15 de enero de 1959

CONFIDENCIAL

MEMORANDUM:

A: Esteban Padilla
De: Juan M. García
Para: Sr. Gobernador
Re: Hon. Arturo Frondizi

Te incluyo en este memorandum una serie de citas seleccionadas de los artículos, recortes, etc., que sobre el Sr. Frondizi se han conseguido. Creo que esto hará más fácil la selección que de los mismos quiera hacer el Sr. Gobernador para su lectura, y a la vez evita repeticiones e inconvenientes. De necesitarse más adelante, incluyo las copias fotostáticas. He dividido la información sobre PERSONALIDAD, PROGRAMA, RELACIONES POLITICAS Y RELACIONES CON E.U.

PERSONALIDAD

(Personal portrait) Arturo Frondizi is the 13th of 14 children born to a road and bridge contractor. Frondizi turned left but pulled up short of becoming a Socialist or Communist. (He) turned down (a law) school Diploma of Honor because it was to have been presented by a military dictator who had just toppled the ruling Radicals. This gesture gave him entrée into Radical politics, but in the 30's he contented himself (with practicing law and reading). He opposed Perón from the dictator's first appearance. joined Radical Chieftain Ricardo Balbin in leading
the dogged Radical bloc (44 members) in the Perón-dominated Congress (160 members)....Balbin and Frondizi ran against Perón in 1951 as Radical candidates for President and Vice President, were overwhelmed by the Peronista machine....when the dictator eased up just before his fall in 1955 he chose Frondizi to speak for the opposition....After Perón's fall, (he) maneuvered Balbin out of the Radical leadership. He won financing from industrialists by promising high tariffs; ...from the Church by spurning....legalized divorce; from Socialist and Communist....by promises to expand nationalization of oil, steel, mining, rail, telephone and power. He sharply attacked General Pedro Aramburu's provisional government.

Frondizi is a cool intellectual who frowns more than he smiles, reads widely, speaks articulately and unemotionally. He stands a straight 6 ft., wears the alert expression of a pawnbroker examining a watch. He scorns tobacco, shows only mild interest in Argentina's famed beef and wines, bypasses most social occasions, reserves much of his personal warmth for his wife and daughter, Elena, 20.... (he) intensely admires Lincoln...(has read) The Grapes of Wrath and Tobacco Road...(Time, Mr 10/53, p.23).

...el Dr. Frondizi está conceptuado como un teórico nacionalista de tendencia izquierdista no comunista...Se mostró siempre como un decidido "anti-imperialista" y celoso defensor de yacimientos petrolíferos fiscales contra la "ingerencia extranjera";
y su voluminoso libro sobre petróleo ha recogido todas sus inquietudes nacionalistas en esta materia. (El Mundo, Mr 8/58).

Frondizi nos recibió con suma amabilidad, en las modests oficinas que ocupa en el quinto piso del Ministerio de Industria y Comercio... Pronto nos encontramos frente a una personalidad joven y dinámica, que no muestra huellas de su infatigable labor con la firmeza del que cree en sí mismo.

Todo es conciso, sin dar lugar siquiera a conjeturas... (Declaró Frondizi:) Mi gobierno se propone estrechar vínculos culturales con los E.U. y estimular el comercio entre ambos países... No hemos celebrado pacto alguno con los partidos y personas que han notado nuestros candidatos... nuestros planes requieren el aporte de capitales extranjeros. (Diario de NY, Ap 11/58.)

DISCURSO INAUGURAL Y PROGRAMA

(His inauguration address) added up to a moderate, vigorous program - a heartening swing away from the nationalist, leftist line that he used during the campaign... He promised administrative austerity, but said the broader solution for the nation was "encouraging productive private enterprise to offer a brighter horizon to young people who are wasting their capacity for work..." He pledged that there would be no new expropriation of foreign investments... He announced that he personally
was taking over as president of the floundering state oil monopoly and would accept aid from private capital but without abolishing state control...(he) said he would ask Congress for... political amnesty, under which all political parties can freely function...He praised the military...but warned them to stay out of politics from now on...(His Cabinet is made of) moderates and close personal friends. (Time, My 12/58, pp. 27-28.)

Frondivi assailed U.S. trade policies without mentioning the U.S. directly. He urged Latin American nations to fight trade discrimination and dumping, the common Latin American term for sale of U.S. surplus farm products abroad...Frondivi said Argentine foreign policy will hinge on Latin American brotherhood and will support "international morality based on freedom." (Miami Herald, My 2/58.)

He will probably insist on honoring the unpopular agreements with foreign oil companies which sparked the present crisis. He is expected to trim the federal payroll, to increase railroad fares and electricity and telephone rates. He may try to raise taxes and perhaps devalue the peso. He will resist demands for wage increases as long as he can... None of these austerity measures will be popular. But Frondivi really has no choice. If he doesn't come to grips with these problems, Argentina will go broke faster than ever, economic
chaos will be inevitable - and the armed forces will look for another President. (Newsweek, Dec 1/58.)

DECLARACIONES, RELACIONES POLITICAS

The President... campaigning on a platform calling for government monopolies in oil and public utilities, amnesty for political exiles and prisoners; big wage increases; development of trade with the Soviet bloc as well as with the West... Dr. Frondizi, a lawyer and economist by training, was a political opponent of Perón in a previous election. They say that Dr. Frondizi is essentially a cautious man. Since his election... has spoken hopefully of closer ties with the U.S.; the need for foreign investments; the determination on his part that Argentina shall live up to the anti-Communist Inter-American Defense Pact. (USHWR, Mr 7/58, p.19.)

One of his main promises during the campaign and after it was a general amnesty of all political prisoners and exiles... On the credit side (he has) keen political sense and intellect. (USHWR, My 9/58, p.22.)

Elected with the votes of ex-Dictator Perón's diehard followers (he) nevertheless received his sash of office from the military men who had booted Perón, and he is still torn between these two suspicious, irreconcilable forces. (Time, Jl 28/58, p.26.)
Elected with the help of Peronista votes, (he) struggled for six months to convert the ex-dictator's followers to his cause...in a Peronista provoked crisis, he wrathfully turned against them. (Time, N 24/58, p.20.)

Before the elections, Dr. Frondizi admitted publicly that he would not refuse Communist support. "Let's be frank", he said, "To refuse votes is to be a fool." This remark placed him alongside Brazilian President Juscelino Kubitschek and Gabriel González Videla, former President of Chile, both of whom turned against the Communists after winning elections with their help. (NY Herald, Ap 29/58.)

**VIAJE A E.U., DECLARACIONES**

(Has declarado sobre E.U.: Credo que para entenderse con Estados Unidos el peor sistema es el de chantaje. Yo, como presidente de una especie de sociedad anónima que tiene veinte millones de accionistas, me sentaré con los norteamericanos en torno a una mesa para hablar con ellos como en una reunión de hombres de negocios...Desde que Nixon visitó Buenos Aires, Frondizi no sólo ha hablado con los norteamericanos como un hombre de negocios práctico, sino que sus conversaciones han dado resultado... Frondizi visitará E.U. el próximo enero, después que su Ministro de Hacienda, Donato del Carril en un viaje anterior haya concluido las negociaciones con el Fondo Monetario Internacional y otras instituciones de crédito. (Visión, Dec 19/58, p.17.)
Frondizi, que está desarrollando una política ibero-americana, podría plantear al Presidente Eisenhower los problemas económicos... y las posibles soluciones en el marco de una política de fraternidad continental... el Dr. Frondizi... podría ser un portavoz autorizado de Iberoamérica ante el Presidente norteamericano... (Diario de las A, Jl 11/58.)