

THE PERSISTENCE OF THE COLLECTIVE

A Comparative Approach to Images of the Trade Union Body
in 1963 and 2017 in Argentina

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Abstract

The present article offers a comparative approach to images that depict the trade union body, in 1963 and 2017. The aim is to highlight the continuities and changes in the shaping of this masculine and organised corporality, in two images from the 1960s and the 2010s, to ascertain how this social body of the union is outlined in these distinct periods. As such, we propose to study the 1963 poster *iBasta!* ("Enough!") by the visual artist Ricardo Carpani (1930-1997) and the untitled 2017 photograph by Fernando de la Orden (1976-), taken for the newspaper *Clarín*.

Keywords

worker's body; trade unions; resistance; workers; image.

The torment of artificial wine
and the barbecued atmosphere
numb the common conscience,
their childhood takes place
in the land of the stomach.

Gil Trabajador ("Stupid Worker") by Hermética (1991)¹

There is something decidedly resolute about the subaltern, and, in the very process of examining this phenomenon, I come to define it as a cursed perseverance², somehow indescribable, which is kept alive by the diverse and disregarded masses, and which combines and recombines orders of meaning. This is the starting point from which I propose that Argentine syndicalism – as a collective movement of organised workers –, is a particular, multi-faceted structure that includes the forms of social grouping and appropriation that can be traced back far into the history of Argentina and Latin America.

As such, this is a region where working people are faced with right-wing governments³ that promote discourses to individualise subjects, that

question the logic of equal opportunities and meritocracy, and that advocate reforms for flexible labour over the more welfarist, communitarian and collective approaches. I therefore think it is crucial to reclaim the emergence of that which never dies, despite the many attempts to bury it: those manifestations of the people which hark back to a memory of struggle and resistance, against the projects of the ruling elites and their own discursive universes.

As part of this endeavour, this article aims to highlight the continuities and changes that took place amid the forming of the (masculine and organised) body of the trade union worker, focussing on two images from distinct points in history, namely the 1960s and the 2010s, in order to address how the unionised and social body is depicted in both times. Therefore, I propose, as a corpus, the poster *iBasta!* ("Enough!", Fig 1.) by the visual artist Ricardo Carpani (1930-1997) and the untitled 2017 photograph (Fig.2) by Fernando de la Orden (1976-), taken for the newspaper *Clarín*.

While the two images enjoyed different degrees of circulation and resonance, in my view they expose the problem of the relationship between the conditioning produced in history – grounded in the body and objects – and the possibility for creation. The instituted and the instituting, the compliant and the deviant, in a given space-time, as a specific creation (or self-creation). As Pierre Bourdieu (1992) points out in his postface to *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* by Erwin Panofsky, – and regarding the production itself of his concept of the *habitus* –: "It is [...] natural that one could observe, in domains that are worlds apart at the phenomenal level, the expression of this general tendency, which generates particular schemes that can be applied to various domains of thought and action." (Bourdieu, 1992) These are modes that, following Panofsky, operate both on gothic cathedrals and on scholastic manuscripts: they "transform the collective heritage into the common individual unconscious" (Bourdieu, 1992). I propose here a genealogical approach that questions the conditions for the creation of images, "with equal emphasis on the agonistic pace of their destruction, their survivals, anachronisms, setbacks and revolutions" (Oviedo, 2008, p. 26).



Fig.1. Carpani, R. (1963). *¡Basta!* ("Enough!") poster. Retrieved from: <http://www.telam.com.ar/notas/201510/122737-carpani-un-artista-iconico-entre-el-taller-y-la-calle-como-signo-de-una-epoca.php>



Fig.2. De la Orden, F. (2017). Untitled. Retrieved from: https://tn.com.ar/sociedad/una-panza-peronista-el-tatuaje-que-se-viralizo-en-las-redes_815267

The particular images under scrutiny here, following Bourdieu (1992), have not been selected with the aim of reaching a "simple empirical and intuitive apprehension of reality", but rather they will be analysed against all immediate and constructed appearances "by a methodical analysis and work of abstraction". I am keen to avoid superficial analogies that may be "simply formal and sometimes accidental", and instead I aim to "bring out [...] concrete realities where they express and dissimulate the structures among which the comparison aimed at discovering the common properties can be established" (1992), as well as differences and changes.

I am attempting this comparison because I believe that these bodies are constructed outside of the legitimate. In both examples, due to a combination of different factors, such corporalities are shown in other ways. These images, though set out as ideological devices, still retain the profound cultural legacy of the people, passed down over generations and manifested today as rifts, deviations and gestures in the image of a body that is resistant and, as current anthropology would put it, strategic.

In this regard, as indicated at the beginning, it should be made clear that I consider the Argentine trade union movement (and its productivities) to have played an active role in the boosting of countless underground movements which, in turn, replenish a historical memory through their collective action: "that which disrupts the peaceful tempo of the orderly narration" (Oviedo, 2008, p. 14). All that which is left out of the official version of the dominating discourse. As Nicolás Damin (2015) notes, "in this globalised world, (...) Argentine trade unionism, in all its variants, is a vigorous survivor of an ancient era, known as social solidarity, and it retains levels of membership and social power that are hard to find outside Scandinavia".

In a similar vein, María Esperanza Casullo (2018) argues that much of the early thinking about Argentine political reality, including *Facundo* (1845) by Domingo F. Sarmiento, *El Matadero* (1871) by Esteban Echeverría and *Una excursión a los indios ranqueles* (1870) by Lucio V. Mansilla, set a fixed narrative core, with several distinctive elements:

The postulation of the almost ontological division of countryside/city, the superimposition of this same dichotomy onto civilisation/barbarity or rationality/animality, the postulation of a "good order" as opposed to a "bad order" characterised by mixing, by the equating of civilisation with Europeaness. (p. 35)

Thus, this narrative core, as suggested by Casullo and with which I agree, continues operating as a device that produces ideas and analyses that are constantly used to try to explain the different circumstances and problems of the country. With deft analytical prowess, Daniel James (1988, p.3)

states that this same movement of transhistoric tendencies and linear temporality is characteristic of the construction of the Argentine "enigma":

In Argentina, [...] the past has been lived as the present in a peculiarly intense way. It has been precisely a perception of this fact which has underlain much of the aura of pessimism and fatalism which has informed public and intellectual attitudes toward the Argentine 'enigma'. Argentines have seemed condemned to endure a present dominated by symbols drawn from past conflicts and experiences.

Bringing all of this together, I understand that from Alfonsín's "democratic spring"⁴ (a project by Mucci), to the persecution and public challenge launched by the alliance government *Cambiamos*⁵ against the union leaders and trade union organisations, as well as the fight between Menemism and Ubaldinism within the General Confederation of Labor (the CGT, i.e. the *Confederación General de Trabajo*) in the 1990s⁶, Argentine trade unionism has long been criticised from many different angles. This criticism is often imbued, as will be seen, with classist tones, which invariably reinforce the classifying dichotomies that span the history of Argentina, as noted by Casullo (2018): civilisation/barbarity, order/disorder, rationality/irrationality, new/anachronistic, etc. Yet also, and because of this, do the workers and their collectives not reveal a certain continuity that is rooted in the forms of organisation and historical subjectivities in our country? Is it not like a collective and popular original cursed fact that, today, resists and persists in the face of (neo)liberal and individualistic perspectives? As Jacques Rancière indicates in *The Work of the Image* (2008):

[Art] constructs effective forms of community: communities between objects and images, between images and voices, between faces and words that weave relationships between pasts and a present, between faraway spaces and a place of exhibition. These communities only assemble at the cost of separating, and only get closer at the cost of creating distance. But separating and creating distance also means placing words, images and things into a wider community of acts of thought and creation, of speaking and listening, which call and respond to each other [... It is] inviting them to enter the continuous process of creation of these sensitive communities.

Therefore, what I outline in my analysis is that there is an internalised form of rupture which is manifest in the very fabric of society. An excess that is also opacity, resistance and integration, and that comprises the chosen images.

1. *iBasta!*: the man-mass

In 1963, Carpani made the poster *iBasta!* ("Enough!") which, as Ignacio Soneira (2017, p.32) points out, "would become a visual emblem of the workers' struggle and organisation in the sixties" in Argentina. This piece of work forms part of what the artist himself would define as his "militant, political graphic art" intended, from the outset, for "direct and massive social contact" (Carpani, 1994, p.5). An image that is political action with a strong and synthetic aim –, that's *Enough!*

In the same vein, Horst Bredekamp (2000) would propose, in his research into the State iconography linked with Hobbes's *Leviathan*, that the ability of posters circulated en masse

[...] to influence, if not to instil in the political consciousness of the observer, can never be deduced entirely, but given the huge effort that was made in the visual propaganda of the twentieth century, there is little doubt that it was a highly effective component in a system of inculcation that was able to rouse thoroughly surprising energies for survival.

I agree with this *a priori* as a way of thinking about the circulation of Carpani's militant, political graphic art. This poster was thus included within the approved graphic material of the "Protest Week"⁷ convened in May 1963 by the CGT, and was accompanied by different slogans coined by the trade union. As Soneira (2017) indicates: "Carpani developed the image for a poster that would have, at its side, when placed on the wall, another blank poster upon which the CGT's main slogans and demands would be displayed" (p. 33). It was only later when the artist first added the word *iBasta!* beneath the figure of a muscular worker. It is important to highlight, in this sense, that such exaltation of the muscles in order to represent the workers can be traced back to the graphic art from the Soviet Union (socialist realism), from Germany (national socialism), from China (Maoism), from Argentina (Peronism), from the Spanish Civil War (Fig. 3) and the Mexican murals by Diego Rivera and David Alfaro Siqueiros, among other examples. In turn, the multiple figures in the background, in Carpani's poster, holding the banner that references "CGT Argentina", the closed fists (also repeated in similar graphic art from elsewhere, as mentioned above) and the angered expression, all suggest the idea of a demand, a statement, and that the people are taking a collective stance.



Fig.3. German and Spanish Republican graphic art. Retrieved from: <https://www.libertaddigital.com/fotos/carteles-comunistas-y-nazis-enfrentados-libre-mercado-1007546/cnt.jpg.html>

In this sense, Luis Felipe Noé (1994) would go on to say that Carpani's poster presents a "man-mass". A figure that is all muscle, with a direct link to the world of labour and the workers' struggle in the way he takes "strength from the very society of which he is made" (p.17). Likewise, as Ana Longoni (2008) notes, the artist's characters "form one single body, a compact battle machine" (p.104), a set-up that creates a system and helps foster a fighting spirit.

In turn, the main character's facial features, as well as his dark skin tone, makes reference to the so-called *cabecitas negras* (literally, "little black heads"), i.e. the racial stigma that, as suggested in the polarities indicated by Casullo, was suffered by the workers from inland Argentina who had migrated to the big cities to join the industrial workforce in the 1930s and 40s. It should be remembered that the rise of the national state of Argentina takes place at the end of the 19th century, posited as a new hegemonic organisation following the defeats of the popular *caudillo* leaders and the genocides committed by the ruling powers (for example, in the "Conquest of the Desert"⁸, in 1878) in the regions where the country's origins lay: the homelands of the grandparents of the so-called "little black heads", whom Peronism would later integrate into the political system⁹ by turning the stigma into a rallying cry.

On this particular point, the magazine *Despertar* (official publication of the *Club de la Libertad*), with its anti-Peronist and oligarchic roots, would state at that time that this poster shows "the true face of the CGT autocrats; drawn by themselves, without any makeup or mask. There they are. That's what they're really like. Just as they look: with their beastly features, their hate-filled expressions and their gestures of violence¹⁰". As such, it is interesting to think how certain agencies of power need to produce a face. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (2002) would propose that the canon of the human universal and its chosen face for the machine of modern faciality is the face of Christ. The average white man as the archetype. This abstract machine builds dichotomies and frameworks and provides the necessary material for the signifier and for the subject:

The face constructs the wall that the signifier needs in order to bounce off of; it constitutes the wall of the signifier, the frame or screen. The face digs the hole that subjectification needs in order to break through; it constitutes the black hole of subjectivity as consciousness or passion (p.174)

It is therefore worth clarifying, in line with the "beastly features" of the workers in the "Enough!" poster, that, according to these authors, modern individuation techniques rank degrees of normality. That is, they define subjects – with the human face as the basis of expression – and either sort them into the taxonomy of the normal or the abnormal (or monstrous), ever trying to facialise-christianise any deviations from the norm. Thus, the placeless, in Rancière's terms, i.e. those excluded and oppressed by the capitalist system, must suffer, in their very faces, the stigma of the subaltern under the social gaze.

2. Interstice: neoliberalism

Between the first and the second image comes the "long night" of neoliberalism. In this sense, there are three processes, according to Horacio Tarcus (1992), that put the Argentine populist-Peronist state in crisis and enable this new mode of accumulation: the depletion of the import substitution model, the international capitalist crisis of 1973-74, and the intervention of the civil-military dictatorship through the economic plan of Martínez de Hoz¹¹. So, years later and with the arrival of the democratic governments, market reforms are deepened, set in motion by the military, restructuring, transforming, and making the foundations of Argentine society more flexible. As such, the relationships between state and society, and capital and labour, would be modified in line with the global process. It is the time, in this country, of discourses about the "rationalisation of the state" (a new modernisation) and the reduction of the social power of the working masses, in turn bolstering the power of the wage-earners. I agree with Juan Carlos Torre (2018), insomuch that this deployment "diluted the

relative homogeneity of living and working conditions that for so many years had defined the popular foundations of Peronism" (p. 27).

3. The union belly: the faceless body

On 22nd August 2017, the CGT, the two CTAs (*Central de Trabajadores de la Argentina*¹², i.e. the "Argentine Workers' Central Union") and other social movements marched to the Plaza de Mayo – a square in the centre of Buenos Aires, in front of the government building and the focal point for political mobilisation - in defence of jobs, against dismissals, in the context of an attempt by the National Government of the cross-party Cambiemos alliance to sanction a labour reform. The accounts of that day describe the dissatisfaction of some union sectors with the official leadership of the main trade union – the CGT - for evading the calls for a national strike¹³. In turn, the live television broadcasts focussed on the clashes between two sectors of the truckers' trade union (led by the former secretary general of the CGT between 2004 and 2016, Hugo Moyano). Likewise, the national civil service called the mobilisation "unnecessary, inappropriate" and with a "whiff of electoral posturing"¹⁴.

As the day went on, and the protest drew to an end, another photograph "caused a stir" and became one of the event's emblematic "postcards"¹⁵. It first gained traction on social media and then, after it had gone viral, it was taken up by the editorial line of some news agencies: "the Peronist belly" synthesised "all the myths of the people"¹⁶.

This photograph in question, taken by Fernando de la Orden, features a torso with a prominent waist. A canvas where a series of tattoos are displayed: the emblems of both the Boca Juniors football club and the CGT, the faces of Evita and Mother Teresa of Calcutta, Our Lady of Luján and rosary beads. As Sandra Martínez Rossi (2011) points out, this tattooed skin becomes "a symbolic surface, a space for ritual inscription, an instrument of communication and social cohesion" (p. 256). In turn, the subject's arm crosses the body, and the pose is finished off with the V-sign, the V for the Peronist victory.

The image shows a body that is pure bloated excess, similar to the typical body of the *hinchas*, the 'authentic' Argentine football fanatic. Pierre Bourdieu (1994) suggests that social groups develop distinct and distinguishing bodily uses and consumption patterns, and that each social group has its own conception of the body. Bourdieu (2000) also points out that this social construction of corporality presents a correlation between the "physical" and the "moral" and, therefore, certain ways of moving, standing and gesticulating would express the nature of the people. In this

sense, the photograph by De la Orden composes and reinforces a model of the male body associated with being large and fat, and so it deviates from the socially acceptable hegemonic model. As the anthropologist José Garriga (2005) says, "the massive bellies, the chubby and sagging paunches, the double chins, the stubby and stocky arms and legs, the broad and bulky chest are all characteristics that correspond to the typical football fan" in Argentina (p. 206). Bodies forged in "the everyday experience of work, the use/abuse of alcohol and drugs, and physical fights" (Garriga, 2005, p. 207).

What this image does – and on this point it concurs with the editorial line of the newspaper *Clarín*, which at the time this photograph was published had an affinity with the National Government and was critical of the opposition unions –, is to construct a body that, by metonymy, refers to a form of trade union activism that is closer to die-hard football fanaticism than to the working class epic, a physiognomy that is sheer barbarism, animality and savagery. This perspective also highlights a certain analogy between tattooing, adornment and inferiority that so arises, as noted by Martínez Rossi (2011), "in the first pictorial representations of exotic man" (p. 259), and which also refers historically to symbols of delinquency:

Adolf Loos states that the tattoo on the body of a modern man represents the symbol of crime and degeneration, a point of view defended by Cesare Lombroso and Alexandre Lacassagne in the late 19th century and held until 1914, a period of time where both concepts gain widespread acceptance and establish a sectarian and radical vision of tattooing in western societies (p. 260).

Furthermore, and in line with the deviant, illegitimate, criminal and savage, De la Orden's image presents a body without a face. In this regard, Giorgio Agamben (2011) notes:

In our culture, the face/body relationship is marked by a fundamental asymmetry, which establishes that the face must generally remain naked, while the body is normally covered. This asymmetry corresponds to a primacy of the head, which is expressed in the most diverse ways but which is more or less constant in all areas (p. 128).

De la Orden's photograph opts to show the opposite composition. A naked torso without a face or a head. Somewhat ominous, and culturally empty. If, as Agamben says, the whole body is conferred meaning through a face that channels the composition of one's personal identity, in the case in point, there is no individuality because of the way the photograph has been cropped. His face is not necessary in order get across the intended meaning. Also, following Noé's thoughts on the "Enough!" poster, this photograph is a (faceless) body-mass. It is a *point de capiton* that wraps a

whole non-conformist chain of meaning around the generic unionised and mobilised worker of the CGT.

The problem with understanding the worker's "gut" as mere animality, in all its savagery, is that such a view overlooks the significant social ordering that the implicated actors carry out on their own body. That is, this understanding misrepresents the strategy of positioning oneself socially, a strategy that comes from the defiant creation of a way of being in the world (Bourdieu, 1988).

In turn – and just as the national right-wing would at one time refer to the workers in Carpani's poster from the *Club de la Libertad* – today, to not lose the historical symbolism, Alejandro Bongiovanni, director of public policies at the *Fundación Libertad*, would argue in an opinion piece published a week after the mobilisation, that the belly shown in De la Orden's photograph "is also the the country's belly, a sort of Aleph where the ideas that have most contributed to Argentina's economic, social and cultural backwardness come together, as well as, of course, exposing us to their characteristic violence"¹⁷. Furthermore, Bongiovanni would indicate how, based on the tattoos that can be made out on that body, the myth of the Catholic nation and the Peronist nation is renewed: they were strengthened by "the existence of large masses of poor citizens. The new social situation, as generated by capitalism and globalisation, has struck hard at the heart of these myths, which today try to explain the current reality using musty old concepts from the past"¹⁸. From the *Club de la Libertad* to the *Fundación Libertad*, this is the tragedy and farce of Argentine liberal thinking but it is also linked with, like that collective cursed fact that never goes away, the gaze of the oppressor.

4. Conclusions

Ricardo Carpani, in his poster "Enough!", shows once again a common scheme of the time, a recurring element within political graphic art: muscular workers with closed fists and the aura of political protest. Though not particularly original, the poster has some distinguishing features, particular to its place of origin. The man-mass, the *cabecitas negras*, who, at those times of industrialism and the Argentine welfare state, are addressing a largely homogeneous crowd. All of this takes place within the context of a salaried society and in the field of an organised community, six years before the "Cordobazo" uprising¹⁹.

After this, as noted above, would come times of market reforms that delay the participation of work in the distribution of wealth, and violate, under new modernising discourses, the rights acquired by workers. From Krieger

Vasena to Domingo Cavallo²⁰, from Martínez de Hoz to Prat-Gay²¹; the life of the placeless, of the non-proprietors, is brought into disarray. Thus, from the sixties until today, successive generations have been forced out of registered employment and into informal work, poverty and destitution; this instigates the split between the relative homogeneous base of Peronism and the supporting unions.

As noted above, De la Orden's photograph contrasts, to continue with this comparative exercise, the belly and fatness with muscles, the V sign with the clenched fist, and a faceless body with the man-mass. The photograph has been cropped in such a way that it removes all individual identity, and also any epic identity. That "truck driver" body is closer to the animality which so defines the non-conforming body of the football fanatics and the marginal in today's society. A working-class football fan who brings together, on his tattooed body, a range of identity-based references to collective phenomena: the football club, religious faith and Peronism. But – and this is the crucial difference – the CGT logo, which in the "Enough!" poster is lifted up by multiple subjects, here becomes a personal definition along the breadth of the bulky waist in the photograph. Again, from man-mass to faceless-body.

In any case, it is worth noting that the collective does persist. And it persists, with all its complexities and deviations, as a reference to a historical memory of struggle and protection, as a talisman for welfare in the face of the fragmentary contemporary times. Thus, the effectiveness of "Enough!" (and Carpani) comes from its having become an inexhaustible source for putting current conflicts into context: "today's workers, without the same white shirts or pronounced muscles, still find in this image the amalgam of many changing and heterogeneous demands, where the common denominator resides in the mobilising and raising awareness of the conflict" (Soneira, 2017, p. 42).

And what also persists, as noted, is the discourse used by the liberal right when referring to the images of these workers' bodies. From *Club de la Libertad* to *Fundación Libertad*.

As I pointed out at the beginning, and following the arguments I have since put forward, I think it is relevant to ask ourselves about the forms that, collective activism assumes today – both conscious and unconscious – in the face of interventions that tend to individualise and disarm social perspectives that promote solidarity. As such, and as a way of both bringing this discussion to a close and opening it up, the words of Walter Benjamin (2007) in his Thesis II on the Concept of History seem appropriate to me:

The past carries a secret index with it, by which it is referred to its resurrection. Are we not touched by the same breath of air which was among that which came before? Is there not an echo of those who have been silenced in the voices to which we lend our ears today? [...] If so, then there is a secret protocol between the generations of the past and that of our own. For we have been expected upon this earth. For it has been given us to know, just like every generation before us, a weak messianic power, on which the past has a claim. (p.22)

In this sense, I believe that the dialogue between the two images is achieved by demonstrating the historical continuity in the ongoing search for collective references of struggle and organisation. Also, I think that today's unions, with their times and their failings but also with all their mechanics and power, function as the most dynamic force in opposition to neoliberal rationality in Argentina. In turn, I believe that these spaces dispute, via their practice and through collective action, the meaning for the vindication of the social as something beyond the sum of its parts, and they strengthen participatory processes by creating community within the corporate. For this reason, the recovery of the people's historical memory effectively draws a veil over theoretical trends and biased class perspectives, in order to be imposed as an effective reality. Together, we will triumph²².

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Note: the bibliographical and page references throughout the text relate to the Spanish versions, even when cited in English (unless otherwise stated).

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Notes

¹ Popular Argentinean heavy metal band. The song was released as part of the album "Àcido Argentino".

² This refers to the phrase "Peronism is the cursed fact of the bourgeois country", a distortion of the word of the Peronist leader John William Cooke (1919-1968), who was linked with the so-called left-wing Peronism, or the *Tendencia* ("the Tendency").

³ Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil, Mauricio Macri in Argentina, Sebastián Piñera in Chile or Iván Duque in Colombia, for example.

⁴ Raúl Ricardo Alfonsín, Argentinean president of the post dictatorship, 1983-1989, with the *Unión Cívica Radical*. The Mucci project was an attempt by that ruling party to dent the Peronist base in the trade unions through an electoral law that would apply a "democratisation" of the unions, putting an end to the indefinite reelections of their management as well as the direct and secret vote of affiliates, and minority representation.

⁵ Government alliance of the Executive Power, 2015-2019, composed of: Unión Cívica Radical, Partido Demócrata Progresista, Partido Conservador Popular, Coalición Cívica – Afirmación para una República Igualitaria (ARI), Propuesta Republicana (PRO), Partido Fe, Partido del Diálogo.

⁶ Reference to the internal conflict in the workers' centre between two sectors of Peronism. On the one hand, those who were named after the secretary general of that organisation, Saúl Ubaldini, and on the other, those who were linked to the figure of the two-term Argentine president (1989-1995 and 1995-1999), Carlos Saúl Menem.

⁷ This week was part of the first stage of the Fight Plan drawn up by the CGT between 1963 and 1965, which consisted of acts and concentrations and culminated in a general strike on 31st May 1963.

⁸ This was a military campaign carried out between 1878 and 1885. It began in Buenos Aires and headed towards the Patagonian region, and, through conquest and mass extermination, gaining thus large swathes of territory that had been held by native peoples.

⁹ Eva Duarte de Perón, Evita, used to speak, in a motherly and affectionate tone, of *mis cabecitas negras*, "my little black heads". Despite this, today the term is still used in a contemptuous way.

¹⁰ "Totalitarian self-portrait. The CGT show their face on a poster" (3 June of 1963) in *Despertar*, official body of club de la Libertad, year 1, n°6.

¹¹ José Alfredo Martínez de Hoz was the Minister of the Economy in the last military dictatorship, from 1976 to 1981.

¹² The CTA arises in 1992 due to the distancing of the CGT from a group of unions based on their critical view of the government of Carlos Saúl Menem. In 2010, and following an electoral process, it splits into two: the Autonomous CTA and the Workers' CTA.

¹³ At the time, the general leadership of the central trade union was shared by a triumvirate: Héctor Daer (Health Services), Carlos Acuña (Service Stations workers) and Juan Carlos Schmidt (Dredging and Signalling).

¹⁴ "CGT March: incidents among Truckers affiliates" (22/08/17) in *La Nación*. Retrieved from <https://www.lanacion.com.ar/politica/marcha-plaza-de-mayo-camioneros-nid2055509>

¹⁵ "A Peronist belly | The Evita tattoo everyone is talking about on social media" (22/08/2017) at TN.com. Retrieved from https://tn.com.ar/sociedad/una-panza-peronista-el-tatuaje-que-se-viralizo-en-las-redes_815267

¹⁶ Bongiovanni, A. (30/08/17) "When all popular myths fit on one belly" in *Visión Liberal*. Recovered from <https://www.visionliberal.com.ar/nota/4205-cuando-todos-los-mitos-populares-caben-en-una-panza/>

¹⁷ Op. Cit.

¹⁸ Idem.

¹⁹ The 'Cordobazo' was a civil uprising that highlighted a strong connection between workers and students against the ruling dictatorship of Juan Carlos Onganía. It took place in the city of Córdoba (Argentina) on 29th and 30th May 1969.

²⁰ Vasena was Minister of the Economy between 1966 and 1969, during the dictatorship of Juan Carlos Onganía. Cavallo was Minister of Economy between 1992 and 1996 during the presidency of Carlos Saúl Menem. In turn, he was the "father" of Argentine convertibility and Minister of the Economy in the 2001 collapse working in the government of Fernando De la Rúa.

²¹ Minister of Finance between 2015 and 2016, in the government of Mauricio Macri.

²² Reference to the start of the Peronist March: "*The Peronist youths, united we will stand, and as always we will sing our hearts out: "Long live Perón! Long live Perón!"*".