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The Impact of Foreign Scholarship on Argentine Historiography of the Post-war Era

Richard J. Walter

In recent years the work of foreign scholars has had an everincreasing influence on the writing of Argentine history by Argentines. This has been particularly true of the period following the fall of the first Perón régime in 1955 and the subsequent opening up of academic and intellectual life which followed. And, despite the vicissitudes of a constant alternation of freely-elected democratic governments and repressive military régimes since that date, the trend has persisted and in many ways accelerated and deepened.

Foreign scholarship on Argentina, with a few exceptions, was relatively sparse before World War II. Most attention focused on Mexico and broad aspects of Iberian colonial control of the New World. After the war, however, more scholars began to study the southern republic, producing articles and books on subjects ranging from the early nineteenth-century dictatorship of Juan Manuel de Rosas to United States—Argentine relations, from the phenomenon of the Perón era to a general history of the republic.¹ The effort of these pioneers was followed by an explosion of works in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, covering an even wider range of periods and subjects. While much of this work was done by US scholars, who reflected the “boom” in Latin American studies in that country after the Cuban Revolution of 1959, a growing number of European and other scholars also made significant contributions.

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I. M. Burgin: *The Economic Aspects of Argentine Federalism, 1820–1852*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1946. T. F. McGann: *Argentina, the United States, and the Inter-American System, 1880–1914*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1957. A. P. Whitaker: *The United States and Argentina*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1954. G. I. Blanksten: *Perón's Argentina*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1953. Y. F. Rennie: *The Argentine Republic*, New York: The Macmillan Company 1945.

Argentine scholars, operating in Latin America's most cosmopolitan country and particularly attuned to developments abroad, soon began to take advantage of and to be influenced by this growing corpus of scholarship. Especially important in this process was the establishment of various research centres in Argentina in the post-Perón period. Two of the most significant were the Institute of Sociology and Social History at the University of Buenos Aires and the Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, both founded in the late 1950s. Supported in part by external funding and scholarly exchanges, these two centers created something of a revolution in Argentine scholarship. Individuals associated with these institutes were at the forefront of those who both received stimulus from and in turn stimulated foreign studies of the nation's past. Increasingly, scholars attached to these centres—and others as well—studied and/or taught abroad, collaborated with foreign colleagues on joint projects, and incorporated the most recent foreign works on Argentina into their own research and writing. Foreign scholars, for their part, found these centres to be important sources for support and inspiration as they conducted their own field research in Argentina.

Other research centres emerged in the 1970s and 1980s. They were often modelled after their predecessors and occasionally were the result of disagreements with them. Particularly notable was the privately-founded Universidad del Belgrano, a graduate institution which encouraged foreign visitors to participate in seminars and other teaching activities and whose university press allowed younger Argentine scholars the opportunity to publish new works which on occasion reflected their exposure to foreign writings on Argentina and the results of their own research abroad. Two other centres worthy of note are the Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad (CEDES) and the Programa de Estudios de Historia Económica y Social Americana (PEHESA), also established in the 1970s. Many of the historians and social scientists associated with these two centres received their graduate training abroad and all are well-versed in the foreign scholarship on Argentina. As with the still vital Di Tella Institute and the Universidad del Belgrano, they provide important intellectual contacts and support for foreigners working in the country.

Also contributing to the spread of foreign scholarship was the establishment of the US-based Fulbright Fellowship Programme in Argentina. That programme allows Argentine students and scholars to study and to teach abroad while offering US citizens the same opportunity within Argentina. Also crucial to the spread of foreign scholarship in the country has been the willingness of many of the nation's commercial publishing houses to translate and publish much of the work of non-Argentine scholars and to make such work available not only to the nation's intellectual community but to the general public as well.

It is clear that the impact of foreign scholarship on Argentina, facilitated in the manner noted above, has been and continues to be substantial. In the post-war era scores of foreigners and scores of Argentines have benefited from each other's work and have produced a large and growing body of literature on various aspects of the nation's history. Any essay which tries to deal with this subject, therefore, must, by necessity, be somewhat limited and selective. Accordingly, I shall comment below on what I consider to be major works and major trends, in the process unavoidably employing a personal preference and perspective which may not be shared by all readers. I shall focus primarily, but not exclusively, on works of history, especially recent histories which deal with the twentieth century. I shall, of course, pay particular attention to the works of Argentine scholars which show most clearly the influence of the work of foreigners.

Although he was not a historian, few scholars had a greater impact on Argentine historiography in the post-war era, or did more to introduce foreign scholarship into the country, than did sociologist Gino Germani. In 1955 Germani published his landmark study, *Estructura social de la Argentina*, a thorough examination of the historical development of social classes in the republic.² Drawing heavily upon information provided by local and national censuses, Germani used sophisticated quantitative methods to describe the social and political evolution of twentieth-century Argentina. He did so in a manner free from many of the partisan and impressionistic interpretations common at the time. Germani's work also

2. G. Germani: *Estructura social de la Argentina: Análisis estadístico*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Raigal 1955.

introduced the technique of using statistical correlations to measure the relationship between social class and political preference as determined by election results.³ In the process, while he depended upon local sources for his raw data, he set much of his information and analysis in a larger theoretical context much influenced by the writings of foreign scholars. The notes to his chapter on elections and social class, for example, include references to a wide array of works by European and North American social scientists.

Germani was an important inspirational force in Argentina. Before he accepted a position at Harvard University in the mid-1960s, Germani directed the Institute of Sociology and Social History at the University of Buenos Aires, helped train a whole generation of young Argentine scholars, produced more work of his own, and collaborated in joint efforts with foreign scholars such as US political scientist Kalman Silvert.⁴ A good example of Germani's influence, among the many which could be cited, is José Luis Imaz's *Los que mandan*, an analysis of the powerful directive groups in Argentine society published in 1964.⁵ A student in the Sociology Department at the UBA, Imaz, like Germani, used various statistical techniques to develop his picture of the nation's élite. Also like Germani, he showed his close familiarity with the most recent work of foreign scholars, particularly with that of US sociologist C. Wright Mills. His chapter on the armed forces also cited studies on the Latin American military by Morris Janowitz, John J. Johnson, Samuel Finer, and Edwin Lieuwen, among others.⁶

Another good example of Germani's influence can be found in a collection of essays he, along with Torcuato S. Di Tella and Jorge Graciarena, helped to edit in 1965. Entitled *Argentina, sociedad de masas*, it included as contributors Argentina's most promising and productive young scholars such as Tulio Halperín Donghi, Oscar E. Cornblit, Roberto Cortés Conde, Guido Di Tella, and Manuel

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 261–263.

4. A second major work published while Germani was still in Argentina was *Política y sociedad en una época de transición: De la sociedad tradicional a la sociedad de masas*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Paidós 1962. For more on Germani's career and influence, see the obituary by J. A. Kahl in the "Latin American Research Review" (Hereafter as LARR), 1981, XVI, No. 2, pp. 185–190.

5. J. L. de Imaz, *Los que mandan*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires 1964.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 45–52.

Zymelman.⁷ Throughout the collection, the essays, which had been developed as part of the research programme at the Institute of Sociology and Social History, showed the respective author's sensitivity to the methods pioneered by Germani and the burgeoning social science literature on "development" emanating primarily from the United States. An influential contribution by Ezequiel Gallo and Silia Sigal on the formation of Argentina's modern political parties included references to work by leading US political scientists and economists such as Kalman Silvert, James S. Coleman, Gabriel Almond, Daniel Lerner, and Walter W. Rostow. At the same time, it was clear in this volume that these Argentine scholars were also beginning to influence one another. The same Gallo–Sigal essay referred frequently to the works of their fellow collaborators in this collection.⁸

Several essays in this volume had appeared first in the important journal *Desarrollo Económico*. Founded in 1960, this journal was among the first to publish the works of both the new generation of Argentine social scientists and historians and those of foreign scholars, a role it has continued to play into the 1980s.⁹ Also important in this regard was the publisher of this collection, the *Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires* (EUDEBA), or the University of Buenos Aires Press. In its series *Biblioteca de América*, it made available in translation works by US scholars Arthur P. Whitaker (*Estados Unidos y la independencia de América Latina: 1800–1830*) and Thomas F. McGann (*Argentina, Estados Unidos y el sistema inter-americano: 1880–1914*) as well as those of other Latin American social scientists such as Helio Jaguaribe (*Desarrollo económico y desarrollo político*), Nelson Werneck Sodré (*Evolución social y económica del Brasil*), and Aldo Solari (*Sociología rural latinoamericana*).

Among the many followers of the trail blazed by Germani, few have been as prolific as political sociologist Darío Cantón. Educated

7. I. S. Di Tella, G. Germani, J. Graciarena y colaboradores: *Argentina, sociedad de masas*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires 1965.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 124–176.

9. Another important publication to appear in the 1960s was "Todo es Historia." Aimed to reach a wide popular audience, it featured primarily articles and essays by young Argentine historians. However, it also included reviews of foreign books on Argentine history and in 1984 a lengthy article reviewing US scholarship on Argentine subjects. See C. Rodríguez: *Los que escriben nuestra historia*, "Todo es Historia," No. 203 (Buenos Aires: March 1984).

at the University of California at Berkeley and associated with the Di Tella Institute, Cantón has been Argentina's leading practitioner of the use of statistical analysis to examine political behaviour. His first major work, published by Di Tella in 1966, was a quantitative study of the composition of the Argentine Congress at periods of national, political change. As with Germani, he drew his raw data from local sources, but used the writings of many Argentine and foreign scholars to develop his methodological and conceptual framework.¹⁰ Other publications by Cantón include a valuable collection of national election statistics, a study of the political role of the military, a review of twentieth-century political parties and elections, and detailed analyses of the 1973 and 1983 national elections.¹¹

Cantón was not directly involved in a major methodological controversy involving election analysis which erupted in Argentine scholarly circles in the early 1970s. In 1972 Peter H. Smith, then of the University of Wisconsin at Madison, published a path-breaking analysis of the 1946 presidential elections in Argentina. Using sophisticated methods of quantitative analysis, Smith sought to revise previous assessments with regard to the social bases of voter support for Juan Perón, the winner of that election. Gino Germani, in an article in *Desarrollo Económico* one year later, took issue with Smith's methods and conclusions, touching off a rebuttal and subsequent debate in which several others, Argentine and North American, joined. No clear winners were declared, but the debate itself reflected the growing influence of US social science techniques in Argentina and the increasing international interaction and intellectual cross-fertilization which was developing. In 1980 Argentine political sociologists Manuel Mora y Araujo and Ignacio Lorente, in a volume dedicated to Germani, included the main chapters of this discussion in a collection analyzing the Peronist vote

10. D. Cantón: *El parlamento argentino en épocas de cambio: 1890, 1916 y 1946*, Buenos Aires: Editorial del Instituto Torcuato Di Tella 1966.

11. Referring to Cantón's following publications: *Materiales para el estudio de la sociología política en la Argentina*, 2 vols. Buenos Aires: Instituto Torcuato Di Tella 1968; *La política de los militares argentinos: 1900–1971*, Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno 1971; *Elecciones y partidos políticos en la Argentina: Historia, interpretación, y balance: 1910–1966*, Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno 1973; with J. R. Jorrat: *Occupation and Vote in Urban Argentina: The March 1973 Presidential Election*, LARR, 1978, XIII, No. 1, pp. 146–157; *El pueblo legislador: Las elecciones de 1983*, Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina 1986.

in Argentina from 1946 to 1973. Another essay was a collaborative effort by Mora y Araujo and Smith on the 1973 presidential contest.¹²

Another important collection of the works of the post-Perón generation of Argentine social scientists and historians was *Los fragmentos del poder: De la oligarquía a la poliarquía argentina*.¹³ Compiled by Torcuato Di Tella and Tulio Halperin Donghi, these essays served as important companion pieces to those collected earlier by Germani and Di Tella. This volume, published in 1969, was part of a series entitled *Los Argentinos* produced by the Editorial Jorge Alvarez. The same publisher previously had printed two more important works by younger scholars, one Argentine and one born abroad, which showed clearly the changes produced in Argentine scholarship by the increasing exposure to works by foreigners on the nation's history. The first, published in 1964, was Alberto Ciria's *Partidos y poder en la Argentina moderna 1930–1946*. Ciria, educated in Buenos Aires and London, provided an insightful and original examination of the period prior to Perón's first presidency.¹⁴ Four years later Spanish-born Marysa Navarro, who received her doctorate at Columbia University in New York, published her *Los nacionalistas*, a careful and thorough analysis of the extreme right and its impact on Argentina.¹⁵ Both volumes displayed the respective author's awareness of foreign scholarship, with ample references to Edwin Lieuwen on the Latin American military, John J. Johnson on political change and the middle sectors, and George Blacksten, Frank Owen, and Arthur P. Whitaker on Perón.

The continuing influence of Germani could be seen in new scholarly attention to the evolution and role of social classes in Argentina. Focusing on the impact of massive European immigration to the nation, Germani described and analyzed how this influx affected the social composition and structure of the country and helped produce new and significant middle and working classes. His

12. M. Mora y Araujo, I. Florente (eds.): *El voto peronista*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana 1980. Another important work of quantitative analysis by Smith was his *Argentina and the Failure of Democracy: Conflict among Political Elites, 1904–1955*, Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press 1974.

13. T. S. Di Tella, T. Halperin Donghi: *Los fragmentos del poder: De la oligarquía a la poliarquía argentina*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Jorge Alvarez 1969.

14. A. Ciria: *Partidos y poder en la Argentina moderna (1930–46)*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Jorge Alvarez 1964.

15. M. Navarro Gerassi: *Los nacionalistas*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Jorge Alvarez 1968.

interest in the working classes in particular undoubtedly was related to Juan Perón's ability in the early 1940s to mobilize this previously neglected sector of Argentina society and to use it as his popular base to gain and to hold power for nearly a decade.

It was not just politicians who had largely ignored the working classes and labour prior to Perón. The same was true for most Argentine historians and social scientists who at best gave them only passing mention in the prewar and pre-Perón period. During the Perón years themselves, however, persons active in the labour movement began to produce histories from the perspectives of their own actions and those of their fellow militants. The first to do so was Socialist party politician and historian Jacinto Oddone in 1949.¹⁶ In subsequent years advocates of anarchism, syndicalism, and communism also contributed extensive studies based on personal experience and observations as well as the publications of their respective movements.¹⁷ For the most part these were "insiders" accuonts, with little reference to foreign methodologies or scholarship. US scholars who wrote on Perón and Peronism in the mid-1950s also addressed the history of Argentina's labour movement and the factors in that history which enabled Perón to gain control. The most important of these was Robert J. Alexander's *The Perón Era*, based in large part on the author's extensive personal knowledge of Argentina's labour movement and its leaders.¹⁸ Another major North American study was Samuel L. Baily's *Labor, Nationalism and Politics in Argentina*, published in 1967.¹⁹ Baily, acknowledging his debt both to Alexander and Germani, sought to examine Perón's relationship with labour more objectively than had his predecessors and to relate the phenomenon of Peronism more clearly to the evolution of nationalism in Argentina, a subject of growing interest to other US scholars.²⁰ Several years later

16. J. Oddone: *Gremialismo proletario argentino*, Buenos Aires: La Vanguardia 1949.

17. For example, A. Belloni: *Del anarquismo al Peronismo*, Buenos Aires: Editorial A. Peña Lillo 1960; S. Marotta: *El movimiento sindical argentino: Su genesis y desarrollo*, 3 vols, Buenos Aires 1960, 1961, and 1970; R. Iscaro: *Historia del movimiento sindical*, 2 vols, Buenos Aires: Editorial Fundamentos 1973.

18. R. J. Alexander: *The Perón Era*, New York: Columbia University Press 1951.

19. S. L. Baily: *Labor, Nationalism, and Politics in Argentina*, New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press 1967.

20. Baily was a member of Arthur P. Whitaker's graduate seminar on Latin American nationalism at the University of Pennsylvania in the late 1950s and early 1960s, out of which emerged a number of dissertations on various aspects of this phenomenon in Argentina. For the larger results of the effort, see A. P. Whitaker, D. C. Jordan: *Nationalism in Contemporary Latin America*, New York: The Free Press 1966.

another US historian, Hobart Spalding, published a collection of valuable and hard-to-find documents on the Argentine working classes and labour movement at the turn of the century.²¹ Printed in Spanish in Buenos Aires, Spalding's collection was immediately accessible to Argentine scholars.

In the 1960s more Argentine investigators addressed many of the same issues. In 1964 Torcuato Di Tella produced an insightful look at the structural conditions in Argentina which had made the political mobilization of the working classes in the early part of the twentieth century so difficult. His work was much influenced by the current social science literature being produced in the United States and elsewhere in Latin America.²² In 1965 José Panettieri published a detailed account of the social and political conditions of the nation's working classes during the period of massive immigration at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Relying on census and other government documents for his forceful depiction of the harsh circumstances for the working classes at this time, Panettieri showed less the influence of foreign scholarship than did Di Tella. Nonetheless, his bibliography did contain references to Victor Alba's *Historia del movimiento obrero en América Latina* and an article by US historian James R. Scobie on changes in Argentine agriculture in the nineteenth century.²³ In the early 1970s Miguel Murmis and Juan Carlos Portantiero focused on the state of labour in the fifteen years (1930–1945) immediately prior to the rise of Perón. They based their findings mainly on Argentine sources, but also, as with Di Tella, showed their clear awareness of contemporary social science literature. They also cited Baily's aforementioned work.²⁴

Scholarly interest in the history of Argentine labour before Perón continued throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s. In 1975 Englishman David Rock published his prize-winning *Politics in*

21. H. Spalding: *La clase trabajadora argentina (Documentos para su historia – 1890/1912)*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Galerna 1970.

22. T. S. Di Tella: *El sistema político argentino y la clase obrera*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires 1964.

23. J. Panettieri: *Los trabajadores en tiempo de la inmigración masiva en Argentina, 1870–1910*, La Plata: Universidad Nacional de la Plata 1965. An expanded version of this study, *Los trabajadores*, appeared in 1967 in the collection *Los Argentinos* published by Jorge Alvarez.

24. M. Murmis, J. C. Portantiero: *Estudios sobre los orígenes de peronismo*. Vol. I, Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno 1971.

Argentina, a study of the rise and fall of the Radical party governments of Hipólito Yrigoyen and Marcelo T. de Alvear (1916–1930). This influential book, which became available in Spanish translation in 1977, concentrated particularly on the Radicals' failure—most notably during the first Yrigoyen administration (1916–1922)—to win the loyalty of the nation's working classes.²⁵ My own study of Argentina's Socialist party for the same period examined the inability of that party to extend its political influence deeply into the working classes or much beyond the limits of the city of Buenos Aires.²⁶ In the 1980s two books by foreign scholars, one Japanese and one North American, following the work of Murmis and Portantiero, looked closely at the development of Argentine labour between 1930 and 1945.²⁷

In Argentina during the same period major works on labour history dealt with two crucial episodes of the first Yrigoyen presidency. In 1972 Osvaldo Bayer published the initial two volumes of a four-volume study of the ranch-worker's strike in Patagonia in 1920 and 1921 and the brutal repression of that movement by the Argentine military. Bringing to light a little-known and neglected incident, Bayer reconstructed the evolution of this protest and its tragic denouement in moving detail.²⁸ In that same year, 1972, Julio Godio produced a history of a better-known episode, the violent urban working-class riot of January 1919, the *semana trágica*. Drawing heavily on newspaper sources and the Congressional Record (*Diario de Sesiones*), Godio first carefully described the events of the "tragic week" itself and then analyzed the role of various political parties and institutions in these events.²⁹ A newer

25. D. Rock: *Politics in Argentina, 1890–1930: The Rise and Fall of Radicalism*. Cambridge University Press 1975.

26. R. J. Walter: *The Socialist Party of Argentina, 1890–1930*. Austin, Tex.: Institute of Latin American Studies 1977.

27. H. Matsushita: *Movimiento obrero argentino, 1930/1945: Sus proyecciones en los orígenes del peronismo*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Siglo Veinte 1983; D. Tamarin: *The Argentine Labor Movement, 1930–1945: A Study in the Origins of Peronism*. Albuquerque N. M.: University of New Mexico Press 1985. An important collection of essays covering this same period, with the collaboration of US and Argentine scholars, is M. Falcoff, R. H. Dolkart: *Prologue to Perón: Argentina in Depression and War, 1930–1943*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press 1975.

28. O. Bayer: *Los vengadores de la Patagonia trágica*, 3 vols. Buenos Aires: Editorial Galerna 1972, 1974. The fourth volume was published in 1978 in Germany by Peter Hammer Verlag, Wuppertal.

29. J. Godio: *La semana trágica de enero de 1919*. Buenos Aires: Granica Editor 1972. See also the same author's *Historia del movimiento obrero argentino: Inmigrantes asalariados y lucha de clases: 1880–1910*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Tiempo Contemporáneo 1973, which contains several references to Spalding's collection of documents on the working classes.

work on the "tragic week" by a young Argentine historian, Edgardo J. Bilsky, seeks to place the January 1919 uprising in a larger international context and refers frequently to foreign sources and scholarship, notably Rock's *Politics in Argentina*, for a significant amount of material and analysis.³⁰

Along with a renewed interest in the Argentine working classes and labour movement came a renewed interest in social history in general. Scholars began to look beyond institutions, prominent individuals, and major political developments to examine the long range and underlying social and economic forces which had forged the Argentina nation. The leading US scholar in this regard was James R. Scobie, whose doctoral dissertation on the nineteenth-century political consolidation of the nation was published in Buenos Aires in 1964 and whose examination of the changes wrought by the agricultural revolution on the Argentine pampas in that same century was one of the first foreign contributions to appear in *Desarrollo Económico*.³¹ Scobie's most influential work was his history of the city of Buenos Aires between 1870 and 1910, published in English in 1974 and appearing in Spanish translation soon thereafter.³² Subsequently, virtually every Argentine history which dealt with the growth of the nation's capital made reference to Scobie's work. Its impact can be seen clearly in the large collection of essays on the twentieth-century history of the city compiled by José Luis and Luis Alberto which appeared in 1983 and to which Scobie himself contributed.³³ Other important studies of Buenos Aires were published, coincidentally, in the same year as Scobie's, one by another US scholar and one by a Frenchman.³⁴ Other US historians followed Scobie's lead. In 1970 Carl Solberg wrote a history of the impact of foreign immigration and the

30. E. J. Bilsky: *La semana trágica*, Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina 1984.

31. J. R. Scobie: *La lucha por la consolidación de la nacionalidad argentina: 1852-62*, Buenos Aires: Librería Hachette 1964, and *Una revolución agrícola en la Argentina*, "Desarrollo Económico," Vol. 1, 3: 1-2 (Buenos Aires: Abril - September 1963). This last-named publication, in turn, was part of his *Revolution on the Pampas: A Social History of Argentine Wheat, 1860-1910*, Austin, Tex.: Institute of Latin American Studies 1964.

32. J. R. Scobie: *Buenos Aires: Plaza to Suburb, 1870-1910*, New York: Oxford University Press 1974.

33. J. L. Romero, L. A. Romero (eds.): *Buenos Aires: historia de cuatro siglos*, Vol. II, Buenos Aires: Editorial Abril, 1983. See also, F. Korn et al.: *Buenos Aires: los huéspedes del 20*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana 1974.

34. C. S. Sargen: *The Spatial Evolution of Greater Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1870-1930*, Tempe, Ariz.: Centre for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University 1974; G. Bourdieu: *Urbanisation et immigration en Amérique latine: Buenos Aires (xix^e et xx^e siècles)*, Paris: Aubier 1974.

nationalist response to it in both Argentina and Chile.³⁵ In later publications he investigated and described the plight of native-born farm labourers and foreign-born tenant farmers at the turn of the century.³⁶ Labour historian Samuel Baily shifted his focus to the lives of immigrants in Buenos Aires in the early twentieth century, most notably on the marriage patterns of the European arrivals.³⁷ Along with Herbert Klein, he also examined the Italian immigrants to Buenos Aires in comparison with those to New York.³⁸ Eugene Sofer and Robert Weisbrodt, among others, wrote about the large and significant Jewish community in Buenos Aires.³⁹ Finally, in a recent multi-national comparative study, Charles Bergquist applied the techniques of the "new social history" to a description and analysis of the Argentine labour movement. His essay includes a description of the everyday working and living conditions of a particular group of workers, Argentina's meatpackers.⁴⁰

Although it falls somewhat outside of the self-imposed restrictions of this essay, it should be noted that some of the best and most innovative social history of Argentina in recent years has focused on the nineteenth century. A capable group of young North American scholars in particular have used such materials as census manuscripts, notarial records, and other archival data to produce effective histories of previously-neglected social and ethnic groups. Aiming to write history from "the bottom up," they, in turn, have been much influenced by recent British and French methods of studying social history.⁴¹ In Argentina a similar approach has been

35. C. E. Solberg: *Immigration and Nationalism: Argentina and Chile, 1890–1914*, Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press 1970.

36. C. E. Solberg: *Rural Unrest and Agrarian Policy in Argentina, 1912–1930*, "Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs," Vol. XIII, No. 1 (January 1971), pp. 18–52 and *Farm Workers and the Myth of Export-Led Development in Argentina*, "The Americas," 31: 2 (October 1974), pp. 121–138.

37. S. L. Baily: *Marriage Patterns and Immigrant Assimilation in Buenos Aires, 1882–1923*, "Hispanic American Historical Review" (Hereafter as HAHR), 60, 1 (1980), pp. 32–48.

38. S. L. Baily: *The Adjustment of Italian Immigrants in Buenos Aires and New York, 1870–1914*, "The American Historical Review," Vol. 88, No. 2 (April 1983), pp. 281–305; H. S. Klein: *The Integration of Italian Immigrants into the United States and Argentina: A Comparative Analysis*, in *ibid.*, pp. 306–329.

39. E. F. Sofer: *From Pale to Pampa: A Social History of the Jews of Argentina*, New York: Holmes and Meier 1982; R. Weisbrodt: *The Jews of Argentina: From the Inquisition to Peron*, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America 1979.

40. C. Bergquist: *Labor in Latin America: Comparative Essays on Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia*, Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press 1986, pp. 81–190.

41. For a summary of some of the most important historical scholarship on the nineteenth century, see J. C. Brown, *The Bondage of Old Habits in Nineteenth-Century Argentina*, LARR, 1933, Vol. XXI, No. 2, pp. 3–31; T. Halperin

adopted by the young historians grouped in the aforementioned *Programa de Estudios de Historia Económica y Social Americana*. That group acknowledges the influence of the French *Annales* school as well as the work of the English historians involved in the publication of *Past and Present*. It was devoted attention to developing a broader picture of the labour movement and the working classes by going beyond institutional history to look at such matters as the particular conditions and forces which affect the daily lives of working-class families, the factors which produced "marginal" and "dangerous" classes among the poor, and the formation of popular culture among these same groups. In recent years the members of PEHESA have begun to publish an exciting array of working papers, articles, and books which reflect their approach.⁴²

Coincident and often overlapping with a renewed interest in social history has been an equally strong turn to the economic history of the republic. One of the first major foreign works of the post-war era in this area was Carl Taylor's careful analysis of social and economic conditions in the Argentine countryside published in 1948. Taylor combined a look at the larger economic forces involved in Argentina's agricultural development with a compelling description of the lives of various farming groups and communities.⁴³ Two decades later a team of three US economists provided an up-dated overview of the strengths and weaknesses of Argentine agriculture.⁴⁴ In the meantime, Canadian historian H.S. Ferns wrote a lengthy history of the economic and political relationship between Argentina and Great Britain in the nineteenth century, seeking to analyze as objectively as possible the benefits and the drawbacks for both of these nations in this relationship.⁴⁵ A bit later A.G. Ford published another examination of British and Argentine economic ties for the period 1880 to 1914.⁴⁶

Doughi, *Un cuarto de siglo de historiografía argentina (1960-1985)*, "Desarrollo Económico," Vol. 25, No. 100 (January-March 1986), pp. 487-520.

42. See PEHESA: *An Argentine Social-History Group*, LARR, 1983, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, pp. 118-124.

43. C. C. Taylor: *Rural Life in Argentina*, Baton Rouge, La: Louisiana State University Press 1948.

44. D. F. Fienup, R. H. Brannon, F. A. Fender: *The Agricultural Development of Argentina: A Policy and Development Perspective*, New York: Praeger 1969. The Di Tella Institute published a Spanish version of this work in 1972.

45. H. S. Ferns: *Britain and Argentina in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford University Press 1960.

46. A. G. Ford: *The Gold Standard, 1880-1914: Britain and Argentina*, Oxford University Press 1962.

In the mid-1950s and early 1960s important economic histories by Argentines began to appear. These included studies by Ricardo M. Ortiz and Leopoldo Portnoy which contained only passing reference to foreign scholarship.⁴⁷ In 1963, however, Aldo Ferrer, a future national minister of the economy associated with the Di Tella Institute, published an influential overview of Argentine economic development. His study made specific reference to works by Taylor, Ford and Ferns as well as statistical reports and analyses provided by international agencies and economic research groups in other Latin American countries.⁴⁸ Several years later Guido Di Tella and Manuel Zymelman collaborated on an equally important review of the nation's economic development, a study much influenced by the work of US economist Walter W. Rostow.⁴⁹

In the 1970s, as the Argentine economy continued the erratic pattern which characterized its generally poor post-war performance, there was a new outpouring of foreign scholarship on the subject. Probably the most important of this crop of works was the insightful and provocative volume by Cuban-born Carlos F. Díaz Alejandro of Yale University which appeared in 1970.⁵⁰ In 1975 David Rock edited a volume which brought together much of the best recent British scholarship on twentieth-century Argentine economic and political issues.⁵¹ In that same year a collaborative study by Richard D. Mallon and Juan Sourrouille, another future minister of the economy, looked at economic policy-making in Argentina.⁵² Laura Randall's *An Economic History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century*, published in 1978, served as an important companion piece to Díaz Alejandro's work.⁵³ Throughout the decade numerous dissertations, articles, and working papers were

47. R. M. Ortiz: *Historia económica de la Argentina, 1850-1930*, 2 vols, Buenos Aires 1955; L. Portnoy: *Análisis crítico de la economía*, México-Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica 1961.

48. Ferrer's work, *La economía argentina*, was translated by M. M. Urquidí and published in English as *The Argentine Economy*, Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press 1967.

49. G. Di Tella, M. Zymelman: *Las etapas del desarrollo económico argentino*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires 1967.

50. C. F. Díaz Alejandro: *Essay on the Economic History of the Argentine Republic*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press 1970.

51. D. Rock (ed.): *Argentina in the Twentieth Century*, Pittsburg, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press 1975.

52. R. D. Mallon, J. Sourrouille: *Economic Policy Making in a Conflict Society: The Argentine Case*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1975.

53. L. Randall: *An Economic History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century*, New York: Columbia University Press 1978.

produced in the US and Europe seeking to explain the paradox of a country with so many resources failing, after World War II, to develop economically in the manner so many had once expected.⁵⁴ In Argentina in the 1970s most economic history appeared in *Desarrollo Económico* and the various publications of the Di Tella Institute. As with other fields of history, they reflected the increasing awareness of international scholarship on this subject as well as increasing collaboration with foreign scholars. In 1975 Marcos Giménez Zapiola edited a collection which featured both Argentine and foreign contributions dealing with economic and political matters.⁵⁵ Two years later Roberto Cortés Conde of the Di Tella Institute co-edited, along with Princeton University historian Stanley Stein, a general guide to the literature on Latin American economic history.⁵⁶ In 1979 Cortés Conde, who had studied and taught in England and the United States, published a masterful analysis of Argentine economic history at the turn of the century. This study showed clearly the author's profound knowledge of the major foreign scholarship not only on Argentina but also for all of Latin America.⁵⁷ During roughly this same period a group of young US historians began to examine the intersection between economic and political history in twentieth-century Argentina. The first to do so was Peter H. Smith, whose doctoral dissertation, published in 1969, examined the disputes that revolved around the production, processing, and sale of Argentine beef. In this study he carefully dissected the different and competing interests, both economic and political, which affected these disputes.⁵⁸ In 1973 the versatile Carl Solberg looked at how various parties, administrations, and regional groups responded to the question of tariffs and the protection of Argentine industry in the early twentieth century.⁵⁹ Several years later he

54. For a listing of many of these, see the bibliography in D. Rock: *Argentina, 1516–1982: From Spanish Colonization to the Falklands War*, Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press 1985, pp. 423–456.

55. M. Giménez Zapiola: comp., *El régimen oligárquico: Materiales para el estudio de la realidad argentina (hasta 1930)*, Buenos Aires: Amorrortu editores 1975.

56. R. Cortés Conde, S. J. Stein (eds): *Latin America: A Guide to Economic History, 1830–1930*, Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press 1977.

57. R. Cortés Conde: *El progreso argentino, 1880–1914*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana 1979.

58. P. H. Smith: *Politics and Beef in Argentina: Patterns of Conflict and Change*, New York: Columbia University Press 1969.

59. C. E. Solberg: *The Tariff and Politics in Argentina, 1916–1930*, HAHB, 53, 2 (May 1973), pp. 260–284.

published an extensive analysis of Argentine efforts to control the nation's substantial oil reserves.⁶⁰ In 1974 two works appeared describing the development of the British-owned railroad system and the interactions of that system with the Argentine government and various political forces and factions within the country. Winthrop Wright's book provided an extensive overall survey of the problem while Paul B. Goodwin's study focused in particular on the relationship between the railroads and the Radical party administrations of Yrigoyen and Alvear.⁶¹ The books by Smith, Solberg, and Wright were all soon translated into Spanish in Argentina while Goodwin's study was published originally in Buenos Aires.

As with other foreign scholarship, references to these publications began to appear with increasing frequency among the works of Argentine historians and social scientists in the 1970s and 1980s. For example, a young Argentine historian very conversant with this scholarship, Raúl García Heras, has begun to produce important studies of the role of foreign investment and its political consequences in Argentina in the twentieth century. His first major publication described the introduction of US automobiles into the country after World War I and the implications of that introduction for the virtual monopoly that British capital previously had enjoyed over most means of transportation in the republic.⁶² A recent article looks at the political manipulations which the British used to reassert their absolute control over public transportation in the city of Buenos Aires in the mid-1930s.⁶³ García Heras, of course, was not the first Argentine historian to look at the impact of British and North American investment in Argentina. The leading figure in this regard was nationalist author Raúl Scalabrini Ortiz, who in the 1930s began a critical reexamination and reinterpretation of the British role in the nation's history.⁶⁴ Scalabrini, in turn, stimulated

60. C. E. Solberg: *Oil and Nationalism in Argentina: A History*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press 1979.

61. W. Wright: *British-owned Railways in Argentina: Their Effect on the Growth of Economic Nationalism*, Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press 1974; P. B. Goodwin: *Los ferrocarriles británicos y la U.C.R., 1916--1930*, Buenos Aires: La Bastilla 1974.

62. R. García Heras: *Automotores norteamericanos, caminos y modernización urbana en la Argentina, 1918-1939*, Buenos Aires: Libros de Hispanoamerica 1985.

63. R. García Heras: *Hostage Private Companies Under Restraint: British Railway and Transport Coordination in Argentina During the 1930s*, "Journal of Latin American Studies," Vol. 19, part 1 (May 1987), pp. 41-67.

64. For example, R. Scalabrini Ortiz: *Política británica en el Río de la Plata*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Reconquista 1940.

numerous other nationalist writers to follow suit.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, García Heras was among the first to take into consideration the growing body of foreign scholarship on this issue and to use foreign archives in this effort.

A related area of scholarly focus has been the history of Argentina's diplomatic relations with other countries, especially the United States and Great Britain. Among the first treatments of US relations with Argentina were volumes by Thomas F. McGann and Arthur P. Whitaker which focused, respectively, on US relations with Argentina at the turn of the century and during the ascendancy to power and first administrations of Juan Perón.⁶⁶ In the mid-1960s Harold Peterson published a lengthy and detailed narrative of US–Argentine relations from 1810 to 1960.⁶⁷ Beginning with an important article by Joseph S. Tulchin in 1969, US scholars began to concentrate on the complex tri-partite relationship involving the US, Great Britain, and Argentina during World War II and to question some commonly held assumptions about alleged German influence in the country during these years.⁶⁸ Two works by US diplomatic historians dealing with this period appeared in the late 1970s.⁶⁹ In the early 1980s Gary Frank took a closer look at the role of US ambassador to Argentina Spruille Braden and his efforts to prevent the election of Juan Perón at the end of the war and 1985 Bryce Wood viewed the same events within the larger perspective of overall changes in US policy toward Latin America.⁷⁰ Ronald Newton has been particularly interested in German activities during this period and R. A. Humphreys has studied British wartime relations with Argentina.⁷¹

65. For more on the impact of Scalabrini Ortiz, see M. Falcoff: *Raúl Scalabrini Ortiz: The Making of an Argentine Nationalist*, HAHR, 52, 1 (February 1872), pp. 74–101. For a sympathetic biography by an Argentine follower, with many references to previous work by Falcoff on Scalabrini Ortiz, see N. Galasso: *Vida de Scalabrini Ortiz*, Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Mar Dulce 1970.

66. T. F. McGann: *op. cit.*, and Whitaker: *The United States and Argentina*.

67. H. F. Peterson: *Argentina and the United States, 1810–1960*, Albany: State University of New York 1964.

68. J. S. Tulchin: *The Argentine Proposal for Non-belligerence*, April 1940, "Journal of Inter-American Studies," Vol. XI, No. 4 (October 1969), pp. 571–604.

69. M. J. Francis: *The Limits of Hegemony: U.S. Relations with Argentina and Chile During World War II*, Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press 1977; R. B. Woods: *The Roosevelt Foreign-Policy Establishment and the "Good Neighbor": The United States and Argentina, 1941–1945*, Lawrence, Kan.: The Regents Press of Kansas 1979.

70. G. Frank: *Juan Perón vs. Spruille Braden: The Story Behind the Blue Book*, University Press of America 1980; B. Wood: *The Dismantling of the Good Neighbor Policy*, Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press 1985.

71. R. C. Newton: *The United States, the German-Argentines, and the Myth of the Fourth Reich, 1943–47*, HAHR, Vol. 64, No. 1 (February 1984), pp. 81–103; R. A. Humphreys: *Latin America and the Second World War*, 2 vols., London: The Athlone Press, 1981–1982.

With a few exceptions, Argentine scholars, until recently, paid relatively little attention to their nation's diplomatic history.⁷² In the early 1980s, however, two important books by Argentine historians were published on this subject, one by Mario Rappoport and the other by Carlos Escudé.⁷³ Although they were somewhat different in scope and approach, they both focused on the World War II period and the three-way British – US – Argentine relationship. To varying degrees, they sought to counter-balance the interpretations of foreign scholars and to explain this relationship from the Argentine point of view. Both, too, showed their clear familiarity with North American and British scholarship on this period as well as the archival and other sources abroad, which they used extensively. Subsequently, Rapoport and an Argentine who received training at the University of Pittsburgh, Aldo César Vacs, published studies in English on Argentina's growing relations with the Soviet Union.⁷⁴

By the 1970s and 1980s, then, the influence of foreign scholarship on Argentina was unmistakable. It could be seen in a host of ways – the manner in which historians approached their material, the increasing use of techniques and methodologies devised abroad, and the specific references made to particular examples of such scholarship. Generally, the influence could be detected implicitly by analyzing a particular author's approach or explicitly by examining citations and bibliographies. One Argentine historian, Enrique Zuleta Alvarez, author of an important study of Argentine nationalism, went beyond citations to include an entire chapter devoted to a discussion of North American scholarly views of this subject.⁷⁵ During this period, few individual foreign scholars had a more profound and extensive influence on Argentina than did Robert A. Potash of the United States. In 1969 Potash published the first of a proposed multi-volume history of the role of the armed forces in

72. Two exceptions are S. Bagu: *Argentina en el mundo*, México – Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económico 1961; A. Coni Paz, G. Ferrari: *Política exterior argentina, 1930–1962*, Buenos Aires: Huenel 1964.

73. M. Rapoport: *Gran Bretaña, Estados Unidos y las clases dirigidas argentinas: 1940–1945*, Buenos Aires: Editorial de Belgrano 1981; C. Escudé: *Gran Bretaña, Estados Unidos y la declinación argentina, 1942–1949*, Buenos Aires: Editorial de Belgrano 1983.

74. M. Rapoport: *Argentina and the Soviet Union: History of Political and Commercial Relations (1917–1955)*, HAHR, Vol. 66, No. 2 (May 1986), pp. 239–285; A. C. Vacs: *Discreet Partners: Argentina and the USSR since 1917* (Translated by M. Joyce), Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press 1984.

75. E. Zuleta Alvarez: *El nacionalismo argentino*, Vol. II Buenos Aires: La Bastilla 1975, pp. 571–596.

the nation's political life.⁷⁶ Translated into Spanish in 1971, this study of the military between 1928 and 1945 soon made a substantial imprint on Argentine historians of the same period. For example, Enrique Díaz Araujo's examination of the military coup of June 4, 1943 and the subsequent military government, published in 1971, depended heavily on Potash's work.⁷⁷ In his 1978 study of Argentine President Roberto M. Ortiz (1938–1940), Félix Luna noted that Potash's analysis of certain political developments had led him to revise his own previous assessments of these same events.⁷⁸ It was with the publication in 1980 of his second volume, covering the period 1945 to 1962, that Potash's reputation began to extend beyond scholarly circles to the public at large.⁷⁹ Almost immediately translated into Spanish, the second volume—along with the first—became an instant commercial success. Potash himself was invited to Buenos Aires in mid-1981 to promote the two volumes. His crowded public lecture, attended by many military men, including two former presidents of the country, was covered extensively in the press. When he later edited a collection of documents relating to the military conspirators involved in the coup of 1943, a collection which makes for interesting but rather tedious reading, it became an instant best seller.⁸⁰ As a result of these publications, Potash himself became something of a celebrity in Argentina, featured in popular magazines and clearly the best-known foreign scholar in the nation. Another who should also be mentioned is France's Alain Rouquié, whose work on the Argentine military appeared in the late 1970s.⁸¹ The "Potash phenomenon" reveals much about the Argentine reaction to foreign scholarship on the country, in this instance the reaction

76. R. A. Potash: *The Army and Politics in Argentina: 1928–1945; Yrigoyen to Perón*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press 1969.

77. E. Díaz Araujo: *La conspiración del '43; El GOU; una experiencia militarista en la Argentina*, Buenos Aires: Ediciones La Bastilla 1971.

78. F. Luna: *Ortiz: Reportaje a la Argentina Opulenta*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana 1978, p. 234.

79. R. A. Potash: *The Army and Politics in Argentina, 1945–1962: Perón to Frondizi*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press 1980.

80. R. A. Potash: comp., *Perón y el G.O.U.: Los documentos de una logia secreta*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana 1984.

81. A. Rouquié: *Pouvoir militaire et société politique en République Argentine*, Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques 1978. Another useful study of the Argentine military is M. Goldwert: *Democracy, Militarism, and Nationalism in Argentina, 1930–1966*, Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press 1972.

by a broader sector of the population than just the scholarly community. First, it should be observed that the overwhelmingly favourable response to Potash's two books was based on more than commercial promotion. There was, as well, a general recognition of the high quality of these two carefully-researched and clearly-presented histories. Impressive for most Argentines was Potash's ability to examine the nation's conflict-ridden and contentious recent past in a balanced and objective manner, something they considered virtually impossible for homegrown historians and a particular virtue of more detached foreign scholars. Many Argentine historians noted as well, somewhat defensively, that Potash was able to gain access to key political and military figures for revealing interviews which provided much of the substance of his research. They argued that their own efforts in this regard would be much more difficult as they would be considered more politically involved or committed and generally less trustworthy than an outsider. In addition, Potash benefited from a kind of "snowball" effect; that is, as his work became more popular and influential, more and more prominent personalities were anxious to hold interviews with him to assure that their side of the story received a full hearing. It is not entirely clear, however, that personal interviews of the type conducted by Potash are automatically precluded for Argentine historians. For example, a series of such interviews conducted by Luis Alberto Romero and others for the Di Tella Institute in the early 1979s, modelled after a similar programme at New York's Columbia University, has provided a valuable documentary source for both Argentine and foreign historians.⁸²

Second, the timing and subject matter of Potash's publications were crucial in determining the way in which they were received. The second volume appeared when the extremely repressive military dictatorship of the 1976–1983 period was beginning to lose popular support and its iron grip over the economic and political life of the country was beginning to loosen. While Potash's work did not address the current situation *per se*, its examination of military takeovers and régimes of relatively recent vintage dealt with themes and issues of considerable current relevance. Moreover, Potash was able to

82. See, for example, F. Luna: *op. cit.*, and my own *The Province of Buenos Aires and Argentine Politics, 1912–1943*, Cambridge University Press 1985.

discuss these matters without undue fear of government intimidation or retaliation, a privilege denied most Argentine scholars, especially at the time. The Argentine public, in turn, was able to read about matters concerning military-civilian relationships which for the most had been banned from the public dialogue over the preceding few years. It would be a considerable exaggeration to claim that the publication of Potash's work and its popularity played a key role in the eventual decline of the military dictatorship and the restoration of civilian democracy in 1983. Nonetheless, within the larger context of the general deterioration of the military's position in the early 1980s, its appearance and the popular reception of it were not inconsequential parts of the entire process.

Although among the best-known, Potash and Rouquié were not the only scholars of the 1970s and 1980s to examine Argentina's recent history. In these years there was renewed interest in the subjects of Juan Perón and Peronism, especially in light of the old caudillo's remarkable—if not bizarre—return to the country's presidency in 1973 and subsequent death in office in 1974. One of the first re-examinations was by a German scholar, Peter Waldmann, whose study of Peronism from 1943 to 1955 was originally published in German in 1974 and then translated into Spanish and made available in Argentina in 1981.⁸³ In 1983 three more important volumes on the subject appeared. One was a collection edited by Frederick C. Turner and José Enrique Miguens, which included contributions by Argentine and North American scholars and which examined disparate aspects of all the Perón régimes from the perspective of the early 1980s.⁸⁴ Another was an insightful study by Alberto Circa, from the 1970s a professor of political science at Canada's Simon Fraser University, which analyzed certain heretofore ignored aspects of the first Perón presidencies, including the role of Congress, the nature of Peronist education, and the use of symbols and myths by the régime.⁸⁵ Finally, Joseph Page of Georgetown University published a massive biography of Perón,

83. P. Waldmann: *El Peronismo, 1943–1955*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana 1981.

84. F. C. Turner, J. E. Miguens (eds): *Juan Peron and the Reshaping of Argentina*, Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press 1983.

85. A. Ciria: *Política y cultura popular. La Argentina peronista, 1946–1955*, Buenos Aires: Ediciones de la Flor 1983.

soon translated into Spanish and made available in Argentina where it enjoyed considerable success.⁸⁶ In 1987 US historian Robert D. Crasweller produced another lengthy study of Perón.⁸⁷ Also receiving renewed scholarly attention was the woman at Perón's side during his rise to and consolidation of power, Eva "Evita" Duarte Perón, the subject of several new studies.⁸⁸

Within Argentina, the most prolific and popular author of works on the post-war period has been Félix Luna, whose appreciation of Potash's work has been noted already. Among his major publications are an examination of the events immediately preceding and including Perón's election to the presidency in 1946, an overview of Argentine history from 1943 to 1973, and a recent three-volume study of the first Perón presidencies.⁸⁹ Although Luna's work is based primarily on Argentine sources and his own recollections, his writing has shown growing awareness of foreign scholarship on the subjects he treats. Also worthy of mention, in addition to the work of Luna, is a recent study of the relationship between Peronism and nationalism by the German-trained Argentine historian Cristián Buchrucker. This work shows an impressive grasp not only of the local materials but also virtually all of the relevant European and North American scholarship on the subject.⁹⁰

Other works by foreigners have focused on different aspects of the post-war experience. US scholar Donald Hodges' review of Argentina between 1943 and 1976 described the appearance of revolutionary groups and the armed resistance to recent military régimes.⁹¹ Great Britain's Richard Gillespie studied the evolution and emergence of the Montonero guerrillas in the 1960s and 1970s.⁹²

86. J. A. Page: *Perón: A Biography*, New York: Random House 1983.

87. R. D. Crasweller: *Perón and the Engimas of Argentina*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company 1987.

88. See, in particular, N. Fraser, M. Navarro: *Eva Perón*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company 1980; J. M. Taylor: *Eva Perón: The Myths of a Woman*, Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press 1979.

89. F. Luna: *El 45: Crónica de un año decisivo*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Jorge Alvarez 1969; *Argentina: De Perón a Lanusse: 1943/1973*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Planeta 1973; *Perón y su tiempo*, 3 vols. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana 1984, 1986, 1987.

90. C. Buchrucker: *Nacionalismo y Peronismo: La Argentina en la crisis ideológica mundial (1927–1955)*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana 1987.

91. D. C. Hodges: *Argentina, 1943–1976: The National Revolution and Resistance*, Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press 1976.

92. R. Gillespie: *Soldiers of Perón: Argentina's Montoneros*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1982.

Political scientist Lars Schoultz of the University of North Carolina analyzed Argentine electoral behaviour in the post-war period, amplifying earlier work in this regard by Peter Snow.⁹³ At the same time, Argentine scholars and journalists, who for political and/or economic reasons have found positions outside of the country, have tried to examine the course of recent events within the larger context of the nation's past.⁹⁴ Among these "exile scholars," one of the most influential has been Guillermo O'Donnell, whose study of the military governments of the 1950s and 1960s in Argentina created a new terminology and new approach to "bureaucratic authoritarian" régimes throughout Latin America and other parts of the world.⁹⁵

In summary, the impact of foreign scholarship on Argentine historiography has been both deep and widespread. This influence has been particularly pronounced since the mid-1950s and especially notable on scholars associated with research centres such as the Di Tella Institute. Most influential have been works produced by scholars based in the United States, Great Britain, and France. There are increasing signs, however, of a broader international interest in Latin America generally and Argentina specifically. Mentioned previously were works on Argentina by German and Japanese scholars. Canadians and Australians also have written about the country and sought to place its experience into a comparative context with those British Commonwealth nations.⁹⁶ Centres and publications based in eastern and southern Europe and the Soviet Union have also begun to join the list of those nations with an academic and intellectual interest in Argentina.

For the most part, Argentine reactions to this burgeoning body of foreign scholarship and growing interest in the country have been favourable. Argentine scholars generally have been very open to the

93. L. Schoultz: *The Populist Challenge: Argentine Electoral Behavior in the Postwar Era*, Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press 1983; P. G. Snow: *Political Forces in Argentina*, Boston, Mass.: Allyn and Bacon 1971.

94. E. Crawley: *A House Divided: Argentina, 1880–1980*, New York: St. Martin's Press 1984; J. E. Corradi: *The Fitful Republic: Economy, Society, and Politics in Argentina*, Boulder, Col. and London: Westview Press 1985.

95. G. A. O'Donnell: *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics*, Berkeley, Calif.: Institute of International Studies 1973.

96. See, for example, J. P. Fogarty *et. al.*: *Argentina and Australia*, Buenos Aires: Instituto Torcuato Di Tella 1979; C. E. Solberg: *The Prairies and the Pampas: Agrarian Policy in Canada and Argentina, 1880–1930*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press 1987.

findings and approaches of their foreign colleagues. Clearly, they have benefited from these works, which have served to broaden their own base of knowledge and to suggest new ways of looking at old and new problems. The general public reaction also has been positive. Indeed, foreign scholarship has considerable cachet in Argentina, much as do foreign-made consumer products. This public reaction, however, is also more complex than a simple admiration for things made abroad. First, as noted in discussing the response to the Potash volumes, there is a widespread appreciation of the objectivity and high scholarly quality of much of this work. Second, the Argentines often seem surprised and flattered that foreigners would take the time and effort to examine and try to understand a society and a history so full of contradictions and paradoxes which they themselves have great difficulty in comprehending. Third, there is also a general appreciation of the fact that foreign scholarship has been produced on a continuing basis, providing sustenance and support to an often besieged public and academic community during times of difficult political and economic circumstances.

Although there are few open signs that Argentine scholars actively resent the favourable public reception accorded foreign works, it is not difficult to sense how such resentment might develop. Few Argentine historians, for example, have received the widespread and enthusiastic attention and accolades accorded to Robert Potash. Foreign works, too, are often greeted with a praise which either explicitly or implicitly implies criticism of Argentine scholars for failures to take on difficult issues or deal more objectively with controversial historical subjects. Such criticism, however, must take into account the realities of scholarly life in a country where limited periods of intellectual and political freedom have alternated with long periods of repressive dictatorship when any consideration of sensitive subjects could produce life-threatening situations. In addition, economic difficulties have forced many Argentine scholars into either temporary or permanent exile, or, if staying, to accept multiple teaching positions which leave little time for research. Facilities for research, in turn, while generally better than in many other Latin American countries, are still poorly financed, staffed, and maintained. These are difficulties which, on the whole, most foreign scholars have not and do not have to face.

There is another source of potential resentment. Much of the foreign scholarship on Argentina has emanated from countries—notably the United States and Great Britain—which many Argentines view as having had a dominating and exploitative relationship with their own nation. Tensions and resentments among Argentina on the one hand and Great Britain and the US on the other increased markedly in the early 1980s as a result of the Falklands/Malvinas war. While passions have cooled somewhat since the war, and while most Argentines are willing to separate foreign scholars and their work from the governmental policies of their respective nations, there is little doubt that reservations and hurt feelings still exist in the minds of many.

Occasional nationalist resentment of foreign scholars and scholarship may surface in the future. Moreover, continued political and economic difficulties may curtail scholarly activities within the country and make it more difficult for foreigners to conduct research there. Nonetheless, the overall trends of the post-war era are encouraging. From the 1950s to the late 1970s the influence of foreign scholarship was most evident within the Argentine scholarly community. Since the late 1970s it has had an ever-greater impact on an ever-larger general audience. Translated editions of foreign works which once were available only in libraries or exclusive bookstores can now be found at affordable prices in sidewalk and subway kiosks. The prospect for the future, therefore, is that regardless of possible political and economic crises, Argentine and foreign scholars will still pursue their efforts, individually and collectively, to understand better one of Latin America's most important and perplexing nations.

