung wirkt für sich, die Fotos, die Dokumente – ein pompöser Rahmen würde den Blick trüben."

[79] Stefanie Endlich, "Die Zukunft des Berliner 'Prinz-Albrecht-Geländes' ('Gestapo-Geländes'). Zum Abschlußbericht der 'Fachkomission zur Erarbeitung von Vorschlägen für die künftige Nutzung des "Prinz-Albrecht-Geländes"

in hand with an international human rights regime and increasing international awareness around apologies and reparations.[80] Consequently, in the 90s, the memorial landscape of Berlin changed following the pace of reconstruction of the divided city. Karen Till, Jennifer Jordan, and Elizabeth Strom have examined the emergence of "New Berlin," and in particular the construction of memorials during this decade.[81] Building on their work, I look at the reconfiguration of a new post-cold war memorial triad as an illustration of the urban transformation of the city and the consolidation of the cult of apology.

In parallel to the debates about what to do with the Topography of Terror, in the late 80s, *Perspektive Berlin*, a civilian initiative spearheaded by German journalist Lea Rosh and German historian Eberhard Jäckel, championed the idea of building a memorial to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust. It was inaugurated in 2005 as the *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* [from now on Holocaust Memorial] (Fig. 2.29.).[82] Before finding a permanent location only a few blocks away from the Topography of Terror, in the Ministerial Gardens, north of the former Reich Chancellery, the Holocaust Memorial was proposed to be located on the Gestapo site. During a public forum in January 1989, Lea Rosh suggested that there was no better place for the memorial to the victims of Nazism than the center of its terror institutions.[83] Going back to Zifonun's memory discourse categories, *Perspektive Berlin's* proposal presented a return from the confrontation-with-the-past discourse initiated by the "Topography of Terror" exhibition to a self-deprecating narrative reminiscent of the first memorial competition for the site.[84] Lea Rosh, a former Lutheran, who changed her first name from the German-sounding Edith to Lea, directly identified the Holocaust Memorial with the redemption of Germany's guilt and the acknowledgment of historical responsibility for the crimes perpetrated by the Nazis. Inspired by Yad Vashem, Rosh argued that the Holocaust Memorial "should not be a tasks of Jews, of the victims, but a task of non-Jews."[85]

('Gestapo-Geländes')"" (Senatsverwaltung für Kulturelle Angelegenheiten / Berliner Festspiele GmbH, December 1990), Topography of Terror Archive; Akademie der Künste (Berlin, Germany), *Zum Umgang Mit Dem Gestapo-Gelände*.

[80] Paul Rabinow, "Midst Anthropology's Problems," in *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics, and Ethics as Anthropological Problems*, ed. Aihwa Ong and Stephen J. Collier (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2005), 40–53.

[81] Till, *The New Berlin*; Jordan, *Structures of Memory*; Strom and Mayer, "The New Berlin"; Strom, *Building the New Berlin*; HARTMUT HÄUSSERMANN and KATJA SIMONS, "Developing the New Berlin: Large Projects – Great Risks," *Geographische Zeitschrift* 89, no. 2/3 (2001): 125–34.

[82] The literature on the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe is vast and rich. These are some relevant sources: Stiftung Denkmal für die Ermordeten Juden Europas, ed., *Holocaust: Der Ort Der Information Des Denkmals Für Die Ermordeten Juden Europas*, 1. Auflage (Berlin: Stiftung Denkmal für die Ermordeten Juden Europas, 2015); Sibylle Quack, ed., *Auf Dem Weg Zur Realisierung: Das Denkmal Für Die Ermordeten Juden Europas Und Der Ort Der Information: Architektur Und Historisches Konzept*, Schriftenreihe Der Stiftung Denkmal Für Die Ermordeten Juden Europas, Bd. 1 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2002); Godfrey, *Abstraction and the Holocaust*; Eisenman, *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*; Eisenman and Rauterberg, *Holocaust Memorial Berlin*; Brigitte Sion, *Memorials in Berlin and Buenos Aires: Balancing Memory, Architecture, and Tourism* (Lexington Books, 2014); Johan Åhr, "Memory and Mourning in Berlin: On Peter Eisenman's Holocaust-Mahnmal (2005)," *Modern Judaism* 28, no. 3 (2008): 283–305; Irit Dekel, "Ways of Looking: Observation and Transformation at the Holocaust Memorial, Berlin," *Memory Studies* 2, no. 1 (January 1, 2009): 71–86, https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698008097396.

[83] *Perspektive Berlin's* original proposal and the debates surrounding it are archived in Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 002 Nr. 38223. Additionally, a summary of the debate is available here: Akademie der Künste (Berlin, Germany), *Zum Umgang Mit Dem Gestapo-Gelände*.

[84] Zifonun, *Gedenken und Identität*.

[85] Lea Rosh quoted in: Till, *The New Berlin*, 173.

Thus, in its early conception, the Holocaust Memorial was meant to be a memorial for the victims, by the perpetrators; in other words, a symbolic reparation.[86]

Fig. 2.29. Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin 2015.

Fig. 2.30. Interior view of the Jewish Museum in Berlin, 2015.

Similarly to Brandt's kneeling, the Holocaust Memorial was created as a symbol of repentance offered to an abstracted group of victims in order to build a new future for Germany based on reconciliation. Blurring the boundaries between victims and perpetrators, the early rhetoric around the Holocaust Memorial circumscribed guilt to Hitler's inner circle and elicited a broad identification with the victims.[87] The guidelines for the 1994-competition for the Holocaust Memorial pushed the self-deprecating apologetic narrative even further: "We Germans must place a symbol that will be visible from afar to show to the world that we have accepted the burden of our history, that we intend to write a new chapter in our history."[88] While concrete guilt was circumscribed, historical responsibility was imagined to be national in scope. The influence of the cult of apology in the Holocaust Memorial is indisputable. However, only a few blocks away, the problems of representation of the Gestapo site as a *locus of terror* suggest the confrontation of two distinct apologetic models: one based on honoring the victims and another focused on documenting the perpetrators. It follows that the evolution of the meaning and the role of the Topography of Terror cannot be analyzed in isolation from its memorial context.

Perspektive Berlin's proposal had a short life, thanks to the public protest of organizations including the *Iniziative zum Umgang mit dem Gestapo-Gelände*, *Aktives Museum,* and the *Akademie der Künste*, as well as the institutions and actors behind the first "Topography of Terror" exhibition.[89] In

[86] While the local Jewish community and international Jewish experts were involved, it was primarily as external advisors, not as part of the steering committee of the memorial. James E. Young, "Germany's Holocaust Memorial Problem—and Mine," *The Public Historian* 24, no. 4 (November 1, 2002): 65–80, https://doi.org/10.1525/tph.2002.24.4.65; Till, *The New Berlin*.

[87] Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 002 Nr. 38223. Akademie der Künste (Berlin, Germany), *Zum Umgang Mit Dem Gestapo-Gelände*; Till, *The New Berlin*.

[88] 1994-competition guidelines quoted in: Till, *The New Berlin*, 174.

[89] Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 002 Nr. 38223; Akademie der Künste (Berlin, Germany), *Zum Umgang Mit Dem Gestapo-Gelände*.

addition, two other factors allowed a compound memorial model for "New Berlin" to emerge. First, the publication in early 1990 of the report of the expert commission on the Gestapo site created by the Berlin Senate in 1989. Based on the success of the 1987 exhibition, the commission presented a series of recommendations to transform the site into a permanent documentation center about the perpetrators, which generated political consensus around the future use of the site.[90] Second, the fall of the Berlin Wall made new centrally located lots available, which released the pressure of resolving all memorial demands in just one site. A third memorial site was already underway, after a 1987 public competition to build an extension to the existing Berlin Museum, resulted in the selection of Daniel Libeskind's design for the Jewish Museum in June of 1989 (Fig. 2.30). In short, from 1989 to the early 2000s, Berlin gained two central memorial institutions: the Jewish Museum, which opened in 2001, and the Holocaust Memorial, designed by Peter Eisenman and inaugurated in 2005.

Again, Berlin city officials envisioned these sites in relationship to each other: while the Jewish Museum was intended to showcase the life and culture of the largest group of Nazi victims, the Holocaust Memorial served to honor these victims and remember their extermination.[91] Both these sites reveal the shift from an early 80s victimology centered on Germans and reflected in the German Resistance Memorial and Plötzensee, to a victimology centered on the Jews as the main victims and the Holocaust as a limit event. To complete the new memorial triad, in the 90s, the Gestapo site would document the perpetrators and their crimes. This role arose precisely because the other memorial sites honored the victims.

That three different sites were needed to express the superabundance of feelings about the German past is yet another sign of the insufficiency of words to express regret. Looking back at Brandt's gesture, the very different ways in which these three memorial sites incorporate guilt speak to ongoing attempts to materialize apologies beyond words. The Holocaust Memorial is abstract and at the same time strongly gestural, and it is a landscape that can be traversed and inhabited. The Jewish museum is also strongly gestural, even though it is museological and filled with documentation: evidence takes the shape of first-hand narratives, objects, paintings, books, models, and photographs. The Topography of Terror combines some of these modes: it is museological, but in a different way, curation being guided by restraint and objectivity. Here too documents and photographs play a central role. However, what distinguishes the former Gestapo headquarters from the other two pieces of the triad is its relationship to an historical site, summoned up by ruins, debris, and open space.

After the Berlin Senate Department for Urban Development and Housing held a second closed architectural competition for the Gestapo site in 1992/93, Peter Zumthor's proposed design for the Topography of Terror became the third piece of the memorial puzzle that officials and politicians had been envisioning since the early 80s.[92] His building was to join the others, both

---

[90] Endlich, "Abschlußbericht Fachkomission 'Prinz-Albrecht-Geländes' ('Gestapo-Geländes')"."

[91] Peter Ostendorff, Interview with Peter Ostendorff, former director of the "Competitions and Selection Process" unit of the Berlin Senate Department for Urban Development and Housing, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, Transcript and Audio, August 24, 2017.

[92] Rürup, Interview; Ostendorff, Interview; Christina Tilmann and Reinhard Rürup, "Skandal und letzte Hoffnung. „Topographie"-Direktor Reinhard Rürup über seinen Rücktritt," *Der Tagesspiegel*, March 27, 2004, sec. Kultur, https://www.tagesspiegel.de/kultur/skandal-und-letzte-hoffnung/502864.html; "'Gedenken Ohne Hierarchien'

designed by star-architects, located in the center of Berlin, boasting contemporary architecture, grandiose budgets, public design competitions, and heated debates. These three sites of memory – the Jewish Museum, the Holocaust Memorial, and the Topography of Terror– represented a repentant new Germany. These "New Berlin" memorials drove home a global message. They reflect the intensification of transnational Holocaust studies after the opening of formerly classified Soviet archives in 1991, the reestablishment of Berlin as capital, and the newfound role of Germany as a global humanitarian leader.[93] With an expanding global audience, these memorials stood in contrast to the previous West Berlin memorials that focused primarily on German nation-building and reconciliation.

The new assemblage of German memorials also shifted the meaning of apology. While sites like the German Resistance Memorial and Plötzensee, could be read as excuses ameliorating German collective responsibility, the post-*Wende* memorials showcased collective guilt, a wide acknowledgment of Nazi crimes, and an expanding recognition of groups of victims.[94] The passage of time also helped to shift the meaning of apologies: as the distance from the actual event and the possibility of naming and punishing actual perpetrators started to dissipate, a sense of collective guilt was more tenable, because as Hannah Arendt argues, it had no bearing on actual justice.[95] The search for an appropriate permanent expression of repentance is particularly important, because as chapter one has shown, textual apologies are fleeting. How to make apologies last in time, and what form guilt and collective responsibility should take in a reunified Germany were some of the central questions guiding the actors that determined the future of the Gestapo site.

Second Memorial Competition

After Peter Zumthor found out through the German press that *Stabwerk,* his project for the Topography of Terror, had been dismissed, he protested against the decision and tried to save his design.[96] It was too late. Public disapproval of *Stabwerk* was fierce: it was too pretentious, too abstract, impossible to build, and too expensive. Even worse, the architect himself was being

---

Andreas Nachama Hält Erinnerung an Alle Nazi-Opferngruppen Für Wichtig.," *Berliner Morgenpost*, January 17, 2004, Pressespiegel 2004, Topography of Terror Archive.

[93] I learned much about the historiographical consolidation of the approach that the 1987 exhibition inaugurated and the significance of the opening of the Soviet archives from my colleagues at the Holocaust Educational Fund Summer Institute on the Holocaust and Jewish Civilization at Northwestern University in 2018. I want to thank them for their insights and generosity.

[94] A good example of the latter is the memorial assemblage of Nazi victim groups that was developed around the central Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe, which includes a memorial to the Sinti and Roma victims, a memorial to the Homosexuals persecuted by Nazism, and a memorial to the victims of Nazi euthanasia killings. Stefanie Endlich, *Wege zur Erinnerung: Gedenkstätten und -orte für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus in Berlin und Brandenburg*, 1. Aufl. (Berlin: Berlin Landeszentrale Für Politische Bildungsarbeit, 2006).

[95] Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, Penguin Classics (New York, N.Y: Penguin Books, 2006).

[96] Claudio Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's 'Topography of Terror,'" *Arq: Architectural Research Quarterly* 18, no. 02 (June 2014): 110–122, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1359135514000426; Falk Jaeger, "Topographie Des Errors," *Der Tagesspiegel*, October 28, 2004, sec. Kultur. Peter Zumthor gave interviews in several German and foreign newspapers, and during the months after his dismissal he gave a lecture about his project for the Topography of Terror at the Berliner Akademie der Künste.

accused of being self-indulgent, incompetent, and inflexible to users' demands. After eleven years of budgetary and construction struggles, in May 2004, the State of Berlin and the Federal State announced that Peter Zumthor's contract to design a documentation center on the Gestapo site had come to an end.[97] It was a call for a new beginning: a new architectural competition was to be held during that same year and the construction for the new project was planned to start in 2006.[98] While the press became a battlefield between supporters and detractors of *Stabwerk*, the site became a construction-site ruin, immersed in the torpid state that years of construction suspensions had left it in. As part of the initial momentum of Peter Zumthor's design, construction activities had started by cordoning off the site, dismantling Steiner's wooden pavilion, and erecting three-66ft [20m] stair towers. Reaching over the construction area safety fence, these three towers had first become the visual symbol of the progress and later standstill of the Topography of Terror. More than a decade after the demolition of Zumthor's towers, *Stabwerk* still arose as a contentious topic among academics, activists, curators, historians, and architects involved in the development of the Topography of Terror that I interviewed in Berlin. This is because two competing visions for the site emerged around the *Stabwerk* controversy. These two approaches proposed to deal with material evidence and historical narrative in distinct ways, which in turn had an effect on the way apologies materialized throughout the site and its interventions.

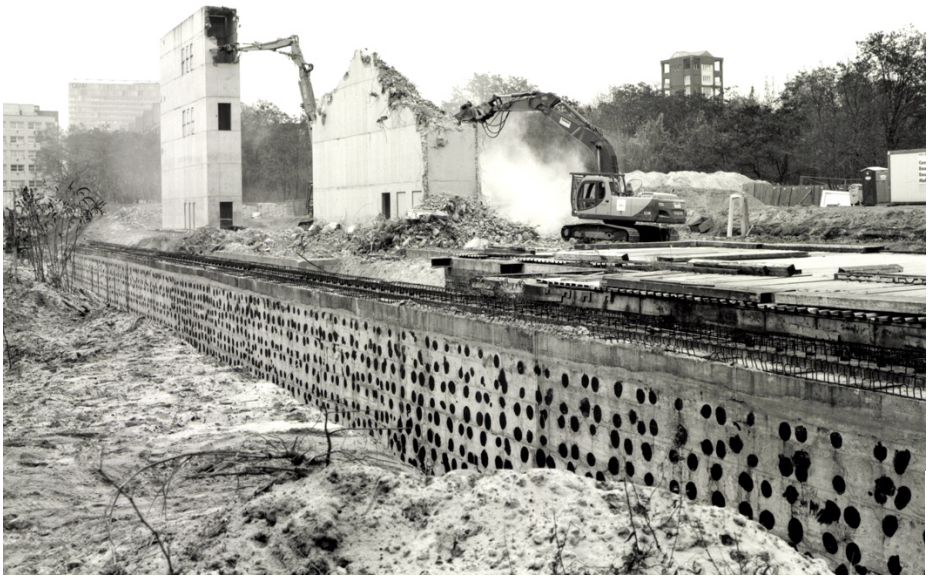


Fig. 2.31. Demolition of Peter Zumthor's design *Stabwerk*, 2004.

[97] "Streit Um Abriss Der Zumthor-Treppentürme - DIE WELT," accessed September 29, 2015, http://www.welt.de/print-welt/article336342/Streit-um-Abriss-der-Zumthor-Treppentuerme.html?print=true.
[98] Stefanie Endlich, "Trennung von Zumthor - Was Nun? Neuorientierung Für Die Topographie Des Terrors," *Gedenkstättenforum*, no. 120 (2004): 27–38.

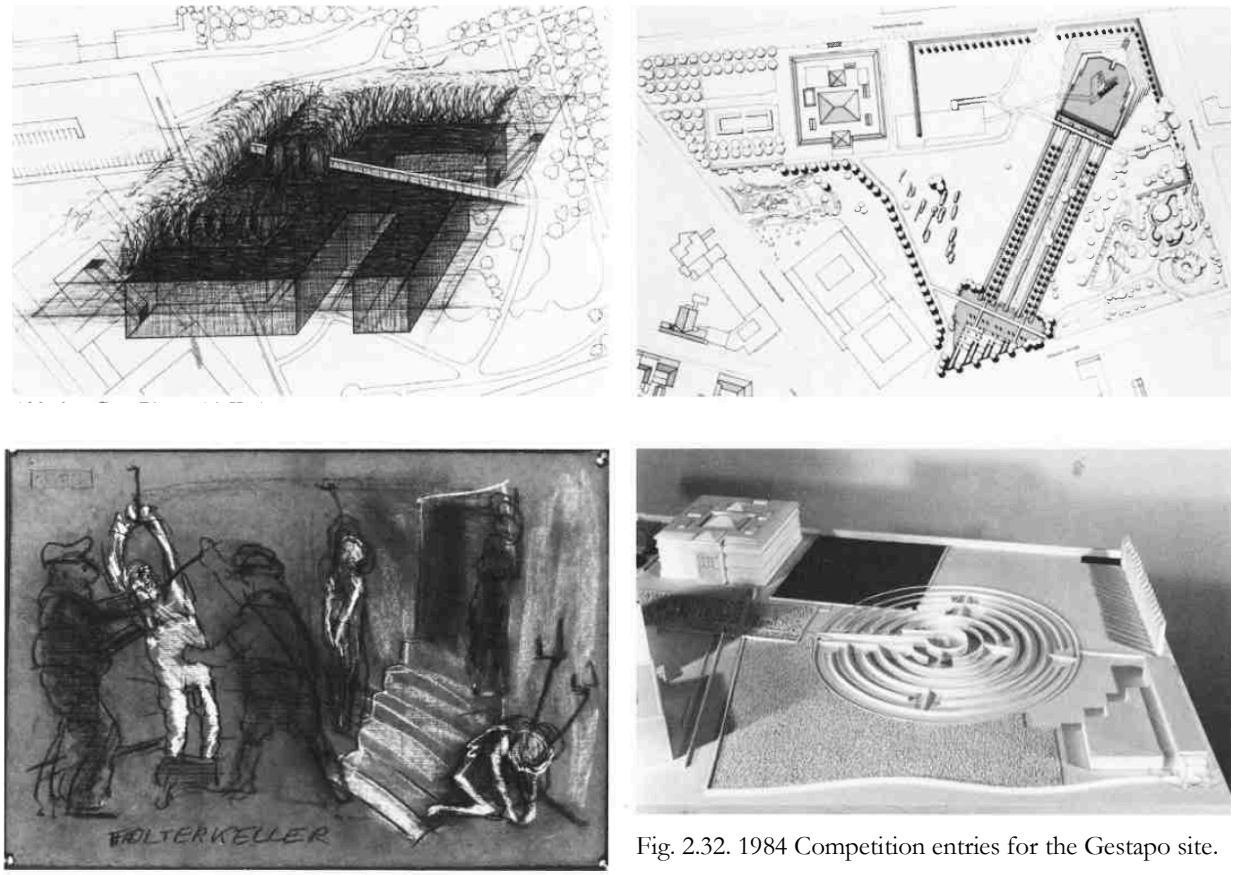


Fig. 2.32. 1984 Competition entries for the Gestapo site.

The plethora of fascist symbolism that surfaced during the first competition for the Gestapo site served as a warning for the jury of the second competition (Fig. 2.32).[99] This time around, modernism was conjured up as an antidote. Instead of calling for an artistic representation of memory, the second competition's guidelines dropped the memorial and park requirements and instructed its participants to design a functional building to house the pedagogical needs of the site. The guidelines included detailed usage requirements: the archeological remains and postwar traces had to be actively preserved and the project had to house an adjusted but not greatly modified version of the 1987 "Topography of Terror" exhibition. Additionally, it had to incorporate a documentation center, a space for temporary exhibitions, a visitor center, a library, a media library, rooms for events, offices for the employees of the newly created Topography of Terror Foundation, and rooms for visitor support. With regard to the treatment of the site, the guidelines stated that a 'decentralized' spatial arrangement of the usage requirements was encouraged in order to avoid a single massive construction that would change the "character of the site."[100]

[99] Endlich, "Die >offene Wunde< in Der Stadtbrache: Zum Bauwettbewerb >Topographie Des Terrors<."
[100] Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung et al., "Offener, internationaler Realisierungswettbewerb Topographie des Terrors, Berlin. Auslobungstext 2. Phase." (Bundesministerium für Verkehr, Bau- und Wohnungswesen, Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung, 2005), Archive Topography of Terror Foundation; Endlich, "Trennung von Zumthor - Was Nun? Neuorientierung Für Die Topographie Des Terrors"; Endlich, "Die >offene Wunde< in Der Stadtbrache: Zum Bauwettbewerb >Topographie Des Terrors<."

Fig. 2.33. Model of Peter Zumthor's *Stabwerk*. Peter Zumthor Exhibition, ExperimentaDesign Lisboa, 2008.

The main design problem that loomed over the site during these years was how to match the unexpected success of Steiner's modest wooden pavilion and the factual representation of the 1987 exhibition. While the latter was resolved by the Senate-appointed expert commission, which conceived the permanent exhibition as a continuity of the original, there were still questions around the appropriate architecture to house it and the treatment of the site. From a total of twelve invited architects, *Stabwerk* won the competition with the votes of architectural experts and City and Senate representatives against the votes of the future users: the Topography of Terror Foundation.[101] For those who rejected *Stabwerk,* it was the exact opposite of what the guidelines had prescribed: a monumental, unified aesthetic solution that would draw attention away from the site.[102] For those who favored Zumthor's design, it embodied a return to an ideal moralist modernism: design, function, and materiality at service of reason and truth (Fig. 2.33.).[103]

---

[101] Fischer-Defoy, "Das Aktive Museum, Das Gestapo-Gelände Und Die „Topographie Des Terrors" – Eine Beziehungsgeschichte," 7.

[102] Stefanie Endlich, "'Reine Struktur'. Peter Zumthors Neubau Für Die Stiftung 'Topographie Des Terrors': Architektursprache, Kunstkonzept, Symbolgehalt, Funktion," *Mitgliederrundbrief Aktives Museum. Faschismus Und Widerstand in Berlin e.V.*, no. 51 (July 2004): 22–34; Stefanie Endlich, "Stefanie Endlich Über Peter Zumthors Topographie-Bau: Japanische, Strukturelle Heiterkeit," accessed September 29, 2015, http://www.berliner-zeitung.de/archiv/stefanie-endlich-ueber-peter-zumthors-topographie-bau-japanische--strukturelle-heiterkeit,10810590,10179506.html.

[103] Hanno Rauterberg, "Baut Endlich Zumthor!," *Die Zeit*, November 25, 2004, sec. Feuilleton; Nikolaus Bernau, "Das Scheitern Zumthors Ist Folge Kollektiver Verantwortungslosigkeit: Und Wo War Der Bauherr?," accessed September 29, 2015, http://www.berliner-zeitung.de/archiv/das-scheitern-zumthors-ist-folge-kollektiver-verantwortungslosigkeit-und-wo-war-der-bauherr-,10810590,10179816.html; "Streit Um Abriss Der Zumthor-Treppentürme - DIE WELT"; Guski and Schauermann, "Topographie de Terrors. Der Neubau Peter Zumthors auf dem Prinz-Albrecht-Gelände in Berlin"; N. N., "Topographie: Künstler Für Zumthor," *Der Tagesspiegel*, November 17, 2004, sec. Kultur.

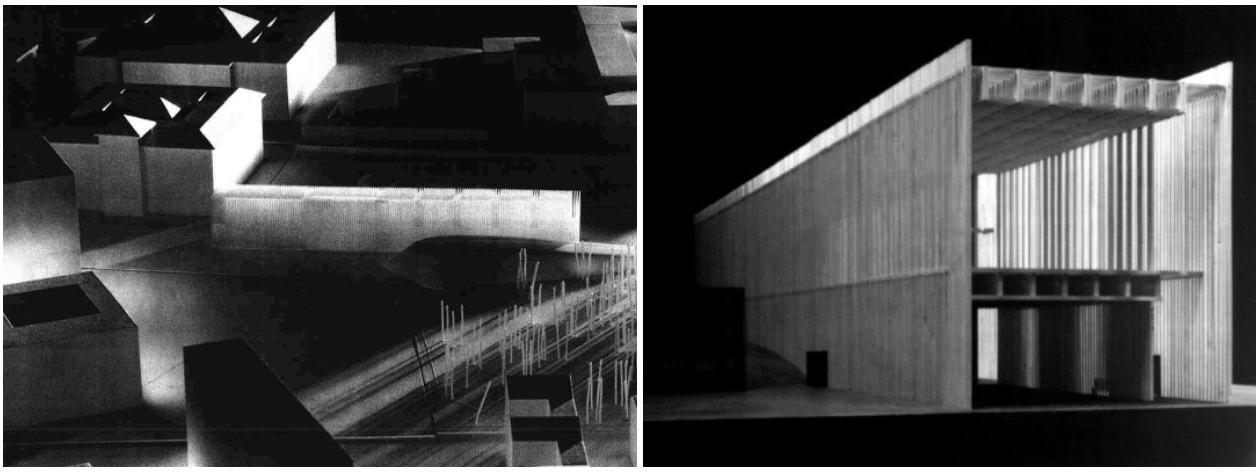


Fig. 2.34. Views of model of Peter Zumthor's *Stabwerk*.

The moral project of early twentieth-century high modernism, in particular German high modernism, has been the subject of architectural history surveys and postmodern critiques.[104] Iconic works, such as Walter Gropius' Bauhaus building in Dessau or Mies van der Rohe's design for a skyscraper for Friedrichstrasse in Berlin, exemplify how moral qualities –truth, honesty, and transparency– were often transposed into actual building materials, glass perhaps being the most self-evident of all. *Stabwerk's* transparency, lightness, and legibility attracted some of these moralizing readings. For example, Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, a member of the 1993 jury and vocal supporter of *Stabwerk*, described Zumthor's design as being an "undecorated shed." The undecorated shed is a reference to the book *Learning from Las Vegas,'* which divided architecture into "ducks" and "decorated sheds." The former are buildings that are molded after their meaning, for example a cell-phone shaped communications building, while the latter are ordinary and functional boxes decorated with signs that convey their meaning. This is the model that the book explores in the Las Vegas strip. By contrast, Hoffmann-Axthelm suggests that *Stabwerk* embodies a third category, namely the "decorated shed." A minimalist, neutral, and discrete building where form matches function, and in which the designers resist the temptation to use aesthetic symbolism to represent the past (Fig. 2.34.).[105] Additionally, he argued that, out of the submissions for the competition, Zumthor's proposal was the only one exhibiting the necessary restraint to intervene in the former seat of the NS institutions of terror.[106] The time for artistic representations of memory had passed, according to Hoffman-Axthelm, and architecture had to redefine and restrict its role in order to become a

---

[104] David Watkin, *Morality and Architecture: The Development of a Theme in Architectural History and Theory from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement* (Oxford [Eng.]: Clarendon Press, 1977); David Watkin, *Morality and Architecture Revisited*, Rev. ed. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001); S. Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture; the Growth of a New Tradition*, 5th ed., rev.enl, Charles Eliot Norton Lectures 1938–1939 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967); Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, 2d ed, The Museum of Modern Art Papers on Architecture 1 (New York : Boston: Museum of Modern Art ; distributed by New York Graphic Society, 1977).

[105] Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1977).

[106] Hoffmann-Axthelm, "Lasst Das Gelände Sprechen!"; Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, "Wie Lesbar Ist Die Geschichte? Überlegungen Während Des Wettbewerbs, 'Topographie Des Terrors' in Berlin," in *Die Rettung Der Architektur Vor Sich Selbst: Zehn Polemiken*, Bauwelt Fundamente 108 (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1995), 92–99.

'neutral' scenario for social confrontation with the traces of the past. That architecture could strip away all 'extraneous' ornament and be direct is part of the myth of modernism, but in this case it also seems to join the Frankfurt School belief that representation was impossible after the Holocaust.[107] Similarly to the "Topography of Terror" exhibition's turn to objectivity, Hoffman-Axthelm's depiction of Zumthor's proposal as neutral and functional reveals a nostalgia for a pre-Nazi modernism. *Stabwerk's* supposed 'neutrality' and the historical exhibition's 'objectivity' are both temporal and conceptual returns: they look back to nineteenth and early twentieth-century ideas, later reassessed by postmodernism. What both objectivity and neutrality have in common is the restraint of subjectivity and emotion. The Topography of Terror's unique innovation in the world of memorial representation lies in this restraint, which has led historians, curators, architects, archivists, and activists behind its development to re-imagine objectivity and neutrality with a contemporary ethos.

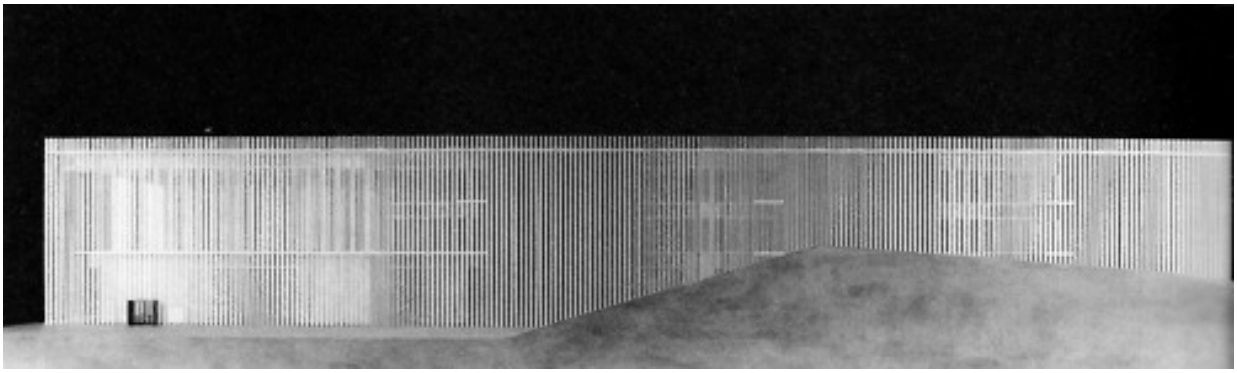


Fig. 2.35. Longitudinal view of model of Peter Zumthor's *Stabwerk*.

Restraint, however, in denying emotion, constantly refers back to what it represses, and this brings us back to the origins of preservation. Alois Riegl described the modern cult of monuments as a "general dissemination of a feeling," which substituted a monument's art-value, an art-historical 'objective' assessment, with a subjective disposition based on age-value.[108] Deeply entangled with Riegl's cult of monuments, the cult of apology allows the dissemination of a particular set of feelings: guilt, remorse, pity, compassion, and most importantly empathy. In opposition to Riegl and the cult of apology, Zumthor's design for the Topography of Terror attempts to contain the plethora of feelings around German sites of terror returning to the idea of objective art-value. That emotions can interfere with thoughtful remembrance of the past is a recurring theme in memory studies. According to Zifonun, German self-deprecation discourses led to an empathic identification with the victims, which occluded the structures and social responsibilities of the crimes.[109] Similarly,

[107] Theodor W. Adorno, Jeffrey K. Olick, and Andrew J. Perrin, *Guilt and Defense: On the Legacies of National Socialismin Postwar Germany* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2010); Theodor W. Adorno, *Kulturkritik Und Gesellschaft*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, 2. Aufl, Gesammelte Schriften ; Bd. 10 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1996).
[108] Alois Riegl, "Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalpflege," Review, Mitteilungen der K. K. Zentralkommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale, 1905, https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/2813/.
[109] Zifonun, *Gedenken und Identität*.

in the context of her work on the representations of Holocaust postmemory, Marianne Hirsch analyzes how victims are infantilized and feminized in order to be reduced to archetypes of innocence. Stripped from historical specificity, structure and context, these archetypes allow the viewer to identify with the victim without actually remembering.[110] As the first German site dedicated to the documentation of the perpetrators, the Topography of Terror has long wrestled with the emergence of feelings. The turn to objectivity, modernism and neutrality are attempts to keep empathy –towards the victims and the perpetrators– at bay. The role that the Gestapo site plays in this regard is perhaps most evident when considering how memorial sites of former concentration camps like Auschwitz-Birkenau and museums like the United States Holocaust Museum in Washington D.C. deliberately craft emphatic responses in their visitors.

Fig. 2.36. *Stabwerk* model interior views of the main exhibition hall.

The paradox of *Stabwerk* is that, despite Hoffman-Axthelm's wishes, it was far from being a neutral or restrained design. Zumthor's modernism was not a straightforward return to early twentieth-century German high modernism, but an expression of a different kind of contemporary [late] modernism, one that incorporated visions of the past into the function of a building and

[110] Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust*, Gender and Culture (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

allowed form to follow intention, rather than function. Had Zumthor's design been completed, the visitors of the Topography of Terror would have entered the building through the main exhibition hall on the ground floor. Covered with hardened gravel, the ground floor would have been an extension of the outside site within the building (Fig. 2.36.). The cold weather of Berlin would also have found its way into this area, and the first floor of *Stabwerk* would have never been warmer than 57.2ºF [14ºC], even in summer. Zumthor could not conceive of a continuously tempered 68ºF [20ºC] building sitting on the site of the perpetrators; it should almost be "a little bit uncomfortable," he said.[111] Whereas modernism always imagined its moral basis visually or spatially, Zumthor is thinking about it haptically, experientially, phenomenologically, as well as visually and spatially. *Stabwerk* resists normality, much like Jürgen Wenzel's and Nikolaus Lang's winning project for the first competition. When first imagining his design, Zumthor said: "[…] if I could do a building which was *pure* construction, *only* construction, a building which was as *abstract* as possible to resist being typecast and [reject] all this *normalcy*..."[112] Put differently, *Stabwerk* used abstraction as a tool to dial down emotions and memorial clichés.

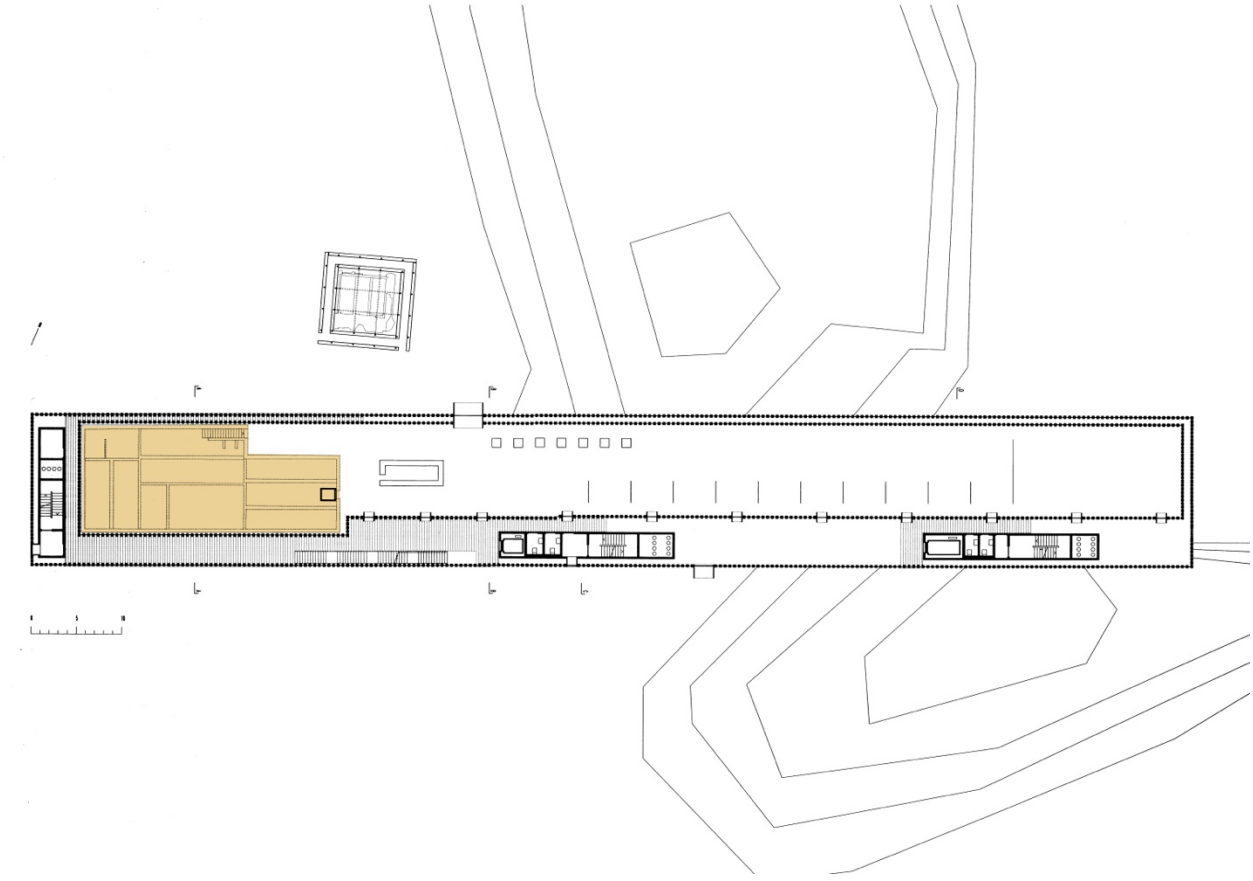


Fig. 2.37. Ground floor plan of *Stabwerk*. Archeological excavation marked in yellow.

[111] Steven Spier, "Place, Authorship and the Concrete: Three Conversations with Peter Zumthor," *Cambridge University Press* 5, no. 2 (2001): 31.
[112] Peter Zumthor cited in Spier, 31.

The geometry of Peter Zumthor's building derives from the archeological remains of the kitchen cellars found during the construction of Steiner's pavilion.[113] As the ground floor map of *Stabwerk* shows (see Fig. 2.37.), the building is placed on top of these vestiges and follows their alignment. The inclusion of natural soil and hardened gravel on the ground floor of *Stabwerk* was central, including a double fence to protect the excavations.[114] Indeed, in this regard, Zumthor followed the competition guidelines, which required roofing the site's archeological remains in order to protect them from further damage. However, Zumthor brings the visitor to the remains with something quite different from the old model of objectivity: *Stabwerk* transforms itself into a stage surrounding the ruins.

Fig. 2.38. Façade of *Stabwerk*, detail view of model.

The structure of Zumthor's Topography of Terror would have been composed of 10.2inch [26cm] thick vertical and horizontal prefabricated concrete members assembled like a wooden construction (Fig. 2.38.). Because each vertical member would have been separated by the same 10.2 inches [26cm], the resulting effect was a 1:1 façade in which one half was transparent and the other opaque.[115] Zumthor played with contrasts: while from the inside of the building the presence of the site would have been almost ubiquitous, from the outside *Stabwerk* would have looked more massive than it actually was. At night, on the other hand, which is how it was often represented, especially through the model, the building would have seemed more transparent than it actually was, floating over the dark-grey terrain. According to the architect, a 'pure construction' could only be conceived

[113] Zumthor, *Stabwerk. Internationales Besucher- und Dokumentationszentrum "Topographie des Terrors", Berlin.*
[114] Spier, "ARQ: Architectural Research Quarterly."
[115] Zumthor, *Stabwerk. Internationales Besucher- und Dokumentationszentrum "Topographie des Terrors", Berlin*; Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's 'Topography of Terror.'"

through the emptiness of any typological language, which transformed *Stabwerk* into an architectural negation. However, Zumthor was well aware of the fact that by resisting symbolism his design would become a symbol. In this regard, *Stabwerk* is the deliberate excess of the 'undecorated shed.' Through the negation of memorial symbolism, it becomes a symbol in itself, confirming the suspicions of its early detractors. Further, the design's celebrated restraint, manifested in the absence of any kind of intervention on the actual topography of the terrain, worked only in contrast with the highly manicured structure of the central building for the documentation center.[116]

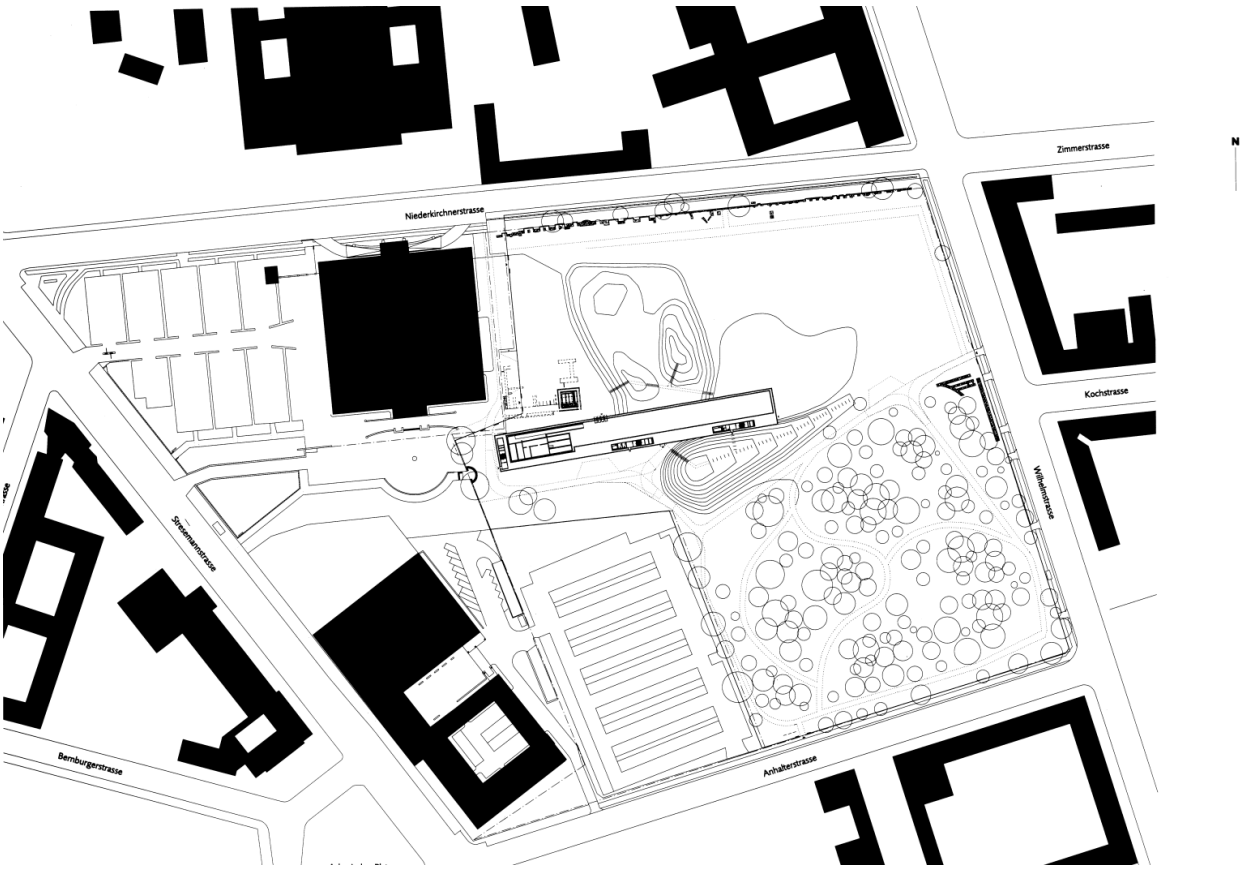


Fig. 2.39. Master plan of *Stabwerk*. The surrounding site is left untouched and the construction rubble mounds are preserved.

By leaving the site purposefully intact, Zumthor attempted to transform the architectural and archeological remnants into relics (Fig. 2.39.). Thus, at the core of *Stabwerk* lies a particular understanding of authenticity. Indeed, the German architecture critic Hanno Rauterberg argued that

[116] The structure of Zumthor's Topography of Terror would have been composed of 26cm [10.2inch] thick vertical and horizontal prefabricated concrete members assembled like a wooden construction. Because each vertical member would have been separated by the same 26cm [10.2inch], the resulting effect was a 1:1 façade in which one half was transparent and the other opaque. Here again Zumthor played with contrasts: while from the inside of the building the presence of the site would have been almost ubiquitous, from the outside *Stabwerk* would have looked more massive than it actually was. At night, on the other hand, which is how it was often represented, especially through the model, the building would have seemed more transparent than it actually was, floating over the dark-grey terrain. Zumthor, *Stabwerk. Internationales Besucher- und Dokumentationszentrum "Topographie des Terrors", Berlin*; Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's 'Topography of Terror.'"

the real reason for Peter Zumthor's termination was neither the budget nor the technical difficulties, but the content of the project in regard to its communication of authenticity.[117] Zumthor's design envisioned the site as authentic, and authenticity as an inherent quality beyond the need of human intervention; its meaning self-evident and unambiguous. In other words, through non-intervention, the site was presented as sacred. Here again one particular mode of objectivity plays a central role. While Zumthor conceived the remnants of the Gestapo site as mechanically objective, leaving them intact to 'speak for themselves,' the work of the Topography of Terror foundation was based on the premise of subjective judgment, according to which it was necessary to document, analyze, and contextualize the institutions, actors, and events of the Gestapo site. Explicitly criticizing the work of the foundation, Hoffman-Axthelm argued against the site's 'didactic destruction.'[118] Ironically, the "Topography of Terror" exhibition that had started in 1987 under the premise 'document, not judge' was now accused of didactic destruction.

The 1997 competition for the exhibition architecture of the main "Topography of Terror" exhibition provided fertile ground for these discussions to continue. Zumthor took an active stance in the debates regarding the curatorial montage of Nazi-era documents inside his future building. He not only submitted a proposal for the exhibition architecture competition, ultimately won by Jürg Steiner, but he also used his public platform as the architect of the new building to steer the debate. Similarly to Hoffman-Axthelm, Zumthor was in open disagreement with the curatorial approach of the foundation. He said in an interview: "I want to deal with reality and not with something didactically prepared. This is the place, the place is reality, and I want to see the documents one by one. But some historians want to mediate everything."[119] The architect proposed to display the Nazi era documents in their original size on tables standing in rows all along his main exhibition hall. The sheer amount of tables in an otherwise empty room would make individual visitors aware of what happened there, giving them the freedom to wander around the tables and inspect as many documents as they wanted.[120] One would need a room the size of Berlin to display it all Gestapo documents one by one, and how to order them would already create didactic content. Thus, it is unclear whether Zumthor was being naïve or provocative. Regardless of his intention, Zumthor's proposal directly undermined the pedagogical work of the Topography of Terror foundation, which was planning not only to expand the 1987 exhibition but to develop an accompanying educational program.[121]

---

[117] Rauterberg, "Baut Endlich Zumthor!"
[118] Hoffmann-Axthelm, "Lasst Das Gelände Sprechen!"
[119] Zumthor, *Stabwerk. Internationales Besucher- und Dokumentationszentrum "Topographie des Terrors", Berlin*, 36.
[120] Spier, "ARQ: Architectural Research Quarterly."
[121] Endlich, "Trennung von Zumthor - Was Nun? Neuorientierung Für Die Topographie Des Terrors."

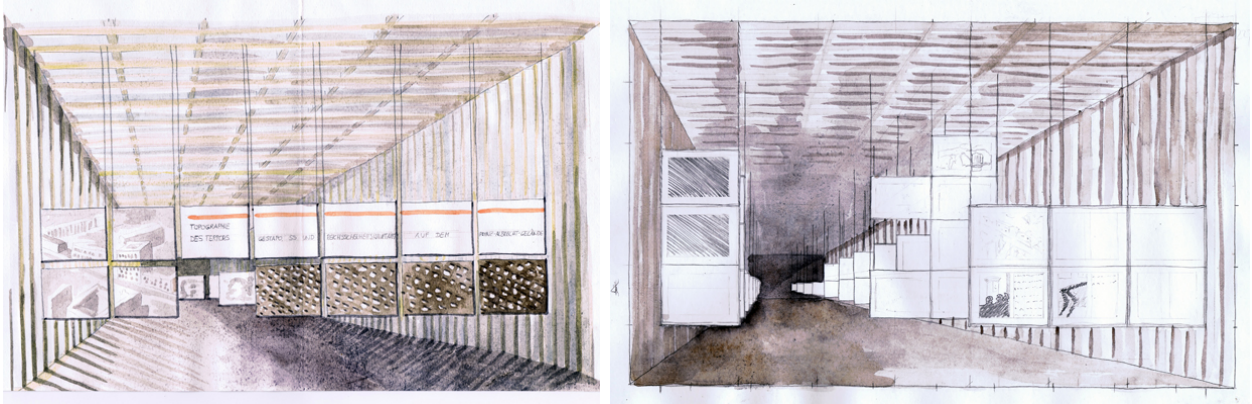


Fig. 2.40. Drawings of Jürg Steiner's winning design for the interior architecture of the new Topography of Terror building, 1997.

In opposition to Zumthor's proposal, Steiner's winning curatorial montage proposed to use the long and narrow main exhibition hall of *Stabwerk* as a deep stage.[122] Drawing on two-dimensional theater design, exhibition panels composed of photographs and text would hang from the ceiling, structuring a flexible layout of rooms and pathways on the ground (Fig. 2.40.). Steiner describes his design as a mediation between the architecture of the building and the objects, places, and people depicted by the photographs and the accompanying texts.[123] Fairly conventional, Steiner's design repurposes the layout of a number of exhibits from old World's Fairs.[124] Instead of presenting original Nazi documents, Steiner's design overtly dwells on the mediation he felt was necessary to put these artifacts in their historical, social, and cultural context. Compressing the documents' and photographs' auratic power into panels, the exhibition presents them as reproductions. This shifts the focus from the unmediated authenticity of the objects and the site proposed by Zumthor, to the work that activists, archivists, curators, architects, and historians have done to inscribe these remnants into a narrative that did not exist before –a narrative depicting the structures of terror and bureaucracy that allowed Nazism to flourish in a society that considered itself lawful. While Steiner's proposal for the main exhibition of *Stabwerk* ended with the termination of Zumthor's contract, it inspired the current exhibition.[125]

Against the common depiction of Zumthor as a solitary genius, the actual design of *Stabwerk* reveals its situatedness within the contemporary architecture of the late 90s. While the project takes a stance against numeric symbolism and well-worn memorial gestures, it attempts the monumental task of creating an immersive memorial environment. However, a dialectic is at work. By taking a stance against memorial gestures, *Stabwerk* inevitably recapitulates them. In Zumthor's design, historical evidence becomes sacred, while contemporary architecture is presented as the necessary

[122] I want to thank Jürg Steiner for describing his original design to me, and for inspiring this argument. (Steiner, Interview.)
[123] See Steiner's text for the 1997-exhibition architecture competition. Personal Archive Jürg Steiner, also partially available online: http://www.steiner.archi/?p=1609 [accessed 08/19/2019]
[124] I wish to thank Andrew Shanken for pointing this out. See: Andrew M. Shanken, *Into the Void Pacific: Building the 1939 San Francisco World's Fair*, Berkeley/Design/Books, #7 (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2014).
[125] Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, *Topographie des Terrors: Ausstellungen 1987-2017*.

neutral vessel to observe the depths of German history. As Rauterberg pointed out, there was little that the historians and curators of the Topography of Terror foundation could do with such a conception of the Gestapo site, because it rendered their museological and pedagogical work superfluous.[126] The failure of *Stabwerk* reveals the difficult path towards permanence that Germany's 'site of the perpetrators' experienced. The differing ideas of objectivity, emotional restraint, mediation, and authenticity professed by the designers and actors involved in the second competition illuminate the search for an aesthetic language to express guilt and remorse. Stefanie Endlich, a member of the 1993 jury and vocal opponent of *Stabwerk*, argued that the underlying difference between the completed Topography of Terror building and Zumthor's design is that in the former history is experienced through a factual, critical confrontation with the Nazi past, while the latter promoted an experiential effect on the visitor through architecture. In other words, Zumthor's 'pure construction' lacked emotional restraint, while pretending to be the opposite.[127]

Third Memorial Competition

Today, the Topography of Terror welcomes its visitors through a series of ramps and paths that lead downward to the open air exhibition arranged around the archeological remains of the former Gestapo building perimeter wall, or upwards to the information, exhibition, and visitor center inaugurated in 2010. Creating an eerie landscape of emptiness, a flat area of stark gravel-covered ground expands parallel to the preserved section of the Berlin Wall on Niederkirchnerstraße and up to the middle of the site. Behind the visitor center, a small grove of locust trees marks a sharp natural contrast to the leveled open area.

Fig. 2.41. Topography of Terror, 2017.

Most visitors go straight down to the linear excavations along Niederkirchnerstraße: as in the 80s, the presence of actual historical remains continues to speak persuasively to a general public. Local and foreign tourists, children and adults, can be seen reading and listening to the temporary exhibition placed carefully alongside the longitudinal ruins during the warmer months of the year.

[126] Rauterberg, "Baut Endlich Zumthor!"
[127] Endlich, "Realisierungswettbewerb Topographie Des Terrors, Berlin," 4

After walking through the open air exhibition, many visitors walk back up to the street level and a little farther up to enter the documentation center; there, they encounter an updated version of the original "Topography of Terror" exhibition, a three-dimensional model of the site, and a small café alongside other temporary displays.

Unlike the second competition, which was restricted to invited architects, the third open and international competition for the Topography of Terror (2005-2006) turned out to be massive, with a total of 309 entries. The team comprised by architect Ursula Wilms (Heinle, Wischer & Partner) and landscape architect Heinz W. Hallmann won the first prize with a project that turned *Stahwerk's* vision upside down: the architecture was restrained, while the intervention on the site was resolute.[128] After almost 30 years of failed projects and impromptu solutions, the Topography of Terror Foundation inaugurated its first permanent building, the landscaped site, and the newly redesigned main exhibition in May 2010.[129]

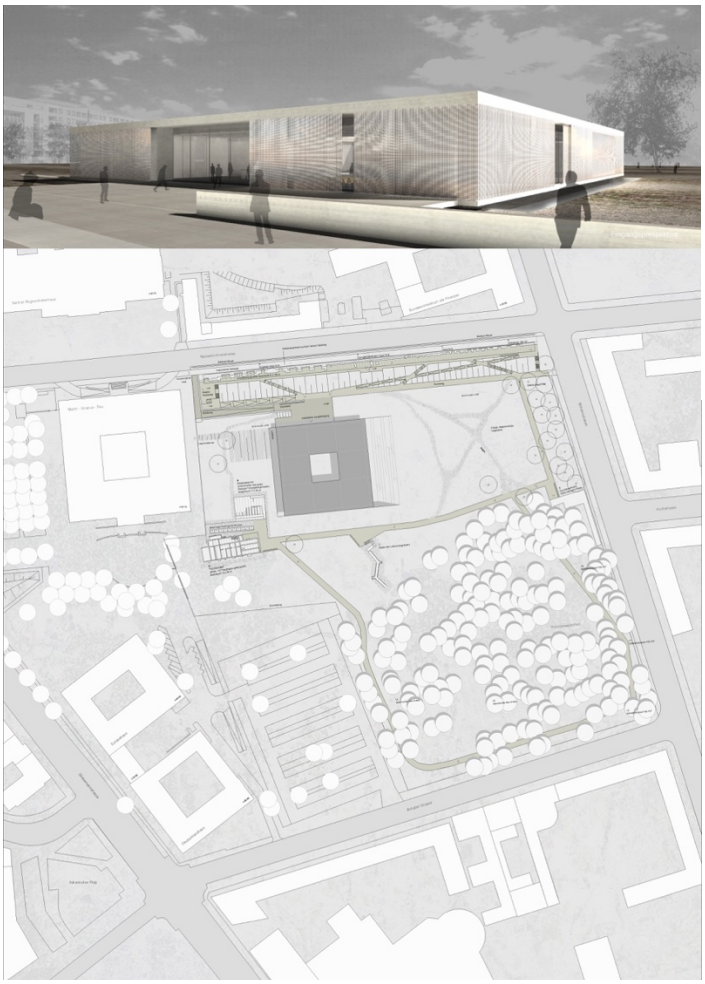


Fig. 2.42. Winning design for the third Topography of Terror competition. Architect Ursula Wilms and landscape architect Heinz W. Hallmann, 2005.

[128] The 2005 guidelines noted the convenience of having interdisciplinary teams of architects and landscape architects in order to emphasize the predominant role of the site in their pedagogical project. Stiftung Topographie des Terrors and Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung, *Realisierungswettbewerb Topographie des Terrors.Berlin.*
[129] Stiftung Topographie des Terrors and Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung.

In contrast to Zumthor's moralizing modernism, the project's restrained functionalism consequently extended the ideals of the main exhibition into its surroundings. Reviews were mixed. While Wilms' design for the documentation center was criticized for being dreary and disheartening, for the members of the Topography of Terror Foundation its intentional avoidance of pretentious museum-style characteristics were signs of triumph.[130] Early visitor's responses were mostly positive. For many, it was a long overdue accomplishment: "Finally an appropriate frame for this exhibition." (Germany, 05/20/2010), wrote one visitor, echoing a recurring sentiment amongst the first entries in the visitors' book.[131] Another visitor added: "A very haunting representation and exhibition of this formerly guilty place. Accomplished successfully in a very withdrawn, transparent building." (Berlin, 5/25/2010).[132] However, some visitors criticized the changes that the new design introduced:

> The gap in the new conception is already mentioned in many commentaries on the exhibition: the lack of reference to the site. […] Not to mention the overuse of the metaphor of the rail-track-bed stones that now cover the site (Hamburg, 6/13/2010).[133]

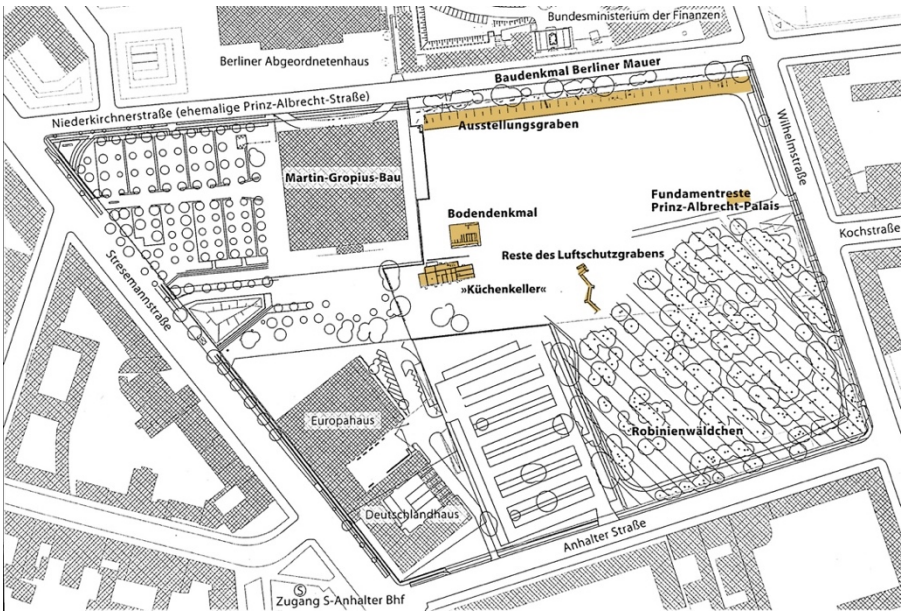


Fig. 2.43. Base map of the site developed for third competition. Archeological remains marked in yellow, 2004.

[130] Dawson, "Topography of Terror Has Washed Away Too Much Dirt in Presenting Its Nazi History"; Leoni, "Peter Zumthor's 'Topography of Terror'"; Bernau, "Keine Experimente;" Endlich, "Realisierungswettbewerb Topographie Des Terrors, Berlin," 4.

[131] Besucherbuch I 5/12-8/24 2010, pages not numbered. Archiv Stiftung Topographie des Terrors. Translated from the original: "Endlich ein angemessener Rahmen für diese Ausstellung."

[132] Besucherbuch I 5/12-8/24 2010, pages not numbered. Archiv Stiftung Topographie des Terrors. Translated from the original: "Eine sehr eindringliche Darstellung und Präsentation dieses ehemals schuldigen Ortes. In einem sehr zurückgenommen, transparenten Gebäude gelungen."

[133] Besucherbuch I 5/12-8/24 2010, pages not numbered. Archiv Stiftung Topographie des Terrors. Translated from the original: "In vielen Kommentaren zur Ausstellung wird die Lücke der Neukonzeption schon genannt: der fehlende Bezug zum Ort. [...] Ganz zu schweigen von der Überstrapazierung der Metapher der Gleisbett-Steine, die dieses Gelände überdecken."

The relationship between the exhibition and the site had indeed changed. The construction, and especially the demolition of the three concrete towers of Peter Zumthor's design, introduced significant transformations into the terrain: its north side was flattened, vegetation was lost, and a new layer of rubble was added to the site. The base map handed to the participants of the 2004/2005 competition shows a different terrain than the one encountered by Zumthor and Steiner: no rubble heaps and new archeological findings stand out as the main differences (Fig. 2.43.). Against Zumthor's notion of authenticity, Hallmann developed his design as a counter-project to the 'let the site speak for itself' thesis. He not only introduced trees, urban furniture, and new pathways into a mostly unkempt site, but he also incorporated an expanded site tour with information stations to guide the visitors through the entire site. Besides the impression that this 'new landscape' left on the visitors, the new main exhibition had indeed eliminated some of the sections about the site's history. Klaus Hesse and Andreas Sander, two long-time employees of the Topography of Terror and members of the original 1987 exhibition team, argued that this decision was made in response to the Topography of Terror's growing European and global importance.[134] Specific chapters of the pre- and postwar history of the site were eliminated to make room for the narrative about the institutions of horror that were housed at the site, now from a European perspective.[135]

There was another issue that arose in the early responses to the new building and its main exhibition: a lack of emotion. "A very noble, almost clinically sterile exhibition driven by a sense of obligation. Terror, anger and grief have no chance to overwhelm the visitor." (Germany, 6/17/2010), wrote one guest during the first month after the opening.[136] Another visitor echoed this response by saying: "An exhibition that we have had to wait too long for! It is just too emotionless, too meager. That time, that horror, the guilt of our people, needs more representation." (no place, 6/23/2010).[137] Despite the readjustments and additions, the main exhibition of the newly inaugurated documentation center was a continuation of the first exhibition from 1987. The fact that some of the members of the original exhibition team, in particular Hesse and Sanders, had leading roles in its new iteration, only stressed this sense of permanence. Back in 1987, the exhibition was actually praised for being factual and unemotional. Put differently, the stark tone of the exhibition, which was built on the particular sense of objectivity that the team behind it had cultivated for years, was seen differently in 2010.

Much had changed during the 28 years that passed between the first "Topography of Terror" exhibition and its 2010 iteration. Some of these transformations made emotion acceptable

---

[134] Hesse, Interviews; Sander, Interviews.

[135] It is important to point out that besides the permanent exhibition, the Topography of Terror foundation has worked on an impressive number of temporal exhibitions. For example, part of the details about the rise and fall of Nazism in Berlin were incorporated into the exhibitions "Berlin 1945. Eine Dokumentation" (April-August 1995) and "Berlin 1933. Der Weg in die Diktatur" (January-October, 2013), which were exhibited in the linear outdoor gallery alongside the archeological excavations of the block's perimeter wall. For more details about the permanent and temporary exhibitions of the Topography of Terror, see Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, *Topographie des Terrors: Ausstellungen 1987-2017*.

[136] Besucherbuch I 5/12-8/24 2010, pages not numbered. Archiv Stiftung Topographie des Terrors. Translated from the original: "Eine sehr edle, fast klinisch sterile Pflicht-Ausstellung. Schrecken, Wut und Trauer haben keine Chance den Besucher zu überwältigen."

[137] Besucherbuch I 5/12-8/24 2010, pages not numbered. Archiv Stiftung Topographie des Terrors. Translated from the original: "Eine Ausstellung auf die wir viel zu lange haben warten müssen! Sie ist nur zu emotionslos -zu mickerig. Diese Zeit, dieses Grauen, die Schuld unseres Volkes braucht mehr Darstellung."

and even desirable. Berlin became the quintessential city of memory. Memorials, monuments, and plaques emerged in the new city-center as well as in its suburbs and hinterland. From places of horror including former concentration camps, Nazi-era architecture, to the homes and everyday life of deported Jews, WWII-memorialization became a transnational expanding phenomenon. The long shadow that the Gestapo, SS, SD, SA, and RSHA desk-bound perpetrators cast on Europe is now mirrored by an expanding Holocaust industry.[138] In the words of David Lowenthal, "the past is a foreign country" that we visit and consume as tourists.[139] Even beyond the Holocaust industry, the success of places such as the Topography of Terror have an impact on a nation's economy. As one Turkish visitor to the Topography of Terror pointed out: "Thank you for this 'sad' museum you created. I will reconsider buying any German goods! (Siemens refrigerators, VW cars etc.)." (Turkey, November, 2010).[140]

Not only memorialization was on the rise –so were apologies. What was an emergent phenomenon in the 80s, by the early 2000s had become a transnational self-fashioning mechanism for the nation-state. After Germany's example, apologies –that is, collective, national ones– started to congeal into a global cult of repentance. In this context, the role of the new Topography of Terror is twofold. The documentation center fits into the Holocaust industry by being centrally located, thoughtfully curated, and pedagogically innovative. At the same time, it participates in the cult of apology by acknowledging the Nazi crimes and demonstrating remorse, guilt, and a will to repair the wrongdoings of the past. However, as it takes part in these entangled phenomena, the Topography of Terror also challenges some of their principles. By being "objective," factual, and dispassionate, the Topography of Terror exhibition impedes easy consumption. Instead of prompting an identification with the victims, in its deadpan tone, the Topography of Terror allows visitors to reflect on the perpetrators, their crimes, and the human dimensions of evil.[141]

The site's emotionless tone works as a provocation. In this regard, it incorporates some of the lessons of the German counter-monument movement.[142] Instead of doing the emotional work for the visitors, instead of allowing feelings of empathy to soothe and complacency to sit in, the main exhibition of the Topography of Terror shifts the moral responsibility of finding an appropriate response back to the viewer. The site's provocation is not uncontroversial. This is because, unlike a conventional apology, it lacks closure. "How long will the German people be disciplined with Adolf Hitler and his crimes, and how long will it be blackmailed with the misfortune of the Jews and Auschwitz?!" (Berlin, 10/10/2010), a visitor rhetorically asks.[143] A question that the

---

[138] Oren Baruch Stier, *Holocaust Icons: Symbolizing the Shoah in History and Memory* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2015); Young, *At Memory's Edge*; Young, *The Texture of Memory*; Moishe Postone and Eric L. Santner, eds., *Catastrophe and Meaning: The Holocaust and the Twentiethcentury* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Dominick LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

[139] David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[140] Besucherbuch I 5/12-8/24 2010, pages not numbered. Archiv Stiftung Topographie des Terrors.

[141] Besucherbücher 1987-2017. Archiv Stiftung Topographie des Terrors.

[142] Young, *The Texture of Memory*; Young, *At Memory's Edge*.

[143] Besucherbuch I 8/24/2010-1/14/2011, pages not numbered. Archiv Stiftung Topographie des Terrors. Translated from the original: "Wie lange wird das deutsche Volk mit Adolf Hitler und seinen Verbrechen diszipliniert und mit dem Unglück der Juden und Auschwitz erpresst?!"

team behind the Topography of Terror would purposefully leave unanswered. While some foreign visitors use the exhibition to shame Germans for their past, as the above cited entries reveal, many visitors –German and non-German– leave the Topography of Terror perplexed by their own feelings of shame, guilt and remorse. Finally, by focusing on the perpetrators and the structures that allowed terror to become institutionalized, the main exhibition confronts visitors with moral questions that exceed the particularities of the German case. In response, visitors wish for equivalent sites to be built to examine fascism in Spain, to document the cultural revolution in China, the GDR dictatorship, or the crimes of imperial Japan.[144]

Conclusion: Topography of a Nude

The opening scene of Chilean dramaturge Jorge Diaz's play "Topography of a Nude" depicts a naked dead body surrounded by a group of three officials: a notary, a meteorologist, and a topographer. The notary fills a form, the meteorologist probes the direction of the wind, and the topographer inspects the body and the surrounding terrain. In contrast to the popular genre of crime-solving television shows, in this 1965 play, the officials seem oblivious, more concerned with properly registering and documenting the crime scene according to their respective expertise than solving the mystery of the unknown dead body. At first motionless and fixed to the ground by the white contour that the topographer has carefully delineated around his dead body, the victim, a homeless man called Rufo, is soon forced to rise up to narrate the story of his own death.[145] Situated in the threshold between fiction and reality, the three officials act like a Greek chorus, bridging the gap between the play and the audience. In beautiful ways that I cannot describe in detail here, the play engages with injustice, memory, testimony, historical narrative, and material traces. The Topography of Terror in Berlin is inseparable from this play.

The actors that brought the Topography of Terror into existence are in many ways the opposite of the three officials in Diaz's play: engaged, hard-working and driven by a search for truth and justice. To generalize these actors –let's call them topographers, for the sake of parallel– into one group would be a mistake. This chapter has shown the wide range of activists, archeologists, architects, historians, curators, archivists, politicians, and artists who have brought this site into existence and have maintained it over the last three decades. However, these 'topographers' have at least one thing in common with Diaz's officials: their practices bridge a divide. Not the divide between fiction and reality as a Greek chorus, but the divide between the past and its representation.

[144] Besucherbücher 1987-2017. Archiv Stiftung Topographie des Terrors.
[145] Jorge Díaz, *Topografía de Un Desnudo: Esquema Para Una Indagación Inútil. Obra En Dos Actos de Caridad* (Santiago, Chile: Editora Santiago, 1967).

Fig. 2.44. Gestapo 'topographers' during a public act at the neglected site, c.1986.

Let me return to the interlude that precedes this chapter, to Willy Brandt's kneeling in front of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Memorial. Brandt's gesture became a synonym for German post-WWII apologies. Seemingly pure in its performance, it rendered the terror of Nazism beyond words, reinforcing the idea of the Holocaust as a limit event.[146] Here again Brandt's quote is revealing: "At the *abyss* of German history and burdened by millions of murdered humans, I acted in the way of those whom *language fails*."[147] While the abyss signals a physical, indeed geographical limit, the absence of words hints at a cognitive limit. If the Holocaust is beyond communication, it follows that it is also beyond human thought, history and rationality. Structuralist Holocaust scholars have long worked against the interpretation of WWII as an exception within German history, as suggested by Brandt's words. For example, in *Modernity and the Holocaust,* Zygmunt Bauman examines how German industrialization, mechanization, and institutionalization provided the foundation for the emergence of a complex and highly efficient terrorist apparatus, like the Gestapo.[148] According to his view, it is because Germany had undergone a rapid modernization process that reason and law

[146] Simone Gigliotti, "Unspeakable Pasts as Limit Events: The Holocaust, Genocide, and the Stolen Generations," *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 49, no. 2 (June 1, 2003): 164–81, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8497.00302.
[147] Willy Brandt, *My Life in Politics* (New York, N.Y: Viking, 1992).
[148] Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2000).

could be used against humanity. Evil, following this structuralist reading, is not the outcome of a madman in power, but the result of the collaboration, complacency, and inaction of millions of individuals. It should be clear by now that the Topography of Terror subscribed to this interpretation of the German past.

The Topography of Terror in many ways does the opposite of Brandt's gesture: it attempts to name, depict, represent, and introduce Nazism's crimes against humanity to thought and rationality. When the Gestapo site was rediscovered, in the context of the German historical debates of the 80s, the shift towards the representation of Germans as perpetrators that it signaled was groundbreaking. Over the next few decades, the Topography of Terror redefined the meaning of apology and reparation far beyond Brandt's kneeling, expanding its reach and participants. In his analysis of textual apologies, Edwin Battistella argues that an effective apology includes at least three elements: a recognition of the victims, an acknowledgment of the offense, and an identification of the perpetrators.[149] Fixated on the first aspect of this triad –Who are the victims?– the West German memorial debate of the 80s overlooked two crucial aspects of the apologetic exchange: to take historical responsibility for the crimes of the Third Reich and make its perpetrators accountable. The first "Topography of Terror" exhibition and the opening of the site to visitors was a decisive movement towards completing the apologetic triad and opening it up to a new generation of Germans.

During the past 30 years, the 'topographers' of the Gestapo site have been working against the very notion that the Holocaust is beyond words and reason. Objectivity, archival and photographic evidence, and especially text, are mechanisms of defense against the idea that the atrocities of Nazism are inexplicable. In other words, what this chapter has shown is how in the context of a wide German *Wiedergutmachungspolitik* [reparation, atonement, redress politics] that shaped the cult of apology, a new language to speak about what had been deemed unspeakable emerged at the Topography of Terror. Turning to pre-war ideals of objectivity, functionality, and neutrality, the 'topographers' of the Gestapo site built a bridge between a repressed past and the present. Quite literally, in its location on the "death strip" of the Berlin Wall, the Topography of Terror created a bridge between postwar oblivion and contemporary remembrance, as well as between West and East Berlin. From coining the term to describe a place that housed a complicated and unstable system of NS terror institutions, to the multiple interventions that have been thought and implemented for it, the activists, historians, archivists, curators, politicians, artists, and architects who have been involved in the history of the Gestapo site forged a material and metaphoric place where there was none.

Finally, Diaz's play has another, more obvious, similarity to the Topography of Terror: its use of the word 'topography.' The name "Topography of Terror" was coined by the late Frank Dingel, a member of the team of young historians and political scientists who created the first exhibition of the site in 1987.[150] This denomination settled a long search to find the right term to describe a place that had been rendered unnamable, even unthinkable, during the early postwar

[149] Edwin L. Battistella, *Sorry about That: The Language of Public Apology* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).
[150] Hesse, Interviews; Sander, Interviews.

decades. Topography as practice, metaphor, and methodology runs through the entire history of the site. Dingel argues that the name was chosen because it simultaneously evoked the material aspects of the site, its geography, and its meaning as a symbol for systematic terror.[151] This interpretation of 'topography' echoes the word's etymology: *topos* [place] and *graphia* [writing]. The topographer is the one who bridges the material world with that of representations. Mapping and writing are therefore entangled, and the work of the Gestapo site 'topographers' belongs equally to the built environment as it does to the world of narratives. In other words, by uncovering a buried site, the 'topographers' of this chapter were also creating new narratives about history, memory, and collective responsibility. In the over thirty years since the site's rediscovery, a marginal piece of land in West Berlin became a central locus of German self-representation, and suppressed stories of guilt gave rise to an exemplary exhibition about the institutions of NS terror.

[151] Till, *The New Berlin*, 134–37.

[This page intentionally left blank.]

CHAPTER 3

Competing Apologies:

African Memories in Postcolonial Berlin[1]

Introduction

On a warm day in late August 2019, Gerd Müller, the German Development Minister, walked up to the memorial for the victims of the Nama and Herero genocide (1904-1907) in the port city of Swakopmund, Namibia, fell to his knees, and remained in silence for 30 seconds. This never happened; instead, the ongoing reconciliation debates between Germany and Namibia have fallen short of an official apology.[2] Invoking Willy Brandt's kneeling in Warsaw, a symbol for Germany's monumental atonement for World War II, activists from the Nama and Herero (also known as Ovaherero) ethnic groups are asking for an equivalent apology. The request goes beyond the apologetic gesture, as they demand an official German apology, monetary reparations, and physical memorialization for the genocide of African tribes during Germany's colonial rule of South West Africa, present day Namibia.[3] At least one German official did visit the Swakopmund memorial. In July of 2019, the President of the German Federal Council, Daniel Günther, bowed in front black granite slab of the memorial and laid a funeral wreath (Fig. 3.1.). Like the elusive German apology and the complicated process surrounding it, the inscription on the memorial is controversial and even offensive to native Namibians. Reflecting the position of the patrons behind the erection of the memorial, German-Namibians, it is offered to "those who perished under *mysterious circumstances* at the realm of their German colonial masters in concentration camps in Swakopmund/ Otjozondjii."[4] This is not a memorial championed by survivors of victims' families like the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising

[1] An abbreviated earlier version of this chapter was published as Valentina Rozas-Krause, "Postcolonial Berlin: Reckoning with Traces of German Colonialism," in *Neocolonialism and Built Heritage: Echoes of Empire in Africa, Asia, and Europe*, ed. Daniel E. Coslett (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2020), 65–84. I wish to thank the editor of that volume, Daniel E. Cosltett, for his comments on earlier versions of this chapter.

[2] Luisa Beck, "Germany, a Model for Coming to Terms with Its Past, Still Struggles with Its Colonial Period," *Washington Post*, January 3, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/germany-a-model-for-coming-to-terms-with-its-past-still-struggles-with-its-colonial-period/2020/01/02/784b23a2-b927-11e9-8e83-4e6687e99814_story.html.

[3] Beck; Franziska Boehme, "Reactive Remembrance: The Political Struggle over Apologies and Reparations between Germany and Namibia for the Herero Genocide," *Journal of Human Rights* 19, no. 2 (March 14, 2020): 238–55, https://doi.org/10.1080/14754835.2020.1727729.

[4] This is the full inscription etched onto the black granite slab of the memorial: "In memory of the thousands heroic OvaHerero/ OvaMbanderu who perished under mysterious circumstances at the realm of their German colonial masters in concentration camps in Swakopmund/ Otjozondjii during 1904-1908. Rest in Peace. Suvee Monhange Kavitondema. 31st March 2007 Swakopmund – Namibia." The controversial wording reflects the views of the patrons of the memorial: German-Namibians.

Memorial, but a memorial developed by the descendants of the perpetrators and those who directly profited from their crimes. In other words, a lukewarm apology, which makes Günther's gesture all the more problematic.

Fig. 3.1. The President of the German Federal Council pictured during a visit of the memorial for the victims of the Nama and Herero genocide in Swakopmund, Namibia, 2019.

The current phase of the German-Namibian apology debates started when, in 2004, former German Development Minister Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul visited Namibia on the centenary of the genocide and offered an apology saying: "We Germans accept our historic and moral responsibility and the guilt incurred by Germans. The atrocities committed at that time would have been termed genocide today."[5] However, the Federal Government issued a retraction, stating that the minister had spoken on her personal behalf, and not in the name of Germany. Here again, apologies rise issues around the power of words –in particular around the use of the word 'genocide'–, as well as about the dimensions of humanity, or lack thereof, that lie beyond verbal and textual communication. In this context, Willy Brandt's gesture becomes both an example of a good measure and a poorly imitated trope.

Material memorials, and the gestures surrounding them anchor this story about Germany's 'coming to terms' with its colonial past. While these early attempts to apologize for the Nama and Herero genocide were geographically tied to Namibia, this chapter is located in Germany, more particularly Berlin, where echoes of this apologetic debate have slowly reshaped the memorial landscape. While Holocaust memorials are a ubiquitous sight in Berlin, no memorial exists to the Herero and Nama genocide. As the capital of the German Empire, Berlin was the center of an expansive colonial conquest which used violence, genocide, usurpation, and political trickery to assure Germany's position in the African continent. The German Army's brutal conquest of South West Africa (1904), which led to the murder of thousands of natives of present-day Namibia, has been largely hidden under the veil of colonial amnesia. Yet, Nama and Herero activists' persistent demands for an official German apology,

[5] Boehme, "Reactive Remembrance," 245; Andrew Meldrum, "German Minister Says Sorry for Genocide in Namibia," *The Guardian*, August 15, 2004, sec. World news, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/aug/16/germany.andrewmeldrum.

alongside the reconstruction of the Berlin Palace to house the Humboldt-Forum, an ethnography collection that includes stolen colonial objects and human remains, have allowed veiled memories to resurface. This upsurge of colonial memories is manifested in public debates around reparation, provenance research, stolen artworks and cultural objects, and racist and colonial-revering street-names, as well as annual commemorative marches and protests.[6] At the same time, these colonial memories, and to a much lesser degree, those who foster them, have entered museums, exhibitions, and private collections in the center as well as the periphery of Berlin.[7] This chapter is an attempt to pin down this citywide phenomenon, touring the city of Berlin in search of scattered colonial traces.

Berlin Tour - Gedenkmarsch

An annual memorial march through Berlin inspires the geographical progression of this chapter. Every February, for the past fourteen years, a memorial march called *"Gedenkmarsch"* moves between two central streets of Berlin: *Mohrenstraße* and *Wilhelmstraße*. The demonstration meets right where this chapter begins: at the intersection of *Wilhelmstraße,* a thoroughfare which used to be the center of the German government quarter, and a little street called *An der Kolonnade*. (Fig. 3.2.). This is the site around which more and more people gather every year to demand the recognition and apology for the crimes committed against black people and people of African descent. Like many other places in the world, this corner is being claimed by more than one memorial culture. The stillness and everydayness of this intersection is only apparent because it lies in the middle of an increasing dispute between its meaning as the heart of the German colonization of Africa and as the center of the Third Reich.

[6] Kwame Opoku et al., *No Humboldt 21! Dekoloniale Einwände Gegen Das Humboldt-Forum* (Berlin: No Humboldt 21!, 2017); "Auf Safari Durch Den Wedding," accessed June 17, 2017, http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/lern-und-erinnerungsort-afrikanisches-viertel-im-wedding-auf-safari-durch-den-wedding/9076962.html; "Neue Namen Für Drei Straßen in Wedding Geplant," accessed June 17, 2017, http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/afrikanisches-viertel-in-berlin-neue-namen-fuer-drei-strassen-in-wedding-geplant/19877344.html; "Postkolonialer Aktivismus Und Die Erinnerung an Den Deutschen Kolonialismus — Phase 2," accessed June 17, 2017, http://phase-zwei.org/hefte/artikel/postkolonialer-aktivismus-und-die-erinnerung-an-den-deutschen-kolonialismus-134/; Oumar Diallo and Joachim Zeller, eds., *Black Berlin: Die Deutsche Metropole Und Ihre Afrikanische Diaspora in Geschichte Und Gegenwart* (Berlin: Metropol, 2013); Ulrich van der Heyden and Joachim Zeller, eds., *Kolonialmetropole Berlin: Eine Spurensuche* (Berlin: Berlin Edition, 2002).

[7] The following postcolonial exhibitions were presented in Berlin during 2017: Deutsches Historisches Museum, ed., *Deutscher Kolonialismus: Fragmente Seiner Geschichte Und Gegenwart* (Darmstadt: Theiss Verlag, 2016); Schöneberg Museum, *Kolonialgeschichte in Tempelhof Und Schöneberg - Eine Sonderausstellung*, October 19, 2017, Exhibition, October 19, 2017, https://www.berlin.de/ba-tempelhof-schoeneberg/aktuelles/pressemitteilungen/2017/pressemitteilung.587714.php; *Zurückgeschaut: 1896 – Treptower Park – Erste Deutsche Kolonialausstellung.*, October 13, 2017, Exhibition, October 13, 2017.

Fig. 3.2. Corner of Wilhelmstraße and An der Kolonnade, 2017.

Fig. 3.3. Corner of Wilhelmstraße and An der Kolonnade during the 2018 Gedenkmarch.

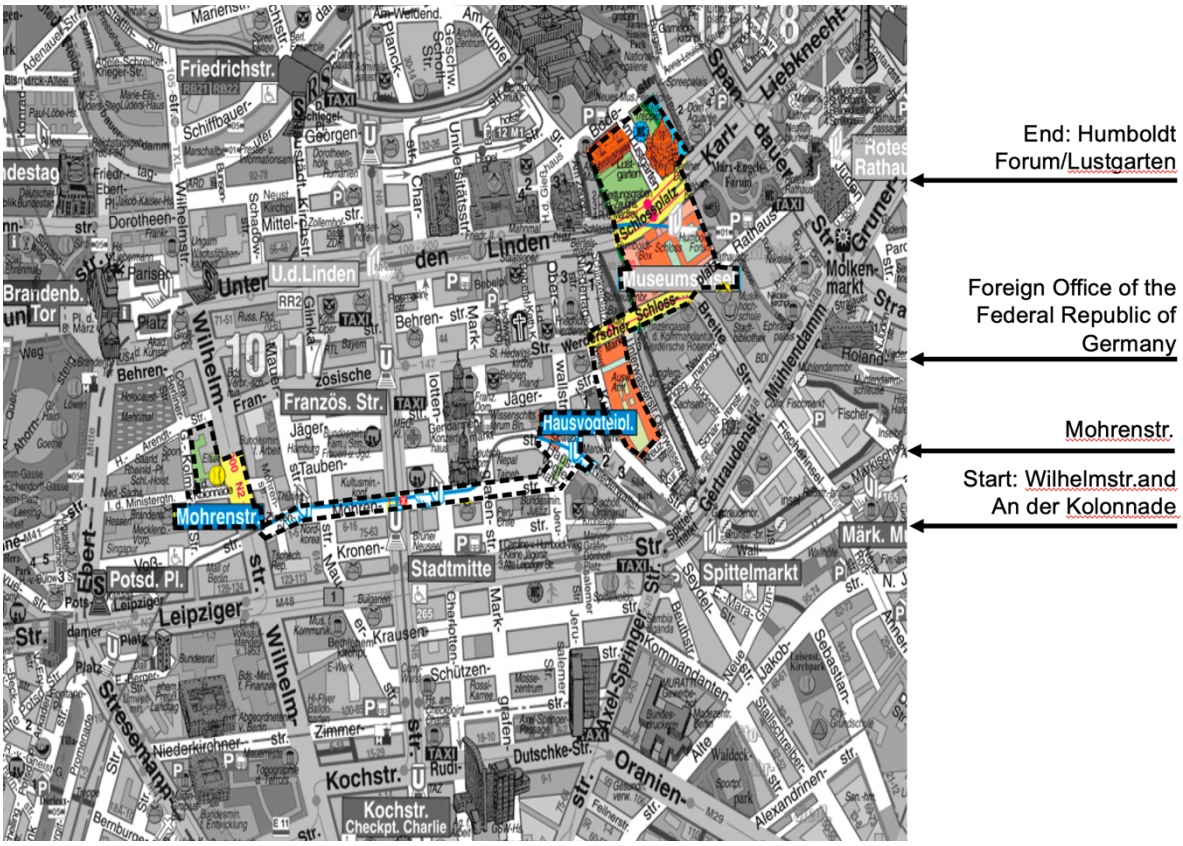


Fig. 3.4. Typical Gedenkmarch route through the center of Berlin.

The memorial march starts with a commemorative wreath laying at the intersection (Fig. 3.3.); afterwards, its participants walk along *Mohrenstraße*, passing the Foreign Ministry, until they stop at the gardens of the former City-Palace, the new Humboldt-Forum. This route intentionally stitches together sites that reveal the past and the present role of Germany in Africa. (Fig. 3.4.) Under the motto *"The duty to remember, the right to remember"*, the Committee for the Construction of an African Memorial in Berlin [KADIB, for its German initials] chooses February 26 as the Memorial Day to for the *"African victims of enslavement, trade with enslaved people, colonial occupation and racist violence"* to march in commemoration of the end of the Berlin Conference (also known as Africa Conference).[8] Muchtar B. Kamara, a Berlin-based activist and organizer of the memory march, says that the idea originated from the Cameroonian scholar Kapet de Bana, the co-founder of the *World Council of the Pan-African Diaspora* and the *Inter-African Association for Human Rights*.[9] de Bana believed that given its role as a site of state-perpetrated crime –from which Africa was arbitrarily divided–, Berlin should have a memorial to remember the victims of the colonization of Africa. This demand has been at the core of the memory march and the Memorial Day (Fig. 3.5.). Yet, 14 years ago, when de Bana

[8] http://www.afrikanisches-denkmal.de/denkmal.html [accessed, 01/18/2018]

[9] Muchtar B. Kamara, A Series of Interviews with Muchtar B. Kamara of the Committee for the Construction of an African Memorial in Berlin (KADIB), interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, Audio and Transcript, November 2017.

proposed the memorial, Kamara and the members of the then newly created Committee believed that a cultural shift needed to be initiated before building a memorial. The demand for apology, reparation, and recognition has thus become central in the activism of the Committee.[10] As James E. Young argues, it is the building up towards the memorial—in this case, plaques, marches, protests, commemorative days, exhibitions, and performances—which is actually doing the critical 'memory work'.[11] However, this memory work would not be possible without the motivation of the actual building of the memorial.

Fig. 3.5. Promotional poster for the 12th version of the Gedenkmarch, 2018.

The memorial march through Berlin, and in particular the intersection that anchors it, reveal how entangled the European metropoles were –and still are– with their colonial counterparts. In this regard, scholars George Steinmetz and Julia Hell argue that *"the decolonization of public memory does not proceed separately but is also a relationship between (former) metropoles and postcolonies."*[12] Thus, the decolonization of Berlin must be seen as part of the larger

[10] http://www.afrikanisches-denkmal.de/denkmal.html

[11] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

[12] George Steinmetz and Julia Hell, "The Visual Archive of Colonialism: Germany and Namibia," *Public Culture* 18, no. 1 (January 1, 2006): 183, https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-18-1-147.

task of decolonizing Windhoek, Namibia, and former colonial cities alike. In this context, I look at Berlin through the lens of postcolonialism in order to unveil the traces of German colonialism, analyze their significance within the contemporary city, and imagine new ways to inhabit a multilayered German past.

Berlin as Colonial Metropole

Berlin became the center of a soon-to-be world empire with the founding of the German Reich in 1871. Germany's official entry into the infamous '*scramble for Africa'*, as the British newspaper *The Times* called it, occurred in 1884, with the organization of the Berlin Conference (Fig. 3.6.).[13] Yet, even before that, Berlin, as the capital of Prussia, had been the seat of the Duke of Prussia's –Friedrich Wilhelm the Great Elector (1620-1688)– efforts to establish colonial trading posts in Africa and the Caribbean during the seventeenth century. Anticipating nineteenth century German colonial conquests in Africa, Friedrich Wilhelm founded the *Brandenburg African Company* by establishing Großfriedrichsburg (1682), a small West African colony in the Gulf of Guinea, in present Ghana. The rivalry with other European colonizers, the harsh living conditions for German colonial entrepreneurs, and the resistance of the local population quickly turned overseas trading unprofitable. In order to save its business, the *Brandenburg African Company* became involved in the slave trade, deporting and selling between 10,000 and 30,000 African natives.[14] Even though Prussia abandoned Großfriedrichsburg in 1717 and sold it to the Dutch in 1721, it was celebrated as a forebear to the nineteenth-century colonial conquests of the Prussian-ruled German Reich. This early colonial past left toponymic traces in the form of street names throughout the city: Mohrenstraße, Guineastraße and the former Gröben-Ufer (now May-Ayim-Ufer) are some examples of Prussia's colonial legacy in contemporary Berlin.[15]

[13] Horst Gründer, "In Der Zentrale Der 'Weltmacht,'" in *Kolonialmetropole Berlin: Eine Spurensuche*, ed. Ulrich van der Heyden and Joachim Zeller (Berlin: Berlin Edition, 2002), 19.
[14] Ulrich van der Heyden, "Frühe Kolonisationsversuche in Westafrika," in *Kolonialmetropole Berlin: Eine Spurensuche*, ed. Ulrich van der Heyden and Joachim Zeller (Berlin: Berlin Edition, 2002), 15–18.
[15] Heyden; Ulrich van der Heyden, *Auf Afrikas Spuren in Berlin: Die Mohrenstraße und andere koloniale Erblasten*, 1., Aufl. (Bristol; Berlin: Tenea Verlag, 2008).

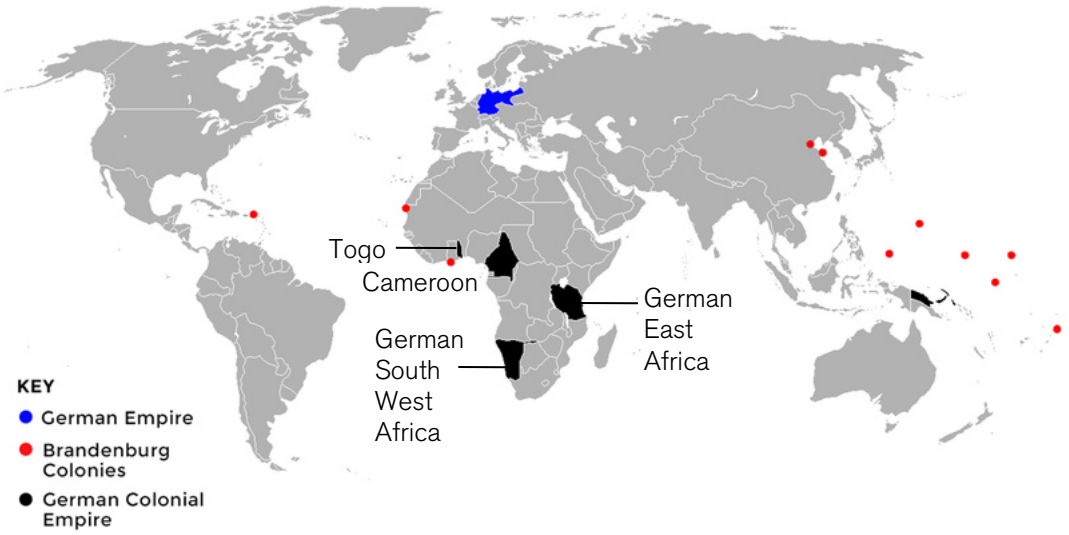


Fig. 3.6. German Colonial empire and Brandenburg Colonies.

It was under Chancellor Otto von Bismarck's rule (1871 -1890) that Berlin became a colonial metropolis, and this transformation left indelible marks in the city. All the colonial administrative institutions had their seat in Berlin: the colonial section of the Foreign Ministry and the high command of the *Schutzgruppen*, the colonial military forces, were particularly important in determining colonial policies. Berlin was also the seat for colonial societies and companies, as well as numerous colonial advocacy groups. Most scientific institutions involved with colonial investigations were also established in Berlin, including the Robert Koch Institute and the Kaiser Wilhelm Society (later Max Planck Society).[16] The inauguration of a colonial museum at *Lehrter Station* in 1899, along with the organization of large open-air colonial exhibitions and native peoples shows, reveal the degree to which colonialism was incorporated and spectacularized within the imperial city.[17] The Empire was represented in Berlin's built environment not only by the presence of these institutions and events, but also by the commemoration of colonial ambitions through monuments and celebratory street names.[18]

Despite the persistence of references to colonialism well past the demise of Germany's empire after World War I, in Berlin as well as in other German cities, the colonial past was overlooked for decades.[19] This colonial amnesia reflects the marginal role that German colonialism has played in colonial history and postcolonial theory. Overlooked because of its short time span –the German Empire held its overseas colonies from 1884 to 1919– and, as

[16] For more about the Max Planck Society see Chapter 1.

[17] Itohan Osayimwese, *Colonialism and Modern Architecture in Germany*, Culture, Politics, and the Built Environment (Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017).

[18] Ulrich van der Heyden and Joachim Zeller, eds., *Kolonialmetropole Berlin: Eine Spurensuche* (Berlin: Berlin Edition, 2002).

[19] For more on colonial traces in Germany, see Ulrich van der Heyden and Joachim Zeller, eds., *Kolonialismus Hierzulande: Eine Spurensuche in Deutschland* (Erfurt: Sutton, 2008).

Steinmetz argues, because by the time of the later period of decolonization by European powers during the 1950s and 60s Germany had no colonies, and, thus, no direct cultural exchange with African diaspora intellectuals from its former colonies.[20] After the Second World War, East and West Germany each had a distinct approach towards Germany's colonial past, yet in both cases Nazi-dominated reparation and memory politics overshadowed critical engagement with Germany's colonial experience.[21] The recent upsurge of colonial memories has attempted to restore these vanished traces of Berlin's past mainly through academic publications and guided colonial city tours.[22] One such work, Ulrich van der Heyden's and Joachim Zeller's *Kolonialmetropole Berlin. Eine Spurensuche*, is an outstanding example of the ongoing efforts to reveal the two-sidedness of colonization in the German capital. More than fifteen years after Heyden's and Zeller's publication, the demands to deal with Berlin's colonial past have moved beyond words, not only examining street names, but also demanding a palpable transformation of the built environment. A close examination of the corner of *Wilhelmstraße* and *An der Kolonnade* will reveal the degree to which this means making space for new memories in a built environment packed with memories of the Nazi past.

Wilhelmstraße and An der Kolonnade

The contrast between the remembrance of Germany's imperialist and totalitarian past is most palpable in the surroundings of the Topography of Terror, a Second World War history museum about the Nazi perpetrators located in the center of Berlin.[23] Only a couple of blocks away from the documentation center of the former Gestapo headquarters, a modest plaque commemorates the site where the Berlin Conference, also known as Africa Conference and Kongo Conference was held in 1884, marking Germany's entry into the colonial conquest of Africa. The site of the plaque, the intersection of *Wilhelmstraße* and *An der Kolonnade,* is perhaps the most puzzling memory site in Berlin today. (Fig. 3.7.)

[20] George Steinmetz, *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa*, Chicago Studies in Practices of Meaning (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 509–10.
[21] Winfried Speitkamp, "Kolonialherrschaft und Denkmal. Afrikanische und deutsche Erinnerungskultur im Konflikt," in *Architektur und Erinnerung*, ed. Wolfram Martini, Formen der Erinnerung (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 165–90.
[22] Some of these publications are: Heyden, *Auf Afrikas Spuren in Berlin*; Gründer, "In Der Zentrale Der 'Weltmacht'"; Heyden and Zeller, *Kolonialismus Hierzulande*; Oumar Diallo and Joachim Zeller, eds., *Black Berlin: Die Deutsche Metropole Und Ihre Afrikanische Diaspora in Geschichte Und Gegenwart* (Berlin: Metropol, 2013). Several organizations offer colonial city tours,including Berlin Postkolonial, Institut für diskriminierungsfreie Bildung (IDB), and Berliner Spurensuche.
[23] See Chapter 2.

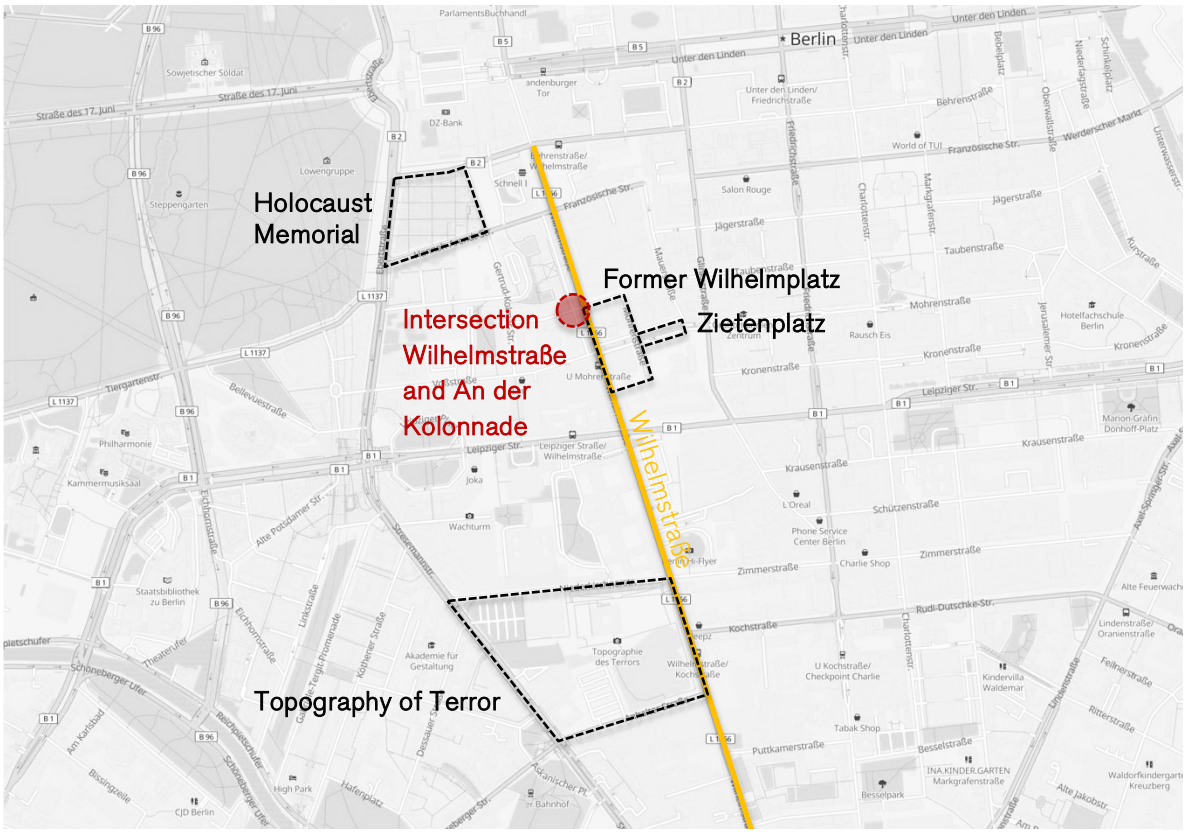


Fig. 3.7. Map of the center of Berlin, 2020.

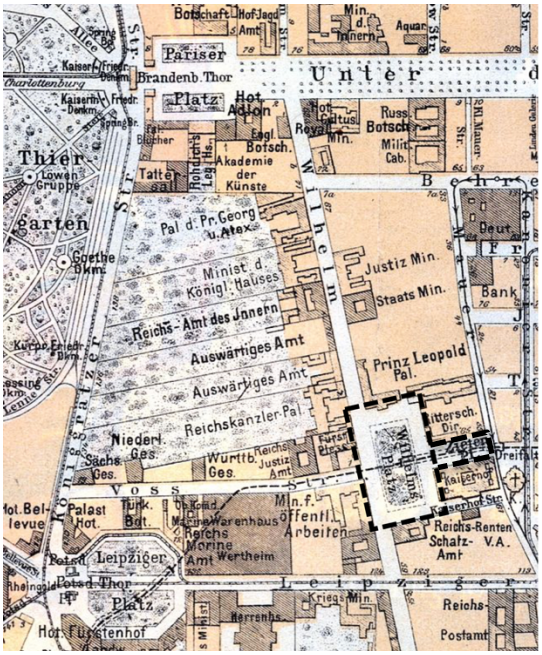


Fig. 3.8. Wilhelmplatz and Zietenplatz c. 1938

Fig. 3.9. Zietenplatz, 2017.

This corner is a remnant of *Wilhelmplatz*, a plaza that housed the most important seat of power during the German Empire and the Third Reich, the old Reich Chancellery, which was later covered by new constructions during the German Democratic Republic (Fig. 3.8.). While the Allied bombing campaign and the Battle of Berlin severely damaged it, as many other sites of Nazi-triumphalism in the former East, *Wilhelmplatz* was erased as part of the post-war politics of amnesia.[24] Two buildings, the Embassy of the Czech Republic and a GDR housing project, occupy the area of the former plaza.[25] Today, one of the few material traces of the once central public space of the German Reich is the elongated *Zietenplatz*, which flanks the former *Wilhelmplatz* to the East. In the eighteenth century, Frederick the Great erected a group of six statues of fallen Prussian military leaders, thus designating *Zietenplatz* as a site in honor. Even though the GDR moved these Prussian military symbols into storage and retired the *Zietenplatz* from the urban registry, the city of Berlin restored the statues and the narrow plaza in 2007. Today, the assemblage of Prussian great men surround the exits of the *Mohrenstraße* subway station, which not only serves the nearby intersection of *Wilhelmstraße* and *An der Kolonnade*, but is also immersed in a contentious postcolonial debate (Fig. 3.9.). The narrow *Zietenplatz* echoes some of the erasures and palimpsestic memories that shape the intersection in question. Also here memories were erased, others were reinstated, and others have been largely ignored.

Fig. 3.10. Old Reichskanzelei (left) and New Reichskanzlei (right).

Zietenplatz is not the only urban remnant of Germany's imperial past in this area: the most perplexing trace is the former Reichskanzlei [Reich Chancellery], which remains not as a ruin or a reconstruction, but as an absent building that hosted some of the most important events of German, European, and also African history. Both Reich Chancellors, Otto von

[24] Reinhard Rürup, Interview with Reinhard Rürup, former scientific director of the Topography of Terror, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, Transcript and Audio, September 18, 2017.

[25] The Ministry of Finance, the *Kaiserhof Grand Hotel* and most importantly, the old Reich Chancellery flanked the French-style landscaped rectangular plaza named after King Frederick William I of Prussia.
Laurenz Demps, *Berlin-Wilhelmstraße: Eine Topographie preußisch-deutscher Macht*, 4., Auflage (Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 2010).

Bismarck and –after some major transformations– Adolf Hitler, shared the same building located on *Wilhelmstraße* 77/78, now *Wilhelmstraße* 92, right in front of *Wilhelmplatz* as their official seat (Fig. 3.10.).[26] Before Hitler's time, two emblematic events had served to inaugurate the newly refurbished building after the unification of the German Empire: the Berlin Congress in July 1878, convened to determine the future of Eastern Europe, and the Congo Conference in 1884, summoned to decide the fate of Africa.[27] On a conceptual level, the building's continuity might serve to enlighten the relationship between Bismarck's and Hitler's expansionist program, yet the actual site of the former Reichskanzlei, number 77, which is located at the intersection of *Wilhelmstraße* and *An der Kolonnade* –the latter is a new small street laid out after the erasure of *Wilhelmplatz*–, speaks of the conflict between the memories of both reigns.

At first glance, this intersection does not say much. Surrounded by a 1980s GDR housing project, a brutalist building which houses the Embassy of the Czech Republic, a Chinese restaurant, and advertisements in various scales, it portrays the apparent muteness of any vernacular corner of a global city (Fig. 3.2.).[28] Yet, a closer look reveals a handful of plaques, a large sculpture, sentences written on the pavement, and several other memorial interventions that add visual confusion to an already shapeless site. This is, surprisingly, a site is filled with random objects meant to elicit memories.

Looking closely at some of these scattered memorial interventions reveals the tension between remembering the crimes of the First and Third German Reich that shape not only this particular corner, but also many sites across Berlin. The role that the *Wilhelmstraße* and *An der Kolonnade* intersection played during the NS regime is currently the most dominant narrative, which is represented by an elongated plaque placed in front of the former Reichskanzlei. The plaque belongs to a larger 1997 intervention on *Wilhelmstraße* entitled '*Wilhelmstraße Geschichtsmeile'* [Wilhelmstreet Memory Mile], curated by the Topography of Terror Foundation, which informs passersby about the history of the Reichskanzlei building.[29] Words and historic images are combined to support a narrative that begins with the construction of the building in the eighteenth century as a noble palace, focuses on Hitler's takeover in 1933, and ends with the building's demolition after the Second World War. While the plaque mentions Bismarck's Berlin Conference and the establishment of the German Republic in 1918 as two of the building's milestones, it omits the role of the site during the colonization of the African continent.[30]

---

[26] *Wilhelmplatz* was a place for Nazi celebration: it was here where large crowds cheered for Hitler, who celebrated his ascent to power standing on the balcony of the *Rechskanzlei*. Like many other places of Nazi triumphalism, post-war politics of amnesia erased *Wilhelmplatz* from the map of Berlin, as well as the severely bombed Reich Chancellery. Angela Schönberger, *Die Neue Reichskanzlei von Albert Speer. Zum Zusammenhang von nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und Architektur* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann Verlag, 1991).

[27] "The Congress of Berlin, 1878," 1920, https://www.wdl.org/en/item/11911/.

[28] Maoz Azaryahu, *Von Wilhelmplatz Zu Thälmannplatz: Politische Symbole Im Öffentlichen Leben Der DDR*, ed. Shulamit Volkov and Frank Stern, trans. Kerstin Amrani and Alma Mandelbaum (Gerlingen: Bleicher Verlag, 1991).

[29] See exhibition catalog: Topography of Terror Foundation, ed., *Die Wilhelmstraße 1933-1945. Aufstieg Und Untergang Des NS-Regierunsgviertels* (Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 2014).

[30] Topography of Terror Foundation, Wilhelmstreet 77/92 Plaque, 1997 [2004]

Fig. 3.11. The two plaques of Wilhelmstraße standing side by side, 2017. *Wilhelmstreet Memory Mile* plaque (left), *Africa-Forum* plaque (right).

As if part of a conversation, a few feet away, a second plaque, which is similar in size but different in shape, briefly describes the context, participant nations, and outcomes of the 1884-85 Congo Conference, also called the Berlin Conference in three different languages (Fig. 3.11.). Under the title *"Remembering, Reconciling. Bearing United Responsibility for Our Future,"* this 2004 plaque fills in the void of the *Wilhelmstreet Memory Mile* plaque. The arched panel depicts historic images of the building during Bismarck's rule, a drawing of the main conference room, and a photograph of a group of Herero prisoners during the colonization of German Southwest Africa. Highlighting what is presented as the gruesome outcome of the conference, a brightly colored map of the colonial subdivisions of the African continent adorns the center of the plaque. The map serves as an illustration of the last passage of the plaque's text, which asserts that "*the Conference marks the turning-point from the stepwise expansion of diverse colonies to the total dividing-up of Africa […].*"[31]

[31] Africa-Forum e.V. Wilhelmstreet Plaque, 2005. While the first plaque includes texts only in German and in English, this second plaque incorporates German, English and French translations.

The continent's division, however, is more complex than the relatively concise text might suggest, as the meaning of the Berlin Conference has been subject to heated debates. While early African critics like Mojola Agbebi have regarded it as the symbol of European imperialist exploitation, historians like John D. Hargreaves have argued that the Berlin Conference was the last attempt to regulate the African continent according to internationalist, civilized, free-trade principles aimed at establishing freedom of trade amongst the European and non-European imperial forces and ensuring the well-being of the native populations.[32] The rhetoric of the plaque alludes to this nuanced interpretation of the conference by stating: *"Bismarck's intention was to mitigate conflict and to find [a] solution through a multilateral agreement. In the foreground of his politics, rather than the splitting up of Africa, stood the reconciliation of European and non-European superpower interests."*[33] Whether Bismarck's intentions were benign, or what shifts in German and international politics drove him into the scramble for Africa exceeds the scope of this chapter. What is relevant is the distinction between the actual historical event and what it symbolizes. In the context of the memory politics of the corner, these two dimensions of the Berlin Conference are often conflated. Regardless of the political purpose of Bismarck's conference, as a unilateral conference convened to decide the future of Africa, without the presence of a single African representative, the Berlin Conference became the symbol of the genocidal imperialist politics that were implemented in its aftermath.

The authors of these two plaques differ significantly. On the one hand, the Topography of Terror Foundation is a federally and state funded organization created in 1992 to manage and preserve a nearby site which was the seat of the Gestapo, SA, SS, and SD (later RSHA, Reichssicherheitshauptamt) during the Third Reich, which explains its temporal focus.[34] On the other hand, *Africa-Forum*, the organization behind the second plaque is an NGO based in Berlin created in 1996 to promote dialogue between Africa and Europe.[35] Similar to the first plaque's omission of the Berlin Conference, the *Africa-Forum* plaque avoids any mention of Hitler's use of the building, focusing only on the relevance of the site for the advancement of the European colonization of Africa. It seems like the spatial proximity of these to plaques has not contributed to their mutual understanding. Yet, this is only partially true, because the more recent *Africa-Forum* plaque is a response to the first plaque. In the German tradition of the *Gegendenkmal* or counter-memorial, these two plaques work together, filling each other's omissions. Counter-memorials emerged as an alternative to the removal of existing Nazi and war-praising monuments after the end of the Second World War. Instead of

---

[32] Writing in 1984, in the context of the centennial commemorations of the Berlin Conference, Hargreaves, argues eloquently about the two dimensions of the conference. See John D. Hargreaves, "THE BERLIN WEST AFRICA CONFERENCE: A Timely Centenary," *History Today* 34, no. 11 (November 1984): 16; To read the actual conference treaty, and a WWI interpretation, see: Arthur Berriedale Keith, *The Belgian Congo and the Berlin Act* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919), http://archive.org/details/belgiancongoberl00keituoft.

[33] Africa-Forum e.V. Wilhelmstreet Plaque, 2005. While the text is presented in three languages, the German version is more rounded than the English version. I have quoted excerpts from the English version with some corrections based on the German text.

[34] See Chapter 2. Also: Matthias Haß, *Das Aktive Museum und die Topographie des Terrors*, 1., Aufl. (Berlin: Hentrich und Hentrich Verlag Berlin, 2012).

[35] http://www.afrikaforum.net/ [accessed on January 10, 2018]

eliminating obsolete memorials, in these cases a second memorial was added in order to create a field of debate between the old and the new interpretation of the past. Conflicting pasts were thus made visible in the realm of the city.[36]

That parallel plaques present the two-fold history of *Wilhelmstraße* 77 is not an exception in Berlin; on the contrary, this has become more common as the memory of Germany's colonial past has unsettled memorial conventions around the Holocaust. Moreover, this dual approach is not particular to the treatment of Germany's colonial past, but has its roots in the fact that Germany's reckoning with its Nazi past coincided with the Cold War. Postwar memories divided along Cold War political interests shaped two distinct ways to approach the Nazi past. Jeffrey Herf describes the emergence of two distinct memory cultures in East and West Germany: while in West Germany the 'Jewish Question' became the center of postwar memory politics, in East Germany –in fact, all across the Eastern Bloc– the fight against fascism became the narrative around which memories were organized.[37] The reunification of Germany allowed western memory politics to prevail, yet visible traces of this two-fold anticommunist versus antifascist approach to the past remain ingrained in memory sites erected in former East Germany, and particularly in Berlin, as the symbol and center of Cold War disputes.

After the reunification of Germany in 1990, another highly controversial and publicly debated tension between two-fold pasts set foot in German memory culture: a theory of double dictatorships. Also known in German as Totalitarismustheorie [Totalitarismus theory], a narrative that equated the East German Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED) and Nazi regimes. For the purpose of an official *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung* (confrontation with the past) for the crimes of the SED regime, two inquiry commissions of the German Parliament founded a series of institutions to deal with the SED past in light of lessons learned from the difficult reckoning with the country's Nazi history.[38] Many critics, in particular Eberhard Jäckel and Salomon Korn, have voiced their rejection to equating the Nazi and the SED dictatorships. In addition to pointing out the historical distortions that this parallel brings forward, Jäckel and Korn question the exaggerated SED reparation policy that has derived

---

[36] Two types of counter-memorials can be distinguished within this tradition: counter-memorials that confront existing monuments and counter-memorials that defy the conventions of memorialization. Both emerged in Germany during the 1980s. See Dinah Wijsenbeek, *Denkmal und Gegendenkmal: Über den kritischen Umgang mit der Vergangenheit auf dem Gebiet der bildenden Kunst*, New edition (München: Peter Lang GmbH, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2010); Jana Scheele, "Denkmal und Gegendenkmal. Kommunikationsraum der Generationen," *Hamburger Journal für Kulturanthropologie (HJK)* 1, no. 4 (September 29, 2016): 73–85; James E. Young, "Horst Hoheisel's Counter-Memory of the Holocaust: The End of the Monument," *Center for Holocaust & Genocide Studies* (blog), accessed December 16, 2014, http://www.chgs.umn.edu/museum/memorials/hoheisel/.

[37] Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997).

[38] Anselma Gallinat, "The Local Aufarbeitung (Re-Working) of the SED-Dictatorship: Governing Memory to Save the Future," *European Politics and Society* 18, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 96–109, https://doi.org/10.1080/23745118.2016.1269448; Deutscher Bundestag, "Errichtungsgesetz Bundesstiftung Zur Aufarbeitung Der SED-Diktatur," § 33 (1998), https://www.bundesstiftung-aufarbeitung.de/errichtungsgesetz-1081.html.

from the double dictatorship theory.[39] Jäckel's critique of the two-fold nature of the German past is particularly interesting. Although he is not speaking about the parallel between German colonialism and Nazism, his position can shed light on the significance of the two plaques on the corner of *Wilhelmstraße* and *An der Kolonnade*. He argues that:

> Certain things cannot be said. Instead of comparing phenomena they get equated. [...] Whether the National Socialist murder of the Jews was unique or not, could only arise from a comparison with other mass murders. Yet, this is how the Germans are now dealing with their double past: avoiding comparison, certainly not confronting it, which would be immoral, all this in order to be able to equate even more self-evidently.[40]

Comparison would be immoral, according to Jäckel, because it would break the convention of understanding the Holocaust as a limit event, incommensurate with anything humanity has ever experienced before.[41] Similarly to the emergence of SED memories, the upsurge of colonial memories in Berlin has the potential to unsettle the idea that Nazism and its consequences were exceptions in German history.[42] While the SED dictatorship is seemingly dwarfed by its Nazi counterpart, the danger that comparison presents in the case of German colonialism is much greater. Sustained antisemitism, the Holocaust, death camps in Eastern Europe, and the *Einsatzgruppen* [Nazi killing squads] could potentially pale in comparison with racism, slavery, death camps in Swakopmund, and *Schutzgruppen* in the German colonies. Equation is thus a safer alternative because it hinders the reappraisal of a longer genealogy of German terror.

As it stands today, the intersection of *Wilhelmstraße* and *An der Kolonnade* can be said to be yet another manifestation of a distinctly German Cold War-inspired two-fold memory policy that equates pasts instead of allowing analytical comparisons. Their formal similarities – two vertical text-based signs on the sidewalk– reinforce the idea that one past is equivalent with the other, while the continuities between each historical event are eluded. Again, this is only partly true. Yes, the *Wilhelmstraße* plaques invoke two simplified versions of the multiple layers of history present at the site. Yet, unlike the separate memory policies of East and West Germany or the double dictatorship theory, the plaques predate an official memorial policy about the colonial past and its relationship with Nazi Germany. In other words, the way in

---

[39] Eberhard Jäckel, "Die Doppelte Vergangenheit," *Der Spiegel*, December 23, 1991, http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13492255.html; Evelyn Finger, "Deutsche Geschichte: Diktaturenvergleich jetzt! Neuer Streit um die Gedenkpolitik: Was unterscheidet NS-Verbrechen von DDR-Unrecht? Ein Interview mit Salomon Korn," *Die Zeit*, November 19, 2007, sec. Kultur, https://www.zeit.de/2007/47/Gedenkstaetten.

[40] Jäckel, "Die Doppelte Vergangenheit," 41 (Translation is my own.)

[41] Simone Gigliotti, "Unspeakable Pasts as Limit Events: The Holocaust, Genocide, and the Stolen Generations," *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 49, no. 2 (June 1, 2003): 164–81, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8497.00302.

[42] For more on German exceptionalism, or Sonderweg, see Geoff Eley, "Disappointment," in *A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 61–113, https://muse.jhu.edu/book/6251/.

which Germany will deal with its colonial past is far from settled; on the contrary, it is being debated in congress, disputed in museum forums, and discussed in neighborhood organizations and classrooms across Germany. In that sense, these nearby plaques still hold the potential of the *Gegendenkmal* to open a debate in the public sphere. Their power relies in the space between both narratives, depending on the visitor who sees the plaques and draws her own conclusions. The question remains whether future memorial policies on German colonialism will follow the two-fold history precedents or if they will be able to integrate, analyze, and compare the multiple episodes of violence of the past more complexly.

African Quarter

These ideas are manifested in a decisively heightened way in the *African Quarter*, which sits about 20 minutes away by subway from the *Wilhelmstraße* and *An der Kolonnade* intersection. Located in Wedding, a predominantly white working-class locality in northwest Berlin, the *African Quarter* is marked by a plethora of colonial traces, which have fueled heated debates around Germany's colonial past and its semiotics.

Fig. 3.12. Two-sided plaque about the African Quarter, located outside the Rehberge subway station in Wedding, 2017.

A two-sided plaque outside the *Rehberge* U-Bahn station awaits those who want to know why the streets of Wedding are named after Togo, Cameroon, Ghana, Swakopmund, Gustav Nachtigal, Adolf Lüderitz, and Carl Peters. (Fig. 3.12.) Colonial advocacy groups during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries named the streets of the *African Quarter* after existing

and desired African colonies and their colonizers to honor and promote colonial endeavors (Fig. 3.13.).[43]

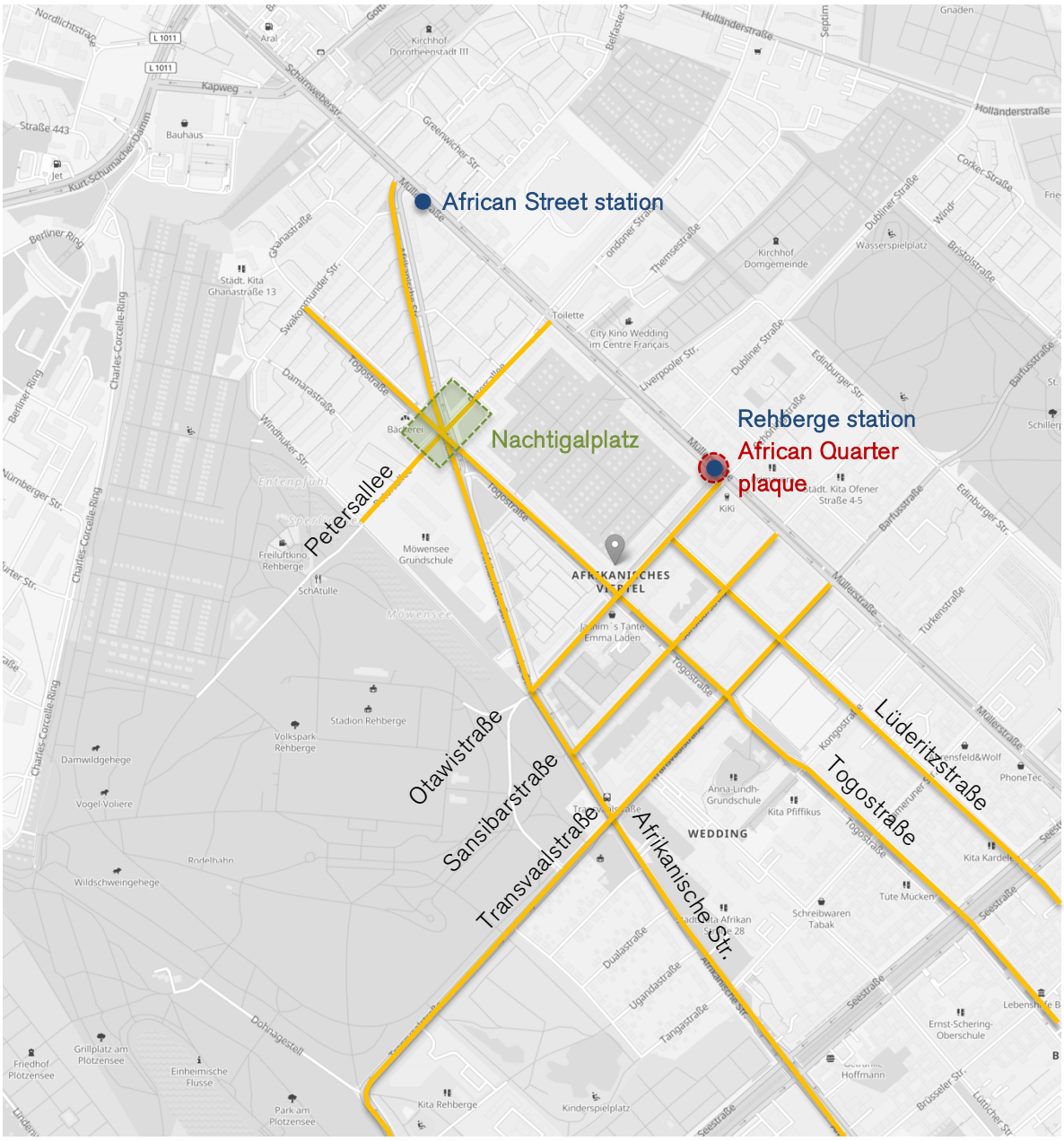


Fig. 3.13. Map of the African Quarter. Some (but not all) colonial-inspired street names are highlighted.

[43] More on German Colonial Fantasies: Susanne Zantop, Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870*, Post-Contemporary Interventions (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1997); More on German Colonial Monuments: Joachim Zeller, *Kolonialdenkmäler Und Geschichtsbewusstsein: Eine Untersuchung Der Kolonialdeutschen Erinnerungskultur* (Frankfurt: IKO-Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 2000).*Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870*, Post-Contemporary Interventions (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1997).

capital, colonial films peaked during the 1930s and 1940s.[44] The naming endeavor must thus be seen as part of a multi-media cultural phenomenon aimed at spreading what Susanne Zantop calls "colonial fantasies."[45] In this context, words like Togo acquired more than geographical meaning: they inspired fantasies of conquest, travel, exoticism, and desire grounded in films, monuments, advertisements, exhibitions, and travel narratives. As part of the efforts of Nazi Germany's *Kolonialpolitisches Amt* [Office for Colonial Policy], the office in charge of reconquering former colonial territories, the Nazis dedicated the last street honoring a 'colonial pioneer' in the *African Quarter* in 1939. The Nazi government rehabilitated Carl Peters, a convicted despotic colonial ruler of German East Africa (part of today's Tanzania), who became the name bearer of *Petersallee*, a throughway crossing one of the main squares of the quarter, *Nachtigalplatz* (Fig. 3.13.).

Postwar politics in East and West Germany were markedly different in their treatment of colonial traces in the public realm. While East Germany dismantled colonial monuments and changed colonial street names in order to cut German ties with its colonial past and reinforce the idea of a new democratic beginning, West Germany removed only the colonial monuments from the Nazi period. In fact, new monuments glorifying German colonialism were erected.[46] Located in the west side of Berlin, the street names of the *African Quarter* remained untouched, with the exception of *Petersallee,* which was symbolically re-dedicated in 1986 –although technically not renamed– to Hans Peters, a CDU [Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands] politician and a resistance fighter against National Socialism. While the Nazi *Petersallee* was dedicated to Carl Peters, the Federal Republic of Germany *Petersallee* was dedicated to Hans Peters, with the street sign remaining unchanged. As Alexander Honold rightfully argued, alongside many activists supporting the name change of *Petersallee,* the re-dedication of the street was a half-hearted and symbolically useless gesture. Within the toponymy of the African Quarter, the name *Petersallee* remains inseparable from the colonial despot "Hangman-Peters."[47]

Precisely because it was absurd and unsatisfactory, the rededication of *Petersallee* started a semiotic decolonization movement of the African Quarter. For the past 10 years, various groups of memory activists of the German Black community and the African diaspora have been petitioning for new names for the three streets that honor colonial pioneers in the *African Quarter: Petersallee, Nachtigalplatz,* and *Lüderitzstraße*. In 2017, a jury of black members belonging to organizations like *Berlin Postkolonial*, the *Institut für diskriminierungsfreie Bildung (IDB),* and the *Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland (ISD)* suggested three new names to honor African independence fighters –Martin-Dibobe Street, Nzinga-von-Matamba Avenue, and Yaa-Asantewaa Plaza– in order to replace the names of three colonial villains: Adolf Lüderitz, Carl

[44] Steinmetz, *The Devil's Handwriting.*

[45] Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies.*

[46] Speitkamp, "Kolonialherrschaft und Denkmal. Afrikanische und deutsche Erinnerungskultur im Konflikt."

[47] Alexander Honold, "Afrikanisches Viertel. Straßennamen als kolonialer Gedächtnisraum," in *Phantasiereiche: Zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus*, ed. Birthe Kundrus, 1st ed. (Frankfurt/Main: Campus Verlag, 2003), 320.

Peters, and Gustav Nachtigal.[48] The jury, which had been appointed by Berlin-Mitte district councilmember Sabine Weißler (Die Grünen), chose these three names from a total of 196, which neighbors had submitted through an open call to participate. Nevertheless, the jury's proposition was never implemented by city officials due to the strong opposition of local neighborhood groups organized under the umbrella organization *Pro African Quarter* and supported by the conservative party CDU and the far-right party AfD [Alternative für Deutschland]. In an unexpected turn of events, those who are in favor of maintaining the colonial street-names advocate for the preservation of the memory of these problematic figures within their neighborhood. The predominantly white working-class residents of the *African Quarter* argue that changing a street-name would be a blunt erasure of the past which should not be allowed.[49] Opponents of the name change proposition attacked the 'secretive' selection of the members of the jury and objected to the use of the name of Queen Nzinga-von-Matamba of the Mbundu people in Angola based on her ties with the slave trade.[50]

After this misstep, the political parties of the city council nominated a second jury of academic experts, who submitted a new list of names for the three streets in question at the beginning of 2018.[51] According to the political agreement of the city council's majority coalition of SPD [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands], Die Grünen, and Die Linke, *Lüderitzstraße* was to be named *Cornelius-Frederiks-Straße*, in honor of a leader of the resistance war of the Nama in former German Southwest Africa, *Nachtigalplatz* would take the name of the *Bell* family, who fought against German colonial oppression in Cameroon, and *Petersallee* would be divided in two, one section named after the Herero independence fighter *Anna Mungunda* (1932-1959) and the other named after the *Maji-Maji Rebellion* from German Colonization in former German East Africa (Fig. 3.14.). Reflecting the geographic scope of the

[48] Yonas Endrias, A Series of Interviews with Yonas Endrias of Lern- und Erinnerungsort Afrikanisches Viertel and Afrika Akademie / Schwarze Volkshochschule - SVHS, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, Audio and Transcript, December 2017; Josephine Apraku, Interview with Josephine Apraku of the Institut für diskriminierungsfreie Bildung (IDB), interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, Audio and Transcript, September 20, 2017; Christian Kopp, Interview with Christian Kopp of Berlin Postkolonial e.V., interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, Audio and Transcript, July 19, 2017; Tahir Della, Interview with Tahir Della of the Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland (ISD), interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, Audio and Transcript, September 8, 2017.

[49] A similar argument has been used against the razing of Confederate memorials in the South of the U.S.

[50] Laura Hofmann, "CDU-Fraktion legt Beschwerde gegen Umbenennung der Petersallee ein | Namen & Neues | Tagesspiegel LEUTE Mitte," *Tagesspiegel*, May 4, 2018, https://leute.tagesspiegel.de/mitte/macher/2018/05/04/44016/cdu-fraktion-legt-beschwerde-gegen-umbenennung-der-petersallee-ein; Gerhard Lehrke, "Kommentar zum Afrikanischen Viertel: AfD relativiert Untaten des Kolonialismus," *Berliner Zeitung*, February 28, 2018, https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik/meinung/kommentar-zum-afrikanischen-viertel-afd-relativiert-untaten-des-kolonialismus-29792552; Götz Frömming, "Umbenennungspraxis ist zutiefst kolonialistisch," *Alternative für Deutschland* (blog), January 29, 2018, https://www.afd.de/goetz-froemming-umbenennungspraxis-ist-zutiefst-kolonialistisch/; Hannah El-Hitami, "AdK-Veranstaltungsreihe Koloniales Erbe: „Schlimmste Verbrechen"," *Die Tageszeitung: taz*, January 21, 2018, sec. Berlin, http://www.taz.de/!5475762/, Pro Afrikanisches Viertel, http://www.pro-afrikanisches-viertel.de/ [accessed, 01/12/2018]

[51] Members of the first jury have argued that racism was at play in the heated critiques of their proceedings. The nomination of a second jury of 'academic experts' was used to replace a jury of black activists with a majority of white experts. (Endrias, Interviews with Yonas Endrias; Della, Interview with Tahir Della; Apraku, Interview with Josephine Apraku.)

colonial possessions of Germany in Africa, this second group of names seeks symbolic reparation for a wide array of victims of German colonialism, a request that received extensive support from the black and African communities in Berlin.[52]

Fig. 3.14. Christian Kopp and Mnyaka Sururu Mboro, leading members of the NGO *Berlin Postkolonial*, pose in front of the infamous *Petersallee* with a new street sign.

Circumstantial political alliances have been forged over the heated cultural debate around the re-naming of the streets in the *African Quarter*. While the center-left parties have agreed on the need to eliminate the traces of colonial dispossession from the neighborhood, the center-right parties CDU, FDP [Freie Demokraten], and AfD have all objected for different reasons. In May 2018, neighbors and CDU and AfD politicians voiced new critiques against this second list of names, which could postpone the actual removal of the street signs of the *African Quarter* for the next few years.[53] One might wonder why it has taken more than ten years to change three street names from a center-adjacent-working-class neighborhood in Berlin? The words of Götz Frömming, speaker of the AfD parliamentary faction, capture the underlying threat that the street-name changes pose. He argues:

[52] The selection of names for the African Quarter also abides to Berlin's new street-naming regulation, which favors female names, until the gender imbalance of Berlin's streets has been subdued. Dirk Jericho, "Gutachter präsentieren Empfehlungen: Straßenumbenennung im Afrikanischen Viertel," *Berliner Woche*, February 23, 2018, https://www.berliner-woche.de/wedding/c-politik/gutachter-praesentieren-empfehlungen-strassenumbenennung-im-afrikanischen-viertel_a143341; Laura Hofmann, "Neue Straßennamen fürs Afrikanische Viertel gefunden," *Der Tagesspiegel*, April 11, 2018, https://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/bezirke/spandau/berlin-mitte-neue-strassennamen-fuers-afrikanische-viertel-gefunden/21163352.html; Felix Hackenbruch, "Vorstoß für drei neue Straßennamen," *Der Tagesspiegel Online*, March 15, 2018, https://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/afrikanisches-viertel-vorstoss-fuer-drei-neue-strassennamen/21077654.html.

[53] Hofmann, "CDU-Fraktion legt Beschwerde gegen Umbenennung der Petersallee ein | Namen & Neues | Tagesspiegel LEUTE Mitte"; Frömming, "Umbenennungspraxis ist zutiefst kolonialistisch." Since the street re-naming debate in the *African Quarter* is an ongoing dispute, this article can only reflect the state of the issue until May 2018. It is most likely (and so I hope) that by the publication date of this article, the debate will have changed.

> Today it is the 'Mohrenapotheke' in Frankfurt, which is to be renamed, and Eugen Gomringer's poem at the Alice Salomon University in Berlin, which is to be painted over […] *but what will it be tomorrow?* Perhaps the many Goethe-Streets, just because there are anti-Semitic passages in Goethe's "Das Jahrmarktsfest zu Plundersweilern" [1773/8]!? Or the Aristotle-Street in Berlin, because Aristotle says that some are meant to command and the others to obey? *Where does it stop? Where does it lead !? There is probably nothing and nobody from earlier eras who would not be accused of anything if the moral gaze of today is focused on it.*[54]

Frömming goes so far as to accuse the name-changing undertakings of reversed colonialization. More importantly, Frömming's argument reveals the internal fissures of the 'cultural intimacy' that holds German national identity together.[55] Michael Herzfeld defines cultural intimacy as "the recognition of those aspects of a cultural identity that are considered a source of external embarrassment but that nevertheless provide insiders with the assurance of common sociality." Defiant towards the official German narrative as a guilty nation, the AfD gives voice to those who inhabit the fringes of culture, but nevertheless constitute the complex identity of contemporary Germany. The AfD is not alone in this position. The neighbors of the *African Quarter* also fear an avalanche of cultural reexaminations that will leave no German legacy standing, as one of them said in an interview with journalist Silvia Longo.[56] To be against the re-naming of the streets of the *African Quarter* is a proxy for standing against political correctness, immigration, globalization, and even gentrification. This position must be read within a broader political shift in Europe, on which the AfD has capitalized in Germany.

Until the street re-naming dispute is settled, all that represents the years of effort to memorialize the *African Quarter*'s history and significance within the actual neighborhood is the vertical plaque presented earlier in this section. Unlike the *Wilhelmstraße* plaques, in which two interpretations stand side by side, here one single plaque –front and back– narrates the history behind the names of the neighborhood in two different voices (Fig. 3.15).[57] One side of the plaque presents a text written by the city council of the center of Berlin [Bezirksverordnetenversammlung, BVV, Berlin-Mitte], while the other side portrays a text written by members of the black and African communities of Berlin. Both sides combine historical images, maps, and German texts in order to narrate the history of the *African Quarter* and the story behind its names. While the differences might seem subtle at first, the back-side of the plaque, written by the black community, has a clear political intention that exceeds the temporal and geographical boundaries of the *African Quarter*. It not only uses the word

---

[54] Frömming, "Umbenennungspraxis ist zutiefst kolonialistisch." (The translation is my own.)

[55] Michael Herzfeld, *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State*, 2nd ed (New York: Routledge, 2005), 3.

[56] Silvia Longo, Conversation with a Journalist Living in the African Quarter, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, June 17, 2017.

[57] There are virtual projects like Lern-und Erinnerungsort Afrikanisches Viertel (LEO) which have made an important contribution in teaching about the neighborhood and advocating for the memorialization of the African Quarter. Nevertheless, the two-sided plaque is, as of today, the only physical mark that represents the neighborhood's memorial dimension. (Endrias, Interviews with Yonas Endrias.)

'genocide' to talk about the extermination of the Nama and Herero, but it explicitly states the participation of Germans in the transatlantic slave trade starting in the late seventeenth century.[58] The words written by the black community are controversial because they stress that German colonialism, and the racism that legitimated its advance, has been a long-ignored issue with continuities in the present. *'Today's racism'*, it states, *'is a legacy of colonial ideology'*, in an attempt to expose mysticized notions about integration and multiculturalism in contemporary Germany.[59] A note at the bottom of both sides of the plaque states that this twofold narrative stands for a *"broad and open discussion in public space."*[60] While this might be true, the plaque still has a privileged front side oriented towards the sidewalk decorated with the official district text, and a black-authored back oriented towards a secondary green area.[61]

Fig. 3.15. Front (left) and back (right) of the African Quarter plaque, 2017.

[58] The appropriateness of use of the word genocide sparked much of the current public debate around German colonialism. To read more about this debate and its recent development see: Tristan Buhmann, "Der Völkermord an den Herero und Nama (1904-1908)," *Genocide Alert* (blog), n/d, http://www.genocide-alert.de/projekte/deutschland-und-massenverbrechen/herero-und-nama/.

[59] BVV Berlin-Mitte & Lern- und Erinnerungsort Afrikanisches Viertel Plaque, 2012.

[60] BVV Berlin-Mitte & Lern- und Erinnerungsort Afrikanisches Viertel Plaque, 2012.

[61] The orientation of the two-sided plaque has been strongly criticized by black activists. (Kopp, Interview with Christian Kopp.)

M*straße

The *African Quarter* is not an isolated case: toponymic disputes are at the core of the current decolonization efforts in Berlin. Words have become central at this stage. Naming something brings it into existence, which is particularly important after years of colonial amnesia.[62] Not only street names and place names, but also keywords like genocide, racism, and slavery have ignited heated debates amongst politicians, neighbors, and activists. One of those keywords is the word *'moor,'* which has stirred up a series of events and demands in the area surrounding the intersection of *Wilhelmstraße* and *An der Kolonnade,* bringing the narrative back to where this Berlin tour started.

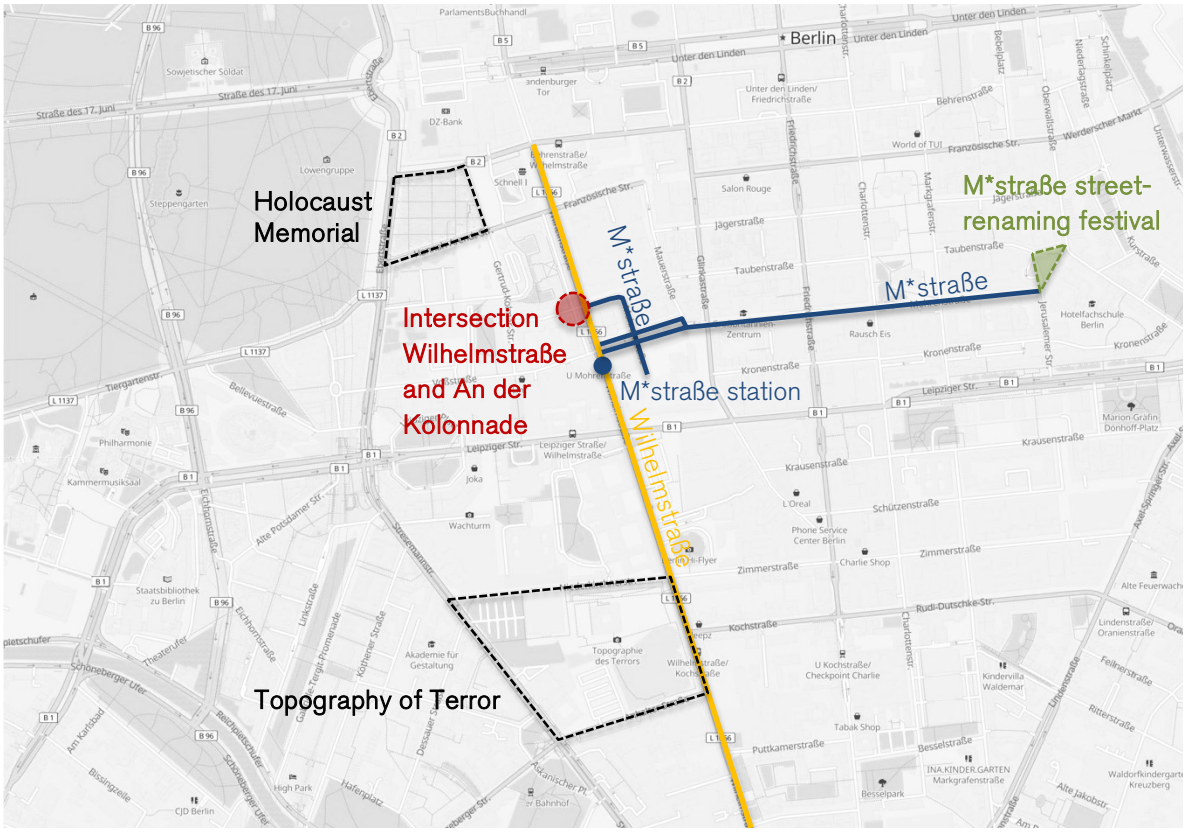


Fig. 3.16. Map of the center of Berlin, 2020.

Berlin's Black and African Community and its many supporters, demand that *Mohrenstraße*, an important eighteenth-century avenue in the center of Berlin, be renamed because it includes a discriminatory foreign designation for black people, the word '*moor*.'[63] The

[62] J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, William James Lectures 1955 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).

[63] Ken Münster, "Aktivisten laden zur Umbenennung der Mohrenstraße," *Der Tagesspiegel*, August 23, 2017, http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/symbolisches-fest-in-berlin-mitte-aktivisten-laden-zur-umbenennung-der-mohrenstrasse/20223702.html; Uta Schleiermacher, "Verbrechen der deutschen Kolonialzeit: Protest gegen die Mohrenstraße," *Die Tageszeitung: taz*, August 22, 2017, sec. Berlin, http://www.taz.de/!5435267/.

so-called *M*straße* is an east-west thoroughfare which stretches from *Hausvogteidplatz* to *Wilhelmstraße*, ending right next to the corner of *Wilhelmstraße* and *An der Kolonnade* (Fig. 3.16). Thus, the memorial meaning of this very confusing intersection is not only being shaped by the contradicting two plaques, but is also determined by the unresolved request to change the name of the adjoining *M*street.*[64]

When exactly, and more importantly, why this street was named *Mohrenstraße*, are questions that have been subject to a heated historical debate, which even led to legal proceedings against an historian who argued that the word 'moor' was not used in a derogatory sense when the street was dedicated.[65] Yet, given the street's origin in the eighteenth century, we can at least attribute its name to the early Prussian colonial undertakings in Africa. In the context of the German involvement in the transatlantic slave trade, African natives were taken to Berlin to serve in the court and in the army of the Brandenburg elector and the Prussian aristocracy. Often underaged, these slaves, were known as 'Hofmohren' or 'Kammermohren' [court-moors] amongst the German population. Thus, at the height of the transatlantic slave trade, the image associated with the M-word was that of a uncivilized, dirty, and enslaved individual. In the twentieth century, this racist image solidified around the character of the Sarotti-Mohr, a caricature of a black African native that for almost a century (1918-2004) was used as the main symbol for the German chocolate brand *Sarotti* (Fig. 3.17).[66]

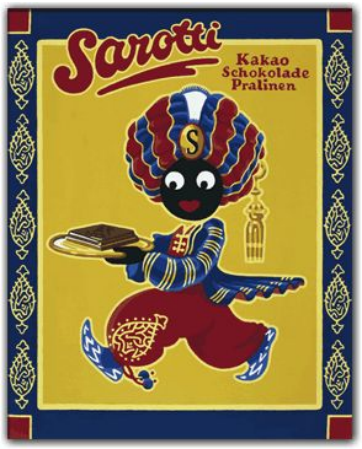


Fig. 3.17. Sarotti-Mohr logo.

The first person to draw attention to the offensive and derogatory meaning of *Mohrenstraße* was the Afro-German poet and activist May Ayim (1960-1996). While her appeal to rename M*street is yet to be fulfilled, it is her name which replaced that of a colonial

[64] While the word moor generally refers to the Muslims of North Africa and some of the Middle East in the Middle Ages, in Germany it acquired a particular connotation tying it to black Africans.

[65] Endrias, Interviews with Yonas Endrias. The accused historian has stated his position in numerous publications, including Heyden, *Auf Afrikas Spuren in Berlin*.

[66] Berliner Entwicklungspolitischer Ratschlag in cooperation with, Berlin Postkolonial, and Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland (ISD-BUND), "Stadt neu lesen. Dossier zu kolonialen und rassistischen Straßennamen in Berlin" (Berliner Entwicklungspolitischer Ratschlag, 2016); Decolonize-Mitte, "Hintergrundinformationen zur Umbenennung der „M-Straße"," *decolonize-mitte* (blog), August 24, 2015, http://decolonize-mitte.de/?p=238.

pioneer in the first successful experience to decolonize a street name in Berlin. In 2010, the *Gröben-Ufer*, honoring Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, the Prussian explorer in command of the colonial expedition that founded Großfriedrichsburg on the coast of Guinea, became the *May-Ayim-Ufer*. With this name change, the city district of Kreuzberg set a precedent for postcolonial activists in Berlin and in other German cities as well.[67]

Fig. 3.18. Dekolonize Mitte's M*straße renaming festival, 2017.

Carrying Ayim's plea into the present, for the past seven years, every August 23, in memory of the *International Day for the Remembrance of the Slave Trade and its Abolition*, an alliance of several activist groups called *"Decolonize Mitte"* [Decolonize the Center] organizes a street-renaming festival on *M*street* (Fig. 3.18).[68] Political speeches, poetry readings, performance acts, and music interludes conform the spectacle of a street-celebration that attracts activists, families, politicians, and neighbors alike. Every year, the event culminates with the symbolic renaming of *M*street*: the old sign is crossed out with a red stick, while a new street sign is hung under the defaced one. Despite the popularity of the event and the many photographs of the attendees posing in front of the new street sign that circulate after each renaming-celebration, the city council of the center of Berlin has opposed every attempt to re-name *M*street* (Fig. 3.19). The *M*street* street-renaming festival is both a celebration and an act of resistance against the backlash of historical relativists and political conservatives who want to preserve the street name, as well as a response to the inaction of the city council. As in the case of the *African Quarter*, those who oppose the re-naming of *M*street* organized themselves as *"Initiative Pro Mohrenstraße"* and argue that it would be a defilement of history to remove the name. [69]

---

[67] Chantal-Fleur Sandjon, "Der Raum Zwischen Gestern Und Heute: May Ayim (3. Mai 1960 - 9. August 1996)," Berlin Postkolonial, no date, http://www.berlin-postkolonial.de/cms/index.php/orte3/14-orte/friedrichshain-kreuzberg/18-may-ayim-ufer; Martin Otto, "Straßennamen in Berlin: Entkolonisierung der Lebenswelt," *FAZ.NET*, sec. Feuilleton, accessed June 8, 2018, http://www.faz.net/1.908458.

[68] United Nations, "Slave Trade and Its Abolition | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization," UNESCO.org, accessed July 10, 2018, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/events/prizes-and-celebrations/celebrations/international-days/slave-trade-and-its-abolition/; Berlin Postkolonial e.V., "decolonize-mitte | Dekolonisierung von Berlin-Mitte," *decolonize-mitte | Dekolonisierung von Berlin-Mitte* (blog), accessed January 22, 2018, http://decolonize-mitte.de/.

[69] Heyden, *Auf Afrikas Spuren in Berlin*; Ulrich van der Heyden, "Namensstreit: Warum an der Mohrenstraße nichts schlecht ist," *Berliner Zeitung*, August 21, 2017, https://www.berliner-

Perplexingly, the same district office has approved the renaming of three streets in the African Quarter while rejecting the renaming of *M*street*. Yet, behind this decision lie key factors such as location, income, and accessibility. Relegated to what once was an industrial periphery, working-class *Wedding* poses less of a threat to cultural intimacy than the central *M*street*. Beyond class and location, there is another factor that can help explain the resistance to renaming *M*street*. *M*street* is a taboo within a taboo, because it inevitably confronts present Germany with its involvement in the slave trade. The taboo around German colonial amnesia has been slowly melting away thanks to the tireless work of postcolonial activists and scholars. However, within this reckoning with the colonial past, the German slave trade remains a contentious topic, as demonstrated by the contrasting approach to slave trade on the two sides of the *African Quarter* plaque.

Fig. 3.19. Dekolonize Mitte's M*straße renaming ceremony, 2017.

zeitung.de/politik/meinung/namensstreit-warum-an-der-mohrenstrasse-nichts-schlecht-ist-28196006; Philipp Hartmann, "Diskussion um die Mohrenstraße: Initiative fordert Namenserhalt," *Berliner Woche*, August 24, 2017, https://www.berliner-woche.de/mitte/c-verkehr/diskussion-um-die-mohrenstrasse-initiative-fordert-namenserhalt_a131339.

Memorial Inflation

*M*straße's* significance in contemporary Berlin goes beyond the re-naming debate: it is also the central axis that structures the annual memorial march in demand for apology, reparation, recognition, and memorialization for the victims of German colonialism. The memorial march starts at the corner of *Wilhelmstraße* and *An der Kolonnade*, not only because this is the location of a clash between two historic interpretations of a missing building, but because this is the site chosen for the future memorial for the African victims of German colonization. My interviews with memory activists from the black community in Berlin largely indicate that, although the form and nature of the memorial are still open to debate, the location for the future memorial should be *Wilhelmstraße 77* (currently number 92), the site of the Berlin Conference.[70] Its historicity and centrality make it the perfect location for a memorial in a city that has erased most of its colonial traces. There is only one caveat: there already is a memorial on the corner of *Wilhelmstraße* and *An der Kolonnade*.

Fig. 3.20. Berlin's Georg Elser Memorial (Klages Design, 2011), 2017.

[70] To this date, there is no formal design proposal for the future memorial (Kopp, Interview with Christian Kopp; Della, Interview with Tahir Della; Apraku, Interview with Josephine Apraku; Endrias, Interviews with Yonas Endrias.). However, some activists including Muchtar B. Kamara have suggested that artist Satch Hoyt's design for a "Shrine of the Forgotten Souls" could be adapted for the site. See: Kamara, Interviews with Muchtar B. Kamara; http://www.no-humboldt21.de/pm-decolonize-deutschland/ [accessed 04212020].

A 56 ft [17 m] sculpture rises high above the cars, trees, and memorial litter of the intersection: a LED-illuminated steel frame shaped after the profile of a man (Fig. 3.20.). A nearby plaque, similar in shape and size to the previous two plaques, explains that the depicted man is Georg Elser, a carpenter from Württemberg, author of a failed attack on Hitler's life in 1939 (Fig. 3.21.). Long-forgotten and recently rediscovered, Elser was a lone pacifist who thought to end Germany's war and the suffering of the working-class by killing the Nazi leaders during an event in Munich. The bombing attack failed and Elser was caught fleeing across the Swiss border. He was imprisoned, interrogated, and tortured, first in Munich and then in the Gestapo headquarters in Berlin. Later he was taken to the Dachau concentration camp, where he was murdered in 1945, shortly before the end of the war.[71] Quotations from Elser's confessions written on steel frames embedded in the nearby sidewalk add a third element to the memorial ensemble created by the Berlin-based artist Ulrich Klages in 2011(Fig. 3.22.).[72] The memorial has been criticized for its indiscernible formal reference, but what concerns us here is that it fails to explain why it is situated in front of what used to be Hitler's as well as Bismarck's Reichskanzlei.[73]

Fig. 3.21. (left) Georg Elser Memorial plaque, 2017. Fig. 3.22. (center) Georg Elser Memorial inscriptions on the sidewalk, located in front of the Africa-Forum plaque, 2017. Fig. 3.23. (right) Detail of Georg Elser Memorial inscriptions on the sidewalk, 2017.

[71] Peter Steinbach and Johannes Tuchel, *Georg Elser: Der Hitler-Attentäter* (Berlin: Be.bra Verlag, 2010).

[72] Ulrich Klages official website: http://www.klages-design.de/ Hitler's bunker, which could be accessed from the Reichskanzlei, is an underground reminder of the excess and ambition of the NS Government Quarter.

[73] Birgit Walter, "Neues Denkmal: Ehrung Eines Helden," *Berliner Zeitung*, November 9, 2011, https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/kultur/neues-denkmal-ehrung-eines-helden-10673700.

Rolf Hochhuth, a well-known German playwright and initiator of the idea for the Georg Elser Memorial, argued that it is there because it is a necessary counter-balance to Hitler's bunker, a place of Nazi pilgrimage, which is buried 330 feet [100 m] away.[74] Still, it is unclear whether this was the right place for this privately-proposed, publicly-funded memorial, especially considering that there are already more than 60 streets and squares named after Elser, as well as 13 memorials throughout Germany.[75] The memorial's site-specificity to the historic event, a key aspect in the construction of most memorials in Berlin, acquires a misleading meaning on the site of the former Reichskanzlei. Here, a memorial is necessary not to remember, but to neutralize the symbolic value of traces of the past.

As it stands today, the *Wilhelmstraße/An der Kolonnade* intersection presents a multiplicity of isolated memorials that, rather than acting as aide mémoires, reveal the limitations of contemporary German memory culture: former sites of Nazi glorification and traces of colonial past. The Holocaust as a limit event has occluded what came before, with a number of unsettling consequences.[76] One could say that, at this intersection, Elser stands in the way of an African memorial, or in other words, the Holocaust stands in the way of African memory.

Conclusion

Finally, given the existing memorial landscape of the intersection of *Wilhelmstraße* and *An der Kolonnade*, where does the future memorial for the victims of the colonization of Africa fit in? Although I have centered this chapter on one corner of Berlin, this question applies to the larger issue of how emergent postcolonial memories will co-inhabit a memorial landscape shaped mainly by the atonement for the Holocaust. This is particularly significant considering that Namibian tribes are currently suing Germany for their colonial genocide in a US court.[77] Although some individual German officials, including Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul and Gerd Müller, have recognized the genocide of the Nama and Herrero, an official apology is still

[74] feb/dapd/dpa, "Gedenken an Hitler-Attentäter: Georg-Elser-Denkmal in Berlin Eingeweiht," *Spiegel Online*, November 8, 2011, sec. Kultur, http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/gedenken-an-hitler-attentaeter-georg-elser-denkmal-in-berlin-eingeweiht-a-796600.html.

[75] For details on the streets named after Elser, see http://www.georg-elser-arbeitskreis.de/texts/strassen.htm. For details on the 13 memorials to remember George Elser, see http://www.georg-elser-arbeitskreis.de/texts/denkmale.htm

[76] As a limit event, the Holocaust has not only been conceived as the most radical rupture with the Western Enlightenment tradition and humankind in general, but it has also shaped post-Holocaust politics and identities across the world. See Simone Gigliotti, "Unspeakable Pasts as Limit Events: The Holocaust, Genocide, and the Stolen Generations," *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 49, no. 2 (2003): 164–81; A. Dirk Moses, "Conceptual Blockages and Definitional Dilemmas in the 'Racial Century': Genocides of Indigenous Peoples and the Holocaust," in *Colonialism and Genocide*, ed. A. Dirk Moses and Dan Stone (New York: Routledge, 2007), 149–80.

[77] Christoph Schult and Christoph Titz, "Völkermord: Herero Und Nama Verklagen Deutschland," *Spiegel Online*, January 6, 2017, sec. Politik, http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/voelkermord-nachkommen-der-herero-und-nama-verklagen-deutschland-a-1128885.html.

pending, and terms of the reparation for this atonement have not been granted.[78] In this context, Berlin's 2016 ruling coalition agreement –signed by SPD, Die Linke, and Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (Red-Red-Green)– included a statement about dealing with the city's colonial past. A future memorial and the renaming of some streets are expected to be part of eventual reparations offered for Berlin's role as the seat of Germany's colonial empire.[79]

In this context, how will the future memorialization of German colonialism intervene in a memorial landscape that has overlooked its existence? The memorial march provides one possible strategy: it briefly re-appropriates the traditional center of Berlin to reveal its colonial ties. When the trajectory of the memorial march passed next to Peter Eisenman's *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*, a few years ago, it sparked a huge controversy. Black activists were accused of misappropriating a space and past that did not belong to them, while Holocaust activists were accused of coveted racism by acknowledging only the loss of white lives on European soil.[80] The first set of plaques of the *Wilhelmstraße/An der Kolonnade* intersection presented another, less controversial, alternative for this relationship—ignoring or overlooking the events commemorated by each other in order to avoid conflict. While the two-sided plaque in the *African Quarter* follows the *Wilhelmstraße* example, it combines both positions in one single object, suggesting more clearly that it is a product of an ongoing dialogue.

In other words, the little corner that has been the subject of this chapter reveals how mid- and early twentieth-century crimes have been put in a position of rivalry, literally fighting for the same public space. Which memory will prevail in the intersection of *Wilhelmstraße* and *An der Kolonnade?* Will Bismarck, Hitler, Elser, or the colonized dominate? Of course, this question is misleading; why should there be only one answer? I believe that this intersection in particular, and Berlin in general, have the potential to initiate a dialogue between different periods of the German past, in the vein of what Hannah Arendt proposed in her book *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Following Arendt's argument, the Nazi regime cannot be understood without the camps and massacres, as well as the violent colonial elite, which emerged out of

---

[78] "Völkermord an Herero: In Namibia wächst die Wut auf Deutschland," accessed January 19, 2018, https://www.zdf.de/uri/e8f9f5b5-0a7d-4832-b2ed-96ac06a1355f; "Herero Massacre: General's Descendants Apologize for 'Germany's First Genocide,'" *Spiegel Online*, October 8, 2007, sec. International, http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/herero-massacre-general-s-descendants-apologize-for-germany-s-first-genocide-a-510163.html; Michelle Faul, "Germany's Return of Namibian Skulls Stokes Anger," msnbc.com, October 4, 2011, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/44778704/ns/world_news-africa/t/germanys-return-namibian-skulls-stokes-anger/; Meldrum, "German Minister Says Sorry for Genocide in Namibia"; Jason Burke and and Philip Oltermann, "Germany Moves to Atone for 'forgotten Genocide' in Namibia," *The Guardian*, December 25, 2016, sec. World news, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/25/germany-moves-to-atone-for-forgotten-genocide-in-namibia.

[79] Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD) Landesverband Berlin, Die Linke Landesverband Berlin, and Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Landesverband Berlin, "Koalitionsvereinbarung 2016-2021. Berlin Gemeinsam Gestalten. Solidarisch. Nachhaltig. Weltoffen.," 2016, https://www.berlin.de/rbmskzl/regierender-buergermeister/senat/koalitionsvereinbarung/.

[80] Kamara, Interviews with Muchtar B. Kamara. Indeed Arendt has also been accused of anti-black racism, see Patricia Owens, "Racism in the Theory Canon: Hannah Arendt and 'the One Great Crime in Which America Was Never Involved,'" *Millennium* 45, no. 3 (June 1, 2017): 403–24, https://doi.org/10.1177/0305829817695880.

Germany's imperialist expansion in Africa.[81] This does not mean that these political forms are equal; however, they are historically related. As a thorough distinction-maker, Arendt sought to illuminate not only the causal relationships, but also the differences between imperialism and totalitarianism. This is a particularly important lesson to be learned considering the current dual dictatorship approach to the SED and Nazi past and the overwhelming resistance to comparing the Holocaust with other genocides. The exercise explored here is to look at actual urban space to tackle these questions, revealing that, in a city like Berlin, pasts are inevitably superimposed. Such complex layering can lead to a wide array of responses, from omission and selection, to comparison and distinction. The *Wilhelmstraße/An der Kolonnade* corner presents opportunities for reckoning with the past, absent or present, commemorated or obscured, in an era of global reckoning with European colonialism. Just as the Holocaust cannot be forgotten in order to prevent repeat offenses, so too must colonialism be acknowledged and understood, not forgotten, in order to aid in the prevention of future state-enacted racism and exploitation. The current state of the *Wilhelmstraße/An der Kolonnade* intersection, with its multiplicity of plaques and markers, is part of a fleeting present, which is why I thought it was particularly important to describe it in detail. Once official German colonial memory policies are written and set in stone, this corner will likely change and settle its competing narratives. In its current state, however, it has the potential to reveal compelling continuities between imperial and Nazi histories, as well as to reflections of past and present racism in German culture.

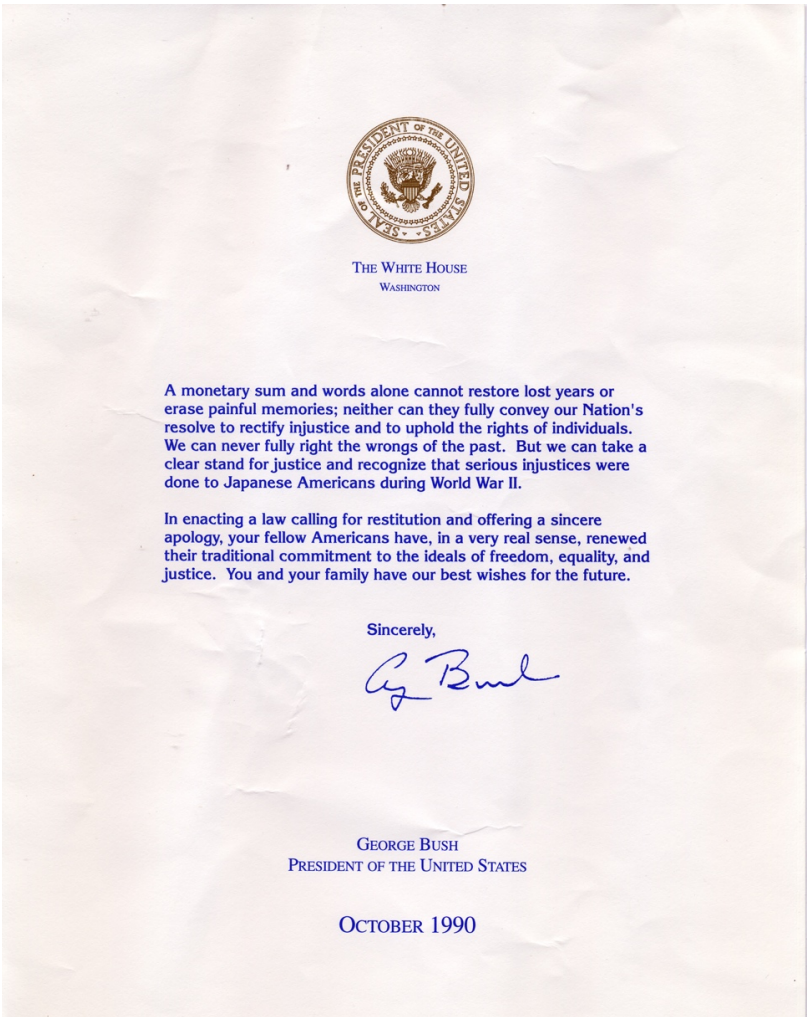
[81] Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New ed. with added prefaces, Harvest Book (San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1979). Jürgen Zimmerer has further developed this idea in *Von Windhuk nach Auschwitz?: Beiträge zum Verhältnis von Kolonialismus und Holocaust*, 1., Aufl. (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2011). See also Robert Gerwarth and Stephan Malinowski, "Hannah Arendt's Ghosts: Reflections on the Disputable Path from Windhoek to Auschwitz," *Central European History* 42, no. 2 (2009): 279–300; Pascal Grosse, "From Colonialism to National Socialism to Postcolonialism: Hannah Arendt's Origins of Totalitarianism," *Postcolonial Studies* 9, no. 1 (March 1, 2006): 35–52, https://doi.org/10.1080/13668250500488819.

[This page intentionally left blank.]

INTERLUDE II

George H.W. Bush's Letter of Apology

On October 9, 1990, during a ceremony in Washington D.C., US Attorney General Richard Thornburgh presented the nine oldest survivors of Japanese American incarceration during World War II with a written apology signed by George H.W. Bush and a check for $20,000 (Fig. B.1.). This was the result of decades of redress campaigns spearheaded by Japanese Americans to obtain an official apology, the restitution of civil rights, and a monetary reparation for the mass removal and confinement of people of Japanese ancestry following the Attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

A monetary sum and words alone cannot restore lost years or erase painful memories; neither can they fully convey our Nation's resolve to rectify injustice and to uphold the rights of individuals. We can never fully right the wrongs of the past. But we can take a clear stand for justice and recognize that serious injustices were done to Japanese Americans during World War II.

In enacting a law calling for restitution and offering a sincere apology, your fellow Americans have, in a very real sense, renewed their traditional commitment to the ideals of freedom, equality, and justice. You and your family have our best wishes for the future.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 1990

Fig. B.1. Written apology which accompanied reparations checks, 1990.

In resonance with Willy Brandt's words "*I acted in the way of those whom language fails,"* George H.W. Bush reminds the letter's recipients of the limits of words and monetary reparations, stating: *"A monetary sum and words alone cannot restore the lost years or ease painful memories."* [1] Thirty years after Brandt's kneeling in Warsaw, his language slips into this letter, a sign of the growing influence of apologies around the world. Despite the recognized futility of attempting to 'right the wrongs of the past,' George H.W. Bush's letter offers an apology by concluding: *"In enacting a law calling for restitution and offering a sincere apology, your fellow Americans have, in a very real sense, renewed their traditional commitment to the ideals of freedom, equality, and justice."*

The following chapter examines the aftermath of this letter by looking closely at new generations of Japanese American activists organized around the demand to extend the *Civil Liberties Act of 1988*, the official US apology, beyond mere words and money. In doing this, it provides material evidence for Susan Slyomovics's description of monetary reparations as an open-ended, unstable, and essentially incomplete process.[2] Despite the official attempt to put an end to years of redress negotiations in the 1990s, chapter four demonstrates how the need of a new generation of Japanese American activists to revisit the unlawful incarceration of their ancestors and to extend its lessons into the future has produced a particular kind of memorial.

The chapter departs from Germany in order to trace the geographical expansion of the cult of apology in the US, particularly in California, a state profoundly marked by the unlawful incarceration of children, women, men, and seniors of Japanese ancestry spurred by wartime paranoia, racism, and prejudice. While the cult of apology was profoundly shaped by German post-WWII repentance, this chapter on California, as well as the following chapters on Argentina, demonstrate not only the geographical dimension, but also the material aspects and the cultural debates that emerged around the rise of public apologies outside Germany.

Germany's approach to its historical responsibility for the extermination and imprisonment of millions of Jews and opponents in concentration and death camps across Europe has become a global model of atonement and reparation.[3] This is particularly true for the wartime crimes committed by the US during the war against Nazi Germany. Despite the geographical and cultural distance from Germany, Japanese American incarceration is deeply entangled with the Holocaust. On April 29, 1945, an artillery unit of the US military comprised mainly of mainland and Hawai'i Japanese Americans, the 522nd Field Artillery Battalion of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, liberated the Dachau concentration camp, a model camp for the SS near Munich (Fig. B.2.). Mandatory conscription became the only way in which Japanese American men could be freed from the incarceration camps back home, which had two possible outcomes: death or proof of patriotism. As one of the most decorated units in US military history, 442nd Regimental Combat Team became

[1] Direct translation retrieved from the German Foreign Ministry, https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/newsroom/news/a-century-of-germanys-poland-policy/2161788 [accessed 03/30/2020]. For more details on Brandt's reflections about his gesture and words, see: Willy Brandt, *My Life in Politics* (New York, N.Y: Viking, 1992).
[2] Susan Slyomovics, *How to Accept German Reparations*, 1st ed, Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), https://muse.jhu.edu/book/32594. Also see Chapter 1.
[3] See Chapter 3.

a case for the latter.[4] The camp as a central symbol of terror had a double meaning for the men of 522nd Field Artillery Battalion. In the words of artilleryman Hideo Nakamine: *"It is ironic that members of one persecuted minority were liberating those of another minority."*[5] Nakamine recalls the liberation of Dachau not only as one of his most traumatizing wartime experiences, but also as a turning point that led to a lifelong interest in the concentration camp experience.[6]

Fig. B.2. Dachau concentration camp after liberation, 1945.

Japanese Americans and Jews had more than the camp experience in common: they were both subjected to racist and deceitful official policies that developed a language to speak about human and civil rights abuses through euphemisms. Words like 'labor camp', 'internment camp', and

[4] James M. McCaffrey, *Going for Broke: Japanese American Soldiers in the War against Nazi Germany*, Campaigns and Commanders, v. 36 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013); Robert Asahina, *Just Americans: How Japanese Americans Won a War at Homeand Abroad: The Story of the 100th Battalion/442d Regimental Combat Team in World War II* (New York: Gotham, 2006); Jack K. Wakamatsu, *Silent Warriors: A Memoir of America's 442nd Regimental Combat Team*, 1st ed (New York: Vantage Press, 1995); Masayo Duus, *Unlikely Liberators: The Men of the 100th and 442nd*, Paperback ed (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006).

[5] Dan Stone, *Concentration Camps: A Very Short Introduction*, *Concentration Camps: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press), accessed April 27, 2020, https://www-veryshortintroductions-com.libproxy.berkeley.edu/view/10.1093/actrade/9780198723387.001.0001/actrade-9780198723387. cited in Abbie Grubb, "522nd Field Artillery Battalion," in *Densho Encyclopedia*, August 18, 2014, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/522nd%20Field%20Artillery%20Battalion/.

[6] Tamashiro, "The Liberation of Dachau. The Story of the 522."

'assembly center' became battle grounds against which activists in Germany and the US organized in the 70s and 80s. Naming the actual crimes and resisting the Wartime Relocation Authority's (WRA) official language to designate the permanent and temporary incarceration camps it administered across the US became part of the Japanese American redress movement.[7] In order to strengthen their claims, activists like Raymond Y. Okamura directly compared the use of these US wartime euphemisms to the administrative language developed by the Third Reich to disguise its plans to exterminate the European Jewry.[8] Furthermore, the term "American Concentration Camp" emerged during the redress movement, and still holds, as a direct expression of the parallels between Nazi concentration camps and US incarceration camps.[9] The cult of apology thus traveled to the US not only alongside WWII experiences, but on the back of public apologies and words, which inspired the redress movement as well as the official US apology for Japanese American incarceration.

[7] For a detailed analysis of the vocabulary related to the WWII Incarceration of Japanese Americans, see Japanese American Citizens' League and Power of words II committee, *Power of Words Handbook: A Guide to Language about Japanese Americans in World War II* (San Francisco: Japanese American Citizens League, 2013), https://jacl.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Power-of-Words-Rev.-Term.-Handbook.pdf.

[8] Raymond Y. Okamura, "The American Concentration Camps: A Cover-Up Through Euphemistic Terminology," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 10 (Fall 1982): 95–109.

[9] A few examples: Roger Daniels, ed., *American Concentration Camps: A Documentary History of the Relocation and Incarceration of Japanese Americans, 1942-1945* (New York: Garland, 1989); John Howard, *Concentration Camps on the Home Front: Japanese Americans in the House of Jim Crow* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps, North America: Japanese in the United States and Canada during World War II* (Malabar, Fla: R.E. Krieger Pub. Co, 1981); Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps*, Updated ed., 1st University of Washington Press ed (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996).

[This page intentionally left blank.]

CHAPTER 4

Extending Apologies:

Memorializing WWII Japanese American Incarceration at the Tanforan Assembly Center in the San Francisco Bay Area[1]

Introduction

Two young Japanese sisters stand next to their family's suitcases amid a landscaped parking lot. Tags with registration numbers hang from the girls' spotless Sunday school attire. Japanese maple trees create a shield from a sprawling shopping mall on the one side, and a curved wall and rock garden separate the sisters from the nearby BART [Bay Area Rapid Transit] station on the other side. The bronze sculpture of these two girls, based on one of Dorothea Lange's photographs of Japanese American relocation and incarceration, is the heart of a memorial designed to mark and remember the *Tanforan Assembly Center,* a temporary confinement camp for Japanese and Japanese Americans citizens located in San Bruno, California (Fig. 4.1.).[2] Where the *Tanforan Assembly Center* once stood, now stands *The Shops at the Tanforan Shopping Center*. No visible traces remain of the 1942 Japanese American assembly center. Originally built as a racetrack, Tanforan was damaged in a fire in 1964 and the shopping center was developed on top of its remains a few years later (Fig. 4.2.). The Tanforan memorial has not yet been inaugurated, but it exists in plans, drawings, renderings, clay models, meeting minutes, fundraising events, commemorations, newspaper articles, and online blogs. Following these traces and the community, state, and corporate actors behind them, this chapter examines the relationship between an existing apology and a memorial in the making.

[1] An earlier version of this chapter was published as: Valentina Rozas-Krause, "Apology and Commemoration: Memorializing the World War II Japanese American Incarceration at the Tanforan Assembly Center," *History and Memory* 30, no. 2 (2018): 40–78.

[2] Controversies over the terminology on Japanese American incarceration camps have been thoroughly discussed by many authors, including Raymond Y. Okamura, "The American Concentration Camps: A Cover-Up Through Euphemistic Terminology," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 10 (Fall 1982): 95–109; Karen L. Ishizuka, *Lost and Found: Reclaiming the Japanese American Incarceration*, The Asian American Experience (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006). To call the detention camp at Tanforan an Assembly Center is part of the euphemistic vocabulary that the War Relocation Authority (WRA) used to talk indirectly about Japanese American imprisonment. While it seems inappropriate to employ the WRA terminology, in this article I refer to Tanforan as an Assembly Center because this is the term that the active community around this site has accepted and incorporated. For more details about this debate in the case of Tanforan, see pages 136 and 138.

Fig. 4.1. Design proposal for the Tanforan Assembly Center Plaza, December 2016. Design by Harold Kobayashi/ Royston Hanamoto Alley & Abey (RHAA) Landscape Architects.

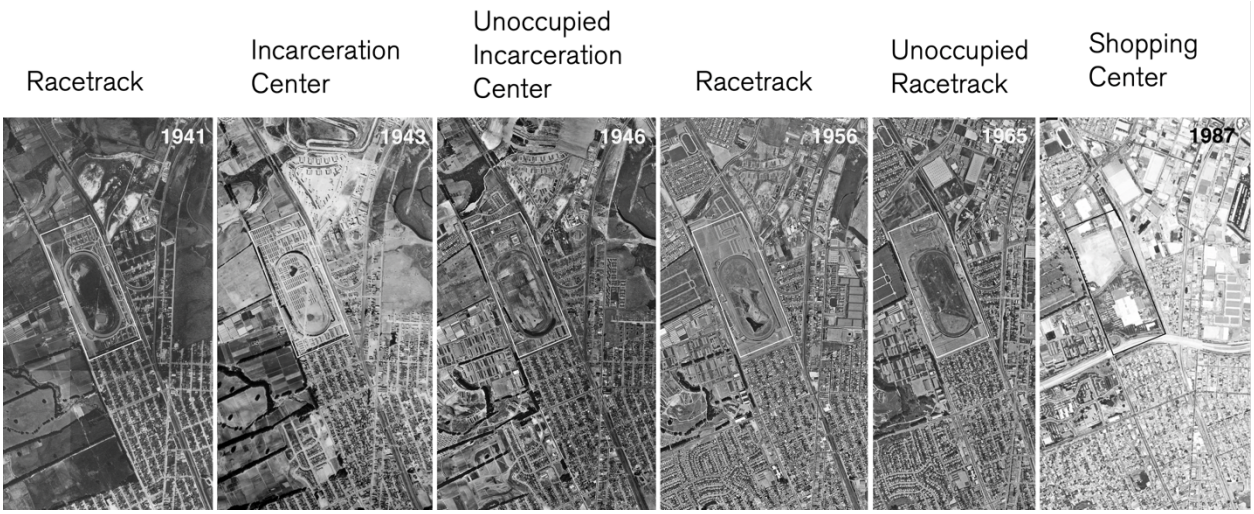


Fig. 4.2. Transformation of the Tanforan site from 1941 to 1987.

Within the large body of academic work dedicated to the Japanese American incarceration, Alice Yang Murray, Karen M. Inouye, and Ingrid Gessner have significantly contributed to the analysis of the redress movement and the consequences of *Nikkei* incarcerations.[3] In particular, Yang Murray's *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress* and Ingrid Gessner's *From Sites of Memory to Cybersight* have delved into the material manifestations of these memories and the controversies surrounding Japanese American confinement sites.[4] Following their work, this chapter focuses on the relationship between redress and memorial markings. By analyzing the process of memorializing a temporary detention center, this chapter fills a void in the existing literature on the memories of Japanese American incarceration. Overlooked because of the apparent absence of physical remains on the site, its short wartime use, and its abrupt reconstruction, Tanforan, like other temporary incarceration camps, presents an opportunity to reconstruct the different stages of wartime relocation and imprisonment of persons of Japanese ancestry.

In February 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which authorized the Secretary of War to prescribe military areas from which any person could be excluded (Fig. 4.3.). While Executive Order 9066 did not explicitly mention civilians of any ethnicity, it cleared the way for the incarceration of Japanese and Japanese American, German, and Italian citizens. While approximately 120,000 Japanese and Japanese American citizens were removed from the West Coast and incarcerated, deportation was not enforced for German and Italian American citizens. In 1983, the *Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*, appointed by President Jimmy Carter, concluded that there was no military justification for the deportation of Japanese and Japanese American citizens during the Second World War.[5] Following the Commission's recommendations, President Ronald Reagan signed the *Civil Liberties Act of 1988*. This federal law was enacted by President George H. W. Bush in 1990 and consisted in an official government apology –in the form of a public speech and individual letters–, redress payment for surviving victims –in the form of a $20,000 check–, and the creation of a public educational fund.[6]The *Tanforan Assembly Center* was one of the 15 assembly centers that were used to house Japanese and Japanese American citizens during the first months following Executive Order 9066. Unlike the permanent rural Japanese incarceration camps in Manzanar, Topaz, or Tule Lake, Japanese Assembly Centers like the *Tanforan Assembly Center* were temporary and semi-integrated into the local suburban fabric. In April 1942, the Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA) of the U.S. Army converted a popular racetrack in the Bay Area, the Tanforan Racetrack, into an assembly center.

---

[3] Alice Yang Murray, *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress*, Asian America (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2008); Karen L. Ishizuka, *Lost and Found: Reclaiming the Japanese American Incarceration*, The Asian American Experience (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006).

[4] Murray, *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress*; Ingrid Gessner, *From Sites of Memory to Cybersights:* (Heidelberg: Universitäts Verlag Winter, 2007).

[5] The final report of the commission was published as United States, ed., *Personal Justice Denied* (Wash., D.C. : Seattle: Civil Liberties Public Education Fund ; University of Washington Press, 1997).

[6] William Minoru Hohri, *Repairing America: An Account of the Movement for Japanese-American Redress* (Pullman, Wash: Washington State University Press, 1988).

Tanforan housed 8,033 Japanese Americans from April to October 1942, until the prisoners were relocated to permanent incarceration camps in Utah and Arizona.[7]

Fig. 4.3. Forced Japanese and Japanese American incarceration camp locations in the US during WWII.

Landmarking Tanforan

Three plaques

The memorialization of Tanforan started with grassroots community commemorations, the first of which was held outside the existing shopping mall in 1981.[8] Following a petition by the Japanese American team of the *Ethnic Minority Cultural Resources Survey*, in 1980, the former Tanforan Assembly

[7] Jeffery F. Burton and Irene J. Cohen, eds., *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*, 1st University of Washington Press ed, The Scott and Laurie Oki Series in Asian American Studies (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002).

[8] Ben Takeshita, Interview with Ben Takeshita, former JACL governor, internee at the Tanforan, board member of the Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, recording & transcription, April 17, 2017; Douglas Yamamoto, Interview with Douglas Yamamoto. President of the Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, record and transcript, March 3, 2017.

Center was included in the California of Register Historic Landmarks together with eleven other temporary and permanent detention camps throughout the state.[9] As the existing literature on Japanese American incarceration reveals, the Tanforan Assembly Center was not an isolated site; it was immersed in a much larger network of repressive spaces required to carry out Executive Order 9066 (Fig. 4.3.).[10] Assembly Centers like Tanforan were crucial intermediate spaces between the initial local registration and assembly points —bus stations, churches, parks, and community centers in which persons of Japanese ancestry were registered, identified, and assigned a family number— and the permanent incarceration camps located in underpopulated rural areas of California, Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, and Arkansas.[11]Only a few months following the successful recognition of California's temporary detention camps, in May 1980, the *Tanforan Committee*, a group of Bay Area Japanese American activists, proposed a historic plaque to remember the former temporary incarceration camp located in San Bruno. Inspired by the official recognition of the historic meaning of the sites that were once temporary detention camps, local chapters of Japanese American activists responded with requests to build plaques and markers to signal the places that had once been so-called 'assembly centers'.[12] Tanforan was no exception, thus, the *Tanforan Committee* was created to memorialize the site.[13] Submitted by Japanese American community leader Carole Hayashino, the application to the California Historical Landmarks Advisory Committee proposed the following wording for the plaque:

> TANFORAN DETENTION CAMP
>
> Tanforan was one of the fifteen temporary detention camps established during World War II to incarcerate 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry, of whom the majority were American citizens. From April 25 through October 13, 1942, 8,033 San Francisco Bay Area residents lived in Tanforan behind barbed wire and guard towers without charge, trial or establishment of guilt. These camps are the reminder of how racism, economic and political

[9] Raymond Y. Okamura, "Temporary Detention Camps for Japanese Americans. In the File Tanforan Assembly Center - P-41-000209" (California Historical Resources Information System, 1980), Northwest Information Center. Sonoma State University.

[10] Yoshiko Uchida, *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese American Family*, Classics of Asian American Literature (Seattle ; London: University of Washington Press, 2015); Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps*, Updated ed., 1st University of Washington Press ed (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996); Charles Kikuchi and John Modell, *The Kikuchi Diary; Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp; the Tanforan Journals of Charles Kikuchi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973).

[11] Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps, North America: Japanese in the United States and Canada during World War II* (Malabar, Fla: R.E. Krieger Pub. Co, 1981).

[12] Carole Hayashino, "Tanforan Detention Camp. In the File Tanforan Assembly Center - P-41-000209" (California Historical Resources Information System, 1977 1992), Northwest Information Center. Sonoma State University; Okamura, "Temporary Detention Camps for Japanese Americans. In the File Tanforan Assembly Center - P-41-000209."

[13] The *California Historical Resources Information System* hold records that show that alongside Carole Hayashino, Dr. James Okutsu and Ben Takeshita were also members of the Committee.

exploitation and expediency can undermine the constitutional guarantees of United States citizens and aliens alike. May the injustices and humiliation suffered here never recur.[14]

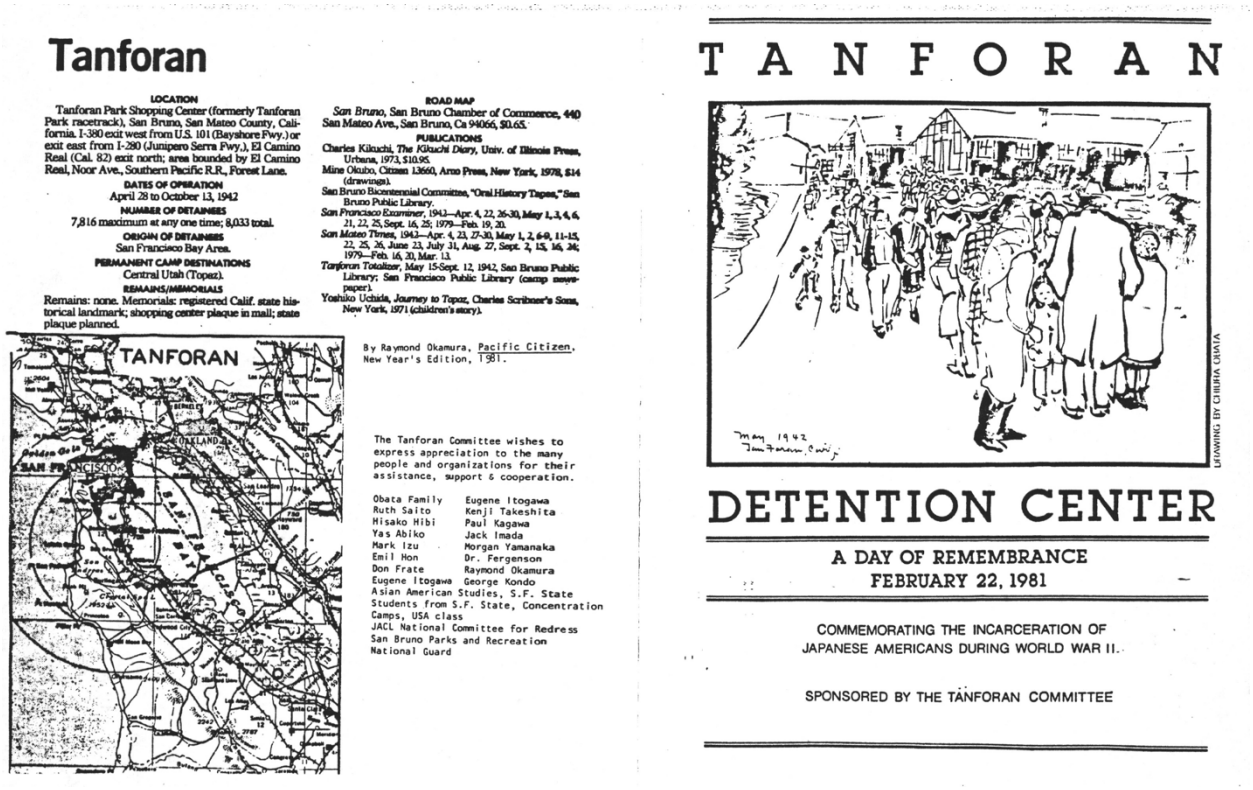


Fig. 4.4. Invitation to the first Tanforan Historic Plaque unveiling, February 22, 1981.

Whether this was the exact wording on the plaque unveiled during the 1981 commemoration of the *Day of Remembrance* at the *Tanforan Park Shopping Center* is unclear because no records remain other than the above cited version documented by the California Office of Historic Preservation (Fig. 4.4.).[15] Nevertheless, its disappearance not long after its dedication might suggest that the blunt wording created some resistance. This first plaque conveys the magnitude of the injustices against people of Japanese ancestry through numbers. It relies on historical facts known to the community at the time, and its wording projects the plaque's message into the future with its last sentence ending in "never recur".

Ben Takeshita, a former Tanforan internee and guest speaker at the 1981 commemorative event, remembers that the original plaque got lost in-between renovations of the shopping mall.[16]

[14] Tanforan Detention Camp Application for Registration of Historical Landmark Carole Hayashino, "Tanforan Detention Camp. In the File Tanforan Assembly Center - P-41-000209" (California Historical Resources Information System, 1977 1992), 10, Northwest Information Center. Sonoma State University.
[15] Days of Remembrance commemorate the signing of executive Order 9066 are observed around February 19th. The first Day of Remembrance was held in Seattle on November 25, 1978. (Martha Nakagawa, "Days of Remembrance," *Densho Encyclopedia* (Densho Encyclopedia, May 2014), http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Days_of_Remembrance/.)
[16] Takeshita, Interview with Ben Takeshita.

The lost plaque was replaced by a second one, located within the landscaped areas surrounding the shopping mall's main entrance on El Camino Real. It read:

TANFORAN RACETRACK
JAPANESE ASSEMBLY CENTER

Racetrack opened in 1899 and had racing seasons until it burned down in 1964. Many famous horses raced and won here.

In 1942, Tanforan became a temporary assembly center for over 4000 persons of Japanese Ancestry who were to be interned for the duration of World War II.

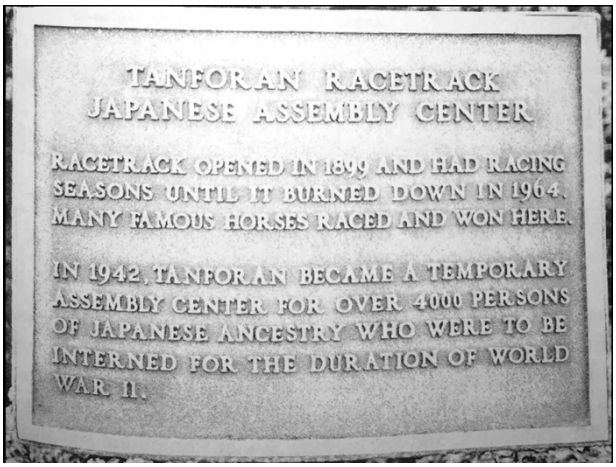


Fig. 4.5. Second Tanforan Historic Plaque, c.1990

While the authorship of this second plaque remains unknown, it was present at the site during the late 90s, as depicted by the National Park Service (NPS) publication *Confinement and Ethnicity* (Fig. 4.5.).[17] The telegraphic style of the plaque's wording conveys an uneasy straightforwardness. Both the title and the body of the text separate Tanforan's history in two: the glory-days of the racetrack and the temporary incarceration of persons of Japanese ancestry. Unlike the first plaque, this second one has lost its historical accuracy: the number of internees gets downplayed and the name of the Assembly Center has been changed from 'Japanese American Assembly Center' to 'Japanese Assembly Center'. More importantly, the second plaque incorporates the War Relocation Authority (WRA) and Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA) language to designate Tanforan as an Assembly Center. Raymond Y. Okamura, the author of the application to include Tanforan on the list of California Historical Landmarks, wrote about the need to resist the WRA euphemisms in both the Tanforan application and a later article in the Journal of Ethnics Studies.[18] For example, the WRA and the WCCA used 'non-alien' instead of 'citizen', 'evacuation' and 'internment' instead of 'incarceration', 'residents' and 'colonists' instead of 'prisoners', and 'assembly center' instead of temporary incarceration camp'. Okamura compared these expressions to similar euphemisms used by the Third Reich surrounding the 'evacuation and emigration' of the Jewish population.[19] While the first plaque had resisted the military euphemisms, the second one repeats them, paving the way for the name of the current Tanforan memorial activists, who call themselves the Tanforan

[17] Burton and Cohen, *Confinement and Ethnicity*, 375.
[18] Okamura, "Temporary Detention Camps for Japanese Americans. In the File Tanforan Assembly Center - P-41-000209"; Raymond Y. Okamura, "The American Concentration Camps: A Cover-Up Through Euphemistic Terminology," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 10 (Fall 1982): 95–109.
[19] Okamura, "THE AMERICAN CONCENTRATION CAMPS."

Assembly Center Memorial Committee (TACMC).[20] More than three decades separate the creation of the TACMC from the *Tanforan Committee*, which has made a direct transmission of personal and group experiences challenging. Other than the participation of Ben Takeshita, there are no personal continuities between both memory activist groups.

Fig. 4.6. Third Tanforan Historic Plaque (2007), 2017.

Fig. 4.7. Commemorative Rock Garden (2007), 2017.

After the second plaque also disappeared, it was replaced by a third historical marker in 2007 (Fig. 4.6.). It was dedicated by a different Japanese American group of activists, the Japanese Cultural and Community Center of Northern California (JCCCNC), based in San Francisco.[21] Facing the main entrance of the shopping mall, this plaque is surrounded by a commemorative rock garden (Fig. 4.7.). Between 2002 and 2005, the shopping mall was completely remodeled, which included new landscaped green areas and pathways connecting the El Camino Real parking lot to the renewed glass entrance of the mall.[22] The new plaque speaks to these changes and shares the entrance of the shopping mall with a bronze statue of *Seabiscuit*, a famous horse of the racetrack years of Tanforan. Placed within a small patch of rocks, weeds, a block of unpolished granite, and decomposed granite, the current plaque at Tanforan states:

> Tanforan Assembly Center
> Commemorative Garden
>
> This garden memorializes a time when this site, then the Tanforan Park Racetrack, was transformed into a temporary assembly center for persons of Japanese ancestry. On February 19, 1942, in the absence of charges or due process of law, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066. This act set into motion the forced evacuation of

[20] Given the widespread use of the term 'Assembly Center' amongst the Japanese American community in the present, in this paper I use 'Assembly Center' and 'Temporary Incarceration Camp' as synonyms.
[21] Steve Okamoto, Interview with Steve Okamoto, Vice-President of the Tanforan assembly Center Memorial Committee, internee at Tanforan, former City Councilman of Foster City, interview by Valentina Rozas Krause, Transcript and Audio, February 11, 2017.
[22] Building and Planning Divisions, City of San Bruno, "Redevelopment Permits 1150 El Camino Real" (Online Permitting Web Site, City of San Bruno, 2005 2002), http://etrakit.sanbrunocable.com/etrakit/. [accessed 04/24/2017]

> 7,800 San Francisco Bay Area Japanese Americans, who lived under armed guard for eight months in horse stalls and makeshift housing at the Tanforan Assembly Center. They, along with 120,000 other Japanese Americans residing in the western states, were later forcibly removed to, and confined in, government detention camps in the nation's interior.
> May we honor this period of history by our remembrance and just action.

The plaque reflects some of the wording and content of the first, 1981 plaque. Here too, numbers convey the dimension of the injustice suffered by Japanese Americans, but unlike the first plaque, this one names the perpetrators of these abuses: President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Executive Order 9066. While the first plaque objected to the use of WRA euphemisms like 'Assembly Center', the current plaque adopts the wartime rhetoric. More than just a plaque, this intervention expands the memorial beyond the plaque by incorporating a commemorative garden. Yet it is a contemplative garden, not meant to be used by the shopping mall's visitors unless they cross the boundary of the landscaped area. Unlike the second plaque, the contrast between Tanforan's past as racetrack and assembly center has been disentangled through the development of two separate interventions: the commemorative garden on one side of the shopping mall's entrance and the bronze horse on the other.

Fig. 4.8. Main entrance of *The Shops at the Tanforan Shopping Center*, 2017.

It is remarkable that, between 1980 and 2007, three different historical plaques were dedicated and two were subsequently removed from the site of the former Tanforan Assembly Center. Why were three different historical plaques necessary to remember Tanforan? Historical plaques are meant to endure; yet these successive markers signal an unsettled memorial landscape that keeps on changing and requiring new interventions. The proposed Tanforan Memorial points towards a future expression of this memorialization process. Unsatisfied with the historical markers present at the site, Japanese American activists have returned to Tanforan over and over again to think about the representation of the past anew. I interpret these memorizations as a sign of a yearning for an appropriate apology for the injustices inflicted upon the Japanese American community during World War II.

The Tanforan plaques are not isolated cases: in fact, they belong to a history of Japanese American incarceration commemoration and preservation which began in the late 1960s alongside the Civil Rights Movement. The preservation of the sites related to the internment of families of Japanese ancestry has focused on the incarceration camps, particularly on the sites that retain physical traces of the incarceration days. The first pilgrimage to Manzanar organized by the Japanese American community was held in 1969.[23] Its formal preservation followed: Manzanar was declared a California Historic Landmark in 1972, a National Historic Landmark in 1985, and eventually a National Historic Site on February 19, 1992.[24] Public Law 102-248 not only declared Manzanar a National Historic Site, but also created a "National Historic Landmark Theme Study" on Japanese American history on its premises.[25] The National Park Service (NPS) publication *Confinement and Ethnicity* is one of the outcomes of this law. It identifies the incarceration camps and detention centers throughout the country, includes an assessment of their preservation status, and notes the presence (or absence) of traces of the incarceration period.[26] *Confinement and Ethnicity* is the most complete record of the physical traces of the incarceration. Given that its purpose is to identify and possibly nominate sites, it does not present an in-depth analysis of their wartime or postwar history. Two pages of the 449-page NPS volume are dedicated to the Tanforan Assembly Center. Unlike other more prominently described sites, not much is left of the World War II use of the Tanforan racetrack. The book describes the second plaque and suggests that this historical marker is all that can be found on-site to memorialize the assembly center.[27]

Demanding an official apology alongside monetary reparations, which were achieved through the *Civil Liberties Act of 1988,* the redress movement was instrumental in combining calls for apology with commemorations of the incarceration years. The commemoration of sites of Japanese incarceration infused the redress movement with concrete places to anchor its demands and boosted a community that built a shared identity around the memories of these sites.[28] It was in the absence of an official apology that the first plaque was dedicated at Tanforan in 1981. Thus, Tanforan's first historical marker was more than just a plaque: it was a demand for apology, justice, reparation, and recognition. Plaques such as Tanforan's, dedicated across California in former sites of temporary detention camps in Merced, Salinas Valley, Sacramento, Fresno, and Stockton played a significant

---

[23] Jane Naomi Iwamura, "Critical Faith: Japanese Americans and the Birth of a New Civil Religion," *American Quarterly* 59, no. 3 (2007): 937–68; Raymond Y. Okamura, "The Concentration Camp Experience from a Japanese American Perspective: A Bibliographical Essay and Review of Michi Weglyn's Years of Infamy," in *Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America*, ed. Emma Gee (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, University of California, 1976), 29.

[24] Burton and Cohen, *Confinement and Ethnicity*.

[25] Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, "Public Law 102-248," 102d Congress § (1992), http://uscode.house.gov/statutes/pl/102/248.pdf. [accessed 04/24/2017]

[26] Burton and Cohen, *Confinement and Ethnicity*.

[27] Burton and Cohen, 373–75. Ibid., 373–75.

[28] Mitchell T. Maki, Harry H. L. Kitano, and S. Megan Berthold, *Achieving the Impossible Dream: How Japanese Americans Obtained Redress*, The Asian American Experience (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Murray, *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress*; William Minoru Hohri, *Repairing America: An Account of the Movement for Japanese-American Redress* (Pullman, Wash: Washington State University Press, 1988).

role within the political climate of the late 1970s and early 1980s. As recorded by local newspapers, these plaques made the Japanese American community visible in these areas; however, their impact went beyond visibility: they also forged a collective identity and put pressure on local representatives to seek support at the national level for an official apology.[29]

The *Civil Liberties Act of 1988,* a response to the Japanese American incarceration, is often cited as an example of national apologies.[30] The literature on apologies, which was built on J.L. Austin's linguistic analysis of speech acts and on Erving Goffman's analysis of social behavior, has been propelled by two disciplinary traditions: literature and political science.[31] Edwin Battistella's book *Sorry About That* develops a literary analysis of the narrative and structure of a wide range of apologies. Battistella illustrates his chapter on national apologies with the apology and redress movement of the Japanese American incarceration. National apologies differ from individual apologies, according to Battistella, because the apologizing occurs on behalf of a collective. For example, a president apologizes on behalf of the entire nation for a wrong that exceeds her personal actions. Two American presidents have signed official apologies for the unlawful incarceration of Japanese Americans: Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush. Further, Gerald Ford, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush have expressed regret at the wartime incarceration of Japanese American citizens. In such cases, it is the continuity of the office, the Presidency of the United States, which imbues a retroactive apology with meaning.[32] Even though the literature on national apologies has followed the same definition in the field of political science, it has mostly focused on the relationship between national apologies and reconciliation. Whether apologies are necessary for political reconciliation or if they could actually harm these processes is at the center of these debates.[33]

The existing literature reveals that apologies have been analyzed as narratives and as political strategies, yet the form that apologies take in the built environment remains unexplored. While apologies are predominantly studied as a verbal phenomenon, the fact that five U.S. presidents have had to recognize the nation's wrongdoings against the Japanese American community suggests that words might not be enough. Indeed, the triad of memorial plaques at Tanforan suggests that demands for apology and acts of commemoration and landmarking are deeply entangled phenomena. Not only the first historical marker, but also the two succeeding plaques can be analyzed through the framework of a cult of apology. This framework suggests that memorials are part of a global network of remorse politics that shapes their function and meaning in particular

---

[29] To read more about the impact that the dedication of small scale plaques on former assembly centers had, please refer to the records on Temporary Detention Camps for Japanese Americans of the California Historical Resources Information System, located at the Northwest Information Center. Sonoma State University. Newspaper clippings, letters of support, and memorabilia from the commemoration acts that inaugurated these plaques attest to their significance for local communities and for the Japanese American community at large.

[30] Michael Cunningham, *States of Apology* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014); Edwin L. Battistella, *Sorry about That: The Language of Public Apology* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[31] J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, William James Lectures 1955 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962); Erving Goffman, *Behavior in Public Places; Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963); Erving Goffman, *Interaction Ritual: Essays in Face-to-Face Behavior* (New Brunswick, N.J: Aldine Transaction, 2005); Erving Goffman, *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order* (New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publishers, 2010).

[32] Battistella, *Sorry about That*, 113–34.

[33] Cunningham, *States of Apology*; Jennifer M. Lind, *Sorry States: Apologies in International Politics*, Cornell Studies in Security Affairs (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), http://site.ebrary.com/lib/berkeley/Doc?id=10484306.

ways. Even though these historical markers were created by the Japanese American community, they are inseparable from the effects of the 1988 official apology. While the first plaque was installed in the absence of an apology, the following two plaques were dedicated after the *Civil Liberties Act of 1988* and reveal a dissatisfaction with the scope and impact of President Reagan's official apology. In other words, the first plaque can be interpreted as a demand for apology, and the next two plaques as objections against unfulfilled apologies.

Visualizing Tanforan

Gambatte

In April 2012, 70 years after the Tanforan Assembly Center opened, a photographic exhibition was inaugurated on the same site, which had then become the San Bruno BART station. Entitled "They Wore Their Best… The Japanese American Evacuation and After Photographs by Dorothea Lange and Paul Kitagaki Jr.", the exhibition paired photographs of Japanese American internees, taken by Dorothea Lange and other WRA photographers in 1942, with contemporary photographs of the same individuals depicted in the original settings in which they were first photographed.[34] The exhibition, which was later expanded and renamed "GAMBATTE! LEGACY OF AN ENDURING SPIRIT: Triumphing Over Adversity JAPANESE AMERICAN WWII INCARCERATION REFLECTIONS Then and Now", is the product of more than 25 years of work by Sacramento photojournalist Paul Kitagaki Jr. (Fig. 4.9. & 4.10.).[35] *Gambatte* started with a personal story: back in the 70s, Kitagaki's uncle told him that Lange had photographed his family during internment.[36] Decades later, Kitagaki found the photographs of his family in the National Archives in Washington D.C. and started a quest to find out more about other individuals depicted in the WRA photographs (Fig. 4.11.).[37] In the exhibition, each of the historic photographs are paired with a contemporary photo taken by Kitagaki; additionally, two texts entitled 'Then' and 'Now' provide a backstory to the depicted individuals (Fig. 4.9.). With the support of Richard Oba, a Bay Area Japanese American activist, as well as Don Delcollo and Esther Takeuchi, members of the Contra Costa chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), Kitagaki's work ended up

[34] The photographic exhibition evolved from the original title "They Wore Their Best . . . The Japanese-American Evacuation and after: Photographs by Dorothea Lange and Paul Kitagaki Jr" into a later version which replaced the word 'evacuation' with 'exclusion'. The storyboards for the first version of the exhibition were repurposed from a 2007 commemoration of the third on-site plaque, organized by the JACCC and the National Japanese American Historical Society. Paul Kitagaki Jr., *GAMBATTE! LEGACY OF AN ENDURING SPIRIT: Triumphing Over Adversity JAPANESE AMERICAN WWII INCARCERATION REFLECTIONS Then and Now*, to present 2012, Photographs and text, to present 2012. To see Kitagaki's Gambatte exhibition, please visit: https://www.kitagakiphoto.com/p/japanese-american-in [accessed 04/01/2018]

[35] Paul Kitagaki Jr. recently expanded his *Gambatte* exhibition and published it as a book. See: Paul Kitagaki Jr., *Behind Barbed Wire: Searching for Japanese Americans Incarcerated During World War II* (Chicago: CityFiles Press, 2019).

[36] In Japanese Gambatte means 'don't give up' or 'do your best'. It is a statement that reflects the dignity and endurance with which families of Japanese ancestry confronted their unjust wartime imprisonment.

[37] Paul Kitagaki Jr., "Gambatte Museum Prospectus" (Not Published, 2017), http://kitagakiphoto.photoshelter.com/gallery-download/G000042tYANt7K0U/. [accessed 04/20/2017]

on the walls of the upper level of the San Bruno BART station (4.12). In March 2012, Oba approached the BART Board of Directors to stage the photographic exhibition in the San Bruno BART station, and a month later *Gambatte* was open to the public.[38]

Photographer: Paul Kitagaki Jr., May 23, 2006, Vacaville, California

Family number 21585

THEN: Members of the Mochida family awaiting an evacuation bus in Hayward, California, to take them to the Tanforan Assembly Center in San Bruno, California. The War Relocation Authority ascribed numbers to each family claiming the identification tags were used to aid in keeping the family unit intact during all phases of evacuation.

The father, Moriki Mochida, operated a nursery and five greenhouses on a 2-acre site in Eden Township. He raised snapdragons and sweet peas.

The Mochida family, front row, left to right: Hiroko, 3; Miyuki, 6; Kayoko, 7; Toora,10. Back row left to right: father, Moriki, 45; Satsuki, 12; cousin Hideki, Kikue, 11; and mother, Masayo, 41.

NOW: From left, second generation Japanese Americans of the Mochida family are Hiroko Mochida, 69; Kayoko Ikuma, 71; Satsuki Mae Ward, 75; Toora Mochida, 73; and, seated, Miyuki Hirano, 72.

Their cousin was Fred Korematsu, the civil rights activist whose advocacy helped lead to reparations and redress.

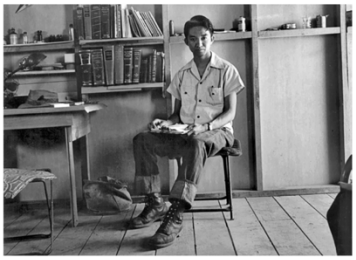
After the war, the Mochidas returned to Hunters Point in San Francisco. Their father Moriki, 48, found employment as a maintenance man, and their mother, Masayo, 44, worked as a housekeeper.

Said Miyuki Hirano: "Our parents' pride and dignity were taken away, and they didn't want it to reflect on the children. Now that I'm older, I think how brave these people were.

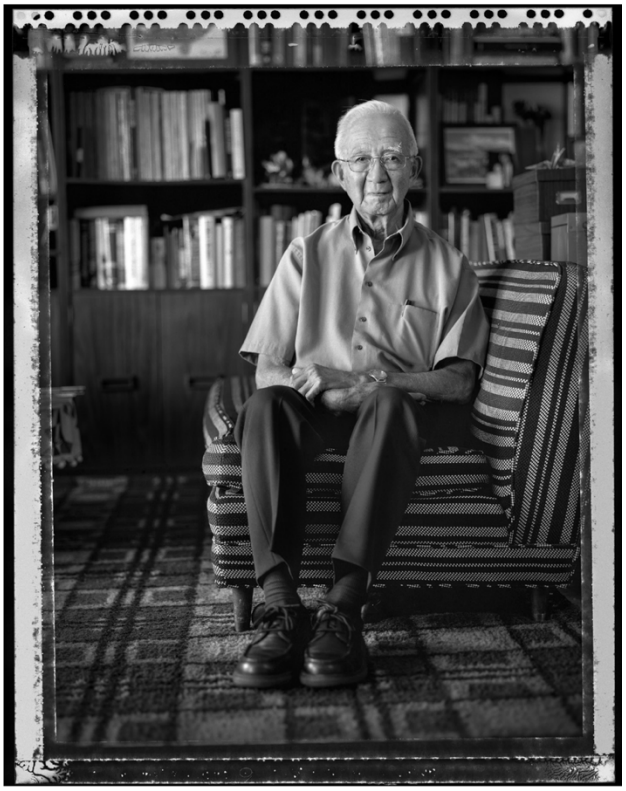
"I had to go to Japanese school in the camp because my father said we might have to be shipped back to Japan after the war. We had to be able to speak Japanese, but if we stayed in the United States, we would have to speak English."

Fig. 4.9. Photograph of the Mochida family from the *Gambatte* exhibition by Paul Kitagaki Jr.

[38] Yamamoto, Interview with Douglas Yamamoto.



Harvey Itano, May 20, 1942; Sacramento, CA
Photographer: Dorothea Lange



Harvey Itano, March 10, 2007; La Jolla, CA
Photographer: Paul Kitagaki Jr.

Fig. 4.10. Photographs from the *Gambatte* exhibition by Paul Kitagaki Jr.

Fig. 4.11. Paul Kitagaki Jr.'s family waits to depart from 1117 Oak Street, the W.C.C.A. (Wartime Civil Control Authority) Control Station, in Oakland in 1942 for the Tanforan Assembly Center. Kitagaki's grandmother, Juki Kitagaki, 53, is seated on the left. Kimiko, his aunt, then 11, receives a pamphlet from a family friend, Dorothy Hightower, expressing her church's good wishes. Grandfather Suyematsu Kitagaki, 65, watches. The photographer's father, Kiyoshi, 14, is on the right-hand side of the picture, 1942.

Fig. 4.12. Photographic exhibition about Tanforan at the San Bruno BART station, 2017.

Gambatte opened at the San Bruno BART station only five years after the third historic plaque at Tanforan was dedicated. In the context of the exhibition, Oba created the *Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee* (TACMC), which he presided over for the next couple of years. Building memorialization upon memorialization, the photographic exhibition responds to a desire to represent Tanforan's past in a way that the historic plaques had not been able to fully address.

Tanforan reveals that memorialization is a long, arduous, and unfinished process. Each attempt to install a plaque, exhibit a photograph, or build a memorial at Tanforan has been confronted with its own incompleteness. This sense of incompleteness emerges out of the inability to write the final words about the past and to close the apologetic dialogue. Edwin Battistella analyzes the dialogic nature of apologies: while someone is doing the apologizing in her name or in the name of a larger group like a community or a nation, someone else, an individual or a group, is receiving that apology.[39] Apologies are capable of defining a break in temporality: if they are successful, they divide historical events into 'before' and 'after'. In that sense, their effect is instantaneous: one party apologizes, the other party accepts or rejects the apology and the dialogue is closed. In those cases, *where* the apology occurs is not relevant because apologies are textual. Yet, when apologies become part of the built environment, as in the case of the memorial interventions at Tanforan, their temporality and spatiality change. Memorials are embedded in a different temporality; unlike apologies, they are built to outlast their creators. Thus, most memorials suffer from the impossibility to fix their meaning.[40] While the author of a memorial —be it a community,

[39] Battistella, *Sorry about That*.
[40] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

an architect, an artist, or an institution— might have a clear narrative in mind, once the memorial is set up in a public space or a publicly used private space, its meaning shifts and becomes multiple — as diverse as the audiences that encounter it. Memorials stimulate the creation of a cacophonous dialogue which actors can join and exit. Like apologies, memorials are set up for failure because they cannot close an argument; thus, there is an inherent incompleteness about their message. As standing apologies, memorials can act as proxies to emerging needs to apologize for and re-examine the past, but they cannot close the dialogue. As part of the built environment, apologies gain spatiality: memorials literally provide space to hold a dialogue about the injustices of the past. In other words, built apologies add time and space to the apologetic dialogue. While they have the potential to create a space for apologies, the participants of the dialogue change as time passes.

Time, and in particular human life cycles, has had a significant impact on Tanforan's standing apologies. *Gambatte* was organized at a time of a generational shift within the Japanese American community. The *Issei* (first generation Japanese Americans) and *Nisei* (second generation) most directly suffered from the internment. At the time of the exhibition's opening, Oba argued that, seven decades after the incarceration, the photographs depicted an *Issei* generation that was all gone and a *Nisei* generation that was disappearing.[41] The *Nisei*, who were children at the time of the incarceration, were in their 70s and 80s when the exhibition opened and were the only surviving witnesses of places like Tanforan, Tule Lake, and Topaz. In this context, Andrew M. Shanken has argued that commemorations follow life cycles: in 2012, the imminent disappearance of the *Nisei* generation sparked the need to re-memorialize the incarceration of Japanese Americans at Tanforan.[42]

Historic Photographs

A place without apparent traces presents particular challenges when it comes to finding evidence to support narratives about the past. In 1947, the WCCA returned the Tanforan racetrack to its original owners, who immediately started rebuilding the racetrack, while the barracks that had been built to house more than 8,000 internees were quickly repurposed off-site or demolished (Fig. 4.13).[43] After the racetrack caught fire in 1964, the whole plot was transformed into a spread-out shopping mall surrounded by extensive parking lots. Because the Tanforan Assembly Center was destroyed, alternative sources of historic evidence have become all the more important. The personal testimonies of surviving internees, the records of the WCCA, and particularly the photographs of the WRA have played a significant role in building the site's historical legitimacy.

---

[41] Patricia Yollin, "Photos Illustrate Effects of WWII Internment Camps," *SFGate*, May 12, 2012, http://www.sfgate.com/art/article/Photos-illustrate-effects-of-WWII-internment-camps-3552117.php. [accessed 04/24/2017]

[42] Andrew M. Shanken, "Keeping Time with the Good War," *American Studies Journal*, no. 59 (2015): Web. 29 Nov 2016, https://doi.org/10.18422/59-02.

[43] The National Archives at San Francisco, Record Group 252, Records of the Office of the Housing Expediter Economic Stabilization Agency 1942-1953. Office of Rent Stabilization. Region VIII. (formerly Region VI) Accn 83-001 (FRC 53-0483); OTN-NRIAS- 2010-252- RGN6, NN-373- 185; NN-172- 112; NNTR-N- 92-100, Internal Transfer Number NN-83- 286

Fig. 4.13. Once returned to its owners, the racetrack was quickly rebuilt and all traces of the assembly center erased, January 1947.

In April 1942, the WRA commissioned Dorothea Lange to register the 'evacuation' and 'relocation' of the population of Japanese ancestry from the Pacific Coast of the United States. Lange, a San Francisco based documentary photographer, had built herself a reputation in the emerging field by documenting rural poverty during the Great Depression for the Farm Security Administration (FSA). Lange's Depression photographs depicted the lives of black and immigrant farmworkers; likewise, her wartime work would challenge the overt racism against people of Japanese ancestry. Historian Linda Gordon argues that Lange stood in clear opposition to the incarceration of families of Japanese ancestry, but she accepted the assignment from the WRA in order to produce a 'public record' of the wartime injustices for the future.[44] The strict guidelines under which Lange worked for the WRA censored out certain features central to the incarceration: she could not photograph the barbed wire, nor the watchtowers, nor the soldiers guarding the camps. Further, she could not depict any form of resistance within the camps.[45] Lange's work embodies some of the main paradoxes of the field of documentary photography: whether it provides

[44] Linda Gordon, "Dorothea Lange Photographs the Japanese American Internment," in *Impounded: Dorothea Lange and the Censored Images of Japanese American Internment*, by Dorothea Lange, Linda Gordon, and Gary Y. Okihiro, 1st ed (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006), 5–46.
[45] Ibid.

evidence or serves as propaganda for an ideal. She herself was torn about the issue: *"[Documentary photography's] power lies in the evidence it presents not in the photographer's conclusion for he is a witness to the situation, not a propagandist or advertiser."*[46] Contrarily, Lange also argued: *"Everything is propaganda for what you believe in, actually, isn't it?...I don't see that it could be otherwise. The harder and the more deeply you believe in anything, the more in a sense you're a propagandist."*[47] Unable to resolve this paradox, though probably not seeking to do so, Lange's photographs of the evacuation and incarceration of Japanese and Japanese American citizens function both as historical evidence and as illustrations of her critical point of view (Fig. 4.14.). Considering the political context and the WRA's censorship, Lange's photographs portrayed Japanese American resilience in a context of oppression. As Gordon argues, the internment photographs present respectability, Americanism, work ethic, and good citizenship. For Gordon, this suggests an unsettling point of view, as if basic human rights had to be earned through good behavior.[48] Even this veiled criticism, to portray Japanese Americans as hard-working instead of as an ethnic threat, was deemed unfitting for the image that the WRA wanted to project and the photographs were confiscated and hidden from the public in the National Archives in Washington D.C.

Fig. 4.14. Dorothea Lange's original caption of this photograph taken on Jun. 6, 1942 at Tanforan says: "San Bruno, California. Another view of the barracks, living quarters for families evacuated from San Francisco on April 29. Note the flower garden and numerous evidences of care of their surroundings. These barracks were formerly horse stalls."

[46] Ibid., 12.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid., 29.

More than six decades later, in 2006, the photographs were exhibited in the U.S. and widely distributed in the exhibition's catalog *Impounded*.[49] However, this was not the first time that Lange's photographs were shown to the public: *Executive Order 9066*, a previous exhibition and publication of the California Historical Society, had already shown some of Lange's work.[50] It is not surprising that, after *Impounded,* those seeking to call on memories of Tanforan would turn to Lange's photographs to represent the internment years. After a selection of the more than 800 photographs shot by Lange were exhibited, including several of the Tanforan Assembly Center, the newly inaugurated historical plaque lacked the realism of the photographs. Like many figurative memorials, *Gambatte* fills in the need for realism, the desire to see individuals, and the demand to include historic evidence. The division between realist figurative memorials and minimalist abstract memorials resonates in the works of most authors dealing with the aesthetics of memorials. Dell Upton analyzes mainly realist memorials in America's South and includes a couple of abstract ones as counter examples in his conclusion.[51] Erika Doss claims that contemporary memorials have co-opted minimalist aesthetics to transmit notions of trauma and absence in an ambiguous manner. This excises the political dimension from the original minimalist art and transforms it into a vessel for modern nation-building.[52] While this is helpful to unpack officially orchestrated memorials, it does not help us to understand why figurative representations have been persistent and often associated with bottom-up practices of memorialization. In this regard, James Young argues that Holocaust survivors most often demand realism.[53] Similarly, Marita Sturken examines the addition of Frederick Hart's sculpture of three young American soldiers (1984) to Maya Lin's *Vietnam Veterans Memorial* (1982) as a criticism of abstraction.[54] In other words, the fact that Tanforan's memorial activists would prefer the photographic exhibition over the plaques, and later suggest that a life-sized bronze statue of two child internees should become the permanent marker for the former assembly center, can be placed within a tradition of bottom-up figurative memorials.

The photographs do more than just introduce figurative elements to remember the former assembly center: they also act as historical evidence. Roland Barthes argues that photographs cannot be distinguished from their referent, from the objects, subjects, or landscapes that they represent. In that regard, photographs are *"like a child pointing his finger at something"*[55]. In this case, Lange's photographs point towards a racetrack transformed into a detention camp, which can only be experienced through the record of a site and a time that no longer exist (Fig. 4.15.). *Camera Lucida*,

---

[49] Dorothea Lange, Linda Gordon, and Gary Y. Okihiro, *Impounded: Dorothea Lange and the Censored Images of Japanese American Internment*, 1st ed (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006).

[50] Maisie Conrat et al., eds., *Executive Order 9066: The Internment of 110,000 Japanese Americans*, New ed (Los Angeles, Calif: University of California, Los Angeles, Asian American Studies Center, 1992); Dinitia Smith, "Photographs of an Episode That Lives in Infamy," *The New York Times*, November 6, 2006, sec. Arts / Art & Design, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/06/arts/design/06lang.html. [accessed 04/24/2017]

[51] Dell Upton, *What Can and Can't Be Said: Race, Uplift, and Monument Building in the Contemporary South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

[52] Erika Doss, *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

[53] Young, *The Texture of Memory.*

[54] Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

[55] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 5.

Barthes' reflection on photography, diverges from professional writings on photography because it is both a book about the affective dimension of photography and a eulogy to his mother. Affect plays an important role in Lange's photographs: her restrained critique combined with the use of natural lighting, as well as posed and quotidian postures, convey a sense of historical intimacy (4.16).[56] We know that these photographs are the result of a particular viewpoint —Lange's— yet they transmit an honesty in their depiction of the past which is shaped both by the *operator* (the photographer and her tools) as well as by the *spectator* (we, the viewers).[57]

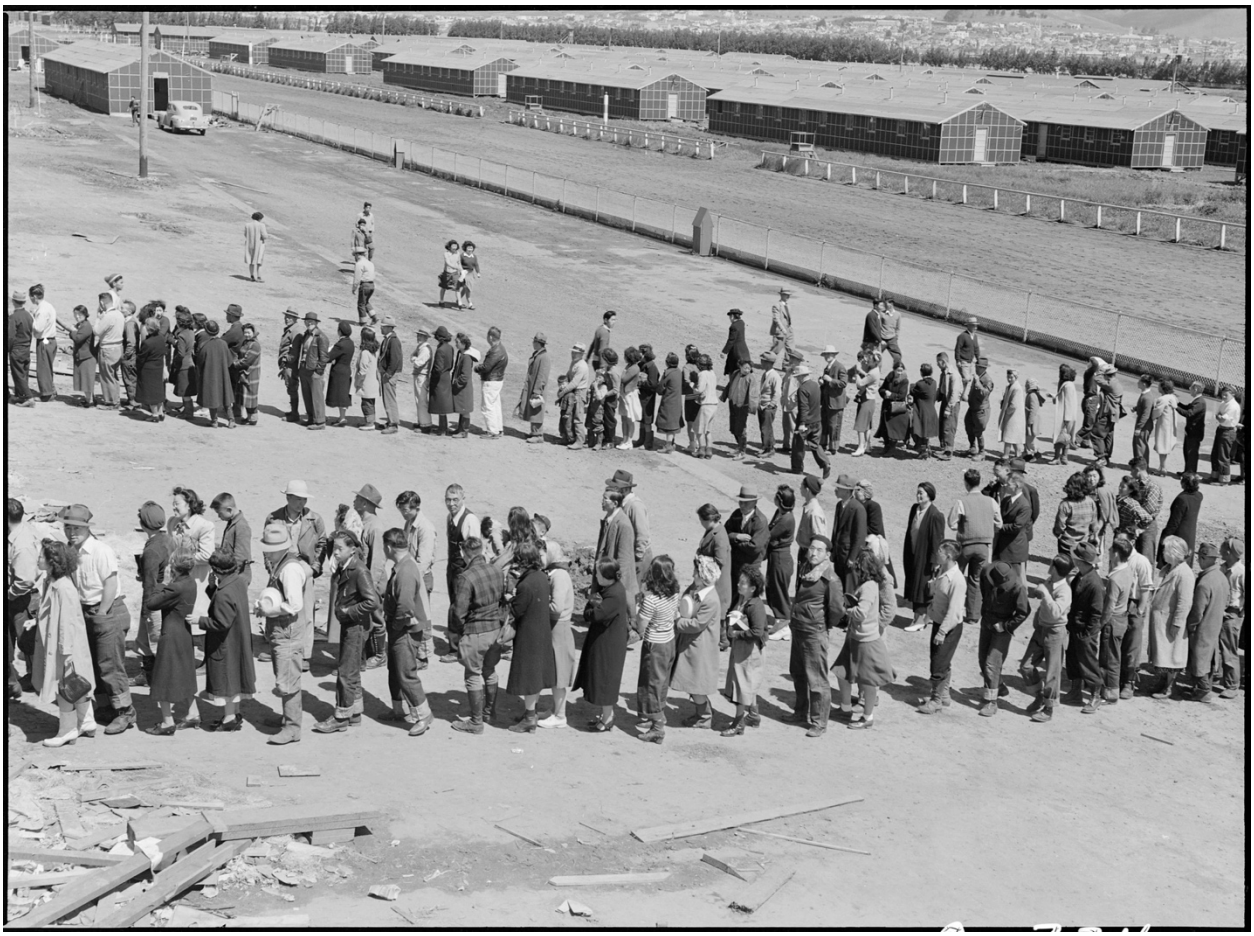


Fig. 4.15. Dorothea Lange's documentation of the Tanforan Assembly Center, 1942. Newly built barracks can be seen in the back.

In *Gambatte*, Kitagaki successfully unpacks Lange's enigmatic photographs by tracking down the afterlives of the depicted individuals. Using a 1940s inspired 4x5 format camera and black and white Polaroid film, Kitagaki's photographs are subsidiary extensions to Lange's melancholic aesthetic. Unlike the historic distance of the plaque and the abstraction of the rock garden, *Gambatte* is centered on the individuals that suffered the internment; in that regard, it is a memorial to the

[56] Gordon, "Dorothea Lange Photographs the Japanese American Internment."
[57] Barthes, *Camera Lucida.*

disappearing *Nisei* generation. Making the faces of internment dispossession visible and exposing the temporal urge to preserve disappearing memories, *Gambatte* argues that the stakes and actors of the apologetic dialogue have changed. The *Civil Liberties Act of 1988* seems inadequate at a time when only a few members of the *Nisei* generation survive, yet the demand to see the wrongdoers atone for the past will not disappear with them.

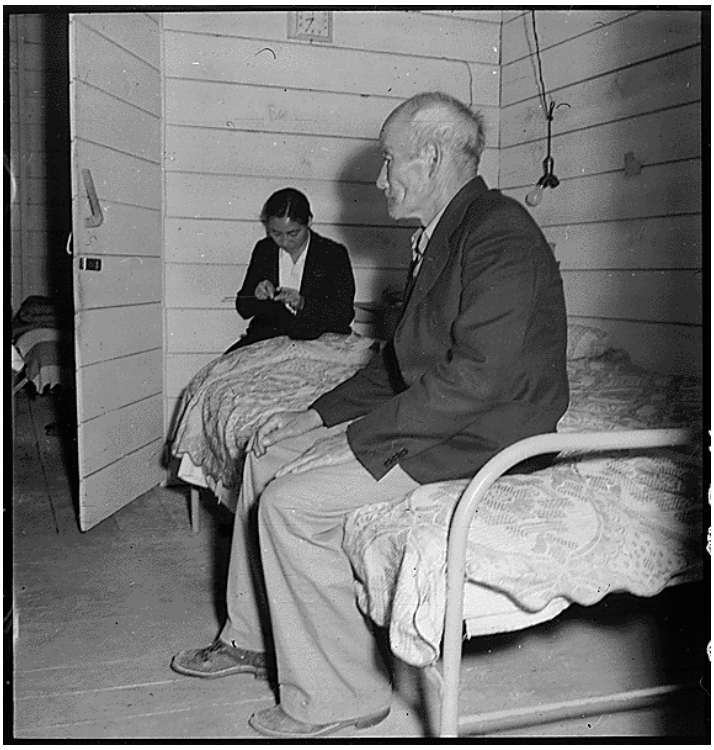


Fig. 4.16. Dorothea Lange, Mr. Konda and daughter, San Bruno Temporary Assembly Center, 1942.

The three plaques and photographic exhibition reveal how the ebbs and flows of Tanforan's memorialization echo the changes within the Japanese American community. Yet, these different remembrances also reflect the transformation of the surrounding city. Dorothea Lange's photographs changed the possibilities for remembering Tanforan and the opening of the San Bruno BART station in 2003 had a similar effect (Fig. 4.12.). The new BART station provided an ideal platform to reach a broad public, compared to the timid plaque and garden on the other side of the shopping mall. Originally planned as a suburban shopping mall only accessible by car, the BART station has had the effect of making the shopping mall accessible to pedestrians. This shift is evidenced by the intent of the shopping mall's new developers, Queensland Investment Corporation (QIC), to reverse the entrances of the building and transform the BART back entrance of the shopping mall into its main entrance.[58] Further stressing the need to memorialize beyond the historic plaque, this urban transformation had a side effect: the existing historic plaque lost visibility in the rearrangement of the shopping mall's spatial configuration.[59]

[58] Okamoto, Interview with Steve Okamoto; Yamamoto, Interview with Douglas Yamamoto.

[59] Since the new Tanforan Memorial and the existing plaque have been incorporated into the urban transformation that the shopping mall developers are proposing, there have been no protests against the redesign.

Memorializing Tanforan

Photographs of the Mochida Sisters

Gambatte's success led to the proposal of a new memorial. The photographic exhibition had been planned as a temporary intervention at the San Bruno BART station. Yet, once the photographs were installed, the newly created TACMC started to contemplate a permanent memorial intervention. TACMC's former president, Richard Oba, had visited the Merced Assembly Center Memorial in California and was inspired by it.[60] Similar to Tanforan, Merced was transformed into an assembly center in 1942 and included in the California Register of Historic Landmarks together with Tanforan and ten other assembly centers in 1980.[61] Here, too, no visible material remains of the assembly center were left. A plaque was installed in the early 80s, resulting from the joint effort of local Japanese American activists, the Department of Parks and Recreation, and representatives of the local government. In 2008, Congressman Dennis Cardoza and the Livingston-Merced and Cortez chapters of the JACL started working on a proposal for a permanent memorial, which was inaugurated only two years later. [62] The Merced memorial consists of a child sitting on a pile of suitcases amongst a large group of belongings. The human-scale bronze statue is surrounded by a ring of low benches and informative panels. A wall with the names of the internees and the name of the memorial creates an enclosure of the space on one side (Fig. 4.17.).

Fig. 4.17. Merced Assembly Center Memorial dedicated on Feb. 20, 2010.

[60] Yamamoto, Interview with Douglas Yamamoto.
[61] Okamura, "Temporary Detention Camps for Japanese Americans. In the File Tanforan Assembly Center - P-41-000209."
[62] Adrienne Iwata, "Merced (Detention Facility)," *Densho Encyclopedia* (Densho Encyclopedia, July 17, 2015), http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Merced_%28detention_facility%29/. [accessed 05/02/2017]

In 2012, the Merced memorial was presented as a success story, one to be imitated at Tanforan. The members of the TACMC believed that one of the reasons the Merced memorial was so compelling was that it represented a child. Suffering children were seen as the best way to represent the unjust incarceration of people of Japanese ancestry, by emphasizing this act as an example of 'unwarranted wartime hysteria'.[63] The artist's focus on children best conveys the absurdity of incarcerating minors, women, and elderly people based on the assumption that they were Japanese spies.[64] After seeing the Merced memorial, the members of the TACMC already had a material –bronze– and a subject –children– in mind.

Fig. 4.18. Photograph of the Mochida sisters by Dorothea Lange, May 8, 1942. In this case, as in the case of Fig. 4.19., the original caption states: *Hayward, California. Two Children of the Mochida Family Who, with Their Parents, Are Awaiting Evacuation Bus. The Youngster on the Right Holds a Sandwich given Her by One of a Group of Women Who Were Present from a Local Church. The Family Unit Is Kept Intact during Evacuation and at War Relocation Authority Centers Where Evacuees of Japanese Ancestry Will Be Housed for the Duration.*

Unlike the Merced memorial, the future Tanforan Memorial aims to represent real children based on a series of Dorothea Lange's photographs for the WRA. Three different photographs depicted the Mochida sisters and their family on their way to the Tanforan Assembly Center (Figs.

[63] United States, ed., *Personal Justice Denied* (Wash., D.C.: Seattle: Civil Liberties Public Education Fund; University of Washington Press, 1997).
[64] Okamoto, Interview with Steve Okamoto.

4.18., 4.19. & 4.20.).[65] In June 2013, the TACMC issued a Request for Proposal to build "a monumental bronze sculpture for a 'Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial.'"[66] The project description accurately portrays the vision of the TACMC for the memorial:

> The monument is conceived as being of two children, ages approximately 4 and 8, waiting with their luggage to be transported to the Tanforan Assembly Center. They are wearing their best clothes and a white tag that only had their families' ID number issued by the government. They are confused and fearful of what is to come but display the Japanese cultural value of 'gaman'.[67]

Fig. 4.19. Photograph of the Mochida sisters by Dorothea Lange, May 8, 1942.

[65] Dorothea Lange, *Hayward, California. Members of the Mochida Family Awaiting Evacuation Bus.*, May 8, 1942, Photograph, May 8, 1942, Local Identifier: 210-GC-153, National Archives, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/537505; Dorothea Lange, *Hayward, California. Two Children of the Mochida Family Who, with Their Parents, Are Awaiting Evacuation Bus.*, May 8, 1942, Photograph, May 8, 1942, Local Identifier: 210-G-C155, National Archives, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/537507; Dorothea Lange, *Hayward, California. Two Children of the Mochida Family Who, with Their Parents Are Awaiting Evacuation Bus.*, May 8, 1942, Photograph, May 8, 1942, Local Identifier: 210-G-C154, National Archives, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/537506.

[66] Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee INC., "Request for Proposal (RFP): A Monumental Bronze Sculpture for a Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial" (Not Published, June 17, 2013), cover, Douglas Yamamoto and Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee Archive.

[67] Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee INC., 3. Gaman means "enduring the seemingly unbearable with patience and dignity". The term is generally translated as "perseverance", "patience", tolerance, or "self-denial".

In addition to this description, the TACMC pointed out the specific photograph of the Mochida sisters that they wanted the memorial to be based on. The photograph (Fig. 4.18.) depicts two of the Mochida sisters and their mother. The younger girl is holding a piece of bread that she has just taken a bite of, bread crumbs are visible around her mouth, and her older sister holds a wrapped sandwich. On the left side of the frame, the mother is busy, looking down, her hands probably engaged with further distributing food for her family members. From Lange's original caption for the photograph we know that the food was donated by a group of women from a local church. Trees, grass, pathways, and a blurry silhouette in the distance contextualize this shot.

Fig. 4.20. Photograph of the Mochida family group by Dorothea Lange, May 8, 1942. Original caption: *Hayward, California. Members of the Mochida family awaiting evacuation bus. Identification tags are used to aid in keeping the family unit intact during all phases of evacuation. Mochida operated a nursery and five greenhouses on a two-acre site in Eden Township. He raised snapdragons and sweet peas. Evacuees of Japanese ancestry will be housed in War Relocation Authority centers for the duration.*

Lange took this photograph, alongside others, in a public park in Hayward, California, while the families of Japanese ancestry were waiting for a bus to take them to Tanforan in May 1942. This is not the only photograph that Lange took of the Mochida sisters: one more photograph depicts the

two girls waving at someone we cannot see (Fig. 4.19.) and another depicts the entire Mochida family group, including the girls' parents and their siblings (Fig. 4.20.). The latter photograph is the most complete depiction of the family's members in this situation. Bags with the Mochida family name written on them surround the group, posing against a backdrop of pine trees and decomposed granite pathways. The signs of enforced eviction contrast with the pastoral landscape in the back. It is not by chance that the TACMC chose these two sisters and these photographs to inspire their memorial. All three photographs of the Mochida sisters had been circulating in Japanese American internment publications for decades. The first publication of Lange's photographs, the aforementioned *Executive Order 9066,* includes a close-up of the older sister on its cover, and a detail of the two sisters, extracted from of the photograph of the entire Mochida family amongst the photographs reproduced inside the catalogue.[68] In Michi Nishiura Weglyn's well-known book *Years of Infamy*, which deals with Japanese American incarceration, the first image that confronts the reader is the one of the Mochida sisters receiving food with their mother.[69] Likewise, the photograph of the Mochida sisters waving at someone standing in front of their family is included in the widespread catalogue *Impounded.*[70]

The Mochidas were a family of chrysanthemum growers from Eden Township, California. Lange's caption of the family group photograph includes details about their lives: "*Members of the Mochida family awaiting evacuation bus. Identification tags are used to aid in keeping the family unit intact during all phases of evacuation. Mochida operated a nursery and five greenhouses on a two-acre site in Eden Township. He raised snapdragons and sweet peas."*[71] In the subtlety of these details, Lange reveals her acquaintance with and respect for the Mochida family. Linda Gordon points out that both Lange and her husband, Paul Taylor, became friends with the Mochidas, who afterwards attended public events honoring the couple.[72] Do Lange's photographs reveal her incipient friendship with this family? In any case, they uncover something about the process through which they were produced; Lange did not only take photographs: she also interviewed and got involved with her subjects.

The decision to base the Tanforan memorial bronze on a real historic photograph was undoubtedly influenced by Kitagaki's *Gambatte* exhibition. Inspired by the realism and historical intimacy of Lange's photographs, the TACMC chose one of her photographs to be reproduced in three dimensions and at human scale. While only one photograph is pointed out in the TACMC's "Request for Proposals", the artist who was selected, sculptor Sandra J. Shaw, drew inspiration from all three photographs of the Mochida family.[73] A Los Angeles-based sculptor, Shaw submitted a proposal for a 30% larger than life size bronze of the Mochida sisters and their luggage in

[68] Conrat et al., *Executive Order 9066*, cover, 50.
[69] Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, 7.
[70] Lange, Gordon, and Okihiro, *Impounded*, 118.
[71] Lange, *Members of the Mochida Family Awaiting Evacuation Bus.*
[72] Gordon, "Dorothea Lange Photographs the Japanese American Internment," 25.
[73] Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee INC., "Request for Proposal (RFP): A Monumental Bronze Sculpture for a Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial"; Sandra J. Shaw, Interview with Sandra J. Shaw. Selected sculptor for the bronze of the Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial, interview by [author], notes, May 4, 2017.

partnership with the American Fine Arts Foundry.[74] From a total of five artists' proposals, Shaw was selected based on her experience creating realistic photograph-inspired sculptures.[75] Shaw's background fit the TACMC's special interest in the faithful and true reproduction of the original image by Dorothea Lange; in their own words, "*breadcrumbs and jelly included.*"[76] Barthes' *punctum* resonates in the committee's words: the breadcrumbs around the smaller sister's mouth convey detail and animate a story that could otherwise seem removed from the contemporary viewer.[77]

Fig. 4.21. Sandra J. Shaw's early concept sketches for the Tanforan Memorial, 2013.

Shaw submitted early concept sketches of alternative compositions for the sculpture, as well as details of the faces of the two girls, none of which are exact reproductions of Lange's photograph, but rather artistic interpretations based on the three photographs (Fig. 4.21.). In the opening statement of her proposal, Shaw interprets the photograph included in the 'Request for Proposals':

> In my view of the photograph, the younger child is helpless and doesn't understand what is happening to them. Her figure conveys that she's a victim in a tragic circumstance.
> The older girl senses the situation they're in yet she projects the possibility that they will be okay someday. She holds her sister's hand protectively. With her other hand she pulls at her label. The threads have given way. She is looking to their future. They are not doomed to pathos or victimization.

[74] American Fine Arts Foundry, Inc. and Sandra J. Shaw, "Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial. Proposal for a Monumental Bronze Sculpture" (Not Published, November 4, 2014), Douglas Yamamoto and Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee Archive.
[75] Yamamoto, Interview with Douglas Yamamoto.
[76] Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee INC., "Request for Proposal (RFP): A Monumental Bronze Sculpture for a Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial," 3.
[77] Barthes, *Camera Lucida.*

> A dramatization of the possibility for liberty and fulfillment that can transcend a tragedy speaks to the American context for this historic event. They are not in Nazi Germany or Imperialist Japan. These children have a chance for a future.[78]

Sandra Shaw slightly reinterprets the committee's request to make a truthful copy of the photograph. Her proposed bronze is realistic in its aesthetic, but it embodies a new narrative: Shaw's portrayal of the scared and defenseless young girl and the hopeful and resilient older sister. This distinction is consistent with Shaw's belief that photography is not art and that a photography-based work of art has to stand on its own, adding a new interpretation to the blunt record made by a camera.[79]

Felix W. de Weldon's sculpture for the *Marine Corps War Memorial* is perhaps the most renowned memorial based on a photograph. Photographer Joe Rosenthal shot a group of six men raising a flag at Mount Suribachi during the Battle of Iwo Jima in World War II. Unlike Lange's photographs, the truthfulness of Rosenthal's image was questioned early on by the U.S. press and experts. Maybe because it was contentious, de Weldon was more interested in the similarity of his sculpture to the original photograph than in its symbolism.[80] Karal Ann Marling and John Wetenhall, authors of a monograph on the Iwo Jima Memorial, point out that de Weldon made some artistic changes to the photograph, but these were minor: he recomposed the figure at the foot of the pole to gain coherence.[81] Shaw's approach to the Lange photographs is different: she not only uses an array of photographs instead of one, but also recomposes the figures, changes their posture and gestures, eliminates the context, and adds foreign elements like the rigid luggage. Despite their differences, both de Weldon's and Shaw's sculptures suggest a new layer of interpretation of the event. Rosenthal missed the moment when the first flag was raised on Mount Suribachi, and his photograph depicts a second and bigger flag that was raised later that same day. While the photographer was open about this fact, the memorial presents a new narrative: it portrays the first and only flag that was raised at Iwo Jima.[82] Sandra Shaw's memorial also presents a new reading of the photograph and the historic event. Embedded in the vantage point of the present looking back, her sculpture suggests that the older girl knew that everything was going to be alright: *"[t]hey are not doomed to pathos or victimization"*, Shaw writes.[83] This suggests that, measured against the later success of the Japanese American community, their incarceration was not going to break their spirit. However, this is a reading that only a contemporary viewer can make, as in 1942 the world would not have seemed like a place where basic human rights were valued.

---

[78] American Fine Arts Foundry, Inc. and Shaw, "Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial. Proposal for a Monumental Bronze Sculpture," 5.
[79] Shaw, Interview with Sandra J. Shaw; Sandra J. Shaw, "Photo = Art?," Personal Blog of Artist, SANDRA J. SHAW STUDIO, October 21, 2016, http://www.sandrajshaw.com/blog.html. [accessed 04/24/2017]
[80] Karal Ann Marling and John Wetenhall, *Iwo Jima: Monuments, Memories, and the American Hero* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1991).
[81] Marling and Wetenhall.
[82] Marling and Wetenhall.
[83] American Fine Arts Foundry, Inc. and Shaw, "Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial. Proposal for a Monumental Bronze Sculpture," 5.

In contrast to Kitagaki's exhibition, which provided the context necessary to understand the WRA photographs, the proposed bronze decontextualizes Lange's image. The two Mochida girls have been removed from the family group; the caressing hand of the father and the closeness of the mother have been omitted, and now the sisters stand alone amongst strangers' suitcases. Despite the artist's intentions to convey hope alongside injustice, the isolation of the Mochida sisters from their context expresses a deeper sense of vulnerability and helplessness.

Memorial Plaza

Although the Tanforan memorial decontextualizes the Mochida sisters from the public park in which they were first photographed, the surrounding memorial plaza integrates them back into a landscape. The TACMC first imagined that the memorial would only be a sculpture, but after unsuccessfully applying for the NPS Japanese American Confinement Sites (JACS) Grant Program, the committee decided to add a memorial plaza to give context to the sculpture. This had been one of the recommendations of the JACS reviewers.[84] After reapplying for a second and then a third time, the TACMC finally obtained a $398,839 grant from the JACS program to fund the memorial in May 2016.[85] It is important to stress that the creation of the JACS program had a significant influence in enabling a support system to build a new memorial at Tanforan. Raising the funds to build a memorial from scratch would have been extremely difficult before Public Law 109-441 created the JACS program and allocated $38 million for the purpose of *"identifying, researching, evaluating, interpreting, protecting, restoring, repairing, and acquiring historic confinement sites [...]"*[86] Here again apology and memorialization are intertwined. The U.S. official apology, the *Civil Liberties Act of 1988,* included a Civil Liberties Public Education Fund, which led to the creation of the JACS program.[87]

The design for the memorial plaza surrounding the bronze of the Mochida sisters is the work of landscape architect Harold Kobayashi, a retired partner of Royston Hanamoto Alley & Abey (RHAA) –a Mill Valley based landscape architecture firm created in 1979– who was himself interned at Topaz as a child. In honor of its Japanese American founders and partners, RHAA offered the work pro bono.[88] The memorial plaza is situated against an existing zig-zagged retaining wall. This geometry shapes the horse stables in the far end of the design, the benches, and the central pavers (Fig. 4.22.). From the BART station to the shopping mall entrance, the site has a 4 to 5 ft. grade difference, which presents a challenge to the use and access of the chosen location.

---

[84] Anonymous Reviewer for the National Park service JACS Program, "National Park Service JACS Program Evaluation Sheet" (Not Published, 2014), Douglas Yamamoto and Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee Archive.
[85] Yamamoto, Interview with Douglas Yamamoto.
[86] Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, "Public Law 109-441. Preservation of Japanese American Confinement Sites," 109th Congress § (2006), 1, https://www.congress.gov/109/plaws/publ441/PLAW-109publ441.pdf.
[87] Thomas Foley, "H.R.442 - 100th Congress (1987-1988): Civil Liberties Act of 1987. Became Public Law No: 100-383" (1988), https://www.congress.gov/bill/100th-congress/house-bill/442.
[88] Harold Kobayashi, Interview with Harold Kobayashi, landscape architect and retired partner RHAA, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, recording & transcription, March 24, 2017; Jimmy Chan, Interview with Jimmy Chan, landscape architect and vice president RHAA, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, recording & transcription, March 30, 2017.

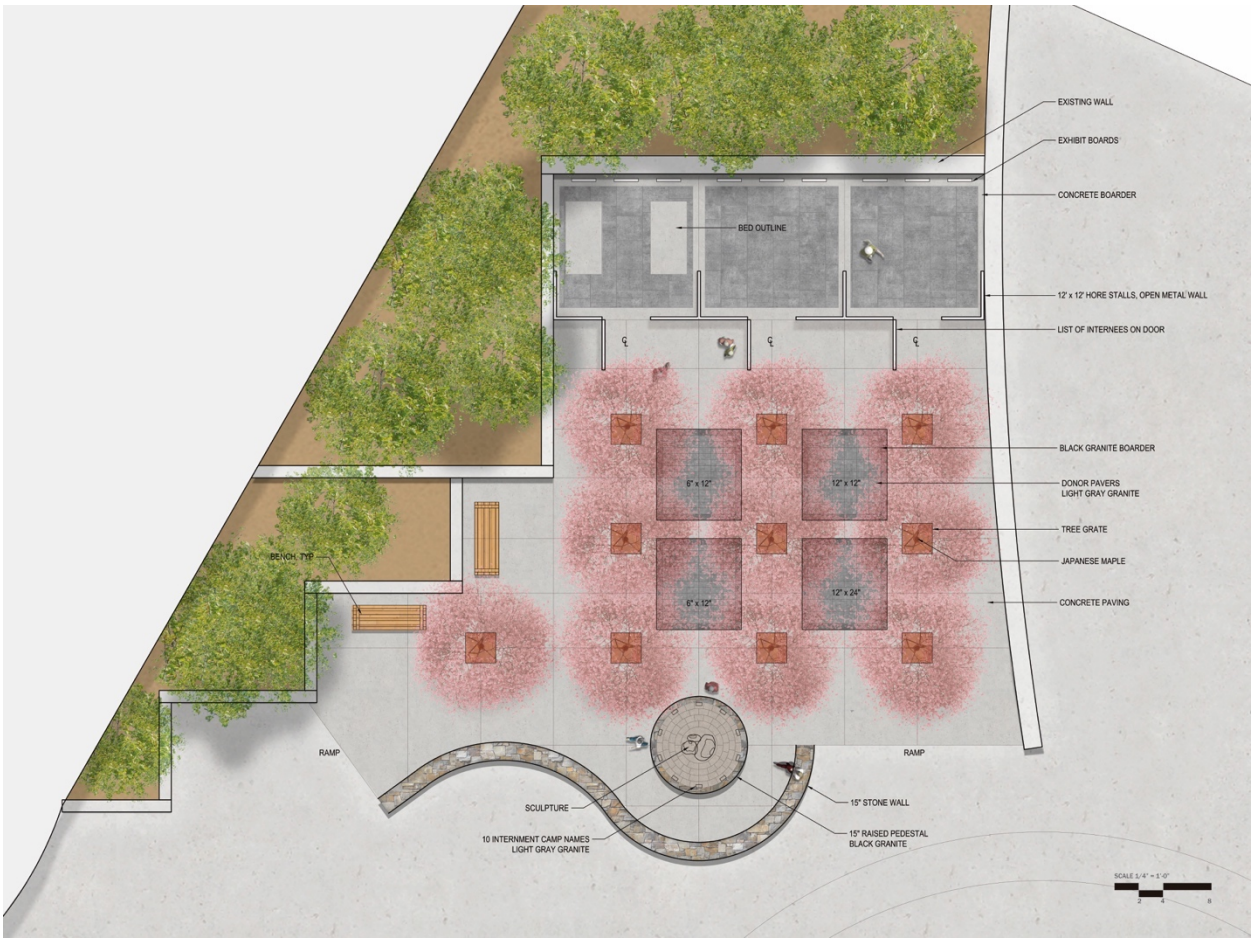


Fig. 4.22. Plan for the proposed Tanforan Assembly Center Plaza, January 2016. Design by Harold Kobayashi/ Royston Hanamoto Alley & Abey (RHAA).

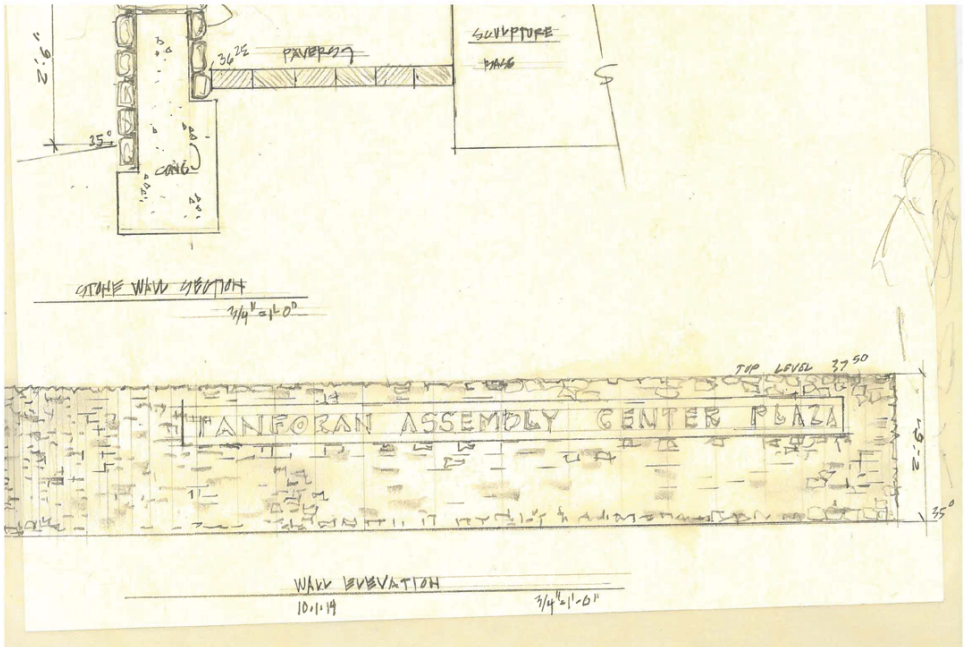


Fig. 4.23. Wall detail for proposed Tanforan Memorial. Design by Harold Kobayashi/ RHAA.

Kobayashi explains that the design choice that shaped the whole plaza was his intention to decrease the slope of the site, for which he added the opposing curved stone wall as a second retainer.[89] The stone wall supports a sign to announce the memorial to passersby and it curves to hug the base for the bronze sculpture of the Mochida sisters (Fig. 4.23.). Continuous granite paving stones unify the design from the curved wall to the back, interrupted only by donors' pavers and a grid of Japanese maple trees.[90] The trees were originally cherry blossom trees, and only nine, but after the TACMC suggested that each tree could represent one of the permanent Japanese American incarceration camps, a tenth tree was added.[91] Together with the rocks spread around the design, the trees signal an easily recognizable Japanese environment. The Japanese maple trees are another important element of Kobayashi's design, as the treetops create a natural roof over the memorial, which produces a sense of enclosure (Fig. 4.24.). To design a place that had a feeling of enclosure, but at the same time was open to its surroundings was one of the landscape designer's main challenges. Well aware of the surroundings of the chosen location, a shopping mall and a train station, Kobayashi added vertical and horizontal elements to separate his memorial plaza from its ordinary context.[92] Kobayashi thought that one of the most distinct features of the Tanforan Assembly Center were its horse stalls converted into improvised barracks. The smell and the indignity of these quarters struck him as something that all internees remembered, so he decided to include a reconstruction of the horse stalls in his memorial plaza.[93] Life-sized, these 12 x 12 ft. structures convey the dimensions of the real 1942 barracks, although not their smell. Furthermore, the doors of the horse stalls have plaques attached with the names of all those who were interned at Tanforan.

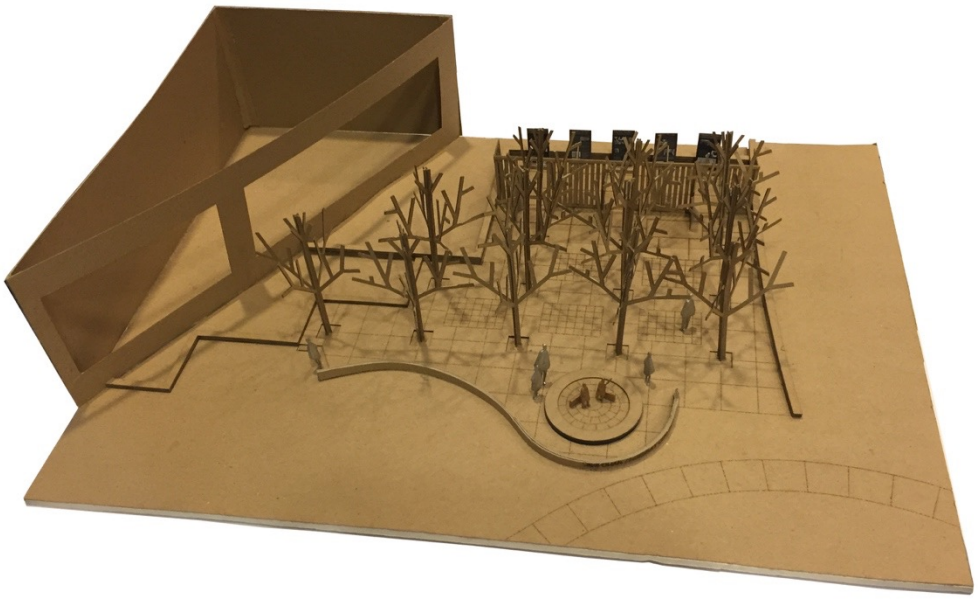


Fig. 4.24. Model for the proposed Tanforan Assembly Center Plaza, February 2017.

[89] Kobayashi, Interview with Harold Kobayashi, landscape architect and retired partner RHAA.
[90] Chan, Interview with Jimmy Chan, landscape architect and vice president RHAA.
[91] Kobayashi, Interview with Harold Kobayashi, landscape architect and retired partner RHAA.
[92] Kobayashi.
[93] Kobayashi.

At first glance, the memorial might appear to be bricolage of memorial strategies: a wall with names, a figurative sculpture, historic reproductions, and thematic landscaping. Taking a step back, this layering of elements represents the designer's sensitivity to a bottom-up community design process. The initial idea to build a memorial at Tanforan, as well as the elements that it would encompass, came out of the TACMC; in other words, it stems directly out of the Japanese American community organized around remembering Tanforan. When the landscape architects in charge of the memorial plaza joined the team, a series of important design decisions had already been taken: the center piece of the memorial was to be a figurative bronze of two girls, the location was chosen, and the committee had key memorial elements in mind, including the plaques with the names.[94] Neither Kobayashi nor Shaw have had a leading role in determining the overall design of the project. Although their contributions have shaped the aesthetics of the memorial, particularly in the case of the landscape plaza, the Tanforan memorial remains a community-driven project.

Art in Transit or Shopping Mall Memorial?

Tensions between public and private space have had an important role in shaping the Tanforan memorial. Situated on the threshold between the San Bruno BART station and the *Shops at the Tanforan Shopping Mall*, the memorial is forced to constantly negotiate its place within the changing borders of these two patrons. Today, the future Tanforan memorial is planned to be located in a paved corner adjacent to the BART station and delimited by one of the shopping mall's parking lots (Fig. 4.25.).

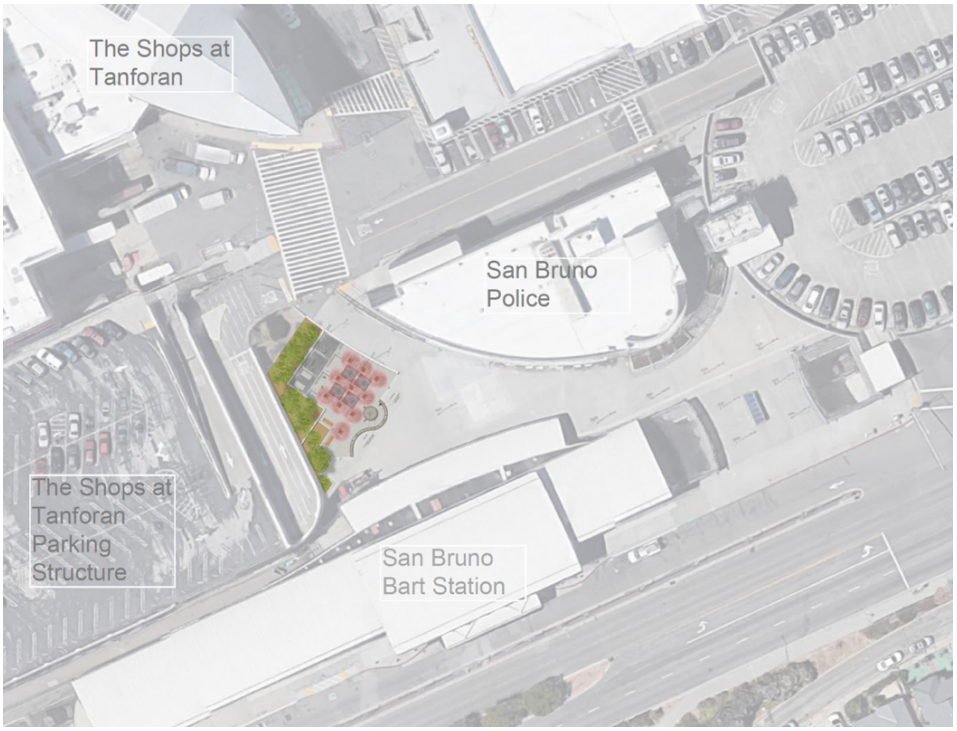


Fig. 4.25. Proposed location for Tanforan Assembly Center Plaza, April 2020.

[94] Kobayashi.

The current site was chosen by the TACMC, but it is owned by BART. While the BART Board of Directors has manifested its support for the memorial in numerous official letters and public meetings, it is not clear whether the chosen site will be the definitive one.[95] BART property is strictly speaking public, yet building a memorial on the selected location would generate particular challenges around the private management of a public place. Depending on the final agreement between TACMC and the BART, the site could be either leased to the community, which would imply that BART would take no responsibilities over its maintenance (which is the current preference), or remain under BART's control, in which case TACMC would need to donate the memorial to the transit agency, which would be fully responsible for its maintenance.[96] Even if the memorial were not donated to the transit agency, BART would still be able to restrict access to it and its uses, because it controls the opening hours and schedules of its stations. Nevertheless, in a lot that is otherwise entirely owned by private agents, the BART station and its surrounding property is the most public space available at Tanforan. This is the reasoning behind the TACMC's determination to locate the memorial as close to the BART station as possible.

Recently, a third actor entered the spatial disputes surrounding Tanforan. In August 2015, QIC, an Australian pension investment group, announced its acquisition of the *Shops at the Tanforan Shopping Mall*.[97] Following the example of previous owners of the shopping mall, QIC has expressed its support for the Japanese American community and in particular for the development of a memorial on the site of the former Tanforan Assembly Center.[98] In 2017, a representative of QIC's Los Angeles offices met with the TACMC and with the JCCCNC, the community organization that had overseen the construction of the 2007 historic plaque, located next to the main entrance of the shopping mall. QIC wanted to pre-empt any possible conflicts between both Japanese American community groups, yet the issue was resolved by incorporating the plaque and commemorative garden into the design for the future Tanforan memorial.[99] Further, QIC donated $10,000 to the Tanforan Memorial fund and a representative of QIC's Los Angeles branch attended a TACMC fundraising dinner in early 2017. QIC's redevelopment plans for the shopping mall include the area adjacent to the BART station, which will be transformed into the mall's main pedestrian access. Under the redevelopment plans, the chosen site for the memorial, the corner between the station

[95] Thomas M. Blalock, P.E., "Letter of Support for the Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee from the President of BART" (Not Published, December 16, 2015), Douglas Yamamoto and Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee Archive; Jennifer Easton, Interview with Jennifer Easton, Art Program Manager, San Francisco Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART), interview by [author], recording & transcription, April 19, 2017.
[96] Easton, Interview with Jennifer Easton.
[97] QIC, "QIC Announces Acquisition of The Shops at Tanforan in San Bruno, California," accessed February 14, 2017, http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/qic-announces-acquisition-of-the-shops-at-tanforan-in-san-bruno-california-300129227.html; "San Bruno's Tanforan Shopping Mall Sells to Australian Investor QIC," San Francisco Business Times, accessed February 14, 2017, http://www.bizjournals.com/sanfrancisco/blog/real-estate/2015/08/san-bruno-tanforan-q-i-c-breevast-san-mateo.html.
[98] Hayashino, "Tanforan Detention Camp. In the File Tanforan Assembly Center - P-41-000209."
[99] Okamoto, Interview with Steve Okamoto.

and the parking lot, would disappear.[100] In this context, QIC has signed an agreement with BART to beautify the station, which fits into the transit agency's plan to revitalize existing stations.[101]

QIC's arrival has put BART in the middle point of a three-party negotiation table. On the one hand, QIC's timeframe for the renovation of the shopping mall is still relatively unclear, yet it has been suggested that it will start in 2021 and extend over the next few years. On the other hand, the TACMC has explicitly stated that it is working under strict time constraints because the memorial is aimed at honoring the aging *Nisei* generation.[102] With ties to both the TACMC and QIC, BART recently presented a viable solution for both the memorial and the new shopping mall.[103] In order to meet the TACMC timeline, the San Bruno BART station will house a reduced version of the monument, consisting of the full-size bronze statue of the Mochida sisters resting on a base in the middle the concourse level until the shopping mall redevelopment concludes (Fig. 4.26.). In response, QIC has agreed to be financially responsible for the reconfiguration of the exterior Tanforan Memorial, once the plans for the new shopping mall entrance are settled. While the material outcome of this debate exceeds the timeframe of this research project, I would like to examine some points to understand the implications of the different sides of this spatial dispute.[104]

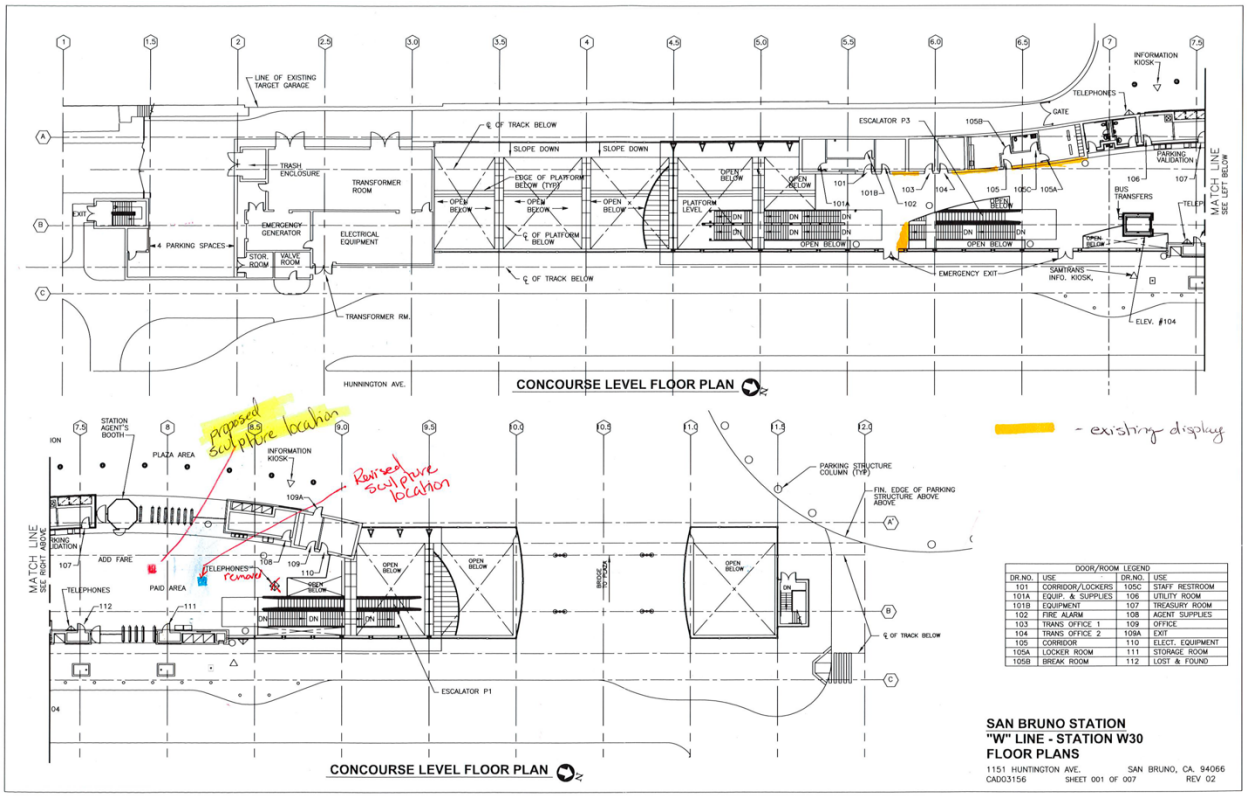


Fig. 4.26. Proposed and revised location for the bronze of the Mochida sisters within the San Bruno BART station concourse level, 2017.

[100] Okamoto; Yamamoto, Interview with Douglas Yamamoto.
[101] https://www.bart.gov/news/articles/2015/news20150813-0 [accessed 05/02/2017]
[102] Position Letter to BART
[103] Easton, Interview with Jennifer Easton.
[104] Correspondence between BART and TACMC 2017-2020, TACMC private archive.

Why would these two patrons be interested in housing the Tanforan memorial? In the case of BART, its favorable position towards the memorial has been supported by its employees, full board members, and community members. BART's institutional structure includes public board meetings and the participation of a community, a structure that lends itself to being receptive to projects like the Tanforan memorial. For BART, the memorial constitutes no financial burden and it has the potential to strengthen the relationship between the transit agency and the local neighborhood. Further, the Tanforan memorial also fits into the *Art in Transit* program, a BART art policy created in 2015.[105] While BART has included art in its property since its beginning, only since the creation of its art policy has the transit agency allocated a specific budget and a full-time arts program manager to systematize its existing works of art and plan new ones. One of the goals of Jennifer Easton, BART's art program manager, is to develop a master plan for the transit agency, which would include a 'Public Art Memorial Policy'.[106] As art program manager, Easton serves as a mediator between the pragmatic demands of the planners and engineers at BART and community driven art projects like Tanforan. Moreover, the future memorial does not only suit the BART's developing art policy, but it can also serve as an example for the future 'Public Art Memorial Policy' which will shape a range of memories from the shooting of Oscar Grant at the *Fruitvale Station*, to the memory of a community activist at *Balboa Park Station*.[107]

In the case of QIC, shopping malls have been keen to incorporate memorial conventions, similar to the ones at play at the Tanforan memorial. Invented memorials adorn main circulations and landscaped areas in shopping malls from *The Grove* in Los Angeles to *Estación Central Shopping Mall* in Santiago. These artificial memorials create cultural reference points, beautify the space, and separate pedestrian flows. Other shopping spaces, like *Bay Street Emeryville* have included real memorials to remember local histories. In this context, it does not seem unlikely that QIC would want to incorporate the Tanforan Memorial into its design. The prior examples suggest that the shopping mall's capacity to invent new memorials or to assimilate real ones produces the same outcome: memorials have a positive impact on the consumer's experience. Further, the *Shops at the Tanforan* is QIC's first 100 percent owned U.S. property.[108] As a gateway to further investments in the American real estate market, Tanforan is a model project for QIC's future developments. Since the shopping mall was acquired including the existing historical plaque, a battle with a local ethnic community might be considered a vulnerability in the hands of a foreign investor. This suggests that it is in QIC's best interest to find a viable solution to build the Tanforan Memorial. Placing the memorial inside the shopping mall would give QIC control over its content, visibility, accessibility, and appearance.

One of the questions that permeates this debate is whether the future memorial will be part of the shopping mall or the BART station, or if it will constitute its own public space. What does it mean for the Tanforan memorial to be built within the BART station or in its proximity, or to be

[105] https://www.bart.gov/content/art-transit-program, https://www.bart.gov/news/articles/2015/news20150813-0, Bay Area News Group, "BART OKs Art Program for Stations," *East Bay Times*, August 13, 2015, http://www.eastbaytimes.com/2015/08/13/bart-oks-art-program-for-stations/. [all accessed 04/24/2017]
[106] Easton, Interview with Jennifer Easton.
[107] Easton.
[108] QIC, "QIC Announces Acquisition of The Shops at Tanforan in San Bruno, California."

placed inside the shopping mall? In this context, I would like to bring forward a twofold reading of the memorial: as complicit with these institutional patrons and as subversive of their rules of conduct. The aesthetic choices of the memorial might suggest that it follows the building codes of corporate spaces: figurative representation, didactic transmission of its message, durability, clear separation between public and private space, and visible plaques with the names of the sponsors and donors.[109] Yet, the Tanforan memorial's struggle to find a definite place amongst this suburban corporate landscape suggests that it is also subverting these rules. Against what most shopping mall developers would advise, the memorial brings memories of a problematic past to a space of consumption and circulation.

Future Visitor

So far, I have interpreted the Tanforan memorial from the viewpoint of three main actors who have been involved in its construction: the TACMC, QIC, and BART. While each one of these actors has guided my analysis of the memorial, it is necessary to introduce a fourth actor, the future visitor of the memorial. Partly speculatively and partly based on the existing evidence, this future visitor plays a fundamental role in the current planning and future design of the memorial. Future visitors are commonly represented by designers and architects: RHAA's plans for the memorial include cut-outs of real people using the plaza (Fig. 4.1.). Yet, this future visitor is also present in the debates and documents of the TACMC. A 2017 position letter sent by the memorial committee to BART stated:

> [The] placement of the Memorial in the plaza [area] between the BART station and the mall is critical. Indeed, any alternative placement will certainly have a lower level of exposure to *casual visitors*, i.e. those who do not specifically plan to visit the Memorial, but will visit because it catches their eye while riding BART or visiting the mall. Our Memorial will *speak to multiple communities*, and while former incarcerees and their families are at the center of our effort, this Memorial will also speak to a *larger audience of passersby, shoppers and commuters*. Situating the Memorial in any place other than the proposed site would diminish our success in educating the general public.[110]

This letter, written to BART to communicate the committee's position towards keeping the memorial in its planned site envisions the future user as a casual visitor. While it is a memorial for the surviving incarcerees, the committee acknowledges that its meaning will shift once all the survivors of the internment are gone. Thus, the letter also illustrates the generational shift discussed in the previous section: it is at a moment when the *Nisei* generation is rapidly aging that it becomes all the more important to build a memorial that can speak to a broader public. The line of communication between the Nisei generation, the memorial activists, and the future visitor is the

[109] How this memorial is didactic is a topic that exceeds the scope of this paper.
[110] Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee INC., "TACMC Position Letter Sent to BART" (Not Published, March 8, 2017), 1, Douglas Yamamoto and Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee Archive.

place. In the eyes of the TACMC members, *where* the memorial is located is crucial to extend its message beyond their own community.

Whether it ends up being part of the shopping mall or the BART station, the Tanforan memorial will be immersed in the everyday life of commuters, residents, shoppers, moviegoers, travelers, and tourists. Today, the shopping mall and the BART station concentrate the highest density of activities within the San Bruno area, a centrality that will only increase after the shopping mall's renovation.[111] The memorial will, therefore, not only speak to the Japanese American community, but to a much broader array of publics. While some people will travel to Tanforan only to visit the memorial, most encounters will be unplanned. Most future visitors of the Tanforan memorial will be of the kind described in the above passage: people who stumble upon it during their everyday activities. The TACMC understands this quotidian dimension of the memorial, but the everyday has not shaped its design. Like any traditional memorial, the Tanforan memorial's aim is to create a place of contemplation, a retreat from the speed, busyness, and preoccupations of everyday life.[112] The rationale behind this is that remembrance is an exceptional experience that requires a certain space, time, and state of mind.[113] Today, the activists and designers behind the Tanforan memorial are planning to carve out an oasis in a desert of parking lots and retail stores in an attempt to separate the past from the present of the site.

To write about an ongoing project implies that there is potential for multiple outcomes, some of which are unforeseeable today. I believe that the memorial's potential lies precisely in its hybrid position between the exceptional moments of life and the ordinary routines we repeat every day. Ideally, the future Tanforan Memorial will be able to suggest that memory is part of the everyday and that it is possible to remember in suburban quotidian spaces like shopping malls.

Conclusion

The changes in the Japanese American community and in the surrounding city of San Bruno have impacted the meaning and interpretation of the standing apologies at Tanforan. The first plaque had an active role in the redress movement: in the absence of an official apology, it demanded justice, recognition, and remembrance. The next two plaques spoke of the unfulfilled promises of the official apology: given that not all interned Japanese Americans were included, given that Latin American Japanese are still excluded from the redress payments, and given that the NPS has been reluctant to give national status to sites like Tanforan, it was still necessary in the 90s and 2000s to dedicate new plaques.[114] The photographic exhibition reflects these changes in the memorial landscape of Tanforan, but it also speaks of an unfulfilled apologetic dialogue. President Ronald Reagan's official apology in 1988 was not the last apology from the U.S. government to the Japanese

[111] Easton, Interview with Jennifer Easton.
[112] Kobayashi, Interview with Harold Kobayashi, landscape architect and retired partner RHAA.
[113] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7–24, https://doi.org/10.2307/2928520.
[114] Leslie T. Hatamiya, *Righting a Wrong: Japanese Americans and the Passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988*, Asian America (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1993); Burton and Cohen, *Confinement and Ethnicity*.

American community. After Reagan, George H.W. Bush also signed an official statement of apology, and Bill Clinton and George W. Bush both publicly expressed regret about wartime incarceration of innocent citizens, which suggests that the *Civil Liberties Act* failed to close the apologetic dialogue between the nation and the Japanese American community. In this regard, the memorial interventions at Tanforan can be read as active participants in an open dialogue — interventions which will only spark further debates once the Tanforan memorial is built.

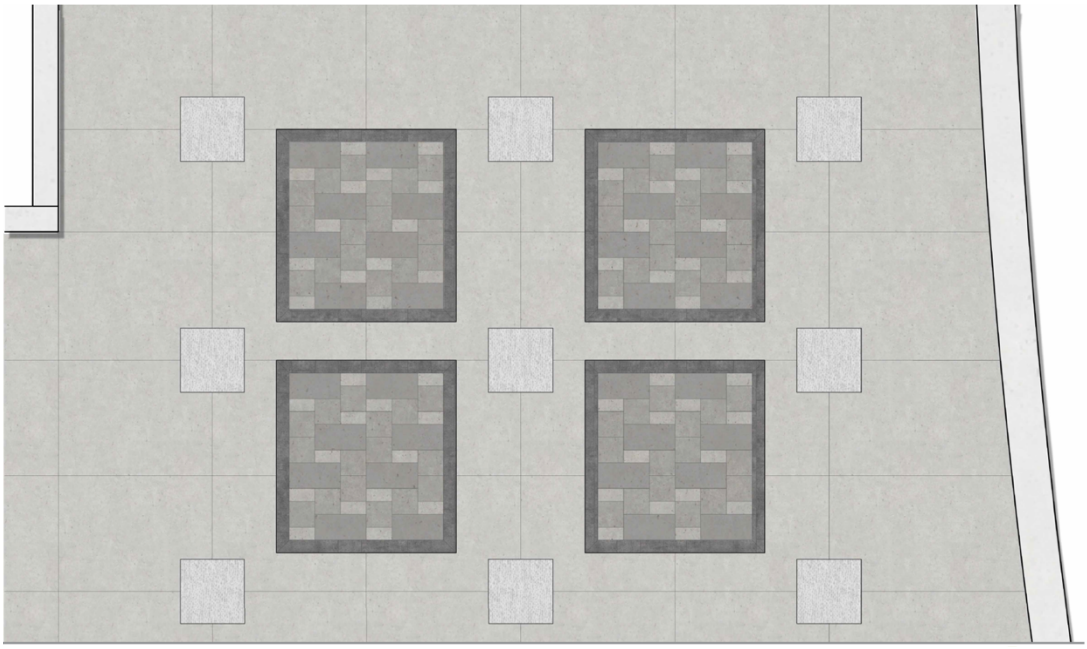


Fig. 4.27. Paver detail plan with donors' plaques arranged by size of contribution, 2016.

Mostly uninformed about the memorial's history, the future visitor of Tanforan would interpret the memorial not only as a site of remembrance, but also as an official apology. To date, the most significant donations to the memorial come from public institutions: the NPS and the County of San Mateo. Arranged by size of contribution, the donors' plaques at the future memorial site will highlight these donations as the main benefactors of the project. Based on the donors' plaques, in the eyes of a future visitor it would look as if Tanforan were an official memorial (Fig. 4.27.). Furthermore, it could be read as an official apology. While this might be an unintended reading of the memorial, it will change the spatial and temporal dimension of the apologetic dialogue that the four previous memorial interventions initiated. According to Battistella, apologies work when they have a clear receiver, an appropriate speaker, and provide an honest remorseful acknowledgment of the wrongdoing.[115] Tanforan's triad of historical plaques reveals a gradual effort towards defining each one of the components of a successful apologetic dialogue, yet in the memorial these categories get blurred. Paul Connerton has criticized memorials for their inability to change, for being stiff and inflexible.[116] Contrarily, most memory scholars stress the inevitable

[115] Battistella, *Sorry about That*.
[116] Paul Connerton, *How Modernity Forgets* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

flexibility of memorials, arguing that their meaning fluctuates as the culture surrounding them changes.[117] When it comes to building material apologies, both interpretations are true. The stiffness of their materiality makes built apologies last longer than any dialogue, law, or discourse. However, at the same time, their exposure to the passing of time, public space, everyday life, and changing users makes the built apology a vessel for the multiple and at times diverging impulses to say 'I'm sorry'. As a standing apology, the Tanforan memorial will create space and time for yet another rearrangement of the dialogue around Japanese American incarceration, the result of which can only be explored once the memorial is built.

The phrase 'Now more than ever' is probably one of the most recurrent expressions that I have heard during the development of this research. For the memorial activists behind the Tanforan Memorial, some of the policies of the Donald Trump Presidency, the Muslim ban, the incarceration of unwanted immigrants and children, and the wall on the Mexican border, are blatant reminders that what happened to them could recur. The Japanese American community has openly rejected Trump's immigration policies in op-eds, letters, articles, and public speeches. Over the last years, the message of the Tanforan Memorial has become as much about the present as it is about the past. 'Now more than ever we need to build the Tanforan memorial' resonated like a mantra which has boosted the members of the memorial committee to organize, plan, fundraise, speak up, and resist the corporate urge to delay.

Undoubtedly, this new political context has also had an important effect on myself as a researcher. I wanted to study Tanforan because it allowed me to examine the relationship between an existing apology and a memorial in the making. Four years ago, when I first proposed this research topic, I did not foresee how enmeshed it would become with the emerging political context. The current administration's immigration policies and the 75th anniversary of Franklin D. Roosevelt's signing of Executive Order 9066 have allowed me to observe the actors and objects of memory under a process of heightened transformation. The proposal for the Tanforan Memorial will keep on changing, and it is most likely that what I have described here will not be built in this exact form. Nevertheless, I believe that, in laying out the stakes, actors, issues, and debates around the memorialization of Tanforan, this work will shed light on the future memorial marker, as well as on other memorials, regardless of the shape it takes.

Epilogue

Encouraged by the fast turnaround of the Merced Assembly Center Memorial, which was conceived, projected, and built in only two years, the members of TACMC embarked on the memorialization of Tanforan expecting fast results.[118] However, seven years after the 'Request for Proposals' for the

[117] Young, *The Texture of Memory*; Sturken, *Tangled Memories*; Upton, *What Can and Can't Be Said*; Andrew M. Shanken, "Towards a Cultural Geography of Modern Memorials," in *Architecture and Interpretation: Essays for Eric Fernie*, ed. Jill Franklin, T. A. Heslop, and Christine Stevenson (Woodbridge, UK ; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2012), 357–80.

[118] Okamoto, Interview with Steve Okamoto; Yamamoto, Interview with Douglas Yamamoto.

memorial, the committee has been confronted with the type of memorialization described by most memory scholars, one that extends over time, is contentious, and demands resilience and patience from those that mobilize it.[119] The activists of the TACMC and their many supporters have endured years of delays, funding shortages, permit and insurance issues, and changing institutional counterparts. As a researcher and honorary member of the TACMC, I share their hopes and anxieties, I too have marked my calendar with a number of inauguration dates for the memorial that have ultimately failed. Despite these ups and downs, today the memorial exists in material form. It is housed in a foundry in Burbank, CA. I joined the TACMC on a trip to Burbank in 2018 to see the larger than life size sculpture of the Mochida sisters made out of clay (Fig. 4.28.). Accompanied by Sandra Shaw, the committee carefully assessed the details of the sculpture, the size of the hands, the hair, the clothes, the posture, the expression of the two girls, and recommended some minor changes. Committee members picked out a patina for the bronze based on Shaw's recommendation and walked outside the building with her to see how it would look under direct sunlight.

Fig. 4.28. TACMC members and Sandra Shaw posing with the clay model of the sculpture, 2018.

[119] Young, *The Texture of Memory*; Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Karen E. Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); Ricard Vinyes, ed., *El estado y la memoria: gobiernos y ciudadanos frente a los traumas de la historia* (Barcelona: RBA Libros, 2009); Jelin, *Monumentos, Memoriales y Marcas Territoriales*, ed. Elizabeth Jelin and Victoria Langland, (Madrid : [Buenos Aires] : Siglo Veintiuno, 2003).

As the committee members moved around the sculpture assessing, comparing, discussing, and registering, the clay Mochida sisters lingered in the center of the room, surrounded by a cacophony of bronze objects: miniature Native Americans in headgear, cowboys, soldiers, naked female torsos, humorous dogs lifting a leg, a life-size crucifixion procession, ballerinas, elephants, dolphins, horses, abstract blobs, trophies, medals of honor, plaques, and a bust of Ayn Rand (Fig. 4.29.). Aligned on tables, shelves, and on the floor all around the feeble assemblage of buildings that constitute the foundry, these objects acted a reminders of the banality and flexibility of the committee's chosen medium: the figurative bronze sculpture. It is rare to see historic monuments as mere outcomes of a manufacturing assembly line, unaffected by subject, politics, context, or what some might call artistic aura.

Fig. 4.29. Bronze and wax figures surrounding the sculpture of the Mochida sisters, 2018.

Despite its unfortunate companions, in the eyes of the TACMC, the clay model remained poignant. Perhaps because most of the nearby objects were miniatures, the Mochida sisters looked enormous, monumental, and out of place. More than a realistic representation of two human girls, the sheer size of their heads made the sisters look like caricatures, closer to anime than to real life. The 30% larger than life scale of the sculpture was part of Sandra Shaw's initial proposal for the memorial,

and it had been the subject of numerous debates amongst the members of the committee.[120] Shaw argued that, in order to be perceived as life-size, a monument installed in open public space needed to be larger than life.[121] In contrast, some committee members feared that it would be perceived as too big. Ultimately, the committee voted in favor of Shaw's original proposal, which led to the monumental clay model we visited at the foundry.[122] I have yet to see how the finished sculpture will look on top of its base inside the significantly taller San Bruno BART station and in the outdoor area of the future *Shops at the Tanforan Shopping Mall*. However, now, in its almost grotesque scale, the monument seems less realistic and more daring than I originally imagined. By blowing up two little girls in size, it not only speaks of Japanese American incarceration, but of the role of gender in memory. Monumental little girls are not a common sight in public space; nor are women for that matter.[123] Thus, with this perhaps unintentional decision to make the sculpture larger than life, the men-dominated TACMC achieved a significant feat: creating a monumental representation of two actual women.

[120] American Fine Arts Foundry, Inc. and Shaw, "Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial. Proposal for a Monumental Bronze Sculpture."
[121] Sandra J. Shaw, Interview with Sandra J. Shaw. Selected sculptor for the bronze of the Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, notes, May 4, 2017.
[122] TACMC Meeting Minutes 2016-2020.
[123] Major US cities are currently grappling with the absence of female representation in public space. In 2017 the city of San Francisco introduced a resolution to increase the representation of women across the public sphere from an existing 4% to 30% by 2020. Maya Rhodan, "Inside the Push for More Public Statues of Notable Women," *Time*, August 17, 2017, https://time.com/4903612/women-statues-san-francisco/; Heather Knight, "S.F.'s Monuments to Male Supremacy: The City's Public Art," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 13, 2017, sec. News, https://www.sfchronicle.com/news/article/S-F-s-monuments-to-male-supremacy-the-11214724.php. New York has initiated a similar effort, see: Julia Jacobs, "New York Will Add 4 Statues of Women to Help Fix 'Glaring' Gender Gap in Public Art," *The New York Times*, March 6, 2019, sec. New York, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/06/nyregion/women-statues-nyc.html; Ginia Bellafante and Alexandra S. Levine, "New York Today: A Need for More Statues of Women," *The New York Times*, July 5, 2018, sec. New York, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/05/nyregion/new-york-today-statues-women.html.

[This page intentionally left blank.]

INTERLUDE III

Marching Against Forgiving

On March 2018, 42 years after the establishment of state terrorism in Argentina, I was one amongst a crowd of more than 100,000 people who gathered on Avenida de Mayo, the central axis of the city center, to march from the Palace of the Argentine National Congress to Casa Rosada, the presidential seat (Figs. C.1. & C.2.).[1] For the past three decades, every March 24th, Argentine human rights organizations have organized a memorial march in Buenos Aires to commemorate the *coup d'etat* against the democratic government of Isabel Martínez de Perón, which initiated the civic-military dictatorship spanning from 1976 to 1983. Today known as the *National Day of Memory, Truth, and Justice*, March 24th was declared an unmovable national holiday by presidential decree in 2006.[2] However, the annual memorial march preceded this holiday by two decades. The first march took place in 1986, and since then, it has grown in size and enlarged its urban footprint exponentially. While the central branch of the march strolls from the congressional building to Casa Rosada, several side branches emerge across the city stitching together a vast urban landscape and a diverse political milieu.[3]

Fig. C.1. & C.2. Memorial March in Buenos Aires, 2018

[1] For accounts of that day in the press see: Mario Wainfeld, "La Historia Se Construye Marchando," *Página/12*, March 25, 2018, sec. El País, https://www.pagina12.com.ar/103817-la-historia-se-construye-marchando; Página/12, "La Memoria Inunda Las Calles. Actos, Festivales y Marchas En Todo El País Por 24 de Marzo," *Página/12*, March 24, 2018, sec. El País, https://www.pagina12.com.ar/103584-la-memoria-inunda-las-calles; "No habrá actos oficiales el 24 de marzo y el Gobierno toma distancia de la eventual liberación de Astiz," March 22, 2018, https://www.lanacion.com.ar/2119206-no-habra-actos-oficiales-el-24-de-marzo-y-el-gobierno-toma-distancia-de-la-eventual-liberacion-de-astiz; For journalistic accounts of that day see: Carlos Rodríguez, "'Un Atropello de Los Derechos Básicos' | Duro Documento de Los Organismos de Derechos Humanos En El Acto Central," *Página/12*, March 25, 2018, sec. El País, https://www.pagina12.com.ar/103815-un-atropello-de-los-derechos-basicos.

[2] Ludmila Da Silva Catela, "'Lo que merece ser recordado…'. Conflictos y tensiones en torno a los proyectos públicos sobre los usos del pasado en los sitios de memoria.," *Clepsidra. Revista Interdisciplinaria de Estudios sobre Memoria* 1, no. 2 (July 19, 2014): 28–47.

[3] Juan José Panno, "Los otros 24," *Página/12*, March 25, 2006, sec. El País, https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-64707-2006-03-25.html.

Fig. C.3. Memorial March in Buenos Aires, 2018

The mass of people made movement through the streets of the city center almost impossible: more than a march, we were one continuous human column extending for 13 blocks (Fig. C.3.). The mood was festive, filled with music, dances, games, and grilled sausage smell. Colorful signs, banners, and flags in all shapes and sizes floated above our marching bodies identifying the various groups, organizations, workers' unions, and political movements gathered together to remember thousands of victims of state terrorism, who were murdered and disappeared for their political ideas. Walking towards the meeting point of the march on Avenida 9 de Julio – one of the widest streets in the world–, a young woman caught my attention. She was holding a red paper sign with the words "We Do Not Forget, We Do Not Forgive, We Do Not Reconcile," written in thick black letters, and in smaller letters the postscript: "No special prison!" (Fig. C.4.)[4] While the latter refers to the ongoing trials against those responsible for state terrorism during the civic-military dictatorship, the first part of the sign reflects a profound resistance against the three actions that commonly define apology: forgetting, forgiving, and reconciling.[5] Throughout the day, I saw more signs of apologetic resistance. This stance was most often conveyed in its synthesized version "Neither forgiving; nor forgetting" which was written on t-shirts, flags, balloons, and on the pavement in thick white letters, underneath a light blue and white flag of Argentina (Fig. C.5.).[6]

[4] The original text in Spanish reads: No Olvidamos, no Perdonamos, no nos Reconciliamos. ¡Cárcel común!
[5] See Chapter 1 for a detailed examination of the relationship between apology, forgetting, forgiving, and reconciling.
[6] The original text in Spanish reads: Ni perdón, ni olvido.

Fig. C.4. "We Do Not Forget, We Do Not Forgive, We Do Not Reconcile" sign, Memorial March in Buenos Aires, 2018.

Fig. C.5. "Neither forgiving, nor forgetting" written on the pavement during the Memorial March in Buenos Aires, 2018.

It is here, in the most hostile environment to apologies that I have encountered, where the narrative of the cult of apology ends. If previous chapters implied that we were doomed to apologize until exhaustion, shouting the words 'I'm sorry' into an ever growing mountain of mistakes, wrongdoings, murder, and genocide, these final chapters of my dissertation seek to identify the limits of the cult of apology. How can the cult of apology be countered? How does the tension

between reconciliation and counter-apology manifest itself in the built environment? These are the two central questions guiding the next chapters. Following the Argentine resistance to forgiving and forgetting, these chapters argue that, in particular circumstances, apologies have acquired strong negative connotations, which in turn have fueled a discursive, spatial, and aesthetic resistance against forgiveness. Both chapters discuss the emergence of an anti-apologetic narrative, reflected in the slogan "Do not forgive; do not forget" and its effect on the built environment of Buenos Aires. Chapter Five examines the efforts to restitute apology and define new terms for national reconciliation in response to the damaging effect of decades of institutionalized amnesty, in the center of national apology: the Higher School of Mechanics of the Navy, also known as ESMA for its Spanish initials (Escuela Superior de Mecánica de la Armada). By contrast, Chapter Six analyzes Club Atlético, a site of memory in ruins, which resists the influence of the global cult of apology through a materiality that challenges design abstractions, consensus narratives, didactics, and accessibility.

Despite the widespread anti-apologetic sentiment, Buenos Aires has not been left untouched by the cult of apology. ESMA is the site where president Nestor Kirchner (2003-2007) chose to apologize to the Argentine people. However, the debates around the memory museum to be hosted inside reveal that, although affected by apology, ESMA hardly fits into the narrative of the cult of apology as defined in previous chapters. Starting from ESMA, the *locus* of the official apology, these last two chapters analyze two sites of memory from the position of that which has been regarded as obsolete, retrograde, conservative, and futile in the context of Argentine post dictatorship politics: apology. This might seem like writing 'against' instead of writing 'about' these sites. On some level it is. Both chapters examine a phenomenon deemed unworthy of analysis –and thus overlooked– in most scholarship about memory sites in Buenos Aires. Like previous chapters of my dissertation, Chapter Five dwells on the causality between apology and space, analyzing how Kirchner reinforced his official apology with a material and symbolic reparation. The debates around the design of the *ESMA Site Museum* are particularly revealing of the tensions that coalesced around the 'return' of ESMA and its subsequent transformation into a memory campus. In a political context where apology has been equated with amnesia, and reconciliation with amnesty, Kirchner's apology, and the plaque that memorializes it, reveal a unique constellation of memory politics, sites of memory, and apologies.

Two dominant positions emerge throughout these chapters: an anti-apologetic narrative which finds a spatial outlet in practices of conservation, reconstruction, and archeology, and a reconciliation narrative that combines preservation with new interventions and curatorial approaches. Both of these positions are present in the debate around the *ESMA Site Museum*. However, I argue that the current curatorial intervention of the museum reveals an emergent narrative of reconciliation. In contrast to the ESMA museum, Chapter Six examines Club Atlético as an example of what happens at the margins of the official apology into the debate. Far away from the place where the president apologized, Club Atlético performs a different kind of memory work. Seemingly untouched by global memorial design aesthetics, apparently uncurated, raw, and almost physically inaccessible, Club Atlético is the spatial reflection of an anti-apologetic discourse in its

most pure form. Together, both of these sites serve to analyze how apologies are being spatially and aesthetically negotiated, even in contexts that decry the idea of forgiving and reconciling.

The 2018 memory march in Buenos Aires was a pivotal moment for my research, not only because it provided evidence for a widely spread anti-apologetic narrative, but also because my experience participating in it brought two more ideas to bear in this final case study: the looming presence of the Holocaust and the intruding effects of everyday life. The role of the Holocaust in activating the trope of apology and in spreading it in the form of a cult across the Atlantic, as well as the constant permeation of everyday life into memorials designed to be secluded from it, are two threads that have been running throughout the dissertation as a whole. The thread of the Holocaust fuels the traditional memory march's clamor which resounds with every step of crowd: "Ole ole, ole olaa… como a los nazis les va a pasar, adonde vayan los iremos a buscar," [like the Nazis it will happen to you, wherever you go we will find you]. The latter is reflected in the multiple side branches of the main march, where, during the days prior to March 24th neighbors, survivors, victims' families, and activists convene in places like San Telmo and Floresta to walk through the neighborhood, remembering those who lived there and marking the sites that were shaped by the effects of state terrorism on a local level.[7] Devoid of grand gestures, these micro-marches remind neighbors that the mundane places they inhabit every day were part of a systematic plan to exterminate individuals just like them. One night a year, cobblestones become gravestones, walls become witnesses, and muted places shine in the light of the torches carried by those who now inhabit the buildings where the disappeared lived, worked, and learned. The neighborhood micro-marches are a good reminder of the unsteady boundaries between two dimensions thought to be incommensurable and mutually exclusive: the extraordinary circumstances of state terrorism and the mundane inhabiting of a place. The entanglement between these two dimensions of life, which writers like Henri Lefebvre have tried to separate, affects not only the meaning of memory, but also that of apology.[8] Like memorials, the power of apologies is thought to rely on their extraordinariness. If people apologized every day, apologies would lose their meaning. However, this notion stands in contrast with the increasing propensity to apologize across the world and the impossibility of making final and everlasting apologies. In other words, the cult of apology is being shaped by the centripetal force of the Holocaust and the centrifugal force of the everyday. Together, these forces play a destabilizing role in the cult of apology, the effect of which has been to slow down the calcification process of built apologies.

The inclusion of these final chapters in my dissertation is particularly important because, by setting a limit to the phenomenon analyzed throughout this research, they not only shed light on the specific case examined –the resistance against apologies in Buenos Aires– but also suggest that this limit and its permeability reveal some of the inherent contradictions of the widespread cult of apology. As these chapters illustrate, there are valuable lessons to be extracted from the Argentinian resistance against apologies. For decades, apology in Argentina meant reconciliation without justice,

[7] Nora Strejilevich, "Collective Memory in Action (and in Motion): The Argentine Case," *The Massachusetts Review* 52, no. 3/4 (2011): 532–44; Marcelo López, Interview with Marcelo López, member the site of memory ex CCDTyE Olimpo, March 21, 2018.

[8] Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life* (London: Verso, 2008).

forgetting, and moving on. Against this premise, human rights organizations demand justice, truth, and memory. By doing this, these organizations have redefined the relationship between apology and justice, as well as between forgiving and forgetting. In turn, this has allowed a new type of reconciliation to emerge: one that is not set in stone, but in a permanent state of becoming due to a constant negotiation between different publics. For example, in a recent column, Daniel Feierstein warned the readers of left-wing Argentine newspaper *Página/12* not to neglect the cultural battle against the perpetrators and their allies, who, encouraged by the right-wing government of president Mauricio Macri (2015 – 2019), had adopted a new strategy to infiltrate the political consensus around state terrorism from below, in order to generate a popular demand for impunity and forgetting.[9] What was thought to be a historical consensus in the past, was suddenly open for debate in the present. In response to this new historical narrative, sites of memory across Buenos Aires have shifted their politics towards an active resistance against multiple fronts of revisionism –from questioning the number of victims to praising the economic accomplishments of the dictatorship. Thus, in trying to understand why, in Buenos Aires, justice, truth, and memory seem under constant threat, this limit case study also provides an ideal setting to discuss the potential of apologies as contributors to the establishment of a long-lasting consensus around respect for human rights.

[9] Daniel Feierstein, "Los desafíos de la lucha contra la impunidad hoy," *Página/12*, October 21, 2016, sec. El Pais, https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-312299-2016-10-21.html.

[This page intentionally left blank.]

CHAPTER 5

Forgiving Apologies:

The Higher School of Mechanics of the Navy (ESMA) at the Center of Apology in Buenos Aires

Apologizing at ESMA

A discreet light blue plaque sits on a decaying concrete plinth on the side of the entrance road of the former Higher School of Mechanics of the Navy [Escuela Mecánica de la Armada], in Buenos Aires. During the Argentine civic-military dictatorship (1976-1983), the Higher School of Mechanics of the Navy, from now on ESMA for its Spanish initials, became one of the material symbols of the military abuse of power.[1] From there, Emilio Massera, commander-in-chief of the Navy, co-plotted the 1976 *coup d'état* against the government of Isabel Martínez de Perón and became one of the three members of the military junta that ruled the country from 1976 to 1978. Unveiled in 2012, the plaque is a homage to the late Néstor Kirchner, Argentina's president between 2003 and 2007, and one of the most influential political figures in recent decades (Fig. 5.1). The plaque's inscription reads:

> Two years after your departure you will always be present in this space, where you asked for forgiveness for the crimes committed by the State, and because you returned it to the Argentine people.
> Thank you Néstor![2]

Apparently it is a straightforward thank-you note to a late president who stood by the memory and human rights movement in Argentina. A closer look at the plaque reveals a peculiar constellation of materials, actors, and ideas. The pristine glass of the plaque stands out against the moss, bird droppings, and smudged paint that peels of the rough surface of the old plinth. Glass is not a random choice: in the context of global memorial aesthetics, glass has been equated with transparency, its essential material condition. From the Boston Holocaust Memorial to the Memory and Human Rights Museum in Chile, glass has become one of the preferred materials to symbolize

[1] An ongoing debate exists around naming and thus the type of dictatorship that ruled Argentina between 1976 and 1983. There are three strands of definitions, those who talk about military dictatorship, those who talk about civic-military dictatorship, and those who talk about civic-military-religious dictatorship. The debate reflects not only the need to name the perpetrators and their collaborators, but to distinguish this particular dictatorship from previous military dictatorships. I have chosen the term civic-military dictatorship based on the two-fold model it implanted: political repression and economic reform. This is not to dismiss the role that the Catholic religion played for the military officers in charge, or the complacency of the Catholic Church. See: Felipe Pigna, "La Historia de Todos," in *Memoria En Construcción: El Debate Sobre La ESMA*, ed. Marcelo Brodsky, (Buenos Aires: La Marca, 2005), 57–66.

[2] The original text of the plaque in Spanish reads: *"A 2 años de tu partida estarás siempre presente en este espacio, donde pediste perdón por los crímenes cometidos desde el Estado y porque se lo devolviste al pueblo argentino. ¡Gracias Néstor!"*

the recovery of formerly hidden pasts, democracy, accessibility, and ethical virtue.[3] The vibrant light blue shiny finish, and contemporary sans-serif typography of the plaque stand in contrast with what most viewers would expect from a plaque in public space: a dark-colored durable material such as bronze, decorated with a traditional serif typeface. Instead, the plaque works in contrast to the repurposed plinth: it gives new life to an obsolete structure that appears doubly obsolete because its materiality is decaying and its message –to elevate things out of the ordinary– seems out of trend. The only bridge between these two worlds, the new memory and the old infrastructure, are four rusty screws that keep the plaque in place.

Fig. 5.1. Thank-you plaque dedicated to Néstor Kirchner's 2004 apology, installed inside ESMA in 2012, 2018.

[3] Andreas Huyssen has examined the emergence of a global memory aesthetics. See Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, Cultural Memory in the Present (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2003); regarding the influence of global memory aesthetics in the specific case of ESMA, see Horacio González, "Las Sombras Del Edificio: Construcción y Anticonstrucción," in *Memoria En Construcción: El Debate Sobre La ESMA*, ed. Marcelo Brodsky, (Buenos Aires: La Marca, 2005), 71–78.

The plaque anticipates the intervention of the nearby *ESMA Site Museum*, inaugurated by Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (2007-2015) during the last year of her presidency.[4] The building that hosted Argentina's largest clandestine detention, torture, and extermination camp, another old and decaying structure, was revitalized through a process of juxtaposition between old and new. Glass panels inform visitors about the use of the building during the civic-military dictatorship and funnel them through the 58,000 sq foot [5,390 sq.m.] facility originally built as the navy officers' mess. Analogous to the light blue plaque on the old plinth, the museum's intervention covered a section of the building's façade with glass. Transforming the old building's entrance into a foyer, a clear box of glass panels screen-printed with the characteristic black and white portraits of the 'desaparecidos' [disappeared] gives material expression to the building's conversion into a site of memory, later called a museum (Fig. 5.2.).[5]

Fig. 5.2. ESMA Site Museum before and after the museum intervention.

[4] To see the footage of the national broadcast of the inauguration of the *ESMA Site of Memory* on May, 19, 2015, see https://www.cfkargentina.com/cristina-kirchner-inauguracion-del-sitio-de-memoria-esma/ [accessed 11/15/2018]. For more coverage of the inauguration see: http://www.espaciomemoria.ar/noticia.php?not_ID=656&barra=noticias&titulo=noticia [accessed 11/15/2018].

[5] While it was originally called 'Sitio de Memoria ex ESMA' [Memory Site former ESMA], it later became Museo 'Sitio de Memoria ex ESMA.' [Museum Memory Site former ESMA]. The controversial addition of the word 'museum' signals some of the curatorial debates behind the building and its meaning for human rights organizations. Alejandra Naftal, Interview with Alejandra Naftal, director of Museo Sitio de Memoria ESMA, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, April 6, 2018. During her inauguration speech for the remodeled building, president Fernández de Kirchner called it 'Sitio de Memoria ex ESMA.' Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, "Inauguration speech for the Site of Memory ESMA" (www.cfkargentina.com, May 19, 2015), https://www.cfkargentina.com/cristina-kirchner-inauguracion-del-sitio-de-memoria-esma/.

The plaque's actors and message deepen the story. As a thank-you note written in stone, or in this case in glass, the plaque confirms the close relationship between Argentine memory activists and Néstor Kirchner's as well as Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's governments (Fig. 5.3.).[6] However, in the contemporary Argentine memorial landscape, the plaque represents a twofold anomaly. First, the message of the light blue plaque unites three generations of a diverse range of memory activists –Grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo, two opposing factions of Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, Relatives of the Disappeared and Detained for Political Reasons, and the Sons and Daughters for Identity and Justice Against Oblivion and Silence– who have been known to disagree on multiple fronts, including the management of the ESMA site.[7] And second, its signatories not only acknowledge, but manifest their gratefulness for an official apology. From the plaque we learn that Nestor Kirchner apologized for the "the crimes committed by the State," and that he returned ESMA, the space signaled by the plaque, to "the Argentine people." The wording of the first part suggests that Kirchner apologized for the crimes committed during the civic-military dictatorship. However, this interpretation would be historically inaccurate, which a reading of the actual apology will reveal. More importantly, the juxtaposition between Kirchner's apology and the return of ESMA suggests a causal relationship between both events.

Fig. 5.3. Human Rights Organizations during the unveiling of the Thank-you plaque for Néstor Kirchner's apology, October 2012.

While the navy's educational institution dates back to 1897, the plot on which ESMA was located during the dictatorship was a 42-acre site in northern Buenos Aires donated to the navy by the city council of Buenos Aires in 1924 (Fig. 5.4.).[8] ESMA trained not only noncommissioned navy officers, but also offered technical instruction in electronics, aeronautics, naval mechanics, radio technical operation, meteorology, and oceanography, among other programs, which students could

[6] Nicolás Bermúdez, "La Construcción Kirchnersita de La Memoria," *Linguagem Em (Dis)Curso* 15, no. 2 (August 2015): 229–47, https://doi.org/10.1590/1982-4017-150202-0315.
[7] Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo, Asociación Madres de Plaza de Mayo, Familiares de Desaparecidos y Detenidos por Razones Políticas, Hijos por la Identidad y la Justicia contra el Olvido y el Silencio (H.I.J.O.S.), and Madres de Plaza de Mayo Línea Fundadora.
[8] Marcelo Brodsky, ed., *Memoria En Construcción: El Debate Sobre La ESMA*, (Buenos Aires: La Marca, 2005).

pursue as part of military or civilian careers.[9] Following the March 24, 1976 *coup d'état*, one of the many reinforced brick buildings of the complex, the officers' mess building, was transformed into the seat of Massera's *Work Group 3.3.2.*, a terrorist military task force which was responsible for the capture and disappearance of an estimate of 5,000 people and the appropriation of 40 children born in its dreadful 'maternity ward' (Fig. 5.2.).[10] While the building was adapted to fulfill the demands of *Work Group 3.3.2.*, a clandestine detention, torture, and extermination center was housed in between the task force's offices; the residence of the director of ESMA known as *Casa del Almirante*; lodging rooms for officers; and various navy service areas. Testimonies of ESMA's former students who saw prisoners being moved around the building's staircases indicate that the makeshift torture center lacked a proper segregation of functions.[11] What these testimonies reveal is that the presence of prisoners was manifest not only to the residents of the officers' mess building, but to the occupants of the ESMA as a whole, as forced labor was used in various buildings and workshops throughout the military campus.[12]

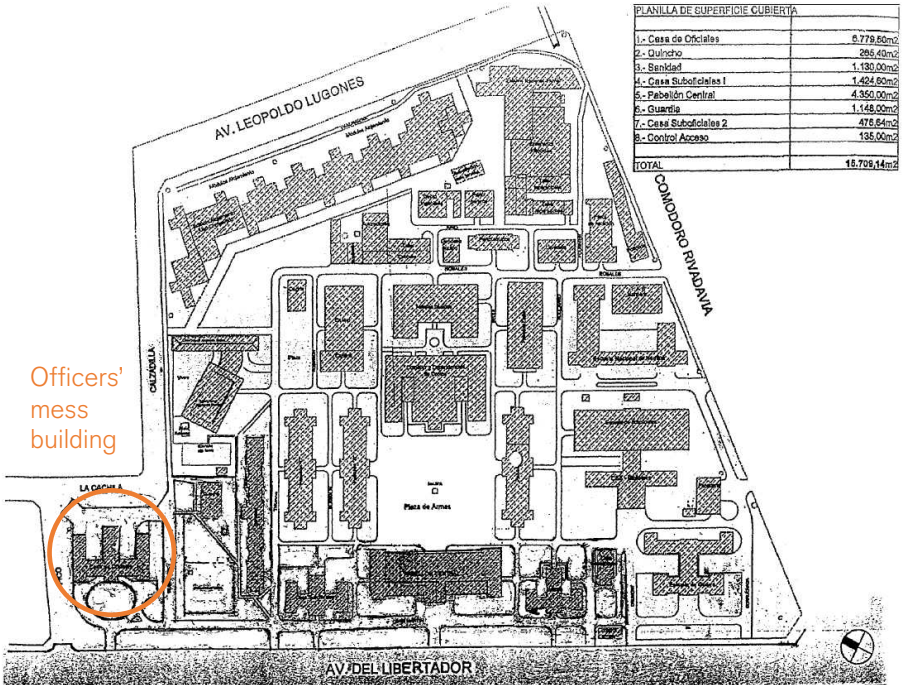


Fig. 5.4. General Map of ESMA during its military use.

[9] The origins of ESMA are described in the 'history' section of the *Espacio Memoria y Derechos Humanos [ex ESMA]* institutional website: http://www.espaciomemoria.ar/origenes.php [accessed 11/12/2018], which currently manages the site.

[10] Espacio Memoria website

[11] Narrative presented at the official guided tour through ESMA 2018; Permanent Delegation of the Republic of Argentina to UNESCO, "World Heritage List Nomination: ESMA Site Museum - Former Clandestine Centre of Detention, Torture, and Extermination" (UNESCO World Heritage - Tentative List, April 25, 2017), Ref. 6248, https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/6248/.

[12] Víctor Basterra, "Testimonio de Víctor Basterra Para El Juicio a Las Juntas," § Dr. López, Dr. Ledesma, Dr. Moreno Ocampo, Dr. Buero, Dr. Aguirre Obarrio, Dr. Goldaracena et. al. (1985), http://www.desaparecidos.org/nuncamas/web/testimon/basterra.htm.

Like most clandestine detention centers throughout Argentina, ESMA was a terrorist operation 'hidden' in plain sight. The location of ESMA within the capital reinforces this idea (Fig. 5.5.). The ESMA site was and is still located in an upper middle-class neighborhood. Its surroundings include a train station, residences, offices, sports facilities, and commercial as well as civic buildings. Especially the tall buildings along Avenida del Libertador, an avenue that divides the Núñez neighborhood from the ESMA complex to the west, had a privileged view into the movements in and out of ESMA, as well as into the front yard of the officers' mess building.[13]

Río de la Plata
ESMA
Espacio Memoria y Derechos Hum...(ex ESMA)
NÚÑEZ
Comuna 13
Comuna 12
SAAVEDRA
COGHLAN
BELGRANO
Circulo Policial
Parque de los Niños
Centro Naval
Ciudad Universitaria
Club N.Bouchard
Club Def.Belgrano
Club de la Marina
Club Cdad.Bs.As.
Club Y.P.F.
CeNARD
Tiro Federal Argentino
Club O.Sanitarias
Estadio Obras Sanitarias
Club de Comercio
Club R. Plate
Estadio Monumental Antonio V. Liberti - River Plate
Club Hip. Argentino
Pza. Alberti
Pza. Barrancas de Belgrano
Pza. Gral. A. J. Sucre
Club Harrods Gath y Chaves
Club Excursionistas
Club Vilas - Racke
Pza. Rep. de Honduras
Parque Paseo de las Americas
Pza. El Salvador
Pza. Jardin de Esculturas
Pza. Alexander Fleming
Pza. Adan Quiroga
Pza. Gral. Francisco Ramirez
Polideportivo Manuela Pedraza
Pza. Balcarce
Pza. Ildefonso F.C. Martinez
Parque Brig. Gral. Cornelio Saavedra
Pza. Arturo Marasso
Pza. Carlos Malagarriga
Pza. Enrique Banchs
Pza. Felix Lima
Pza. B. Vicuna Mackenna
Plza. Curiuzu Cuatia
Plza. Gral. Paz
Plza. Trinidad y Tobago
Circulo de Oficiales de Mar
C.Dep.Esc. Ragnio
Alvarez
Alsina
Laprida
Gral Paz
Pico
Deheza
Arias
Ramallo
Correa
Ruiz Huidobro
Besares
Vilela
Paroissien
Manzanares
Crisologo Larralde
Nuñez
Juana Azurduy
Campos Salles
Iberá
Quesada
Congreso
Ugarte
Roosevelt
Av. Gral. Paz
Av. Cramer
Av. Melian
Av. Congreso
Av. Crisologo Larralde
Av. Garcia del Rio
Av. Juramento
Av. Libertador
Av. Pres. Figueroa Alcorta
Av. Manuel Ugarte
Av. Dorrego
Av. Ramon S. Castillo
Av. Miguel Sandez
Av. Pedro Goyena
Av. Dr. Victorino de la Plaza
Av. Ernesto A. Bavio
Av. Alte. Manuel J. Garcia
Av. Tte. Gral. Luis J. Dellepiane
Av. Gral. Antonio J. de Sucre
Av. Gral. Mosconi
Av. Cabildo
Av. Monroe
Av. Juan B. Justo
Av. Del Libertador Gral. San Martin
Av. Dr. Ricardo Balbin
Av. Dr. Honorio Pueyrredon
Av. Dr. Jose Pascual Tamborini
Av. Dr. Manuel Belgrano
Av. Dr. Ramon Carrillo
Av. Dr. Antonio Sibilia
Av. Dr. Cayetano Cosentino
Av. Dr. Ricardo Rojas
Av. Dr. Ricardo Finochietto
Av. Dr. Ricardo Obligado
Av. Dr. Ricardo Videla
Av. Dr. Ricardo Videla
Av. Dr. Ricardo Videla

Fig. 5.6. Kirchner during his apology speech, 2004.

Fig. 5.7. Crowds commemorating Kirchner at ESMA.

Once the epitome of military power, the history of ESMA took a radical turn, when on March 24th, 2004, during the commemoration of the 28 years of the *coup d'état,* president Néstor Kirchner delivered his official apology speech at the infamous site. Standing in front of the large military education facility that ESMA was at the time, surrounded by crowds of cheering supporters, accompanied by his wife Cristina Fernández, a visibly emotional Kirchner apologized to the nation for the state's negligence in persecuting the crimes committed during the military dictatorship (Figs. 5.6. & 5.7.).[14] In his words:

> Dear grandmothers, mothers, sons [and daughters]. [...] Things have to be called by their name. And here, if you will allow me, no longer as a comrade and brother of so many comrades and brothers who shared that time, but as the President of the Argentine Nation, *I come to apologize for the National State for the shame of having kept silent for 20 years of democracy*. For so many atrocities,... and let us speak clearly, it is not resentment or hatred that guides us today, it is justice and the fight against impunity. And for those who did this dark and macabre deed at so many concentration camps like ESMA, there is only one name: they are murderers repudiated by the Argentine people.[15]

Kirchner's addressees –survivors, appropriated children, and the leading actors of the human rights and memory movements– were with him that day, some standing next to him on stage, others sitting in the front rows of the audience, and yet others watching among the large mass of supporters. While the apology might appear to have been the pinnacle of Kirchner's presidential power, it was actually the result of almost three decades of citizen's struggles for truth, justice, and

[14] "Kirchner en la ESMA: 'En nombre del Estado, vengo a pedir perdón,'" *Clarín*, March 25, 2004, https://www.clarin.com/ediciones-anteriores/kirchner-esma-nombre-vengo-pedir-perdon_0_H1aZQ9pyAKg.html.
[15] Excerpted from a longer speech, Kirchner's original words in Spanish were: *"Queridos abuelas, madres, hijos. […] Las cosas hay que llamarlas por su nombre. Y acá, si ustedes me permiten, ya no como compañero y hermano de tantos compañeros y hermanos que compartimos aquel tiempo, sino como Presidente de la Nación Argentina, vengo a pedir perdón del Estado Nacional por la vergüenza de haber callado durante 20 años de democracia. De tantas atrocidades, y hablemos claro, no es rencor ni odio lo que nos guía este día, es justicia y lucha contra la impunidad. Y a los que hicieron este hecho tenebroso y macabro de tantos campos de concentración como fue la ESMA tienen un sólo nombre: son asesinos repudiados por el pueblo argentino."* Video of the full speech available on *Espacio Memoria's* YouTube channel: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lQORpg3Yb6A (accessed 11/7/2018)

memory.[16] Human rights organizations, which even during the dictatorship fought to find out about the fate of their loved ones and stood by their beliefs even under life threatening circumstances, were more than just Kirchner's addressees: they were the constitutive actors of the transformation he spearheaded that day. Kirchner's apology was not an individual government's feat, but a moment of profound political and cultural shift, in which the goals of human rights organizations, which had fought against institutionalized amnesty, indolence, and forgetting, became officially sanctioned policy.[17]

Echoing Erving Goffman's observation that the apologizer is split into a guilty and a repentant self, in his speech Kirchner split himself into two personas: the comrade who fought against the civic-military dictatorship along so many of its victims, and the president who takes political responsibility for the crimes committed by the state.[18] In Kirchner's case however, it is not a division between the guilty and the repentant self, but between himself as a victim of state terrorism and the legacy of the presidential office that he now represents. He cannot apologize for the crimes committed by the Military Junta as an individual, because he is a victim, nor can he do so as the highest representative of Argentina's constitutional democracy, because the coup represents a disruption in the legacy of the office he stands for. Instead, he apologized for the failure to prosecute those responsible for murdering, torturing, kidnapping, and disappearing fellow Argentinians during the decades of democratic governments following the military rule, and for the 20 years of silence and non-acknowledgement. Kirchner, as an individual and institutional victim of the military takeover of the country, apologized for the lack of justice after the return to democracy, not for the crimes of the dictatorship itself. This is an important diversion from the wording of the light-blue thank-you plaque installed at ESMA in 2012. In its succinct wording, the plaque states that Kirchner apologized for the crimes committed by the state, leaving it open for interpretation whether those crimes include state terrorism during the civic-military dictatorship and the failure to prosecute the perpetrators of those crimes, or if it refers only to one of those dimensions.

Kirchner's apology reached far beyond words. He reinforced the content of his speech through two major actions: the reopening of the trials for the crimes committed during the civic-military dictatorship and the symbolic –as well as literal– opening of the doors of the ESMA complex (Fig. 5.7). Both were acts of reparation, the former on the level of legal justice, the latter on the level of symbolic justice. The use of the spatial ritual of 'opening' should not be overlooked. Kirchner gave his speech not inside ESMA, but standing outside. The act culminated with the opening of the navy school's doors, and the entrance of large crowds of citizens who had stood outside not only that day, but during the long seven years of the dictatorship (Fig. 5.8.).[19] To return the site that had been one of the central symbols of military power to the city of Buenos Aires, and

---

[16] Hugo Vezzetti, *Pasado y Presente: Guerra, Dictadura y Sociedad En La Argentina*, Sociología y Política (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2002).

[17] Hugo Vezzetti has a different reading of the event. He argues that the absence of political representatives from the opposition, gave the event a non-official statue, which was reinforced by the visibly strong bond between Kirchner and the human rights organizations. Hugo Vezzetti, *Sobre La Violencia Revolucionaria: Memorias y Olvidos*, Sociología y Política (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno, 2009).

[18] Erving Goffman, *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order* (New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publishers, 2010).

[19] For a survivor's personal account of the opening of the doors of ESMA see Strejilevich, "Collective Memory in Action (and in Motion)."

from there to offer it to the memory and human rights organizations that made such a transformation possible, was an act of profound recognition, which catapulted once marginalized organizations into the center of the state (Fig. 5.9.). Kirchner's apology, the materiality of ESMA, and in particular its doors and fences worked together to stage a public ritual of reparation that far exceeded the effect of words alone.

Fig. 5.8. On March 19, 2004, days before his apology speech, Kirchner visited the ESMA complex accompanied by human rights organizations and survivors. This was the first time for former prisoners of ESMA to return to their place of torture.

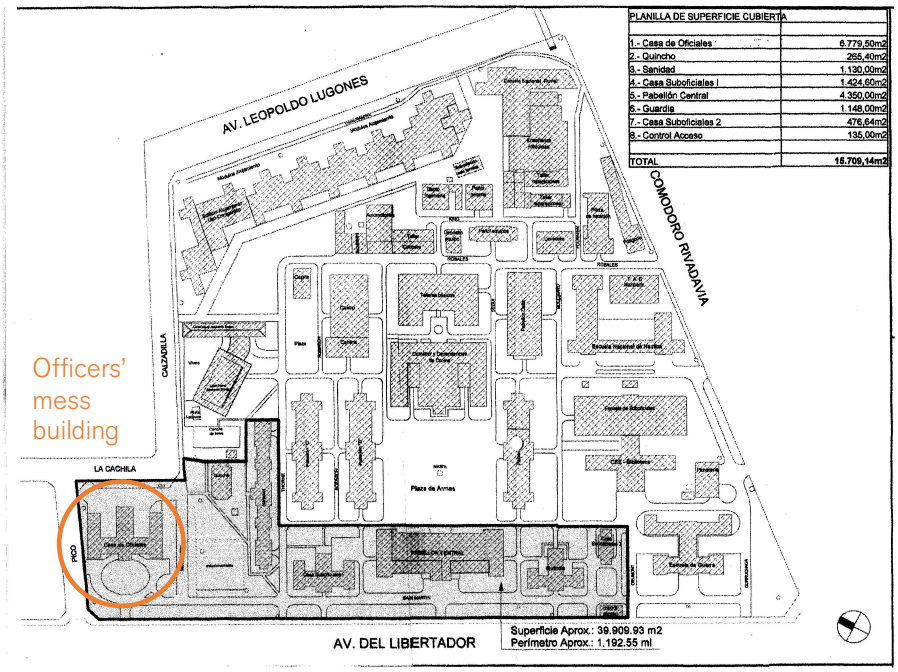


Fig. 5.9. Map of the partial appropriation of the ESMA facilities. The section marked includes the officers' mess and was part the first section to be expropriated from the navy.

Like ESMA, the trials against the perpetrators had been closed for a long time. Unlike ESMA, there was a short period of time immediately after the military dictatorship during which the prosecution of those responsible for State terrorism was possible.[20] During his presidential campaign, democratic candidate Raúl Alfonsín (1983-1989) promised that he would sanction legal action against those responsible for State terrorism. His election, in October 1983, definitely sealed the end of the military dictatorship, which had been initiated by Argentina's defeat in the Falklands War against the United Kingdom in 1982.[21] Only days after his inauguration, in December 1983, Alfonsín created the National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons, CONADEP for its Spanish initials [Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas] to investigate the crimes committed during the 1976-1983 dictatorship. CONADEP submitted its final report famously entitled "Nunca Más" [Never Again] in September of 1984, documenting the disappearance of 8,960 people at the hands of the institutionalized terror perpetrated by military forces.[22] Primarily based on testimonies collected by the CONADEP, this number differed significantly from the figure of 30,000 victims, which had become a central claim for human rights organizations. Anticipating this conflict, the prominent members of CONADEP –headed by Argentine writer Ernesto Sabato– added that the estimated number of victims was far below the real number, because many survivors and family members had declined to testify out of fear of retaliation.[23] In terms of the spatiality of the regime, the "Nunca Más" report identified 365 clandestine detention, torture, and extermination centers across Argentina.

The primary objectives of the CONADEP investigation were two: to examine how the clandestine centers worked and to find out about the fate of the victims, the *desaparecidos*. Together, these two dimensions of terror served as evidence to unveil a systematic plan of murder orchestrated by the State.[24] Further, the report included a list of 1,300 personal names –mainly military and police forces– directly implicated in human rights violations during the civic-military dictatorship. Even before the publication of the report, which made recommendations to pursue legal actions against those responsible for State crimes, president Alfonsín (acting in his role as commander-in-chief of the armed forces) promulgated a decree to detain and prosecute the nine military commanders who had been part of the three Juntas that ruled Argentina between 1976 and 1983. Alfonsín initially intended to give the military the opportunity to judge its own involvement in the crimes against humanity through the Supreme Court of the Armed Forces. However, the failure of the military to

---

[20] For two detailed legal histories of the human rights trials in Argentina see Ricardo Luis Lorenzetti and Alfredo Jorge Kraut, *Derechos Humanos, Justicia y Reparación: La Experiencia de Los Juicios En La Argentina: Crímenes de Lesa Humanidad* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2011); Juan Carlos Wlasic, *Memoria, Verdad y Justicia En Democracia: De La Impunidad Política a La Impunidad Técnica*, Serie Símbolos (Mar del Plata, Argentina: Editorial de la Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, 2010).

[21] Vezzetti, *Pasado y Presente*.

[22] For a comprehensive history and analysis of the "Nunca Más" report see Emilio A. Crenzel, *La Historia Política Del Nunca Más: La Memoria de Las Desapariciones En La Argentina / Emilio Crenzel*, Historia y Cultura (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Siglo Veintiuno Editores Argentina, 2008); the actual published report: Argentina, ed., *Nunca Más: Informe de La Comisión Nacional Sobre La Desaparición de Personas* (Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1984); and for an analysis of the "Nunca Más" in terms of the cultural representations it forged see Hugo Vezzetti, *Pasado y Presente: Guerra, Dictadura y Sociedad En La Argentina*, Sociología y Política (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2002).

[23] Wlasic, *Memoria, Verdad y Justicia En Democracia*.

[24] Vezzetti, *Pasado y Presente*.

prosecute led to an eight-month trial at the National Chamber of Appeals for Criminal and Correctional Matters of the Federal Capital. In 1985, only two years after the end of the dictatorship, the nine commanding leaders of the military juntas were subjected to the *Trial of the Military Juntas,* a tribunal unprecedented in the Americas. Five perpetrators were sentenced in a court of their own nation, while the other four were acquitted. Following this experience, another 600 cases were brought to court; however, two laws, the *Full Stop Law* of 1986, and the *Due Obedience Law* of 1987, effectively halted the judicial process against the perpetrators.[25] These laws endorsed the democratic government's compromise with the armed forces to prevent another military coup. In response to the ongoing trials, military forces attempted a series of takeovers and bomb attacks to destabilize the young democracy and stop the prosecutions. The two amnesty laws thus became a measure to stop the trials and protect the democratic government. The former (*Full Stop Law*) established a 60-day period to file new claims for crimes committed during the dictatorship. Any later claims would be dismissed. The latter (*Due Obedience Law*) absolved all crimes committed by middle- and low-rank military officers based on the assumption that they were following orders. These two laws, together with president Carlos Menem's (1989-1999) presidential pardons, which set the previously convicted leaders of the Military Juntas free, shaped a period of national reconciliation without justice. Only in 2003 were these two laws overruled, allowing the trials against the perpetrators to resume.[26]

When Kirchner apologized to the Argentine people in 2004, he did so for the long period of amnesty for the perpetrators after a short-lived, yet culturally impactful moment of justice for the victims of the military dictatorship. Argentine scholar Hugo Vezzetti argues that the *Trial of the Military Juntas* and its public staging was a foundational episode for the new democracy. It elevated the law above the two competing political forces –military terrorism and subversive guerrilla warfare–, establishing a new social contract in which unlawful violence was no longer accepted as a path towards societal change. In this regard, it gave the law a new meaning as a measure against terrorism and offered the promise that a law-abiding nation would be safe from such events to reoccur.[27] The trial was not only a founding moment for democracy, but inaugurated a public memory that incorporated court procedures –oral and written testimonies, presentation of evidence, and punishment– as central techniques to reconstruct the past.[28] To be clear, as Vezzetti remarks, the trial would not have been possible without the human rights organizations' years of struggle for truth first, and justice later. However, the *Nunca Más* report and the *Trial of the Military Juntas* enabled a new consensus about the dictatorship conveyed through an anti-violence narrative founded on the innocence of the victims, rendered most pure in the figure of the *desaparecido*.[29] When, after 18 years of amnesty laws, conservative politics, and neoliberal reforms, Kirchner restructured the Supreme

---

[25] Lorenzetti and Kraut, *Derechos Humanos, Justicia y Reparación*.
[26] Lorenzetti and Kraut.
[27] Vezzetti, *Pasado y Presente*. For an analysis of the court procedures in terms of performance and stage, see Vikki Bell, "Re-Turning the Past: The ESMA Trial and Affective Architecture at the 'Space of Memory,'" in *The Art of Post-Dictatorship: Ethics and Aesthetics in Transitional Argentina*, Transitional Justice (Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2014), 59–80.
[28] For a debate about public memory see Edward S. Casey, "Public Memory and Time," in *Framing Public Memory*, ed. Kendall R. Phillips, Rhetoric, Culture, and Social Critique (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 17–44; Ricard Vinyes, ed., *El estado y la memoria: gobiernos y ciudadanos frente a los traumas de la historia* (Barcelona: RBA Libros, 2009).
[29] Vezzetti, *Pasado y Presente*.

Court and reopened the possibility of a lawful judgment and punishment for those responsible for State terrorism, he reinstated a democratic contract that was first signed in 1985 during the eight months of trial against the Military Juntas that every Argentine citizen experienced through the news, television, and at home. The reopening of the trials, which would later transform courtrooms into places of memory and transmit survivors' testimonies on national television, was a monumental political achievement. However, it had no palpable outcomes in 2004.[30] Thus, in an act of resonance, ESMA became a symbol for the pursuit of justice and the opening of its doors an act of reconciliation, which was followed by a long and still ongoing process of juridical procedures.

Reconciling at ESMA

Only five years before Kirchner's 2004 reparation-and-return act at ESMA, the whole site had been slated for demolition. In January of 1998, president Carlos Menem signed an executive decree to move the Higher School of Mechanics of the Navy to a site in Puerto Belgrano, outside of Buenos Aires, and to demolish ESMA in order to build a "national reconciliation park." A national reconciliation monument was to take the center stage of this new park. According to the spokesperson of the Ministry of Defense, it would be a monument consisting of "a single great mast with a large but simple base, without bas-reliefs, on which a single Argentine flag would be hoisted as a symbol of national union."[31] Human rights organizations unanimously rejected Menem's proposal because they considered it an act of erasure and forgetting. Likewise, politicians from opposing parties and the city legislature manifested their discontent.[32] ESMA was ultimately saved in court after two human rights activists –Graciela Lois, from Relatives of the Disappeared [Familiares de Desaparecidos] and Laura Bonaparte, from Mothers of Plaza de Mayo-Founding Line [Madres de Plaza de Mayo Línea Fundadora]– presented an appeal to prevent its demolition.[33]

Although frustrated, Menem's gesture of reconciliation arose in the middle of a wider effort to unite and reconcile a divided Argentina, under what human rights organizations deemed as "politics of erasure and forgetting."[34] On an international level, Menem reconciled with the British

[30] For a polyphonic account of the cultural and legal effects of the trials see Instituto Espacio para la Memoria (Argentina), ed., *El Libro de Los Juicios: Anexo Memoria Instituto Espacio Para La Memoria 2010* (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires: Instituto Espacio para la Memoria, 2011).
[31] La Nación, "Insiste el Gobierno en mudar la ESMA," *La Nación*, January 9, 1998, sec. Politica, 3, https://www.lanacion.com.ar/84973-insiste-el-gobierno-en-mudar-la-esma.
[32] El Clarín, "Demolerán la ESMA y colocarán un monumento por la unión nacional," *El Clarín*, January 8, 1998, https://www.clarin.com/politica/demoleran-esma-colocaran-monumento-union-nacional_0_rJklVnbyU2l.html; El Clarín, "ESMA: el Gobierno salió a rechazar las críticas," *El Clarín*, January 9, 1998, https://www.clarin.com/politica/esma-gobierno-salio-rechazar-criticas_0_r1NgFS1-RYl.html; La Nación, "Insiste el Gobierno en mudar la ESMA."
[33] Victoria Ginzberg, "La Corte Suprema Dispuso Que La ESMA No Se Demoliera. El Emblema Del Horror, En Pie.," *Página/12*, February 1, 2001, https://www.pagina12.com.ar/2001/01-02/01-02-14/pag11.htm.
[34] El Clarín, "Demolerán la ESMA y colocarán un monumento por la unión nacional"; Ginzberg, "La Corte Suprema Dispuso Que La ESMA No Se Demoliera. El Emblema Del Horror, En Pie."

after the loss of the Falkland Islands.[35] On a national level, as part of what he called a 'Process of Reconciliation,' between 1989 and 1990 Menem signed a series of ten decrees pardoning more than 1,200 convicted perpetrators of State terrorism, including the leaders of the Military Juntas, who had been convicted in the 1985 trial.[36] The transfer of ESMA to the outskirts of the city, in order to detach the institution from its criminal past, was another attempt of Menem's government to reconcile the country. Following this logic, the destruction of ESMA, as a symbol of military violence, would allow old wounds to heal and would build a new trust-based relationship between Argentine citizens and its military. One of the main consequences of this series of events during Menem's regime was that the tight relationship between a national rhetoric of reconciliation and amnesty was forged, along with an assumption that the built environment would play a vivid role in the process, either through presence or absence.

In response to Menem's proposal, representatives of the human rights organizations declared that to demolish ESMA was the equivalent of "demolishing memory" itself.[37] In their interpretation, the site became the equivalent of history itself.[38] It is in the blunt absence of justice that the rhetoric of pardon and amnesty was established, which found its parallel in the built environment. In this context, memory and justice –as well as truth as an outcome of both– were welded together with historic preservation as the only means capable of resisting the advance of the dual force of amnesty and amnesia.[39] Put differently, Menem's amnesty laws, together with Alfonsín's *Full Stop* and *Due Obedience* laws, shaped the meaning of apology in Argentina. Ever since, apology has meant injustice and oblivion. The destruction of ESMA was intolerable, and its replacement with a monument unacceptable; because through this project Menem sought to materialize the idea of apology as erasure. In response to Menem's menace of physical erasure human rights organizations proclaimed historic preservation and archeology as the means to bring the sites marked by the civic-military dictatorship to life. This is why Kirchner's apology, and particularly the plaque acknowledging it, indicate a unique constellation of events that suggest an attempt to redefine the meaning of apology in Argentina. Instead of being equated with erasure, Kirchner's apology means preservation. When Kirchner apologized and acknowledged the State's responsibility for two decades of impunity while standing in front of ESMA, he was responding to Menem's rhetoric of reconciliation and his demolition threat. Once forced into the center of a reconciliation without justice discourse, Kirchner sought to reclaim the site for a new cause, which Vezzetti calls 'conciliation,' built on three pillars of the human rights movement: memory, truth, and justice.[40] Here again the entanglement between verbal and material apologies emerges. In the case of ESMA, the act of preservation became a wedge that allowed an opening for verbal apology.

---

[35] Ediciones El País, "Menem y Major sellan la reconciliacion de argentinos y británicos," *El País*, October 24, 1995, sec. Internacional, https://elpais.com/diario/1995/10/24/internacional/814489204_850215.html.
[36] Lorenzetti and Kraut, *Derechos Humanos, Justicia y Reparación*.
[37] La Nación, "Insiste el Gobierno en mudar la ESMA."
[38] Dell Upton observes a similar phenomenon in the US south, in which publics conflate a selective symbol of a deed, event or person with its full memory. Dell Upton, *What Can and Can't Be Said: Race, Uplift, and Monument Building in the Contemporary South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).
[39] Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
[40] Vezzetti, *Sobre La Violencia Revolucionaria*, 222.

Architectural and verbal apology thus worked in tandem as different techniques in the infrastructure of memory and reconciliation.

On March 24th, 2004, Kirchner not only opened the doors of ESMA, but he also announced the creation of a *Space for Memory and for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights*, formally marking the end of the site as ESMA and the beginning of a post-ESMA denomination of the complex.[41] In addition to his announcement to transform ESMA into a site of memory and museum, Kirchner also established a bipartisan commission to oversee the eviction process. Three years would pass until the navy effectively vacated the entire 42-acre of the site in November of 2007, and people could start visiting the entirety of the grounds freely.

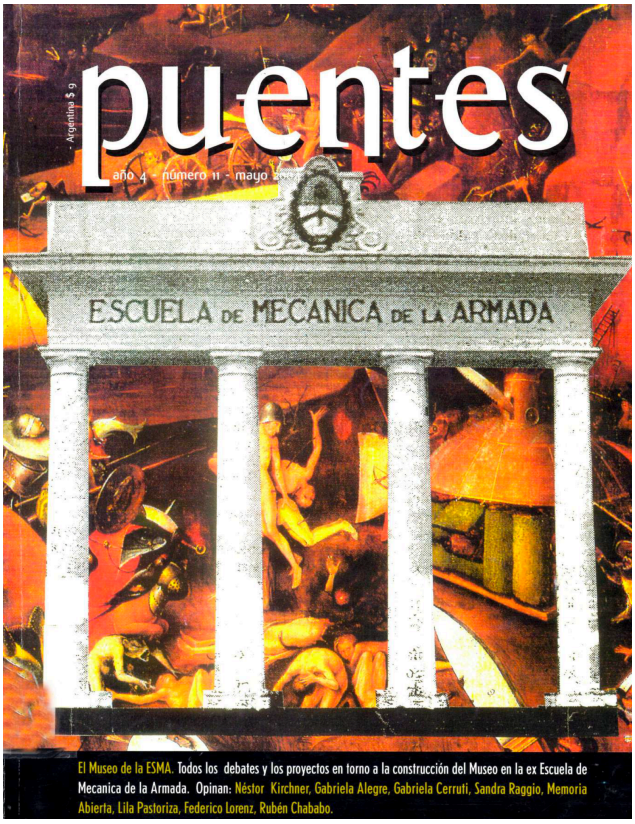


Fig. 5.10. Cover of *Puentes* magazine, issue 11, 2004. Based on León Ferrari's collage series "Nunca Más".

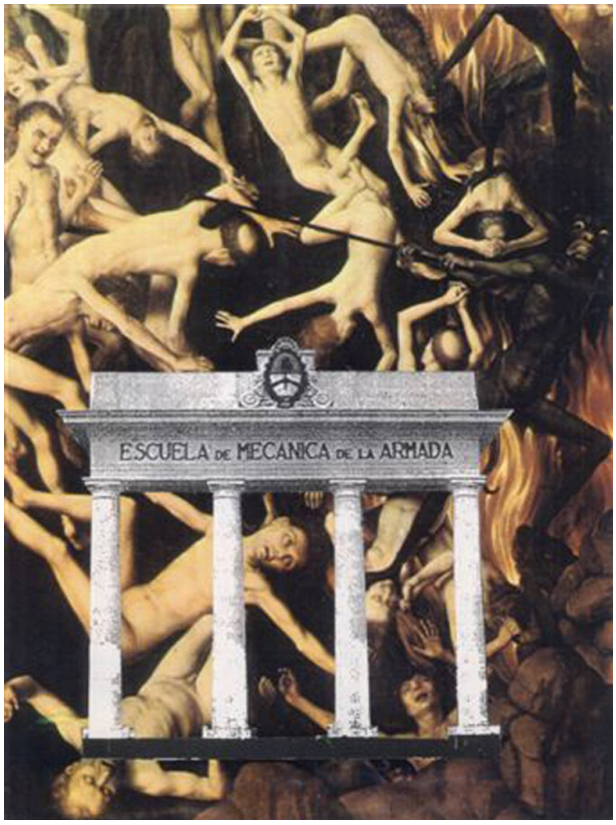


Fig. 5.11. "Escuela Mecánica de la Armada + Detalle de 'Juicio Final' de Memling" by León Ferrari, 1995-6.

The latency of this period provided a fruitful ground to debate the future of the former navy plot and discuss the impact of Kirchner's promise –to open a memory museum on the grounds of ESMA–for the site and for memory culture at large. The newspaper *Página12* provided a public forum to debate different proposals, as did publications like Marcelo Brodsky's *Memory Under Construction* and specialized journals including *Ramona*, *Punto de Vista,* and *Puentes* (Figs. 5.10. &

[41] For more information, see the site's official webpage: http://www.espaciomemoria.ar/english.php

5.11.).[42] The debate boiled down to two main topics: what to do with the now empty 32 buildings and 42 acres of the site and how to memorialize the most delicate building of the complex –the officers' mess– the former clandestine detention, torture, and extermination center. While there was general consensus among the human rights organizations to preserve and establish a site museum inside the former clandestine center, the proposed future uses of the entire complex turned out to be most controversial. As ESMA survivor Lila Pastoriza and Hugo Vezzetti suggest, the debate can be best represented by its two opposing positions: on the one hand the project of the Asociación de Ex Detenidos Desaparecidos, AEDD [Association of Former Detained Disappeared], and on the other hand, the proposals of human rights organizations like Centro de Estudios Legales y Sociales, CELS [Center for Legal and Social Studies], Servicio Paz y Justicia, SERPAJ [Peace and Justice Service], and Buena Memoria [Good Memory].[43] Most of these human rights organizations proposed a mixed use for the site, hosting the *ESMA Site Museum* alongside other art and justice museums, together with the offices of human rights organizations and public institutions at the city and national level, including the newly created *Institute Space for Memory* and the *National Memory Archive*. Perhaps the most drastic of this group of proposals was that of CELS, which advocating for austerity and long-term management argued that only two buildings should be dedicated to the specific history of the site: the officers' mess and the four-columned central building (Figs. 5.10. & 5.11.). According to CELS, the future use of the rest of the buildings should be decided by the State, without ruling out the permanence of the main educational building of the navy school. The suggestion to coinhabit the site with the institution of the perpetrators aroused strong resistance among survivors and activists; however, the members of CELS argued that only the coexistence of the memory site and the navy school would secure a future human-rights-abiding military and would we able to build consensus around the history of the site.[44]

AEDD's idea for the site was radically different. The Association of former Detained Disappeared proposed to preserve the complete 42-acre lot, based on its role as evidence in ongoing trials, and to dedicate it in its entirety to the representation and reconstruction of the former clandestine center. The project explicitly rejected the incorporation of any new uses, including the newly created public memorial institutions and future educational organizations, with the intention to seal off the site from everyday life. For AEDD, "[At ESMA] there should be no room for a routine movement of staff or public that could allow the naturalization of the space and an emptying of its content to displace its significance as a clandestine center of disappearance and

---

[42] José Pablo Feinmann, "Pensar y Escribir Después de La ESMA," *Página 12*, March 25, 2000, https://www.pagina12.com.ar/2000/00-03/00-03-25/contrata.htm; José Pablo Feinmann, "Auschwitz y La Filosofía," *Página/12*, January 29, 2000, https://www.pagina12.com.ar/2000/00-01/00-01-29/contrata.htm; Brodsky, *Memoria En Construcción*. See in particular: "Dossier Museo de la Memoria" in *Ramona*, 42, July 2004; *Punto de Vista*, 68, December 2000; *Puentes*, 11, May 2004.

[43] Lila Pastoriza, "La Memoria Como Política Pública: Los Ejes de La Discusión," in *Memoria En Construcción: El Debate Sobre La ESMA*, ed. Marcelo Brodsky (Buenos Aires: La Marca, 2005), 85–94; Vezzetti, *Sobre La Violencia Revolucionaria*. For a summary of the different proposals for ESMA see the annex of: Brodsky, *Memoria En Construcción*.

[44] To CELS's credit, the current website of the now called ESSA –Escuela de Suboficiales de la Armada Argentina– does no mention its role during the civic-military dictatorship and argues that the justification for moving into the new site in Puerto Belgrano was based on the spatial demands of a growing institution. See: http://www.essa.ara.mil.ar/Historia.html [accessed 12/12/2018]. Hugo Vezzetti examines the CELS proposal in: Vezzetti, *Sobre La Violencia Revolucionaria*.

extermination."[45] One of the recurring phrases that the government and the city repeated during ESMA's recovery and later conversion into a site of memory was "Where there was death, today there is life."[46] The group of survivors of the civic-military dictatorship represented by AEDD strongly reacted against the idea of bringing life into a place of horror. They argued that "Where there was death it must be marked, remembered, evidenced, and known that there was death, who were those who died, why they died and who killed them. It should not be pretended that there is now life."[47] Vezzetti maintains that, by excluding any complementary uses and future visitors, AEDD's project of complete preservation and partial reconstruction seeks an impossible endeavor: to return a sacralized and intangible site to the past and keep it there.[48] The only function of ESMA, the AEDD states, should be "its role as material testimony of the genocide."[49] This, they add, should be secured based on the principles of cultural heritage.[50] Despite their differing positions, it was a foregone conclusion –for all parties involved– that the built environment was an indispensable part of how Argentina would work through the future not only of ESMA but of the memory landscape at large.

Once the navy moved out of ESMA, it was time to make a decision. The *Space for Memory and for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights*, the public entity created to manage the site, decided to privilege mixed use, which led to the distribution of ESMA's existing buildings among human rights organizations and public institutions (Fig. 5.12.).[51] As a consequence of this decision, AEDD, alongside other human rights organizations opposed to the project and decided to renounce their right to move into the complex. However, their struggle against the intrusion of everyday life at ESMA continues. Two recent events brought the original debates around the use of ESMA back to the forefront. A holiday party (2016) and a barbecue (2013) hosted by the National Human Rights and Cultural Pluralism Secretary (Ministry of Justice and Human Rights), which occupies a building on the site, aroused an outcry by the members of AEDD. They considered these acts an offense to the dead, and extremely inappropriate activities to be hosted in a place of horror.[52] "Who would

---

[45] Summary of AEDD proposal included in Brodsky, *Memoria En Construcción*, 224. Original quote in Spanish: "no debe establecerse allí un movimiento rutinario de personal o de público que permita la naturalización y vaciamiento de contenido del espacio y desplace su significación como centro clandestino de desaparición y exterminio."

[46] For example, this phrase is the title for one of the oficial catalogs of the site: Espacio Memoria y Derechos Humanos, ed., *Donde Hubo Muerte, Hoy Hay Vida* (Buenos Aires: Espacio Memoria y Derechos Humanos, ex ESMA, 2016).

[47] AEDD cited in Pastoriza, "La Memoria Como Política Pública: Los Ejes de La Discusión," 93. Original quote in Spanish: "donde hubo muerte debe señalarse, recordarse, mostrarse, saberse que hubo muerte, quiénes fueron los que murieron, por qué murieron y quiénes los mataron. No debe pretenderse que ahora haya vida."

[48] Vezzetti, *Sobre La Violencia Revolucionaria*, 250.

[49] AEDD cited in Pastoriza, "La Memoria Como Política Pública: Los Ejes de La Discusión," 93.

[50] Vezzetti, *Sobre La Violencia Revolucionaria*.

[51] Vezzetti.

[52] Daniel Feierstein and Fernando Tebele, "#FiestaEnLaESMA: 'Debemos Centrar Nuevamente El Eje En Qué Hacer Con Los Espacios de Memoria,'" *La Retaguardia* (blog), January 15, 2017, http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2017/01/feierstein-ESMA.html; La Retaguardia, "Denuncian Una Fiesta En La ESMA," *La Retaguardia* (blog), January 9, 2017, http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2017/01/denuncia-una-fiesta-en-la-esma.html; La Nación, "Denuncian nuevos "asados" de funcionarios del Gobierno en la ex ESMA," *La Nación*, September 2, 2013, sec. Politica, https://www.lanacion.com.ar/1616295-denuncian-indignacion-y-lagrimas-por-nuevos-asados-de-funcionarios-en-la-ex-esma; RNMA, "El Debate Sobre La ESMA, ¿recordar o Resignificar?," *La Retaguardia* (blog), June 4, 2013, http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2013/06/el-debate-sobre-la-esma-recordar-o.html; Enrique

dance at Auschwitz?," ESMA survivor Carlos Lordkipanidse asks rhetorically? In his opinion, quotidian activities are a menace to the site's sacredness, because everyday uses threaten to resignify and overpower ESMA's historical meaning. Put differently, quotidian activities allow the banality of evil to seep in. It is simply too difficult to "work at Auschwitz," he adds.[53] Here again conservation conjures the fears of erasure. The threat this time is not that of a total erasure as proposed by Menem, but an erasure through resignification stirred by a thousand tiny everyday acts. Against this position, H.I.J.O.S. –the organizations of sons and daughters of the disappeared– argued that Argentina's sites of memory were no cemeteries, and that there was no privileged way to remember the dead, nor a single authoritative voice to guide those memories.[54] What is at stake in this debate is the sacredness of the ESMA, and the status of the Argentine State's terrorism in a global stage shaped by memories of and repentance for the Holocaust.

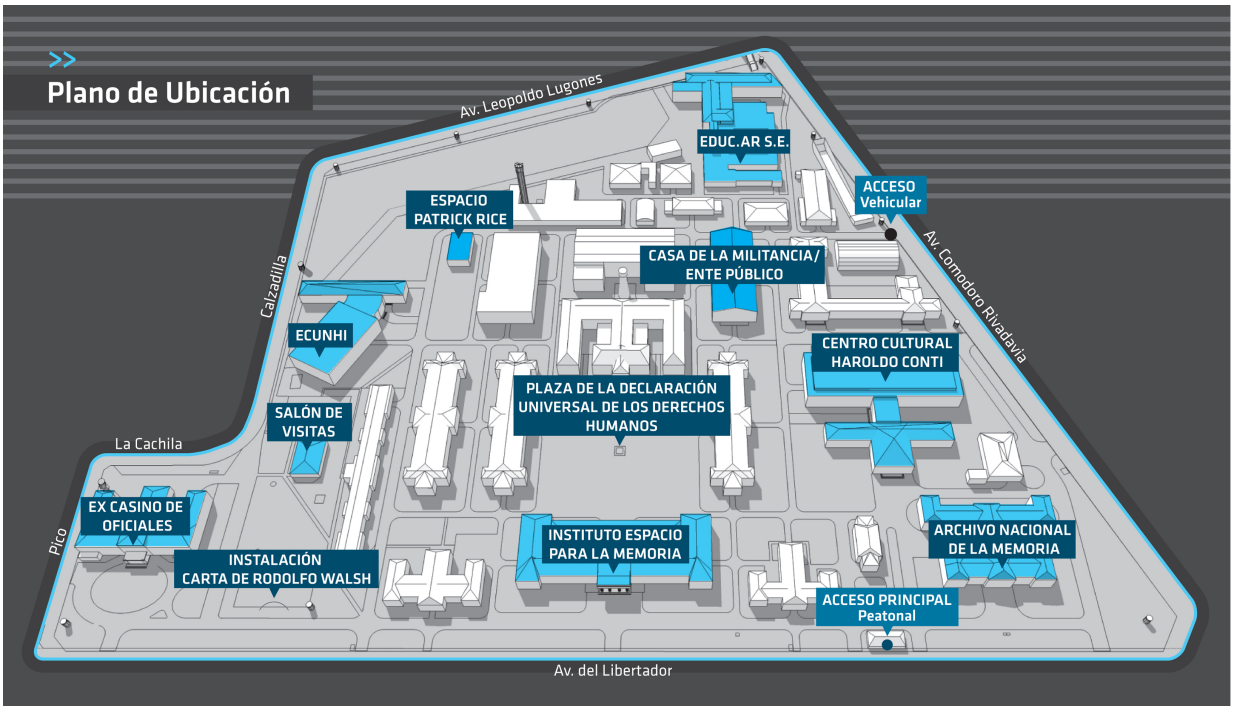


Fig. 5.12. Map of former ESMA transformed into the *Space for Memory and for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights,* 2013.

Fukman and La Retaguardia, "Enrique Fukman: 'Están Intentando Desaparecer La ESMA,'" *La Retaguardia* (blog), May 20, 2015, http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2015/05/enrique-fukman-estan-intentando.html.

[53] La Retaguardia, "Denuncian Una Fiesta En La ESMA."

[54] H.I.J.O.S., "Basta de Mentiras Sobre La Ex ESMA," September 3, 2013, http://www.agenciapacourondo.com.ar/ddhh/hijos-basta-de-mentiras-sobre-la-ex-esma.

Our Auschwitz

The *Trial of the Military Juntas*, in combination with the *Nunca Más* report, had an unexpected effect: it catapulted the local Argentine experience with State terrorism into a global discourse shaped by the Holocaust. Vezzetti argues that these two related post-dictatorial events universalized the local experience. Consequently, Argentina's State terrorism was inscribed within a broader narrative of genocide, human rights defense, and memory culture which emerged in response to the 'limit event' of the Holocaust.[55] In particular, the *Trial of the Military Juntas*, which was seen through the lens of the Nazi trials in Nürnberg and Adolf Eichmann's trial in Jerusalem, transformed Argentina's approach to its past into a model for international transitional justice.[56] Thus, not only did the Argentine dictatorship become one of the great twentieth-century planned massacres; but also, the nation's response to it put Argentina in what Vezzetti calls 'the western path of moral repudiation' of racially, politically, religiously, and ethnically driven genocide.[57]

Against the dominant notion of incomparability of the Holocaust, Argentina's latest dictatorship is constantly being compared to the Third Reich. Likewise, ESMA is defined through the lens of Auschwitz. Like Vezzetti, numerous local authors have addressed the entanglement between the Argentine dictatorship, its aftermath, and the Holocaust. This relationship has been discussed on many different levels: on the level of memory, Leonor Arfuch describes how the figure of the *desaparecido* plays a central role in both Argentina's State terrorism and the Shoa. Further, she argues that the Shoa, as the representation of the ultimate horror, allows Argentine human rights activists to uncover the ethical potential of memories in Argentina and elsewhere to stand against violence.[58] On the level of the Jewish experience, Emmauel Kahan analyzes the Argentine military regime's anti-Semitism, and together with Laura Schenquer he examines the uses of the Holocaust during the dictatorship.[59] On the level of the *dispositifs* of violence, survivor Pilar Calveiro describes

---

[55] Vezzetti, *Pasado y Presente*, 111–12. On the emergence of the human rights discourse in Argentina see Silvia R. Tandeciarz, *Citizens of Memory: Affect, Representation, and Human Rights in Postdictatorship Argentina* (Bucknell University Press, 2017); Andreas Huyssen, "Memory Studies and Human Rights," *MLA Profession*, May 2014, online. As a limit event, the Holocaust has not only been conceived as the most radical rupture with the Western Enlightenment tradition and human kind in general, but it has also shaped post-Holocaust politics and identities across the world. See Simone Gigliotti, "Unspeakable Pasts as Limit Events: The Holocaust, Genocide, and the Stolen Generations," *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 49, no. 2 (2003): 164–81; A. Dirk Moses, "Conceptual Blockages and Definitional Dilemmas in the 'Racial Century': Genocides of Indigenous Peoples and the Holocaust," in *Colonialism and Genocide*, ed. A. Dirk Moses and Dan Stone (New York: Routledge, 2007), 149–80.

[56] Mark Osiel, *Mass Atrocity, Collective Memory, and the Law* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1997); Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, Penguin Classics (New York, N.Y: Penguin Books, 2006); Mark Osiel, *Mass Atrocity, Ordinary Evil, and Hannah Arendt: Criminal Consciousness in Argentina's Dirty War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

[57] Vezzetti, *Pasado y Presente*, 111–12.

[58] Leonor Arfuch, "Arte, Memoria y Archivo," *Punto de Vista. Revista de Cultura* XXIII, no. 68 (December 2000): 34–37.

[59] Emmanuel Nicolás Kahan, *Recuerdos Que Mienten Un Poco: Vida y Memoria de La Experiencia Judía Durante La Última Dictadura Militar (1973-2007)*, Prometeo Bicentenario (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Prometeo Libros, 2014); Emmanuel Nicolás Kahan and Laura Schenquer, "The Use of the Past During the Last Military Dictatorship and Post-Dictatorship: The Holocaust as the Horizon of Identification, Alienation and Negotiation for the Jewish Community," *Temas de Nuestra América. Revista de Estudios Latinoamericanos* 32, no. 60 (December 11, 2016): 131–48, https://doi.org/10.15359/tdna.32-60.7.

Argentine clandestine detention centers as concentration camps.[60] On the level of the perpetrators, Daniel Feierstein maintains that the motivations behind the Nazi and Argentine killings are similar.[61] And on the level of aesthetics Ana Longoni and Gustavo Bruzzone discuss the influence of Holocaust memory activism in the artistic artefacts produced by the Argentine human rights movement and its supporters. For example, the main symbol for the post-dictatorship justice and recognition campaign –the silhouette of the disappeared– was inspired by a Polish artist's poster of Auschwitz.[62] This brief overview of some of these debates illustrates that the Holocaust as an historical event, trope, and imaginary has had multiple effects on the memorial landscape of Argentina. ESMA is no exception; in fact, it is often referred to as "our Auschwitz."[63]

In a newspaper editorial published in 2000, Argentine philosopher José Pablo Feinmann discussed Theodor Adorno's famous dictum, "writing poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric."[64] Stressing the need to write after Auschwitz and the impossibility to do so from the position of cultural production or outside of it, he writes: "Adorno's challenge includes us. Not only because we are part of humanity, but because we are Argentines and we have our own Auschwitz. Its victims were fewer, but its horror was not. *Our Auschwitz is the ESMA*."[65] Like ESMA, the concentration, forced labor, and extermination camps known as Auschwitz-Birkenau are meaningful not only because, against Holocaust denials, they serve as material evidence of the systematic murder of human bodies and spontaneity, but also because, beyond their materiality, they have become an emblem for the twentieth-century slogan "Never Again."[66] Auschwitz is a reminder of Europe's fragility in the wake of the dangers of fascism, nationalism, racism, xenophobia, and homophobia. Pointing towards the darkest aspects of the human condition, Auschwitz has been preserved as a site of world heritage to shape future behavior: to never let genocide occur again.[67] As such, it has become *the* icon of the Holocaust.[68] Auschwitz does not only denote Auschwitz, but refers to all Nazi concentration and killing camps. Similarly, ESMA has become a symbol for all clandestine centers in Argentina through a process of metonymic transference.

---

[60] Pilar Calveiro, *Poder y Desaparición: Los Campos de Concentración En Argentina*, Puñaladas (Buenos Aires: Colihue, 1998).
[61] Daniel Feierstein, *Genocide as Social Practice: Reorganizing Society under the Nazis and Argentina's Military Juntas*, Genocide, Political Violence, Human Rights Series (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2014), https://muse.jhu.edu/book/30821.
[62] Ana Longoni, Gustavo A. Bruzzone, and R. Aguerreberry, eds., *El Siluetazo*, Sentidos. Artes Visuales (Buenos Aires: Adriana Hidalgo Editora, 2008).
[63] Feinmann, "Pensar y Escribir Después de La ESMA"; La Retaguardia, "La Corte reabrió la discusión acerca del museo en la ESMA," *La tinta: periodismo hasta mancharse* (blog), June 5, 2018, https://latinta.com.ar/2018/06/la-corte-reabrio-la-discusion-acerca-del-museo-en-la-esma/.
[64] Theodor W. Adorno, *Kulturkritik Und Gesellschaft*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, 2. Aufl, Gesammelte Schriften ; Bd. 10 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1996).
[65] Feinmann, "Auschwitz y La Filosofía," 2. The original quote in Spanish is: "El desafío de Adorno nos incluye. No sólo porque somos parte de la humanidad, sino porque somos argentinos y tenemos nuestro Auschwitz. Sus víctimas fueron menos, pero no fue menor su horror. Nuestro Auschwitz es la ESMA."
[66] Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Harvest Book (San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1979).; Promotional Video for the ESMA's World Heritage Nomination https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3AKeerlUFI4 [accessed 11/16/2018]
[67] ICOMOS - International Council on Monuments and Sites, "World Heritage List: Auschwitz Birkenau. German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp (1940-1945)" (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 1978), Ref. 31, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/31/documents/.
[68] Oren Baruch Stier, *Holocaust Icons: Symbolizing the Shoah in History and Memory* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2015).

Regarding ESMA as 'our Auschwitz' is not a scholarly peculiarity, but a widespread phenomenon ingrained in the local perception of the Argentine site. Speaking on the radio show "Otras Voces," [Other Voices] in May 2015, in the context of the inauguration of the *ESMA Site Museum*, ESMA survivor Enrique Fukman talked about the process of re-signification of the site –particularly through new naming policies–, which in his opinion were a mode of erasure. He argued:

> Are the effects of the dictatorship still present today? Does this present have to do with that past? If it has to do with that past, it is the ESMA. Saying 'former ESMA' [ex-ESMA] is like saying that it is something that has nothing to do with us. But it has a lot to do with our present. [...] So, it's the ESMA, it's not the former ESMA. As we always say, has anyone ever heard of a '*former Auschwitz*' or is it always called *Auschwitz*? Why? Because its consequences are in the present. And it might have been 70 years, like Auschwitz, however the consequences are still with us.[69]

Why does an ESMA survivor need to reinforce this argument with a comparison to the Holocaust? On the one hand, it universalizes his experience; on the other hand, it forecloses any eventual argumentative retorts. Auschwitz shields his argument: there is nothing beyond Auschwitz, nor are there any argumentative resources that could counter it, and thus by invoking the limit of the limit event, Fukman also establishes the paradigm to be imitated.

In 2017, the *Space for Memory and for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights* deployed a similar argument in a request –submitted by the Permanent Delegation of the Republic of Argentina to UNESCO– to include both the *ESMA Site Museum* and the entire former Higher School of the Navy as part of the World Heritage List.[70] Auschwitz plays a central role in the request to grant the site global recognition. According to the nomination's narrative, it is because five other sites of the most gruesome human crimes –Auschwitz-Birkenau (Poland); the Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Japan); Robben Island (South Africa); the Island of Goreé (Senegal); and the Old Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar (Bosnia and Herzegovina)– have been preserved for the world to learn from them, that ESMA, as a symbol for Latin American Cold War dictatorships, deserves to be incorporated into UNESCO's World Heritage List.[71] UNESCO's preservation policy in regard to sites of mass murder and atrocity deserves a detailed analysis that exceeds the scope of this chapter.

---

[69] Fukman and La Retaguardia, "Enrique Fukman," 2. The original statement in Spanish: "¿Los efectos de la Dictadura siguen vigentes al presente? ¿Este presente tiene que ver con ese pasado? Si tiene que ver con ese pasado, es la ESMA. Decir ex ESMA es como decir que es algo que no tiene que ver con nosotros. Pero tiene mucho que ver con nuestro presente. […] Entonces, es la ESMA, no es la ex ESMA. Como nosotros siempre decimos, ¿alguien escuchó alguna vez hablar de un ex Auschwitz o siempre se dice Auschwitz? ¿Por qué? Porque sus consecuencias están en el presente. Y puede haber pasado 70 años, como Auschwitz, y todavía las consecuencias están."

[70] Space for Memory and for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights is composed of a tripartite executive board integrated by a representative of the national government, a representative of city of Buenos Aires and a representative of the directory of human rights organizations. See: http://www.espaciomemoria.ar/prensa.php [accessed 11/30/2018]

[71] Permanent Delegation of the Republic of Argentina to UNESCO, "ESMA's World Heritage List Nomination;" video for the ESMA's World Heritage Nomination https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3AKeerlUFI4 [accessed 11/16/2018]

However, the nomination provides further evidence for ESMA's claim to universalism through the use of the Holocaust as a point of comparison.

A close reading of the World Heritage List nomination reveals that both material and historical aspects are stressed as part of ESMA's distinctiveness. ESMA's integrity and authenticity – the original building structure remains–, representativeness –ESMA's clandestine camp was part of a broad networks of more than 600 detention, torture, and extermination centers across the nation–, and uniqueness –it was the largest, most deadly camp, and the only that included a maternity ward and forced labor program– are the main characteristics said to make the site an ideal candidate for the list.[72] The existence of the building which was used as a camp makes ESMA preservation worthy, but beyond materiality, what the nomination stresses are immaterial aspects that are interwoven into the materiality as testimony of past events. Argentina's Permanent UNESCO Delegation based its nomination on two of the ten possible criteria defined by UNESCO for determining Outstanding Universal Value:

> (iii) Bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared.
>
> (vi) Be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, or with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.[73]

Criterion (iii) is addressed briefly, most likely in response to UNESCO's rule that criterion (vi), which justifies Auschwitz-Birkenau's preservation, cannot be used in isolation. Here, the nomination makes two important claims that would be reinforced by the justification for the second criterion. First, it states that the survivors of the systematic plan of disappearance, their testimonies, and their search for justice, alongside the human rights organizations that emerged in response to State terrorism, are the living 'cultural tradition' that has become an example for the rest of the world and deserves to be recognized as such. While UNESCO uses the word 'testimony' as a synonym for evidence in its definition of criterion (iii), within ESMA's submission the word gets charged with a different meaning. Echoing the testimonial turn in Argentine post-dictatorial memory, *testimonio* is the key word that binds the building with the voices of those who survived the tortures they underwent in its interior.[74] Material and immaterial testimony are united in a circular motion in which survivors' testimonies confirm the authenticity of the clandestine detention, forced labor, torture, and extermination center at ESMA, while at the same time the material evidence of the site confirms the veracity of the survivors' testimonies. What is implied in this exercise is that a survivor's testimony is not enough to prove a crime. Put differently, when words are not enough,

---

[72] Permanent Delegation of the Republic of Argentina to UNESCO.
[73] Vezzetti, *Pasado y Presente*; UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION and INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE WORLD CULTURAL AND NATURAL HERITAGE, "Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention" (UNESCO, Wolrd Heritage Convention, July 12, 2017), http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines.
[74] For a critical analysis of what she calls subjective turn, see Beatriz Sarlo, *Tiempo Pasado: Cultura de La Memoria y Giro Subjetivo: Una Discusión*, Sociología y Política (Buenos Aires, República Argentina: Siglo Veintiuno Editores Argentina, 2005).

space –as a signifier for both location and material evidence– plays the role of secondary witness. The reciprocity between space and speech is reinforced by the uniqueness of ESMA: with more than 200 survivors, it has the highest survival rate across clandestine camps in Argentina. This high rate of survival is attributed to the "Prisoner Recovery Process" program which *Task Force 3.3.2.* implemented within ESMA to reform prisoners through forced labor.[75]

The second claim made in the justification for criterion (iii) is that the exceptional memorial culture that emerged out of the military oppression is under threat. Argentina's Permanent UNESCO Delegation presents the demand to preserve ESMA as a pressing issue by describing the navy's intention to transform the interior spaces of the officers' mess building through architectural interventions, and President Carlos Menem's attempt to erase the entire site to build a 'reconciliation park.'

The explanation for criterion (vi) is divided into five paragraphs that each stress one dimension in which the Argentine experience embodied in ESMA is of outstanding universal value. The first paragraph highlights the contribution of the human rights struggles of Argentine activists to the global field of memory, democracy, and human rights. The second one mentions the creation of the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team, EAAF for its Spanish initials [Equipo Argentino de Antropología Forense], which, in 2005 first produced scientific evidence to prove the 'death flights' and has been a key non-governmental organization in the identification of victims remains. In continuity with the previous section, the third paragraph underlines the scientific breakthroughs that emerged out of the search for the identities of the victims. In this regard, the text mentions the Grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo's search for stolen and appropriated babies. The quest to find the children of the *desaparecidos* led to the creation of the *Grandparenthood Index,* which determined blood relationships without the parents' genetic material, and later, after the introduction of DNA testing, the creation of a *National Genetic Data Bank*. Paragraph four presents the court procedures against the perpetrators, and argues that Argentina is an ideal model to study the ongoing prosecution of the crimes against humanity before local courts of justice. While these four paragraphs analyze the innovations that emerged out of the Argentine human rights struggle, the last paragraph hones in on the ESMA site, revealing what has been achieved so far: its recovery in 2004 and its transformation into a museum in 2015. In other words, ESMA's value is universal because it is the symbol of the human rights struggle in Argentina, and in this particular field Argentina has been at the forefront of the twentieth century. What is remarkable about this narrative is that, besides the mention of Nestor Kirchner's act of returning the site to the city, and Cristina Fernandez's inauguration of the *ESMA Site Museum*, the State is either absent or antagonistic to the main actors of the nomination: human rights organizations. In this regard, the UNESCO nomination differs from the light blue thank-you plaque discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Here, the agency of the State is recognized, but not as central to the site's claim to universality, which resides in ESMA's position in a post-Holocaust alignment of memory activism and human rights defense.

While the site was declared a National Historic Monument by Argentina's National Monuments Council in 2008, four years after Kirchner's apology speech, ESMA is still awaiting

[75] Permanent Delegation of the Republic of Argentina to UNESCO, "ESMA's World Heritage List Nomination."

UNESCO's global recognition.[76] As a complementary debate to the controversies around the everyday uses of the site, the preservation efforts of ESMA reveal the labors behind the construction of sacredness on the grounds of the former navy school. Survivors' groups, such as AEDD, tend to use Holocaust analogies in combination with a global preservation rhetoric to return the site to the past, in an attempt to make the violence and horror of ESMA its central and only meaning. Preservation thus becomes another mechanism to defend the site against the menace of apology and amnesty, symbolized most clearly by Menem's reconciliation park.

A Twofold Tale of the ESMA Museum

In 2015, eleven years after her late husband's apology, former First Lady and then President of Argentina, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, inaugurated the site of memory of the navy officers' mess at ESMA. On a rainy day of May, she stood in front of a visibly renovated building, enhanced with the addition of a new glass portico, to fulfill the demand that human rights organizations had voiced over a decade ago: to transform the former clandestine detention center into a site of memory (Fig. 5.13.). As two acts of the same play, the event mirrored Néstor Kirchner's symbolic return of ESMA. Kirchner's act was not only inaugural for the site, but also became the symbolic starting point for a twelve-year administration of his political tendency, called Kirchnerismo. At the end of this political cycle, Fernández inaugurated the *ESMA Site of Memory* in the context of a week-long celebration of the legacies of Kirchnerismo orchestrated around Argentina's Independence Day. In this regard, Fernández's act was an event of closure, not for the memorialization of ESMA, but for her political legacy. Like her husband, she spoke in front of the building and entered it afterwards with a crowd of supporters (Fig. 5.14.). However, the uncertainty of the upcoming national elections loomed large over the content of her speech. She spoke of the 2004 act and of her late husband's words that day, to underline how much had been achieved in furthering the memory and human rights cause in the intervening years. Anticipating the end of her administration, Fernandez encouraged the crowd to take the struggle for memory, justice, and human rights into their own hands.[77]

[76] ESMA file, Archive Comisión Nacional de Monumentos, de Lugares y de Bienes Históricos. Ministerio de Cultura, República Argentina.

[77] Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, "Inauguration speech for the Site of Memory ESMA" (www.cfkargentina.com, May 19, 2015), n/p, https://www.cfkargentina.com/cristina-kirchner-inauguracion-del-sitio-de-memoria-esma/[accessed 05/15/2020]. My own translation from the original: "El respeto de los derechos humanos, la memoria, la verdad y la justicia, no pueden quedar en manos de un presidente ni de un parlamento ni de un poder judicial, es el pueblo el que se tiene que empoderar de su propia historia."

Fig. 5.13. Cristina Fernández de Kirchner giving the *ESMA Site Museum* inauguration speech, 2015.

Fig. 5.14. Cristina Fernández de Kirchner visiting the main exhibition of the *ESMA Site Museum* during its inauguration, 2015.

Besides the rain, a series of controversies around the attendees, including the absence of the commander-in-chief of the army, and fervent critiques of the curatorial intervention, clouded the intended epic tone of the event.[78] Addressing some of those critiques in her speech, Fernández argued: "It could not simply be a building, we had to reach a consensus to create this place that we do not call a museum; in museums we keep pieces from the past; in sites of memory we keep memory, justice, and truth."[79] Two main ideas run through president Fernández's words: first, that the intervention of the navy officers' mess was the outcome of a consensus built upon participation, and second, that the voices against the idea of a museum were not left unheard. Invoking a collective behind the intervention, Fernández responds to criticism against the secrecy of the project and her presidential authority, levelled from inside and outside the human rights movement.[80] However, it is the latter aspect of Fernández's statement, her negative definition of the museum, which serves as an entry point into the debates around the transformation of the former clandestine detention center. Despite her protestations to the contrary, that day Fernández inaugurated a museum. A museum that ESMA survivor Víctor Basterra famously called '*The Horror Disneyland*.'[81] Disneyland is invoked not as a literal image of the 'happiest place on earth,' but as a critique against the act of museification itself; a gateway into spectacularization, consumerism and fiction, in Basterra's eyes. The site was later rebranded as a museum, thus throughout this chapter I have used

[78] Daniel Satur, "Acto En La ESMA: 'Memoria', 'Verdad' y...Milani," *La Izquierda Diario*, May 20, 2015, http://www.laizquierdadiario.com/spip.php?page=movil-nota&id_article=16443.

[79] Fernández de Kirchner, "Inauguration speech for the Site of Memory ESMA," n/p. My own translation from the original: No podía ser simplemente un edificio, teníamos que hacer, poniéndonos todos de acuerdo, este lugar al que no denominamos museo, en el museo se guardan las piezas del pasado, en los sitios de memoria se guarda la memoria, la justicia y la verdad.

[80] The inauguration of the *ESMA Site of Memory* coincided with the transfer of all sites of memory in the city of Buenos Aires to the national government. The transfer arose a thorough opposition among memory and human rights activists, who saw their active role in these sites diminished by the national government.

[81] Fernando Tebele, Víctor Basterra, and Carlos Lordkipanidse, "ESMA: El Horror Convertido En Museo y Los Oídos Sordos Ante La Voz de Los Sobrevivientes," *La Retaguardia* (blog), July 12, 2017, http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2017/07/esma-el-horror-convertido-en-museo-y.html.

the term *ESMA Site Museum*, an abbreviation for its current official name: *Museum Site of Memory ESMA*.

There are two predominant ways to tell the story of the museum that was built in the former navy officers' building inside ESMA. Like the first paragraph of this section, the first one is a narrative of progress that follows an officially sanctioned script: Néstor Kirchner apologizes, the ESMA is recovered, human rights organizations conceive the idea to build a museum, the museum becomes official policy, and finally Cristina Fernández inaugurates the new museum.[82] The other version of this story, often reproduced in academic writings about the museum, is a narrative of loss: it starts with the same two events: Kirchner's apology and the subsequent recovery of ESMA, but then, in the hands of its survivors, the former clandestine detention center organically transitions into a site of memory without the help of architects, historians, or curators, a 10-year pinnacle that is followed by the descent wrought by the new museum and the institutionalization of memory (Fig. 5.15.).[83] For those who represent the official version, the museum is a beginning; a beginning for memory, truth, and reconciliation.[84] For the anti-museum voices, the museum is the opposite: it is an ending, an ending that represents the irreversible course of history into banality, oblivion, and ignorance.[85] In other words, the two origin stories for the museum reveal a romantic longing for a unmediated past, confronted with the impossibility of its transmission without mediation.

The two-fold tale of the museum has a direct bearing on the two dominant modes of engagement with the materiality of the former clandestine detention center at ESMA. At one end were the interventionists, those who wanted to restore the former navy officers' building, both to preserve it from the ravages of weather and time, and to curate an exhibition to make it understandable for future generations. Spearheaded by the president, this group of activists, survivors, curators, architects, historians, and museum experts represented the officially sanctioned position.[86] At the other end stood the conservationists, a group of ESMA survivors, particularly the members of AEDD, with the support of a number of well-known academics, who rejected any intervention inside the building.[87] For them, the navy officers' mess was a crime scene, a site of

---

[82] Alejandra Naftal et al., "Propuesta Museográfica. Sitio de Memoria. Centro Clandestino de Detención, Tortura y Exterminio Ex ESMA" (Presidencia de la Nación Argentina, 2013), Archive ESMA Site Museum.

[83] Tandeciarz, *Citizens of Memory*; Bell, "Re-Turning the Past: The ESMA Trial and Affective Architecture at the 'Space of Memory.'" For a detailed account of what she calls 'nationalization of memory' in the Argentine context see: Da Silva Catela, "'Lo que merece ser recordado…'. Conflictos y tensiones en torno a los proyectos públicos sobre los usos del pasado en los sitios de memoria."

[84] At the same time, the ESMA museum marks a closure for the Kirchner administrations.

[85] Fernando Tebele, "Basterra, El Mito Sobreviviente, y Su Enojo Con El Nuevo Museo En La ESMA," *La Retaguardia* (blog), May 31, 2015, http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2015/05/basterra-el-mito-sobrerviviente-y-su.html; Víctor Basterra and La Retaguardia, "¿Estamos Ante Un Retroceso En La Política Oficial de Derechos Humanos?," *La Retaguardia* (blog), June 22, 2014, http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2014/06/estamos-ante-un-retroceso-de-la.html; Tebele, Basterra, and Lordkipanidse, "ESMA."

[86] Alejandra Naftal, Interview with Alejandra Naftal, director of Museo Sitio de Memoria ESMA, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, April 6, 2018.

[87] For example the Argentine academic and essayist Alejandro Kaufmann wanted to leave site as is, see: Vikki Bell, *The Art of Post-Dictatorship: Ethics and Aesthetics in Transitional Argentina*, Transitional Justice (Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2014), 72.

evidence of State violence, and any alteration of the structure would go against the pursuit of justice and truth.[88]

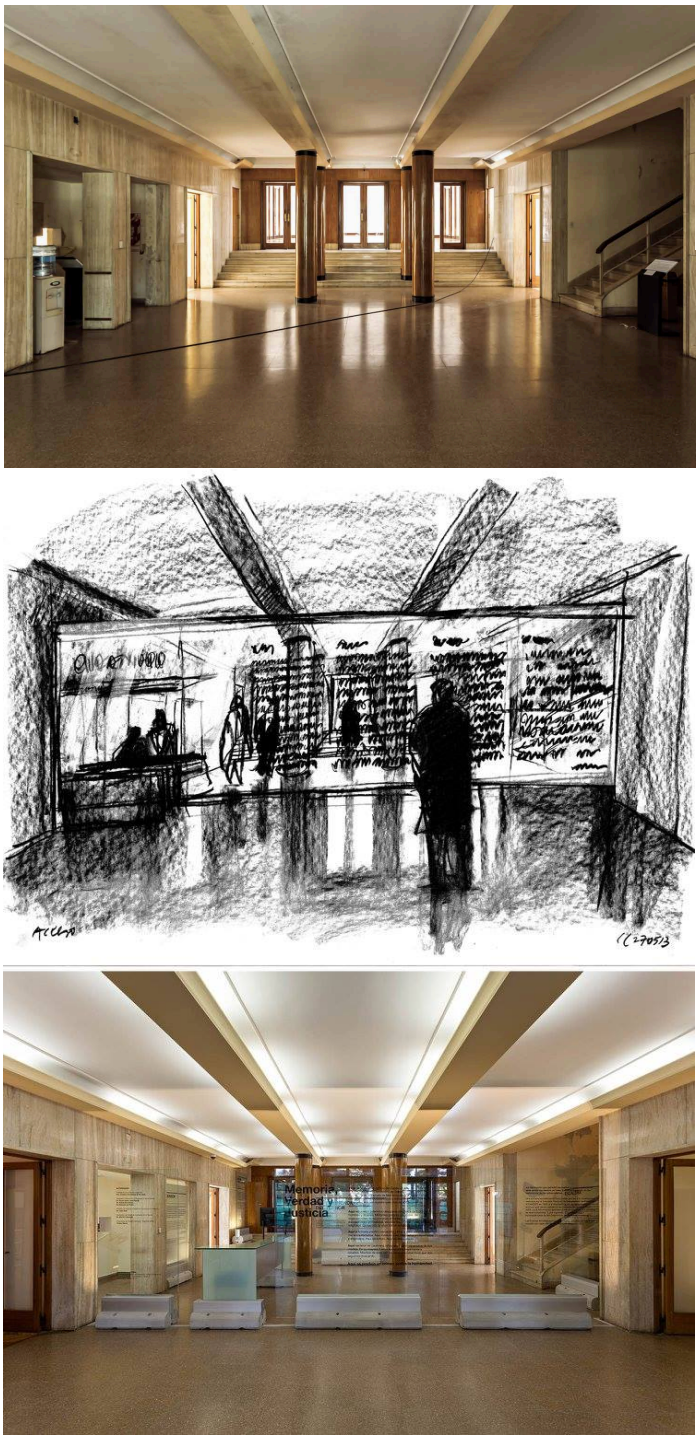


Fig. 5.15. Three stages of development of the main hall of the *ESMA Site Museum*.
Top: Pre-intervention (c.2013).
Middle: Projected museum design (c.2013).
Bottom: Completed curatorial intervention (c.2015).

[88] Tebele, Basterra, and Lordkipanidse, "ESMA"; La Retaguardia, "Informe Especial: El Proyecto de Nuevo Museo En La ESMA y Las Voces de Los Sobrevivientes," *La Retaguardia* (blog), January 31, 2014, http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2014/01/informe-especial-el-proyecto-de-nuevo.html; Carlos Lordkipanidse, Víctor Basterra, and Fernando Tebele, "Un Fallo de La Corte Reabrió La Discusión Acerca Del Museo En El Casino de Oficiales de La ESMA," *La Retaguardia* (blog), May 28, 2018, http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2018/05/museo-esma.html; Basterra and La Retaguardia, "¿Estamos Ante Un Retroceso En La Política Oficial de Derechos Humanos?"

While the interventionists subscribe to a general tale of betterment through institutionalized engagement with the past and its traces, conservationists oppose the mere idea of the museum. In the eyes of the latter, the museum threatens to refashion 'their' image of the past as shaped by their experiences of imprisonment. More importantly, for the group of survivors, activists, and academics who wanted to leave the building intact, the implantation of the new museum represents a political artifice intended to attach political banners to the memory work that started long before its official inauguration in 2015. More than a decade of guided tours through the empty halls of the building constitute the essence of what conservationists consider a site of memory. In comparison to the narrative of a survivor walking through the empty building, the curated and aestheticized artifacts and texts of the museum appear unreal, manufactured, and banal.

The tension between conservationists and interventionists resonates with a long binary tradition that traverses memory activism and memory studies in Argentina. The proximity to the actual historical event, the embodied testimonies of hundreds of living survivors, the violence of the period preceding the coup, and the influence of the analytical model of one particular memory scholar –Tzvetan Todorov– have all contributed to the need to distill the convoluted reality into a dialectic between clear-cut opposites. Mainly two works by Todorov, *Abusos de la Memoria* and *Frente al Limite,* trickled from academic circles into the work of survivors and activists to shape some of the most prevalent manifestations of this memory dialectic: memory versus history, apology versus justice, sacred versus banal, victim versus perpetrator, individual experience versus consensus, museum versus site of memory.[89] Perhaps Todorov's greatest contribution to the Argentine memorial landscape is his distinction between *literal* and *exemplary* memories: the former being subjective, personal, testimonial, and unique, and the latter being universal, abstract, collective, and pedagogical. In the context of his essay on abuses of memory, Todorov warns his readers about the danger of letting literal memories become public, because they foster a perpetual state of contempt and revenge. Exemplary memories, on the other hand, are built on consensus, being collective, participative, and oriented towards reconciliation.[90]

Todorov's model resonates profoundly with the cult of apology, particularly in its regard for reconciliation and its defense of 'moving beyond individual suffering.' Like a good apology, a good exemplary memory can defend its bearer from recurring violence in the form of revenge. Acknowledging the danger of oversimplification, I am interested in extending Todorov's analytical model beyond these two types of memory to incorporate a distinction between two attitudes towards apology. In doing this, I follow in the footsteps of other scholars who have distinguished two particular aesthetic and spatial attitudes in Todorov's binary memory model.[91] Generalizing from the debate around the *ESMA Site Museum*, it is possible to argue that those who wanted to leave the building intact, previously identified as conservationists, easily fit into the *literal memory* category. Most of the actors behind this position are direct victims who stand against a curation of the site because it would reify their memories. Contrarily, interventionists, those who wanted to

[89] Tzvetan Todorov, *Los abusos de la memoria* (Barcelona: Paidós, 2008); Tzvetan Todorov, *Frente al limite* (México D.F. (México): Siglo XXI, 1993).
[90] Todorov, *Los abusos de la memoria.*
[91] Graciela Silvestri, "El arte en los límites de la representación," *Revista Punto de Vista* XXIII, no. 68 (December 2000): 18–24; Vezzetti, *Sobre La Violencia Revolucionaria.*

actively engage the old materiality of the building to draw lessons for the future, fit into the *exemplary memory* category. If different attitudes towards memory betray different modes of engagement with the material traces of the past, to conclude, I examine how these attitudes shaped the curation of the *ESMA Site Museum*.

Curatorial Intervention

The debate between interventionists and conservationists profoundly shaped the curatorial intervention of the former navy officers' mess building, which a comparison between the 2013 proposal for the museum and what was inaugurated in 2015 makes evident.[92] Both versions of the museum –the project and its realization– were anchored in the recognition of the building as material evidence. Following this premise, the interdisciplinary team behind the proposal suggested a curatorial project that would not alter the materiality of the former clandestine detention center. The team proposed: "an intervention that could be 'unplugged' to return the building to its original state."[93] By preserving the structure intact, the curatorial team responded both to conservationists' demands for preservation and to the pending nomination of the site for the UNESCO World Heritage List. While the treatment of the building represents a continuity, three fundamental distinctions emerged between the museum proposal and its realization. These differences are centered in the role that experiential interpretations, the trials, and the perpetrators play in the museum.

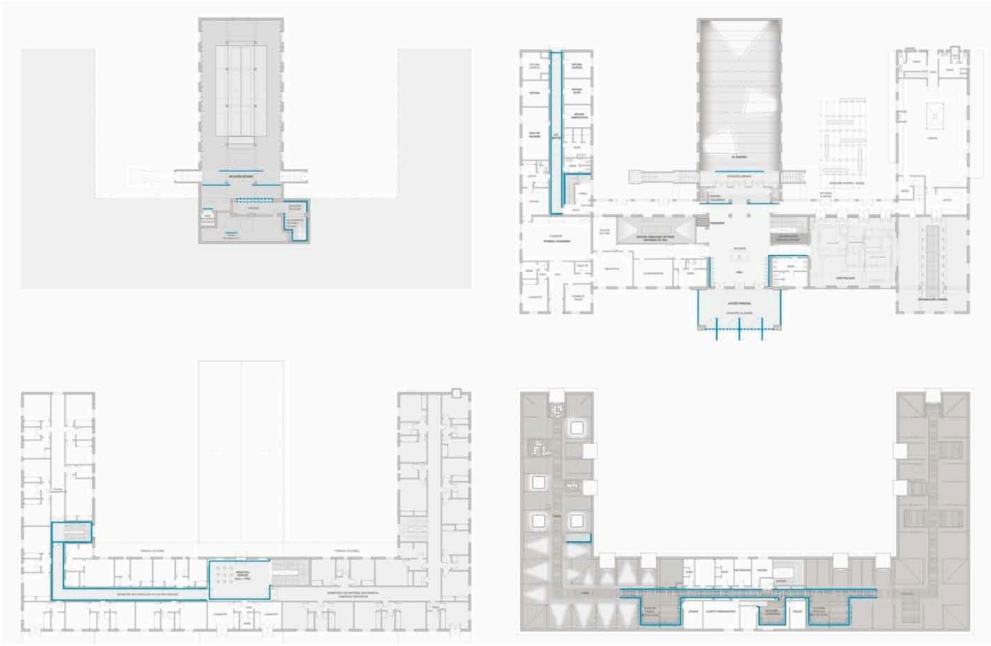


Fig. 5.16. Distribution of historical information stations (blue) on each level of the building.

[92] Naftal et al., "Propuesta Museográfica. Sitio de Memoria Ex ESMA."
[93] Naftal et al., 5.

The 2013 project proposed two curatorial devices: 'traditional historiographic interventions' and 'contemporary experiential interventions' to build a narrative arc through the navy officers' mess building. While the former were materialized in the form of a series of information stations across the building, the latter aroused harsh critiques from the AEDD and were ultimately modified or in some cases eliminated from the project (Fig. 5.16.).[94] Particularly problematic, in the eyes of these critics, was the design of a 'contemplation rock and fountain' in the basement of the building, and a 'suspended glass cube' that would emerge out of the basement onto the back courtyard (Fig. 5.17. & 5.18.).

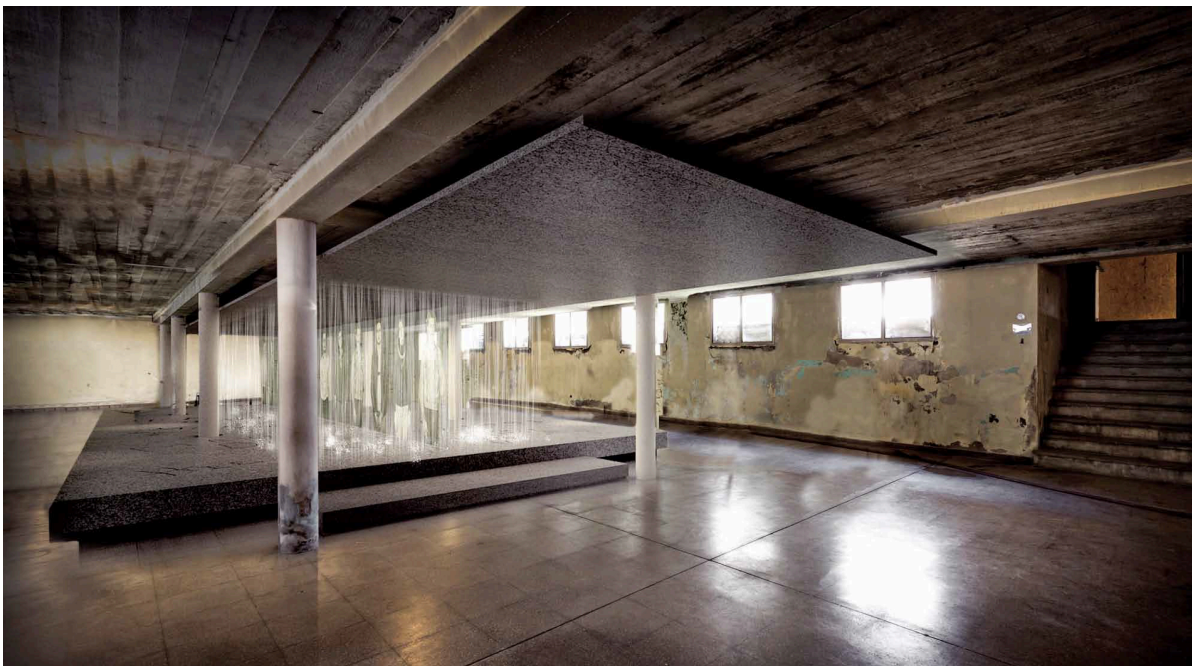


Fig. 5.17. Proposed fountain, contemplation rock and projection show for the *ESMA Site Museum* basement.

Fig. 5.18. Suspended glass cube proposed for the *ESMA Site Museum.*

[94] La Retaguardia, "Informe Especial"; Tebele, Basterra, and Lordkipanidse, "ESMA"; La Retaguardia, "El Casino de Oficiales de La ESMA No Se Toca," *La Retaguardia* (blog), 11 2014, http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2014/04/el-casino-de-oficiales-de-la-esma-no-se.html; RNMA, "El Debate Sobre La ESMA, ¿recordar o Resignificar?"; Tebele, "Basterra, El Mito Sobreviviente, y Su Enojo Con El Nuevo Museo En La ESMA."

Both these artistic interventions involved one of the most emotionally charged spaces of the whole building: its basement. ESMA survivor Osvaldo Barros argues: "They intend to put water fountains and a lightshow in the middle of the place of slave labor, where our comrades were tortured."[95] The basement was not only deployed for torture and imprisonment, but it was also the last place prisoners were taken to before sending them off to the 'death flights.' It is in this basement where prisoners were drugged and dragged onto the backyard to be taken to the nearby airport to be jettisoned into the Rio de la Plata, still alive.[96] Instead of the water fountain, the central room of the basement is now almost empty, only wooden benches and a projection remain of the original plan (Fig 5.19.). The suspended cube was lowered to the ground and transformed into a truncated hallway. In line with their critiques of the whole project, AEDD's arguments against these experiential artistic interventions were based on a fear of banalization and spectacularization. Further, these interventions introduced a subjective interpretation from outside of the realm of first-hand witnesses, which threatened to devalue the personal testimonies of ESMA's survivors.[97] Here again, what is at stake are the acceptable mechanisms and conduits to faithfully represent the past.

Fig. 5.19. Exhibition in the basement of the *ESMA Site Museum,* 2018.

[95] La Retaguardia, "Informe Especial."
[96] Brodsky, *Memoria En Construcción*; Permanent Delegation of the Republic of Argentina to UNESCO, "ESMA's World Heritage List Nomination"; Espacio Memoria y Derechos Humanos, *Donde Hubo Muerte, Hoy Hay Vida.*
[97] La Retaguardia, "Informe Especial."

The trials, although central in the 2013 proposal, acquired an even bigger role in the narrative of the finished museum. The museum was feasible in 2013, the curatorial team argued in its initial proposal, "because there is JUSTICE. The trials are taking place."[98] This idea was materialized in a room at the core of the museum, the *Salón Dorado* [Golden Room] (Fig. 5.20.).

Fig. 5.20. Exhibition in the *Salón Dorado* of the *ESMA Site Museum.*

Originally the ceremonial room of the navy officers, starting in 1976, Massera's *Work Group 3.3.2.* mounted a secret intelligence office in *Salón Dorado* to plan the kidnappings of the opponents of the military regime.[99] The curatorial strategy for this room, which was implemented almost without modifications, consists of what the team behind the proposal called 'lowering the paintings.' This term refers to an act that is intimately related to Kirchner's apology on March 24th, 2004. That same day, before his famous speech outside ESMA, Kirchner headed a ceremony at the Argentine Military Academy, located in El Palomar, Buenos Aires. In front of a crowd of military officers, Kirchner ordered the army commander-in-chief, Roberto Bendini, to take down the portraits of Jorge Rafael Videla and Roberto Bignone, both members of the Military Juntas, from the gallery of paintings honoring the commanders-in-chief of the institution (Fig. 5.21.).

[98] Naftal et al., "Propuesta Museográfica. Sitio de Memoria Ex ESMA," 3.
[99] See the Salón Dorado section on the ESMA Memory Site Museum: http://www.museositioesma.gob.ar/item/salon-dorado/ [accessed 05/19/2020]

Fig. 5.21. Kirchner supervising the removal of the portraits of Videla and Bignone, 2004.

Fig. 5.22. Exhibition of the portraits of the perpetrators in *Salón Dorado*.

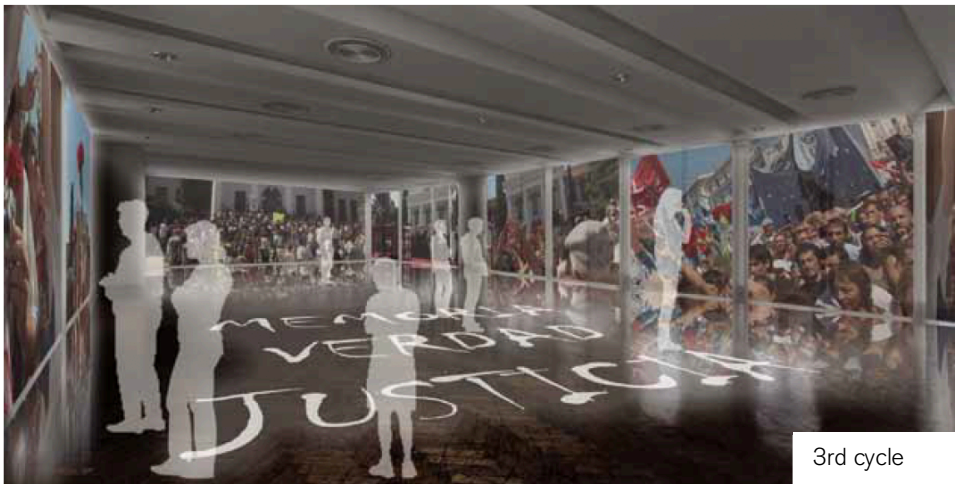
These paintings had been in place since the civic-military dictatorship.[100] The curatorial intervention of the *Salón Dorado* transforms this one-time ceremony into a cyclical light and projection performance. Thirty empty frames are arranged along the perimeter of the ceremonial room of the officers' mess building, interspersed with shaded windows. The lightshow of the room starts with a projection of the portraits of 30 prosecuted perpetrators on the lowered frames and a solitary nail above. The judicial file of each culprit is projected onto the contiguous shaded windows, transforming the trials against the perpetrators into the main narrative of the room (Fig. 5.22.). This is only the first cycle of the projection show. After the presentation of the perpetrators, the walls and windows of the room shift to portray the faces, names, and personal information of the *desaparecidos* from ESMA. Alongside the victims, the words "Memory, Truth, and Justice" appear projected on the floor, "transforming what was darkness into light and victory," according to the curatorial team (Fig. 5.23.).[101] The intervention concludes with a third cycle in which a video of Kirchner's famous act on March 24th 2004 is projected onto the perimeter of the room.[102] The three-part narrative is clear: the perpetrators, the victims, and the triumph of justice. While it would be unfair to say that the *ESMA Site Museum* as a whole spectacularizes its subject, the *Salón Dorado* transforms the intermittent, difficult, and continuing process of prosecuting the perpetrators into a spectacular narrative of progress, with a clear beginning, middle, and end. Justice prevailed, that is the uplifting message of this room, which stands in conflict with the still ongoing trials. Víctor Basterra directly criticized the uplifting narrative of this room, which according to him could lead to forgetting and forgiving. In his words, "sooner than later they will tell us to reconcile with the military, even those who tortured and disappeared people […]."[103] As a reflection of these

[100] Daniel Gallo, "Sacaron los cuadros de Videla y Bignone," *La Nación*, March 25, 2004, sec. Política, https://www.lanacion.com.ar/politica/sacaron-los-cuadros-de-videla-y-bignone-nid585683; Télam, "El 24 de Marzo de 2004, El Día Que Kirchner Hizo Bajar El Cuadro Del Colegio Militar," *Télam*, May 17, 2013, http://www.telam.com.ar/notas/201305/17971-el-24-de-marzo-de-2004-el-dia-que-kirchner-hizo-bajar-el-cuadro-del-colegio-militar.html.
[101] Naftal et al., "Propuesta Museográfica. Sitio de Memoria Ex ESMA," 31.
[102] Naftal et al., "Propuesta Museográfica. Sitio de Memoria Ex ESMA."
[103] La Retaguardia, "Informe Especial."

challenges, the room is often closed for maintenance based on the need to update the judicial files of the perpetrators.[104]

1st cycle

2nd cycle



3rd cycle

Fig. 5.23. Proposed exhibition cycles for *Salón Dorado*.

[104] During my fieldwork in 2018, *Salón Dorado* was often closed for maintenance.

Beyond *Salón Dorado,* the trials against the perpetrators, and especially the testimonies of the victims and their family members presented in Argentine courtrooms shape the visitors' experience throughout the building. Survivors' testimonies given in front of a camera, a court of law, or left behind as traces, animate the bare rooms of the former navy officers' mess in the form of text, audio, and film (Figs. 5.24. & 5.25.). While testimonies were central in the 2013 museum proposal, back then, the curatorial team did not seem to foresee how central courtroom testimonies would become. Indeed, the official statement about the museum presented on its current website explains: "The script of the museum is based on the testimonies that the survivors provided in the *Trial of the Juntas* of 1985 and in the *Trials Against Humanity* resumed in 2004."[105] This kind of wording was not present in the original proposal, which reveals a judicialization of the entire museum narrative. Even though testimonies inevitably present subjectivities, the selection of courtroom hearings instills these testimonies with truth-value, which in turn strengthens the truth-claims of the museum.

Figs. 5.24. & 5.25. Footage of courtroom testimonies throughout the *ESMA Site Museum.*

Lastly, the museum has deepened the role that the presence of the perpetrators plays in its narrative. The original museum proposal introduced its self-defined 'ideological framework' by stating: "This is a collective history that is reconstructed through the voices of the victims. So far, we have not considered the voices of the repressors."[106] Instead of focusing solely on the victims, the museum now brings the perpetrators into the exhibition through the trials in the *Salón Dorado* and through their presence throughout the building. The 2013 proposal incorporated historical stations on the second and third levels of the building, where navy trainees and officials worked and lived. Additionally, another informative station was set up next to an area called *Los Jorges*, where the leaders of the *Task Force*, coincidentally many of them named Jorge, had their offices (Fig. 5.26.). All these stations were incorporated into the museum.[107] However, the difference between the 2013 proposal and its implementation is that the current museum includes an additional area that speaks to how victims and perpetrators co-inhabited the building. *La casa del almirante* [The Admiral's

[105] See "El Museo" section on the institutional website of the ESMA Site Museum: http://www.museositioesma.gob.ar/el-museo/ [accessed 05/20/2020].
[106] Naftal et al., "Propuesta Museográfica. Sitio de Memoria Ex ESMA," 4.
[107] Naftal et al., "Propuesta Museográfica. Sitio de Memoria Ex ESMA."

House] was the luxurious official residence of the director of the Higher School of Mechanics of the Navy, which during 1976 and 1979 was Rubén Chamorro. The residence had its own independent entrance, but was connected to the main building through the distribution corridor of *Los Jorges'* offices.[108] While the navy completely emptied this space, as the rest of the building, before it was handed to the state in 2004, kitchen tiles, arched windows and delicate mouldings provide signs of domesticity (Fig. 5.27.). Within the current museum display, the residence is unpacked by a 1985 testimony of Andrea Krichmar, who as a schoolgirl was invited to Chamorro's house to play with his daughter. During her stay, Krichmar was able to see how "a hooded and chained woman alighted from a Ford Falcon, while two gunmen pointed at her."[109] The complicated nature of the navy officer's mess detention center emerges in this area of the museum. Rather than being clandestine and concealed, these overlaps between everyday life and terror reveal the extent to which terrorism had infiltrated the lives of Argentine citizens. Instead of providing false but reassuring boundaries between victims and perpetrators, the *ESMA Site Museum* does not shy away from exposing these overlaps. Unlike many other clandestine detention centers in Argentina and elsewhere, the officers' mess building exhibition portrays perpetrators and victims living closely under the same roof.

Fig. 5.26. *Los Jorges* corridor.

Fig. 5.27. *Casa del Almirante* exhibition.

These three areas within the ESMA Site Museum –the basement, the *Salón Dorado* and the *Casa del Almirante*– represent points of inflection between the ideal and the real museum. Further, this brief overview of the curatorial interventions in these areas suggests how interventionist and conservationist ideas were combined in the museum. While the curatorial interventions in the basement and the *Casa del Almirante* were minimal, providing only testimonies and brief descriptions to bear the meaning and history of the now empty rooms, the strategy in *Salón Dorado* is markedly

[108] See "La casa del Almirante" section on the institutional website of the ESMA Site Museum: http://www.museositioesma.gob.ar/item/la-casa-del-almirante/ [accessed 05/20/2020].
[109] Ibid.

different. It is here where contemporary artistic interpretations construct a narrative of justice and reconciliation, which merges decades of human rights activism with the politics of Kirchnerismo.

Conclusion

The interventionist model, which I have identified with exemplary memory, an orientation toward the future, and openness to reinterpretation, reworkings, and multiple readings, is invested with a general belief in apology and reconciliation. Like Kirchner's words first uttered outside ESMA in 2004, here apology works as a first step towards reconciliation: it recognizes the victims and the perpetrators and sets a moral tone to build a future consensus about the past. In this context, reconciliation is not restricted by the asymmetric exchange between victim and perpetrator. In the broadest sense possible, reconciliation becomes a tool for rebuilding that which was torn by past violence: a sense of community, trust in State institutions, freedom of opinion, and public memory.[110] However, as previous chapters have demonstrated, the dangers of accepting apologies are multiple. In this case, the vice of an apologetic model is the possibility of reconciliation without justice, so clearly exemplified by Menem's pardons and reconciliation park. Both Kirchner and Fernández attempted the opposite –reconciliation with justice–, which is demonstrated by the role that the court of law plays in the *ESMA Site Museum*. While the voice of the victims, mainly survivors of ESMA, occupies a central role in the narrative of the museum, these testimonies are most often mediated through the court hearings of the 1985 *Trial of the Military Juntas* and the later *Trials Against Humanity*. The main elements of the museum –the scripted tour through the building, and the artistic interventions in key rooms highlighting former uses, particularly the foyer and the *Salón Dorado*– delineate a narrative arc of victimization, resistance, and finally justice. Transformed into a memory prism, the footage from the trials allows visitors to see and hear survivors talking about their experience of imprisonment, torture, and terror, mostly through the lens of the pursuit of justice.[111] Thus, despite giving the voices of the victims a central role in the museum, by highlighting the prosecution of the perpetrators, the *ESMA Site Museum* presents a subtle but consistent conciliatory narrative. It is because –by late 2017– 856 individuals have been sentenced for crimes committed during the civic-military dictatorship that ESMA can be transformed –not only to house the past, but to become a structure upon which to build a collective future.[112]

On the opposite side, the conservationist model characterized by a literal memory perspective is explicitly anti-apologetic and anti-conciliatory. In a press release in the context of the museum's inauguration, the AEDD stated that:

---

[110] Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*.

[111] In her analysis of the ESMA Site Museum, Silvia Tandeciarz calls this a 'spectacle of justice.' Tandeciarz, *Citizens of Memory*, 33; Michael J. Lazzara, *Chile in Transition: The Poetics and Politics of Memory* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2006). For a visual analysis of the trials see: Claudia Feld, *Del Estrado a La Pantalla: Las Imágenes Del Juicio a Losex Comandantes En Argentina*, Colección Memorias de La Represión 2 (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores : Social Science Research Council, 2002).

[112] Mar Centenera, "Argentina cerró 2017 con 198 nuevas condenas por delitos de lesa humanidad," *El País*, January 4, 2018, sec. Argentina, https://elpais.com/internacional/2018/01/03/argentina/1515006341_328707.html.

> […] We will fight against the institutionalization of a directed narrative that tries to negate the interpellation of the place, overpowering the pain of relatives, victims, survivors, and all people, whom it tries to submit to a forced pacification following Menem's example and to a "reconciliation" with the murderers that nobody asked for or wants.[113]

For the members of AEDD, reconciliation is understood solely in the strict sense of the relationship between victim and perpetrator. Given the asymmetrical nature of this relationship and Argentina's history of reconciliation without justice, these survivors reject all apologies and any attempts of reconciliation. Rightly recognized for its conciliatory role, in the eyes of these survivors and their supporters, the *ESMA Site Museum* stands in direct opposition to their experience of imprisonment, torture, and forced labor. In this regard, the museum generates an unfathomable schism between the lived experience of past events and the transmission of these experiences. Thus, it reinforces the dilemma by creating not just a symbol for reconciliation, but also a space that operates to resist reconciliation without justice.

Juxtaposed as two sides of a larger debate, the opposite attitudes towards memory, site-authenticity, use, materiality, and apology have helped shape a dichotomy in the memorial landscape of Buenos Aires. While a conciliatory interventionism prevailed in the development of the *ESMA Site Museum*, beyond this locus of apology, in many other sites across the city, a conservationist, anti-apologetic attitude has been forged. A look at the city as a whole suggests that, in Buenos Aires, memory has become a complex network of nodes that are in tension and dialogue with each other. There are mediated, curated, and aestheticized sites like the *ESMA Site Museum* and the nearby *Memory Park* which bear the traces of global influences like the cult of apology and the Holocaust industry. In contrast, other sites have been left seemingly intact and uncurated, bearing the signs of dictatorial violence and erasure, as well as democratic abandonment. Apparently immune to the cult of apology, sites like *Club Atlético*, *Olimpo,* and *Virrey Ceballos* reveal not only a limit to conciliatory aesthetics, but also suggest locally grounded tactics of resistance against it. The following chapter deals with one of these sites –*Club Atlético*–, a site of memory built on the ruins of a demolished clandestine detention center in the neighborhood of San Telmo, Buenos Aires. Ultimately, I hope to demonstrate that, despite the rich tensions provided by the characteristically Argentine binary conception of memory, apology, and space, a closer examination of a site like Club Atlético exposes overlaps, shifting boundaries, and a wide array of alternative attitudes between conciliatory interventionism and anti-apologetic conservationism.

---

[113] My own translation from: "[…] Lucharemos para que no se institucionalice un relato direccionado, que intenta anular la interpelación del lugar, generando un atropello al dolor de familiares, victimas, sobrevivientes y pueblo todo, a los que se pretende someter a una pacificación forzada al mejor estilo menemista y a una "reconciliación" con los asesinos que nadie pidió ni quiere." Asociación de Ex Detenidos Desaparecidos, "AEDD: 'un nuevo avasallamiento a la memoria colectiva,'" *La Izquierda Diario*, May 20, 2015, http://www.laizquierdadiario.com/Asociacion-de-Ex-Detenidos-Desaparecidos-un-nuevo-avasallamiento-a-la-memoria-colectiva.

[This page intentionally left blank.]

CHAPTER 6

Resisting Apologies:

Club Atlético at the Periphery of Apology in Buenos Aires

You see it [Club Atlético] from the outside and imagine,
but now that I was there and know what it was like,
I hear what survivors say, I know what the weather was like,
what the light was like, what the water was like, what the suffering was like.
I do not know what this is for, because I cannot remedy anything anymore,
the only thing that it does, is that it helps me forgive less.[1]

Carmen Lareu, mother of Electra Lareu detained and disappeared in Club Atlético on May 30th 1977, together with her partner José Beláustegui and their son Antonio. Electra and José remain disappeared. Antonio was recovered on July 5th of 1977.[2]

Introduction: The Multiple Scales of Club Atlético

The previous chapters of this dissertation have demonstrated that built apologies come in all shapes and sizes: from mundane plaques and figurative bronzes, to abstract minimalist constructions. In Argentina, however, apology and reconciliation have been associated with the institutionalization of memory, which in turn has forged an aesthetic language influenced by global trends in memorial architecture.[3] Taking Tzvetan Todorov's pledge for 'exemplary memory' as an aesthetic guideline, places like the *ESMA Site Museum* and *Memory Park* have been characterized by a dominant use of representational abstraction, combined with dignified materials like stone, concrete, and particularly glass to convey democratic values of transparency, openness, integration, reparation, and peace (Figs. 6.1. & 6.2.).[4] The emergence of this sort of apologetic aesthetic comes bound to its antithesis, a counter-apologetic narrative. The following chapter asks: What shapes a counter-apologetic narrative? and, what are the effects of resisting apologies on sites of memory? To understand the complex role of the cult of apology in Argentine post-dictatorial memory culture, it is illuminating to

[1] The original quote in Spanish: "Uno ve de afuera y se imagina, pero ahora estuve ahí y sé cómo es, escucho lo que dicen los sobrevivientes, sé cómo era el clima, cómo era la luz, cómo era el agua, cómo era el sufrimiento. No sé para qué me sirve porque ya no puedo remediar nada, para lo único que me sirve es para perdonar menos."
[2] Testimony from: Equipo y Comisión de trabajo y consenso Ex CCDTyE Club Atlético, "Proyecto de Recuperación de La Memoria. Centro Clandestino de Detención Tortura y Exterminio 'Club Atlético'" (Instituto Espacio para la Memoria, 2014), 10–11, http://memoriaexAtlético.blogspot.com/p/trabajo-acadmicos.html.
[3] Ana Guglielmucci, *La Consagración de La Memoria: Una Etnografía Acerca de La Institucionalización Del Recuerdo Sobre Los Crímenes Del Terrorismo de Estado En La Argentina*, Primera edición, Serie Antropología Política y Económica (Buenos Aires: Antropofagia, 2013).
[4] Tzvetan Todorov, *Los abusos de la memoria* (Barcelona: Paidós, 2008).

look at its margins. From the center of apology, the former ESMA site in the northern end of Buenos Aires, this chapter turns to Club Atlético in the southern end of the city, in what I call the periphery of apology. In opposition to the *ESMA Site Museum,* which has been criticized for aestheticizing and manipulating the past, Club Atlético presents itself as a seemingly 'uncurated' past. The memory site, which consists of an archeological excavation, a plaza, as well as an off-site conservation lab and exhibition area, is located under *Autopista 25 de Mayo* [May 25th Highway], in the neighborhood of San Telmo.

Fig. 6.1. Façade *ESMA Site Museum*

Fig. 6.2. *Memory Park*, 2018

Club Atlético was a clandestine detention, torture, and killing center controlled by the First Army Corps and the 601th Intelligence Battalion located in the basement of a three-story building of the Department of Supply and Warehouse Division of the Federal Police.[5] Approximately 1,500 victims were interrogated, tortured, and murdered at Club Atlético between February and December 1977.[6] After less than a year of operation, it was closed down and demolished in order to build *Autopista 25 de Mayo*. While the building was almost completely destroyed, the basement, where the clandestine detention center was located, remained buried under the foundations of the highway.[7] These are the remains that survivors, memory activists, and neighbors discovered when the city of Buenos Aires started digging up the site in 2002 (Fig. 6.3).[8] In Alois Riegl's terms, Club Atlético belongs to the domain of the unintentional monuments: its value lies in its age and history rather

[5] These two bodies were integrated by members of the Federal Police, the Army and the Federal Penitentiary Service. See: Judith Said, ed., *Espacios de memoria en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Ministerio de Justicia y Derechos Humanos de la Nación. Secretaría de Derechos Humanos, 2015), 18–19.

[6] Memoria Abierta, *Memorias en la ciudad : señales del terrorismo de estado en Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 2009).

[7] The highway was part of an ambitious military plan to modernize the Argentinean capital through the 'Plan de Autopistas Urbanas' [Urban Highways Plan].

[8] Silvina Durán and Valeria Contissa, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, April 3, 2018; Miguel D'Agostino, Club Atlético survivor, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, April 2018.

than in its beauty and artistry.[9] Although never planned as a monument, the local memory activists are preserving the site as evidence of state terror.[10]

Fig. 6.3. View of excavation area Club Atlético, 2017.

Like ESMA, Club Atlético's existence is indebted to the work of survivors, victims' families, and memory activists who claimed the forgotten place under the highway as a site of memory.[11] In order to be transformed into publicly owned property (first at the city level and later at the national level), two lots were expropriated from the military and a private corporation respectively, on the basis of their role during the military dictatorship.[12] The difference lies in the institutional development of the site's management. While a public-private commission was created for ESMA, Club Atlético remains predominantly in the hands of the grassroots activist groups who created it.[13] Public acts of commemoration, memorial marches through the surrounding neighborhood, and the

[9] Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origin," trans. K.W. Forster and D. Ghirardo, *Oppositions*, no. 25 (1982): 20–51.
[10] Memoria Abierta, *Memorias en la ciudad*; Luciana Messina, "Reflexiones En Torno Al Estatuto Conceptual de Los Centros Clandestinos de Detención: El Circuito Represivo "Atlético-Banco-Olimpo," *Etnografías Contemporáneas*, Universidad Nacional de San Martín, no. 5 (2011): 135–61.
[11] D'Agostino, Interviews with Miguel D'Agostino, Club Atlético survivor; Susana Mitre, Interview Susana Mitre of the educational program of Club Atlético, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, March 26, 2018. For more about the *ESMA site*, see chapter five.
[12] NN, "Reclama la Ciudad los terrenos de la ESMA," *La Nación*, September 15, 2000, sec. Sociedad, https://www.lanacion.com.ar/sociedad/reclama-la-ciudad-los-terrenos-de-la-esma-nid33003.
[13] Although the city has provided public funding for the archeological excavation and the management of the site, its influence remains limited.

installation of a *totem*, a plaque with the names of the perpetrators, and a sculpture, were the first instruments to mark the site when it was no more than the residue of an elevated highway during the 90s.[14] A memorial committee for Club Atlético coalesced around these events, which was officially constituted as the site's administrative organization in 2003. Identifying themselves with the direct victims of state terrorism, the primary focus of the memorial committee is not on memory, but on justice for the victims and punishment of the perpetrators. They are the affected, thus they remember, and for as long as they and the perpetrators live, they demand justice.[15] Following the logic of the committee, justice comes before memory, which has a profound effect on the spatiality of the site.

In the words of one of Club Atlético's survivors, Miguel D'Agostino, Club Atlético was 'recovered.'[16] While the expression originated amongst grassroots memory and human rights organizations, the idea of 'recovering sites' [recuperar sitios] has spread to official state documents and academic publications in Argentina.[17] The now popular expression to 'recover a site,' has a complex meaning that is deeply ingrained in local memory politics. In the context of Argentina, to recover sites of memory has multiple connotations: it refers to the expropriation of former clandestine detention centers from military or police control. It also suggests that a forcefully erased place has been restituted in the fabric of the city and its public memory. Further, it also implies that the recovery of these sites somehow repairs the victims and their families for the crimes committed against them.[18] Even here, far away from the official apology, reparation and the built environment appear entangled. To 'recover' a site is an act of reparation on the level of land tenure, the built environment, and memory, as well as on a symbolic level for the victims. Club Atlético was one of the first 'recovered' sites in Buenos Aires and subsequently became an example for emerging sites of memory at former clandestine detention centers in the capital, as well as across the nation.[19]

Situated underneath a noisy highway, the actual site of memory is difficult to visit (Fig. 6.4.). At first glance, it is little more than an excavation pit surrounded by scaffoldings, feeble metallic walkways, caution-tape, and a small exhibition in a rundown nearby building. My early encounters with Club Atlético were all from the sidewalk of *Paseo Colón,* where the excavation pit is barely visible through the dark fence that protects the site from everyday life in the city. Given that the archeological excavation is set to last several more decades, Club Atlético's committee understands memorialization as a process, rather than an end result. This process is highlighted by the guided tours that bring the site to life. During these guided visits, apparently disconnected spaces –a plaza

[14] Elizabeth Jelin, *State Repression and the Labors of Memory*, trans. Judy Rein and Marcial Godoy-Anativia (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 140.
[15] María Eugenia Ursi, Interview with María Eugenia Ursi, member of the Club Atlético committee, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, March 18, 2018; D'Agostino, Interviews with Miguel D'Agostino, Club Atlético survivor; Mitre, Interview Susana Mitre of the educational program of Club Atlético.
[16] D'Agostino, Interviews with Miguel D'Agostino, Club Atlético survivor.
[17] Messina, "Reflexiones En Torno Al Estatuto Conceptual de Los Centros Clandestinos de Detención: El Circuito Represivo "Atlético-Banco-Olimpo," 27.
[18] For more detail on the meaning of recovery of former clandestine detention centers, see Messina, "Reflexiones En Torno Al Estatuto Conceptual de Los Centros Clandestinos de Detención: El Circuito Represivo "Atlético-Banco-Olimpo."
[19] Memoria Abierta, *Memorias en la ciudad*; Messina, "Reflexiones En Torno Al Estatuto Conceptual de Los Centros Clandestinos de Detención: El Circuito Represivo "Atlético-Banco-Olimpo."

dedicated to the 30,000 disappeared, the excavation, and an off-site lab, as well as the exhibition area–, come to play a central role in the narrative of Club Atlético.

Fig. 6.4. Aerial view of Club Atlético, San Telmo.

Most tours start on the plaza: a terraced space that serves as an amphitheater to contemplate the excavation area (Fig. 6.5.). Looking at Club Atlético from across the street, visitors are introduced to some key events of the civic-military dictatorship and to the clandestine detention, torture, and killing center that functioned there. After this introduction, most tours walk into the fenced area of the excavation, passing alongside three main memorial interventions: a large poster with the faces and names of the victims of the dictatorship; a silhouette for the *desaparecidos* outlined with bricks, circular lanterns, and small photographs; and a totem of the victims surrounding one of

the pillars of the highway planted right in the middle of the basement's ruins (Fig. 6.6.). Alongside the architecture of the plaza, these are the most visible signs of commemoration, which emerge as traces of embodied memory against the arid remains of the derelict archeological site.

Fig. 6.5. View of Plaza 30,000 Compañeros, Club Atlético Memorial.

Fig. 6.6. General view of Club Atlético Memorial during a guided tour.

Standing on the feeble metallic structure that supports a small walkway suspended above the pit, visitors are directed towards archeological findings in the excavation. Here the tour guide usually leaves the visitors on the walkway and descends into the pit to highlight architectural traces that would otherwise be indistinguishable to the untrained eye (Figs. 6.7. & 6.8.). Carefully moving around the excavation, the tour guide animates the contours of soil with survivors' testimonies:

"This mound indicates the traces of a wall that used to divide the isolation cells; this other stone is a step from basement stairs that figure prominently in survivor's accounts; this is the structure of the elevator that prisoners saw while being confined here."[20] The tours end in the off-site exhibition area that contains some of the objects found in the pit. In this modest room, illuminated by fluorescent light, mundane objects –an old police cap, a dented coffee mug, black and white photographs, and a ping-pong ball–, are displayed with excruciating attention to detail.[21]

Figs. 6.7. & 6.8. A group of local students during a guided tour of the excavation area of Club Atlético, 2018.

[20] Valentina Rozas-Krause, fieldnotes Club Atlético, 2018.

[21] Laura Duguine et al., "Experiencias Desde La Arqueología y La Conservación Para La Recuperación Material de Los Ex Centros Clandestinos de Detención Tortura y Exterminio (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Argentina)," in *La Antropología Social Hoy a 10 Años Del Nuevo Siglo*, ed. Ludmila Adad, Alicia Villafane, and Carolina Ferrer, E-Book (Argentina: Tandil: Universidad Nacional del Centro de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, 2013), 701–12, http://www.scribd.com/doc/187853662/La-antropologia-social-hoy-a-10-anos-del-nuevo-siglo-Olavarria-Argentina-E-book-ISBN-978-950-658-332-3-Ludmila-Adad-y-Alicia-Villafane-Coords-C#scribd; Durán and Contissa, Interview with Silvina Duran and Valeria Contissa of Club Atlético.

The various elements composing the site of memory are best understood through the scale of their spatial intervention. While the existing literature on Club Atlético has largely focused on the importance of memory activism and testimony –alongside technical texts on archeology and architectural virtual representation–, Club Atlético is also a mechanism of spatial representation: a sequence of scales from small, medium, and large up to extra-large.[22] Understanding it this way entails a shift in focus, from the practices and actors that have created the site to the various spaces that these same actors have selected to convey Club Atlético's message. It is not that practices and human actors play a secondary role in this account. On the contrary, the history of Club Atlético is built on these often personal labors of memory.[23] However, narratives and practices can be understood through objects and space, as instruments for grounding and transmitting memories.

This scalar structure helps distinguish the multiplicity of material dimensions at play at Club Atlético, while at the same time conveying the site's extraordinary mutability.[24] The four main

---

[22] Miguel D'Agostino, "Ex Centro Clandestino de Detencion, Tortura y Exterminio 'Club Atlético:' Supervivencia y Memoria," in *Memorias Urbanas En Diálogo: Berlín y Buenos Aires*, ed. Peter Birle et al. (Buenos Aires: Heinrich Böll Stiftung Cono Sur/ Buenos Libros, 2010), 337–46; Susana Mitre and Mariana Sosa, "El Tótem y otras Marcas de Memoria" (XI Congreso Argentino de Antropología Social, Rosario [Argentina], 2014), 1–12, http://cdsa.aacademica.org/000-081/453; Silvia R. Tandeciarz, *Citizens of Memory: Affect, Representation, and Human Rights in Postdictatorship Argentina* (Bucknell University Press, 2017); Julia Binder, "Orte Der Folter," in *Stadt Als Palimpsest: Zur Wechselwirkung von Materialität Und Gedächtnis* (Berlin: Neofelis Verlag, 2015), 139–63; Duguine et al., "Experiencias Desde La Arqueología y La Conservación Para La Recuperación Material de Los Ex Centros Clandestinos de Detención Tortura y Exterminio (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Argentina)"; Melisa A. Salerno, "'They Must Have Done Something Wrong…': The Construction of 'Subversion' as a Social Category and the Reshaping of Identities Through Body and Dress (Argentina, 1976–1983)," in *Memories from Darkness: Archaeology of Repression and Resistance in Latin America*, ed. Pedro Funari, Andres Zarankin, and Melissa Salerno, Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology (New York, NY: Springer New York, 2010), 81–103, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-0679-3_7; Melisa A. Salerno, Andrés Zarankin, and María Celeste Perosino, "Arqueologías de la clandestinidad. Una revisión de los trabajos efectuados en los centros de detención clandestinos de la última dictadura militar en Argentina.," *Revista Universitaria de Historia Militar* 1, no. 2 (July 29, 2015), http://ruhm.es/index.php/RUHM/article/view/19; Andrés Zarankin and Melisa A. Salerno, "Después de la tormenta. Arqueología de la represión en América Latina," *Complutum* 19, no. 2 (December 29, 2008): 21-32–32, https://doi.org/-; Melisa A. Salerno and Andrés Zarankin, "Discussing the Spaces of Memory in Buenos Aires: Official Narratives and the Challenges of Site Management," in *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*, ed. Alfredo González-Ruibal and Gabriel Moshenska, Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice (New York, NY: Springer New York, 2015), 89–112, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4939-1643-6_6; Maco Somigliana, "Materia Oscura. Los Avatares de La Antropología Forense En Argentina," in *Historias Desaparecidas: Arqueología, Memoria y Violencia Política*, ed. Andrés Zarankin, Melisa A. Salerno, and María Celeste Perosino, 1o ed, Contextos Humanos 7 (Córdoba, Argentina : [Catamarca, Argentina]: Encuentro Grupo Editor ; Facultad de Humanidades, Universidad Nacional de Catamarca, 2012), 25–34; Andrés Zarankin and Melisa Salerno, "The Engineering of Genocide: An Archaeology of Dictatorship in Argentina," in *Archaeologies of Internment*, ed. Adrian Myers and Gabriel Moshenska, One World Archaeology (New York, NY: Springer New York, 2011), 207–27, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-9666-4_12; Andrés Zarankin and Claudio Niro, "The Materialization of Sadism; Archaeology of Architecture in Clandestine Detention Centers (Argentinean Military Dictatorship, 1976–1983)," in *Memories from Darkness: Archaeology of Repression and Resistance in Latin America*, ed. Pedro Funari, Andres Zarankin, and Melissa Salerno, Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology (New York, NY: Springer New York, 2010), 57–77, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-0679-3_6; Marcelo Castillo, "Proyecto de Recuperación de La Memoria CCDyT "Club Atlético"," in *El Porvenir de La Memoria*, ed. Abel Madariaga (Segundo Coloquio Interdisciplinario de Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo, Buenos Aires, Argentina: Abuelas de la Plaza de Mayo, 2005), 103–22; Gonzalo Conte, "A Topography of Memory: Reconstructing the Architectures of Terror in the Argentine Dictatorship," *Memory Studies*, October 9, 2014, 1750698014552411, https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698014552411.

[23] Elizabeth Jelin, *Los Trabajos de La Memoria*, 2. ed, Estudios Sobre Memoria y Violencia 1 (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2012).

[24] Rem Koolhaas' *S,M,L,XL*, is one of the most prominent examples in architectural literature that uses scale as structure, metaphor and technique of analysis. Beyond Koolhaas, scalar interpretations are wide-spread in the field of

elements of Club Atlético: object [exhibition], excavation [former building], plaza, and neighborhood are thus arranged according to size of intervention. When all these elements are closed or inactive, Club Atlético is small, inaccessible, almost absent. This is how I first encountered it: excavation fenced in and shut, plaza inaccessible, office and exhibition closed after business hours. The second time I visited Club Atlético, in 2012, the gate to the plaza was open and the terraced space provided a new viewpoint to analyze the still closed excavation. After making contacts with the site's archaeologists, educators, and conservators who run the operations of the site, an even larger Club Atlético unfolded. My visit to the third floor of a rundown nearby building revealed the staff's offices on *Avenida San Juan,* an archeology and conservation lab and depot, as well as a small exhibition space on the ground floor of the same building. The most elusive area remained the actual historical site: the excavation of the old Federal Police building's foundations. When I finally visited the excavation, I was accompanied by the two leading archeologists of Club Atlético: Laura Duguine and Silvina Durán. I re-visited the excavation on many occasions, with them, with Club Atlético's head of education, Susana Mitre, and with tour guides.[25] I also visited the excavation accompanied by tourists, middle school students, survivors, neighbors, and other academics, but in the five years that I have been researching Club Atlético, I never experienced the excavation site alone. Its limited accessibility has practical reasons –staff, security, and budget are important restrictions–, but Club Atlético's current operating structure has an advantage: its mutability. Comprised of a series of separate and distinct elements, Club Atlético has the capacity to shift scales like no traditional memorial can. Opening and closing fences and doors not only shifts the urban footprint of the site, but also its meaning. Since the excavation cannot be visited alone, it is always a collective experience shaped by its participants, which makes each visit different and unique. Mutability plays a central role in the emergent narrative of anti-apologetic resistance that Club Atlético forges.

The following four sections examine each one of these scales in detail and in a particular order, starting from the smallest object and ending with the entire neighborhood of San Telmo as Club Atlético's area of influence. However, these scales are not necessarily consecutive or mutually exclusive. Sometimes the memorial site is all scales at once, other times it is a combination, and at off-hours it is none of these scales: just a sidewalk surrounded by closed doors. From small to extra-large the scalar sequence of the chapter presents a counter-chronology. The narrative starts in the present and slowly moves back in time in order to understand the events, actions and physical transformations that led up to the current state of the site, as well as to its future transformations. These scales bring out the site as a place of 'anti-apologetic resistance': a compromise to represent

---

architecture, geography and urban history. Rem Koolhaas, Bruce Mau, and Office for Metropolitan Architecture, *Small, Medium, Large, Extra-Large*, ed. Jennifer Sigler, 2d ed. (New York, N.Y: Monacelli Press, 1998). For another prominent example of the pedagogical use of scales consider the film "Powers of Ten" (1968) by Ray and Charles Eames. For examples in geography see: Adam Moore, "Rethinking Scale as a Geographical Category: From Analysis to Practice," *Progress in Human Geography* 32, no. 2 (April 1, 2008): 203–25, https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132507087647; Sallie A Marston, John Paul Jones III, and Keith Woodward, "Human Geography without Scale," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30, no. 4 (December 1, 2005): 416–32, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2005.00180.x; David Harvey, *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1996).

[25] Durán and Contissa, Interview with Silvina Duran and Valeria Contissa of Club Atlético; Mitre, Interview Susana Mitre of the educational program of Club Atlético.

the real and uncurated thing, an institutional lightness that allows spatial mutability through time, a rejection of overarching regenerating narratives, and a preference for grounded experiences of survivors, visitors, and neighbors. As the scales of Club Atlético grow throughout this chapter, the multiple and sometimes contradictory ways in which apologies are resisted unfold. The cult of apology, which I have examined throughout this dissertation, can be identified through the use of space –in particular, memorials– as a means to demonstrate the sincerity behind an apology, reinforce its message of forgiveness, and ultimately contribute to its goal of reparation. What counters the cult of apology is less clear-cut, as the unfolding complexity of the multiple scales of Club Atlético will demonstrate. In other words, Club Atlético reveals how, in a world of increasingly apologetic memorials, the acts of resistance against the growing power of apologies are under constant pressure to redefine the meaning of justice, punishment, and memory.

Small: Objects

A ping-pong ball, a police cap, and a metal plate. These three objects were found amongst more than a thousand others during the excavations of Club Atlético's basement which started in 2002 (Fig. 6.9.).[26] Unlike any other former clandestine detention center in Buenos Aires, during the military regime Club Atlético was demolished to its ground level and then covered up with soil. The basement remained buried underneath the structure of *Autopista 25 de Mayo*, and with it many objects were locked in time. For more than 20 years, objects that belonged to the victims of the infamous clandestine detention center, and multiple objects that belonged to the Department of Supply and Warehouse Division of the Federal Police remained untouched. Valeria Contissa, Club Atlético's conservationist and restaurateur, argues that these objects were "frozen in time."[27] Once unearthed, Club Atlético provided a unique opportunity for archeologists and conservators, like Contissa, to get a unaltered sample of the objects that circulated in the everyday activities of a clandestine detention center during Argentine's last dictatorship.

[26] On the archaeology of Club Atlético and its relationship to archaeology of memory sites in Argentina, see Duguine et al., "Experiencias Desde La Arqueología y La Conservación Para La Recuperación Material de Los Ex Centros Clandestinos de Detención Tortura y Exterminio (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Argentina)"; Melisa A. Salerno and Andrés Zarankin, "Discussing the Spaces of Memory in Buenos Aires: Official Narratives and the Challenges of Site Mangement," in *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*, ed. Alfredo González Ruibal and Gabriel Moshenska, Ethical Archaeologies 2 (New York: Springer, 2015), 89–112; Salerno, Zarankin, and Perosino, "Arqueologías de la clandestinidad. Una revisión de los trabajos efectuados en los centros de detención clandestinos de la última dictadura militar en Argentina."; Somigliana, "Materia Oscura. Los Avatares de La Antropología Forense En Argentina."

[27] Secretaría de Derechos Humanos, Argentina, *Objetos Con Memoria Del Ex Centro Clandestino "Club Atlético"* (Buenos Aires, Argentina, 2017), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3J_okYBUUck.

Fig. 6.9. Objects found during the excavations of Club Atlético.

Most clandestine detention centers had other uses that followed the unlawful activities of the armed forces. In many cases, like at ESMA's navy officer's mess and *Olimpo*, the perpetrators themselves transformed these places to erase the traces of their actions.[28] In other instances, military attempts of destruction were followed by resignification in the hands of new tenants. This is the case of the former clandestine detention center *Mansion Seré*; which the mayor of Morón transformed into the "Gorki Grana" sports center during the immediate post-dictatorship.[29] Paradoxically, it was the attempt to obscure Club Atlético site with mounds of soil, combined with the technical constraints of any demolition –basements are usually not demolished–, that facilitate today's preservation of the site.[30]

[28] Alejandra Naftal, Interview with Alejandra Naftal, director of Museo Sitio de Memoria ESMA, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, April 6, 2018; Marcelo López, Interview with Marcelo López founder and staff member the site of memory ex CCDTyE Olimpo, March 21, 2018.

[29] Silvina Fabri, "Los Lugares de La Memoria En Buenos Aires. Mansión Seré a Diez Años de Su Recuperación," *GEOUSP: Espaço e Tempo (Online)*, no. 29 (December 30, 2011): 169, https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2179-0892.geousp.2011.74198; Dolores San Julián, "La Construcción de Un Lugar de Memoria En La Provincia de Buenos Aires. Mansión Seré, Morón, 1983-2007," *Trabajos y Comunicaciones* 0, no. 40 (December 22, 2014), http://www.trabajosycomunicaciones.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/article/view/TyC2014n40a02.

[30] Likewise, the basement of the Gestapo Headquarters in Berlin survived after its demolition because the bulldozers only razed the building down to the street level.

Fig. 6.10. Object Exhibition of Club Atlético, 2018.

Fig. 6.11. Office/Lab Site of Memory Club Atlético, Buenos Aires, 2016.

The ping-pong ball and the police cap were discovered during the first excavation in 2002, while the metal plate was found during a second excavation in 2004.[31] These three pieces are part of an exhibition of approximately 50 objects, located on the ground level of a dilapidated building of the city of Buenos Aires, on *Avenida San Juan* (Fig. 6.10.). Two blocks away from the historic Club Atlético site is where the everyday operations of the memory site take place. Archeologists, conservators, educators, researchers, and maintenance personnel work on the open-plan third level of the building surrounded by aisles of boxed archeological material found at the site (Fig. 6.11.). Space, time, and funding restrictions make the analysis, preservation, and cataloguing of each object

[31] Eduardo Tavani, ed., *Las Marcas de La Memoria: Objetos Encontrados* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Instituto Espacio para la Memoria, 2012), 33–50.

a slow process. Thus, only 50 of the more than a 1000 found objects can be viewed by the exhibition's visitors.

Fig. 6.12. Display case with objects found during the excavations of Club Atlético, 2018.

The ping-pong ball rests in a glass display case, surrounded by a police baton, a bottle, two bullet shells, a set of coins, and food packaging from the 70s (Fig. 6.12.). The short labels that identify each object indicate no more than a name "ping pong ball," an inventory number "0594," and a logo of the Human Rights Secretary, which supports the operations of the site.[32] The ball's round and off-white mundane surface hides important clues about the everyday activities of the clandestine detention center, its perpetrators, and victims. Indeed, the ping-pong ball is an iconic object that distinguishes Club Atlético from other clandestine detention centers. No other clandestine detention center had a ping-pong table, thus the repetitive sound of the ball became one of the features to recognize and categorize testimonies that belonged to Club Atlético.[33] Since detainees spent most of their time blindfolded, memories of sound pierce through their testimonies

[32] Although the site is managed and funded through the Human Rights Secretary, many of the survivors and memory activists who started Club Atletico's memorialization in the 90s remain on the memorial committee, which oversees not only everyday operations, but also makes long-term content decisions.

[33] Laura Duguine and Silvina Durán, Interview with Laura Duguine and Silvina Duran of the Club Atletico staff, interview by Francisca Márquez and Valentina Rozas-Krause, July 16, 2016.; Valentina Rozas-Krause, fieldnotes Club Atlético, 2016 & 2018.

as small moments of knowledge about their surroundings.[34] Two sounds were particularly telling of the former clandestine detention center Club Atlético. The first was the sound of cheering soccer fans, which revealed the proximity of Club Atlético to *La Bombonera* stadium of Club Atlético Boca Juniors. The second was the repetitive sound of a ping-pong ball hitting a wooden table.[35] Former Club Atlético detainee Ricardo Peidro speaks about the ping-pong ball in his testimony:

> The smells, the screams, the pain, the sounds and the anguish with a taste of death. These are deep sensations that accompany us, and that are at the same time so difficult to transmit in order to describe a concentration camp in its real dimension. *But there she is, round, palpable, concrete. To say 'yes I was the one who hit the table while humanity was fading around me.'* As if she had also won a battle, to go through time and attest to the testimony of the witnesses of horror.[36]

For Peidro the ping-pong ball is material evidence that demonstrates the veracity of survivors' testimonies. Another survivor added that until he saw the actual ping-pong ball he did not know if the monotonous sound he so vividly remembered was a recording employed for torture, or an actual object. According to Contissa, seeing the ping-pong ball allowed that survivor to contextualize his memories of imprisonment, and to silence the torturous rhythm of the ball's play that had been ingrained in his memory as an element of torture.[37] In this sense, the ping-pong ball is more than just material evidence of a sonic memory, its existence has a therapeutic effect on those who were imprisoned at Club Atlético.

Beyond its meaning for survivors, the ping-pong ball offers a glimpse into the realm of the perpetrators. Following Hannah Arendt, I argue that the ping-pong ball attests to the *banality of evil* of the clandestine detention center.[38] The coexistence of this object of leisure with a imprisonment, torture, and extermination chamber reveals the extent to which terror had been normalized amongst the armed forces (Figs. 6.13. & 6.14.). The scene that the ball paints is gruesome. Killing time as they killed people, bored guards played ping-pong while tortured prisoners died in minuscule underground cells without charge and due process. Boredom and death, play and torture, everyday life and clandestinity appear intimately related and contiguous. Mundane and unapparent, the ping-pong ball reveals how the quotidian can become monstrous: how everyday objects can be used for torture.

---

[34] Non-visual, or rather multisensorial memories are an important topic in memory studies, which exceeds the scope of this chapter. One could start with Marcel Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past* (New York: Random House, 1981).

[35] D'Agostino, Interviews with Miguel D'Agostino, Club Atlético survivor.

[36] Original quote in Spanish: "Los olores, los gritos, el dolor, los sonidos y la angustia con sabor a muerte. Son sensaciones profundas que nos acompañan y a su vez tan difíciles de transmitir para describir un campo de concentración en su real dimensión. Pero ahí está ella, redonda, palpable, concreta. Para decir 'sí era yo la que golpeaba en la mesa mientras lo humano se desvanecía alrededor'. Como si ella también hubiese ganado una batalla, para atravesar los tiempos y dar fe del testimonio de los testigos del horror". Ricardo Peidro, former detainee in Club Atlético, in Tavani, *Las Marcas de La Memoria*, 42.

[37] Anecdote narrated by Valeria Contissa in Secretaría de Derechos Humanos, Argentina, *Objetos Con Memoria Del Ex Centro Clandestino "Club Atlético."*

[38] Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, Penguin Classics (New York, N.Y: Penguin Books, 2006).

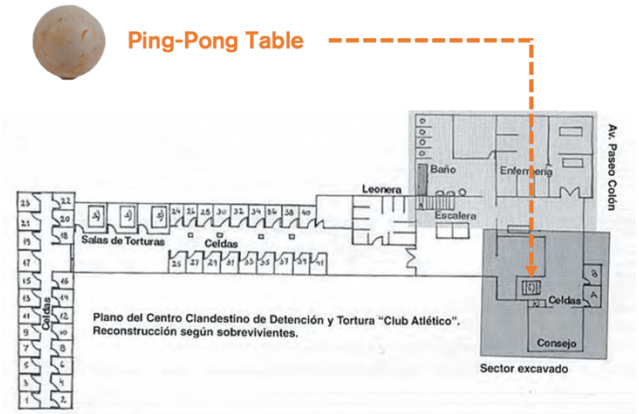


Fig. 6.13. Map of Club Atlético based on survivors' testimony.

Fig. 6.14. Still showing the placement of the ping-pong table from the 3D-reconstruction of Club Atlético.

Drawing on these lessons, the ball is featured prominently in most guided tours of the site and in publications about the archeological findings of Club Atlético.[39] Animated by the words of tour guides who draw on survivors' testimonies, the ping-pong ball becomes a powerful pedagogic resource to bring visitors closer to the imprisonment experience. While an identification with the prisoners is prompted, the leisurely banality of the ball also suggests some level of humanity in the perpetrators. In its simplicity, the ping-pong ball has the potential to unlock a multifaceted history that is not only uniquely situated in the dictatorial experience of Club Atlético, but that speaks to broader debates. If leisure was entangled with torture, defying a modernist separation of functions, what effect did the leakage of terror have beyond the basement of Club Atlético? Contesting the assumption that torture was well hidden, the contact between the ping-pong ball and torture, as well as between the ball and the world, suggest porous limits between the concealed and the unconcealed. Tapping into the Browning-Goldhagen debate, does it make a difference whether torturers were playing ping-pong to evaluate whether they were willing executioners or ordinary men?[40] These broader questions linger on the materiality of the ball. However, in the guided tours through the object exhibition, the narrative is centered on one role of the ping-pong ball: its uniqueness, which proves the reliability of survivors' testimonies.[41]

[39] Tavani, *Las Marcas de La Memoria*; Equipo y Comisión de trabajo y consenso Ex CCDTyE Club Atlético, "Proyecto de Recuperación Club Atlético"; Duguine et al., "Experiencias Desde La Arqueología y La Conservación Para La Recuperación Material de Los Ex Centros Clandestinos de Detención Tortura y Exterminio (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Argentina)"; Secretaría de Derechos Humanos, Argentina, *Objetos Con Memoria Del Ex Centro Clandestino "Club Atlético."*

[40] See more on the Browning-Goldhagen debate in chapter one. Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Finalsolution in Poland*, 1st ed (New York: HarperCollins, 1992); Daniel J. Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, 1st ed (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996).

[41] Valentina Rozas-Krause, field notes Club Atlético, 2016 & 2018.

Fig. 6.15. Display case with objects found during the excavations of Club Atlético, 2018.

Fig. 6.16. Disassembled police cap found during the excavations of Club Atlético.

A second object sets up an even darker depiction of the perpetrators. In the glass case contiguous to the ping-pong ball sits a disassembled police cap, surrounded by police badges, another baton, a black leather police uniform shoe, a broken police mug with the institution's logo, and a gun holster (Fig. 6.15.). The vitrine presents the originally circular police cap's interior band extended on a narrow white cushion. Visitors can read the word "Nasista" [Nazi] scratched onto the brown leather-like surface of the band, next to an inverted swastika (Fig. 6.16.). It is not clear whether the inscription was a self-proclamation by the cap's owner, or if it was the result of the

action of another guard or inmate. The ambiguity of the inscription –whether an act of glorification, defiance, or denunciation– plays a secondary role. Tour guides focus on the police cap band as a witness to the particularities of the Jewish incarceration experience, and as an ideological X-ray of the perpetrators. Showing again how words and objects are interconnected, there are many testimonies that speak to the antisemitism of the guards and torturers of Club Atlético, making it a distinctly gruesome place for Jewish prisoners. Survivor Pedro Vanrell states that:

> Jews were taken out every day to be beaten up. One day they brought a recording of Hitler's speeches and forced them to raise their hands and say: I love Hitler, heil, heil Hitler, heil, heil Führer. With that they [the perpetrators] laughed and took their [Jewish prisoners'] clothes off to paint black swastikas with spray paint on their bodies...[42]

Survivor Ana María Careaga confirms this account: "From inside we could hear a cassette with Hitler's speeches at full volume, and the hollers and laughter of the repressors […]."[43] Likewise, survivor Nora Strejilevich, gives testimony to the especially cruel treatment that she suffered for being Jewish and having been kidnapped before a planned trip to Israel.[44] These testimonies provide further evidence for the entanglement between the Holocaust and the Argentine civic-military dictatorship, previously analyzed at the ESMA site and its denomination as "Our Auschwitz."[45] The Holocaust wends its way through Club Atlético, not only from the Jewish perspective, but also from the viewpoint of the perpetrators; revealing the glorification of Nazi ideologies by members of the Argentine military.

The ping-pong ball and the police cap ground the narrative of Club Atlético's objects exhibition on the perpetrators' experience. Yet, a third object, showcased in a separate vitrine, reveals the effect that the archeological findings have had on the search for justice for the victims. First discovered in 2004, and cataloged as 'metal plate' at the time, five years had to pass until the true function of the metal plate was revealed (Fig. 6.17. & 6.18.). In 2009, during a routine mechanical cleaning process to prepare the metal plate for storage, conservators of Club Atlético's archaeology and conservation lab discovered that the object was actually a printing plate commonly used in the 70s for offset printing. After being transferred onto paper, the plate revealed a photograph of a group of people during a protest holding canvasses, flags, and banners. The acronym UMA, for the Unión de Mujeres Argentinas [Union of Argentine Women], alongside signs

---

[42] Translated from the original in Spanish: "A los judíos los sacaban todos los días para apalearlos y pegarles. Un día llevaron una grabación de discursos de Hitler y les obligaban a levantar la mano y decir: yo amo a Hitler, hail, hail Hitler, hail, hail Führer. Con eso se reían y les sacaban la ropa para pintarles una cruz esvástica negra con pintura en aerosol en el cuerpo…", cited in Tavani, *Las Marcas de La Memoria*, 46.

[43] Translated from the original in Spanish: "Adentro se escuchaba un cassette con discursos de Hitler a todo volumen y los gritos y risas de los represores […]," cited in Equipo y Comisión de trabajo y consenso Ex CCDTyE Club Atlético, "Proyecto de Recuperación Club Atlético," 57.

[44] Nora Strejilevich shares part of her testimony in the documentary Unknown, *Jornada Por La Memoria. Señalización Del Ex CCDTyE "Club Atlético"* (Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1996), https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=3709&v=N1VftmnWXo0.

[45] See Chapter Five.

for the Partido Comunista Revolucionario -PCR [Communist Revolutionary Party] can be clearly distinguished.

Fig. 6.17. Detail plaque and image transferred onto paper.

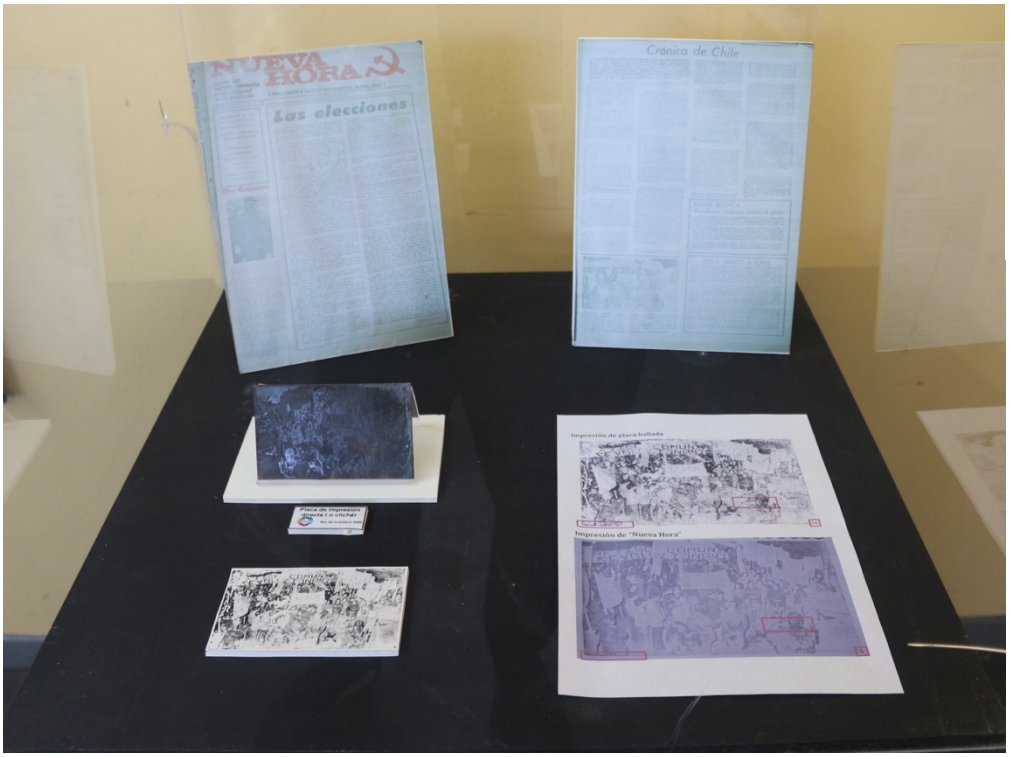


Fig. 6.18. Exhibition vitrine showcasing the plaque, its transferred image, and the periodical in which it was published.

Based on these clues, the lab experts dated the photograph to the years prior to the *coup* and started an archival research that led to the discovery of the periodical in which it was first printed. The photograph appeared in late September 1973, in the periodical of the Communist Revolutionary Party "La Hora" to illustrate a chronicle about the military coup in Chile. Shot in the city of Santa Rosa, La Pampa, the photograph depicts an act of solidarity for the Chilean people and a protest against the military regime installed in the neighboring country on September 11 of the same year. Once the photograph and the event it captured were identified, the research team of Club Atlético focused on how the printing plate ended up stored at the clandestine detention center. Here again, testimonies were crucial in linking the plate to Manuel Guerra, a member of the Communist

Revolutionary Party.[46] Several survivors of Club Atlético have confirmed the presence of Manuel Guerra –who remains disappeared– in the clandestine detention center.[47] Further, his disappearance on November 1 1977 coincides with the active period of Club Atlético. Guerra was one of the founders and first secretary of the Communist Youth Organization, and worked on the periodical "La Hora."[48] After he was kidnapped from the streets of Buenos Aires, his apartment was plundered. Piecing these facts together, Club Atlético's experts believe that the plate might have been part of the objects that the military Task Force in charge of Guerra's kidnapping stole from his home.[49]

The tour guides of Club Atlético's object exhibition narrate the story of the metal plate following a structure similar to the previous paragraph. The plate's mis-categorization and later discovery is presented as the achievement of a combination of two sciences –archaeology and conservation– and historical research. Unlike the majority of the objects found during the excavation that belonged to the perpetrators, this one speaks about a victim. Going against the model of the defenseless *desaparecido*, the metal plate allows Manuel Guerra to be presented not as a passive victim, but as a political militant who was actively engaged in the communist ideals he believed in. Soon after the start of the dictatorship, the so-called *Two Demons Theory* emerged amongst supporters of the coup and figures of the human rights movement to condemn the human rights violations of 'both sides of the trenches.' The defenders of the *Two Demons Theory* allege that the terrorist tactics employed by the right-wing military and the left-wing subversive guerrilla were equally responsible for the violence of the last dictatorship and the years preceding it. This debate shaped early conceptions of the figure of the *detenido desaparecido* as inscribed in the *Nunca Más Report*, which was used to stress the victims' innocence.[50] Downplaying political militancy and personal agency, the problematic subtext of the early definition of the *detenido desaparecido* is the assumption that only passive 'innocent' subjects had the right to live.[51] In the last decade, the *Two Demons Theory* and the passive innocence of the *desaparecidos* have been put into question, which has led to a reappraisal of the victims' active political engagement in the years leading up to and during the military regime. The active militancy of the victims and the shift in its portrayal frames the narrative

[46] To read about the history of the printing plate from the perspective of the team of archeologists and conservationists of Club Atlético, see Equipo y Comisión de trabajo y consenso Ex CCDTyE Club Atlético, "Proyecto de Recuperación Club Atlético," 60. A short description of the plate can also be retrieved here: Tavani, *Las Marcas de La Memoria.*

[47] Equipo y Comisión de trabajo y consenso Ex CCDTyE Club Atlético, "Proyecto de Recuperación Club Atlético," 60.

[48] For more on Manuel Guerra's life, see the section on Life Stories on the Club Atlético webpage: http://memoriaexAtlético.blogspot.com/p/blog-page.html [accessed 03/07/2019]. In its tributes to Guerra, the Communist Revolutionary Party has provided more information about his militancy and life: http://pcr.org.ar/nota/manuel-guerra-presente/ and https://revistachispa.org/2017/04/13/manuel-guerra-un-joven-revolucionario/ [both accessed 03/07/2019]

[49] Equipo y Comisión de trabajo y consenso Ex CCDTyE Club Atlético, "Proyecto de Recuperación Club Atlético," 60.; Valentina Rozas-Krause, fieldnotes Club Atlético, 2016 & 2018.

[50] The *Two Demons Theory* has been the subject of a wide array of scholarly texts and critiques that led to the re-edition of the *Nunca Más Report* without Ernesto Sabato's contested introduction supporting the theory. See Hugo Vezzetti, *Pasado y Presente: Guerra, Dictadura y Sociedad En La Argentina*, Sociología y Política (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2002), 109–46; Hugo Vezzetti, *Sobre La Violencia Revolucionaria: Memorias y Olvidos*, Sociología y Política (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno, 2009), 115–17. See chapter five for more on the CONADEP and the *Nunca Más Report*.

[51] Something similar can be recognized with the rendering of Japanese and Japanese American incarcerees as 'model citizens,' see chapter four.

of the printing plate. As such, it acts as a narrative device for tour guides to talk about political activism leading up to the coup.

At the same time as it engages with these memorial debates, the story behind the printing plate is deeply personal. Like most of the objects in the Club Atlético exhibition, the plate is being used as a material witness: in this case, for the imprisonment and disappearance of Manuel Guerra. Here again, material evidence serves as proof of the veracity of survivors' testimonies, as if these first-hand accounts were insufficient on their own. It is not that survivors are mistrusted, but that the logic of the court room has trickled onto that of historical memories. Strong multi-sourced evidence makes a case stronger in front of a court, increasing the chances of a fair prosecution and trial. Analogously, Argentine memory activists have come to seek out multiple sources of evidence to build cases against the criminals who committed human rights violations in the name of the state. In doing so, Argentine memory sites like Club Atlético defy what the founder of *Forensic Architecture*, Eyal Weizman, has deemed 'forensic fetishism.' Weizman argues that by replacing the role of human testimony with material evidence, forensic sciences risks representing objects as if they had an agency and voice of their own.[52] Forensic fetishism enables an easy slip into a false testimony-subjectivity versus material evidence-objectivity dichotomy, which occludes the human narrative behind the production of material evidence. Archaeologists, conservators, and memory activists in Argentina have eschewed this dichotomy by allowing testimony and material evidence to collaborate. Blurring the distinctions between the subjective and the objective, the narrative of a site like Club Atlético is built on the accumulation of multi-sourced cross-checked evidence. In this sense, objects and testimony form a continuity: a mutually-reinforcing circle that allows objects to be unearthed guided by survivors' testimony and testimonies to emerge based on the discovery of new objects.[53]

Despite their potential to bridge personal stories with social historical and ideological phenomena, most of the objects in the Club Atlético exhibition function primarily as material evidence for crimes against particular individuals and as clues to reconstruct the everyday activities of the clandestine detention center. The larger repressive structure of the military regime remains elusive, somewhat concealed by the factual reality of these objects and the testimonies that bring them to life. This is not a shortcoming, but rather a choice that reflects the site's position towards the past. At Club Atlético, the past is rendered as an outcome of the dialectic between testimony and space. The past exists, to put it differently, because materiality and human experience coincide and leave a trace. In a circular movement, the archeological finding of the step over which survivors like Miguel D'Agostino stumbled into the makeshift prison and torture chamber that was Club Atlético proves that the testimonies are real. At the same time, D'Agostino's testimony legitimizes the

[52] Eyal Weizman, *The Least of All Possible Evils: Humanitarian Violence from Arendt to Gaza* (London ; New York: Verso, 2011); Eyal Weizman et al., "Forensic Architecture," *Architectural Design* 80, no. 5 (September 1, 2010): 58–63, https://doi.org/10.1002/ad.1134.

[53] The circularity between testimony and objects is reinforced by the fact that, to this date, archeologists have found no incongruence between survivors' testimonies and uncovered objects and ruins.Equipo y Comisión de trabajo y consenso Ex CCDTyE Club Atlético, "Proyecto de Recuperación Club Atlético," 57.

historic authenticity of the step and the need to preserve it. Neither words nor building are enough. Instead, testimony and material traces are merged into one single narrative.[54]

The objects of Club Atlético's exhibition are presented as *etymons*: true bearers of traces of the past. The makeshift exhibition space, short labels, and almost absent curatorial design reinforce the idea of minimal intervention; of a past presented in its immediacy. Club Atlético stands for the unmediated ideal defended by the survivors of ESMA in the debate about the museum.[55] Yet, Club Atlético's uncurated exhibition is in itself a form of curation, which becomes apparent when analyzing the circulation of the objects that have been chosen for display. The ping-pong ball, the police cap, and the printing plate, alongside the rest of the objects selected for the exhibit have traveled from the excavation pit to the upstairs lab, some to specialized off-site labs, to finally be part of the exhibition. This circulation echoes the scientific meaning-making process that Bruno Latour examines in the chapter "Circulating Reference" of his book *Pandora's Hope*. Latour follows a group of interdisciplinary scientists who are investigating whether the Amazon forest is advancing or receding. In his words, he is interested in the "gap between words and the world."[56] Therefore, Latour describes a series of transformations from the forest to scientific publications through a sequence of scientific modes of abstraction: Cartesian grids, inscriptions, instruments, and labs. In each stage of this process, the referent gets separated further from the reference, opening a distance between the plant sample and the forest necessary to introduce newfound knowledge into the constructed world.

The objects found at Club Atlético are different from the leaves and soil collected by Latour's scientists. The physical proximity between the ping-pong ball, police cap, and printing plate and the remains of the excavation where they were found creates the appearance of an unmediated reality. There seems to be no gap between world and word. But this is only apparent: the circulation of Club Atlético's objects from the excavation to the lab and then to the exhibition resembles – although at a much lesser scale– the circulation of the samples collected in the Amazon forest. Unlike the samples from the forest, the objects collected during the archeological excavations of Club Atlético are not representative samples of a large species or type. Each of them is unique. However, to be presented to the public, the 50 objects of the exhibit had to be removed, cataloged, preserved, and mediated. After carefully registering the exact location and state in which each one of these objects was found, archeologists first cataloged them. The cataloged objects were carefully packed in acid-free papers and placed in bags with inscriptions, which were stored in labeled boxes resembling a Cartesian grid (Fig. 6.19.). Using these first assessments and norms as guiding principles, conservators proceeded to clean, preserve, and restore the objects to make a new assessment of their function and meaning. The transformation of the metal plate into an illustration demonstrates the radical transformation that this stage of the process can elicit. Researchers then advanced to a third level of identification of the objects based on their appearance in oral and

---

[54] Equipo y Comisión de trabajo y consenso Ex CCDTyE Club Atlético, "Proyecto de Recuperación Club Atlético"; D'Agostino, Interviews with Miguel D'Agostino, Club Atlético survivor; D'Agostino, "Ex Centro Clandestino de Detencion, Tortura y Exterminio 'Club Atlético:' Supervivencia y Memoria."

[55] See Chapter Five.

[56] Bruno Latour, "Circulating Reference," in *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999), 24.

written testimonies of survivors. One of the main methodological challenges Club Atlético's archaeologists and conservators recognize in their own procedure is that there is no consensus among their scientific disciplines about how to extract and catalog information derived from testimonies.[57] Nevertheless, the most important step in the series of transformations of these objects into narrative bundles of is indeed the cross-checking between object and testimony.

Fig. 6.19. Office/Lab Site of Memory Club Atlético, Buenos Aires, 2016.

The influence of testimony is actually not reduced to this third step, but intervenes along the entire process. The excavations of Club Atlético were guided by testimonies, and were actually performed in the presence of survivors (Figs. 6.20. & 6.21.).[58] The selection of objects to be preserved and exhibited is based on their testimonial value. Likewise, the labels of the exhibition and the narrative of the tour guides that introduce these objects to visitors are grounded in their value as evidence of the veracity of testimonies. In other words, testimonies of survivors serve the function of curating Club Atlético's object exhibition. It follows that the object exhibition of Club Atlético rejects the articulation of an overarching narrative as well as the aesthetic conventions of a museum,

[57] Duguine et al., "Experiencias Desde La Arqueología y La Conservación Para La Recuperación Material de Los Ex Centros Clandestinos de Detención Tortura y Exterminio (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Argentina)."
[58] Equipo y Comisión de trabajo y consenso Ex CCDTyE Club Atlético, "Proyecto de Recuperación Club Atlético," 52–57; Victoria Ginzberg, "El Atlético empezó a emerger como testimonio de la represión," *Página/12*, April 25, 2002, sec. El Pais, https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-4407-2002-04-25.html.

in order to focus on fragmented micro-histories. As with the first-hand testimonies of Club Atlético, the value of these objects is centered on their truth-telling role as witnesses of a past crime. Their currency is truth for the sake of justice, which stands in opposition to reconciliation.

Figs. 6.20. & 6.21. Survivors and victims' families participate in the first excavation of Club Atlético, Buenos Aires, 2002.

Club Atlético is an example of an anti-apologetic resistance, it is literal, factual, testimonial, and spatially heterogeneous. Distilled into the exhibition of the uncovered objects, the materiality of Club Atlético is a refusal to make the past bearable, a refusal to surrender to abstraction, to everyday necessities, to design conventions, to nostalgic pastoralism, and to reconciliation. Presented as evidence of a crime scene, its artifice is its total commitment to maintaining the *etymon*—the real and true thing—which itself is (although unadmittedly) a kind of curation. The restraint of Club Atlético, both in its narrative as in its aesthetic, puts apology in suspense, until justice is attained. In many ways, one could think of Club Atlético as a postmodern site. By refusing an overarching conciliatory narrative, Club Atlético becomes a place of micro-histories, shaped by the grounded experiences between the tour guides and the visitors. Further, by refusing to be part of a globally coded cult of apology, Club Atlético remains aesthetically convoluted, heterogeneous, multiple, and unfinished.

Medium: Building

A few blocks separate the small scale of these three objects from the medium scale of the building. Most visitors cross this threshold without noticing the change. The proximity between the excavation of the basement of the Department of Supply and Warehouse Division of the Federal Police and the objects that have been extracted from it suggests a seamless continuity meant to reinforce the truth of the *etymon*. However, as the centerpiece of the memorial assemblage of Club Atlético, the excavation of the former building presents its own challenges that are slightly different from those of the archeological objects. While objects can be presented as wholes, only 10% of the

remains of the former police building have been excavated. The rest lies buried under heaps of soil beneath the highway (Fig. 6.22.).[59]

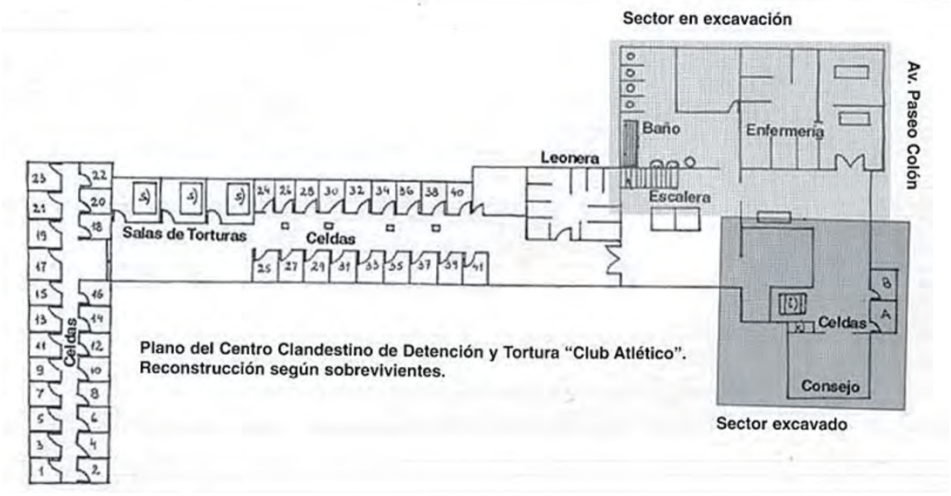


Fig. 6.22. Map of Club Atlético based on survivors' testimony. The dark gray rectangle in the lower right represents the area that has been excavated.

The basement can therefore only be perceived in fragments. To make sense of these fragments, also at this scale, testimonies play a crucial role alongside what Club Atlético's archaeologists call 'architectural archaeology.'[60] Based on a stratigraphic method, this archaeological sub-discipline seeks to identify the constructive, destructive, and transformative activities –anthropic or natural– which can affect a building. Club Atlético is a multi-stratified and multi-typological structure in which all *strata* of the building –original construction, federal police use, clandestine detention center, rubble under the highway, public space, and memorial– coexist. Although each *stratum* is identified, what matters is not the continuity of the building's history, but its disruption. The disruptive stratum of the building, the one that indicates how it was transformed into a clandestine detention center, is the one that is isolated. What interests the group of archaeologists of Club Atlético is what material changes the building suffered during its use as a clandestine detention center, how the space was organized, what materials constituted this space, and more importantly, how space was weaponized, turning into a mechanism of violence in itself. Thus, while unearthing, preserving, and cataloguing objects, the archaeologists and conservators of Club Atlético have also been reconstructing the missing building of the Department of Supply and Warehouse Division of the Federal Police in order to understand the spatial layout of the former clandestine center and its everyday activities.[61]

[59] This estimate is based on documents of the Club Atletico Memorial Site Archive, facilitated by Silvina Durán.
[60] Duguine et al., "Experiencias Desde La Arqueología y La Conservación Para La Recuperación Material de Los Ex Centros Clandestinos de Detención Tortura y Exterminio (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Argentina)."
[61] Citar todos los trabajos sobre arqueología del Atlético.

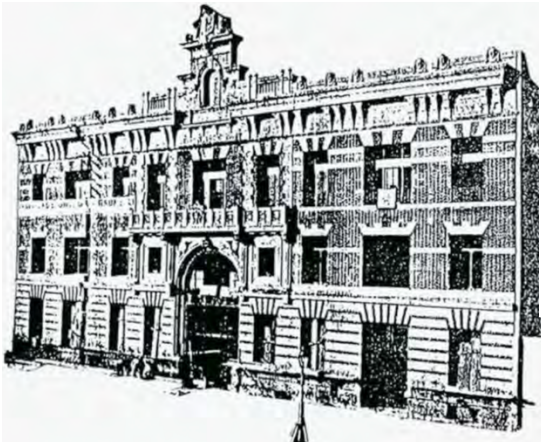


Fig. 6.23. Original façade of the building used to house the clandestine detention, torture, and execution center Club Atlético.

Only one blurry image of the façade of the neoclassical building constructed around 1903 to house the heliographic workshop "Ortega y Radaelli" survived attempts by the military to erase its memory (Fig. 6.23.).[62] The building was taken over by the federal police in 1932 and remained in their hands until its demolition in 1979. To this day, there has been no success in locating an original floorplan or construction drawings for the basement; thus, the main spatial record of the clandestine detention center's architecture is a 'testimonial map.' Archaeologists, anthropologists, historians, architects, activists, and survivors involved in the early 'recovery' of Club Atlético created this map based on survivors' drawings, as well as written and oral testimonies of the site (see Fig. 6.22.).[63] The excavation of the old building and its many fragments –two steps of a staircase, the elevator box, remains of a division wall between two isolation cells, floor finishes, and concrete slabs– were carefully located within the rooms identified by the testimonial map. Tying together the words of the testimonies and the space of captivity, this map became the navigational tool to distinguish victims' and perpetrators' objects and spaces from the mounts of construction rubble that was poured into the emptied basement after its demolition.

The excavations of Club Atlético began in 2002, under the watchful eyes of survivors, memory activists, neighbors, politicians, and the media (see Figs. 6.20. & 6.21.).[64] As Nadia Abu El-Haj argues in her study of Israeli archeology in occupied Palestine territory, archeology is more than just empirical and archaeological data; it is situated material culture, meaning that it happens within a specific historical and social context.[65] In this sense, the context of the first excavation of Club Atlético is illuminating. Several authors agree on the existence of a memorial turning point during the late 90s in both Argentina and Chile.[66] In Chile, this moment was marked by the detention of

---

[62] Tavani, *Las Marcas de La Memoria*, 33.

[63] Equipo y Comisión de trabajo y consenso Ex CCDTyE Club Atlético, "Proyecto de Recuperación Club Atlético"; Marcelo Castillo, Interview with Marcelo Castillo, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, April 5, 2018; Castillo, "Proyecto de Recuperación de La Memoria CCDyT "Club Atlético"."

[64] Ginzberg, "Página/12."

[65] Nadia Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001).

[66] Steve J. Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London, 1998*, Latin America Otherwise, bk. 1 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Alexander Wilde, "Irruptions of Memory: Expressive Politics in Chile's Transition to Democracy," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 31, no. 2 (May 1, 1999): 473–500; Silvia R. Tandeciarz, "Citizens of

Augusto Pinochet in London in 1998, an event that Alexander Wilde described as an 'eruption of memory."[67] In Argentina, the eruption of memory was a two-part process that started with navy officer Adolfo Scilingo's public confession regarding his participation in the 'death flights' in 1995, and was later heightened by the financial and institutional crisis of 2001 known as *Corralito*.[68] In 2001, local bank accounts were frozen to avoid the drainage of the Argentine bank system in response to the effects of increasing international debt, a stagnating economy, and a fixed exchange rate between the U.S. dollar and the Argentine peso. During the economic crisis, a series of presidents were unable to finish their tenures, which led to the appointment of Eduardo Alberto Duhalde as president from early 2002 to the elections that led to Néstor Kirchner's triumph in 2003.[69] The end of the economic crisis in 2002 coincided with the beginning of the new century and a newfound disposition to confront the past, which manifested itself not only in Argentina but also in Chile.[70] Consequently, the plummeting of the Argentine economy and the end of president Carlos Menem's era of amnesty and reconciliation, are often viewed as related events.[71] Under the mandate of Duhalde and Kirchner, both members of the Partido Justicialista, the Subsecretaria de Derechos Humanos [Subsecretariat of Human Rights], which was created in the aftermath of the *Nunca Más Report*, gained importance. In 2002, it was promoted to a Secretariat, and in 2003 its budget and employees grew exponentially. At the city level, this period was also shaped by the presence of actors close to the human rights movement within the city legislation. In particular during the tenure of Aníbal Ibarra as mayor of the city of Buenos Aires and Gabriela Alegre as Human Rights director for the capital, the political landscape opened up to mark and intervene sites like Club Atlético.[72]

Together with the efforts of human rights activists, these events and institutional transformations led to the first excavation of Club Atlético in 2002. When archaeologists hired by the city of Buenos Aires started to dig up Club Atlético, it was a groundbreaking event.[73] At the time, there existed no other archaeological excavation of a former clandestine detention center either

---

Memory: Refiguring the Past in Postdictatorship Argentina," *PMLA* 122, no. 1 (January 1, 2007): 151–69; San Julián, "La Construcción de Un Lugar de Memoria En La Provincia de Buenos Aires. Mansión Seré, Morón, 1983-2007."

[67] Wilde, "Irruptions of Memory."

[68] Horacio Verbitsky, *The Flight: Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior* (New York: New Press, 1996); Tandeciarz, "Citizens of Memory," January 1, 2007, 152.

[69] Luis Alberto Romero, *Breve Historia Contemporánea de La Argentina: 1916-2016: Edición Definitiva*, Cuarta edición revisada y ampliada, Tezontle (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2017).

[70] In 2003, Chilean President Ricardo Lagos (2000-2006) delivered his now famous speech "No hay mañana sin ayer" [There is no tomorrow without yesterday] alongside a multidimensional truth, justice, and reparation program. Ricardo Lagos Escobar, *No hay mañana sin ayer : propuesta del presidente Ricardo Lagos en materia de derechos humanos* (Santiago de Chile: Ministerio Secretaría General de Gobierno, 2003).

[71] Castillo, Interview with Marcelo Castillo.

[72] D'Agostino, Interviews with Miguel D'Agostino, Club Atlético survivor; Castillo, Interview with Marcelo Castillo; Ginzberg, "Página/12."

[73] The experience of this first archaeological survey has inspired a series of publications on the relationship between archaeology and memory: Salerno, Zarankin, and Perosino, "Arqueologías de la clandestinidad. Una revisión de los trabajos efectuados en los centros de detención clandestinos de la última dictadura militar en Argentina."; Salerno, "'They Must Have Done Something Wrong…'"; Zarankin and Salerno, "Después de la tormenta. Arqueología de la represión en América Latina"; Salerno and Zarankin, "Discussing the Spaces of Memory in Buenos Aires"; Somigliana, "Materia Oscura. Los Avatares de La Antropología Forense En Argentina"; Zarankin and Salerno, "The Engineering of Genocide"; Zarankin and Niro, "The Materialization of Sadism; Archaeology of Architecture in Clandestine Detention Centers (Argentinean Military Dictatorship, 1976–1983)."

in Buenos Aires or in Argentina, although the excavation of *Mansión Seré* followed closely.[74] While Club Atlético is the first archaeological excavation intended to examine the spatiality of a former clandestine detention center, it is indebted to the work of forensic anthropologists, in particular to the Equipo Argentino de Antropología Forense – EAAF [Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team]. In the context of the creation of CONADEP and in response to human rights organizations' demands to find the disappeared, in 1984 Eric Stover, director of the Science and Human Rights Program at the American Association for the Advancement of Science, led a delegation of forensic experts on a mission to exhume and identify human remains in Argentina. Clyde Snow, one of the forensic anthropologists of the team, returned to Argentina several times and trained the current members of the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team.[75] The work of the local and international forensic experts was used not only to identify the victims, but also as evidence for the so-called 'truth trials.' Working around the amnesty laws during the long period of institutionalized injustice, forensic scientists gathered evidence to support the relentless testimonies of survivors during the truth trials. Unable to deliver justice and convict the criminals of human rights violations, these trials still sought out to find out the truth about the disappeared.[76] According to archaeologists Melisa Salerno, Andrés Zarankin –who was involved in the 2002 excavation of Club Atlético–, and María Celeste Perosino, Club Atlético marks a shift from a forensic anthropology focused on the identification of the victims to an architectural archeology destined to reconstruct the sites of imprisonment, torture, and murder.[77]

The situatedness of Club Atlético's excavation is enhanced by the fact that most of the archaeological evidence was produced within the public domain.[78] As previously mentioned, the first archaeological finding –the presence of the basement's ruins– was accomplished in the presence of survivors, victims' families, media, neighbors, and passersby.[79] In this sense, the excavation is not only historically entangled with the eruption of memories of the late 90s and the institutional transformations in the field of human rights activism that followed, but it is also socially relevant to the actors who witnessed the archeological event. Spatially, the excavation is tied to the surrounding neighborhood of San Telmo.[80]

---

[74] Castillo, Interview with Marcelo Castillo; Castillo, "Proyecto de Recuperación de La Memoria CCDyT "Club Atlético"; Fabri, "Los Lugares de La Memoria En Buenos Aires. Mansión Seré a Diez Años de Su Recuperación"; San Julián, "La Construcción de Un Lugar de Memoria En La Provincia de Buenos Aires. Mansión Seré, Morón, 1983-2007."

[75] See 'History of EAAF' section in the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team's official website: https://eaaf.typepad.com/founding_of_eaaf/ [accessed 03/18/2019]. Eyal Weizman also describes part of the history of forensic sciences in Latin America in: Weizman, *The Least of All Possible Evils*.

[76] Juan Carlos Wlasic, *Memoria, Verdad y Justicia En Democracia: De La Impunidad Política a La Impunidad Técnica*, Serie Símbolos (Mar del Plata, Argentina: Editorial de la Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, 2010); Ricardo Luis Lorenzetti and Alfredo Jorge Kraut, *Derechos Humanos, Justicia y Reparación: La Experiencia de Los Juicios En La Argentina: Crímenes de Lesa Humanidad* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2011).

[77] Salerno, Zarankin, and Perosino, "Arqueologías de la clandestinidad. Una revisión de los trabajos efectuados en los centros de detención clandestinos de la última dictadura militar en Argentina."

[78] Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground*.

[79] Ginzberg, "Página/12."

[80] Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground*, 20.

Dealing with the multidimensional situatedness of their work in an experimental fashion, past and present archeologists of Club Atlético have set limits between everyday space and evidence-producing space. Far from being fixed in time, these boundaries are constantly redrawn based on survivors' testimonies. Initially, testimonies of survivors and victims' families were used on two levels: to guide the excavations and to interpret the material findings. But after the excavations were actually performed, new testimonies were shaped by the material existence of these new spaces. New situated memories arose through on-site 'renewed' testimonies.[81] This explains why, according to the official accounts of the archeological survey, "all the archaeological evidence found to date confirms the testimonies of the survivors of the former clandestine detention center Club Atlético."[82]

The significance of testimony in the rise of Argentine architectural archaeologies is inscribed in what memory scholars Beatriz Sarlo and Elizabeth Jelin have termed the 'subjective turn' and the 'testimonial turn' respectively.[83] Emerging in the 90s, the subjective testimonial turn signaled the proliferation of a large number of testimonies of survivors of military dictatorships in Latin America. Sarlo is critical of this turn, inasmuch as it foregrounds individual subjective experience above analytical history. Although the prolific academic debate around testimony and truth exceeds the scope of this chapter, it is relevant to add that, in the case of Club Atlético, the circularity between testimony and archaeology avoids the historical truth conundrum of the subjective turn by merging both testimony and material evidence as sources of the past.[84]

Club Atlético is more than just an ongoing archaeological excavation: it is also a memory site for survivors, victims' families, and human rights and memory activists. To circumvent the overlap between what the archaeologists of the site consider incompatible uses, they have created a 'hierarchy of spaces' separating the domain of everyday life from their archaeological practice.[85] Abu El-Haj points out that archaeologists depend on "public consciousness regarding the scientific and social value of artifacts" to do their work and that, at the same time, the material evidence produced by archaeologists needs to be protected from that public.[86] Confronted with the dilemma of having to share the findings and the object of their inquiry, while at the same time preserving it from further deterioration, Club Atlético's archaeologists have turned to testimony.

Testimony becomes the criterion to differentiate spaces that can be transformed to have memorial uses from those set aside to be protected and enclosed as material evidence. Following the same testimonial value system deployed in the selection of objects, Club Atlético's anthropologists organized the newly excavated area based on a division between spaces with 'high testimonial value'

---

[81] Duguine et al., "Experiencias Desde La Arqueología y La Conservación Para La Recuperación Material de Los Ex Centros Clandestinos de Detención Tortura y Exterminio (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Argentina)."
[82] My own translation from: "Todas las evidencias arqueológicas halladas hasta el presente confirman lo dicho en los testimonios de los sobrevivientes del ex CCD-TyE 'Club Atlético.'" Equipo y Comisión de trabajo y consenso Ex CCDTyE Club Atlético, "Proyecto de Recuperación Club Atlético," 57.
[83] Beatriz Sarlo, *Tiempo Pasado: Cultura de La Memoria y Giro Subjetivo: Una Discusión*, Sociología y Política (Buenos Aires, República Argentina: Siglo Veintiuno Editores Argentina, 2005); Jelin, *State Repression and the Labors of Memory*.
[84] Sarlo, *Tiempo Pasado*; Jelin, *State Repression and the Labors of Memory*; Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue* (Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997); Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
[85] Duguine et al., "Experiencias Desde La Arqueología y La Conservación Para La Recuperación Material de Los Ex Centros Clandestinos de Detención Tortura y Exterminio (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Argentina)."
[86] Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground*, 20.

and spaces without this distinction. Testimonial spaces are present in one or more written or oral testimonies of survivors. Unlike memorial spaces that can be transformed, Club Atlético's archaeologists argue that spaces with high testimonial value have to be preserved to the highest archaeological standard. In their words: "it is their high testimonial value which precludes their use as everyday spaces."[87] It follows that, at Club Atlético, preservation and memorialization are presented as two distinct phenomena. Both constitute central demands of the human rights movement. Focused on the past, preservation is required for the pursuit of criminal justice. Memorialization, on the other hand, is focused on the present and future, and it is perceived by those involved in the everyday management of Club Atlético as a means to make hidden memories public and to broaden the message of the site.[88] While the efforts to preserve the ESMA site resonate with this debate, the lessons that Club Atlético presents are different. The members of the Asociación de Ex Detenidos Desaparecidos, AEDD [Association of former Detained Disappeared] saw the banality of the everyday as corrosive to the sacredness of ESMA, demanding that the entire complex be preserved and only dedicated to its role as the biggest and most representative clandestine detention center of Argentina.[89] At Club Atlético, the demand to preserve the site as material evidence prevails. However, since the everyday operations of the Club Atlético memorial site are run by both a scientific staff of archaeologists and conservators and a committee of memory activists, preservation and memorialization coexist within the shifting boundaries between the sacred and the everyday. These boundaries are not only metaphorical, but quite literally become materialized as fences, caution tape, boardwalks, and security railings within the excavation site, the building, and the plaza.

In the case of contemporary memory sites like Club Atlético and ESMA, the preservation of the ruins of buildings used for terror is a direct response to the efforts to erase these spaces and their memories. In the hands of those who survived these clandestine detention centers, preservation becomes a cure against forgetting and moving on. In the words of Carmen Lareu, who lost her daughter and son-in-law at Club Atlético, the existence of the ruins of the former clandestine detention center helps her "forgive less."[90] The dangers of apology hover over her words, as do the years of amnesty, forced reconciliation, and institutional injustice. Recovered, unearthed, and present despite its demolition, Club Atlético challenges Argentina's politics of reconciliation and with that the influence of the global cult of apology. Stubbornly present, yet unresolved, the ruins of the old police building embody the anti-apologetic narrative of Club Atlético. Although a drainage system, a retaining wall, and a roof have been added to protect the architectural remains of the basement from further damage, these interventions are by no means attempts to restore Club Atlético to a prior state. Closer to John Ruskin's sentimentalist approach to

[87] My own translation from: "es ese alto valor testimonial el que los desafecta como espacios de uso diario," Duguine et al., "Experiencias Desde La Arqueología y La Conservación Para La Recuperación Material de Los Ex Centros Clandestinos de Detención Tortura y Exterminio (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Argentina)," 7.
[88] Edward S. Casey, "Public Memory and Time," in *Framing Public Memory*, ed. Kendall R. Phillips, Rhetoric, Culture, and Social Critique (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 17–44.
[89] See Chapter 5.
[90] Testimony from: Equipo y Comisión de trabajo y consenso Ex CCDTyE Club Atlético, "Proyecto de Recuperación Club Atlético," 10–11.

ruins as objects immersed in time and thus open to decay, the ruin of Club Atlético exhibits the marks of time, neglect, and obliteration that brought it into existence.[91]

At the scale of the former police building, Club Atlético is particularly difficult to grasp; elusive, fragmented, shapeless, and uninviting. Borrowing Kevin Lynch's concept, one could say that it lacks 'imageability.'[92] Reduced to an excavation pit, the pairing of an anti-apologetic narrative and historic preservation hinder any permanent physical intervention on the actual site of Club Atlético. Nonetheless, the site's image has been shaped by the architectural and artistic interventions surrounding the excavation, as well as by the virtual reconstructions of the former clandestine detention center. While the former are the subject of the following section about the memory site's nearby plaza, the latter speaks to the role that architectural 3D-modelling has had on former clandestine detention centers like Club Atlético.

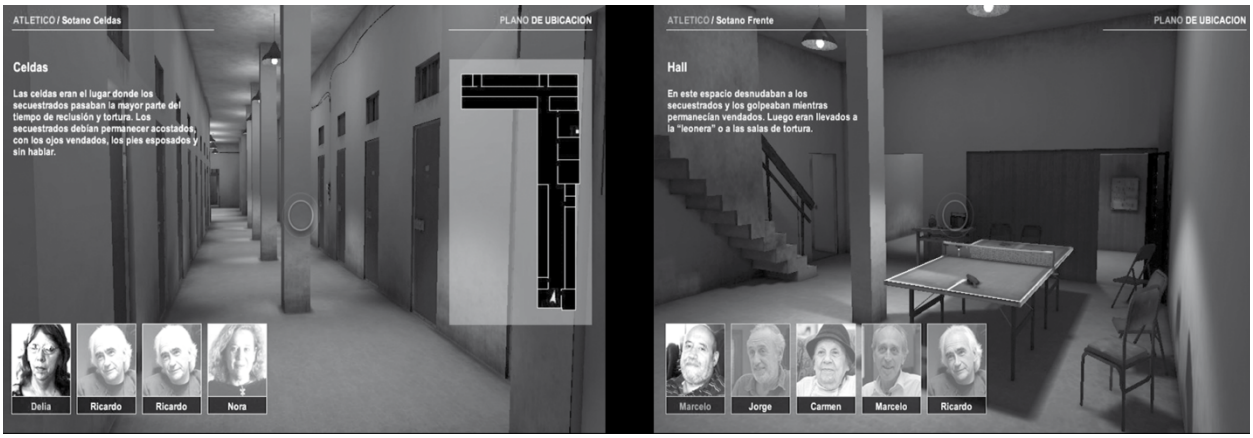


Fig. 6.24. Stills from the 3D-reconstruction of the clandestine detention, torture, and execution center Club Atlético.

Club Atlético's testimonial two-dimensional map, three-dimensional models, spatial descriptions, testimonies of survivors, videos, photographs, and drawings coalesce in a virtual space that renders the missing building visible and audible. From the comfort of their homes, visitors can enter the webpage of 'Huella Digital' –a project developed by the faculty members of the Assisted Computer Animation area at the Faculty of Architecture, Design, and Urbanism of the University of Buenos Aires in collaboration with the now dissolved Instituto Espacio para la Memoria [Space for Memory Institute]– to tour the rooms of the former clandestine detention center.[93] As seen in Figure 6.24., the 'Huella Digital' platform encourages the interaction between the virtually reconstructed space, presented through 3D models and 2D drawings, and the testimony of survivors. In an

[91] John Ruskin, "The Lamp of Memory," in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London: New York: J. M. Dent: E. P. Dutton, 1963); Françoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, 1st English language ed (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
[92] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*, Publications of the Joint Center for Urban Studies (Cambridge [Mass.]: Technology Press, 1960).
[93] See: http://centrosclandestinos.com.ar/V4/club-Atlético/videos.html [virtual tour accessed in 2014 but is no longer available; the rest of the webpage was last accessed on 03/20/2019]. A brief description of the project is also included in Equipo y Comisión de trabajo y consenso Ex CCDTyE Club Atlético, "Proyecto de Recuperación Club Atlético," 61.

attempt to avoid the representation of torture, bodies and building are registered as belonging to different temporalities. The virtual tour depicts rooms and furniture, including the infamous ping-pong table, but does not render human bodies. Only empty chairs, tables, and beds signal their presence. Instead of using virtual models of victims and perpetrators, the platform sensibly registers human experience through the audiovisual record of oral testimonies of Club Atlético's survivors given in the present.[94]

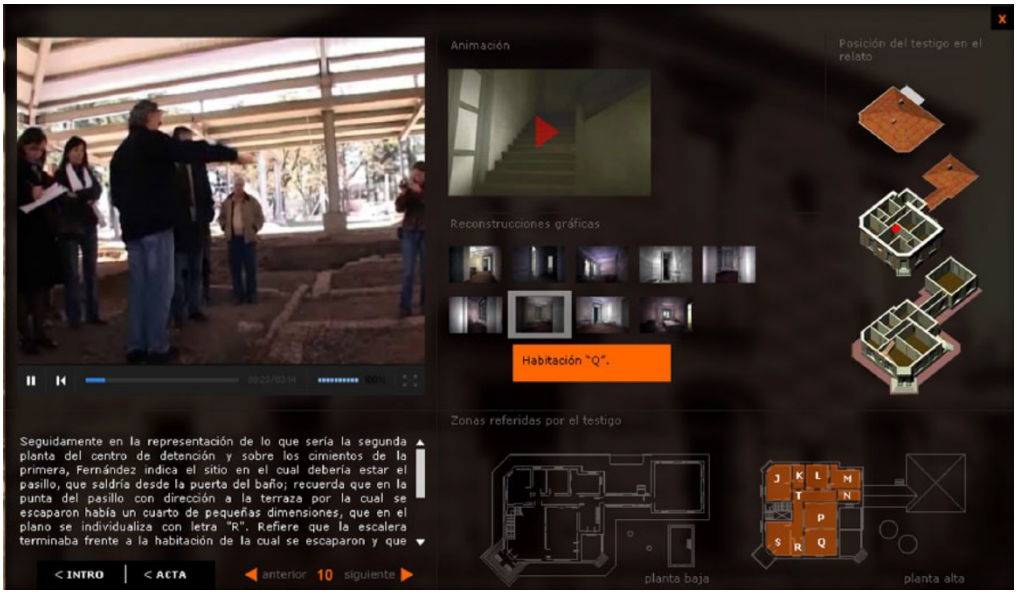


Fig. 6.25. Still from the 'Integral Architectural Representation' of *Mansion Seré.* Architectural drawings, photographs, videos, and written testimony all interact in this representation of a former clandestine detention, torture, and killing center outside of Buenos Aires.

'Huella Digital' is not alone in its endeavor. In 2006, *Memoria Abierta*, a local human rights NGO, started the project 'Topographies of Memory', through which it has created 'Integral Architectural Representations' of a number of former clandestine detention centers (Fig. 6.25.).[95] Headed by local architect Gonzalo Conte, 'Topographies of Memory' also proposes articulating virtual architectural representations with survivors' testimonies.[96] The work of 'Topographies of Memory' and 'Huella Digital' becomes especially important for sites that have been destroyed, like

[94] Gonzalo Conte argues that the hyper-realistic mode of architectural representation becomes subdued when it has to depict former sites of violence. According to Conte, there is a search for an aesthetic expression of the memorial site in each of the cases 'Topografías de la Memoria' reconstructs. One of the recurring characteristics of this search for an appropriate aesthetic of terror is, in his terms, '*emotional restraint.'* Three-dimensional virtual animation only figures as a visual backdrop for testimonial evidence, and materials, colors, and lights are rendered to look distinctly artificial, prevented from realizing their technical potential to visualize 'reality'.Gonzalo Conte, "Algunas Experiencias Del Programa Topografía de La Memoria de Memoria Abierta" (ARQUITECTURA y MEMORIA 31 de agosto de 2009, Buenos Aires, Argentina: Memoria Abierta, 2009); Conte, "A Topography of Memory."

[95] A large number of Human Rights Organizations collaborate with *Memoria Abierta.* For a detailed list, see Conte, "A Topography of Memory."

[96] Gonzalo Conte, director of Memoria Abierta's Topografías de la Memoria, interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, April 2018.

Club Atlético, because it can visualize the evidence of the crimes that would otherwise remain hidden under piles of dirt, rubble, or new buildings. Operating as audiovisual aids for the presentation of criminal evidence, virtual architectural reconstructions have entered courtrooms in Argentina on several occasions, to such an extent that now judges commission these studies as part of the trials against the perpetrators of the civic-military dictatorship.[97] For Conte, this is crucial because it demonstrates that "architecture can play a part in the complex and difficult process of the search for truth and justice."[98] Here again words and buildings appear entangled. Reinforcing the situatedness of survivors' testimonies, virtual reconstructions like that of Club Atlético place the testimonies within the spaces they describe. In an attempt to close the gap between referent and reference, the virtual representation of Club Atlético performs a semantic work that questions the divide between the *etymon* and the testimony. Melded together in the form of archeological objects and architectural virtual reconstructions, in former Argentine clandestine detention centers, the pairing of the *etymon* and the testimony has become a synonym for truth. At the same time, it has become one of memory and human rights activists' preferred methods to seek justice.

Large: Plaza

Before there were archeologists, conservators, historians, and architects in charge of digging up Club Atlético, the site was a spatial residue; a shapeless slope of dirt underneath a noisy highway. The reclaiming of a lost narrative –that of the *desaparecidos*– parallels the reclamation of a lost space. In 1996, commemorating 20 years of the *coup d'état*, the first *Jornada por la Memoria* [Memory Day] of Club Atlético was organized on a bright winter day of July. It was an unprecedented event which united a wide array of human rights organizations, memory activists, survivors, neighbors, and supporters at the site of Club Atlético.[99] An hour-long video-recording of the Memory Day allows a partial reconstruction of the event (Fig. 6.26.).[100]

[97] Conte; Conte, "Algunas Experiencias Del Programa Topografía de La Memoria de Memoria Abierta."
[98] Conte, "A Topography of Memory," 2.
[99] The groups that organized, supported, and attended the event include: AEDD - Asociación de Ex Detenidos Desaparecidos, Encuentro por la Memoria, SERPAJ, FM la Boca, Comisión de Derechos Humanos de San Telmo, Liga Argentina por los Derechos del Hombre, Grupo Católico Fraternidad de Jesús, HIJOS, Abuelas de la Plaza de Mayo, APUMA Ingeniería, Madres de la Plaza de Mayo – Línea Fundadora, ADUBA, ATE Capital, Corretti, Comisión Argentina Rigoberta Menchú, Comisión Argentina por la Libertad de los Presos Políticos, Familiares de Detenidos por Razones Políticas, Centro de Estudiantes de Ciencias Exactas y Naturales, and COAR.
[100] Unknown, *Jornada Por La Memoria. Señalización Del Ex CCDTyE "Club Atlético"* (Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1996), https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=3709&v=N1VftmnWXo0; Susana Mitre and Mariana Sosa, who participated in the organization of the event give an account in: "El Tótem y otras Marcas de Memoria" (XI Congreso Argentino de Antropología Social, Rosario [Argentina], 2014), 1–12, http://cdsa.aacademica.org/000-081/453.

Fig. 6.26. Stills from the first Jornada por la Memoria [Memory Day] of Club Atlético, 1996. Source: Archive Comisión de Trabajo y Consenso ex CCDTyE Club Atlético.

The day started at 9:30 am, with organizers and numerous supporters preparing the site. Tables were installed on the sidewalk of *Paseo Colón* and on the lower end of the slope of soil covering the foundations of the elevated highway's vertical structure. The first scenes of the recording show buckets of paint, flyers of several human rights organizations, and copies of photographs of the perpetrators loosely arranged on the tables, surrounded by people holding spray cans, papier-mâché structures, glue, and brushes. The video captures a group of people arranging what looks to be a green papier-mâché tree around a pillar. Later scenes reveal this to be a three-part ascending totem, a collective artistic intervention representing scenes of torture, resistance, and search for justice that marked the civic-military dictatorship (Fig. 6.27.).[101] Another view depicts a woman covering one of the dark concrete pillars of *Autopista de 25 Mayo* with white paint. Planted in the middle of the sidewalk, the white pillar is being prepared to be transformed into a double-faced sign. One side states "Here operated the concentration camp el Atlético", and the other side reads: "Responsible for Atlético:" preceded by a list of the names and nicknames of the perpetrators of the site identified by the CONADEP report and the survivors.[102] Meanwhile, enlarged black and white

[101] Mitre and Sosa, "El Tótem y otras Marcas de Memoria."
[102] "Aquí funcionó el campo de concentración el Atlético. Responsables del Atlético:"

photographs of the perpetrators are being pasted onto the surrounding pillars, walls, and fences. The recording cuts to a man painting a stencil of the symbol of *Abuelas de la Plaza de Mayo*, the white handkerchief; and a another man lying in the middle of the street, his silhouette being contoured with paint, like a victim at a crime scene. Later, a young woman is seen writing the words "Absences fill empty spaces…full and empty," on the outlined silhouette.[103]

Fig. 6.27. Totem installed during the first Jornada por la Memoria [Memory Day] of Club Atlético, 1996.

Since 1983, the silhouette has become one of the human rights organization's preferred symbols to represent the absence of the disappeared.[104] At Club Atlético, the silhouette plays a double role (Fig. 6.28.). It invokes the disappeared, but it also constructs a parallel narrative between the emptiness of the space and the absence of the body. The aggregate of activities, interventions, and registers of Club Atlético produced during the first Memory Day echo the contouring of the body on the street. The commemorative event was an attempt to give absence a permanent shape. Outlining a site of memory on a discarded parcel of land, the event tries to counter multiple abuses inflicted not only on the social body, but also on the neighborhood: state terrorism, planned obliteration, and democratic indifference. During the Memory Day of the following year, the painted silhouette was made permanent with the installation of a larger-than-life size silhouette that was drawn out with bricks, metal pieces, and torches on the dirt slope underneath the highway. Since 2000, this intervention is the focal point of an ongoing annual rite of torch lighting every March 24, to commemorate the *coup d'état* (Fig. 6.29.).

[103] "Las ausencias llenan espacios vacios…llenos y vacios."

[104] For a detailed examination of the role of the silhouette in postdictatorial Argentina, see Ana Longoni, Gustavo A. Bruzzone, and R. Aguerreberry, eds., *El Siluetazo*, Sentidos. Artes Visuales (Buenos Aires: Adriana Hidalgo Editora, 2008).

Fig. 6.28. Invitation to commemorate 21 years since the creation of the first silhouette at Club Atlético, 2018.

Fig. 6.29. Silhouette lighting ceremony, 2018.

In between the acts of appropriation and signaling of the site, the recording of the 1996 Memory Day cuts to groups of people conversing and drinking mate over a smoking grill with sausages, while kids play on the slope of soil covering what used to be the Department of Supply and Warehouse Division of the Federal Police. These scenes of camaraderie between different generations –grandmothers, mothers, survivors, children, and grandchildren– act as a necessary counterbalance to the grimness of the site (see Fig. 6.26.). The spirit of collectivity and cheerfulness stands in stark contrast with the codes of behavior of contemporary memorials and site-museums.[105]

[105] Andrew M. Shanken, *The Everyday Life of Memorials* (unpublished).

Instead of solemn distance, Club Atlético elicits a different mode of engagement. It is quite literal in the way it depicts collective action upon space, matter and objects, as means to produce a site of memory.[106] This is partly because Club Atlético did not exist as a place before the intervention of the first Memory Day, but also because the organizers of the event –a group of local artists– sought to make the traces of terror visible in their own neighborhood. Susana Mitre, one of these artists, a neighborhood activist and founding member of the collective *Encuentro por la Memoria* [Encounter for Memory], describes the collective spirit behind the physical interventions that were created that day. While some of the pieces, like the papier-mâché totem, were created off-site, most of the interventions were intended to be on-site collective constructions.[107] This was the reasoning behind the idea to use accessible materials –paint, glue, paper, and photographs– for a number of simple interventions: the totem, the list of perpetrators, and the silhouettes.

Fig. 6.30. Stills from the first Jornada por la Memoria of Club Atlético, 1996, writing on canvas.

In the recording, multiple scenes of these collective artistic constructions are paralleled by a group creating a large canvas to hover above the main stage, which reads: "Day for Memory. Remember: to pass through the heart again."[108] The text is a reference to the etymological root for the Spanish word for remember –*recordar*–, which comes from the Latin *re-cordis*, meaning to pass through the heart (Fig. 6.30.). The expression echoes the 1989-published collection of short essays on memory *El Libro de los Abrazos*. Uruguayan writer Eduardo Galeano chose the heart-bound etymology of *recordar* as the epigraph for his book.[109] The reference is an insight into the understanding of the memory-work being produced throughout the day: memory as an active practice of love.

Love plays a central role in the commemoration because most of those attending the event love someone who disappeared at Club Atlético. The recording of the event reveals the presence of numerous survivors, who in most cases not only suffered imprisonment and torture, but also the loss of a brother, a spouse, a friend or a comrade. Survivors Delia Barrera, Ana María Careaga, Mario Villani, Nora Strejilevich, and Ricardo Peidro are featured prominently at the beginning of the

[106] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford, OX, UK ; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell, 1991).
[107] Mitre and Sosa, "El Tótem y otras Marcas de Memoria"; Mitre, Interview Susana Mitre of the educational program of Club Atlético.
[108] "Jornada por la Memoria. Recordar volver a pasar por el corazón."
[109] Eduardo Galeano, *El libro de los abrazos*, 5. ed edition (México, D.F: Siglo XXI, 2001).

recording.[110] An interviewer behind the camera prompts their testimonies with questions about their experience of Club Atlético, the years that preceded their capture, and the search for justice and truth that followed. Beyond the survivors, most attendees were directly touched by terror: as family members and friends of people who disappeared at Club Atlético. However, there was more than love at play during the event. The speeches given during the final hours reveal anger against the perpetrators, against those who collaborated with the military regime, and against the institutionalized injustice sanctioned by the democratic state. The Memory Day of 1996 was thus more than just a commemoration: it was a rally to fight against the official politics of reconciliation, forgetting, and forgiving that characterized the government of president Carlos Menem (1989-1999).[111] In the words of Susana Mitre, "it was a Day of Denunciation."[112]

There was a clear intention to single out those responsible for the crimes committed against their loved ones and transform the official narrative of forgiveness (see middle row Fig. 6.26.). In this sense, Club Atlético's Memory Day is in tune with a new form of protest that had emerged in Argentina in 1995: the *escrache* [an act of public shaming]. In the 90s, the presence of former torturers in all spheres of Argentine public life: as doctors in hospitals, as lawyers, policemen, public servants, politicians, fathers, grandfathers, and neighbors was pervasive. In response, the emerging human rights organization H.I.J.O.S. - Hijos por la Identidad y la Justicia contra el Olvido y el Silencio [Sons and Daughters for Identity and Justice Against Oblivion and Silence] used *escrache* to raise awareness of this injustice. Under the motto "If there is no justice, there is *escrache*" [Si no hay justicia hay escrache], this new generation of memory activists, interrupted the complacent politics of forgiveness of Argentine post-dictatorial everyday life to denounce former perpetrators through protests, marches, tags, dances, posters, and flyers, on the streets, in front of their homes, and at their places of work.[113]

H.I.J.O.S. fueled the fight against impunity of the late 90s, and a year after the first *escrache*, the activities of the Memory Day transformed Club Atlético into a site to denounce the perpetrators and condemn the justice system that allowed torturers to live amongst their victims. Besides printing out the photographs of the perpetrators and returning them to the crime scene, during the final speech of Club Atlético's first Memory Day, the names and nicknames of the perpetrators were read out loud, and their post-dictatorial trajectories were revealed to stress the continuity between the military regime and the democratic state. The climax of the resistance to forgiveness was a staged burning of the images of the perpetrators behind a line of blackened ropes hanging from the beam

---

[110] Mario Villani and Nora Strejilevich have both written about their experience of imprisonment: Villani as a testimony and Strejilevich as a novel. Mario Villani and Fernando O. Reati, *Desaparecido: Memorias de Un Cautiverio: Club Atlético,El Banco, El Olimpo, Pozo de Quilmes y ESMA*, 1. ed, Latitud Sur Colección (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 2011); Nora Strejilevich, *Una Sola Muerte Numerosa* (Córdoba, Argentina: Alción Editora, 2007).

[111] For more on Menem's politics of reconciliation see Chapter Five.

[112] ["Fue una Jornada de Denuncia"] Mitre and Sosa, "El Tótem y otras Marcas de Memoria," 7.

[113] Hugo Vezzetti, "Activismos de la memoria: el 'escrache,'" *Revista Punto de Vista* XXI, no. 62 (December 1998): 1–7; Estela Schindel, "Siluetas, Rostros Escraches. Memoria y Performance Alrededor Del Movimiento de Derechos Humanos," in *El Siluetazo*, ed. Ana Longoni, Gustavo A. Bruzzone, and R. Aguerreberry, Sentidos. Artes Visuales (Buenos Aires: Adriana Hidalgo Editora, 2008), 411–26; H.I.J.O.S., "Astiz ya no camina por las calles," *Página/12*, February 20, 2012, sec. El Pais, https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-187955-2012-02-20.html; Martín Cúneo, "'Si No Hay Justicia, Hay Escrache' | Periódico Diagonal," *Diagonal*, February 13, 2013, https://www.diagonalperiodico.net/global/si-no-hay-justicia-hay-escrache.html.

of the highway meant to resemble the burning of prisoners behind bars. This is also the end of the recording of the 1996 Memory Day of Club Atlético: a close-up of the perpetrator-image fueled fire (Fig. 6.31.).[114]

Fig. 6.31. Stills from the first Jornada por la Memoria of Club Atlético, 1996, burning images of the perpetrators.

The images of staged destruction are paralleled by scenes of destruction that the recording of 1996 was not able to capture. The night of July 6th, only hours after the conclusion of Club Atlético's Memory Day activities, an unknown group destroyed the papier-mâché totem that attendees had created throughout the day. During one of our interviews, Susana Mitre showed me a photograph of that day. The photograph revealed something that she already knew but which she had been unable to prove: that military agents were closely following them. Taken from a distance, the photograph depicts a group of people gathered on the sidewalk of *Paseo Colón* underneath *Autopista 25 de Mayo*, and in the back a group of men in dark glasses sitting inside a parked green Ford Falcon, a car infamous for being the perpetrators' preferred mode of transportation. The following day, July 7th 1996, the organizers gathered again at Club Atlético, to perform –in Mitre's words– an "act of redress" [acto de desagravio].[115] In place of the destroyed totem, the missing intervention was drawn on big sheets of paper. The totem was rebuilt out of wood for the second Memory Day of 1997, only to be destroyed once again during the night, which was followed by another act of redress. Club Atlético's Memory Day was commemorated again the following year, and after that every year until 2004.[116]

In parallel to the increasing durability of the materiality of the site's artistic interventions, a desire to build a permanent space underneath the highway emerged. A long process, which started with the first archeological excavation of the site in 2002, led to the creation of *Club Atlético's Work and Consensus Commission* and the *Program for the Recovery of Memory of the Former Clandestine Detention, Torture and Extermination Center Club Atlético* [Programa de Recuperación de la Memoria del Ex Centro Clandestimo de Detención, Tortura y Exterminio Club Atlético] in 2003 (Decree 219). Finally, on

[114] The recording of the Memory Day event that is currently available on Youtube ends with the burning scene. However, after this last scene, the recording cuts into a taped confession of Club Atlético and Olimpo perpetrator Juan Antonio del Cerro "Colores." Hiding his face, but providing his full name, in this interview that aired in 1996 in the show *Investigación X* of Canal 2, del Cerro justifies torture and describes it in detail. Susana Viau, "Murió Colores Del Cerro, un hombre gris que se agrandaba en El Olimpo," *Página/12*, April 4, 2006, El País edition, https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/65165-21424-2006-04-04.html.

[115] Mitre, Interview Susana Mitre of the educational program of Club Atlético; Mitre and Sosa, "El Tótem y otras Marcas de Memoria," 7.

[116] Mitre and Sosa, "El Tótem y otras Marcas de Memoria."

November 3rd, 2007, a permanent plaza was inaugurated at Club Atlético.[117] More specifically, the plaza was not located on the actual site of the former clandestine detention center, but across the street, on the other side of *Paseo Colón*. This lot was gained when Club Atlético was declared a historic site by the legislature of the city of Buenos Aires in 2005 (Law 1794). This recognition was reaffirmed at the national level in 2014, when Club Atlético was included in the list of national historic sites.[118]

Fig. 6.32. Plaza 30,000 Compañeros, architect Marcelo Castillo, 2018.

The plaza is a design of local architect Marcelo Castillo, who had been involved in the early stages of the 'recovery' of Club Atlético (Fig. 6.32.).[119] Castillo participated in the first research efforts focused on the history of Club Atlético and was in charge of designing the first graphic exhibition about the site. Unlike *Memory Park*, there was no public competition to choose the design for the plaza; instead, it was the result of years of collaboration between Club Atlético's Committee

[117] Castillo, "Proyecto de Recuperación de La Memoria CCDyT "Club Atlético"."
[118] This timeline has been reconstructed based primarily on the documents of the unofficial "Club Atlético Archive" kindly facilitated by Silvina Durán.
[119] Marcelo Castillo is also a member of the Equipo Argentino de Antropologia Forense – EAAF [Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team] and currently has a position at Abuelas de la Plaza de Mayo.

and Castillo.[120] The plaza is a terraced space following the slope of the terrain with a clear orientation towards the opposite sidewalk (Fig. 6.33.). A series of levels connected through stairs and ramps build an amphitheater to watch the excavation of the historic Club Atlético site from across the street. Its predominant materiality is concrete, which appears tainted red and yellow in the elaborate design of the ground and the ascending ramps. Small green areas and planted trees soften the concrete design around the edges. During the many times I visited the plaza, its architecture seemed to overpower the few people that use the space on an everyday basis. I often saw two people having lunch, or small groups conversing, but it was during the guided tours and the commemorative events, which the *Club Atlético Committee* organizes, that the plaza came to life. Looking closely, traces of these events can be found all over the plaza: a big sign with the floorplan of the former clandestine detention center, posters on the walls, a rotating exhibition on one side of the plaza, flyers to events, banners, and stickers reveal a site filled with inscriptions.

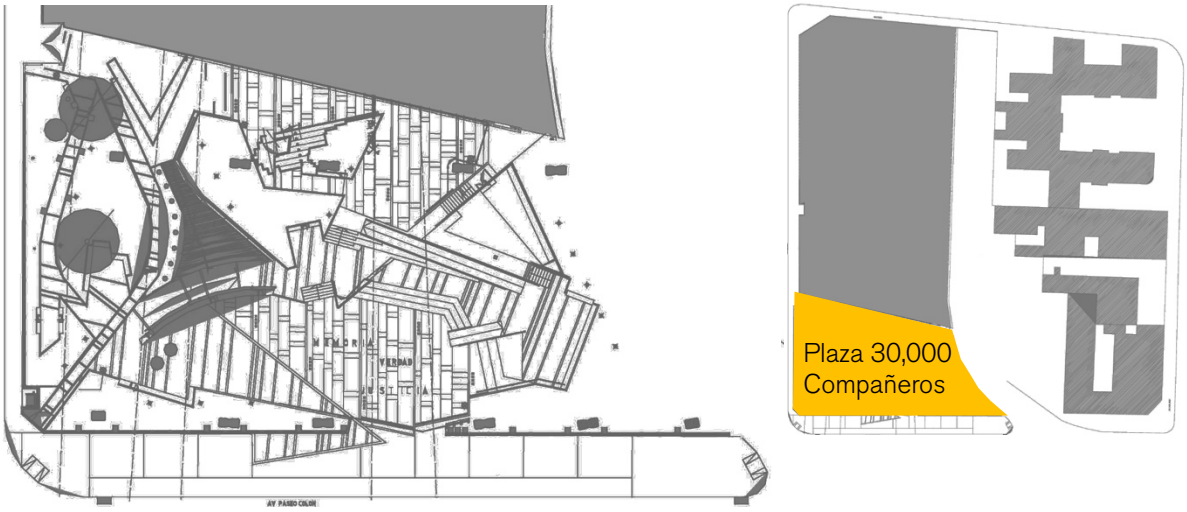


Fig. 6.33. Masterplan and urban location plan Plaza 30,000 Compañeros. Architect Marcelo Castillo.

The multiple inscriptions of the plaza start with its name. The *Club Atlético Committee* named the space *Plaza 30,000 Compañeros*, after the symbolic number of disappeared during the civic-military dictatorship. This name is written on the main entrance of the plaza, next to an inscription on the only wall surrounding it which reads *Memoria, Verdad y Justicia* [Memory, Truth, and Justice] (Fig. 6.34.). The dark see-through fence that surrounds most of the plaza also holds inscriptions in reference to the three pillars of the human rights movement –memory, truth, and justice– and in addition to the number 30,000 for the disappeared, it includes the number 500, in reference to the 500 babies born in captivity and 'appropriated' by the military.[121] These same two figures –30,000 and 500– hover over the edges of the plaza mounted on 2.5 meter-high slim vertical posts. 'Memory, truth, and justice', also appear embedded as large words in the yellow pavement around the main

[120] Luciana Messina, "El circuito represivo 'Atlético-Banco-Olimpo': ¿distintas sedes de un mismo centro clandestino de detención?," in *Memoria Académica* (V Jornadas de Sociología de la UNLP, 10, 11 y 12 de diciembre de 2008, La Plata, Argentina., La Plata, Argentina, 2008), 1–20, http://www.memoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/trab_eventos/ev.6247/ev.6247.pdf.

[121] See Chapter Five for a further discussion on these three pillars of the human rights movement.

entrance. Further, the inscriptions "30,000 Detained and Disappeared Comrades, Present! Now and forever!", as well as "Jail for the Mass Murderers. Judgment and Punishment to all Guilty" appear fixed in steel on one of the retaining walls of the plaza.[122] In addition to these permanent inscriptions, in 2016 three large canvases were hanged on the highway's structure above the plaza, restating the message: "The Plaza belongs to Atlético. Memory, Truth, and Justice for the 30,000."[123]

Fig. 6.34. (left) Main entrance of Plaza 30,000 Compañeros, 2016.

Fig. 6.35. (right) Club Atlético committee members and friends painting over the graffiti on the main entrance of Plaza 30,000 Compañeros, 2018.

The fact that it is a permanent site of denunciation of the crimes committed during the civic-military dictatorship has transformed the plaza into a target of vandalism and theft, in particular related to its status as a monument dedicated to the 30,000 disappeared. In 2018, the number 8,000 was tagged with red graffiti on the main entrance, next to the plaza's name (Fig. 6.35.). Against the symbolic number 30,000, which plays a central role in human rights and memory activism across Argentina, voices of the opposition have started to claim that the number was an overestimation and that the actual number was closer to the 8,960 victims identified by the *Nunca Más* Report of the CONADEP.[124] The vandalism against the plaza and the stature of the symbolic number occurred during the government of the right-wing liberal president Mauricio Macri (2015 – 2019). Thought to be indisputable during the years of Kirchnerismo, during the last few years, numbers, events, and actors of the human rights movement have been put into question. The contentious discussion around the historical accuracy of the 30,000 victims most clearly exemplifies the turn against the

[122] Original inscriptions in Spanish: "30,000 Compañeros Detenidos Desaparecidos ¡Presentes! ¡Ahora y Siempre!", and "Cárcel a los Genocidas. Juicio y Castigo a todos los Culpables."
[123] Original inscriptions in Spanish: "La Plaza es del Atlético. Memoria, Verdad y Justicia X los 30.000."
[124] Argentina, ed., *Nunca Más: Informe de La Comisión Nacional Sobre La Desaparición de Personas* (Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1984); Emilio A. Crenzel, *La Historia Política Del Nunca Más: La Memoria de Las Desapariciones En La Argentina / Emilio Crenzel*, Historia y Cultura (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Siglo Veintiuno Editores Argentina, 2008).

previous 'consensus' around the civic-military dictatorship.[125] These threats further reinforce memory activists' insistence on material evidence, which allows the site to ground reality in what seems like incontestable facts. Words and ideas slip and erode while material traces endure, and the plaza frames this negotiation.

The many inscriptions and counter-inscriptions also reveal something about the stature of the plaza and its relationship to the actual historic site. Here again space and text are deeply entangled. Across the street from the former clandestine detention site, devoid of immediate 'site authenticity', inscriptions play a central role in tying the plaza to its counterpoint: the excavation. While the excavation is most often closed, the plaza is open during the day. The plaza gives Club Atlético a public dimension that the historic site would otherwise lack. It expands its scale of influence from an archeological excavation and off-site lab to a site of memory proper: with an entrance, a place to gather, sit, contemplate, congregate, exhibit, listen, and learn.

Architect Gonzalo Conte, member of the human rights organization *Memoria Abierta*, argues that former clandestine detention centers in Argentina can be boiled down to three main parts, what he calls *Space A, B,* and *C. Space A* is the clandestine detention center proper, where captivity, torture, and murder were executed; *Space C* is the surrounding city, its neighbors and buildings; and *Space B* is an intermediate space between the city and the clandestine detention center that supports the functions of *Space A*. It is often a building or a lot in control of the perpetrators, not directly related to the crimes, but to the everyday activities of the military or the police.[126] In the case of Club Atlético, the intermediate space did not exist. Since Club Atlético's original building was demolished, the buffer between the neighborhood of San Telmo, and the hidden underground clandestine detention center was eliminated. Using the debate over the future function of the ESMA lot as example, Conte argues that these intermediate spaces are the places were battles over memorialization take place.[127] The stature of sacredness, rendered through their preservation as historic sites and their role as evidence in ongoing trials against the perpetrators, makes the first type of spaces difficult to modify and intervene. This is the case of Club Atlético. As an ongoing excavation, *Space A* does not easily lend itself to memorialization. At the historic site, the limits between the memorial, scientific, and pedagogical domains are in constant negotiation. Although archeology, collective commemoration, and artistic interventions coexist, the overlaps between these multiple functions are not devoid of conflict.[128] In contrast, the *Plaza 30,000 Compañeros* provides an intermediate space to host the multiple activities that contemporary memorials demand.

---

[125] Hugo Vezzetti and Adrian Gorelik have also questioned the historical basis for the 30,000 figure, arguing that beyond its role as a symbol for the battle of memory, it is necessary to account for the actual number of victims. See: Hugo Vezzetti, *Sobre La Violencia Revolucionaria: Memorias y Olvidos*, Sociología y Política (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno, 2009), 210; Adrián Gorelik, Interviews, interviewed by Valentina Rozas-Krause, April 2018.

[126] Conte, Interviews with Gonzalo Conte, director of Memoria Abierta's Topografías de la Memoria; Gonzalo Conte, "Densidad y fragmentación de la memoria en la ciudad de Buenos Aires," in *Topografías conflictivas: memorias, espacios y ciudades en disputa*, ed. Anne Huffschmid and Valeria Durán (Buenos Aires: Nueva Trilce, 2012), 63–80.

[127] Conte, "Densidad y fragmentación de la memoria en la ciudad de Buenos Aires," 77.

[128] Duguine et al. speak about the delimitation of testimonial, archeological, and memorial spatial domains at Club Atlético. See: Duguine et al., "Experiencias Desde La Arqueología y La Conservación Para La Recuperación Material de Los Ex Centros Clandestinos de Detención Tortura y Exterminio (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Argentina)."

Despite its mediating role between the neighborhood and the former clandestine detention center, the plaza is more than just a functional public space: it is the material outcome of almost a decade of commemorations. Against the fleeting interventions that were collectively created during each Memory Day, the plaza was built as proof of the endurance of the memory, truth, and justice cause. In this sense, the plaza constitutes a bridge between the domain of memory activism and that of permanent memorialization. It is not a memorial in itself, because it functions only in relationship to the historic Club Atlético site, but it is more than an act of commemoration or a pamphlet on a wall. Despite its aestheticization, the plaza is not an apologetic memorial. On the contrary, the *Plaza 30,000 Compañeros* is a permanent demand for memory, truth, and justice, but not for apology. The plaza's convoluted design and the multiple levels of inscription it houses point towards an unsettled debate over the 30,000 victims and the impunity that reigned for so many years. The many attacks and cases of theft that the plaza has suffered are a sign of the confrontational message it embodies.

Fig. 6.36. Inscription "Jail for the Mass Murderers. Judgment and Punishment to all Guilty" in the Plaza 30,000 Compañeros, 2016.

Particularly through the inscription "Jail for the Mass Murderers. Judgment and Punishment to all Guilty", the plaza makes a direct and permanent demand for justice, which was first installed in the middle of the reopening of the trials against the perpetrators (Fig. 6.36.). Two years after the inauguration of the plaza, in 2009, the perpetrators of Club Atlético were put on trial in what is known as the first part of the *Atlético-Banco-Olimpo, ABO Trial* (2009-2010).[129] Sixteen of the seventeen accused were found guilty and convicted for crimes against humanity. A second trial followed in 2012, known as *ABO bis*, which convicted two more perpetrators for the same crimes. Finally, a third trial ended in 2017 with the conviction of seven of the nine perpetrators accused in 352 causes, 178 of which correspond to victims sequestrated at Club Atlético. Instead of settling the past on these successful convictions, the plaza serves as a spatial reminder that there are more perpetrators to judge, victims to acknowledge, and appropriated children to be located. In the words of Irma Medina, sister of Rubén Medina, who was detained and disappeared at Club Atlético, "that there is a political will to put together the trials is very important. But we think that this just started. We are still missing many comrades and repressors [who have to be located]."[130] The plaza represents this paradox. It is a tribute to the tireless pursuit of justice of the human rights organizations, and at the same time it reflects the impossibility of obtaining full justice. Mirroring the figure of the *desaparecido*, the demand for justice that the plaza represents is rendered permanently unresolved.

[129] Club Atlético was part of a repressive network known as '*Circuito Atlético-Banco-Olimpo* ABO.' Operating between 1976 and 1977, Club Atlético was the first clandestine detention center of this network. After its demolition prisoners were temporarily taken to Banco (1977-1978) and later to Olimpo (1978- 1979). See: Luciana Messina, "El circuito represivo 'Atlético-Banco-Olimpo': ¿distintas sedes de un mismo centro clandestino de detención?," in *Memoria Académica* (V Jornadas de Sociología de la UNLP, 10, 11 y 12 de diciembre de 2008, La Plata, Argentina., La Plata, Argentina, 2008), 1–20 http://www.memoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/trab_eventos/ev.6247/ev.6247.pdf.; also see the coverage of the ABO Trials on the Espacio para la Memoria y la Promoción de los Derechos Humanos, Ex Centro Clandestino de Detención, Tortura y Exterminio "Club Atlético" webpage http://memoriaexAtlético.blogspot.com/p/juicio-abo.html [accessed 02/25/2019], as well as the CELS webpage https://www.cels.org.ar/web/tag/abo/ [accessed 02/25/2019]

[130] Original source in Spanish: "que exista una voluntad política para armar los juicios es importantísimo. Pero creemos que recién empezó. Que faltan muchos compañeros y represores por ubicar." Irma Medina cited in Equipo y Comisión de trabajo y consenso Ex CCDTyE Club Atlético, "Proyecto de Recuperación Club Atlético," 62.

Extra Large: Neighborhood

Let me return to the day of the annual memory march in Buenos Aires that featured in the introduction of these two chapters on Argentina; the day that marks the beginning of the civic-military dictatorship. To be more precise, a week earlier, to March 17th 2018, the day of the march of the torches in San Telmo. On that annual occasion, Club Atlético acquires an urban dimension as its footprint expands to incorporate the surrounding neighborhood of San Telmo (Fig. 6.37.). Anticipating the national march on March 24th, Club Atlético's march of the torches creates a necessary preamble and counterbalance for the national march. The national memory debate is rendered local through a night walk that tours local sites marked by state violence. The march is a reminder that the overwhelming number of 30,000 disappeared, is not an abstract figure, but that these disappeared each had a name, a home, a neighbor, a favorite bookstore or café, and a family.

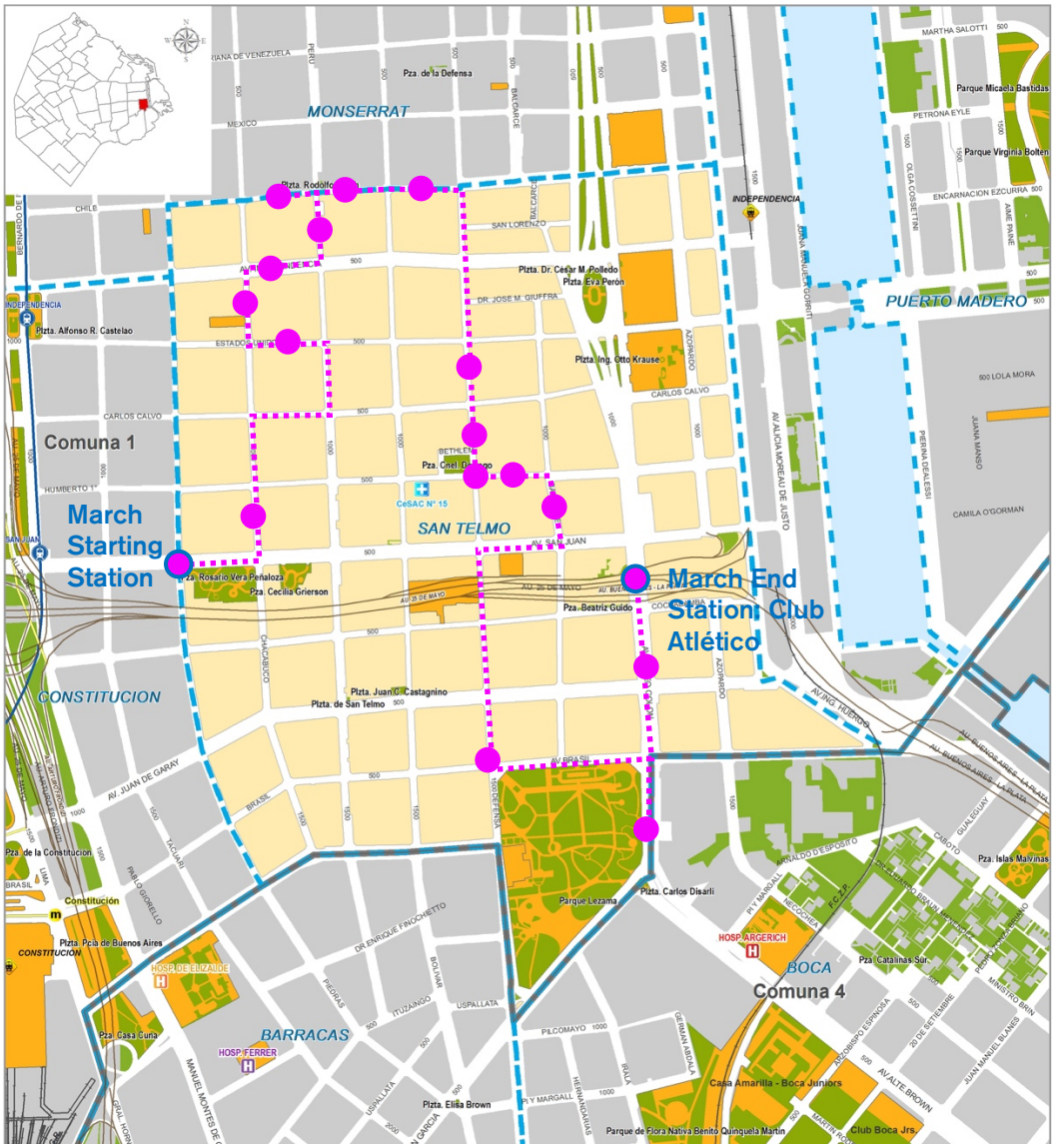


Fig. 6.37. Map of San Telmo with the trajectory and stations of the Club Atlético march.

Fig. 6.38. Invitation to the march of the torches, March 17, 2018.

In 2018, the meeting point for the march was the intersection of Avenues San Juan and Piedras, only a few blocks away from Club Atlético, outside the seat of the neighborhood organization *Asamblea Popular Plaza Dorrego-San Telmo* [Plaza Dorrego-San Telmo Popular Assembly]. As the copy of the invitation to the march reveals, the list of actors who convene it is long, comprising governmental and private organizations, workers' unions, political groups, and human rights organizations (Fig. 6.38.). However, the main organizers are Asamblea Popular and *Mesa de Trabajo y Consenso ExCDTyE Club Atlético*, the Working and Consensus Committee of the nearby memory site. *Asamblea Popular* was involved in the Memory Day commemorations held at the former clandestine detention beginning in 1996, and one of its members sits on the Club Atlético's Working and Consensus Committee. The committee is a legally recognized *ad-honorem* institution implemented in all 'recovered' memory sites, which is most often comprised of victims' families, survivors, and human rights activists.[131] Through the committee, the control of the memory sites can remain in the hands of those directly affected, while an executive staff of hired specialists –in charge of the city government though the IEM [Instituto Espacio para la Memoria] first, and the nation, through the Secretary of Human Rights later– deals with maintenance, conservation, transmission, education, and funding.[132] In short, the march of the torches is a commemorative event deeply ingrained in the institutional and spatial dimensions of Club Atlético, and so it has been for many years.

[131] Guglielmucci, *La Consagración de La Memoria*.

[132] The boundary between these two groups, Board Members and staff, is flexible and can change through time. At Club Atlético and at the ex CDTyE Olimpo, at least one hired staff member is also an active member of the board. Additionally, a representative of the staff attends most board meetings at Club Atlético.

Fig. 6.39. Meeting point for the march of the torches in San Telmo, March 17, 2018.

I arrived at the meeting point at around 5:30pm and was met by a live radio show which was being transmitted from the sidewalk. At first, the MC was playing music, while attendees distributed canvasses, cardboard signs, colorful flags, gray silhouettes, and torches amongst the group (Fig. 6.39.). Later, the radio host invited local actors for a round of interviews, which culminated in a conversation with staff and board members of Club Atlético. As the sun began to set, we lit our torches and started the tour through San Telmo: guided by the march's slogan "Memory is a present that fights. We walk through the streets of the neighborhood against impunity, for truth and for justice."

Throughout the evening, we visited 18 sites of local memory. Most of these places had been homes, workplaces, or social meeting points for local victims of the civic-military dictatorship. Others where places marked by the presence of perpetrators. Additionally, a small group of places referred to acts of violence not directly related to the last civic-military dictatorship: a former women's prison and an occupied building, which in the past year armed forces had violently evicted to make space for a government institution. At each station, the procession paused, the site was marked with stencils, posters and leaflets, one of the organizing members gave a speech about the site's history and significance, and we chanted the names of the disappeared followed by the words "¡Presente,… ahora y siempre!" [Present,… now and forever!]. I met many people that day. I talked to Daniel, who had been imprisoned in Club Atlético, but had not come forward with his testimony until he saw the actual site and the work that so many survivors like him had invested in it to bring it to fruition. I had a conversation with Maria Eugenia, whose sister and brother-in-law had disappeared at Club Atlético, and she suggested I read Todorov's *Facing the Extreme* to better understand the concentration experience. I talked to Susana Mitre and Silvina Durán, who were behind the organization of the event, and I met neighbors –my neighbors at the time, because I was living in San Telmo– who had decided to join our group in camaraderie. I also saw the owner of my

favorite local produce stall in passing, and he saw me, which changed my weekly ritual of getting groceries.

Beyond my personal experience, to understand the impact of the march of the torches, it is necessary not only to think of it in relationship to the national march, but also to look at the neighborhood it traverses. San Telmo is a highly touristic historic area (Fig. 6.37.). Its center, Plaza Dorrego, is surrounded by a Starbucks, a vintage jewelry store, a trendy ice-cream shop, and a currency exchange office, as well as cafes and restaurants brimming with foreign language speakers. On weekends, tango dancers prove their mastery to onlookers, and every Sunday the plaza and the surrounding streets host a world-famous antiques fair. Tourism and gentrification have also had an effect on rent prices: once a working-class affordable neighborhood, in 2018 San Telmo saw a 24% increase in its average rent.[133] In this context, the march proposes a radical shift of focus. Step by step, it stitches together an urban fabric that was severed first by state violence and later by transportation infrastructure, real estate speculation, and tourism. Like me, many people met, shared their experiences, and started re-building a community during these marches.

Part of the military regime's purpose was to destroy local communities, in order to impede the emergence of oppositional organizations. Kidnappings in broad daylight and the pervasive presence of both secret and barely hidden clandestine detention centers had the effect of emptying streets and plazas and spreading a general fear of being in public. Further, neighbor to neighbor denunciations, armed forces infiltrators in workplaces and social organizations, and the existence of secret civil informants severed the existing bonds of solidarity amongst many communities and families.[134] Marching with one's neighbors is thus an act of reparation that counters the destructive effects of state terrorism on local communities. Estela Schindel has analyzed how practices aimed at recovering and commemorating former clandestine detention centers in Buenos Aires have contributed to rebuilding local communities. Schindel's work focuses on the former clandestine detention center *Olimpo* and the surrounding neighborhood of Floresta; however, her findings can be applied to San Telmo.[135] By marching through the streets of San Telmo, neighbors become part of Club Atlético's history. Mundane places –someone's apartment, a local bar, an intersection–, acquire a new layer of meaning, which complements the quotidian uses of these spaces. The march blurs the boundaries between memory and everyday life, between places that are considered mundane and places rendered sacred by past violence and contemporary commemoration.

During the march of the torches, Club Atlético looms large over the entire neighborhood. The trajectory of the march and the many stops along the way draw out a radius of influence that exceeds the actual site. It is during those nights that Club Atlético grows to surpass its own

---

[133] Fortuna, "Cuánto subieron las propiedades por barrio," *Fortuna*, December 10, 2018, sec. Mercado Inmobiliario, https://fortuna.perfil.com/2018-12-10-201924-cuanto-subieron-las-propiedades-por-barrio/; Durán and Contissa, Interview with Silvina Duran and Valeria Contissa of Club Atlético.

[134] Conte, "Densidad y fragmentación de la memoria en la ciudad de Buenos Aires"; Memoria Abierta, *Memorias en la ciudad*; Pilar Calveiro, *Poder y Desaparición: Los Campos de Concentración En Argentina*, Puñaladas (Buenos Aires: Colihue, 1998).

[135] Estela Schindel, "'Ahora los Vecinos Van Perdiendo el Temor' La Apertura de Ex Centros de Detención y la Restauración del Tejido Social en Argentina," in *Disputar la Ciudad: Sometimiento, Resistencia, Memorialización Reparación*, ed. Pía Montealegre and Valentina Rozas-Krause, Cuervos en Casa (Santiago: Bifurcaciones, 2018), 177–99; López, Interview with Marcelo López founder and staff member the site of memory ex CCDTyE Olimpo.

boundaries to speak about so many places that were touched by terror. The uncanny realization of those who participate in these marches is that the trajectory could be much longer, the pauses more frequent, and that the whole exercise could be repeated in most neighborhoods of Buenos Aires, in most cities of Argentina, Chile, Brazil, and Uruguay.

The march of the torches is significant on yet another level. It mirrors the relentless walks of one survivor of Club Atlético –Miguel D'Agostino– who was determined to find the building where he was held prisoner. Miguel has told this story on many occasions.[136] As we sat down in a café on a rainy April afternoon, he once again proceeded to do what he has done with the utmost dedication for the past four decades: narrate his experience of Club Atlético. Miguel considers himself a political prisoner, not a former *detenido desaparecido*, and often speaks about his political militancy before the coup.[137] He was 18 years old in 1977, when he was kidnapped from his home and forcefully taken to, what he now knows, was Club Atlético. Miguel was tortured, interrogated, and suffered the inhumane living conditions of Club Atlético for 91 days. Only a week after his release, in October of 1977, Miguel started looking for the building where he had been imprisoned. His starting point was the intersection where he had been dropped off by his captors, in front of the Hospital Borda, a 33 min walk from Club Atlético [2,6km] (Fig. 6.40). With a map in his hand he started tracing routes with his steps, inscribing them into his map, always departing from his release point. He sought out police and military properties, and walked on every possible street within his self-established perimeter searching for clues. Two years later, while he was waiting for a bus on *Paseo Colón*, he saw the basement of the Department of Supply and Warehouse Division of the Federal Police, where he had been imprisoned. The building was being demolished in 1979, to build the elevated highway, and it was by chance that he was able to peek inside the demolition site to see the exposed walls of the basement where he had been captured. This is the origin story of Club Atlético as a site of memory. After he located the exact building, or what was left of it, Miguel shared his finding with whomever was willing to listen; first with his sister, then with the members of the CONADEP investigation, then with other survivors, victims' families, neighbors, students, friends, and scholars.[138]

[136] Luciana Messina has analyzed Miguel's testimonial trajectory in detail. See Luciana Messina, "Reflexiones en torno a la práctica testimonial sobre la experiencia concentracionaria en Argentina," *Sociedad y economía*, no. 23 (2012): 37–58; Miguel D'Agostino also figures prominently in: M. Edurne Portela, "Cicatrices del trauma: cuerpo, exilio y memoria en Una sola muerte numerosa de Nora Strejilevich," *Revista Iberoamericana* 74, no. 222 (March 22, 2008): 71–84, https://doi.org/10.5195/reviberoamer.2008.5294; Binder, "Orte Der Folter."

[137] D'Agostino, Interviews with Miguel D'Agostino, Club Atlético survivor; Messina, "Reflexiones en torno a la práctica testimonial sobre la experiencia concentracionaria en Argentina."

[138] D'Agostino, Interviews with Miguel D'Agostino, Club Atlético survivor.

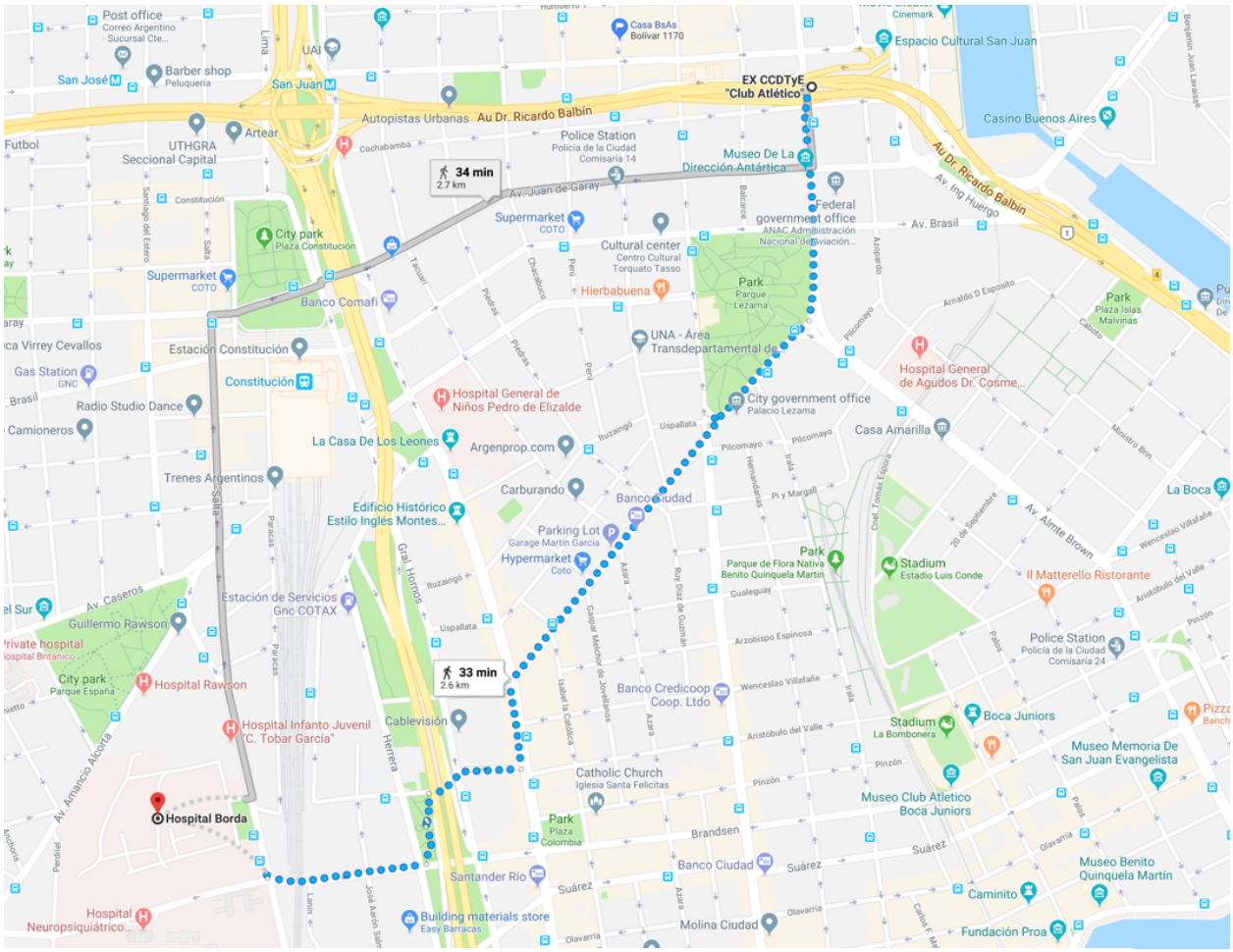


Fig. 6.40. Distance between Miguel D'Agostino's release point and Club Atlético.

The vanished traces of Miguel's steps shine fleetingly under the light of the torches. Deeply rooted in the changing fabric of the city, the march is both a new act of commemoration and community-building, as well as what Diana Taylor would call a *repertoire*. Taylor distinguishes the repertoire from the archive, and argues that the repertoire constitutes the irreproducible knowledge that cannot be transmitted through script, but can only be embodied.[139] The repertoire requires presence, a physical place, and is often a repetition in the present of a scene from the past. In this sense, the march of the torches is a scene of an embodied memory of the past: Miguel's search for Club Atlético. Further, it also repeats much older rituals such as the urban movements on feast days and the stations of the cross. The work of the march is thus multiple: it traces, names, marks, and ties concrete places to personal narratives, and at the same time it embodies the past performance that lifted Club Atlético from obliteration. Club Atlético repairs, through archival records, not in a visible demonstrable fashion, but through the embodiment of labors of memory, pursuits of justice, and the search for truth.

[139] Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 20.

Conclusion

The narrative of this last chapter unfolds like the layers underneath the shovel of an amateur archeologist. Objects, ruins, spaces, and historic events are slowly uncovered –from the present to the past– in order to analyze Club Atlético not as a static site of memory, but as a multilayered process. What should be clear by now is that Club Atlético cannot be reduced to a single object or space. Instead, the nested scales and the many pieces they contain work together forming an assemblage. Because its main purpose is not to remember, and because it resists design abstractions, I hold that Club Atlético is not a memorial in a traditional sense, but a counter-apologetic memory site preserved as material evidence for ongoing trials. Club Atlético resists the global influence of the cult of apology by putting the victim and the pending punishment for the crimes committed before reconciliation narratives. Unlike some of the apologetic memorials discussed in this dissertation, Club Atlético does not intend to heal (although some elements might), amend or pacify; on the contrary, it started as and remains a site of denunciation. To stay true to the victim, the narratives of Club Atlético are grounded in particular names, experiences, and things. Testimony, objects, and space thus appear entangled, as one continuous source of knowledge.

Historian Yosef Yerushalmi asks: "Is it possible that the antonym of 'forgetfulness' might not be 'memory' but 'justice'?"[140] The belief that only justice can counter forgetting is at the core of Club Atlético. Club Atlético's anti-apologetic resistance arises because justice is at odds with apology. As I have argued before, apology has a particular meaning in the context of the Argentinian memorial landscape, which is an outcome of the role that public trials against the perpetrators –and the interruption of this process– have played on forging collective memories. In this context, apology has been equated with injustice and forgetting. Apology's promise for a new beginning can only be delivered upon the acceptance of the incommensurability between the victim and the perpetrator –what Paul Ricoeur calls the 'vertical asymmetry' of the apologetic exchange.[141] While the apologizer always has something to gain, by forgiving, the victim can not only not repair the wrongdoing, but can also imperil the memory of the traumatic event for the sake of a clean slate. This is why the contrast between asking for forgiveness and forgiving is so immense: forgiveness is unconditional, while apology is always conditioned by the potential outcome of the exchange.[142] Justice would imply just punishment, but apology proposes pardon to rebuild communities. Thus, focusing on justice instead of apology, Club Atlético emerged as a response to the decades of impunity that suggested that the crimes of the civic-military dictatorship had to be forgotten and forgiven.

The tactics of anti-apologetic resistance inevitably affect a memory site's temporality. The seemingly uncurated site, exemplified through Club Atlético, but present all over Argentina, performs a different kind of memory work than a curated memorial or museum, like the one at ESMA. The wait for a future trial, which may never come, gives these sites an in-

[140] Cited in: Lorenzetti and Kraut, *Derechos Humanos, Justicia y Reparación*, 8. Original quote from: Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, ed., *Usages de l'oubli* (Paris: Seuil, 1988).
[141] Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*.
[142] Ricoeur.

betweenness, a different temporality which refuses to see the past as closed. The power of Club Atlético lies in its unfinished quality: to the visitor, it serves as a permanent invitation to get involved. The unfinished memorial is a reminder that actions need to be taken to remember, to prosecute perpetrators, and to care for the victims and their families, as well as to address the profound socio-economic inequalities imposed by the dictatorship's neoliberal policies. Used up to exhaustion in the field of memorial studies, the well-worn metaphor of the 'open wound' comes to mind. However, Club Atlético is more than a wound that refuses to heal. Its commitment to the *etymon* suggests that leaving former clandestine detention centers untouched is more like leaving a deceased person's room untouched, which can be mapped onto Sigmund Freud's definition of melancholy.[143] Instead of the permanent suffering that the 'open wound'-metaphor implies, the untouched room suggests that spatial strategies are at work. Club Atlético quite literally creates space where there was none, marks and segregates space for memories, and aims to preserve this space for the future.

Being anti-apologetic does not mean that reparation is completely absent from Club Atlético. The neighborhood marches indeed stich together a torn social fabric. Likewise, the 'recovery' of the site in itself is restorative for the city as well as for the actors involved. However, through the multiple scales and commemorations that are involved in the transformation of Club Atlético into a memory site, reparation is redefined. Instead of being the outcome of an apologetic exchange involving the victim and the perpetrator, reparation –in the case of Club Atlético– is a bottom-up process spearheaded by victims, human rights activists, and neighbors. There is no need for perpetrators' words of regret and no space for forgiveness; instead, what is pursued is justice and punishment for those responsible for the crimes committed. Thus, in the context of this dissertation, Club Atlético plays a unique role that reframes previous chapters. While the future *Memorial for the African Victims of German Colonialism* in Berlin and the *Tanforan Japanese American Assembly Center Memorial* in the San Francisco Bay area are two examples of the role of memorials in demanding apologies, Club Atlético demands justice. However, in Argentina justice has a twofold meaning: it is both the accumulation of legal procedures to judge and punish the perpetrators and an ideal which in its purest form is unattainable. The ideal to attain total justice, to judge and punish all of those responsible for the human rights violations of the last military dictatorship, is virtually impossible. First, direct perpetrators are aging and passing; second, the vast network of civil collaborators and supporters of state terrorism remains partially concealed. The gap between actual legal procedures and the ideal of justice produces a permanent tension that impedes an easy consumption of the site of memory. The acts of vandalism against the *Plaza 30,000 Compañeros* are an example of this gap, which has led to a historical-political debate about the number of victims. Ultimately, the tensions between the real and the ideal of justice further stress the incompleteness and permanent call for action of Club Atlético.

What the two sites that these last chapters have examined reveal is that, in Argentina, the urge to reconcile and the resistance to accept memorials as apologies has shaped two different types

[143] Sigmund Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. James Strachey, Anna Freud, and Angela Richards, vol. Volume XIV (1914-1916): (London: Hogarth Press, 1966), 237–58.

of memorials: apologetic memorials, which map onto political apologies and are usually state-driven, and counter-apologetic memorials that are often bottom-up, community spaces driven by activists. This dialectic not only helps to illuminate the particularities of the Argentinian; also, these two types of memorials can be read as evidence that betrays attitudes or mentalities about psychoanalytical models that may be at work in these communities. These sites reveal that communities of victims and state-sponsored official organizations to a certain extent share a belief in the therapeutic potential of the built environment, but conceive it within different psychoanalytical models. ESMA's apologetic model strives for moving on and reconciliation, while the 'uncurated' Club Atlético reveals a melancholic attitude towards a loss that cannot be forgiven. Yet, this dialectic model is inevitably unstable. As the generation of survivors gets older, it becomes pressing to think about what these 'uncurated' sites will look like and how they will be interpreted once those who had direct experiences within them are no longer around.

Fig. 6.41. General view of the new Club Atlético museum, architect Marcelo Castillo.

Club Atlético is in the middle of a profound change that will reshape not only its materiality, but also its narrative for the future. After almost being erased by the extension of 'Autopista 25 de Mayo' and the construction of a new bus lane, today Club Atlético faces an influx of public funding. The urban transformation of Club Atlético's context will allow a significant expansion of the existing archeological work, but will also provide an opportunity to erect a new building to house the site's history and objects.[144] Once built, this site-museum will be the first to be designed *ex novo* for a site of historical meaning in Argentina, effectively melding the two types of memorial interventions that I have examined in these last chapters (Fig. 6.41.). Club Atlético's 'uncurated curation' will inevitably change under the sustained pedagogical and curatorial activities that a museum requires. It will lose some mutability, but will gain a permanent space in the city and a broader audience. Also conceived by architect Marcelo Castillo, the design for the museum follows the meandering curves of the 2007 *Plaza 30,000 Compañeros*. The two-story proposal for the museum includes a first floor with a

[144] Durán and Contissa, Interview with Silvina Duran and Valeria Contissa of Club Atlético; Castillo, Interview with Marcelo Castillo.

reception, a deposit and technical storage area and workshop, a second floor for a permanent exhibition space and staff offices and a terraced roof open to the public. The question remains whether Club Atlético's aesthetic, narrative, and performative resistance against the cult of apology can be sustained within the confines of a museum space. One could imagine that the disparate scales and elements of the Club Atlético assemblage would need to come together within this new space. While *how* this would actually work remains to be seen, it could be a step towards reconciling the *etymon* with its curation as two complementary instruments for the construction of enduring memory and justice.

[This page intentionally left blank.]

CONCLUSION

More Than Words: Uses and Abuses of Apology

Hannah Arendt wrote about the 1969 moon landing in her introduction to *The Human Condition*. Humanity had achieved a milestone that in her view reframed the book she had written. For the first time in history, humankind was able to look at the world from outside.[1] I was reminded of Arendt's words as I watched *SpaceX* launch a Falcon 9 rocket carrying two NASA astronauts to the International Space Station last weekend (May 30, 2020). As the first private company to successfully send human beings into orbit, *SpaceX* promises to fulfill a longtime dream: to establish commercial flights to the moon.[2] Apologies will most likely follow humans to the moon. So will built apologies. Indeed, the moon is littered with memorial objects: a museum, flags, names, and footsteps, as well as orbiting human remains in the form of memorial capsules. However, it is not this event that allowed me to see my dissertation in a different light.[3] Little over a week ago, on Monday May 25, 2020, George Floyd, a 46-year old unarmed black man, was murdered by four police officers for using a counterfeit $20 bill in Minneapolis, MI. One of the police officers kneeled on his neck for almost 9 minutes, while the others put pressure on his back. Floyd died shortly after.[4] Public outrage and protests across the US have followed to demand justice for Floyd and for so many others like him, as well as to change the structural racism, injustice, and inequality so deeply embedded in this nation.[5] Apologies have quickly surfaced in the last days: the governor of Minnesota apologized for the arrest of a CNN crew, and the Minnesota Police Chief apologized to Floyd's family.[6] It is the

---

[1] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 2nd ed (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
[2] Kenneth Chang, "SpaceX Lifts NASA Astronauts to Orbit, Launching New Era of Spaceflight," *The New York Times*, May 30, 2020, sec. Science, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/30/science/spacex-nasa-astronauts.html; Kenneth Chang, "Astronauts Dock With Space Station After Historic SpaceX Launch," *The New York Times*, May 31, 2020, sec. Science, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/31/science/spacex-astronauts-arrival.html.
[3] Clara Moskowitz, "Fly Me to the Moon ... Forever," Space.com, March 28, 2008, https://www.space.com/5184-fly-moon.html; Paul D. Spudis, "How Are Places On The Moon Named?," Air & Space Magazine, December 31, 2012, http://www.airspacemag.com/daily-planet/how-are-places-on-the-moon-named-48457/; Ben Bussey and Paul D. Spudis, *The Clementine Atlas of the Moon*, Revised, Updated edition (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012). For more information on lunar memorial endeavours, visit: https://www.celestis.com and http://elysiumspace.com/ [last accessed 06/02/2020]
[4] Evan Hill et al., "8 Minutes and 46 Seconds: How George Floyd Was Killed in Police Custody," *The New York Times*, May 31, 2020, sec. U.S., https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/31/us/george-floyd-investigation.html.
[5] Melissa Macaya et al., "George Floyd Protests Spread Nationwide," CNN, May 30, 2020, https://www.cnn.com/us/live-news/george-floyd-protest-updates-05-28-20/index.html; Derrick Bryson Taylor, "George Floyd Protests: A Timeline," *The New York Times*, June 1, 2020, sec. U.S., https://www.nytimes.com/article/george-floyd-protests-timeline.html; Jackie Renzetti, "A Young Girl Who Watched George Floyd Suffocate Finds Her Place in the Protest Movement," *The Guardian*, May 29, 2020, sec. US news, https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/may/29/george-floyd-killing-protests-minneapolis.
[6] The Associated Press, "Minnesota Governor Apologizes for Arrest of CNN Crew," *The New York Times*, May 29, 2020, sec. Business, https://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2020/05/29/business/ap-us-minneapolis-police-death-cnn.html;

latter that resonates most directly with the cult of apology. On Sunday May 31, days after having fired the four officers involved, Police Chief Medaria Arradondo visited the site of Floyd's killing. He spoke to the community, and according to CNN reporter Sara Sidner, kneeled in front of the makeshift memorial that local activists had built in honor of George Floyd (Fig. D.1.).[7]

Fig. D.1. Memorial at the site of the killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis, 2020.

It seems fitting that this dissertation would start and end with a figure of authority kneeling in front of a memorial. Medaria Arradondo's gesture echoes Willy Brandt's kneeling in Warsaw, which echoes the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV kneeling in front of Pope Gregory VII. In all these cases, kneeling becomes an act of respect, recognition, and repentance that exceeds the verbal and textual domain. Kneeling conveys something that words cannot fully grasp, and as I have argued throughout this dissertation, so do apologetic memorials. The cultish aspect of apologies emerges in this constant repetition, or what Diana Taylor would call a '*repertoire'* of repentance.[8] The disparate cases in this research project reveal that, in places as distant as Berlin and Buenos Aires, and times as remote as fifteenth century Italy and contemporary US, strangely familiar apologies reemerge in the

CNN, *Minneapolis Police Chief on George Floyd Killing: This Was a Violation of Humanity - CNN Video*, News Report (Minneapolis, MN, 2020), https://www.cnn.com/videos/us/2020/06/01/police-chief-medaria-arradondo-full-intv-sidner-vpx.cnn [accessed 06/01/2020].

[7] CNN, *Minneapolis Police Chief on George Floyd Killing*.

[8] Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

form of words, gestures, and material symbols. My work is centered on the latter –the material symbols– that appear in the form of memorials, plaques, museums, buildings, archeological sites, and ruins throughout the chapters of this dissertation. These material objects transform fleeting words and gestures into sites where repetition, worship, resistance, and memory can take place. In other words, place and materiality ground the cult of apology and allow it to expand.

The aim of the narrative arc of *Memorials and the Cult of Apology*, was to analyze this global cultural phenomenon and reveal the varying manifestations of the cult of apology in different geographical, social, and historical contexts. The scope of this research was initially not global, but more narrowly focused on comparing the role of apologies and memorialization in Berlin and Santiago de Chile. However, as I examined these and other cases I came to understand the cult of apology as a global phenomenon, shaped by the Holocaust and the rippling effects of World War II and colonialism –and the public responses to these historical events– across the world. Therefore, I made the choice to expand the cases of my research in order to reflect the phenomenon at hand. While built apologies are widespread, different meanings and receptions emerge in the cases analyzed in this dissertation. Put differently, the cult of apology is a global phenomenon, with particular local manifestations.

The Holocaust paved the way for how we apologize today; thus, my work started by examining how the cult of apology emerged in the late 70s and early 80s in Berlin. I argued that the shift from the focus on the victims to the examination of the perpetrators was a reflection of the influence of guilt, repentance, reparation, and apology in the culture of postwar Germany. Through the transformation of the Topography of Terror into a documentation center about the perpetrators and their institutions, the cult of apology allowed new generations of Germans to confront their own past and analyze their role in the Nazi crimes. However, reliance on the cult of apology is not an infallible remedy to stimulate general enlightenment and moral superiority. The flipside of the ubiquitous German examination of Nazism is the disregard for the crimes and genocide of German colonialism. Here, apologies play a different role. In the hands of black and Afro-German activists in Germany and Namibia, calls for an official apology and a memorial to the victims of German colonial genocide have helped to shed light on the absence of German postcolonial policies of reparation. World War II and its concentration camps tie the history of Japanese American Incarceration in the US to Germany and the Holocaust. Yet, the role of apology in the case of the Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial in the San Francisco Bay Area is different. This case illustrates the issues that arise from the limited temporality of apologies. Even though the 1988 *Civil Liberties Act* apologized for the unlawful incarceration of people of Japanese ancestry, today Japanese American memory activists demand an extension of the redress and recognition initiated in 1988. Working against the power of apologies to close contentious chapters of the past and inaugurate new beginnings, these activists are opposing the finality of apology with memorialization. Some of the risks of accepting apologies started to emerge around Tanforan. Following this lead, the final chapters on Argentina delved into these issues to analyze apologies in the context of a widespread cultural aversion to apology. I examined both president Nestor Kirchner's official national apology for the years of impunity that followed the Argentine civic-military dictatorship, which attempted to restore the value of forgiveness, and the ongoing resistance against accepting apologies. Sites of

memory in Buenos Aires are the battlefield in which this apologetic/anti-apologetic dialectic plays out. In consequence, I described how two distinct treatments of the material traces of the past emerged in connection to differing views on apology.

Many other cases across the world could be analyzed through the framework of the cult of apology. In Chile, unlike in Argentina, public apologies have had a central and generally positively regarded role in post-dictatorial reconciliation politics. In turn, the treatment of material traces of military terror has been significantly different than what I observed in Argentina. In Australia, apologies have been exalted to the point that there is even a national holiday to say 'I'm sorry' to indigenous people: *Sorry Day* in late May. Contrarily, in the Eastern Bloc, apologies have been largely absent from the post-occupation policies of former soviet nations.[9] This sparks the question: What are the implications of the absence of apology on reconciliation and memorialization? These cases and many others would deepen the analysis of the cult of apology and provide new grounded interpretations of the role of apologies and their material forms. As demonstrated by my work on the meaning of apology in Argentina, I argue that, even in places were apologies seem almost completely absent, like in former Soviet nations, the cult of apology still plays a role through the dialectic between apologies and anti-apologies. It is impossible to resist, negate, or obstruct something –in this case an apology– without acknowledging its existence. Absences are as telling as presences, as Club Atlético has demonstrated. This means that the resistance to apology speaks to the power of textual and material apologies. It also means that the strategies of anti-apologetic resistance are likely self-consciously deployed in opposition to those of the apologetic memorials.

While there are many more case studies that could be part of this project, the cases I have chosen, in their diversity and range, construct a narrative that not only frames the cult of apology globally, but also traces the trajectory, the distinctions, and the similarities of built apologies across three nations. Moving from building to competing, to extending, to forgiving, and finally to resisting apologies allows the narrative to delve into the potential to heal while also addressing the risks of building apologies. In different ways, each chapter demonstrates that material apologies can shift existing power dynamics: they can empower victims and minorities, but also exonerate perpetrators and accomplices. Echoing Friedrich Nietzsche's work on the uses and abuses of history, this dissertation aimed to identify and examine the uses and abuses of apology. In the foreword of his famous essay, Nietzsche writes: "we are all suffering from a consuming fever of history and ought at least to recognize that we are suffering from it."[10] Similarly, this research sought to draw attention to our fever of apology, termed the 'age of apology' by contemporary scholars.[11] As such, it is an open invitation to recognize both the heightened presence of apologies in our everyday lives and the growing demands to live unapologetically. Both maladies are entangled. The excess of history

[9] I owe this observation to Lyubov Golburt. We were both fellows at the UC Berkeley Townsend Center for the Humanities in 2018-2019.

[10] Friedrich Nietzsche, "On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life," in *Untimely Meditations*, ed. Daniel Breazeale, trans. R.J. Hollingdale (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 60.

[11] Roy L. Brooks, "The Age of Apology," in *When Sorry Isn't Enough: The Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice*, ed. Roy L. Brooks, Critical America (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 14–15, http://site.ebrary.com/lib/berkeley/Doc?id=10032562.

impedes action and life; "forgetting," argues Nietzsche, "is essential to action of any kind."[12] Forgetting and beginning are at the core of apology; thus, apology presents itself as a cure against Nietzsche's illness.

But apologies are more complicated than that, especially when they enter the domain of the built environment. The material aspects of the cult of apology are indeed a response to apology's tendency to forget and forgive. Like the human impossibility to live *unhistorically*, I would argue that it is impossible to live unapologetically, at least not in community.[13] Acknowledging this impossibility, the narrative of the cult of apology, as presented in these pages, is a search for a balance between the uses and abuses of apology. The multiple cases in my dissertation demonstrate that there is no single answer to this problem, as built apologies shift and mutate from one place to the next leaving considerably different traces behind. Rather than essentializing the cult of apology as positive or negative, I hope my work will inspire others to look closely at apologies, to understand how apologies work, to examine the actors involved, and to recognize the material symbols produced to anchor these gestures in space.

Let me return to what is timely, the event that has shaped these final thoughts. How does the cult of apology contribute to understanding contemporary events like the recent murder of George Floyd? Police chief Arradondo's kneeling occurred in the conspicuous absence of an official apology by the US president. Also here a dialectic is taking place. Unlike his visit to the site of Floyd's killing, Arradondo's verbal apology was not planned or premeditated. Instead, it was an impromptu response to reporter Sara Sidner's insistence that he speak to Floyd's family, who were at that moment on air during CNN's coverage of the event.[14] Although the police chief uttered the words "I'm sorry…," in the absence of an official apology it remains unclear whether he was speaking on behalf of the police or on behalf of himself as an individual.[15] Without justice for Floyd, reparation for his family, and concrete steps towards police reform, what is the meaning of Arradondo's impromptu apology? Could it be more than the repetition of a trope of empty words? In contrast, his gesture in front of the memorial seems much easier to unpack. It is tied to a long lineage of kneeling in respect and protest, as well as a widespread understanding of the role of place in memorialization. I argue that the cult of apology provides a method to examine past, present, and future events like this one –to understand the complicated textual and formal language of apologies. What remains to be seen is *if* and *how* Arradondo's apology will take material form. Will there be a permanent memorial for George Floyd, for Breonna Taylor, for Ahmaud Arbery, and for so many others? Will these memorials be apologetic? Will they clearly identify the crime and the perpetrators and address the racism, injustice, and inequality that allowed these killings to happen? Will they inspire guilt and action? This is all too much to ask of a memorial. Nevertheless, my research has demonstrated that apologetic memorials are sites of political struggle for justice, representation, and recognition. In other words, some of these questions can be worked through space and materiality. During the last week of protests against racism, we have been witness to the reemergence of rage

[12] Nietzsche, "On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life," 62.
[13] Nietzsche, "On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life."
[14] CNN, *Minneapolis Police Chief on George Floyd Killing*.
[15] Erving Goffman, *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order* (New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publishers, 2010).

and discontent against monuments –confederate, federal, patriarchal, racist, white–, all spatial reminders of structural and representational inequality.[16] Again, Robert Musil's dictum "there is nothing more invisible than a monument" seems to have been proven wrong. Memorials and monuments are contentious stages that not only reflect, but also shape our humanity.[17]

Berkeley, CA, June 3, 2020

[16] Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs, "Virginia Governor Plans to Order Robert E. Lee Statue Removed," *The New York Times*, June 3, 2020, sec. U.S., https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/03/us/robert-e-lee-statue-richmond.html.
[17] Robert Musil, "Monuments," in *Posthumous Papers of a Living Author*, trans. Peter Wortsman (New York: Archipelago Books, 2006 [1936]), 64–68.

[This page intentionally left blank.]

Bibliography

INTRODUCTION: *APOLOGY AS*

"Apology - Oxford Reference." Accessed October 9, 2016. http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192830982.001.0001/acref-9780192830982-e-677.

Arendt, Hannah. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. Penguin Classics. New York, N.Y: Penguin Books, 2006.

———. *The Human Condition*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Austin, J. L. *How to Do Things with Words*. William James Lectures 1955. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.

Barkan, Elazar. *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

———. *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices*. JHU Press, 2001.

Barkan, Elazar, and Alexander Karn, eds. *Taking Wrongs Seriously: Apologies and Reconciliation*. Cultural Sitings. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2006.

Battistella, Edwin L. *Sorry about That: The Language of Public Apology*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Becker, Carl. "What Is Historiography?" *The American Historical Review* 44, no. 1 (1938): 20–28. https://doi.org/10.2307/1840848.

Becker, Carl L. "What Is Evidence? The Relativist View—'Everyman His Own Historian.'" In *The Historian as Detective: Essays on Evidence*, edited by Robin W. Winks, 1st ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1969.

Brooks, Roy L. "The Age of Apology." In *When Sorry Isn't Enough: The Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice*, edited by Roy L. Brooks, 14–15. Critical America. New York: New York University Press, 1999. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/berkeley/Doc?id=10032562.

———, ed. *When Sorry Isn't Enough: The Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice*. Critical America. New York: New York University Press, 1999. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/berkeley/Doc?id=10032562.

Bustamante, Javiera. *Patio 29 : tras la cruz de fierro*. Santiago, Chile: Ocho Libros Editores, 2009.

Celermajer, Danielle. *The Sins of the Nation and the Ritual of Apologies*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Certeau, Michel de. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

Chacón, Alejandra. "Patio 29: El Dolor de Verlos Desaparecer Dos Veces." *La Nación*. abril 2006. http://www.lanacion.cl/noticias/site/artic/20060422/pags/20060422002758.html.

Choay, Françoise. *The Invention of the Historic Monument*. 1st English language ed. Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Coicaud, Jean-Marc, and Jibecke Jönsson. "Elements of a Road Map for Politics of Apology." In *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*, edited by Mark Gibney, Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann, Jean-Marc Coicaud, and Niklaus Steiner, 77–91. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Cowan, Jill. "'It's Called Genocide': Newsom Apologizes to the State's Native Americans." *The New York Times*, June 19, 2019, sec. U.S. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/19/us/newsom-native-american-apology.html.

Crawford, Margaret. "Introduction." In *Everyday Urbanism*, edited by John Chase and John Kaliski, Expanded ed., 6–11. New York: Monacelli Press, 2008.
Cunningham, Michael. *States of Apology*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014.
Cuypers, Daniël, Daniel Janssen, Jacques Haers, and Barbara Segaert, eds. *Public Apology between Ritual and Regret.: Symbolic Excuses on False Pretenses or True Reconciliation out of Sincere Regret?* Amsterdam/New York: Editions Rodopi, 2013. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/berkeley-ebooks/detail.action?docID=1402866.
Danto, Arthur C. "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial." *The Nation*, August 31, 1985.
Derrida, Jacques. *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*. Thinking in Action. London ; New York: Routledge, 2001.
Eliade, Mircea. *The Myth of the Eternal Return: Cosmos and History*. Bollingen Series 46. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2005.
Freud, Sigmund. "Mourning and Melancholia." In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, edited by James Strachey, Anna Freud, and Angela Richards, Volume XIV (1914-1916):237–58. London: Hogarth Press, 1966.
Gibney, Mark, Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann, Jean-Marc Coicaud, and Niklaus Steiner. *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.
Goffman, Erving. *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*. New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publishers, 2010.
———. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Overlook Press, 1973.
Harootunian, Harry D. *History's Disquiet: Modernity, Cultural Practice, and the Question of Everyday Life*. Wellek Library Lectures. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.
"Hollow Apologies Should Be Avoided." *Nature* 403 (February 24, 2000): 813.
Huyssen, Andreas. *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Cultural Memory in the Present. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2003.
———. *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
Jelin. *Monumentos, Memoriales y Marcas Territoriales*. Edited by Elizabeth Jelin and Victoria Langland. Colección Memorias de La Represión 5. Madrid : [Buenos Aires] : [New York?]: Siglo Veintiuno de España Editores ; Siglo Veintiuno de Argentina Editores ; Social Science Research Council, [Panel Regional de América Latina], 2003.
Klein, Kerwin Lee. "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse." *Representations*, no. 69 (2000): 127–50. https://doi.org/10.2307/2902903.
Koenig, Robert. "Max Planck Offers Historic Apology." *Science*. June 12, 2001. http://www.sciencemag.org/news/2001/06/max-planck-offers-historic-apology.
Laks, Jona. "'To Remember Is the Warning We Have Been given against Forgetting' Speech given by the Chairwoman of the 'Organization of the Mengele Twins', Tel Aviv." Max Planck Gesellschaft, 2001. https://www.mpg.de/history/kws-under-national-socialism.
Lazare, Aaron. *On Apology*. Cary, UNITED KINGDOM: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2005. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/berkeley-ebooks/detail.action?docID=422917.
Lefebvre, Henri. *Critique of Everyday Life*. London: Verso, 2008.
———. *The Production of Space*. Oxford, OX, UK ; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell, 1991.
Luna, Taryn. "Newsom Apologizes for California's History of Violence against Native Americans." *Los Angeles Times*. June 18, 2019. https://www.latimes.com/politics/la-pol-ca-gavin-newsom-apology-california-native-american-tribes-061818-story.html.
Márquez, Francisca. "Las Heridas Abiertas Del Patio 29." *La Nación*. May 17, 2006. http://www.lanacion.cl/noticias/site/artic/20060516/pags/20060516191747.html.

Max Planck Gesellschaft. "Symposium in Berlin. Biomedical Sciences and Human Experimentation at Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes The Auschwitz Connection. Speeches given on the Occasion of the Opening," 2001. https://www.mpg.de/history/kws-under-national-socialism.

McGough, Michael. "West Sacramento Gives California 43 Acres for $100 Million Indian Heritage Center." *The Sacramento Bee*, December 7, 2018. https://www.sacbee.com/news/local/article222781765.html.

Newsom, Gavin. Executive Order N-15-19, Executive Department State of California § (2019). https://www.gov.ca.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/6.18.19-Executive-Order.pdf.

Nobles, Melissa. *The Politics of Official Apologies*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire." *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7–24. https://doi.org/10.2307/2928520.

———, ed. *Rethinking France = Les Lieux de Mémoire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Office of the Governor Gavin Newsom. "Governor Newsom Issues Apology to Native Americans for State's Historical Wrongdoings, Establishes Truth and Healing Council." California Governor, June 18, 2019. https://www.gov.ca.gov/2019/06/18/governor-newsom-issues-apology-to-native-americans-for-states-historical-wrongdoings-establishes-truth-and-healing-council/.

Osorio, Víctor. "El Escándalo Del Patio 29: LOS ERRORES DE IDENTIFICACIÓN." *Revista Ercilla, Editorial Ercilla Ltda.*, May 8, 2006. http://www.ercilla.cl/web/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=350&Itemid=4.

Plato. *The Apology and Related Dialogues*. Edited by Andrew Bailey. Translated by Cathal Woods and Ryan Pack. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2016.

Pugin, Augustus Welby Northmore. *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England*. Edinburgh : J. Grant, 1895. http://archive.org/details/a604881400pugiuoft.

Rabinow, Paul. "Midst Anthropology's Problems." In *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics, and Ethics as Anthropological Problems*, edited by Aihwa Ong and Stephen J. Collier, 40–53. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2005.

———. *Unconsolable Contemporary: Observing Gerhard Richter*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017.

Rabinow, Paul, and Anthony Stavrianakis. *Designs on the Contemporary: Anthropological Tests*. Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press, 2014.

Rebolledo, Javier, and Luis Narváez. "Patio 29: Muertos Sin Nombre." *La Nación*. abril 2006. http://www.lanacion.cl/noticias/site/artic/20060429/pags/20060429215727.html.

Ricoeur, Paul. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Riegl, Alois. "Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalpflege." Review. Mitteilungen der K. K. Zentralkommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale, 1905. https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/2813/.

———. "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origin." Translated by K.W. Forster and D. Ghirardo. *Oppositions*, no. 25 (1982): 20–51.

Ruderer, Stephan. "La 'Eternización' de Una Memoria Traumática. El Patio 29 y La Política Del Pasado En Chile." *Iberoamericana. América Latina, España, Portugal: Ensayos Sobre Letras, Historia y Sociedad. Notas. Reseñas Iberoamericanas* 13, no. 51 (2013): 105–18.

Sachse, Carola. "Was Bedeutet 'Entschuldigung'? Die Überlebenden Medizinischer NS-Verbrechen Und Die Max-Planck-Gesellschaft." *Berichte Zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 34, no. 3 (n.d.): 224–41. https://doi.org/10.1002/bewi.201101525.

Sturken, Marita. *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Tavuchis, Nicholas. *Mea Culpa: A Sociology of Apology and Reconciliation*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1991.
Torpey, John C. *Making Whole What Has Been Smashed: On Reparations Politics*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2006.
———, ed. *Politics and the Past: On Repairing Historical Injustices*. World Social Change. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.
White, Hayden. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Fortieth-Anniversary edition. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014.
Wirsing, Bernd. "Not Too Late to Apologize." *Nature* 404 (March 16, 2000): 222.
Young, James E. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

CHAPTER 1: THE CULT OF APOLOGY

Arendt, Hannah. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. Penguin Classics. New York, N.Y: Penguin Books, 2006.
———. *The Human Condition*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
———. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Harvest Book. San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1979.
Arendt, Hannah, and Karl Jaspers. *Hannah Arendt, Karl Jaspers Correspondence, 1926-1969*. Edited by Lotte Köhler and Hans Saner. 1st U.S. ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992.
Associated Press. "First 'Comfort Women' Statue in Europe Is Unveiled." *South China Morning Post*, March 9, 2017, South China Morning Post edition. https://www.scmp.com/news/world/europe/article/2077424/first-comfort-women-statue-europe-unveiled-germany.
Austin, J. L. *How to Do Things with Words*. William James Lectures 1955. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.
Barkan, Elazar. *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices*. JHU Press, 2001.
Barkan, Elazar, and Alexander Karn, eds. *Taking Wrongs Seriously: Apologies and Reconciliation*. Cultural Sitings. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2006.
Battistella, Edwin L. *Sorry about That: The Language of Public Apology*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
Benjamin, Walter. "Theses on the Philosophy of History." In *Illuminations*, edited by Hannah Arendt, 1st ed., 253–64. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968.
Berman, Marshall. *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. New York, N.Y., U.S.A: Viking Penguin, 1988.
Brooks, Roy L. "The Age of Apology." In *When Sorry Isn't Enough: The Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice*, edited by Roy L. Brooks, 14–15. Critical America. New York: New York University Press, 1999. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/berkeley/Doc?id=10032562.
———, ed. *When Sorry Isn't Enough: The Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice*. Critical America. New York: New York University Press, 1999. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/berkeley/Doc?id=10032562.
Browning, Christopher R. *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Finalsolution in Poland*. 1st ed. New York: HarperCollins, 1992.
Celermajer, Danielle. *The Sins of the Nation and the Ritual of Apologies*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Choay, Françoise. *The Invention of the Historic Monument*. 1st English language ed. Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Coicaud, Jean-Marc, and Jibecke Jönsson. "Elements of a Road Map for Politics of Apology." In *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*, edited by Mark Gibney, Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann, Jean-Marc Coicaud, and Niklaus Steiner, 77–91. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Cunningham, Michael. *States of Apology*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014.

Cuypers, Daniël, Daniel Janssen, Jacques Haers, and Barbara Segaert, eds. *Public Apology between Ritual and Regret.: Symbolic Excuses on False Pretenses or True Reconciliation out of Sincere Regret?* Amsterdam/New York: Editions Rodopi, 2013. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/berkeley-ebooks/detail.action?docID=1402866.

Derrida, Jacques. *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*. Thinking in Action. London ; New York: Routledge, 2001.

Diplomat, Ankit Panda, The. "The 'Final and Irreversible' 2015 Japan-South Korea Comfort Women Deal Unravels." The Diplomat. Accessed May 9, 2018. https://thediplomat.com/2017/01/the-final-and-irreversible-2015-japan-south-korea-comfort-women-deal-unravels/.

Dundes Renteln, Alison. "Apologies: A Cross-Cultural Analysis." In *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*, edited by Mark Gibney, Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann, Jean-Marc Coicaud, and Niklaus Steiner, 61–76. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Foreign Minister Kishida (Japan), and Foreign Minister Yun (Republic of Korea). "Announcement by Foreign Ministers of Japan and the Republic of Korea at the Joint Press Occasion." Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, December 28, 2015.

Fortin, Jacey. "'Comfort Women' Statue in San Francisco Leads a Japanese City to Cut Ties." *The New York Times*, January 20, 2018, sec. World. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/25/world/asia/comfort-women-statue.html.

Gibney, Mark, Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann, Jean-Marc Coicaud, and Niklaus Steiner. *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Goffman, Erving. *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*. New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publishers, 2010.

Goldhagen, Daniel J. *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. 1st ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996.

Goldhagen, Daniel J., Christopher R. Browning, Leon Wieseltier, and Michael Berenbaum. "The 'Willing Executioners'/ 'Ordinary Men' Debate. Selections Form the Symposium April 8, 1996." United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2001.

Han, Sol, and James Griffiths. "Why This Statue of a Young Girl Caused a Diplomatic Incident." *CNN*, February 10, 2017. https://www.cnn.com/2017/02/05/asia/south-korea-comfort-women-statue/index.html.

Herfroy-Mischler, Alexandra. "Post-Transitional Apology: Expressing Contrition Whilist Addressing the Holocaust Transitional Justice's Failure." In *Public Apology between Ritual and Regret.: Symbolic Excuses on False Pretenses or True Reconciliation out of Sincere Regret?*, edited by Daniël Cuypers, Daniel Janssen, Jacques Haers, and Barbara Segaert, 167–88. Amsterdam/New York: Editions Rodopi, 2013. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/berkeley-ebooks/detail.action?docID=1402866.

Hesse, Carla Alison, and Robert Post, eds. *Human Rights in Political Transitions: Gettysburg to Bosnia*. New York : Cambridge, Mass: Zone Books ; Distributed by the MIT Press, 1999.

"Hollow Apologies Should Be Avoided." *Nature* 403 (February 24, 2000): 813.

Holub, Robert C. *Jürgen Habermas: Critic in the Public Sphere*. Critics of the Twentieth Century. London ; New York: Routledge, 1991.
Howard-Hassmann, Rhoda E., and Mark Gibney. "Introduction: Apologies and the West." In *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*, 1–9. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.
Hu, Elise. "'Comfort Woman' Memorial Statues, A Thorn In Japan's Side, Now Sit On Korean Buses." NPR.org, November 13, 2017. https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2017/11/13/563838610/comfort-woman-memorial-statues-a-thorn-in-japans-side-now-sit-on-korean-buses.
Huyssen, Andreas. *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
Jaspers, Karl. *The Question of German Guilt*. Perspectives in Continental Philosophy, no. 16. New York: Fordham University Press, 2000.
Jelin. *Monumentos, Memoriales y Marcas Territoriales*. Edited by Elizabeth Jelin and Victoria Langland. Colección Memorias de La Represión 5. Madrid : [Buenos Aires] : [New York?]: Siglo Veintiuno de España Editores ; Siglo Veintiuno de Argentina Editores ; Social Science Research Council, [Panel Regional de América Latina], 2003.
Jordan, Jennifer A. *Structures of Memory: Understanding Urban Change in Berlin and Beyond*. Cultural Memory in the Present. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2006.
Kimura, Maki. *Unfolding the "Comfort Women" Debates: Modernity, Violence, Women's Voices*. Genders and Sexualities in History. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
Klein, Kerwin Lee. "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse." *Representations*, no. 69 (2000): 127–50. https://doi.org/10.2307/2902903.
Koenig, Robert. "Max Planck Offers Historic Apology." *Science*. June 12, 2001. http://www.sciencemag.org/news/2001/06/max-planck-offers-historic-apology.
Laks, Jona. "'To Remember Is the Warning We Have Been given against Forgetting' Speech given by the Chairwoman of the 'Organization of the Mengele Twins', Tel Aviv." Max Planck Gesellschaft, 2001. https://www.mpg.de/history/kws-under-national-socialism.
Lamprakos, Michele. "Riegl's 'Modern Cult of Monuments' and The Problem of Value." *Change Over Time* 4, no. 2 (October 21, 2014): 418–35. https://doi.org/10.1353/cot.2014.0011.
Lazare, Aaron. *On Apology*. Cary, UNITED KINGDOM: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2005. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/berkeley-ebooks/detail.action?docID=422917.
Lübbe, Hermann. *Ich entschuldige mich: Das neue politische Bußritual*. Siedler Verlag, 2002.
Ludi, Regula. *Reparations for Nazi Victims in Postwar Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
Markl, Hubert. "'The Most Honest Form of Apology Is the Admission of Guilt.' Speech given on the Occasion of the Opening of the Symposium in Berlin. Biomedical Sciences and Human Experimentation at Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes The Auschwitz Connection." Max Planck Gesellschaft, 2001. https://www.mpg.de/history/kws-under-national-socialism.
Max Planck Gesellschaft. "Symposium in Berlin. Biomedical Sciences and Human Experimentation at Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes The Auschwitz Connection. Speeches given on the Occasion of the Opening," 2001. https://www.mpg.de/history/kws-under-national-socialism.
Max-Delbrück-Centrum für Molekulare Medizin (MDC) Berlin-Buch, Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. "Wissenschaftsorganisationen errichten Mahnmal | Max-Delbrück-Centrum für Molekulare Medizin (Press release)." Max-Delbrück-Centrum für Molekulare Medizin (MDC) Berlin-Buch, October 14, 2000. https://www.mdc-berlin.de/de/news/archive/2000/20001014-wissenschaftsorganisationen_errichten_mahn.

McCurry, Justin. "Buses in Seoul Install 'comfort Women' Statues to Honour Former Sex Slaves." *The Guardian*, August 16, 2017, sec. Cities. http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2017/aug/16/buses-seoul-comfort-women-statues-korea-japan.

McGrane, Sally. "An Important Statue for 'Comfort Women' in San Francisco." *The New Yorker*, October 12, 2017. https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/an-important-statue-for-comfort-women-in-san-francisco.

Moses, A. Dirk. "Conceptual Blockages and Definitional Dilemmas in the 'Racial Century': Genocides of Indigenous Peoples and the Holocaust." In *Colonialism and Genocide*, edited by A. Dirk Moses and Dan Stone, 149–80. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Nobles, Melissa. *The Politics of Official Apologies*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Novick, Peter. *The Holocaust in American Life*. 1st Mariner Books ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/berkeley/docDetail.action?docID=10458846.

Olin, Margaret. "The Cult of Monuments as a State Religion in Late 19th Century Austria." *Wiener Jahrbuch Für Kunstgeschichte* 38, no. 1 (2016): 177–198. https://doi.org/10.7767/wjk-1985-0107.

Rabinow, Paul. "Midst Anthropology's Problems." In *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics, and Ethics as Anthropological Problems*, edited by Aihwa Ong and Stephen J. Collier, 40–53. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2005.

Rich, Motoko. "Japan Balks at Calls for New Apology to South Korea Over 'Comfort Women.'" *The New York Times*, January 14, 2018, sec. World. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/12/world/asia/japan-south-korea-comfort-women.html.

Ricoeur, Paul. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Riegl, Alois. "Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalpflege." Review. Mitteilungen der K. K. Zentralkommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale, 1905. https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/2813/.

———. "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origin." Translated by K.W. Forster and D. Ghirardo. *Oppositions*, no. 25 (1982): 20–51.

Ruskin, John. "The Lamp of Memory." In *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. London: New York: J. M. Dent: E. P. Dutton, 1963.

Sachse, Carola. "Was Bedeutet 'Entschuldigung'? Die Überlebenden Medizinischer NS-Verbrechen Und Die Max-Planck-Gesellschaft." *Berichte Zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 34, no. 3 (n.d.): 224–41. https://doi.org/10.1002/bewi.201101525.

Sakai, Kohei. "South Korea Promises Efforts on Comfort Women Statue." *Nikkei Asian Review*, February 18, 2017. https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/South-Korea-promises-efforts-on-comfort-women-statue2.

Sang-Hun, Choe. "'Comfort Woman' Statue Reinstated Near Japan Consulate in South Korea." *The New York Times*, December 22, 2017, sec. World. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/30/world/asia/south-korea-comfort-women-wwii-japan.html.

———. "Japan and South Korea Settle Dispute Over Wartime 'Comfort Women.'" *The New York Times*, January 19, 2018, sec. World. https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/29/world/asia/comfort-women-south-korea-japan.html.

Shanken, Andrew M. "Towards a Cultural Geography of Modern Memorials." In *Architecture and Interpretation: Essays for Eric Fernie*, edited by Jill Franklin, T. A. Heslop, and Christine Stevenson, 357–80. Woodbridge, UK ; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2012.
Slyomovics, Susan. *How to Accept German Reparations*. 1st ed. Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. https://muse.jhu.edu/book/32594.
Soh, Chunghee Sarah. *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan*. Worlds of Desire. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
Son, Elizabeth W. *Embodied Reckonings: "Comfort Women," Performance, and Transpacific Redress*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2018.
Stevens, Quentin, and Karen A. Franck. *Memorials as Spaces of Engagement: Design, Use and Meaning*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
Sturken, Marita. *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
Tavuchis, Nicholas. *Mea Culpa: A Sociology of Apology and Reconciliation*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1991.
Tolbert, David. "Japan's Apology to South Korea Shows What Public Apologies Should (Not) Do." *Huffington Post* (blog), January 29, 2016. https://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-tolbert/japans-apology-to-south-k_b_9111566.html.
Torpey, John C., ed. *Politics and the Past: On Repairing Historical Injustices*. World Social Change. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.
United Nations. "UN Charter," June 1945. http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/un-charter-full-text/.
Winnacker, Ernst-Ludwig. "Rede des DFG-Präsident anlässlich der Einweihung des Mahnmals zur Erinnerung an die Opfer nationalsozialistischer Euthanasieverbrechen in Berlin-Buch." Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, October 14, 2000. http://www.dfg.de/download/pdf/dfg_im_profil/reden_stellungnahmen/2000/rede_win_einweihung_mahnmal_2000_10_14.pdf.
Wirsing, Bernd. "Not Too Late to Apologize." *Nature* 404 (March 16, 2000): 222.
Yamada, Kenichi. "South Korean City Offers Protection to 'comfort Women' Statue." *Nikkei Asian Review*, July 1, 2017. https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/South-Korean-city-offers-protection-to-comfort-women-statue2.
Young, James E. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

INTERLUDE I: *WILLY BRANDT'S GENUFLECTION*

Bardgett, Suzanne, ed. *Justice, Politics and Memory in Europe after the Second World War*. Landscapes after Battle, v. 2. London ; Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2011.
Barkan, Elazar. *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
Berger, Thomas U. *War, Guilt, and World Politics after World War II*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
Beste, Ralf, Georg Bönisch, Thomas Darnstaedt, Jan Friedmann, Michael Fröhlingsdorf, and Klaus Wiegrefe. "From Dictatorship to Democracy: The Role Ex-Nazis Played in Early West Germany." *Spiegel Online*, March 6, 2012, sec. International.

https://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/from-dictatorship-to-democracy-the-role-ex-nazis-played-in-early-west-germany-a-810207.html.

Bindenagel, J.D. "Justice, Apology, Reconciliation, and the German Foundation 'Rememberance, Responsibility, and the Future.'" In *Taking Wrongs Seriously: Apologies and Reconciliation*, edited by Elazar Barkan and Alexander Karn, 286–310. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2006.

Brandt, Willy. *My Life in Politics*. New York, N.Y: Viking, 1992.

Brooks, Roy L. "The Age of Apology." In *When Sorry Isn't Enough: The Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice*, edited by Roy L. Brooks, 14–15. Critical America. New York: New York University Press, 1999. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/berkeley/Doc?id=10032562.

Brunner, José, Constantin Goschler, and Norbert Frei, eds. *Die Globalisierung Der Wiedergutmachung: Politik, Moral,Moralpolitik*. Beiträge Zur Geschichte Des 20. Jahrhunderts, Band 12, zugleich Schriftenreihe des Minerva Instituts für deutscheGeschichte der Universität Tel Aviv; Band 31. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2013.

Deutscher Bundestag. "Drucksache 17/8134. Antwort der Bundesregierung auf die Große Anfrage der Abgeordneten Jan Korte, Sevim Dağˇdelen, Ulla Jelpke, weiterer Abgeordneter und der Fraktion DIE LINKE. – Drucksache 17/4126 –." Deutscher Bundestag, December 14, 2011. http://dipbt.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/17/081/1708134.pdf.

Deutsches Historisches Museum. "The Warsaw Genuflection: Willy Brandt's Historic Gesture." *Deutsches Historisches Museum: Blog* (blog), n/d. /blog/2016/12/07/392/.

Gabowitsch, Mischa, ed. *Replicating Atonement: Foreign Models in the Commemoration of Atrocities*. Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Garton Ash, Timothy. *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent*. 1st Vintage Press ed. New York: Vintage Press, 1994.

Garton Ash, Timothy, and Willy Brandt. *Wächst Zusammen, Was Zusammengehört? Deutschland Und Europa Zehn Jahre Nach Dem Fall Der Mauer: Vortrag Im Rathaus Schöneberg Zu Berlin, 5. November 1999*. Schriftenreihe Der Bundeskanzler-Willy-Brandt-Stiftung, Heft 8. Berlin: Bundeskanzler-Willy-Brandt-Stiftung, 2001.

Gibney, Mark, Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann, Jean-Marc Coicaud, and Niklaus Steiner. *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Goschler, Constantin. *Wiedergutmachung: Westdeutschland Und Die Verfolgten DesNationalsozialismus (1945-1954)*. Quellen Und Darstellungen Zur Zeitgeschichte, Bd. 34. München: Oldenbourg, 1992.

Krell, Gert. "West German Ostpolitik and the German Question." *Journal of Peace Research* 28, no. 3 (1991): 311–23.

Lübbe, Hermann. *Ich entschuldige mich: Das neue politische Bußritual*. Siedler Verlag, 2002.

Ludi, Regula. *Reparations for Nazi Victims in Postwar Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Marcuse, Harold. *Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp, 1933-2001*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Merkl, Peter H. "The German Janus: From Westpolitik to Ostpolitik." *Political Science Quarterly* 89, no. 4 (1974): 803–24. https://doi.org/10.2307/2148896.

Niedhart, Gottfried. "Revisionistische Elemente Und Die Initiierung Friedlichen Wandels in Der Neuen Ostpolitik 1967-1974." *Geschichte Und Gesellschaft* 28, no. 2 (2002): 233–66.

Rabinow, Paul. *Unconsolable Contemporary: Observing Gerhard Richter*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017.

Rauer, Valentin. "Symbols in Action: Willy Brandt's Kneefall at the Warsaw Memorial." In *Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics, and Ritual*, edited by Alexander Jeffrey C., Bernhard Giesen, and Jason L. Mast, 257–82. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511616839.009.

Schmitz-Berg, Manfred. *Wieder Gut Gemacht? Die Geschichte Der Wiedergutmachungseit 1945*. 1. Auflage. Düsseldorf: Grupello, 2017.

SCHULZ, Kristina. "« Filles de La Révolution » En Allemagne : De 1968 Au Mouvement Des Femmes." *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire*, no. 9 (1999): 257–74.

Silvester, J, Jeremy Silvester, Jan-Bart Gewald, Jeremy Silvester, and Jan-Bart Gewald. *Words Cannot Be Found: German Colonial Rule in Namibia: An Annotated Reprint of the 1918 Blue Book*. Leiden, NETHERLANDS: BRILL, 2003. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/berkeley-ebooks/detail.action?docID=253708.

Slyomovics, Susan. *How to Accept German Reparations*. 1st ed. Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. https://muse.jhu.edu/book/32594.

Sontheimer, Michael. "Willy Brandt in Warschau: Kniefall Vor Der Geschichte." *Spiegel Online*, December 3, 2010, sec. einestages. https://www.spiegel.de/einestages/willy-brandt-in-warschau-a-946886.html.

Thijs, Krijn. *Drei Geschichten, eine Stadt: die Berliner Stadtjubiläen von 1937 und 1987*. Böhlau Verlag Köln Weimar, 2008.

WOLFE, JAMES H. "WEST GERMANY'S OSTPOLITIK." *World Affairs* 134, no. 3 (1971): 210–19.

Young, James E. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

CHAPTER 2: BUILDING APOLOGIES

Adorno, Theodor W. *Kulturkritik Und Gesellschaft*. Edited by Rolf Tiedemann. 2. Aufl. Gesammelte Schriften ; Bd. 10. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1996.

Adorno, Theodor W., Jeffrey K. Olick, and Andrew J. Perrin. *Guilt and Defense: On the Legacies of National Socialismin Postwar Germany*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Åhr, Johan. "Memory and Mourning in Berlin: On Peter Eisenman's Holocaust-Mahnmal (2005)." *Modern Judaism* 28, no. 3 (2008): 283–305.

Akademie der Künste (Berlin, Germany), ed. *Zum Umgang Mit Dem Gestapo-Gelände: Gutachten Im Auftrag Der Akademie Der Künste Berlin*. Berlin: Akademie der Künste, Berlin, 1988.

Akcan, Esra. *Open Architecture: Migration, Citizenship, and the Urbanrenewal of Berlin-Kreuzberg by IBA-1984/87*. Basel, Switzerland: Birkhauser Verlag GmbH, 2018.

Arendt, Hannah. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. Penguin Classics. New York, N.Y: Penguin Books, 2006.

Ariès, Philippe. *Western Attitudes toward Death, from the Middle Ages to the Present*. John Hopkins paperback ed. The Johns Hopkins Symposia in Comparative History. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.

Battistella, Edwin L. *Sorry about That: The Language of Public Apology*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Bauman, Zygmunt. *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2000.

Berliner Festspiele, and Gropius-Bau (Museum), eds. *Preussen, Versuch Einer Bilanz: Eine Ausstellung Der Berliner Festspiele GmbH, 15. August-15. November 1981, Gropius-Bau (Ehemaliges*

Kunstgewerbemuseum) Berlin: Katalog in Fünf Bänden. Rororo Katalog. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1981.

Bernau, Nikolaus. "Das Scheitern Zumthors Ist Folge Kollektiver Verantwortungslosigkeit: Und Wo War Der Bauherr?" Accessed September 29, 2015. http://www.berliner-zeitung.de/archiv/das-scheitern-zumthors-ist-folge-kollektiver-verantwortungslosigkeit-und-wo-war-der-bauherr-,10810590,10179816.html.

Brandt, Willy. *My Life in Politics*. New York, N.Y: Viking, 1992.

Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung, Philipp Dittrich, Angela L. Kauls, and Stiftung Topographie des Terrors. "Offener, internationaler Realisierungswettbewerb Topographie des Terrors, Berlin. Auslobungstext 2. Phase." Bundesministerium für Verkehr, Bau- und Wohnungswesen, Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung, 2005. Archive Topography of Terror Foundation.

Case, J. David. "The Politics of Memorial Representation: The Controversy Over the German Resistance Museum in 1994." *German Politics & Society* 16, no. 1 (46) (1998): 58–81.

Daston, Lorraine, and Peter Galison. *Objectivity*. New York : Cambridge, Mass: Zone Books ; Distributed by the MIT Press, 2007.

Dekel, Irit. "Ways of Looking: Observation and Transformation at the Holocaust Memorial, Berlin." *Memory Studies* 2, no. 1 (January 1, 2009): 71–86. https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698008097396.

Díaz, Jorge. *Topografía de Un Desnudo: Esquema Para Una Indagación Inútil. Obra En Dos Actos de Caridad.* Santiago, Chile: Editora Santiago, 1967.

Eisenman, Peter. *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*. Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture 49. New York: Leo Baeck Institute, 2005.

Eisenman, Peter, and Hanno Rauterberg. *Holocaust Memorial Berlin: Eisenman Architects*. Baden, Switzerland: Lars Müller, 2005.

Endlich, Stefanie. "Die >offene Wunde< in Der Stadtbrache: Zum Bauwettbewerb >Topographie Des Terrors<." In *Architektur in Berlin: Jahrbuch 1993/1994*, Architektenkammer Berlin., 56–61. Hamburg, 1994.

———. "Die Zukunft des Berliner 'Prinz-Albrecht-Geländes' ('Gestapo-Geländes'). Zum Abschlußbericht der 'Fachkomission zur Erarbeitung von Vorschlägen für die künftige Nutzung des "Prinz-Albrecht-Geländes" ('Gestapo-Geländes')."' Senatsverwaltung für Kulturelle Angelegenheiten / Berliner Festspiele GmbH, December 1990. Topography of Terror Archive.

———. "Gestapo-Gelände. Entwicklungen, Diskussionen, Meinungen, Forderungen, Perspektiven." In *Zum Umgang Mit Dem Gestapo-Gelände: Gutachten Im Auftrag Der Akademie Der Künste Berlin*, edited by Akademie der Künste (Berlin, Germany), 1–103. Berlin: Akademie der Künste, Berlin, 1988.

———. "'Reine Struktur'. Peter Zumthors Neubau Für Die Stiftung 'Topographie Des Terrors': Architektursprache, Kunstkonzept, Symbolgehalt, Funktion." *Mitgliederrundbrief Aktives Museum. Faschismus Und Widerstand in Berlin e.V.*, no. 51 (July 2004): 22–34.

———. "Stefanie Endlich Über Peter Zumthors Topographie-Bau: Japanische, Strukturelle Heiterkeit." Accessed September 29, 2015. http://www.berliner-zeitung.de/archiv/stefanie-endlich-ueber-peter-zumthors-topographie-bau-japanische--strukturelle-heiterkeit,10810590,10179506.html.

———. "Trennung von Zumthor - Was Nun? Neuorientierung Für Die Topographie Des Terrors." *Gedenkstättenforum*, no. 120 (2004): 27–38.

———. *Wege zur Erinnerung: Gedenkstätten und -orte für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus in Berlin und Brandenburg*. 1. Aufl. Berlin: Berlin Landeszentrale Für Politische Bildungsarbeit, 2006.
Fischer-Defoy, Christine. "Das Aktive Museum, Das Gestapo-Gelände Und Die „Topographie Des Terrors" – Eine Beziehungsgeschichte." *Mitgliederrundbrief Aktives Museum. Faschismus Und Widerstand in Berlin e.V.*, no. 67 (August 2012): 4–9.
Frank, Robert. "Zur Spurensicherung Auf Dem Gelände an Der Ehemaligen Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse Bestand, Veränderungen Und Zerstörungen Im Dezember 1988." In *Zum Umgang Mit Dem Gestapo-Gelände: Gutachten Im Auftrag Der Akademie Der Künste Berlin*, edited by Akademie der Künste (Berlin, Germany), 1–73. Berlin: Akademie der Künste, Berlin, 1988.
Freud, Sigmund. "Mourning and Melancholia." In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, edited by James Strachey, Anna Freud, and Angela Richards, Volume XIV (1914-1916):237–58. London: Hogarth Press, 1966.
———. "The 'Uncanny.'" In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, translated by James Strachey, Anna Freud, and Angela Richards, 335–76. London: Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1953.
"'Gedenken Ohne Hierarchien' Andreas Nachama Hält Erinnerung an Alle Nazi-Opferngruppen Für Wichtig." *Berliner Morgenpost*. January 17, 2004. Pressespiegel 2004. Topography of Terror Archive.
Giedion, S. *Space, Time and Architecture; the Growth of a New Tradition*. 5th ed., rev.Enl. Charles Eliot Norton Lectures 1938–1939. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967.
Gigliotti, Simone. "Unspeakable Pasts as Limit Events: The Holocaust, Genocide, and the Stolen Generations." *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 49, no. 2 (June 1, 2003): 164–81. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8497.00302.
Godfrey, Mark. *Abstraction and the Holocaust*. New Haven [Conn.] ; London: Yale University Press, 2007.
Guski, Britta, and Ingo Schauermann. "Topographie de Terrors. Der Neubau Peter Zumthors auf dem Prinz-Albrecht-Gelände in Berlin." In *Architektur und Erinnerung*, edited by Wolfram Martini, 205–30. Formen der Erinnerung. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000.
Haß, Matthias. *Das Aktive Museum und die Topographie des Terrors*. 1., Aufl. Berlin: Hentrich und Hentrich Verlag Berlin, 2012.
HÄUSSERMANN, HARTMUT, and KATJA SIMONS. "Developing the New Berlin: Large Projects – Great Risks." *Geographische Zeitschrift* 89, no. 2/3 (2001): 125–34.
Herf, Jeffrey. *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997.
Hesse, Klaus. Interviews with Klaus Hesse, longtime Topography of Terror academic staff member. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause. Transcript and Audio, November 16, 2017.
Hirsch, Marianne. *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Cultureafter the Holocaust*. Gender and Culture. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
Hoffmann-Axthelm, Dieter. "Lasst Das Gelände Sprechen!" ZEIT ONLINE, June 3, 2004. http://www.zeit.de/2004/24/Topografie.
———. "Prinz-Albrecht-Palais Oder Reichssicherheitshauptamt?" *Bauwelt*, no. 43 (1982): 1778–87.
———. "Wie Lesbar Ist Die Geschichte? Überlegungen Während Des Wettbewerbs, 'Topographie Des Terrors' in Berlin." In *Die Rettung Der Architektur Vor Sich Selbst: Zehn Polemiken*, 92–99. Bauwelt Fundamente 108. Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1995.
Jaeger, Falk. "Topographie Des Errors." *Der Tagesspiegel*. October 28, 2004, sec. Kultur.
Jordan, Jennifer A. *Structures of Memory: Understanding Urban Change in Berlin and Beyond*. Cultural Memory in the Present. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2006.

Klein, Kerwin Lee. "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse." *Representations*, no. 69 (2000): 127–50. https://doi.org/10.2307/2902903.

Korff, Gottfried, Reinhard Rürup, Martin-Gropius-Bau (Berlin, Germany), and Berliner Festspiele, eds. *Berlin, Berlin: Die Ausstellung Zur Geschichte Der Stadt: Katalog*. Berlin: Nicolai, 1987.

LaCapra, Dominick. *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Leoni, Claudio. "Peter Zumthor's 'Topography of Terror.'" *Arq: Architectural Research Quarterly* 18, no. 02 (June 2014): 110–122. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1359135514000426.

Lindqvist, Sven, and Manfred Demmeyer. *Grabe Wo Du Stehst: Handbuch Zur Erforschung Der Eigenen Geschichte*. Gräw Där Du Står.German. Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., 1989. https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001539640.

Lowenthal, David. *The Past Is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Magnago Lampugnani, Vittorio. "Die Analogie Der Widersprüche. Fragmentarische Anmerkungen Zum Gebäude Des Ehemaligen Kunstgewerbemuseums in Berlin." In *Zeitgeist: Internationale Kunstausstellung, Berlin 1982: Martin-Gropius-Bau*, edited by Christos M. Joachimides and Norman Rosenthal, 49–61. Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1982.

Marcuse, Harold. *Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp, 1933-2001*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

N., N. "Topographie: Künstler Für Zumthor." *Der Tagesspiegel*. November 17, 2004, sec. Kultur.

Nachama, Andreas. Interview with Andreas Nachama, former director of the Topography of Terror Foundation. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause. Recording & transcription, October 25, 2017.

Ostendorff, Peter. Interview with Peter Ostendorff, former director of the "Competitions and Selection Process" unit of the Berlin Senate Department for Urban Development and Housing. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause. Transcript and Audio, August 24, 2017.

Postone, Moishe, and Eric L. Santner, eds. *Catastrophe and Meaning: The Holocaust and the Twentiethcentury*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Quack, Sibylle, ed. *Auf Dem Weg Zur Realisierung: Das Denkmal Für Die Ermordeten Juden Europas Und Der Ort Der Information: Architektur Und Historisches Konzept*. Schriftenreihe Der Stiftung Denkmal Für Die Ermordeten Juden Europas, Bd. 1. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2002.

Rabinow, Paul. "Midst Anthropology's Problems." In *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics, and Ethics as Anthropological Problems*, edited by Aihwa Ong and Stephen J. Collier, 40–53. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2005.

Rauterberg, Hanno. "Baut Endlich Zumthor!" *Die Zeit*, November 25, 2004, sec. Feuilleton.

Riegl, Alois. "Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalpflege." Review. Mitteilungen der K. K. Zentralkommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale, 1905. https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/2813/.

Rürup, Reinhard. "Folter-Mythos." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. March 17, 1988. Landesarchiv Berlin.

———. Interview with Reinhard Rürup, former scientific director of the Topography of Terror. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause. Transcript and Audio, September 18, 2017.

———, ed. *Topographie Des Terrors: Gestapo, SS Und Reichssicherheitshauptamt Auf Dem "Prinz-Albrecht-Gelände": Eine Dokumentation*. 7. erweiterte Aufl. Berlin: Verlag Willmuth Arenhövel, 1987.

Sander, Andreas. Interviews with Andreas Sander, longtime Topography of Terror academic staff member. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause. Transcript and Audio, November 8, 2017.

Sandler, Daniela. *Counterpreservation: Architectural Decay in Berlin Since1989*. Signale : Modern German Letters, Cultures, and Thought. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press : Cornell University Library, 2016.

Schoenberner, Gerhard. "Vom Schuttabladeplatz zum internationalen Dokumentationszentrum - Die unendliche Geschichte der >>Topographie des Terrors<<." Edited by Thomas Lutz and Stiftung Topographie des Terrors. *GedenkstättenRundbrief* 4, no. 100 (2001): 35–44.

Shanken, Andrew M. *Into the Void Pacific: Building the 1939 San Francisco World's Fair*. Berkeley/Design/Books, #7. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2014.

Sion, Brigitte. *Memorials in Berlin and Buenos Aires: Balancing Memory, Architecture, and Tourism*. Lexington Books, 2014.

Spielmann, Jochen. "Gedenken und Denkmal." In *Gedenken und Denkmal. Entwürfe zur Erinnerung an die Deportation und Vernichtung der jüdischen Bevölkerung Berlins.*, 7–46. Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, Berlin, und Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen, Berlin, 1988.

Spier, Steven. "Place, Authorship and the Concrete: Three Conversations with Peter Zumthor." *Cambridge University Press* 5, no. 2 (2001): 15–37.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Germany : East), and Altes Museum (Berlin, Germany), eds. *Kunst in Berlin, 1648-1987: Staatliche Museen Zu Berlin: Ausstellung Im Alten Museum Vom 10. Juni Bis 25. Oktober1987*. Berlin, DDR: Hensachelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft, 1987.

Steiner, Jürg. "Ausstellungspavillon ›Topographie des Terrors‹ [Project Portfolio]." Web publication steiner.archi, February 17, 2014. http://www.steiner.archi/?p=2305#more-2305.

———. Interview with Jürg Steiner, architect of the first Topography of Terror pavilion. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause. Transcript and Audio, November 15, 2017.

Stier, Oren Baruch. *Holocaust Icons: Symbolizing the Shoah in History and Memory*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2015.

Stiftung Denkmal für die Ermordeten Juden Europas, ed. *Holocaust: Der Ort Der Information Des Denkmals Für Die Ermordeten Juden Europas*. 1. Auflage. Berlin: Stiftung Denkmal für die Ermordeten Juden Europas, 2015.

Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, ed. *Topographie des Terrors: Ausstellungen 1987-2017*. Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 2017.

Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, and Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung. *Realisierungswettbewerb Topographie des Terrors.Berlin: 309 Entwürfe - Katalog zur Ausstellung der Wettbewerbsarbeiten*. Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 2006.

"Streit Um Abriss Der Zumthor-Treppentürme - DIE WELT." Accessed September 29, 2015. http://www.welt.de/print-welt/article336342/Streit-um-Abriss-der-Zumthor-Treppentuerme.html?print=true.

Strom, Elizabeth A. *Building the New Berlin: The Politics of Urban Development in Germany's Capital City*. Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2001.

Strom, Elizabeth, and Margit Mayer. "The New Berlin." *German Politics & Society* 16, no. 4 (49) (1998): 122–39.

Thijs, Krijn. *Drei Geschichten, eine Stadt: die Berliner Stadtjubiläen von 1937 und 1987*. Böhlau Verlag Köln Weimar, 2008.

Till, Karen E. *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

Tilmann, Christina, and Reinhard Rürup. "Skandal und letzte Hoffnung. „Topographie"-Direktor Reinhard Rürup über seinen Rücktritt." *Der Tagesspiegel*. March 27, 2004, sec. Kultur. https://www.tagesspiegel.de/kultur/skandal-und-letzte-hoffnung/502864.html.

"Topographie des Terrors wird in Ost-Berlin gezeigt." *Tagesspiegel*. January 21, 1989. Topography of Terror Archive.
Venturi, Robert. *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*. 2d ed. The Museum of Modern Art Papers on Architecture 1. New York : Boston: Museum of Modern Art ; distributed by New York Graphic Society, 1977.
Venturi, Robert, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour. *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1977.
Vidler, Anthony. *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1992.
Watkin, David. *Morality and Architecture Revisited*. Rev. ed. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
———. *Morality and Architecture: The Development of a Theme in Architectural History and Theory from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement*. Oxford [Eng.]: Clarendon Press, 1977.
Wüstenberg, Jenny. *Civil Society and Memory in Postwar Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
Young, James E. *At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
———. "Germany's Holocaust Memorial Problem—and Mine." *The Public Historian* 24, no. 4 (November 1, 2002): 65–80. https://doi.org/10.1525/tph.2002.24.4.65.
———. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
Young, James E., Matthew Baigell, Deutsches Historisches Museum, and Münchner Stadtmuseum. *Holocaust Memorials: The Art of Memory in History*. Munich; New York: Prestel, 1994.
Zifonun, Darius. *Gedenken und Identität*. Frankfurt am Main ; New York: Campus Verlag GmbH, 2004.
Zumthor, Peter. *Stabwerk. Internationales Besucher- und Dokumentationszentrum "Topographie des Terrors", Berlin*. Aedes, 1995.

CHAPTER 3: COMPETING APOLOGIES

Apraku, Josephine. Interview with Josephine Apraku of the Institut für diskriminierungsfreie Bildung (IDB). Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause. Audio and Transcript, September 20, 2017.
Austin, J. L. *How to Do Things with Words*. William James Lectures 1955. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.
Azaryahu, Maoz. *Von Wilhelmplatz Zu Thälmannplatz: Politische Symbole Im Öffentlichen Leben Der DDR*. Edited by Shulamit Volkov and Frank Stern. Translated by Kerstin Amrani and Alma Mandelbaum. Gerlingen: Bleicher Verlag, 1991.
Beck, Luisa. "Germany, a Model for Coming to Terms with Its Past, Still Struggles with Its Colonial Period." *Washington Post*, January 3, 2020. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/germany-a-model-for-coming-to-terms-with-its-past-still-struggles-with-its-colonial-period/2020/01/02/784b23a2-b927-11e9-8e83-4e6687e99814_story.html.
Berlin Postkolonial e.V. "decolonize-mitte | Dekolonisierung von Berlin-Mitte." *decolonize-mitte | Dekolonisierung von Berlin-Mitte* (blog). Accessed January 22, 2018. http://decolonize-mitte.de/.

Berliner Entwicklungspolitischer Ratschlag in cooperation with, Berlin Postkolonial, and Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland (ISD-BUND). "Stadt neu lesen. Dossier zu kolonialen und rassistischen Straßennamen in Berlin." Berliner Entwicklungspolitischer Ratschlag, 2016.

Boehme, Franziska. "Reactive Remembrance: The Political Struggle over Apologies and Reparations between Germany and Namibia for the Herero Genocide." *Journal of Human Rights* 19, no. 2 (March 14, 2020): 238–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/14754835.2020.1727729.

Buhmann, Tristan. "Der Völkermord an den Herero und Nama (1904-1908)." *Genocide Alert* (blog), n/d. http://www.genocide-alert.de/projekte/deutschland-und-massenverbrechen/herero-und-nama/.

Burke, Jason, and and Philip Oltermann. "Germany Moves to Atone for 'forgotten Genocide' in Namibia." *The Guardian*, December 25, 2016, sec. World news. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/25/germany-moves-to-atone-for-forgotten-genocide-in-namibia.

Decolonize-Mitte. "Hintergrundinformationen zur Umbenennung der „M-Straße"." *decolonize-mitte* (blog), August 24, 2015. http://decolonize-mitte.de/?p=238.

Della, Tahir. Interview with Tahir Della of the Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland (ISD). Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause. Audio and Transcript, September 8, 2017.

Demps, Laurenz. *Berlin-Wilhelmstraße: Eine Topographie preußisch-deutscher Macht*. 4., Auflage. Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 2010.

Deutscher Bundestag. Errichtungsgesetz Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur, § 33 (1998). https://www.bundesstiftung-aufarbeitung.de/errichtungsgesetz-1081.html.

Deutsches Historisches Museum, ed. *Deutscher Kolonialismus: Fragmente Seiner Geschichte Und Gegenwart*. Darmstadt: Theiss Verlag, 2016.

Diallo, Oumar, and Joachim Zeller, eds. *Black Berlin: Die Deutsche Metropole Und Ihre Afrikanische Diaspora in Geschichte Und Gegenwart*. Berlin: Metropol, 2013.

Eley, Geoff. "Disappointment." In *A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society*, 61–113. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005. https://muse.jhu.edu/book/6251/.

El-Hitami, Hannah. "AdK-Veranstaltungsreihe Koloniales Erbe: „Schlimmste Verbrechen"." *Die Tageszeitung: taz*, January 21, 2018, sec. Berlin. http://www.taz.de/!5475762/.

Endrias, Yonas. A Series of Interviews with Yonas Endrias of Lern- und Erinnerungsort Afrikanisches Viertel and Afrika Akademie / Schwarze Volkshochschule - SVHS. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause. Audio and Transcript, December 2017.

Faul, Michelle. "Germany's Return of Namibian Skulls Stokes Anger." msnbc.com, October 4, 2011. http://www.nbcnews.com/id/44778704/ns/world_news-africa/t/germanys-return-namibian-skulls-stokes-anger/.

Finger, Evelyn. "Deutsche Geschichte: Diktaturenvergleich jetzt! Neuer Streit um die Gedenkpolitik: Was unterscheidet NS-Verbrechen von DDR-Unrecht? Ein Interview mit Salomon Korn." *Die Zeit*. November 19, 2007, sec. Kultur. https://www.zeit.de/2007/47/Gedenkstaetten.

Frömming, Götz. "Umbenennungspraxis ist zutiefst kolonialistisch." *Alternative für Deutschland* (blog), January 29, 2018. https://www.afd.de/goetz-froemming-umbenennungspraxis-ist-zutiefst-kolonialistisch/.

Gallinat, Anselma. "The Local Aufarbeitung (Re-Working) of the SED-Dictatorship: Governing Memory to Save the Future." *European Politics and Society* 18, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 96–109. https://doi.org/10.1080/23745118.2016.1269448.

Gerwarth, Robert, and Stephan Malinowski. "Hannah Arendt's Ghosts: Reflections on the Disputable Path from Windhoek to Auschwitz." *Central European History* 42, no. 2 (2009): 279–300.

Gigliotti, Simone. "Unspeakable Pasts as Limit Events: The Holocaust, Genocide, and the Stolen Generations." *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 49, no. 2 (June 1, 2003): 164–81. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8497.00302.

Grosse, Pascal. "From Colonialism to National Socialism to Postcolonialism: Hannah Arendt's Origins of Totalitarianism." *Postcolonial Studies* 9, no. 1 (March 1, 2006): 35–52. https://doi.org/10.1080/13668250500488819.

Gründer, Horst. "In Der Zentrale Der 'Weltmacht.'" In *Kolonialmetropole Berlin: Eine Spurensuche*, edited by Ulrich van der Heyden and Joachim Zeller, 19–23. Berlin: Berlin Edition, 2002.

Hackenbruch, Felix. "Vorstoß für drei neue Straßennamen." *Der Tagesspiegel Online*, March 15, 2018. https://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/afrikanisches-viertel-vorstoss-fuer-drei-neue-strassennamen/21077654.html.

Hargreaves, John D. "THE BERLIN WEST AFRICA CONFERENCE: A Timely Centenary." *History Today* 34, no. 11 (November 1984): 16.

Hartmann, Philipp. "Diskussion um die Mohrenstraße: Initiative fordert Namenserhalt." *Berliner Woche*. August 24, 2017. https://www.berliner-woche.de/mitte/c-verkehr/diskussion-um-die-mohrenstrasse-initiative-fordert-namenserhalt_a131339.

"Herero Massacre: General's Descendants Apologize for 'Germany's First Genocide.'" *Spiegel Online*, October 8, 2007, sec. International. http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/herero-massacre-general-s-descendants-apologize-for-germany-s-first-genocide-a-510163.html.

Herf, Jeffrey. *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Herzfeld, Michael. *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2005.

Heyden, Ulrich van der. *Auf Afrikas Spuren in Berlin: Die Mohrenstraße und andere koloniale Erblasten*. 1., Aufl. Bristol; Berlin: Tenea Verlag, 2008.

———. "Frühe Kolonisationsversuche in Westafrika." In *Kolonialmetropole Berlin: Eine Spurensuche*, edited by Ulrich van der Heyden and Joachim Zeller, 15–18. Berlin: Berlin Edition, 2002.

———. "Namensstreit: Warum an der Mohrenstraße nichts schlecht ist." *Berliner Zeitung*, August 21, 2017. https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik/meinung/namensstreit-warum-an-der-mohrenstrasse-nichts-schlecht-ist-28196006.

Heyden, Ulrich van der, and Joachim Zeller, eds. *Kolonialismus Hierzulande: Eine Spurensuche in Deutschland*. Erfurt: Sutton, 2008.

———, eds. *Kolonialmetropole Berlin: Eine Spurensuche*. Berlin: Berlin Edition, 2002.

Hofmann, Laura. "CDU-Fraktion legt Beschwerde gegen Umbenennung der Petersallee ein | Namen & Neues | Tagesspiegel LEUTE Mitte." *Tagesspiegel*. May 4, 2018. https://leute.tagesspiegel.de/mitte/macher/2018/05/04/44016/cdu-fraktion-legt-beschwerde-gegen-umbenennung-der-petersallee-ein.

———. "Neue Straßennamen fürs Afrikanische Viertel gefunden." *Der Tagesspiegel*, April 11, 2018. https://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/bezirke/spandau/berlin-mitte-neue-strassennamen-fuers-afrikanische-viertel-gefunden/21163352.html.

Honold, Alexander. "Afrikanisches Viertel. Straßennamen als kolonialer Gedächtnisraum." In *Phantasiereiche: Zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus*, edited by Birthe Kundrus, 1st ed., 305–21. Frankfurt/Main: Campus Verlag, 2003.

Jäckel, Eberhard. "Die Doppelte Vergangenheit." *Der Spiegel*, December 23, 1991. http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13492255.html.

Jericho, Dirk. "Gutachter präsentieren Empfehlungen: Straßenumbenennung im Afrikanischen Viertel." *Berliner Woche*, February 23, 2018. https://www.berliner-woche.de/wedding/c-politik/gutachter-praesentieren-empfehlungen-strassenumbenennung-im-afrikanischen-viertel_a143341.

Kamara, Muchtar B. A Series of Interviews with Muchtar B. Kamara of the Committee for the Construction of an African Memorial in Berlin (KADIB). Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause. Audio and Transcript, November 2017.

Keith, Arthur Berriedale. *The Belgian Congo and the Berlin Act*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919. http://archive.org/details/belgiancongoberl00keituoft.

Kopp, Christian. Interview with Christian Kopp of Berlin Postkolonial e.V. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause. Audio and Transcript, July 19, 2017.

Lehrke, Gerhard. "Kommentar zum Afrikanischen Viertel: AfD relativiert Untaten des Kolonialismus." *Berliner Zeitung*, February 28, 2018. https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik/meinung/kommentar-zum-afrikanischen-viertel-afd-relativiert-untaten-des-kolonialismus-29792552.

Longo, Silvia. Conversation with a Journalist Living in the African Quarter. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, June 17, 2017.

Meldrum, Andrew. "German Minister Says Sorry for Genocide in Namibia." *The Guardian*, August 15, 2004, sec. World news. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/aug/16/germany.andrewmeldrum.

Münster, Ken. "Aktivisten laden zur Umbenennung der Mohrenstraße." *Der Tagesspiegel*. August 23, 2017. http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/symbolisches-fest-in-berlin-mitte-aktivisten-laden-zur-umbenennung-der-mohrenstrasse/20223702.html.

Osayimwese, Itohan. *Colonialism and Modern Architecture in Germany*. Culture, Politics, and the Built Environment. Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017.

Otto, Martin. "Straßennamen in Berlin: Entkolonisierung der Lebenswelt." *FAZ.NET*, sec. Feuilleton. Accessed June 8, 2018. http://www.faz.net/1.908458.

Owens, Patricia. "Racism in the Theory Canon: Hannah Arendt and 'the One Great Crime in Which America Was Never Involved.'" *Millennium* 45, no. 3 (June 1, 2017): 403–24. https://doi.org/10.1177/0305829817695880.

Rozas-Krause, Valentina. "Postcolonial Berlin: Reckoning with Traces of German Colonialism." In *Neocolonialism and Built Heritage: Echoes of Empire in Africa, Asia, and Europe*, edited by Daniel E. Coslett, 65–84. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2020.

Rürup, Reinhard. Interview with Reinhard Rürup, former scientific director of the Topography of Terror. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause. Transcript and Audio, September 18, 2017.

Sandjon, Chantal-Fleur. "Der Raum Zwischen Gestern Und Heute: May Ayim (3. Mai 1960 - 9. August 1996)." Berlin Postkolonial, no date. http://www.berlin-postkolonial.de/cms/index.php/orte3/14-orte/friedrichshain-kreuzberg/18-may-ayim-ufer.

Schleiermacher, Uta. "Verbrechen der deutschen Kolonialzeit: Protest gegen die Mohrenstraße." *Die Tageszeitung: taz*, August 22, 2017, sec. Berlin. http://www.taz.de/!5435267/.

Schönberger, Angela. *Die Neue Reichskanzlei von Albert Speer. Zum Zusammenhang von nationalsozialistischer Ideologie und Architektur*. Berlin: Gebrüder Mann Verlag, 1991.

Schöneberg Museum. *Kolonialgeschichte in Tempelhof Und Schöneberg - Eine Sonderausstellung*. October 19, 2017. Exhibition. https://www.berlin.de/ba-tempelhof-schoeneberg/aktuelles/pressemitteilungen/2017/pressemitteilung.587714.php.

Schult, Christoph, and Christoph Titz. "Völkermord: Herero Und Nama Verklagen Deutschland." *Spiegel Online*, January 6, 2017, sec. Politik.

http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/voelkermord-nachkommen-der-herero-und-nama-verklagen-deutschland-a-1128885.html.
Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD) Landesverband Berlin, Die Linke Landesverband Berlin, and Bündnis 90/Die Grünen Landesverband Berlin. "Koalitionsvereinbarung 2016-2021. Berlin Gemeinsam Gestalten. Solidarisch. Nachhaltig. Weltoffen.," 2016. https://www.berlin.de/rbmskzl/regierender-buergermeister/senat/koalitionsvereinbarung/.
Speitkamp, Winfried. "Kolonialherrschaft und Denkmal. Afrikanische und deutsche Erinnerungskultur im Konflikt." In *Architektur und Erinnerung*, edited by Wolfram Martini, 165–90. Formen der Erinnerung. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000.
Steinbach, Peter, and Johannes Tuchel. *Georg Elser: Der Hitler-Attentäter*. Berlin: Be.bra Verlag, 2010.
Steinmetz, George. *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa*. Chicago Studies in Practices of Meaning. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
Steinmetz, George, and Julia Hell. "The Visual Archive of Colonialism: Germany and Namibia." *Public Culture* 18, no. 1 (January 1, 2006): 147–84. https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-18-1-147.
Topography of Terror Foundation, ed. *Die Wilhelmstraße 1933-1945. Aufstieg Und Untergang Des NS-Regierunsgviertels*. Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 2014.
United Nations. "Slave Trade and Its Abolition | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization." UNESCO.org. Accessed July 10, 2018. http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/events/prizes-and-celebrations/celebrations/international-days/slave-trade-and-its-abolition/.
"Völkermord an Herero: In Namibia wächst die Wut auf Deutschland." Accessed January 19, 2018. https://www.zdf.de/uri/e8f9f5b5-0a7d-4832-b2ed-96ac06a1355f.
Zantop, Susanne. *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870*. Post-Contemporary Interventions. Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1997.
Zeller, Joachim. *Kolonialdenkmäler Und Geschichtsbewusstsein: Eine Untersuchung Der Kolonialdeutschen Erinnerungskultur*. Frankfurt: IKO-Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 2000.
Zimmerer, Jürgen. *Von Windhuk nach Auschwitz?: Beiträge zum Verhältnis von Kolonialismus und Holocaust*. 1., Aufl. Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2011.
Zurückgeschaut: 1896 – Treptower Park – Erste Deutsche Kolonialausstellung. October 13, 2017. Exhibition.

INTERLUDE II: *GEORGE H.W. BUSH'S LETTER OF APOLOGY*

Asahina, Robert. Just Americans: How Japanese Americans Won a War at Homeand Abroad: The Story of the 100th Battalion/442d Regimental Combat Team in World War II. New York: Gotham, 2006.
Brandt, Willy. My Life in Politics. New York, N.Y: Viking, 1992.
Daniels, Roger, ed. American Concentration Camps: A Documentary History of the Relocation and Incarceration of Japanese Americans, 1942-1945. New York: Garland, 1989.
———. Concentration Camps, North America: Japanese in the United States and Canada during World War II. Malabar, Fla: R.E. Krieger Pub. Co, 1981.
Duus, Masayo. Unlikely Liberators: The Men of the 100th and 442nd. Paperback ed. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006.
Grubb, Abbie. "522nd Field Artillery Battalion." In Densho Encyclopedia, August 18, 2014. https://encyclopedia.densho.org/522nd%20Field%20Artillery%20Battalion/.

Howard, John. Concentration Camps on the Home Front: Japanese Americans in the House of Jim Crow. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
Japanese American Citizens' League, and Power of words II committee. Power of Words Handbook: A Guide to Language about Japanese Americans in World War II. San Francisco: Japanese American Citizens League, 2013. https://jacl.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Power-of-Words-Rev.-Term.-Handbook.pdf.
McCaffrey, James M. Going for Broke: Japanese American Soldiers in the War against Nazi Germany. Campaigns and Commanders, v. 36. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013.
Okamura, Raymond Y. "The American Concentration Camps: A Cover-Up Through Euphemistic Terminology." The Journal of Ethnic Studies 10 (Fall 1982): 95–109.
Slyomovics, Susan. How to Accept German Reparations. 1st ed. Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. https://muse.jhu.edu/book/32594.
Tamashiro, Ben. "The Liberation of Dachau. The Story of the 522." Hawaii Herald. May 16, 1986. https://www.100thbattalion.org/archives/newspaper-articles/ben-tamashiro/the-liberation-of-dachau/.
Wakamatsu, Jack K. Silent Warriors: A Memoir of America's 442nd Regimental Combat Team. 1st ed. New York: Vantage Press, 1995.
Weglyn, Michi. Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps. Updated ed., 1st University of Washington Press ed. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996.

CHAPTER 4: EXTENDING APOLOGIES

American Fine Arts Foundry, Inc., and Sandra J. Shaw. "Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial. Proposal for a Monumental Bronze Sculpture." Not Published, November 4, 2014. Douglas Yamamoto and Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee Archive.
Anonymous Reviewer for the National Park service JACS Program. "National Park Service JACS Program Evaluation Sheet." Not Published, 2014. Douglas Yamamoto and Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee Archive.
Austin, J. L. *How to Do Things with Words*. William James Lectures 1955. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.
Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1981.
Battistella, Edwin L. *Sorry about That: The Language of Public Apology*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
Bay Area News Group. "BART OKs Art Program for Stations." *East Bay Times*. August 13, 2015. http://www.eastbaytimes.com/2015/08/13/bart-oks-art-program-for-stations/.
Bellafante, Ginia, and Alexandra S. Levine. "New York Today: A Need for More Statues of Women." *The New York Times*, July 5, 2018, sec. New York. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/05/nyregion/new-york-today-statues-women.html.
Blalock, P.E., Thomas M. "Letter of Support for the Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee from the President of BART." Not Published, December 16, 2015. Douglas Yamamoto and Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee Archive.
Building and Planning Divisions, City of San Bruno. "Redevelopment Permits 1150 El Camino Real." Online Permitting Web Site, City of San Bruno, 2005 2002. http://etrakit.sanbrunocable.com/etrakit/.

Burton, Jeffery F., and Irene J. Cohen, eds. *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*. 1st University of Washington Press ed. The Scott and Laurie Oki Series in Asian American Studies. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002.

Chan, Jimmy. Interview with Jimmy Chan, landscape architect and vice president RHAA. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause. Recording & transcription, March 30, 2017.

Connerton, Paul. *How Modernity Forgets*. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Conrat, Maisie, Richard Conrat, Dorothea Lange, University of California, Los Angeles, California Historical Society, United States, and United States, eds. *Executive Order 9066: The Internment of 110,000 JapaneseAmericans*. New ed. Los Angeles, Calif: University of California, Los Angeles, Asian American Studies Center, 1992.

Cunningham, Michael. *States of Apology*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014.

Daniels, Roger. *Concentration Camps, North America: Japanese in the United States and Canada during World War II*. Malabar, Fla: R.E. Krieger Pub. Co, 1981.

Doss, Erika. *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.

Easton, Jennifer. Interview with Jennifer Easton, Art Program Manager, San Francisco Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART). Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause. Recording & transcription, April 19, 2017.

Foley, Thomas. H.R.442 - 100th Congress (1987-1988): Civil Liberties Act of 1987. Became Public Law No: 100-383 (1988). https://www.congress.gov/bill/100th-congress/house-bill/442.

Gessner, Ingrid. *From Sites of Memory to Cybersights:* Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2007.

Goffman, Erving. *Behavior in Public Places; Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963.

———. *Interaction Ritual: Essays in Face-to-Face Behavior*. New Brunswick, N.J: Aldine Transaction, 2005.

———. *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*. New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publishers, 2010.

Gordon, Linda. "Dorothea Lange Photographs the Japanese American Internment." In *Impounded: Dorothea Lange and the Censored Images of Japanese American Internment*, by Dorothea Lange, Linda Gordon, and Gary Y. Okihiro, 5–46, 1st ed. New York: W.W. Norton, 2006.

Hatamiya, Leslie T. *Righting a Wrong: Japanese Americans and the Passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988*. Asian America. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1993.

Hayashino, Carole. "Tanforan Detention Camp. In the File Tanforan Assembly Center - P-41-000209." California Historical Resources Information System, 1977 1992. Northwest Information Center. Sonoma State University.

Hohri, William Minoru. *Repairing America: An Account of the Movement for Japanese-American Redress*. Pullman, Wash: Washington State University Press, 1988.

Ishizuka, Karen L. *Lost and Found: Reclaiming the Japanese American Incarceration*. The Asian American Experience. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006.

Iwamura, Jane Naomi. "Critical Faith: Japanese Americans and the Birth of a New Civil Religion." *American Quarterly* 59, no. 3 (2007): 937–68.

Iwata, Adrienne. "Merced (Detention Facility)." In *Densho Encyclopedia*. Densho Encyclopedia, July 17, 2015. http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Merced_%28detention_facility%29/.

Jacobs, Julia. "New York Will Add 4 Statues of Women to Help Fix 'Glaring' Gender Gap in Public Art." *The New York Times*, March 6, 2019, sec. New York. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/06/nyregion/women-statues-nyc.html.

Jelin. *Monumentos, Memoriales y Marcas Territoriales*. Edited by Elizabeth Jelin and Victoria Langland. Colección Memorias de La Represión 5. Madrid : [Buenos Aires] : [New York?]: Siglo Veintiuno de España Editores ; Siglo Veintiuno de Argentina Editores ; Social Science Research Council, [Panel Regional de América Latina], 2003.

Kikuchi, Charles, and John Modell. *The Kikuchi Diary; Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp; the Tanforan Journals of Charles Kikuchi*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973.

Kitagaki Jr., Paul. *Behind Barbed Wire: Searching for Japanese Americans Incarcerated During World War II*. Chicago: CityFiles Press, 2019.

———. *GAMBATTE! LEGACY OF AN ENDURING SPIRIT: Triumphing Over Adversity JAPANESE AMERICAN WWII INCARCERATION REFLECTIONS Then and Now*. to present 2012. Photographs and text.

———. "Gambatte Museum Prospectus." Not Published, 2017. http://kitagakiphoto.photoshelter.com/gallery-download/G000042tYANt7K0U/.

Knight, Heather. "S.F.'s Monuments to Male Supremacy: The City's Public Art." *San Francisco Chronicle*. June 13, 2017, sec. News. https://www.sfchronicle.com/news/article/S-F-s-monuments-to-male-supremacy-the-11214724.php.

Kobayashi, Harold. Interview with Harold Kobayashi, landscape architect and retired partner RHAA. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause. Recording & transcription, March 24, 2017.

Lange, Dorothea. *Hayward, California. Members of the Mochida Family Awaiting Evacuation Bus*. May 8, 1942. Photograph. Local Identifier: 210-GC-153. National Archives. https://catalog.archives.gov/id/537505.

———. *Hayward, California. Two Children of the Mochida Family Who, with Their Parents, Are Awaiting Evacuation Bus*. May 8, 1942. Photograph. Local Identifier: 210-G-C155. National Archives. https://catalog.archives.gov/id/537507.

———. *Hayward, California. Two Children of the Mochida Family Who, with Their Parents Are Awaiting Evacuation Bus*. May 8, 1942. Photograph. Local Identifier: 210-G-C154. National Archives. https://catalog.archives.gov/id/537506.

Lange, Dorothea, Linda Gordon, and Gary Y. Okihiro. *Impounded: Dorothea Lange and the Censored Images of Japanese American Internment*. 1st ed. New York: W.W. Norton, 2006.

Lind, Jennifer M. *Sorry States: Apologies in International Politics*. Cornell Studies in Security Affairs. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/berkeley/Doc?id=10484306.

Maki, Mitchell T., Harry H. L. Kitano, and S. Megan Berthold. *Achieving the Impossible Dream: How Japanese Americans Obtained Redress*. The Asian American Experience. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

Marling, Karal Ann, and John Wetenhall. *Iwo Jima: Monuments, Memories, and the American Hero*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1991.

Murray, Alice Yang. *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress*. Asian America. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2008.

Nakagawa, Martha. "Days of Remembrance." In *Densho Encyclopedia*. Densho Encyclopedia, May 2014. http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Days_of_Remembrance/.

Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire." *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7–24. https://doi.org/10.2307/2928520.

Okamoto, Steve. Interview with Steve Okamoto, Vice-President of the Tanforan assembly Center Memorial Committee, internee at Tanforan, former City Councilman of Foster City. Interview by Valentina Rozas Krause. Transcript and Audio, February 11, 2017.

Okamura, Raymond Y. "Temporary Detention Camps for Japanese Americans. In the File Tanforan Assembly Center - P-41-000209." California Historical Resources Information System, 1980. Northwest Information Center. Sonoma State University.
———. "The American Concentration Camps: A Cover-Up Through Euphemistic Terminology." *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 10 (Fall 1982): 95–109.
———. "The Concentration Camp Experience from a Japanese American Perspective: A Bibliographical Essay and Review of Michi Weglyn's Years of Infamy." In *Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America*, edited by Emma Gee, 27–30. Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, University of California, 1976.
QIC. "QIC Announces Acquisition of The Shops at Tanforan in San Bruno, California." Accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/qic-announces-acquisition-of-the-shops-at-tanforan-in-san-bruno-california-300129227.html.
Rhodan, Maya. "Inside the Push for More Public Statues of Notable Women." *Time*, August 17, 2017. https://time.com/4903612/women-statues-san-francisco/.
Rozas-Krause, Valentina. "Apology and Commemoration: Memorializing the World War II Japanese American Incarceration at the Tanforan Assembly Center." *History and Memory* 30, no. 2 (2018): 40–78.
San Francisco Business Times. "San Bruno's Tanforan Shopping Mall Sells to Australian Investor QIC." Accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.bizjournals.com/sanfrancisco/blog/real-estate/2015/08/san-bruno-tanforan-q-i-c-breevast-san-mateo.html.
Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America. Public Law 102-248, 102d Congress § (1992). http://uscode.house.gov/statutes/pl/102/248.pdf.
———. Public Law 109-441. Preservation of Japanese American Confinement Sites, 109th Congress § (2006). https://www.congress.gov/109/plaws/publ441/PLAW-109publ441.pdf.
Shanken, Andrew M. "Keeping Time with the Good War." *American Studies Journal*, no. 59 (2015): Web. 29 Nov 2016. https://doi.org/10.18422/59-02.
———. "Towards a Cultural Geography of Modern Memorials." In *Architecture and Interpretation: Essays for Eric Fernie*, edited by Jill Franklin, T. A. Heslop, and Christine Stevenson, 357–80. Woodbridge, UK ; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2012.
Shaw, Sandra J. Interview with Sandra J. Shaw. Selected sculptor for the bronze of the Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause. Notes, May 4, 2017.
———. "Photo = Art?" Personal Blog of Artist. SANDRA J. SHAW STUDIO, October 21, 2016. http://www.sandrajshaw.com/blog.html.
Smith, Dinitia. "Photographs of an Episode That Lives in Infamy." *The New York Times*, November 6, 2006, sec. Arts / Art & Design. http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/06/arts/design/06lang.html.
Sturken, Marita. *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
Takeshita, Ben. Interview with Ben Takeshita, former JACL governor, internee at the Tanforan, board member of the Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause. Recording & transcription, April 17, 2017.
Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee INC. "Request for Proposal (RFP): A Monumental Bronze Sculpture for a Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial." Not Published, June 17, 2013. Douglas Yamamoto and Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee Archive.
———. "TACMC Position Letter Sent to BART." Not Published, March 8, 2017. Douglas Yamamoto and Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee Archive.

Till, Karen E. *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.
Uchida, Yoshiko. *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese American Family*. Classics of Asian American Literature. Seattle ; London: University of Washington Press, 2015.
United States, ed. *Personal Justice Denied*. Wash., D.C. : Seattle: Civil Liberties Public Education Fund ; University of Washington Press, 1997.
Upton, Dell. *What Can and Can't Be Said: Race, Uplift, and Monument Building in the Contemporary South*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015.
Vinyes, Ricard, ed. *El estado y la memoria: gobiernos y ciudadanos frente a los traumas de la historia*. Barcelona: RBA Libros, 2009.
Weglyn, Michi. *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps*. Updated ed., 1st University of Washington Press ed. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996.
Yamamoto, Douglas. Interview with Douglas Yamamoto. President of the Tanforan Assembly Center Memorial Committee. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause. Record and transcript, March 3, 2017.
Yollin, Patricia. "Photos Illustrate Effects of WWII Internment Camps." *SFGate*. May 12, 2012. http://www.sfgate.com/art/article/Photos-illustrate-effects-of-WWII-internment-camps-3552117.php.
Young, James E. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

INTERLUDE III: *MARCHING AGAINST FORGIVING*

Da Silva Catela, Ludmila. "'Lo que merece ser recordado…'. Conflictos y tensiones en torno a los proyectos públicos sobre los usos del pasado en los sitios de memoria." *Clepsidra. Revista Interdisciplinaria de Estudios sobre Memoria* 1, no. 2 (July 19, 2014): 28–47.
Feierstein, Daniel. "Los desafíos de la lucha contra la impunidad hoy." *Página/12*. October 21, 2016, sec. El Pais. https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-312299-2016-10-21.html.
Lefebvre, Henri. *Critique of Everyday Life*. London: Verso, 2008.
López, Marcelo. Interview with Marcelo López founder and staff member the site of memory ex CCDTyE Olimpo, March 21, 2018.
"No habrá actos oficiales el 24 de marzo y el Gobierno toma distancia de la eventual liberación de Astiz," March 22, 2018. https://www.lanacion.com.ar/2119206-no-habra-actos-oficiales-el-24-de-marzo-y-el-gobierno-toma-distancia-de-la-eventual-liberacion-de-astiz.
Página/12. "La Memoria Inunda Las Calles. Actos, Festivales y Marchas En Todo El País Por 24 de Marzo." *Página/12*. March 24, 2018, sec. El País. https://www.pagina12.com.ar/103584-la-memoria-inunda-las-calles.
Panno, Juan José. "Los otros 24." *Página/12*. March 25, 2006, sec. El País. https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-64707-2006-03-25.html.
Rodríguez, Carlos. "'Un Atropello de Los Derechos Básicos' | Duro Documento de Los Organismos de Derechos Humanos En El Acto Central." *Página/12*. March 25, 2018, sec. El País. https://www.pagina12.com.ar/103815-un-atropello-de-los-derechos-basicos.
Strejilevich, Nora. "Collective Memory in Action (and in Motion): The Argentine Case." *The Massachusetts Review* 52, no. 3/4 (2011): 532–44.
Wainfeld, Mario. "La Historia Se Construye Marchando." *Página/12*. March 25, 2018, sec. El País. https://www.pagina12.com.ar/103817-la-historia-se-construye-marchando.

CHAPTER 5: FORGIVING APOLOGIES

Adorno, Theodor W. *Kulturkritik Und Gesellschaft*. Edited by Rolf Tiedemann. 2. Aufl. Gesammelte Schriften ; Bd. 10. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1996.

Arendt, Hannah. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. Penguin Classics. New York, N.Y: Penguin Books, 2006.

———. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Harvest Book. San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1979.

Arfuch, Leonor. "Arte, Memoria y Archivo." *Punto de Vista. Revista de Cultura* XXIII, no. 68 (December 2000): 34–37.

Argentina, ed. *Nunca Más: Informe de La Comisión Nacional Sobre La Desaparición de Personas*. Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1984.

Asociación de Ex Detenidos Desaparecidos. "AEDD: 'un nuevo avasallamiento a la memoria colectiva.'" *La Izquierda Diario*. May 20, 2015. http://www.laizquierdadiario.com/Asociacion-de-Ex-Detenidos-Desaparecidos-un-nuevo-avasallamiento-a-la-memoria-colectiva.

Basterra, Víctor. Testimonio de Víctor Basterra para el Juicio a las Juntas, § Dr. López, Dr. Ledesma, Dr. Moreno Ocampo, Dr. Buero, Dr. Aguirre Obarrio, Dr. Goldaracena et. al. (1985). http://www.desaparecidos.org/nuncamas/web/testimon/basterra.htm.

Basterra, Víctor, and La Retaguardia. "¿Estamos Ante Un Retroceso En La Política Oficial de Derechos Humanos?" *La Retaguardia* (blog), June 22, 2014. http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2014/06/estamos-ante-un-retroceso-de-la.html.

Bell, Vikki. "Re-Turning the Past: The ESMA Trial and Affective Architecture at the 'Space of Memory.'" In *The Art of Post-Dictatorship: Ethics and Aesthetics in Transitional Argentina*, 59–80. Transitional Justice. Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2014.

———. *The Art of Post-Dictatorship: Ethics and Aesthetics in Transitional Argentina*. Transitional Justice. Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2014.

Bermúdez, Nicolás. "La Construcción Kirchnersita de La Memoria." *Linguagem Em (Dis)Curso* 15, no. 2 (August 2015): 229–47. https://doi.org/10.1590/1982-4017-150202-0315.

Brodsky, Marcelo, ed. *Memoria En Construcción: El Debate Sobre La ESMA*. Buenos Aires: La Marca, 2005.

Calveiro, Pilar. *Poder y Desaparición: Los Campos de Concentración En Argentina*. Puñaladas. Buenos Aires: Colihue, 1998.

Casey, Edward S. "Public Memory and Time." In *Framing Public Memory*, edited by Kendall R. Phillips, 17–44. Rhetoric, Culture, and Social Critique. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004.

Centenera, Mar. "Argentina cerró 2017 con 198 nuevas condenas por delitos de lesa humanidad." *El País*. January 4, 2018, sec. Argentina. https://elpais.com/internacional/2018/01/03/argentina/1515006341_328707.html.

Crenzel, Emilio A. *La Historia Política Del Nunca Más: La Memoria de Las Desapariciones En La Argentina / Emilio Crenzel*. Historia y Cultura. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Siglo Veintiuno Editores Argentina, 2008.

Da Silva Catela, Ludmila. "'Lo que merece ser recordado…'. Conflictos y tensiones en torno a los proyectos públicos sobre los usos del pasado en los sitios de memoria." *Clepsidra. Revista Interdisciplinaria de Estudios sobre Memoria* 1, no. 2 (July 19, 2014): 28–47.

El Clarín. "Demolerán la ESMA y colocarán un monumento por la unión nacional." *El Clarín*. January 8, 1998. https://www.clarin.com/politica/demoleran-esma-colocaran-monumento-union-nacional_0_rJklVnbyU2l.html.

———. "ESMA: el Gobierno salió a rechazar las críticas." *El Clarín*. January 9, 1998. https://www.clarin.com/politica/esma-gobierno-salio-rechazar-criticas_0_r1NgFS1-RYl.html.
Espacio Memoria y Derechos Humanos, ed. *Donde Hubo Muerte, Hoy Hay Vida*. Buenos Aires: Espacio Memoria y Derechos Humanos, ex ESMA, 2016.
Feierstein, Daniel. *Genocide as Social Practice: Reorganizing Society under the Nazis and Argentina's Military Juntas*. Genocide, Political Violence, Human Rights Serie. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2014. https://muse.jhu.edu/book/30821.
Feierstein, Daniel, and Fernando Tebele. "#FiestaEnLaESMA: 'Debemos Centrar Nuevamente El Eje En Qué Hacer Con Los Espacios de Memoria.'" *La Retaguardia* (blog), January 15, 2017. http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2017/01/feierstein-ESMA.html.
Feinmann, José Pablo. "Auschwitz y La Filosofía." *Página/12*. January 29, 2000. https://www.pagina12.com.ar/2000/00-01/00-01-29/contrata.htm.
———. "Pensar y Escribir Después de La ESMA." *Página 12*. March 25, 2000. https://www.pagina12.com.ar/2000/00-03/00-03-25/contrata.htm.
Feld, Claudia. *Del Estrado a La Pantalla: Las Imágenes Del Juicio a Losex Comandantes En Argentina*. Colección Memorias de La Represión 2. Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores : Social Science Research Council, 2002.
Fernández de Kirchner, Cristina. "Inauguration speech for the Site of Memory ESMA." www.cfkargentina.com, May 19, 2015. https://www.cfkargentina.com/cristina-kirchner-inauguracion-del-sitio-de-memoria-esma/.
Fukman, Enrique, and La Retaguardia. "Enrique Fukman: 'Están Intentando Desaparecer La ESMA.'" *La Retaguardia* (blog), May 20, 2015. http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2015/05/enrique-fukman-estan-intentando.html.
Gallo, Daniel. "Sacaron los cuadros de Videla y Bignone." *La Nación*, March 25, 2004, sec. Política. https://www.lanacion.com.ar/politica/sacaron-los-cuadros-de-videla-y-bignone-nid585683.
Gigliotti, Simone. "Unspeakable Pasts as Limit Events: The Holocaust, Genocide, and the Stolen Generations." *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 49, no. 2 (June 1, 2003): 164–81. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8497.00302.
Ginzberg, Victoria. "La Corte Suprema Dispuso Que La ESMA No Se Demoliera. El Emblema Del Horror, En Pie." *Página/12*. February 1, 2001. https://www.pagina12.com.ar/2001/01-02/01-02-14/pag11.htm.
Goffman, Erving. *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*. New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publishers, 2010.
González, Horacio. "Las Sombras Del Edificio: Construcción y Anticonstrucción." In *Memoria En Construcción: El Debate Sobre La ESMA*, edited by Marcelo Brodsky, 71–78. Buenos Aires: La Marca, 2005.
H.I.J.O.S. "Basta de Mentiras Sobre La Ex ESMA," September 3, 2013. http://www.agenciapacourondo.com.ar/ddhh/hijos-basta-de-mentiras-sobre-la-ex-esma.
Huyssen, Andreas. "Memory Studies and Human Rights." *MLA Profession*, May 2014, online.
———. *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Cultural Memory in the Present. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2003.
———. *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
ICOMOS - International Council on Monuments and Sites. "World Heritage List: Auschwitz Birkenau. German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp (1940-1945)." UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 1978. Ref. 31. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/31/documents/.

Instituto Espacio para la Memoria (Argentina), ed. *El Libro de Los Juicios: Anexo Memoria Instituto Espacio Para La Memoria 2010*. Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires: Instituto Espacio para la Memoria, 2011.

Kahan, Emmanuel Nicolás. *Recuerdos Que Mienten Un Poco: Vida y Memoria de La Experiencia Judía Durante La Última Dictadura Militar (1973-2007)*. Prometeo Bicentenario. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Prometeo Libros, 2014.

Kahan, Emmanuel Nicolás, and Laura Schenquer. "The Use of the Past During the Last Military Dictatorship and Post-Dictatorship: The Holocaust as the Horizon of Identification, Alienation and Negotiation for the Jewish Community." *Temas de Nuestra América. Revista de Estudios Latinoamericanos* 32, no. 60 (December 11, 2016): 131–48. https://doi.org/10.15359/tdna.32-60.7.

"Kirchner en la ESMA: 'En nombre del Estado, vengo a pedir perdón.'" *Clarín*. March 25, 2004. https://www.clarin.com/ediciones-anteriores/kirchner-esma-nombre-vengo-pedir-perdon_0_H1aZQ9pyAKg.html.

La Nación. "Denuncian nuevos "asados " de funcionarios del Gobierno en la ex ESMA." *La Nación*. September 2, 2013, sec. Politica. https://www.lanacion.com.ar/1616295-denuncian-indignacion-y-lagrimas-por-nuevos-asados-de-funcionarios-en-la-ex-esma.

———. "Insiste el Gobierno en mudar la ESMA." *La Nación*. January 9, 1998, sec. Politica. https://www.lanacion.com.ar/84973-insiste-el-gobierno-en-mudar-la-esma.

La Retaguardia. "Denuncian Una Fiesta En La ESMA." *La Retaguardia* (blog), January 9, 2017. http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2017/01/denuncia-una-fiesta-en-la-esma.html.

———. "El Casino de Oficiales de La ESMA No Se Toca." *La Retaguardia* (blog), 11 2014. http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2014/04/el-casino-de-oficiales-de-la-esma-no-se.html.

———. "Informe Especial: El Proyecto de Nuevo Museo En La ESMA y Las Voces de Los Sobrevivientes." *La Retaguardia* (blog), January 31, 2014. http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2014/01/informe-especial-el-proyecto-de-nuevo.html.

———. "La Corte reabrió la discusión acerca del museo en la ESMA." *La tinta: periodismo hasta mancharse* (blog), June 5, 2018. https://latinta.com.ar/2018/06/la-corte-reabrio-la-discusion-acerca-del-museo-en-la-esma/.

Lazzara, Michael J. *Chile in Transition: The Poetics and Politics of Memory*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2006.

Longoni, Ana, Gustavo A. Bruzzone, and R. Aguerreberry, eds. *El Siluetazo*. Sentidos. Artes Visuales. Buenos Aires: Adriana Hidalgo Editora, 2008.

Lordkipanidse, Carlos, Víctor Basterra, and Fernando Tebele. "Un Fallo de La Corte Reabrió La Discusión Acerca Del Museo En El Casino de Oficiales de La ESMA." *La Retaguardia* (blog), May 28, 2018. http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2018/05/museo-esma.html.

Lorenzetti, Ricardo Luis, and Alfredo Jorge Kraut. *Derechos Humanos, Justicia y Reparación: La Experiencia de Los Juicios En La Argentina: Crímenes de Lesa Humanidad*. Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2011.

Moses, A. Dirk. "Conceptual Blockages and Definitional Dilemmas in the 'Racial Century': Genocides of Indigenous Peoples and the Holocaust." In *Colonialism and Genocide*, edited by A. Dirk Moses and Dan Stone, 149–80. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Naftal, Alejandra. Interview with Alejandra Naftal, director of Museo Sitio de Memoria ESMA. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, April 6, 2018.

Naftal, Alejandra, Hernán Bisman, Carlos Campos, Roberto Busnelli, and y equipos de trabajo interdisciplinarios. "Propuesta Museográfica. Sitio de Memoria. Centro Clandestino de Detención, Tortura y Exterminio Ex ESMA." Presidencia de la Nación Argentina, 2013. Archive ESMA Site Museum.

Osiel, Mark. *Mass Atrocity, Collective Memory, and the Law*. New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publishers, 1997.
———. *Mass Atrocity, Ordinary Evil, and Hannah Arendt: Criminal Consciousness in Argentina's Dirty War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
País, Ediciones El. "Menem y Major sellan la reconciliacion de argentinos y británicos." *El País*. October 24, 1995, sec. Internacional. https://elpais.com/diario/1995/10/24/internacional/814489204_850215.html.
Pastoriza, Lila. "La Memoria Como Política Pública: Los Ejes de La Discusión." In *Memoria En Construcción: El Debate Sobre La ESMA*, edited by Marcelo Brodsky, 85–94. Buenos Aires: La Marca, 2005.
Permanent Delegation of the Republic of Argentina to UNESCO. "World Heritage List Nomination: ESMA Site Museum - Former Clandestine Centre of Detention, Torture, and Extermination." UNESCO World Heritage - Tentative List, April 25, 2017. Ref. 6248. https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/6248/.
Pigna, Felipe. "La Historia de Todos." In *Memoria En Construcción: El Debate Sobre La ESMA*, edited by Marcelo Brodsky, 57–66. Buenos Aires: La Marca, 2005.
Ricoeur, Paul. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
RNMA. "El Debate Sobre La ESMA, ¿recordar o Resignificar?" *La Retaguardia* (blog), June 4, 2013. http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2013/06/el-debate-sobre-la-esma-recordar-o.html.
Sarlo, Beatriz. *Tiempo Pasado: Cultura de La Memoria y Giro Subjetivo: Una Discusión*. Sociología y Política. Buenos Aires, República Argentina: Siglo Veintiuno Editores Argentina, 2005.
Satur, Daniel. "Acto En La ESMA: 'Memoria', 'Verdad' y...Milani." *La Izquierda Diario*. May 20, 2015. http://www.laizquierdadiario.com/spip.php?page=movil-nota&id_article=16443.
Schindel, Estela. "'Ahora los Vecinos Van Perdiendo el Temor' La Apertura de Ex Centros de Detención y la Restauración del Tejido Social en Argentina." In *Disputar la Ciudad: Sometimiento, Resistencia, Memorialización Reparación*, edited by Pía Montealegre and Valentina Rozas-Krause, 177–99. Cuervos en Casa. Santiago: Bifurcaciones, 2018.
Silvestri, Graciela. "El arte en los límites de la representación." *Revista Punto de Vista* XXIII, no. 68 (December 2000): 18–24.
Stier, Oren Baruch. *Holocaust Icons: Symbolizing the Shoah in History and Memory*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2015.
Strejilevich, Nora. "Collective Memory in Action (and in Motion): The Argentine Case." *The Massachusetts Review* 52, no. 3/4 (2011): 532–44.
Tandeciarz, Silvia R. *Citizens of Memory: Affect, Representation, and Human Rights in Postdictatorship Argentina*. Bucknell University Press, 2017.
Tebele, Fernando. "Basterra, El Mito Sobreviviente, y Su Enojo Con El Nuevo Museo En La ESMA." *La Retaguardia* (blog), May 31, 2015. http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2015/05/basterra-el-mito-sobrerviviente-y-su.html.
Tebele, Fernando, Víctor Basterra, and Carlos Lordkipanidse. "ESMA: El Horror Convertido En Museo y Los Oídos Sordos Ante La Voz de Los Sobrevivientes." *La Retaguardia* (blog), July 12, 2017. http://www.laretaguardia.com.ar/2017/07/esma-el-horror-convertido-en-museo-y.html.
Télam. "El 24 de Marzo de 2004, El Día Que Kirchner Hizo Bajar El Cuadro Del Colegio Militar." *Télam*. May 17, 2013. http://www.telam.com.ar/notas/201305/17971-el-24-de-marzo-de-2004-el-dia-que-kirchner-hizo-bajar-el-cuadro-del-colegio-militar.html.
Todorov, Tzvetan. *Frente al limite*. México D.F. (México): Siglo XXI, 1993.
———. *Los abusos de la memoria*. Barcelona: Paidós, 2008.

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION, and INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE WORLD CULTURAL AND NATURAL HERITAGE. "Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention." UNESCO, Wolrd Heritage Convention, July 12, 2017. http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines.

Upton, Dell. *What Can and Can't Be Said: Race, Uplift, and Monument Building in the Contemporary South*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015.

Vezzetti, Hugo. *Pasado y Presente: Guerra, Dictadura y Sociedad En La Argentina*. Sociología y Política. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2002.

———. *Sobre La Violencia Revolucionaria: Memorias y Olvidos*. Sociología y Política. Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno, 2009.

Vinyes, Ricard, ed. *El estado y la memoria: gobiernos y ciudadanos frente a los traumas de la historia*. Barcelona: RBA Libros, 2009.

Wlasic, Juan Carlos. *Memoria, Verdad y Justicia En Democracia: De La Impunidad Política a La Impunidad Técnica*. Serie Símbolos. Mar del Plata, Argentina: Editorial de la Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, 2010.

CHAPTER 6: RESISTING APOLOGIES

Abu El-Haj, Nadia. *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Arendt, Hannah. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. Penguin Classics. New York, N.Y: Penguin Books, 2006.

Argentina, ed. *Nunca Más: Informe de La Comisión Nacional Sobre La Desaparición de Personas*. Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1984.

Binder, Julia. "Orte Der Folter." In *Stadt Als Palimpsest: Zur Wechselwirkung von Materialität Und Gedächtnis*, 139–63. Berlin: Neofelis Verlag, 2015.

Browning, Christopher R. *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Finalsolution in Poland*. 1st ed. New York: HarperCollins, 1992.

Calveiro, Pilar. *Poder y Desaparición: Los Campos de Concentración En Argentina*. Puñaladas. Buenos Aires: Colihue, 1998.

Casey, Edward S. "Public Memory and Time." In *Framing Public Memory*, edited by Kendall R. Phillips, 17–44. Rhetoric, Culture, and Social Critique. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004.

Castillo, Marcelo. Interview with Marcelo Castillo. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, April 5, 2018.

———. "Proyecto de Recuperación de La Memoria CCDyT "Club Atlético"." In *El Porvenir de La Memoria*, edited by Abel Madariaga, 103–22. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Abuelas de la Plaza de Mayo, 2005.

Choay, Françoise. *The Invention of the Historic Monument*. 1st English language ed. Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Conte, Gonzalo. "A Topography of Memory: Reconstructing the Architectures of Terror in the Argentine Dictatorship." *Memory Studies*, October 9, 2014, 1750698014552411. https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698014552411.

———. "Algunas Experiencias Del Programa Topografía de La Memoria de Memoria Abierta." Buenos Aires, Argentina: Memoria Abierta, 2009.

———. "Densidad y fragmentación de la memoria en la ciudad de Buenos Aires." In *Topografías conflictivas: memorias, espacios y ciudades en disputa*, edited by Anne Huffschmid and Valeria Durán, 63–80. Buenos Aires: Nueva Trilce, 2012.
———. Interviews with Gonzalo Conte, director of Memoria Abierta's Topografías de la Memoria. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, April 2018.
Crenzel, Emilio A. *La Historia Política Del Nunca Más: La Memoria de Las Desapariciones En La Argentina / Emilio Crenzel*. Historia y Cultura. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Siglo Veintiuno Editores Argentina, 2008.
Cúneo, Martín. "'Si No Hay Justicia, Hay Escrache' | Periódico Diagonal." *Diagonal*, February 13, 2013. https://www.diagonalperiodico.net/global/si-no-hay-justicia-hay-escrache.html.
D'Agostino, Miguel. "Ex Centro Clandestino de Detencion, Tortura y Exterminio 'Club Atlético:' Supervivencia y Memoria." In *Memorias Urbanas En Diálogo: Berlín y Buenos Aires*, edited by Peter Birle, Vera Carnovale, Elke Gryglewski, and Estela Schindel, 337–46. Buenos Aires: Heinrich Böll Stiftung Cono Sur/ Buenos Libros, 2010.
———. Interviews with Miguel D'Agostino, Club Atletico survivor. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, April 2018.
Duguine, Laura, and Silvina Durán. Interview with Laura Duguine and Silvina Duran of the Club Atletico staff. Interview by Francisca Márquez and Valentina Rozas-Krause, July 16, 2016.
Duguine, Laura, Silvina Durán, Valeria Contissa, and Marta Carreras. "Experiencias Desde La Arqueología y La Conservación Para La Recuperación Material de Los Ex Centros Clandestinos de Detención Tortura y Exterminio (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Argentina)." In *La Antropología Social Hoy a 10 Años Del Nuevo Siglo*, edited by Ludmila Adad, Alicia Villafane, and Carolina Ferrer, 701–12. E-Book. Argentina: Tandil: Universidad Nacional del Centro de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, 2013. http://www.scribd.com/doc/187853662/La-antropologia-social-hoy-a-10-anos-del-nuevo-siglo-Olavarria-Argentina-E-book-ISBN-978-950-658-332-3-Ludmila-Adad-y-Alicia-Villafane-Coords-C#scribd.
Durán, Silvina, and Valeria Contissa. Interview with Silvina Duran and Valeria Contissa of Club Atletico. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, April 3, 2018.
Equipo y Comisión de trabajo y consenso Ex CCDTyE Club Atlético. "Proyecto de Recuperación de La Memoria. Centro Clandestino de Detención Tortura y Exterminio 'Club Atlético.'" Instituto Espacio para la Memoria, 2014. http://memoriaexatletico.blogspot.com/p/trabajo-acadmicos.html.
Fabri, Silvina. "Los Lugares de La Memoria En Buenos Aires. Mansión Seré a Diez Años de Su Recuperación." *GEOUSP: Espaço e Tempo (Online)*, no. 29 (December 30, 2011): 169. https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2179-0892.geousp.2011.74198.
Fortuna. "Cuánto subieron las propiedades por barrio." *Fortuna*. December 10, 2018, sec. Mercado Inmobiliario. https://fortuna.perfil.com/2018-12-10-201924-cuanto-subieron-las-propiedades-por-barrio/.
Freud, Sigmund. "Mourning and Melancholia." In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, edited by James Strachey, Anna Freud, and Angela Richards, Volume XIV (1914-1916):237–58. London: Hogarth Press, 1966.
Galeano, Eduardo. *El libro de los abrazos*. 5. ed edition. México, D.F: Siglo XXI, 2001.
Ginzberg, Victoria. "El Atlético empezó a emerger como testimonio de la represión." *Página/12*. April 25, 2002, sec. El Pais. https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-4407-2002-04-25.html.
Goldhagen, Daniel J. *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. 1st ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996.

Gorelik, Adrián. Interviews. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, April 2018.
Guglielmucci, Ana. *La Consagración de La Memoria: Una Etnografía Acerca de La Institucionalización Del Recuerdo Sobre Los Crímenes Del Terrorismo de Estado En La Argentina*. Primera edición. Serie Antropología Política y Económica. Buenos Aires: Antropofagia, 2013.
Harvey, David. *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.
H.I.J.O.S. "Astiz ya no camina por las calles." *Página/12*. February 20, 2012, sec. El Pais. https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-187955-2012-02-20.html.
Jelin, Elizabeth. *Los Trabajos de La Memoria*. 2. ed. Estudios Sobre Memoria y Violencia 1. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2012.
———. *State Repression and the Labors of Memory*. Translated by Judy Rein and Marcial Godoy-Anativia. Contradictions 18. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.
Koolhaas, Rem, Bruce Mau, and Office for Metropolitan Architecture. *Small, Medium, Large, Extra-Large*. Edited by Jennifer Sigler. 2d ed. New York, N.Y: Monacelli Press, 1998.
Lagos Escobar, Ricardo. *No hay mañana sin ayer : propuesta del presidente Ricardo Lagos en materia de derechos humanos*. Santiago de Chile: Ministerio Secretaría General de Gobierno, 2003.
Latour, Bruno. "Circulating Reference." In *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies*, 24–79. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999.
Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Oxford, OX, UK ; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell, 1991.
Longoni, Ana, Gustavo A. Bruzzone, and R. Aguerreberry, eds. *El Siluetazo*. Sentidos. Artes Visuales. Buenos Aires: Adriana Hidalgo Editora, 2008.
López, Marcelo. Interview with Marcelo López founder and staff member the site of memory ex CCDTyE Olimpo, March 21, 2018.
Lorenzetti, Ricardo Luis, and Alfredo Jorge Kraut. *Derechos Humanos, Justicia y Reparación: La Experiencia de Los Juicios En La Argentina: Crímenes de Lesa Humanidad*. Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2011.
Lynch, Kevin. *The Image of the City*. Publications of the Joint Center for Urban Studies. Cambridge [Mass.]: Technology Press, 1960.
Marston, Sallie A, John Paul Jones III, and Keith Woodward. "Human Geography without Scale." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30, no. 4 (December 1, 2005): 416–32. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2005.00180.x.
Memoria Abierta. *Memorias en la ciudad : señales del terrorismo de estado en Buenos Aires*. Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 2009.
Messina, Luciana. "El circuito represivo 'Atlético-Banco-Olimpo': ¿distintas sedes de un mismo centro clandestino de detención?" In *Memoria Académica*, 1–20. La Plata, Argentina, 2008. http://www.memoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/trab_eventos/ev.6247/ev.6247.pdf.
———. "Reflexiones en torno a la práctica testimonial sobre la experiencia concentracionaria en Argentina." *Sociedad y economía*, no. 23 (2012): 37–58.
———. "Reflexiones En Torno al Estatuto Conceptual de Los Centros Clandestinos de Detención: El Circuito Represivo "Atlético-Banco-Olimpo." *Etnografías Contemporáneas*, Universidad Nacional de San Martín, no. 5 (2011): 135–61.
Mitre, Susana. Interview Susana Mitre of the educational program of Club Atletico. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, March 26, 2018.
Mitre, Susana, and Mariana Sosa. "El Tótem y otras Marcas de Memoria," 1–12. Rosario [Argentina], 2014. http://cdsa.aacademica.org/000-081/453.

Moore, Adam. "Rethinking Scale as a Geographical Category: From Analysis to Practice." *Progress in Human Geography* 32, no. 2 (April 1, 2008): 203–25. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132507087647.

Naftal, Alejandra. Interview with Alejandra Naftal, director of Museo Sitio de Memoria ESMA. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, April 6, 2018.

NN. "Reclama la Ciudad los terrenos de la ESMA." *La Nación*. September 15, 2000, sec. Sociedad. https://www.lanacion.com.ar/sociedad/reclama-la-ciudad-los-terrenos-de-la-esma-nid33003.

Portela, M. Edurne. "Cicatrices del trauma: cuerpo, exilio y memoria en Una sola muerte numerosa de Nora Strejilevich." *Revista Iberoamericana* 74, no. 222 (March 22, 2008): 71–84. https://doi.org/10.5195/reviberoamer.2008.5294.

Portelli, Alessandro. *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue*. Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997.

Proust, Marcel. *Remembrance of Things Past*. New York: Random House, 1981.

Ricoeur, Paul. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Riegl, Alois. "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origin." Translated by K.W. Forster and D. Ghirardo. *Oppositions*, no. 25 (1982): 20–51.

Romero, Luis Alberto. *Breve Historia Contemporánea de La Argentina: 1916-2016: Edición Definitiva*. Cuarta edición revisada y ampliada. Tezontle. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2017.

Ruskin, John. "The Lamp of Memory." In *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. London: New York: J. M. Dent: E. P. Dutton, 1963.

Said, Judith, ed. *Espacios de memoria en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Ministerio de Justicia y Derechos Humanos de la Nación. Secretaría de Derechos Humanos, 2015.

Salerno, Melisa A. "'They Must Have Done Something Wrong…': The Construction of 'Subversion' as a Social Category and the Reshaping of Identities Through Body and Dress (Argentina, 1976–1983)." In *Memories from Darkness: Archaeology of Repression and Resistance in Latin America*, edited by Pedro Funari, Andres Zarankin, and Melissa Salerno, 81–103. Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology. New York, NY: Springer New York, 2010. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-0679-3_7.

Salerno, Melisa A., and Andrés Zarankin. "Discussing the Spaces of Memory in Buenos Aires: Official Narratives and the Challenges of Site Management." In *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*, edited by Alfredo González-Ruibal and Gabriel Moshenska, 89–112. Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice. New York, NY: Springer New York, 2015. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4939-1643-6_6.

———. "Discussing the Spaces of Memory in Buenos Aires: Official Narratives and the Challenges of Site Mangement." In *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence*, edited by Alfredo González Ruibal and Gabriel Moshenska, 89–112. Ethical Archaeologies 2. New York: Springer, 2015.

Salerno, Melisa A., Andrés Zarankin, and María Celeste Perosino. "Arqueologías de la clandestinidad. Una revisión de los trabajos efectuados en los centros de detención clandestinos de la última dictadura militar en Argentina." *Revista Universitaria de Historia Militar* 1, no. 2 (July 29, 2015). http://ruhm.es/index.php/RUHM/article/view/19.

San Julián, Dolores. "La Construcción de Un Lugar de Memoria En La Provincia de Buenos Aires. Mansión Seré, Morón, 1983-2007." *Trabajos y Comunicaciones* 0, no. 40 (December 22, 2014). http://www.trabajosycomunicaciones.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/article/view/TyC2014n40a02.

Sarlo, Beatriz. *Tiempo Pasado: Cultura de La Memoria y Giro Subjetivo: Una Discusión*. Sociología y Política. Buenos Aires, República Argentina: Siglo Veintiuno Editores Argentina, 2005.

Schindel, Estela. "'Ahora los Vecinos Van Perdiendo el Temor' La Apertura de Ex Centros de Detención y la Restauración del Tejido Social en Argentina." In *Disputar la Ciudad: Sometimiento, Resistencia, Memorialización Reparación*, edited by Pía Montealegre and Valentina Rozas-Krause, 177–99. Cuervos en Casa. Santiago: Bifurcaciones, 2018.

———. "Siluetas, Rostros Escraches. Memoria y Performance Alrededor Del Movimiento de Derechos Humanos." In *El Siluetazo*, edited by Ana Longoni, Gustavo A. Bruzzone, and R. Aguerreberry, 411–26. Sentidos. Artes Visuales. Buenos Aires: Adriana Hidalgo Editora, 2008.

Secretaría de Derechos Humanos, Argentina. *Objetos Con Memoria Del Ex Centro Clandestino "Club Atlético."* Buenos Aires, Argentina, 2017. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3J_okYBUUck.

Somigliana, Maco. "Materia Oscura. Los Avatares de La Antropología Forense En Argentina." In *Historias Desaparecidas: Arqueología, Memoria y Violencia Política*, edited by Andrés Zarankin, Melisa A. Salerno, and María Celeste Perosino, 1o ed., 25–34. Contextos Humanos 7. Córdoba, Argentina : [Catamarca, Argentina]: Encuentro Grupo Editor ; Facultad de Humanidades, Universidad Nacional de Catamarca, 2012.

Stern, Steve J. *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London, 1998*. Latin America Otherwise, bk. 1. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

Strejilevich, Nora. *Una Sola Muerte Numerosa*. Córdoba, Argentina: Alción Editora, 2007.

Tandeciarz, Silvia R. *Citizens of Memory: Affect, Representation, and Human Rights in Postdictatorship Argentina*. Bucknell University Press, 2017.

———. "Citizens of Memory: Refiguring the Past in Postdictatorship Argentina." *PMLA* 122, no. 1 (January 1, 2007): 151–69.

Tavani, Eduardo, ed. *Las Marcas de La Memoria: Objetos Encontrados*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Instituto Espacio para la Memoria, 2012.

Taylor, Diana. *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

Todorov, Tzvetan. *Los abusos de la memoria*. Barcelona: Paidós, 2008.

Unknown. *Jornada Por La Memoria. Señalización Del Ex CCDTyE "Club Atlético."* Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1996. https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=3709&v=N1VftmnWXo0.

Ursi, María Eugenia. Interview with María Eugenia Ursi, member of the Club Atlético committee. Interview by Valentina Rozas-Krause, March 18, 2018.

Verbitsky, Horacio. *The Flight: Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior*. New York: New Press, 1996.

Vezzetti, Hugo. "Activismos de la memoria: el 'escrache.'" *Revista Punto de Vista* XXI, no. 62 (December 1998): 1–7.

———. *Pasado y Presente: Guerra, Dictadura y Sociedad En La Argentina*. Sociología y Política. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2002.

———. *Sobre La Violencia Revolucionaria: Memorias y Olvidos*. Sociología y Política. Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno, 2009.

Viau, Susana. "Murió Colores Del Cerro, un hombre gris que se agrandaba en El Olimpo." *Página/12*. April 4, 2006, El País edition. https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/subnotas/65165-21424-2006-04-04.html.

Villani, Mario, and Fernando O. Reati. *Desaparecido: Memorias de Un Cautiverio: Club Atlético,El Banco, El Olimpo, Pozo de Quilmes y ESMA*. 1. ed. Latitud Sur Colección. Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 2011.

Weizman, Eyal. *The Least of All Possible Evils: Humanitarian Violence from Arendt to Gaza*. London ; New York: Verso, 2011.
Weizman, Eyal, Paulo Tavares, Susan Schuppli, and Situ Studio. "Forensic Architecture." *Architectural Design* 80, no. 5 (September 1, 2010): 58–63. https://doi.org/10.1002/ad.1134.
Wilde, Alexander. "Irruptions of Memory: Expressive Politics in Chile's Transition to Democracy." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 31, no. 2 (May 1, 1999): 473–500.
Wlasic, Juan Carlos. *Memoria, Verdad y Justicia En Democracia: De La Impunidad Política a La Impunidad Técnica*. Serie Símbolos. Mar del Plata, Argentina: Editorial de la Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, 2010.
Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim, ed. *Usages de l'oubli*. Paris: Seuil, 1988.
Zarankin, Andrés, and Claudio Niro. "The Materialization of Sadism; Archaeology of Architecture in Clandestine Detention Centers (Argentinean Military Dictatorship, 1976–1983)." In *Memories from Darkness: Archaeology of Repression and Resistance in Latin America*, edited by Pedro Funari, Andres Zarankin, and Melissa Salerno, 57–77. Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology. New York, NY: Springer New York, 2010. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-0679-3_6.
Zarankin, Andrés, and Melisa Salerno. "The Engineering of Genocide: An Archaeology of Dictatorship in Argentina." In *Archaeologies of Internment*, edited by Adrian Myers and Gabriel Moshenska, 207–27. One World Archaeology. New York, NY: Springer New York, 2011. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-9666-4_12.
Zarankin, Andrés, and Melisa A. Salerno. "Después de la tormenta. Arqueología de la represión en América Latina." *Complutum* 19, no. 2 (December 29, 2008): 21-32–32. https://doi.org/-.

CONCLUSION: *MORE THAN WORDS*

Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
Bogel-Burroughs, Nicholas. "Virginia Governor Plans to Order Robert E. Lee Statue Removed." *The New York Times*, June 3, 2020, sec. U.S. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/03/us/robert-e-lee-statue-richmond.html.
Brooks, Roy L. "The Age of Apology." In *When Sorry Isn't Enough: The Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice*, edited by Roy L. Brooks, 14–15. Critical America. New York: New York University Press, 1999. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/berkeley/Doc?id=10032562.
Bussey, Ben, and Paul D. Spudis. *The Clementine Atlas of the Moon*. Revised, Updated edition. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
Chang, Kenneth. "Astronauts Dock With Space Station After Historic SpaceX Launch." *The New York Times*, May 31, 2020, sec. Science. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/31/science/spacex-astronauts-arrival.html.
———. "SpaceX Lifts NASA Astronauts to Orbit, Launching New Era of Spaceflight." *The New York Times*, May 30, 2020, sec. Science. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/30/science/spacex-nasa-astronauts.html.
CNN. *Minneapolis Police Chief on George Floyd Killing: This Was a Violation of Humanity - CNN Video*. News Report. Minneapolis, MN, 2020. https://www.cnn.com/videos/us/2020/06/01/police-chief-medaria-arradondo-full-intv-sidner-vpx.cnn.
Goffman, Erving. *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*. New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publishers, 2010.

Hill, Evan, Ainara Tiefenthäler, Christiaan Triebert, Drew Jordan, Haley Willis, and Robin Stein. "8 Minutes and 46 Seconds: How George Floyd Was Killed in Police Custody." *The New York Times*, May 31, 2020, sec. U.S. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/31/us/george-floyd-investigation.html.

Macaya, Melissa, Mike Hayes, Fernando Alfonso III, and et al. "George Floyd Protests Spread Nationwide." CNN, May 30, 2020. https://www.cnn.com/us/live-news/george-floyd-protest-updates-05-28-20/index.html.

Moskowitz, Clara. "Fly Me to the Moon ... Forever." Space.com, March 28, 2008. https://www.space.com/5184-fly-moon.html.

Musil, Robert. "Monuments." In *Posthumous Papers of a Living Author*, translated by Peter Wortsman, 64–68. New York: Archipelago Books, 2006.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. "On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life." In *Untimely Meditations*, edited by Daniel Breazeale, translated by R.J. Hollingdale, 59–123. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Press, The Associated. "Minnesota Governor Apologizes for Arrest of CNN Crew." *The New York Times*, May 29, 2020, sec. Business. https://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2020/05/29/business/ap-us-minneapolis-police-death-cnn.html.

Renzetti, Jackie. "A Young Girl Who Watched George Floyd Suffocate Finds Her Place in the Protest Movement." *The Guardian*, May 29, 2020, sec. US news. https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/may/29/george-floyd-killing-protests-minneapolis.

Spudis, Paul D. "How Are Places On The Moon Named?" Air & Space Magazine, December 31, 2012. http://www.airspacemag.com/daily-planet/how-are-places-on-the-moon-named-48457/.

Taylor, Derrick Bryson. "George Floyd Protests: A Timeline." *The New York Times*, June 1, 2020, sec. U.S. https://www.nytimes.com/article/george-floyd-protests-timeline.html.

Taylor, Diana. *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

[This page intentionally left blank.]