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1929	1930	1930	1934	1937	1943
Collapse of U.S. Stock Exchange signals beginning of global economic crisis	Vargas takes power in Brazil	Military coup begins the <i>decada infama</i> (Infamous Decade) in Argentina	Lázaro Cárdenas elected president of Mexico	Vargas Announces <i>Estado Novo</i> (New State)	Junior Officers Coup in Argentina
July 26, 1952	1955	June 1973	July 1, 1974	March 24, 1976	
Evita dies	Perón is overthrown, goes into exil	Peron returns from exile, is re-elected president in September	Peron dies, leaving Isabel his third wife, president	Isabel Perón is overthrown, military begins the Process of National Re-organization (Dirty War)	

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October 1945	1946	1947	July 9, 1947	August 1951	December 1951
Juan Perón jailed by fellow officers	Juan Perón elected president of Argentina	Argentine women get the vote	Perón declares economic independence as foreign debt is paid off	Evita's renunciamiento	Perón re-elected

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Heard on the radio, or viewed on a newsreel, the spectacle could be overwhelming. Here she was, the wildly popular wife of the Argentine president, addressing tens of thousands of crazed followers in the streets below. Her steady voice, simultaneously seductive, motherly, and commanding, was constantly interrupted by their chants; declarations that they were on her side and demands that she carry on as their leader. Evita had nothing of that apolitical, retiring sweetness that Latin Americans generally expected in prominent women. She attacked her enemies without mercy, and was loved and despised for it.

María Eva Duarte de Perón has long been categorized as a populist, a term that over time has been used so ubiquitously that it is difficult to ascertain exactly what it means. Historians use it much like they use the term *caudillo*, to identify a vast array of politicians who cannot be easily classified according to the matrices of left versus right. Populists were charismatic, nationalist, and good at mobilizing industrial workers. Into this category we can place Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre (Peru), Getúlio Vargas (Brazil), Carlos Ibáñez (Chile), Jorge Eliéser Gaitán (Colombia), Juan and Eva Perón (Argentina), Lázaro Cárdenas (Mexico), and perhaps even Fulgencio Batista (Cuba), Anastasio Somoza (Nicaragua), and Rafael Trujillo (Dominican Republic). This list goes on in a deeply unsatisfying way, because almost every popular Latin American leader of the mid-twentieth century could

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be called a populist. The debate over who was and who was not a populist winds up becoming a little like an argument about how many angels can fit on the head of a pin.

Our dilemma may lie in where we focus our attention. Populists were not just defined by a political style; they came of age in an era of significant social and technological change. We know Evita was a powerful speaker largely because she found her voice in the era of amplified, broadcast, and recorded sound (audio examples of her speeches can be found on the book's website, www.routledge.com/textbooks/dawson). Through these mediums she could expand the reach of her voice from a crowd of people within listening distance to tens of thousands, even an entire nation. Many of our most important traces of Evita include images of her speaking into a microphone, electronically enlarging her voice and mobilizing audiences far larger than politicians of an earlier era could have imagined. Her skills were honed over the years as a *radionovela* (radio soap opera) star; a genre that required that her to cultivate a powerfully melodramatic voice. This cadence would in turn serve her well when she addressed her beloved *descamisados* (shirtless ones) in later years. This was also the dawn of a visual age, for which she was well suited, but the dominant medium of her day was broadcast sound, the loudspeaker, the microphone, and the radio. These technological innovations transformed what it was to be a politician, and what it was to be a member of the crowd.

Gathered in a public square, on a street, or in a private dwelling, individuals in the crowd were transformed through the experience of listening together. Even when they listened by themselves, they could understand that it was the voice of their leader they heard, and that millions of others were doing the same thing at the same time. Listening was a sentient experience that had implied intimacy in the past; to hear the voice of a leader was to see them face to face, and to somehow be connected to power in that moment. In the radio age the act of listening to the leader still connected the listener to power, but instead of something that was individually empowering, it made the crowd into the people (Figure 7.1).



Figure 7.1 Evita at a microphone

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The Crowd

A century and a half before Evita addressed the crowd, individuals like Father Miguel Hidalgo used similarly celebrated oratorical skills to stir his followers to action. Earlier leaders however, addressed a different kind of crowd. The groups were smaller. They were residents of a single town and its environs, and they were often intensely parochial in their worldviews. Hidalgo did not appeal to the crowd's Mexicanness. He addressed a much more local sense of self and very specific grievances. The crowd's political ties linked them to a distant king whose will was being subverted by venal officials, and not to a horizontal national community of "Mexicans." Indeed, the localistic sense of belonging that united those amassed in the town square in Dolores in 1810 was both a strength and a weakness for the popular movements that participated in nineteenth-century conflicts. Dispersed, and often divided by mutual feelings of hostility, Latin America's nineteenth-century crowds were threatening, but most often unable to sustain movements that went much further than the village boundary for any length of time.

The twentieth century transformed the cognitive capacities of the crowd. Cities grew larger, producing urban working classes that often had a much greater sense of their shared interests and cultures. Living and working together, developing common grievances, urban workers had a capacity to disrupt the system that their rural brethren lacked. It was however, not simply size and physical proximity that enlarged the political capacities of the urban masses. As the face-to-face culture and politics of the countryside were supplanted by interactions mediated through the radio, loudspeakers, and the photographic image, working people found new means to mobilize and insert themselves into politics. An image of a brutalized worker, reproduced thousands of times, has the capacity to stir outrage in ways that word of mouth reports never could. A radio broadcast could act in similar ways, whether it was of a song that everyone loved and knew, reminding them of their place in a national community, or was an overt act of propaganda designed to mobilize listeners in defense of a cause. This is why governments across Latin America did everything they could to control the medium in the early days of radio, and why radio stations were repeatedly the targets of attack (physical attacks, that is, on the stations) by individuals and groups that wanted to get their message out. There was great power in this new, urban crowd, and the radio seemed to be the pipeline to that power.

In part this was because, through the medium of the radio, the notion of simultaneous time, which produces a sense of community among people who otherwise do not know one another (i.e., a community of newspaper readers who count themselves members of the national community because they all read the same news at virtually the same time), was no longer reserved for the literate upper classes. With the introduction of the radio broadcast, sound came to be the force that constituted the national community, opening membership in that world to anyone within earshot. They could experience the feeling of fictive kinship by listening simultaneously to the same broadcasts. They could attend rallies that were larger, more disruptive, and more coherent than ever before. They could listen in the plazas, the schools, and their homes while national broadcasting companies (many government owned) aired the local and national news, and gave voice to a new generation of leaders. Politicians who were adept at using the new media found new, larger audiences in these contexts, and listeners constituted themselves as citizens, as members of the national community, simply by listening to these broadcasts.

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Music played a defining role in this process. Through recorded and amplified sound, local songs increasingly became part of national repertoires. A song played again and again, heard in different places, reminded listeners that as they moved through space they remained rooted in a sentimental community comprised of millions of people whom they had never met. Popular music also contributed to the emergence of a novel kind of popular culture. Popular culture was no longer simply local practices that stood in opposition to elites, but it was also mass culture; *radionovelas*, movies, *historietas* (comic books), songs, and other mass phenomena. It was something that poor people shared, that gave them a sense of connectedness and of their own place in a modern world. Popular culture also sometimes blurred the boundaries between the classes. Middle class children might read the same comic books and go to the same movies as the poor. Elite nationalists could often belt out the same ballad as the shopkeeper, each with as much conviction as the other. Their shared enthusiasms remind us that the common tastes developed and cultivated in these settings produced new forms of nationalist sentiment across Latin America.

The *Hora do Brasil*

Any close observer of Latin American society who utters the phrase “national culture” takes an enormous risk. Profoundly divided societies cannot generally be described as having national cultures. Yet if we discard the concept, we risk abandoning all efforts to understand how technology, style, and a sense of belonging came together to produce the phenomena that characterized Latin American politics in these years before the cold-war imposed a very different dynamic on the political life of the region. Few politicians better understood this convergence than Getúlio Vargas, who claimed the Brazilian presidency in a military coup in 1930. In some ways, Vargas was an unremarkable authoritarian ruler. Like many others, he promised a great deal and delivered relatively little. What marked this era as different from others were his (and his opponents’) efforts to use the radio to a means to create a national body politic.

Radio first arrived in Brazil in 1922, and was immediately popular, especially in urban areas. By the early 1930s, there were twenty stations in the country. Two decades later there were over one hundred. By the mid-1930s, 85 percent of households in the country’s two most populous cities (São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro) owned radios. Most early broadcasting was commercial, but the power of the new medium was not lost on Vargas and his appointees in the Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda (Department of Press and Propaganda). Several government radio stations were founded in the early 1930s, charged with the twin responsibilities of publicizing the good works of the government (social and educational programs, labor laws, the passage of a minimum wage) and turning Brazilian listeners into a reliable political constituency.

Like bureaucrats everywhere, Vargas and his appointees were not always adept at using the medium. The managers of the three stations run by the government favored didactic programming, speeches by government officials and classical music. Listeners rarely tuned into these programs, favoring the musical selections of commercial radio instead. If they wanted an audience, the regime needed to use the power of the decree. Under Vargas, all stations in the country were required to broadcast the *Hora do Brasil* (Brazil Hour) every evening at eight pm. Filled with speeches, public announcements, and cultural forms that

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spoke more to elite sensibilities than popular tastes (marching music was more commonly played than samba), the *Hora* was widely ridiculed and ignored by radio listeners. Some stations simply refused to broadcast it, claiming they could not find the signal. It was popularly known as the “*hora fala sozinho*” or “hour that talks to itself.”¹

Vargas recognized that popular music was a powerful unifying force, and did attempt to co-opt art forms like the samba and link them to his *Estado Novo* (the New State, based in a variant of fascism, which he inaugurated in 1937). He supported samba schools and Carnival parades, and samba music was regularly broadcast on the government owned station ~~Rádio Nacional~~.² Still, it is one thing to attempt to use national art forms to promote fraternal feelings between a listening public and the state. It is quite another thing to succeed at this endeavor. Federal officials tried to simultaneously appropriate the samba for nationalist purposes and define acceptable limits to the its subject matter. They promoted patriotic content and tried to censor anti-authoritarian, outlaw images (e.g., the *malandro*, a popular outlaw figure) in samba music. Fans responded responding by rejecting the official samba, turning off the government sponsored broadcasts and seeking forums where they could listen to their preferred artists and songs.

In the end, there were too many samba artists, too many mediums through which it could be heard, and a fan base that was too vast and heterogeneous to ever allow the art form to be simply tamed, either by the state or the market. That was part of the magic of popular art forms in this era. Because they resisted both definition and control, they could be instruments in any number of cultural or political projects. Indeed, many of the most popular sambas of the era operated a nebulous world in between the licit and the illicit precisely because they were highly critical of the state. They produced a sense of national belonging even as they made Vargas the object of disdain.

Poor Brazilians had more power as consumers of popular music than they did as workers or as citizens. They could listen to what they liked, and reject what they did not, and in the process reveal what record companies have long known: it is harder to shape the tastes of consumers than it seems. Yet they also had the power to actually shape the art form. Fans wrote samba lyrics and submitted them to artists and producers, and sometimes saw their songs recorded. They went to radio shows and applauded their favorite acts, helping to determine which songs became hits and which did not. They distinguished good samba from bad, and Brazilian from foreign. It was they (and not the state) who made the samba so ubiquitous that it became synonymous with the nation, something elites had to embrace if they wished to be perceived as Brazilian. And if the state wanted to ride the samba to legitimacy, it would need to follow their tastes.

Vargas could not control the samba, and in the end neither could he control the radio. Commercial broadcasters understood the medium better than he did, and he lacked the types of charisma that mattered most in the new electronic age. We see this dramatically when we turn to the Brazilian who did use the radio extremely effectively during this era, Vargas' bitter rival Carlos Lacerda. Like most successful politicians in the age of mass communications, Lacerda openly courted workers with his ardent nationalism and willingness to support a limited array of workers' rights. Nonetheless, his core political constituency was middle class and conservative. He was pro-traditional family, vigorously attacked corruption, and recited regular moral diatribes on the air. Most of all, he was a riveting presence on the radio.

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Much of the media in Brazil remained beyond government control during the Vargas regime, and in the early 1950s his enemies put Lacerda on the air on Rádio *Globo* and TV *Tupi*, the country's first television network. After struggling to find an audience with programming based on music and *radionovelas*, *Globo* hired Lacerda in 1953 as a talk show host. Lacerda found his niche by repeatedly attacking the government in his shows, much to the delight of his listening audience. He ran an improvisational and lengthy call-in program that used new tactics like media ambushes to produce electrifying radio. Though lambasted in the traditional media, the show was an immediate hit, turning *Globo* into the third most popular station in Rio by August 1954. As a radio and later television star, Lacerda continually demonstrated that elusive ability to turn listeners on, to draw them to his program, and keep them from changing the dial or turning off the set. This was a skill that became absolutely critical with the dawn of the radio and television age. Listeners suddenly had numerous options, and could not be compelled to pay attention.

Lacerda was so successful at attacking Vargas that someone close to the president (if not the president himself) concluded that he needed to be eliminated. Armed assailants tried to kill Lacerda outside his Copacabana apartment on August 5, 1954. He survived, but his bodyguard, an Air Force officer, died. Lacerda and the slain bodyguard were cast as heroes, and Vargas, who was widely viewed as the intellectual author of a botched murder, suddenly faced a united opposition openly talking about violent resistance to the regime. Vargas could still take to the airways to defend his positions and argue against his enemies, but at this point fewer and fewer Brazilians were listening.

Vargas did manage to dominate the airwaves one last time. On August 24, 1954, Brazilians listened with rapt attention as his suicide note was read on national radio just hours after his death (the note had actually been typed several days earlier). In part the note defended his specific policies. It reminded listeners of his attempts to create national oil and electricity monopolies in order to promote industrialization, of the national coffee department he hoped would maintain stable global coffee prices. It was also a dark attack on his enemies.

Once more the forces and interests against the people are newly coordinated and raised against me. They do not accuse me, they insult me; they do not fight me, they slander me and refuse to give me the right of defense. They seek to drown my voice and halt my actions so that I no longer continue to defend, as I have always defended, the people and principally the humble . . . I have fought month after month, day after day, hour after hour, resisting constant, incessant pressures, unceasingly bearing it all in silence, forgetting everything and giving myself in order to defend the people that now fall abandoned. I cannot give you more than my blood. If the birds of prey wish the blood of anybody, they wish to continue to suck the blood of the Brazilian people. I offer my life in the holocaust. I choose this means to be with you always. When they humiliate you, you will feel my soul suffering at your side. When hunger knocks at your door, you will feel within you the energy to fight for yourselves and for your children. When you are scorned, my memory will give you the strength to react.³

Written as troops were preparing to overthrow the regime, the note exemplifies the novel ways in which radio contributed to that sense of belonging that is critical to popular



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nationalism. It did not matter whether or not Vargas actually wrote the note. Broadcast nationally on the radio, it had the capacity to draw hundreds of thousands of people into the streets, their anger and grief no doubt stoked by the simultaneity of their powerful emotions. Among other things, the crowds took out their anger on two radio stations that had been critical of the president in the weeks leading up to his death.

These outbursts do not tell us that poor Brazilians were ceaselessly loyal to Vargas. His regime never had the unquestioned support of working people, in part because working people in Brazil, as elsewhere, have always had a healthy skepticism for regimes that promise a great deal and deliver something less. Still, while their love was conditional, their grief at his loss was genuine and powerful. Poor Brazilians knew that they were better off with Vargas' unrealized promises than they had ever been in the past. Coming on the heels of the oligarchic republic, where the chasm between the *gente decente* (rich) and the *povo* (poor) was one of both wealth and dignity, Vargas spoke a language that resonated. He claimed to represent the poor, and actually passed laws in their favor.

Few Brazilians believed that these laws would be consistently enforced. When has that ever been the case in Brazil? Rather, these laws were tools that poor people used in their daily struggles to make ends meet. Some schools and hospitals were built, some roads completed, and wages for industrial workers in some sectors improved. And even if not always honored, the minimum wage (introduced in 1940) did impact the lives of millions of workers. Decades later, poor supporters would sum up their love of Vargas with the simple phrase "the president always remembered us."⁴ It was a powerful statement about how they were treated by the regimes that preceded and followed his.

Tata Lázaro

Poor Mexicans felt similarly about their favorite president, Lázaro Cárdenas. Hailing from a lower middle-class background in the western state of Michoacán, Cárdenas gained national attention after serving as governor of his home state between 1928 and 1932. During this time, he helped contain the Cristero Revolt,⁵ the most important challenge the federal government faced after the end of the revolution, by mixing repression and social reform, rewarding peasants and workers who supported the state with land and other concessions while jailing or killing the most recalcitrant. The country as a whole seemed on the verge of renewed unrest in 1934, prompting Plutarco Elías Calles (Mexico's most powerful figure) to tap Cárdenas as the presidential candidate of the government's political party. During the campaign, Cárdenas distinguished himself from his predecessors, travelling by car, plane, horse, and train around the country. He logged more than 27,000 km in the campaign, and visited every one of the country's twenty-eight states and territories. He even swam to one isolated indigenous community in the Gulf of California during the campaign, leaping from the presidential yacht in order to reach a village that had no road access.

Once in office, the highly symbolic actions continued. Cárdenas refused to move into the presidential palace, preferring to convert Chapultepec Castle into the National Museum of History. He immediately cut his salary in half. Legendary is the story that he would cancel cabinet meetings in favor visiting poor peasants who had lost their cattle to disease. Other

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steps were more concrete. He distributed forty-five million acres of land to peasants, so that by 1940 nearly one third of Mexicans had received land via reform. Urban workers were allowed to unionize more easily and granted wage increases. The railways are nationalized and put under worker administration. Across the country he built roads, irrigation systems, schools, and hospitals. He doubled the budget allotted to rural education. He invited Leon Trotsky to live in exile in Mexico (where he was ultimately assassinated by a North American Stalinist). He fought corruption in the labor unions by supplanting the Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana (the Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers, CROM) with the *Confederación de Trabajadores de México* (Mexican Labor Confederation, CTM). He invited thousands of refugees of the Spanish Civil War to resettle in Mexico. He even remade the official party of the Revolution into a corporatist political party that tied peasants, workers, indigenous peoples, and professional and middle-class organizations to the state, allowing it to remain in power until the year 2000.

These efforts were not simply acts of beneficence. Cárdenas gave to the peasant, the Indian, the worker, and the middle-class professional, and expected that they in turn would contribute to a larger modernizing project. Peasants who received land were expected to produce for the market, participate in government agricultural programs, and be compliant and subservient partners with the state. Indigenous Mexicans, whom he treated with greater respect than any president ever had, were expected to abandon their rustic ways and attend schools, learn Spanish, adopt modern hygienic practices, and become productive farmers. At the First Interamerican Indigenous Congress, held at Pátzcuaro in 1940, he famously declared that his goal was “not to Indianize Mexico, but to Mexicanize the Indian.”

Figure 7.2, which is a mural painted in his hometown of Jiquilpán in 1937, evokes much of what he hoped to accomplish with land reform and his particular brand of incorporationist *Indigenismo* (this being the term adopted to describe those who celebrated and sought to assist Mexico’s indigenous peoples during this era). The president is surrounded by indigenous figures, dressed in their traditional costume. They are hard-working and deserving peasants, and his proximity to them, unmediated by guards or interlocutors, conveys his comfort and respect. Still, that respect does not extend to emulation. Cárdenas does not wear a peasant costume or indigenous mask, or dance in a fiesta. He sits there in a suit, poring over carefully drawn and thoroughly modern maps, the instruments that the revolutionary state will use to assign land-ownership. We see this in a similar way in Figure 7.3, a photograph taken in 1937. In it he is poised to step onto a *Mexicana* Aviation flight, traversing the nation in double-breasted suit and fedora. The image evokes a man who, like those before him and after him, aspired for a thoroughly modern nation, a man who had left behind the military regalia of his life as a general and was instead signaling Mexico’s industrial aspirations as he boarded what was then the most modern form of transport.

Like other so-called populists, Cárdenas never quite managed to enact the lasting transformations he desired. Right-wing sinarquists and Catholics opposed him from the start, and managed to beat back the reformist impulse. Most reform efforts stalled by 1938. In 1940 a more conservative Manuel Ávila Camacho took the presidency, and gradually began to roll back many of Cárdenas’ initiatives. Much of the land he put into peasant hands was lost in one form or another within a few decades, after government aid for small farmers



Figure 7.2 Mural depicting Lázaro Cárdenas approving the agrarian reform in his home town of Jiquilpán, Michoacán, painted in 1938

dried up, and large landowners found the means to get around government restrictions by making informal arrangements to take over *ejidal* lands. Many of those displaced peasants migrated to Mexican cities, where they became workers in a burgeoning industrial sector (this may have been a desired result, as Cárdenas favored industrial growth and high rates of productivity in the rural sector). Moreover, while fostering the participation of subaltern groups, Cardenismo was not exactly a liberal democratic ethos. Political bosses, known as *caciques*, dominated the organizations of the revolutionary state and Cárdenas' Party of the Democratic Revolution (later the Party of the Institutionalized Revolution, or PRI), doling out favors to those who went along or supported them, and taking violent retribution against those who did not.

If these outcomes represented failures in the democratic project, they did not necessarily signal problems for the nationalist agenda. His administration represented a defining moment for both the Mexican revolutionary state and for millions of Mexicans who participated in or supported revolutionary movements. In part this was because he responded to very specific demands, in particular the demand for land, for the tools to work that land, for schools, and for healthcare. More than this however, he celebrated an inclusive nationalism that venerated the *mestizo* as the national type, and Mexican folk music, crafts, and art as

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Figure 7.3 Lazaro Cardenas in 1937

truly original expressions of the people. He was not the first to do this. Mexican muralists including Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, and David Siquieros had been painting nationalist scenes since the 1920s, and the music of Tata Nacho and others was widely played in Mexico during these years. His originality lay in the ways that he turned the presidency into a platform for fomenting popular (as opposed to elite) nationalism.

Cárdenas could never have visited every rural community in Mexico, nor talked to every peasant. He could however, give that impression by communing with the rural poor in very public ways. Newspapers offered some opportunity for the government to publicize his exploits, though only a limited one. Mexicans largely distrusted newspapers, which often acted as simple mouthpieces for the government, and few people read them outside of the literate middle classes of the capital. Cárdenas understood that if he wanted to reach a

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significant audience, the poor rural and urban folk whom he saw as his critical constituency, he needed the radio. He had a radio train follow him on the campaign trail, broadcasting speeches in the most remote regions of the country to national audiences. And every time he had the opportunity to visit the poor, through the many congresses he organized for workers, indigenous peoples, and women, to epic international moments like the Interamerican Congress at Pátzcuaro, he was careful to ensure that he spoke before a radio microphone.⁶

Radio was already an important medium in Mexico when Cárdenas came to power. Commercial radio had been around since the early 1920s, after Luis and Raul Azcárraga launched Mexico's first station. Mexico's most important commercial station, XEC, which broadcast at 50,000 watts and could be heard as far away as New York City, was founded by their brother Emilio Azcárraga in 1930.⁷ By the time Cárdenas assumed office, the country more than twenty radio stations, broadcasting to more than 100,000 radio sets. By 1940 there were forty stations broadcasting to 450,000 sets. Given the cost of radio sets, most listeners lived in urban areas and were middle class. Most also lived in the Valley of Mexico and in and around Mexico City, where nearly half of the national population resided. Rural people generally gained their limited access to radio through gifts provided by the *Secretaría de Educación Pública* (Ministry of Public Education, SEP), which installed radios in rural schools during the 1930s. Unlike urban middle-class neighborhoods, where radio listening quickly became a private affair, radio listening in small towns was a social event, gathering crowds in and around the schools to hear the news, listen to music and comedy, and follow the latest *radionovela*.

The Mexican government tried to get in on the radio vogue through a variety of means. Early on the government wrote licensing laws that made it illegal for commercial radio stations to criticize the state. The government also founded stations of their own, creating the SEP's XFX in 1924. Broadcasting at a mere 500 watts however, XFX produced a signal that could be heard only in the Valley of Mexico, and weakly at that. XFX did not even fill the broadcast day until 1933, when then Minister of Public Education Narciso Bassols decided that the radio station was an ideal means for promoting Socialist Education.⁸ Bassols also tried to ensure that rural Mexicans would be forced to listen to XFX by distributing radios whose dials were glued to the SEP station. This effort flopped, as residents in virtually every community that received a radio freed the dials so that they could listen to more popular stations like XEW.⁹ This then, was the dilemma that Lázaro Cárdenas faced as president. He now had the means of spreading a message across the country instantly. He simply needed to find a way to get people to listen.

In part he tried to solve this problem by significantly ramping up the state's use of radio. Aside from bringing radio broadcasting equipment along whenever he had an important public event, he created a new *Departamento Autónomo de Prensa y Publicidad* (Department of Press and Publicity, DAPP), specifically charged with promoting the Cárdenas brand. As Vargas did in Brazil, Cárdenas he also created mandatory programming for commercial stations. Starting on January 1, 1935, Cárdenas broadcast a New Year's address that was carried on most stations in the country. In 1936 he increased the amount of obligatory government programming on commercial stations to thirty minutes per day (it had been ten). In July 1937 he created the *Hora Nacional* (National Hour), a program that all radio stations in the country were required to carry every Sunday night at 8 p.m. Though many may have



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turned off their radios when the program began, this gave him the opportunity to get his message out in an unmediated fashion once per week.

Cárdenas announced his most important and most controversial act as president through the radio, telling a national and international audience ~~on March 18, 1938~~, that he was expropriating the holdings of foreign companies that controlled Mexico's oil industry. Expropriation followed a series of labor disputes in which the companies refused to abide by the rulings of the Mexican courts, and held great significance for Mexicans, as it indicated that Mexico's most valuable national patrimony would no longer be in foreign hands. Oil would now not only profit the Mexican state (which for decades would use oil revenues to subsidize public spending), it could also be used to promote industrialization, providing subsidized fuel and lubricants to Mexican factory owners in return for their promise to invest in Mexico. He announced it on the radio even before he announced it to his cabinet.¹⁰

Nationalization of the oil industry was a risky move. Cárdenas would face hostility from foreign companies, their governments, the Mexican business community, and the far right. This is why he needed a strong showing of popular support, an outcome he guaranteed through an emotional radio address that highlighted both the mendacity of the oil companies and the urgent national interest that was served by his actions. In response, thousands of Mexicans flooded his office with telegrams expressing support. Days later over 100,000 attended demonstrations in Mexico City celebrating the expropriation. On April 12, thousands of women gathered at the *Palacio de Bellas Artes* to donate goods to remunerate the oil companies for their lost property. It seemed that everyone, from residents of the smallest indigenous communities, to members of the large industrial unions, united in support of the president in the aftermath of the broadcast. And it was largely because of this support that Cárdenas won ~~this day~~.

Un Día Peronista¹¹

Vargas and Cárdenas proved capable of using new mediums to enhance their power, though the results for both were uneven. Latching onto the radio, they tried to use it didactically, often producing propaganda that fell on deaf ears. Vargas in particular was often wooden in the way he courted the audience on the radio, and was ultimately less successful than the opposition in turning broadcast media into public spectacle. This in turn has become a part of how Vargas is remembered. He is invoked much more for his politics and policies than for his style. For his part, Cárdenas did manage to capture the medium at certain critical junctures, but was mostly several steps behind the commercial stations, who proved just as adept at stirring nationalist impulses in order to market their musical talent and sell commercial time as he was adept at turning those impulses into social and economic reform. The same cannot be said for Juan Domingo Péron and his wife Eva Duarte, whose particular political style and capacity to command the rapt attention of millions of Argentines, can stir up visceral feelings to this day. The Pérons mastered the radio more effectively than any other politician of their day.

The best place to begin the story of Peronism in Argentina is in the 1930s, a period that workers in that country called the *Decada Infama* (Infamous Decade). During the same

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years that Getúlio Vargas was courting support from Brazilian workers and Cárdenas was distributing millions of acres of land, Argentine workers suffered a series of frustrating and humiliating setbacks. As a whole the decade was characterized by deeply cynical politics, punctuated by right-wing military coups. The military took power at the behest of the oligarchy in 1930, and unleashed a wave of repression against organized labor. Two years later the military, conservatives, and the Radical Party formed a *concordancia* (accord) in which they agreed to share power, implement a series of oligarchy-friendly policies, and freeze workers out of the government entirely, all the while maintaining the appearance of democratic practice through electoral fraud and repression. Matters were made much worse by the fact that workers endured a disproportionate share of the economic pain suffered during these years.

There can be little doubt that the xenophobic nationalism of the *Liga Patriótica Argentina*¹² underpinned the *concordancia*, bringing middle-class and elite Argentines together in a shared anxiety over the threat of a worker's revolt. Across Latin America, left-leaning regimes were courting support from workers, but in Argentina, where workers dominated the social terrain of the country's capital and were more essential to the economy than elsewhere, the antipathies between worker and oligarch were simply too deep, with too much history behind them, to be breached.

To be a worker in Argentina during the 1930s was to be in constant danger of arrest or assault from those who monopolized power, and to lack legitimate means of protesting your lot. This did not mean however, that workers remained quiet about their fate. They simply looked to other means, forums in which protest could be masked as something else. One could release frustration physically, through sport, manual labor, interpersonal violence, or heavy drinking. Just as importantly, one could turn on the radio, listen to a tango, and perhaps sing along. During these terrible years, the tango became the quintessential medium through which workers could voice their grievances. Consider the lyrics to *Cambalache*, written by Enrique Santos Discépolo in 1935.

That the world was and it will be a pigsty
I know . . . In the year 510 and in 2000 too
There always have been thieves, hustlers, and fools
The happy and bitter, idealists and frauds
But, that the twentieth century is a display of insolent evil no-one can deny
We live wallowing in the mess.
And we are all covered by the same filth . . .

Today it doesn't matter
Whether you are decent or a traitor
Whether you are ignorant, a genius, a pickpocket
Generous or crooked
All is the same, none better than the other
The donkey is the same
As the great professor!
No one fails, no one has merit
The immoral have reached our level

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If one man lives as an imposter
And the other steals for ambition's sake
It doesn't matter if it is a priest
A mattress-maker, the king of clubs
Huckster or tramp

There is no respect, no reason
Anyone is a gentleman, anyone a thief
Stavinsku, Don Bosco, and La Mignon
Don Chicho and Napoleon
Carnera and San Martin, all mixed together

Like in the jumbled window of the bazaars
Life is mixed up
And wounded by a sword without rivets
You can see a crying Bible
Beside a water heater

Twentieth century bazaar
Bizarre and fevered
If you don't cry, mama won't feed you
And if you don't steal you're a fool
Go ahead, Keep it up
We'll meet again
In Hell
No need to think
Just move out of the way.
No-one cares
if you were born honorable.
He who works
Day and night like a mule
Is no different than the one who lives off of others
No different than he who kills or heals
No different than an outlaw.¹³

Like the samba in Brazil, the tango was a popular art form, played on the radio, filled with *lunfardo* (profane slang) expressions, and beloved by the country's working classes. Stories of love betrayed, lives empty of meaning, of violence and social discord gave listeners the smallest of opportunities to describe the world they lived in after the *Semana Trágica* in January 1919. It should come as no surprise then that the tango dismayed elites and was periodically censored by the Argentine state.

Not only did Juan Perón liberate the tango from censorship, he could speak the same language as the great tango singers. Their expressions, like their rage, were his as well. In this, he was unlike any other Argentine political leader in recent memory. Of relatively humble origins himself (he was after all, born to unwed parents), Perón was a self-made

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man whose relationship to the oligarchy was always uneasy. In particular, he was impressed by the social compacts between workers, industrialists, and the state that he witnessed while he was posted in Europe during the 1930s. He drew on them to imagine a new Argentina, no longer beholden to what was for all purposes a landed gentry. His Argentina would instead be industrialized, broadly prosperous, and modern.

Motivated by a desire to break the stranglehold that the oligarchy had on the system and to forge a new society (one where social peace would be forged not by simply repressing workers), a group of relatively junior officers overthrew the government in 1943. Among those officers, Perón stood out for his desire to change the face of Argentine politics. Put in charge of the Department of Labor (which he remade into the Department of Labor and Supply), he immediately began to construct a power base for himself.

His timing was serendipitous. Workers may have been marginalized politically, but in the decade before the Junior Officers Coup the industrial workforce had been rapidly expanding. Global trade was severely disrupted during the 1930s, and Argentines suddenly found themselves unable to import many of the manufactured goods that had become commonplace in their country since the turn of the century. Responding to demands for these goods, local manufacturers increased domestic industrial production, often building branch-plants of larger European and American conglomerates, importing technology and machinery, and then manufacturing locally (this was known as Import Substitution Industrialization, or ISI). Between 1935 and 1946 the number of industrial workers in Argentina grew from 435,816 to 1,056,673. Over the same period the number of factories in Argentina doubled, from 38,456 to 86,400.

Perón's challenge lay first in capturing the political loyalty of these new (and old) workers, and then turning their energies towards even more rapid industrialization. From his position as a government minister he was able to purchase some of the necessary loyalty by building clientelist networks¹⁴ that could offer specific material benefits to his supporters. Drawing from a long tradition of Radical Party politics, the networks he cultivated were dominated by local bosses who used their connection to Péron to deliver jobs, fix problems, provide public services, favors, money, food, and aid in emergencies. In return for these benefits, members had to come out in support of the leader when needed, and vote for him on election day.

These networks were useful, but if Péron was to really transform Argentina he needed something more. He needed to update and enlarge the clientelist tradition by building a vast patronage network of government-affiliated unions that could ensure the broad labor peace that he believed was necessary for industrialization. To these ends he courted the large unions and promoted new unions among unskilled laborers. He attacked leftist unions and demanded that all workers, along with businessmen and industrialists, cooperate with the military to promote national development. Workers would be guaranteed wage increases (wages jumped 20 percent between 1943 and 1945), social security benefits, housing, education, and union representation (as long as they belonged to government unions). Industrialists would be granted government support through subsidies, preferential taxes, and a compliant workforce. Together with the state, these groups would work to make Argentina less reliant on foreign markets for its economic well-being. It would become a truly independent, industrialized nation.

This was a program that was destined to find adherents, and Perón's particular style represented an ideal vehicle for delivering this message. His use of *lunfardo* expressions, the way he mixed tango lyrics into his speeches, the fact that he actually delivered the

goods, and his simple charisma—that nebulous capacity to connect to those with whom you speak, to make them feel connected to you—turned an otherwise technocratic project into a defining nationalist moment. He spoke to workers not as atomized individuals, but as powerful social actors, as Argentines, due the respect of anyone else. Peronism recast citizenship to include a claim to social justice and pride in working people. Because of this, by 1945 Perón had become the most powerful political figure in the country, much to the chagrin of his fellow junta¹⁵ members. That is why they jailed him on October 9, a move that Perón believed signaled the end of his political career.

Like the officers who arrested him, he was wrong to imagine that the workers would stand for this turn of events. While he sat in a military prison cell, his supporters brought the country to a standstill. Unwilling to wait even for a protest planned by the *Confederación General del Trabajo* (General Confederation of Labor, CGT), on October 17 rank and file union members from all over the capital region converged on Buenos Aires, marched to the city's Plaza de Mayo, and demanded Perón's release. Workers remained in the public spaces they had occupied throughout the day and night, dancing and drinking, literally taking over the city from the wealthy. Fearing escalating chaos, the regime released Perón that evening, and asked him to find a way to convince the 250,000 people gathered in the Plaza de Mayo to disperse peacefully. Though the mainstream press had called them drunken rioters, Perón calmed the crowd, addressing them as the true "Argentine People." Elections were called for 1946, and Perón won the presidency handily.

It was a fantastical moment, marked by the sudden power that working people seemed to possess, Perón's almost mythical stature, with everything amplified by Argentina's post-war economic boom. Europe was devastated and hungry, and with the U.S. government poised to rebuild the continent, Argentina entered a period in which demand for its exports and the price for those exports would be unusually high for the foreseeable future. The boom provided so much revenue to the state that the Argentine government paid off its foreign debt in 1947, and then nationalized British-owned railroads, French-owned docks, and U.S.-owned telecommunications. The government also assumed control of the agency that marketed beef exports. All the while Péron was able to reward workers for their support with repeated wage increases. Revenues were so strong that all of this was undertaken at little cost to the export sector, leaving the oligarchy unscathed. Rising incomes alone led to a further jump in consumption, benefiting local industries. High tariffs also helped these industries, though the key to everything Péron accomplished with the economy was a post-war export boom that made it possible to support workers and industry without demanding sacrifices from anyone. It was the end of the boom and new waves of inflation after 1949 that revealed the real cost of these reforms. After the economy encountered severe difficulties in the early 1950s, the Peronist project would quickly falter.

Santa Evita

If the story of economic booms and political networks was all there was to Perón, his decade in office (1946–1955) would be remembered much like that of many other industrializing mass politicians. Whether thought of fondly or with disdain, figures like Getúlio Vargas and Lázaro Cárdenas for the most part lost their capacity to stir up extreme emotions long



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ago. Such is not the case with Perón, a man who could still produce riots in the streets as late as 2006, when his body was moved from his family crypt in Buenos Aires to a mausoleum at his country estate. In order to understand the continued capacity of Perón to evoke such passions, we shift our focus to the story of his second wife, Evita.

Perón was always a polarizing figure, a reformer who insisted on reconfiguring political power in Argentina. Nonetheless, he possessed certain forms of social capital that gave him access to elite society. He was a military man (later referred to as the General), strong, a son of the countryside. He was a product of good military schools, a loyal (to a point) soldier, and never one to over-turn social hierarchies entirely. Indeed, it seems that when he was jailed in October 1945 he resigned himself to the end of his political career because he never imagined that the crowd would both liberate him and put him in the presidency. We might imagine that this was because however great his skill at addressing the crowd, he remained a military man, his gaze fixed more on his place in the ranks than on the masses.

Evita's role in freeing him from jail remains shrouded in myth. In popular memory she was the one who unleashed the transformative powers of the crowd in her efforts to free Perón. Conservatives prefer to downplay here role, claiming that she was swept along like everyone else. What is clear is that she had a relationship to the masses that set her apart from elite Argentines. Both her origins and her professional career gave her a unique perspective on Argentina, and she used those assets to make herself into one of the most powerful people in the country.

Born in Junín in 1919 to parents who never married because her father already had a family, Eva Duarte grew up in a working-class household, and moved to Buenos Aires as a young woman to pursue a career in the theater. She won minor parts in radio dramas during the 1930s, and by the early 1940s she had become something of a star through her leading role in a drama on *Radio El Mundo*, the most popular station in the country. She met Perón at a charity event for the victims of the San Juan earthquake in 1944.¹⁶ She immediately became his mistress, causing something of a scandal. She would marry him in October 1945, the day after his release from prison.

In the curious alchemy that is attraction, Eva and Perón seem to have been drawn to one another for a multitude of reasons, both personal and political. Aside from the obvious, Péron found in Eva someone who could act as a conduit to the constituencies he needed in order to amass power. She was someone who could enhance his own populist charisma with her similarly powerful ability to draw people in. For her part, in linking her star to Péron, Eva had an opportunity to turn her popularity into something more substantial. Within weeks of meeting Péron, she was actively using her status as a radio star to advocate for Peronism. Within months, she was producing radio soap operas that dramatized Péron's accomplishments, and broadcasting recordings of his speeches over the air. She then dedicated an entire *radionovela* to his life story. Later, she used her radio program to promote his 1946 presidential campaign, and made weekly radio addresses as Argentina's First Lady once he was elected.

As popular as she was with the working classes, Eva Péron's turn as First Lady caused great deal of consternation in polite society. She had far too powerful a sexual presence than conservatives could stomach, and in part because of this she was regularly accused of sleeping her way to the top. Though these accusations did little to hurt her career in the less than proper world of radio entertainers, they were fatal to any aspirations she might

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have had to be accepted by the Argentine elite. Among the political classes, who tended to have extraordinarily narrow ideas about proper female behavior, her alleged sexual indiscretions and general comportment were viewed with horror. Her humble origins, her ways of speaking, and ultimately her place at Perón's side represented a complete affront to the *gente decente*. That she did these things while openly courting the admiration of working people further infuriated Argentine elites. In part because of this, rumor and innuendo would follow her incessantly. Dismissing Eva as little more than a prostitute, her enemies saw avarice and cruelty in her every act.

It is not clear that these attacks hurt her stature at all with those whose approval she really seems to have courted. Indeed, the more the oligarchy (and middling sectors) hated her, the more she showed her contempt for them, the more working people found her utterly adorable. She stood in for them, was glamorous and defiant, and openly courted their support in a way that re-inscribed their mutual antipathy for the oligarchy. Moreover, as she evolved from beautiful vamp to elegant benefactor of the poor (symbolized, literally, through an evolution in her wardrobe and hairstyle), she was able to cast herself in an increasingly defiant and self-sacrificing role—mother, sister, and lover of the people. Eva Duarte became simply Evita.

In Evita's rhetoric it was not the rich, but the *descamisados* who could claim to represent all that was worthy in the nation. She spoke to their sense of grievance, the feeling that they had been victimized for decades. Evita and Perón were simply their surrogates in a war against the nation's enemies, a revolution that required total loyalty to the cause. Whether railing against imperialist enemies, the Jockey Club, the oligarchy, the left, or liberal intellectuals, she was even more effective than Perón at moving the crowd.

Evita did deliver the goods, at least for a while (see Figure 7.4). After being spurned by the proper ladies of the *Sociedad de Beneficencia de la Capital* (Benevolent Society of the Capital), she managed to have their charitable foundation shuttered, and, in 1948 established her own, the *Fundación Eva Perón* (Eva Perón Foundation, FEP). Begun with a donation of 12,000 pesos from Evita herself, the FEP accumulated assets of over \$200 million (U.S.), employed 14,000 workers. It purchased 400,000 pairs of shoes, 500,000 sewing machines, and 200,000 pots annually for distribution.¹⁷ The FEP also established the Eva Perón School of Nursing (which by 1951 had graduated more than 5,000 nurses), built 12 hospitals, 1,000 schools, and supported the construction of affordable housing across the country. With resources donated from union dues, government grants, lotteries, and taxes, the FEP was the most important social agency in Argentina during Perón's presidency. These were remarkable developments in a country that until 1943 lacked a formal system of social service and aid.

Perón and Evita left ambiguous legacies. Dying young at age thirty-three in 1952 (before everything went sideways for the General), she quickly became one of Argentina's enduring myths. Obviously frail in her last two years, she literally seemed to sacrifice her life for her husband and her *descamisados*. When she died, on July 26, the business of the nation came to a stop while millions grieved. In a tradition that reminds us of Santa Anna's leg, her body was embalmed, and kept in CGT headquarters until Perón was overthrown. She was then clandestinely moved around Buenos Aires for more than a year, and then spirited out of the country by the government. She was secretly buried under the name Maria Maggi de Magistris (an Italian-born émigré to Argentina), in a small cemetery in Milan, in 1956.



Figure 7.4 Evita administering her charitable works

Source: AFP / Getty Images

This was still not the end for Evita. She was dug up and returned to Perón in Madrid in 1971, where the body could occasionally be seen on his dining room table. Perón's third wife, Isabel, repatriated the remains in 1974. At this point the body was given to her family, and she was placed in a high-security compartment in her family's crypt in the Recoleta Cemetery. To this day the tomb receives a steady stream of visitors.

Overthrown in 1955 in the midst of an economic crisis, Perón left behind a national system of Peronist unions that would remain focal point for political conflict in Argentine society for decades. Many of his efforts to centralize and coordinate education, healthcare, pensions, and welfare failed in the face of opposition from entrenched interests (sometimes undone by the very unions that served as his power bases). The centralized state Perón imagined, where industrial capital and workers cooperated under the authority of the state, never materialized.

In exile however, Peronism seemed to thrive. Though Peronist images were banned after 1955, the symbolic power of Peronism as a form of opposition to oligarchical interests remained powerful in Argentina. Tough economic times and the fact that Argentines were



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not allowed to even utter his name only increased Perón's mystique. Peronism ceased to be any sort of discrete ideology, and instead became a romantic longing for better times, expressed by a desire for the General's return.

That day came in 1973, when Perón was allowed to come home from Madrid. He was again elected president, but by this time he was an old man, and his political movement was so fragmented that it offered Argentines little more than violent acts perpetrated against its perceived enemies. Perón died the following year, succeeded in office by his third wife, Isabel. Under her the country veered out of control, rocked both by economic crisis and waves of political violence. She was overthrown in March 1976, succeeded by one of the bloodiest dictatorships in the history of the region. Peronists were again made into targets of repression by the ruling junta, which hoped to wipe them from the face of the nation once and for all.

They would not succeed. Memories of Juan, of Evita, and what they once promised persist to this day. In part this is due to the fuzzy ideological content of Peronism. In its current form, it remains nationalist, impassioned, and rooted in simple concepts like the appeal to social justice. In a world where poor people continue to face repeated humiliations at the hands of the powerful, Peronism remains a vivid symbol.

The Documents: Evita Speaks

On the evening of August 22, 1951, a visibly frail, almost translucent Eva Perón gave one of the most memorable performances of her life. Facing over a million people on the Avenida Nueve de Julio at the Cabildo Abierto (Open Meeting) of the CGT, she discovered the full power of the crowd. Attempting again and again to decline the honor of being ~~named vice-president~~, she encountered an audience that would not accept her decision. They howled in protest, they refused to go home. At nightfall, they rolled newspapers into torches, lit them on fire, and waited for the answer they demanded.

Eva Perón was not a retiring figure. In spite of her failing health, she was the head of the nation's largest social services organization, the head of the Peronist Women's Party (women, having received the vote in 1947, were critical to the Peronist strategy in the November 11, 1951, elections), and she was adored by the people she addressed. Nonetheless, in this moment she was forced to come to terms with the fact that, even when they come together in support of a speaker, a million people have a kind of power all their own. Gathered from across the country largely due to Eva's largesse (the FEP paid train and bus fares, and fed the crowds), they were there to accomplish one thing: to pressure Perón into including Eva on the ticket for the 1951 elections. When things did not appear to be going as they hoped, neither Perón, nor the union bosses, nor even Eva could calm the crowd. They interrupted her speech continually, refused to let others speak, and even seemed about to launch a spontaneous general strike. While the reasons they ultimately backed down are a little unclear, it seems likely that they only dispersed once she promised to do their bidding.

This was in many ways the apogee of Eva's political life, and the way it is remembered has long been a central part of her legend. The speech began as a stage-managed moment, but relatively quickly became an improvisation, a dialogue between Eva and the

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descamisados. We know this because the memories of the participants and newsreel footage show us a spectacle on the verge of turning into a revolt. Unfortunately though, when we endeavor to find out what really happened, we confront the fact that memories are faulty and the footage fragmentary.

The story of the *renunciamiento* (renouncement) has the power to make Eva Perón into an ambitious politician (she stoked the crowd to pressure Perón), a servant of the masses (she agreed to do as they wished), or a fool (she had no idea that events would get out of control). It also has the capacity to make the crowd into a powerful and disruptive political force (they do not leave until she agrees to their wishes), a mass that simply cannot sustain itself (they disperse because their energy dissipates, they may not even be able to hear what she says), or political dupes (they are fooled by Eva into dispersing). There are still other readings, which can render the moment variously as hopeful or sinister.

Presented below several different renderings of the *renunciamiento*, each with its own truth claims. Document 7.1 is the newspaper article from the *New York Times* reporting the event. The *Times* reported a great deal from Argentina that year, relishing in tales of Peronist corruption, repression, and fakery. Other reports around that time informed readers that the Peróns were repressing striking rail workers, refusing to let the opposition parties have access to government radio, fomenting virulent anti-Americanism, and spending lavishly on new luxury cars while the country suffered. Critics have long accused the *Times* of selectively reporting Latin American events, and describing American foes in the most negative terms. One wonders if these factors are at work in this story, and just how much the event is being reported, as opposed to imagined, in the *Times'* reportage.

Document 7.2 comes from the Peronist Party of Buenos Aires' account of the *renunciamiento*. Proffered as her speech, with no other explanation, the text is notable both for the fact that the most important part of the event, the dialogue with the crowd, is missing, and for the fact that the words included in the text do not appear to be what she actually said. Were these the prepared remarks written for Eva but never delivered? One wonders. If they were, they provide an excellent opportunity for us to understand how speakers deliver the texts prepared for them by speechwriters. It also reminds us of just how perilous it is to rely on written texts from archives in order to reconstruct a past that did not take place through the medium of the written word.

Document 7.3 offers readers our best approximation of what was actually said on August 22. It is from a transcript prepared by the Argentine scholar Mónica Amaré, who assembled the dialogue from the bits and pieces of newsreel she acquired. Readers might also encounter heavily edited bits of those newsreels by searching for video of the *renunciamiento* on the web, or opt for a literary rendering of these clips in Tomás Eloy Martínez' *Santa Evita*. Nonetheless, while each of these texts offers a glimpse of the moment, they are partial; fragments that reveal as much about the method of representation and the persons representing the event as they do about the event itself.

For what it is worth, we know that Document 7.4 is an accurate rendering of what she said on the radio nine days later on August 31, when she announced that she would not run. We have the complete recording of the radio transmission, and it is word for word what we have here. Did she stick to her script in the absence of over a million screaming *descamisados*? It would seem so.

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Document 7.1 Foster Hailey, "Peronists Will Head Argentine Ticket," New York Times, August 23, 1951

Source: From the *New York Times*, © August, 23, 1951. The New York Times. All rights reserved. Used by permission and protected by the Copyright Laws of the United States. The printing, copying, redistribution, or retransmission of the Material without express written permission is prohibited.

BUENOS AIRES, Aug. 22—Standing on a floodlit platform in Plaza Moreno before a crowd estimated all the way from 250,000 to 1,000,000 persons gathered from all over the nation, President Juan Perón and Señora Perón tonight accepted, in effect, a demand of the peronista party that they run for President and Vice President of Argentina.

The President's acceptance was unqualified. There was some doubt about his wife's decision, but it seemed to some listeners as unqualified as that of her husband.

"We subject ourselves to the decision of the people," said General Perón.

After first having asked for four days to make up her mind, then twenty-four hours, then two hours, Señora Perón's last words as she turned from the microphone were, "as General Perón says, we will do what the people want."

The Superior Council, meeting immediately after the rally disbanded, announced that its ticket for the November elections would be headed by the Peróns. It will officially convey this announcement to the President and his wife Friday.

Señora Perón did not make her promised appearance on the radio, apparently convinced that her silence would indicate consent.

The rally, which was not called by the official peronista party but by the General Confederation of Labor, was the culmination of months of organized supplications to President Perón to allow himself to be re-elected President for another six years. Nearly every day delegations have been presenting themselves at Casa Rosada pleading with the general to answer the demand of the people. Three weeks ago, the labor confederation entered Señora Perón in the list as its Vice Presidential choice.

An interesting feature of the speeches of both Peróns was that each recognized the opposition to her appearance on the ticket. Much of this opposition to her, Señora Perón said, might be that the opposition knew it could not attack General Perón directly because of the people's support of him, but felt it could attack him through her.

It has been no secret that there has been a serious split within the peronista party over her candidacy. Two members of the council were forced out a few days ago for having advocated the placing of Col. Domingo Mercante, Governor of Buenos Aires Province, in second place on the ticket. Colonel Mercante started an official trip through the province on Monday that would keep him out of the city through today. There was a report tonight that a delegation of 2,000 peronistas had come from La Plata with Mercante signs and been prevented from taking part in the rally.

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Document 7.2 The Peronist Version of the Speech

Source: www.pjbonaerense.org.ar/peronismo/discursos_eva/discursos_eva.htm. Translated by Laura F. Temes and Patricia Rosas.

Your Excellency, Mr. President; my dear descamisados (shirtless ones) of our Nation:

It is a thrill for me to see the descamisados again, just as on October 17, and on all other dates when the people were present. Today, my General, at this Justicialist town hall meeting, the people who in 1810 gathered to ask what it all meant are gathered again to declare that they want General Perón to continue guiding the destiny of our Fatherland. It is the people, it is the women, the children, the elderly, and the workers who are here today because they have taken the future into their own hands, and they know that they will only find justice and freedom with General Perón at the helm of the Nation.

My General, your glorious vanguard of descamisados is present here today, as they were yesterday, and as they always will be, willing to give their lives for Perón. They fully understand that prior to the arrival of General Perón, they lived in slavery, and above all, they had lost all hope for a better future. They know it was General Perón who gave them social, moral, and spiritual dignity. They also know that the oligarchy, the mediocre, and the traitors of the Nation are not yet defeated, and that from their lairs, they undermine the people and the nation. But our oligarchy, who always sold itself for a pittance, does not expect the people to stand up this time nor does it realize that the Argentine nation is comprised of honorable men and women who are willing to die to finish off, once and for all, the traitors and the sellouts.

They will never forgive General Perón for improving conditions for the workers, creating Justicialismo, or establishing that dignity in our Fatherland is reserved only for those who work. They will never forgive General Perón for lifting up everyone they despise: the workers—whom they forgot—the children and the elderly and the women—whom they relegated to second place.

Those who made the country suffer an endless night will never forgive General Perón for raising the three flags that they should have raised over a century ago: social justice, economic independence, and the sovereignty of our Fatherland.

But today the people are sovereign, not only civically but also morally and spiritually. My General, we the people, your vanguard of descamisados, are willing to finish off, once and for all, the intrigue, the slander, the defamation, and the merchants who sell out their people and their country. The people want Perón not just because of the material gains—this Nation, my General, never thought of that. Instead, it thought of our country—the material, spiritual and moral greatness of our Fatherland. Because the Argentine people have a big heart, and they believe in values other than the material ones. For this reason, my General, they are here today, traveling the roads, and with thousands of sacrifices, taking shortcuts to come here to tell us that they want to be able to declare “Present!” at this Justicialist town hall meeting.

The Fatherland heeded the call of our compañeros from the General Labor Confederation to tell the Leader that a people stand behind him and that he should continue

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as he is doing now, fighting against those who are not patriots, against corrupt politicians, and against imperialism from the left and the right.

As for me, in General Perón, I always found a teacher and a friend, and he always stood as an example of unblemished loyalty to the workers. All these years of my life, I have devoted my nights and days to helping the humble people of our Fatherland, without consideration for the days or the nights or the sacrifices.

While by night the sellouts, the mediocre, and the cowardly plotted the next day's intrigues and infamy, I, a humble woman, only thought of the pain I had to alleviate and the people I had to comfort on your behalf, my General. For I know the deep affection you have for the descamisados and because I carry a debt of gratitude in my heart to them, the people who, on October 17, 1945, gave me back my life, my light, my soul, and my heart by bringing Perón back to me.

I am but a woman of the people, a descamisada of our Fatherland, a descamisada to the core. For I always wanted to rub shoulders with the workers, the elderly, the children, and those who suffer, working side by side and heart to heart with them to ensure that they love Perón even more, and to serve as a bridge of peace between Perón and the descamisados of our Fatherland.

My General, at this stunning sight, we witness once again the miracle that took place two thousand years ago. For it was not the wise, nor the wealthy, nor the powerful who believed, but rather the humble. The souls of the rich and the powerful are shut out from all the greed and the selfishness, but the humble, as they live and sleep out of doors, have the windows of their souls open to extraordinary things. My General, it is the descamisados who see you with the eyes of the soul, and that is why they understand you and follow you. That is why they only want one man and no other: Perón and no one else.

I take this opportunity to ask God to enlighten the mediocre, so they can see Perón and understand him. And also so that future generations will not point their fingers at us should they find out that there were Argentines who were such scoundrels that they made alliances with foreign interests to fight against a man like General Perón, who dedicated his entire life to trying to achieve greatness and happiness for our Fatherland.

I was never interested in deceit or slander when they unleashed their tongues against a frail Argentine woman. On the contrary, I felt happy inside, my General, because I wanted my bosom to shield any attacks directed at you, so they would hit me instead of you. But I was never fooled. Those who attack me do so not because of me, my General, but because of you. They are such traitors, such cowards that they do not want to say they do not love Perón. It is not Eva Perón they attack, it is Perón.

They are upset that Eva Perón has devoted herself to the Argentine people. They are upset that instead of devoting herself to the oligarchs' parties, she has devoted her hours, her nights and her days, to alleviating sorrows and healing wounds.

My General, before you stand the people, and I want to take the opportunity to thank all those who are humble, all the workers, all the women, children, and men of our Fatherland, who in their heart of hearts have praised a woman's name. I am a humble woman who loves them deeply and who doesn't mind devoting her life to them if it

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means bringing a little bit of happiness to one household in her Nation. I will always do what the people ask of me, but I say to my fellow workers, just as I told them five years ago, that I would rather be Evita than the President's wife if that Evita were uttered to soothe the pain in some household in our Fatherland. Today, I say to you that I prefer to be Evita, because in being Evita, I know that you will always carry me deep inside your heart. What glory! What honor! What more could a citizen aspire to than the love of the Argentine people!

I am so deeply moved. My humble person does not deserve the deep affection of all the workers of our Fatherland. You are placing a huge burden on the weak back of an Argentine woman. I do not know how to repay the affection and trust that the people have placed on me. I pay it back with love, by loving Perón and by loving all of you, which is like loving the Fatherland itself.

Compañeros, I want all of you, those in the provinces, those in metropolitan Buenos Aires, those in the capital, in short, people from all corners of the country, to tell the descamisados that all that I am, all that I have, all that I do, all that I will do, all that I think, and all that I possess, none of it is mine. It belongs to Perón because he gave me everything. By lowering himself to the level of a humble woman of the Fatherland, he raised her high up and placed her in the hearts of the Argentine people.

My General, if I could reserve any satisfaction for myself, it would be that of interpreting your dreams as a patriot, your concerns, and to have worked humbly, but steadfastly, to heal the wounds of the poor people of our Fatherland, to make hopes become reality and to alleviate sorrows, according to your wishes and your orders.

I have done nothing; everything is Perón. Perón is the Fatherland, Perón is everything, and we are all light-years distant from the Leader of the Nation. My General, before the people go to vote for you on November 11, with the full spiritual powers conferred upon me by the descamisados of our Fatherland, I proclaim you President of all Argentines. The Fatherland is saved because it is in the hands of General Perón.

To all of you, to my Fatherland's descamisados, and to all those who are listening, I hold you symbolically very, very, close to my heart.

Document 7.3 The Renunciamiento as Compiled from Newsreel and Archival Footage.

Source: Compiled by Mónica Amaré. Translated by Laura F. Temes and Patricia Rosas.

[The event was scheduled to begin at 2:30 p.m. People, especially women, had camped out days in advance in the area surrounding the presidential balcony. Around 5:00 p.m., Perón arrived with his Ministers. The crowd gave him an ovation and immediately shouted out for Eva, who entered the balcony crying. José Espejo, Secretary General of the General Labor Confederation (CGT), spoke first. He ended his speech by proclaiming the Perón-Perón ticket for the following term. Next, Perón expressed his gratitude and promised to continue his government project. The crowd started chanting, "Perón with Evita!" Eva Perón began her speech.]

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Your Excellency, Mr. President, dear descamisados of our Fatherland,

It is a thrill for me to see the descamisados again, just as on October 17, and on all other dates when the people were present. Today, my General, at this Justicialist town hall meeting, just as in 1810, the people ask, "what does it all mean?" Now, they know what it means, and they want General Perón to continue leading the destiny of our Nation.

With Evita! With Evita!

It is the people, it is the women, the children, the elderly, and the workers who are here today because they have taken the future into their own hands, and they know that they will only find justice and freedom with General Perón at the helm of the Nation.

My General, your glorious vanguard of descamisados is present here today, as they were yesterday, and as they always will be, willing to give their lives for Perón. They fully understand that prior to the arrival of General Perón, they lived in slavery, and above all, they had lost all hope for a better future.

Evita with Perón! Evita with Perón!

It was General Perón who gave them social, moral, and spiritual dignity. They also know that the oligarchy, the mediocre, and the traitors of the Nation are not yet defeated, and that from their filthy lairs, they undermine liberty and the people. But our oligarchy, who always sold itself for a pittance, does not expect the people to stand up this time nor does it realize that the Argentine nation is comprised of honorable men and women who are willing to die to finish off, once and for all, the traitors and the sellouts.

Fuel! Fuel! Fuel to the fire!

They will never forgive General Perón for lifting up everyone they despise: the workers—whom they forgot—the children and the elderly and the women—whom they relegated to second place. But today the people are sovereign, not only civically but also morally and spiritually. My General, we the people, your vanguard of descamisados, are willing to finish off, once and for all, the intrigue, the slander, the defamation, and the merchants who sell out their people and their country. The people want Perón not just because of the material gains—this Nation, my General, never thought of that. Instead, it thought of our country—the material, spiritual and moral greatness of our Fatherland. Because the Argentine people have a big heart, and they believe in values other than the material ones. For this reason, my General, they are here today, traveling the roads, and with thousands of sacrifices, taking shortcuts to come here to tell us that they want to be counted at this Justicialist town hall meeting.

The Fatherland heeded the call of our compañeros from the General Labor Confederation to tell the Leader that a People stand behind him and that he should continue as he is doing now, fighting against those who are not patriots.

As for me, in General Perón, I always found a teacher and a friend, and he always stood as an example of unblemished loyalty to the workers. All these years of my life,

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I have devoted my nights and days to helping the humble people of our Fatherland, without consideration for the days or the nights or the sacrifices.

While by night the sellouts, the mediocre, and the cowardly plotted the next day's intrigues and infamy, I, a humble woman, only thought of the pain I had to alleviate and the people I had to comfort on your behalf, my General. For I know the deep affection you have for the descamisados and because I carry a debt of gratitude in my heart to them, the people who, on October 17, 1945, gave me back my life, my light, my soul, and my heart by bringing the General back to me.

Evita with Perón! Evita with Perón!

I am but a woman of the people, one of the descamisadas of our Fatherland, a descamisada to the core. For I always wanted to rub shoulders with the workers, the elderly, the children, and those who suffer, working side by side and heart to heart with them to ensure that they love Perón even more, and to serve as a bridge of peace between Perón and the descamisados of our Fatherland.

[A paragraph is missing on which there is no agreement in the records.]

I was never interested in deceit or slander when they unleashed their tongues against a frail Argentine woman. On the contrary, it made me happy inside, because I served my people and my General. [Applause.]

But I was never fooled. Those who attack me do so not because of me, my General, but because of you. They are such traitors, such cowards that they do not want to say they do not love Perón. It is not Eva Perón they attack, it is Perón.

They are upset that Eva Perón has devoted herself to the Argentine people; they are upset that instead of devoting herself to the oligarchs' parties, she has devoted her hours, her nights and her days, to alleviating sorrows and healing wounds.

My General, before you stand the people, and I want to take the opportunity to thank all those who are humble, all the workers, all the women, children, and men of our Fatherland, who in their heart of hearts have praised a woman's name. I am a humble woman who loves them deeply and who doesn't mind devoting her life to them if it means bringing a little bit of happiness to one household in her Nation. I will always do what the people ask of me, [applause] . . . but I say to my fellow workers, just as I told them five years ago, that I would rather be Evita than the President's wife if that Evita were uttered to soothe the pain in some household in our Fatherland. Today, I say to you that I prefer to be Evita, because in being Evita, I know that you will always carry me deep inside your heart. What glory! What honor! What more could a citizen aspire to than the love of the Argentine people!

I am so deeply moved. My humble person does not deserve the deep affection of all the workers of our country. You are placing a huge burden on the weak back of an Argentine woman. I do not know how to repay the affection and trust that the people have placed on me. I pay it back with love, by loving Perón and by loving all of you, which is like loving the Fatherland itself.

Compañeros, I want all of you, those in the provinces, those in metropolitan Buenos Aires, those in the capital, in short, people from all corners of the country, to tell the descamisados that all that I am, all that I have, all that I do, all that I will do, all that I

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think, and all that I possess, none of it is mine. It belongs to Perón because he gave me everything. By lowering himself to the level of a humble woman of the Fatherland, he raised her high up and placed her in the hearts of the Argentine people.

My General, if I could reserve any satisfaction for myself, it would be that of interpreting your dreams as a patriot, your concerns, and to have worked humbly, but steadfastly, to heal the wounds of the poor people of our Fatherland, to make hopes become reality and to alleviate sorrows, according to your wishes and your orders.

I have done nothing; everything is Perón. Perón is the Fatherland, Perón is everything, and we are all light-years distant from the Leader of the Nation. My General, before the people go to vote for you on November 11, with the full spiritual powers conferred upon me by the descamisados of our Fatherland, I proclaim you President of all Argentines. The Fatherland is saved because General Perón governs it.

To all of you, to my Fatherland's descamisados, and to all those who are listening, I hold you symbolically very, very, close to my heart.

[Perón is the next to speak. The event would have ended after he finished speaking. However, the crowd clamors for Evita. Espejo approaches her and says, "Madam, the People are asking you to accept your post . . ."]

[Eva returns to the microphones]

I ask the General Labor Confederation and I ask you, given the affection that binds us, that for such a momentous decision in the life of this humble woman, you give me at least four days.

No! No! With Evita!

Compañeros . . . Compañeros, I don't want any workers from our Fatherland to wake up tomorrow and have no arguments to counter the resentful and the mediocre who did not or do not understand me, thinking that everything I do, I do on behalf of petty interests . . .

No! No! With Evita!

Compañeros, due to the affection that binds us, I ask you please, do not make me do what I do not want to do.

With Evita! With Evita!

[Eva asks for silence with her hands.]

When has Evita let you down? When has Evita not done what you want? Don't you realize that this moment is very important, for a woman just as for any other citizen, and that she needs at least a few hours, only that?

No! Strike! Strike! General strike!

[Crying] Compañeros, don't you think that if my taking on the responsibility of vice president was a solution that I would have answered "yes"? I do not relinquish my post in the struggle; I relinquish the honors.

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No! No!

With General Perón in government, the post of vice president is nothing but an honor, and I aspire to nothing else but the honor of the affection of the humble people of my Fatherland.

Compañeros, compañeros. The General is asking me to tell you that if tomorrow I were to . . .

[The crowd again interrupts her.]

Compañeros, I ask you as a friend, as a comrade, to disperse, to . . .

No! Answer! Answer!

[José Espejo speaks: "Compañeros, compañera Evita has requested two hours. We will remain here. We will not budge until she gives us an affirmative response."]

I am surprised . . . Never in my heart as a humble Argentine woman did I think I could accept that post . . .

(Note: while Amaré does not include it in her compilation, several versions of the dialogue between Evita and the crowd include the further phrase, placed at various points in the dialogue.)

In the end, I will do as the people decide . . .

Thunderous Applause

Document 7.4 Eva Perón's Final Response Broadcast over the Airwaves at 8.30 p.m. on August 31, 1951

Source: <http://www.lafogata.org/evita/evita2.htm>. Translated by Laura F. Temes and Patricia Rosas.

Compañeros,

I want to inform the Argentine people of my final and irrevocable decision to relinquish the honor that the workers and the people of this Fatherland wanted to bestow on me at the historic town hall meeting of August 22. That same marvelous afternoon that my eyes and heart will never forget, I realized that I should not trade my post in the Peronist movement's struggle for some other post. From that moment on, after conferring with my heart and with the people, I thought about this in the solitude of my own conscience, and I reflected on it with a cool head. I have reached my final and irrevocable decision and have presented it to the Supreme Council of the Peronist Party, before our supreme commander, General Perón. Now, I want the Argentine people to hear the reasons for my unwavering resignation directly from me. First, speaking as a proud Argentine woman and a Peronista, one who loves the cause of Perón, of my

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Fatherland, and of my people, I hereby state that this decision arises from the very core of my conscience, and thus, it is utterly free and carries the full force of my definitive will.

On October 17, I made a lasting vow in the presence of my own conscience to focus my efforts entirely on serving the descamisados, who are the humble people and the workers. I had an infinite debt to settle with them. I think I did everything in my power to keep my promise and pay my debt. Then as now, I have but one ambition, a single, great personal ambition: in the marvelous chapter that History will doubtlessly devote to Perón, may it say that next to Perón stood a woman who devoted her life to bringing the hopes of the people before the President, and that the people affectionately called this woman "Evita." That is who I want to be.

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At A Glance: Urbanization

- D.1) Table: Urban Agglomerations with Five Million or More Inhabitants, 1950–2015
- D.2) Graph: Urbanization in Latin America (percent of total population)
- D.3) Map: Population Density in Latin America
- D.4) Map: Legal Migration from Latin America and the Caribbean to the United States, 1980–2010

Since the 1950s, one of the most pronounced demographic trends in Latin America has been urbanization. Some of those who moved to the cities were displaced from their lands by armed conflicts, others in search of economic opportunities or to escape rural poverty; poverty that was often exacerbated by government policies designed to help export agriculture and maintain low staple prices for the burgeoning urban population of the region.

Table D.1 shows the growth of Latin America's most significant urban areas since 1950. Latin America today has at least nine cities with more than five million inhabitants (the number is likely larger, depending on how populations are counted). This represents a sharp transformation since 1950, when the region only had one city of this size. Buenos Aires, which was then the largest city in the region, is today third, far behind São Paulo and Mexico City. These urban populations offer one of the great challenges for twenty-first-century states, as they struggle to provide jobs, infrastructure, social services, food, and water to their sprawling suburbs, many of which are comprised mainly of the working poor. This in turn places new pressures on rural areas, which not only cannot easily produce enough food to feed the urban populations, but also must compete with the cities for dwindling water and other resources.

Figure D.2 illustrates the gradual growth of urban residents as a portion of the population of the region between 1950 and 2030. This graph reinforces the shift from an overwhelmingly rural population to an urban one in a relatively short period, and suggests the challenges that these transformations have posed for both rural and urban populations. It also speaks to the transformations in the rural and urban economy that this has entailed—the shift from employment in agriculture to manufacturing, services, and the informal economy, and changes in the nature of both of those economies, such as the industrialization of rural production.

Figure D.3 supplements this graph with a map indicating the most significant areas of population density across the region. We see here that it is not just the largest cities, but surrounding regions that have seen significant urbanization in recent decades. Latin American populations are not evenly divided across the region, but concentrated along the coasts, the major river systems, and in the highland plateaus of Mexico and Central America.

Figure D.4 considers a further aspect of migration in contemporary Latin America. In the early twenty-first century, around forty million people of Latin American origin live in the United States. Some of those lack documents (most guess this number is somewhere between seven and twenty million). Migrants with authorization from the U.S. government however, also represent a significant portion of this figure. This map shows legal migration from Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean, between 1980 and 2010.

Although distinct from migration from the countryside to urban areas, emigration (i.e., moving to a foreign country) is often rooted in similar motivations. Poor rural migrants, unable to find opportunities in their home countries and sometimes under threat from various agents, migrate from Bolivia and Paraguay to Argentina and Brazil, from Guatemala to Mexico, from Haiti to the Dominican Republic, and from across the region to the United States. Most initially maintain the hope that they will one day return to their place of origin. Most also maintain close connections to their home communities, regularly sending economic aid in the form

of remittances (e.g., Mexicans send billions of dollars in remittances home from the United States every year). A significant number will ultimately remain in their new home societies, often deeply ambivalent about what they have gained, and what they have lost.

Table D.1 Urban Agglomerations with Five Million or More Inhabitants, 1950–2015 (population in thousands)

	1950	1975	2000	2015
Buenos Aires	5,042	7,963	12,024	13,185
Mexico City		10,691	18,066	20,434
São Paulo		10,333	17,962	21,229
Rio de Janeiro		9,144	10,652	11,543
Lima			7,443	9,388
Bogotá			6,771	8,970
Santiago			5,467	6,495
Belo Horizonte				5,395
Guatemala City				5,268
Total	5,042	38,131	78,385	101,907

Source: Jorge A. Brea, "Population Dynamics in Latin America," in *Population Bulletin* March 2003, Vol. 58, No. 1. (www.un.org/esa/population/publications/wup2001/wup2001dh.pdf)

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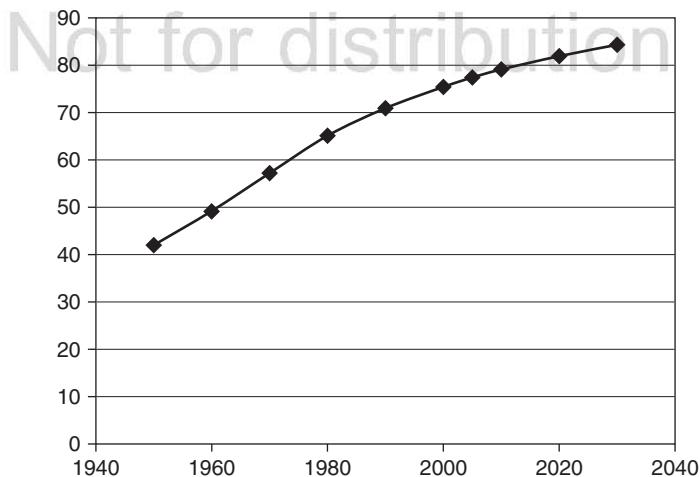


Figure D.2 Graph: Urbanization in Latin America (percent of total population)

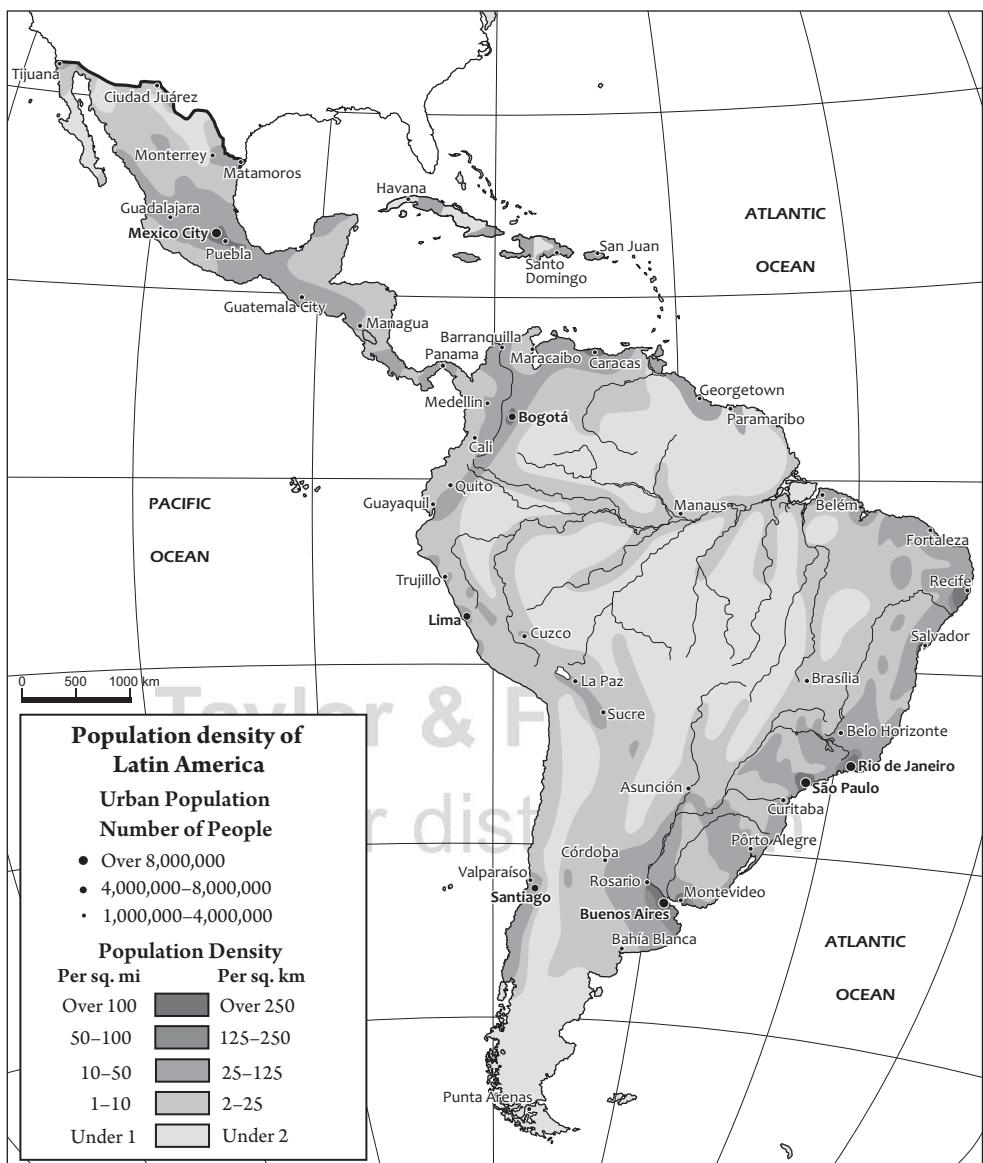


Figure D.3 Map: Population Density in Latin America

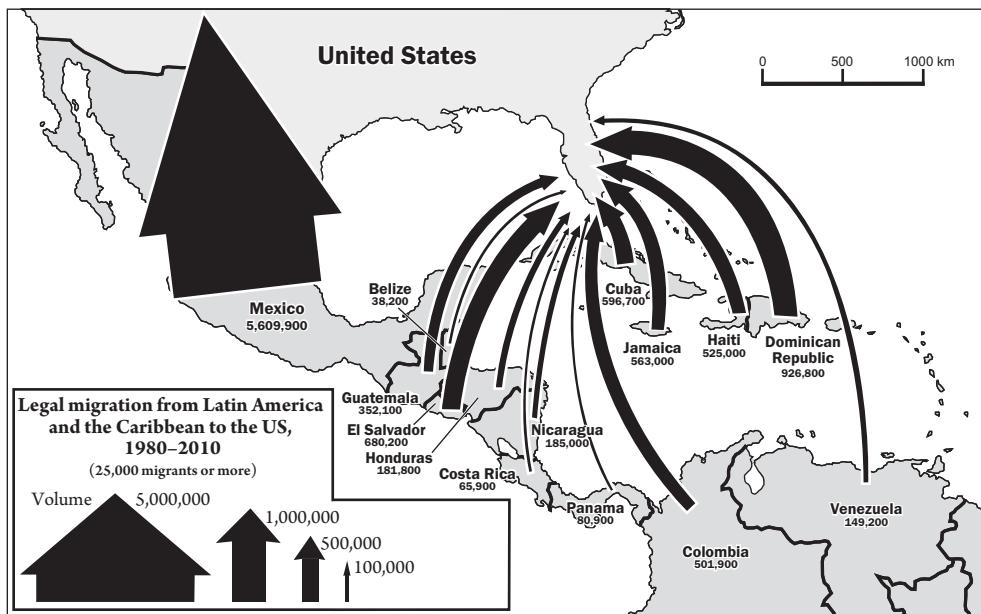


Figure D.4 Map: Legal Migration from Latin America and the Caribbean to the United States, 1980–2010

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First, it is how citizens of the United States call themselves. Second, Latin Americans generally know what it means, and very few of them use the term to refer to themselves.

- 2 See Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944).
- 3 Alan M. Taylor, "Foreign Capital in Latin America in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," Working Paper 9580 *National Bureau of Economic Research*, March 2003, <http://www.nber.org/papers/w9580>.
- 4 The plantations they left in their wakes suffered from reduced biodiversity and were not easily turned to other forms of agriculture.
- 5 Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre famously identified Central America as the critical testing ground for U.S. imperialism in Latin America (see an excerpt from 1929's *A donde va indoamericana* on the website (2nd ed., Santiago de Chile: Ercilla, 1935). Others in this camp included Augusto Sandino, C. L. R. James (author of *The Black Jacobins*), and Fidel Castro.
- 6 The plan also empowered local peasant committees to oversee their lands, shifting power from the central government to marginalized groups.
- 7 The domino theory, which proposed that weak regimes would fall to communism when influenced by communist neighbors, eventually seriously weakening the United States, was first articulated by George Kennan in a 1947 article in *Foreign Affairs*. It was a guiding theory of U.S. cold war politics, and part of the rationale behind both U.S. policy in Latin America and the Vietnam War.
- 8 Allen Dulles once served on the Board of Trustees of the UFCO, and John Foster Dulles served as legal counsel to the Firm before joining the administration. Both held UFCO stock.
- 9 In the aftermath, UFCO agreed to new taxes on profits of 30 percent (up from 10 percent in 1953). A total of 250,000 acres of land were returned to the company, but the UFCO did agree to give up 100,000 for a land reform, and the United States gave \$80 million in aid. After PBSUC-CESS, the Eisenhower administration allowed an anti-trust suit against UFCO to proceed that weakened the company, which ultimately rebranded itself as Chiquita Bananas.
- 10 Bartenders at the Hotel Nacional in Cuba even invented a drink named after movie star Mary Pickford.
- 11 The conglomerate was founded in 1902, as a joint venture between the Imperial Tobacco Company and James Duke's American Tobacco Company.
- 12 The film debuted in Mexico City in December 1944, and in the United States in 1945.
- 13 The film debuted in Rio de Janeiro in 1942, and was released in the United States in 1943.
- 14 Sandino wrote a notable letter to Hipólito Yrigoyen in 1929, called his "Plan for Realizing Bolívar's Dream."
- 15 Sandino was killed in 1934, but the movement that overthrew the U.S.-backed Somoza regime in 1979 was named for him.

7 Power to the People

- 1 Daryle Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil*, p. 87.
- 2 Radio Nacional began as a commercial station and was taken over by the government in 1940, but continued as a commercial venture, featuring music and *radionovelas*.
- 3 There is some question as to the authenticity of the note. Quoted in Levine, *Father of the Poor: Vargas and His Era*, 150–152.
- 4 Levine, *Father of the Poor*, p. 138.
- 5 The Cristero revolt centered on the defense of Catholic traditions in the face of anti-clerical government programs. It was also very much a defense of local practices and autonomies against a state that was viewed with a great deal of distrust.
- 6 Much of the material for this section is drawn from Joy Elizabeth Hayes, *Radio Nation*.
- 7 By the late 1930s Emilio Azcárraga would control two national networks, one affiliated with NBC and the other with CBS He would ultimately command 80 percent of the radio and TV audience in the country.

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- 8 Socialist Education combined John Dewey's "action school" with left-wing principles.
- 9 Hayes, p. 58.
- 10 Listen to Cárdenas oil expropriation announcement at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8GlFYQfgSK8>.
- 11 Literally, "A Peronist Day." The phrase was used among Perón's supporters for decades to describe a good day.
- 12 See Chapter 5.
- 13 As with translations of slang generally, in order to maintain the form and meaning, this translation is not literal. For the Spanish version, see the book's website www.routledge.com/textbooks/daswon, or www.todotango.com.
- 14 Clientelism involves politicians acting as personal agents for their constituents, providing favors and benefits in return for support. The Radical Party used this strategy to gain votes in working-class neighborhoods consistently during the 1910s and 1920s.
- 15 This is the term used in Latin America to describe military governments characterized by a committee of officers rather than one dominant leader.
- 16 Ten thousand people died in the earthquake, which remains the greatest national disaster in Argentine history.
- 17 It was originally called the *Fundación María Eva Duarte de Perón*.

8 A Decade of Revolution in Cuba

- 1 For a recent example of this, see Sean Penn, "Conversations with Chávez and Castro," in the *Nation*, November 25, 2008, and Roger Cohen "The End of the Cuban Revolution," in *New York Times*, December 5, 2008.
- 2 Thirty years later doves again landed on Castro during a speech commemorating the Revolution, causing a similar debate.
- 3 "Hasta la victoria, siempre" is perhaps the most important revolutionary slogan.
- 4 This is the measure economists use for describing inequality. Zero would be perfect equality. Most Western European nations have Gini coefficients of around 0.3; Latin American nations, where we see some of the greatest inequality on the planet, average around 0.5.
- 5 In the fifteen years after Kennedy announced that all Cuban exiles would be granted immediate asylum in the United States, 700,000 Cubans took advantage of this offer. Dentists, doctors, and technicians fled (20,000 out of 85,000 professionals), leaving the island's schools, hospitals, factories, and administration without expertise, but also open to control from revolutionary cadres.
- 6 Pilar López Gonzales was a protagonist in Oscar Lewis and his research team's study of life in revolutionary Cuba, the three-volume *Living the Revolution*. See Oscar Lewis, Ruth M. Lewis, and Susan M. Rigdon, *Four Women: Living the Revolution: An Oral History of Contemporary Cuba*, Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1977.
- 7 Small farms also generally provided little tax revenue, as small farmers were good at avoiding taxes.
- 8 Junta Central de Planificación.
- 9 See, for example, Lino Novás Calvo's *Manera de Contar* (New York: Las Americas Publishing Co., 1970).
- 10 It received the Premio Internacional de Cuentos Juan Rulfo in 1990, and the Premio de la Crítica Literaria in 1992. It has been published in twenty countries, eleven languages, and staged as a play on over fifteen occasions.
- 11 Fellow students of David's at the university, who debated the threat that Diego posed to the Revolution because of his homosexuality.
- 12 David refers here to the fact that he had earlier spied on his friend Diego, which he had fears was a form of betrayal.

Proof