

# Entangled Islands of Memory: Actors and Circulations of Site Memorialisation Practice Between the Latin American Southern Cone and Central and Eastern Europe

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*The (re)claiming and memorialisation of sites associated with political violence occurred in the aftermath of dictatorships in both Europe and Latin America. This article examines the circulation of such practices of memorialising sites, including memorial architectural design and museographic approaches within and between the regions of the Southern Cone of Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe. It explores the ways in which various actors circulate memorial architectural practice between so-called peripheries. It analyses circulations at the regional levels and then focuses on the analysis of two on-going memorialisation debates in Croatia and Chile that show fissures to regional memorialisation regimes. The article shows how transnational circulations are not only based on structures of professional networks and global memory and memorial architecture regimes, but often proceed from encounters, individual agencies and trajectories and are complicated by the multidirectionality of memories*

## I. Introduction: Memorialising Sites of Political Violence

Thousands of miles apart lie two rocky outposts off the European and American mainlands, Goli Otok, the barren island, untouched by the tourist buzz of other islands on the Croatian coast, and Isla Dawson, in the cold extremity of South America, a military precinct that cannot be visited. Since 2014, both have been the subject of heated debates in their local contexts, as an array of actors discussed plans for the memorialisation of the political violence that took place there decades before. Goli Otok was the site of a detention centre for thousands of political prisoners accused of nurturing Stalinist sympathies after Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito split with the USSR in 1948. Isla Dawson was where the regime of Augusto Pinochet sent most of Salvador Allende's deposed government after the 1973 military coup, as well as many people considered ideologically dangerous to the new regime from the southern Chilean region of Magallanes. The debates about the memorialisation of the sites of political violence and their contexts were as far removed as the islands themselves: in Croatia, discussing the island where communist leader Tito imprisoned other communists was an outlier in a region where memory battles and memorialisation struggles in the last decades centred on the

memory of the wars of the 1990s, and to some—interrelated—extent that of the Second World War. In Chile, the discussion came within the framework of an impetus in the memorialisation of sites of dictatorship since the 2000s, with the mayor of the city of Punta Arenas, close to Isla Dawson, wanting a house of memory in his city to mirror other Chilean cities. The debate in Punta Arenas was about bringing the island into the mainstream—albeit contested—memory of the mainland, centred on political violence of dictatorship, while the debate on Goli Otok was about bringing the island and the associated political violence in mainstream Croatian memory-work.

A key argument employed in the latter debate was that many other countries in the region have shaped such sites dedicated to political violence—initiators of the debate to memorialise Goli Otok invoked precedents of such detention centres and prison memorials not only in other post-socialist countries in Central and Eastern Europe but also in Latin America. This opens the question to what extent the memorialisation of such sites, while seemingly circumscribed into national memory debates, engages with the practices of memorialisation from elsewhere in the region, and, particularly from outside of the region. Moreover, there is the question to what extent do two regions such as Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) and the Southern Cone of Latin America (Cono Sur) circulate practices between each other, considering that they were both part of the so-called third wave of democratization, but have experienced practices of memory—work and at times criminalisation of past regimes belonging in the Cold War to opposite ideological camps. This article explores the circulations of practices between these two regions that have been linked conceptually and comparatively by transitology but less explored in their dialogues with each other. To do so, it scrutinises how constellations of actors functioning at different scales, from the local to the global, reshape sites used for political violence as sites of memory.

The article analyses site memorialisation practices in the way they reflect the travelling, transcultural nature of memory,<sup>1</sup> and in the way they are multidirectional, emerging in relation to other memories and their models of interpretation and recognition.<sup>2</sup> For Feindt et al, memory is entangled, as one memory comprises interactions between different such patterns of interpretation.<sup>3</sup> Yet as Aline Sierp and Jenny Wüstenberg note, it is important to recognise the simultaneous groundedness of memory in particular places and the flows that transcend borders.<sup>4</sup> As such, researching transnational flows should not obfuscate the role of the local and the national. Consequently, this research adopted an approach derived from Hans-Georg Gadamer's fusion of horizons (*Horizontverschmelzung*).<sup>5</sup> For Gadamer, it is important to understand a situation in its complexity. The situation generates the horizon of knowledge—how much one can understand from a particular vantage point. One can advance and widen their horizon by confronting

1. Astrid Erll, "Travelling Memory", *Parallax*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (2011), pp. 4–18.

2. Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009).

3. Gregor Feindt et al., "Entangled Memory: Toward a Third Wave in Memory Studies", *History and Theory*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (2014), pp. 24–44.

4. Aline Sierp and Jenny Wüstenberg, "Linking the Local and the Transnational: Rethinking Memory Politics in Europe", *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (2015), pp. 321–329.

5. Hans-Georg Gadamer, "Truth and Method, Translation Revised by Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G.", *Marshall, London & New York: Continuum*, 2004.

it with other vantage points. The research thus begins through in-depth understanding of the local and the horizon produced and then follows threads of bridging the horizons before fusing it. This approach based on the interplay of scales departs from the previous use of Gadamer's Truth and Method in memory studies for the fusion of horizons of past and present-day experience.<sup>6</sup> Instead, it is akin to the translocal method in history as described by Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen,<sup>7</sup> and the glocal approach of Andreas Huyssen, "located in a space between the global and the local".<sup>8</sup> What emerges from the shifting between scales— the local, the national, the global and transnational—is the degree of entanglements that exist. As such, the research built an understanding of entanglements and situations based from both localised research—the horizon of the locality—and tracing professional encounters—the horizon of professions-, bridging this multiplicity in a fusion of horizons that highlights the *encounter* and *entanglement* of actors and situations. The article proceeds in a first part to highlight the general patterns that emerged from the research at the broader scale in the two regions and then focuses in a second part on the memorialisation of the islands, presenting the encounters as they emerge from the fusion of horizons.

The article contributes to the growing interest in transnational circulations in a number of ways. It shows ways in which various actors circulate architectural practice beyond the global architecture firms discussed by McNeill and Sklair.<sup>9</sup> Specifically, it examines memorial architecture beyond 'usual suspects' such as urban memory centres like Berlin and Buenos Aires,<sup>10</sup> analysing bottom up initiatives related to peripheral territories of countries and circulation between countries that have often been represented as peripheries. Furthermore, it departs from the usual analysis of entangled memory through an approach rooted in Gadamerian hermeneutics and an emphasis on encounters. It brings to light two situations of on-going memorialisation debates that show fissures to regional memory regimes. Finally, it shows how transnational circulations are not only based on structures of professional networks and global memory and memorial architecture regimes, but often proceed from individual agencies and trajectories.

## II. Circulations of Site Memorialisation Practice Within and Between the Regions

In her conceptualisation of "travelling memory", Astrid Erll discussed five dimensions of circulations of memory, namely carriers, media, contents, practices and

6. Feindt et al., "Entangled Memory"; Elena Esposito, "Soziales Vergessen", *Formen Und Medien Des Gedächtnisses Der Gesellschaft*. Frankfurt AM: Suhrkamp, 2002.

7. Ulrike Freitag and Achim Von Oppen, *Translocality: The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective*, Vol. 4 (Brill, 2009).

8. Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), p. 84.

9. Donald McNeill, *The Global Architect: Firms, Fame and Urban Form* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009); Leslie Sklair, "The Transnational Capitalist Class and Contemporary Architecture in Globalizing Cities", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (2005), pp. 485–500.

10. Brigitte Sion, *Memorials in Berlin and Buenos Aires: Balancing Memory, Architecture, and Tourism* (Lexington Books, 2014); Peter Birle, Elke Gryglewski, and Estela Schindel, *Urbane Erinnerungskulturen Im Dialog: Berlin Und Buenos Aires* (Metropol, 2009); Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*.

forms.<sup>11</sup> This section discusses the transnational dimension of site memorialisation within and between the two broader regions based on an analysis of contents—scope and coverage of site memorialisation practice from local to national to transnational—, forms—mnemonic imageries that travel—, practices—material and embodied patterns of memorialising sites that travel from one context to another—, and carriers—the actors who circulate such practices and forms.

### *II.1. Practices*

With regards to the circulation of memorial aesthetics and design, there are several practices that reflect transnational orientations, particularly in memorial architecture which makes reference to seminal works such as Maya Lin's Vietnam memorial in Washington, DC or Peter Eisenmann's Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin.<sup>12</sup> Practices also circulate between various sites in the two regions, constituting in regional practice models. In Latin America, a dominant approach aimed to preserve an "authentic space" of memory, involving a minimal intervention and sites exposing bare walls, with an arrested decay of their materiality as clandestine centre, being frequently used in both Chile and Argentina and connected to professional entanglements, as we shall see below. This approach focused on keeping the place as close as possible to when violence took place, to freeze the place to a moment in time. This approach, drawing from an archaeological tradition to preserve "authenticity", is also related to a concern for forensics and exhibiting proofs—walls should communicate not only to the visitor the authenticity of experience, but they play also a role of identification proof for the witness who would be able to identify the place from small colour, material and pattern cues and testify.<sup>13</sup> From this forensic origin, the bare walls approach has become the core of many sites of memory, where the idea is to convey through this materiality the experience of the time and place of political violence. It developed in Argentina and was later adopted by sites in Chile such as Londres 38.<sup>14</sup>

In CEE, on the contrary, an attention to interactive forms of display and multimedia installations circulated through the regions.<sup>15</sup> For instance Maria Schmidt and her team who curated the House of Terror in Budapest have visited and found inspiration in the museums in the Baltic countries, as well as Germany, and developed a mode of display based on symbolism, sound effects and lighting, stage scenery, with a desired emotional impact. This museographic approach travelled further through Schmidt's consulting for a variety of new museum initiatives in

11. Erll, *op. cit.*

12. See Gruia Badescu, "Transnational Place-Making after Political Violence: Agencies and Practices of Site Memorialization in the Latin American Southern Cone", in Aline Sierp and Jenny Wüstenberg (eds.), *Agency in Transnational Memory Politics: A Framework for Analyzing Practice* (New York City, NY: Berghahn Books, 2019).

13. Interview, Alejandra Naftal, Director of ESMA, September 2017.

14. Personal communication arch. Dr. Carolina Aguilera.

15. One example of a seeming "bare walls" approach which developed in CEE is the Pitesti memorial, where the former prison is now akin to a site of memory with peeling walls and limited text and photo display. However, the wallpaint dates from the 1970s, when the building was used as a common prison, then offices, so it is more a stylistic choice than showing concerns for forensics and "authenticity" of the political violence period.

CEE, including in Warsaw, Bucharest and Kiev.<sup>16</sup> Multimedia display installations were also used in the Argentinean ESMA, but they were intended to bring extra information through lights and photographs displayed on the “bare walls”, so they did not depart significantly from the regional model.<sup>17</sup> In CEE, however, the sites were reshaped to support these installations and high-tech approach. The importance of the forensic role of materiality was less important in the CEE case also because the buildings were used as political prisons decades before the Cono Sur ones, and were at times transformed or even demolished in the last decades of socialism.

Both of these regional-wide practices aimed to convey emotional responses from visitors, either through the bareness of walls and the void, or through display of interactive media, emotional texts or images. This can be circumscribed on the one hand to the political agenda of actors, with the memorialisation of such sites being led many times by memory entrepreneurs with an ideological platform on the left (in Cono Sur) or against communism (in CEE) who thus mobilise emotions for political platforms.<sup>18</sup> On the other, the drive to bring emotional responses is due to new, internationalised professional “best practices”. Echoing postcolonial and feminist critiques, museums have challenged traditional educational practices of moulding visitors as docile subjects of the nation<sup>19</sup> and have shifted instead to new curatorial approaches including deployments of iconographies to trigger secondary witnessing, participatory processes and community empowerment.<sup>20</sup> While objects are missing from displays, the emphasis is on the authenticity through materiality (the site itself) and evidence (testimonies, photographs). The Latin American sites of memory placed in the former detention centres correspond to this approach, being neither museums nor mere monuments, but combining materiality, memory and experience.<sup>21</sup> The interactive multimedia component of the CEE exhibits mirrors the concern for participation, while it is also a trigger of politicised emotional responses.<sup>22</sup>

## II.2. Carriers: Actors

Encounters of various actors play an important role in the circulation of memorialisation practice. The use of similar patterns in sites of memory within the Southern Cone and CEE—is related not only to the constitution of professional canons and trends, but also to the regional meetings of museum and sites of memory professionals. The meetings as part of the Latin American Sites of Conscience

16. Amy Sodaro, *Exhibiting Atrocity: Memorial Museums and the Politics of Past Violence* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2018).

17. Interview Naftal.

18. See Mark, *The Unfinished Revolution*; Zombory, “The Birth of the Memory of Communism”; Jens Andermann, “Placing Latin American Memory: Sites and the Politics of Mourning”, *Memory Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2015), pp. 3–8.

19. Jens Andermann, “Returning to the Site of Horror On the Reclaiming of Clandestine Concentration Camps in Argentina”, *Theory, Culture & Society*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (2012), pp. 76–98.

20. Andermann; Janet Marstine, *New Museum Theory and Practice: An Introduction* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2008).

21. Andermann, “Returning to the Site.”

22. Máté Zombory, “The Birth of the Memory of Communism: Memorial Museums in Europe”, *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 45, No. 6 (2017), pp. 1028–1046.

network (*Red Latinoamericana de Sitios de Conciencia*), organised since 2005, constitute a way to circulate knowledge and practices in a Latin American setting. In CEE, various networks of practitioners coexist—a loose coalition of museums unites the Budapest House of Terror with museums from Riga to Warsaw; encounters of memory activists and site managers also occur through transnational networks such as the European Network Remembrance and Solidarity (ENRS), the Platform European of Memory and Conscience, which comprise members from state bodies, civil society, and the EU,<sup>23</sup> or the Memory Lab, which connects South-eastern European and West European museum and memory professionals. International networks with a global scope, such as International Committee of Memorial Museums in Remembrance of the Victims of Public Crimes (IC MEMO), the Federation of International Human Rights Museums and The International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, bring together professionals from both regions, while limited in their impact by costs of travel for participants.

The practice of site memorialisation in both regions is connected with domestic constellations of actors and agendas, but also by the circulation of precedents across borders. The support by state officials in both regions for such action has often come through encounter or inspiration by neighbouring states' decisions. Moreover, as memory activists and associations of survivors identified examples in neighbouring countries through research or encounters, this sparked initiatives to create local or national sites of memory and museums. For instance, current Bulgarian debates on memorialising the camp at Belene come from various actors' frustration that Bulgaria does not have a site to commemorate crimes of political violence during communism, while most other CEE countries have. At times, memory entrepreneurs use the example of other countries to advance political platforms—of a common democratic wave or a leftist revival in Cono Sur or of an anti-communist platform in CEE through which various actors aim to problematically bring communist crimes on a par with the European memory of the Holocaust.<sup>24</sup>

Within the field of architecture, the last decades have witnessed the increase in the "global" architects and architectural firms, important actors in the transfer of practices.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, professional networks, educational programmes and media circulation lead to the circulation of a professional cannon that rests in a global memorial architecture regime that acts as a common reference point. Yet, as we shall see in the next section, these patterns are unsettled at the local level by frictions and multidirectionality that function both at a local and transnational scales.

### II.3. Contents

One aspect of transnational circulations is the increase in the practice of site memorialisation itself. Many sites used for political violence by past regimes have become sites of memory dedicated to the specific memory of events which took place there. Others covered a broader scale of events and topics than the

23. Sebastian M. Büttner and Anna Delius, "World Culture in European Memory Politics? New European Memory Agents Between Epistemic Framing and Political Agenda Setting", *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (2015), pp. 391–404.

24. Máté Zombory, "The Birth of the Memory of Communism: Memorial Museums in Europe", *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 45, No. 6 (2017), pp. 1028–1046.

25. McNeill, *op. cit.*

memory related to the site: memorial museums and memorials.<sup>26</sup> Throughout the two regions, several countries built or refurbished structures ad-hoc for national museums of memory of their respective dictatorship.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, various actors have built memorial architecture and sculpture either at or in the vicinity of sites of political violence, or in urban sites.<sup>28</sup>

The narratives of these museums are generally national, focused on the country's experience, and usually with little reference to neighbouring countries or global issues, such as the Cold War. However, there is a limited number of sites of memory and memorials that refer to transnational practices of repression or to victims of the entire region. For instance, Automotores Orletti in Buenos Aires deals with the detention and torture on site of prisoners brought there through the transnational Plan Condor.<sup>29</sup> The Gloria Victis Memorial built in 2006 in Hungary goes beyond the regional dimension and seeks to commemorate "the 100 million victims of communism" with references to multiple situations and a "world map of communist terror", which includes Latin America, where it maps sites of crimes in Chile and Peru.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, there are ongoing plans to build a Museum of Communism in Tallinn, Estonia which, according to its ambassadors,<sup>31</sup> will discuss the global dimension of communist crimes.

#### II.4. Forms

The memorialisation of sites of political violence has at its core the mnemonic form of the duty to remember the crimes of the state against its own citizens. The act to memorialise such sites as a form of criminalisation of previous regime is in both regions connected to the memorialisation of the Holocaust. Ricardo Brodsky, former director of the *Museum of Memory and Human Rights* in Santiago, links Bachelet's idea as an inspiration from the memorialisation of the Shoah.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, initial post-dictatorship attempts to memorialise sites of violence are connected through individual agencies to the Holocaust. First, design projects for sites of political violence during the Pinochet regime in Chile, including the Villa Grimaldi, Santiago,<sup>33</sup> and the Pisagua camp in northern Chile,<sup>34</sup> were supported by individuals who have lost family in the Holocaust and advocated the memorialisation of sites as an important form of repair. Similarly, in Argentina, there is a

26. For instance, the Memorial to the Victims of Communism and to the Resistance, in Sighet, Romania; ESMA in Buenos Aires, Argentina; the House of Terror in Budapest, Hungary; the Lithuanian Museum of Occupations and Freedom Fight (formerly named Museum of Genocide Victims), Vilnius, Lithuania, etc.

27. For instance, the *Museo de la Memoria*, tucked away in Montevideo's periphery in a mansion unconnected to the Uruguayan dictatorship, the *Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos*, built ad-hoc in Santiago, Chile, or the Museum of Occupations in Estonia.

28. Memorials to victims of dictatorship exist in most Chilean and Argentinian cities, Montevideo (Uruguay). In CEE, they are rarer. In Romania, for instance, there are less memorials to victims of communist repression (e.g. Cluj- Napoca, but there are memorials to victims of the 1989 revolution.

29. See Badescu, 2019.

30. "The memorial", available: <<http://gloriavictis.hu/en/memorial.html>> (accessed 10 May 2018).

31. Personal communication, ENRS meeting, Bucharest, May 2018, see <<https://redterrormuseum.com/en/about-the-project/>>.

32. Interview Ricardo Brodsky, 17.01.2017, Vicuña, Chile.

33. Interview, arch. Ana Cristina Torrealba Medina, November 2009, DVD 1 from the Oral Archive, Villa Grimaldi.

34. Interview arch. Oscar Weber Caballero, Santiago, Chile, 3 January 2017.

perception that an acknowledgement of the memorialisation of Holocaust helped trigger efforts to memorialise sites associated to the last dictatorship.<sup>35</sup> In Central and Eastern Europe, the memorialisation of such sites is also related to the existence of memorial sites of the Holocaust, which actors of memorialisation of communist crimes have visited.<sup>36</sup> For instance, Ana Blandiana, co-founder of the Sighet Memorial Museum in Romania declared that the initiative started as an idea after her visit to Auschwitz in the early 1990s.<sup>37</sup> In this region, this memorialisation is at times circumscribed in a competitive memory framework, while sometimes recognising the multiplicity of memories, in a multidirectional memory framework. Communist crimes were portrayed by certain memory entrepreneurs problematically, as either a left-wing equivalent of Holocaust or as a specific Eastern European experience versus a Western, universalist claim of the Holocaust.<sup>38</sup>

A mnemonic form that appears to some extent in both regions is that of an outside-led or driven installation of an authoritarian regime and therefore of an externalisation of crimes, to the USA in the Latin American case and the Soviet Union in CEE. In some former Soviet Republics, this becomes a rather central mnemonic form, with the emphasis on the occupation aspect of the Soviet authoritarian regime. This form of representation circulated between countries, for instance the Georgian museum dedicated to the Soviet period was influenced by the permanent exhibition of the Latvian and the Lithuanian main memory museums.<sup>39</sup>

### III. Oceans apart? Making Sense of Two Islands of Memory

#### III.1. Goli Otok

In 2014, the State Property Management Office of Croatia (DUUDI) announced a list of sites the state wanted to sell or rent, including the Goli Otok island off the Adriatic coast.<sup>40</sup> Rumours included the transformation of the Yugoslav camp, where 13,000 people had been detained, into a luxury tourist destination. Immediately after the announcement, the Association of Goli Otok survivors "Ante Zemljari" opposed it and presented its proposal for a memorial area, which the press named "a tourist destination on the path of Buchenwald and Alcatraz", lumping together a Nazi site with the popular culture reference to the high security prison island off the San Francisco Bay.<sup>41</sup> The Association has been discussing for years the transformation of the island in a memorial site, but the 2014 announcement triggered many reactions in the public and a new impetus to block the state plans and memorialise the island instead.

The place of Goli Otok in the memory landscape of Croatia, the former Yugoslavia and Central and Eastern Europe is rather special. Goli Otok was the site where

35. Interview Maria Jose Kahn (curator, ESMA), Buenos Aires, 6 February 2017.

36. James Mark, *The Unfinished Revolution: Making Sense of the Communist Past in Central-Eastern Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).

37. Zombory, "The Birth of the Memory of Communism."

38. Zombory.

39. Duncan Sherlock, "Georgia", in Lavinia Stan and Nadya Nedelsky (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Transitional Justice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

40. Available: <<http://www.jutarnji.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/drzava-prodaje-goli-otok-novi-vlasnici-gradit-ce-veliki-turisticki-kompleks/683317/>> (accessed 20 July 2017).

41. Available: <<http://www.jutarnji.hr/vijesti/bitka-za-goli-otok-%E2%80%98strasni-zatvor-ce-postati-turisticka-destinacija-popot-buchenvalda-i-alcatraza%E2%80%99/685978/>>.

after the Tito-Stalin split, the Yugoslav regime detained and tortured prisoners from all constituent republics, on the grounds that while being communist, they were not seen as loyal to Tito's regime. It was therefore more similar in aims to the Soviet Gulag rather than sites discussed above, where opponents to the regime coming from other ideological camps were detained. While many Central and Eastern European countries have already witnessed the creation of memorial sites dedicated to communist crimes, Goli Otok has yet to be memorialised.

The lack of memorialisation has to do with the specific, distinctive memory landscape of the former Yugoslavia. The key difference is the fact that, while most of CEE witnessed a generally peaceful transition from socialist regimes to liberal democracy, in Yugoslavia, as Dejan Jović put it, there was no 1989, but 1991<sup>42</sup>—that is, not a direct transition to democracy, but to wars and turbulent nationalism. Consequently, in most successor states, there was a different pattern of memorialisation than in the rest of CEE, what Jelena Subotić calls “the challenge of multiple transitions”,<sup>43</sup> including transitions from both socialism and from conflict. While most human rights groups and the left focused on the memory of the war crimes of the 1990s, right wing groups monopolised the investigation and memorialisation of Tito's action, by highlighting the killings of so-called “patriotic” groups, “defenders of the nation” by communist Partisans during the Second World War, and describing the ensuing Yugoslav communism in totalitarian tropes.<sup>44</sup> The right often portrayed massacre of civilians and soldiers withdrawing from Croatia in fear of Partisans, as a “Holocaust of Croatian martyrs”, commemorated yearly at Bleiburg in Austria.<sup>45</sup> Croatian president Tuđman adopted a “national reconciliation” approach for all ethnic Croats, no matter if themselves or their ancestors were on the fascist Ustasha or Partisan side, approach inspired from Franco's post-Civil War memorial acts, with Tuđman an ardent admirer of the General.<sup>46</sup>

Goli Otok, as a place where communists suffered at the hands of the regime in the first decade of socialist Yugoslavia,<sup>47</sup> did not fit the aims of this new regime of memorialisation of Tuđman's Croatia. In the 1990s, the example of Goli Otok was used as an example of the crimes of Tito's Yugoslavia and of the brutal character of the regime, therefore used as a mean to undermine the existing image of Yugoslavia as a “different”, more liberal and open side of communism. Nevertheless, there was no attention to the management or the memorialisation of the site itself. In fact, since 1992, Goli Otok was left abandoned, its buildings decaying, and its territory inhabited by sheep and goats brought in by shepherds from

42. Dejan Jović, *Yugoslavia: A State That Withered Away* (Purdue University Press, 2009).

43. Jelena Subotić, “Out of Eastern Europe: Legacies of Violence and the Challenge of Multiple Transitions”, *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (2015), pp. 409–419.

44. Jelena Subotić, “The Mythologizing of Communist Violence”, in Lavinia Stan and Nadya Nedelsky (eds.), *Post-Communist Transitional Justice: Lessons from Twenty-Five Years of Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

45. David Bruce MacDonald, *Balkan Holocausts?: Serbian and Croatian Victim Centered Propaganda and the War in Yugoslavia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Pål Kolstø, “Bleiburg: The Creation of a National Martyrology”, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 62, No. 7 (2010), pp. 1153–1174.

46. Vjeran Pavlaković, “Flirting with Fascism: The Ustaša Legacy and Croatian Politics in the 1990s”, *The Shared History and the Second World War and National Question in Ex-Yugoslavia. CHDR. Novi Sad*, 2008, 115–143.

47. Goli Otok served as a prison and labour camp between 1949 and 1956, when it was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Republic of Croatia, as a common prison, and later as a juvenile prison, which shut down in 1988.

nearby islands. Consequently, in 2013, local cultural figure Damir Čargonja Čarli from Rijeka decried how “a historic jewel, such as Goli Otok has been transformed into archeological garbage for almost 25 years, despite its enormous cultural, memorial, educational and tourist potential”. Čargonja Čarli was himself part of a local Rijeka group intent on recovering the site and transforming into an international School for Peace and Art. While then Croatian president Stjepan Mesić, who departed from Franjo Tuđman’s approach to memory, supported the idea publicly, no definite state plan was made for Goli Otok.<sup>48</sup>

In the aftermath of the DUUDI announcement and the media uproar which followed, a number of actors stepped in with different visions for the site. The drivers of the memorialisation of Goli Otok to turn it into a more mainstream cause are connected to local, national and transnational factors. Local voices, such as the Municipalities of the nearby cities of Rab and Lopar, were caught in a dispute over who should administer the island, while they both advocated its importance for the development of the local community. This included plans as varied as opening hotels, supporting lamb grazing for the region’s famed mutton, and opening the prison as a site for increased tourism. Interestingly, though, the Municipality of Lopar made its case for the latter with direct reference to the House of Terror in Budapest and the Devil Island in Guyana, which it described as inspiring examples of dealing with the sites.<sup>49</sup> From farther afield, cultural figures and associations from the nearby city of Rijeka also took part in the debate and wanted for instance the reconstruction of prison building as an art colony or the school mentioned above.<sup>50</sup> Entrepreneurs from near and far expressed their interest in tourism development; some, more intrepid, have already opened the Pržun (prison) restaurant, a small souvenir shop including the possibility of taking photos in a detainee costume, and the tourist train on the island.

At national level, the victims association Ante Zemljarić, reuniting survivors and family members of the camp, and Documenta, a leading NGO specialised on dealing with the past in Croatia, protested against the commercialisation of the site and asked for a memorialisation that would result from a participatory process. The Ante Zemljarić association advocated for the construction of a memorial park with educational activities. The design repertoire related to the global regime of memorial architecture—a wall of names, with a few spaces with a “bare walls” approach. Its president Darko Bavoljak also put forward the plan to create a network of world prisons, stating that Germans would be helpful to support such a network with their sensitivity to the Nazi concentration sites.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, Bavoljak traces much of the vision for the site to his visit to Buchenwald.<sup>52</sup> Documenta’s approach was steeped in transnationalism, as it operated both within

48. Marko Čulić, “Borba Za Spas Povijesti Golog Otoka”, available: <[https://www.tportal.hr/vijesti/clanak/borba-za-spas-povijesti-golog-otoka-20130126?experimentCode=362f0a224bc4604f45129030736ac39747d76bea&utm\\_expId=.P7ypB0NVQfaQzvpCmC600Q.1&utm\\_referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.hr%2F](https://www.tportal.hr/vijesti/clanak/borba-za-spas-povijesti-golog-otoka-20130126?experimentCode=362f0a224bc4604f45129030736ac39747d76bea&utm_expId=.P7ypB0NVQfaQzvpCmC600Q.1&utm_referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.hr%2F)> (accessed 26 January 2013).

49. Srdjan Brajčić, “Goli Otok Kao Turistički Adut: Odmor i Eko-Janjetina u Bivšem Zatvoru, Safari Na Grguru”, *Novi List*, available: <[http://www.novolist.hr/Vijesti/Regija/Otoci/Goli-otok-kao-turisticki-adut-odmor-i-eko-janjetina-u-bivsem-zatvoru-safari-na-grguru?meta\\_refresh=true](http://www.novolist.hr/Vijesti/Regija/Otoci/Goli-otok-kao-turisticki-adut-odmor-i-eko-janjetina-u-bivsem-zatvoru-safari-na-grguru?meta_refresh=true)> (accessed 13 July 2012).

50. Čulić, “Borba Za Spas Povijesti Golog Otoka.”

51. Available: <<http://www.jutarnji.hr/vijesti/bitka-za-goli-otok-%E2%80%98strasni-zatvor-ce-postati-turisticka-destinacija-poput-buchenwalda-i-alcatraza%E2%80%99/685978/>> (accessed 20 July 2017).

52. Interview, Darko Bavoljak, November 2017.

transnational network of activists, but also in relationship to the so-called transnational approach on a European memory: an expectation that new EU member states would engage with the past, not only of fascism and the Holocaust, but also of communist dictatorships.<sup>53</sup> The Europeanisation of memory was invoked by further NGO voices advocating for the need to reshape Goli Otok in a memorial site to fill the function of places of remembrance of the communist past. While Bleiburg could be seen as fitting more to what other Central and Eastern European countries have memorialised, it is tarnished with associations with the far right. Furthermore, Bleiburg is extraterritorial to Croatia as it lies in Austria. Goli Otok could then serve the function of filling the role of the Croatian place of memorialising communist crimes.

Prisoners on Goli Otok came from all Yugoslav republics, which implies a transnational memory and the potential of a transnational memorialisation. In several ex-Yugoslav states, a variety of actors, usually human rights organisations, victims' associations or museums, have dealt with the issue. In Montenegro, the NGO Human Rights Action has worked on an initiative to rehabilitate prisoners from the small republic, which had proportionally the highest number of inmates of all Yugoslavia. In Slovenia, the National Contemporary History museum and the University of Ljubljana have been involved in projects on the memory of Goli Otok. In Serbia, the victims association "Goli Otok" has a low profile but appears at times in the media. In different media, it was described in nationalised, ethnicised terms as a special place of Serbian victimhood, of Montenegrin suffering, and even of Italian suffering. Nevertheless, with the exceptions that we shall discuss below, there is little collaboration between the actors, which is also due to the limited existence of a pan ex-Yugoslav dialogue on the memory of socialism.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, the memorialisation of the site itself, is mired in its Croatian context, function of its mere location. Confined by its geography, they feature debates about which municipality administers the site or about property restitution according to Croatian law. The site's neglect can be framed in its national situation as a topic which does not interest the right, as many of its victims were not Catholic Croats, the canon of national victims, nor the Croatian left, preferring to preserve a positive memory of socialism in the light of the havoc of nationalism and war.

The representations of Goli Otok employ, however, a transnational frame of repertoires, Erll's mnemonic forms. Historian Ivan Kosić described Goli Otok as a "political prison bringing together combination of repressive methods of secret Russian imperial police, Gestapo like concentration camps and Stalin's Gulag".<sup>55</sup> One of the tropes, referring to the type of political violence, calls it the "Yugoslav Gulag", while media also uses "concentration camp", borrowed from Holocaust terminology. When DUUDI Director Mladen Pejnović announced the plans for sale, it was called in the media the "Yugoslav Alcatraz", depoliticising the site. In his reaction, the head of the Victims association Ante Zemljarić emphasised that "Goli Otok was an experiment in world history that is now repeated in Guantanamo",<sup>56</sup> thus repoliticising it and bringing it into the global discussion on

53. Interviews Dea Marić, former programme coordinator at Documenta, July 2017, Vesna Teršelič, February 2018.

54. Subotić, "Out of Eastern Europe."

55. Ivan Kosić, *Goli Otok: Najveći Titov Konclogor* (Adamić, 2003).

56. (Davor Bavoļjak, *Jutarnji List*, 2014).

human rights and the abuse of prisoners. As such, he departed from the representation of Cold War-related dichotomies of political violence that many memorial projects in CEE have and came to contemporary issues of human rights, echoing some of the Latin American sites.

Interestingly, while the Gulag was used in terms of representations, none of the interviewed actors, including the victims groups, human rights activists, NGOs, and cultural actors mentioned looking at the post-Soviet space as source of inspiration for the memorialisation of sites. This could be explained by the lack of information about such initiatives, but also by the continuities in the Yugoslav space being represented as very distinctive from Soviet Union, with Tito an opposite of Stalin. Furthermore, the Central and Eastern European references came also in relationship to Croatia's accession to the EU and the links to the practices of memory of the other CEE countries. Despite the differences between the ex-Yugoslav situation and CEE, as a new EU member state, Croatian actors became immersed into the European memory practices, through funding project partners and collaborations. This so-called Europeanisation of practices involved actors as diverse as state officials and the civil society. In 2017, on the European Day of Remembrance for Victims of Totalitarian Regimes, the President of the Croatian Parliament, a member of the political right, went to lay wreaths at Goli Otok, which marked a symbolic gesture of European memory, framed in the national anti-communist discourse of the party.<sup>57</sup> As for the civil society, embedded in European funding schemes and transnational collaborations, NGO Documenta led a number of transnational projects bringing together organisations from several former Yugoslav states as well as Western Europe. For instance a consortium including other memory and human rights groups from ex-Yugoslav republics, as well as Italy,<sup>58</sup> organised the International Volunteer Camp "Landscape of Memories" on islands Rab<sup>59</sup> and Goli Otok and the Summer School "Culture of Remembrance in Contemporary Europe", which brought together key local stakeholders with participants from all the former Yugoslavia, but also from Italy and Germany, with the organisers also inviting participants from Poland and Romania, to bring a regional focus.<sup>60</sup> Documenta did so as a member of several important pan-European remembrance networks of memory activists, including the Global Coalition for Conflict Transformation, which includes members from all continents, with the exception of South America.

Latin America, particularly Chile, however, appears as an important source of inspiration for Documenta. The head of the NGO, Vesna Teršelič, a Slovenian-born peace activist who founded the Anti-War Campaign in Croatia in the 1990s, traces her interest in the topic of memorialisation of sites of political violence to her trip to Chile in 1998. Exhausted by her human rights struggles related to the emergence of nationalism and the experience of conflict in recently independent

57. "Jandroković Položio Vijenac Na Golom Otoku, a Obuljen u Jasenovcu", *Oslobodjenje*, available: <<https://www.oslobodjenje.ba/vijesti/region/jandrokovic-položio-vijenac-na-golom-otoku-a-obuljen-u-jasenovcu>> (accessed 23 August 2017).

58. *Center for Cultural Decontamination* (Belgrade), *Centre for Civic Education Podgorica, Peace Action* (Prilep), *Associazione Quarantasettezeroquattro* (Gorizia), *Center of Jewish Cultural Heritage Synagogue* (Maribor), *Volunteers' Centre Zagreb, Association Goli otok "Ante Zemljar"*.

59. The island of Rab, the larger island next to Goli Otok, is also the site of Kampor, a concentration camp ran by fascist Italy. See James Walston, "History and Memory of the Italian Concentration Camps", *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (1997), pp. 169–183.

60. Interview Marić.

Croatia, Teršelič embarked on a journey to Latin America, which provided her with new energy and enthusiasm to pursue the human rights cause. Her contacts and conversations in Chile gave a new impetus, as, beyond her concern with nationalism and war, the Latin American dedication to engage with the memory of political violence of regimes had an impact on her. Consequently, when she later discussed with partners the status of the new NGO Documenta, she already had in mind the camp of Goli Otok, discussed in Tuđman's Croatia but at the time hijacked by the right. Consequently, the period 1941–1990 was also included in the status of the NGO, to prepare a discussion on both Second World War crimes and repression in the early years of Tito.

While disagreeing with the equalisation of communism and fascism practices by other CEE memory entrepreneurs,<sup>61</sup> and very sensitive to Yugoslavia's specificity, Teršelič presents herself as a keen advocate of engaging with the political violence of the previous authoritarian regimes. Others point out that the turn to Goli Otok might have occurred also in relationship to the increasing attacks on Documenta by the dominant right as being an "anti-Croatian organization" by concentrating particularly on Serbian victims of the Croatian state during the 1990s war rather than the officially sanctioned Croat victims—focusing on a communist camp would reduce this association.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, more sceptical sources indicate a suspicion that the turn to Goli Otok occur in relationship to European money flows, while others point out that Documenta usually went against the grain of funding to actually pursue unpopular human rights causes, so this would not reflect the organisation.<sup>63</sup> In any case, after two decades of memory work on the 1990s conflicts, the discussions on the memorialisation of Goli Otok show that there is a renewed interest in Croatia and ex-Yugoslavia to deal with this authoritarian past, part of both a transnational Europeanising regime as well as actors' own trajectories. While referring to Goli Otok, Teršelič is thankful for the Chilean inspiration, within contemporary debate taking place in Chile itself, the memorialisation of another island proves both the challenges in Chile itself as well as links back to Croatia.

### *III.2. Isla Dawson and the House of Human Rights in Punta Arenas*

After a hesitant 1990s, when most efforts to memorialise sites of political violence in the Southern Cone were bottom-up led, the state entered the memorialisation of sites with great impetus in Chile and Argentina, during the Michelle Bachelet and the Nestor Kirchner/Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner presidencies respectively. Local initiatives throughout the territory were boosted with new funds and new interest. New sites of memory were invested with educational and dissemination duties and functions. Amidst the number of such new and planned sites, the Casa de los Derechos Humanos in Punta Arenas, Chile shows to a greater degree the fissures between various actors, the challenges for architects to engage with the memory of sites, the tensions between competitive memories and the importance of the local context in transnational linkages.

61. Laure Neumayer, "Integrating the Central European Past into a Common Narrative: The Mobilizations around the 'Crimes of Communism' in the European Parliament", *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (2015), pp. 344–363.

62. Interview, Croatian scholar, under anonymity.

63. Interviews, Croatian memory activists and scholars, under anonymity.

The mayor of Punta Arenas, the southernmost city of Chile, capital of Magallanes region, initiated a design competition for the conversion of a house used for torture during the Pinochet dictatorship into the House of Human Rights (Casa de los Derechos Humanos). Following several other cities in Chile that have opened such sites, the mayor Emilio Boccazzi was allegedly seeking a new project to boost his paltry record.<sup>64</sup> The conversion of the house, built in the 19th century neo-classical style typical for Punta Arenas, and located on a main avenue of the city was to be this project, which was announced as a participatory process for the entire community. Ironically named by locals “the palace of smile” (Palacio de la Sonrisa), the house was used during 1973 and 1975 for administrative tasks of the Military Intelligence Service (SIM) staff as well as the main centre of torture and interrogation in the region of Magallanes. After the return to democracy it was used as meeting place for members of the socialist party.

The competition had two finalists. The first entry echoed the approach much present in other sites in the Southern Cone—bare walls, a focus on authenticity of materiality and a platform for victims to conduct human rights and memory advocacy on the first floor. Several groups of victims and human rights insisted that they supported this approach as this was closer to a site of memory, and not a museum of memory, approach they rejected outright.

The second entry, however, signaled a stark departure from both the aesthetics and the museography of the dominant bare walls approach. According to its main architect, Miguel Lawner, the memorialisation of the Casa should not just support the memories of the victims that it housed, but reflect on wider histories of repression and torture in the area of Magallanes, embedded in a Chilean national context. Lawner’s proposal included the destruction of a 1950s-built annex and the construction of a steel structure behind the building to include space for exhibits. With regards to the façade of the mansion, while principles of architectural restoration would suggest returning to the original condition, Lawner’s team decided to keep the façade in its state, as this would be more connected to how the building was perceived by locals when the site was used for torture and passersby would hear the screams. When faced with the memory of dictatorship, architectural projects should transgress regular practice, Lawner insisted, as for him, architectural practice, memorial or not, needs to be contextualised by its social function. In fact, Lawner has seen architecture as a fundamentally social endeavour since the beginning of his career, a fact that he traces to the influence of his inspiring Hungarian university professor Tibor Weiner, who was instrumental into changing the curriculum in Santiago from the Beaux-Arts tradition to a social focus in the 1940s.<sup>65</sup> Later, Weiner returned to Hungary, where he was a key figure for the Hungarian socialist project of building Sztalinvaros, now Dunaujvaros, a city for workers. Lawner’s vision for architecture as a social project would propel him in the 1960s and 1970s as one of the main advocates for modernist social housing in Santiago, becoming director of the Corporation for Urban Improvement (Cormu) of the Allende government.

His proposed exhibition design for the House of Human Rights begins in the adjacent courtyard and follows into the ground floor, with a museographic display of the main violations of human rights that occurred in the region of

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64. Personal communication, arch.Pamela Beatriz Dominguez, Punta Arenas, 22 February 2017.

65. Interview, Miguel Lawner, September 2017.

Magallanes, starting with the extermination of the native inhabitants throughout the 19th century. It continues with a room dedicated to the labour unions of the early 20th century and their oppression by the state. Next comes the space dedicated to state terrorism imposed by the Pinochet dictatorship, focusing on the violations of human rights, including the ones that occurred in the house. On the first floor, most space is dedicated to the concentration camp of Rio Chico, on Isla Dawson, 100 km away from Punta Arenas, where the main figures of Allende's government were interned, including Lawner himself, as director of Cormu. In the book *Dawson Island. Testimonies of disgrace and dignity*, Abel Esquivel<sup>66</sup> calls Isla Dawson a concentration camp. The use of the name in the region, particularly popular in Argentina, relates to the transnational influence of the Holocaust.<sup>67</sup> Lawner himself calls it a concentration camp.<sup>68</sup>

The framing of Isla Dawson is essentially a national Chilean story, but with a transnational dimension through its representation as a concentration camp and the trajectory of its prisoners and celebrated artefacts, including the drawings and sketches of Miguel Lawner. His drawings circulated in the late 1970s throughout the world as evidence of the conditions of internment, and were able to leave the country via another CEE connection. Through international delegations who visited the internment camp, the drawings arrived to Santiago to Lawner's wife. She gave them all for safekeeping to her friend Sandra Dimitrescu, the wife of the ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the only socialist country which did not cut its connections to Chile after the coup. Lawner managed to flee Chile himself and went into exile in Denmark, where he tried to recuperate his drawings. While he appreciated the Romanian help, he also disapproved of the non-interrupted links between Ceausescu and Pinochet, and did not want the drawings to be exhibited in Bucharest, as the socialist Romanian government wanted. After a lot of pressure with the help of the German Democratic Republic, which Lawner found a better place to exhibit the drawings, the latter were released from Romania and exhibited in Berlin.<sup>69</sup> Not only did they become a mnemonic form of the Pinochet regime, but they were used as source of inspiration for various memorial projects in Chile, including the proposed spaces inside the Casa in Punta Arenas.

The last room in Lawner's project for the Casa opens up the exhibit to a different transnational direction, creating an unexpected multidirectional memory twist. The room is filled with the sound of the dramatic choir of the former political prisoners singing *Tamo Daleko*, described as "a traditional melody of Croatian origin". The references are multiple: Punta Arenas is a city where an important migration from Dalmatia at the end of the 19th century, mostly from the island of Brač, accounts for a majority of the population today stating Croatian heritage and names ending with "ić".<sup>70</sup> The migration from Dalmatia accounted for the

66. *Isla Dawson*.

67. Antonius CGM Robben, "From Dirty War to Genocide: Argentina's Resistance to National Reconciliation", *Memory Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (2012), pp. 305–315.

68. Esquivel, *op. cit.*

69. Interview, Lawner.

70. The group's perceived identity changed as history brought different state entities ruling their native islands. In Punta Arenas for instance, the area of settlement was called the Austrian neighbourhood (Dalmatia was part of the Habsburg monarchy when the first immigrants arrived), later renamed the *Barrio Yugoslavo*, and, after 1991, with Croatia's independence, it became the *Barrio Croata*.

strengthening of numbers of the working classes, but also of the labour movement that the Croats ignited, being intimately related to the first labour unions of Punta Arenas.<sup>71</sup> The ode to the Croats sang by political prisoners can therefore refer to the local community's role in the workers' cause that political prisoners also represented, acknowledging them indirectly as being a bastion of left wing action.<sup>72</sup> For Lawner, this was also important as on the Isla Dawson, separated from the Rio Chico camp for the Allende government, there was another camp for people from the Magallanes, who were singing this song every Sunday.<sup>73</sup> As such, including it in the exhibit as main sound installation would evoke the soundscape of Isla Dawson. Furthermore, "Tamo daleko" means "there, far away", a double reference to the far away Croatian homeland, and to how far away from the rest of Chile Isla Dawson was for most of its prisoners.

This tribute to the Croatian presence and to their memory makers brings in a key problem, which highlights the multidirectionality of memory and the challenges of its representation in museographic space. While now being understood in Punta Arenas as a Croat song, Tamo Daleko is in most accounts a song composed on the Greek island of Corfu in 1916 to express the alienation and nostalgia of Serbian soldiers, far away from their homes in landlocked Serbia. Most versions of the folk song end with the line "Long live Serbia", and Tamo Daleko came to become in the 20th century one of the most important Serbian patriotic songs. It having become a signifier for Serbianness was very clear when the most popular Yugoslav music group of the 1980s, Bijelo Dugme, recorded in 1988 a song in which parts of Tamo Daleko were combined with the traditional Croatian anthem, Lijepa Naša Domovina (Our beautiful homeland), which caused significant agitation and hostility at several concerts in Croatia. The song was frequently booed, reaction later interpreted by frontman Goran Bregović as the ultimate sign of Yugoslavia's impending collapse.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, the Croat Chilean community of Punta Arenas considers it today a Croatian song, with representatives of an cultural association of Croat immigrants to the Magallanes region bringing forward two narratives of its identification with the Croatian diaspora.<sup>75</sup> First, there is the claim that this is a Dalmatian song which was already sang by the Brač migrants as early as late 19th century, which would be supported by the research of a professor in Osijek, Croatia, Marko Skendar.<sup>76</sup> The second narrative is that the dislike of Austria was so large in the Dalmatian community in Chile, that they adopted this Serbian song in support of their anti-Habsburg struggle. Notwithstanding the two narratives, the majority of the local community considers the song a Croatian one. The ode to the Croat community, invested since the 1990s

71. Mateo Martinic, *La Inmigración Croata En Magallanes* (Hogar Croata, Punta Arenas, 1999).

72. Croatian Chileans of Magallanes maintained a reputation of a left wing diasporic group, even when overall in Chile, Croatian Chileans were seen as Pinochetistas, perception related to the influx of further migration with a more anti-communist flavour after Tito took over in Yugoslavia, but also to the affluence of the diaspora in the late 20th century.

73. Interview Lawner.

74. Peter H. Liotta, *Dismembering the State: The Death of Yugoslavia and Why It Matters* (Lexington Books, 2001).

75. "Whatever its origin may be, this song has nothing to do with Serbia in the present", Administrator, "Inmigrantes croatas en Magallanes", personal communication, December 2018.

76. No publication by a Marko Skendar or Marko Skender has been identified. This leaves the claim as solely part of the Magallanes group narrative. However, this Chilean claim appears invoked on various social media channels, in Chile and Croatia as well.

with an increased identification with independent Croatia as a homeland, including the latter's pantheon of heroes and ascribed enemies, makes the room an uncanny space for those initiated, as it inadvertently turns the multidirectional memory of migration and union struggle, to war—the context of the song—and nationalism.

The wide scope of the Lawner proposal was met with anger by four of the six associations of victims activating in Magallanes. For some, the problem is the “museum of memory” approach, when what they want is a “site of memory”, linked to the bare-walls approach discussed above as a regional memorialisation regime.<sup>77</sup> The groups of Sons and Grandsons of political prisoners in particular were dismayed by Lawner's proposal, as they felt it minimised and marginalised the victims' experience and pain, and they insisted that the place should be about remembering that particular memory. They wholeheartedly supported the first entry.<sup>78</sup> The competition was thus surrounded in a wave of polemics, which spanned to the local press. At the time of writing, Lawner's design, declared a winner, is awaiting the decision of the National Committee for Monuments. If approved, the site will mark a departure from the tribute of materiality to the victim narratives that became prominent in the region through previous entanglements and circulations. While remaining a site focused on the region, it would open up to various transnational topics, including diasporas and life in exile.

#### IV. Conclusion

Regions of memory can be seen as islands of memory as well. The Southern Cone and CEE function with their own repertoire not only of memory threads, contents and forms, but also memorialisation practices and techniques, united, however, by particular patterns such as the “bare walls” or the “high-tech” approaches, and a globalised regime of memorial architecture. Within the regions, however, at a different scale emerge subregions that operate with different, competing, or multidirectional memories. On the issue of scale, this article has brought forward the importance of combining local and transnational perspectives.

Circulations occur through various carriers—professionals linked through networks and global practice regimes, diasporas as well as mobile individual agencies, from the Hungarian architect leaving an impact on Chile's architectural education to the Croatian human rights activist whose travels to Chile serve as an impetus for her Goli Otok involvement. What emerges is the centrality of the *encounter*. Beyond the globalisation based on the digital grassroots interactions suggested by Appadurai<sup>79</sup> and structures such as professional networks, I have shown that individual agencies intersecting through encounters, intentional or not, are often a key of understanding transnational circulations.

What also emerges is an entanglement of memories, but not in the sense defined by Feindt et al, of cross-references in the acts of remembering, but of spatialised entanglements, circulating across scales. The article started with an interest in the spatiality of memory acts, and has arrived, through a Gadamerian fusion of

77. Personal communication, Loreto Lopez, researcher on sites of memory for the National Council of Culture and the Arts. .

78. Interview, Ivan González, Group of Sons and Grandsons, September 2017.

79. Arjun Appadurai, “Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination”, *Public Culture*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2000), pp. 1–19.

horizons, to argue that relations between different localities support the spatialisation of memory entanglements through references, multidirectionality and encounters. As such, this article suggests the opportunity to see entangled memory more in the guise of translocal history and Erll's traveling memory and to further spatialise the analysis of transnational links.

Far away from each other, *muy lejos, tamo daleko*, the two islands are the subject of ongoing memorialisation that show fissures and frictions to the wider regional practices of memorialisation. Through the multidirectionality of memories, these situations underline the challenges to memorialise sites that are caught between different interpretations and tensions, particularly when other memories complicate neat regional models of memory of authoritarian pasts. As such, it highlights the challenge for the practice of memorialising sites, calling for a further discussion on how architecture and museography can embody the multidirectionality of memories and the frictions of transitional justice and memory processes.

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