



STOCKCERO TEACHING KIT (102)

TITLE: *Historia del peronismo III - la violencia (1956-1983)*

AUTHOR: Hugo Gambini

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I. OVERVIEW & SIGNIFICANCE

Hugo Gambini's *Historia del peronismo III - la violencia (1956-1983)* is the third volume in a landmark historical series, offering a critical and meticulously documented account of one of Latin America's most enduring and ideologically complex political movements. This volume delves into the tumultuous post-1955 period, characterized by Perón's long exile, the internal struggles within Peronism, and the tragic escalation of political violence in Argentina.

Gambini, a renowned Argentine journalist, meticulously dissects the enigma of Peronism, exploring how it defied easy ideological categorization. The book charts Perón's strategic maneuvers from exile, his improbable syncretism that merged nationalist fascism with Castroism to secure his return, and the subsequent descent into a brutal era of guerrilla warfare and state terrorism. It provides a sobering account of the human cost of political extremism, culminating in a detailed list of victims that challenges traditional narratives. This kit is essential for advanced studies in Latin American history, political science, and the analysis of populism and political violence in the 20th century.

II. CONTEXT & CRITICAL APPROACHES

This volume offers a rigorous historical framework for understanding the complexities of Argentine political development and the broader challenges of populism in Latin America.

Peronism in Exile (1955-1973):

Examine the internal dynamics of Peronism during Perón's exile, particularly the tension between "peronismo sin Perón" (Peronism without Perón) and the "verticalists."

Discuss the influence of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara on a new generation of Peronist youth and how this led to the "hibridación ideológica" (ideological hybridization) of the movement, incorporating leftist elements.

Analyze Perón's complex relationship with communism and his strategic utilization of different ideological currents to maintain influence from afar.

The Escalation of Violence (1955-1983):

Trace the origins of political violence from the anti-Peronist "Revolución Libertadora" (e.g., the Aramburu executions) to the emergence of Peronist guerrilla groups (Montoneros, ERP) and the eventual state terrorism.

Discuss Gambini's claim that the "sordid State terrorism" was "initiated by Perón, continued by his wife, and culminated by Videla." How does this challenge or confirm common historical interpretations?

Analyze the figures provided by Gambini regarding the victims of violence (Perón's orders, Isabel's claims, military figures, guerrillas, CONADEP). How do these numbers contribute to understanding the scale of the tragedy?



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Ideological Enigmas and Political Syncretism:

Explore the difficulty of ideologically situating Perón and his followers. How did Perón manage to unite seemingly disparate political forces (nationalist fascism and Castroism) under his leadership?

Discuss the role of "demomística" (demagogic mysticism) and "pan dulce" (sweet bread, a metaphor for populist handouts) in undermining the "will for freedom" and perpetuating political cycles in Argentina.

Gambini's Historical Methodology:

Discuss Gambini's approach to history, emphasizing the importance of detailed documentation and challenging official narratives. How does he present history as a "tragic" but essential learning process?

Examine the use of personal anecdotes (Perón's exile experiences) and primary sources (letters, official documents) to construct a nuanced historical account.

III. ADVANCED DISCUSSION & RESEARCH PROMPTS

These prompts encourage deep engagement with the text, critical thinking, and research into historical and political phenomena.

The Nature of Populism: Using Gambini's analysis of Peronism, discuss the characteristics of populist movements in Latin America. How do leaders like Perón maintain power or influence through charismatic appeal, ambiguous ideology, and appeals to "the people"?

Political Violence and State Terrorism: Analyze the cycle of violence described in the book. Discuss the motivations and justifications of both guerrilla groups and state actors. To what extent can the violence of the 1970s be seen as a direct consequence of earlier political decisions and ideological conflicts?

Perón's Legacy and Ideological Transformation: Examine how Perón's ideology evolved or adapted during his exile. Was his shift to embrace elements of the left a genuine transformation or a pragmatic strategy to regain power?

The Role of Institutions vs. Charismatic Leadership: Contrast Peronism's reliance on a charismatic leader with the institutional frameworks discussed by Armando Ribas (e.g., Rule of Law, constitutionalism). How does Gambini's history illustrate the fragility of institutions in the face of strong personal leadership?

Historical Revisionism: Gambini explicitly aims for a "nuevo revisionismo." Discuss how his account challenges or reinterprets established narratives of Peronism, particularly concerning its ideological leanings and its relationship with violence.

The "Dirty War" and Historical Memory: Using Gambini's data (e.g., victim counts, CONADEP report), discuss the challenges of reconstructing historical memory in Argentina after the "Dirty War." How do different factions (guerrillas, military, government) present their versions of events?

Peronism in a Global Context: Analyze Peronism within the broader context of 20th-century political movements (e.g., fascism, Cold War Latin American populism). How does Gambini's narrative connect Perón's actions to international influences and global events?



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IV. SUGGESTED FURTHER READINGS & BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Text:

- Gambini, Hugo. *Historia del peronismo III - la violencia (1956-1983)*. Stockcero. (TK ORDER: 102)

Key Secondary Scholarship & Referenced Figures:

- **CONADEP (Comisión Nacional sobre Desaparición de Personas)**. *Nunca más*. Eudeba, 1985. (Essential primary source for the victims of state terrorism).
- **Cooke, John William**. *Correspondencia Perón-Cooke*. Granica, 1973. (Provides insights into Perón's views from exile).
- **Gillespie, Richard**. *Soldados de Perón. Los Montoneros*. Grijalbo, 1987. (For context on guerrilla movements).
- **Giussani, Pablo**. *Montoneros, la soberbia armada*. Sudamericana, 1984. (For critical perspective on Montoneros).
- **Sáenz Quesada, María**. *Isabel Perón. La Argentina en los años de María Estela Martínez*. Planeta, 2003. (For Isabel Perón's presidency).

Additional Resources:

- Historical studies of Peronism and Argentine military dictatorships.
- Studies on political violence and guerrilla movements in Latin America.
- Scholarship on the Cold War in Latin America.

V. RELATED STOCKCERO RESOURCES

- [Hispanic Heritage Thinkers: 7-Book Bundle](#).
- Other titles by Hugo Gambini: [El Che Guevara](#).
- Works by Armando Ribas for comparative political philosophy.

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