

Modern Architecture Will Help You

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... can a society exist without a social myth? To what extent can we choose or adopt and impose a social myth which we judge desirable?

André Breton¹

An array of low, square blocks fills the screen: an abstracted version of the city of Buenos Aires. A large hand invades the frame and picks up a block, tilting it sideways and revealing green pasture underneath. A voiceover tells us this is the architect's hand, finding nature under the city by transforming the traditional city block into a modern apartment building (Fig. 1). The scene is part of *La Ciudad Frente al Río* (The City in Front of the River), an Argentinian, ten-minute long film directed by Italian Surrealist Enrico Gras. The film was part of the promotional material for *Bajo Belgrano*, a modern housing plan sponsored by the Buenos Aires City Hall under the auspice of populist president Juan Perón. As part of this promotion, German photographer Grete Stern designed a brochure with images from the film and text by the Study for the Plan of Buenos Aires (*Estudio del Plan de Buenos Aires*, hereafter EPBA). In what follows, I compare the film and brochure to contemporaneous work by Stern: a series of photomontages illustrating a women's advice column. I situate these modern works in the context of what I call a "Peronist unconscious"—a collective immersion into the images and messages circulated by president Juan Perón.

The modernity of these works suggests they might be an exception to Peronist propaganda, mostly dominated by kitsch, figurative, and symbolic aesthetics. My analysis shows that despite formal oppositions, the content of the works aligned with Peronist discourse. In the film, the architects were more interested in the

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Fig. 1. The architect's hand at 7:31, film still from *La Ciudad Frente al Río* (Dir. Enrico Gras, EPBA 1949). 16mm film, digitized. Courtesy of the Frances Loeb Library, Harvard University Graduate School of Design

promotion of the Corbusian modern paradigm, large housing blocks floating over a sea of green. Only the modern plan—the film tells us—would be able to solve these problems and rescue the beleaguered city. The film resolves the tension between Peronism and modern discourse with a common denominator: the authoritarian hand of the expert, guiding and solving the problems of the city. Most of the research on *Bajo Belgrano* has focused on the details of the plan itself, and on the relationship between its architects and their former master, Le Corbusier.² I extend this research by analyzing not the plan, but the film itself. Examining the film as an aesthetic work reveals unexpected intersections among the seemingly disparate discourses of Peronism, modern architecture, and Surrealism.

These intersections are further revealed by comparing the film with Grete Stern's photomontages for an advice column in a women's journal. In it, women were portrayed as besieged by the travails of modern life in the city—they were asked to submit their dreams, which were interpreted by a psychoanalyst. By submitting to the advice of the experts, the column suggested, women would correct their shortcomings and find happiness. While Stern's *Dreams* have been researched and received recent attention in an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, her links

to *Bajo Belgrano* have remained undiscussed.³ By bringing these two projects together—the filmic representation of an architecture plan, and a series of photomontages produced by someone working in that plan’s images—I reveal an authoritarian, paternalistic strain shared by both Peronist aesthetics and modern sensibilities. I argue that Stern’s subtle subversion of the experts’ advice offers a foil to the architecture project’s trust in expertise. In *La Ciudad Frente al Río*, modernity’s promise of the new is elided in favor of a paternalistic nostalgia paradigmatic of the Peronist myth.

Building the Peronist Myth

Thanks to extensive popular support and the strategic coalition of several forces including the workers’ unions, Juan Perón was elected president of Argentina in 1946. His ascent was viewed as shifting power from the conservative and military factions that had ruled the country to the large urban masses that had increasingly populated Argentinian cities, in particular Buenos Aires.⁴ Perón had trained in the military and rose to prominence during the prior military regime, until his popularity turned him into a liability. The groups that supported him were later consolidated into the *Partido Peronista* (Peronist Party), which was structured around a combination of the populist drive that elected him, the economic pragmatism he adopted, and traces of the nationalist regime which had trained him.⁵ Coming after a series of dubious, short-lived governments, Perón’s two consecutive terms (he served until 1955) brought both political stability and structural changes to the state. He instituted new labor laws benefiting the working class and the unions that had supported him, invested in social services like hospitals, schools, and public housing, and nationalized railways, universities, and public utilities. The implementation of these massive changes made popular support his most powerful source of strength. The strategies he enforced to secure it would be, in a certain way, his most innovating and enduring legacy.

An elaborate system was put into place to uphold a government that had few links to the upper classes that up until then had run the country. Starting with Perón’s election in 1946, ritual celebrations and extensive use of mass media were used to create a narrative for Perón as leader of the *descamisados*—“men without shirts,” a term meant to be a pejorative but reclaimed by Peronist sympathizers. This deliberate construction of a mythical system has been carefully analyzed by historian Mariano Ben Plotkin.⁶ In his study of the cultural tropes of Peronism, Plotkin explains how crowd rallies for May Day and October 17 were framed as rooted in a constructed past, blurring their origins in order to transform them into Peronist rituals.⁷ May Day was no longer a workers’ celebration; it was now a celebration of Perón’s as leader of the workers. October 17, a remembrance of the day when workers demanded the liberation of Perón—an important moment of popular agency—was transformed into a ritual of subservient thanks to the president for his leadership. Starting in 1948, these dates were turned into quasi-religious celebrations, and the cult of Perón and



Fig. 2. Loyalty Day celebration, *Plaza de Mayo*, Buenos Aires 17 October 1953; note propaganda air balloons in the background. Folder 1660, file 207037, Archivo General de la Nación

his wife Eva became, as Plotkin has described, a political religion that appropriated and displaced the symbols and rituals of Catholicism.⁸ Furthermore, Plotkin argues, the celebration of the national character of these dates in conjunction with their Peronist significance was part of the regime's blurring of the lines between nationality and Peronism, equating Perón with Argentina itself (Fig. 2).

These ritual celebrations were only the most remarkable examples in a ubiquitous media campaign. The country was inundated with pamphlets, leaflets, posters, journals, books, photography, radio, and film throughout Perón's first two periods. The entity in charge was the *Subsecretaría de Información, Prensa y Propaganda* (Department of Information, Press, and Propaganda, SIPP), which operated from 1946 through 1955.⁹ Through these images the SIPP constructed the figure of the new Argentinian, no longer dependent on the older landowning aristocracy that until then had dominated Argentina's cultural production. This new Argentinian was the productive rural or urban worker, usually young, and either temporarily single or part of a traditional, close-knit family unit. The message was of progress and upward mobility toward the middle class, joined to the collective effort of constructing the nation, all thanks to the generosity of its leaders and role-models, Juan and Eva Perón.

The Peróns were the ultimate model of the new Argentinian, and their images were reproduced ceaselessly. Art historian Andrea Giunta has examined the work of French painter Numa Ayrinhac, who from 1948 until his death in 1951 served as “official painter,” producing more than twenty portraits of Juan and Eva Perón.¹⁰ According to Giunta, Ayrinhac worked with different photographs, assembling portraits out of different images—the hands from one, the face of another, this background and that dress. Her observations lead me to conclude that these paintings used all the tactics of photomontage *except* the actual technique—we might say they were unconsciously avant-garde in their tactics, while deliberately conservative in their mandate. These Peronist paintings not only came from photographs but returned to them: they were mechanically reproduced in posters and brochures, mailing stamps, school books, and other objects of daily use. In children’s textbooks, history was rewritten to skip politically inconvenient periods in favor of an idealized past. Thus art returned to life, more powerfully than in the dreams of the European avant-garde, but divested of its revolutionary impulse and redressed with the comforting message of Peronism.

Ben Plotkin has described these Peronist strategies as an oxymoron in which



Fig. 3. Propaganda truck for the *Partido Laborista* in support of Perón, elections on the 24 February 1946. Folder 832, file 55625, Archivo General de la Nación

the state presented itself simultaneously as “a complete and revolutionary rupture with the past and as a conservative force preserving the most traditional national values.”¹¹ But while the regime’s aesthetics wavered between realism and abstraction to convey a conservative message, this message was transmitted through modern media (Fig. 3). With the appointment, in 1948, of Dr. Oscar Ivanissevich as Minister of Education, Peronism’s ambivalent attitude towards modern art veered into confrontation. Shortly after his appointment, and speaking at an important arts event, Ivanissevich condemned cubist and surrealist art works as sick, repugnant, and amoral manifestations by abnormal subjects.¹² A year later he went even further, stating that abstract art was a morbid, perverse art, the refuge of the amoral and the failed.¹³ Trained as a surgeon, Ivanissevich’s speeches were full of surgical metaphors on how degenerate art was sick and had to be extirpated. Different sections of the avant-garde reacted differently to such antagonism, uniting them across tendencies and generations. The echoes of the German Degenerate Art exhibition were strong, and the speeches created a bond between a new generation of artists, the *invencionistas*—a more politically committed group, invested in Marxist rhetoric—and the older generation of *Sur*, a relatively conservative Argentinian avant-garde which favored art’s uncoupling from politics. But in contrast to Nazi policies, the state did not forcefully oppose modern aesthetics in Argentina. Argentinian historians have come to consider Ivanissevich’s speeches as isolated instances within the more ambivalent attitude of the Perón regime toward modern art and architecture. For instance, in her analysis of the Argentinian avant-garde’s relationship to politics, Giunta sorts out the confrontations between modern art and Peronism, noting that by the early 1950s abstract artists were included in official exhibitions in Argentina and abroad.¹⁴ For instance, in their work for the 1953 São Paulo Biennial modern artists mobilized abstract art into political action in favor of the regime. However, complicating this claim, Romero Brest, a critic who opposed the regime and who had been fired at the start of Perón’s tenure, introduced these artists in the exhibition literature.¹⁵ These collaborations offer a glimpse into a complicated network where opposing politics were sometimes superseded by aesthetic allegiances—or perhaps simply the desire to work and exhibit. The two artists I will focus on, Gras and Stern, were recent European immigrants with fewer ties to the upper classes than the older generations of the local avant-garde, but were equally distant to the popular classes that supported Perón. We should approach their collaboration with the regime with the context of this distance in mind.

These allegiances between modernism and Peronism complicate a unified vision of Peronist aesthetics. Rather than opposing modern aesthetics, the Perón regime absorbed them, producing hybrid objects, both avant-garde *and* kitsch, imbuing them with the mythical Peronist message. We might compare the power of these objects to André Breton’s own description of surrealist objects. In an article published in the Argentinian journal *CICLO* in 1948, Breton discussed the work of the Mauri-

tian writer Malcolm de Chazal as the expression of an inner, mental world, quoting his reference to radio emissions:

Every object is a radio-telegraphic micro-emisor of shortwaves that issues variable waves according to the facets of its shapes.¹⁶

Chazal's quote might reference Freud's elaboration of media as an extension of the human organs.¹⁷ Indeed, Latin American Surrealists followed the rise of popular communications with interest.¹⁸ Perhaps art objects, like a radio, might emit variable waves, reaching out to the society that surrounds it. In the late 1940s Argentina's many objects—books, pamphlets, stamps—emitted radio-like waves, transmitting the frequency of Peronism. The Argentinian avant-garde also joined in this task, blurring the lines between art and propaganda.

The City in Front of the River

The Buenos Aires City Hall had created the EPBA in 1947 as a semi-independent unit, specifically focused on developing Le Corbusier's plan for Buenos Aires. Its director was Argentinian architect Jorge Ferrari Hardoy, who had worked on the plan with Le Corbusier in Paris, with heavy involvement of his friend and colleague, Catalan Antonio Bonet Castellana—also a Le Corbusier alumni.¹⁹ The first stage of this plan for the city was the development of *Bajo Belgrano*, a large housing project on the western edge of the city. On the occasion of an international congress in 1949, the city sponsored an exhibition on architecture and urbanism, highlighting the work of the EPBA and its inaugural project with large displays and as its climax, a ten-minute promotional film. Italian Surrealist film director Enrico Gras was hired through his compatriot, the architect Ernesto Rogers, who was a consultant in the production. The original intent for the film went beyond the confines of the exhibition: the EPBA architects wanted it to be screened in cinemas throughout the country, before the normal program, following by now established Peronist strategies.

Argentinian film had first been linked to the state in 1933, with the completion of the first sound film and the foundation of the *Instituto Cinematográfico Argentino* (Argentinian Cinematographic Institute, ICA).²⁰ The ICA sponsored the production of films promoting religious and nationalist values, a counter to the production of mass cinema, which turned toward histories of tango and romantic drama. In their essays on Peronist cinema, Clara Kriger and Valeria Manzano explain how this state supervision increased during Peronism. The Peronist state intervened in film production by creating favorable economic, legal, and administrative conditions to support the private film industry in the production of films that supported its message, usually resulting in comedies or light dramas.²¹ It also created annual awards that promoted films with strong moral messages such as family unity, patriotism, and generally supported the binaries of the Peronist discourse, such as people/oligarchy

and profligacy/austerity.²² Between 1946 and 1955, over 400 films were produced in support of the state, focused on topics such as law and order, or on medical emergencies, in which the state was represented and legitimized through characters and narrative. Under the direction of Gras this sizable cinematographic industry was put to work in support of the modern project.

In *La Ciudad Frente al Río*, director Gras had to balance the discourse of Peronism with the mandates of modern architecture. The architects Ferrari and Bonet had met while working in Le Corbusier's office in Paris, and the film's script is full of their old master's tropes. At the same time, Bonet had been close to surrealist circles. In his native Barcelona he worked for the architect José Luis Sert, who was part of a circle of art patrons who hosted events for Picasso, Salvador Dalí, and Joan Miró. In Paris, he had befriended architect-turned-surrealist Roberto Matta while working on Sert's Pavilion for the Spanish Republic, and worked with him at Le Corbusier's atelier. Relocated to Buenos Aires, Bonet, Ferrari, and colleague Juan Kurchan founded *Austral*, an architecture group that advocated simultaneously for Corbusian urban aspirations and "an architecture of Surrealism."²³ The group maintained an affinity to artistic circles and incorporated surrealist tropes into their architecture production. By the time of the EPBA, *Austral* had dissolved, but its members reunited in the hopes of designing a modern plan for the city, a plan whose seeds had been planted by Le Corbusier on his first visit to Buenos Aires in 1929. Back then, his lectures had criticized the city's density and chaos.²⁴ The film repeats the Corbusian narrative, now mobilized to promote *Bajo Belgrano*.

La Ciudad Frente al Río has three distinct segments: an explanation of the problems of the city, a demonstration of the architectural solution, and a utopian vision of the future. The first and longest sequence introduces the city and its grid, describing how rapid vertical growth had turned the colonial grid into congestion, blocking access to sunlight and to the river. A male narrator tells us the ills facing residents of late 1940s Buenos Aires: overcrowding because of urban planning mistakes; the struggle to breathe in polluted air, imprisoned by the constraints of the grid; and attacks of factory smoke and construction noise. The discourse has echoes of sickness and war: the city is a sick patient that must be cured, *she*—in Spanish the city is female, *la ciudad*—is explicitly "under siege," as its citizens' lungs are being "bombarded." The enemy here is the dust, bacteria, and impurities disseminated by excess traffic, construction, and factory smoke—the overlapping medical metaphors recall Ivanossevich's discourse, here applied to modernity rather than modern art. It also harkens back to a longer genealogy of reactions to urban growth, from Victorian-era urban reform in London to Dziga Vertov's dizzying fascination with the city, here overturned. Gras rotates factory chimneys to resemble cannons, and inserts the image and sound of a street drill to echo a machine gun aimed at innocent children running in a park (Fig. 4). Camera movements, rotation, and cropping, along with a montage of images and sound, convey the dangers of pollution, traffic, and excess



Fig. 4. The city under attack at 2:55 film still from *La Ciudad Frente al Río* (Dir. Enrico Gras, EPBA 1949). 16mm film, digitized. Courtesy of the Frances Loeb Library, Harvard University Graduate School of Design

building.

After this barrage of attacks, Gras introduces the modern architects, men dressed in white lab coats who examine the city grid with a large magnifying glass (Fig. 5). A voice-over informs us that these pseudo-scientists or doctors are the specialists that can cure the city's ills. An intriguing sequence shows the master hand of the architect, playfully propping up and moving city blocks, and thus transforming the tight grid into modern housing blocks and uncovering "the green of the *pampa* that sleeps under the cement" (Fig. 1). Lined up into tightly ordered rows, the blocks have a menacing, military air—surely this is unintended, but it's a reminder of Perón's own military roots, and of the totalitarian environment that is proposed. The emphasis is not on the blocks, but on the space that lies beneath them: the *pampas*. These vast Argentinian plains are a common aesthetic trope in Argentinian identity. In connecting modern architecture's green urban space to the *pampas*, the architects give their modern project a wash of Peronist nostalgia.

The final sequence is a montage of various built projects, reassembled into a dream-like city set in the not-so-distant future. The architect's hand returns, pointing with a pencil to the different buildings of a model of the project, emulating the well-known photograph of Le Corbusier's hand over the *Ville Radieuse*. Images combine perspectival renderings of generic modern buildings with shots of people strolling and moving around the space. Views of projects by the architects Ferrari and Bonet

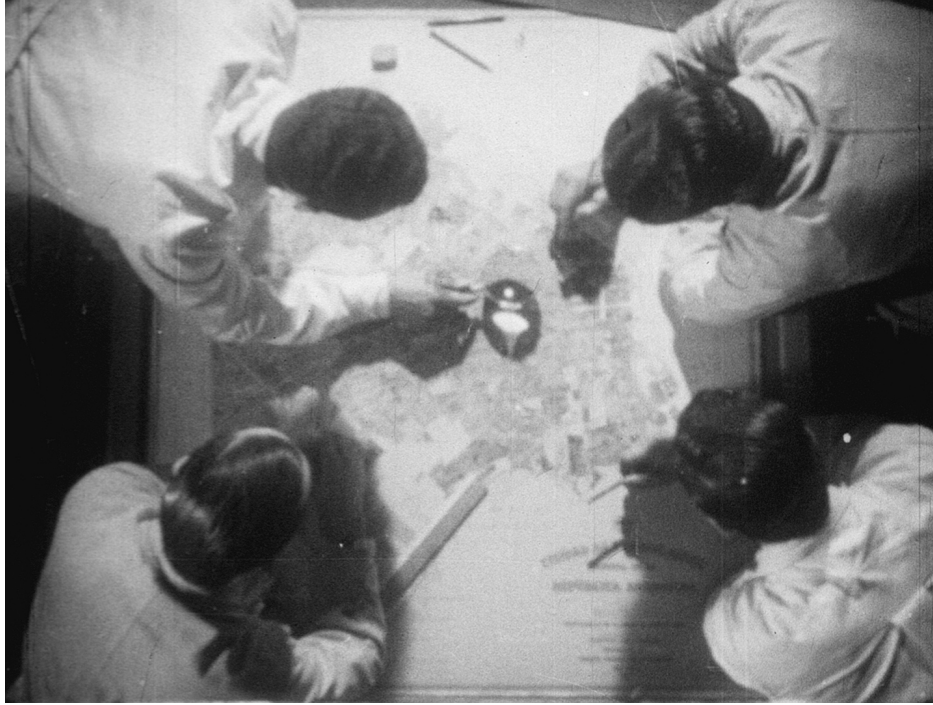



Fig. 5. The architects at 7:15, film still from *La Ciudad Frente al Río* (Dir. Enrico Gras, EPBA 1949). 16mm film, digitized. Courtesy of the Frances Loeb Library, Harvard University Graduate School of Design

are cleverly inserted into a new landscape, and are carefully cropped to erase their respective contexts. For instance, Ferrari's *Virrey del Pino* apartment building, which in reality is squeezed into the tight urban fabric of Buenos Aires, is here presented as a sample facade for *Bajo Belgrano*. The specifics of these architectural projects are irrelevant here; what is conveyed is a general image of pastoral modernity (Fig. 6). We are carefully reassured that these apartments will be owned by its inhabitants, and that they will be "authentic intimate spaces, where family life will develop with dignity." In other words, no matter how radical the images look, the public is reassured that this modern project is meant to house the most traditional of societies. By showing in the final frame a sunflower turning towards the sun, overlaid with the logo of the EPBA, the end sequence reinforces the idea of modernity as a return to nature: to the sun, the river, and the *pampas*.

Gras conveys the contrast between urban chaos and pastoral dream through both form and content. In the first segment, sound is in jarring juxtaposition to images: for instance, a machine gun is played over views of playing children, which is then discovered to be a street drill. Inanimate objects take on uncanny qualities

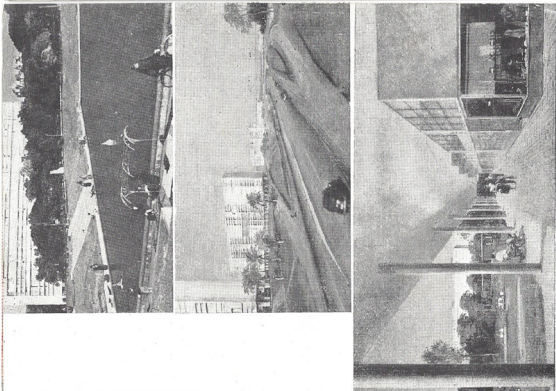


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1749 - 13.000 HABITANTES VIVAN SOBRE 159 MANZANAS

1949 - 500.000 HABITANTES SE AMONTONAN SOBRE 150 MANZANAS

Fig. 6. Promotional brochure, recto, *La Ciudad Frente al Río*, designed by Grete Stern, EPBA 1949. Courtesy of Galería Jorge Mara-La Ruche

piénselo bien

ESTE ES SU BUENOS AIRES

- una ciudad sitiada por miles de chimeneas que arrojan millones de metros cúbicos de humo directo, directamente contra los pulmones de los porteños
- una ciudad asolada por centenares de máquinas que la astixian al despojarla de su verde y sus árboles, que es lo mismo que arrebatarle su respiración
- una ciudad invadida por decenas de millares de vehículos, indiferentes al peatón obligado a cederles continuamente el paso a los amos de la calle
- una ciudad conquistada por millones de manos que levantan edificios que son pantallas para su sol y su luz

Así es su Buenos Aires. Ese Buenos Aires donde los niños juegan en baldíos insalubres y duermen hacinados, en celdillas que son refugios más que viviendas.

ESE ES EL BUENOS AIRES DE hoy

LA CIUDAD YUELVE A ASOMARSE A SU RIO OLVIDADO

Planta General de la Zona de Vivienda del Bajo Belgrano.

Nace por iniciativa de la Municipalidad de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires en los terrenos del Bajo Belgrano.

Fig. 7. Promotional brochure, verso, *La Ciudad Frente al Río*, designed by Grete Stern, EPBA 1949. Courtesy of Galería Jorge Mara-La Ruche

as they move before our eyes. In his early career in Italy, Gras had experimented with cartoons, working with artist Luciano Emmer to produce what they termed “a series of experiments in surrealist film, attempting to develop a poetic documentary form.”²⁵ He was fond of creating the illusion of movement by either panning past inanimate objects or by framing them as they are animated by wind, water, or other forces. These techniques are present in the first segment of the film, where he uses the camera to animate objects by adjusting the frame or by moving around them; he juxtaposes images to create the illusion of their impending collusion. A different kind of animation takes place in the intermission, where the playful hand of the god-like architect moves and shapes the city. In the final segment, Gras uses fixed viewpoints and slow pans to portray the tranquil vistas of the dream modern city, thus reinforcing the message of a return to nature. Here Gras combines segments of strolling citizens with architectural renderings. The combined images lend a fictitious air to the new Buenos Aires. The span of film techniques, from fast-paced montage in the first sequence to slow pans in the last one, reinforces the idea of an implicit return from the urban chaos of the present to a fictitious, tranquil past, echoing the Peronist message. Thus the revolutionary thrust of modern architecture is used here to mask a moment of nostalgia, in a development which I call a “pastoral modernity.”

This “pastoral modernity” was reinforced by the graphics that accompanied the film, designed by Bauhaus-trained German photographer and designer Grete Stern. As part of her work for the EPBA, Stern devised the logo and printed material for the project, including a brochure to reinforce the message of the film (Fig. 6). It follows the same script: text and images describe the current Buenos Aires as a city under siege, to be rescued by modern architecture. Using images from the film, Stern’s photomontage depicts the city as a jumble of menacing chimneys discharging smoke against an x-ray of lungs, vehicles overtaking the streets, tall buildings blocking the sunlight, and crying children. To remedy these ills, or resist these attacks, the project proposes turning back to the city’s forgotten river with a pastoral view of that landscape, complete with horses and a large tree overlooking the water. This is the largest image in the brochure, yet it includes no buildings. Instead, it is a curious montage of the Argentinian *pampas*, traditionally depicted as an endless plain, with the La Plata river, reminding us that with this project “the city will return to its river” (a line from the film). On the other side of the page, the brochure advertises the future Buenos Aires, describing the details of *Bajo Belgrano* with more images of the film (Fig. 7). Finally, the reader is instructed to see the film, to think about what he or she had seen, and then divulge the information. *Bajo Belgrano*—as we are told in the cover—would be a third foundation of the city of Buenos Aires. There, in “The City in Front of the River,” the brochure promised, *Porteños*—that is, citizens of Buenos Aires—would live “a happy life in a happy city.”

The modern project’s constant slippage between *Porteños* and children, who



Fig. 8. The children at 9:34 film still from *La Ciudad Frente al Río* (Dir. Enrico Gras, EPBA 1949). 16mm film, digitized. Courtesy of the Frances Loeb Library, Harvard University Graduate School of Design

must be treated and tended to by the architects-specialists, points to a dynamic of authoritarian control. At the same time, a careful reading of children's actions in the film points to a subtle, perhaps even subversive message. In the first segment they are innocent victims, threatened by the violence of polluting factories and chaotic traffic. But as the city is "cured" by the scientists/architects in aseptic white coats with magnifying glasses, the children take over their tools with troublesome intentions. In the final sequence, a quick shot shows us the inside of a modern dwelling. Playing in the corner, a child uses a magnifying glass to capture the sun and burn what looks like the plan of an orthogonal city grid (Fig. 8). The energy of the sun, which throughout this idyllic vision has been built up as a benefit, is suddenly transformed, through the agency of a child, into an agent of destruction. Are the children destroying the dense old grid of the city? Or are they reminders of the untamed, irrational forces that persist, even after order is established, and that have the potential to destroy the rationality of the world? The children's role in the film strikes a disquieting note, hinting that the public for these projects requires care and council from the state, but also careful supervision and control. It is ironic that *Bajo Belgrano* was never built, as it was trumped by an even more overt vision of the state caring for its

children: a miniature city for orphaned children sponsored by Eva Perón.

Years later, Ferrari stated that the project came to an end because it overlapped with the projects of the *Fundación Eva Perón* (Eva Perón Foundation), the institutional arm of Eva Perón's social work.²⁶ In the context of Perón's promotion of the image of the traditional family, the First Lady was a married woman without children and thus incomplete in terms of the image the state sought to promote. She strategically cultivated her image as a motherly figure to the nation. In 1949, her foundation inaugurated the "*Ciudad Infantil*" (Children's City), a miniature city with several buildings scaled down to host orphaned children.²⁷ Another project by the same foundation was inaugurated in 1951, the "*Ciudad Estudiantil*" (Student City). These two so-called "cities" were located inside the limits projected for *Bajo Belgrano*, and had been completely ignored by the EPBA.²⁸ It seems inconceivable that the architects were not aware of these projects, one of which was already being built as they were exhibiting their plans—or perhaps they just decided to ignore them. Certainly they could have been incorporated into the design of *Bajo Belgrano*, but that would have meant compromising modern architecture's clean lines with Eva Perón's neo-traditionalist chalets. Here modernity was put aside in favor of a caricatural fantasy that was closer to the aesthetics of Walt Disney World. The surrealist irony of this fantasy urbanism—built only a few years after Dalí's frustrated collaboration with Walt Disney—did escape our architects, and prompted the end of their project. Their film had used children as symbols of the untamed and irrational, and personified the city as a mentally ill woman. Overturning this narrative, it was children's architecture, guided by the hand of a powerful female figure, which determined the end of the modern project.

The architectural project was archived, and its promotional material disappeared from the public eye. But its particular mix of disruptive modern aesthetics and conformist nostalgia was echoed in contemporaneous images produced by Stern. While working on the graphic design and photography of *Bajo Belgrano*, Stern also illustrated a column in a popular women's journal. Let us now turn to this work and its production in the context of the popularity of psychoanalysis in Buenos Aires.

"Psychoanalysis Will Help You"

In 1940s Buenos Aires, psychoanalysis rose to prominence both as a specialized area of study meant for private consults, and as a popular, public lexicon used by advice columnists in journals and newspapers. Historians Jorge Balán, Hugo Vezzetti and Mariano Ben Plotkin have researched the growth of psychoanalysis in Buenos Aires as both a discipline and in popular media.²⁹ In the early '30s a newspaper column used Freudian discourse to advise its readers. In 1933, the Spanish translation of Freud's biography was published in Buenos Aires.³⁰ His texts were circulated through a series that started around 1935 and ran for over a decade, and that claimed to put him "within reach of everybody."³¹ His death in 1939 prompted multiple con-

ferences and other events that further popularized his theories in Argentina.

As the popularity of psychoanalysis grew, specialists sought to transform their expertise into a discipline. In 1942 six medical doctors specializing in psychoanalysis founded the *Asociación Psicoanalítica Argentina* (Argentinian Psychoanalytic Association, APA).³² They were led by Ángel Garma, a Spanish doctor trained in Berlin and a close friend of the architect Bonet, and included Austrian Marie Langer, Argentinian Celes Ernesto Cárcamo, trained in Paris, Argentinian Pediatrician Arnaldo Rascovsky, Psychiatrist Enrique Pichon-Rivière, born in Switzerland but who relocated at an early age to Argentina, and Argentinian Guillermo Ferrari Hardoy, brother to architect Jorge, director of the *Bajo Belgrano* plan. The group claimed to grant credentials to properly authorize psychoanalysts. Although its courses were open to the public, they were addressed primarily to medical doctors trained in psychiatry. The European origin or training of many APA members linked them to other members of the European diaspora, particularly artists and intellectuals. This fraternity in exile led to a closer relationship between psychoanalysts and Surrealism than the more contentious relationship these groups had in Europe.

In 1938, Pichon-Rivière developed a special unit in the *Hospicio de las Mercedes*, a mental health asylum in Buenos Aires (now Borda Hospital) dedicated to the treatment of teenage patients. He enlisted the cooperation of artists including self-identified surrealist Juan Batlle Planas and Grete Stern, who had just arrived from Europe with her husband and fellow photographer Horacio Cóppola.³³ Batlle Planas and Stern worked with patients in the development of art as therapy.³⁴ Stern continued her close relationship with psychoanalysis, designing, for instance, the publicity for a clinic that treated children with mental problems through art therapy.³⁵ Having escaped Nazi Germany, where modern art had been qualified as degenerate, the action of treating mentally ill patients through art must have been a powerful gesture for her. This early instance of collaboration between psychoanalysis and art highlights the close ties between these practices in Argentina.³⁶ As a key component of the cultural life of the country, much of the aesthetic production of Argentina in the 1940s was imbued with the discourse of psychoanalysis, regardless of its possible connections to Surrealism.

This was the case of *Idilio* (Idyll), “a young and feminine magazine” which started its weekly run in October of 1948. Its covers seemed to portray its intended audience: conventionally pretty, young, Argentinian women, whose dress and occupation marked them as members of the middle class, usually featured with a male counterpart and engaged in leisure activities, sports, and sometimes work; a romantic narrative is hinted at —perhaps she is thinking of someone else, or he is deceiving her.³⁷ The magazine seemed oriented to prompting imaginary narratives: photographs and drawings conveyed romantic stories, increasing their fictional quality; a contest encouraged readers to submit fictive responses to real letters about romantic problems (“only the names have been changed”). Reality and fiction were fluidly

interspersed.

Starting with its first number, *Idilio* featured in its early pages a column titled “*El Psicoanálisis te ayudará*” (“Psychoanalysis will help you”), penned by Dr. Richard Rest, and illustrated with a photomontage by Grete Stern.³⁸ Rest was the composite pseudonym of two anonymous writers whose identities illuminate the real expertise behind the column: they were Gino Germani and Enrique Butelman, and neither of them were psychoanalysts. However, Germani’s background in particular informed Dr. Rest’s psychoanalysis.

Germani’s career as a scholar of Argentinian society, and his careful analysis of the statistics documenting the growth of Buenos Aires, make him a unique participant in these events. A sociologist interested in the relationship between processes of modernization and urbanization, and the mobility between social classes, he was part of the *Colegio Libre de Estudios Superiores* (Free College of Superior Studies, known as CLES for its acronym in Spanish), an independent institution of higher education that hired many of the university professors fired by Perón.³⁹ In a study published by the Sociology Institute of the Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA) in 1942, Germani analyzed the Buenos Aires middle class in terms of its composition according to employment, cultural conditions, and social mobility.⁴⁰ Based on a series of the city census, he determined that the percentage of those who could be described as middle class had vastly increased in a relatively short period. Such an upward trend, he concluded, should have vast consequences not only in the class structure of the city, but in all aspects of social life. But while he researched the Argentinian desire for upward mobility as a sociologist, Germani also satisfied this desire by impersonating a psychoanalyst for *Idilio*’s readers. Conversely, the insights he gained from statistical analysis were unexpectedly enriched by his undercover role in what amounted to a romance and life advice column that masqueraded as psychoanalysis—although he never cited these epistolary sources in his academic scholarship. We can detect a hint of this influence in some of his later writing, in which he explained the working-class support of Perón as the product of manipulation and irrationality.⁴¹ Germani claimed that while the established working class had strived to organize itself in syndicates and favored the creation of working parties, the new generation was its polar opposite. Defining Peronism as “the authoritarian populism of the masses,” Germani concluded that while in the regime’s speech the masses were put at the forefront of every need, in reality they exerted no power. We might speculate that Germani’s reading of the Peronist working class and their manipulation by the regime inflected his analysis of their dreams, performed as one half of “Dr. Richard Rest.”

While Germani analyzed the dreams, the other half of Dr. Rest redacted the advice component of the response with insights gathered by dream analysis to make recommendations to their readers. This half was Enrique Butelman, an avid reader who played an important role in the introduction of psychoanalysis to Argentina

through his publishing house, Paidós.⁴² It was through Butelman that the real identities of Dr. Rest were revealed, when years later, he spoke candidly about the column as an amusing anecdote. In contrast, Germani never discussed or admitted to writing it. He eventually left Argentina and taught at Harvard University, writing and editing books on modernity and urbanization.

Neither Germani nor Butelman were psychoanalysts, but their collective pen name, “Dr. Richard Rest” claimed to be one through the combination of his conspicuous title and the authority granted by his English name.⁴³ The collective Dr. Rest gave the following instructions to their readers:

We want to help you know yourself, fortify your soul, solve your problems, respond to your doubts, overcome your complexes, and get ahead.⁴⁴

A long questionnaire followed, soliciting intimate details from the reader’s earliest childhood memories to their concerns about work, friendships, and other people’s opinions; the frequency of their dreams; and finally, a detailed description of their last dream that had most impressed them. These letters were never published, as the writers had no voice; only the responses by Rest were, who also advised: “Psychoanalysis provides us with the road to know ourselves, to discover those complexes that, hidden in the depths of our soul, are the true cause of our unhappiness.”⁴⁵ In his responses, Rest/Germani would first explain the significance of the dream and its images, and then Rest/Butelman would point out the readers’ obsessions and displaced neurosis, gently admonish them, and suggest new conduct patterns. This division of labor was only partial, as one section flowed into the other. The general advice was meant to guide women with a measure of self-assurance and independence as they strove toward the dream of securing true love and a happy marriage, in close parallel to Peronist models.

In contrast to the collective answers by the Drs. Rest, the graphic component of the column was elaborated more independently by Stern, with instructions from Germani and the original letter. She described her role thusly:

Germani would give me the text of the dream, a true copy, in most cases, of one of the many letters addressed to Editorial Abril asking for interpretation. Sometimes, before starting my work, Germani and I would talk about the interpretation. Usually Germani would have specific requirements related to the layout: it should be horizontal or vertical, or with a darker foreground than the background, or it should represent unquiet shapes. Other times he pointed out that a figure should appear doing one thing or another, or insisted that I should use elements like flowers or animals.⁴⁶

Thus Stern’s photomontages would seem to have been prefigured by Germani’s

requests, with a certain latitude for interpretation. However, as the art historian Luis Priamo has noted in his analysis of Stern's work, in several cases Stern inserted additional images that were not part of Germani's dream interpretation, complicating and sometimes contesting his advice. A fisherman's net, for instance, turns Germani's description of an ideal mate into someone about to trap the dreamer. Priamo further notes that Stern's retitling of the images for exhibition and her further refashioning of some of them demonstrates her appropriation of this commission: Stern had specifically emphasized the importance of titles to photomontages. Beyond these details, Stern's lightness and humor in depicting the dreams, which is not reflected in Dr. Rest's paternalistic advice, struck a more subversive note.

By 1949 the layout had changed, leaving only Stern's images, Dr. Rest's questionnaire, and the description of the dream on the first page, while analysis and advice was relegated to the last pages. Stern's images seem to have captured her audience's attention, and Dr. Rest's advice could wait. Initially anonymous, Stern began signing her name to them—the gesture points to her increased confidence in the value of the work. Her images ran from 1948 through 1951, when she left the magazine. She was not replaced, and Dr. Rest continued to answer the letters without graphic help.

For three years, Stern had captured the desires, fears, jealousies and doubts of the Argentinian woman. Who was this woman? Her images were usually staged photographs of Stern's daughter, or of her maid and friend Etelvina del Carmen Alaniz, known as "Cacho." In keeping with their amateur models, they have an overacted, cheeky quality. They combined body parts and characters—the hands of a friend with the face of another, inserted into a different setting. Their stiff comportment and the composition of various body parts and images links them to innumerable Perón advertisements, brochures, and posters that reproducing the images of Juan and Eva Perón and the happy Argentinian workers they served. These shared in the stiff pretense but lacked Stern's models' self-awareness and humor. In particular, their combination of body parts and characters reminds us of Numa Ayrinhac's tactics in his portraits of Eva Perón. Thus although the role model for the correspondents of *Idilio* was the unreachable perfection of "Saint Eva"—as she came to be known after her death—both the original and her middle-class reproductions were depicted in mass media as fragmented assemblages of multiple bodies: rather than an expression of the individual, they were compilations of the collective.

Stern's images for *Idilio* conveyed layered messages (Fig. 9). The bulging eyes and exaggerated poses created a tongue-in-cheek humor that challenged the condescending admonitions of Dr. Rest. The anxieties of Dr. Rest's readers were transformed, in Stern's hands, into gentle self-mockery. Were these real, or were they just encouraged by the relentless visuals of *Idilio*, constantly instructing its readers about their need for romance, beauty, and general fulfillment? With her depiction of mock horror, Stern seems to be telling us that these fears are not altogether real. The



Fig. 9. Grete Stern, "Dreams of Persecutions" ("Los Sueños de Persecuciones"), *Idilio* (5 April 1949).
Courtesy of Galería Jorge Mara-La Ruche

images suggest that the new *Porteña* is a fictional creature, as fictional as Ayrinhac's composite portraits of Eva Perón: a montage of parts, fears, and dreams, extracted from the individual dreams of her letter-writers and turned, through the magic of the camera, into an objective correlative of Buenos Aires' collective unconscious.

Stern often recycled and borrowed images, sometimes even using those of her ex-husband, photographer Cóppola. It was only natural that in a later "dream" for *Idilio*, we find images borrowed from the film itself: the threatening chimneys portrayed in *La Ciudad Frente al Río*.⁴⁷ This casual displacement points to a similar treatment of city and of woman in these works. Both the journal and the film have parallel structures: the expert as authority, a child-like public in need of guidance, and an illusion of a happy outcome. Like Dr. Richard Rest, the architects of the EPBA felt compelled to instruct their public on the conditions they needed for happiness and upward mobility. In "Psychoanalysis Will Help You," the female public was advised to master their insecurities and negotiate their self-worth while still ascribing to traditional female roles within marriage and family. In *La Ciudad Frente al Río*, the *Porteño* public was similarly instructed to discover just how disordered and polluted the city was—a sick patient—and advised over its cure. Whether plagued by the pollution of air and traffic, or by the troubles and tribulations of modern life, the *Porteños* were prompted to heed the advice of the experts—the mysterious Dr. Richard Rest, the architects of the EPBA, or Perón himself—in order to achieve personal happiness.

The Peronist Unconscious

In Freud's stratification of the bourgeois mind, the unconscious corresponds to repressed thoughts that the individual actively avoids but which are revealed through symptoms such as dreams, free associations, or verbal slips. The unconscious thus belongs to the private realm of the individual, and is revealed to her through the disclosure and analysis of these symptoms. Both "Psychoanalysis Will Help You" and "The City in Front of the River" overtly applied a simplified version of this understanding of the unconscious. While the advice column mined its readers' dreams for these associations and advised them on proper behavior, the film found Buenos Aires' unconscious in the chaos of city life, and revealed a "pastoral modernity" as the cure. Thus we find a nostalgic return to the past is masked by a veneer of revolutionary modernity—an invitation to sleep, and to dream.

Beyond these works' popular reading of the Freudian unconscious, we can glean additional insight into their status as cultural products by thinking about them and their reception as collective products. Here Carl Jung's definition of the *collective* unconscious is useful:

The collective unconscious—so far as we can say anything about it at all—appears to consist of mythological motifs or primordial images, for which

reason the myths of all nations are its real exponents. In fact, the whole of mythology could be taken as a sort of projection of the collective unconscious... We can therefore study the collective unconscious in two ways, either in mythology or in the analysis of the individual.⁴⁸

In contrast to most instances of surrealist art, Stern's dream images for *Idilio* and Gras's filmic vision of a new Buenos Aires were meant to be reproduced. Furthermore, although the dreams were prompted by an individual's letter, they were always framed as a type: note the titles, "Dreams of Anguish," or "Dreams of Floating." Here the individual's isolated experience was turned into a collective dream, shared by many of the journal's readers, and used as a means to establish a lexicon of common symbols and corresponding desires, anxieties, and prescriptive behaviors. Similarly, the implicit message of the film was that *all Porteños* should dream of living in *Bajo Belgrano*. The reproducibility of these works is present in both their medium and their content, and points to an audience that is produced and that participates in the production of a collective unconscious.

In arguing for the political interpretation of literary texts, Fredric Jameson claims these texts are interpreted through "sedimented reading habits and categories developed by...inherited interpretive traditions."⁴⁹ In examining these works or texts, we can engage in what Jameson calls ideological analysis—which is, following Louis Althusser, an analysis of the ideology that produces texts or images and within which they are enmeshed. Such analysis informs what Jameson terms the political unconscious. It is to this politically informed unconscious that I have turned to in my reading of Gras' film and Stern's photomontages. By the late 1940s, the *Porteños* had been exposed to Peronist mythology and learned to negotiate it—like the unruly children referenced by the film, or Stern's gently ironic women. While these works' aesthetics originated in their authors' European origins, they were produced in the context of Perón's pervasive propaganda machine. As such, they addressed an audience adept at reading, assimilating, and decoding Peronist mythology: an audience of the growing middle class of which Germani was so skeptical, and that participated in the massive ritual celebrations of Perón-as-nation. In doing so, both these dreams and the film reveal a different kind of unconscious: a "Peronist unconscious," a collectively-produced social myth tuned to the frequency of Peronism. These projects all shared similar "mythological motifs or primordial images," to use Carl Jung's words, that pervaded the nation. From romantic bliss in a happy marriage to pastoral nostalgia through modern architecture, these images tell us that happiness for these unruly children could only be found through slumber. Stern's attempts at subverting Dr. Rest's advice, and Gras's portrayal of unruly children destroying the plan of the city, hint at these artists' awareness of the totalizing vision that they were helping to fabricate.

1 André Breton, "Prolegomena to A Third Manifesto Of Surrealism Or Else, illustrated by Matta," *VVV* 1 (June 1942): 22.

2 The foundations for research on *Bajo Belgrano* have been laid out by Argentinian historians Jorge Francisco Liernur and Anahí Ballent. Liernur focuses on the development and evolution of Austral, the various projects linked to the core founders and extended members, and their links back to Le Corbusier. He includes a detailed history of the plan and an analysis of its contents. See Jorge Liernur, *La Red Austral: Obras Y Proyectos de Le Corbusier Y Sus Discípulos En La Argentina (1924-1965)* (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2008). Ballent examines the plan and the film in her discussion of the architecture of Peronism, see Anahí Ballent, *Las Huellas de La Política: Vivienda, Ciudad, Peronismo En Buenos Aires, 1943-1955* (Bernal: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2005).

3 Stern's work, and in particular her *Dreams*, have been extensively researched by historians Luis Priamo and Paula Bertúa. See Paula Bertúa, *La cámara en el umbral de lo sensible: Grete Stern y la revista Idilio, 1948-1951* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 2012); Luis Priamo, *Sueños: fotomontajes de Grete Stern: Serie completa*, (Buenos Aires: Fundación CEPPA, 2003).

4 He ran as the representative of the short lived *Partido Laborista* (Labor Party), in alliance with the traditional party of the center left, *Unión Cívica Radical* (Radical Civil Union, UCR), and its large youth organization, FORJA. The acronym translates to foundry, but stands for "Fuerza de Orientación Radical de la Joven Argentina" (Forge of the Radical Orientation of the Argentinian Youth). With Perón's victory, FORJA was dissolved and its members were absorbed into Peronism.

5 Later renamed *Partido Justicialista* or Social Justice Party. The party defined itself through its focus on social justice, economic independence, and political sovereignty, known as the "three flags."

6 Mariano Ben Plotkin, *Mañana Es San Perón: A Cultural History of Peron's Argentina* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2002). See also his doctoral dissertation, "Politics of Consensus in Peronist Argentina (1943-1955)," University of California at Berkeley, 1992; and his work on the development of psychoanalysis in Argentina, *Freud En Las Pampas: Orígenes Y Desarrollo de Una Cultura Psicoanalítica En La Argentina (1910-1983)* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2003).

7 Plotkin, *Mañana Es San Perón*.

8 October 17th became known as "San Perón," in 1951, with Eva Perón gravely ill, it was transformed into "Santa Evita." Plotkin, 79-80. In 1952, after her death, it was transformed into a memorial of Eva Perón.

9 In turn, the SIPP managed five departments: the Department of Public Spectacles, in charge of film; the Department of Diffusion; the Department of Publicity; the Department of Press; and the Department of Radio. These departments managed the propaganda production of the ministries and various entities including Fundación Eva Perón.

10 Andrea Giunta, "Eva Perón: imágenes y público," *VII Jornadas de Teoría e Historia de las Artes: Arte y Recepción* (1997): 177-184.

11 Plotkin, *Mañana es San Perón*, 197.

12 In the inauguration of the 38th National Salon of Plastic Arts. See "Inauguró el Dr. Ivanissevich el XXXVIII Salón Nacional de Artes Plásticas: Positivos valores del arte nacional congrega la importante muestra," *Guía Quincenal de la Actividad Intelectual y Artística Argentina* (Buenos Aires), Vol. 2, No. 29 (October 1948): 4-11

13 "Inauguró ayer el XXXIX Salón de Artes Plásticas," *La Nación* (22 September 1949).

14 Andrea Giunta, "El arte moderno en los márgenes del Peronismo," *Avant-garde, Internationalism, and Politics: Argentine Art in the Sixties* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

15 The artists were the concretes Lidy Prati, Tomás Maldonado, Alfredo Hlito, Enio Iommi, and Claudio Girola (by then associated as *Grupo de Artistas Modernos Argentinos* (GAMA), and independent artists Miguel Ocampo, Antonio Fernández Muro, Sarah Grilo, Clorindo Testa, and Rafael Onetto. Romero Brest distinguishes between both groups in his introduction, describing the concretes as relat-

ed to formal geometry, and the second group as guided by individual sensibility and organic rhythms. Jorge Romero Brest, "Un grupo de Jovens pintores e escultores argentinos," in *Grupo de Artistas Modernos Argentinos* (Rio de Janeiro: Museu de Arte Moderna do Rio de Janeiro, 1953).

16 The text is dated 3 October 1947, and translated by Aldo Pellegrini. André Breton, "Jacques Hérold," *CICLO* 1 (November/December 1948). Here Breton used de Chazal's aphorisms to describe the work of Romanian Surrealist Jacques Hérold, whom he had reencountered when he returned to France. Malcolm de Chazal, *Sens-plastique* ([Paris]: Gallimard, 1985 [1948]), quoted by André Breton in "Jacques Hérold," *CICLO* 1 (November/December 1948): 53-56.

17 "With every tool man is perfecting his own organs, whether motor or sensory, or is removing the limits to their functioning." Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*, trans. James Strachey, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume XXI (1927-1931)*, and published as a single volume (New York: Norton, 1961), 37.

18 In his research on Freud's influence in Mexico, historian Rubén Gallo discusses surrealist artist Novo's writings on the confluence of radio and Surrealism. Novo, a Mexican Surrealist, had similarly discussed radio and Surrealism in "Meditations on Radio" (1933). See Rubén Gallo, "Meditations on Radio," *Freud's Mexico: Into the Wilds of Psychoanalysis* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010), 45-51.

19 Both names use the Latin American and Spanish convention of composite last names, hereafter only mentioned with their first last name, Ferrari and Bonet.

20 See Clara Kriger, *Cine y peronismo: el estado en escena* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2009) and Valeria Manzano, *Cine Argentino y Peronismo: Cultura, Política y Propaganda, 1946-1955* (Universitat de Barcelona, 2001), <http://www.raco.cat/index.php/FilmhistoriaOnline/article/view/243189>. For more on Argentinian film see Domingo di Núbila, *Historia del cine argentino* (Buenos Aires; Distribudores: Edición Cruz de Malta; Editorial Schapire, 1960). For an analysis of the combined effects of film and radio in mass media in the decades immediately preceding Peronism, see Matthew B. Karush, *Culture of Class: Radio and Cinema in the Making of a Divided Argentina, 1920-1946* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).

21 Kriger, *Cine y peronismo*, 107.

22 Manzano, *Cine Argentino y Peronismo*.

23 Bonet, Ferrari, Kurchan, "Voluntad y Acción," in *Austral* 1, published as an insert in *Nuestra Arquitectura* (June 1939).

24 Le Corbusier, *Precisions on the Present State of Architecture and City Planning: With an American Prologue, a Brazilian Corollary Followed by the Temperature of Paris and the Atmosphere of Moscow* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991).

25 Luciano Emmer and Enrico Gras, "The Film Renaissance in Italy," *Hollywood Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (July, 1947): 353-358. The quote comes from their biography as authors of the note. Gras also produced a documentary on writer Ricardo Güiraldes; see <http://youtu.be/laKonnTWOGU> (1957).

26 Liernur cites a lecture by Ferrari at FADU-UBA in 1964, documented in the Jorge Ferrari Hardoy Archive, Loeb Special Collections Library, Harvard University. Liernur, *La Red Austral*, 372.

27 Anahi Ballent describes how this project represented a miniature city to raise disenfranchised children. The modern state, it seems, could not compete with the paternalistic state, a more immediate, effective promise. Anahí Ballent, "El kitsch inolvidable: Imágenes en torno a Eva Perón," *Las Huellas de La Política: Vivienda, Ciudad, Peronismo En Buenos Aires, 1943-1955* (Bernal: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2005).

28 The architect was Mario Colli.

29 Hugo Vezzetti has traced the history of psychoanalysis and its popularization in Argentina. See Juan Ramón Beltrán and Hugo Vezzetti, *Freud en Buenos Aires, 1910-1939* (Buenos Aires: Puntosur Editores, 1989), and Vezzetti, "Las promesas del psicoanálisis en la cultura de las masas," *Historia de la vida privada en la Argentina*, ed. Fernando Devoto and Marta Madero (Madrid, España; Buenos Aires: Taurus, 1999). Plotkin has also worked with Vezzetti and Jorge Balán in stitching together the dissem-

ination of psychoanalysis in Argentina: Mariano Ben Plotkin, Germán Leopoldo García, Hugo Vezzetti, and Jorge Balán, "The Diffusion of Psychoanalysis in Argentina." *Latin American Research Review* 33, no. 2 (1998): 271–77; and on his own: Mariano Ben Plotkin, "Freud, Politics, and the Portenos: The Reception of Psychoanalysis in Buenos Aires, 1910-1943," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 77, No. 1 (1997): 45; Plotkin, *Freud En Las Pampas: Orígenes Y Desarrollo de Una Cultura Psicoanalítica En La Argentina (1910-1983)* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2003). One of the earlier instances of research on this topic is Jorge Balán, *Profesión e identidad en una sociedad dividida: la medicina y el origen del psicoanálisis en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: CEDES, 1988).

30 The column was "Psicoanálisis por Freudiano," in the newspaper *Jornada*, as noted by Vezzetti.

Freud's biography was penned by Stefan Zweig. Vezzetti, "Las promesas del psicoanálisis," 175-176.

31 Vezzetti, "Las promesas del psicoanálisis," 181. Other columns mentioned by Vezzetti are the advice column in the journal *Viva Cien Años* with a focus on hereditary conditions, and "Darío Malbrán, psicoanalista," a serial story that put the psychoanalyst in the position of a detective. Vezzetti, "Las promesas del psicoanálisis," 186.

32 Plotkin, *Freud in the Pampas*; Balán, *Profesión e identidad en una sociedad dividida*, 20.

33 Their first exhibition was in Pichon Rivière's house; the second was in Stern's; both happened in 1945. Paula Bertúa, *La cámara en el umbral de lo sensible: Grete Stern y la revista Idilio, 1948-1951* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 2012), 82. Stern was also a close friend of artist Gyula Kosice, designed the invitations to these exhibitions, photographed the events, and produced the iconic photomontage that became Madí's identifying image. Author interview with Kosice, December, 2014.

34 Victoria Azurduy, "Pichon Rivière," *El Intérprete* Vol. 2, No. 7 (October 2007).

35 At the Atelier de Libre Expresión, under the direction of Lía Sirouyan, trained in Geneva, and Mercedes Torres, trained in Brussels. She also did design layouts for architect Itala Villa. Archivo Grete Stern.

36 In 1935, the Argentinian avant-garde journal *Sur* had published Carl Jung's discussion on psychological types. Carl Jung, "Introducción al estudio de los tipos psicológicos," *Sur* 10 (July 1935): 24-29.

37 Starting with *Idilio* 50 (1 November, 1949), the covers occasionally begin to feature a woman on her own, although in this case she is clearly talking on the phone, so the male is implied.

38 The column was inaugurated in the first issue of the journal, published in October of 1948. Dr. Rest's name started appearing in the second year of the column's run, in 1949, at the same time as the informal "te ayudará" was switched to the more formal "le ayudará." These changes point to a shift in the tone of the column, from informal friendship to a more distant relationship between expert and patient. Stern was only credited starting in 1951, and in July of that year she stopped producing the images, although the advice column continued without them. The next year she started working on an extensive report of Buenos Aires for Peuser Editions, which involved collecting 1,500 images. For prior research on Stern's work for *Idilio*, see Grete Stern and Luis Priamo, *Sueños: fotomontajes de Grete Stern: Serie completa* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Ediciones Fundación CEPPA, 2003) and Paula Bertúa, *La cámara en el umbral de lo sensible: Grete Stern y la revista Idilio, 1948-1951* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 2012).

39 The Buenos Aires chapter was closed in 1952. For more on the CLES, see Federico Neiburg, "Élites sociales y élites intelectuales El Colegio Libre de Estudios Superiores (1930-1961)," *Los intelectuales y la invención del peronismo* (Buenos Aires: Alianza, 1998), 137-182.

40 Gino Germani, "La Clase Media En La Ciudad de Buenos Aires: Estudio Preliminar," *Desarrollo Económico* Vol. 21, No. 81 (April 1, 1981): 109–27. First published in *Boletín del Instituto de Sociología* 1 (1942).

41 Gino Germani, *Política Y Sociedad En Una Época de Transición, de La Sociedad Tradicional a La Sociedad de Masas* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Paidós, 1962).

42 Vezzetti, "Las promesas del psicoanálisis," 173-197.

43 Keep in mind that Argentina was dependent on England through most of the nineteenth and early

twentieth century, which was akin to economic colonialism.

44 Richard Rest, "El Psicoanálisis le ayudará," *Idilio* (1948).

45 Ibid.

46 Grete Stern, "Apuntes sobre fotomontaje," read at *Foto Club Argentino* (September 1967), later published in *Fotomundo* 310 (Buenos Aires, February 1994).

47 "Sueños de Angustia," *Idilio* (June 1951). Stern often used what images she had at hand, even those of her ex-husband Cópola.

48 Carl Jung, *The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1975 [1960]), 152-153.

49 Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1981), 9.