7-5-2021

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Recommended Citation

"The Montoneros and the Jewish Question in Argentine Fiction." Armed Jews in the Americas. Eds. Raanan Rein and David Sheinin. Brill. 2021. pp. 222-46.

CHAPTER 11

The Montoneros and the Jewish Question in Argentine Fiction

Stephanie M. Pridgeon

"How can a Jew belong to the Montoneros?" (the leftist guerrilla group that emerged in Argentina in 1970), asks a character in Marcelo Birmajer's 2001 novel *Tres mosqueteros* (Three Musketeers).[1] The character is referring to the fact that, contrary to Jewish principles, the armed group engaged in the taking of human life. Moreover, due to the latent Catholic tenor of the Montoneros the Jews occupied an ambiguous position in the group. On the other hand, one could also ask, "How could a Jew *not* belong to the Montoneros?" in light of the connections that abounded in mid-twentieth-century Argentina between longstanding Jewish involvement in Socialist movements and Jewish participation in the Montoneros. In many ways, Jewishness facilitated identification with the Montoneros and was therefore not incompatible with the group. Manuela Fingueret's 1999 novel *Hija del silencio* (Daughter of Silence) emphasizes this phenomenon of the connection between Jewishness and the Montoneros, but also includes its protagonist-narrator's reflection: "Unlike others I know in the Movement, I've never denied my Jewish condition."[2] As both novelists show, participation in the Montoneros was both contrary to and consistent with Jewishness. That is, while for some Jewish Argentines being Jewish directly enabled identification with the Montoneros, for others, being Jewish was in opposition to the group. Some twenty years after the publication of *Tres mosqueteros* and *Hija del silencio*, this contradiction remains underexplored within literary and cultural analysis. Recent fiction, whether it vindicates or vilifies the Montoneros as a group, has indeed sought to inquire *how* a Jew could belong to the Montoneros. Regardless of whether the question should be phrased, How could a Jew belong to the Montoneros? or How could a Jew not belong to the

1 Marcelo Birmajer, *Tres Mosqueteros* (Buenos Aires: Debate, 2001), 84.

2 Manuela Fingueret, *Daughter of Silence*, trans. Darrell B. Lockhart (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2012), 134.

Montoneros? literary explorations of Jewish experiences with the organization consider *how* Jews could—and could not—belong to the group.

As I underscore throughout my discussion of these two novels, the cultural imaginary makes clear that Jews vacillated, on the one hand, between being drawn to the principles embodied by the Montoneros and, on the other, being deterred by the group's possible anti-Semitism, latent Catholic ideals, and embrace of armed violence. Within this framework, Judaism and Jewishness both facilitated and impeded identification with the Montoneros, a paradox that, as noted, remains critically underexplored.[3] Nonetheless, *Hija del silencio* and *Tres mosqueteros* both present identification and non-identification with the Montoneros in line with their characters' Jewish beliefs. Here, I fill this lacuna through close readings of the two novels after first taking account of the historical context of the Montoneros, as well as a brief consideration of other Jewish-Argentine fiction that references Jewish involvement in the Montoneros.

Beyond strictly religious concerns (as I discuss below), the armed violence in which the Montoneros and other revolutionary groups engaged was hotly debated in Argentina, throughout Latin America, across other formerly colonized regions, and globally. Che Guevara, from whom the Montoneros drew much of their inspiration and whose ideas the characters in both of these novels discuss, advocated violence and bloodshed as a means to reach revolutionary ends. Guevara declared in his address to the 1966 Tricontinental conference:

> Each spilt drop of blood, in any country under whose flag one has not been born, is an experience passed on to those who survive, to be added to the liberation struggle of his

3 With the exception of Giffney's book chapter on *Tres mosqueteros*, while existing criticism of these two novels has focused on Jewish identity, national belonging, and militant commitment in them, previous analyses have not explored how they address involvement with the Montoneros as a particularly Jewish issue. Sarah Giffney, "Argentina's Wandering Jews: Judaism, Loyalty, Text, and Homeland in Marcelo Birmajer's *Tres Mosqueteros*," in David William Foster ed., *Latin American Jewish Cultural* (Production, Nashville: Vanderbilt UP, 2009), 97–116.

> own country. And each nation liberated is a phase won in the battle for the liberation of one's own country.[4]

For his part, Frantz Fanon also famously exhorted to violence among colonized peoples in *The Wretched of the Earth*. Specifically, he notes: "The mobilization of the masses, when it arises out of the war of liberation, introduces into each man's consciousness the ideas of a common cause, of a national destiny, and of a collective history."[5] Guevara and Fanon, as we see, considered violence in relation to both national and global liberation, an idea that is particularly important in the case of many young Jews' identification with movements that called for violence as a part of identifying fully with the national project. In other words, the capacity of the armed struggle to cultivate a sense of national identity was an aspect of revolutionary culture that was often particularly important for Jews whose parents or (great-grandparents) had immigrated to Argentina, akin to Fanon's focus on the consciousness of a national destiny.

Bearing in mind these Argentine, Latin American, and global ideas on violent revolutionary movements, identification—or the experience of contending with possible identification—with armed guerrilla movements in late 1960s' and 1970s' Argentina was an important facet of national identity. For Jews in Argentina, this aspect of life resonated with events that were affecting Jewish youth around the world. As Brodsky, Gurwitz, and Kranson have argued:

> Young Jews of the period … grappled with particularly Jewish issues … they also engaged in the cultural and political rebellions that animated so many others of their age group, joining in struggles against racism, the Vietnam War, sexism, and imperialism.[6]

Involvement in social movements was both an important part of the international zeitgeist and a way of belonging within the

4 Che Guevara, "Message to the Tricontinental," 1966, https://www.marxists.org/archive/guevara/1967/04/16.htm (accessed October 12, 2020).

5 Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 93.

6 Adriana Brodsky, Beatrice Gurwitz, and Rachel Kranson, "Editors' Introduction: Jewish Youth in the Global 1960s," *Journal of Jewish Identities 8*, no. 2: 1–2.

national project. In this regard, I liken Fanon's emphasis on the consciousness of a national destiny to Amalia Ran's notion that "historical alternatives offered by fiction can be viewed as equivalent and interchangeable versions of what Jewishness and Argentineanness are all about."[7] In line with Ran's position, I argue throughout my readings of these two novels that fiction is a site through which Jewish Argentine authors navigate the complex points of contact between Jewishness and Argentine national identity, underlined by the particular experience of encounters with armed revolutionary struggles. However, Catholicism and Judaism both played complex roles in such movements.

1 Religion and the Montoneros

How do we make sense, decades later, of the role of religion in a historical moment in which armed guerrilla movements coalesced around grassroots movements that staunchly avowed Catholic values, while the military operatives who later persecuted suspected members of those groups did so on the basis of maintaining Catholic values? As I argue in my book *Revolutionary Visions*:

> Elements of religious culture have entered the political sphere in such a way that political action is made more intelligible and compelling through familiarity with these religious elements … As cultural depictions of these movements continue to remind us, Jews were situated ambiguously vis-à-vis revolutionary practices in Latin America.[8]

Decades later, Jewishness would continue to have an ambiguous role in Peronist politics in Argentina, even in its less militant variants. As Raanan Rein notes, for example, two Jewish Peronist politicians, "Kelly" Olmos and Ana Kessler, recently stated that after meeting in the mid-1980s they shared with one another

7 Amalia Ran, *Made of Shores: Judeo-Argentinean Fiction Revisited* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2011), 6.

8 Stephanie M. Pridgeon, *Revolutionary Visions: Jewish Life and Politics in Latin American Film* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020), 30.

their mutual experiences of having people react to meeting a Peronist Jew as if such sympathies were unheard of.[9]

The Montoneros were the most well-known organization among a broader swath of revolutionary youth groups in 1960s' and 1970s' Argentina. Avowing Guevarist (after Che Guevara) and Peronist beliefs, the group at first coalesced largely around the principles of class equality and preferential treatment for the poor, as espoused by the Second Vatican Council. The group's latent Catholicism also lay in its ties to the Guardia de Hierro, which disbanded shortly before the Montoneros' formation in 1970, with many of its members proceeding subsequently to join the latter. Unlike the Montoneros, Guardia de Hierro opted against armed violence and perceived Justicialism as the "political expression of faith."[10] While, according to many, the group became much less avowedly Catholic over the course of the 1970s, the Montoneros' bases in Catholic thought nonetheless lingered in its ethos, placing Jews who came to identify with them (or who struggled with possible affiliation) in an ambiguous position. In his watershed 2009 study *Sobre la violencia revolucionaria* (On revolutionary violence), Argentine historian Hugo Vezzetti discusses "revolutionary eschatology," a term he borrows from religious historian Norman Cohn, in order to expound on revolutionary violence in 1960s' and 1970s' Argentina.[11] Vezzetti's framework furthers the religious tenor that the Montoneros' legacy takes on in twenty-first century memory of 1970s' politics. In Lucas Lanusse's account, the group moved from "the preferential option for the poor to a preferential option for arms."[12] Within this schema, religion provides a pathway not only for identification with the Montoneros, but specifically (and provocatively) with the armed violence that the group avowed.

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9 Raanan Rein, *Los muchachos peronistas judíos: Los argentinos judíos y el apoyo al Justicialismo* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2015), 14.

10 Claudia Peiro, "Murió Alejandro Álvarez, Mítico Fundador de Guardia de Hierro—Infobae," June 6, 2006, https://www.infobae.com/politica/2016/06/06/murio-alejandro-alvarez-mi
tico-fundador-de-guardia-de-hierro/ (accessed October 12, 2020).

11 Hugo Vezzetti, *Sobre la violencia revolucionaria: memorias y olvidos* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno, 2009), 166.

12 Lucas Lanusse, *Montoneros: El mito de sus 12 fundadores* (Buenos Aires: Vergara, 2005), 170.

Indeed, the major religious issue that complicated Jewish identification with the organization was the taking of human life. To be sure, killing others is no more a Catholic value than a Jewish one. Around the same time that *Hija del silencio* and *Tres mosqueteros* were published, former armed revolutionary Oscar del Barco prompted a heated debate surrounding the legacy of armed violence within the patently religious framework of the biblical commandment not to kill. A series of open letters in response to Oscar del Barco's *No matarás* ("Thou shalt not kill") made clear that the taking of human life and the commandment not to kill took on particular meaning for Jewish Argentines in the context of the Montoneros of the 1970s and memory of that era. For León Rozitchner, a Jewish Argentine revolutionary and writer, this biblical commandment was eclipsed by that of *Vivirás*, a distinction that he presented as part and parcel of discrepancies between Christian and Jewish thought. Rozitchner asserts in his response to del Barco that the interpretation of "Thou shalt not kill," on which the former revolutionary bases his letter, is rooted in a Christian understanding of the Old Testament Jewish god, a paternal interpretation in contrast to the maternal maxim of "Thou shalt live." Rozitchner concludes:

> Prior to the maternal and the paternal *no matar* was the murmur of life that cries out for the absolute respect of Life as absolute. I believe that the call or plea for *no matar* is life itself and the possibility of life presenting itself and persevering as life.[13]

Violence and the taking of life, concepts that were integral to the Montoneros and to similar groups, have remained a point of contention in the discourse surrounding the legacy of revolutionary movements, and, as observed here, have been presented in the context of Jewish and Catholic beliefs.

In terms of global geopolitics, the Montoneros aligned with the liberation of Palestine, a position that often required a moment of reckoning for Jewish Argentines as they grappled

13 Léon Rozitchner, "Primero Hay Que Saber Vivir: Del Vivirás Materno al No Matarás Patriarcal" and "Intercambio Rozitchner-Del Barco," 2014, https://laempresadevivir .wordpress.com/2010/04/25/intercambio-rozitchner-del-barco/ (accessed October 13, 2020) [my translation].

with their own identification with the group and with Jewish politics (an issue addressed directly at length in Birmajer's novel). That is not to say that all Jews were Zionists, but avowing solidarity with an anti-Israel organization was a significant matter for Jewish individuals. Returning briefly to Rozitchner, the philosopher posited in his monograph *Ser judío*, written in the wake of the 1967 war, that Jewish Argentines' preoccupation with the State of Israel was merely a distraction from the politics going on at home in Argentina.[14] This assertion is presented within the broader framework of an essay in which Rozitchner ponders whether, in order to be truly revolutionary one must cease to be Jewish. The dichotomy that Rozitchner presents is important not because it is necessarily true but because it indicates that, for Jewish Argentines of that generation, there was a perceived tension between being Jewish and being revolutionary. Similarly, Birmajer himself, in his 2002 essay "Ser judío en el siglo XXI," references members of the Uruguayan Tupamaros who, exiled in Israel, began to fight for Israel. Birmajer describes this trajectory as "one of those fast and absurd pirouettes that only two identities as convoluted backward as Jewish and Latin American could allow for."[15] While not the main focus of my discussion, this tension between revolutionary commitment and allegiance to Israel is also present in *Tres mosqueteros*.[16]

As fictional and historical accounts of Jewish political prisoners during the 1976–83 dictatorship demonstrate, Jews were often persecuted in particularly anti-Semitic ways. When the paramilitary Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA) and so-called *grupos de tareas* (special task forces) proliferated in the years immediately before and during the dictatorship, the military junta and its forces often equated Jewishness with "subversion," or organizing against the state. According to Emmanuel Kahan, an estimated 17 percent of political prisoners during the military dictatorship were Jewish, a figure that is staggeringly disproportionate to the 1–2 percent of the country's Jewish

14 Birmajer, *Tres Mosqueteros*.

15 Birmajer, *Ser judío en el siglo XXI* (Buenos Aires: AMIA/Editorial Milá, 2004), 9.

16 Ran and Giffney both discuss the role of Israel in the novel at greater length. Amalia Ran, "'Israel': An Abstract Concept or Concrete Reality in Recent Judeo-Argentinean Narrative?" in David William Foster ed., *Latin American Jewish Cultural Production* (Nashville: Vanderbilt UP, 2009); Giffney, "Argentina's Wandering Jews."

population.[17] Equally troubling is the phenomenon of physical and psychological torture enacted against Jews *as Jews*. That is, Jewish political prisoners were notoriously interrogated and persecuted using anti-Semitic language and tactics. The military's anti-Semitic persecution of Jewish political prisoners on the basis of the assumption that Jews were somehow more likely to engage in "subversive" activities or armed violence remains one of the more insidious aspects of a notoriously ruthless regime.[18]

2 Jewish-Argentine Fiction and the Montoneros

Within the context of the transition to democracy and the post-dictatorship period, narratives about political events became integral to Jewish Argentine fiction. As Amalia Ran has shown, post-dictatorship Jewish Argentine novels "study the void left after the renunciation of the military junta and give a protagonist place to individual actors who played a part in the restoration of a national identity by filling the social gaps left in the collective psyche with personal anecdotes."[19] In other words, recent Jewish Argentine novels have shown that for many authors to be Jewish and to carve out a sense of belonging in twentieth-century Argentina meant—almost necessarily—to grapple with the complicated political landscape of those times. As many of the novels that Ran explores indicate, this co-constitutive relationship between Jewish belonging and the political sphere is particularly evident in the case of Jewish experiences with the

17 Kahan, Emmanuel, *Recuerdos que mienten un poco: vida y memoria de la experiencia judía durante la última dictadura militar* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2014).

18 While I discuss characters who are Montoneros taken as political prisoners, as well as characters that grapple with the ethics of armed violence, I certainly do not mean to suggest that the violence committed by the revolutionary groups was in any way comparable with that of the dictatorship. This argument would perpetuate the so-called *dos demonios* (two demons) theory that became widespread in the post-dictatorship period: the idea that, in the years leading up to the dictatorship, the nation found itself between two forces of evil—the revolutionary militants and the anti-Communist (or anti-"subversive" forces). For more on this, see Marina Franco, "La 'teoría de los dos demonios': un símbolo de la posdictadura en la Argentina," *A Contracorriente: Una Revista de Estudios Latinoamericanos 11*, no. 2 (2014): 22–52.

19 Ran, *Made of Shores*: 4.

Montoneros. Yet existing analyses of Jewish Argentine fiction have not focused as closely on the role of Peronist politics in general as historical discussions have. As Rein shows, Peronism was, for many Jews in Argentina, the first and strongest instance of participating in the political sphere:

> It was Peronism, partly under Socialist influence, that notably accelerated the processes that would give way to a new social, political, and cultural meaning of citizenship … as in the case of Arabs and Jews, Peronism transformed many of these 'imaginary citizens' into an integral part of society.[20]

Involvement in the Montoneros—the most extreme (and complicated) iteration of Peronist politics—then, is particularly significant for Jews, as these retrospective, fictional stories underscore.

Birmajer and Fingueret are not, strictly speaking, alone in their considerations of participation in the Montoneros from a Jewish perspective. On the contrary, novels and testimonials both before and after these two publications have also waded into the murky waters of what it meant to be Jewish and identified with the Montoneros. To situate these two novels within a broader panorama of Jewish Argentine fiction that has taken up this subject matter in the last twenty-five years, I pause here to take account of works that deal more obliquely than *Tres mosqueteros* and *Hija del silencio* with Jewish experiences with the Montoneros. As I show from these examples, the subject has been of wide concern for Argentine Jewish authors. These other novels' explicit references to Jewish experiences with the Montoneros—albeit relatively few in comparison with *Tres mosqueteros* and *Hija del silencio*—nonetheless lay bare the paradoxical role of Jewishness in both facilitating and impeding identification with the Montoneros and also illustrate the tendency within the military regime to equate Jewishness with subversion.

Novelist Liliana Heker focused on the Montoneros in her controversial 1996 novel *El fin de la historia*. It tells of a Montonera woman, Leonora, who is taken political prisoner and collaborates with the regime after falling in love with one of her

20 Rein, *Los muchachos peronistas judíos*: 22 [my translation].

captors. Through the narration of Leonora's Jewish Montonero husband, Fernando—filtered through dialogue recapitulated to the main narrator by another narrator—she speaks of the ambiguity of Catholicism and Jewishness vis-à-vis the armed revolutionary group.[21] The novel also tells of the capture of Fernando, shortly before his death at the hand of military forces, comparing him with Che Guevara and Christ:

> Strangely, he envisioned himself in Higueras [*sic*], in someone else's story that he had dreamed so often—"Don't shoot, I'm Che Guevara"—the man with the naked torso and the face of Christ believing that something in those words would stay the hand of the men aiming at him, or in spite of everything, trusting in his seed and in the unconquerable lineage of the New Man.[22]

After his capture, he dies "with his faith … riddled with bullets from the gunfight and trusting fully in the triumph of the revolution."[23] Yet, elsewhere, we learn that Leonora's mother had wished for her daughter "a good Jewish husband who worries about the household and is married to her and not to politics."[24] But, after Fernando's death and Leonora's capture, her mother quickly becomes disenchanted with nice Jewish husbands: "Life has taught her not to trust even Jewish husbands."[25] In Heker's provocative style, this perspective of the character's mother has changed because her son-in-law "*por algo* ended up shot full of holes."[26] Leonora's mother echoes the "shot full of holes" descriptor but, through the *por algo* modifier implies that "it must be for a reason," in order to make sense of her son-in-law's death.[27] More importantly, she

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21 Many critical discussions of *El fin de la historia* have mistaken its more critical narrator (Diana Glass) for its main narrator (Hertha Bechofen), and that misreading has led to further unfavorable interpretations of the novel.

22 Liliana Heker and Andrea Labinger, *The End of the Story* (Emeryville, ON: Biblioasis, 2012), 114–15.

23 Ibid.: 117.

24 Ibid.: 129.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 *Por algo será* ("it must be for a reason") became a common refrain among Argentine civilians to suggest that those who were being kidnapped and whose homes were being ransacked were targeted because they had been involved in subversive activities.

couples his Jewish identity with his militancy and his death in an attempt to understand her daughter's relationship with her captor, one that is coded in hegemonic Catholic terms (up to and including the moment of their wedding). Thus, the character of Leonora's mother registers the complicity of a wide swath of Argentine society (distilled through the three simple words *por algo será*) in religious terms.

Published the following year, Nora Strejilevich's fictionalized testimonial, *Una sola muerte numerosa* (1997), deals explicitly with the military regime's anti-Semitism in its interrogation and torture of Jewish political prisoners. Strejilevich recalls being told, "Even if you don't know a thing, you're going to pay just for being a Jew," and goes on to state that the military operatives "centered the interrogation around Jewish matters … they assured me that they were primarily concerned with 'the problem of subversion', but the 'Jewish problem' was next in importance, and they were gathering information for their files."[28] Hence, the literary recreation of this moment reproduces the ways in which military operatives equated Jewishness with "subversion," going so far as to say that she would be tortured for being Jewish even if she was unable to offer them military information about subversive activities. Both Strejilevich's and Heker's novels mention the "New Man," a concept linked intimately to both Che Guevara and New Testament Christian thought.

Appearing a few years later, in 2003, Andrés Neuman's *Una vez argentina* includes several references to the narrator-protagonist's understanding as a child of his Jewish immigrant family's relationship to Perón and to the Montoneros. From this perspective, Neuman speaks of Jewish-Argentine experiences with the Montoneros spanning the course of four generations. Early on, he relates that his great-grandfather Jacobo was taken to hospital "the same day Perón gave his last speech and disparaged the Montoneros."[29] The narrator equates his family's story with the political landscape of Argentina—namely, Perón and the Montoneros. Similarly, he recounts his mother playing her violin in the orchestra in the presence of Perón at Ezeiza in 1973:

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28 Nora Strejilevich and Cristina De la Torre, *A Single, Numberless Death* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2002), 19.

29 Andrés Neuman, *Una Vez Argentina*, 2nd ed. Narrativas Hispánicas (Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama, 2004), 27.

> In Ezeiza … were the Peronist youth, the Montoneros, people from the ERP [People's Revolutionary Army], and other small revolutionary armies along with thousands of sympathizers, entire families, children of militants who went to lay eyes for the first time on the forbidden idol of their parents.[30]

Neuman's emphasis on "children of militants" suggests an intergenerational political connection between militants and their offspring (a connection further underscored by the fact that the narrator is recounting his mother's journey to Ezeiza in honor of Perón's return from exile). Elsewhere, he relates that his aunt Silvia was taken captive during the dictatorship and interrogated about the Montoneros, an account that dovetails with Strejilevich's experience of the military regime's linkage of Jewishness with subversion. The novel's final mention of the Montoneros comes in the form of the narrator-protagonist's dream as he is on the verge of leaving the country with his family to immigrate to Spain in 1989 in the midst of the *carapintadas* conflicts.[31] In this context, the narrator recounts:

> The night after amnesty was granted to the military juntas, I had a dream … I dreamt I was a subversive. A Montonero, a militant of the ERP, or something like that. I was imprisoned. There were two others there. Half-closing my eyes, this is the story I remember I dreamt that warm October night: "Talk, you fucking Jew."[32]

30 Ibid.: 51 [my translation].

31 The *carapintadas* conflict was a series of uprisings by members of the Argentine army between 1987 and 1990 to express military dissatisfaction with the democratic governments of Raúl Alfonsín and Carlos Menem after the country's return to democracy in 1983.

32 Neuman, *Una Vez Argentina*: 195–96. Amalia Ran also discusses this passage from *Una vez argentina*: "According to Neuman's novel, the main significance of the past lies in the effect remaining at the end; therefore, the protagonist's dream of being abducted and imprisoned during the dictatorship years, a dream provoked by the news of liberating the responsible leaders of the junta, becomes part of the history told by the narrator and constitutes an experience inscribed by its real impression," Ran, *Made of Shores*: 100.

The pre-teen narrator dreams that he is a Montonero being tortured by his captors who use language that is patently anti-Semitic.[33]

While Heker, Strejilevich, and Neuman mention the convergence of Jewishness and revolutionary militancy, Fingueret's and Birmajer's novels emphasize in greater detail the complex relationship between the two throughout their narratives. Fingueret and Birmajer explore the ways that Jewishness both facilitated and impeded identification with revolutionary Peronist politics in 1970s' Argentina. In *Hija del silencio* and *Tres mosqueteros*, this fraught relationship comes to the fore in order to determine the respective protagonists' connection to Judaism, Argentina, and the politics of global Jewish life—specifically, memory of the Holocaust, in the case of Fingueret, and Israel, in that of Birmajer.

3 *Hija del silencio*

Published in 1999, Fingueret's novel uses silences as a way of bridging intergenerational experiences—namely, those of the narrator-protagonist, political prisoner Rivke (whom her fellow Argentines call Rita), and of her mother, Holocaust survivor Tínkele. The novel recounts Tínkele's experiences in Terezin prior to her immigration to Argentina, where she married and gave birth to Rivke. As the title suggests, silences pervade the novel, evoking Holocaust memory and state repression. Silences also prompt an intergenerational and diachronic consideration of militant commitment. For Daniela Goldfine,

> the legacy of silence is a weight that overwhelms the search for answers, but it is also an opportunity for those of us situated in the (relatively comfortable) place of readers: an opportunity to delve into the elusive spaces, to reflect on the cracks in our own stories and in others' stories, and to contemplate the ellipses in our identity.[34]

33 The late 1980s in Argentina saw the passing of two amnesty laws—in 1985 and 1987—that effectively granted impunity to those responsible for the military dictatorship and its acts of brutality.

34 Daniela Goldfine, "La postmemoria del silencio: Transmision truncada y elipsis tangibles en la obra de Manuela Fingueret y Sergio Chejfec,"

Both what is said and not said explicitly in *Hija del silencio* prompt reflection on 1970s' politics and the role of Jews within revolutionary movements. Indeed, as I show, the narrator refers to the "movement" and to her *compañeros*—her militant peers, whom she sometimes names "Montoneros"—yet she never explicitly states that she herself is or was a Montonera. Nonetheless, she describes her militancy and references the Montoneros as the group to which she belongs if not by name (as I elaborate further). On the contrary, she often avows her Jewish identity much more directly. Nevertheless, despite this apparent tension, from an early age the narrator finds an affinity between Jewishness and Peronist militancy.

Of her militant peers, Fingueret's narrator states:

> They consider me a tolerable Jew. Why do I put it like that? Is it my mother that once again places herself between others and myself? Or something I sense behind the ironies? Because, unlike others I know in the movement, I never denied my Jewish condition. I never said one of those ridiculous things that you hear so often like, "I have Jewish roots."[35]

As Rita shows here, it was entirely possible to participate in the Montoneros while outwardly avowing Jewishness. Nonetheless, as she makes clear through the references to her reputation as a "tolerable Jew" and to the fact that others in the group denied their Jewishness, participating in the movement did compel some Jews to downplay it as part of their integration into the group.

For Rita, Jewishness and identification with revolutionary Peronism are not mutually exclusive; on the contrary, they are intimately linked. Indeed, Rita recounts her own life in such a way that explicitly couples her intergenerational connection to her mother's Holocaust experiences with empathy for Eva Perón from a young age. Thus, Fingueret ties Holocaust memory and Jewish experiences with Peronist political affinities, a conceptual link that facilitates the young woman's later identification with the Montoneros. Narrated in beautiful vignettes, *Hija del silencio* is a heartbreaking life story which ends with its narrator's tragic

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Estudios Interdisciplinarios de America Latina y el Caribe 26, no. 1 (2015): 97.

35 Fingueret, *Daughter of Silence*: 189.

(probable) death at the hands of the military regime. (I say "probable" here because, at the novel's end, one of the men holding her captive tells her that she is going to be transferred; at the Naval Mechanics School, the clandestine torture center where she is being held, prisoners were told they were being "transferred" before being drugged and tossed from military helicopters into the Río de la Plata.[36]) Throughout Rita's short life, her familial connections to Jewishness and her affinity for revolutionary politics come together in multiple and sometimes contradictory ways.

Fingueret, who was known better for her poetry than her prose before publishing *Hija del silencio*, at times makes quite explicit the links between Jewish identity and Peronist politics and, at others, relies on creative omissions and juxtapositions to do so. For example, she beautifully interlays the narrator's militant peers' chants of: "If Evita (Perón) were alive, she'd be a Montonera," with her father's "Adonai Eloheinu, Adonai Echad."[37] After recounting her father's prayer on Yom Kippur, she wonders to herself, "Would she be a Montonera?" suggesting an inconsistency with the Montoneros group. This discrepancy becomes more pronounced, as I show, through her questioning of the group's stance on violence. Moreover, as noted, she never proclaims explicitly, "I am a Montonera." Rather, she associates herself laterally with the organization through her friendships and love relationships with members. She does, however, count herself among the Montoneros by referring to the moment when "the General threw us out of Plaza de Mayo."[38] Here, Fingueret is referring to the instance—also mentioned in Neuman's novel—when Perón infamously called the Montoneros *imberbes* and ousted them from the Plaza de Mayo. As this moment in history implies, Perón's relationship to the Montoneros was in fact quite ambivalent, another facet of

36 Amy Kaminsky also interprets the novel's abrupt ending as suggesting Rita's death: "The novel ends inconclusively, but the implication is that Rita does not survive. The first-person narrative simply stops, as does the story she has been reconstructing of her mother." (116). Rita's end as she is being transferred also resonates with her mother's transfer from Terezin to Auschwitz. Amy Kaminsky, "Memory, Postmemory, Prosthetic Memory: Reflections on the Holocaust and the Dirty War in Argentine Narrative," *Hispanic Issues Online 14* (2014): 104–17.

37 Fingueret, *Daughter of Silence*: 95.

38 Ibid.: p. 102.

1970s' Argentine politics that Fingueret explores through *Hija del silencio*.

For the narrator, Juan and Eva Perón are as much a personal pantheon in line with her Jewish beliefs as they are national icons. Indeed, she positions Peronism in opposition to Nazism. She asserts, "For me, Peronism continues to be the line of thinking that will recover the honor and meaning of existence in an Argentina that was destroyed by Nazi-capitalism of his century," extending the particularity of the Nazi atrocities that her mother escaped to the general condition of Argentina in the twentieth century and tacitly equating Peronism with anti-Nazi positions.[39] Thus, the novel evokes Perón's ambivalent stance toward Nazism. The leader infamously supported the Axis before his rise to the presidency, and allowed Nazis to enter the country after World War II; however, he keenly supported the advancement and inclusion of Jews in the workforce and social organizations. While Uki Goñi focused on Perón's strategies to bring Nazis to Argentina, Raanan Rein recently noted that the Jewish community within Argentina was divided regarding its stand on Perón, concluding: "Neither the collective memory of Argentine Jews nor the history books seem to retain much recall of the fact that many Jews did in fact support Perón and the Justicialist movement in its early years."[40] Likewise, in Rita's case, not only did her family support Perón, but she understands Peronism as the antidote to Nazism. Yet, as I will discuss below, different generations had differing stances on Perón and Peronism due to the increasingly militant practices of the Peronist Left in the 1970s.

In addition to her evocation of Perón's relationship to Nazism, Fingueret's hyphenation of "Nazi-capitalism" resonates with Zygmunt Bauman's considerations of the Holocaust and late market capitalism in terms of the Holocaust's "uniqueness and normality" in *Modernity in the Holocaust*:

> The *possibility* of the Holocaust was rooted in certain universal features of modern civilization; its *implementation*

39 Ibid.

40 Uki Goñi, *The Real Odessa: How Perón Brought the Nazi War Criminals to Argentina* (London: Granta Books, 2003); Raanan Rein, *Argentine Jews or Jewish Argentines? Essays on Ethnicity, Identity, and Diaspora* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2010), 167.

> on the other hand, was connected with a specific and not at all universal relationship between state and society.[41]

Put differently, the Holocaust was simultaneously a unique phenomenon of atrocities visited upon the Jews and a broader part of the development of modernity in the twentieth century. The Montoneros' struggles against a capitalist world order resonate with Rita's identity as a Jew and as the daughter of a Holocaust survivor who opposes "Nazi-capitalism."

Furthering her emphasis on the connections between Nazism/the Holocaust and Peronist politics, Rita finds links between her mother, the Holocaust survivor, and Eva Perón. She posits the two as interchangeable and draws strength from their examples. Specifically, she ties her mother's survival in the concentration camps to the militancy she later pursues on the basis of the principles she identifies in Eva Perón. Yet, elsewhere, she suggests that she has exchanged her devotion to Jewish beliefs for militant ones.

> Around the time of Tom and Jerry I stopped believing in that God who dwelled inside the synagogue doors and who people kissed on the holidays. An obvious God who ceased to interest me. I exchanged the harshness of Jehovah for the harshness of militancy. I was active in everything: in politics, in my literary convictions, in atheism, in my relationships with others, in sex.[42]

Yet, even when disclosing that she had exchanged her Judaism for political militancy, she equates the two by underscoring their shared "harshness."

Despite the many silences and elisions that pervade the novel, Fingueret's narrator does not evade the topic of the Montoneros' use of armed violence as a means to effect revolution and enact Peronist ideals. Rita demonstrates that the violence in which the Peronist Left engaged was counter to her parents' values. She relates that her father, who had previously been loyal to Perón, had "fallen in love with Frondizi, violence went against his nature, and he detested the triumphant attitude

41 Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), 82 [emphasis in original].

42 Fingueret, *Daughter of Silence*: 32.

he perceived in my so-called friends."[43] Almost immediately afterward, she references her father's Yom Kippur prayer, suggesting through juxtaposition that his opposition to violence is somehow related to his Judaism. Elsewhere, Rita shows that she believes violence is a necessary means to an end despite her individual opposition to violence. She states that she personally disagrees with the ways that the Peronist Left sought to reach their objectives: "It was not the third way advocated by our comrades that I longed for, but the only position possible for a country and a world that mercilessly condemns those who live on the margins."[44] Thus, while disclaiming that she personally disavows violence as a means to reach revolutionary ends, the narrator also espouses a position that recalls Fanon's and Guevara's embrace of violence as a necessary tactic for the liberation of peoples in nations such as Argentina. The phenomenon of personally disavowing violence while also advocating for its place in the broader schema of revolutionary praxis was common among the Peronist Left and was, at times, presented in tandem with religious preoccupations. For example, Guardia de Hierro, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter as a group that understood Justicialism as the "political expression of faith," stated that Perón himself envisioned them as the "rearguard" which should not engage in armed violence.[45]

In keeping with the leitmotif throughout the novel, silence characterizes the bond between Rita and her mother, on whom she models herself and bases her militancy. In this regard, silence and elisions are also mechanisms for political militancy. Yet, she and her mother remain silent on the topic of militancy, just as her mother has not spoken to her directly about her experiences as a Holocaust survivor, leaving Rita to learn about her time in the concentration camps by reading Tinkele's writings that she secretly discovers. D. Jan Mennell notes:

> The narrator's inability to penetrate the accusation inherent in Tínkele's silence becomes one of the primary motivating

43 Ibid.: 95.

44 Ibid.: 102.

45 Humberto Cuchetti, *Combatientes de Perón, Herederos de Cristo: Peronismo, religión secular y organizaciones de cuadros* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2010), 99.

> factors in her life, and ultimately induces her to attempt to fill in the gap and emptiness by political militancy.[46]

Similarly, for Amy Kaminsky, "Rita's political activity is 'the space of permanent discussion with [her] mother', but she never tells Tinkele the key fact of that militancy, the fact that her mother is the source of what she is doing and is included in her actions."[47] Kaminsky's reading of the novel concludes that it presents a memory that has been proscribed by the dictatorship—Peronist militancy—as a moral imperative.

Indeed, the intergenerational silencing of memory—Tinkele's silencing of her Holocaust memories and Rita's silencing of her militant actions—becomes a moral enjoinder to remember, but questions the morality of the armed violence in which the Montoneros engaged. Thus, the meaning and substance that political militancy provide as an antidote to the void of Holocaust loss and silence—as a moral imperative—necessarily call for a reckoning with the difficult truths of the legacy of armed violence. Peronist militancy becomes a way for Rita to understand herself as an Argentine citizen, as well as a way to ensure that the horrors of Nazi-capitalism are not repeated.

4 *Tres mosqueteros*

Tres mosqueteros is much more critical of the Montoneros than Fingueret's novel. In essence, it is a conversation between its narrator, journalist Javier Mossen, and Elías Traúm, who has been living in Israel for decades, but has returned to Argentina in order to say *kaddish* following the deaths of his disappeared friends Benja and Guidi. Javier, the narrator, asks, "How can a Jew belong to the Montoneros organization?" Over the course of conversations between Javier and Traúm, readers learn of a complex story of love triangles and secrecy between these *tres mosqueteros*—Traúm, Benja, and Guidi—that tells of the complicated convergences and divergences between Jewishness and identification with the Montoneros. While this question is

46 D. Jan Mennell, "(Im)Penetrable Silence: The Language of the Unspeakable in Manuela Fingueret's *Hija Del Silencio*," *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos 27*, no. 3 (2003): 493.

47 Kaminsky, "Memory, Postmemory, Prosthetic Memory": 109–10.

posited as such only once, the conundrum is at the heart of the novel's central explorations: indeed, how could Jews belong to the Montoneros?

Through these conversations, the novel presents an intergenerational dialogue that is difficult yet necessary for the nation, in order to make sense of its turbulent recent past. For Daniela Goldfine,

> Traúm's visit and the discussions about Argentine 1970s' politics, especially within the Jewish community, covers an aspect of history that resonates with conversations held between that militant generation and those born in the 1970s—or, perhaps, it manages to salvage those conversations that needed to take place.[48]

The novel unlocks conversations that should have been held for decades. For Birmajer and his characters, at its heart is the unresolved moral issue of armed violence. In the context of his own mourning for his friends, Traúm engages in conversations about the Montoneros and the moral question of the taking of human life. The novel's retrospective consideration of 1970s' politics is bound up in Jewish beliefs and culture. Like many other works of Argentine fiction from the early twenty-first century, the novel fills in silences left by the gaps in historical memory following the amnesty laws and politics of forgetting that characterized the 1980s and 1990s. Yet, as I outline below, compared with Fingueret's novel, *Tres mosqueteros* broaches the subject of militant action in the 1970s from the foregone conclusion that armed violence is wrong.

Javier introduces Traúm to readers by indicating that the story he has been placed in charge of writing ties together two themes: Judaism and the Montoneros. As the narrator describes them:

> One was vast, the other unfathomable. The fate of the guerrilla fighters of the 1970s—basically the Montoneros, the organization to which Traúm and two of his now

48 Daniela Goldfine, "Birmajer, Burman, Winograd: Tres mosqueteros que no esperan al Mesías: (Trans)formaciones de la producción cultural judeo-argentina en el siglo XXI," in *Actas Del Congreso de La Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas: Hispanismos Del Mundo: Diálogos y Debates en (y Desde) El Sur VI*, Literatura Latinoamericana (2013): 264.

> deceased friends had belonged—and Judaism. Or the Jews. Or the infinite gamut of Jewish Judaisms.[49]

This idea of a multiplicity of Jewish identities is echoed later by Traúm, who asserts, "For each person, being Jewish is a different thing."[50] For the characters in *Tres mosqueteros*, being Jewish can mean identifying with the Montoneros, as was the case for Benja and Guidi, or it can mean disavowing the group, as Traúm and the narrator both do. As I show in my discussion of Birmajer's novel, his characters adopt a mostly critical stance toward the Montoneros, placing the group in tension with Jewishness. Nonetheless, the coupling of these two themes—"one vast and the other unfathomable"—signals that the complex points of contact between Jewishness and Montoneros continue to be significant for literature and politics in early twenty-first century Argentina.

Tres mosqueteros contains very little action: essentially, Javier is tasked with writing a story about Elías Traúm for the newspaper for which he works. Traúm arrives from Israel, the two meet and drink and Javier asks him questions. Interspersed with the scenes with Traúm, Javier spends time by himself, at the newspaper office or in his apartment longing for his wife who left him after he was unfaithful or lusted after other women. These snippets of Javier's everyday life establish him as an archetypical *schlemiel* narrator, as Giffney notes. While scenes of Javier drinking too much and feeling sorry for himself, or fantasizing graphically about his housekeeper, might grow tiresome for readers, this archetype is important insofar as it resembles other fictional Jewish characters in early twenty-first century Argentina, such as Ariel Makaroff, in the 2004 Daniel Burman film *El abrazo partido*, co-written by Birmajer and Burman. That is, the novel conveys a sense that Argentine Jews of Javier's generation are somewhat aimless because of unreconciled aspects of Jewish Argentine life that they inherited from the previous generation.

Like *Hija del silencio*, *Tres mosqueteros* also uses silences as a way of underscoring past trauma that affects both Jewish communities worldwide in the wake of the Holocaust and Argentines following the dictatorship. As Sarah Giffney has

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49 Birmajer, *Tres Mosqueteros*: 9 [all quotes from Birmajer are my translation].

50 Ibid.: 89.

posited in her excellent reading of *Tres mosqueteros*, "socialism provided these boys with a path away from the theological doubt left by God's silence in the face of Nazi horrors."[51] In this regard, the novel is similar to *Hija del silencio*, whose protagonist is compelled to political militancy largely because of her mother's experience as a Holocaust survivor. In order to discuss the connection between Socialism and the aftermath of the Holocaust, Giffney notes that the "musketeers" established their own Socialist magazine, titled *Dios No Dice Nada*, (God says nothing), as teenagers. I would linger here on Giffney's characterization that Socialism allowed the boys to move away from their doubt left by God's silence, for the relationship between Judaism and Socialism casts the two in a complex and contradictory binary: if indeed the boys turn to Socialism as a response to their theological doubt, then Socialism is both in keeping with and a disruption of their Jewish identities. Their subsequent identification with the Montoneros is in many regards a continuation of this initial identification with Socialism and is also presented as a more general zeitgeist of youth culture in 1970s' Argentina. Yet, the move from Socialism to Marxism is too extreme from Traúm's perspective.

As part of the pending conversation between generations that Goldfine notes in the novel, a sense of fear surrounding Traúm overwhelms Javier at times. This dread is related to Traúm's association with members of a group associated with death. Similar to the dream that Neuman's adolescent protagonist describes in *Una vez argentina*, Javier experiences a nightmarish vision of Traúm late one night when the latter enters Javier's apartment unexpectedly. Prior to that moment, he had lost track of Traúm and he worried that he was being persecuted: "Where was Traúm? Had death returned unbridled? Were they torturing him, did they have him locked in a *chupadero*, or in a clandestine jail, part 'town jail', part aristocratic dungeon?"[52] Javier thinks at first that he is seeing Traúm's ghost:

> Before my eyes the ghost of Traúm appeared. I saw him hanging from the ceiling, like a newspaper editor hanged in a Communist Party office during the military dictatorship. I saw him bloody, riddled with bullets, thrown in the Ezeiza

51 Giffney, "Argentina's Wandering Jews": 1565–69.

52 Birmajer, *Tres Mosqueteros*: 147–48.

> woods in a nylon bag like the people killed by the Peronist Right during Perón's third administration.[53]

While Javier's vision of Traúm as a victim of state brutality is not presented in patently Jewish terms, when Javier asks him how he learned to enter people's homes like a thief, the latter responds, "not like a thief, like the prophet Elijah"[54] (149). Here, Traúm emphasizes a connection to the prophet whose name he bears and the belief among Jewish communities that Elijah sneaks into homes and drinks wine during Passover. The exchange between the two men thus links Jewish identity with a fear of repression at the hands of the military government, a dread that Javier registers now because of Traúm's past connection to the Montoneros through his friends.

Like the debate sparked by Oscar del Barco that I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Birmajer's novel criticizes the Montoneros' taking of human life. Thus, as noted, Birmajer's novel is more critical of the Montoneros than Fingueret's. While it does not explicitly present its critique of the Montoneros' violence within a Jewish or religious framework, the novel does suggest that having belonged to the Montoneros meant necessarily that one was culpable—at least by association—of the taking of human life. Javier asks Traúm whether Guidi and Benja killed people, to which Traúm responds, "I don't know, but I consider them to be murderers anyway, both of them."[55] Traúm announces this judgment as the two stand on the doorstep of Benja's parents' home, and Traúm explains that they have to sneak in rather than ring the doorbell. Javier responds, "like the prophet Elijah," again creating an exchange between the two characters in which Traúm's namesake and his significance for Jewish belief is linked to his Montonero friends' activities. Giffney interprets Javier's characterization of his friends as murderers:

> The ultimate mistake that Guidi and Benjamin make is not to pursue socialist ideals. Rather, it is to forget their Jewish identity and their moral obligation to other human beings. In militant pursuit of social change, the boys ceased to

53 Ibid.
54 Ibid.: 149.
55 Ibid. 153.

> prioritize human life over social goals. They became, in Traúm's words, "asesinos."[56]

Interestingly, Traúm does not dwell on the matter, but rather laconically states that he considers both of his deceased friends to be murderers. The brevity of his pronouncement suggests that armed violence was so obviously abhorrent that he thinks of his friends as murderers despite not knowing whether or not they took lives.

At other points, however, Traúm offers more prolonged reflections on the moral question of armed violence. He offers a judgment of the way that his friends died, stating:

> The way that a person dies changes everything … they didn't die in peace, … not only because of the people who killed them: they didn't know how to die. They ruined their entire lives with that death. The killers are one thing; but I'm talking about them: I couldn't take care of them.[57]

Traúm also emphasizes Guidi's reaction to his father's death around the same time as his radicalization and increasing Marxist fervor. He harangued Traúm: "Do you know how many people died the same day as he did, of hunger, of repressors' bullets, in dictators' prisons?"[58] Guidi is focused on a vision of revolutionary violence that dovetails with Fanon's points and with Fingueret's narrator-protagonist's belief that, while she does not personally engage in armed violence, it is necessary for the liberation of Argentina and other countries. Yet, through the conversations—decades later—between Traúm and Javier, Guidi's dismissal of his father's death because many other people died on the same day due to the injustices in the world is criticized by Traúm and the narrator. Nonetheless, Birmajer includes this recapitulation of Traúm's conversation with Guidi to show that, whether it is understandable from the perspective of a younger generation or from that of a contemporary (Traúm), who did not agree with the Montoneros, many Jewish revolutionaries of Guidi and Traúm's age did think like the former. *Tres mosqueteros* and *Hija del silencio* are similar in their tacit coupling of non-violence and Jewish beliefs.

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56 Giffney, "Argentina's Wandering Jews": 1575.

57 Birmajer, *Tres Mosqueteros*: 186.

58 Ibid.: 188.

Tres moqueteros also presents political militancy as bound up in Jewishness through linking Guidi's life and death with the model of the wandering Jew. The novel ends with Javier's reconciliation with his estranged wife Esther, in Mar del Plata, positing his previous womanizing and lusting after other women as a short-lived experience of straying from his family. Shortly before this resolution, Javier spends time in Mar del Plata with Traúm. While there, he wanders the sandy beaches and panics over feeling lost as he thinks of what Traúm has told him about Guidi, evoking Jewish experiences of wandering the desert.[59] He reflects:

> But I was not Guidi: I knew my way back. Maybe the sky would fall on my head but I was not going to proclaim cheerfully that I was ready to give my life for the life of a stranger. Or to take a stranger's life.[60]

For Javier, this experience guides him back to family (his Jewish wife, in contrast to his non-Jewish lovers), unlike the wandering that he learns characterized Guidi's life and which led him, in Javier's view, astray from his Jewish roots and toward the Montoneros. Whereas Guidi believed that sacrificing his own life for the liberation of the country—in line with Che Guevara's and Frantz Fanon's beliefs regarding the necessity of armed violence in the colonized and formerly colonized nations of the world—Javier and Traúm reject this view. Importantly, they repudiate this idea in ways that are—at times patently and at times implicitly—coupled with Jewishness. Thus, unlike Rozitchner, who responded to Oscar del Barco's "Thou shalt not kill" by delineating a Jewish understanding of the commandments from what he perceived as del Barco's Christian interpretation as a way of defending revolutionary violence, Traúm and Javier both suggest that Guidi and Benjamín were led astray from their Jewish beliefs by the Montoneros and their embrace of armed violence.

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59 Similarly, in *El abrazo partido*, the mother of the protagonist, Ariel, tells a story about him getting lost on the beach as a child and screaming when he could not find her, an anecdote the mother characterizes as an "ancestral scream," also evoking the biblical moment of Jews wandering the desert in Exodus.

60 Birmajer, *Tres Mosqueteros*: 185.

5 Conclusions

Both Fingueret and Birmajer connect Jewish political affinities of the 1970s to a need to make sense of their lives and the post-Holocaust world. Moreover, through association with the Montoneros, the characters come to relate more strongly to Argentine national identity (the "national destiny" of which Fanon speaks). Where the two novels differ is in that for Fingueret political militancy is in keeping with Jewishness, whereas Birmajer's characters disagree (at least Traúm and Javier do; readers are not privy to Benja and Guidi's own perspectives on their militancy). Another salient difference between the novels is that Fingueret emphasizes her militant character's relationship to the older generation (her mother), whereas Birmajer underscores the Montoneros' legacy for the younger generation (Javier). Yet for both novelists, the place of Jewishness vis-à-vis revolutionary politics remains a question worth exploring. In particular, the implications of the legacy of armed violence—both for the Argentine nation at large and for Jews in particular—continue to influence cultural understandings of how Jews could or could not belong to the Montoneros.

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