

fascinating and often acute analysis of the thirties and early forties in Argentina. For anyone who wishes to delve into the political intrigues and maneuvers of those years and at the same time study the assumptions and judgments of a sensitive and intelligent Marxist writing his own nation's contemporary history this book is required reading.

The first half, four chapters in all, plays heavily on the nationalist themes of treachery, sell-out, and intrigue in reviewing domestic politics and international relations of four presidencies, those of Uriburu, Justo, Ortiz-Castillo, and Perón. The last half of the book comes to grips with basic questions of power politics in its study of political parties, the Church, the armed forces, economic interests, and the labor movement. Ciria indicates that the "parliamentary crisis" of contemporary Argentina existed long before 1946; and that well before Perón the congresses—and as a result the political parties—had ceased to be centers of political power. More effective was the Catholic Church which, although unable to wield political power openly, maintained excellent relations with all governments from Yrigoyen's through Perón's. The increasing political power of the military also became evident during these years, not only in the leading figures and in the reappearance of the same officers in each military crisis but also in important new roles in bureaucracy and industry. Economic interests, national as well as foreign, continued to strengthen their influence and control over government, while labor achieved influence, if not control, during 1943-46. Unfortunately it is with these last two groups that the author is on weakest ground in his sources and analysis. As a result the reader may suffer disillusionment with what otherwise is a challenging and provocative work.

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Buenos Aires, vida cotidiana y alienación. By JUAN JOSÉ SEBRELLI. Buenos Aires, 1965. Ediciones Siglo Veinte. Pp. 189. Paper.

Psicología de la viveza criolla. By JULIO MAFUD. Buenos Aires, 1965. Américalee. Bibliography. Pp. 375. Paper.

Los que mandan. By JOSÉ LUIS DE IMAZ. Buenos Aires, 1964. Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires. Tables. Pp. 250. Paper.

Argentina, sociedad de masas. By TORCUATO S. DI TELLA, GINO GERMANI, JORGE GRACIARENA ET AL. Buenos Aires, 1965. Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires. Tables. Figures. Pp. 284. Paper.

Argentine scholars during the past fifteen years have increasingly

sought to apply to the phenomena of Argentine history the analytical tools and hypotheses developed by sociologists, political scientists, and economists. Their attempts to discover the "why" and "how" of economic growth, social change, and societal development within a historical context has added a new and promising dimension to Latin American historiography. The four books under review reflect this trend.

Juan José Sebrelli and Julio Mafud analyze contemporary Argentine society, each presenting an interpretation of the dominant factors in that society. Both support their analyses with historical documentation. Sebrelli seeks to describe the social and psychological characteristics of the aristocracy, the upper and lower middle classes, and the proletariat. Couching his analysis in Marxist terms, he postulates the existence of an unwritten alliance between the aristocracy and middle classes, the latter unwilling agents of the former, struggling to maintain social distance below and to close the gap above. He sees this alliance crumbling during the Perón period, and concludes by prophesying a merger of the *lumpenproletariat* and the proletariat to force a society based on equality and full participation for all.

Although his observations on the manners and mores of Buenos Aires society reveal a sharp and observant mind, Sebrelli's analysis is frequently supported by questionable evidence. He dwells, for example, on sexual aberrations (a fetish which mars the work throughout) to prove middle-class Argentines frustrated, anxiety-ridden, and fearful. He documents his argument from the Kinsey Report, whose relevance to Argentine society only independent investigation could determine.

Julio Mafud attempts to determine the Argentine collective personality through a historical survey tracing the development of sixteen salient character traits. To do this, he examines the relationships of the individual to other individuals, to collective groups, to society, to the state, and to external factors. He skillfully draws on chroniclers, novelists, and memoirs, as well as personal observation, to build a picture of *criollo* character. The first six chapters, describing the individual and his relationships with groups, although repetitive, are the best. Later sections on the impact of capitalism and imperialism, society, institutions, law, political parties, and social integration lack force and appear colored by ideological prejudices.

Mafud, echoing Raúl Scalabrini Ortiz in *El hombre que está solo y espera*, published in 1931, finds an isolation of the individual

in Argentine society which manifests itself in egoism (*yoismo*) and *viveza*. He thinks that this isolation must end if Argentina is to achieve social and economic integration. Although overlooking phenomena that do not support his thesis, such as nationalism or the social club, Mafud makes a strong case for psychological and social isolation as factors contributing to present-day Argentine problems.

In contrast to the interpretive, psychologically oriented studies of Mafud and Sebrelli, José Luis de Imaz and Toreuato Di Tella and collaborators draw upon the theories developed by Seymour Lipset, C. Wright Mills, E. E. Hagen, and others. Imaz studies Argentine power groups of the period 1936-1961 to determine their composition, social background, and connecting links, using statistical data gathered from both published and oral sources. Analyzing nine groups, Imaz concludes that Argentina has no power elite. He says that power groups exist but have no common denominator and form no unified front, although he thinks the present social and economic crisis will forge an elite.

Considering the topic, this work should be praised as a pioneer study that will hopefully lead to further efforts. Its major defect is an apparent lack of unity. The groups are not always measured by the same criteria, a fact which arbitrarily strengthens the author's thesis. Imaz' assertions do not always flow from the data. His statement that the Church is the only agent capable of producing effective change reveals a personal bias unsupported by the facts presented. He also fails to consider the indirect exercise of power by groups which cannot be isolated through statistical analysis alone. For example, the military held effective power during much of Arturo Frondizi's presidential term, yet only four percent of the top government officials belonged to the armed forces. The same problem arises in the section discussing representatives of foreign capital.

Argentina, sociedad de masas, contains nine articles, many published previously, contributed by fourteen Argentines and one American. The first section, "The Formation of Modern Argentina"—which treats the generation of '80, the beginning of industrialization, immigration, the Radical Party, and Argentine economic development—holds most interest for the historian. The second part, "Elements for the Analysis of the Argentine Institutional Crisis," is theoretical, containing articles on social structure, the military in Latin America, obstacles to social and economic development, and the role of ideology in political movements favoring social change.

The studies are uneven, ranging from summaries of known data

to original investigation. One of the most provocative is Ezequiel Gallo and Sylvia Segal's examination of the Radical Party. Analyzing voting statistics according to province, district, and locale, in conjunction with an index of modernization based on literacy rates, degree of urbanization, and percentage of foreigners, they correlate the results with Radical ideology. They conclude that Radicalism between 1912 and 1916 was an expression of sectors in process of modernization, that it was centered primarily in the littoral outside Buenos Aires, and that it lacked support in the less modernized provinces of the interior. They further see Radicalism as an indigenous party whose leaders, in economic status, family background, education, and national origin, were upper-class Argentines.

The four books reviewed all express a belief that Argentina and Latin America must be studied as separate entities. Some of the authors employ models, such as the work of W. W. Rostow, based on the experience of Europe and the United States, but they suggest that these are not necessarily valid for the Argentine case or may need modification before application. They are concerned with developing appropriate methodologies, and attempt to clarify the bases from which their analyses depart. These works reflect current concern with contemporary problems and agree that Argentina's difficulties lie in profound social, economic, and class divisions. Their publication echoes a general interest, for they have become best sellers. Sebrelli's work, analytically weak but written for popular consumption, has undergone eight editions, and *Los que mandan* has sold almost 40,000 copies.

The interpretive analyses of Mafud and Sebrelli contrast with the model-building, quantitative approach of the other two books, but both types of investigation add new and refreshing elements to Argentine historical studies and treat problems untouched by previous scholarly investigation. Excepting the first section of *Argentina, sociedad de masas*, these works deal mainly with events perhaps too recent for serious historical evaluation, but the methods employed can be applied to any period where sufficient data are available. In Argentina, at least, these four books serve notice that history will no longer be written by traditional historians alone.

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Viscount Mauá and the Empire of Brazil: A Biography of Irineu Evangelista de Sousa (1813-1889). By ANYDA MARCHANT. Berkeley, 1965. University of California Press. Bibliography. Index. Pp. 291. \$6.50.

Irineu Evangelista de Sousa, a self-made man who became Baron,