
This collection of essays examines the history of the First Peronism (1943-1945) through thirteen biographical portraits of the movement's key officials. It is a sequel to a 2013 volume edited by Rein and Panella (*La segunda línea: liderazgo peronista, 1945-1955*) that profiled sixteen such leaders. As such, it builds upon innovative studies in this vein by Rein and others. Thus, rather than breaking new ground, this volume adds greater detail to our overall understanding of the bureaucrats and politicians that helped shape the Peronist movement in its formative years. *Los indispensables* deals with four types of officials: labor union leaders (Luis Gay, Cipriano Reyes, José M. Freire, and Eduardo Vuletich), ministers and university authorities (Ricardo C. Guardo, Oscar Ivanissevich, Armando Méndez San Martín, Arturo E. Sampay, and Alfredo Gómez Morales), career politicians (Juan H. Quijano and Jerónimo Remorino), and military officers (Franklin Lucero and Juan I. San Martín). Historians of Peronism will glean useful insights from the profiles of figures that have been overshadowed by the cult of leadership associated with Juan and Eva Perón, while non-specialists can draw comparisons to the configurations of political power in populist nationalisms elsewhere.

The principal virtue of the volume lies precisely in the specificity of each individual biography. Taken together, these essays have in common an effort to uncover the origins of each leader, to explain how he came to participate in the making of Peronism, and to address what happened after he ended his service to Perón’s government. Still, the inner lives of these leaders—their motivations, goals, frustrations—remain somewhat opaque, in part because the documentary record for each official varies tremendously. Although some of them were guarded in sharing their experiences or met early deaths, others left behind a trail of autobiographies and reflections. Standout chapters include Fabián Bossoer’s profile of General Franklin Lucero which highlights his skill as Minister of War as well as the “price” of his loyalty to Perón: although he was imprisoned by the anti-Peronist military regime, Perón later him as a scapegoat to explain why his government did not mount greater resistance to the 1955 coup. María del Mar Solís Carnicier’s essay digs into the family archive of Juan H. Quijano and other sources to trace his unlikely path from being a provincial landowner and anti-Yrigoyenist Radical in Corrientes to becoming Perón’s vice president. Similarly, the essays on Ricardo Guardo by Pablo A. Vázquez and Jerónimo Remorino by Raanan Rein and David Sheinin shed important light on the officials who worked behind the scenes to design Peronist university reforms and craft diplomatic policies.
The volume leaves it largely up to the reader to draw broader conclusions from these biographical portraits. At least three sets of insights emerge. First, these essays provide further proof of the heterogeneity of early Peronism. This cohort of second-line leaders came from varied social backgrounds and political traditions, ranging from right-wing nationalism and conservatism to Radicalism and socialism. Second, the volume further reveals Peronism’s rough-and-tumble internal politics, detailing how officials managed to acquire power and outflank rivals. As Claudio Panella puts it in his fine essay on Cipriano Reyes, the labor leader who helped set Peronism into motion and then became an adamant anti-Peronist and target of violent reprisals, “las luchas por el poder en el peronismo, se sabe, nunca han sido juego de niños” (209). Third, many of the figures examined in the volume share a similar career arc: early displays of loyalty to the cause followed by a brief period of influence and, finally, a fall from grace and subsequent marginalization. Of course, not all careers match this pattern: Alfredo Gómez Morales (as portrayed in Marcelo Rougier and Martín Stawski’s chapter) helped shape economic policies for much of Perón’s presidency and then returned to serve during his third term (1973-4). But the fact that so many of these second-line figures experienced such dramatic falls tells us something about Perón’s governing style, especially his tendency to clip the wings of those whom he perceived as having excessive independence and ambition. Indeed, contrary to the title of this volume, many of these second line leaders proved all too “dispensable” to Peronism’s top authority.

The gendered dimensions of Peronist politics remains a blind spot in most of these essays, although recent work on the Partido Peronista Femenino’s activists and the role played by married couples and politician’s wives within Peronism helps to fill in missing parts of the picture. Research currently underway on local officials and “third-line” leaders will further flesh out these aspects of Peronism’s history and yield additional insights. But thanks to this edited volume, we have gained a wider appreciation of the leaders responsible for running the Peronist state and allied institutions.

Eduardo Elena 

University of Miami


El libro de Beatrice D. Gurwitz se centra en los “activistas judíos,” definidos como militantes políticos afiliados a instituciones comunitarias, para describir el modo en que llevaron adelante una constante tarea de reelaboración de sentido