

## Immigration, Tenancy and the Rise of Early Populism in Argentina\*

Jin Xiaowen

**Abstract:** Domestic academic circles' understanding of Argentina's early populism is basically based on the dimension of modernization, believing that modernization promoted the rise of populism. However, during the rise of the Radical Party led by Yrigoyen, there was no obvious change in Argentina's populism. Modernization turns, and modernization itself does not necessarily lead to the expansion of citizen political participation. Using a modernization framework to analyze populism tends to generalize the concept of "modernization." In fact, in the process of national development, some key nodes often Breaking the original development path will lead to the emergence of major changes. For example, the "Call of Alcorta" that broke out in 1912 was a key node in the rise of early populism in Argentina. Previously, Argentina's economic development mainly relied on agriculture and animal husbandry. Production and export, immigration and the agricultural tenancy system are the keys to ensuring agricultural and animal husbandry production. However, with the occurrence of the Alcorta peasant movement, the tenant farmers' resistance led to a crisis in the original agricultural and animal husbandry production, and Argentine society then fell into depression. and turmoil, causing the ruling National Autonomous Party to encounter a crisis of legitimacy. With its traditional political authority eroded, the Radical Party used the ambiguity of political opinions and nationalist strategies to attract voters from all walks of life, and finally succeeded in coming to power in 1916. From this perspective, the rise of early populism in Argentina was not a product of modernization, but a way for political leaders to seek to reestablish authority under the economic crisis.

**Keywords:** Argentine immigrants, tenancy system, Radical Party, early populism. About the author:

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Since the 20th century, populism has been a recurring political phenomenon in Argentina, starting with the Radical Party (Unión Cívica Radical) led by Hipólito Yrigoyen. From the rise of Civic Radical to the Kirchners coming to power, populism has long been influenced the political process of Argentina. Yrigoyen and his reign are considered to be representatives of early populism. Although there is still some controversy in domestic and foreign academic circles on whether Yrigoyenism should be included in the category of populism, but whether it is the mobilization method of the Radical Party or the shaping of Yrigoyen into a charismatic and authoritative leader, they are basically in line with the characteristics of Latin American populism. Some scholars even believe that Peron, the classic Argentine populist leader who emerged after this, was in line with his ideas and mobilization. The method adopted a large number of elements of the Radical Party. Therefore, the classification of Argentine populism should also include the early populism represented by Yrigoyen.

As far as the understanding of early populism in Argentina is concerned, most domestic academic circles are based on the perspective of modernization, believing that modernization provides an opportunity for the emergence of populism. However, using the perspective of modernization to explain early populism in Argentina ignores two major issues. First, during the rise of the Radical Party, Argentina's economic development did not show an obvious modernization turn. On the one hand, agricultural and animal husbandry production is still the backbone of Argentina's economy, and the main source of wealth is still concentrated in the countryside. Even during the Radical Party After the Party came to power, it basically continued its original policy strategy. It was not until the Great Depression of the world economy in 1929 and the end of the Radical Party's first administration that this situation gradually changed. On the other hand, the flow of population to cities also It was not entirely the result of industrialization. Before World War I, urban workers in Argentina were still moving to

The concept of "populism" still has great differences in academic circles in terms of its translation, connotation, and main causes. Regarding this issue, the author once wrote in another article "Argentine Populism: A Perspective on the Relationship between State and Society" has been analyzed accordingly. This article's understanding of populism is based on that article. See Jin Xiaowen: «Argentine Populism: A Perspective on the Relationship between State and Society», published in «Latin American Studies», Issue 4, 2017 Issue, pp. 54 - 74, Joel

Horowitz, Argentina's Radical Party and Popular Mobilization 1916-1930 University Park Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press 2008, p 2 The most systematic scholar in the domestic academic circle who studies early populism

in Argentina is Pan Fang. She pointed out that: "Populism itself is the product of Argentina's modernization development. The populism of Yrigoyen's period is only the product of the early stage of Argentina's modernization." Dong Guohui also examined the rise and fall of Yrigoyen and the Radical Party from the perspective of modernization, and Classify it into the dimension of "political development in the early modernization process". In fact, most domestic academic research on Latin American populism uses "modernization" as the basic framework. For example, Dong Jingsheng pointed out that Latin American populism "reflects Latin America as a post-development country. The irreconcilable conflicts between accumulation and distribution, efficiency and fairness, order and participation are bound to arise in the modernization process." Han Qi and others also pointed out: "The Latin American populist movement is the product of the modernization transition period, and some old movements in this period The 'bottleneck' of social and economic development needs to be broken with the help of the populist movement", and so on. Therefore, the modernization perspective discussed in this article is based on the previous research of these scholars. See Pan Fang's book: «Argentina Research on Early Populism», Tianjin: Tianjin People's Publishing House, 2019, Dong Guohui: «Research on Argentina's Modernization Road—A Historical Survey of Early Modernization», Beijing: World Book Publishing Company, 2013, Dong Jingsheng: «Latin American Modernization Populism in the Process», Published in "World History", Issue 4, 2004, Pages 30-38, Han Qi, Song Xinxin: "Analysis of the "Paradox" in the Development of Peruvian Populism", Published in "Historical Collection" Issue 4, 2016, Pages 83-90

“现代性”与“后现代性”的争论，在学术界引起了广泛的讨论。本文旨在探讨阿根廷早期民粹主义的兴起，并将其置于现代化的背景下进行分析。文章指出，民粹主义本身是阿根廷现代化发展的产物。伊里戈延时期的民粹主义只是阿根廷现代化的早期阶段的产物。文章还探讨了伊里戈延和激进党的兴衰，并从现代化的视角进行了分析。事实上，大多数国内学术界对拉丁美洲民粹主义的研究都使用“现代化”作为基本框架。例如，董景生指出，拉丁美洲民粹主义“反映了拉丁美洲作为一个后发展国家。在现代化过程中，积累和分配、效率和公平、秩序和参与之间的不可调和的冲突必然会 arise。”韩琪等人也指出：“拉丁美洲民粹主义运动是现代化过渡期的产物，这个时期的一些旧运动，社会和经济发展的‘瓶颈’需要借助民粹主义运动来打破”，等等。因此，本文讨论的现代化视角是基于这些学者的先前研究。参见潘芳的书：《阿根廷早期民粹主义研究》，天津：天津人民出版社，2019年，董国辉：《阿根廷现代化之路——早期现代化的历史考察》，北京：世界图书出版公司，2013年，董景生：《拉丁美洲现代化过程中的民粹主义》，发表在《世界历史》，2004年第4期，30-38页，韩琪，宋鑫鑫：“秘鲁民粹主义发展中的‘悖论’分析”，发表在《历史集刊》2016年第4期，83-90页。

People move back between cities and rural areas in order to obtain higher agricultural income. To a large extent, the flow of population to cities is not because cities are more attractive, but because the space for obtaining resources in rural areas has become smaller. It is getting smaller and smaller. People have to find a way out in other places, including cities, and wait for the arrival of the next agricultural harvest season. Therefore, understanding early Argentine populism from a modernization perspective tends to generalize the concept of "modernization".

Second, although the radicals represented by Yrigoyen received support from emerging forces such as the urban middle class and broke the original political pattern monopolized by conservatives represented by the large landowners, this does not mean that The rise of the Radical Party and the expansion of political participation are the products of modernization and development. Argentine political scientist Guillermo O'Donnell is refuting Lipset (Seymour Mar) tin Lipset)'s assertion that "greater socio-economic development = Greater Possibility of Political Democracy" once pointed out that political authoritarianism in South America rather than political democracy is more likely to be a companion to the highest level of modernization. 5 This means that modernization itself does not

constitute the inevitable rise of early populism in Argentina. Conditions. In fact, as a macro analysis framework, the modernization perspective often ignores the impact of specific "key nodes" such as wars and economic crises. The famous American political scientist Paul Pierson put forward the political It is the view that development will be interrupted by key nodes, and believes that these key nodes will shape the basic outline of social life. Jared Diamond also pointed out in his research on national crises that compared with the problems that gradually accumulate, and problems expected to arise in the future. Sudden major problems are more likely to arouse people's initiative, and then stimulate

“Modernization” itself is a controversial concept. The “modernization” discussed in this article is based on the common understanding formed by academic circles, that is, modernization is a process of improving a country's economic and political capabilities. Economic capabilities can be improved through industrialization. And improve political capabilities through bureaucracy, the core process of which is industrialization. Therefore, domestic academic circles believe that the modernization of Latin America started in the 1870s and 1980s, which was much later than that of Western countries. See [U.S.] Ronald Y. Gerhardt, translated by Yan Ting: «Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic and Political Changes in 43 Countries», Beijing: Social Science Literature Press, 2013, page 4, edited by Su Zhenxing: «Latin American Countries Research on the Process of Modernization» Beijing: Social Science Literature Press, 2006, pp. 26-27.

[Argentina] Written by Guillermo O'Donnell, translated by Wang Huan and Shen Mingmin: «Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: A Study of South American Politics Research» Beijing: Peking University Press, 2008, pp. 1-7.

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A country makes important selective changes. Therefore, for the rise of early populism in Argentina and the historic change of breaking the long-term monopoly of political power by the National Autonomous Party, we should also pay attention to the role of key nodes.

Judging from the current domestic research, regarding the key nodes of this period, scholars basically only pay attention to the "Ley Sáenz Peña Act" promulgated by Argentina in 1912, and rarely mention the "Ley Sáenz Peña Act" that occurred in the same year. The impact of "El Grito de Alcorta" (El Grito de Alcorta) on Argentine society. In fact, what the Alcorta peasant movement demonstrated was a social crisis, and reflected at least three levels of significance. First, Argentina Problems arose in the original agricultural production methods, which in turn led to the country's economic development model being in trouble. Second, under the conduction of the economic crisis, the political forces led by the Argentine Rural Association and the large landowner class were challenged by emerging forces, which meant that The original national power structure is facing reshaping. Third, the vast majority of participants in the peasant movement are foreign immigrants. This agricultural production crisis has further highlighted the gap between local society and immigrant groups, forcing Argentina to face Regarding the issue of new national construction, to a certain extent, the «Sanzpeña Act» expanded the political participation of citizens and the potential voter base of the Radical Party, while the Alcorta Peasant Movement created the basis for the rise of the Radical Party. issues of power space and political mobilization.

As American scholar James C Scott pointed out, the launch of most major reforms was accompanied by the occurrence of major disorders and hasty actions by the elite to control and regulate these social disorders. This means that the rise of Argentine populism also It is not a product of the modernization process, but a way for political leaders to reshape political authority under the economic crisis. Therefore, this article will take the key node of "Alcorta's Voice" as the starting point and try to provide a kind of analysis of early Argentina. Different perspectives on the rise of populism

### 1. The basis of Argentina's economic development before 1912

From 1880 to 1912, Argentina entered a stage of rapid economic development. Except for a few years, the average annual economic growth rate for more than 30 years exceeded 5%. The famous economist William Lewis

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̂ [US] Written by Jared Diamond, translated by Zeng Chuyuan: «Upheaval: The turning point of human society and national crisis» Beijing: CITIC Publisher, 2020, page 396 ̂

[US] Written by James C. Scott, translated by Yuan Ziqi: «Six Essays on Spontaneity—Autonomy, Dignity, and Meaningful Work and Play», Beijing: Social Sciences Literature Press, 2019, page 15. [English] Edited

̂ by Leslie Bethel, translated by Hu Yuding and others: "Cambridge History of Latin America" (Volume 5), Beijing: Social Sciences Literature Xian Publishing House, 1992, page 367.

Arthur Lewis even believed that Argentina could compete with Japan for the title of the world's fastest growing country from 1880 to 1913. The main driving force for Argentina's economic development during this period was the prosperity of agriculture and animal husbandry. On the one hand, agricultural and animal husbandry exports became Argentina's wealth income. On the other hand, the development of agriculture and animal husbandry has also led to the entry of foreign capital, thereby promoting Argentina's domestic construction. However, the development of agriculture and animal husbandry in Argentina is an extensive development model. In order to promote the agriculture and animal husbandry industry, the continuous improvement of output must rely on the continuous investment of land and labor resources. To this end, after achieving formal

unification in 1862, the Argentine government took various measures to increase the supply of production factors. In terms of land resources, despite Argentina's vast territory, but at that time, a large amount of land was controlled by indigenous peoples. In order to expand the usable scope of the land, in 1879, President Nicolás Avellaneda authorized Julio Roca to General Argentine Roca launched the "Conquest of the Desert" Operation. This operation not only completely won the advantage over the indigenous people and ended the security threat posed by the indigenous people to rural areas, but also gained control of the Pampas and Patagonia regions, allowing the Argentine government to gain more than 8 million hectares of land. In terms of labor resources, starting from the mid-19th century, the Argentine government has clearly encouraged immigrants from Europe through a series of measures. The federal government even paid for 132,000 European immigrants from 1888 to 1890. Transoceanic travel expenses. As Europe was affected by social unrest and the acceleration of the Industrial Revolution at that time, the price of agricultural products in southern European countries such as Italy and Spain fell, making it difficult for many farmers to gain a foothold in their own countries. Affected by Argentina's measures to absorb immigrants, from 1870 to 1914 a total of about 6 million immigrants entered Argentina, and the proportion of foreigners in the country's total population increased from 12.1% in 1869 to 29.9% in 1914. In the 10 years before the outbreak of World War I, the number of Spaniards who entered the Port of Buenos Aires alone was more than the total number of immigrants who arrived in Spanish America during Spain's more than 300 years of colonial rule. The arrival of immigrants not only provided Argentina with important labor resources, but also profoundly changed the country's economic structure and social foundation, Argentina has now formed a new development path.

(1) Immigration and diversification of agricultural

production During the colonial period, Argentina was on the edge of the Spanish Empire for a long time, and its economic development was

[US] Written by Arthur Lewis, translated by Liang Xiaomin: "Growth and Fluctuation", Beijing: Huaxia Publishing House, 1987, page 283, Jill

Hedges, Argentina: A Modern History and E Solberg The Prairies and the Pampas: Agrarian Policy in Canada

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[English] Edited by Leslie Bethel, translated by Hu Yuding and others: "Cambridge History of Latin America" (Volume 5), Beijing: Social Science Literature Press, 1992, pp. 346-347. [American] Jose C

Written by Moya, translated by Feng Gaofeng and Shi Jialin: «Immigration, Culture and Society in the United States, Canada, and Latin America Economic Development—A Global and New World Perspective» Yinchuan: Ningxia People's Publishing House, 2018, Page 138









Accounting for 42.47%, this means that private land is not the most important form of agricultural production in the Pampas region.

In fact, for most immigrants, there are two main reasons for failing to become land owners. First, after 1880, land prices in the Pampas region began to rise sharply, and most immigrants were unable to afford to purchase land after that. Before the arrival of a large number of immigrants, most of the land in Buenos Aires Province was already occupied by local livestock producers. Most of the immigrants could only go to Santa Fe Province and other places where the land has not yet been developed on a large scale to find livelihoods. Subsequently, with the large-scale entry of immigrants and the acceleration of land occupation, land prices in these areas also began to rise sharply after 1880. In the countries along the Rio de la Plata, land prices soared more than 10 times between 1870 and 1913. In Argentina, land prices in coastal provinces also increased by an average of 218% between 1881 and 1911. This forced a large number of immigrants to engage in agricultural production by renting land. Second, most immigrants did not come to settle in Argentina and make money. Returning home to purchase real estate or expand one's own land is an important driving force for rural populations in Spain and other European countries to immigrate to Argentina. For this reason, foreign immigrants were highly mobile in Argentina before World War I. Data show that between 1871 and 1914, the number of immigrants entering Argentina is about 6 million, and the number of settled people is nearly 3.2 million. The proportion of outflows is close to 50%. Buying land.

This also shows that some immigrants are not inclined to purchase

Among these landless immigrant producers, they can be roughly divided into three categories. The first category is day laborers (jornalero), that is, temporary employees. They usually enter agricultural production areas to work during the busy farming season every year, and find other ways to work during normal times. Among them, many of the day laborers are "golondrina" (golondrina), that is, they are seasonal immigrants who travel between Europe and Argentina to engage in agricultural production. They are mainly Italians. These immigrants arrive from October each year to January of the following year. Farming in Argentina, then back to Europe one month later

James R. Scobie, "Immigration and the Development of Argentina," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 2, April-September 1963, p. 115 [Uruguay] Luis Bertola, [Colombia] Jose Antonio Ocampo, translated by Shi Falin: « Latin

[US] Written by Jose C. Moya, translated by Feng Gaofeng and Shi Jialin: «Immigration, Culture and Society in the United States, Canada, and Latin America

Economic Development in America after Independence» Shanghai: Shanghai Translation Publishing House, 2017, Page 145

[English] Edited by Leslie Bethel, translated by Hu Yuding and others: "Cambridge History of Latin America" (Volume 5), Beijing: Social Sciences Literature Xian Publishing House, 1992, page 374.

Economic Development—A Global and New World Perspective» Yinchuan: Ningxia People's Publishing House, 2018, Page 245

Xian Publishing House, 1992, page 374.

They work and have no intention of settling in Argentina. This group is mostly employed by tenant farmers. They work more than 16 hours a day and have low wages. Even so, as long as they can find jobs in rural Argentina, in the 19th century In the 1990s, "swallow immigrants" generally only needed to work for two weeks to earn back the cost of a round-trip ferry ticket. If they worked longer, they could earn extra income. Therefore, a large number of immigrants rushed to both sides of the Atlantic.

The second category is sharecroppers (medianero). Compared with day laborers, these immigrants have been working in agricultural production areas for a long time. However, due to the lack of certain means of production, they have become sharecroppers in large estates. They cultivate land or take care of the land in large estates. Livestock receive a share of agricultural and animal husbandry products in order to achieve early capital accumulation. The Irish and Basques among the shepherds are representatives of them. Compared with the indigenous people and Gauchos of the country, large landowners are more inclined to hire These foreign immigrants, on the one hand, non-citizens are exempt from military conscription, and hiring foreign immigrants can ensure a relatively stable labor force. On the other hand, because the Argentine elite is generally full of discrimination against indigenous people and Gauchos, considering them barbaric and backward, Former Argentine President Sarmiento even regarded the Gauchos as an obstacle to the country's development. For this reason, large landowners are often willing to hand over their manors and livestock to foreign immigrants. The income and living conditions of foreign immigrants are also relatively better. Advantages, some foreign-born shepherds can sometimes even receive half of the income from the sales of wool, suet and sheepskins, which also enables them to convert into tenant farmers under the tenancy system after a certain period of time.

The third category is tenant farmers (arrendatario), which was also the core force of Argentina's agricultural production at that time. According to statistics, between 1910 and 1911, the land cultivated by tenant farmers in the province of Buenos Aires accounted for this amount of land in the province of Cordoba. The proportion reached 57.39%, and the proportions in the provinces of Santa Fe and Entre Rios also reached 54.59% and 42.19%. Tenants play an extremely important role in the agricultural production of the Pampas region, and agricultural tenants The system also became the core of Argentina's agricultural production at that time. Compared with sharecroppers, sharecroppers had more means of production and were able to arrange agricultural production independently. However, due to the lack of

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Interamerican Studies and World Affairs Vol 13 No 1 January 1974 40 - 41 James R Scobie  
"La Revolución Agrícola en la Argentina" en Desarrollo Económico 1 / 2 1963, p 135  
[US] Sherrill E. Martin, written by Marco  
Wasserman, translated by Huang Phosphorus: «History of Latin America», Haikou: Hainan Publishing House, 2007, page 288 [US] Written  
by Jonathan C. Brown, translated by Zuo Xiaoyuan: «History of Argentina» Shanghai: Oriental Publishing Center, 2010, pp.

115-116  
The snowflake a snowflake feeling smile Yes Yes Share's Yes Share's: No Yes sóo  
Interamerican Studies and World Affairs Vol 13 No 1 January 1974 40 - 41 James R Scobie  
"La Revolución Agrícola en la Argentina" en Desarrollo Económico 1 / 2 1963, p 135  
[US] Sherrill E. Martin, written by Marco  
Wasserman, translated by Huang Phosphorus: «History of Latin America», Haikou: Hainan Publishing House, 2007, page 288 [US] Written  
by Jonathan C. Brown, translated by Zuo Xiaoyuan: «History of Argentina» Shanghai: Oriental Publishing Center, 2010, pp.

They lack land resources and must obtain land through leasing, and pay the land rent in the form of currency or in-kind rent. The land they lease comes from two sources. One is that the government leases idle state-owned land to immigrants for cultivation, thereby attracting more immigrants. The arrival of large numbers of labor forces led to land development. For example, in the province of Entre Rios, the local government created the first reclamation area "San Jose" for immigrants in 1857, and stipulated that immigrants who rented land only needed to bring grain to the land in the first five years. If 1/3 of the harvest is turned over to the government, the owner of the land can be obtained. Inspired by this policy, a large number of immigrants began to enter the local area to lease land. By 1888, the province had created 44 reclamation areas, and the number of immigrants reached about 27 Thousands of people

Second, large landowners and some companies that control private land lease their neglected land in blocks to the purpose of resettlement is to maximize land returns, which is also the main source of leased land in the Pampas region. Under this lease model, the area of leased land is generally 80 to 200 hectares, and the lease period is 3 to 6 years. Usually 3 years. Crops such as corn and wheat can be planted in the first few years. In the last year, only alfalfa can be planted for future grazing. The lessor of the land can generally obtain an income of 12% to 15% per year during the farming period of the tenant farmer. Generally, each year the land value can increase by 1000% in 10 years. This has also accumulated a lot of wealth for the landlords. As far as tenant farmers are concerned, although they have greater autonomy compared to sharecroppers, tenant farmers are not a completely free group. Small and medium-sized enterprises Tenant farmers generally have to accept certain additional conditions from the landowner, such as the tenant farmer's products must be sold to the land lessor, etc. This also makes the tenant farmer suffer varying degrees of exploitation.

In addition, there are two different forms of the Argentinian tenancy system. One is share tenancy, which means that the tenant farmer pays the rent according to the agreed share ratio of the output within each specified period. This is the most common form of the Argentine tenancy system. The main form, the other is fixed land rent, that is, both parties first agree on a fixed land rent fee, which will not change depending on the quality of the income. This form often appears when large landowners enter into contracts with private land companies or land brokers. At that time, because many landowners did not live in rural areas, they leased their land to private land companies or land middlemen for management. After acquiring the land, the middlemen leased it to tenant farmers for a second time in the form of shareholding and often required Sharecroppers buy insurance, packaging bags, rent agricultural machinery and equipment from them, and their annual profits can sometimes reach 80%. This also provides benefits to the sharecroppers.

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James R Scobie's Revolution on the Pampas: A Social History of Argentine Wheat 1860 -1910 Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964, p 5 Su Zhenxing:

«The Development of Agricultural Capitalism in Argentina», published in «Latin America Series» Issue 1, 1980 Page 13 Carl Solberg Policy in Argentina 1912-1930", in Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs Vol 13 No 1 January 1971 pp 21 - 22



Agricultural production is prone to two problems. First, it is difficult to achieve technological iteration and innovation in agricultural production. As the famous American economist Theodore W. Schultz pointed out, under the agricultural tenancy system, farmers must use It is impossible for the additional costs of new factors to be equal to the additional benefits. This leads to the tenant farmers only maximizing the use of land in agricultural production, which in turn makes Argentina gradually lose the sustainability of development. Second, the exploitation faced by the tenant farmer class continues. Intensified, even in the face of uncertain factors such as falling agricultural product prices in the international market or the impact of natural disasters, the exploitation of tenant farmers by the landlord class and land middlemen has not decreased, which makes the relationship between tenant farmers and landlords unstable. Harmony. Some scholars believe that Argentina's tenancy system is different from both feudalism and capitalism, and is a unique path. In fact, if Argentina's tenancy system is compared with other countries and regions, its basic form is consistent, both belong to the capitalist production system. This also shows that Argentina's agricultural development also follows the general path of capitalist development. When tenant farmers can no longer obtain profits in this production system, the crisis of agricultural production will come early.

(1) Social background of tenant farmers' struggle

Before 1912, Argentina's agricultural production basically maintained a growth trend. Both the landlord class and agricultural producers hoped to obtain greater profits from it. However, the benefits of the landlord class were based on the exploitation of tenant farmers, and the tenant farmers' The benefits are based on the conditions of a good agricultural harvest, which puts the tenant farmers under huge cost pressure.

First of all, for tenant farmers, long-term fixed land lease is more conducive to the development of agricultural production and the acquisition of income. Even short-term losses can be made up for by future harvests. However, with the influx of immigrants and the Pampa Due to the sharp rise in land prices in Santa Fe, the landlord class is often unwilling to lease land for a long time. Instead, they try to continuously adjust the land rental price through short-term leases in order to obtain greater profits. For example, in the southern part of Santa Fe Province, the land rental price This increased from 18% to 20% of the grain harvest in 1904 to at least 35% in 1912. This resulted in continued land rent pressure on tenant farmers.

Rising, and it is rare to farm continuously in the same place for four seasons.

[US] Written by Theodore W. Schultz, translated by Liang Xiaomin: "Transforming Traditional Agriculture", Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2018, Page 143

Yuan Xingchang: "A Brief Discussion on the Evolution and Nature of Rural Production Relations in Argentina—On the Development of Agricultural Capitalism in Argentina" "Discussions on the Scholar-style Road" published in "Latin America Series", Issue 4, 1985, Page 38.

See Zhang Wuchang, translated by Jiang Jianqiang: "Sharecropping Theory", Beijing: CITIC Publishing

House, 2017, Carl Solberg "Rural Unrest" and Agrarian Policy in Argentina 1912-1930" in J original of

“Rural Unrest and Agrarian Policy in Argentina 1912-1930” in J original of

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They stopped the eviction of tenant farmers and promised not to retaliate against tenant

farmers who participated in the protest. 1 Influenced by the peasant movement in Alcorta, the tenant farmers' strike quickly spread from the local area to the central and southern regions of Santa Fe Province, as well as the provinces of Cordoba and Parts of the provinces of Buenos Aires and La Pampa have received increasing social attention. The Argentine Socialist Party extensively reported on this peasant movement in the media it funded, La Vanguardia, and took a clear stand. The local media in Santa Fe Province, La Capital, said: "For us, today's farmers' strike is a new phenomenon, and therefore more dangerous than other problems, because we We are not prepared." As the conservative elite in Buenos Aires pointed out, the confrontation in the countryside is really worrying. This strike has evolved into a "subversive movement." Faced with the sudden As a result of the tenant farmers' strike, Argentina's conservatives are locked

in debate over how to deal with this issue. The landowners generally demand that the federal government, controlled by the ruling National Autonomous Party, intervene. However, President Peña Nieto has not taken positive action. Regarding the federal government, Although its supporters were mainly large landowners, the political environment at the time was relatively delicate. On the one hand, Argentina had just passed the "Sanzpeña Act" in February 1912. After the implementation of this act, radical The party won the power to govern the province of Santa Fe. If the federal government intervenes rashly, it will be easily criticized by the Radical Party, which will make it passive. On the other hand, this incident is also a challenge to the Radical Party. Can it properly handle the governance issue? The subsequent rural chaos is not only related to local economic development, but also a test of its ability to govern. For this reason, the federal government tends to adopt a wait-and-see attitude. The radicals are also aware of the seriousness of the problem, and in

order to calm the incident as soon as possible The Santa Fe Provincial Government controlled by the Radical Party established an investigative committee composed of three leaders of the party, and published the investigation report within a month. The report basically supported the tenant farmers' claims, and required the landowners to negotiate with the tenant farmers and re-open the land. Negotiate the lease contract. Inspired by this report, the tenant farmers asked the landlords to make concessions. Although the landlord class was worried about this, they had to make a compromise and agreed to reduce the rent of the leased land to 30% of the grain harvest. The lease period has been extended to a minimum of three years This dispute spans multiple provinces in

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The sharecroppers' strike gradually ceased after mid-August 1912.

However, the quelling of this strike did not really resolve the contradiction between the landlord class and the tenant farmers. On the one hand, the compromises made by the landlords were largely just expediency measures aimed at appeasing the tenant farmers and allowing them to settle down in the upcoming crisis. Production should be resumed as soon as possible during the sowing season. Judging from the subsequent implementation, most landowners have not fulfilled the contract as agreed. This has also made the tenant farmers feel extremely dissatisfied, which in turn has led to the tenant farmer's struggle turning into La Pampa Province and other places. On the other hand, the Radical Party government did not institutionalize the results of the negotiations between the two parties to standardize the implementation of the agricultural tenancy system. In fact, in the 1912 local elections, the Radical Party did not rely on the votes of tenant farmers to win the election. To win local political power, their decision to support the tenant farmers was not so much for the interests of the tenant farmers as it was a hope to quell the disputes in the countryside as soon as possible. This laid a hidden danger for the re-emergence of contradictions and conflicts. In less than a day, Within 20 years, tenant farmers' strikes broke out again in the grain production belt, and continued to occur thereafter. The agricultural tenancy system has now become an important domestic issue in Argentina. The Socialists have repeatedly proposed relevant bills in Congress, until 1921 when the Radical Party It was only during the administration that restrictions were first passed in the form of law.

In fact, the Alcorta peasant movement and the subsequent tenant farmers' strike had a profound impact on Argentina's agricultural production. Since Argentina's economic growth mainly relies on the production and export of agriculture and animal husbandry, it was affected by the European Balkan War and World War I. Affected by the impact, agricultural and animal husbandry exports were already in trouble. With the frequent occurrence of tenant farmers' strikes, the production system with the agricultural tenancy system as the core is no longer the source of stable production for tenant farmers. This has intensified the agricultural productivity crisis, leading to Agricultural production and exports once lost their vitality. By 1917, the proportion of agricultural products in the country's total exports had dropped to 26%, far lower than the previous proportion. Argentina's economic development also gradually turned from prosperity to depression. In 1913- During 1917, Argentina's GDP dropped by an average of 8.1% per year. The per capita GDP became the longest-lasting and most profound economic crisis in the country's history. Its severity even exceeded the world's 1929 crisis. The Great Depression and dropped by about 34% , the Argentine financial crisis in 2001. This crisis lasted from 1913 to the end of 1917, causing massive unemployment in urban and rural areas, falling urban and rural land prices, triggering a large number of bankruptcies and a severe credit crunch. For the ruling party For the National Autonomous Party, the legitimacy foundation of its continued monopoly of political power, which is based on the long-term prosperity of the agricultural and pastoral economy, has been hit to a certain extent. This has created conditions for the reshaping of Argentina's domestic political landscape.

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Ÿ Claudio Belini y Juan Carlos KoroŸ Historia Económica de la Argentina en el Siglo XXXX s Aires: Siglo Ventino EditoresŸ 2012Ÿ p 40Ÿ p 26  
[English ] Edited by Leslie Bethel, translated by Hu Yuding and  
Ÿ others: «Cambridge History of Latin America» (Volume 5 Volume), Beijing: Social Sciences Literature Press, 1992, pp. 428-429.





Feeling worried and dissatisfied with the increasing social protests, the large landowners began to consider changing their support for the National Autonomous Party and instead sought cooperation with the largest opposition party at the time, the radical party with Yrigoyen as the core. Some scholars pointed out that, Yrigoyen won his position partly through his own efforts and partly through the courtesy of the old ruling class. He was authorized with very high conditions: he must maintain the status quo and at the same time reduce popular unrest. The ruling group took advantage of the radicals. The revolutionary views and characteristics of being addicted to armed riots tried to show the public that if the Radical Party came to power, there would be chaos and anarchy. Concerns about social unrest constituted the main concern of society at that time. In fact,

Yrigoyen led the The reason why the Radical Party was able to stand out from the chaos, become the largest opposition party and win the 1916 election was not only due to the growth of the urban middle class as traditionally thought, but also the political strategy of the Radical Party. It has played an important role. This strategy also reflects the populist color of the party, and is highlighted in two aspects: first, the ambiguity of political opinions, and second, the strategy of emphasizing nationalism.

First, the ambiguity of political opinions and attempts to build a multi-class power base. Compared with the Radical Party, the major political parties at that time all had clearer political opinions and support groups. For example, the ruling National Autonomous Party was based on oligarchs and landlords. The base of power is elite groups such as social classes, but for emerging political The Socialist Party has no influence on political power. The Socialist Party is based on the working class, but it has no appeal to voters and rural groups outside Buenos Aires. The party's leaders in the La Plata region even The Central Committee of the Socialist Party openly expressed dissatisfaction with the neglect of rural voters. However, as far as the Radical Party is concerned, the party does not have clear political opinions. The only political goal it insists on is fair and free elections, ending the traditional patronage political system, and establishing a A new system based entirely on merit. For this reason, the Socialist Party criticized the political views of the Radical Party and the Conservatives as not being much different, and even strengthened Yrigoyen's individualistic color.

However, the ambiguity of such political opinions can also gain support from different groups beyond class categories to a certain extent. Emerging classes such as intellectuals and small and medium-sized agricultural producers can be gathered into this group.

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Y. Y. [English] Edited by Leslie Bethel, translated by Hu Yuding and others: «Cambridge History of Latin America» (Volume 5), Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Literature Press, 1992, page 436, page 397

Y. Y. "Cambridge History of Latin America" (Volume 5), Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Literature Press, 1992, page 436, page 397

Y. Y. "Cambridge History of Latin America" (Volume 5), Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Literature Press, 1992, page 436, page 397

Y. Y. "Cambridge History of Latin America" (Volume 5), Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Literature Press, 1992, page 436, page 397



Gain political power

Second, emphasize the strategy of nationalism and use identity politics to attract emerging voters. For Argentina, as immigrants continue to enter, the contradiction between domestic citizens and foreign immigrants is gradually amplified. This constitutes a new issue in Argentina's national construction. As early as the end of the 19th century, an Argentine politician lamented: "We will be forced to become a center that receives an average of 500,000 immigrants every year. One day we will find that this country will become without its own language and its own traditions. It has its own characteristics, and does not even have its own flag." By the 20th century, on the one hand, the wealth of immigrant groups in Argentine society began to approach or even exceed that of national citizens. For example, in the province of Buenos Aires, among immigrants there are more people in the middle class than national citizens, which makes the local society more rejection of immigrants. On the other hand, influenced by social trends such as anarchism and socialism, the social movements of immigrant groups demanding improvement of their situation also tend to. The number of immigrants increased, which intensified the internal conflicts in Argentina. The Argentine ruling class even believed that immigration was the root cause of social unrest, and then promulgated the "Residence Law" and the "Social Defense Law" in 1902 and 1910, respectively, authorizing the government to target immigrants who disrupt public order. During the Alcala Peasant Movement, the groups participating in the tenant farmers' struggle were basically foreign immigrants. There was a certain distance between domestic agricultural producers and foreign immigrants, which also deepened the mutual gap.

After the promulgation of the "Sanzpeña Act" in 1912, different political parties had different considerations on how to position immigrant groups. As far as the National Autonomous Party was concerned, although they worried that the large arrival of immigrants would become an undesirable social problem, however, as representatives of the large landowner class, their primary goal is to maintain an adequate supply of labor resources in agricultural production, so they welcome immigrants. The Socialist Party has long regarded immigrants as a target of political mobilization, and they will persuade immigrants to join Argentina

What needs to be emphasized is that although populism and nationalism have a symbiotic relationship in Latin America, they are not exactly the same. The more important purpose of populism's use of nationalism is to establish a "we". The exclusive relationship between "the one" and the "other", even if it is an attack against external forces, the fundamental purpose is to target those domestic forces that are connected with external forces. Nationalism is more importantly a symbol of collective identity. It is not exclusive within the country, and there are certain differences in the direction of the two. See Enrique Peruzotti "Populism in Democratic Times: Popular Democracy and the Debate on Democratic Deepening" in Carlos de la Torre and Cynthia J. Arnson "Latin America Populism in the Twenty-First Century" Washington, DC: The Woodrow Wilson Center Press 2013 p. 69. Yuan Dongzhen: "Latin America Paradox of Populism: Origins and Consequences" Published in "International Economic Review", Issue 6, 2018, Pages 143-147. Lin Deshan: "The Resurgence of European Nationalism and the Future of Europe", in "Exploration and Debate", Issue 8, 2020, pp. 126-128.

Quoted from Zhang Kun: "God and Motherland"—On the role of Argentine Catholicism in national construction (1890-1930), published in "Study of World Religions", Issue 1, 2020, page 150. Richard

J. Walter "Argentina's 1912-42" in The Hispanic American Historical Review Vol. 77, pp. 11-33.

onsoy "Making Sense of Immigration Policy: Argentina 1870 - 1930" in

However, in 1914, only 23% of foreign adult males in Buenos Aires became Argentinian citizens, and the proportion of naturalized citizens in other parts of the country was only 09% .<sup>5</sup> Even by 1918, among the approximately 19.64 million registered voters in the capital, the number of immigrants was only more than 1.36 million.<sup>6</sup> Immigrants did not have much enthusiasm for participating in politics. Faced with this situation, the socialists were quite helpless. We can only blame immigrants for their greed, accusing them of coming to Argentina just to make money and not wanting to participate in public affairs.<sup>7</sup> The efforts of the socialists to turn immigrants into a power base have not been rewarded.

Compared with the other two major political parties, only the Radical Party truly operated immigration as a political issue and adopted a hardline and even xenophobic stance. For example, before the Radical Party won the local election in Santa Fe Province in 1912, its local leaders criticized the government for selling out the entire country to foreigners. In Rosario, the largest city in Santa Fe Province, the vast majority of the upper class and wealthy businessmen at that time were immigrants or descendants of immigrants.<sup>8</sup> In May 1914, after the Socialist Party won the capital seat in the House of Representatives, the Radicals also targeted immigrants, believing that the Socialist Party's victory was the product of immigrant funding. The party's leader in Buenos Aires even launched a series of "radical" "Reflections of a Party" and asked whether Argentines should come from abroad.<sup>9</sup> Even on the eve of the 1916 election, the Radical Party newspaper did not forget to criticize immigrants. It mentioned in the definition of "radicalism" that this doctrine was also opposed by Argentines. The struggle of "ungrateful" foreign immigrants. Therefore, the immigration issue has become another major issue for the Radical Party to mobilize voters in addition to fair elections. Nationalism and even xenophobia became a major label of the Radical Party before it came to power.

In fact, the Radical Party does not really reject immigrants. In some places such as Buenos Aires, it

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<sup>5</sup> "The Argentine Immigration Service, 1914-1918," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1969, p. 100.

<sup>6</sup> "The Argentine Immigration Service, 1914-1918," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1969, p. 100.

<sup>7</sup> "The Argentine Immigration Service, 1914-1918," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1969, p. 100.

<sup>8</sup> "The Argentine Immigration Service, 1914-1918," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1969, p. 100.

<sup>9</sup> "The Argentine Immigration Service, 1914-1918," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1969, p. 100.

<sup>10</sup> "The Argentine Immigration Service, 1914-1918," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1969, p. 100.

<sup>11</sup> "The Argentine Immigration Service, 1914-1918," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1969, p. 100.

They also try to attract the support of immigrants and their descendants. There are two main reasons why they use attacking immigrants as an electoral strategy. First, immigrant groups do not have the right to vote, and their descendants only accounted for 10% of the population before the 1920s. With a very small proportion, attacks on them will not cause damage to the votes. On the contrary, it can also build up the issue of identity politics, thus attracting the support of local voters, especially middle- and lower-class voters whose living conditions are not as good as those of immigrant groups. The second is The attack on immigrants also includes criticism of the ruling party's policy of attracting immigrants, making the public aware of the negative effects of the ruling party's policies. Since the influx of immigrants occurred during the period when the National Autonomous Party was in power, the arrival of these immigrants has brought great consequences to Argentina. The society has brought many impacts, including the impact on local society. The Radical Party tried to transfer this dissatisfaction to the National Autonomous Party, making voters realize that the Radical Party was separated from the original system, and then gained the support of emerging groups. The intellectuals at that time were also calling for the creation of a new nationalist spirit. Their ideas were consistent with the political strategy of the Radical Party, which enabled the Radical Party to win public opinion and eventually convert it into votes.

From this perspective, the rise of the Radical Party and early populism was not the result of modernization, but the ability to cater to the expectations of all classes during the economic crisis and fill the power vacuum left after the erosion of traditional political authority. As Yrigoyen himself said that the Radical Party itself constitutes the country, and it arises from public opinion and public needs.

#### Four conclusions

Populism is a political phenomenon that appears repeatedly on the Argentine political stage. The explanation of the reasons for the rise of populism has long sparked debate in academic circles. As far as early Argentine populism is concerned, domestic academic circles generally believe that this phenomenon is a product of the modernization process. However, in During the rise of the Radical Party, Argentina did not see an obvious modernization turn. Argentina's economic development model and political power structure remained basically stable. The country's development showed the characteristics of path dependence, and modernization itself did not necessarily expand political participation, especially This was at a time when the Argentine public did not have much enthusiasm for political participation. In fact, to break the path dependence in the national development process and lead to major changes, it often requires the emergence of key nodes such as wars and economic crises. In the early days of Argentina, The rise of populism

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Among them, the Alcosta peasant movement that broke out in 1912 was one of them.

Prior to this, Argentina's economic development mainly relied on the production and export of the agricultural and animal husbandry economy. The large influx of immigrants and the formation of the agricultural tenancy system were the keys to ensuring agricultural production. However, Argentina's agricultural development was an extensive one. development model. As land resources were exhausted, the large-scale entry of immigrants caused the cost of agricultural production to continue to rise, which in turn led to a decline in the economic benefits that tenant farmers could achieve under the tenancy system. When the external production environment changed between 1911 and 1912 When changes occurred, the tenant farmers were immediately in trouble and faced the risk of being evicted by the landlords. For this reason, in 1912, the first organized tenant farmer protest broke out in Argentina, known as the "Voice of Alcosta", which brought great changes to the country's agricultural production and development. Economic development has brought great impact. Argentina also fell into an economic crisis after 1913. The originally relatively stable agricultural production model had to face adjustments, and the large landowner class could no longer monopolize various powers in rural society.

Under the influence of the economic crisis, the National Autonomous Party, which based its legitimacy on economic performance and thus monopolized political power for a long time, was challenged by other political forces. Its political authority was eroded, and the party was unable to cope with the increasing social protests. In this Under such circumstances, the Radical Party led by Yrigoyen used the ambiguity of political opinions, nationalism and other populist political strategies to establish a cross-class power base. Not only did it gain local power after 1912, but it also gained power in 1916. Winning the presidential election in 2001 allowed for the rise of early populism. This means that Argentine populism is not a product of modernization, but a way for political leaders to reshape political authority under the economic crisis.

In fact, early populism in Argentina was also a political phenomenon in the process of globalization from the late 19th century to the early 20th century. When goods, trade, capital and labor flowed across the world, it also gave rise to a series of unprecedented crises. Just like the British The famous scholar Eric J Hobsbawm said that the large-scale immigration wave has spread all kinds of ethnic groups to every corner of the world. A large number of foreigners, indigenous people and other immigrants live together in one place, and some of them are only very different from each other. People's customs and customs completely lack the traditions and habits formed by long-term living together. In this pluralistic society, how to shape a new country constitutes the basic task of political authority. The rise of early populism is in a certain sense a response to This kind of appeal attempts to find a kind of certainty through the reshaping of authority in uncertainty. Perhaps, this also provides some historical experience for understanding the rise of populism in the Western world in today's globalization process.

(Editor Gao Han)