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INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY PROGRAM

PERONISM AND CONTEMPORARY ARGENTINEAN POLITICAL  
RIGHT

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ISTANBUL  
2017

PERONISM AND CONTEMPORARY ARGENTINEAN POLITICAL  
RIGHT  
PERONİZM VE MODERN ARJANTİN SİYASİ SAĞI

İlkimeylül Biçer

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Tezin Onaylandığı Tarih : 73

Toplam Sayfa Sayısı: 07/07/2017

Anahtar Kelimeler (Türkçe)

- 1) Arjantin
- 2) Peronizm
- 3) Korporatizm
- 4) Labour
- 5) Siyasi Sağ

Anahtar Kelimeler (İngilizce)

- 1) Argentina
- 2) Peronism
- 3) Corporatism
- 4) Emek
- 5) Political Right

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Inan Rūma for encouragement, patience and advice that he provided throughout this research. I have been so lucky to have a supervisor who care about my research and encouraged and is patience with all of my questions.

I would like to thank my family for their unconditional love, encouragement, support and, patience that experienced many ups and downs of this research. This thesis would not have been possible without the support of my grandmother Reyhan, my parents Manolya and Kemal, my sisters Pınar and Gökçe. I dedicate this thesis to them for their endless love and support.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends who inspired and support me throughout this research.

Without them, this thesis would not have been completed.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

UCR	Unión Cívica Radical
GOU	Grupo de Oficiales Unidos
FORJA	Fuerza de Orientación Radical de la Joven Argentina
ALN	National Liberating Alliance
APRA	Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana
PJ	Justicialista Party
IAPI	Argentine Institute for the Promotion of Trade
IMF	International Monetary Fund
FEP	Fundación Eva Perón
PRO	Propuesta Republicana- Republican Proposal
UCeDe	Unión del Centro Democratic- Union of the Democratic Centre
UCR	Unión Cívica Radical- Radical Civic Union
AR	Acción por la República- Action for the Republic
FREPASO	Frente por un País Solidario-Front for a Country in Solidarity
CPC	Compromiso para el Cambio- Commitment for Change

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis investigates the historical process of Peronism by analysing the changes in the Peronist discourse through time and the evolution of the transition Peronism to right wing in Argentina. The study first analysed the political and historical background of Argentina with specific reference to discourse of Peronism and International Capital. Afterwards, this study explored the concept of corporatism and labour in Argentina in order to understand the power of Peronism and the transition. Argentina had a much more strong labour unions and labour policies than any other countries in Latin America. The concept of labour and corporatism is crucial for the change in the discourse of Peronism.

Also this thesis emphasised the weak features of Peronist discourse that and highlight the rise of Right-wing in Argentina with a critique of Peronism and through focusing on the economic, political dynamics and combinations. In addition to literature, this study concentrated on the historical and political perspectives of Peronism in order to understand transition and the rise of Right wing in Argentina.

**Keywords:** Argentina, Peronism, corporatism, labour, right-wing parties

## ÖZET

Bu tez; Peronizm'in tarihsel sürecini, Peronist söylemin zamanla değişimini ve Arjantin siyasi sağın zaman içerisinde nasıl evrildiğini araştırmaktadır. Bu tezin ana argümanı ise Peronizm'den çağdaş Arjantin sağına geçişi araştırmaktadır. Çalışma ilk olarak Arjantin'in siyasi ve tarihi geçmişini Peronizm ve Uluslararası Sermayenin söylemine atıfta bulunarak analiz etmektedir. Ardından bu çalışma Peronizm'in gücünü ve geçiş sürecini anlamak için Arjantin'de korporatizm ve işçi kavramını araştırmaktadır. Arjantin, Latin Amerika'daki herhangi bir ülkeden çok daha güçlü bir işçi sendikası ve işçi politikasına sahiptir. Bu yüzden, Peronist söylemindeki değişimi anlamak için işçi ve korporatizm kavramlarını incelemek önemlidir.

Ayrıca bu tez; Peronist söylemin zayıf özelliklerini de vurgulamaktadır ve Arjantin'deki sağ kanat yükselişini, Peronizm eleştirisi olarak ekonomik, siyasi dinamikler ve kombinasyonlara odaklanarak vurgulamaktadır. Literatüre ek olarak, bu çalışma; Peronizm'in Arjantin'deki geçiş sürecini ve sağ kanat yükselişini anlamak için tarihsel ve siyasi perspektifler üzerinde yoğunlaşmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Arjantin, Peronizm, korporatizm, işçi, sağ kanat partiler.

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Research problem and importance

Peronism has always been an important movement in Argentina, which shaped the Argentine politics and economics since 1940's. The features and the discourse of Peronism changed and were shaped according to political and economic environment. Peronism did consist of features like corporatism, populism and nationalism. The political base of Perón's Peronism was mostly workers and lower segments of the society. The labour unions did play an important role in Peronism's rise in the 1940's. Perón did use the discourse of populism in order to affect the masses, which were labour. Moreover the corporatist policies such as; support for unions and social reforms to improve working conditions and lives. That's why; Peronism became a mass movement, which changed the direction of politics in Argentina.

The main features of Peronism changed under Menem's administration in 1980s, which became more neoliberal and had rightist tendencies. Peronism under Menem administration became neoliberal conservative. Although the concept of neoliberalism is against the discourse of Peronism, Menem did use Peronism in order to gain the support of masses. The right-wing tendencies in Peronism did change, again, under the Kirshners' administration in 2000s which became and more center-left. Actually, Kirchners' version Peronism turned to, sort of, old roots of Peronism such as nationalisation and welfare benefits. But Kirshners restored the concept of Justicialismo, which is Spanish term for social justice and proclaimed by the Peronism (Rossi, 2013). But the problem for this version of Peronism was that left-wing image was a mirage than reality which danger the popularity of Peronism in people's mind (Chretien, 2015).

Obviously, the changes in the discourse and the features of Peronism affected its relations and interaction with the right wing in Argentina. The right wing in Argentina has always been an essential and important actor in the political arena. But it did not build a powerful mechanism to fight populist features of Peronism or became a strong opposition to Peronism. The relationship between the

Peronism and right-wing has always been a contradictory one. The right-wing parties did not accept Peronism but was incorporated into Peronism. This is, because of the changing features and discourses of Peronism and affected overall process.

There has always been a problem how to define and characterize, politically, Peronism. The problem is that there are lots of definitions of Peronism, which changed over time and affected the relationship with the right wing. Because of lots of definitions of Peronism, it raises questions like 'Is Peronism populist?' But what is populism? Or how come Menem's period was a populist? Is the Peronist party a Labour party?, Is Peronist movement was on the Left or Right? As it is seen in here, there are lots of questions because of too much definition of Peronism.

Therefore, this thesis will investigate the evolution of Peronism over time, which shaped the whole process and its relations and interaction with the right wing in Argentina. In order to understand the relationship between Peronism and right wing, it requires both political and economic agenda of Peronism and how its discourse changed over time. Therefore, the research questions of this study is : 'What is Peronism? And how does the relationship between Peronism and right-wing evolve or change over time?'

Both political and economic factors shaped the Peronism and right wing in Argentina. Even though, the right wing was weak against Peronism, this situation started to change with the help of different political and economic conditions. Therefore, increasing power of Peronism was cut by the powerful right wing. This research will provide analysis of Peronism, its changing discourse and its relationship with the right wing. In this manner, the key components of Peronism and its changing discourse will be examined and how they affected the relationship between Peronism and right wing. Finally, the conclusion will be that how did Peronism evolve over time in terms of its relations and interaction with the right wing.

The structure of this thesis is based on four chapters to give an answer to Peronism and contemporary political right in Argentina. The first chapter is based

on Peronism. The second chapter includes theoretical framework of this research that includes corporatism, international capital and populism. The third chapter elaborates on how Peronist features and discourse changed over time and how these changes affect its relationship with the right wing in Argentina. Finally, the last chapter of this research is to conclude the main findings of this research.

## **PERONISM**

### **2.1. Overview of Peronism**

Peronism is the mixture of nationalism, labour policies, social justice and social security policies which is based on three pillars; economic independence, political sovereignty and social justice. Juan Perón tried to impose his understanding of Peronism such as; political and economic independence, nationalism that all were based on Christian social values and reshaping the complaints of the poor segment of the society, there are two main pillars of Peronism that aim to gain the support of both army and labour at the same time. Another element that created the essence of Peronism was nationalism. This way of nationalism added more conservative elements to the Peronism. Moreover, Peronism had always been interested taking a nationalist group in its formation such as; ALN<sup>1</sup>. Even though those groups were extreme, indeed, Peronism has historically served the purpose on various occasions of absorbing extreme right-wing tendencies into a larger movement, which served to soften the impact of those borderline groups by incorporating them into a less radical structure (Hedges, 2011).

Combining with both left wing and right-wing discourse made Peronism more suitable for every person in Argentina, every segment of the society. For instance; Juan Perón realized the hazard of social inequality and wanted to impose social welfare policies to create a strong and stable state that will intervene both society and economy. So, Juan Perón tried to use both discourses of left and right in Peronism to consolidate its power. So that, Peronism was an ideological mix that attract everyone from left to right. So, Peronism or Partido Justicialista did not have exact left or right tendencies. The Peronism was an entire horizontal movement that includes bits of almost every ideology.

At the same time, not only from universal discourses but Peronism was also affected by some political features, which were, of course, populism, authoritarianism and nationalism. Those three elements created the basis of

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<sup>1</sup> Alianza Libertadora Nacional- ultranationalist right-wing group

Peronism, but also, can be seen in the many Latin American countries. For instance; in Brazil, under Vargas government, which was authoritarian and created state-led trade unions; in Peru, under de la Torre government used the discourse of populism and created the idea of Indigenismo. But, Peronism had more similarities with Peru founded *Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana* that used a term of social justice<sup>2</sup>. Actually the term of ‘social justice’ was the backbone of Peronism and fully embraced by Perón, which was creating a fair and relationship and equal distribution of resources and opportunities in order to diminish the inequality and poverty within the society. Indeed, this discourse of ‘social justice’ had been imposing through many practices for almost a decade.

While using the discussion of social justice the state became dominant in the every segment of society and shaped the community’s role according to its advantage. This way of using the phenomenon of state made Peronism gain, enormously significant, supporters and made the state look like more authoritarian than normally it is. The State’s new role, which was using ‘social justice’, became the primary interest of both economic and political activities. When it is looked at the very nature of Peronism, there are lots authoritarian, nationalist and even fascist elements. But there was one element that really essential for Peronism is that ‘organised community’ which is typical conservative idea. This organised community created a link within society; it favored the people who supported Peronism but disregard people who did not support Peronism. Actually this organised community was a social model that led the state intervention to negotiate between labour and capital directly. That’s why; Peronist state had strong authoritarian features.

Juan Perón imposed labour policies to gain the support of labour and unions such as; legitimation of labour unions, increase in the wages and better working conditions. It does not mean that the discourse of Peronism adopted socialism fully. This was just a barrier to prevent the socialism’s power in Argentina.

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<sup>2</sup> The term of Justicialismo evolved from the concept of social justice.

In brief, the discourse of Peronism incorporated with any type of ideology from political left to political right. Even though Peronism had authoritarian tendencies, it was never fully socialist or fascist. According to Juan Perón, Peronism was an alternative to both capitalism and communism. By incorporating with any type of ideology, he made Peronism more suitable to everyone. In Perón's own words: 'Peronism became a political doctrine that refuses all the misery of the politics of previous times<sup>3</sup>.' So, Justicialismo's meaning comes from the concept of 'social justice', politically, recognizes the balance between the interests of the individual and those of the community<sup>4</sup>. Rather than focusing on only ideologies such as; left, center or right, Justicialism focused on the patriotic features of Argentina and improvement, progress with social justice. The idea Juan Perón was that rejected the idea of class struggle and the goal was that supporting the social unity in order to unify the country, industrialize Argentina and modernize the armed forces (Di Tella, 1998).

The problem of Perón's reforms were changes included only workers, Army, Catholic Church and industrial employers but not old 'oligarchy'<sup>5</sup> that means landed or commercial elite that controlled both politics and economy in Argentina. The original meaning of oligarchy is that 'government by the few'. The crucial point is that oligarchy did not hold the power. Actually, elites had different interest in different periods and different interests. The Oligarchy in Argentina was classic liberals that advocated the less government intervention in the economy. And the Oligarchs supported foreign investment in Argentina through development projects; mostly railroads that owned by Britain. But, when Juan Perón came to power, he immediately nationalised the railroads, electricity etc. Also, some elites in Argentina did not sufficiently incorporate with the liberal ideas of secular public education and separation of church and state, which are the important pillars of Peronism (Cockcroft, 1996). So, this created problem between

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<sup>3</sup> See Speech in the Congress in 1948 at Appendix 1

<sup>4</sup> See Twenty Fundamental Truths of Justicialism at Appendix 2

<sup>5</sup> Oligarchy's one party rule was called 'Unicato' (National Autonomist Party) in 1900s in Argentina. (See Appendix 3)

Juan Perón and Oligarchs that became a real threat to Peronist government, even though, Juan Perón did not assault the primary interest of elites such as; no land reform in Argentina.

The Peronism's perspective of the economy was kind of different than the mainstream understanding of the economy. Because, according to Perón, Peronism was in the 'third-position (tercera posición)' that rejects both capitalism and communism. According to Juan Perón; capitalist exploitation could be altered by a principle of social economy<sup>6</sup>. In Perón's own words:

“ Peronism is humanism in action; Peronism is a new political doctrine, which rejects all the ills of the politics of previous times; in the social sphere it is a theory which establishes a little equality among men... capitalist exploitation should be replaced by a doctrine of social economy under which the distribution of our wealth, which we force the earth to yield up to us and which furthermore we are elaborating, may be shared out fairly among all those who have contributed by their efforts to amass it.”

About Peronism, Juan Perón did not use socialist policies in the economy. The fundamental theory of Peronism in the economy was direct state involvement. It was capitalist, and this policy is an economy, which requires involvement of state, even though there was a discourse of anti-capitalist. It can be said that this is one of the contradictions that Peronism made. So, the main program of this economy was mainly based on labour intensive, and nationalised companies will create jobs for the domestic market. The intention of this state-involved economy was to benefit the armed forces, industry, employment, subsidized mechanization and consumption (Hedges, 2011). By doing this, the Peronist state took control of labour relations according to its advantage. In this manner, workers and their unions became the basis for Peronist movement.

At the same time, under the Peronist government, there was a generally nationalised state capitalism through the elimination of foreign investment, which

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<sup>6</sup> See the Speech in the Congress in 1948 at Appendix 1.

was dominantly British capital. The main reason for the removal of foreign investment is that Perón used the core idea of Peronism that was economic independence. And, apparently, Perón used nationalism to overcome anti-imperialism. So, nationalisation of the companies led to successful economic policy under Peronist government. And the whole structure of the Argentine's social and economy changed through the state intervention. Because the state had an essential role in the economy that controls the import tariffs which became important under the Perón government in 1940s, nationalizing foreign companies which were mainly British such as; gas, electricity, docks and railways. Another thing that is crucial for the Peronist government was organizing the worker's movement and unions. For instance; just before the first Peronist government, the event on 17 October, which was called 'Loyalty Day', saved Juan Perón from political failure, made him consolidate its power much quickly. Because, the significance of this event is that Juan Perón was rescued from political elimination, but thanks to people who came, mostly workers, to Plaza de Mayo and created a mass mobilization, saved Juan Perón. And this created a solid connection between Juan Perón and the society. The event in the 17 October represented an even more fervent expression opinion from an extensive and previously ignored social force: working class (Hedges, 2011). Immediately, the 17 October became the success of descamisados<sup>7</sup>. Even more, the descamisados became the symbol of the Peronist movement that appeals to everyone, from young to poor, labour etc. Obviously, this event gave Perón a recognition and consolidation of his power. The images from 17 October, which is a day that called 'loyalty day (Día de la lealtad)', had a meaning for Peronism that shows the loyalty of working class.

The aim of Perón, when he was Labour Secretariat from 1943 to 1945, was that creating a strong and centralized labour union. And those unions, which collaborated with the government about the issues such as; collective, bargaining

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<sup>7</sup> The term of Descamisados which is called 'Shirtless Ones', used to describe Perón's supporters whom are poor and from working class. Juan Perón stated that by the 'descamisados', his supporters were too poor to have a shirt.

agreement, labour dispute etc. By this way, the 'Peronisation' of unions had started and the leaders of these unions who are Peronists supported by the government. The unions were the backbone and the main voters of the Peronism. The populist agenda steps in the Argentine politics through making workers' wishes come true. Such as; higher wages from 1,700 pesos a year in 1943 to 3.900 pesos in 1948 (CQ Researcher, 1963), higher living conditions, extra hour payment, establishment of labor legislation (labour courts) in order to control conflicts between employers and employees, employee rights, better working conditions, fully employment, which means that Juan Perón expanded the education spending to create more skilled workers that will be readily employable, thus this would achieve full employment, from 10 percent of the workers, organised labour grew to 70 percent, etc. Perón's main power comes from implementing the social development for employees. This event gave the power to labour unions that help Juan Perón to gain the support of them. Another reason for increasing the wages for Perón was trying to increase the consumption through raising fees. This populist agenda shows the Peronist ideology that included lower segment of the society into politics and consumption. Juan Perón used some patriotic features and social justice to win the support of workers and he managed to consolidate labour unions successfully. He included working class in the Argentine's political, economic and social lives also gave the working classes 'social consciousness, social personality and social organization (Hedges, 2011). While Juan Perón was consolidating the organised labour, his another aim was to gain the support of unorganized sectors through Eva Perón Foundation provided an extensive range of welfare such as; well-supplied hospitals, free health care, schools that provide more free education for children, etc. But, The Eva Perón Foundation challenged the idea of a traditional concept of 'charity' that performed by the 'Sociedad de Beneficencia', an elite organization under Church support (Hedges, 2011). Before Peronist government, some social policies were made by under the concept of 'charity'. After Peronism, all these social policies were made by under the idea of welfare state. Hence, Eva Perón was seen as a very incarnation of the welfare state, which through the 'Lady of Hope' received a

personal and emotive dimension (Romero, 2002, p. 107). So, Eva Perón had an outstanding role in the Peronism that built a link between states and society through social policies about women's right and care (especially, children) So that, the discourse of 'social justice' became the center of all economic and political policies. Eva's prominent role was only valid in the working class; mostly oligarchy hated Eva and her accomplishments. The bourgeoisie in Argentina did not accept the discourse of Peronism due to its connections. Juan Peron provided jobs for the working class, which made them more attached and loyal to Peronist Party. For instance; doctors and nurses who work in the public hospitals were obligated to join Peronist Party or face dismissal, this is the authoritarian side of all these public service achievements (Hedges, 2011).

With the death of Eva Perón; economic crisis and protests, the discourse of Peronism entered a dead-end path. All the policies of Perón contradicted with the core ideology of Peronism. For instance; Perón adopted austerity policies, turning back to foreign companies, shutting down the consumption policies because of economic downturn. To protect and enlarge the industrial sector in Argentina was not possible through using protectionist policies. When economy started to deteriorate, Juan Perón turned to foreign capital. So, Perón's these policies divided his supporters and started to come apart. Especially, without Eva Perón and economic deterioration, the connection between the president and the society began to shatter and conservative ones ousted the leaders of unions. Not only with the working class, but also the relationship with the Catholic Church collapsed. Because of these tensions, Juan Perón was exiled from Argentina to Paraguay before settling in Madrid by the military. But, the influence of Peronism was so influential that created Peronist resistance. This Resistance was led by the labours that demanded their leader back. Most of the workers remained 'Peronists', in the sense of calling for Perón's return (Cockcroft, 1996). And the resistance was so successful that Juan Perón came back to Argentina in 1973.

After a little while Juan Perón died in 1974, he was a charismatic leader that created a strong linkage between himself and the Peronist party. Contemporary Peronism has more division and separated itself from the idea of Justicialismo,

especially under Menem administration in the 1990s. The fractions within the Peronist movement started to contradict with each other about the core idea of Peronism. For instance; Peronism, in the beginning, was focusing on the social justice, social policies such as; women's right etc. But with the 1990's, it turned to more neoliberal policies in Carlos Menem Period. So, the contemporary Peronism became more controversial. This is the main problem, which the modern Peronism had faced recently; that will be analysed more in the following sections.

## **2.2. Economic Development in Argentina and Peronism**

The role of international capital has an important role in Argentina. Both foreign capital and trade were backbones of the Argentine economy in the 19th century; exports and imports were each worth over a quarter of the value of GNP; between one-third and one-half of capital was foreign one (Sutcliffe, 1982). The landed or commercial elites in Argentina supported foreign investment. And, the major and predominant foreign investor in Argentina was Great Britain<sup>8</sup>. Obviously, there were other foreign capitals such as; Germany, France, Belgium and later on the USA. But the most powerful one was Britain that held the most of total foreign capital in Argentina. One of the reasons Britain's ensured its position was that using the advantage of being first in capitalist power in Argentina and creating a strong and direct linkages with the elites who are at cabinet or have an influential voice in affairs of country's leading press organs (Rock, 1975). So, creating a strong linkage with elites who can defend British interest in Argentina made Britain more powerful foreign capital than others. Elites in Argentina supported foreign capital and accepted the country's dependence on its overseas links for markets and sources of investment (Rock, 1975). When the Radicals, which were the first Yrigoyen government, came to power in 1916, foreign capital was not affected by this change, even though the radicals were not contented with this.

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<sup>8</sup> British Foreign Minister George Canning's words of the 1820s became a living reality in Argentina: Latin America was the farm of industrial Europe (Cockcroft, 1996).

The main reason for this smooth transition was these elites. Because; the elites were the dominant power in Argentina even under Yriyogen's government.

In the beginning of 20th century, the rate of British capital in Argentina was more than 300 million pound (Rock 1975). The Grain and Beef was the main agricultural exports of Argentine's economy. The reason of high British capital in Argentina was the agriculture. Because the agriculture was a profitable sector that attracted the British capital to invest on industries and railroads until 1913. The railroads that built by Great Britain<sup>9</sup> became the most wide and important in the Latin American continent. Foreign capital became dominant in railways, utilities, and meatpacking which were primary export industry (Thomson-Learning, 2004). So that Argentina became more dependent on the export to European market.

All of the foreign investment in Argentina, especially Britain, helped the growth of Argentina, which held the highest growth rate in the world from 1860 to 1930. The importance of growth of Argentina was that it became world's 10th wealthiest country considering per capita in 1913 (Eiras; Schaefer, 2001). Per capita income in Argentina was 50 percent higher than Italy, 180 percent higher than Japan, and almost five times higher than in Brazil at the beginning of 20th century<sup>10</sup> (Glaeser, 2009). The crucial point was that up to 1930, Argentina was considered economically developed rather than underdeveloped under world capitalism (Sutcliffe, 1982). Even after World War I, both foreign investment and growth did not stop, just decreased to a lower percentage.

British capital invested on the railroad in order to boost agricultural production with better and fast transportation. The rate of British investment was increasing day by day that Britain acted that Argentina was a part of British Empire. This understanding is the most crucial point for Peronism that used the term 'Anti-Imperialism' later on. Before the World War I, the capital that Britain sent which

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<sup>9</sup> Argentina's two biggest railways were the British-built, owned and operated Central Argentine Railway Ltd and the Buenos Ayres Great Southern Railway Co. Ltd, with headquarters in London and this railroad network consisted of a 47,000 km (Graham-Yooll, 1999).

<sup>10</sup> See Angus Maddison's historic database at Appendix 4.

is measured by the ratio of their stock of foreign assets to its own GDP (Paolera, Taylor, 2003).

From 1914 onwards, the ratio of foreign capital decreased to 25 percent. Because of the decrease in the foreign capital, the Argentine economy entered more complex period that showed its vulnerabilities. The economy of Argentine was dependent on mostly foreign capital and export. With the decline in exports (Table 1), mostly agricultural goods, and foreign capital the social conditions of Argentina got worsened due to World War I.

**Table 1. Argentinian exports- growth and composition**

<b>Total exports</b>	<b>1875-79</b>	<b>1900-04</b>	<b>1925-29</b>
<b>Wool</b>	52.9	22.0	8.2
<b>Hides and skins</b>	38.1	11.2	8.1
<b>Meat</b>	8.2	7.7	15.4
<b>Wheat and corn</b>	0.7	35.1	40.7
<b>Linseed</b>	-	9.5	12.4
<b>Others</b>	0.1	15.5	15.4

*Source: Diaz Alejandro, 1970, p. 5 and 18*

So Argentina suffered profound economic and political problem from World War I. The changing conditions of British economy after the World War I altered the imperial relationship with Argentina. The conditions of the workers both in cities and rural areas became much more vulnerable because of world economic condition that affect the Argentine economy.

There were high rate of unemployment and the conditions of the working class worsened which led to strikes and insurrections in the big transport unions which were owned by the foreign capital such as; Federación Obrera Marítima (Maritime Workers Union), Federación Obrera Ferrocarrilera (Railroad Workers Union) between 1917 and 1918 (Romero, 2002). These strikes showed that position of the state between labour and capital did not work and threatened the role of oligarchy in Argentina. Because the elite did not want the political participation of working

class in order to protect the relationship with foreign capital that wanted cheap labour. Moreover, Yrigoyen's government repressed strikes when no political gain or conciliatory agreements could be obtained or when important interests of capital were at stake (Steven, 2009). Also, this showed the weakness of labour unions' negotiation power which would be crucial for Peronist understanding. The conflict between the elites and radicals shaped the character of the first Yrigoyen government which suppressed the labour (Rock, 1975).

With the World War I, the growth of Argentina started to decline when it is compared to before war period. The important change with World War I was that rather than British presence, there was a new presence which was the United States. After the war, Britain lost its power both political and economically to the US that changed its role in the Argentina. So that the United States perceived Argentina as a potential rival on world markets because of Argentina's economic development in the 19th century (Viegel, 2005). This new relationship between the United States and Argentina created an insolvable problem that affected Argentine economy harshly which showed the imbalance in the balance of payment (Romero, 2002). The deficit in the balance of payment in 1929 and 1930 was 276 million gold pesos (Rock, 1975). Generally, the problem for Argentina in the aftermath of World War I was that change in the foreign capital. Even after the World War I, foreign capital did not totally withdraw from Argentina but the volume of capital got smaller and growth of Argentina still continued at a small rate (Table 2) until Great Depression in 1929 under the second term of Yrigoyen government. Between the period of post-war and Great Depression, the Argentine economy started to improve as it can be seen in Table 2.

**Table 2. Economic Growth of Argentina from 1904 to 1929**

	<b>Average Population (in thousands)</b>	<b>Average Annual Growth</b>	<b>Millions of Pesos (at 1950 prices)</b>	<b>Average Annual Growth</b>
<b>1900-04</b>	4,797	-	10,756	-
<b>1905-09</b>	5,710	%3,8	15,890	%9,6

	<b>Average Population (in thousands)</b>	<b>Average Annual Growth</b>	<b>Millions of Pesos (at 1950 prices)</b>	<b>Average Annual Growth</b>
<b>1910-14</b>	7,271	%5,5	19,896	%5,0
<b>1915-19</b>	8,372	%3,0	19,131	-%0,8
<b>1920-24</b>	9,416	%2,5	25,491	%7
<b>1925-29</b>	10,970	%3,3	33,184	%6

Source: H.S. Gerns, *The Argentina Republic: 1516-1971* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1973), p.87; South-Western: Thomson Learning, 2004, p. 3.

The stock market crashes of 1929 had a profound effect on Argentina in terms of withdrawal of foreign capital and decrease in the exports<sup>11</sup> which is the backbone of Argentine economy. Argentina had a comparative advantage on the exports of agricultural goods such as; beef and grain. When the global crisis hit, Argentina's rate of export decreased immediately. Especially with the withdrawal of foreign capital from Argentina affected badly all railroad companies that are owned by the foreign capital. Due to conditions of the world economy, the inflation started to increase, the wages started to decline in Argentina. All of these conditions had an effect of the Yrigoyen government that lost popular support from middle class. The main reason that Argentina suffered so much from Great Depression was the main priority of Argentina was always export of agricultural goods and foreign capital. With the Great Depression, the amount of foreign capital reduced from \$3, 136 million to \$2,580 million (Sutcliffe, 1982).

The importance of Great Depression for Argentina is that promoted the idea within the bourgeoisie, of loosen the relations with the foreign capital, the world

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<sup>11</sup> Mostly agricultural exports that crisis hit harshly on this sector. The prices of agricultural goods decreased, and by 1933 the prices were about 50 percent of their 1928 level (Thomas Learning, 2004).

and turned to the model of Import Substitution Industrialisation (ISI)<sup>12</sup>, which is an economic policy that advocates replacing foreign imports with domestic production. The reason for Argentina considered the model of Import Substitution Industrialisation was the decrease the percentage of foreign capital dependency in order to generate employment for restructuring the Argentine economy. With the experience of Great Depression, considering the ISI model was a clever way to eliminate the crisis' effects. But, under the control of elites, the model of ISI could not be established due to conflicting interests between newly emerging industrial bourgeoisie and established oligarchy. With the collapse of world trade and economy in 1929 gave a chance to the new government to implement policies of import substitution industrialization through changing the established class structure. And Great Depression made economic nationalism important in Argentina. As elsewhere the Great Depression raised the question of that the old liberal democratic model did not work and did not generate some solutions to very imbalances in the society (Tulchin, 1974). The economic nationalism or opposition to foreign capital becomes an important tool in the platforms of every party that opposed the ruling oligarchy after 1890 (Romero, 1963; Wright, 2014). The economic nationalism was not a new thing for Argentina in order to gain supporters. As a consequence of ISI model, there was an emergence of new industrialists that will be crucial for the Peronist government.

The elites in Argentina connected with the agricultural exports, never connected with industrialization. The dominant both agrarian and mercantile oligarchy in Argentina had little interest in promoting industrial production or the development of the countryside (Steven, 2009). When the exports cut off by the depression, the Argentine economy faced huge recession and led to the industrialization. Because of depression and economic downturn, the second term of Yrigoyen government was overthrown by the Conservative party in the 1930s which was dominated by the agrarian interests and to guarantee the profitable international market for meat

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<sup>12</sup> ISI is a method to achieve economic growths that increase the national production for internal market and socio-economic modernization for Latin American governments (Baer, 1972).

and grain in 1930 in order to control the interests of agrarian or mercantile oligarchy (Thomas Learning, 2004). Also, The new Conservative government promoted the industrial development in order to reduce the foreign capital in Argentina. And it focused on the more nationalistic economic policies in order to recover the Argentine economy. Actually post-crisis period was essential for the industrialization of the country. But the main problem for infant industry was that the new government started to put a high tariff for Argentinian industry, which was called 'Empire preference'<sup>13</sup> which was building a tariff was around British colonies (Thomas-Learning, 2004). The both political and economic framework such as; First World War, then Great Depression and finally Second World War made Argentina's position worsened.

When the World War II erupted in 1939, it affected the Argentine economy harshly that pushed towards the understanding of protectionism. Because the old understanding of agricultural export lost its appeal due to closing market to newly increased national industrial bourgeoisie in Argentina which will form a basis for Peronism later. After the Great Britain, the relations with the US were important for the Argentine. In fact, US passed the Great Britain's position in Argentina in terms of imports. The change in the relation with the US, so with the hegemonic capital power is the turning point for both Argentine politics and economy.

With the change of US foreign policy to 'good neighbor' policy<sup>14</sup>, the United States was anxious to forge all of the Western Hemisphere into alliance and used trade preferences as a tool (Thomas-Learning, 2004). Creating bilateral relations with the United States could be advantageous for Argentina economy, but becoming subordinated to the US, was not an easy thing to accept for a country like Argentina that still pursues an independent and hegemonic position in the

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<sup>13</sup> Empire preference is, historically, a commercial arrangement in which preferential rate (i.e., rates below the general level of an established tariff) were granted to one another by constituent units of an empire and includes other sorts of preference, such as favorable consideration in the allocation of public contracts, indirect subsidies to shipping, and preferential access to the capital market which was introduced in 1932 (Britannica).

<sup>14</sup> The aim of the policy under Franklin Delano Roosevelt is to develop relations with the Central and South American countries. The main is that cooperation and trade rather than military force to maintain stability in the hemisphere.

Southern Cone (Romero, 2002). The main obstacle for the bilateral relations with the United States was neutral position of Argentina in the war. Even though the Argentine government tried to form an alignment with the United States for recovering the economy, with the World War II all the dimensions had changed. When the United States entered the war, sought to force the countries of the America to accompany it (Romero, 2002). But Argentina insisted neutrality due to its European population pushed towards European powers. The position of Argentina contradicted with the US plans. So the opportunity of bilateral relations with the United States passed. Instead of Argentina, Brazil benefited from the bilateral relations with the United States. And Argentina was excluded from the all the support from the US such as; rearmament program. After that Argentinian economy started to deteriorate. In terms of trade, the United States was the essential trade partner<sup>15</sup> for Argentina and when the relations between the Argentina and US deteriorated; Argentine economy affected badly. So remaining neutral in the war has some bad consequences for Argentina that did not benefit from the post-war boom, which affects the Argentine economy. All of these events in the world awakens the nationalistic consciousness<sup>16</sup> in Argentina that pave to way for Peronist understanding. The exclusion from the bilateral relation with the United States pushed Argentina back into its own shell.

Throughout the World War II, the Argentina's economic policy was protectionist in order to protect its newly industrial bourgeoisie. Actually, Argentina tried to avoid from world economy's fluctuations in order the recover its own economy. Rather than supporting international capital, Argentina turned into itself both economically and politically after the WWII.

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<sup>15</sup>The US became the main importer of the Argentine products in 1941 which amounted to \$ 166.618.00, twice the import value for 1940 and the highest level of Argentine imports since 1930 (Cisneros and Escude, 1999; Peterson, 1964 and et al).

<sup>16</sup> This new nationalistic consciousness contains Anti-Imperialism, which attacks trade relationship between Argentine Oligarchy and Britain.

All the nationalist<sup>17</sup> and strong state ideas were effective among the Argentine society. That's why; all of these ideas contributed to Perón's rising and effective ideology that contains nationalistic ideas, Anti-British imperialism/Anti-British nationalism and rejecting both capitalism and communism. Creating a mixed ideology and having a nationalistic discourse (mostly economic nationalism) provided Perón supporters from both left-wing and right-wing. Starting from the World War II, the international capital/ foreign investment in Argentina started to decrease and the nationalisation of the companies started to increase, especially under the Perón government this nationalisation expedited, starting from 1945 to 1955.

When the military junta overthrew the current government in 1943, the position of foreign capital had changed. Because; the main aim of the new government was that implement more protective policies. For instance; the new junta government put some protective tariffs in order to protect the national industrial development. Moreover, the rhetoric of Anti-Britain and Anti-US continued under the new government, which affected the status of international capital. With the new government, foreign investments started to nationalize under the Peronist government such as; gas companies, electricity.

The whole nationalisation process is a trending action in the post-war era. But the most important nationalisation in this period is that British-owned railways. This nationalisation of British-owned railways had no economic advantage for Argentina, it contains much more patriotic meaning for the society. All of these companies became public companies.<sup>18</sup>

During this period, whole foreign capital was monopolized by the Argentine Institute for the Promotion of Trade (IAPI) in order to generate income for urban and industrial sectors. The nationalisation of the whole Argentine increased when Juan Perón became a President in 1945. Juan Perón created a state trading board

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<sup>17</sup> The Argentine Nationalists embodied 'a futurism of the past' that aimed to reconstruct a conservative authoritarian government and to restore the temporal power of the church, particularly over education like Peronism (David Rock, 1993).

<sup>18</sup> Newly created public companies under the new government: Gas del Estado (gas pipeline), Doder shipping, Aeorlineas Argentinas (state-owned airlines) (Romero, 2002).

to control foreign trade and an industrial bank to support the growing group of Argentine industrialists, large and small (Cockcroft, 1996). The process of nationalisation, starting from 1943 and the withdrawal of capital<sup>19</sup> cut it to about \$1,255 million by 1949 (Sutcliffe, 1982). So, Argentina left the open economy and became more isolated under the new government. This nationalisation of companies dominated and shaped the Argentine economy and politics. All of these nationalisation processes was seen as a patriotic act in the Argentine society. Because; the withdrawal of all foreign capital forms an idea of gaining the economic independence of the Argentinian society. Under this new government, one of the most important things is that the amount of foreign capital/investment decreased and mostly focused on the integration of industrial sector. This decline in the foreign capital has some consequence for the Argentinian economy, especially in 1950's. Because Perón's nationalisation annoyed the business leaders and led to investment went down (Marsh, 2014).

After the World War II, the new monetary system, which is called Bretton Woods, established in 1944 that led the dollar to become main currency for global trade. The foreign investments in Argentina were kind of effective and influential for the growth of the Argentine economy. Because those foreign capitals were located in the key economic sectors that shaped the roots of the economy. When Juan Perón's nationalisation and protectionist policies took place, the industrial companies became inefficient. And the whole foreign trade was controlled by the state. The nationalisation of the British-owned railways and other foreign companies contributed directly to the economic crisis had plagued in Argentine under the Perón government in the 1950s (Wright, 2014).

The problem of the industrial sector in Argentina cannot compete with the world market and it became dependent on imports that come from Europe (Romero, 2002). The inefficient or limited industrial sector led to Argentina continues on

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<sup>19</sup>The amount of withdrawn of British capital with the nationalisation process was from 356,212,586 Pounds Sterling in 1946 to 69,428,083 Pounds Sterling by 1950 ( South American Journal, 1950; Wright, 2014).

the agricultural exports<sup>20</sup>. When the commodity prices decreased and inflation increased, this deepening crisis became visible and with the inflation turned into 'stagflation'<sup>21</sup> in the 1950's. So, this nationalisation action had bad results for Argentina. Due to deteriorated economy and the attitude of Argentine industrialists towards Perón's policies<sup>22</sup>, the foreign capital became inevitable and necessary to get out from the current crisis in Argentina and maintain the industrialization program. So, Perón declared Law of Capital Investment<sup>23</sup> in 1953 in order to attract foreign capital in Argentina again with respect to Peronism's ideology and Argentina's economic independence. Even though it was stated in the law, the main problem about calling foreign capital back to Argentina is the contrast with Perón's nationalisation policy. Although the Perón Government favored the new foreign capital, the relations with the U.S government never ameliorated. But there were lots of unrest within the Argentine society, especially within the Catholic Church and student groups<sup>24</sup>. And those strikes paralyzed the country, which led to Juan Perón's overthrown and was exiled to Paraguay by the military in 1955.

### **2.3. Corporatism and Peronism**

Peronism is one of the most powerful and influential political movements in the Argentina during the 20th century. It is important to figure out the roots of corporatism which effected not only past and but also today's politics in Argentina. The corporatism was really powerful and a key characteristic of

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<sup>20</sup> The agricultural export's value was less than that of the industrial machinery and other finished goods imported from abroad (Hedges, 2011) It is same for whole world except few industrial capitalist countries.

<sup>21</sup> It is a situation that the crisis combined with the high inflation, high unemployment and low rate of economic growth.

<sup>22</sup> Industrialists' gross profit margin declined between 1946 and 1948 as a result of the government's labour and wage policies under Peronist government (Brennan, 1998).

<sup>23</sup> Under this new law, some foreign investors in Argentina were; Fiat, Mercedes-Benz, Kaiser Motors and General Motors in automobile sector; Standard Oil of California in oil sector.

<sup>24</sup> The reason for unrest was that Perón was planning of separation of church and state and to legalize the divorce and prostitution. Also, Juan Perón finished the religious courses in the schools which caused the unrest within the Catholic Church and student groups.

Peronism can be seen as a helping to create a link between the state and the society.

In Perón’s Argentina, there were fundamental changes in the Argentine economy and social structure. But the most effective ones were economic reforms and social programs that have long-lasting effects. One of the reasons that Peronism became powerful and influential political movement in the Argentina is corporatist relations with the union organizations. The idea of corporatism came from Mussolini’s fascist policies which were seen by Perón as a useful method of social organization by which socially harmonious class participation would lead to a fair distribution of national output (Singerman, 2015).

The corporatism is about the interest representation of the state that represents sectoral interest, providing material and political privileges in order to gain political power (Collier, 1977). Also, the Perón’s corporatism advocates the mediating tensions within the society. Perón’s ‘Justicialismo’ represented state-corporatist arrangements were the predominant form of labour interest intermediation before the neoliberal era, featuring a central characteristic (Etchemendey and Collier, 2007) and includes social solidarity, avoidance of class conflict and discouragement of individualism among the masses (McLynn, 1983). According to Table 3, there are different types of corporatism in the world. But the Perón’s corporatism had similarities with other fascists like Mussolini’s Italy.

**Table 3. Corporatist Regimes of the Early Twentieth Century**

<b>System Name</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Period</b>	<b>Leader</b>
<b>National Corporatism</b>	Italy	1922-1945	Benito Mussolini
<b>Country, Religion, Monarchy</b>	Spain	1923-1930	Miguel Primo de Rivera
<b>National Socialism</b>	Germany	1933-1945	Adolph Hitler
<b>National Syndicalism</b>	Spain	1946-1973	Francisco Franco
<b>New State</b>	Portugal	1932-1968	Antonio

<b>System Name</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Period</b>	<b>Leader</b>
			Salazar
<b>New State</b>	Brazil	1933-1945	Getulio Vargas
<b>New Deal</b>	United States	1933-1945	Franklin Roosevelt
<b>Third Hellenic Civilization</b>	Greece	1941-1946	Ioannis Metaxas
<b>Justice Party*</b>	Argentina	1943-1955	Juan Domingo Perón

Source: San Jose State University, Department of Economics

And the corporatism is populism's favored form of political presentation, which is an advantageous way for Perón for gaining political power. So, corporatism helped Perón to integrate the masses to create autonomy of the state. Also, the corporatist policies gave Perón power to act as the protector of the common good of the working class. In order to provide the corporatist idea of harmony between labour and capital, almost all the social security programs and labour codes enacted (Wiarda, 1997) during Perón period.

The corporatist policies were that the institutions which were sanctioned by the state; were allowed the have voice and influence in the government (Thomas-Learning, 2004). Perón's corporatist policies allied with the working class. Because; the labour legislation was central to the articulation of corporatism (Patroni, 2000).

The corporatist tendencies of Peronism created the movement characteristic that led workers, business, and other interest groups enter into pacts with the state rather than seeking political change. Briefly, this type of arrangement within the state led to a lack of democratic opposition but created the political violence within the party and bred the idea of military intervention. The corporatism created a new approach for Perón for organizing the popular masses. Perón's movement was mainly built upon the idea of corporatist unions. Those unions, which were close to the Peronist movement, were favored by the state. With the

state-corporatist arrangements, Perón's government was aligned with the labour unions which created the political base for the Justicialista Party<sup>25</sup> and opened society to previously excluded groups and classes and incorporated them both discursively and materially into the national mainstream (Brennan, 1998). So, Perón's justicialist government was successful at linkage with labour unions through corporatist policies. Even though Perón's corporatist policies opened society to previously excluded groups or allied with the working class, workers or unions who did not penetrate into Peronism were excluded or imprisoned. The corporatist policies were a success for the Peronist government but for the unions, it was not because those policies increased the subordination of the labour's demands to the Peronist state.

Actually, the corporatist policies of Perón or facilities controlled the social incorporation of labour and political activation of masses during the urbanization and industrialization period (O'Donnell, 1977). So, Peronism is a regime with a strong corporatism and has a strong incentive to continuously build its membership in order to maintain unionisation (Bensusan, 2016). According to Table 4, among the other countries in the Latin America, Argentina has powerful on the topic of unionisation at the overall rate. The main essence of Perón's corporatism stress on the values of 'order, hierarchy, and discipline.' that shows that the justicialist government acted according to the common corporatist idea of hierarchical order. With the help of other components of the Peronism made the Perón's corporatist policies effective, powerful and long lasting.

### *Populism*

Populism is, in general, a political action that mobilise the population (generally middle class) against government or institutions especially emerged under serious crisis. Also, it is an important component of Peronism's success that must be analysed. Perón's populist discourse was a form of sociopolitical mobilisation of

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<sup>25</sup> Justicialista Party or Partidío Justicialista is a Peronist political party in Argentina, and the largest component of the Peronist movement (<http://pj.org.ar>, 24/05/2017).

subordinated masses, which are manipulated by a charismatic leader with no demagoguery but substance so far (Germani, 1978). With populism, Juan Perón wanted to seek and exercise government power with the support of working class. With the elections, mass demonstrations became an essential instrument to mobilise masses. The Latin American region's economic development experiences were directly linked to the emergence of corporatist authoritarianism and populism (Malloy, 1976). Because the underdevelopments of the middle class (workers) that cannot demand their own interest which populism plays an important role in here. For instance; the masses who supported Perón were the passive and manipulated segments of the society because of the delayed and dependent development and incomplete modernization process (Germani, 1978). The experiences of urbanisation and industrialisation were linked with the emergence of populism. So, Argentina under Perón represented corporatist authoritarianism with populist features. The populist movement of Perón that is a highly personalised movement became an important political force and essential tool for getting the support of labour. The rapid changes in the urbanisation and increase in the industrial labour created the masses that can become a social base for Perón's movement. Moreover populism influenced the rhetoric of Peronism. The populism means that it rejects rhetoric of capitalism and communism that advocated the third way of development (Malloy, 1976). This understanding shaped the rhetoric and features of Peronism.

Perón's Peronism always showed the common characteristic of populism such as;

- (i) The form of charismatic leader the
- (ii) Material benefits to their supporters.
- (iii) Threatening the power of traditional elites<sup>26</sup>
- (iv) Consolidation of national capitalism through supporting ISI growth<sup>27</sup>, which developed the power of the organised labour.

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<sup>26</sup> Peronism represented the people, confronting the 'colonialism and prejudices of the entrenched oligarchy' (Buchrucker, 1998).

<sup>27</sup> Supporting ISI growth with subsidies for industrial production, heavy public spending and investment and import controls.

Generally, populist regimes tried to mobilise the popular base also tried to control the group under the control of state policies and agencies like Perón controlled the labour movement through state agencies. With the help of populist policies, the legitimisation of the working class and labour organisations as a political actor accelerated (Patroni, 2000). This shows clearly that Perón's populism connected with the labour branch and this labour branch controlled by the state under corporatist mechanisms. So Peronism was distinguished by the notable weight of the working class in its popular alliance (Buchruer, 1998). Peron incorporated the subordinate group (labour) to the political process, which is an important inclusionary component of populism. The populist agenda of Perón included excluded segments of society into consumption and politics. Through populism, Perón used the nationalistic rhetoric which is 'descamisados' or 'shirtless ones' to labour in order to get their support and devotion and controlled the organisational structures in order to link the support group into the state structures (Malloy, 1976). The rhetoric of 'descamisados' gave the working class political identity and a voice that Peronism told them who they were. This creation of political identity was based on the social and cultural elements, which made Perón powerful in the political arena.

Among the varieties of populism, Peronism was important due to its enormous and strong trade union component (Di Tella, 1998). Populism that used by Juan Perón, the aim was to create industrial bourgeoisie and getting the support of unions through the manipulation of the workers. Indeed, Perón used workers for his political power; in return workers used the populist discourse for their political goals. It was a 'win-win' situation but mostly 'win' for Perón. Briefly, it was a labour-led populist coalition, which emerged under the discourse of Peronism. This labour-led populism developed because labour movement was ineffective and weak to become a political force in Argentina.

### *Labour*

Among the other Latin American countries, Peronism emerged as a successful movement in Argentina. Especially Perón's relationship with the working class and trade unions tightened well under Peronism. It is mostly because of dependent industrial development, which created popular segments of society demand support from the state by using the means of populism (Di Tella, 2002). The support of the labour is a vital pillar for Peronism's success. There was an increase in the population of the popular segments in Argentina, especially after the Second World War. Due to working class' heterogeneity, this popular segment was not controlled which was seen as a challenge to existing system especially by the military<sup>28</sup>. On the other hand, Peronism used working class' heterogeneity as an advantage to become more supportive to the Peronist movement. The heterogeneity of the Argentine working class came from their level of educational and skills, immigrant status or rural origin. All of these elements affected the working class' integration into political arena. For instance; the level of education and skill of working class differentiate lifestyles within the working class which is crucial for base of Peronist movement. Because high levels of education and skill created more Peronist identity within the working class.

For the Argentine workers, the relationship with Peronism and trade unionism influenced their life and created a major, legitimised option which increased and improved workers' living conditions (Ranis, 1992). One of the keys to Perón's success that he was in Labour Secretariat from 1943 to 1945 which gave Perón the opportunity to enact progressive labour legislation<sup>29</sup>, to enforce existing laws

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<sup>28</sup> According to Juan Carlos Torre, in the end of the Second World War, when the working class was growing enormously as a waves of migrants from the interior of the country poured into the principal cities, especially Buenos Aires. The spectacle of the conglomeration of vast numbers of workers in old and new neighborhoods and growing strength of more radical unions, especially the Communists, disconcerted many Argentines- but none more so than the military (Di Tella, 2002).

<sup>29</sup> Legislation that led the state has a right to recognise unions at all levels and linked those unions and labour federations granted legal recognition by the state (Buchanan, 1985); Decreto 23, 852/ 2 October 1945 (the Ley de Asociaciones Profesionales/ The Law of Professional Associations), Decreto 32, 347 for social coverage.

better to gain labour support (Buchanan, 1985) and Perón was able to meet the demands that unions wanted. Even though the labour organisations was not a new phenomenon in Argentina, when Perón came to power, the number of trade union membership started to increase. It is obvious that Argentine unions changed under Peronism. For instance; there were 969 unions with 529.000 members in 1945, but in 1947 the number of trade unions increased to 1.5 million and in 1951 increased to 3.0 million (Munck; Falcón; Galitelli,1986). This position provided him a staff that had well-established contacts with union and unsurpassed knowledge of their needs and desires (Horowitz, 1999). With the legislations, Perón started to improve workers' conditions<sup>30</sup>. For instance; the real wages of the workers started to increase by 20 per cent by 1945 (Hedges, 2011). Also Perón made employers bargain with the unions which were recognised by the government and intervened on the workers' behalf<sup>31</sup> when the bargaining went bad (McGuire, 1997). So, the state became the negotiator between the labour and employers. Perón encouraged the trade organisations which were forbidden or discouraged by the previous governments. The rise of unionism affected the workers' conditions such as; in 1944, 421 agreements signed with trade unions which offered paid holidays, pay increases, collective contracts and job stability (Hedges, 2011). All of these legislations increased the power of unions<sup>32</sup> that led to the 'Peronisation' of the labour movement. All of these memberships increased the Peronist identity.

With the rising power of Perón, the anti-Peronist military tried to overthrow Perón in October 1945. This date of October 17 1945, is really crucial and associated with the Peronism that shows how workers mobilised with the aim of forcing the military to free Perón and to respect the social benefits granted by him (Plotkin,

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<sup>30</sup> Such as; restricted the conditions that workers can be fired, shortening the working days in specific industries, labour courts and provide accident compensation pay. In 1942 workers won only 10 percent of strikes and compromised in more than 80 percent; by 1945, they were winning 95 percent of the time (Kentworthy, cited in McGuire 1997).

<sup>31</sup> Meat Packers' strike in 1943 in which Perón intervened on the workers' behalf and forced a favorable settlement according to workers' and unions' demands. This strike was a turning point for both Peronism and labour in Argentina.

<sup>32</sup> Able to organize, centralized union structure.

2002). This is the day that strong link between Perón and labour was represented, and it's kind of a symbolic date that Peronism was born. It is important to understand that this kind of support of labour for Perón could be based on realpolitik (Torre). Briefly, in order to gain power, Perón needed the workers' support, and workers needed Perón for meeting their demands. With the Peronism, the workers achieved a sense of 'freedom' which was impossible before the establishment of the nationalist-populist regime (Germani). And Perón's increasing popularity came from Argentine workers whose living standards and political identity increased under Perón administration.

With the Perón's presidency, Perón still continued to gain the support of labour through state agencies<sup>33</sup>. Between 1945-1955, the Peronist government increased the wages of workers through pressure on the employers. Under the Peronist movement, the working class in Argentina became powerful and found a voice that ultimately transformed it into one of the major players in the country's volatile political and economic life (Torre, 1990), and Perón controlled the organised unions from above thanks to state agencies. Under the World War II circumstances<sup>34</sup>, the working class in Argentina will manage to be a major player in the political arena. Due to increase in the industrial labour sector, this development increased the effectiveness of trade unions movement. Juan Perón was just a leader who was the first leader that noticed the workers as main players in the political life/community and seen as a major contributor to the nation. And drew strength from processes going on in Argentine society, and in turn it affected those processes. (Hedges, 2011). Through the Perón's presidency, organised labour increased enormously from 877,000 to 2,300,000 (Ranis, 1992). One of the reasons of political appeal of Peronism to workers was that the demands of the workers were recognised mostly under the Perón's government. The developments under the Perón's Peronism gain the support of labour and created

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<sup>33</sup> Perón's view for state agencies: 'the Justicialista state defends union organisations, and these sustain the Justicialista state.'

<sup>34</sup> Argentina became industrialised economy by the mid-1940s in which rate of industrial workers increased from 435,816 to 1,056,673 and grew by 81 percent (James, 1988).

an inseparable bond between the Perón and labour in Argentina. One of the reasons that Perón's interest in labour was that the industrial labour unions are really crucial for political power. That's why; Perón and his colleagues in the GOU were concerned with preventing a workers' revolution and preventing the communist labour leaders win the control of these unions (McGuire, 1997).

One of the reasons of the Original Peronism's success was economic crisis in the 1940s. Perón's support came from mostly outside of Buenos Aires because of several economic programs and social benefits to help the lower strata. This support was mostly rural strata, wage labour, migrant workers and farmers. The agricultural wages under Perón started to increase which helped Perón to consolidate his power among workers.

The support of first Peronist government was not strong associated with any type of group but it was generally widespread (Wellhofer, 1977). The economic policies and social benefits helped the movement to gain support from rural strata but not from the urban industrial working class.

Throughout the Perón's presidency, the unions became much more powerful and strengthened. So, unions' power and strength come from their ability to bargain collectively, and the scope of the right to strike. Argentina's union power has always been the strongest, thanks to Perón's legacy, among the other countries in Latin America (Table 4).

**Table 4 Strength of Unions**

<b>Index</b>	<b>Argentina</b>	<b>Brazil</b>	<b>Chile</b>	<b>Mexico</b>
<b>Union Power</b>	0.60	0.80	0.60	1.00
<b>Collective autonomy</b>	0.67	0.50	0.83	0.5
<b>Internal democracy</b>	0.75	1.00	1.00	0.25
<b>Scope of right to strike</b>	0.42	0.33	0.33	0.50

Index	Argentina	Brazil	Chile	Mexico
Union representatives at the shop floor level	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
<b>Total (1-5)</b>	<b>3.44*</b>	2.63	2.76	2.25

Source: Graciela Bensusan, 2015

At the same time, Perón destroyed the independence of labour movement through requiring unions to acquire government recognition and forced the employers not to bargain with the legacy of Perón even after his fall was that trade union movement which labours continued to defend their achievements. The resilience and impact of Peronism came from the labour movement. One of the reason of the survival of the Peronism was that workers that no one could win the support of organised labour. Because of the trade unions' power, all the significant parties tried to appeal to the trade union movement but failed (Ranis, 1992). The labour union has always been the backbone of the Peronism which helped it to last. And the labour mobilisation was the key components of Peronist movement.

#### **2.4. Conclusion**

In order to analyse Peronism and its relationship with the right-wing, the role of international capital, corporatism, populism, and labour must be looked. All of these elements affected the relationship between Peronism and right-wing and overall process. The well-rounded features of Peronism and the current political and economic trends shaped the policies and discourse of Peronism. In a roundabout way, the relationship between Peronism and right-wing shaped according to features and discourse of Peronism.

Analysing the Peronism and right-wing in Argentina shows that the main features of Peronism, how changing conditions of politics and economy changed the original discourse of Peronism over time. Also, it shows that how this contradictory relationship of Peronism and right-wing affected the overall process. The corporatism, populism, labour and the role of the international capital will be

the main elements to analyse the change in the Peronism, its relationship, and interaction with the right-wing in Argentina. Analysing the Peronism and right-wing in the framework of these elements which is mentioned above shows that how changing political and economic factors shaped the features and the discourse of Peronism and indeed, its relationship with the right wing.

## **CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL RIGHT IN ARGENTINA AND PERONISM**

### **4.1. Argentine Political Right and Peronism**

Many political parties labeled as an right-wing in Argentina which is all about the definition of 'right'. The political right has always been an important actor in the Argentine's politics but the political right was weak. The weakness of the right in Argentina comes from its inability to face and challenge the rising of power of populism and its relations with the Peronism. The rise of populism changed the features of Argentine politics and produced new political cleavage which replaced the place of traditional left and right in Argentina (Morresi and Vommaro, 2014). Moreover, the rise of populism and Peronism created a difficult position for right-wing parties in order to win the election successfully for a long time in the political history of Argentina.

It is important to analyse the political right in Argentina as a plurality of voices with objectives and strategies that change constantly (Morressi, 2012) and its relationship with the Peronism in order to understand the recent victory of right-wing in Argentina. The relationship between right-wing and Peronism is crucial because Peronism did change the political identities in Argentina. Analysing the relationship between right-wing and Peronism is an essential way to understand the contemporary political right in Argentina. Because, the rise of Peronism and the new cleavage excluded the traditional left and right division both and which persists today (Ostiguy, 2009). Peronism, especially under Perón, has/ had a tendency towards both wings. It is not easy to define Peronism as a right-wing

party or left-wing party. That's why; there was no room for the right-wing's political activities.

Even though the Peronism movement was built upon opposing the mostly liberal and conservative sector, the movement has a tendency towards right-wing such as; the formation of a 'Christian order'<sup>35</sup> for harmony between classes (Morressi, 2012). The social policies of Peronist government undermined the political Right's ability to create a mass party. The penetration of Peronism into every area of life in Argentina excluded the right-wing from the political arena. That's why; the right wing tended to come to power through non-electoral ways<sup>36</sup> because the chances to come to power through elections reduced dramatically and became the strong opposition to stop Perón and his movement. The project of the political right in Argentina succeeded through military coups from 1955 to 1983. Starting from 1955 with the military coup and the overthrown of Perón, the power of the political right in Argentina started to increase. The main aim of this project was to end the rising power of Perón's legacy of populism. And the military dictatorship with the support of federalists<sup>37</sup>, liberals, and the other supporters looked to rebound the Republic (Palermo and Novaro, 2003).

Even in the Peronist movement, the right-wing side of the Peronist unions acted together with the other right-wing actors to prevent the growth of Peronist-left and populist legacy. There were four right wing actors on the rise after the military coup and the exile of Perón;

- (i) Liberals,
- (ii) Federalists,
- (iii) Nationalists

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<sup>35</sup> The endorsement of the religion and the affirmation of the Christian basis of 'Justicialismo' are about consolidating the Peronist movement (Burdick, 1995).

<sup>36</sup> The way that Argentine right applied was that accessing the power directly by inserting liberal and conservative political figures inside the military (Moressi and Vommaro, 2014), which led to face Argentina severe military coups between 1955 to 1983.

<sup>37</sup> Federalists in Argentina advocated local political control and saw foreign competition and free trade as a threat to economic interest, and emerge as a broad-based group, including local merchants. Moreover, Federalists wanted to maintain the power of the Church as an social control (Hingson, 2017).

(iv) Right-wing Peronist trade unions

All of them acted together with anti-leftist features until the military coup in 1976. So, the right-wing tried to unify the diverse right actors in order to gain power. Even in the Peronist movement, there was fragmentation among the movement in order to prevent the growth of leftist forces and populist legacy. Actually, this fragmentation shows that the classic discourse of Peronist movement did not penetrate into every segment of Peronist supporters.

The project of political right under the military dictatorship collapsed in starting from 1980, especially after the Argentine invasion of Falklands-Malvinas Island<sup>38</sup>. The outcome of this war is junta's political failure which created protests against the military government. Even though this war created a strong and patriotic sentiment in Argentina, this did not stop to unrest against the ruling military government.

With the democratization process starting from 1983 and with the election of Raúl Alfonsín<sup>39</sup>, both Peronist movement and right-wing went under some changes. With the democratisation process and collapse of the junta, Peronism re-emerged and became a mass organisation. Under the name of Peronism did transform itself but continued to be an important political actor in Argentina.

Normally, the Peronist movement had a rigid hierarchy and loyalty to one's superiors which started to change and absorb sectors with strong corporative organisations such as; unions (Romero, 1994). Moreover, the changes in the Peronism offered to adapt to new democratic context while protecting traditional Peronist discourse. Absorbing sectors with unions and adapting new democratic context made Peronism more viable and more powerful in this conjuncture. Because, Peronism could become an alternative power between left and right-wing, again.

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<sup>38</sup> The war between Argentina and the United Kingdom over British overseas territories last ten-week.

<sup>39</sup> President of Argentina from 1983 to 1989 and his party was Radical Civic Union (UCR); center left.

Under these circumstances, the right-wing's liberals founded a new party which is called 'the Union of the Democratic Centre (UCeDe)' from in 1982. One of the key points of this party for the political right in Argentina was that the party's political agenda was same as the former military regime which consolidated the power of UCeDe. But the main aim of this party advocated the free market, that's why; the party criticized the military being less liberal in the economy. And benefits from the upsurge in orthodox liberal ideas (Romero, 1994). The success of UCeDe came from later on<sup>40</sup>. Because, under the Alfonsín government, there were a political fragmentation and heterogeneity which expedited the neoliberal process and made this process appeal to young. The success of UCeDe after 1987 came from the entrance of a growing number of young constituents (Moressi and Vommaro, 2014). The success of UCeDe, allowed the party to hegemonize the right-wing and became a third political force in Argentina which holds a neoliberal agenda at that time and could mediate between Radicals and Peronists (Gibson, 1996).

The changes in the Peronist movement were successful and in 1989 Carlos Saúl Menem became president and defeat both Radicals and UceDe. Even though UCeDe was a successful and powerful party in the elections, did not turn into a breaking point of Argentine politics. Because, there was an ideological shift of Menem who adopted, implemented neoliberal agenda and move away from the old and populist political style of Peronism. There is a different kind of version of populism and the movement became 'neo-populist'<sup>41</sup> under Menem. The neo-populism of Menem was to gain mass support to enact market reforms. Carlos Menem did gain the mass support from the Peronist movement while undoing the socio-economic project of traditional Peronism (Weyland, 2001). So Menem did use the Peronist identity to gain support. With the Carlos Menem, the Peronist

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<sup>40</sup> In 1983 election, UCeDe obtained 0.17% of votes and two seats in the National Congress (Fraga and Malacrida, 1990).

<sup>41</sup> Neopopulism had a clearly anti-organizational bent as personalistic leaders garnered plebiscitarian support in societies where some organizations already existed and organizational loyalties therefore made some sectors of the population less susceptible to new populist mobilization which was emerged after 1980s (Weyland 2001, 2003).

government dismantled the statist economic model which was in the place since Juan Perón (Levitsky, 2001). The Menem's administration did carry same neoliberal agenda as UCeDe (Moressi and Vommaro, 2014). These changes in the Peronist movement lead to an electoral decline of UCeDe and voters UCeDe started to believe that Peronism made democracy as a viable option. Menem administration enacted the series number of neoliberal reform that included massive privatisation including social security system, deregulation of labour market and financial liberalisation.

Even though there was a deregulation of the labour market, labour movement maintained its power and its position in the political arena. So that labour movement stayed an essential actor of Peronism. All of these reforms showed that Menem's version of Peronism move away from original Peronism and is much more like neoliberal conservative-right. The rightist tendency of Menem version incorporated the right-wing parties into Peronism. This kind of right-wing tendency was about the supremacy of the market over the state as the regulatory principle of social relations (Espinal, 1992). And the changing conditions of economics led Peronism to move away from nationalisation process and insert international capital in the Argentine market which made the role of international capital effective and powerful again.

Carrying same neoliberal agenda, attracting the voters of UCeDe led Argentine right into Peronist movement. The Menem period is an essential period for the Argentine political right. Because, Argentine right became, sort of, part of the Peronist path. It is kind of revolutionary change for the Argentine right whose the main feature had always been its rejections of Peronism (Moressi, 2012). After all, the integration of Argentine right into Peronism lasted until 1997. The fragmentation started within the Peronist movement such as; Domingo Cavallo who was Menem's former economy minister founded a party which is called 'Acción por la Republica'.

AR's main aim was that becoming a new UCeDe which carried same neoliberal agenda of UCeDe and Menem. But Cavallo blamed the Peronist government for corruption (Cavallo, 1997). With the powerful agenda and discourse, AR became,

immediately, the Argentine party which evoked the idea that Argentine right would not be the part of any major parties again like UCeDe. However, this was not the case, because Cavallo did join the Alianza-Alliance <sup>42</sup> and won the presidency in 1999. But the importance of the AR and Alianza was that accused of the crisis in 2001. That's why; the legitimacy of Argentine right decreased sharply. Even though the crisis of 2001 had a bad effect on the Argentine right, this changed the context for PRO party.

### **32 Contemporary Argentinian Political Right and Peronism: the PRO case**

For contemporary political right in Argentina, there are some milestones that shaped the future of it such as; Menem's neoliberal policies, Alianza government, and 2001 crisis. Those neoliberal policies incorporated the Argentine Right into Peronism and the Alianza government made the rightist ideas delegitimised for Argentine society (Moressi and Vommaro, 2014) due to 2001 crisis. With the 2001 crisis, the situation of the Argentine right was in serious danger and doomed to fail due to inefficient rightist ideas on economic issues.

The doomed situation of Argentine Right did not turn into a fail, on the contrary, it created an opportunity for Believe and Grow Foundation which was founded by Peronist Francisco de Nervaez and headed by Mauricio Macri who became an important actor for the Argentine Right. The 2001 crisis created political and social fragmentation among the society because of deep economic troubles which encourage strengthening the political party<sup>43</sup> of right-wing.

The economic crisis turned into an absolute advantage for Mauricio Macri<sup>44</sup> and PRO party. The framework and juncture of 2001 crisis helped to create a new and strong party for the right-wing. Under these circumstances, PRO tried to establish

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<sup>42</sup> An electoral front by the UCR which was a social-liberal political party which was founded in 1891 and FREPASO was a political party which was founded by the progressive members of Peronist Party to denounce the policies of Menem administration in 1994.

<sup>43</sup> Firstly; this party was called 'Commitment for Change (CPC) and then become Propuesta Republicana (PRO).

<sup>44</sup> He came from the corporate world (SOCMA enterprises) and was the heir of largest of fortunes in Argentina.

a newly-developed perception in the political arena; new party and new politics<sup>45</sup>. It was a successful attempt among the strong traditional parties like Peronist party-PJ. That's why; Macri and PRO party tried to create a close link with Peronism for gaining autonomy and attract militant leader from PJ to this new party. The aim of this party was changing the manner of politics in Argentina while keeping the contents of the politics.

PRO Party presented itself as a 'new party' and 'new politics' in order to combine people from PJ, UCR, and other right-wing parties. But, the PRO was seen as adopting Peronist approach even though it was a rightist party. For instance; PRO rejected both left and right traditional cleavage as Peronism did. Obviously, the PRO differs from old and traditional Argentine right wing parties. The PRO was not an Anti-Peronist as traditional right-wing parties which helped the PRO gain possible voters from the Peronist party. Mauricio Macri and the PRO showed sympathy towards Nestor Kirschner's government which was a populist Peronist center left. And the PRO focused on more neat management approach to public administration and post-material values (Moressi and Vommaro, 2014), but it was a completely right-wing party on the issues of cultural such as; abortion and foreign immigration. As it is seen in Table 5, the PRO Party did not adopt Peronist discourse completely. Because the issues such as; power of unions or public health or education wanted to diminish or reject in the PRO Party. In brief, the PRO is not completely like Peronist movement. The PRO Party's ideology was culturally conservative, market-oriented, and socially restrictive. In brief, the PRO party modified its discourse and agenda to recent political and economic conditions.

Actually, the PRO was like Peronism, it involves different factions within the party like Peronism. Also, PRO's main political discourse was that not only appealing traditional right voters but also to all the middle class, especially to

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<sup>45</sup> The new as a formation of young people that enters in politics for the first time and thus is not yet co-opted by the traditional politician's practices (Moressi, 2012).

those that had become outraged by the political elites (Moressi and Vommaro, 2014).

**Table 5 Position of the PRO Cadres**

<b>Issues</b>	<b>Accepted (%)</b>	<b>Rejected (%)</b>
<b>Legalising the Abortion</b>		58
<b>Strick regulation of foreign immigration</b>	77	-
<b>Power of unions</b>	-	60
<b>Government intervention</b>	77	-
<b>Public health and education</b>	-	62
<b>Market as mechanism of distribution</b>	58	-

Source: Collier, 1991

This is kind of Peronism’s populist discourse in 1940’s to gain supporters, especially from a more vulnerable group which was labour. Actually, the PRO used the populist political appeal of Peronism to become influential among the middle class. Once you have the support of labour, you become powerful in the political arena. That’s why; the PRO party does not fit into the classic definition of ‘right’ which was defined by the belief that the main inequalities between people are natural and outside the purview of the State (Luna and Kaltwasser, 2014). The PRO party consist mixed ideology and heterogeneity of the party such as; people from the right faction, NGO faction, business faction, radical faction

and Peronist faction<sup>46</sup> acted differently but became one. This uniqueness created strong and successful right-wing party and became powerful opposition to Peronist party (PJ).

The PRO party established a relationship between the right and populism like Peronism. One of the examples for this; the PRO showed the importance of transportation issues like improving transportation, especially in the middle-class areas. So that PRO used the almost same populist discourse of Peronism about transportation to gain supporters. But the changes in the Kirchner's Peronist movement (FPV party), the victory of PRO postponed. Because FPV did succeed to hold its traditional base of support which was working class and labour unions. And establishing a free market and the wanting a close relationship with US allows to secure Peronist Party's position.

### **33. Conclusion**

To sum up, the Argentine right was unable and weak to deal with populist discourse and forces of Peronism. Because Peronism used strong populist and corporatist discourse in order to win the support of labour unions. Due to strong corporatist and populist discourse of Peronism, the traditional right-wing forces stayed weak against the Peronist movement. Even though 2001 crisis delegitimised the right-wing ideas The Propuesta Republicana or Republican Proposal (PRO) used this opportunity and presented itself as a new party.

The shift in the Peronist discourse under Menem government had an important effect on the political right. Menem did adopt Peronist discourse in order to implement neoliberal policies. So that Menem did leave the old traditional discourse of populism and transform this discourse into a brand new discourse which was neo-populism. That's why; populism is a political strategy for Menem to enact neoliberal reforms which were alienated to Peronist tradition and created division in the Peronist tradition.

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<sup>46</sup> Right faction; federalistas parties (Partido Demócrata), liberales parties (AR), conservative minor parties (Partido Nacionalist Constitucional) and UCeDe. Radical faction includes individuals and minor groups from UCR and Alianza.

On the other hand, the heterogeneity of the PRO helped to be competitive and powerful against Peronism. It incorporated the elements of right-wing, Peronism, other leaders from popular Argentine parties such as; UCR and NGOs. That's why; The PRO was seen as a new hope for the Argentine political right, and people started to see this party as an alternative to Peronism in terms of incorporating different factions within the party. Through incorporating elements, the party maintains and enlarges its success.

## CONCLUSIONS

This thesis aimed at investigating the Peronism and contemporary Argentinian political right through tracing the meaning of Peronism which affected the current political arena in Argentina, and its relationship with the Argentine political right. In order to provide an answer for this thesis, the role international capital, the importance of corporatism have been examined for understanding the relationship between Peronism and Argentine Political Right.

The Peronist movement has always been an important and an influential actor in Argentina since 1940's, which shaped the future of Argentine politics and economy. The Peronist movement consists of different actors and mixed ideology that made the movement strong and powerful. Peronism is a social and political movement that is based on the discourse of social justice. There are two elements that important for the Peronist discourse which was nationalist rhetoric and importance of workers. One of the reasons of survival of Peronism until today was that the social and organisational roots in working class and lower class society (Levitsky, 2001).

The populist and corporatist feature of Peronism is an important element for creating a political identity of working class. The corporatism was really powerful and a key characteristic of Peronism. Peronism did consist of corporatist features in the movement which created a social solidarity among the masses. The corporatist features helped Peronism to gain the support of the working class. Peronism used corporatism to integrate the masses and create autonomy of the state. With all of these elements, Peronism became Argentina's dominant political movement. Indeed, the movement has a party but it is much more like a brand which incorporated different aspects of politics and consisted of different emotions and practices.

Through the time, Peronism evolved by using different discourses to attract voters and there were ideological shifts. It also means that Peronism has been increasingly fragmented within itself. For instance; Original Peronism emphasised the idea of being a mediator between the labour unions and employers. The labour

unions created a linkage between Peronism and urban working and lower classes. It means that labour unions was one of the key element of Peronism which mobilised supporters and served as channels for the distribution of social welfare (Levitsky, 2003). So, corporatism is the key point for Peronism that attract the voters. This discourse changed under Carlos Menem in 1990s that pursued different discourse which was neoliberal policies. Those policies opened up the economy, privatising the state companies, which is against the original Peronist policies. It means that the role of international capital became an important component of Menem's version of Peronism. And these neoliberal policies changed the direction of Peronism, political right, and their relationship.

Especially under the Kirshners government, Peronism turned to economics nationalism, autarky<sup>47</sup> and welfare benefits which were cut by the 2001 crisis. It was centre-left populist which support the labour, intervene the economy through regulations and nationalisation. It was kind of Original Peronism but the problem for Peronism under Kirshners was that they ignored the economic obstacles in order to strengthen their political power. With the economic deterioration and ideological shift in the Peronist movement, the political right in Argentina became more powerful in the political arena. It means that Peronism is an ever-changing and self-contradictory movement that is questioned by the Argentine people about its functioning capacity in both political and economic arena. Peronism has gone through many ideological components which was; populism, corporatism, unionism, neoliberalism and neo-populism. It means that Peronism did extent its political spectrum from Left to Right, as the 1970 or mid 1980's, Centre-Left, Centre, Centre-Right and far-Right (Ostiguy, 1997). Even there was a conflict between Peronist-Left and Right. With the 90's, Peronist political spectrum stretched out the neoliberal conservative right and with the 2000s, it shifted to more leftist rhetoric. In brief, Peronism is not an ideology; it is a brand that collects different types of ideologies. It adapts itself according to its political-economical habitat and environment. This feature of Peronism is both advantage

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<sup>47</sup> It refers to economic self-sufficiency.

and disadvantage. It is an advantage because there is always Peronism in the political arena whether it is in power or not. But it is a disadvantage because there is not one single definition of Peronism which can confuse the voters' mind and there can be misconceptualisation.

Even though well-rounded features of Peronism created a disadvantage for political right in Argentina, the one party, PRO, turned this disadvantageous position into its advantage. The conditions of 2001 crisis made the PRO much more powerful party. After twelve years of Kirshners' administration, with the effect of economic deterioration and 2008 global economic crisis, there was a discontent among the public and labour. This discontent questioned the sustainability of Peronism. That's why; Kirshner lost to Macri's party. So that the success of Right's leading party of PRO, whom promise to closer relations with the US, better economy and strengthen institutions, became inevitable under these conditions.

As a result of these findings, any attempt to describe Peronism in one definition would be deficient. It is an ever-changing movement whose nature is based on its capacity to adapt to the political and social environment. So, Peronism did have a contradictory nature that shapes its current discourse. Its discourse did not stay the same like in the 1940s. The original Peronism did consist of corporatist and populist features which changed in Menem administration in the 1990s. And it became more conservative and neo-populist. With the 2000s, its discourse turned into its old roots. The changing features of Peronism did affect its relations with the political right in Argentina. So it can be said that 2001 national crisis was a bit more influential than 2008 global economic crisis.

Moreover, the change was not only in the Peronism, the right-wing in Argentina changed significantly over time. The success of the PRO party in Argentina is based on transforming the political identity and the capacity of its leader to promote political organisations and forming successful component to challenge populist forces. Also, some economic downturns created a structural opportunity for PRO in Argentina. The concept of 'newness' which is about giving a positive,

messages, avoiding from mainstream and significant content is an essential component of the PRO party to challenge Peronism and gave a hope to people.

On the other hand, the defeat of Peronism to the political right does not mean that Peronism or its party is wiped away from the political arena. But this change shows that Peronism needs to change again to win the support of the masses. Actually, the Right's leading party of PRO acted like, sort of, what Peronism should act. These actions were uniting the people who want to change including social democrats, centre-right Republican proposal and the liberal Civic Coalition, promoted itself as a new party and enjoying broad support including business and young people, activist, and people who never involved in politics before. It was kind of what Juan Perón did in the 1940s.

Finally, Peronism is an important political and social movement in Argentina which changed the political trajectory of Argentina. The essence of Peronism is based on its national and populist discourse which incorporated popular sectors which was working class successfully into political arena of Argentina. The crucial point of this movement is that it has evolved and diversified (Rossi, 2013). The main elements of Peronism is that corporatism, economic nationalism, populist discourse and incorporation of labour or vulnerable segments of the society into political arena. So that Peronism is based on the mixture of nationalism, labour policies, social justice and social security policies which is based on three pillars; economic independence, political sovereignty and social justice. However these elements of Peronism have evolved through time in order to fit to both political and economic environment. For instance; in the original Peronism in 1940s, Peronism's aim was more focused on the export market, labour policies and women's vote. But in the beginning of 1990's, Peronism started to implement policies under the neoliberal market principles which changed the structure and dynamics of the society. So, it means that Peronist policies were dependent on the structural changes of the country. Because of its changing features and diverse groups of its movement, Peronism never fit exactly on the left, right nor centre. Moreover, Original Peronism was based on a loose

coalition which attracted the support from all classes and segment of the society (Wellhofer, 1997).

The PRO party contains some of the elements of Peronism which was that attracting different types of groups, classes and ideas. But, mostly Peronism and the PRO party differed on the issues of nationalisation of companies, state capitalism, elimination of foreign investments. On the contrary, the PRO party advocates the foreign investment, less state intervention on the economy. The only thing that Peronism and the PRO party are similarly is that they both have mixed ideologies. In brief, the PRO party did not consist of all elements of Peronism and all of the elements of Peronism did not valid today in PRO.

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## **APPENDIX**

### **Appendix 1: Juan Perón's Congress Speech in 1948:**

“ Peronism is humanism in action; Peronism is a new political doctrine, which rejects all the ills of the politics of previous times; in the social sphere it is a theory which establishes a little equality among men... capitalist exploitation should be replaced by a doctrine of social economy under which the distribution of our wealth, which we force the earth to yield up to us and which furthermore we are elaborating, may be shared out fairly among all those who have contributed by their efforts to amass it.”

### **Appendix 2: The Twenty Fundamental Truths of Justicialism:**

1. True democracy is one where the government does what the people want and defends only one interest: THE PEOPLE.
2. Peronism is popular in its essence. All political circles are anti-popular and for this reason are not Peronist.
3. The Peronist works for the Movement. Whoever in its name serves a circle or a caudillo is one only in name.
4. For Peronism there exists only one class of men: workers.
5. In the new Argentina work is a right that creates human dignity and is a duty, for it is right that everyone produce at least what he consumes.
6. For a good Peronist there can be nothing better than another Peronist.
7. No Peronist should feel himself be more than he is, or less than he should be. When a Peronist begins to feel himself to be more than he is he begins to convert himself into an oligarch.
8. In political action the scale of values of every Peronist is the following: first the Fatherland, then the Movement, and the Men.
9. For us politics are not an ends, rather only a means for the good of the Fatherland, which is the happiness of its children and national greatness.
10. The two arms of Peronism are Social Justice and Social Assistance. With them we embrace the people in Justice and Love.

11. Peronism wants national unity and not struggle. It wants heroes and not martyrs.
12. In the new Argentina children are the only privileged ones.
13. A government without a doctrine is a body without a soul. For this reason Peronism has its own political, economic, and social doctrine, which is Justicialism.
14. Justicialism is a new philosophy of life that is simple, practical, popular, profoundly Christian, and profoundly popular.
15. As a political doctrine Justicialism realises the social economy, placing capital at the service of the economy and the latter at the service of social well-being.
16. As economic doctrine Justicialism realises the equilibrium between the rights of the individual and those of the community.
17. As a social doctrine Justicialism realises social justice, which gives every person their right to a social function.
18. We want a socially just, economically free, and politically sovereign Argentina.
19. We constitute a centralised government, an organised state, and a free people.
20. The best we have on this earth is the People.

Source: Guiodo Indij, Perón Mediante, Buenos Aires, La Marca Editora, 2006

### **Appendix 3: Unicato Presidential Administration in Argentina**

- Julio Argentino Roca (1880- 1886)
- Miguel Juárez Celman (1886-1890)
- Carlos Pellegrini (1890-1892)
- Manuel Quintana (1904-1906)
- Jose Figueroa Alcorta (1906-1910)

### **Appendix 4: Angus Maddison's historical database from 1900 to 1955**

<b>Argentina 1900-1955</b>	<b>GDP (1990 Int. GK\$)</b>	<b>GDP Per capita (1990 Int. GK\$)</b>
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<b>1900</b>	12.932	2.756
<b>1901</b>	14.036	2.880
<b>1902</b>	13.746	2.717
<b>1903</b>	15.722	2.992
<b>1904</b>	17.407	3.191
<b>1905</b>	19.703	3.479
<b>1906</b>	20.691	3.518
<b>1907</b>	21.127	3.459
<b>1908</b>	23.190	3.657
<b>1909</b>	24.353	3.699
<b>1910</b>	26.125	3.822
<b>1911</b>	26.590	3.746
<b>1912</b>	28.770	3.904
<b>1913</b>	29.060	3.797
<b>1914</b>	26.038	3.302
<b>1915</b>	26.183	3.244
<b>1916</b>	25.428	3.091
<b>1917</b>	23.364	2.790
<b>1918</b>	27.665	3.248
<b>1919</b>	28.683	3.307
<b>1920</b>	30.775	3.473
<b>1921</b>	31.559	3.471
<b>1922</b>	34.059	3.636
<b>1923</b>	37.837	3.898
<b>1924</b>	40.772	4.055
<b>1925</b>	40.597	3.919
<b>1926</b>	42.544	3.994
<b>1927</b>	45.567	4.156
<b>1928</b>	48.414	4.291
<b>1929</b>	50.623	4.367
<b>1930</b>	48.531	4.080
<b>1931</b>	45.160	3.712
<b>1932</b>	43.678	3.522
<b>1933</b>	45.712	3.621
<b>1934</b>	49.344	3.845
<b>1935</b>	51.524	3.950
<b>1936</b>	51.873	3.912
<b>1937</b>	55.650	4.125
<b>1938</b>	55.883	4.072
<b>1939</b>	58.004	4.148
<b>1940</b>	58.963	4.161
<b>1941</b>	61.986	4.304
<b>1942</b>	62.712	4.284
<b>1943</b>	62.218	4.182

<b>1944</b>	69.280	4.579
<b>1945</b>	67.042	4.356
<b>1946</b>	73.029	4.665
<b>1947</b>	81.136	5.089
<b>1948</b>	85.641	5.252
<b>1949</b>	84.478	5.047
<b>1950</b>	85.524	4.987
<b>1951</b>	88.866	5.073
<b>1952</b>	84.333	4.717
<b>1953</b>	88.866	4.874
<b>1954</b>	92.528	4.980
<b>1955</b>	99.125	5.237

#### **Appendix 5: Chronology of Presidents of Argentina**

- Hipólito Yrigoyen 1916-1922
- Marcelo Torquato de Alvear 1922-1928
- Hipólito Yrigoyen 1928-1929
- José Félix Uriburu 1930-1932
- Agustín Pedro Justo 1932-1938
- Roberto María Ortiz 1938-1942
- Ramón Castillo 1942-1943
- Pedro Pablo Ramírez 1943-1944
- Edelmiro Julián Farrell 1944-1946
- Juan Domingo Perón 1946-1952 Laborista (Labour) Party
- Juan Domingo Perón 1952-1955 Justicialista Party (PJ)
- Pedro Eugenio Aramburu 1955-1958
- Arturo Frondizi 1958-1962
- José María Guido 1962-1963
- Arturo Umberto Illia 1963-1966

- Juan Carlos Onganía 1966-1970, Military
- Roberto M. Levingston 1970-1971, Military
- Alejandro A. Lanusse 1971-1973, Military
- Juan Domingo Perón 1973-1974, PJ
- Isabel Martínez de Perón 1974-1976 PJ
- Jorge Rafael Videla, Emilio Eduardo Massera, Orlando Ramón Agosti 1976-1981, Military
- Leopoldo Galtieri 1981-1982, Military
- Reynaldo Bignone 1982-1983, Military
- Raúl Alfonsín 1983-1989, UCR
- Carlos Menem 1989-1995, PJ
- Carlos Menem 1995-1999, PJ
- Fernando de la Rúa 1999-2001, UCR
- Eduardo Camano 2001-2002, PJ
- Eduardo Duhalde 2002-2003, PJ
- Nestor Kirchner 2003-2007, PJ
- Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner 2007-2011, PJ
- Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner 2011-2015, PJ
- Mauricio Macri 2015- , PRO

#### **Appendix 6: Biography of Eva Perón**

Eva Perón was the second wife and political partner of President Juan Perón (1895–1974) of Argentina. An important political figure in her own right, she was known for her campaign for female suffrage (the right to vote), her support of

organized labor groups, and her organisation of a vast social welfare program that benefited and gained the support of the lower classes. The youngest of five children of Juan Duarte and Juana Ibarguren, María Eva Duarte was born on May 7, 1919, in the little village of Los Toldos in Buenos Aires province, Argentina. Following the death of her father, the family moved to the larger nearby town of Junín, where her mother ran a boarding house. At the age of sixteen, Evita, as she was often called, left high school after two years and went to Buenos Aires with the dream of becoming an actress. Lacking any training in the theatre, she obtained a few small parts in motion pictures and on the radio. She was finally employed on a regular basis with one of the largest radio stations in Buenos Aires making 150 pesos every month. Her pay had increased to five thousand pesos every month by 1943 and jumped to thirty-five thousand pesos per month in 1944. In 1943 Eva met Colonel Juan Perón, who had assumed the post of secretary of labor and social welfare in the military government that had recently come to power. Eva developed a close relationship with the widowed Perón, who was beginning to organise the Argentine workers in support of his own bid for the presidency. Becoming Perón's loyal political confidante (one with whom secrets are trusted) and partner, she helped him increase his support among the masses. In October 1945, after Perón was arrested and put in prison by a group of military men who did not support him, she helped to organise a mass demonstration that led to his release. A few days later, on October 21, 1945, Eva and Juan Perón were married. Now politically stronger than ever, Perón became the government candidate in the February 1946 presidential election. Señora de Perón participated actively in the campaign, something no Argentine woman had ever done. She directed her appeal to the less privileged groups of Argentine society, whom she labeled "los descamisados" (the shirtless ones).

Following Perón's election, Eva began to play an increasingly important role in the political affairs of the nation. During the early months of the Perón administration she launched an active campaign for national women's suffrage, which had been one of Perón's campaign promises. Due largely to her efforts,

suffrage for women became law in 1947, and in 1951 women voted for the first time in a national election.

Eva also assumed the task of gathering the support of the working classes and controlling organised labor groups. Taking over a suite of offices in the Secretariate of Labor, Perón's former centre of power, she used her influence to hire and fire ministers and top officials of the General Confederation of Labor, the chief labor organisation in Argentina. Although not given the official title, she acted as the secretary of labor, supporting workers' demands for higher wages and backing a number of social welfare measures.

Eva came from a lower-class background; she identified with the members of the working classes and was strongly committed to improving their lives. She devoted several hours every day to meeting with poor people and visiting hospitals, orphanages, and factories. She also supervised the newly created Ministry of Health, which built many new hospitals and established a successful program to fight different diseases.

A large part of Eva's work with the poor was carried out by the María Eva Duarte de Perón Welfare Foundation, established in June 1947. Its funds came from contributions, often obtained with force, from trade unions, businesses, and industrial firms. The foundation grew into an enormous semiofficial welfare agency that distributed food, clothing, medicine, and money to needy people throughout Argentina and on occasion to those suffering from disasters in other Latin American countries.

Enjoying great popularity among the *descamisados*, Eva Perón helped greatly in maintaining the loyalty of the masses to the Perón administration. On the other hand, her program of social welfare and her campaign for female suffrage led to considerable opposition among the *gente bien* (upper class), to whom Eva was unacceptable because of her humble background and earlier activities. Eva was driven by the desire to master those members of the government that had rejected her, and she could be cruel and spiteful with her enemies.

In June 1951 it was announced that Eva would be the vice presidential candidate on the reelection ticket with Perón in the upcoming national election. Eva's

candidacy was strongly supported by the General Confederation of Labor, but opposition within the military and her own failing health caused her to decline the nomination. Already suffering from cancer, Eva died on July 26, 1952, at the age of thirty-two. After Eva's death, which produced a huge display of public grief, Perón's political fortunes began to decline. He was finally removed from office by a military takeover in September 1955.

Eva Perón's friends and enemies agreed that she was a woman of great personal charm. Her supporters have elevated her to popular sainthood as the champion of the lower classes. The favourable portrayal of her in the play *Evita*, first staged in 1978, and in the 1997 film of the same name, brought Eva to the forefront of the American public. By a large part of the officer corps of the military, however, she is greatly despised. There is still considerable difference of opinion regarding her true role in the Perón administration and her true place in Argentine history.

**Source:** Eva Perón Biography." Eva Perón Biography - Family, Children, Name, Death, History, Wife, School, Mother, Information, Born, House. N.p., n.d. Web. 07 Feb. 2017.

#### **Appendix 7: Biography of Juan Domingo Perón**

Juan Domingo Perón was born in Lobos in the province of Buenos Aires on October 8, 1895. There is no evidence that his parents were married at the time of his birth. In a status-conscious country, the fact of his illegitimate birth may have been, in later life, a source of resentment. In 1899 his father, Mario Tomás Perón, left the family to search for better economic opportunities in Patagonia. Once settled on a ranch near Rio Gallegos, the family was reunited. It was here that Perón came to appreciate the "terrible differences" between the middle-class existence of his own family and those of the ranch hands (peones), who slept "in the shed, without sheets, with only one or two blankets, sometimes even without a bed." There was a lack of schools in southern Patagonia, so in 1904 Perón's parents sent him and his brother to elementary school in Buenos Aires, the capital city. Far from his family and home, Perón learned to live by his wits.

By the age of 15, Perón participated in sports while barely making passing grades in academics. It was at this age that he decided against a university education in medicine and passed the entrance exam for the Colegio Militar, the Argentine military academy. It was in the closeness of the military barracks that Perón found the camaraderie that he had not had a chance to enjoy as a child.

He entered the army upon graduation in 1913 as a second lieutenant in the infantry, but his career was not outstanding. He was a champion fencer, had a good reputation as an instructor in various military schools, and had experience abroad as military attaché in Chile. He was promoted to the more respected rank of lieutenant in 1915, but it was not until 1919 that he showed signs as a leader and teacher. It was in that same year, when Perón was 24-years-old, that Eva (or Evita) Duarte was born near the village of Los Toldos in Buenos Aires province. Eva's unwed mother, Juana Ibarguren, was assisted in the birth by an Indian midwife. The baby was denied the surname of her father, a respected landowner. Eva was also plagued by the stigma of her illegitimate birth. In 1931 her family moved to the small town of Junin. Three years later they moved to Buenos Aires. The hard working and charismatic Perón was promoted to captain in 1924 and in 1926 was assigned to the Escuela de Guerra (Superior War College) where he trained intensely for three years. In 1929 he married his girlfriend of three years, Aurelia Tizón. Argentina suffered a coup in September of 1930 brought on by the spreading world depression. Perón was a minor participant in the coup, but it taught him a valuable lesson. He felt that the massive mobilisation of civilians in favour of the coup had helped the military victory. This was a lesson he would use to his advantage in the future.

In 1931 Perón was assigned to teach at the Superior War College where he spent five years teaching, writing several books, and developing talents critical to his later political career.

Perón's wife died in 1938 from uterine cancer and he was extremely distraught. He was sent to Italy for 22 months, where he witnessed both the fascism of Benito Mussolini and the Nazism of Adolph Hitler. Some historians state that Perón's "fascist" inclinations can be traced to this period. Perón returned to Buenos Aires

and was assigned to mountain troops in the province of Mendoza. In 1942 he was promoted to the rank of a full colonel. Perón found the Argentine military to be divided and ill at ease. They were split between those who sympathised with the Axis powers, those who favoured the Allied powers, and those who wanted to remain neutral during World War II. There were also worries concerning the United States sale of military hardware to Brazil, threatening to tip the balance of power in southern Latin America.

His career took an upswing after the military coup d'etat of June 4, 1943. The coup, which put General Pedro Pablo Ramirez in the presidency, was highly unpopular among the civilian population. As a result, Perón and other younger officers realised that the soldiers had to rally civilian support if they were to remain in power. After some hesitation, they turned to the organised labor movement for such support. Perón became secretary of labor and between 1943 and 1945 built up a wide constituency among the country's urban and rural working classes. He did so by supporting strongly those unions which would cooperate with him and by enacting by decree a large body of labor and social legislation. It was in the Ramirez administration that Perón met Eva in January of 1944. It was as secretary of labor that she first gained his attention. She soon became his mistress, but Perón did not keep the 24-year-old hidden away. Instead he treated her as if she were his wife. The relationship produced volumes of gossip, but Perón did not seem to mind. As a result of supporting the unions, the working classes, and his affair with Eva, Perón became very popular. When he was overthrown by rival military men on October 17, 1945, he was not concerned and married Eva four days later. He was returned to power largely by the influence of his labor supporters. Thereafter, he became a presidential candidate in the elections of February 1946, which he won by a 54 percent majority. The death of Eva from cancer in 1952 dealt a crushing blow to Perón. She was accorded cult status. There were even attempts to have her canonised as "Santa Evita." In September 1955 Perón was overthrown by a military-civilian uprising. He went into exile, first in Paraguay and subsequently Venezuela, Panama, and the Dominican Republic, finally settling in Spain. He still maintained direct contact

with his supporters, who represented about 25 percent of the electorate and continued to dominate the labor movement.

The new government tried to make the citizens forget Juan Perón. But giving in to public pressure, *Perónists* were gradually tolerated and eventually allowed to run for elected office. In the election of 1973, labor, youth, and those disenchanted with military rule voted for the Perónist ticket. That ticket won a victory, but the Perónist president, Hector Cámpora, proved to be a disaster. He resigned later that year, setting the stage for the return to power of Perón.

A new election was held in September of 1973 and Perón won, but he was plagued by age, illness, and fatigue. The country drifted as inflation increased and the economy went out of control. Perón died of a heart attack on July 1, 1974, passing control of the nation to his vice president and third wife, the politically inexperienced Maria Estela ("Isabel") Martinez de Perón. She ruled Argentina another year and a half, but the country was quickly coming apart. She was removed from power by a military coup in July of 1976.

The memory and popularity of the Peróns, (especially Eva), remained long after their deaths. In the presidential election of 1989, a *Perónist* candidate, Carlos Saul Menem, won. In January of 1997, Eva's life story was told in *Evita*, a motion picture featuring an international cast portraying the life of Eva and Juan Perón. *Evita* featured American actress, Madonna as Eva Perón and British actor, Jonathan Pryce as Juan Perón.

Source: "Juan Domingo Perón." Encyclopedia of World Biography. Retrieved February 06, 2017 from Encyclopedia.com: <http://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/juan-domingo-peron>