

heavyhandedness, which may be best seen in their attempt to re-establish a monarchy in the Plata region. The caudillos, then, were a democratic, American alternative to the oligarchic, European response of Buenos Aires to independence.

López (1786-1838), Governor of Santa Fe from 1818 to 1838, was hardly the garden variety Argentine caudillo. In his years as governor, he was all-conquering general, spokesman for federalism against the pretensions of Buenos Aires, peacemaker, giver of organic law and generally, "paladin of the republican cause."

Busaniche illustrates his thesis well by delineating the life and struggles of his subject. Expanding on the famous "Instructions" of Artigas for the Congress of 1813, López, no crude *montanero*, enshrined his federalist, American credo in the first Argentine provincial constitution, promulgated in Santa Fe in 1819. In the ensuing civil wars, he led the provincial forces several times against those of Buenos Aires with success. In so doing, he effectively doomed the monarchist pretensions of the *porteño* leaders.

Perhaps the major contribution of López to the constitutional and political history of his nation, the culmination of his years of struggle, was the Federal Treaty of January 4, 1831, which he engineered. Signed by representatives of the *Litoral* provinces in Santa Fe, the treaty was to become the precursor and legal base for the Argentine Constitution of 1853.

While one is impressed by López as less a caudillo than a leader of a popular movement, it is legitimate to question how well the provincial caudillo as a type measures up to Busaniche's self-effacing image.

Generally, the essays are well-chosen and are linked together into a coherent whole. Busaniche's writing style is clear and easy, but emphatic and prone to the polemical. Despite the documents in the appendix, the work is not generally well-documented. Many crucial citations are vague and incomplete. The best essay is the second, "Aspectos de la historia argentina, 1810-1820," a short overview of López' rise to prominence.

Indiana State University

JOHN H. WILLIAMS

Los que mandan. (Those who rule.) By JOSÉ LUIS DE IMAZ. Translated and with an Introduction by CARLOS A. ASTIZ, with MARY F. MCCARTHY. Albany, New York, 1970. State University of New York Press. Charts. Appendix. Index. Pp. 279. Paper, \$2.45. Cloth, \$7.50.

Since its initial publication in 1964, this book has been widely consulted by those interested in political leadership in Argentina. While the work thus is familiar to Argentina specialists and others concerned with the study of Latin American political elites, this English translation makes the findings accessible to a considerably wider audience.

The book is a study of the socioeconomic and political characteristics of various elite groups over a twenty-five year period. By describing the leaders of government and of politically powerful institutions and interest groups over the span of a generation, the book provides valuable insight into Argentine politics from the *década infame* of the 1930s through the Perón era to the Frondizi period of the early 1960s. As is often the case with empirical studies, this work supports some and refutes other aspects of the conventional wisdom about the distribution of power in Argentina.

Imaz chose the years 1936, 1941, 1946, 1951, 1956, and 1961 as a sample of the quarter-century. For each sample year, he gathered as much data as possible about the top leadership in government, major political parties, the military, and the church, as well as the top figures among entrepreneurs, landowners, and labor leaders. The type and amount of data vary somewhat by group, but generally includes at least such characteristics as ethnicity or national origin, education, age, and occupational and family background.

Despite its basis in the quantitative analysis of "hard" data, the book is far from a mere compilation of facts and statistical manipulations. The quantitative data appear within a generally well-developed historical context and are related to relevant sociological theory, making the book of interest and value regardless of the reader's background in quantitative methodology. Some of the chapters, such as those on the military and the rural interests, are particularly well developed in their historical and theoretical background; others, such as the one dealing with government officials, are considerably more sketchy. Among the many items of particular interest in the book is a comparison of recruitment criteria in the major political parties.

The author's major conclusion is that Argentina has no "ruling elite;" rather, there are a variety of elites who differ not only in background but also in perspectives, tactics, and goals. Where society is thus "split into water-tight compartments, where different sources of legitimacy are upheld simultaneously by contending groups using mutually exclusive arguments" (p. 55), there can be little agreement or compromise and each group is "fully convinced that it is the depository of all truth" (p. 249). When no single group has the power to govern

alone, the result is the politics of impasse which has been so evident in Argentina in recent years. Yet this has occurred in a nation which ranks high on many of the usual indicators of modernization and development and where—as the data in this study clearly show—there has been widespread social and economic mobility. As Imaz concludes: “The problem, the terrible problem, lies in that Argentina’s basic political development is not sufficient to support its superstructure of modernity” (p. 256).

This edition contains a brief historical introduction by the translator, who also has added a number of footnotes to those of the author. Imaz has written an appendix covering political events between 1964 and 1968, and an index also has been added. Missing from this translation is the “introductory note” of the Spanish edition; this is unfortunate, for its discussion of problems encountered in data-gathering would be of value to anyone considering similar research.

University of the Pacific

LEE C. FENNELL

La clase trabajadora argentina. (Documentos para su historia, 1890/1912). By HOBART SPALDING. Buenos Aires, 1970. Editorial Galerna. Pp. 638. Paper.

The labor movement of Argentina is probably the best-researched group of its kind in Latin America. A number of Argentine scholars, some of whom have themselves been participants in the movement, have written valuable histories and specialized studies, and several North American students of Latin America have also made contributions to the growing body of literature on the subject. The present volume is a valuable contribution in the field, written by a North American, but published in Spanish.

Hobart Spalding Jr., of the faculty of Brooklyn College of the City University of New York, has brought together a large number of documents covering a great variety of aspects of the conditions of the Argentine workers during a bit more than two decades. Although the volume concentrates on the organized labor movement and its activities, it also contains interesting information on the working and living conditions of the workers, particularly the immigrants, during the period covered. For instance, it includes sample individual contracts signed by workers, binding them to semi-servile conditions, as well as interesting information on a rent strike in the slums of Buenos Aires in 1905-1906, with extensive descriptions of the kinds of housing then available for the workers.