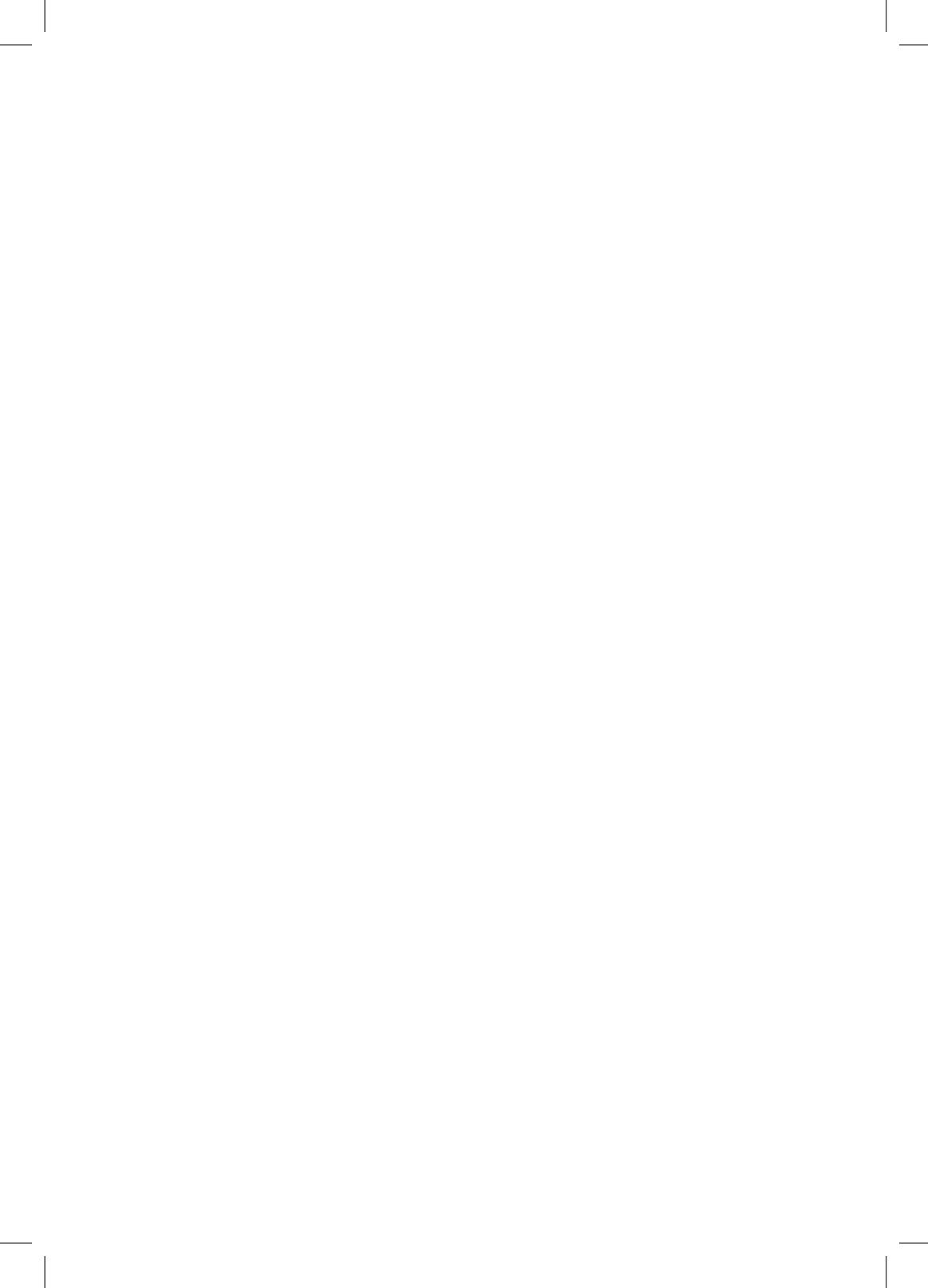


The Two Princes

Juan D. Perón and Getulio Vargas: a Comparative
Study of Latin American Populism

Alejandro Groppo



ABBREVIATIONS – ARGENTINA

CGT	Confederación General del Trabajo
FAA	Federación Agraria Argentina
FUA	Federación Universitaria Argentina
DNT	Departamento Nacional de Trabajo
PC	Partido Comunista
PDN/PDNC	Partido Demócrata Nacional or Partido Demócrata Nacional Conservador
PDP	Partido Demócrata Progresista
PL	Partido Laborista
PP	Partido Peronista
PS	Partido Socialista
PURN	Partido Único de la Revolución Nacional
SAC	Sueldo Anual Complementario [Annual Wage Bonus]
SLW	Secretaría de Trabajo y Previsión [Secretary of Labour and Welfare]
SRA	Sociedad Rural Argentina
SRW	Statute of the Rural Worker [Estatuto del Peón]
UIA	Unión Industrial Argentina
UCR	Unión Cívica Radical
UD	Unión Democrática

ABBREVIATIONS – BRAZIL

AIB	Ação Integralista Brasileira
AM	Acordo Mineiro
ANL	Aliança Nacional Libertadora
CLT	Consolidation of Labour Laws
ESP	Estado de São Paulo (newspaper)
FIESP	Federação Industrial do Estado de São Paulo

LA	Aliança Liberal
PCB	Partido Comunista Brasileiro
PD	Partido Democrático
PL	Partido Liberal
PN	Partido Nacional
PPM	Partido Progresista Mineiro
PRB	Partido Republicano Bahiano
PRM	Partido Republicano Mineiro
PRR	Partido Republicano Riograndense
PRP	Partido Republicano Paulista
PRL	Partido Republicano Liberal (Rio Grande do Sul)
UCN	União Cívica Nacional or União Civica Brasileira
UDN	União Democrática Nacional

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD	17
INTRODUCTION	19
I. Implicit Imagery on Vargas and Perón	19
A. On Vargas	19
B. On Perón	22
II. Book Structure and Arguments	26
CHAPTER ONE <i>Political Discourse Theory as Tool for Comparative Analysis</i>	31
I. Political Discourse Theory	32
A. Political Discourse Theory's View of Society	32
B. Political Discourse Theory's View of the Subject	40
C. Towards the Specificity of Antagonistic Political Identities	44
II. The Comparative Dimension	51
CHAPTER Two <i>Revisiting Varguism and Peronism</i>	59
I. Discussing the Literature: Comparative and Focused	59
A. Relevance at the comparative level	59
B. Relevance for focused literature	78
II. Conclusions	87
CHAPTER THREE <i>The Political Conditions for the Emergence of Perón, 1932-1943</i>	89
I. The Political Conditions of the Revolution of 1943	90
A. Concordancia and the Socialist Party	91
B. Unión Cívica Radical	95
C. Ortiz's Period	98
D. The Communist Party and the Impossibility of a Political Front	101
E. Castillo and the Fall of the Regime	106

II. Perón and the June Revolution	110
A. The Political Reception of the Revolution	111
B. Revolutionising the Revolution: Perón's Transformation of the Revolutionary Course	122
III. Conclusions	134
 CHAPTER FOUR <i>The Trajectory of Peronism: From Antagonism to its Closure</i>	 137
I. The Opposition to Perón: Encircling the Threat	138
A. The opposition within 'Grupo de Oficiales Unidos' (GOU)	138
B. The Logic of the Statute of the Rural Worker (SRW)	140
C. Perón's Political Naming: Rural Worker as Slave	143
D. The National Dimension and the Regulative Power of the Statute of the Rural Worker	144
E. The Reception of the Statute of Rural Worker	148
F. Opposition to 'Aguinaldo' (Sueldo Anual Complementario - SAC)	157
II. The Basis for a Common Political Front Against Perón:	162
A. Unión Democrática	162
B. The Socialist Party	163
C. Unión Cívica Radical	166
D. Communists and Conservatives Against Peronism	171
III. Encircling the Peronist Retreat	179
A. From Revolution to Organisation: Tracing the Discursive Retreat	180
B. Tracing the Policy Retreat	185
IV. Conclusions	187
 CHAPTER FIVE <i>The Formation of Political Identities in Brazil, 1930-1934</i>	 189
I. Getulio Vargas and the Revolution of 1930	190
A. Vargas and the Paulista Dominant Elite	190
B. 'Vargas' as the Signifier of Consent	197
II. The Political Antagonism of the Revolution: Oligarchy vs. Tenentes	200
A. Tenentes as a Political Threat	200
B. Luis Carlos Prestes' Political Intervention	209

c. The Logic of the May Manifesto' and the Political Naming	215
d. Reception of the Manifesto: Encircling the Abyss	217
III. Conclusions	236
CHAPTER SIX Vargas, <i>Ideological Conflict and the Impossible Politicisation of the Social</i>	239
I. Communism vs Integralistas	240
A. 'Açao Integralista Brasileira' (AIB)	240
B. 'Alianza Nacional Libertadora' (ANL)	248
C. Monster Law	252
II. The Impossible Politicisation of the Social: Regionalism and a Non-Antagonistic Economic Elite	260
A. The Social and Economic Order Post-1934	262
B. The Reception of Article 121	265
C. The Law of Minimum Wage and its pattern of Continuity	268
D. The Reception of the Consolidation Labour Laws and	279
III. Conclusions	284
CONCLUSIONS	287
BIBLIOGRAPHY	303
APPENDIX	319
