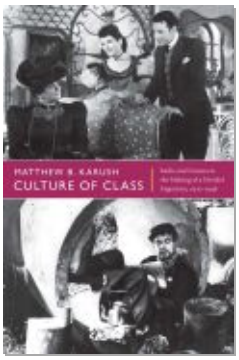
Notes



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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 Arlt, *Crónicas periodísticas* (www.elaleph.com), 53. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted. Arlt's comment was part of a debate with the Communist Party leader Rodolfo Ghioldi. See Saítta, "Entre la cultura y la política," 405.

2 Gutiérrez and Romero, *Sectores populares, cultura y política*. The "popular sectors" argument has become something of a historiographical consensus. For a summary, see González Leandri, "La nueva identidad de los sectores populares," 201–37.

3 For example, Karl Hagstrom Miller has recently demonstrated how the music industry in the United States shaped racial perceptions and associations in the early twentieth century. See Miller, *Segregating Sound*.

4 Hall, "Culture, Media and the 'Ideological Effect,'" 315–48.

5 Adorno and Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*.

6 For a useful account of this trend in cultural studies, see Storey, *Inventing Popular Culture*, 48–62.

7 Levine, "The Folklore of Industrial Society," 1373.

8 Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis*.

9 Lipsitz, *Time Passages*, 39–75. Lipsitz's recovery of the possibility of alternative working-class readings of television programs echoes the conclusions of other

cultural historians from the United States. Michael Denning, for example, reveals the subversive meanings contained in the nineteenth-century dime novel. See Denning, *Mechanic Accents*.

10 Hansen, *Babel and Babylon*, 60–125.

11 Sarlo, *Una modernidad periférica*, 28.

12 Miller, *In the Shadow of the State*, 3. For another formulation, see García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures*.

13 Orlove and Bauer, "Giving Importance to Imports," 1–29. See also Bauer, *Goods, Power, History*, 150–52.

14 O'Brien, *The Revolutionary Mission*.

15 Moreno, *Yankee Don't Go Home!* For an account that stresses the influence of North American products, see Pérez, *On Becoming Cuban*. In the Argentine context, Ricardo Salvatore shows how the advertising agency J. Walter Thompson appropriated Argentine nationalism in order to sell mass consumer goods. See Salvatore, "Yankee Advertising in Buenos Aires," 216–35.

16 McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil*, 137–45.

17 Zolov, *Refried Elvis*. Other recent works that examine the complex uses to which Latin Americans put North American mass culture include Seigel, *Uneven Encounters*; Alberto, "When Rio Was *Black*," 3–39.

18 On the evolution of consumption in Argentina, see Rocchi, "La americanización del consumo," 131–89. On film imports, see 151. For the number of radio stations and movie theaters, see chapter 2.

19 Hansen, "Fallen Women, Rising Stars, New Horizons," 10–22.

20 Bigenho, *Sounding Indigenous*, 18. On efforts to market authenticity in Brazil, see McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil*, 96–128.

21 Turino, "Nationalism and Latin American Music," 193–94. For a similar account, see Vianna, *The Mystery of Samba*.

22 Chamosa, *The Argentine Folklore Movement*.

23 Several recent accounts of Latin American musical nationalism stress the role of the market alongside that of intellectuals and the state. See McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil*, 34–40; Velázquez and Vaughan, "*Mestizaje* and Musical Nationalism in Mexico," 107.

24 Even that most elitist of Argentine observers, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, seemed to recognize as much when he argued in 1845 that a truly national Argentine literature would have to focus on the savage countryside, rather than on the civilized, urban world of the Europeanized elite. Sarmiento, *Facundo*, 59–60.

25 This historiography is discussed in Agnew, "Coming Up for Air." The Susman essays are in Susman, *Culture as History*. For consumerism as a cause of labor militancy in the 1930s, see Rosenzweig, *"Eight Hours for What We Will,"* 226–28. For a recent account of the way consumption and citizenship became linked in the United States, see McGovern, *Sold American*.

26 May, *The Big Tomorrow*, 55–99.

27 Erenberg, *Swingin' the Dream*.
28 Sklar, *Movie-Made America*, 195–214. The quote is from 196. For an account that emphasizes both the progressive and conservative elements in the Hollywood films of the 1930s, see Gary Gerstle's discussion of Frank Capra in *American Crucible*, 170–75.
29 Joseph, Rubenstein, and Zolov, "Assembling the Fragments," 16. For an early overview of this scholarship, see Stern, "Between Tragedy and Promise," 32–77. For examples from Argentine historiography, see Karush and Chamosa, eds., *The New Cultural History of Peronism*.
30 Hall, "Encoding/Decoding," 128–38.
31 Laclau, "Towards a Theory of Populism," 173.
32 This is far too large a historiography to summarize here. For one recent summary, see Karush and Chamosa, Introduction, *The New Cultural History of Peronism*, 3–8.

1 CLASS FORMATION IN THE BARRIOS

1 The recording is almost certainly the Duke Ellington band in an improvisational passage. A stuttering, screaming trumpet follows a wild bass clarinet solo, a near cacophony that matches the images of urban chaos.
2 Sandrini played the role of Eusebio in the stage version of *Los tres berretines*. Sensing his star power, the filmmakers expanded his role when they adapted the script for the movie. See España, "El modelo institucional," 41.
3 As Pablo Alabarces has pointed out, the film underscores the power of popular sport by casting a star forward, Miguel Angel Lauri, in the role of the soccer-playing son. Alabarces, *Fútbol y patria*, 60. But this casting choice also made it even more likely that Sandrini, an experienced comic actor, would steal the show.
4 Rocchi, *Chimneys in the Desert*.
5 Johns, "The Urbanisation of a Secondary City," 489–513.
6 Szuchman, "The Limits of the Meliting Pot in Urban Argentina"; Baily, "Marriage Patterns and Immigrant Assimilation in Buenos Aires."
7 Moya, *Cousins and Strangers*, 292.
8 Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise*, 194.
9 Míguez, Argeri, Bjerg, and Otero, "Hasta que la Argentina nos una," 804–7.
10 Moya, *Cousins and Strangers*, 180–82. On Italian immigrants' dispersion throughout the city, see Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise*, 123–24.
11 On the occupational distribution of Italian and Spanish immigrants in Buenos Aires, see Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise*, 100–102; Moya, *Cousins and Strangers*, 205–19.
12 Germani, *Política y sociedad en una época de transición*, 197–210.
13 Rock, *Politics in Argentina*, 166–67.
14 *Crítica*, June 4, 1928, 9.

15 On Cocoliche, see Cara-Walker, "Cocoliche," 37–67; Seigel, "Cocoliche's Romp," 56–83. As Samuel Baily puts it, "Popular nativism . . . was inclusive of the immigrant." Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise*, 82.

16 Moya, *Cousins and Strangers*, 373–74. On anti-immigrant humor in the sainete, see Donald Castro, "The Image of the Creole Criminal in Argentine Popular Culture."

17 Rock, *Politics in Argentina*, 220. By 1936 two-thirds of the population of the city of Buenos Aires was native-born. Walter, *Politics and Urban Growth in Buenos Aires*, 152.

18 Rock, *Politics in Argentina*, 232.

19 Little, "The Social Origins of Peronism," 162–78.

20 Shipley, "On the Outside Looking In."

21 Rocchi, *Chimneys in the Desert*, 51.

22 On the development of the streetcar system and the concomitant urbanization of the north and west, see Scobie, *Buenos Aires*, 160–207. On the growth of the barrios in the 1920s and 1930s, see Walter, *Politics and Urban Growth in Buenos Aires*, 152, 258; González Leandri, "La nueva identidad de los sectores populares," 213–15.

23 Gutiérrez and Suriano, "Workers' Housing in Buenos Aires," 38.

24 Walter, *Politics and Urban Growth in Buenos Aires*, 84.

25 Gutiérrez and Suriano, "Workers' Housing in Buenos Aires," 40.

26 Horowitz, *Argentina's Radical Party and Popular Mobilization*, 65–94.

27 Moya, *Cousins and Strangers*, 216–18; Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise*, 93–120.

28 Moya, *Cousins and Strangers*, 274–75.

29 Fernando Devoto, *Historia de los italianos en la Argentina*, 372–78.

30 Rocchi, *Chimneys in the Desert*, 160–62.

31 On the zoning ordinance of 1914 see Scobie, *Buenos Aires*, 199. On industrial expansion in the barrios, see Walter, *Politics and Urban Growth in Buenos Aires*, 235–36.

32 Cited in González, "Lo propio y lo ajeno," 97.

33 Cited in Gutiérrez and Romero, "Sociedades barriales y bibliotecas populares," *Sectores populares, cultura y política*, 87.

34 The notion of conference attendance as a "desirable lifestyle" that could produce upward mobility is from ibid., 91. See also González Leandri, "Lo propio y lo ajeno," 111.

35 Gorelik, *La grilla y el parque*, 277–306. See also Silvestri and Gorelik, "San Cristóbal Sur entre el Mataadero y el Parque."

36 Gutiérrez and Romero, "Sociedades barriales y bibliotecas populares," *Sectores populares, cultura y política*, 92–96.

37 Privitellio, "Inventar el barrio," 122–24.

38 Historians of ethnic mutual-aid associations in Argentina have identified a similar phenomenon: leadership by a small, wealthy elite coexisted with

formal equality within the institutions and with a rhetoric that emphasized ethnic unity across class lines. Devoto and Fernández, "Mutualismo étnico, liderazgo y participación política," 140.

39 On the CHADE affair, see de Privitellio, *Vecinos y ciudadanos*, 149–82. Walter, *Politics and Urban Growth in Buenos Aires*, 173–75.

40 De Privitellio, "Inventar el barrio"; González Leandri, "La nueva identidad," 223–25.

41 González Leandri, "Lo propio y lo ajeno," 103–5.

42 *Canción Moderna* 1, no. 4 (April 16, 1928).

43 Rocchi, *Chimneys in the Desert*, 50.

44 The shoe industrialist Luis Pascarella, cited in ibid., 62. The translation is Rocchi's.

45 Rocchi, "La americanización del consumo," 155–56. The work cited is Loncán's *Mirador porteño: Nuevas charlas de mi amigo*.

46 *Canción Moderna* 8, no. 299 (December 11, 1933).

47 Horowitz, *Argentina's Radical Party and Popular Mobilization*; Karush, *Workers or Citizens*, 91.

48 Yrigoyen, *Mi vida y mi doctrina*, 137–38.

49 On non-pluralist democracy and on the efforts of pro-labor Radicals in the city of Rosario, see Karush, *Workers or Citizens*. On the avoidance of class-based appeals and on the similarities between Radicalism and Socialism in Buenos Aires, see de Privitellio, *Vecinos y ciudadanos*, 87–99, 208–9. On Yrigoyen's use of *obrerismo*, see Horowitz, *Argentina's Radical Party and Popular Mobilization*, 115–47. See also Persello: *El Partido Radical*.

50 Romero: "El apogeo de la sociedad de masas," http://www.efdeportes.com/efd50/romero.htm; Rocchi, "La americanización del consumo," 154.

51 Rocchi, *Chimneys in the Desert*, 62.

52 De Privitellio, "Inventar el barrio," 116.

53 Adamovsky, *Historia de la clase media argentina*, 135–216. See also Adamovsky, "Acerca de la relación entre el Radicalismo argentino y la 'clase media' (una vez más)," 209–51. Enrique Garguin agrees with Adamovsky's periodization. See Garguin, "'Los Argentinos descendemos de los Barcos,'" 161–84. Peru and Brazil represent contrasting cases. See Parker, *The Idea of the Middle Class*; Owensby, *Intimate Ironies*.

54 Míguez, "Familias de clase media," 21–45.

55 Rocchi, "La americanización del consumo," 177–80.

56 Míguez, "Familias de clase media," 38–42.

57 Falcón, "Izquierdas, régimen político, cuestión étnica y cuestión social en Argentina," 378–87.

58 Thompson, "The Limitations of Ideology in the Early Argentine Labour Movement," 81–99; Korzeniewicz, "The Labour Movement and the State in Argentina," 25–45.

59 Jeremy Adelman argues that the pragmatism of Argentine workers reflected

the fact that as immigrants, they lacked "a heritage of opposition to the capitalist designs of the dominant class." Adelman, "The Political Economy of Labour in Argentina," 16.

60 Rock, *Politics in Argentina*; Horowitz, *Argentina's Radical Party and Popular Mobilization*.

61 Adelman, "The Political Economy of Labour in Argentina," 21.

62 Munck with Falcón and Galitelli, *Argentina*, 100–102. On the strikes of 1928 in Rosario, see Karush, *Workers or Citizens*, 180–95; and Korzeniewicz, "The Labor Politics of Radicalism," 1–32.

63 Korzeniewicz, "Labor Unrest in Argentina," 9.

64 On the rise of the new industrial unions, see Durruty, *Clase obrera y peronismo*; Korzeniewicz, "Labor Unrest in Argentina," 7–40. On the success of the Communists, see also Tamarin, *The Argentine Labor Movement*, esp. 152.

65 Carrera, *La estrategia de la clase obrera—1936*. On the location of strike incidents, see 84–85.

66 Adamovsky, *Historia de la clase media argentina*, 135–76.

67 Horowitz, *Argentine Unions, the State and the Rise of Perón*, 79–84, 105–9, 165–68.

68 Saítta, *Regueros de tinta*, 49, 73.

69 Ibid., 117.

70 Ibid., 55–90.

71 Ibid., 65–79.

72 Rivero, *Una luz de almacén*.

73 *Los tres berretines*, originally a sainete by Arnaldo Malfatti and Nicolás de las Llanderas, belongs to a tradition of Argentine theatrical works about the middle class. Adamovsky traces the origins of this tendency to the plays of Gregorio de Laferrère, Florencio Sánchez, and Federico Mertens written in the first decade of the twentieth century. See Adamovsky, *Historia de la clase media argentina*, 219–26. There are other films that belong to this tradition—*Así es la vida* (Múgica, 1939), also based on a play by Malfatti and de las Llanderas, is a well-known example—but they are far outnumbered by the melodramatic films discussed in chapter 3. As I argue in the epilogue, the 1950s and 1960s would witness the full flowering of this tradition.

2 THE TRANSNATIONAL MARKETPLACE

1 Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, 32.

2 Hansen, "Fallen Women, Rising Stars, New Horizons," 10–22.

3 On Argentine enthusiasm for the culture of the United States in this period, see Sheinin, *Argentina and the United States*, 60–62.

4 Silguer, "El primer sueldo de Max Glücksmann: cincuenta pesos mensuales," *Atlántida*, July 16, 1931, reprinted at: http://www.todotango.com/spanish/biblioteca/cronicas/gluucksmann.asp. On Glücksmann and the early years

of the Argentine recording industry, see Pujol, *Valentino en Buenos Aires*, 180–85. For a biographical account of Glücksmann as well as an analysis of his connections to the Jewish community, see Lewis, "Con Men, Cooks, and Cinema Kings," 170–83.

5 Collier, *The Life, Music, and Times of Carlos Gardel*, 49.

6 On Glücksmann's contests see Sierra, *Historia de la orquesta típica*, 87–89; Pinsón, "Los concursos de Max Glücksmann."

7 Pujol, *Jazz al sur*, 43. In Brazil, too, Whiteman was a much bigger star than the swing bands led by African Americans like Duke Ellington and Count Basie. According to Bryan McCann, this perception resulted from the local success of the Hollywood Whiteman vehicle *King of Jazz* (Anderson, 1930). See McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil*, 138. However, by the mid-1930s Ellington in particular had begun to attract the attention of Argentine jazz aficionados. See, for example, *Sintonía* 3, no. 98 (March 9, 1935).

8 *Canción Moderna* 1, no. 4 (April 16, 1928). In the mid-1920s advertisements for Max Glücksmann's Discos Dobles Nacional invariably featured recordings of jazz and tango by the same artists. See, for example, *Caras y Caretas* (January 17, 1925), 17. On Firpo's jazz recordings, see Pujol, *Jazz al sur*, 20–21.

9 *Canción Moderna* 1, no. 6 (April 30, 1928).

10 Ibid. 7, no. 289 (October 2, 1933).

11 *Sintonía* 3, no. 101 (March 30, 1935).

12 Ibid., no. 91 (January 19, 1935). For another letter criticizing local radio stations for playing too much jazz, see *Sintonía* 6, no. 261 (April 21, 1938).

13 Pujol, *Jazz al sur*, 33–35; Héctor Angel Benedetti, "Adolfo Carabelli," http://www.todotango.com; Néstor Pinsón, "Orguesta Típica Victor," http://www.todotango.com.

14 Groppa, *The Tango in the United States*, 93–97. Nudler, "Osvaldo Fresedo."

15 Kenney, *Recorded Music in American Life*, 63.

16 Thompson, *Tango*, 174–75.

17 On the transition from Old Guard to New Guard, see Labraña and Sebastián, *Tango*, 45–49.

18 For one tango historian's take on de Caro, see Sierra, *Historia de la orquesta típica*, 97–99. One contemporary critic does link de Caro's innovations to jazz, comparing him to Duke Ellington: Nudler, "Julio De Caro," 45–48. On de Caro's "violin-cornet," see de Caro, *El tango en mis recuerdos*, 51–52.

19 *Sintonía* 5, no. 228 (September 2, 1937).

20 De Caro, *El tango en mis recuerdos*, 98.

21 *Sintonía* 3, no. 97 (March 2, 1935); *Sintonía* 5, no. 228 (September 2, 1937). Similarly, another member of the New Guard, the "master of the modernist tango," Juan Carlos Cobián, was said to have brought back innovations from a trip to North America. *Canción Moderna* 1, no. 15 (July 2, 1928).

22 *Sintonía* 3, no. 115 (July 6, 1935).

23 Sierra, *Historia de la orquesta típica*, 51–53.
24 On the musical origins of tango, see Thompson, *Tango*, 48–167; Collier, "The Tango Is Born," 18–64; Bates and Bates, *La Historia del Tango*, 19–27.
25 On the history of the bandoneón, see Zucchi, *El tango, el bandoneón, y sus intérpretes*.
26 Collier, *The Life, Music, and Times of Carlos Gardel*, 50–52.
27 On the Magaldi-Noda duo, see Amuchástegui, *Agustín Magaldi*, 53–66. Amuchástegui notes that the vogue for folk duos might have been inspired by popular Mexican acts of the period.
28 On criollista literature, see Prieto, *El discurso criollista en la formación de la Argentina moderna*. On the criollo circuses, see Chasteen, *National Rhythms, African Roots*, 51–70.
29 Collier, *The Life, Music, and Times of Carlos Gardel*, 43.
30 The tangos of Agustín Bardi and José Martínez stand out for their criollista lyrics, as does the early classic of Villoldo and Saborido, "La morocha."
31 Canaro, *Mis bodas de oro con el tango y mis memorias*, 42–44.
32 Castro, "The Massification of the Tango," 94.
33 Garramuño, *Modernidades primitivas.*
34 A useful account of the international tango craze is Cooper, "Tangomania in Europe and North America," 67–104.
35 Savigliano, *Tango and the Political Economy of Passion*, 111. On the reception of tango in Europe, see also Matallana, *Qué saben los pitucos*.
36 To cite just one of many examples, Osvaldo Fresedo, a modernizing tango bandleader born and raised in the city of Buenos Aires, was pictured in the *New York Times* in 1930 dressed as a gaucho. See *New York Times* (March 30, 1930), XX12.
37 On the impact of Valentino in Argentina, see Pujol, *Valentino en Buenos Aires*, 107–10.
38 Garramuño, *Modernidades primitivas*, 223.
39 Lugones, *El Payador*.
40 *Sintonía* 3, no. 115 (July 6, 1935).
41 Ibid. 5, no. 208 (April 15, 1937).
42 *Canción Moderna* 7, no. 295 (November 13, 1933).
43 *Sintonía* 5, no. 208 (April 15, 1937). Ellipses in original.
44 *Crítica*, March 18, 1925, 7.
45 Ibid., June 13, 1928, 2. See also ibid., June 9, 1928, 12.
46 *Canción Moderna* 7, no. 297 (November 20, 1933).
47 *Sintonía* 3, no. 101 (March 30, 1935).
48 Ibid. 6, no. 266 (May 26, 1938).
49 Ibid., no. 269 (June 16, 1938).
50 The price of records and phonographs as well as the 4.5 percent figure are from Castro, "The Massification of the Tango," 94. The wage information is from *Anuario "La Razón,"* 219.
51 On the early years of radio, see Claxton, *From Parsifal to Perón*, 10–12; Gallo,

La radio, vol. 1; Ulanovsky et al., *Días de radio*, 16–22; Sarlo, *La imaginación técnica*, 109–22.

52 Claxton, *From Parsifal to Perón*, 147.

53 Writing in 1936, Edmundo Taybo estimated that there were 1.5 million receivers in Argentina. Cited in Castro, "The Massification of the Tango," 94. In 1940 the U.S. Department of Commerce reported its best guess as "1,000,000 to 1,050,000" but also claimed that some 200,000 sets were sold in the country each year (*World Radio Markets*, 26). Claxton cites two estimates of roughly 1.2 million for 1934. See Claxton, *From Parsifal to Perón*, 146, 149. The population of Argentina in 1930 was 12,046,000.

54 U.S. Department of Commerce, *World Radio Markets*, 25.

55 Claxton, *From Parsifal to Perón*, 106.

56 Schwoch, *The American Radio Industry and Its Latin American Activities*, 134–40.

57 Ibid., 137–38; Claxton, *From Parsifal to Perón*, 91–92.

58 *La Nación*, September 14, 1923, 12. On the Firpo-Dempsey fight, see also Gallo, *La radio*, vol. 1, 41.

59 See, for example, the ad for the locally produced Pekam receivers in *La Nación*, September 13, 1923, 16.

60 Ibid.

61 On the evolution of radio regulation in Argentina, see Claxton, *From Parsifal to Perón*, 160–64; Andrea Matallana, *"Locos por la radio,"* 39–52.

62 Starr, *The Creation of the Media*, 363–67.

63 Claxton, *From Parsifal to Perón*, 73.

64 Gallo, *La radio*, vol. 2, 62–71.

65 Dirección General de Correos y Telégrafos, *Reorganización de los servicios de radiodifusión*, 21.

66 Claxton, *From Parsifal to Perón*, 32.

67 Finkielman, *The Film Industry in Argentina*, 112–14.

68 *Sintonía* 9, no. 399 (July 9, 1941), 28; *Caras y Caretas*, January 25, 1936. On Yankelevich, see also Matallana, *"Locos por la radio,"* 81–90; Claxton, *From Parsifal to Perón*, 16, 31.

69 Lary May, *The Big Tomorrow*, 58–59; May, *Screening Out the Past*, 169–76.

70 De Paoli, *Función social de la radiotelefonía*, 43–51; "La Torre de Babel," *Sintonía* 7, no. 303 (February 8, 1939).

71 *Radiolandia* 11, no. 538 (July 9, 1938). See also *Sintonía* 10, no. 425 (July 8, 1942).

72 *Radiolandia* 11, no. 538 (July 9, 1938).

73 Simari, *Mi historia la escribo yo*, 61–66. See also the tremendous attendance of fans anxious to bid farewell to Vermicelli, when Simari, dressed as his most popular character, left for Europe. *Canción Moderna* 7, no. 302 (December 30, 1933).

74 Monte, "Chispazos de tradición," 47.

75 *Sintonía* 5, no. 231 (September 23, 1937).

76 Matallana, *"Locos por la radio,"* 83–84.
77 On the wild popularity of *Chispazos de Tradición*, see Ulanovsky et al., *Días de radio*, 73–80. On the use of *Chispazos* scripts in the schools, see *Canción Moderna* 7, no. 290 (October 9, 1933).
78 See *Canción Moderna* 7, no. 300 (December 18, 1933); ibid., no. 301 (December 23, 1933).
79 On one contest on Radio Stentor, see ibid., no. 296 (November 20, 1933).
80 *Caras y Caretas*, December 28, 1935. Dirección General de Correos y Telégrafos, *Reorganización de los servicios de radiodifusión*, 343.
81 *Caras y Caretas*, December 19, 1936, 150.
82 *Sintonía* 1, no. 23 (September 30, 1933), 89–91.
83 Matallana, *"Locos por la radio,"* 101.
84 Ibid., 95. These proportions hardly wavered between 1936 and 1941. Matallana emphasizes heterogeneity in her account of radio programming, but as these numbers suggest, this heterogeneity existed on the margins of a programming core that was quite similar up and down the dial.
85 For advertising rates, see Office of Inter-American Affairs, *Data and Rates of Radio Stations in the Other American Republics and Puerto Rico*, 15–18. On the program offerings of Radio Splendid and Radio Excelsior, see Claxton, *From Parsifal to Perón*, 36–39.
86 *Sintonía* 3, no. 100 (March 23, 1935).
87 De Paoli, *Función social de la radiotelefonía*, 22. *Sintonía* 3, no. 135 (November 23, 1935).
88 *El Mundo*, November 29, 1935, 10.
89 Ibid., November 30, 1935, 8. For a description of the station's programming plans, see ibid., November 28, 1935, 8. A couple of weeks after Radio El Mundo's inauguration, *Caras y Caretas* applauded the station as "a guarantee of good taste and technical progress." *Caras y Caretas*, December 7, 1935, 132.
90 *Sintonía* 3, no. 135 (November 23, 1935).
91 "La torre de Babel," *Sintonía* 7, no. 300 (January 18, 1939).
92 *Sintonía* 6, no. 298 (January 4, 1939), 38. Dirección General de Correos y Telégrafos, *Reorganización de los servicios de radiodifusión*, 259–64.
93 Sarlo, *La imaginación técnica*, 114–15.
94 *Canción Moderna* 11, no. 401 (November 23, 1935).
95 *Radiolandia* 11, no. 538 (July 9, 1938).
96 Claxton, *From Parsifal to Perón*, 69–72.
97 Starr, *The Creation of the Media*, 367.
98 Chamosa, "Indigenous or Criollo," 90. On the dominance of the networks in the Interior, see Dirección General de Correos y Telégrafos, *Reorganización de los servicios de radiodifusión*, 260–61.
99 On early Argentine experiments in film, see Finkielman, *The Film Industry in Argentina*, 5–11.
100 Sarlo, *La imaginación*, 125–28.

101 Di Núbila, *La época de oro*, 11–50. Barnard, "Popular Cinema and Populist Politics," *Argentine Cinema*, 18–24.

102 López, "'A Train of Shadows,'" 161–62. Di Núbila, *La época de oro*, 17–19.

103 As one scholar has recently argued, Latin American filmmakers of the silent era produced a "criollo aesthetic" that combined elements drawn from sources at home and in the United States and Europe in order to insert their nations into a "Euro-American modernity." Rodríguez, "Latin American Silent Cinema," 36.

104 Thompson, *Exporting Entertainment*.

105 Ibid., 78–79.

106 Schnitman, "The Argentine Film Industry," 51–52.

107 Thompson, *Exporting Entertainment*, 79.

108 Barnard, *Argentine Cinema*, 147.

109 Schnitman, "The Argentine Film Industry," 63.

110 Ibid., 34.

111 Ibid., 65–68.

112 Interview with Luis Moglia Barth in *Reportaje al cine argentino*, ed. Calistro et al., 264–72; Di Núbila, *La época de oro*, 71–76; Manetti, "Argentina Sono Film," 162–65.

113 Of course the influence likely went both ways: John Alton had an extensive and influential career in Hollywood *after* spending his formative years in Argentina. On Alton, see España, "John Alton," *Cine Argentino*, vol. 1, 220–21. Another American cinematographer who enjoyed a long career in Argentina was Bob Roberts.

114 Schnitman, "The Argentine Film Industry," 61–62. For one call for more Spanish-language films, see *Sintonía* 1, no. 15 (August 5, 1933), 79.

115 Finkielman, *The Film Industry in Argentina*, 166–84.

116 In 1910, for example, blue-collar workers constituted almost three-quarters of the audience for movies in New York City. Rosenzweig, *"Eight Hours for What We Will,"* 194.

117 Ibid., 198–204; Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, 120–27.

118 May, *Screening Out the Past*, 22–95. Ross, *Working-Class Hollywood*, 173–77. On the earlier working-class genre of spectacular melodrama, see Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity*.

119 On Classical Hollywood style, see Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema*. On the standardization of reception, see Hansen, *Babel and Babylon*, 76–89.

120 Maranghello, "Cine y estado," 24–159 and "Orígenes y evolución de la censura," 160–83.

121 Cited in Maranghello, "Cine y estado," 27.

122 *El Mundo*, May 28, 1939, 14.

123 Ibid., September 7, 1934, 15. The film under review is the Carlos Gardel vehicle *Cuesta Abajo* (1934). See also ibid., May 23, 1935, 28, in which Néstor

congratulates the film *Monte Criollo* for avoiding "any base and distasteful notes, without concessions and with laudable dignity." In a letter to *Sintonía*, one reader attacked Néstor's persistent negativism in patriotic terms: "He does not do anything but speak ill of our national films. It is impossible to believe that this man is Argentine." *Sintonía* 5, no. 232 (September 30, 1937).

124 Cited in España, "El modelo institucional," 48.

125 To cite just one example, in its review of the Argentine films of 1935, *Caras y Caretas* denounced "plots from the slums, lunfardo expressions, and actors pulled from the theater where certain successes are achieved with dangerous ease." Caras y Caretas, January 1, 1936.

126 *La Razón*, May 25, 1939, 15.

127 Arlt, *Notas sobre el cinematógrafo*, 82. On the masculine fear of foreign movie stars like Rudolph Valentino, see Pujol, *Valentino en Buenos Aires*, 107–10. Frustration over the inability to attain the lifestyles depicted in Hollywood films was a common reaction among moviegoers throughout the world in the 1920s. For the cases of the United States and Cuba, see Rosenzweig, *"Eight Hours for What We Will,"* 221; and Pérez, *On Becoming Cuban*, 290–353.

128 See *Sintonía* 5, no. 226 (August 19, 1937); *Sintonía* 5, no. 221 (July 15, 1937).

129 *Radiolandia* 13, no. 595 (August 12, 1939).

130 *La Razón*, July 7, 1938, 10. The film under review is *Mujeres que trabajan* (Romero, 1938).

131 Garramuño, *Modernidades primitivas*, 216–18.

132 U.S. Department of Commerce, *Motion Pictures in Argentina and Brazil*, 15.

133 Golden, *Review of Foreign Film Markets during 1936*, 176.

134 Golden, *Motion Picture Markets of Latin America*, 23.

135 *El Mundo*, June 29, 1939, 30–31, 34.

136 On Pompeya's movie theater, see Romero, "Nueva Pompeya, libros y catecismo," 176.

137 Golden, *Motion Picture Markets of Latin America*, 23–24. Average daily wage rates are listed on 19.

138 Cited in Tranchini, "El Cine Argentino y la construcción de un imaginario criollista."

139 Golden, *Motion Picture Markets of Latin America*, 24.

140 See, for example, the descriptions of *Riachuelo* (Moglia Barth, 1934) and *Ayúdame a vivir* (Ferreyra, 1936) in *El Heraldo del Cinematografista*, July 11, 1934, and September 2, 1936. The U.S. Commerce Department commented in 1944 that "not so long ago" Argentine films were shown in only one first-run house in Buenos Aires.

141 I arrived at these numbers by cross-referencing the listings in *El Mundo*, June 29, 1939, 30–31, 34, with Manrupe and Portela, *Un diccionario de films argentinos*.

142 See chapter 5, below.

143 The forty-nine Argentine movies released in 1940 represented just 10 percent of the total number of films shown in the country that year.

3 REPACKAGING POPULAR MELODRAMA

1 Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination*, 21, 15.
2 See Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity*, 131–48; Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, esp. 85–87.
3 Martín-Barbero, *Communication, Culture and Hegemony*, 167. See also Oroz, *Melodrama*.
4 Monsiváis, "Se sufre, pero se aprende," 7–19.
5 Bourdieu, *Distinction*.
6 Williams, " 'Something Else besides a Mother,' " 320. On the "radical ambiguity" in melodrama, see Elsaesser, "Tales of Sound and Fury," 47. Feminist film theorists have emphasized the structural instability of melodrama, even if they have disagreed over the extent to which particular films enable readings that question patriarchal ideology. See, for example, E. Ann Kaplan's more skeptical interpretation of *Stella Dallas* (Vidor, 1937) in Kaplan, *Motherhood and Representation*, 149–79. Laura Podalsky has extended this sort of analysis to the Mexican "revolutionary melodrama." Podalsky, "Disjointed Frames," 57–71.
7 Pellettieri, *Cien años de teatro argentino*, 15–18; Chasteen, *National Rhythms*, 51–56; Cara-Walker, "Cocoliche," 41–43.
8 On the broad, cross-class appeal of the zarzuela in Buenos Aires, see McCleary, "Popular, Elite *and* Mass Culture," 1–27.
9 On the transition from the Spanish sainete to the Argentine version, see Pellettieri, "El sainete español y el sainete criollo: géneros diversos," *Cien años del teatro argentino*, 27–36; Pellarolo, *Sainete criollo/Democracia/Representación*, 95–107. On the authors' rights law of 1910, see McCleary, "Life Is a Cabaret?"
10 Mazziotti, "Bambalinas," 74–75.
11 The poem is "Antífona Roja," and the translated excerpts are from James, *Doña María's Story*, 253. See Szmetan, "Enigmas sobre aspectos de la vida, y la relación con su obra, de Almafuerte," 219–30.
12 Armus, "Tango, Gender, and Tuberculosis in Buenos Aires," 103–10; García Jiménez, *Estampas de tango*, 85–86.
13 Collier, *The Life, Music, and Times of Carlos Gardel*, 61; McCleary, "Life Is a Cabaret?," 21.
14 Armus, "Tango, Gender, and Tuberculosis in Buenos Aires," 115.
15 Collier, *The Life, Music, and Times of Carlos Gardel*, 65–66; for the performance record of *El cabaret de Montmartre*, see McCleary, "Life Is a Cabaret?," 22.
16 Mazziotti, "Bambalinas," 73. On Vaccarezza's *Tu cuna fue un conventillo*, see Pellettieri, *Historia del Teatro Argentino en Buenos Aires*, 14–15.
17 Borges, *Evaristo Carriego*, 79, 134, 146–47.
18 Romano, "Prólogo," *Las letras del Tango*, 8.
19 As Miriam Hansen suggests, commodification renders popular traditions

"politically ineffective," and yet counter-hegemonic readings remain possible. Hansen, *Babel and Babylon*, 92.

20 Savigliano, *Tango and the Political Economy of Passion*, 61. My analysis of the milonguita theme in tango lyrics draws on Ulla, *Tango, Rebelión y Nostalgia*, 33–44.

21 All tango lyrics are from Romano, *Las letras del Tango*, unless otherwise noted, and all English translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

22 Guy, *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires*, 152.

23 Archetti, *Masculinities*, 152–55. The phrase "doubting masculinity" comes from one of Archetti's informants. See 157.

24 Armus, "Tango, Gender, and Tuberculosis in Buenos Aires," 111.

25 *Canción Moderna* 1, no. 9 (May 21, 1928).

26 Lyrics cited in Matamoro, *Ciudad del tango*, 117.

27 Savigliano, *Tango and the Political Economy of Passion*, 65–66.

28 Matamoro, *Ciudad del tango*, 136.

29 *Sintonía* 6, no. 298 (January 4, 1939).

30 Ibid. 1, no. 10 (July 1, 1933).

31 *Canción Moderna* 7, no. 294 (November 6, 1933).

32 On the symbolism of seamstresses and tuberculosis in Argentine popular melodrama, see Armus, "Tango, Gender, and Tuberculosis in Buenos Aires."

33 Amuchástegui, *Agustín Magaldi*, 76.

34 Matamoro, *Ciudad del tango*, 116–46; Pablo Vila accepts Matamoro's analysis of tango fatalism in part, but he argues that Matamoro fails to appreciate the significance of the social recognition that tango granted the popular sectors and that he ignores those tango lyrics which contested elite hegemony. Vila, "Tango to Folk," 113–21.

35 Matamoro, *El Tango*, 49–52.

36 Viladrich, "Neither Virgins nor Whores," 272–93.

37 Calistro et al., *Reportaje al cine argentino*, 238.

38 Néstor Pinsón, "Rosita Quiroga."

39 *Sintonía* 1, no. 10 (July 1, 1933).

40 *Sintonía* 7, no. 329 (August 9, 1939).

41 Sarlo, *El imperio de los sentimientos*.

42 Ibid., 169.

43 Ibid., 63.

44 Ibid., 135.

45 Gledhill, "The Melodramatic Field," 34.

46 Couselo, *El Negro Ferreyra*. Ferreyra's article is cited on 112. See also Falicov, "Argentine Cinema and the Construction of National Popular Identity," 66–68.

47 Calistro et al., *Reportaje al cine argentino*, 77.

48 Kohen, "Estudios Cinematográficos Argentinos SIDE," 265–67.

49 Lamarque, *Libertad Lamarque*, 149–50.

50 Ibid., 135. Elsewhere, Lamarque contrasted her own appeal to that of Tita Merello, who specialized in depicting women from the arrabales. Calistro et al., *Reportaje al cine argentino*, 97.

51 On the trilogy of tango operas Lamarque and Ferreyra made for SIDE, see Couselo, *El Negro Ferreyra*, 79–87; Kohen, "Estudios Cinematográficos Argentinos SIDE," 267–71; Di Núbila, *La época de oro*, 133–40.

52 Kohen, "Estudios Cinematográficos Argentinos SIDE," 274–76. On Hollywood's reliance on cutting and seamless continuity editing, see Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema*, 55–59.

53 On the popularity of the tango among elite Argentines, see Matallana, *Qué saben los pitucos*, 19–20.

54 Paladino, "Libertad Lamarque, la reina de la lágrima," 69. On elite consumption of tango, see Matamoro, *La ciudad del tango*, 96–103.

55 Todo Tango, *Diccionario Lunfardo*, http://www.todotango.com/spanish/biblioteca/PalabraLunfarda.aspx?p=pimpollo.

56 Oroz, *Melodrama*, 171 (italics in original).

57 España, "El modelo institucional," 134. On *Stella Dallas*, see the works cited in note 6, above.

58 Laclau, "Towards a Theory of Populism."

59 Arlt, "Ayer ví ganar a los argentinos."

60 *Crítica*, June 4, 1928, 9.

61 Quinziano, "La comedia," 129–46.

62 Calistro et al., *Reportaje al cine argentino*, 152; Di Núbila, *La época de oro*, 72. *La Prensa*'s reviewer commented on Sandrini's tendency to play the same role in every film: "Is his repertoire the same? Does he keep repeating his old character from *Los tres berretines*? Certainly." *La Prensa*, January 21, 1937, 16. See also Pelletieri, "El ultimo actor popular," 91–99.

63 A clear precedent for the character of the lovable thief is the criollo criminal celebrated in the sainete. See Castro, "The Sainete Porteño," 46.

64 As María Valdez points out, Sandrini's image as a "buenazo del barrio," always willing to "jugarse por un amigo" is central to all his film characters. Valdez, "Luis Sandrini," 45.

65 *La Nación*, September 19, 1940, 15.

66 Marshall and D'Anna, *Niní Marshall*, 72–73.

67 Moya, *Cousins and Strangers*, 225–27, 371–72.

68 Marshall, *Las travesuras de Niní*, 28.

69 Pauls, *Lino Palacio La infancia de la risa*, 51–55.

70 Posadas, *Niní Marshall*, 113.

71 Marshall and D'Anna, *Niní Marshall*, 75.

72 Ibid., 64; Posadas, *Niní Marshall*, 23–24.

73 Marshall and D'Anna, *Niní Marshall*, 76–77.

74 Posadas, *Niní Marshall*, 51–52.

75 According to *Sintonía*'s radio reviewer, Marshall had managed what no one

else had: she appealed to "every category of listener." *Sintonía* 6, no. 266 (May 26, 1938). In light of the enormous success of *Divorcio en Montevideo*, *El Mundo* declared Marshall the biggest box-office star in Argentina: *El Mundo*, June 13, 1939, 25.

76 *La Prensa*, July 7, 1938, 18.

77 Marshall and D'Anna, *Niní Marshall*, 77, 81.

78 *Sintonía* 7, no. 326 (July 19, 1939).

79 Ibid. 7, no. 330 (August 16, 1939).

80 Ibid. 7, no. 326 (July 19, 1939).

81 The term "white telephone film" comes from the Italian cinema of the 1930s, in which these escapist movies set among the wealthy proliferated. See Hay, "Placing Cinema, Fascism, and the Nation in a Diagram of Italian Modernity," 115–37.

82 Posadas, *Niní Marshall*, 69.

83 The Legrand twins would go on to star as "innocent girls" (ingénues) in dozens of similar comedies: Di Núbila, *La época de oro*, 336–37.

4 MASS-CULTURAL NATION BUILDING

1 Guy, *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires*, 142–44. Analogous to this crackdown on the tango were elite attempts to enforce good sportsmanship among working-class soccer players. See Frydenberg, "Prácticas y valores en el proceso de popularización del fútbol, Buenos Aires," 7–29.

2 Finchelstein, *Transatlantic Fascism*. See also Spektorowski, *The Origins of Argentina's Revolution of the Right*; Deutsch, *Las Derechas*; Buchrucker, *Nacionalismo y Peronismo*.

3 Quattrocchi-Woisson, *Los males de la memoria*.

4 Sarlo, *Una modernidad periférica*, 215–46.

5 Martínez Estrada, *La cabeza de Goliat*, 202.

6 One example is Linyera's tango "Boedo" (1927), which juxtaposes the quintessential tango barrio with the more pretentious Florida neighborhood: "¿Qué quiere hacer esa fifí Florida? / ¡Si vos ponés tu corazón canyengue / como una flor en el ojal prendida / en los balcones de cada bulín!" (What can that fancy Florida do? / If you put your workingman's heart like a flower in a boutonniere / in the balconies of every guy's pad). Linyera's real name was Francisco Bautista Rímoli.

7 *Canción Moderna* 1, no. 6 (April 30, 1928).

8 Collier, *The Life, Music, and Times of Carlos Gardel*, 196.

9 Ulla, *Tango, rebelión y nostalgia*, 76–79.

10 Matallana, *"Locos por la radio,"* 53–60. See also Maranghello, "El espacio de la recepción," 51.

11 *Canción Moderna* 7, no. 295 (November 13, 1933).

12 Ibid., no. 289 (October 2, 1933).

13 *Radiolandia* 11, no. 545 (August 27, 1938).

14 Ibid., no. 536 (June 25, 1938).
15 Ibid., no. 533 (June 4, 1938).
16 Ibid., no. 538 (July 9, 1938).
17 Ibid., no. 537 (July 2, 1938).
18 In 1933 *Canción Moderna* argued that lyricists like Alfredo Le Pera should be praised for avoiding lunfardo, but five years later, the magazine insisted that improving tango lyrics did not require doing away with the porteño argot: *Radiolandia* 11, no. 545 (August 27, 1938).
19 *Sintonía* 3, no. 94 (February 9, 1935).
20 Ibid., no. 101 (March 30, 1935).
21 Ibid., no. 90 (January 12, 1935).
22 Ibid., no. 92 (January 26, 1935).
23 *Sintonía* 1, no. 10 (July 1, 1933).
24 Ibid. 3, no. 100 (March 23, 1935).
25 *Antena* 8, no. 397 (October 1, 1938).
26 *Sintonía* 6, no. 271 (June 30, 1938).
27 Ibid.
28 *Canción Moderna* 7, no. 297 (November 27, 1933).
29 De Caro, *El tango en mis recuerdos*, 99.
30 *Sintonía* 6, no. 228 (September 2, 1937). Dajos Bela, who was Jewish, led a successful dance band in Berlin before the rise of the Nazis. In 1935 he relocated to Buenos Aires.
31 Ibid. 5, no. 208 (April 15, 1937).
32 *Radiolandia* 11, no. 538 (July 9, 1938); ibid., no. 545 (August 27, 1938).
33 *Canción Moderna*, October 12, 1935.
34 De Caro, *El tango en mis recuerdos*, 35. Blas Matamoro stresses de Caro's position as a member of the "middle class with status pretensions." Matamoro, *La ciudad del tango*, 108.
35 Sierra, *Historia de la orquesta típica*, 99.
36 *Radiolandia* 11, no. 538 (July 9, 1938).
37 *Sintonía* 6, no. 228 (September 2, 1937).
38 For example, the folk pianist Argentino Valle's "Pampita" is described as a milonga pampeana in ibid. 3, no. 98 (March 9, 1935), while Ciriaco Ortiz's version of "Soy porteño" is described as a milonga tangueada, played with authentic porteño flavor, in ibid., no. 125 (September 14, 1935).
39 Barrese and Piana, "El último reportaje a Sebastián Piana. Reprinted at http://www.todotango.com/spanish/biblioteca/cronicas/entrevista_piana.asp. In this interview, Piana gives equal credit for the creation of the new milonga to Pedro Maffia.
40 Interview with Piana in Göttling, *Tango, melancólico testigo*, 88.
41 The most recent and most exhaustive account of Tango's African origins is Thompson, *Tango*.
42 Bates and Bates, *La Historia del Tango*, 19–27.
43 For Kordon's articles on the African origins of tango, see *Sintonía* 6, no. 226

(August 19, 1937), ibid. 5, no. 211 (May 6, 1937), ibid., no. 212 (May 13, 1937), among others. For Kordon's denunciation of jazz, see ibid., no. 210 (April 29, 1937).

44 *Radiolandia* 15, no. 690 (June 7, 1941).

45 According to Robert Farris Thompson, Piana himself was inspired by these international musical trends. See Thompson, *Tango*, 131.

46 "Liberation of the drum" is a phrase coined by Ned Sublette in *Cuba and Its Music*, 433.

47 Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires*.

48 Blomberg and Paz, *Bajo la santa federación*.

49 *Sintonía* 7, no. 305 (February 22, 1939).

50 Ibid. 6, no. 270 (June 23, 1938). *Sintonía*'s editors signaled their partial disagreement with this piece by printing it alongside photos of de Caro and Fresedo, with extremely flattering captions. Incidentally, tango historians often emphasize the differences between de Caro, whose music always featured polyphony and rhythmic counterpoint, and Fresedo, who pursued melody and harmony. See, for example, Labraña and Sebastián, *Tango*, 49. But as the piece from *Sintonía* indicates, at the time the two were commonly lumped together as melodic and harmonic innovators, defined in opposition to the "King of the Beat," Juan D'Arienzo.

51 *Antena* 8, no. 394 (September 10, 1938). *Antena* frequently praised de Caro for having achieved the perfect balance between rhythm and melody: "The genre that Julio De Caro's band now cultivates is in perfect accord with the tastes of the public, which enjoys rhythm but also appreciates when the melodic concept is not forgotten." Ibid. 8, no. 396 (September 24, 1938).

52 *Sintonía* 6, no. 265 (May 19, 1938).

53 *Radiolandia* 11, no. 538 (July 9, 1938).

54 Suriano, *Anarquistas*, 145–73.

55 On the Artistas del Pueblo, see Frank, *Los Artistas del Pueblo*. The quote from Facio is cited and translated on page 172. On the Boedo group, see Leland, *The Last Happy Men*, 38–44, 57–66.

56 Saítta, *Regueros de tinta*, 105–8.

57 Spektorowski, *The Origins of Argentina's Revolution of the Right*, 142–50.

58 On Manzi's participation in FORJA, see Salas, *Homero Manzi y su tiempo*, 155–70.

59 Ford, *Homero Manzi*, 36–37.

60 Reprinted in Manzi, *Sur*, 97.

61 Ibid., 116–17.

62 Cited in Ford, *Homero Manzi*, 84.

63 Cited in ibid., 79. The ellipses are in Ford. On Manzi's ambivalent view of Gardel, see Salas, *Homero Manzi y su tiempo*, 126–30.

64 On Manzi's lyrics, see Ulla, *Tango, rebelión y nostalgia*, 122–29; Salas, *Homero Manzi y su tiempo*, 120–24, 134–46, 171–81.

65 Ford, *Homero Manzi*, 82.

66 Cited in Sarlo, *Una modernidad periférica*, 210.

67 Manzi's nostalgia for rural Argentina may have reflected his memories of the small town of Añatuya in the province of Santiago del Estero, where he lived as a child before moving to the Buenos Aires barrio of Pompeya. See Alén Lascano, "Homero Manzi," 8–27.

68 Manzi, *Sur: Barrio de tango*, 148.

69 Félix-Didier, "Soñando con Hollywood," 77–103.

70 Maranghello, *Artistas argentinos asociados*, 34.

71 Ibid., 17.

72 Dabove, *Nightmares of the Lettered City*, 229–40. On Lugones's political trajectory, see Spektorowski, *The Origins of Argentina's Revolution of the Right*, 67–77.

73 Fürstenberger, "Güemes y los de abajo," 1109–19; Gramuglio, "La primera épica de Lugones," 157–63.

74 *Sintonía* 10, no. 425 (July 8, 1942).

75 Maranghello, *Artistas argentinos asociados*, 49. On the collaboration between Manzi and Petit de Murat, see Salas, *Homero Manzi y su tiempo*, 198–207.

76 Maranghello, *Artistas argentinos asociados*, 67. On the success of the film, see Di Núbila, *La época de oro*, 392. See also Lusnich, *El drama social-folklórico*, esp. 178–83; Félix-Didier and Levinson, "The Building of a Nation," 50–63.

77 *Los caranchos de la Florida* is based on the novel of the same name by Benito Lynch (1916). Like his contemporary Ricardo Güiraldes, Lynch was a criollista novelist who depicted the gaucho as a domesticated peon, lacking the rebelliousness and proclivity to violence that defined the gaucho in nineteenth-century literature. Slatta, *Gauchos and the Vanishing Frontier*, 191–92.

78 On Soffici's social-folkloric films, see Falicov, "Argentine Cinema and the Construction of National Popular Identity," 68–72; Tranchini, "El Cine Argentino y la construcción de un imaginario criollista," 131–35; Lusnich, *El drama social-folklórico*, 182–86.

79 Tranchini, "El Cine Argentino y la construcción de un imaginario criollista," 134–35.

80 *Sintonía* 9, no. 400 (July 23, 1941), 78. *Prisioneros de la tierra* won an Argentine critics' poll as the best domestic film of 1939. See *El Heraldo del Cinematografista* 10, no. 44 (January 17, 1940), 8.

81 *El Mundo*, September 1, 1938, 21.

82 On Ford's influence on Soffici, see Di Núbila, *La época de oro*, 264.

83 Chamosa, *The Argentine Folklore Movement*.

84 Alén Lascano, "Cuando el folklore llegó a Buenos Aires," 64–75.

85 Cited in ibid., 68.

86 *Canción Moderna* 7, no. 294 (November 6, 1933).

87 *Sintonía* 7, no. 309 (March 22, 1939).

88 Ibid. 10, no. 431 (December 30, 1942). On Ochoa's Cafiaspirina program, see the ad in *Radiolandia* 15, no. 693 (June 28, 1941).

89 See, for example, *Sintonía* 6, no. 261 (April 21, 1938); *Sintonía* 7, no. 298 (January 4, 1939).
90 Ibid. 6, no. 263 (May 5, 1938).
91 *Antena* 11, no. 570 (January 22, 1942).
92 *Sintonía* 7, no. 314 (April 26, 1939).
93 *Radiolandia* 11, no. 526 (April 16, 1938).
94 Lattes, "La dinámica de la población rural en la Argentina."
95 *Sintonía* 1, no. 22 (September 23, 1933), 7.
96 *Radiolandia* 11, no. 526 (April 16, 1938).
97 On Luna, see Almeida de Gargiulo, de Yanzi, and de Vera, *Buenaventura Luna*.
98 *Sintonía* 6, no. 260 (April 14, 1938).
99 *Antena* 8, no. 397 (October 1, 1938).
100 *Sintonía* 9, no. 402 (August 20, 1941).
101 *Sintonía* 7, no. 314 (April 26, 1939).
102 Almeida de Gargiulo, de Yanzi, and de Vera, *Buenaventura Luna*, 52.
103 *Antena*, October 29, 1938. The second ellipsis is in the original.
104 On Romero's film career, see Insaurralde, *Manuel Romero*; Mallimacci and Marrone, eds., *Cine e imaginario social*.
105 *La Razón*, June 29, 1939, 13. Romero's films repeatedly inspired this sort of critical condescension. In *El Mundo*, Calki summed up his review of *Gente bien* as follows: "Easy spectacle, with straightforward techniques, aimed at the broadest popular sector." *El Mundo*, June 29, 1939, 17. Reviewing another Romero film, *La vuelta de Rocha*, *La Prensa* echoed this elitism: "Perhaps because it is aimed at the popular, it carries the plot to vulgar terrain and plays rude notes . . . Precisely for those reasons, in popular theaters its success is guaranteed." *La Prensa*, September 9, 1937, 16.
106 España, "Los muchachos de antes no usaban gomina," 229.
107 Sommer, *Foundational Fictions*. Of course, *Birth of a Nation* (Griffith, 1915) is the paradigmatic case of a cinematic national romance.
108 That *It Happened One Night* provided the inspiration for *La rubia del camino* is a matter of scholarly consensus. See, for example, Di Núbila, *La época de oro*, 190–92; Insaurralde, *Manuel Romero*, 24; Valdez, "El reino de la comedia," 286–87. Contemporary critics frequently cited the Hollywood influences visible in Romero's films. As *La Nación* commented in its review of *Mujeres que trabajan*, "The frequent moviegoer must recognize . . . the atmosphere, the heart and even the details of foreign films." *La Nación*, July 7, 1938, 14.
109 Karnick and Jenkins, "Introduction: Comedy and the Social World," 277. See also Karnick, "Comedy and Reaffirmation in Hollywood Romantic Comedy," 123–46. Although Robert Sklar argues that *It Happened One Night* ought not to be considered a screwball comedy, most film critics do apply that label. Sklar, *Movie-Made America*, 207.
110 May, *The Big Tomorrow*, 55–99.

111 For the idea of couple formation in the screwballs as a "union of complementary opposites," see Lent, "Romantic Love and Friendship," 314–31.

112 María Valdez has noted that *La rubia del camino* differs from its Hollywood model in that the repartee is entirely one-sided; Julián, unlike Peter, does not participate in the wisecracking. Valdez, "El reino de la comedia," 287. Clearly, Julián's seriousness results from the melodramatic logic of the film: as the embodiment of the poor, he is a study in nobility and dignity, not a character who is particularly apt to express sarcasm or lighthearted humor.

113 The recurring joke in *It Happened One Night*, in which Peter erects "the walls of Jericho"—a blanket hung on a string—between his bed and Ellie's has no counterpart in *La rubia del camino*, which shies away from this sort of erotic tease. This prudishness likely had multiple causes, but it follows logically from the identification of Julián—and poor people more generally—as the essence of moral rectitude.

114 Romero's celebration of working women is most explicit in *Mujeres que trabajan* (1938). The contrast with Libertad Lamarque's films is striking. In both *Besos brujos* and *Puerta cerrada*, Lamarque promises to give up her artistic career upon marriage.

115 See Hershfield, *Imagining la Chica Moderna*.

5 POLITICIZING POPULISM

1 On Perón's mass media policies, see Ciria, *Cultura y política popular*; Sirvén, *Perón y los medios de comunicación*. On the expropriation of the newspapers, see Cane, *The Fourth Enemy*.

2 Luis Alberto Romero has pointed out that Peronism disseminated existing cultural models, rather than inventing new ones, but he emphasizes the traditionalism implicit in those models, rather than the populist current I have identified. See Romero, *Breve historia contemporánea de la Argentina*, 160–62.

3 James, *Resistance and Integration*, 26–27; James, *Doña María's Story*, 255.

4 On the coup of 1943, see Spektorowski, *The Origins of Argentina's Revolution of the Right*, 173–77; Potash, *Perón y el GOU*. On the rise of Perón, see, among many others, Torre, *La vieja guardia sindical y Perón*.

5 Cane, *The Fourth Enemy*, 62–69.

6 Falicov, "Hollywood's Rogue Neighbor," 259.

7 Falicov, *The Cinematic Tango*, 17–19.

8 Rock, *Politics in Argentina*, 242–47; Escudé, *Gran Bretaña, Estados Unidos, y la declinación Argentina*.

9 Falicov, "Hollywood's Rogue Neighbor," 245–60. The best-known case of such censorship was the banning of Charlie Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* in 1941. The film was not shown in Buenos Aires until 1945.

10 Cited in Falicov, "Hollywood's Rogue Neighbor," 256.

11 Schnitman, "The Argentine Film Industry," 84.

12 Ibid., 81–90; Barnard, "Popular Cinema and Populist Politics," *Argentine Cinema*, 39–40.
13 On the advent of cinematic protectionism after 1943, see Kriger, *Cine y peronismo*, 27–55.
14 Maranghello, "Cine y estado," 56–100; Schnitman, "The Argentine Film Industry," 91–106; Barnard, "Popular Cinema and Populist Politics," *Argentine Cinema*, 41–43.
15 Cited in Matallana, *Locos por la radio*, 174.
16 Ibid., 48–51; Donald Castro, *The Argentine Tango as Social History*, 209–15.
17 Sirvén, *Perón y los medios de comunicación*, 116–18.
18 Cane, *The Fourth Enemy*, 199–232.
19 Castro, "The Massification of the Tango," 104–5; Pujol, *Discépolo*, 315.
20 Pujol, *Discépolo*, 354–55.
21 Petit de Murat, *Este cine argentino*, 55.
22 Maranghello, "Cine y estado," 96.
23 Maranghello, "Los exilios," 170–72. For Lamarque's version of her notorious run-in with Eva Perón, see Lamarque, *Libertad Lamarque*, 211–18; For the story of Hugo del Carril's falling out with Apold, see Nudler, "La gran marcha," 52.
24 On Peronist propaganda films, see Kriger, *Cine y peronismo*, 111–33.
25 On the efforts of Amadori and Argentina Sono Film, the studio that hired Apold, to ingratiate themselves with the Perón regime, see Manetti, "Argentina Sono Film," 189–205.
26 Di Núbila, *Historia del cine argentino*, vol. 2; Falicov, "Argentine Cinema and the Construction of National Popular Identity," 66; Barnard, "Popular Cinema and Populist Politics," *Argentine Cinema*, 43–49. "Banal" is Alberto Ciria's term, while "anodyne" is the judgment of Claudio España and Ricardo Manetti. See Ciria, *Cultura y política popular*, 259; España and Manetti, "El cine argentino, una estética especular," 269. Only very recently has the notion of Perón-era cinema as pure escapism begun to be challenged, most notably in Kriger, *Cine y peronismo*.
27 Petit de Murat, *Este cine argentino*, 55.
28 Milanesio, "Peronists and *Cabecitas*, 59.
29 España and Manetti, "El cine argentino, una estética especular," 274.
30 On *Dios se lo pague*, see Kriger, *Cine y peronismo*, 217–22; Paranaguá, "Populismo y hibridación," 331–54.
31 España, *Luis César Amadori*, 38.
32 Posadas, *Niní Marshall*, 67. On *Navidad de los pobres*, see also Kriger, *Cine y peronismo*, 209–12.
33 Kriger, "El cine del peronismo, una reevaluación," 136–55.
34 Kriger, *Cine y peronismo*, 189.
35 Kriger, "El cine del peronismo, una reevaluación," 151–55.
36 Viladrich, "Neither Virgins nor Whores," 281–85; D'Addario, "Tita Merello," 49–51.

37 Ramacciotti and Valobra, eds., *Generando el Peronismo*.
38 Matallana, *"Locos por la radio,"* 101.
39 Romano, "Apuntes sobre cultura popular y peronismo," 48–54.
40 Gueñol, "Evocación del radioteatro," 70–71.
41 Grau, *Los Pérez García y yo*, 10. See also Cosse, "Relaciones de pareja a mediados de siglo en las representaciones de la radio porteña," 131–53.
42 This brief account of the history of folk music in the Perón era is drawn from Chamosa, "Criollo and Peronist," 113–42.
43 Matallana, *"Locos por la radio,"* 95.
44 Tormo, "Chamamé de sobrepaso, charla entre Antonio Tormo y León Gieco."
45 Vitale, "Fui vocero de los cabecitas."
46 Milanesio, "Peronists and *Cabecitas*," 53–84.
47 See Vila, "Tango to Folk," 127–28. Vila argues that Tormo's principal audience was composed of internal migrants, a point of view shared by Eduardo Romano. See Romano, "Apuntes sobre cultura popular y peronismo," 46–48.
48 Matamoro, *Ciudad del tango*, 215–21.
49 Vila, "Tango to Folk," 124–32.
50 Pujol, "El baile en la Argentina de los 40," 75–84.
51 Gálvez, "El tango en su época de gloria," 6.
52 Rivero, *Una luz de almacén*, 84.
53 The divito style was named for the cartoonist Guillermo Divito, who sought to make fun of the poorly dressed. As Natalia Milanesio points out, the style was based on the outfits that turn-of-the-century compadritos would wear, and thus already had an association with tango. See Milanesio, "Peronists and *Cabecitas*," 68–69. Ernesto Goldar affirms that many tango fans dressed as divitos: Goldar, *Buenos Aires*, 60. On Castillo's use of the divito style and his embodiment of working-class Peronist identity, see Salas, "Relaciones tango y política," 133. On Castillo's performance of "Así se baila el tango," see Aresi, "Alberto Castillo, el cantor de los milongueros (El tango es danza de rango)."
54 Conti, *Aguafuertes radiales*, 127–29.
55 Cited in Salas, *El tango*, 297.
56 Gálvez, "El tango en su época de gloria," 7–13.
57 On Manzi's relationship with Peronism, see Salas, *Homero Manzi y su tiempo*, 241–70.
58 On Discépolo's radio show, see Pujol, *Discépolo*, 372–85; Vila, "Tango to Folk," 128–30. For the scripts themselves, see Discepolín, *¿A mí me la vas a contar?*
59 See, for example, Goldar, *Buenos Aires*, 138–43. Goldar points out that even Alberto Castillo's big hits of the 1950s were no longer tangos.
60 Rock, *Politics in Argentina*, 301.
61 Erenberg, *Swingin' the Dream*, 211–18; Stowe, *Swing Changes*, 180–220.
62 Cited in Horvath, *Esos malditos tangos*, 159.

63 Sigal and Verón, *Perón o muerte*, 72–74; Bianchi and Sánchis, *El Partido Peronista Feminista*. Caimari and Plotkin, *Pueblo contra antipueblo*.
64 Perón, *El pueblo quiere saber de qué se trata*, 238.
65 Elena, "Peronist Consumer Politics and the Problem of Domesticating Markets in Argentina," 111–49. The quotation is from 118, and the translation is Elena's.
66 Quoted in Sigal and Verón, *Perón o muerte*, 66.
67 Quoted in James, *Resistance and Integration*, 24. The translation is his.
68 Perón, *Obras completas*, 24.
69 On Peronist anti-intellectualism, see James, *Resistance and Integration*, 22.
70 Berhó, "Working Politics," 65–76.
71 Perón, *El pueblo quiere saber*, 10–11.
72 From Perón's speech on Labor Day, May 1, 1944. Ibid., 49. On the centrality of working-class respectability within Peronism, see Gené, *Un mundo feliz*.
73 Quoted in Sigal and Verón, *Perón o muerte*, 50.
74 On the Catholic Nationalist intellectuals of the 1930s, see Finchelstein, *Transatlantic Fascism*, 118–37; Spektorowski, *The Origins of Argentina's Revolution of the Right*, 109–23; Zanatta, *Del estado liberal a la nación católica*.
75 Ehrick, " 'Savage Dissonance,' " 86–87.
76 Spektorowski, *The Origins of Argentina's Revolution of the Right*, 128–32, 181–83.
77 Nevertheless, Mariano Plotkin's analysis of Peronist textbooks reveals the persistence within Peronism of a tension between tradition and modernization. Plotkin, *Mañana es San Perón*, 189–92.
78 As Valeria Manzano has argued, the cinema of the earlier period tended to depict femininity and labor as mutually exclusive. See Manzano, "Trabajadoras en la pantalla plateada," 267–89.
79 James, *Resistance and Integration*, 18. The emphasis is his.
80 On Perón's debt to, and reformulation of, Fascism, see Finchelstein, *Transatlantic Fascism*, 163–71.
81 James, *Doña María's Story*, 240–41.
82 Weinstein, " 'They Don't Even Look like Women Workers,' " 161–76.
83 Lobato, Damilakou, and Tornay, "Working-Class Beauty Queens under Peronism," 171–207.
84 Elena, "Peronism in 'Good Taste,' " 209–37.
85 Perón, *My Mission in Life (La razón de mi vida)*, 144–45.
86 During the economic decline of the early 1950s, Perón criticized Argentine consumers for living beyond their means. See Elena, "Peronist Consumer Politics and the Problem of Domesticating Markets in Argentina," 138.
87 James Brennan and Marcelo Rougier demonstrate that even though Perón faced the opposition of the owners of well-established, large industrial firms who dominated the Unión Industrial Argentina, other segments of the incipient "national bourgeoisie" did support him. Brennan and Rougier, *The Politics of National Capitalism*, 17–40.

88 Milanesio, "Peronists and *Cabecitas*."
89 Adamovsky, *Historia de la clase media argentina*, 245–47.
90 Weinstein, "'They Don't Even Look like Women Workers,'" 173.
91 James, *Resistance and Integration*, 30.

EPILOGUE: THE RISE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

1 Adamovsky, *Historia de la clase media argentina*, 364–78. Adamovsky emphasizes the "anti-plebeian" character of Argentine middle-class identity. See also Garguin, "'Los Argentinos descendemos de los Barcos,'" 161–84.
2 Seveso, "Political Emotions and the Origins of the Peronist Resistance," 242–43.
3 Chamosa, *The Argentine Folklore Movement*, 293.
4 Maranghello, "Cine y estado," 152; Maranghello, "Los exilios," 172.
5 "Alberto Castillo," http://www.cinenacional.com/personas/index.php?persona=4027.
6 Posadas, *Niní Marshall*, 96–98.
7 Pujol, "Rebeldes y modernos," 289–93.
8 Chamosa, "The Folklore Movement in Tucumán, from Perón to the Revolución Libertadora"; Gravano, *El silencio y la porfia*, 116–41.
9 Chamosa, "The Folklore Movement in Tucumán, from Perón to the Revolución Libertadora." On Yupanqui's lyrics, see Orquera, "Marxismo, peronismo, indocriollismo," 185–205.
10 Gravano, *El silencio y la porfia*, 133. Horacio Guarany, Los Cantores de Quilla-Huasi, Los Fronterizos, and Los Chalchaleros all recorded the song between 1957 and 1962.
11 Zaldívar, *La zamba*, 38.
12 Adamovsky, *Historia de la clase media argentina*, 327–403. *La Familia Falcón* was the brainchild of the advertising agency J. Walter Thompson. See Ulanovsky, Itkin, and Sirvén, *Estamos en el aire*, 181–82.
13 Both plays were written by Arnaldo Malfatti and Nicolás de las Llanderas.
14 Adamovsky, *Historia de la clase media argentina*, 395. As Adamovsky points out, the wedding took place in the middle of the coup of 1955.
15 Fox, *Latin American Broadcasting*, 102–3; Mastrini, "Los orígenes de la televisión privada"; Ulanovsky, Itkin, and Sirvén, *Estamos en el aire*, 92–103.
16 Goldar, *Buenos Aires*, 125–27, 157; Pujol, "Rebeldes y modernos," 289. On the Argentine reception of Bill Haley, see Manzano, "The Blue Jean Generation," 660.
17 Goldar, *Buenos Aires*, 77–79; Podalsky, *Specular City*, 66.
18 Manzano, "The Blue Jean Generation," 661–62.
19 Pujol, "Rebeldes y modernos," 308–10.
20 The term "impossible game" was coined by O'Donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism*, 166–92.
21 Manzano, "The Blue Jean Generation," 667–69.

22 Alabarces, *Entre gatos y violadores*.
23 Pujol, "Rebeldes y modernos," 311–12. See also Pujol, *La década rebelde*.
24 The best account of the evolution of working-class consciousness in this period remains James, *Resistance and Integration*.
25 On the Cordobazo and its aftermath, see Brennan, *The Labor Wars in Córdoba*.
26 Moyano, *Argentina's Lost Patrol*, 35–36.