ARGENTINA ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Developed by the Argentina Trial Monitor project

(*) Denotes links in English.

On State Repression & Genocide:


Acuña and Smulovitz describe the logic of state repression during the military dictatorship. They also examine the compromise between the armed forces and the new democratic government that was reached to ensure Argentina’s societal reconciliation and political stability.


Bouvard studies the mothers of the disappeared’s protests against state terror. Bouvard also analyzes the mothers’ continuing struggle for truth and justice in the context of the fall of the dictatorship.


Brysk analyzes the development of the human rights movement in Argentina in the late 1970s and the power of symbolic politics during Argentina’s democratic transition.


Pilar Calveiro reflects upon her experience as a detainee at the ESMA.


Nunca Más is a report on the violence of the Argentine armed forces during the military dictatorship. CONADEP identifies detention centers and denounces the regime’s use of torture and extrajudicial killings as means of control.


This work is based on ethnographic research with family members of disappeared in La Plata, exploring their memory work as well as reflecting on truth and justice.

Da Silva Catela, Ludmila and Elizabeth Jelin (eds.). 2002. *Los archivos de la represión: documentos, memoria y verdad.* Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI. This compilation of scholarly work examines archives documenting political repression in Latin America, with chapters devoted to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Paraguay.


This project’s interactive map describes the various detention centres located in Buenos Aires during the military dictatorship including the ESMA, Club Atlético, Automotores Orletti, Olimpo y Virrey Ceballos.


Feierstein discusses the logic of violence and annihilation as a social practice that destroys but also reorganizes social relations in order to shape a new society. Feierstein explores the parallels between state repression under Nazism and the military regime in Argentina between 1976 and 1983. This book is available in English: *Genocide as Social Practice* from Rutgers University Press.
Hodges studies Argentine revolutionary thinking and military rhetoric. He analyzes the writing of both the guerillas and Argentine activists between 1973 and 1983.

*Jelin, Elizabeth. 2003. *State Repression and the Labors of Memory*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press*. Sociologist Elizabeth Jelin explores the conflicts over memory that define the struggle to contemporary societies in Latin America in the wake of state repression, also examining theoretical questions about truth and testimony, memory, and gender.

In this report, the Argentine military justifies state violence during the dictatorship and portray themselves as the saviors of Argentina. At the time, this report legitimized their self-proclaimed amnesty.


Mignone accounts for the clergy’s knowledge of state terrorism during the dictatorship. He explores how bishops crafted a religious doctrine that justified state torture and clandestine killings.


Norden explores the causes of the four major military uprisings in Argentina between 1987 and 1990 and the roots of intra-army fractures.

Park discusses the experiences of state terrorism survivors while raising questions about victimhood, human rights abuses, and the role of memorial museums in the aftermath of genocide.

Pion-Berlin examines the causes of the dictatorship’s decline and the military’s withdrawal from power.

Rabotnikof accounts for society’s gradual discovery of the violence during military dictatorship and their unearthing of criminal responsibility.

*Strejilevich, Nora. 2002. A Single, Numberless Death. (Translated by Cristina de la Torre with the collaboration of the author.) University of Virginia Press. Fictional memoir based on Nora Strejilevich’s personal experience (kidnapped and tortured) as well as that of family members and others.


Memoir of journalist Jacobo Timerman’s abduction, torture and release from detention. This testimony also offers insight into the regime’s anti-semitism.

Navy Captain Adolfo Scilingo confesses his crimes, specifically how he and his colleagues killed an estimated 1500 to 2,000 political prisoners by drugging them and throwing them into the Atlantic Ocean.

First published as a series of articles, this nonfiction novel recounts the shooting of Peronist militants during general Pedro Eugenio Aramburu’s regime.

On Transitional Justice:
This brief (found under “Contacto”) describes the trials undertaken in Argentina between 2006 and 2010 including trial location, year, indictees and court ruling. Under Consulta de sentencias, you can find an online and updated database of past and current proceedings. You can also search for trials by using the CIJ’s interactive map. CIJ also details the “megacausas” of the Primer Cuerpo de Ejército and that of the Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada (Navy School of Mechanics also known as ESMA).

CELS describes the most important and influential trials- the website includes a pie chart and relevant statistics about judicial rulings.

Ente Público Espacio para la Memoria y para la Promoción y Defensa de los Derechos Humanos. 2014.
http://www.espaciomemoria.ar/
Espacio Memoria raises awareness of the current initiatives that are shaping individual and societal narration and memory of the Argentine Genocide. The website also provides links to other organizations in Argentina such as Abuelas, H.I.J.O.S, Memoria Abierta that all provide various forms of assistance to individuals who suffered during the military dictatorship. This site advertises Los Juicios son Ahora, a new monthly magazine published by the Secretariat that will provide updates on the trials and upcoming transitional initiatives.

*European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights. 2014. On-Going Trials in Argentina: ESMA.
http://www.ecchr.de/argentinia_2/articles/update-trial-openings-buenos-aires.html
This website briefly describes the “mega causa” ESMA which is trying the perpetrators of crimes committed in the Escuela Mecánica de la Armada between the 24th of March, 1976, and December 10th, 1983. The website offers a list of relevant websites and articles on the megacausa ESMA and the military dictatorship.


Investigación y Enseñanza. 2014. Comisión Provincial por la Memoria.
http://www.comisionporlamemoria.org/investigacionyense%3C%3B1anza/biblioteca_autor.html
This website catalogues downloadable essays about state repression and transitional justice in Argentina. Some articles relate to the broader theme of state violence and the construction of reconciliatory collective memory.
> Articles of Interest:
- CELS. El Secuestro como Forma de Detención.
- Jelin, Elizabeth. De Que Hablamos Cuando Hablamos de Memoria.
- Rodolfo, Walsh. Carta Abierta a la Junta Militar.

This website catalogues portraits and the pictures of objects of the victims of state terrorism. The project seeks to initiate a dialogue about memory by exploring the role of objects in linking the past with the present.

http://educacionymemoria.educ.ar/primaria/biblioteca-multimedia/
This website is child-friendly and is geared to help students learn about the National Reorganization Process. Under, the tabs “Construccion de la Memoria”, “Terrorismo de Estado” and “Vida Cotidiana durante la Dictadura”, links to youtube videos and lesson plans for teachers provide an accessible and compelling overview of violence and Argentine society during the military dictatorship.


Similarly to Acuña and Smulovitz, Sikkink discusses the transition from dictatorship to democracy in Argentina. She focuses on Argentina’s international leadership in transitional justice and the fight against impunity for crimes against humanity.

Telam provides a calendar of the trials.

The Argentine Experience in Context:
Pion-Berlin’s article describes Argentina’s more condemnatory transitional justice initiatives in comparison to Chile’s focus on national reconciliation and pardon.

Rosenberg profiles individuals in six Latin American countries and explores the circumstances that led them to commit violent acts. Part two, entitled the Good Sailor, discusses state repression in Argentina.

Sikkink argues for the contagious effect of transitional justice initiatives on holding leaders accountable for their actions. She argues that trying leaders is the best deterrence of future crimes against humanity and abuses of state power.

>Relevant articles:

This article describes the emergence of the School of the Americas, a US Army education facility, that has trained more than 64,000 Latin American soldiers including Leopoldo Galtieri, Efraín Ríos Montt and Manuel Noriega in counterinsurgency techniques. Today, the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC) is considered to be the School of the Americas under a different name.

Barrionuevo’s article discusses the complicity between Argentine priests and military leaders during the military dictatorship. Barrionuevo accounts for the disagreement among members of the clergy over the benefits of trying priests for their illicit activities and searching for truth.

El Pais. Dictadura Militar.
http://internacional.elpais.com/tag/dictadura_argentina/a/
El Pais’ archive section includes articles on Argentine state repression and its aftermath on society.
Finchelstein examines state violence and whether it was issued in the context of a “dirty war” (which implies both state and montoneros’ responsibility) or it was simply state-sponsored terrorism.

Galak discusses Nestor Kirchner’s controversial editing of Nunca más’ prologue. Kirchner’s revision marked his refusal of the two demons theory.

Goni provides biographical information for Admiral Emilio Massera, senior member of the military junta.

In their recent study, CELS shows that most of the perpetrators of the crimes committed during the ‘Dirty War’ were in fact civil servants- the organization asks that future trials not only focus on condemning high ranking military officials but also civilians. CELS also explains that more investigations should be undertaken to uncover the corruption of the judiciary and its role in violating Argentinians’ civic and political rights.

Rohter’s article explains that a new generation of Latin Americans is relying on the American Convention on Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights to repeal amnesty laws and condemn those who committed crimes against humanity across the continent.

Mr. Troani, a worker at Ford Motor in 1976, accounts for his abduction and illegal transfer to a secret prison. Rohter references Gabriele Weber’s book “The Disappeared of Mercedes-Benz” that describes
how unionized workers who demanded improved working conditions and salary increases were considered “leftist opponents” and were subsequently kidnapped and tortured by both Mercedez-Benz managers and the Argentine army. State and corporate terrorism enabled companies to implement exploitative practices.

20 Minutos. (2005, April 19) El militar argentino Adolfo Scilingo, condenado a 640 años de prisión por torturar y asesinar a 30 personas. Retrieved from: http://www.20minutos.es/noticia/17900/0/adolfo/scilingo/condena/#xtor=AD-15&xts=467263 The Spanish Supreme Court condemns Argentine former naval officer to 640 years for crimes against humanity. More detailed information can be found at:


-and-

This article details the various decrees including “La Directiva del Comandante General del Ejército Nº 404/75” y el “Plan del Ejército” that sanctioned state repression.

>Relevant Movies:

This website lists relevant movies and documentaries.

* Muñoz , Susana Blaustein and Lourdes Portillo. 1986. Las Madres: The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo. Documentary about the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, including interviews with key activists and historical footage.

This movie is based on the actual Night of the Pencils during the National Reorganization Process during which high school students of the *Unión de Estudiantes Secundarios* (Union of High School Students) were tortured and killed for their political activism.

>&nbsp;Relevant YouTube Videos:


Daniel Hadad and Marcelo Longobardi interview Eduardo Massera, member of the military junta during the National Reorganization Process. Massera admits to having made mistakes but rejects the idea that the junta committed crimes. When asked about the ESMA, he responds “But what happened at the ESMA?”


Scilino describes the death flights organized by the military during the dictatorship as a method of forced disappearance.


Argentines describe the disappearance of their family members and how most first refused to believe their loved ones had died. Lejtman accounts for the influential activism of exiled Argentines in pressuring for the end of the military regime. Historia de Argentina has many other relevant videos including an interview with Luciano Benjamin Menendez and a documentary about the the Trelew Massacre.


In this documentary, Marie-Monique Robin uncovers how the French military instructed Latin American military at the School of the Americas in the use of unethical counterinsurgency tactics that violate Human Rights.


Bravo interviews individuals who have found their biological parents due to the activism of the Madres de Playa de Mayo.
> Relevant Human Rights Organizations in Argentina:


Jelin describes the development of Human Rights Organizations such as CELS, SERPAJ, APDH, Liga, SERPAJ, MEDH, MJDH and their different initiatives in recovering the identity of the disappeared and establishing truth commissions. Jelin also engages in more philosophical debates over the role and impact of judicial narratives on collective memory.

**Comisión por la Memoria. 2014. Dossiers de Organismos de Derechos Humanos.**
http://www.comisionporlamemoria.org/investigacionyense%C3%B1anza/recursos-dossierddhh.html

This site provides downloadable articles about the emergence and development of influential Human Rights Groups in Argentina.

**Links to relevant Human Rights Organizations and Academic Institutes:**

Abuelas: http://www.abuelas.org.ar/
Familiares: http://www.desaparecidos.org/familiares/
I.L.I.D: http://www.eaaf.org/iniciativa/
Memoria Abierta: http://www.memoriaabierta.org.ar/