INTRODUCTION

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Time is Money

The Memory Market in Latin America

The familiar maxim “Time is money” and its Spanish version “Tiempo es oro” (Time is gold) reflect two economic notions in contention. For example, a person can profit from time; time itself has value. Yet if one does not use that time wisely, it is wasted. In the latter sense, time itself does not have value; it is, rather, how one uses time that has value.

Both notions provide insight into the memory market in Latin America. The time since the recent dictatorships (that began roughly with the 1960s and ended in the late 1980s) has value in itself. That time has meant relative freedom from the kind of state violence that defined the repressive authoritarian regimes of the region. The repressive regimes exist as memory. That time, and the memory it created, have value. Failing to use that time and memory could waste it. What gives the time value is the struggle to remember, to not repeat. The cry “Never Again” engages the value and constructive use of time and memory. The memory market, in this sense, explores the ways in which time and memory are used to produce value and values—to profit, or benefit, from remembering the repressive past, to not repeat it.

While individuals and groups in Latin America engage in valuable memory-making, global marketing strategies are penetrating the region. The so-called Washington Consensus of the 1990s promoted the reduction of trade barriers, increased exports, privatization, deregulation, and shrinking the role of the state in the economy.[1] Global business practices also shifted, from an emphasis on product promotion to one on “branding." Adopting a term resonant with Latin America, Jay Conrad Levinson promoted the idea of "guerrilla marketing," which called on businesses to invest time, energy, and imagination in creating "buzz" about their products so that they would then spread "virally." According to Levinson, "It means not using the brute force of a giant budget, but that of a giant idea."[2] The global business model generated its own counter "giant ideas." The "no logo" movement took off. Anti-globalization movements spread throughout the world, from the Carnival against Capitalism in London and elsewhere, to the Battle in Seattle, to protests against the "global dictatorship of the rich" in Santiago, Chile.[3]

In this context, in which the market is emphasized favorably, critically, and imaginatively, the "giant idea" of remembering, to deter future political violence, also emerges. The present volume examines the memory market in the same way. It values the memory market and its products in some cases, criticizes it in others, and explores the imaginative uses of such a market. In this volume the essayists study the memory market in-depth in six countries that have emerged from authoritarian state repression in the 1980s and 1990s, specifically, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru, and Uruguay. Those memory markets offer a variety of sometimes competing products. Bookstores, cinemas, theaters, and the music industry trade in testimonial and fictional accounts of the authoritarian past. Television shows about the authoritarian past, complete with advertisements, receive high ratings, demonstrating that memory sells, and that it also sells products. The tourist industry has added trauma sites and memory museums to its itineraries. Memory studies has emerged as a field of academic scholarship, with its own journals, conferences, book series, websites, blogs, and courses.[4] A new label, *desaparecidología* (disappearedology), or the study of the disappeared, recognizes this emerging academic market.[5] One might even dare to declare that the memory market has developed a "brand," or a "Never Again" logo.[6]

Just as anti-globalization and no-logo movements have responded to the spread of neoliberalism and branding, anti-marketing forces exist within the memory field. Some reject a market for memory as morally or ethically suspect. Some discount the notion of a memory market altogether, especially when a primary element of any market—investment for profit—appears to be absent.

This book argues that its memory-market focus both describes and analyzes a phenomenon. The market exists. Marketing is a transaction between sellers of goods and services and buyers who offer something in exchange for those goods and services. The memory market includes those elements. Memory-makers supply the memory goods. Memory promoters target the goods and the buyers. Those consumers, or memory patrons, not only "buy" memory goods, they also promote the cause of human rights.[7] A transaction takes place between memory patrons and memory-makers. This transaction does not always involve money or financial profit. What individuals and groups may expect, in terms of a return on their mnemonic investment, includes the moral, psychological, social, and political payoffs of remembering. On the memory market, therefore, profit should be thought of in terms of its Latin etymology: *profectus* implies progress. Profiting from memory means progress toward human rights goals, acknowledgment of events in the past, justice, and deterrence.

In addition to a heuristic descriptive device, the memory market also provides an analytical framework for examining transactions over memory. The business term "accounting" forms an integral part of the memory project. Accounts of the past are exchanged by victims, survivors, and even perpetrators. Victims and survivors also hold states and security forces accountable for past violence. The Latin root of the term "accountability" suggests calculation (*computare),* which, in turn, emerges from *putare* ("reckon"). Memory of past atrocities, therefore, involves a calculation of loss and an effort to reconcile, or balance, accounts. The memory market, when successful, creates profit (or progress) through accountability for the past. No monopoly (single seller) or monopsony (single buyer) exists in the memory market. Instead, competition exists among memory patrons, memory-makers, memory goods, and the expected benefits or profits from the memory enterprise. In short, a market analysis allows the contributors to this volume to explore such questions as: Who is producing memory (memory-makers)? What kinds of products (memory goods) are produced? How are they promoted? Who is targeted (memory patrons) and toward what end (profit)? What kind of competition exists among memory-makers, promoters, patrons, and goods on the memory market? Are there winners and losers in the memory market?

A memory market analysis is provocative, but appropriate given what has transpired in terms of business, the economy, and the politics of memory since the end of the dictatorships in the countries included in this volume. Our project does not promote such a market; it describes and analyzes it. We explore when commercialization cheapens memory goods and derails progress toward building a human rights culture. We do not assume, however, that the memory market is inherently immoral or savage. The promotion of memory beyond borders potentially creates a global memory market that condemns political violence and calls for "Never Again" everywhere.

The expression "Time is money," therefore, captures the notion of the value inherent in the time of political transition and the utility of that time to develop a human rights culture through the promotion of memory. A certain paradox prevails during this time. Just as the monetary currencies in the region lost value in the global economic market beginning in the 1980s, memory became a currency whose value steadily increased in the global promotion of human rights and democracy. In the remainder of this introduction, we first examine the development of the Latin American memory market and its anticipated value for human rights, and then we explore the forces competing in that market which potentially impede progress on human rights.

The Market Concept

Scholars have previously referred to a memory market. Huyssen, for example, explores and rejects the notion that "commodification [of memory] equals forgetting" and that "the marketing of memory generates nothing but amnesia."[8] He suggests instead "a slow but palpable transformation of temporality in our lives, brought on by complex intersections of technological change, mass media, and new patterns of consumption, work, and global mobility" that produce "the desire for the past in the first place," and that "make us respond so favorably to the memory markets."[9] For Huyssen, the desire for memory is a displaced fear of the future and is related to our present anxiety regarding "the speed of change and the ever-shrinking horizons of time and space."[10] There is a perceptual and informational overload that our psyche cannot handle. "The faster we are pushed into global future that does not inspire confidence, the stronger we feel desire to slow down, the more we turn to memory for comfort."[11] According to Huyssen, memory goods should produce a sense of comfort.

The work presented in this volume challenges Huyssen's notion. The memory of atrocity is hardly comforting. The discomfort of memory keeps it valuable, edgy. The unsettling nature of these memories, moreover, might render greater profit—in terms of catalyzing human rights action—than comforting memories. Perhaps Huyssen has a point, however, in thinking about the comfort that certain individuals and groups derive from a shared experience and identity in the past. When applied to past human rights violation, this shared experience and identity might catalyze a movement to prevent future atrocity. What is marketed, therefore, might not be memory itself, but the action that memory inspires. The possibility of acknowledgment, action, and change might bring comfort to those traumatized by the past. As in any market, however, goods, buyers, producers, and promoters compete. They do not share the same goals from participating in the marketplace.

Memory Goods

Memory goods are products created out of the memory of terror. The term "goods" connotes the positive value of remembering and representing the past. It is good to remember; it is important to remember to avoid repeating the past. This is not only an activist perspective. Discussing the normative approach in memory scholarship, Avelar states, "There is, for sure, a tacit assumption, amongst Latin American studies scholars, anyway, that the labor of memory is something one is necessarily supposed to defend, that it is something worth fighting for; that memory, in other words, is something always and necessarily good."[12] Robert Folger links that academic emphasis on memory "good" to the marketplace: "Memory is a commodity of sorts for those who study it. Academia is more than ever a marketplace, increasingly absorbed by the ideology of efficiency and 'practical' use. Memory sells in academia—that is, memory studies are easily understood by the utilitarian outside of academia as being useful. . . . An emphasis on this field of research reaffirms the utilitarian market logic."[13]

The memory activist and the academic community therefore concur with the notion of a memory "good." Yet we use the plural form of the term, to recognize the existence of multiple, and sometimes competing, "goods." More than one memory of the past exists, despite efforts to contain it. Different types of memory goods, moreover, account for this past—specifically, memory accounts, memoryscapes (sites of memory), and memorabilia.

MEMORY ACCOUNTS. Accounting for the past takes different forms, which, as time progresses, necessarily go beyond recording the debit, to reckoning and computing the balance sheet of trauma. This complex accounting system can be said to begin with the first-person testimonials of survivors. They speak out despite, or because of, their personal trauma. In Latin America, the accounts of exiled survivors emerged even before the end of the dictatorships. Other accounts followed shortly after their demise, creating something of a genre of Latin American testimonials. Perpetrators also produced their own accounts of the past, often made through journalists, in self-published books, or in news interviews. Albeit scarce, these accounts disrupted a particular—victim—perspective on the past. Fictional accounts in short stories, plays, poetry, songs, and film attempted to fill in gaps of representation and meaning. Fiction can often elucidate what lies beyond the possibility of language, what is inaccessible or inexpressible by those coping with the trauma of memory. Rather than producing a uniform narrative on the past, these different genres challenge that notion. With democratization, moreover, efforts to silence certain kinds of accounts have failed, sometimes heightening tension—not comfort—over memory and its representation.

Only a few of these accounts appeal to a mass audience. Apart from the reports from Argentina's, Uruguay's, and Brazil's commissions of inquiry, there are no best sellers in the group. Still, it is impossible to imagine Rigoberta Menchú's Nobel Peace Prize without recognizing the importance of her testimonial account of state terrorism against the Guatemalan indigenous people.[14] The demand for Jacobo Timerman's account of the anti-Semitic treatment he received in Argentina's clandestine torture centers has generated numerous editions and translations.[15] And the film *The Official Story* won an Oscar for best foreign film. These accounts have had broad and lasting appeal.

Recently, video games seem to have arrived in the memory market, adapting modern technologies of representation to a new political realm. Video games provide an opportunity for those interested in the memory of atrocity, and even those who are not, to relive, and even alter, the past. Gamers adopt particular political roles or identities, usually based on simplified dichotomies of good and evil. By providing simple and violent solutions to past atrocity, these games may simultaneously reach a wider market and provide the comfort of eliminating emotion.

In contrast, advertisements, a key component of marketing, may advance discomforting, rather than comforting, accounts of the past. Ads confront their viewers to make them act. Sometimes they deliberately call for action as part of a political project. At other times commercial ads that use images of torture in a country that has suffered repression do not comfort victims but, on the contrary, mobilize them against the imagery. Ads, in other words, can catalyze thought and action.

Accounts might also take the form of action, or performance. In Argentina, the political performances known as *escraches* provide an example. These performances call attention to the impunity of those responsible for the atrocities of the dictatorship—basically the pardoned criminals of human rights abuses. The group H.I.J.O.S. (Sons and Daughters for Identity and Justice against Forgetting and Silence) organized the first event in 1996, to correspond with the twentieth anniversary of the military coup. The carnivalesque atmosphere of the escraches draws young people who were not directly victimized by state terror into a festive popular-justice project complete with music, art, singing, and parading.

Academics, journalists, and activists have analyzed these different forms of memory accounts. Their work shows that more than one memory has emerged from state terrorism. The range of perspective creates some competition and conflict. Memory, therefore, is not always, or even often, comfortable. Indeed, at times memory has proven to be intentionally uncomfortable, to catalyze action.

MEMORYSCAPES. Sites of memory also play an important role in the memory market. Rather than contracting, these may expand with time. A glut of sites may create competition among them, as each attempts to attract visitors by utilizing a range of marketing techniques. For now, the marketing of such sites remains fairly underdeveloped. Some of them have appeared, however, in major international tour guides, and others have developed their own websites. International non-governmental organizations provide links to both physical and Internet memory sites in various Latin American countries. Scholars have also studied these sites. The scholarship on Latin American memoryscapes thus joins the earlier trend of examining Second World War battle sites, concentration camps, and museums.[16]

One might expect these sites of memory to provide comfort. They offer, after all, a physical space and an opportunity for mourning, grieving, and reflecting on the losses from state terrorism. Museums and monuments, moreover, acknowledge past crimes, which can bring a certain degree of comfort.

The existence of memoryscapes, however, does not eradicate disagreements over how to remember the past. Those disagreements create conflict and discomfort. These conflicts emerge as a result of efforts by the perpetrators of past violence and their supporters to represent that violent past as one of national salvation and glory. Conflict also emerges within the community of those who were directly affected by the violence, since they may disagree over the design of the sites, or their sponsorship, accessibility, or marketing. Some of the sites, moreover, are intentionally distressing rather than comforting. They seek to represent the openness of the wounds—the enduring sense of loss, fear, and distrust—so as to catalyze action and to ward against comfort and complacency. The marketing of these sites—which must attract visitors to places of discomfort rather than solace—therefore can be quite challenging.

MEMORABILIA. True to its Latin etymology (*memorable)*, memorabilia triggers memory. This term differs somewhat from the French term "souvenir," which implies an object "for memory," or for remembering where one has been. "Memorabilia," on the other hand, constitutes an object that recreates in memory a place, person, or event. While we might not collect a souvenir from a place in which we have had a difficult experience, we might possess memorabilia that recall that place and time and the emotions associated with it. Similarly, individuals keep the clothing or letters of a deceased loved one *not* to recreate the bad feelings of loss but to remember the good times with that person. Memorabilia may also hold a future-oriented purpose: one may retain a talisman, or good luck charm, from the past because of the promise it holds for the future.

Some people, particularly victims, may not consider either souvenirs or memorabilia appropriate to the remembrance of atrocity. Carrying off a piece of the Berlin Wall does not have a Latin American equivalent. The triumphalism associated with the end of communism in Europe does not resonate with the end of the dictatorships in Latin America. Memory in Latin America focuses on survival and endurance, on maintaining those symbols of state terrorism that can catalyze action. This difference might be exemplified by victims and survivors who fight to preserve torture centers intact, versus efforts by government and the private sector to destroy or disguise them.

Triggers to memory, moreover, still exist. Victims and survivors with post-traumatic stress disorder no doubt desire fewer, not more, reminders of past atrocity than they already have. What they might hope to take away, or give away as a memento, is hope for a better future. To date, however, such memorabilia are underdeveloped, as marketing efforts have not yet penetrated into the production of memorabilia. Instead, most of the mementos available at memory sites are given away rather than sold. Of those that are sold, not all of them represent the dictatorships in a negative light.

Thus, competition has emerged, even though the market for memorabilia of the past dictatorships is still underdeveloped.

Memory Patrons

A market needs buyers. A traditional marketing study would examine four characteristics of potential consumers: demographics (age, gender, income, ethnic or racial background, education, occupation, and generation); psychographics (social and psychological characteristics, including values and attitudes); geographics (local, state, national, regional, and global location); and trends. In terms of geographics, the memory market targets various categories of customers: victims and survivors of a particular atrocity at a specific site; all victims and survivors in a country; all citizens of a country; the global human rights community. These patrons have some overlapping needs and desires, but conflicts also emerge when those needs and desires do not match.

The location of customers may reveal less about memory-marketing techniques than about trends, demographics, and psychographics. Trends, often oriented toward global consumption patterns, influence the creation of memory products for local patrons. Local patrons, moreover, include both bystanders and the victims and survivors who were directly affected by the violence of the authoritarian state, as well as new generations. Despite their shared national identity, new generations of patrons, without firsthand knowledge of the experiences of twenty or thirty years ago, may not resemble those who were directly affected. As memory consumers, they may have more in common with their international counterparts. Yet international patrons sometimes also include individuals who were directly affected, and who are now part of the exile or diaspora communities that remain involved in developing, promoting, and distributing memory goods. Patrons of memory thus defy neat categorization by location. Instead, taking into account the direct experiences, and the corresponding psychographic, demographic, geographic, and trend characteristics that accompany those experiences, allows for greater understanding of the memory market.

The memory market targets at least three types of groups: the directly affected generation of victims and survivors; bystanders and new generations who are learning about the past; and regime supporters who defend the past. Our assumption is that memory marketing is aimed at one or more of these groups, but rarely at all three. Each group is sensitive to geography, demographics, psychographics, and current trends.

What appears to differentiate these markets is demand and supply. The memory market for regime supporters is small and local. The demand for memory goods that endorse the authoritarian regime hardly exists and faces condemnation from victims and survivors of that regime. Few entrepreneurs would emerge to market products with such low demand, although this is not to say that it never happens.

Indeed, rather than a "mass market," the memory market may resemble "niche markets." In such a market, goods do not necessarily compete with each other. Instead, they fill a particular need or niche. Memory patrons, therefore, are not looking indiscriminately for all memory goods, but for ones that respond to their particular needs. In a sense, then, memory patrons may resemble collectors. They are not selecting among goods by their value, but rather each good has value because it is part of a set. The goods in that set do not compete with each other, since the patron wants them all. Collectors value each piece. Each piece has a distinct role or function as part of the complete set. What is new about each piece is not how different it is from the other pieces, but that it contributes to forming a complete set. Without one of the pieces, the set is incomplete. Collectors, thus, keep adding each memory good as they discover it. They seek a complete collection, even if this is an impossible goal. Borges has taught us, through the parable of *Funes the Memorious*, that complete and absolute memory is impossible.[17] Memory studies, on the other hand, have taught us that memory is a composite of many different versions of an event that offer unique paths toward the truth.

Memory-Makers and Promoters

One might expect that the memory marketplace would involve only entrepreneurs who were directly affected by state terrorism. They might be the only individuals with the credibility and with sufficient understanding of the market to produce and distribute memory goods. They might be the only individuals willing to invest in such an enterprise. Yet time and location reenter our analysis here. In the early years of the transition from authoritarian rule, memory-makers consisted largely of victims and survivors. With time, however, and with the expansion of memory beyond the local market and into a global one, new memory-makers have emerged. These new memory producers do not always share the traumatic experiences from the past. They also produce for a wider, and previously untargeted, population.

Elizabeth Jelin refers to the concept of "memory entrepreneurship," an adaptation of "moral entrepreneurship," coined by the U.S. sociologist Howard Becker. Memory entrepreneurs are those who express themselves and seek to define the field of struggle over memory. Jelin further expresses a preference for the Spanish term *emprendedor* over *empresario*. A memory emprendedor develops a memory enterprise or venture that could be a public and social project. In contrast, the memory empresario would tend to create a memory business (*empresa*) for financial profit.[18]

Capitalizing on the image of the authoritarian regime is not new to the post-dictatorship period. Scholars have analyzed the role that public relations firms have played in promoting, or cleaning up, the image of authoritarian regimes.[19] Little research exists, however, to show how supporters of the authoritarian regime have attempted to sell a positive image of the past in the post-dictatorship era. Instead, the assumption prevails that those promoting memory are the same ones who reject the authoritarian regime. The commercialization of the memory of atrocity, however, opens up the possibility for the promotion of memory goods without a political message. Memory, in other words, can become business. That business may create a space for a variety of memory products, including those that "sell" the image of the past regime as heroic, and the victims and survivors as subversives. Rather than depoliticization, market competition may increase political tensions and polarization in society.

Jelin's concept of memory entrepreneurship, however, suggests that the memory market resembles a "moral economy." Producers and consumers are often the same individuals or communities. They do not necessarily seek financial gain. Nor are they motivated by rational cost-benefit calculations. Instead, they hope to profit from (or progress to) greater security, greater emotional and physical well-being, and justice.[20]

Victims and survivors, for example, simultaneously produce memory goods, promote them, and acquire them. The tourist industry may promote particular memoryscapes, but in describing them it imbues them with a particular meaning. The tourist industry thus becomes a memory-maker and promoter. Non-governmental organizations may become the sponsors of particular memory goods and help promote them. In the process, they may be memory-makers and patrons in influencing certain types of designs and in acquiring more sites or members to build a network.

These roles often overlap, but they also create tensions. Tensions emerge over the goals of particular memory-makers, promoters, and patrons. For some, commercialization cheapens and undermines the goal of building a human rights culture. In addition, they see certain individuals profiting for their own personal gain, without attending to the collective enterprise. For others, marketing becomes essential to expanding knowledge and acknowledgment of past atrocity in order to promote a global movement to prevent its repetition. Additional problems arise over the way groups wish to remember the past. These tensions further fragment the community and the notion of a shared memory or memory project.

Profiting from Memory

Conflict over the profit-making enterprise associated with the memory market can be illustrated with the contrasting notion of a "sellout." A sellout event, for example, suggests value in the product and enhanced profit or gain. Someone who "sells out," in contrast, has devalued the product, enhancing only his or her own individual gain. In memory market terms, "sellout" memory goods or events mean they have widespread appeal, heightening the possibility of progress toward a human rights culture. In this sense, profiting on the memory market would seem positive. In contrast, those who "sell out" discount the value of a human rights culture in order to maximize their own personal payoff. Profit is not inherently positive or negative in the memory market; the kind of profit is what matters, particularly if it comes at victims' expense.

In speaking of a memory "market," profit is assumed. Profit, however, need not involve monetary gain. That gain, when achieved, could provide a side benefit to the ultimate goal of building a human rights culture. But any progress toward that goal, even if it did not turn out to be financially lucrative, would have value on the memory market. The intention, or the kind of profit desired, is what distinguishes the positive form of sellout events from the negative notion of sellout producers.

The memory market intentionally downplays the importance of financial profit. Several examples are illustrative of efforts to provide memory goods for free, without cost, and at a loss. The guides at the Museo de la Memoria in Montevideo, Uruguay, emphasize their volunteer status, lest visitors consider them to be profiting from the enterprise. Books related to human rights abuses that took place at ESMA (the Navy School of Mechanics, in Argentina) are given away to visitors at no charge. In addition, in an advertisement for a book and a compact disc containing the testimony of political prisoners, the Argentine anti-dictatorship daily newspaper

Página/12 wrote: "The book and set are free. The CD, in which La Pandilla del Punto Muerto and guest musicians play themes based on poems of the disappeared, costs only five pesos. The CD is called, simply, '30,000 cries.'" The emphasis placed on the "free" (*gratuitos*) set and on "hardly any money" (*apenas*) for the CD makes it clear that no one is profiting from these memory goods.[21]

Failing to generate monetary profit, or individual gain, from memory, however, may undermine certain goals of the memory market. The failure to generate funds, for example, may force memory-makers to depend on public—that is, government—support. Many memory groups reject sponsorship by the government. Changing leadership within the government can also make groups dependent on a stream of support that can disappear. Other problems also emerge with state sponsorship. The Madres de Plaza de Mayo in Argentina refused a state-sponsored memorial for the disappeared because it would have represented a closure of the crimes of the state and, consequently, would have released the state from its responsibility to hold individuals accountable for past violations. They, as well as other human rights groups, need state funds yet reject them because of the limited scope of action, and the implicit compromise and stigma, the acceptance of such funds would imply.

The politics of reparations further illustrates the conflict over profiting from memory and the role of the state. Reparations have meant that individuals who identify themselves as victims or survivors of atrocity receive financial support from the government to "repair" the damage caused by the former regime. How victims and survivors see this financial support varies widely within the memory market.

The etymology of the word "reparation" would appear to have nothing to do with profiting from loss. Instead, it denotes "recovery and repair," or "restoring something to its previous condition." Human life cannot be calculated as a monetary transaction; no money or support can restore the lost dreams, innocence, profession, livelihood, health, security, and well-being that have been taken from victims and survivors of atrocity. At best, reparations provide some compensation, but they can never repair or restore survivors. Perhaps because of the limited value of reparations, and the high degree of need, survivors question their value and their distribution. Defensiveness emerges among some survivors who have decided to accept reparations: "The compensation owed to political prisoners from governments where state terrorism occurred is essentially fair; I don't count myself among the most economically needy, but a great majority of ex-prisoners suffer great economic privation, and the money that they are receiving is only a band-aid. . . . I don't have any problem expressing my opinion regarding the reparations that a left-wing government, after all, approved for ex-political prisoners, nor in saying what I will do with this money."[22]

As the statement above suggests, some victims of state violence do not see reparations as a personal payoff, but rather as a legitimate payment of a debt owed to them. It becomes a form of accounting, or a public acknowledgment of wrongdoing through the only currency possible: money.

The courts have also provided certain benefits to victims and survivors. Individuals who bring civil lawsuits against torturers or murderers, therefore, could be seen as profiting from their loss. There have been famous cases, like that of Tarnopolsky in Argentina or Filártiga in Honduras, in which multimillion-dollar judgments have been rendered.[23] To avoid any possible criticism for seeking an individual payoff, the Teles family in Brazil did not demand financial compensation for the torture they experienced. Instead, they demanded the public recognition—an acknowledgment—of torture as their "payoff." They argued that no price could be put on the pain and suffering they had experienced.

The ultimate payoff, or profit, from the memory market may never be realized, or at least not in the lifetime of the survivors of recent atrocities. Expectation of the big payoff, however, may cause one to fail to recognize the smaller payoffs, in terms of progress. Evidence of progress does exist. It comes in the form of outrage when commercialization attempts to sell products by using the imagery of torture (Bilbija). Commercialization can also produce counter-mementos that tarnish the image of the perpetrators of past violence (Oquendo-Villar). The memory marketplace generates competition over past events, providing a space for victims and survivors to contest the past (Burt). This occurs, for example, when television stations feature past atrocities and condemn them (Atencio; Kaiser). It also emerges when victims and survivors finally establish sites to condemn past violence (Ruisánchez Serra; Collins; Gates-Madsen; Draper). Progress is also evident when local and foreign tourists visit such sites, which provide exposure to past atrocities in an effort to condemn them (Clark and Payne; Milton and Ulfe). Globalization poses challenges to the memory market (Nelson). Mobilization, however, has allowed victims, survivors, and the human rights community to benefit from the events of the past, rather than the events' succumbing to memory loss or erasure. Each of the chapters here explores these complexities of the memory market.

Avelar has reflected that "it is not always clear 'who' benefits from the memory market, or what 'benefiting' in this context might mean." He suggests that post-dictatorial societies need restoration and comprehension of the horrors of the recent past. He quotes Marx as claiming that the past rests "as a nightmare upon the brains of the living."[24] The profit of the memory market, therefore, is the notion of "Never Again." It is not the belief that the memory will necessarily fade or disappear, but rather that it should be remembered to prevent future atrocities. Memory, therefore, has a purpose.

The Memory Brand

"Never Again" has become the slogan for the purposeful action of remembering past atrocity. In terms of marketing, slogans always accompany sale campaigns, and their function is to increase profits. Slogans are convincing, evocative, and short. Importantly, they reveal collective identity and contain a promise of satisfying a need for something desired and appealing. The Gaelic etymology of the term "slogan" is "battle cry." Such origins connect marketing to a call to arms. In memory terms, the "Never Again" battle cry urges against complacency, as well as glorifying and forgetting the violent past.

"Never Again" is not the only battle cry emerging from the dictatorships. In Argentina, the expression "Ni Olvido, Ni Perdón" (Never Forgive, Never Forget) reflects a promise that contrasts sharply with the push for reconciliation around the world. The expression "Never Again" could be interpreted as satisfying the notion of reconciliation by focusing on the future rather than the past. The saying "Never Forgive, Never Forget" holds perpetrators accountable: there is no exchange; perpetrators will pay for their acts.

Sloganeering is not a new method of mobilization in Latin America. During the dictatorship in Argentina, supporters of the authoritarian regime used the slogan "Los argentinos somos derechos y humanos" (We Argentines are human and right). The play on words provided a clever way for regime supporters to defend themselves against the international outcry against the deaths and disappearances in the country. During the dictatorship and beyond, Argentines widely believed that their smartly crafted slogan was a spontaneous and homegrown expression. Many still remain unaware of the fact that it was the public relations firm of Burson-Marsteller, one of the largest in the world, that actually created the slogan for the Argentine government, to defuse condemnation of the regime's human rights record.[25]

While catchy, the slogan did not survive the dictatorship. "Never Again," in contrast, has not only spread throughout the country, but around the world. The two words still appear everywhere. They are chanted at rallies and printed on posters. They are the titles of reports that have investigated atrocities in the region. These two words have begun to symbolize a way, or brand, of remembering. One does not remember passively. Instead, one engages in the act of remembering in order to mobilize against past abuses and to remain vigilant against future ones. One could even say that a "Never Again" enterprise has emerged as a catalyst to human rights action. But this enterprise is not without its competition.

Market Competition

Memories tend to compete. Individuals are often shocked at how very differently they experience, or remember, the same set of events. Market analysis enables us to think about the competing memories of dictatorships, and, specifically, about which ones "sell," which ones do not, and why.

The competitive marketplace for memory-makers and promoters, memory patrons, and memory goods creates various levels of competition. With regard to memory-makers and promoters, competition emerges over whether to remember at all. The forces promoting silence and forgetting compete with the forces in favor of remembering. Memory-makers and promoters also disagree over the sort of market that should exist for memory—whether it should be regulated or unfettered. Market strategy also raises questions of whether to compete for mass consumption of memory goods, or whether memory goods should be targeted to a niche market. Related to that question is the question of competition for memory patrons and whether they should be primarily local or international. Competition also exists over the type of memory goods produced, with some claiming authenticity for their own goods while charging others as being mere counterfeits. All of these tensions have implications for the type of profit, or progress, that the memory good is likely to generate.

Memory versus Forgetting

The recently deceased Uruguayan writer Mario Benedetti once famously declared: "El olvido está lleno de memoria" (Forgetting is full of memory).[26] A primary threat to memory, therefore, is the effort to obliterate it, to purposely forget or silence the expression of memory of past atrocity. In post-dictatorship societies, memory competes with forgetting and efforts to silence debate over the past.

The obvious proponents of forgetting, or silencing the past, are the perpetrators of violence. Even when amnesty laws protect them from prosecution for human rights violations, perpetrators are still likely to choose a protective silence over speaking out about the past. By speaking out, they can potentially damage their reputation within their families, among their friends, or in their communities. They might also further violate official or informal codes of silence within the security apparatus. And they risk reprisals from victims or survivors who might take justice into their own hands. Only a few perpetrators have spoken out in Latin America; most have opted to remain silent. When perpetrators do speak out, they often promote a different kind of memory or forgetting: the memory of a heroic war against subversion, and the forgetting of the crimes committed.[27]

Perpetrators thus operate on a different logic. Rather than the "Time is money" maxim that mobilizes victims and survivors to promote memory in the post-dictatorship era, perpetrators tend to operate under the "Silence is golden" axiom. In their calculation, silence incurs fewer costs and renders greater potential profit than speaking out. Speaking out, given the high risk and limited expected return, would appear to be a poor investment. Choosing not to speak out is not a rejection of the memory market but a response to it that offers a competing good: silence. For perpetrators, the longer the time and the longer the silence, the greater the profit.

Perpetrators may be the most obvious, but they are not necessarily the most threatening forces promoting silence, or forgetting, to compete with memory. The democratic governments that replaced the dictatorships sometimes have proven to be more forceful than perpetrators in imposing the "Silence is golden" rule. Concerned about opening up deep ideological conflict, returning the country to violence or authoritarian rule, or governing across deep memory schisms, democratic governments may attempt to suppress traumatic memory, usually to no avail. These governments tend to react against memory only after it is already available for public consumption. Argentine president Carlos Menem, for example, used particular speech laws to repress perpetrators' confessions of past violence, and referred to their speaking out about the past as "pouring salt into the wounds."[28]

Scholars have critiqued certain memory projects adopted by democratic governments as imposing silence over the past. As Robert Folger states: "Certain kinds of memory goods may be viewed as erasing the past, or putting the past into distant history rather than keeping it alive to promote the 'Never Again' project." Museums may play the role of allowing governments to simultaneously acknowledge the past and put it at a safe distance from the present, to "transform vivid memory into distant history."[29]

Indeed, government efforts at silencing debate about the past may emerge when perpetrators desire to speak out and participate in that "vivid memory," refusing to relegate their role in the security forces to "distant history." When they do speak out, they present a version of the past that competes with the versions of victims and survivors. Rather than condemn past violence, they justify it. They use just-war analogies to defend their actions as having been necessary to save the nation from the violence perpetrated by so-called "subversives." They attempt to undermine the "atrocity" memory good by promoting an alternative "salvation" memory good.[30] As the titles of their books suggest—*Breaking the Silence*; *The Historic Truth*; *The Other Side of Never Again*—perpetrators believe it is their memories, and not those of their victims and survivors, that provide the full accounting of the past.[31] These perpetrators attempt to overpower victims' and survivors' memories with their own. Their heroic interpretations of the past directly compete with "silence" and "atrocity" memory goods.

These heroic memory goods do not compete very well, however. Only in rare cases do they attract more than a fringe, or niche market, of memory patrons who accept, or "buy," their version. This was not always the case. In Latin America, the public celebrations of former coups that had toppled previous democracies and installed authoritarian regimes at one time involved much fanfare. Such celebrations have now become closed, private events. These anniversaries have not slipped into oblivion, but they are more likely to be acknowledged in infamy than in glory.[32] As is the case for the market for Nazi paraphernalia, in Latin American memorabilia from previous authoritarian regimes has also appeared for sale, primarily on the Internet. It is a limited market, however. Although one can buy trinkets from the Pinochet era, no other Latin American dictator appears to have garnered much interest in the sale of such souvenirs.

Similarly, few of the volumes written by the perpetrators themselves have sold well.[33] Some exceptions exist. The journalist Horacio Verbitsky's interviews with an Argentine naval officer who admitted to throwing bodies from a plane appeared in Argentina as *El Vuelo*, and were subsequently published in English under the same title, *The Flight*. A new version of the book has come out under the title *Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior*.[34] The change of title appears to be a marketing technique designed to increase sales among readers less familiar with Argentina's recent repressive past.[35] According to rumors, Adolfo Scilingo's decision to tell his death flight story was strictly business: he was negotiating a multimillion-dollar Hollywood deal for the movie rights. Believing this rumor, other perpetrators also began to speak out and peddle their confessional wares. Marguerite Feitlowitz refers to the proliferation of perpetrator confessions in Argentina as the "Scilingo Effect." These perpetrators made an impressive media splash, but none of them—not even Scilingo—seems to have made any money from their sale of memory goods. The only high number in Scilingo's account is the number of years he will spend in prison: 1,084! Perpetrators' accounts have also failed to overwhelm the memory market; victims' and survivors' accounts continue to hold sway. While the Brazilian torturer Carlos Alberto Brilhante Ustra probably intended his memoir to resurrect the heroic version of the past, it instead ended up serving as evidence for civil charges of torture brought against him by the Teles family.[36]

Luz Arce's testimonial *El Infierno*, describing her path from a Socialist Party leader in the Allende era to a member of Pinochet's secret police, is so widely read and valued that it has become standard reading for students of Latin American culture. It was translated into English in 2004 as *The Inferno*. Arce's account emphasizes her criticism of the regime. Rather than glorify or excuse Pinochet's secret police, she condemns specific acts and asks pardon for her role in them. Her account, in other words, did enjoy some success on the memory market. It shared the enterprise of "Never Again," however, and not the silence or heroism enterprise promoted by other perpetrators.

Perpetrators' accounts do not compete effectively with the blockbuster sales of books by victims and survivors. Consider the top selling *Prisoner without a Name, Cell without a Number*, by Jacobo Timerman. Some authoritative accounts on the authoritarian past, like *Brasil Nunca Mais*, and *Nunca Más* in Argentina and Uruguay, respectively, have become "instant best sellers" in their countries.[37] These reports appeared early in the transition to democratic rule and revealed information that had been suppressed by the countries' military regimes. In the Brazilian case, the volume became a best seller within two weeks of its publication, and remained on the bestseller list for ninety-one consecutive weeks. More than 100,000 copies were sold within ten weeks, when the usual press run for a work of nonfiction in Brazil is between 3,000 and 5,000 issues.[38] The timing of the release of the Argentine report made it the reading of choice in the summer of 1984–85 for a certain segment of society. And Louis Bickford reports that *Uruguay Nunca Más* became an "enormous bestseller."[39] The human rights community has applauded such commercial successes.

In short, competition exists, but the victims and survivors of the violence have so far appeared to do better than perpetrators in promoting memory. The pressure for silence and forgetting has simply failed to compete with the vocal and visible condemnation of past violence. The promotion of transitional justice, particularly truth commissions, around the world has given a competitive edge to memory produced by victims, survivors, and the human rights community.

Free or Fettered Markets of Memory

With their competitive edge over perpetrators' versions of the past, one might expect the memory-makers among the victims and survivors to be interested in promoting a free, and unfettered, market of memory goods. Instead, they seem to be deeply divided over whether to control the promotion of memory or not, and over how much control is appropriate.

In sharp contrast to Argentine President Menem's silencing of memory and debate, Chilean President Patricio Aylwin seemed to promote it. He held his inauguration ceremony in the infamous National Soccer Stadium and invited women from the Association of Family Members of the Disappeared-Detainees to dance a traditional couples' dance (the *cueca*) alone, to symbolize the human losses that had been caused by the authoritarian regime. Perhaps consistent with only allowing certain memory goods, the Chilean state television channel has controlled the distribution of one perpetrator's account. In this case, the Miami-based Univision broadcasting firm had produced a *Primer Impacto* program featuring the Chilean perpetrator Osvaldo Romo discussing his use of torture. While shown throughout the Spanish-speaking world, the program only finally appeared on Chilean television after it had provoked outrage elsewhere. Even then, the state television channel edited out the most depraved segments of Romo's confession. But Chilean audiences still demanded that its showing be censored.[40] In contrast, Claudia Feld's research on televised confessions in Argentina shows that perpetrators' accounts get high ratings there from local audiences.[41]

Internationally, fewer controls have prevailed. Video games provide one example. A game called *Just Cause* allows participants to reenact the role of the United States government in ousting Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega. Another somewhat futuristic but not necessarily un-prophetic example is the video game *Mercenaries 2: World in Flames*, which depicts the virtual invasion and destruction of Venezuela, the overthrow of Hugo Chávez's government, and the takeover of the oil industry. Neither the producer nor the financial backers of this game (Pandemic Studio and Elevation Partners, who invested $300 million) have issued any statements, despite the widespread controversy surrounding it.

The argument in favor of a free market of memory is that when these kinds of memory goods emerge on the market they can be contested. Certain groups remain poised to challenge perpetrators' versions of the past. The Argentine group GAC (Grupo de Arte Callejero, or Street Art Group), established in 1997, has used street art projects to identify violators of human rights and demand justice. They produced a poster in 1998 that appeared on the streets of Buenos Aires, persuading citizens to spit on Alfredo Astiz, the former navy captain and a perpetrator of authoritarian state violence. They have also transformed ordinary traffic signs into markers for where perpetrators live. GAC promoted its own freedom to market a "Never Again" memory project, while successfully constraining one business's marketing campaign to sell jeans by eroticizing torture.

The notion of "free" in the free market for memory raises important questions. Memory-makers may see the promotion of memory along the lines of the maxim, "The truth will set you free." By providing the truth about the past on the open market, memory-makers and promoters contribute to the "Never Again" enterprise. Competition from perpetrators' versions of the past, on the other hand, casts doubts on whether market freedom advances the goal of "Never Again." By allowing that competition, memory may not "free" individuals, but trap them in a perpetrators' version of the world.

Some memory scholars further question whether memory is the liberating force that it appears to be in expressions like "The truth will set you free." As Idelber Avelar states: "If there's one notion that is in crisis in the most sophisticated contemporary Argentine fiction, it is that of memory as a necessarily liberating activity. Scholarship should follow those art forms carefully and learn from them, as there is much that is being grasped with unprecedented complexity in fiction and from film."[42] The fear of competition from silence and from heroic memories may drive memory-makers and promoters to demand control over the free market of memory. They may hope to limit memory production to certified memory-makers, informed memory patrons, and quality memory goods. That control, they believe, will advance a human rights culture, or at least fail to undermine it the way that a free market in memory goods might. Controlling the memory market seems counterintuitive. One would expect that the more memory and the more memory contestation that exists, the deeper the human rights progress. Such an assumption creates another market tension around mass versus niche or anti-marketing.

Memory for the Masses?

Despite the potential benefit of a mass market for the "Never Again" enterprise and its corresponding memory goods, not all memory-makers, promoters, and patrons share enthusiasm for such a market. Those who hope to promote memory widely compete with those who oppose any kind of marketing because of its "cheapening" effect. Still others prefer a niche market, in which memory goods reach only those who were directly affected by state terrorism or those who are actively engaged in the human rights community.

Those who distrust mass marketing suspect that it will erode the unique experience of victims and survivors, thereby trivializing it. They believe the negative "bandwagon" effect outweighs the positive effect of generating mass condemnation of human rights violations. The negative side of that effect is that anyone who condemns the violent past forms part of a solidarity movement, regardless of their personal circumstances. Everyone, in some sense, becomes a victim of state repression, since all of us are members of a global community that shuns political violence. Creating a wider network of victims and survivors, on one hand, elevates that status. On the other hand, if everyone is a victim and survivor of state violence, then the specific experience of those who were directly affected is minimized. In the process of building solidarity around "Never Again," the mass market capitalizes on, yet diminishes, the tragic experiences of certain individuals. The dignity that victims and survivors acquired from knowledge and acknowledgment of the past—that someone committed a crime against them—is lost when the identity of victim and survivor is shared widely. In addition, the restorative process serves to transform the victim and survivor from a "subversive," in the regime's lexicon, to a citizen deserving respect and equal treatment under the law. Creating a global identity and a global political struggle for “Never Again” potentially robs victims and survivors of that unique historical role. Victims’ and survivors’ identity is thus “hijacked” by the larger global project. Rather than expanding knowledge about the past, in other words, mass marketing potentially trivializes it.

Suspicion of mass marketing does not necessarily mean an anti-market perspective, however. Instead, memory-makers, promoters, and patrons compete in a different—niche—market. Particular memory goods are promoted to a targeted group of memory patrons. These tend to be the directly affected. They form and create solidarity around their relationship with the past regime. Identity-formation creates a support network. By attempting to control the saturation of the memory market with goods for mass consumption, memory-makers maintain the high value of memory. If they were to let go of that control, the commercialization of memory could cheapen it and create a trend toward politically neutral memory goods. Competition emerges among victims and survivors over the mass-memory market, with some seeking a “sellout” audience and sometimes facing charges for having “sold out” for personal profit.

Distrust of the mass market also takes the form of competition with those who have no personal connection to the repressive era. Once the repressive past becomes a marketing tool, distortions may result. Individuals or organizations may seek financial profits at any cost; they may not see profit as progress toward a human rights culture. Such distrust is not unwarranted. Mass marketing and free marketing opens up the possibility of using memory in ways that overstep ethical or moral boundaries. Commercial use of memory goods may trespass existing frontiers of taste, aesthetics, and morality. Ksenija Bilbija writes about that boundary in her chapter on Diesel and Ripley ads, depicting torture scenes to sell jeans in Argentina and Chile. She quotes Sergio Laurenti of Amnesty International, who asks, “How far [are firms] willing to go with the effort to sell and support a message with an object that is likely to cause distress?”[43] In her chapter, Susana Draper shows how the market and the dictatorial past have embraced each other in the architectural space of Montevideo’s upscale mall Punta Carretas, former detention center.

The mass marketing of memory, therefore, runs the risk of derailing the “Never Again” enterprise by promoting financial profits over social transformation. Inherent in this critique is the fear of depoliticization that mass marketing promotes. The Diesel ads do so by rendering torture sexy and trendy. In his 1994 novel, *Por favor, rebobinar* (*Please Rewind*), the Chilean author Alberto Fuguet anticipated the depoliticization of memory through commercialization. In the novel, a marketing firm called Right Hemisphere has revamped an old Santiago city hotel. It develops a hotel bar, "73," named after the year of the coup. The "73" bar is adorned with the infamous photograph of Pinochet wearing his dark glasses, but video screens throughout the bar play Patricio Guzmán's *The Battle of Chile,* a documentary film critical of the coup.[44] Fuguet captures the notion of a post-memory era in which the coup, the right-wing dictatorship, and the human rights response become depoliticized, and thus functional as a marketing tool. Memory of the dictatorship "sells"; in this illustration, it sells drinks and atmosphere.

The commercial use of Guzmán's *The Battle of Chile* in Fuguet's novel contrasts sharply with the film's actual promotion. Indeed, the film represents the danger of anti-market, or anti-commercialization, approaches to memory. Not surprisingly, since it depicts the military overthrow of President Salvador Allende in 1973, the film circulated clandestinely during the dictatorship in Chile. Thomas Miller Klubock claims, however, that the film has never achieved commercial success in Chile—not in commercial theaters, nor on television—not even in the decade after the dictatorship ended. State-run television did not show the film, even when the anti-Pinochet Concertación government controlled it. When it did finally appear on television, in 1999 and 2000, the multinational satellite television company SKY promoted it on pay-per-view. Only elite Chileans who owned a satellite dish (and had the funds and desire to purchase the viewing) could benefit from the televised broadcast. A few years later, an international movie theater chain in Santiago presented a week-long retrospective of Guzmán's films to packed (near "sellout") audiences. According to Klubock, Guzmán's films have not been shown in Chile since, although they continue to enjoy success outside the country.[45] Chileans do have access to non-commercial (pirated) copies of Guzmán's films, which are sold at the annual Fiesta de los Abrazos organized by the Communist Party. And, contrary to Klubock's claims, his films are available at online video stores and in retail video stores, including Blockbuster.

Klubock's perspective on *The Battle of Chile* is that its circulation is limited to a niche market. Those already connected with a particular version of the past have access to it. Others would not know enough about the film to find it. To contribute to a human rights culture, Guzmán's films, including *Obstinate Memory* and *The Pinochet Case*, should be watched by those who do not know the stories he tells. The films present nuanced versions of the past that expose audiences to the complexity of the past. Whether deliberate or not, the absence of commercialization of memory goods limits their circulation. They do not always reach those who are most likely to profit from them, thus limiting the construction of a human rights culture.

In his chapter on the Tlatelolco massacre and museum, José Ramón Ruisánchez Serra further identifies the harm that the absence of commercialization poses to the "Never Again" enterprise. Ruisánchez Serra notes that it was only during the initial opening of the Tlatelolco Museum that visitors were attracted to the site. Subsequently, the museum has not appeared on any of the published lists of cultural activities available in Mexico City. As a result, potential memory seekers, or even the uninformed, are prevented from learning more about the massacre and the efforts to preserve its memory as a political project. Individuals who want to visit ESMA, the infamous Buenos Aires torture center, face the same kind of frustration. ESMA does not have regular hours for visitors, which prevents tourists from simply showing up. And tourist agencies do not have enough information to inform visitors on how to arrange a tour. As a result, only a niche market has access to the insider information that is necessary to arrange tours of ESMA or the Tlatelolco Museum.

The absence of memorabilia reflects an anti-market sentiment. It is rare to find mementos for sale at any of the memory sites in Latin America. The Uruguayan Museo de la Memoria is an exception, providing a small case of postcards, T-shirts, magnets, and books for purchase. The memorabilia that one can find for sale tends to be marketed on the Internet. Djurdja Trajković has found that most of these items target a pro-dictatorship, rather than an anti-dictatorship, niche market.[46] A commemorative keychain, for example, depicts Pinochet's military cap and the words "Mission Accomplished. Thank you, my country, I have been your soldier" on one side, while words from the national anthem ("Your names, brave soldiers") appear on the other side. Another keychain has Pinochet's face embossed on one side, and the back reads, "I'm a grateful Chilean." Pinochet T-shirts also exist. Several feature Pinochet's face. Another says, in English, "9/11/73: We won't forget."[47] A beer glass found on eBay features Pinochet's face and his name. Interested shoppers are enticed to purchase a signed photograph of Pinochet, with the starting bid at over $300. Recognizing that the Pinochet paraphernalia might evoke outrage, one vendor pleads with potential consumers: “Please, don’t turn this exchange into a political platform. If you do not wish to buy it or you do not support General Pinochet, abstain from commenting.”[48] Such a comment provokes wonder over the vendors’ perspective on these items: are they apolitical profit-makers or pro-Pinochet memory-makers promoting a different pro-regime memory enterprise? Certain items for sale seem politically ambiguous. For $145, for example, one can buy the original Santiago plaque for “Calle September 11,” the street name commemorating the 1973 coup.[49] Is that merely a collector’s item, like license plates, or does its political (coup) content determine its value?

Memory goods for a “Never Again” niche market also exist. But very few items are actually for sale in this niche market. The Madres de Plaza de Mayo do not sell their headscarves; they consider such an act tantamount to selling their children, since the headscarves represent the diapers of their disappeared children. The mothers, however, do sometimes give their headscarves away. Those gifts come with a great deal of responsibility, since the mothers warn that they only entrust the headscarves to those individuals whom they believe care about their children’s future. They also give away pins that depict the headscarves. And they provide books and calendars for free. Visitors, however, can buy some items, such as an expensive coffee-table book of photographs.

Some examples of a “Never Again” mass market also exist. Trajković found a T-shirt with the words “Nunca Más” on the front, along with a skull, right under the words, adorned with the caption “Repressor.” The back of the shirt reads “¿Dónde Están Los Desaparecidos?” (Where are the disappeared?), with a picture of the ESMA building. Other attempts to create a mass-memory or commercial-memory market have created more controversy. Many protested the opening of a café in October 2007 on the Plaza de la Memoria of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú campus in Lima. The Plaza commemorates all the university students victimized by terrorism in Peru. Critics saw the opening of the café as indecent, as failing to show respect for victims by using them to sell coffee. Nancy Gates-Madsen writes in her chapter about a similar clash over commercialization of memory in Buenos Aires, where a restaurant across the street from Memory Park raised a banner with the word “Remember.” This was seen as a controversial play on words, since it evoked both the good feelings one might have from eating at the restaurant and a call to remember the state terrorism represented by the park. Selling memory, therefore, is associated with vulgar commercialization, which reduces the value of the good.

In economic logic, value is also reduced with oversupply of a particular product. One criticism of memory mass marketing, therefore, is that the proliferation of memory goods will reduce the value of the "Never Again" enterprise. Mass marketing might create a wider human rights movement, but in the process it might drive down the value of memory goods. David Berliner has analyzed this issue with regard to the academic memory marketplace. He claims that the academic memory market has attracted scholars. But these scholars are simply repackaging old ideas under the new, and trendier, memory label. Individual producers of these academic products gain personally from the visibility they receive, but Berliner contends that their contributions do not enhance our understanding of memory. Berliner seems to suggest that memory studies only became an academic fad because of the perceived newness of that label.[50]

Robert Folger might disagree with Berliner's assumptions. In contrast to the idea of memory as a marketing tool to sell goods (jeans, coffee) or places (restaurants, cafés), Folger claims that "good consumers do not remember—or care." He suggests, therefore, that the capitalist marketplace should tend toward oblivion, away from memory, and that "within today's 'late-capitalist' system, memory with an ethical impact is an obstacle to consumerism."[51] The Diesel Jeans ads do not demand memory of the authoritarian past, but forgetting. One would need to forget that past to accept the notion of torture as chic. The distrust of mass marketing thus emerges not from the impact of oversupply of memory goods alone, but from the loss of meaning that oversupply might entail. Memory-makers, in other words, do not fear the production of too many films, songs, sites, mementos, and books. They fear that the memory patron may not understand the value of those goods. The goods will become mere commodities rather than memory goods with a purpose. The financial profit for these goods thus increases on the mass market, even as progress toward a human rights culture becomes secondary or lost altogether. The kind of "'deep' attention, memory and care" desired by memory activists will thus be replaced by mass, but superficial, understanding of the past.[52] Folger thus shares the skepticism around a commercialization of memory that expands its appeal but diminishes its activist value.

Market competition, however, may have an activist component. Carmen Oquendo Villar's chapter develops the history of Pinochet's marketing strategy through his image. Only Pinochet's image in a business suit could be "sold off" for profit, since the suit lacks powerful political meaning and value, thereby allowing the image to enter the commercial market. Pinochet's military uniforms, his caps and capes, are all charged with political value, and thus cannot be sold, or at least not on the open market. Oquendo Villar's and Cath Collins's chapters in this volume examine the competition over Pinochet's image through the image of Chilean wine, a booming Chilean commodity produced for both local and international consumption. Pinochet supporters promoted an expensive wine to raise funds for his legal defense. His opposition countered with the promotion of a cheap wine, accessible to the masses and designed to be consumed in celebration of Pinochet's criminal conviction or death. The expensive wine was developed for a niche market to heighten Pinochet's image. The cheap wine undermined that image, but also made this devalued image of Pinochet accessible to a mass market. The battle lines drawn by the purchase and consumption of the wine became a metaphor for the political battle lines around the truth of the Pinochet regime.

Memory Counterfeit and the Genuine Article

In the previously mentioned novel, *Please Rewind*, Alberto Fuguet invokes the image of the "still unavailable dark glasses" of General Augusto Pinochet. Those glasses are not yet available for sale or for display. Yet another pair of politically charged glasses has become available for purchase. The Fundación Salvador Allende has produced replicas of Allende's glasses, in the form of a keychain, and these are sold in the art museum bookstore. Allende's glasses reveal his eyes through the lenses. They seem to represent the clear, intellectual vision of the democratic leader, and thus they contrast with Pinochet's dark glasses that attempt to hide the terror he has inflicted on the country.

Allende's keychain glasses, however, are not real. They are a replica that "stands in" for a political past. Some might even consider them to be revolutionary "kitsch," along the lines of the Ernesto "Che" Guevara T-shirts, paper dolls, magnets, mouse pads, finger puppets, and wine. Interviews with young Argentine consumers of the Che image demonstrate that many have no idea what Che represents politically. They ascribe to an image of "coolness" that has become depoliticized. One must assume that the Che image "sells" on the capitalist market only because he no longer poses a

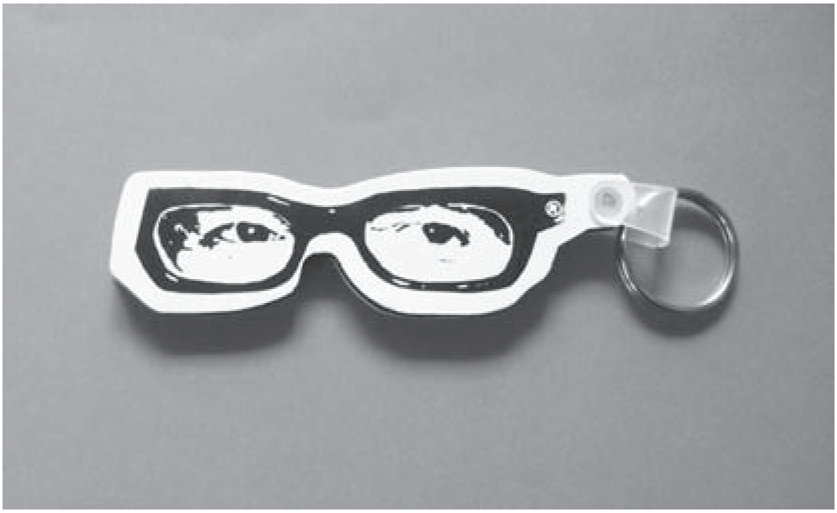

Figure 1. Allende keychain. The Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende sells keychains depicting the former president through his iconic glasses. (Photography by Stephen E. Meili)

(Revolutionary Socialist) threat to that market. Thus, Allende's image may only appear on a keychain when he is no longer perceived as a threat to capitalism or democracy. Creating an Allende replica may ignore the struggle over the authentic version of the past.

Such a struggle plays out in sites of memory. The ruins of certain memory sites, like Villa Grimaldi in Chile or Club Atlético in Argentina, have been restored even when little remains of their former horror. Locating the place of horror seems more important than re-creating the experience of horror. Authenticity is valued over emotion.

Particular memory sites, however, attempt to provide both authenticity and emotion through guided tours. In their chapter, Cynthia E. Milton and María Eugenia Ulfe reflect on the importance placed on training for the guides of the Ayacucho Museo de la Memoria in Peru. The survivors of political violence have begun learning English in order to lead these tours. Laurie Beth Clark and Leigh A. Payne, however, argue in their chapter that such "authentic" experiences often increase tension and competition within the victim and survivor communities, where jealousy or resentment can be targeted at those former prisoners who lead many of these tours. To some in the community, it appears as though the guides are "selling out."

Visitors are sometimes struck by the ritualized and scripted grieving that takes place through these guides. The tour guide's identity as victim gives visitors a sense of authenticity, but ritualistic emotion sometimes strikes them as overly rehearsed, and therefore acted out rather than authentic.[53]

Ana María Shua's novel *La muerte como efecto secundario* (Death as a Side Effect) explores the tension between market demand for authenticity and the complications of supply. The Argentine writer provocatively imagines a future in which too few mothers are alive or well enough to carry out their Thursday afternoon procession around the Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires to demand the return of their disappeared children. The procession nonetheless remains an important tourist attraction. To accommodate tourist demand in the face of the diminished supply of authentic mothers, tour agencies press "extras" into service, who pose as mothers of the disappeared. The agencies also add additional days for the processions, in order to accommodate short-term tourists who might otherwise miss the traditional Thursday ritual. Using her narrator's voice, Shua writes: "With time [the mothers] became one more tourist attraction, like Bariloche [ski resort] or the Iguazú Falls. The tour agencies took charge of replacing with extras the mothers who were dying due to old age or illness. The processions became daily, permanent, and they were included in daytime tours and Buenos Aires at Night tours, to accommodate even those tourists who could spend only a little time in the city."[54] Shua's version does not seem too far from reality, since the numbers of mothers have dwindled but tourist enthusiasm to witness the procession remains strong. Shua suggests that tourists can be as fulfilled watching the procession forgery as with the real thing. Indeed, some of them might be happier to be able to fit the mothers' procession into their schedule.

Issues of authenticity emerge over the ownership of particular memories. Jo-Marie Burt's chapter discusses the ways in which different groups have used the memory of María Elena Moyano in Peru for different ends. Moyano's sister appropriated the story—using her authenticity as a relative of the victim—to "spin" support for Alberto Fujimori's political party. Never mind that Moyano herself rejected Fujimori's party and his government. Her sister used María Elena's death to glorify Fujimori's successful counteroffensive against Moyano's killers: the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path). Never mind that Moyano had condemned human rights violations by both the government and Shining Path. By using her authentic and blood relation with her martyred sister, Marta Moyano employed the legitimacy of family ties to speak her truth about the past. María Elena Moyano's political allies were forced to compete with her sister's version, so as to present a different—and, in their view, more authentic—representation of the martyr's life, death, and political beliefs.

Authenticity may help promote memory goods, but it does not necessarily contribute to a political project. Brett Levinson explores the result of a testimonial by Marcia Merino, also known as Flaca Alejandra, the second-in-command in the MIR guerrilla movement in Chile. Kidnapped and tortured, Merino abandoned the MIR and became an agent of Pinochet's secret police (DINA). Her testimonial, *Mi verdad* (My Truth) attempts to explain her past and to provide information about the DINA from the inside. Chileans bought and discussed this book, and a film was made about Merino's life (*La flaca Alejandra*). Levinson contends, however, that Merino provides no new insights in her testimonial, since all of the information had already appeared in public elsewhere. Levinson's criticism of the book seems to ignore the fact that it is not simply about "exposure" to events, but rather who is exposing those events. Since so few perpetrators, or collaborators, in Merino's case, speak out, their perspective remains novel, even if the information they provide is not. Levinson also ignores the possibility that overexposure may prove less dangerous than its opposite, underexposure, or the suppression of memory and memory goods from those who experienced the past.[55]

The slogan "Never Again" illustrates the danger of overexposure. While created specifically as a way to remember not to repeat the violence of the authoritarian era, it was also used by environmentalists in Galicia in 2006 to call for an end to environmental hazards. The Galician protesters were calling for "solutions and justice." A popular song by the American singer Kelly Clarkson also uses "never again" in its refrain. Certain parts of the song's lyrics might resonate with the memory project: "Never again will I hear you . . . never again will I kiss you." But the song is not about state terror and the disappearance of young lovers. Instead, it is about a young woman convincing herself to let go of a cheating boyfriend: "Never again will I miss you, never again will I fall to you. . . . Never again will I want you, never again will I love you."[56] It is likely that the "never again" slogan was accidental or unconscious for Clarkson, and not a deliberate tribute to memory politics in Latin America. The mass marketing of memory products, in other words, may reduce their value to the specific—authentic—memory goals.

Underexposure to past atrocity, on the other hand, may make commercialization imperative in an effort to revive the "Never Again" enterprise. Susana Kaiser's work in this volume on Televisión X la Identidad, for example, demonstrates how commercial television can work at the service of memory and human rights. The project, honoring the Abuelas (Grandmothers) Plaza de Mayo, received prime-time scheduling. Rebecca J. Atencio's chapter on the Brazilian soap opera *Anos rebeldes* further suggests how audiences relive the past through commercialized versions of it. TV Globo was known for its support of the authoritarian regime, but it nonetheless promoted memory of atrocity through its mass-marketed soap opera. Young audiences took up the theme song for the television show, intended to represent a protest song from the 1960s. During the massive marches behind the impeachment of President Fernando Collor, protesters sang the *Anos rebeldes* theme song.[57] An art installation created by Marcelo Brodsky, titled *El pañol* (The Storeroom), re-created the stockroom in which the military regime stored items stolen from the houses of the disappeared. The artist had to reassure viewers that the items were not the actual items, only replicas. Yet the re-created stockroom captured the essence of the destruction of daily life by the Argentine military. In this case, replicas made sense; one would hope that if Brodsky had actually found the stolen objects that he would have returned them to their rightful owners and not stored them in an art piece. The replicas, moreover, without re-creating the actual storeroom, provided the meaning behind the installation. Similarly, the pop singers Sting and Bono never directly experienced state terrorism, and yet their songs "They Dance Alone" and "Mothers of the Disappeared" created a global understanding of Latin American atrocity. In contrast, when the Argentine popular singer Carlos "La Mona" Jiménez promoted a love song about a disappeared girlfriend, his music created controversy. As Jelin and Susana G. Kaufman write: "The author was criticized because of the style of his music (it is music to dance [*sic*], too festive, too 'popular'). He was also criticized on the grounds that he has not told such a story before, so the truthfulness of his account is questionable." Jiménez did not have the authentic experience. Instead of a memory good, Jiménez's music was seen by memory-makers, promoters, and patrons as a memory "knockoff." He had transgressed the hazy boundary between authenticity and aesthetics.[58]

The desire to identify with the "Never Again" enterprise draws in the uninitiated, who will sometimes transgress the boundaries of acceptable behavior. Those with political interests, however, will sometimes overlook these trespasses. In 2008 in Argentina, for example, President Cristina

Fernández de Kirchner failed to appear at ESMA on the anniversary of the coup of 25 March 1976, explaining that she did not want to capitalize politically on the memory of the Argentines. Yet she appeared to do so in a speech just a few days later, on 1 April. With Leon Gieco's song "La memoria" filling the Plaza de Mayo and reaching her 200,000 supporters, Kirchner led a "memory exercise." She attributed attacks on her presidency to her decision to "choose the path of the people, of human rights, and of a fair and equitable society," and she likened the farmers' protests in 2008 against her government to the military coup of 1976. Her speech won her the prized white headscarf from Asociación Madres de Plaza de Mayo leader Hebe de Bonafini. Kirchner identified herself as an authentic victim of repressive forces in Argentine society and capitalized on that identity to appeal to her supporters and condemn her opponents.[59]

Similarly, the headscarf has become an authentic emblem of the Madres de Plaza de Mayo, even though its use developed from the symbolic reproduction of the diapers their disappeared children once wore. The words written on those scarves—Aparición con vida (We want them alive)—became an authentic demand. Even when it was clear, after the end of the dictatorship, that their children would not appear alive again, the mothers continued their struggle. But issues over "payoffs" divided the group. One group of mothers considered the reparations that the democratic government offered to pay out to surviving family members a form of "blood money," as a way of paying them off without returning their children. Although they knew intellectually that they would never see their children alive again and should take the funds as some minor compensation for their loss, they could not give up the struggle, embroidered on their headscarves, that had become their mission.

Authenticity in the "Never Again" activist enterprise focuses on exposing the truth of past atrocity. Memory studies thus puts academics in conflict with activists by its effort to distinguish memory from truth and historical fact. As Folger states, "Memory is a construct, both on an individual and on a collective level, implying the inaccessibility or non-existence of 'authentic' memories." Activists, on the other hand, consider memory as the evidentiary basis of the "Never Again" memory project.[60]

Global versus Local Marketing

Implicit in the discussion about authentic and counterfeit memory goods and mass marketing versus niche marketing is the role of global and local memory-makers, promoters, and patrons. Our previous references to the music of Sting and U2 demonstrate that a highly commercialized global memory market exists. Tensions regarding La Mona Jiménez's music suggest that local memory-makers attempt to protect against commercialization and distortions by attempting to bar entrance to inauthentic representatives of human rights abuses. Competition emerges, thus, between those who promote the "Never Again" enterprise as a global human rights market, and those memory-makers and promoters who wish to keep the project focused on local issues.

Renato Ortiz describes an "international popular culture" of "collective memory made from fragments of different nations."[61] Milton and Ulfe contend in their chapter that organizers of local memory projects are building upon the tourist industry's promotion of Peru to attract international tourists to their memory sites. Following Ortiz, these tourists come from a range of different countries. Local memory entrepreneurs have responded by learning English, often before or in place of mastering Spanish, to guide tours. They have taken a development course run by Germans. And they sell the souvenirs missing from most other memory sites in the region.

Clark and Payne acknowledge the influx of international tourists to memory sites but challenge the assumption that local memory-makers always embrace their arrival. In contrast to Milton's and Ulfe's study of Peru, Clark and Payne find that local memory-makers only reluctantly, if at all, value international tourism as part of the "Never Again" memory project. The sites they studied rarely appear in commercial tour guides and often prove difficult to locate or interpret without the help of local guides. With the Chilean Villa Grimaldi and Peruvian exceptions, little effort has been made so far to accommodate non-Spanish-speaking visitors.

Moreover, some of the most innovative aspects of the memory market in Latin America are purely local and not oriented around the global market at all. The escraches and *funas* in Argentina and Chile, respectively, in attempting to "out" perpetrators by remembering their past actions, attract large numbers of the new and old generations. These could be considered a homegrown, or cottage, industry, marketed through flyers and announced in the newspapers. International visitors can participate in these activities if they happen to be in Argentina or Chile, but the events themselves are semi-spontaneous (not regularly programmed). They are sometimes available to watch on YouTube. Only Spanish speakers will understand them, however, since they do not exist in translation.[62]

Global and local "Never Again" memory enterprises may actually compete, and not just exist on parallel planes. The transitional justice industry has promoted "truth and reconciliation" commissions around the world.[63] The promotion of truth and reconciliation over justice has not resonated as well in Latin America as it did in South Africa. In the region, reconciliation is viewed as a possible outcome *after* justice is achieved, and not in place of it. At the international level, therefore, victims and survivors have participated most actively in promoting justice through the International Criminal Court, the Spanish courts, and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights.

The recipient of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2010, Mario Vargas Llosa, has explored the transformative process of market globalization. As he states, "One of the ideals of our youth is being realized today—the disappearance of borders, the integration of the world's countries into a single system of exchange that benefits everyone, especially those who urgently need to leave underdevelopment behind." He goes on to write that disappearing borders have resulted not from socialist revolution but through capitalism and the market. He refers to this phenomenon as "the most beautiful advance in modern history because it lays the foundations for a new civilization on a global scale."[64] In addition to Latin Americans being memory-makers and promoters within their own region, if we apply Vargas Llosa's celebratory and uncritical enthusiasm regarding globalization to the memory market, we would expect one part of the global patrons of memory goods to be comprised of Latin Americans as well. No doubt, privileged Latin Americans who travel internationally might visit the Vietnam War Memorial in Washington, D.C., or Ground Zero in New York, or the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin. Indeed, following Vargas Llosa, they might be more likely to visit these sites than their own local sites of past atrocity. Their quest to think beyond borders, their search for new global identities and citizenship, the desire for cosmopolitanism and to shed underdevelopment, therefore works against expansion of the local memory market. The Diesel ad promoters seemed to adopt this level of criticism, charging Argentines with viewing the ads only through the prism of their local culture and failing to think outside their own borders to decipher a global message.

Competition between global and local markets need not necessarily exist. Some scholars contend that access to justice for past atrocities depends on linkages between local and international human rights organizations. International courts respond to local advocates for justice who have international exposure. Local advocates without those linkages are unlikely to succeed at promoting international justice, and perhaps not even local justice.[65] Generating international interest in local memory goods, therefore, increases the chances of progressing toward a human rights culture.

Closing the Deal

The notion that "time is money" complicates a conclusion to a study of the memory market. The most significant profit to be made from the memory market is illusive. It is unknowable whether human rights violations will "Never Again" occur. Not even time will tell.

By considering the roots of the term "profit" as "progress," and not an end result, we can examine what has happened to the memory market over time and as a result of changes in the economy and business climate in Latin America. Time, and the free market ideology that has spread throughout the region, have produced less than sanguine results for the memory market. The forces in favor of silence and forgetting continue to prevail, despite the time since the dictatorship. Those who have historically fought for memory against silence and forgetting are aging and dying. It is not clear what groups or individuals will continue to make and promote memory once the iconic leaders of the past are gone. Those who share a past as victims of the authoritarian regime have not always agreed on how to guide the memory enterprise. There is no consensus on how much control is necessary to protect memory goods and promote the "Never Again" goal. Disagreements arise over market strategy. Distrust of commercialization imposes limits on the expansion of the memory market to the masses at the global level. But signs that such an expansion cheapens memory goods, and alienates local patrons, reinforce that distrust. Despite these tensions, the studies in this book reveal that a memory market has successfully emerged throughout the region. A range of memory goods exist, from television shows and memorabilia (Atencio, Kaiser), to images and stories (Oquendo-Villar, Burt), to advertising and shopping malls (Bilbija, Draper), to sites for trauma tourists (Payne and Clark) in Argentina (Gates-Madsen), Chile (Collins), Mexico (Ruisánchez Serra), and Peru (Milton and Ulfe). This introductory chapter has provided the analysis of the memory-market forces that the empirical chapters develop. Alice Nelson's concluding chapter returns to the economic and political forces that have shaped that market.

NOTES

1. Williamson, "What Washington Means by Policy Reform."
2. Levinson, *Guerrilla Marketing.*
3. This refers to the November 2004 protests against President George W. Bush and the Asia-Pacific Economic Conference.
4. For a sample of this scholarly enterprise in and about Latin America, see the journal *History & Memory: Studies in Representation of the Past* (published by Indiana University Press; edited at the Eva and Marc Besen Institute for the Study of Historical Consciousness, Tel Aviv University), and Colección Memorias de la Represión, volumes 1–12 (published by the Social Science Research Council and Siglo XXI in Spain and Argentina). The Hemispheric Institute of Performance and Politics' "Encuentro" and the Latin American Studies Association conferences include memory, trauma, and post-dictatorship panels at each of their meetings. Memory events surround particular dates and places of repression, as discussed in Jelin, *Las conmemoraciones* and in Jelin and Langland, *Monumentos, memoriales y marcas territoriales.* For blogs, see http://en.wordpress.com/tag/desaparecidos. In Buenos Aires, IDES (Instituto de Desarrollo Económico y Social) includes a Núcleo de Estudios de Memoria that runs conferences and seminars with an emphasis on memory in the Southern Cone of Latin America, as well as presenting guest speakers on that subject.
5. Interview with Ana María Shua, 18 May 2008.
6. Marguerite Feitlowitz locates the origin of the phrase "Never again!" in a "Warsaw Ghetto cry," later used by the Argentine military regime, before it was reappropriated by the Argentine National Commission on the Disappeared (CONADEP) (see Feitlowitz, *A Lexicon of Terror*, 90, 269n4).
7. The English definition of "patron" includes the term "customer." In addition, the Latin etymology of *patronus* encompasses "defender, protector, and advocate" and "one who advances the cause."
8. Huyssen, *Present Pasts*, 21.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., 23.
11. Ibid., 25.
12. Interview with Idelber Avelar, 26 May 2008.
13. Interview with Robert Folger, 31 May 2008.
14. Menchú, *I, Rigoberta Menchú.*
15. Timerman, *Prisoner without a Name, Cell without a Number.* In 1981, Knopf translated the first edition and portions appeared in the *New Yorker.* The book was published, by El Cid, in Buenos Aires for the first time in 1982 . Stacey Alba Skar refers to the book as "one of the most widely read and translated Argentine testimonial narratives from the Dirty War" (Skar, "Jacobo Timerman's *Preso sin nombre, celda sin numero* and the Reconstructing 'I' " [paper presented at the Middle Atlantic Council of Latin American Studies: Latin American Essays, 1 April 2000]).
16. See Jelin and Langland, *Monumentos, memoriales y marcas territoriales.*

17. Borges, *Ficciones*.
18. Jelin, *Los trabajos de la memoria,* 48–49.
19. Feitlowitz, *A Lexicon of Terror,* 41–43.
20. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*.
21. Esteban Pintos, "Todos los formatos de la memoria," *Página/12*, 23 March 2001, 24–25 (translation ours).
22. Interview with Hiber Conteris, Uruguayan novelist and former political prisoner (1976–85), 10 January 2008.
23. Noga Tarnopolsky, "The Family That Disappeared," *New Yorker*, 15 November 1999, 48–55; Stephens, "Filártiga v. Peña-Irala."
24. Interview with Idelber Avelar, 26 May 2008.
25. María Seoane, "Somos derechos y humanos: Cómo se armó la campaña," *Clarín,* 23 March 2006.
26. Benedetti, *El olvido está lleno de memoria*.
27. Payne, *Unsettling Accounts*.
28. Leigh A. Payne, "The Politics of Speech and Memory in Argentina and Chile," paper presented at the XXVII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Montreal, Canada, 5–8 September 2007.
29. Interview with Robert Folger, 31 May 2008.
30. Payne, *Unsettling Accounts*; Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile*.
31. Ustra, *Rompendo o silencio*; Contreras Sepúlveda, *La verdad histórica*; Contreras Sepúlveda, *La verdad histórica II*; Etchecolatz, *La otra campana del Nunca Más*.
32. Carvalho and da Silva Catela, "31 de marzo de 1964 en Brasil."
33. Contreras Sepúlveda, *La verdad histórica*; Contreras Sepúlveda, *La verdad histórica II*; Etchecolatz, *La otra campana del Nunca Más*.
34. Verbitsky, *The Flight*; Verbitsky, *Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior*.
35. By doing this, the publisher is also giving an incorrect representation of the historical situation, since the term "dirty war" was coined by the dictatorship and referred to the organized Left.
36. Ustra, *Rompendo o silencio*.
37. The Argentine *Nunca Más* report sold 300,000 copies. According to Diana Taylor, thirteen editions of the report were published between November 1984 and May 1986. Taylor writes that not only did the report become an instant best seller, but that "copies of *Nunca Más* dotted the beaches as summer vacationers in swimwear read the dreadful testimonies" (Taylor, *Disappearing Acts*, 12). *Publishers' Weekly* also refers to *Uruguay Nunca Más* as a "remarkable book, a bestseller in Uruguay" (www.temple.edu). See also *Brasil: Nunca Mais* (São Paulo: Archdiocese of São Paulo, 1985); *Nunca Más: The Report of the Argentine National Commission on the Disappeared* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1986); and Servicio Paz y Justicia–Uruguay, *Uruguay Nunca Más*, trans. Elizabeth Hampsten (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993). And see Weschler (*A Miracle, A Universe*, 72) for a discussion of *Brasil: Nunca Mais* and its no. 1 position for twenty-five weeks on the bestseller list, followed by nearly two years at a lower position on the same list.

38. Archdiocese of São Paulo, Jaime Wright, and Joan Dassin, *Torture in Brazil*, xiv; Ginway, "Literature under the Dictatorship," 253.
39. Bickford, "Unofficial Truth Projects," 1009.
40. Payne, *Unsettling Accounts*; Guzmán, *Romo*.
41. Feld highlights the particularly high rating for the documentary *ESMA: El día del juicio*, broadcast by Canal 13 on 24 August 1998 (Feld, *Del estrado a la pantalla*, 4).
42. Interview with Idelber Avelar, 26 May 2008. In addition, Avelar, *The Untimely Present*, discusses the writing of the five novelists: Ricardo Piglia and Tununa Mercado from Argentina, Silviano Santiago and João Gilberto Noll from Brazil, and the Chilean Diamela Eltit.
43. Interview with Kristina Stanek, 19 June 2007.
44. Fuguet, *Por favor, rebobinar*, 235.
45. Miller Klubock, "History and Memory in Neoliberal Chile."
46. Trajković, "Memorabilia and Video Games of the Post-dictatorship Period in Latin America."
47. Zazzle.com, www.zazzle.com/pd/find?qs=Pinochet.
48. "Por favor, no haga de este remate una tribuna política. Si no desea comprarlo o no simpatiza con General Pinochet, absténgase de comentar" (http://oferta.deremate.cl/id=17759677_llavero-pinochet-chileno-agradecido#).
49. http://oferta.deremate.cl/id=18808462_cartel-enlozado-11-setiembre-pinochet.
50. Berliner, "The Abuses of Memory."
51. Interview with Robert Folger, 31 May 2008.
52. Ibid.
53. Taylor, "Trauma as Durational Performance."
54. Shua, *La muerte como efecto secundario*, 102.
55. Levinson, "Dictatorship and Overexposure."
56. Kelly Clarkson, "Never Again," *My December* (album; RCA, 2007).
57. *Montecristo*, an Argentine soap opera that premiered on 25 April 2006 on the Telefe channel, enjoyed the highest ratings during its run. The story takes place in 1995, and one of the main characters, Marcos Lombardo, is an executive who was previously involved with clandestine torture centers that operated during the dictatorship.
58. Elizabeth Jelin and Susana G. Kaufman, "Layers of Memories: Twenty Years after in Argentina" (paper presented at the "Legacies of Authoritarianism: Cultural Production, Collective Trauma, and Global Justice" conference, Madison, Wisc., 3–5 April 1998).
59. President Kirchner stated, "No one should interpret the personal action of the highest state authorities as an effort to politically capitalize on the memory of all Argentines" ("El reclamo por mayor celeridad en los juicios a genocidas marcó el tono del Día de la Memoria," *Buenos Aires Económico*, 25 March 2008, 6). She is also quoted as saying, "We have chosen the path of the people, human rights, and a just and egalitarian society" ("Están acá también en defensa propia," *Página/12*, 2 April 2008, 3).

60. Interview with Robert Folger, 31 May 2008.
61. Renato Ortiz quoted in García Canclini, *Consumers and Citizens*, 44.
62. For a funa, see www.youtube.com/watch?v=nwqTWP5AXiE. For an escrache, see www.youtube.com/watch?v=yv-plu4_smo&feature=related.
63. "Mission and History," International Center for Transitional Justice, www.ictj.org/en/about/mission/.
64. Mario Vargas Llosa, "Cher Régis, tu sais aussi bien que moi . . . *Libération*," 2 December 1993, quoted in Finkielkraut, *In the Name of Humanity*, 104.
65. Sikkink and Walling, "The Impact of Human Rights Trials in Latin America."