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**PASSION, POLITICS AND IDENTITY:
JEWISH WOMEN IN THE WAKE
OF THE AMIA BOMBING IN ARGENTINA**

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PASSION¹, POLITICS AND IDENTITY: JEWISH WOMEN IN THE WAKE OF THE AMIA BOMBING IN ARGENTINA

Introduction

Ever since 1977 and the emergence of the “Madres de Plaza de Mayo,” the words “plaza” and “terrorism” have been fused in the Argentine mind. The image of those women *circling* the Plaza and the sound of their footsteps on the pavement interrupted the silence. The mothers of the Plaza reminded everyone that children were “missing.” In 1994, after the terrorist attack against the AMIA (Mutual Aid Jewish Association of Argentina), a new but related image arose. This time women began to *stand* in Plaza Lavalle across from the Supreme Court of Justice, demanding a thorough investigation into the perpetrators who were responsible for the death of their loved ones.

The “Mothers of Plaza de Mayo” wanted to *recover* the “detenidos-desaparecidos” - the missing victims of state terrorism; however, after acts of transnational terrorism, bodies typically are not missing. They remain at the site of the massacre. But just like the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, the families whose loved ones died in the AMIA attack had two tasks: they hoped to *preserve the memory* of those who had been killed, and they wanted to *prevent a cover up* such as the one that took place during the investigation of the bombing of the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires on March 17, 1992.²

Transnational state-sponsored terrorism began in Argentina with the embassy bombing in 1992 in which twenty-two people were killed. Two years later there was a second attack. On 18 July 1994, the AMIA building was destroyed:³ 85 people were killed and approximately 300 were wounded. In the 1992 bombing, all investigative leads pointed to Hezbollah as well as to Iran and Syria, with the help of a “local connection”. This is true, also, of the 1994 bombing. And yet...

Ten days before the AMIA bombing, a stranger by the name of Wilson Dos Santos walked into the Argentine Consulate in Milan⁴ and warned the government of the impending

¹ - In this article, passion is understood as “a strong liking for or devotion to some activity, object or concept.” (This particular articulation comes from Webster’s New Collegiate)

² - Indeed it is seldom realized outside Argentina that Islamic fundamentalist terrorism ceased to be a foreign phenomenon in that country long before September 11, 2001. When Hezbollah (Party of God), an armed branch of Islamic Jihad, claimed responsibility for the bombing of the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires it became clear that terrorism had gone global and that its targets were not limited to Israeli and American interests.

³ - On the AMIA attack and the behavior of State agencies in charge of the investigation of the massacre, see: See C. Escudé & B. Gurevich, “Limits to Governability, Corruption and Transnational Terrorism: The Case of the 1992 and 1994 Attacks in Buenos Aires”; see: Estudios Interdisciplinarios de America Latina y el Caribe (EIAL), No. 14, Volume 2, July- December 2003, Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv

⁴ - In mid-2003, another forewarning was disclosed. On 31 May 1994, 48 days before the blast, the Argentine Embassy in Lebanon sent a cable to the Foreign Ministry warning of the threat of an attack against a Jewish target in Argentina, made publicly by Sheik Mohamed Fadlallah, spiritual guide of Hezbollah. The cable was resent to the state intelligence agency SIDE, but the threat was not made known to Jewish institutions. The

attack. His tip was forwarded to higher authorities only *after* the tragedy. Dos Santos reiterated his story on the day of the bombing, but then went on to deny it in subsequent interrogations.⁵

After the AMIA attack, three separate organizations arose within the Jewish community: Memoria Activa, Familiares y Amigos de las Víctimas and APEMIA. This study documents and analyzes the conflicts that led to the creation of these three organizations. The differences in their ideologies and behaviors will be explained, and their opposing perceptions of the pace of the investigation and their differing assessment of the performance of both the Argentine government and the Jewish leadership of the AMIA and DAIA will be presented. This paper also focuses on the various roles women played in each of the organizations, as well as within AMIA and DAIA, and it looks at the reconstruction of women's identities after trauma.

The case under examination begins in July 1994 at the moment when victims of the AMIA bombing were rescued or recovered. It concludes ten years later with an acknowledgment by the Argentine Department of Justice and the Argentine government at the OAS in Washington for violating the civil rights of its citizens, just as Memoria Activa had contended. This paper is dedicated to the women leaders of those organizations.

The Investigation: Possibilities and Limitations

Cases of transnational state terrorism must be examined in terms of three dimensions: the national, the international, and within the latter, specific countries that sponsor terrorism covertly. On the national level there are state agencies and social actors. In the case of the AMIA bombing, the Jewish community through its central institutions (DAIA and AMIA) and the organizations of the victims' families were significant actors as well.

Argentines perceived the attacks against the AMIA (1994) and the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires (1992) quite differently. They saw the earlier bombing as a direct outcome of the Middle Eastern conflict: retaliation for Argentina's sending two ships to participate in the 1991 Gulf War, which broke its tradition of neutrality. The obliteration of AMIA's building in 1994, on the other hand, was defined as a violation of *Argentine* sovereignty and a crime against the Argentine people.⁶

cable was uncovered in the Foreign Ministry in 1997, but only in 2003 was the copy sent to SIDE discovered. *Clarín*, June 1, 2003

⁵ - In his declaration to Judge Juan Jose Galeano, Dos Santos mentioned Nasrim Mokhtari as the source that had given him a note of advice about a possible attack to AMIA. A legislator had helped her obtain an Argentine passport. She hung out at an Iranian butcher shop near the doomed AMIA building. There she introduced Dos Santos to two Arab friends. Dos Santos testified that he later helped them move merchandise into Argentina across the Paraguayan border. They met with Arabs and returned from Ciudad del Este with a heavy metal suitcase that Dos Santos brought into Argentina with the help of Nora González, then local chief of the Argentine Customs Station. *Los Angeles Times*, April 17, 1999; "Swiss extradite Jewish Center bombing suspect to Argentina", *Jerusalem Post*, 24 December 2000.

⁶ - AMIA is the emblematic symbol of the Argentine Jewish community since 1894 and the bomb was placed in a way that killed people inside AMIA, neighbors and the men, women, and children walking along 600 Pasteur Street, that Monday morning at 9.53am.

Economic factors also played a role. Most Argentines were enthusiastic about the Menem Administration's success in controlling hyperinflation in 1992. By 1994, however, with the growing rate of unemployment, enthusiasm was waning.⁷ People considered the recovery to be superficial and believed the unemployment rate would continue to grow, affecting the small and medium sized entrepreneurs, as well as the working class.

Concomitantly, the signs of growing corruption and impunity from punishment began affecting people directly. It became public knowledge that goods were entering the country illegally so that corrupt individuals could avoid taxes. This technique [called the parallel customs mechanism or "aduana paralela"] damaged the productive sector, while benefiting the allies of the political elite and the Executive branch of government.⁸ Borders became increasingly porous to a variety of illegal traffic. People from Brazil and Paraguay could cross the triple border and enter Argentina with few legal obstacles.⁹ This extremely dangerous practice abetted the activity of Islamic sleeper cells found to be living at the triple border; the cells included people who were thought to have connections to the bombing.

Thus, in 1994 condemning terrorism was congruent with decrying corruption. Important segments of mainstream society and the international community demanded an end to both. Such values were at the core of the speech delivered by Ruben Beraja, President of DAIA and the Banco Mayo, rally organized by DAIA and AMIA at the Plaza de los dos Congresos on July 21, 1994, 3 days after the bombing. At the Plaza, Beraja dramatically condemned terrorism. He stated that the Argentine government alone was responsible for undertaking the in-depth investigation of the terrorist acts against the Israeli Embassy and AMIA.¹⁰ At the time, Argentines believed that an in-depth investigation of the attack

⁷ - Through the Convertibility Law the process of hyperinflation was absolutely controlled. On the other hand, structural reforms contributed to a substantive growth of the GDP, between 1990 and 1994 it grew 40%. But the growing rate of unemployment, raising from 6,0% in October 1991 to 12,2% in October 1994 changed the perception about the efficiency of the government. In the 1990s, Menem introduced mass privatization. This resulted in many workers being made redundant, with them being surplus to requirements and unprofitable to employ. Source INDEC: Rate of unemployment. The information is based on a average of data of 28 urban centers which represent 70% of the urban population. Measured yearly in October.

⁸ -About corruption and mismanagement in Argentina in the 1990's see: "A decline without parallel", *The Economist*, print edition, Feb 28, 2002.
http://academic.reed.edu/economics/course_pages/201_F04/Cases/argentina_collapse.htm "Aduana paralela" is the name given to the black market of imported goods. Through the "aduana paralela" the merchandize entered the country illegally, without paying taxes. This situation aggravated the impact of opening the Argentine market with no restrictions. Local industry could not be at all competitive under such conditions. Millions of jobs were lost and the middle class was deeply damaged. Under such conditions emerged a new socio economic category: "new poor". People from the middle class suddenly fall under the line of poverty. About the "aduana paralela", see: "La corrupción en 1996 ha costado 1,3 billones de pesetas a los argentinos", *El Mundo*, Seccion Internacional, January 8, 1997, <http://www.el-mundo.es/1997/01/08/internacional/08N0057.html>

⁹ - On the triple border and the globalization of crime see Sebastian Rotela's article: "Jungles Hub for World Outlaws", published by the *Los Angeles Times*, August 24, 1998.

¹⁰ - The speeches of Ruben Beraja, President of DAIA, and Alberto Crupnicoff, President of AMIA are included in "An Endless Pain", CES-DAIA, Buenos Aires, October, 1994.

against AMIA was possible. Support for this idea was evidenced by the participation of 150,000 people in the rally, including a wide range of ideological-political actors.¹¹

Even those people who justified the destruction of the Israeli embassy as a consequence of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict did not believe that the conflict had anything to do with the massive massacre of the AMIA. When Beraja stated that a failed investigation would not be tolerated, the audience applauded him en masse. For the families who had lost loved ones, the strong determination and political will shown by AMIA and DAIA, as well as the values of the larger society, offered a glimmer of hope that an investigation could be conclusive.

Perceiving the social climate, the President of Argentina, Carlos Menem, made a radio broadcast a few hours after the attack announcing that the government was following some leads that led to the carapintadas.¹² Minister Erman Gonzalez soon dismissed this story. Hope for an in-depth judicial investigation into responsibility for the attack was short-lived. As early as 1995, people with inside information understood that Menem's administration was *not interested in a thorough investigation*. DAIA's president, Ruben Beraja, was well aware of this fact, and as a bank president he also knew the mechanisms by which the Executive branch manipulated members of Parliament and the judiciary. Thus, in order to foster the investigation of the attack, DAIA proposed a hearing before the Committee on International Relations of the U.S. House of Representatives, which took place on September 28, 1995. Luis Czyzewski, who had lost his daughter in the attack, accompanied Ruben Beraja as a representative of the victims' families.¹³ During the hearing, the U.S. State Department's Coordinator for Counterterrorism, Philip C. Wilcox, attributed the lack of substantive results from the investigation to poor coordination among Argentine security and intelligence networks, and to the ill will of the Buenos Aires provincial police.

At the same hearing, Avi Weiss, Senior Rabbi of the Hebrew Institute of Riverdale and National President of the Coalition for Jewish Concerns, went much further, pointing to the *complicity* of the Argentine National Bureau of Migrations (DNM) with the terrorists. He claimed that in January 1990, "the Syrian terrorist Monzer al Kassar, linked to the Achille Lauro hijacking, had been allowed to enter Argentina by (Navy Captain Aurelio Carlos) Martínez," even though he was suspected of human rights violations during the military dictatorship of 1976-83. Martinez was also National Director of Migrations during the Menem administration. Weiss also denounced the Menem government's lack of political will to investigate the bombing and pointed out the failures of Judge Juan Jose Galeano's

¹¹ - About the gathering at the Plaza de los Dos Congresos, see: *Microsemanrio*, Year 7, No 290, September 1-7, 1997; also see the Argentine journal *Clarín*, September 7, 1997

¹² - Carapintadas is the name given to a military group of extreme right nationalists that were responsible for two failing *coup d'état* against President Raul Alfonsín and one at the beginning of Menem's government. In the pre-electoral period Menem had good relations with one of its leaders, Colonel Mohamed Ali Seneildin, and became enemies after Menem changed his strategic allies.

¹³ - *Terrorism in Latin America/AMIA Bomb Explosion in Argentina*, Hearing before the Committee on International Relations, US House of Representatives, 104th Congress, September 28, 1995 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1996), pp. 20-21

performance, among other obstructions of justice.¹⁴ Beraja, however, praised the judge and Luis Czyzewski avoided comments.¹⁵ Czyzewski became the most important representative of the group of Familiares y Amigos de las Víctimas.

Beraja's silence about Weiss's accusations was recriminated by Menem as soon as he arrived to the country.¹⁶ Since then, DAIA and AMIA neither make critical comments about the government's performance nor direct denunciations against the increasing evident failures in the primary judicial investigation coordinated by Judge Juan Jose Galeano and focused on matters of security and transnational terrorism, pointing out exclusively at Iran's responsibilities for the attack.

The cover-up

When Menem took office, he broke his pre-electoral commitments to the governments of Libya, Syria and Iran. According to multiple sources, both governments had given Menem forty million dollars for his 1988 campaign in exchange for certain promises that were to be fulfilled when he took office.¹⁷ Syria, Libya and Iran were interested in the nuclear technology being developed in Argentina. As president, Menem continued developing a relationship with the Syrian government. When Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1991, Menem promised Hafez al-Assad that Syria would inherit the Iraqi partnership in Argentina's Condor II ballistic missile project and would also become a privileged recipient of Argentine nuclear technology. The promises made to Syria were not fulfilled. After the Gulf War, U.S. diplomatic pressure (plus a certain inclination on the part of Guido Di Tella and his team) caused Argentina to shelve the Condor missile project and join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Assad felt betrayed, so he eliminated Argentina from the targets forbidden to Hezbollah, the pro-Iranian Lebanese terrorist organization under Syrian military protection.¹⁸ In light

¹⁴ - The Argentine judicial system, very close in its tradition to that of Spain, Italy, and particularly France, has a two-tier system of judges. Judges in the first tier investigate cases, with district attorneys working as their assistants. This was the case of Judge Juan Jose Galeano and prosecutors Eamon Mullen and Jose Barbaccia. When they put together a case, they send it for trial to a judge or court in the second tier.

¹⁵ - Hearing, *Ibidem*

¹⁶ - Microsemanario, Year 7, No. 274, *Ibidem*

¹⁷ - About what not been investigated of the attack and the Syrian lead, see: See J. Salinas, "Larga historia," 164-166. In relation to Menem's previous commitments see ACDN, exp. 1656-D-00/2000 (www.ardiputados.gov.ar/2000/1656-1.htm). Also see Norberto Bermúdez and Carlos Torrenço, "Lo que no se investigó sobre los atentados" part 1 (www.seprin.com/informes/amia.htm). The Argentine Senate and the Chamber of Deputies sanctioned "with the force of law" the obligation to investigate the terrorist attacks on the Israeli Embassy and AMIA (ACDN, exp.1856-D-00/2000 and exp.1652 (www.ardiputados.gov.ar/2000/1656-1.htm). These documents refer to many of the accusations made by Memoria Activa and by the newspaper *Río Negro* and others, as well as Juan Salinas' investigations referenced in *AMIA, el atentado*.

¹⁸ - A great part of the public information available regarding the Condor II comes either directly or indirectly from U.S. intelligence sources (who, for example, intercepted an Egyptian smuggling operation destined to the Condor II. About Condor II see: Spector, L.S., *Nuclear Ambitions*, Cambridge, MA: Ballinger/Carnegie Endowment, 1990. For an analysis of the Condor II missile project and its implications for IR theory, also see: Escudé, C., "An Introduction to Peripheral Realism and its Implications for the Interstate

of the evidence, government officials and insiders in the Jewish community interpreted the AMIA attack as Syrian retaliation against Argentina. At first, the CIA office in Buenos Aires asserted that Syrian authorities themselves might have been behind the terrorist act, along with Iran and Hezbollah. This could have been particularly embarrassing for the government if the details of Menem's previous dealings with Assad and his regime were revealed. U.S. agencies soon began to divert attention away from Syria, focusing exclusively on Iran and Hezbollah. Concealing Syria's involvement, or at least not following the Syrian lead, was amenable to all parties concerned with the investigation except, of course, the families themselves and the Jewish community of Argentina.¹⁹

According to Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs Guido Di Tella, when President Clinton visited Argentina in October 1997, the three central agenda items were corruption, security and the obligation to isolate countries that sponsored terrorism. During the visit, Clinton insisted that the attacks against the Israeli Embassy and the AMIA be investigated, and he met with representatives of the victims' families.²⁰ Clinton's actions were of utmost importance to the families because the Argentine president had denied all their requests for a hearing.

Emotions/Affectivity versus Rational Action/Security

In the period of the post second terrorist attack to a Jewish target in Argentina –both acts were performed during the presidency of Carlos Menem- the leadership of AMIA and DAIA had to face the multiple and urgent material outcomes that affected the Jewish entity, raging from the identification of the bodies of the victims, together with their families, the relocation of the offices of the Jewish organizations installed up to then at Pasteur 633 to the security problems, this may have contributed to its inability to face the trauma it had endured.

System: Argentina and the Cónдор II Missile Project", in Stephanie Neuman (ed.), *International Relations Theory and the Third World*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998

See L.S. Spector, *Nuclear Ambitions*, Cambridge, MA: Ballinger/Carnegie Endowment, 1990.

¹⁹ On the informal peace conversations between Israel and Syria between 1992 and 1995, see Itamar Rabinovich, *El Umbral de la Paz. Las conversaciones sirio-israelíes* (Buenos Aires: Universidad de Tel Aviv/Eudeba, 2000), pp. 60-61. These conversations partly explain Israel's low profile in its demands to the Argentine government on behalf of a serious investigation of the Embassy bombing in Buenos Aires, and its acceptance of the hypothesis that responsibility for the terrorist act was Iran's, exculpating Syria. See also Joe Goldman and Jorge Lanata, *Cortinas de Humo*, (Buenos Aires: Planeta, 1994); and file 1656-D-00- Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, República Argentina, Proyecto de Resolución, "La causa Embajada y la pista Siria: el atentado a la Embajada de Israel y Monzer Al Kassar". According to this document, in 1992 the CIA presented a report to the U.S. House of Representatives informing that Iran and Syria had signed an agreement of nuclear cooperation and co-sponsored terrorist attacks. In a series of articles published in the newspaper *Río Negro* on January 11, 12 and 13, 2000, Norberto Bermúdez and Carlos Torrenzo developed the same hypothesis on the basis of legislative sources. See "Lo que no se investigó sobre los atentados" (Parts I, II and III); "Los acuerdos y compromisos secretos de Menem y los árabes"; "El dominicano Nemen Nader habla desde Madrid: 'Menem recibió 40 millones de los países árabes en 1988'," and "Munir Menem: entre Damasco y la Rosada".

²⁰ - Microsemanario Year:7, No 296, October 13-19, see section; "Visita de Clinton a la Argentina" <http://argentina.informatik.uni-muenchen.de/micros/msg00064.html>

By not dealing directly with the painful experience, however, the Jewish social system was even more damaged. When this problem was recognized DAIA's leadership created a special program, "Fortaleza comunitaria" [Community Fortress (CF) or strength]. The primary purposes of CF were to preserve the traditional communitarian spirit, to soften the Jewish social actors' demands for both emotional and intellectual meaning (Neimeyer, 1997) during the bereavement period (quoted in Silverman, 2000), and to offer instructions about security measures. CF consisted of a network of groups that gathered in the Jewish schools, synagogues and clubs. CF's groups developed a different profile in each participating organization in accordance with the value orientation of the lay and professional leadership of that institution. Some groups discussed the themes suggested by the top program coordinator (DAIA) while others broached topics frowned upon by the leadership of AMIA and DAIA. For example: whether AMIA's building should be relocated on its original place or if that space should be transformed into a memorial? As soon as this and other questions related to the decision making process arose, the economic sponsorship of CF was terminated, which signified the formal closing of the community period of bereavement. Bet El and Emanuel, among other conservative synagogues, continued to try to address the needs of their congregations. Within AMIA and DAIA, however, emotions seemed to have been repressed. According to the instructions given to staff by top lay and professional leadership during the first meeting after the devastation "work was the best cure for pain and there was no time for grieving." Cases of special needs and emotional crisis among the functionaries themselves were not taken into consideration by the top professional leadership. The recommendations of psychologists who spontaneously offered to help people were frequently dismissed.²¹

Intentionally or not, the leadership developed a model for carrying out the rituals that accompany mourning and bereavement. This model contributed to the dissociation between reason (the head) and emotion (the heart). According to the top leadership of both AMIA and DAIA the head should be *inside* the building, physically protected by walls and cement blocks. The heart should function in public spaces, particularly in the Plaza across the street from the judiciary (the place where Memoria Activa gathered), in La Tablada (Jewish community cemetery), and in the commemorations at 633 Pasteur Street (AMIA's address), where a black billboard listing the victims' names written in a tremulous hand had been hanging since the commemoration of the first thirty days of grief. The billboard initially covered the ruins of the AMIA building, but it has since been moved to a wall located in the entrance of the new building. The billboard and the security wall signify the triumph of lawlessness over law and justice. Multiple efforts were made to convince the victims' families to replace the original billboard, but all suggestions have been rejected; "*the billboard must remain in place until the perpetrators are found*", said the mother of one of the victims who also criticized Community Fortress (CF) because in her opinion it worked

²¹ - According to the testimony of seven DAIA and AMIA's employees and ex-employees which asked not to be mentioned, the best psychologists -most of them volunteers- stopped helping because they could not work freely and had problems with the leadership of AMIA. In the aftermath of the bombing many well known psychologists offered their services only with the aim of helping the victims Most of them like Fernando Ulloa and Sylvia Bleichmar presented their resignation.

within the Jewish community as the Panopticon described by Foucault.²² Only a few people at the core of AMIA and DAIA had real knowledge of what was going on with the investigation; few knew the role of the government in the cover-up. The victims' families were not informed, and many participants in the CF activities respected the DAIA's security rules. **Not asking questions and having faith (more than trust) became a symbol of communitarian spirit and reciprocal solidarity.**

Threat became a disciplinary tool. Both the government (through Interior Minister Carlos Corach²³) and the president of DAIA (through his private cable TV channel [Alef]) developed an efficient mass media policy that helped delay public awareness of the political manipulation of the investigation. In 2004,²⁴ the Federal Justice Department proved that there had been intentional misleading in order to consolidate an "official version" of who was responsible for the bombing. Until mid-1995 the Jewish community's relationship with AMIA-DAIA was good despite the fact that there was no space for dialogue and some victims' families felt abandoned by the leadership. Still they trusted and relied on the Jewish institutions, even while questioning the work of Juan Jose Galeano, the judge coordinating the primary investigation.

Prior to Anger and Confrontation

As Kai Erikson pointed out, the loss in a collective massacre is "a blow to the psyche that breaks through one's defenses so suddenly and with such brutal force that one cannot react to it effectively".²⁵

Since the aftermath of the AMIA bombing some of the victim's families gathered with the purpose of giving reciprocal help, receiving information about the rescue of the victims from the leadership of AMIA and DAIA and finding emotional refuge under the frame of the two Jewish central organizations.

But the Jewish institutions were not prepared to cope with the situation. In addition, they were also victims in both a material and symbolic way of a collective trauma that inevitably

²² - Foucault argues that knowledge is a power over others, the power to define others. In his view knowledge ceases to forward liberation, and becomes a mode of surveillance, regulation, discipline. Michel Foucault, The Subject and Power. Ed. Brian Wallis, 1982.

²³ - By decision of the Tribunal Oral Federal No3 (TOF) (2005) (the Federal Justice) the Interior Minister during Menem's government, Carlos Corach, will be investigated in the criminal judiciary for the cover-up of the investigation of the attack against AMIA. See the complete verdict of the judges of the Federal Justice in: <http://sursur.com/files/veredicto%20AMIA.pdf> ; Also see: Diario judicial, <http://www.diariojudicial.com/nota.asp?IDNoticia=22759#> ; also see: http://64.233.167.104/search?q=cache:42LHk5UPwjQJ:sursur.com/tiki-print_article.php%3FarticleId%3D3606+%22diario+judicial%22+%2B+corach+%2B+encubrimiento&hl=en

²⁴ - The president of DAIA was president of the sole Jewish TV channel: Alef. According to Horacio Lutzky, ex-vice president of channel Alef, Beraja repressed freedom of speech within the channel. The news were supervised and had to be authorized by Beraja's advisors before making them public. Interview to Horacio Lutzky, September 2004. (Tape in author's files)

²⁵ - Erikson,, Kai T., Notes on Trauma and Community, 1991, *American Imago*, 48 (4), 455-460.

deteriorates the basic tissues of social life and damages the bonds attaching people together, impairing the sense of communality that prevailed prior to the attack (Erikson, 1991).²⁶

In order to face the daily situation and the urgent matters under stress, the presidents of DAIA and AMIA and their first line collaborators opted to take distance from the suffering and to dissociate apparently normal “rational action” (the leadership) and decision making from “emotional reactions” (victim’s families, especially women).

But, as described by Hart, Nijenhuis, Steele and Brown, 2004: All of these behavioral alterations can be adaptive or maladaptive. For example, during threat, a high level of consciousness and retraction of the field of consciousness to threat cues are adaptive, but become maladaptive when hypervigilance and exclusive focus on perceived danger occur in the absence of actual threat and this was the case of the leadership of AMIA and DAIA.²⁷

Thus, although the president of DAIA, Ruben Beraja stated in the first public event after the bombing of AMIA that the Government was the sole responsible for the investigation and for public security, and that the Jewish organizations role was to help in the coordination of private security for Jewish institutions²⁸, national security became a central part of DAIA’s discourse, especially in matter of anti terrorism fight. Even after the supposed menace of a third attack against the Jewish community, announced by Itzjak Aviran, the Israeli ambassador in Argentina, found no confirmation and although Gordon Gray, a US State Department director of counter-terrorism, pointed that he had no news about a possible attack in Argentina and that “(...) unfortunately attacks can occur in any country now.”²⁹ (Gray’s opinion was corroborated on September 11, 2001)

Parallel to hypervigilance, detachment within the Jewish organizations was another sign of the possible trauma that might have affected the leadership that, according to the testimonies of many of the victim’s families, did not behave in consonance with the period of grief and mourning. Grief understood as the way in which people express the feelings that arise after a death: sadness, crying and despair (Silverman, 2000) and of mourning, defined as the psychological process through which an individual adapts to the loss of a loved one. (Altschul, 1988, quoted in Silverman, 2000). Although the dead were buried in La Tablada, one of AMIA’s cemeteries, the leadership of AMIA and DAIA didn’t attend the burial of the victims and didn’t accompany the Jewish cultural traditions and rituals that guide behavior after a death, during the period of (shiva) mourning. (Bowlby, 1980). The mother of one of the victims also pointed:

²⁶ - About collective trauma, see: Erikson, Kai T., *Ibidem*, 48 (4), 460-472

²⁷ - About reactions to trauma, see: Onno van der Hart, Ellert Nijenhuis, Kathy Steele, Daniel Brown Onno van der Hart, “*Trauma-Related Dissociation: Conceptual Clarity Lost And Found*”, Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, November/December issue, 2004

²⁸ - DAIA recommended the leadership of Jewish schools and clubs to reinforce private security and to build cement blocks in front of the buildings as to diminish the possibility of a bomb car crushing, exploiting and obliterating the building of a Jewish institution. Up to the present people passing the streets of Buenos Aires and the provinces can recognize a Jewish institution by the blocks of cement covering the front of the building.

²⁹ - The interview to Gordon Gray was published by Buenos Aires daily *El Cronista* on November 1997 and quoted by Institute for Jewish Policy Research

“In the aftermath of the attack we were in great need to speak to them [the representatives of AMIA and DAIA], but they avoided looking at our faces, listening to our crying “(...) For some of us our house wasn’t anymore our home and our need was to remain near the place of the killing (...) we were not sick, we were desperate.”

The leadership was not able to recognize that for the victim’s families they were the most significant others. The mother of a young men killed during the bombing while he was working in DAIA said:

“There were no institutional letters of condolence and when we asked how they could forget, the answer given to us in the name of AMIA and DAIA was: ‘we too are victims and because of that there is no need of sending letters to each other.’ (...) “There was little and in too many occasions no possibility of making ourselves understand.(...)” No one in AMIA or DAIA wanted to accompany our grief. They took care of our physical health since the night of the attack: blood pressure, head aches... In the hall of Ayacucho³⁰ a team of [medical] doctors recommended and provided sedatives (...).” “In the afternoon [the day of the event] three psychologists met with us [parents, husbands and wives of the victims]...but they did not have the skills to give support to anyone. (...) Later AMIA offered psychological treatment to the victim’s families but as the psychologist volunteered, after some months they ended the therapeutic help. Finally AMIA paid something to the psychologists for our therapy. But the service had to be cut off because AMIA had no money and they had to help the elderly. So I pay Patricia for my therapy as long as I could afford it, until the economic crisis.(...) Afterwards, during five years I found help in The Iglesia de San Cayetano and in the Iglesia del Redentor, in the group Renacer (reborn), said the mother of one of the Jewish victims. We stopped going to Renacer when the victims of the Austral³¹ disaster entered the group. We couldn’t meet face to face with so much suffering (...).” “They didn’t invite nor receive the victim’s families when we asked what was going on.”, said the mother of a young man killed during the bombing.³²

“(...) they were distant and became more and more hermetic.”, said the relative

³⁰ - AMIA had two main buildings: 633 Pasteur and 612 Ayacucho. Pasteur was the place of what is known as the *kehila*, the Jewish community center. The building was inaugurated in 1945. many Jewish organizations were installed in AMIA’s building. In Ayacucho was located the Jewish community high school, the Mijlala (the school for Jewish teachers and professor and professor, and the Institute Shmuel Agnon, for kindergarten teachers. The building also had an auditorium and a theater. In 1994 the building was partly empty because following the ideological leads prevailing in the country during the 1990’s, AMIA decided to gradually close the educational organizations without thinking about the mid term. After Pasteur building was bombed, all of AMIA’s offices and those of the organizations located in Pasteur moved to the Ayacucho building. In 1999 the building of Ayacucho was sold to the town hall of the City of Buenos Aires. Privatizing state and community services was a major trend in the country in the 1990’s.

³¹ - 1977 November 21st. - Plane Crash - Argentina, Bariloche: an Austral Lineas Aeras Tupolev TU-134 with 79 people aboard crashed after executing a missed approach; 46 people died. See: http://www.disaster-management.net/argentina_di.htm

³² - Interview to Olga Dejtiar by Beatriz Gurevich, April 29, 2004. The tape is in the author’s archive.

of another victim, in reference both to AMIA and DAIA. This pattern of behavior was pointed to during the interviews both by people with a communitarian ideology and by those with a liberal conception.

Some interviewees said that they perceived that faces and images showing or reflecting some dimension of the tragedy were systematically marginalized and if possible excluded from the scene through different mechanisms. The words aloofness in interpersonal contact and intellectualization summarize the main observations of the interviewees and are congruent with what we can learn from two case studies.

*Case 1*³³

Before the bombing “Alois” worked part time in the press department of a central Jewish organization and in the afternoon he taught sports at a school. He had twice won the gold medal in Pentathlon in two consecutive Pan American Games. “Alois” was inside the elevator at the moment of the explosion. He was going to fetch the newspapers of the day. “Alois” was rescued with life after being trapped for two days inside the elevator, three meters under the ground. He saved his life thanks to his proficiency in survival techniques and to having been taken to the Hospital de Clinicas, where many of the victims of the bombing received medical assistance. After months of rehabilitation, “A” returned to his job at the central Jewish organization, his physical disabilities would never allow him to participate in sports or teach them again. During work hours he was sad and nervous, and not as efficient as before the physical and emotional trauma. “Alois’s situation and attitudes seemed to be intolerable for some of the top professional leadership of the institution, though not for the people working with him in the press department. The main lay leaders of the organization gave no answer to “Alois’s demands. He presented a denunciation against the organization in the judiciary. “Alois”, a paradigmatic image of the tragedy, moved to some inland province.³⁴

*Case 2*³⁵

The case of “Lorna” as that of “Alois” reflects aspect of a posttraumatic pathology inside the organizations. “Lorna” was one of the persons answering the telephone and receiving people entering the institution. Before the attack she worked part time and was replaced by “Vivian”. Sometimes they switched turns. The death of “Vivian” altered “Lorna’s traditional discretion to the point that she broke with the strict confidence required by her role in a central Jewish organization and accepted being interviewed by the press. “Lorna” couldn’t cope with the death of “Vivian” and tried to find some meaning to her own life. When two journalists interviewed her she talked about the permanent threats recorded by the answering machine during many nights and about how she and “Vivian” felt when they weren’t able to inform about the messages. “Lorna” pointed to the professional head of the organization for not being willing to receive the information they taped. The two journalists published “Lorna’s opinion as part of the first deep investigation on the responsible of the AMIA bombing. When the book was published, “Lorna” could read what she had said to

³³ - For matters of discretion the name of the person is changed.

³⁴ - The author tried to interview Alejandro in 2004 but could not find him. The data about Alejandro were up dated in 2004 but were collected by the author of this article in 1996.

³⁵ - For matters of discretion the name of the person is changed.

them. Instantly she new she was going to be dismissed.³⁶ What she ignored was that instead of asking her to present her resignation she would be accused of stealing money from the purse that one of the most obsequious employees of the organization left in her desk for few minutes. Some of the lay leaders that participated in a gathering in the same hall in which “Lorna” worked insisted in her innocence because they could see all the movements in the room. In addition, immediately after the accusation security personal looked through “Lorna’s clothes, searched at the place, without finding any evidence that confirmed the denunciation. Nevertheless, “Lorna” was threatened and treated so badly treated that she presented her resignation after some time, in 1996. “Lorna’s accusers remained as part of the staff although the accusation could not be proved to the present.

The criteria prevailing at the time within the organization seemed to be that of the “functionality” for the organization of a purportedly “rational action”. Looking retrospectively and on the light of the performance, and the results obtained by AMIA and DAIA vis a vis its main strategic goal at the time, which was to arrive at results in the investigation of the AMIA attack, a question emerges about the gap between alleged purposes underlying rational action and true motives and/or bad passions orienting the action.

The previous quotations and the cases presented in this section of the paper show that detachment seemed to have become a rule inside the two central Jewish organizations in the aftermath of the attack. This and other behaviors of AMIA and DAIA excluded the possibility of developing a common struggle with the victim’s families and the community to cope with the tragedy, and to accomplish better results in the investigation and/or the recognition of responsibilities for cover-up by the Argentine state, as those obtained by the women in Plaza Lavalle.

Ruben Beraja’s speech at the First Latin American Cultural Congress of the Confederation of Jewish Associations of Venezuela, in March 1998, illustrates the internal contradictions, the fallacies and the prejudices, and stereotyping, underlying the silence of the establishment of AMIA and DAIA on the light of the lack of monitoring of the investigation and the cover-up. Beraja stated:

“We can not behave like the [victims’] families. The families have a pain that leads them to react as if they were the institutional leadership, and they are not. Not understanding this difference is not being able to understand differences between roles. The community cannot compromise in a fight that leads to a road without exit, into a road that has no alternative. (...)”

“The Jewish leadership of Argentina is criticized because we have the courage and the decision not to give into populism and to the pain of the families as if we were a chorus repeating what they say. I accept criticism and I accept the responsibilities. I think the leadership should have the courage even to suffer injustices that may emerge from our behavior if we are convinced that ours are the correct behaviors, and the correct behavior is to take care of the community as a whole, more than attacking the [national] authorities, and more than trying to create a problem within the [Jewish] community, and more than addressing the theme of the mothers, which

³⁶ - Lanata J. and Goldman J, *Columnas de Humo*, Edit. Planeta, Buenos Aires, 1995

is not only of the mothers, but also of the fathers, of the parents, of the brothers, of the wives, of the husbands. It is more important to understand that we are dealing with an issue related to international affairs.”

The international level is a main aspect of the investigation of the bombing, but it is the responsibility of the Argentine government and not of the Argentine Jewish establishment. In addition, the peace conversations between Israel and Syria initiated in 1992 had already failed.³⁷ Thus, asking the Argentine government to investigate the Syrian lead would not interfere with peace-keeping efforts.

Passion, Gender and the Splitting of Victims’ Families

Social and political theorists have long wrestled with passion as a political conundrum. Passion has been understood to construct certain forms of knowledge and community, and to rupture others. In the case of the AMIA bombing, although all the victim’s relatives pursue the same strategic goal, passion (emotion), ideologies and politics led to a fragmentation of the original group into three different organizations: Memoria Activa, Familiares y Amigos de las Víctimas and lately to the creation of APEMIA in 2001.

The main leaders of Memoria Activa and APEMIA are women. Instead, Familiares y Amigos de las Víctimas, the only organization tied to AMIA and to DAIA, has a male leadership. This is congruent with the prevailing gender dynamics in each of the institutions. Although, there is no formal prohibition, only very exceptionally women are invited to participate in the executive committee of AMIA and of DAIA. Such political behavior seems to emerge from the assumption that the “public” sphere is male and the “private” is female.

While the women at Memoria Activa and APEMIA never gendered their roles and demanded the State to fulfill its obligations regarding Constitutional rights and guarantees, the women at Familiares and Amigos de las Víctimas were interested in being perceived as grieving mothers demanding a thorough investigation of the massacre so as to “*allow the dead rest in peace.*” Their claim could be interpreted as a personal favor performed by those in power to help people that suffer. Such attitude and behavior was praised by the main Jewish political actors because it is compatible with values traditionally associated with the feminine capacity of love, nurture and empathy and naturally accepted by the mainstream society. Parallel to praising the “traditional feminine values” important Jewish political actors criticized the women in Memoria Activa, pointing that “when there is true suffering women are enabled to develop political action”.³⁸ At the time, important people of the Jewish establishment (all of them men) disapproved of and made informal denunciations against Memoria Activa presupposing that the women in the organization were going to present a judicial demand to the Argentine State, with the aim of receiving economic compensations for the loss. On October 21, 2001, Juan Gurevich, pointed during the gathering at the Plaza that neither the organization nor its members were interested in

³⁷ - Itamar Rabinovich, *Ibidem*

³⁸ - This is the opinion of two interviewees that asked to maintain anonymous. One of them was a top leaders of AMIA during the administration of Oscar Hansman and the other is a member of AMIA’s rabbinate.

receiving financial benefits from the State.³⁹ A retrospective examination shows that women's roles and behaviors were stereotyped both by important decision makers of AMIA and DAIA, and by some of the male and female relatives of the victims. Thus, gender had a certain relative weight in exacerbating tensions. Throughout the entire span of 1994-2004, the behavior of the women in Familiares y Amigos de las Víctimas reflected that they basically adhered to "care ethics," while the women of Memoria Activa adhered to "rights ethics", which includes "care ethics".

"We Were all Memoria Activa"

In the days following the attack a group of people was invited to the Association of Jewish Professionals with the purpose of thinking strategies to foster the investigation of the AMIA bombing and to accompany, and cooperate with victim's families. In this context emerged the idea of organizing weekly gatherings on Monday, at the time in which the devastation occurred. The name given to the program of activities was Memoria Activa (Active Memory).

The organizers of Memoria Activa took into consideration that public opinion pressure might contribute to avoid a new failure of the investigation, as happened in the case of the bombing of the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires. With this aim, every Monday at 9.53am the sound of the *shofar* interrupted the noise of Buenos Aires's busy streets. Sergio Bergman, a well known rabbi of the Conservative Movement, was the person in charge of preserving the Jewish profile of Memoria Activa. His eloquent speech was one of the main sources of inspiration together with that of the women that had lost a loved one and along the years became the leaders of the grass-roots movement. From July 1994 until 2004 prominent Argentine intellectuals, artists, journalists and political actors, as well as representatives of civil society participated in the gatherings. They presented their point of view about topics related to the investigation such as endemic impunity, the inefficiency of local intelligence and security agencies, failures in the investigation of the attack, or showing their identification with the Jewish grass- roots movement.⁴⁰ Thousands of speeches were given along the ten years of Memoria Activa, in the street across the House of the Supreme Court of the Nation.

The leadership of AMIA and DAIA was consulted prior to creating Memoria Activa and they approved the idea.⁴¹ Memoria Activa would be the symbolic representation of the destruction and DAIA should remain as the sole formal and legal negotiator in the name of

³⁹ - About the theme of economical reparations for victims' families see Memoria Activas website, URL: http://www.memoriaactiva.com/anteriores_abajo2001.htm

⁴⁰ - To read the talks given at Memoria Activa's gatherings since 1996 to 2004, see the section "discursos de la semana" in Memoria Activa's website: <http://www.memoriaactiva.com/anteriores1996.htm>

⁴¹ - According to Laura Ginsberg, DAIA's president, Ruben Beraja, not only approved the creation of Memoria Activa, he expressed that in cases such as the AMIA "... it was necessary to attack from different spaces: some have to observe, others have to push forward and a third actor has to negotiate." See Ginsberg's declaration to the Jewish journal *Nueva Sion* in: <http://www.nuevasion.com.ar/sitio/nuevasion/MostrarNoticia.asp?edicion=33&seccion=22¬icia=1125>
The author of this article was invited and participated in the reunion where emerged the idea of creating Memoria Activa. At that moment Beatriz Gurevich was the director of the Center of Social Studies of DAIA. In April 1997 Gurevich presented her resignation to DAIA.

the victims and the Jewish organizations vis-a-vis the national authorities, and also as the sole Jewish political representation within mainstream society.⁴²

For AMIA and DAIA the warranty of this verbal agreement was the prevailing conception of “communitarianism” among core actors of the Jewish collective entity, which gives priority to the needs of the community over those of the individuals, and in the political sphere, emphasizes the notion of responsibilities over that of individual rights.⁴³

Although some of the victim’s families were not identified with “communitarianism”, they naturally trusted the Jewish leadership. On the other hand, the strong determination showed in the first rally by DAIA’s president, Ruben Beraja (July 21, 1994), reinforced the hope of accomplishing the shared goal. But expectations of finding the perpetrators of the massacre soon diminished. After the first anniversary of the bombing it became clear that the government had no will to foster the investigation. Nevertheless, as Laura Ginsberg pointed out during an interview:

“All the victim’s families nurtured the hope that someone who was less afflicted personally by the pain would be able to take command and press the government, so that the causes and perpetrators of what occurred on July 18 would become known. With the passing of time, however, we realized nothing was going on (...). Thus, in due time, we started participating in the rallies organized on the 18th of each month in Pasteur Street, as well as on Mondays in Memoria Activa. Different modalities of protest grew as we came to understand that there were no results and that we confronted many limitations. This is why by 1995, after many meetings in (the court building of) Comodoro Py Street, we the relatives went to see the prosecutors, Judge Galeano... we spoke to everyone (...). We spoke to all of those whom we believed could support us, until on October 18, 1995, we formally presented ourselves as plaintiffs (...).”⁴⁴

In the second half of 1995 initial trust on the Jewish leadership was lost by many of the victim’s families. For Laura Ginsberg, Diana Malamud, Norma Lew and Adriana Reisfeld, Memoria Activa should foster social mobilization and build networks with

⁴² - DAIA is formally the sole official representation of the Jewish organizations and the Jewry. Created in 1935 with the aim fighting against the increasing wave of anti-semitism in Argentina vis-a-vis the national authorities, DAIA was a very well known organization and was highly considered by the Argentine society. During decades, DAIA was the sole voice speaking on behalf of the Jews of Argentina. In 1979, Rabbi Marshal Mayer and Herman Schiler organized the Jewish Movement for Human Rights (MJDH) that also lobbied to save Jews from State terrorism. During the decade of 1980’s DAIA’s leadership worked hard to recover the trust of the Argentine Jewry. In 1991 Ruben Beraja became president of DAIA. His discourse reflected the *weltjanschaung* of the new generations of Argentine Jews and attracted many intellectuals and academics that previously were marginal to the Jewish institutions. About DAIA’s performance since the bombing, see: Sergio Kiernan, “A glimmer of Hope: the AMIA bombing five years later”, American Jewish committee, <http://www.ajc.org/InTheMedia/PubTerrorism.asp?did=143&pid=89> ; also see: Raul Kolman’s article in the journal Pagina 12: “Nos dan asco” <http://old.pagina12web.com.ar/1999/99-07/99-07-19/pag03.htm>

⁴³ - Amitai Etzioni, A 308, “Communitarianism”, *Encyclopedia of Community: From the Village to the Virtual World*, Vol. 1 A-D, Karen Christensen and David Levinson, Eds., Sage Publication, 2003, pp 224-228

⁴⁴ - In 1996, Laura Ginsberg, Diana Malamud and Norma Lew presented a personal demand to the judiciary, although being part of the “causa AMIA”, the collective demand presented by AMIA and DAIA.

strategic/instrumental purposes.⁴⁵ ON the other hand, Olga Dejtjar and Sofia Guterman would prefer to see Memoria Activa as the symbolic memory of destruction and the space of solidarity and not as a collective political actor. Guterman shaped her feelings in a testimonial poem read the on December 26, 1996, at Memoria Activa's gathering. The central paragraphs of the poem say:

*“When each Monday the wind blows
and the rain soaks the green of the Plaza
.....
“They are always there, stoic, standing,
extending their hands, giving us hope,
helping us to make someone hear our demands.
.....
They all know that a deep pain gnaws us,
It squeezes with strength, it suffocates us.
When they look at us they support us.
When they talk to us we recover strength,
loud shouts emerge and we demand with strength.
.....
We ask justice for our dead.....
Thousand thanks friends, thousand thanks.”*

As growing evidence reflected that the investigation of the AMIA bombing was in danger of falling in a *vacuum* and that the official complaint, headed by AMIA and DAIA, was making no progress, Memoria Activa's gatherings at the Plaza turned from a symbolic representation of collective bereavement and solidarity into a space of denunciation about the cover-up.⁴⁶

In 1996 Laura Ginsberg, Diana Malamud, Norma Lew and Adriana Reisfeld, top leaders of Memoria Activa, decided that the grass-roots movement should foster social mobilization, monitor the judicial investigation and denounce publicly deviations and silences, with or without the approval of AMIA and DAIA. The following quotations of Laura Ginsberg's talk on July 26, 1996, also reflect the ideas of Diana Malamud, Adriana Reisfeld and Norma Lew, top leaders of Memoria Activa:

“Judge Galeano traveled to Venezuela, and his declaration [when he returned to Buenos Aires] was “you will fall on your back”.⁴⁷ “(...) Nothing happened because the Supreme Court of Justice did not agree to take off diplomatic immunity from the officials of the Iranian Embassy ... these people left the country. (...) security

⁴⁵ - Interviews to Olga Dejtjar, Laura Ginsberg, Sofia Guterman and two other people that asked not to be mentioned. September 2004, January 2005. Authors archive.

⁴⁶ - About the cover-up during the primary investigation of the attack and the behavior of both AMIA and DAIA, see: Carlos Escude and Beatriz Gurevich: “Limits to Governability, Corruption and Transnational Terrorism...”, *Ibidem*

⁴⁷ - About the supposed exceptional findings of Judge Juan Jose Galeano, see: “AMIA o la historia de una infamia”, by Raul Kolman, published by the journal Pagina 12, on February 27, 2005. <http://www.pagina12web.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-42982-2004-10-30.html> . About the immediate frustration of what seemed to be important clues for the investigation from 1995 until 2000, see: Laura Ginsberg, *op. cit.* Also see Monday's talks in Memoria Activa's gatherings in 1996. <http://www.memoriaactiva.com/anteriores1996.htm>

*agencies don't investigate. A well known Nazi is the head of the Ministry of Justice. Suddenly, after announcing the possibility of a meeting between our President and President Clinton, Barra (the Minister of Justice) presents his resignation. (...)."*⁴⁸

The leadership of AMIA and of DAIA perceived as an intrusion in their field of incumbencies all public denunciations made by the relatives of the victims, even if justified by empirical proves as happened with the loss of thirty seven recorded tapes containing substantive evidence for the investigation of the case, kept in the office of judge Juan Jose Galeano, coordinator of the primary investigation of the AMIA bombing.⁴⁹

According to AMIA and to DAIA, Memoria Activa's behavior contradicted and endangered the official strategy of the Jewish institutions.⁵⁰ Consequently the lawyers from both AMIA and DAIA put pressure on Memoria Activa to refrain "inflammatory speeches".⁵¹ Secrecy about the pace of the investigation and permanent declarations about reinforcing security measures within the country, as well as the need to devote additional resources to the control of the triple border between Argentina, Paraguay and Brazil, seemed to be the main public concerns of DAIA/AMIA. These demands were well received by the government that had the best disposition to cooperate in matters of security, if this did not include juridical security.⁵²

In August 12, 1996, in contrast to AMIA and DAIA's attitude, Laura Ginsberg pointed during her talk at the Plaza:

*"(...) We will not resign, like the lord of the parable, to forced passivity, and allow the attacks against AMIA and the Embassy of Israel to remain unpunished because our tongues are atrophic due to imposed silence. (...) A person who cannot make use of his/her thought and voice losses dignity as a human being. We will not remain with our arms down and our voices muted. (...)"*⁵³

But although most of the relatives of the victims perceived the failures in the investigation and distrusted judge Galeano, some preferred to adhere to the instructions given by AMIA/DAIA and avoid pointing out the mishandlings in the preliminary judicial

⁴⁸ - About the talks of the representatives of Memoria Activa in 1996 see:

<http://www.memoriaactiva.com/antiores1996.htm> . About the loss of important pieces of evidence for the investigation of the attack, see: http://www.memoriaactiva.com/oea_abajo.htm

⁴⁹ - The rubbles were removed right after the attack with power shovels and put in dump trucks with masonry, car remains and even with human remains without any order whatsoever. At first were kept in the open air without having been studied by the experts. Finally, in 1997 Galeano authorized using the rubbles to fill the cost of the Rio de la La Plata About the loss of substantive evidence by judge Juan Jose Galeano an other state agencies see: Memoria Activa's presentation vis-avis the Organization of American States (OAS) in Memoria Activa's official website: <http://www.memoriaactiva.com/oea.htm> About the official version tailored by Galeano see the verdict of the Oral Federal Court No3, 2004.

⁵⁰ - This opinion was pointed out personally by the president of DAIA, Dr. Ruben Beraja to the author of this article, in 1996.

⁵¹ - Interview to Laura Ginsberg, *Ibidem*

⁵² - About restrictions to the press during Menem's government and about Beraja prohibiting the cover-up by channel Alef of Memoria Activa's activities, see: *The Government Complicity and Silence* by Diego Melamed, Florida International University International Media Center, Miami, Florida, 2000 in Pulso del periodismo: <http://www.pulso.org/English/Archives/Government%20Complicity.htm> Beraja was the president of Alef network.

⁵³ - Memoria Activa's wesite, *Ibidem*

investigation. Thus controversies began to grow inside Memoria Activa between the people identified with the ideology of “communitarianism” and those that were in favor of defending individual rights in the context of a collective problem, and rejected to conceal freedom of speech of individual actors, unless it represents a menace to society, and this was not the case.⁵⁴ Within Memoria Activa, 1996 was a turning point. Rabbi Sergio Bergman presented his resignation to the organization⁵⁵ and so did Olga Dejtiar, the mother of one of the victims of the bombing who was an active member of Memoria Activa Foundation. Olga pointed out that she “could not accept outsiders criticizing the Jewish leadership”, in reference to Alberto Zuppi, the lawyer of Memoria Activa.⁵⁶ The problem for Olga was not the accuracy of Zuppi’s criticism but what she felt as disloyalty towards the Jewish organizations. Olga is a paradigmatic example of the ideas that prevailed among the people that created Familiares y Amigos de las Victimas.⁵⁷

Although these discrepancies, on the eve of the third anniversary of the attack all of the victims relatives reached to a *consensus* about the style of gathering and agreed in organizing a sole event together with both DAIA and AMIA. There would not be an official stage, all speakers and special invitees would stand at ground level and no governmental officials could play an active role during the event. The talks would be in charge of the president of AMIA, the president of DAIA and Laura Ginsberg representing all of the victims’ families. But the agreement was broken both by AMIA and DAIA: without the authorization of the victim’s families. The authorities of both Jewish organizations decided unilaterally to build an official box and to invite the Minister of the Interior, Carlos Corach, to deliver a speech in name of the government.⁵⁸

As on each anniversary, several thousand people were standing at 600 Pasteur and on adjacent blocks expecting to receive news about the investigation as promised by DAIA’s authorities. Once again the audience was deceived. Although cynical practices from government officials were a *déjà vu* for the people, in this occasion Corach’s talk was not tolerated. He was booed and had to interrupt his speech when the public began shouting “Jewish traitor” at him.

Immediately after Corach had finished, Laura Ginsberg began her talk, she said:

⁵⁴ - The systematic rejections of the leadership of DAIA to meet with the victims’ families from 1994 until the split off of Memoria Activa in July 1997 was denounced by Olga Dejtiar, Sofia Guterman and Laura Ginsberg when interviewed by the author of this article.

⁵⁵ - Rabbi Bergman presented his resignation to Memoria Activa and explained his dissociation from the group in the movement's periodical, *Masorti* (31 May 1996) He argued that: “... it was time for Memoria Activa to refashion itself.” He explained that it was necessary in order to overcome a manifest failure, which he described as Argentine society's perception of Memoria Activa as a mobilization of solely the Jewish community. Hence, Plaza Lavalle had to be abandoned in order to address Argentine society as a whole (quoted in JPR report, updated on December, 1996). Some of Bergman's colleagues explained his departure as a mark of dissidence with the radical line pressed by the more activist within the group, especially Ginsberg and Malamud, both widows of two people killed in the attack. (Quoted in JPR report, updated on December, 1996)

⁵⁶ - Interview to Olga Dejtiar, *op. cit.*, authors archive.

⁵⁷ - The Jewish organizations paid the lawyer representing Familiares y Amigos de las Victimas, while the people of Memoria Activa hired privately Alberto Zuppi, a well known lawyer that represented the Italian Embassy when that country asked for the extraction of Otto Priebke, one the war criminals that immigrated to Argentina in 1940’s. Since 1996, Zuppi, criticized the way in which AMIA and DAIA led the quarrel in the judiciary.

⁵⁸ - Interview to Olga Dejtiar, Laura Ginsberg and Sofia Guterman. September 2004, November 2005

“I close my eyes and imagine it’s the 18th of July of 1994, at 7 in the morning. We awake as in many other Mondays, to begin the working week. Parents share their breakfast with their children and we all say ‘I love you’ to each other before leaving home. But many of us did not do so because we could never have imagined that it would be for the last time (...).

I accuse the government of Menem and Duhalde of consenting to impunity, of consenting to indifference, incompetence and ineptitude. I accuse the government of Menem and Duhalde of covering up the local connection that was instrumental to the murder of our relatives.”

Ginsberg’s speech included a list of the main problems that cut across the investigation, foreshadowing what the Argentine Federal Justice would confirm in 2004.⁵⁹ Finally, paraphrasing Emile Zola, she accused the Argentine President and the Vice-president of cover-up. The audience responded with a strong applause.

Immediately after Ginsberg finished her talk, the president of DAIA, Ruben Beraja, threw out the speech he had prepared and improvised an accusation against Iran without mentioning any other leads or culprits. The crowd was deceived because everyone was expecting to hear the list of names of the government officials that blocked the investigation, as was promised since long time ago by DAIA and AMIA’s authorities. Having no answer to their claim the audience massively turned their backs to the stage while Beraja was speaking. This symbolic sign of repudiation was sufficient to alter the relationship between the Argentine government and Ruben Beraja, who up to then was perceived by President Menem and Minister Corcah as the uncontested leader of the Argentine Jews. That same afternoon, Beraja and AMIA’s president Oscar Hansman paid an unexpected visit to Minister Corach, apologized for Ginsberg’s talk and pointed that: *“The Jewish leaders do not share the insults and accusations made against President Menem.”*⁶⁰ But Beraja and Hansman’s words were not enough for a government in great need of “partners” capable of disciplining their constituency. Although the paper read by Ginsberg was previously approved by all victims’ families, after the gathering took place fragmentation among the relatives of the victims became inevitable, especially taking into consideration the pressure of the leadership of AMIA and DAIA. Both Beraja and Hansman were in great need of show the Government officials that their condemnation of Ginsberg’s talk was endorsed by relevant actors.

In the days following the third anniversary of the attack, on the opposite side of the city, an anonymous caller phoned and denounced a bomb threat at the pavilion II of the Faculty of Science of the University of Buenos Aires, where Ginsberg works (she is a biologist

⁵⁹ - See Memoria Activa’s website, *Ibidem*

⁶⁰ - About the visit see the newspapers: *La nacion*, *Clarín* and *Página 12*, published the 19th of July 1997. Also see: “Argentines cry over unsolved bombing attacks” by Sergio Kiernan in *The Jewish News Weekly*, July 25, 1997. http://www.jewishsf.com/content/2-0-/module/displaystory/story_id/6604/edition_id/124/format/html/displaystory.html

specializing in immunology). The Brigade of Explosives of the Federal Police found the bomb and detonated it. No one was injured.⁶¹

A few months after the third anniversary of the bombing, in 1997, DAIA and AMIA published *La denuncia*. But the audiences felt once again deceived. The booklet gives clues about some investigative leads but it does not unveil the promised names of those responsible of the cover-up. In addition it was published when concrete evidence showing the complicity of government officials in the cover-up was already public domain.⁶²

In 1999, Memoria Activa, along with the support of the Center of Legal and Social Studies (CELS), the Center of International Justice and Law (CEJIL) and Dr. Alberto Zuppi, accused the Argentine State of:

- a) “The infringement of the right to life and physical integrity of the countless victims of the attack against AMIA, due to the failure to comply with the duty of preventing, investigating and punishing the crime, and
- b) The infringement of the right to judicial guarantees, through the denial of justice from local courts and through the obstruction of justice.”⁶³

This and other systematic irregularities in the investigation propelled Memoria Activa to demand an impartial observer at the oral trial. After considering the relevance of this demand, the president of the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights of the Organization of American States (OAS), Claudio Grossman, arrived in Buenos Aires. He was given a dedicated desk in the courtroom and unlimited access to the files of the case.⁶⁴

In 2004, after three years of work, the Argentine judicial system acquitted most of the twenty suspects imprisoned on false charges and proved that the judge in charge of the investigation had lost and falsified substantive evidence. Regarding these accusations the Consejo de la Magistratura decided that judge Galeano would stand trial. According to Argentine law, this is a necessary step in the process of dismissing a judge. Eamon Mullen and Jose Barbaccia, the two prosecutors who helped Galeano, were immediately dismissed. On July 2005, the judge was dismissed.

In 2004, in a ceremony that took place in the offices of the OAS in Washington, the Argentine President, Nestor Kirchner, officially declared: “The Argentine Government recognizes the responsibility of the State for the violation of human rights, including the right to life, physical integrity and protection by the judiciary. The State recognizes its responsibility, since there was no provision to avoid the attacks, the State recognizes its

⁶¹ - About the menace to Laura Ginsberg, see: *Microsemanario*, Year 7, No 285
<http://www.fcen.uba.ar/prensa/micro/1997/ms285a.htm>

⁶² - AMIA and DAIA eds, (1997) *La denuncia*, Buenos Aires, Planeta

⁶⁴ - About the participation of the OIS and Claudio Grossman in the oral trial, see: the Argentine journal *La Voz del Interior*, Marzo 4 de 1005

responsibility because there was a cover-up and justice was denied.”⁶⁵ This was made possible thanks to Memoria Activa, to the CEJIL and to the CELS’. From 1994 until 2004 prominent Argentine intellectuals, artists, journalists and political actors, as well as representatives of civil society participated in Memoria Activa’s gatherings. They voiced their opinions about issues related to the investigation such as endemic impunity, the inefficiency of local intelligence and security agencies, failures in the investigation of the attack.⁶⁶ Thousands of speeches were given over the ten years of Memoria Activa.

Familiares y Amigos de las Víctimas

Familiares y Amigos de las Víctimas (FAV) supported AMIA and DAIA’s criteria and policy, including the defense of Judge Galeano from the beginning almost to the end of the oral trial in 2004. FAV is one of the parties of the so-called “unified lawsuit” before the judiciary.⁶⁷

When on September 24, 2001, the Argentine judicial system (TOF 3)⁶⁸ brought to trial 20 suspects accused of direct or accessory roles in the AMIA bombing,⁶⁹ FAV intended to

⁶⁵ - The following is a literal transcription of declaration of the Argentine government: El gobierno argentino reconoce la responsabilidad del Estado por la violación de los derechos humanos denunciados por Memoria Activa, incluyendo el derecho a la vida, a la integridad física y a la protección judicial. El Estado reconoce la responsabilidad, ya que no existió prevención para evitar el atentado, el Estado reconoce responsabilidad porque existió encubrimiento y denegación de justicia.” “El gobierno argentino reconoce la responsabilidad del Estado por la violación de los derechos humanos denunciados por Memoria Activa, incluyendo el derecho a la vida, a la integridad física y a la protección judicial. El Estado reconoce la responsabilidad, ya que no existió prevención para evitar el atentado, el Estado reconoce responsabilidad porque existió encubrimiento y denegación de justicia.” The text of the declaration was published by the Argentine journal *Página 12*, see:

http://www.pagina12web.com.ar/secciones/elpais/index.php?id_notas=48040&seccion=1

⁶⁶ - To read the talks given in Memoria Activa’s gatherings since 1996 to 2004, see the section “discursos de la semana” in Memoria Activa’s website: <http://www.memoriaactiva.com/anteriores1996.htm>

⁶⁷ - “Unified lawsuit” is the name given to the lawsuit presented by AMIA, DAIA and FAV to the judiciary.

⁶⁸ - About the TOF No3 and about empirical evidence that proves how Ruben Beraja, in the name of DAIA and AMIA manipulated together with judge Juan Jose Galeano the judicial investigation about the attack against AMIA, see: *Nueva Sion*, “Verguenza ajena”, March, 2005. About the files filled by Memoria Activa’s lawyer, Pablo Jacoby, in the name of Noemi Wassner, Adriana Reinfeld and Benjamin J. Lew, and presented in the Secretary No 17, in the quarrel No 1156, denouncing and presenting concrete evidences that show that the investigation led by judge Oyarbide was manipulated by Ruben Beraja according to his personal interest (in jail under the charges of economic fraud while he was president of Banco Mayo). In exchange, Beraja promised the judge to use his personal influences in the Jewish community of United States to benefit the judge. See the source in: <http://www.memoriaactiva.com/recusacion.htm> , About the denunciations vis-à-vis the Federal Court of the judges Galeano, Oyarbide and Cavallo, see: *Los Andes*, Mendoza, March 20, 2005: <http://www.losandes.com.ar/imprimir.asp?nrc=207917>

⁶⁹ - Judge Juan José Galeano filed charges against 20 suspects on February 27, 2000, and sent the case to an Oral Court. Five of the indicted were described as “necessary parties” to the bombing, a legal term describing accomplices who may not have participated in the bombing itself but whose contributions made it possible. Under Argentine law, accomplices are as guilty as the bombers themselves and can be sent to jail for life without possibility of parole. One civilian, Carlos Alberto Telleldin, a petty criminal with a record of fencing stolen goods, selling stolen cars, pimping, extortion, and passing bad checks, and four senior officers in the Buenos Aires provincial (state) police force—Juan José Ribelli, Raúl Ibarra, Anastasio Leal, and Mario

become an independent voice from both Jewish institutions, but the Court did not accept it. Therefore, there were only two parties representing the victims during the oral trial: the “unified lawsuit” (AMIA, DAIA and FAV) and Memoria Activa.

Consequently, the lawyers of AMIA, DAIA and FAV had to share time in court, dividing the topics of the accusation among themselves. However disturbing the decision of the court may have been for FAV, it could not be legally objected to because the demands of AMIA, DAIA and FAV were analogous, all three parties agreed to: a) consider that the people imprisoned were part of the conexión local (local connection) of the attack; b) praise Judge Galeano’s work as coordinator of the preliminary judicial investigation; and c) evaluate as positive the participation of prosecutors Mullen and Barbaccia’s, although recognizing that each of them had made some mistakes.

The opinion of the parties of the “unified lawsuit” were made public in 2000 by Jose Hercman, the president of DAIA who replaced Beraja: "There were mistakes, delays and manipulations, but we believe Mr. Galeano is an honest man and justice will eventually prevail."⁷⁰ This perception of Judge Galeano’s work was the opposite of Memoria Activa’s.⁷¹

The parties of the “unified lawsuit” (AMIA, DAIA, FAV) paid no attention to Memoria Activa’s denunciations or to congressman Cristina Kirchner, senator and former member of the Special Bicameral Committee for the Follow up of the Attacks Against the Israeli Embassy, who pointed systematically to Galeano’s *mal praxis*⁷²; or to Elisa Carrio who headed a parliamentary committee that investigated problems derived from systemic corruption and included the bombing of AMIA as a leading case to be studied

As part of the refusal to hear or to look at evidence discovered or presented by people that did not belong to or were not related with the *apparatus* of the organization, in 1999, DAIA rejected Nilda Garre’s (head of the Special Unit for the Investigations of the attack, created during Fernando De la Rúa’s administration) statement of the importance of the declaration of “Testigo C” and asked for her resignation, accusing her of having disclosed information that could damage the judicial process.⁷³ Although it was proven that Garre did not disclose information, FAV kept silent.⁷⁴ AMIA listened to Garre, but did not defend her against DAIA’s accusations.

Barreiro—are charged with the handling of the van used as a car bomb by the terrorists. The other 15 will be tried on lesser charges.

⁷⁰ - Forward, September 7, 2000. <http://www.forward.com/issues/2001/01.09.07/news3.html>

⁷¹ - About the loss of pieces of evidences and the deviations in judge Galeanos’ investigation, see Memoria Activa’s presentation vis-à-vis the OAS in the website of the organization: www.memoriaactiva.com, *Ibidem*

⁷² - About Cristina Kirchner’s evaluation of the investigation of the attacks against the Israeli Embassy and the AMIA, see: <http://www.parlamentario.com/parrafoscristina.php3>

⁷³ - About DAIA’s attitude towards Nilda Garre, see the article by Sergio Moreno, “Hay tolerancia cero con el FREPASO”, in the Argentine journal *Pagina 12*: <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/2001/01-10/01-10-07/pag12.htm>

⁷⁴ - About Dr. Nilda Garre’s intervention in the investigation of the attacks, see official documents in: http://www.nildagarre.com.ar/areas_ad6.htmhttp://www.nildagarre.com.ar/areas_ad6.htm

Memoria Activa defended Garre's work as head of UEI, and agreed with her about the inefficiency of prosecutors Eamon Mullen and Jose Barbaccia. In 2000, the Federal Chamber, an organization that supervises the work of all federal judges, also criticized Galeano and the prosecutors for their handling of the case.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, in response to DAIA's demand, and to the silence of AMIA and FAV, Garre was obliged to present her resignation.

On the verge of the closing of the oral trial in 2004, FAV drastically changed its opinion about Judge Galeano and asked that a judgment be handed down. He was charged with not fulfilling his duties as a public official. Galeano was already indicted because of Memoria Activa's denunciations, but he was still in charge of the investigation of the AMIA case.⁷⁶

Some aspects of the relationship between FAV, AMIA and DAIA seem to mirror the relationship among AMIA and DAIA, and the governments of Carlos Menem, Fernando de la Rúa and Eduardo Duhalde. The behavior of FAV was very different from that of Memoria Activa and APEMIA, a third organization created by Laura Ginsberg after she broke with the former.

The women in FAV presented themselves as mothers fighting for the memory of and justice for the loved ones they had lost. Publicly, they were seen as emotional caregivers who fit the model of "typical women." Ostensibly they represented the heart and not the head of the people participating in the "unified lawsuit". Just like most of the relatives who were active in one of the three organizations of victims' families, Sofia Guterman went every morning to the court at Comodoro Py Street, where the trial took place. Considering the nature of the trial, strict security measures were taken by the court. The victims' families sat behind a glass. Each day after court, Sofia Guterman recorded her experiences in her journal. Sofia's writings resemble "the voice of the victim", feeling and speaking from a position of powerlessness.⁷⁷ In July 2004, Sofia published a book entitled *Behind the Glass*.

APEMIA

In December 2001, although not a member of the executive committee of Memoria Activa, Ginsberg talked at the Plaza. Without consulting the leadership of the organization, she called for the resignation of Alberto Zuppi, the legal representative of Memoria Activa. She argued that there was a conflict of interest because he was appointed Secretary of Justice

Als see: Diario del Juicio.com

<http://64.233.161.104/search?q=cache:lh2RWbFBKfIJ:www.diariodeljuicio.com/PFriendly.asp%3FID%3D2785+%22nilda+garre%22+%2B+galeano&hl=en>

⁷⁵ - About the criticism of the Federal Chamber, see: *La Nacion*. July 30, 2000. Also see: *Clarín*: July 29, 2000.

⁷⁶ - When Familiares y Amigos de las Víctimas denounced Galeano he already was being investigated in the criminal jurisdiction since many years ago. About the criminal investigation, see:

http://www.jus.gov.ar/amia/Informe02/Informe_045.htm

⁷⁷ - MacKinnon, Catherine, "Feminist Discourse, Moral Values and the Law", p. 27, 1985, - A conversation. *Buffalo Law Review*, 34: 11-87

during the short-lived government of President Adolfo Rodríguez. When she finished her speech Ginsberg was asked to present her resignation as a member of the movement.⁷⁸

In January 2002, Ginsberg created a new organization named APEMIA. The acronym stands for Agrupación por el Esclarecimiento de la Masacre Impune de la AMIA (Association for the Elucidation of the Unpunished Massacre of AMIA). Although APEMIA and its political network are anti-Zionist, they also claim justice for the victims of the attack on the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires.

Departing from the ideological-political profile defined by Ginsberg, APEMIA built a network of alliances with organizations of the Argentine civil society such as piqueteros⁷⁹ (organization of people without employment), CORREPI (the Coordinator Against Police and Institutional Repression), and FUA (the Argentine University Federation, an organization of students identified with parties of the political left). APEMIA is also linked to the Trotskyist workers party of Argentina, the Partido Obrero (PO).⁸⁰

For APEMIA and its group of allies “the Argentine State is the local connection of the attack against AMIA”. This accusation emerges from the evidence that “(...) the Argentine State knew that the attack was going to occur, did not prevent it and cooperated in the cover-up.”⁸¹ For all of them, the recognition made by President Nestor Kirchner’s government about the Argentine State at the OAS is another type of cover-up. For the people in APEMIA Israel and Imperialism (United States), are also perceived as indirectly responsible for the act.⁸²

Although Ginsberg was a member of Memoria Activa when the presentation was filed by the OAS with the support of CELS and CEJIL, she rejects the validity of the verdict of the trial and does not agree with the performance of the OAS.

For very different and almost opposite reasons neither APEMIA nor FAV accept the verdict of the trial. In the post-trial period the people of FAV participated officially in several gatherings of APEMIA. This was how they expressed their disapproval of the verdict of the oral trial.

The paradox is that FAV and APEMIA represent two opposite extremes within the realm of victims’ families’ organizations. Regarding ethnic identification, FAV is linked to the core of AMIA and DAIA. AMIA paid FAV’s legal representative from 1994 to 2005. FAV’s purpose is to keep alive the memory of what happened⁸³.

⁷⁸ - Interview to Laura Ginsberg, September 2004, Author’s archive.

⁷⁹ - About the piqueteros, see: Escude C. (2005) *El Estado Parasitario- Ciclos de Vaciamiento, clase política delictiva y colapso de la política exterior*. pp 67 -77, 87-92. Lumiere, Buenos Aires

⁸⁰ - When Ginsberg says that the Argentine State knew that the attack was going to occur she refers to the denunciation of Wilson Dos Santos at the Argentine consulate in Milan ten days before the act. (See page 2 of this article) About APEMIA’s ideological orientation, see: CORREPI’s Newsletter No. 176, 2002, in <http://www.correpi.lahaine.org/articulo.php?p=60&more=1&c=1>

⁸¹ - About the conception of APEMIA vis-à-vis the attack and about its link with the PO, see: <http://www.po.org.ar/po/po831/redi.htm> <http://www.po.org.ar/po/po831/redi.htm>

⁸² - About APEMIA’s ideological-political orientation, see the website of the “Liga socialista revolucionari”, URL: www.geocities.com/ligasocrev/AnterioresBR/BR68/Amia.htm

⁸³ - Interviews To Sofía Guterman and Olga Dejtiar, *Ibidem*

APEMIA doesn't consider itself a Jewish organization. Currently, its aim reaches beyond the AMIA case. In regard to national politics, FAV is perceived as having ideologies that go from the center to the democratic right in the local political scene, while APEMIA is identified with the Trotskyist party of Argentina. The only allies of FAV are both AMIA and DAIA.

The only point on which FAV and APEMIA agree is in rejecting the verdict of the Federal Justice. Paraphrasing one of the most important Argentine writers, Jorge Luis Borges APEMIA and FAV seemed to be bound together by dread, not by love.⁸⁴

Conclusions

- From 1995 up to the end of the trial in 2004, two factions could be perceived inside the group of Jewish victims' families in relation to AMIA and DAIA: a) traditionalists identified with "communitarianism" and respectful of what is known in the Argentine Jewry as "communitarian responsibility"⁸⁵ ; b) liberals who think that a legitimate defense of individual rights does not interfere with a positive identification with a collective entity.
- During the period of grief, the women that had lost loved ones in the bombing of AMIA played on the contradiction between sentimentalized views within family relations and the State. For example, they justified pursuing justice because this was the only way in which the "dead would rest in peace". They argued that justice was the only means of ending the period of bereavement. At the national level, they acted as if they would have more rights as mothers than as citizens. Playing the role of mother was also more comfortable within the central Jewish organizations.
- The importance given by DAIA to control can be understood when examining the dynamics of Community Fortress (CF): it worked within the Jewish community as the Panopticon described by Foucault.⁸⁶
- In the aftermath of the bombing, AMIA and DAIA demanded hyper-vigilance and repression of emotions like love, empathy and compassion on the premise that rational action should exclude passion (emotion).⁸⁷
- In 1995 the women leading Memoria Activa had already moved from the discourse of "care ethics" to that of "rights ethics" and rejected formulating gendered identities that create categories such as "women" and "mothers". This was the profile adopted by the women who over time resigned from the grass-roots movement and became active in FAV.

⁸⁴ - See Jorge Luis Borges poem: "Buenos Aires" (1964), in *El otro, el mismo*. "No los une el amor sino el espanto. Sera por eso que la quiero tanto."

⁸⁵ - The terms "communitarian responsibility" designate behaviors congruent with "communitarianism" and verticality inside the Jewish collective entity.

⁸⁶ - Foucault argues that knowledge is a power over others, the power to define others. In his view knowledge ceases to forward liberation, and becomes a mode of surveillance, regulation, discipline. Michel Foucault, The Subject and Power. Ed. Brian Wallis, 1982.

⁸⁷ - Ruben Beraja's speech in Venezuela in 1988, *Ibidem*

- In 1996, the leadership of Memoria Activa began to denounce the preliminary judicial investigation coordinated by Judge Juan Jose Galeano. According to Ginsberg, this happened as soon as they lost what she defined as “*the innocence of the ordinary citizen*”. Such behavior generated discrepancies among the leadership of DAIA-AMIA.⁸⁸
- Until mid 1997, all victims’ families remained involved with Memoria Activa, despite the growing discrepancies among them. The main topics of controversy were the inefficiency of AMIA and DAIA in following up on the preliminary judicial investigation and the attitudes of both organizations towards the government.
- In the specific case of monitoring of the investigation of the bombing, the importance given to detachment in the decision making process was explained by DAIA’s president, Ruben Beraja in 1998, at the First Latin American Cultural Congress of the Confederation of Jewish Associations of Venezuela.⁸⁹
- The political repercussion on the national level of the July 18, 1997, speech given by Laura Ginsberg in the name of all victims’ families, during the commemoration of the third anniversary of the attack was a turning point in the relationship between AMIA/ DAIA and Memoria Activa.
- Since 1997, Memoria Activa has not participated in joint gatherings with AMIA and DAIA.
- Familiares y Amigos de las Victimas (FAV) was created by the victims’ families that did not agree with the leadership of Memoria Activa.
- In 2001, Laura Ginsberg resigned from Memoria Activa; she created APEMIA in January 2002.
- While the women in FAV are more traditionalists, adhere to “communitarianism” and “care ethics”, and perceive the private sphere as feminine; the women in Memoria Activa adhere to a “rights ethics” and reject the idea of gendering the public space.
- Within the organizations of victims’ families, FAV and APEMIA represent two opposite extremes. FAV supports AMIA and DAIA’s policy towards the Argentine government and were therefore critical of the victims’ families that disobeyed the instructions of the leadership of both organizations. FAV is part of the “unified lawsuit” and AMIA pays for its legal representative.
- APEMIA defines itself as an Argentine organization with no links to the Jewish community, “fighting against impunity”, with other organizations of the Argentine civil society, among them the Trotskyite party of Aargentina (Partido Obrero).

⁸⁸ -Interview to Laura Ginsberg, *Ibidem*

⁸⁹ - Ruben Beraja’s speech in Venezuela, in 1998, is a good example of what has been said. *Ibidem*

- Memoria Activa defines itself and as an Argentine Jewish human rights movement.
- Memoria Activa was the only organization successful in moving the Argentine government to recognize its responsibilities for deviations in the judicial primary investigation of the attack. (1994 to 2004).
- A combination of the following facts and situations led to the failure of the judicial investigation of the bombing of AMIA:
 - A government in great need of cover-up;
 - A country where the institutions of the Republic are weak and corruption, and impunity are high;
 - A governments that uses state resources to attract people through sinecure mechanisms, when needed, weakening juridical security;
 - The incapability of both AMIA and DAIA, to make an exhaustive, and accurate diagnosis about the pace of the preliminary judicial investigation. This contributed to the veiling of intentional deviations by the judge in charge of the case and, finally, to the failure of the trial in 2004;
 - A sole political representation of the Argentine Jewry by DAIA, and total lack of controls inside the Jewish community that could lessen the risk of mishandling;
 - The roles of the victims' families and other Jewish social actors, especially when women, were underestimated and under used. The decision makers had little respect for Jewish public opinion and avoided dialog, and critical analysis.
- Three questions arise when we examine the strategic goals stated by AMIA, DAIA, FAV and Memoria Activa and contrast them with the results obtained by each of the organizations:
 - Did the Jewish establishment of AMIA and DAIA faithfully represent the specific mandates of their constituency and the true interests of the collective Jewish entity?
 - Was the strategic goal forgotten and replaced by a certain mimesis and identification with the people in power?
 - Were there unknown facts and interests playing a substantive role in the decision making process of the leadership of AMIA and DAIA?

Epilogue

Silence envelops some of the passions of everyday life. A veil is thrown over disagreeable passions when they affect the behavior of relevant public actors.⁹⁰ This is not surprising because it is disquieting to dwell on the negative in both the public and private realms. To reconstruct the self, the institutions and societal culture, and to convert them into moral and political actors and agencies, that which has been denied must be reconsidered.

⁹⁰ - Hume, Davis, *Moral and Political Philosophy*, p. 236

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