

**AN INCONCLUSIVE HISTORICAL DEBATE IN LATIN AMERICA (1600-2000).
FOUR CENTURIES OF FIGHTING IN THE COLONIAL PERUVIAN AND RIVER
PLATE COLONIAL SPACE AND IN MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY
ARGENTINA.**

General Introduction. The long transition of the colonial society to the crisis of nation-state. A balance of River Plate and Argentine questions.

In Latin-American societies, numerous authors pertaining to different schools of thinking reflected over the past of the mentioned societies, of the periodicity and transitions among the different social formations and ways of production, as well as the proper methods of reconstruction of that past.¹ The majority of exponents from said different historiographic tendencies increased the specializing, unidimensional and mono-disciplinary specializing multiplicity of the social-historic reality harming a global comprehension of the past or its unity complex and enigmatic.

-----It means, that few have been between their studies over their durations, fractures and transitions tried to reconstruct or articulate an interpretation of the style formulated by the complex thought of Morin (1994), the rational fundamentalism of Gellner (1998), the circumstantial proof or conjectural of Ginzburg, the cultural explosion theories of Lotman, the post-colonialism of Lander (2003), of moral and cultural innovations of Fukuyama (1996), of the Marramao secularization, and the immunization or detribalization of Esposito, integrating corresponding researches to the ideological, institutional, social and cultural; and to the cultural, political, economic and social spheres or sub-systems, or comparing in a transversal way to the different functions, spheres and levels, such as the role to what Barthès named secondary semiological systems (parents, manager-customer relationship and city-state, centrifugal and centripetal behaviours, ideological ,bureaucratic, ethnic,commercial, productive and financing relationships).² According to (1996), the changes in the first level, that of ideology, precipitate changes in the second level, that of the institutions and changes in the third level - the one of the civil society or third space existing between the market and state that had depended on its slowness in an unknown degree over the intensities and peculiar characteristics of the fourth level: the level of culture.³ This type of new and inconclusive investigations have turned each time more unpredictable the more they emptied and corroded the founding myths and the transforming ideologies, more the official histories deflated and more the social tissue was harmed.⁴

In this work we will have to undertake the development of an historic research with the aspirations of attaining a complex totality and an universal spread, studying the perceptions that the actors of the different levels, social classes, agents and regions (national, provincial) coming from different periods and geographical spaces had in the different transitions and fractures, and publishing the totality of the work in an electronic site with dominion and own database so that it could hurdle all censorships and anti-democratic filters of a decadent and obsolete intellectual and academic petty bureaucracy.. The work of compilation started almost forty years ago (40) as a duty of memory, a desperate need to find a deep vocational crisis and a distressed need to fight a deep vocational crisis, and an anguished search to interpret an enigmatic past and to restore a collective political destiny, looking first in the agrarian structures and agents of the province of Buenos Aires, reconstructing notarialy the official records of real estate, for later on to turn it in a scientific research program

transferring successive and transversely my aims and questions to the social structures and agents (slavery, concert, tribute, parcel), the commercial structures and agents (credit authorizations), the political structures and agents (agreement made, ecclesiastic, military and parliamentary bureaucracy and finally the cultural structures and agents (religious, literary, ceremonial, teaching, communication, scientific.).

Likewise, we have investigated over the integration of the respective periods and historic blocks; the causes and consequences of each fracture or transition crisis; and the perceptions or conscience that the different élites, classes, cities, countries and states had over the cause of the crisis and the different strategies political, cultural, social and economic adopted (despotism, caesarism, nepotism, clientage, patriarchalism, centralism, federalism). Among said strategies, we analyze reformist and revolutionary implementation and its reference to a total social complex, the way it was stated by Castoriadis (1983), Morin (1994), Gellner (1998) and Subirats (2000).⁵ We will also analyze the explaining paradigms to understand the causes of rupture and transition. When paradigms pre-modern were founded in knowledge derived from the principle of authority (Bossuet); the modern paradigms based in knowledge achieved through analysis and reduction analysis; and the post-modern paradigms achieved through reducing analysis and mechanisms, paradigms post-modern in reducing know-how to linguistic constructions and/or historic-sociable (Geertz-White), these will result among them mutually non-measurable. Inclusive among the proper modern paradigms, that is to say the liberal paradigm (Guizot, Michelet, Taine), based on ideological fractures (Mitre-López); the positivist paradigm (Ranke, Mommsen), based in political fractures (Saldías, Quesada); the New Historic School paradigm (Schmoller) and the determinism of the historic laws (Lamprecht), based on economic fractures (Levene); and the paradigm of modern Machiavelism (Mosca, Pareto, Michels), the School of the Annals (Bloch-Febvre) and the critical marxism (Dobb-Sweezy), based in social fractures (Romero-Halperín Donghi), it had also been given a mutual non-evaluation. These non-evaluations --that would not mean non-comparable-- would obey to the ideological notions (estate, country, colony), political (power, church, army), economical (commerce, banking, land and mining), social (state, people, caste, class) and cultural (elite, education, religion) have differed among them in a substantial way, as well as they have disagreed as far as level and intensity of their composition and linking are concerned.

To analyze the collective and individual conscience that they have in time and space and the intensity of the crisis and/or cultural, political, social and economic fractures we investigated the memory extension, according to long or short duration; the identity consistency and the founding myths, whether they would be ancient, modern or post-modern; and the engagement density, vocation or the destiny dreamed, according that it was accomplished, frustrated or non-conclusive. Likewise we investigated the role played for the gestation of disciplinary strategies from the part of the rival fractions and the endless and inconclusive political disputes, stated in collective actions such as petitions, movilizacions and electoral processes, where they abound ingredients of cultural nature (representations and parodies of the rosaries or corsaires). For investigating the intensity of the social crisis and the peaceful or gentleness of the named colonial siesta of the indigenous art-work, the slave man-work, working divisions, food for work and authorized (shop assistant and shop attendants) and the frequency of slave runaway and highwayman. To find out over the transformation of the military crisis we will analyze the conflicts between the Armed Commander's Headquarters and the Town Councils. And to analyze the ecclesiastical crisis we will study the conflict between the Ecclesiastic Town Councils and the Chaplain's Foundations.

In the discussion over the political nature of periodicity, origin, fracture and future partition of the kingdoms that formed part of the Spanish Empire and differing from the scholastic or Aristotelian, the baroque, enlightened, neo-classic, romantic and positivist they imagined the irremediable decadence of monarchs and empires, and they envisaged the territorial and cultural deconstruction and restructuration --through wars, partitions, secessions and institutional engineering-- of new provinces,

countries and nationalities. Already between Las Casas and Sepulveda controversy around the XVI cycle, they start off the first theoretical attacks over a drama which had been bore and deepening along four centuries.⁶ The own renaissance thinking of Garcilaso de la Vega, in his Royal Comments and the Illustrated thinking of Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo in his different essays facing the problem of the Spanish empire and its kingdoms or colonial estates, argue its future partition by analogy with Tomas Moro's **Utopy**. For that purpose they implement as examples the partition of the Roman Empire and the Church of Rome;⁷ analogies reiterated by the same Simon Bolivar in his Letter of Jamaica,⁸ this last one considered by Subirats (1994) as one of the critical moments of European Illustration, placed in the geopolitical borders of same.⁹

The project of an independent republic of Monteagudo, Moreno and Rivadavia and that of the National Unity of Mitre and Sarmiento repeated and imitated the myths and patterns of modern European and North-American countries-estates, which had reproduced the myths and patterns of ancient estates of Sparta, Athens and Rome. But the positivist tradition that followed was not unanimous in the characterization of the national and colonial estates. González (1888), based on the Alberdi (1856), Quesada (1881), Sarmiento (1883), and Ramos Mexía (1887) thinking -- which were themselves influenced by the German mythic genealogy of Thierry and Guizot-- sustained the priority of the provinces over the nation and longed for the Habsburg colonial "republicanism", transformed by the Bourbon Reforms and demolished by the Revolution (Rivadavian Reforms), regretting that in the Independent Argentina the City Halls were not kept in place, with its liberties and its rights, because they, having known how to resist the central and absolute nature of bishops and governors, "...resembled to perfect republics even within an iron monarchy".¹⁰ On the contrary, Mitre (1859) and García (1900),¹¹ nourished with an increasing concept anti-genealogical (Acton, 1862) supported the priority of the nation over the provinces, given to the colonial-Bourbonic estate, that is the Vice-kingdom, the origin of the Argentine nationality, and referred to the need of an independence war to build a nation-estate; and with reference to the social foundation of a colonial estate, that at that time, in the provinces of the Vice-Kingdom of the Rio de la Plata, it existed in the Town Council an aristocracy or patrician class (same to the nobility kind, of the Ancient European Regime), and not a middle-class (equivalent to the bourgeoisie), only possible support of a democratic republic. For them the City Councils opposed themselves to the material progress and resisted the republican objectives of the Independence and National Organization, having been oligarchic corporations, parodies of the Castillian counties, abolished by the Habsburg absolutism. (Carlos V) after the battle of Villalar.¹² Even though in its beginning, the formal legalism of the New Historic School, headed by Levene (1911) shared that thesis, after that and centering himself in the "porteño"(born near the port of Buenos Aires) case, this last author rejected said posture arguing that the colonial dominating class, was formed by merchants and that consequently did not arrive to conform a true aristocracy.

However, refuting Levene, Góngora (1975) and Flores Galindo (1984), in their studies over Chile and Peru, suggest that the plutocracy (the merchants) of the colonial time, did not constitute a bourgeoisie, because they were passionately interested in becoming assimilated to the nobility, acquiring at any price nobility titles or integration to military orders, as well as it was strongly enthused by the bureaucratic practice of blood cleansing.¹³ The authentic life style of the "bourgeois", established by Weber and Sombart, it was according to Gongora, alien to the collective conscience of the mercantile class. The leftist liberalism, influenced by the mechanic catastrophism of the Debacle Theory (Lenin), came to identify the colonial authority with a bureaucratic apparatus expoliating and parasitary (Viceroy, Royal Court, Consulate, City Halls, Water Governorship and of Brotherhood) which was not susceptible to be "used" by the emerging social class (the commercial bourgeoisie non-monopolic), and that as such must be destroyed during the revolutionary crisis or fracture, and replaced through constituting congresses or conventions with an amplified of the estate.¹⁴ Finally, as well as Monteagudo, Moreno and Rivadavia put themselves under the Illustration and Enciclopedia umbrella and Alberdi and Sarmiento put themselves under the Positivism protection, Peron's Justicialism put

itself under the Italian Fascism umbrella and the Schmitian Decisionism and indirectly of the roman myths and in a direct way under the cover of autochthonous myths ; which pretended to make descend the small black head from the gaucho myth, even not certainly of the indigenous myths of the "quechuas, aymaras, guaranies or araucanos".¹⁵ Lastly, and following the economic and modeproduction theories suggested by Wright (1975), the fractures and transitions between the successive forms of colonial and national estates (autocratic, caesarean, oligarchic, populist, authoritarian-bureaucratic and neo-liberals), they were linked mechanically with the respective crisis and exhaustion of the accumulated patterns. These links had to be stated taking into account not only the class content of those crisis and fractures --as the state would be the arena where those class fights would be settled-- and the accelerating impact that those crisis and fractures had in the circulation of the political elites and in the historical block modification, and also in the cultural and political contents.¹⁶

In Europe itself the constitution characterization, classifying, ranking, behaviour and mechanism of the space and national identities, ideological or religious and social or state wise was intensely discussed, arriving to the conclusion that they not followed an unilinear direction and that the collective wars and tragedies that lately fell on them (Holocaust or Shoa) would have been the result of a long civil war and whose historic origin would go as far back as the massacre of the Great War (1914-18) and the colonial partition of Asia and Africa in the XIX century (Nolte, Traverso). If this is so, and the final fall of modernity, thought in a world scale and including the Latin-America neo-colonial periphery, would have obeyed to a long duration regressive process composed by an extensive chain of historic events related with conquests, colonizations and despotisms, it would be licit and logical then, as Subirats suggests (1994) to relate also the remote origin of this decadence to the secular traffic of slaves performed between Africa and America, and to the most remote events of the territorial, military and spiritual conquest of America itself and its partition between the metropolis of the European Counter-reform (Spain, Portugal), and the ejection of moores and jews, events that resembled to an historic continuity with the crossed hierocratic for the recovery of the Saint Sepulchre in the High Middle Age.¹⁷

This secular regression, showed itself in the European commercial bourgeoisie, in the same Florence of the Medici, where according to Kofler's judgment (1974) a cyclic mechanism of regression or of development "... toward life feudalism or toward its hispanism, whose elements are the despise of work and the blood cleaning mania".¹⁸ Neither England nor France were immune to this phenomenon. According to Tudesq (1978) and Furet (1980), this "aristocratic reaction" or nobility snobism exasperation experienced in France during the XVIII and XIX centuries, was more a survival or reminiscence of the Ancient Regime mentality, than a datum of the economic life.¹⁹ Not so in Germany where, according to Rosenberg (1958), this climate lasted until the arrival of Bismark. And they were less immune to this process the southern colonies of the United States. Labaree (1948), Sydnor (1952,1965) and Baltzell (1958,1964) proved that with the exception of New York and Massachussetts, all the other colonies were under the political and economic dominion of aristocratic families. However, already Becker (1909) had wondered over New York exclusion of said reality, because it discovered that its political fights were only based in families enmities.²⁰

For these analysis and retroactive synthesis we will have to apply en each of these periods and passages the theories over the balance of power, force correlation, flow balance, passions and myths, the elite rotation, the theories of nationalism, the secularism or desacralization and the immunity or detribalism, the status consistency (Lenski,1954), the social mobility (Goldstone,1986), the capital organic composition (Rogowski, 1987), and secondary contradictions or intra-elite crisis (Higley, Burton y Field, 1990; y Lachmann, 1990) and the consequent misunderstandings in readings of the past (Candau, 2001; Rinesi, 2003), as engines of revolutionary fractures and collective tragedies. We also apply theories over social menace (O'Donnell,1978) and the interactions between monetary instruments

(capitals) and restraining means (Tilly,1989), as determining factors in the modification of relative positions and the ways adopted by different provincial and national estates; as well as the theories over the incredulity in the legitimacy of institutions of the liberal democracy, as engine which fed the restoration of past estate forms.²¹

A big section of the work was published in a fragmented and non-articulate way, and only many years later - due to Internet - it could be revised, integrated and compiled in almost one thousand millions of chapters or sections covering more than a hundred chapters, and to those last ones they could be regrouped in fourteen (14) volumes. This arbitrary ordering in sections, chapters and volumes obeys to the need of trying to classify in a narrative way the immense mass of information and subjects involved in this investigations, but in no way pretends to close or exhaust the great and complex quantity of missing subjects and of feasible crossings between sector corresponding to different chapters as well as between chapters belonging to different volumes, as it is clarified in detail at the beginning of the respective abstracts.

Planning of the Work.

This work covers fourteen (14) volumes, a hundred chapters and almost one thousand sections, all of them based in thousands of period texts, taken from judiciary, notary, administrative, ecclesiastic, journalistic and electronic sources. One tenth of said chapters are presented in both languages, Spanish and English. The bringing-out of the documentary sources was performed between 1967 and 1989 in the notary public protocols of the notary public archives; in judiciary, successoral, making agreements, financing, legislative, governmental, census wise and parochial; in the making an agreement Acts and Journal of Sessions of the Constituting Conventions and of the Chamber of Representatives and Senators, national and provincial, in magazines, newspapers and journals deposited in the journal and newspaper library of the National Library, the Mitre Museum and the University of La Plata; in documentary compilations edited and in the collected letters of the commercial, presidential and provincial archives of the XVII, XVIII, XIX y XX centuries (Mitre, Paz, Roca, Juárez Celman, Victorino de la Plaza, and Agustín P. Justo, of the Governor of Tucuman Próspero García, and of the Governor of Buenos Aires Dardo Rocha);in correspondence and telegraphic conferences of the governors, ministers and legislators deposited in the National General Archive(AGN) of Buenos Aires, in the Historic Archives of the provinces of Cordoba and Buenos Aires (La Plata), in the Archives of the Judiciary Departments and in the libraries of the Universities of Wisconsin and Chicago and Mexico

The work is shared in fourteen(14) volumes, relatively among them, even oriented with the target of achieving a complex totality and a hundred of chapters referred and in centenar of chapters , referred in the Index of correlative form , independent among themselves, which half of the half hundred versions ameliorated by my doctoral thesis referred in the Index in a correlative way, independent among themselves, where half hundred of chapters are ameliorated versions of my doctoral thesis and of my works already published in separate way (between 1984 and 1999), in a book and half hundred scientific reviews all over the world, which issues and offprints are registered, indexed and described in the Handbook of Latin American Studies (HLAS: Library of Congress), in the Historical Abstracts (Santa Bárbara, California), in the Hispanic American Periodical Index (HAPI, Latin American Center, University of California, Los Angeles), in the Current Index to Journals in Education, in the Digital Library of the OEI (Hispanic-American Organization Estates), in the Virtual Library Miguel de Cervantes, in the Social Science Research Network Electronic Library, and in the International Institute for Higher Education in Latin America and deposited in the libraries of the History National Academy (Buenos Aires), of the Bolivian National Archives (Sucre), of the Schools

of Philosophy and Letters and Social Sciences of the UBA and the Institute of Argentine History "Dr. Emilio Ravignani", and of the School of Philosophy of the Catholic University.

This study extends itself for more than fourteen (14) volumes distributed in more than a hundred (100) chapters and each chapter in numerous sections which totalize almost one million sections. It includes in its beginning a general introduction, a general methodology, a general index, a general abstract, a general cartography, a general iconography and a general phonography. In each volume it includes an introduction and a conclusion, as well as an index, an abstract, a collection or register of Key-Words, a bibliography and iconography for each volume. The abstracts, apart from being a synthesis or summary they include the bibliographic reference of each volume with the heading, place of edition, page and pages of the periodic publication which resulted in the content of the chapter. Likewise, the numerous tables, frames, appendix, listed and graphics are included in the respective volume Index, many of which as they are not digitalized had to be scanned from the Ph.D. Thesis and of the articles published before the use of the personal computer.

In volume I we will analyze the culture as fighting or symbolic, literary, teaching, communication and scientific fractures, and its influence in the structure of colonial and national estates (XVIII, XIX y XX centuries) (formed by ten (10) chapters); in volume II we studied the estate, corporate and fraudulent politics as sphere of disputes or the political crisis in the origin of the independence revolution and the fall of republican aristocratism (formed by eight (8) chapters), in volume III we investigated the hegemonies in the colonial and modern Rio de la Plata or the centuries of conflicts, wars and political agreements (1580-1880) (formed by eight (8) chapters); in volume IV we investigated the political crisis in modern Argentina or a decade of republic fighting (1880-1890) (consisting of six [6] chapters); in volume V we examined politics from the point of view of dispute field or two decades of republican combat in post-revolutionary Argentina (1890-1912) (consisting of five (5) chapters); in volume VI we considered the summit and crisis of contemporary Argentina or the century of democratic fight (1912-1999) (consisting of five (5) chapters); in volume VII we explored the civil bureaucracy as space of factious combat (City Halls and Justice).(consisting of fourteen [14] chapters); in volume VIII we analyze the Church as place of struggle in the colonial and national worlds (consisting of seven [7] chapters); in volume IX we studied the militia as fighting field in the colonial and national political structures (consisting of eight (8) chapters); in volume X we investigated the social sphere and the ethnic, estate and blood fractures (consisting of ten [10] chapters); in volume XI we researched over the commerce and banking as conflict spheres of the colonial and national world or the

I and national or immigration and commercial capital (Centuries XVII, XVIII y XIX) (consisting of ten [10] chapters); in volume XII we analyzed the mining economy as conflicting heading of the colonial world (Centuries XVII y XVIII) (consisting of six (6) chapters); in volume XIII I analyze the agrarian economy as conflicting siege of the colonial and national world (Centuries XVII, XVIII and XIX) (consisting of six [6] chapters); and in volume XIV we incorporated a General Conclusion and General Bibliography

NOTES

¹ Assadourian, 1973; Holton, 1981; Florescano, 1985, etc. It is certain that the work of Ingenieros, Ponce y Mariátegui is the origin base of this discussion.

² For a global strategy or a global strategy of the past, see Barros, 1993.

³ Fukuyama, 1995, 8. I owe the knowledge of the existence of the Journal of Democracy in the University of San Andres, to Prof. Sebastian Saiegh.

⁴ see Candau, 2001, 181.

⁵ Over the complex thinking in Edgar Morin, see Solis, 2003. Over the anthropolitics as a complex challenge, see Rodríguez Zoya and Salinas, 2002.

⁶ Over the controversy between Las Casas and Sepúlveda in Valladolid, 1550-1551, see Zavala, 1977; Hanke, 1992; and Pennington, 1993. Over the conquest in the XVI century (Las Casas versus Ginés de Sepúlveda), see Beuchot Puente, 1992.

⁷ Sánchez, 1967; Choy, 1985, 59; Zamora, 1988; and Buaas, 1994.

⁸ Halperín Donghi, 1993, 746.

⁹ Subirats, 1994, 465.

¹⁰ González, 1888, first book, II.

¹¹ followed by Matienzo (1910), Levillier (1912), Ingenieros (1918), Ravignani (1938) and Levene (1952).

¹² García, 1900, Chapter VIII, Section 2; Levillier, 1912, 81-83; and Ingenieros, 1918, 38-41. See Saguier, 1984, 24. Over the genealogical and anti-genealogical notions of the concept of the country, see Palti, 2002.

¹³ To trace the medieval origin of this collective updating in the Bourbon Spain, see Sicroff (1960).

¹⁴ Justice Courts, Representative or Legislating Courts, Peace Courts, Irrigations Inspectors, etc.

¹⁵ see Miró Quesada, 1993; and Astrada, 1948, 1964.

¹⁶ Canak, 1984, 8.

¹⁷ ver Subirats, 1994, 433.

¹⁸ Kofler, 1974, 103 y 126; and Atienza, 1987.

¹⁹ Tudesq, 1978, 251.

²⁰ Haigh, 1963, 1.

²¹ Dahl, 1971; and Smith, 1974.