

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

FOIA Number:

S

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Grant, Mary Kate, Files
Subseries: Subject File, 1988-1991

OA/ID Number: 13877
Folder ID Number: 13877-011

Folder Title:
Argentina-President Menem Visit, 11/14/91 [2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	19	2	7	2

er this about Iran: tried to death about in the Gulf. Their y I, even though entually be used my, Saddam Hus- elieve we'd come eve we'd come out l hope that if they ndred thousand of believe, and more ible, that that fear from the United : that has separat- think it will. estion, please.

it can you tell us d a summit? Have ummit with Presi- ou and he talked?

ntly. are the chances? I like to think here are two con- t I have. We both eement—see that is an agreement, y—in our view— ad we're trying to

icated this par- T agreement. But ked to Rick Burt, en the negotiator istic. But we've ould take. y that under—if happen I would orbachev. We've oblems and con- is whole Middle n of these refu- d keep our focus having an ability shape and to sign

on it. In other of Marlin's posi-

Note: The President's 80th news conference began at 6:04 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom; President François Mitterrand of France; and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany. Brent Scowcroft is Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and Marlin Fitzwater is Press Secretary to the President.

Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for President Violeta Chamorro of Nicaragua
April 17, 1991

President Bush. It gives me great pleasure to welcome to the United States a woman of courage, a leader of conviction, a person of morality and vision: Mrs. Violeta Chamorro, President of Nicaragua.

We stand here at the White House almost a year to the day after the extraordinary moment when you stood at Managua's National Stadium to be sworn in as your nation's first freely elected president.

What a moment that was. In you we saw the exhilarating victory of democracy, of that glorious new breeze that, in one amazing year, swept out oppression and dictatorship from Prague to Managua. In you we saw your nation's peacemaker, the person who would close the books on 11 years of cruel civil war.

In you we saw the symbol of national reconciliation with the inner strength and resolve to turn the face of your country toward the path of healing.

In you we saw what your countrymen saw when they cast their ballots in their first fair, open election. We all saw the person who inspired her people to believe in the triumphant return of peace and freedom.

On that Inauguration Day we saw Dona Violeta, candidate of compassion, become President Chamorro, leader of reconciliation. On that day you closed a painful chapter in your nation's history, and you began to forge a new one. The beautiful land of Ruben Dario had been exhausted by strife,

embittered by repression, polarized by government attempts to dominate every single aspect of society, impoverished by a cynical and mismanaged regime.

But you are the leader who once said: "As a mother, I feel with great intensity the obligation to teach while governing and to govern while forming peaceful hearts." And you've begun to bring life and dreams back to your people in your "mission to help them"—as you call it, "mission to help them." Your courageous countrymen are showing that they are ready to dig in and work hard to reap the benefits of free government and free enterprise.

Following the course of your slogan, "Yes, we can change things," your reforms are realistic—restoration of democratic liberties, religious freedom, economic reconstruction, free-market opportunities, reallocation of military funds to vital economic and social programs, and reincorporation of former combatants and refugees:

But your reforms are also visionary—the restoration of moral values and human dignity. The importance of an inheritance for your children of reconciliation and respect. And the belief in the goodness of a people that still turns for guidance to its patron saint, La Purisima.

And your reforms, your "new sun of justice and freedom," bring hope to the watching world. For with the democratization of Nicaragua, we are one crucial step closer to the incredible goal of becoming this world's first fully democratic hemisphere.

We know that the tasks facing the Nicaraguan people are difficult. Your economic stabilization plan requires hard choices. Economic reform after years of mismanagement is never easy and presents challenges to leadership. But sacrifice in the short run is vital to achieve long-term growth and development. And we hope that all elements of Nicaraguan society will work with you for the good of your country.

The Nicaraguan people do not stand friendless and alone to face these challenges. We are confident that as you confront them, all Nicaraguans will enjoy renewed and widely shared prosperity.

Dona Violeta, I am proud to stand with you, and our nation is proud to stand by

Apr. 17 / Administration of George Bush, 1991

you. We're offering over \$500 million in aid over your first 2 years as President. And we've joined with other developed countries to work with the international financial institutions to help Nicaragua. And beyond aid, we're offering opportunities for trade and investment that will benefit both our countries through the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative.

And most of all, we're offering something from our hearts to your proud country, your blue and white Nicaragua, where, as your national anthem says, "the voice of the cannon no longer roars." We are offering you our respect, our admiration, and our friendship.

As your nation renews itself under your leadership, the world shares the view of Nicaraguan poet Pablo Antonio Cuadra, who wrote about your late husband, Pedro Joaquin—who was tragically assassinated for the pure passion of his political idealism. Cuadra said of you: "Pedro's flag could not be in better hands."

Madam President, your nation is fortunate to have you as a leader. I am proud to have you as a friend. We salute you. And may God bless you and your proud and courageous land. And welcome to the United States.

President Chamorro. President Bush, my good friend; Mrs. Barbara Bush, my good friend also; ladies and gentlemen. Many years have elapsed since the President of Nicaragua has made a state visit to the White House.

It is a great honor for me to be here with you this morning, for it represents the establishment of a new and precious relationship between our two nations. The genuine friendship extended by a noble country such as the United States deserves in turn the friendship of democratic governments that respect the rights of their people. For only in this manner can there exist a sincere relationship between both nations.

As we meet today, Mr. President, it is our responsibility as leaders of two democratic nations to begin fertilizing the seed of a new friendship, a friendship based on our shared belief in democracy and mutual respect.

I would also like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the people and Government of the United States of Amer-

ica for the assistance they have provided to Nicaragua. That assistance was a decisive factor during my first year in office. And now Nicaragua has begun to recover from the years of political instability and continuous conflict.

I must conclude by reiterating my government's firm commitment to the sacred principles of democracy shared by our peoples. This commitment is, and will continue to be, to work towards consolidating peace, strengthening our democratic institutions, respecting human rights, and putting our economy in order.

I shall work toward achieving this goal without wavering, because I have adopted as my own those universal truths which Abraham Lincoln bequeathed to mankind: "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

God bless and protect the peoples and governments of the United States and Nicaragua. Thank you.

Note: President Bush spoke at 10:15 a.m. at the South Portico of the White House, where President Chamorro was accorded a formal welcome with full military honors. President Chamorro spoke in Spanish, and her remarks were translated by an interpreter. Following the ceremony, the two Presidents met in the Oval Office.

Nomination of Gordon R. Sullivan To be Chief of Staff of the United States Army

April 17, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate General Gordon R. Sullivan to be Chief of Staff of the United States Army. He will succeed General Carl E. Vuono, who is retiring.

General Sullivan is currently serving as Vice Chief of Staff of the Army. Previously he was Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans, United States Army/Army senior member, military staff committee, United Nations (1989-1990). He has served in the U.S. Army for over 31 years.

General Sullivan graduated from Norwich University (B.A., history) and the University

of New
He wa
Boston.

**Appoi
Associ
April**

The
pointm
be Assc

Since
ney in
Sidley
in appe
antitrus
Supren
law cl
Burger.
Appeal
as a lav
Starr, 1

Mr. S
nomics
(highes
econon
versity
law de
1985).
Kanab,
childre

**Messa
the Ar
Scienc
April**

To the
I an
report
for Fis
research
the
social,
engine
Achi
here a
strengt
curity,
people

Este. And as a new dawn breaks over the New World, Uruguay and all the hemisphere will continue on our voyage of discovery guided by the true colors of the Americas—the colors of free ideas, free markets, and free trade. And as you travel, we will be watching with great hopes, and we will be standing with you. God speed you on this journey, and God bless the wonderful people of this country.

Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 4:37 p.m. in the Salón de Actos at the Edificio Libertad. In his remarks, he referred to Vice President Gonzalo Aguirre of Uruguay.

Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters in Buenos Aires, Argentina December 5, 1990

President Menem. Ladies and gentlemen, it's a great moment of pride on the part of the President of Argentina to share this press conference with the President of the United States, and my good friend, George Bush. It has been 30 years since a President from the country to the north has come here on a visit, and never has there ever been a circumstance like this. This is the first time that we have ever heard a proposal of the magnitude of the President's Initiative for the Americas. So, in this fiesta of good neighborliness, the President is visiting Latin America.

Things are now very good, and they will get better after this visit which he is making to Brazil, to Uruguay, to Venezuela, and to our Argentina.

Mr. President, thank you so very much for your visit and for your friendship. And I hope that the few hours that you spend here will serve to rest your mind and to prepare you to continue the great work you are doing from the country which is the most powerful in the world to preserve peace in the world.

President Bush. Thank you very much, Mr. President. And let me just make a couple of brief comments before we go to the questions.

Today my esteemed friend the President of Argentina and I talked about the consolidation of democracy, and we talked about the movement toward free and open economies. It is important to point out that under the leadership of President Menem, Argentina has been a leader in all of this—all of this.

Argentina helped lead the way in restoring democracy. And President Menem and the Argentine people proved again this week that they will not permit any group to return Argentina to the days of violence and dictatorship, in a superb show of strength and commitment.

And in these days of free economies, President Menem has taken the lead in privatization and in many other areas.

And lastly, I'm very grateful for Argentina's leadership and support for the world's common purpose in the Persian Gulf. And so, I'm here to salute the President, Argentina's leadership, and move toward solidifying democracy and improving the lot of its people through strengthening their economy; and I'm here with a feeling of great respect for the Argentine people and for the distinguished President, Carlos Menem, my friend.

President Menem. Thank you very much.

President Bush. Now, how are we going to proceed here? Who's in charge of questions? Oh, right over here.

Argentina-U.S. Trade Relations

Q. Taking up the words of President Menem, I would like to ask you, Mr. President, what is the vision of the United States of Argentina? And how does the United States intend to implement its initiative to come to the help of Argentina in these major efforts that it is making?

President Bush. Well, the vision is of a democratic Argentina whose economy is one of the world's leading and most productive economies. That's the vision.

And because your President has taken the lead in matters such as privatization, I am confident that not only will our bilateral relation continue to improve but also it enables us to work very closely with the four countries that have joined together—Paraguay, Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay—

joined together in the Southern Cone to open up markets.

And thirdly, I see Argentina and the United States working closely in multilateral forums. And we've been staunchly together, for example, in trying to have a successful conclusion of the Uruguay round.

And lastly, because of the steps President Menem has courageously taken, I think that will lead to a happy ending, happy solution, to the overall foreign debt problem that Argentina faces. The private banks, seeing these moves towards privatization and open markets, will be much more inclined to work bilaterally with President Menem and Argentina to bring debt relief, needed debt relief, to the Argentine economy.

Farm Subsidies

Q. Mr. President, speaking of the GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] round, Carla Hills [U.S. Trade Representative] today was pessimistic about the outcome, and [Secretary of Agriculture] Clayton Yeutter said the United States may be prepared to propose retaliatory subsidies if it ends in failure. Is that kind of threat, given the impact it would have on Argentina and other Latin American countries, really consistent with the kind of theme of free trade you're trying to promote on this trip?

President Bush. I have not seen these comments. I have full confidence in Carla Hills and Secretary Yeutter. I believe that the United States and Argentina are totally in accord in our approach to the agriculture being included in the GATT round. There cannot be a successful conclusion to the GATT round without agriculture being included. And so, I expect that's what Carla and Clayton Yeutter are saying over there. But if that round fails, we will work bilaterally with the Argentines to see that their trade with us is not set back. But both of us want to see it internationalized through a successful conclusion of the GATT round.

Q. Can I just clarify by asking whether you're saying that any retaliatory subsidies would be targeted at, say, Europe; and in Latin America would be spared?

President Bush. Too hypothetical. We are still working to get a successful conclusion of this round. I'm not in the business of talking retaliation while people are still

meeting and discussing this—trying to get this round worked out satisfactorily.

Argentine Economy

Q. Given the past failures at an attempt at international orders to govern Latin American economy, what practical methods would you think of using with your new initiative to bring practical implementation to the steps you have proposed?

President Bush. Well, I think the practical considerations are already being manifested. I think we can reduce some of the government obligations, for example, and I think we're in the process of doing just exactly that. That's a very important one to start with. I think we can try to be helpful with the private banks, although President Menem knows that this is a decision between the banks and the Argentine Government.

But the benefits that accrue to the Argentine are not benefits laid upon their head by the United States; they are benefits that accrue from the fundamental reforms that this President has put into effect and is continuing to put into effect. I would cite only one: the benefits to the people that have accrued from the privatization that he courageously undertook. So, it isn't that we're bestowing benefits; this is a relationship of mutual respect where we're working towards the same economic objectives.

Resolution of the Persian Gulf Crisis

Q. Mr. President, are there startings of a deal with the Persian Gulf? There are rumors that Saddam Hussein [President of Iraq] is willing to withdraw from Kuwait and let the Amir return if he is given control of the oil field on the border and perhaps given access to the Gulf. Do you know anything about this?

President Bush. No. The answer to your question is no, thank you very much.

U.S. Discussions With Iraq

Q. Do you view these talks with Mr. 'Aziz [Foreign Minister of Iraq] and between [Secretary of State] Baker and Saddam as negotiations in which there will be some give-and-take?

President Bush. I view these talks as confined by—or put it this way, mandated by the United Nations Security Council resolu-

tions, period. That territory. That means respect for people that are held. And that means respect for stability in the Gulf specified in the resolution.

But I don't view anything to do anything short of full implementation of the Security Council resolution about that when President Menem, and I feel now because he is a very important country in this worldwide effort.

U.S. Investment in

Q. Mr. President, the efforts that the United States is making in the economic recovery, what do you ask you what position your government has taken in American capital to under present circumstances?

President Bush. This whole working recovery and revitalization in the United States. [Overseas Private Investment] which guarantees that we are very interested in investors to the Argentine.

We have other groups that are interested in the Gulf. The Ex-Im Bank will be the degree we can lend the agencies to continue with its new approach and free markets, with this.

So, there will be growth which we can further that President Menem's growth that I'm confident will be a benefit of all the people.

U.S. Discussions With the Persian Gulf

Q. Mr. President, President—it is for the first time for President Bush from an official in the Gulf has said that Iraq

s—trying to get actorily.

s at an attempt to govern Latin America with your new implementation method?

think the practicality of being manipulated by some of the examples, and I am of doing just an important one to try to be helpful. Although President Bush has made a decision before the Argentine Gov-

due to the Argentine upon their head are the benefits that the economic reforms that will have an effect and is confident I would cite only those people that have confidence that he cannot do it isn't that we're in a relationship of mutual respect and are working to achieve our objectives.

Gulf Crisis

ere the startings of a Gulf? There are a number of reasons [President Bush] saw from Kuwait that he is given confidence in the border and peaceful. Do you know

answer to your question very much.

talks with Mr. Aziz [Iraqi] and between the United States and Saddam as we will be some

these talks as they are being conducted, mandated by the Security Council resolution

tions, period. That means no concession of territory. That means freedom of innocent people that are held against their will. That means respect for embassies, I might add. And that means the eventual security and stability in the Gulf, although that's not specified in the resolution.

But I don't view these talks as having anything to do about concessions that stop short of full implementation of the U.N. Security Council resolutions. I felt strongly about that when I met with President Menem, and I feel more strongly about it now because he agrees totally with that. And he is a participant and a leader of an important country that is allied with us in this worldwide effort.

U.S. Investment in Argentina

Q. Mr. President, you've just referred to the efforts that the Argentine Government is making in the economic field. I'd like to ask you what possibilities there are that your government will encourage North American capital to invest in our country under present circumstances?

President Bush. That is a strong part of this whole working together for economic recovery and revitalization. We have an organization in the United States called OPIC [Overseas Private Investment Corporation], which guarantees foreign investment. They are very interested in bringing more investors to the Argentine.

We have other government agencies that are interested in furthering investment. The Ex-Im Bank would be one of them. To the degree we can encourage multilateral lending agencies to support the new Argentine with its new approach to privatization and free markets, we would be willing to do this.

So, there will be many bilateral ways in which we can further the economic growth that President Menem envisions and growth that I'm confident will inure to the benefit of all the people in Argentina.

U.S. Discussions With Iraq and Resolution of the Persian Gulf Crisis

Q. Mr. President, we are being—Messrs. President—it is for both of you actually, but first for President Bush—we are hearing from an official in Baghdad, an official who has said that Iraq would not leave Kuwait,

that in these upcoming discussions all issues are on the table—everything, in this official's words. You said yesterday that you didn't detect that Saddam Hussein has yet gotten the message. Are you getting any indication that there is, indeed, some softening of the Iraqi position? Are you prepared to have all issues on the table? Do you feel this is helpful?

President Bush. I'm not optimistic. I see no evidence that Saddam Hussein is ready to comply fully without condition to the U.N. resolutions.

Q. What then, sir, if I may follow, are your expectations for these discussions you are to have, and what do you make of comments like those that we are picking up?

President Bush. Who's your source? Who's saying it? Can you help me? And then I can answer the question better.

Q. I wish I could, sir, but my understanding is that it is a senior Iraqi official.

President Bush. Oh, in the Government. May I start by saying the reason I ask what the source is, is we hear so many rumors about deals. And yet every time an Iraqi official on the record speaks, it is that they will not withdraw from Kuwait. In my view—and I think it's the view of the entire world; I know it's the view of my esteemed friend here—is that they must withdraw without condition. When naked aggression takes place, it's not a question of finding face for the aggressor; when a country is literally raped and pillaged, let the world go out and try to find some reason to save face for the one who has raped and pillaged that country.

So, I hope there proves to be some reason for withdrawal without condition. But in answer to your question, no, I have no feeling whatsoever that Saddam Hussein is willing to do now that which he should have done 5 months ago—4 months ago.

President Menem. We have said before that we wholeheartedly condemn what Iraq has done, to invade and occupy a territory which does not belong to it. We are the only country in Latin America which has sent ships to help enforce the embargo against Iraq. I share everything that has been said here by the President of the United States. An aggressor cannot condition his withdrawal on the satisfaction of his

conditions. The only way is for Iraq to withdraw without any preconditions.

Argentine Support in the Persian Gulf

Q. We have seen, Mr. President, that the American journalists are deeply concerned with things that happen in your country. So are we concerned with things that happen in our country. We sent—

President Bush. I missed who you're with. I missed your identity.

Q. Mendoza from Channel 7. We sent two vessels; we back you up. What does the United States do for Argentina? We sent two vessels to the Gulf. You have tried to explain to a Latin American President your position towards the Gulf. What has the United States done for Argentina? And to say to the President, Is that all right for you?

President Bush. May I answer your question?

Q. Yes.

President Bush. I don't believe Argentina is sending frigates to the Gulf to help the United States. I think they're sending frigates to the Gulf because they believe, as we do, that we must stand up against this brutal aggression.

Q. So, the United States does not feel, Mr. President, personally helped or backed up by Argentina? You think this is democracy all over the world?

President Bush. I think we're in this as the whole world. You've seen that manifested in the United Nations, and you see it manifested in the diversity and number of the force deployed against Saddam Hussein. People aren't doing this for the United States; they're doing it for world order and international law and because they feel as strongly as I do—your President feels as strongly as I do—about brutal aggression of this sort. He's not trying to do us a favor; he's doing what is right, what the United Nations agrees. We both agree that the peacekeeping function of the United Nations has been revitalized and have a real chance now to be more meaningful in the future.

President Menem. Argentina complied in sending those ships with U.N. resolutions adopted by the Security Council. We did it for the sake of peace and out of solidarity

with the country victim of aggression. And this is an attitude we intend to maintain.

We have a friendship with the United States which is really unprecedented. But it was not in that framework that we acted. We do not seek any retribution or any reward. That would be undignified. And if there is anything that the Argentines are known for, it is their sense of dignity. We don't want any help or aid. We want to work with the United States and other countries to preserve peace, which is tantamount to saying to preserve life. We do not seek any counterpart or anything in return. And in fact, were it offered, we would not accept it.

The United States President would be glad to stay here with you all afternoon. So would I. But the Congress is waiting for him, so please respect his schedule.

Thank you.

Note: The session began at 3 p.m. in the Sala de Conferencia at Casa de Rosata.

Remarks at the Arrival Ceremony in Santiago, Chile

December 6, 1990

President Aylwin and members of the Chilean Government, I am deeply honored to bring to all the people of Chile the greetings of the American people.

These past few days, from Brasilia to Montevideo to Buenos Aires, I have witnessed firsthand the irresistible power of the democratic ideal around the world, across the Americas. A democratic renaissance is underway. Along with the return to free government is a parallel movement toward free markets. Here in our hemisphere, democracy's made great gains.

At long last we're moving closer to the common destiny that once moved Chile's great champion of freedom, Bernardo O'Higgins, to write: "The Americas are giving great hope to philosophers and patriots alike." Chile's peaceful return to the ranks of the world's democracies is cause for pride and celebration, and Chile's record of economic accomplishment is a lesson for Latin America in the power of

the free market. Nations of this continent market reform gone right here in Chile.

In just a few minutes Aylwin and I will hold private discussions open and honest discussions months ago at the White House, a few hours from now, to address the Chile gathering in special Valparaiso. And tomorrow morning members of the community.

As you say here, they are built; and so, too, lasting friendship built on contact between the nations. America and Chile's destiny based on common sense say to President Aylwin of Chile, it is in the ideals that I come to you.

Thank you for this. May God bless the people.

Note: The President spoke on the tarmac at Arturo Merino Benavente Airport. A tape was not made of the content of the speech.

Question-and-Answer Session with Reporters in Santiago, Chile

December 6, 1990

Chilean Political Transition

Q. President Bush, your opinion of the Chile and on the transition of the Forces of Chile during this transition. We would like to hear your opinion.

President Bush. Well, there is great enthusiasm in the United States for this transition of Chile's democracy. I am an expert on how the transition to a controlled government from the United States projecting a commitment to a country that is committed to elected President. A



VOLUME 2

Ankara to Azusa

T H E E N C Y C L O P E D I A
AMERICANA
I N T E R N A T I O N A L E D I T I O N

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES
FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829



GROLIER INCORPORATED

International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06810

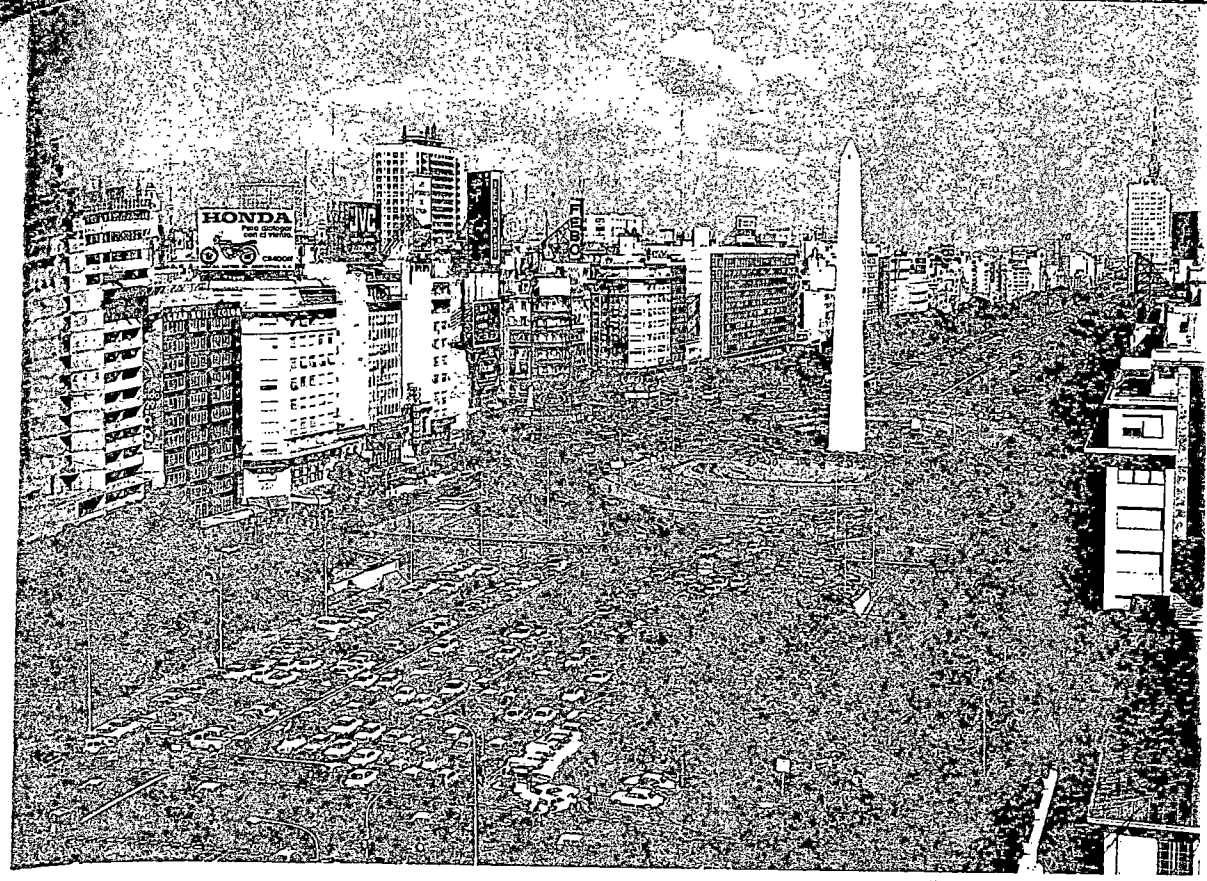
RENÉ DE VOYER, MARQUIS D'ARGENSON (1722-1787), was the son of Marc Pierre. He was born in Valenciennes on Sept. 19, 1771. He was known as the marquis de Paulmy because of his participation in the Seven Years' War (1757-1763) after the death of his uncle, Marc Pierre. He then served as ambassador to Switzerland, Poland, and Prussia. He was a member of the Académie Française, he published his father's writings and collected a large library of over 10,000 volumes. His private library of over 10,000 volumes later formed the nucleus of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. He died in Paris on Sept. 19, 1787.

DE VOYER, MARQUIS D'ARGENSON was the grandson of Marc Pierre. He was born in Valenciennes on Sept. 19, 1771. He was known as the marquis de Lafayette because of his participation in the Seven Years' War (1757-1763) after the death of his uncle, Marc Pierre. He then served as ambassador to Switzerland, Poland, and Prussia. He was a member of the Académie Française, he published his father's writings and collected a large library of over 10,000 volumes. His private library of over 10,000 volumes later formed the nucleus of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. He died in Paris on Sept. 19, 1787.

hän-tän', is a town in France, in the department of Orne, on the Orne River, 23 miles west of Alençon. The town produces leather goods, and is a center for horses and poultry. The ancient château, now used as a prison. There are also two inns, St. Germain (15th-17th century), and St. Martin (early 16th century). Population: 16,063.

zhän-tú'yä, is a city in France, in the department of Paris, on the right bank of the Seine. It is an important metallurgical center for tractors, rolling stock, automobiles, electrical equipment. It also has pharmaceutical plants, and chemical plants. The city has vineyards. It developed around a 7th century abbey, the retreat of Peter Abelard, who was its abbot until 1229, when it was turned into a monastery. The building was destroyed during the French Revolution. It is said to be the Seamless Tunic given to Charlemagne, is a church in the city. Population: 16,063.

(1890?-1936), **är-jän-tě'nä**, she was born Antonia Mercé in Argentina. After extensive training in ballet, she devoted herself to achieving international reputation as a dancing artist and choreographer. She is credited with her original interlocking of Falla's *El amor brujo*, and popularized the music of many composers, including Isaac Albéniz and Manuel de Falla. She died near Bayonne, France, in 1936.



At the center of Buenos Aires an obelisk commemorates the Argentine capital's 400th anniversary.

ARGENTINA

CONTENTS			
Section	Page	Section	Page
1. The Land	256	4. Government and Politics	261
2. The People	258	5. The Economy	263
3. Education and Cultural Life	260a	6. History	267

ARGENTINA, är-jen-tě'nä, the second-largest country of South America in size and population, after Brazil. It occupies most of the tapering southern part of the continent between the Andes Mountains and the Atlantic Ocean. Argentina borders on five South American countries: Chile to the west, Bolivia and Paraguay to the north, and Brazil and Uruguay to the northeast.

Except for its northernmost fringe, which lies in the tropics, all of Argentina is in the Southern Hemisphere's temperate zone, which includes the world's most economically advanced regions south of the equator. Argentina shares with Australia the major land portion of this zone and like Australia is far removed from the world's centers of population and economic activity. Seven thousand miles (more than 11,000 km) of ocean separate its seaports from New York or the English Channel, and even the air age has not completely removed this handicap of distance.

Both Argentina and its major river estuary, the Río de la Plata, were named for silver (Latin, *argentum*; Spanish, *plata*). The area rapidly deceived the dreams of the 16th century Spanish conquistadores, but today Argentina's 30 million

inhabitants make up the most urbanized, well-fed, and literate nation in Latin America.

More than 80% of the people live in towns and cities, and more than 40% of the urban dwellers cluster in Greater Buenos Aires, one of the world's largest metropolitan areas, with a population of about 10 million. The products of the land constitute most of Argentina's exports, and the majority of Argentines live and eat as becomes citizens of a leading producer of beef, mutton, hides, wool, wheat, and corn (maize). The impulse provided by Domingo F. Sarmiento, the country's 19th century president-educator, has been transmitted to present generations in a national literacy rate of 93% and close intellectual

INFORMATION HIGHLIGHTS

Official Name: Argentine Republic (República Argentina).

Name of Nationals: Argentines.

Head of State and Government: President.

Legislature: National Congress—upper chamber, Senate; lower chamber, Chamber of Deputies.

Area: 1,068,301 square miles (2,766,889 sq km), excluding Falkland (Malvinas) Islands and part of Antarctica claimed by Argentina.

Boundaries: North, Bolivia and Paraguay; east, Brazil, Uruguay, and Atlantic Ocean; south, Atlantic Ocean and Chile; west, Chile.

Elevations: Highest—Mt. Aconcagua (22,831 feet, or 6,959 meters); lowest—sea level.

Population: (1980 census) 27,862,771; (1983 est.) 29,627,000.

Capital and Largest City: Buenos Aires.

Major Language: Spanish.

Major Religious Group: Roman Catholics.

Monetary Unit: Argentine peso (= 100 centavos).

Flag: Three horizontal bands, the middle band white with a gold sun at its center, the top and bottom bands light blue. See also FLAG.



© GEORG GERSTER/PHOTO RESEARCHERS

The Argentine Pampa, a vast plain, is one of the world's most productive farming regions.

ties to Europe. The heritage of an Indian or *mestizo* (of mixed race) past survives near the frontiers with Bolivia, Chile, and Paraguay, but the overwhelming influx of European (largely Italian and Spanish) immigration has produced a homogeneous people, both racially and culturally.

Despite these advantages, Argentina still is painfully readjusting to the contemporary world, in which its prosperity and even its stability have been seriously compromised. The collapse in the 1930's of a commercial system that exchanged agricultural raw materials for European manufactures on favorable terms forced rapid and often unbalanced expansion of the industrial sector and gave rise to continuing conflict with agricultural interests. The political emergence of the urban middle classes at the beginning of the 20th century provided a facade of democracy behind which the enormous divisions between city and countryside, coast and interior, and white-collar and laboring groups were merely forgotten and not resolved. The personalistic appeal of President Juan D. Perón in the 1940's and 1950's shattered this facade, but left in its stead only vague appeals to the worker and serious tensions between labor unions and military factions. The human resources of Argentina, however, combined with the agricultural wealth of the Pampa (plain), and the petroleum and natural gas along the Patagonian coast and the Andes, hold forth the promise that eventually the full potential of the "land of silver" will be realized.

JAMES R. SCOBIE, Author of
"Argentina: A City and a Nation"

1. The Land

While Argentina is one of the less favored countries in resources of mechanical energy, which are the controlling factor in economic development, its endowment in land is so favorable that (1) it has enabled the country to develop a per capita output of goods and services that is second in Latin America only to that of oil-rich

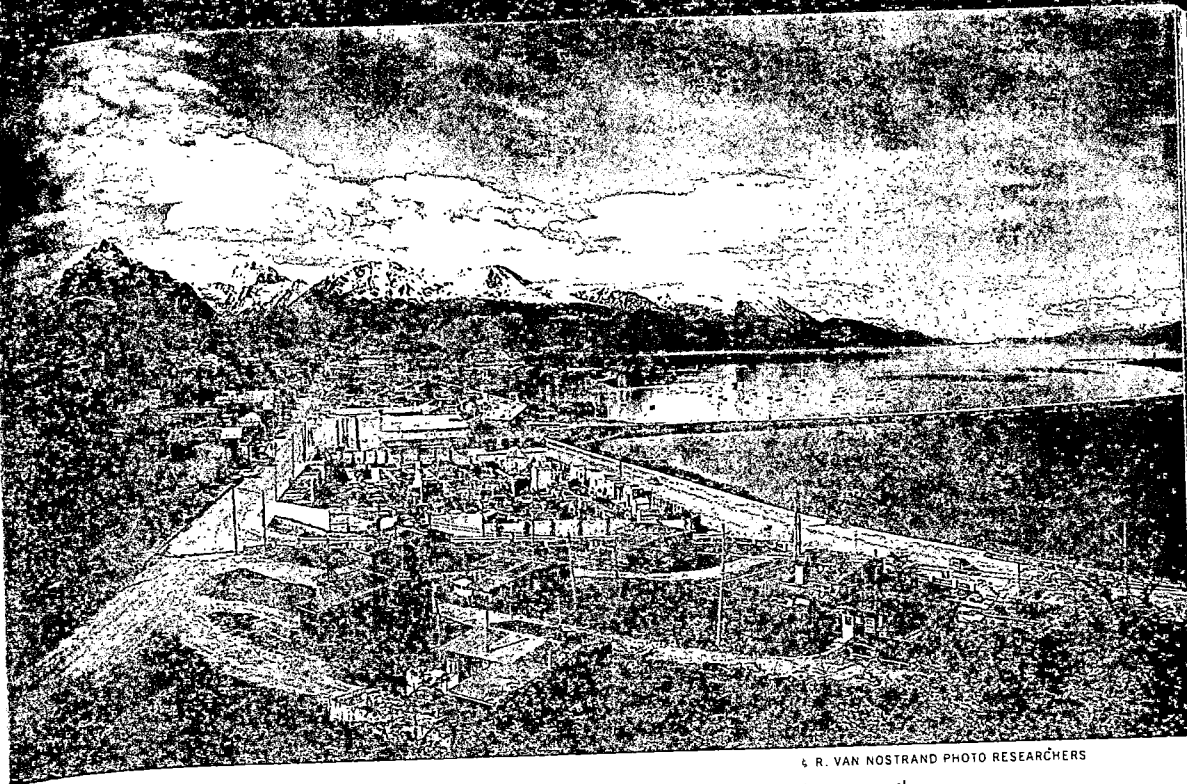
Venezuela; and (2) it has made its people not only the best fed in Latin America but among the best fed in the world. Moreover, the remaining output has provided enough exports to finance the industrialization that characterizes modern Argentina.

Physical Characteristics. Argentina's area of 1,068,301 square miles (2,766,889 sq km) is about one third that of the United States. Although Argentina is much narrower than the United States—hardly 900 miles (1,450 km) from east to west at its widest point—it extends much farther from north to south. If placed in the corresponding latitudes of North America (22 to 55 degrees), Argentina would stretch from Cuba to Hudson Bay, a distance of approximately 2,300 miles (3,700 km).

Thus Argentina has a range of climates that support a broad diversity of vegetation, tropical as well as temperate. But the extreme temperatures that characterize comparable latitudes in North America are mitigated in Argentina by the oceanic influences affecting much of the country because of its situation on the relatively narrow landmass of southern South America. Almost all of Argentina is in the temperate zone, with climate ranging from subtropical in the extreme north to subantarctic in southern Patagonia.

Vegetation. The variety of vegetation types in Argentina is striking. In the south the Patagonian-Fuegian Steppe is characterized by a temperate or cold climate, windy and very dry. There are few trees, and the vegetation is dominated by very low plants bearing a cluster of leaves that grow in a dense cushionlike tuft. The interior parts of central and northern Argentina are deserts with scrub vegetation. This area, known as the Monte, has a climate as dry as that of the Patagonian-Fuegian Steppe but is warmer and essentially without a winter season. Its vegetation is highly drought-resistant and consists partly of low trees. The scrub resembles that of northern Mexico and adjoining states

of the
northern
forests
salt-impr
eas. F
interme
often st
are dec
In s
economi
most ex
coverin
From i
a great
ture h
"the s
much
the we
larly si
with a
readily
lization
was ac
ditions
ning h
gradie
Nat
Nation
missio
economi
"natur
mid, a
Th
The a
potam
and Pa
and F
Fe, so
most
age an
mm).
treme
amou



© R. VAN NOSTRAND PHOTO RESEARCHERS

The capital of Tierra del Fuego, Ushuaia lies farther south than any city on earth.

of the United States. In the Chaco region of northern Argentina the vegetation is a mixture of forests and savannas. The trees often grow in salt-impregnated soils, marshes, or swampy areas. In the southern Andes region are high intermountain valleys with dry grasslands and often subdesert shrubs and trees, many of which are deciduous.

In sharp contrast with such areas of limited economic efficiency is the vast Pampa region, the most extensive level grassland in South America, covering roughly one quarter of the nation. From its economic potential has been fashioned a great nation. The U.S. Department of Agriculture has commented without exaggeration that "the soil of the Argentine pampas can take as much punishment as can perhaps any other in the world." The extent of this region is particularly significant because, in South America, land with a slope of less than 8% that lends itself readily to cultivation is extremely scarce. Mobilization of the productive capacity of this area was accelerated by the extremely favorable conditions for railroad construction. Rail lines running hundreds of miles with hardly a curve or gradient testify to this fact.

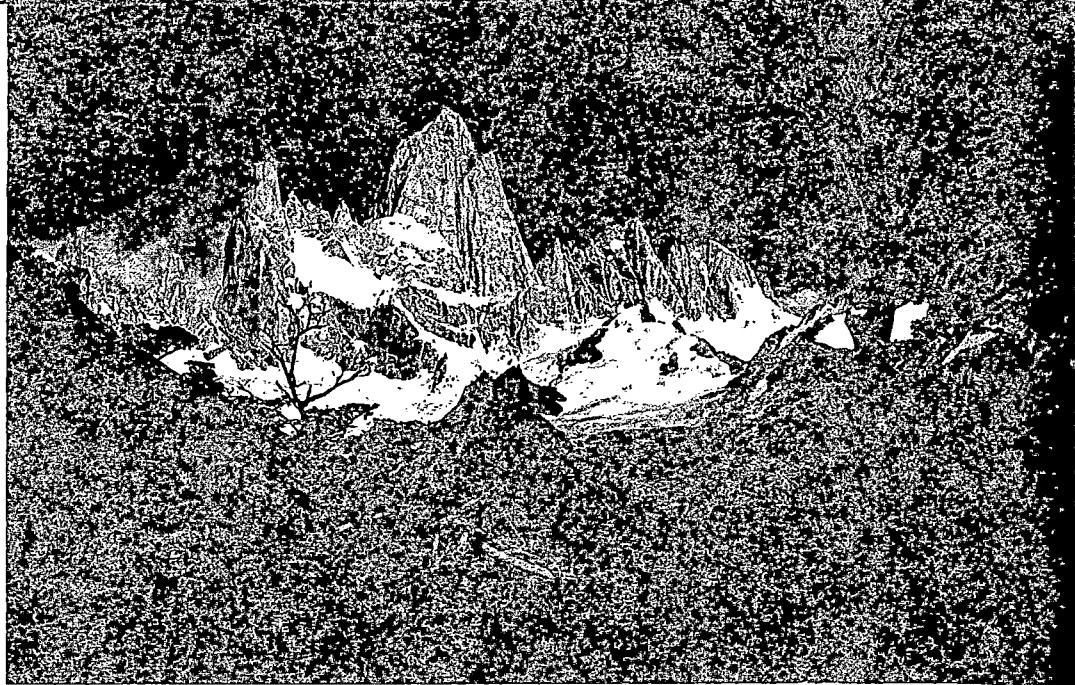
Natural Regions. The Joint Argentine-United Nations Soil Utilization and Conservation Commission, seeking a classification for purposes of economic development analysis, identifies three "natural" regions of Argentina: humid, semihumid, and arid.

The humid region consists of three zones. (1) The area in the east covers the Argentine Mesopotamia (the provinces between the Uruguay and Paraná rivers), the eastern sections of Chaco and Formosa provinces, the greater part of Santa Fe, some of the eastern districts of Córdoba, and most of Buenos Aires. This region has an average annual precipitation of at least 28 inches (700 mm). The highest precipitation is in the extreme north of Misiones province, where it amounts to about 80 inches (2,000 mm) yearly.

Spectacular Iguazú Falls are shared by Argentina and Brazil. The falls have few rivals for sheer grandeur.

© LEE MUN KING PHOTO RESEARCHERS





The jagged mass of Cerro Fitzroy overlooks Los Glaciares (Glaciers) National Park in the Patagonian Andes.

© FRANCOIS GOHIER/PHOTO RESEARCHERS

(2) The Tucumán-Salta zone extends about 435 miles (700 km) southward into Argentina from Tarija, in Bolivia. It varies greatly in width from a few miles to more than 60 miles (100 km), and it includes the ravines and eastern foothills of the mountains of Salta, Jujuy, Tucumán, and northeastern Catamarca. Precipitation ranges between 32 inches and 60 inches (800–1,500 mm) annually with summer and autumn rainy seasons and dry winters. (3) The Andean-Patagonian humid zone, with an average annual precipitation of at least 20 inches (500 mm), includes the rim of the Andes from northern Neuquén to Tierra del Fuego. Precipitation reaches 120 inches (3,000 mm) in the areas of heaviest rainfall.

The semihumid region extends in the form of an arc from the Paraguayan border through eight provinces—Formosa, Chaco, Santiago del Estero, Santa Fe, Córdoba, San Luis, La Pampa, and Buenos Aires—to the Atlantic at Bahía Blanca. The average annual precipitation varies between 24 and 32 inches (600–800 mm).

The remainder of the country consists largely of arid or semiarid regions with an average annual rainfall of 4 to 24 inches (100–600 mm).

Economic Regions. A more common classification by Argentine geographers follows distinctions long reflected in the economic activity of the respective areas.

The Pampa produces about two thirds of the nation's agricultural and pastoral output on its rich soil, providing 85% of agricultural and pastoral exports and in a typical year accounting for 90% of the cereal output and 75% of the pastoral output. Here, in an area reaching from 30° to 40° south latitude, average annual rainfall ranges from 20 inches (500 mm) in the west to 40 inches (1,000 mm) in the east. The winters are mild.

The Andean region extends from the dry north to the heavily glaciated and ice-covered mountains of Patagonia and includes the very dry mountain and desert areas west of Córdoba and south of Tucumán. It embraces the provinces of Catamarca, La Rioja, San Juan, and Mendoza as well as a portion of Salta. From its irrigated val-

leys on the eastern slopes and foothills of the Andes, north of 40° latitude, come important quantities of fruit for export. The Andean region includes the nation's chief wine-producing area, in Mendoza province.

Patagonia is a region of windswept arid plateaus, encompassing the provinces of Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut, and Santa Cruz and the territory of Tierra del Fuego. Except for some irrigated valleys, this is poor, scattered pastureland. In its far south, the weather is continuously cool and stormy, and there is no summer, although temperatures are not severe.

The north consists of three areas. (1) The alluvial plain of the Chaco is rich in forest products, but its potential is limited in some sections by swamps and in others by periodic droughts. It has a tropical scrub vegetation and a subtropical climate with dry winters and very humid summers. Rainfall decreases from 60 inches (1,500 mm) in the northeast to 20 inches (500 mm) in the west, and temperatures reach 120°F (49°C). (2) Entre Ríos and Corrientes provinces, occupying most of Argentine Mesopotamia, consist of rolling grassy plains and extensive swamps along the many rivers. The climate is warm, with no dry season. Most of the region is cattle and horse country, but in southern Entre Ríos sheep raising and the cultivation of flax and wheat are important. (3) Misiones province, in northeastern Mesopotamia, is an area of heavy rains, thick forests, and many waterfalls, including the spectacular Iguazú Falls on the Brazilian border. Misiones is noted for its production of *yerba maté*, a popular bracing beverage made from the leaves of a holly (*Ilex paraguayensis*).

SIMON G. HANSON

"Inter American Economic Affairs"

2. The People

During the 20th century, Argentina became one of the most highly urbanized countries in Latin America. It also became perhaps the most European nation of the Western Hemisphere, in the ancestry of its population.

The Transformation
colonial period the
small cities and tow
The people in these
Ego del Estero, Ju
Spanish origin, alth
an intermixture. A
merchants. Each
on its immediate ag
largely self-sufficie
factured items it ne
In contrast was
bank of the Río de
ception, the port
eastward, toward th
ulation even in t
cosmopolitan than
Smugglers, pirates,
merchants from var
icant role in its lit
was essentially a
entry port for good
abroad the few Ar

The contrast—
Buenos Aires and t
characteristic of Ar
mid-19th century
though a provinci
zation and barba
hooking port in the
1940's. elements
detected in Juan
negras (literally, "b
ple of the interior
ancestry.

The third pop
gentina consisted
heartland of the c
up of two group

A vaquero.



The Transformation of the Argentine People. In the colonial period the Argentine interior had a few small cities and towns, principally in the north. The people in these communities—such as Santiago del Estero, Jujuy, and Córdoba—were of Spanish origin, although not without some Indian intermixture. Most of them were artisans or merchants. Each urban center was dependent on its immediate agricultural hinterland and was largely self-sufficient in food and the few manufactured items it needed.

In contrast was Buenos Aires, on the south bank of the Río de la Plata estuary. From its inception, the port city of Buenos Aires looked outward, toward the ocean and beyond. Its population even in the colonial days was more cosmopolitan than that of the interior cities. Seafarers, pirates, slave traders, and legitimate merchants from various countries played a significant role in its life and growth. Buenos Aires was essentially a trading center, acting as an entry port for goods from Europe and funneling abroad the few Argentine exports of that time.

The contrast—and often conflict—between Buenos Aires and the interior was a long-standing characteristic of Argentina and its people. In the mid-19th century, Domingo F. Sarmiento, although a provincial himself, wrote about “civilization and barbarism,” meaning the outward-looking port in the first case and the presumably savage interior in the second. As late as the 1940’s, elements of this same conflict could be detected in Juan Perón’s appeal to the *cabezas negras* (literally, “black heads”), who are the people of the interior with less than pure European ancestry.

The third population element in colonial Argentina consisted of the residents of the great heartland of the country, the Pampa. It was made up of two groups: the *gauchos* and the Indians.

They were in perpetual conflict until both were obliterated by the wave of immigration that began in the last third of the 19th century.

The gaucho was almost inseparable from his horse. He roamed the Pampa roping cattle for the sustenance of himself and his family, as well as for whatever hides or dried beef he might be able to prepare and sell. He continually fought the Indians for control of the great plains. Later generations romanticized the gaucho, with his distinctive garb, his abilities as a horseman, and his pugnacity. He was usually a *mestizo*, a person of mixed European and Indian ancestry.

The Indians fought a losing battle in Argentina. It is thought that many of the Pampa Indians of the colonial period were Araucanians, relatively late arrivals from what is now Chile. They were famous as warriors and had conquered the earlier Indian occupants of the area.

The Settlement of the Pampa. As early as the regime of Juan Manuel de Rosas (1829–1852), the government of Buenos Aires province began the process that was to destroy both the Indians and the gauchos. This was the “conquest of the desert.” By the 1880’s all of the Pampa, as well as Patagonia to the south, had come under the control of the national government of Argentina.

The “conquest of the desert” paved the way for the next stage in the transformation of the Argentine people. The final result of this protracted conflict was the division of most of the Pampa region into large estates. The invention of barbed wire and of refrigerated ships made it possible for these estates to breed cattle on a large scale for export as beef. The fenced-in ranges left little room for either the gaucho or the Indian. Nor did the cultivation of grain, which was introduced in other areas of the Pampa about that time. A labor force was needed to herd the cattle and cultivate the grainfields. At least

A vaquero, or Argentine cattle herder, demonstrates his equestrian skills at a rodeo on the Pampa.

© DANIELE PELLEGRINI PHOTO RESEARCHERS



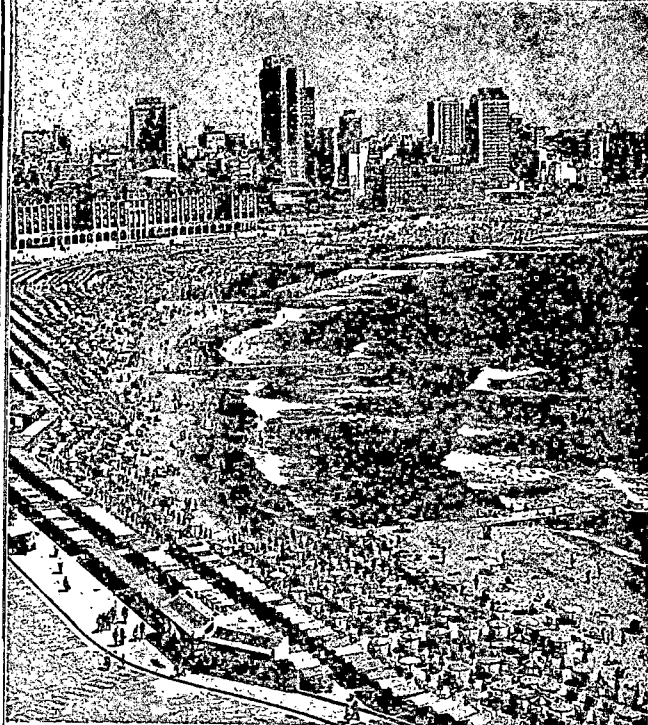
RESEARCHERS
Andes.

Is of the
important
an region
ing area.

arid pla-
Neuquén,
d the ter-
some irri-
tureland.
usly cool
although

(1) The
rest prod-
e sections
droughts,
subtropi-
ry humid
0 inches
ches (500
ch 120°F
rovinces,
ania, con-
extensive
climate is
region is
ern Entre
of flax and
vince, in
of heavy
s, includ-
Brazilian
luction of
age made
(ayensis).
HANSON
c Affairs”

a became
untries in
s the most
sphere, in



Mar del Plata, Argentina's most popular seaside resort, becomes the nation's second-largest city in summertime.

some gauchos became *vaqueros*, or cattle herders, but their numbers were by no means sufficient for this purpose. They were not in the least interested in becoming wheat-farm laborers.

Immigration. Thus began the epic of the *golondrinas* ("swallows"), the immigrants from Spain, Italy, and elsewhere who "flew" back and forth between their native lands and Argentina. Because of the opposite seasons in the Northern and Southern hemispheres, they were able to take part in the harvests of both. As their numbers increased, the percentage of those deciding to stay in Argentina all year also increased.

However, in contrast to the situation of Europeans who streamed into the United States after the Civil War to settle the Great Plains, there was no homesteading in Argentina. When the European immigrants arrived, the land of the Pampa was already divided among the large estate holders. The migrants thus were welcome as workers but not as owners of family farms.

This fact helps to explain the rapid rise of the city of Buenos Aires. A large proportion of the European immigrants settled in the capital city. There they established artisan shops, services, and businesses. At the same time, the increased activity of Buenos Aires as a port city, as a railroad hub, as a banking center, as the focus of a growing literary and artistic life, and as the seat of an expanding government created "room" for many more hundreds of thousands of immigrants. By 1914, 53% of the country's population was urban and 30% was foreign-born.

The immigrants came from many countries, the great majority from Spain and Italy but appreciable numbers from Germany and eastern Europe. Argentina came to have the largest Jewish population in Latin America. There was even a small but important number of British settlers, some of whom established themselves as sheep farmers in Patagonia. Others became in-

involved in urban activities in or around Buenos Aires. Unlike most other immigrant groups, the British remained bilingual and very "British" for several generations.

Most European immigration took place between 1880 and 1930, with some renewal just after World War II. However, after 1930, more significant in its effect on Argentine demography was migration from the interior to Buenos Aires and immigration from neighboring countries. The people from such countries as Paraguay and Bolivia differed markedly from their predecessors. They were, to a large degree, *mestizos*. Some spoke Indian languages—Quechua, Aymará, or Guaraní—and mixed a good deal of indigenous paganism with their Roman Catholic religious beliefs. These were the people to whom Juan Perón's populist appeal was particularly attractive.

Another important factor molding the Argentine nation of the late 20th century was the country's public school system. Most of the children of migrants or immigrants went to school, and there they learned to be Argentines. To a large degree, the schools homogenized the second generation of people of diverse origins and backgrounds.

National Traits. The cultural traits of the Argentines are observable in their language, religious inclinations, and intense nationalism, and in the layout and appearance of the cities of the littoral. Their ways of living and their expectations and aspirations have been largely molded by their American, or more specifically, Argentine environment.

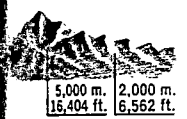
Virtually all Argentines speak Spanish. However, it is a distinctive kind of Spanish, much influenced by Italian, both in pronunciation and vocabulary. These peculiarities are particularly noticeable in Buenos Aires and the Pampa region. They are attenuated in the northerly parts of the country, where a more typically "Latin American" version of Spanish has greater prevalence.

Most Argentines are at least nominal Roman Catholics, and the constitution still requires that the president be of that faith. However, anticlericalism was a strong element in Argentine political thinking even before the beginning of mass European immigration: the public school system was laicized as early as 1884. Many of the Italian and Spanish immigrants brought their own anticlerical feelings from their lands of origin. In the late 20th century the number of devout Catholics, therefore, remains relatively small and the church has little influence over a substantial part of the population.

The Argentine church remains relatively conservative. Although some priests and laymen have been influenced by Social Christian and even Liberation Theology ideas, the hierarchy has been slow to adapt to the currents loosed by Pope John and the Second Vatican Council.

Argentina has several religious minorities. Some immigrant groups, such as the Germans and British, brought Protestantism with them, and their churches exist in Argentina today. Substantial numbers of Jews came in the late 19th and early 20th century, and they remain a small but active religious minority.

Generally, the Argentines are relaxed in matters of religion. Militant Catholics and Pentecostals are small minorities. An anti-Semitic element is lodged in the body politic, but its



PROVINCE

Buenos Aires	10,75
Catamarca	206,204
Chaco	692,410
Chubut	262,196
Córdoba	2,407,135
Corrientes	657,716
Distrito Federal	2,9
Entre Ríos	902,241
Formosa	292,479
Jujuy	408,514
La Pampa	207,132
La Rioja	163,342
Mendoza	1,187,301
Misiones	579,579
Neuquén	241,904
Río Negro	383,896
Salta	662,369
San Juan	469,973
San Luis	212,837
Santa Cruz	114,475
Santa Fe	2,457,188
Santiago del Estero	652,318
Tierra del Fuego, A e Islas del Atlántico	29,451
Tucumán	968,066

around Buenos Aires, the primary "British" focus.

took place before the renewal just after 1930, more of the demographic change in Buenos Aires and other Argentine cities. The Argentine people, particularly at

the beginning of the century was the country of the children, to school, and to work. To a large extent the second generation and back

traits of the Argentine language, religion, and nationalism, and the cities of the country. Their expectations, largely molded specifically, Argentine

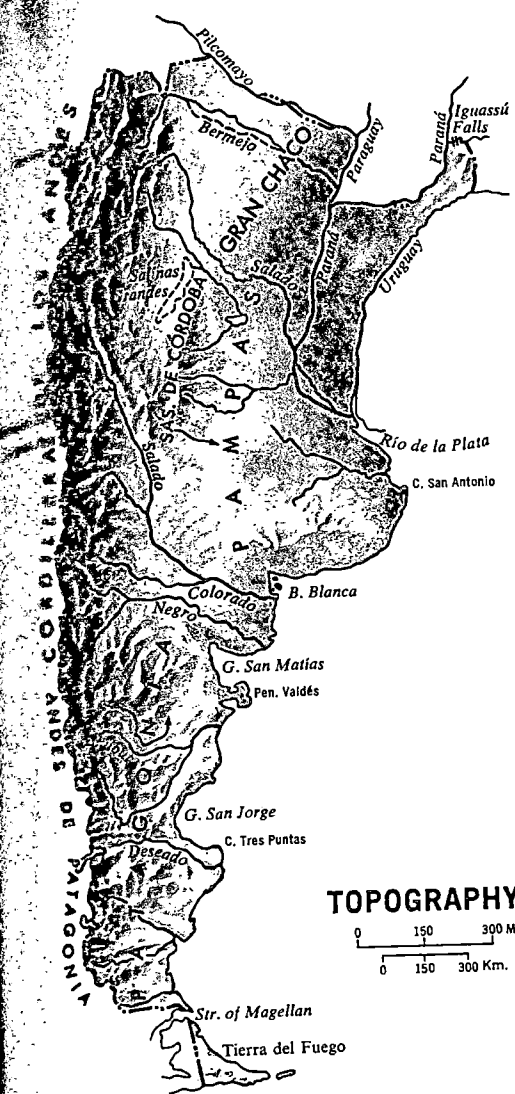
who speak Spanish and a kind of Spanish with peculiarities are found in the north, a more typically Argentine

nominal Roman Catholicism requires that. However, anti-Semitism in Argentina began at the beginning of the public school system in 1884. Many of its members brought their own lands of origin, the number of which remains relatively small, influence over a

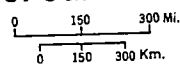
city. It is relatively conservative and laymen Christian and the hierarchy rents loosed by an Council. Various minorities, as the Germans with them, Argentina today, came in the late and they remain a city.

is relaxed in matrics and Pentecost. An anti-Semitic political, but its

ARGENTINA



TOPOGRAPHY



5,000 m.	2,000 m.	1,000 m.	500 m.	200 m.	100 m.	Sea Level Below
16,404 ft.	6,562 ft.	3,281 ft.	1,640 ft.	656 ft.	328 ft.	

PROVINCES	CITIES and TOWNS
Buenos Aires 10,796,036 ... D 4	Abra Pampa 2,929 ... C 1
Catamarca 206,204 ... C 2	Acevedo 1,391 ... F 6
Chaco 692,410 ... D 2	Acuña ... G 5
Chubut 262,196 ... C 5	Aguaray 4,802 ... D 1
Córdoba 2,407,135 ... D 3	Aguilares 20,286 ... C 2
Corrientes 657,716 ... E 2	Aimogasta 4,640 ... C 2
Distrito Federal 2,908,001 ... H 7	Alberdi 6,440 ... G 7
Entre Ríos 902,241 ... E 3	Alcaraz 1,465 ... G 5
Formosa 292,479 ... D 1	Alcorta 5,818 ... F 6
Jujuy 408,514 ... C 1	Alejandra 1,591 ... F 5
La Pampa 207,132 ... C 4	Algarrobo del Águila ... C 4
La Rioja 163,342 ... C 2	Allen 14,041 ... C 4
Mendoza 1,187,305 ... C 4	Alpachiri 1,657 ... D 4
Misiones 579,579 ... F 2	Alta Gracia 30,628 ... D 3
Neuquén 241,904 ... C 4	Alumine 1,560 ... B 4
Río Negro 383,896 ... C 5	Alvear 5,419 ... E 2
Salta 662,369 ... D 1	Almeghino 2,775 ... D 3
San Juan 469,973 ... C 3	Añatuya 15,025 ... D 2
San Luis 212,837 ... C 3	Andacollo ... B 4
Santa Cruz 114,479 ... C 6	Andalgala 6,853 ... C 2
Santa Fe 2,457,188 ... D 3	Angélica ... E 5
Santiago del Estero ... D 2	Anguil 1,067 ... D 4
552,318 ... D 2	Apóstoles 11,252 ... E 2
Tierra del Fuego, Antártida, ... F 7	Arrecifes 17,719 ... F 7
e Islas del Atlántico Sur ... C 7	Arribeños 2,586 ... F 7
29,451 ... C 7	Arroyo Seco 12,886 ... F 6
Tucumán 968,066 ... C 2	

Ascensión 3,031 ... F 7	Corrientes 179,590 ... E 2
Avellaneda 330,654 ... G 7	Cosquín 13,929 ... D 3
Ayacucho 12,363 ... E 4	Crespo 10,668 ... F 6
Azul 43,582 ... E 4	Cruz del Eje 23,473 ... C 3
Bahía Blanca 220,765 ... D 4	Cuadro Nacional 1,817 ... C 3
Baigorrita 1,489 ... F 7	Curuzú Cuatiá 24,955 ... G 5
Balcarce 28,985 ... E 4	Cutral-Có 25,870 ... C 4
Bañera 4,531 ... D 3	Daireaux 8,150 ... D 4
Bandera 1,803 ... D 2	Deán Funes 16,306 ... D 3
Baradero 20,103 ... G 6	Diamante 13,464 ... F 6
Barrancas 3,602 ... F 6	Díaz 1,374 ... F 6
Barreal 2,739 ... C 3	Doblas 1,435 ... D 4
Basavilbaso 7,657 ... G 6	Dolavón 1,778 ... C 5
Belén 7,411 ... C 2	Dolores 19,307 ... E 4
Bella Vista, Corrientes ... E 2	Dudignac 2,024 ... F 7
14,229 ... E 2	Eduardo Castex 5,397 ... D 4
Bella Vista, Tucumán 9,177 ... D 2	El Bolsón 5,001 ... B 5
Bell Ville 26,559 ... D 3	Eldorado 22,821 ... F 2
Benito Juárez 11,798 ... E 4	El Maitén 2,350 ... B 5
Bernardo de Irigoyen 1,305 ... F 2	Elortondo 4,939 ... F 6
Bernasconi 1,710 ... D 4	El Piquete 1,119 ... D 1
Bolívar 16,382 ... D 4	El Quebrachal 2,202 ... D 2
Bovril 4,735 ... G 5	Embarcación 9,016 ... D 1
Bragado 27,101 ... F 7	Empedrado 4,732 ... E 2
Brandsen 10,484 ... H 7	Escobar 70,829 ... G 7
Buena Esperanza 1,529 ... C 3	Esperanza 22,838 ... F 5
Buenos Aires (cap.) ... H 7	Espiniillo 2,085 ... E 2
2,908,001 ... H 7	Esquel 17,228 ... B 5
Buenos Aires *9,927,404 ... H 7	Esquina 10,380 ... G 5
Buta-Ranquil ... C 4	Famatina 1,237 ... C 2
Cabo Virgenes ... C 7	Federación 7,259 ... G 5
Cachi 1,136 ... C 2	Federal 9,222 ... G 5
Caafayate 5,048 ... C 2	Felipe Yofré 1,140 ... G 4
Caiafate ... B 7	Fernández 6,062 ... D 2
Calchaquí 5,958 ... F 5	Fiambalá 1,201 ... C 2
Caleta Olivia 20,141 ... C 4	Firmosa 13,588 ... E 2
Caleufú 1,571 ... C 5	Frias 20,901 ... D 2
Camarones ... G 6	Gaimán 2,651 ... C 5
Campaña 51,498 ... F 6	Gálvez 14,711 ... F 6
Cañada de Gómez 24,706 ... F 3	Gastre ... C 5
Canals 6,627 ... D 3	General Acha 7,647 ... C 4
Cañuelas 14,831 ... G 7	General Alvear, Buenos Aires 5,481 ... F 7
Captain Bermúdez ... F 6	General Alvear, Mendoza 21,250 ... C 3
Carabelas 1,035 ... F 6	General Arenales 3,332 ... F 7
Carcarán 11,121 ... F 6	General Belgrano 10,909 ... G 7
Carhué 7,707 ... D 4	General Campos 1,877 ... G 5
Carlos Casares 13,286 ... F 7	General Conesa 3,566 ... C 5
Carlos Tejedor 4,421 ... D 4	General Galarza 3,057 ... C 6
Carmen de Areco 7,882 ... F 7	General Güemes 15,534 ... D 1
Carmen de Patagones 13,981 ... D 5	General José de San Martín 16,296 ... E 2
Carmensa 1,146 ... C 4	General Juan Madariaga 13,409 ... E 4
Castilla 23,492 ... F 6	General La Madrid 5,154 ... D 4
Castelli, Buenos Aires 4,507 ... H 7	General Las Heras 6,005 ... G 7
Castelli, Chaco ... D 2	General Lavalle 1,231 ... E 4
Catamarca 88,432 ... C 2	General O'Brien 1,993 ... H 7
Catrillo 2,043 ... D 4	General Paz 5,127 ... H 7
Caucete 14,512 ... C 3	General Pico 30,180 ... D 4
Cayastá 1,537 ... F 5	General Ramírez 5,393 ... F 6
Cayastacito ... F 5	General Roca 38,296 ... C 4
Ceres 10,743 ... D 2	General San Martín, Buenos Aires 384,306 ... G 7
Chabás 5,156 ... F 6	General San Martín, La Pampa 2,168 ... D 4
Chacabuco 26,492 ... F 7	General Villegas 10,112 ... D 4
Chajari 15,242 ... G 5	Gobernador Crespo 2,972 ... F 5
Chamical 6,333 ... C 3	Gobernador Gregores 1,362 ... C 6
Charadai 1,078 ... D 2	Gobernador Mansilla 1,413 ... G 6
Charata 13,070 ... D 2	Godoy Cruz 141,553 ... C 3
Chascomús 21,864 ... H 7	Goya 47,357 ... G 4
Chepes 4,775 ... C 3	Guaqueguay 24,883 ... G 6
Chicoana 1,844 ... C 2	Guaqueguaychú 51,057 ... G 6
Chilecito 14,010 ... C 2	Guandacol 1,351 ... C 2
Chivilcoy 43,779 ... F 7	Hasenkamp 2,804 ... F 5
Choele Choele 6,191 ... C 4	Helvecia 3,927 ... F 5
Chos-Malal 4,823 ... C 4	Hernández 1,283 ... F 6
Chumbicha 2,473 ... C 2	Hernando 8,619 ... D 3
Cinco Saltos 15,094 ... C 4	Herrera 1,536 ... D 2
Cipolletti 40,123 ... C 4	Huinca Renaco 7,187 ... D 3
Clorinda 21,008 ... E 2	Humahuaca 3,963 ... C 1
Colón, Buenos Aires 16,070 ... F 6	Humberto (Humberto Primo) 4,163 ... F 5
Colón, Entre Ríos 11,648 ... G 6	Ibarreta 5,262 ... D 2
Colonia Elisa 1,402 ... E 2	Ibicuy 3,082 ... G 6
Colonia Las Heras 3,176 ... C 6	Icaño, Catamarca 1,206 ... C 2
Comandante Fontana 4,468 ... D 2	Icaño, Santiago del Estero 1,226 ... D 2
Comandante Luis Piedrabuena 2,492 ... C 6	Ingeniero Huergo 3,385 ... C 4
Comodoro Rivadavia 96,865 ... C 6	Ingeniero Jacobacci 4,045 ... C 5
Concepción, Corrientes 2,167 ... E 2	Ingeniero Luiggi 3,002 ... D 4
Concepción, Tucumán 29,359 ... C 2	Intendente Alvear 3,640 ... D 4
Concepción de la Sierra 2,778 ... E 2	Itati 3,264 ... E 2
Concepción del Uruguay 46,065 ... G 6	Itzaingó 8,687 ... E 2
Concordia 93,618 ... G 5	Jesús María 17,594 ... D 3
Constanza 1,315 ... G 6	Joaquín V. González 6,054 ... D 2
Córdoba 982,018 ... D 3	José de San Martín 1,135 ... B 5
Coronda 11,554 ... F 6	Junín 62,080 ... F 7
Coronel Bogado 1,700 ... F 6	Junín de los Andes 5,638 ... B 4
Coronel Dorrego 10,661 ... D 4	La Banda 46,994 ... D 2
Coronel Moldes 2,239 ... C 2	Laboulaye 16,883 ... D 3
Coronel Pringles 16,592 ... D 4	La Carlota 8,614 ... D 3
Coronel Rosales 54,375 ... D 4	La Cruz 4,132 ... E 2
Coronel Suárez 16,359 ... D 4	La Cumbre 6,110 ... D 3
Coronel Vidal 4,774 ... E 4	La Falda 12,502 ... D 3
Corral de Bustos 8,613 ... D 3	

Fagnano (lake)	C
Famatina, Sierra de (mts.)	C
Feliciano (river)	C
Flores, Las (river)	C
Gallegos (river)	C
General Manuel Belgrano, Cerro (mt.)	C
Gran Chaco (region)	C
Grande (bay)	C
Grande (falls)	C
Grande (river)	C
Grande de Tierra del Fuego (isl.)	C
Guaileguay (river)	C
Guayaquilero (river)	C
Iguazú (falls)	C
Iguazú Nat'l Park	C
Incahuasi, Cerro de (mt.)	C
Lanín (vol.)	C
Lanín Nat'l Park	C
La Plata, Río de (est.)	C
Lechiguanas (isls.)	C
Lennox (isl.)	C
Limay (river)	C
Llancanelo (lag.)	C
Llancanelo, Salina y Laguna (salt dep.)	C
Llullailaco (vol.)	C
Los Alerces Nat'l Park	C
Los Estados (isl.)	C
Los Glaciares Nat'l Park	C
Magellan (str.)	C
Magallenes (Magellan) (str.)	C
Maipo (vol.)	C
Mar Chiquita (lake)	C
Martin Garcia (isl.)	C
Medanosa (pt.)	C
Mendoza (river)	C
Mercedario, Cerro (mt.)	C
Mogotes (pt.)	C
Montemayor (plat.)	C
Murallón, Cerro (mt.)	C
Nahuel Huapi (lake)	C
Nahuel Huapi Nat'l Park	C
Negro (river)	C
Neuquén (river)	C
Ninfas (pt.)	C
Norte (pt.)	C
Norte del Cabo San Antonio (pt.)	C
Nuevo (gulf.)	C
Ojos del Salado, Cerro (mt.)	C
Olivares, Cerro de (mt.)	C
Pampa de las Tres Hermanas (plain)	C
Pampas (plain)	C
Paraná (river)	C
Patagonia (region)	C
Perito F.P. Moreno Nat'l Park	C
Peteroa (vol.)	C
Pilcomayo (river)	C
Pissis (mt.)	C
Plata, Río de la (est.)	C
Pueyrredón (lake)	C
Puna de Atacama (region)	C
Quinto (river)	C
Rincón, Cerro (mt.)	C
Saladillo (river)	C
Salado (river)	C
Salado (river)	C
Salado del Norte (river)	C
Sali (river)	C
Salto (river)	C
Salto Grande (dam)	C
Salto Grande (lake)	C
Samborombón (bay)	C
San Antonio (cape)	C
San Diego (cape)	C
San Jorge (gulf.)	C
San Juan (river)	C
San Lorenzo, Cerro (mt.)	C
San Martín (lake)	C
San Matías (gulf.)	C
Santa Cruz (river)	C
enguerr (river)	C
Salten (Los Estados) (isl.)	C
Sur del Cabo San Antonio (pt.)	C
Suriya (river)	C
Sucro (river)	C
Terra del Fuego, Grande de (isl.)	C
Toro, Cerro del (mt.)	C
Tres Picos, Cerro (mt.)	C
Tres Puntas (cape)	C
Tinidad (isl.)	C
Tonador (mt.)	C
Tunuyán (river)	C
Tupungato, Cerro (mt.)	C
Turkey (river)	C
Tuzes (pen.)	C
Tuzulima (river)	C
Tuzulima (lake)	C
Tuzulima, Cerro (mt.)	C
Uyuni (river)	C
City and suburbs	C

ideas do not reflect the thinking of the great majority of Argentines.

In spite of (perhaps because of) the second- and third-generation characteristics of a large portion of the population, Argentines tend to be strongly nationalistic. They seldom tire of emphasizing, *Soy Argentino* ("I am Argentine"), and the symbols of nationality—the flag and the national anthem—are held in reverence. Argentines tend to regard themselves as the natural leaders of Latin America, particularly in its relations with the United States.

Some Argentines look down upon the "blacks and browns" of Brazil and the Indian or *mestizo* peoples of other neighboring countries. However, such attitudes are not reflected in any particular hostility toward people of less than pure European ancestry in Argentina itself, and overt racial discrimination is rare.

The European background of 20th century Argentines is also reflected in the cities along the Atlantic Ocean and the Río de la Plata. Those urban centers look more European than Latin American, and some Argentines are inclined to quip that "Paris is the Buenos Aires of France," the similarities between the two cities being quite noticeable. However, when one reaches the towns of colonial origin in the interior, the modern European characteristics are much less evident or are totally lacking.

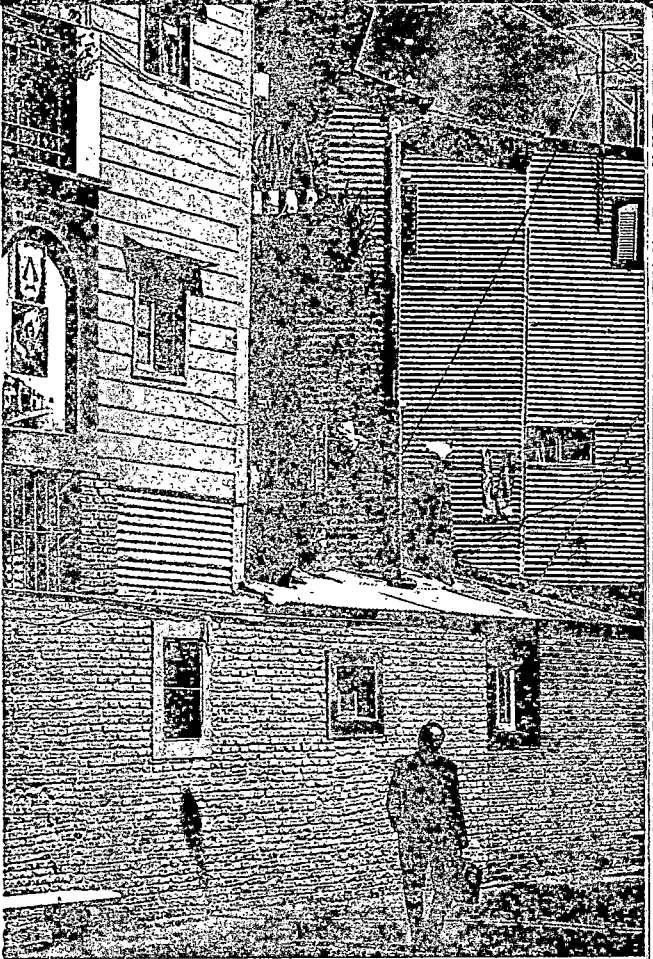
Standard of Living. A large segment of Argentines are middle class in how they live and in their aspirations. Most Argentines are well fed, consuming ample quantities of meat, pasta and bread, fruit and wine, all produced within the national borders. They are also generally well clad from the cotton and wool grown in Argentina and manufactured into clothing by national industry. In the cities most people live in apartments, but in the suburbs many people of both the middle and working classes have their own one-family houses.

This is not to say that Argentina has no poor. They are to be found particularly among those migrants from the interior and from neighboring countries who began to move to the big cities in the middle decades of the 20th century. But, to a great extent, even they aspire to the better life that a large proportion of Argentines enjoy despite recurring economic difficulties.

Most Argentines of almost all classes enjoy a considerable amount of leisure. Some are avid fans of soccer, the national sport, and loyalty to one or another team can border on fanaticism. But much leisure time, particularly that of males, is likely to be spent in endless discussion with friends at sidewalk cafes or restaurants on the boulevards and streets of the cities and suburbs.

Social Structure. Between roughly the mid-1800's and the mid-1900's an "aristocracy" of rural large landholders dominated Argentina's economy, society, and politics. That group, whose economic interests were closely tied to the export of meat and grain to Britain, tended to be Anglophiles and were at least superficially influenced by British culture. They adopted polo as a favorite sport and mimicked the ways of the old British aristocracy, as they understood them.

This class still exists but is no longer dominant. With the growth of manufacturing a new economic and, to some degree, social elite appeared by the middle decades of the 20th cen-



Colorful La Boca is an old residential neighborhood of Buenos Aires. It is noted for its Italian restaurants.

tury. It was made up largely of recent immigrants from Spain, Italy, and eastern Europe who had built small retail or artisan shops into large industries. They began to come into their own politically during the first Perón period (1943-1955). Their fortunes are as great as those of the old landed aristocracy, and their ways of living are like those of economic elites anywhere in the world.

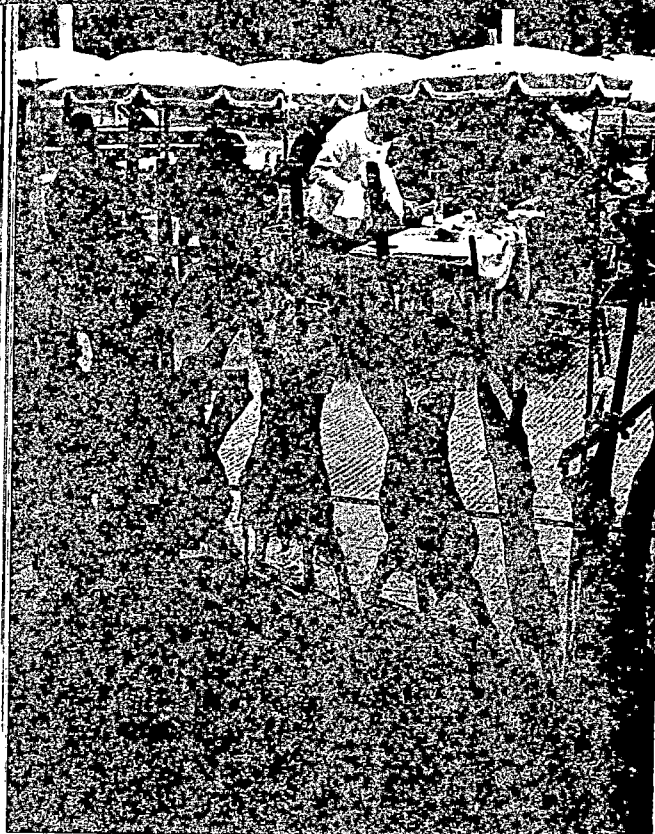
The great mass of the population is made up of white-collar or manual workers, professionals, and small merchants. The manual workers and many white-collar workers, in spite of their middle-class aspirations (and, in many cases, levels of living) have tended to be class conscious. This attitude has been the strength of Peronismo.

ROBERT J. ALEXANDER, Author of "Juan Domingo Perón: A History"

3. Education and Cultural Life

Argentina has the most literate population in Latin America. By the 1970's an estimated 92.6% of persons 15 years of age and over were able to read and write. This basic literacy has served, during various periods, as the base for the development of an active cultural life in literature, music, the fine arts, and social sciences. However, the cultural flowering of the republic frequently has been curtailed by political instability and recurring dictatorial regimes.

Education. The underpinning of Argentine cultural development has been the public-school



© JERRY COOKE/PHOTO RESEARCHERS

A reminder of Argentine frontier life, meat is roasted on upright spits at an outdoor restaurant in Buenos Aires.

system. Although groundwork for such a system was laid in the early decades of independence, the public schools owe their existence largely to the administration of President Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1868–1874). He had met Horace Mann, the North American educator, during a stay in the United States. When he became president, Sarmiento sought Mann's help in launching general public education in Argentina. Mann recruited primary-school teachers in the United States to participate in the organization of a thoroughgoing public-school system in Argentina.

By the time mass immigration from Europe began in the 1880's, this system was in place. It played a fundamental role in "Argentinizing" the children of the millions of immigrants. In 1884 the public-school system was laicized with the removal of all religious instruction—a policy that continued except for a short period during the first Perón administration.

Primary and Secondary Schools Although owing much of its origin to the United States, the Argentine public-school system was modeled largely on that of France. Primary schools enroll children between the ages of 6 and 14, and education is compulsory up to age 14. Teachers in these schools are trained in normal schools, which are on a secondary-school level and offer five years of instruction. High-school teachers receive a university-level education.

About half of the graduates of primary schools go on to secondary schools. Until World War II most of these institutions were segregated according to sex, but coeducation has become more general. The secondary schools cover a wide range, with some designed for children intending to go on to a university, some giving commer-

cial and other vocational training, and some offering teacher training.

Universities. Until the late 1950's, all universities were publicly supported. The great majority of students seeking advanced education go to one of more than a score of national universities, the largest of which is the University of Buenos Aires.

At the University of Córdoba began the "University Reform," a major development in advanced education that spread to other parts of Latin America. Starting with a strike of students in 1918, it developed into a movement that sought to modernize the traditional curriculum of "classical" and philosophical studies by introducing courses in the physical and social sciences. The movement also sought to have the university and, particularly, its students play a role in extending at least basic education to the culturally deprived elements of the population. In addition, the reform urged "cogovernment" for the universities—that is, to have them run by councils composed of faculty, students and, in some cases, alumni. Cogovernment, where put into effect, greatly politicized the universities.

The Reform is still controversial. Since the advent of the military government of 1943, official policy has frequently changed, particularly with regard to the issue of cogovernment.

The 1943 coup also began an era of frequent purges of the institutions of higher learning. The military government and the succeeding Perón regime tended to remove all opponents from the universities. Subsequently, many Peronista appointees were dismissed. On various occasions thereafter, further political purges of faculty members and students took place. All of this convulsed the life of the public universities and impaired their quality.

The Perón regime brought about another important change in the universities. It vastly increased the number of students. By the end of the Perón era, the University of Buenos Aires had about 75,000 students, and by the 1980's more than 100,000. Unfortunately, the faculty and physical plant of the universities were not enlarged to keep up with increased enrollment.

The Frondizi administration (1958–1962) changed the long-standing policy of having only public universities. It authorized the establishment of private institutions of higher education. Most were set up under Catholic Church control. However, they are generally small compared with the national universities.

Cultural Life. Intellectual figures played an important role in the struggle for Argentine independence. These included Mariano Moreno, secretary of the first revolutionary junta; Manuel Belgrano, one of the generals of the revolutionary army; Bernardino Rivadavia, president in 1826–1827; and Bernardo de Monteagudo, one of the early pamphleteers for the establishment of an independent republic.

During the long rule of Juan Manuel de Rosas (1829–1852), much of the struggle against his tyranny was led by a group of brilliant intellectuals, most of whom had to spend much of the period in exile. These included Esteban Echeverría, a disciple of the French Utopian Socialists and author of *Dogma socialista* (1846), a work still cited by Argentine political leaders; Domingo F. Sarmiento, future president; and Juan Bautista Alberdi, largely responsible for the present constitution, enacted in 1853 after Rosas' fall.

The High Tide of Argentine Culture. With the reunification of the country in 1862 and the establishment of a stable and generally tolerant government, cultural life flowered. A substantial publishing industry developed. Besides issuing many foreign works, it offered the writing of many Argentine authors. The most famous literary figure of this period was José Hernández, whose epic poem *Martín Fierro* (1872) immortalized the gaucho.

The country's most famous newspapers appeared during this period. In 1869, *La Prensa* was founded by José C. Paz. It remained, with one short interruption, in the hands of the same family for more than a century and became one of the great newspapers of the Western Hemisphere. In 1870, *La Nación* was established by ex-President Bartolomé Mitre. It rivaled *La Prensa* in prestige and influence. Subsequently many other newspapers appeared (and some disappeared), and although some achieved wider circulation than *La Prensa* and *La Nación*, those two remained the most prestigious in Argentina.

The legitimate theater also flourished during this period, presenting many foreign plays but also Argentine works. The nation's most famous playwright of the time was Florencio Sánchez, Uruguayan by birth but a resident of Buenos Aires. His dramas centered on the Argentine workers and the petty bourgeoisie.

Music was well supported in the flush of Argentina's newfound prosperity. The Teatro Colón in Buenos Aires became one of the world's greatest operatic and orchestral theaters.

The cultural flowering of Argentina continued for a generation after World War I. Writers receiving more than national attention included Leopoldo Lugones, a historian and philosopher; Manuel Ugarte, one of the first Latin American writers to stress the dangers of "Yankee Imperialism" in the region; and Alfredo Palacios, whose *El nuevo derecho* (1920) gave intellectual underpinnings to the increasingly important organized labor movement and to labor and social legislation. Perhaps the leading novelist was Ricardo Güiraldes, whose *Don Segundo Sombra* (1926) portrayed the decline and fall of the gaucho.

During this period, too, the Argentine movie industry was born. Buenos Aires joined Mexico City as one of the two principal centers of filmmaking in the Spanish language. Among the most famous people to appear in Argentine films at that time were Libertad Lamarque and Hugo del Carril, who popularized the tango throughout the Spanish-speaking world. Eva Duarte (later famous as Evita Perón) was one of the less successful film actresses of the period.

The Repressive Years. The military coup of June 4, 1943, began the disruption of the general cultural life of Argentina. The Peronista regime initiated the persecution of intellectual leaders who disagreed with it politically. The physiologist Bernardo Houssay, recipient of a Nobel Prize in 1947, was the most famous of those driven into exile. Subsequent governments, particularly the military regimes, were harsh in their treatment of other intellectual leaders because of real or supposed political differences.

The country's publishing industry also was buffeted by repressive governments. Government persecution, as well as recurrent economic difficulties, led to a decline in prestige, though not in volume. As a Spanish-language publishing

center, Buenos Aires declined in comparison with Mexico City and, after the 1960's, with Barcelona and Madrid during and after the Franco regime.

In spite of political unrest, Argentina continued to produce scientific and cultural figures of world renown. In 1970, Luis F. Leloir won the Nobel Prize in chemistry. Jorge Luis Borges, the nation's most noteworthy literary figure after World War II, was widely regarded as deserving a Nobel award. Julio Cortázar, probably Argentina's greatest novelist since 1950, also gained worldwide distinction, with his works translated and published in many languages. Several Argentine composers, most notably Alberto Ginastera, produced works included in the repertoires of the world's great symphony orchestras.

Wide basic literacy and sufficient numbers of people with higher education and incomes permitting expenditures on books and the arts provide a solid basis for making Argentina one of the great literary, artistic, and scientific nations of the world.

ROBERT J. ALEXANDER, Author of
"Juan Domingo Perón: A History"

4. Government and Politics

Except for the short period between 1949 and 1955, Argentina has had the same constitution since 1853, making it the longest-lived basic document in Latin America. In "normal" times the 1853 constitution largely reflects the nature of the Argentine governmental structure.

However, for more than half a century after the military coup led by Gen. José F. Uriburu on Sept. 6, 1930, times were not normal in Argentine constitutional terms. During almost half of this period military regimes that were clearly unconstitutional governed the country. Even during much of the rest of the post-1930 period, the spirit, if not the letter, of the 1853 constitution was certainly violated. Thus distinctions must be drawn between government as outlined by the constitution and regimes that have governed extraconstitutionally.

The Governmental Structure. In many respects the Argentine constitution of 1853 was patterned after that of the United States. Certain parts of its preamble are direct translations of the U.S. document, and to a considerable degree it copied the U.S. federal system.

According to the constitution, the president and vice president of the republic must be native-born Argentines and Roman Catholics, are elected for six-year terms, and are not eligible for immediate reelection. As chief executive, the president is commander in chief of the armed forces and appoints the members of the cabinet and other top officials, in some cases with the approval of the Senate. As in the United States, the vice president is the presiding officer of the Senate and succeeds to the presidency in case it becomes vacant. The Argentine president is granted constitutional powers that are more extensive than those given the chief executive of the United States. These include the power to suspend certain constitutional guarantees of the rights of the citizenry under certain circumstances, either on a local or national basis.

The National Congress consists of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies. Two senators are chosen by the legislature of each province. The two from the Federal District (Buenos Aires) are chosen by a popularly elected electoral college.

Senatorial terms are for nine years, with one third renewed every three years.

Members of the Chamber of Deputies are chosen by popular election for four-year terms. Since 1912, two thirds of the deputies from each province are allotted to the party with the most votes in that province and one third to the party with the second-largest vote.

In addition to powers of legislation, Congress initiates any constitutional changes and must approve by a two-thirds vote any treaties negotiated by the chief executive. By a two-thirds majority of both houses, also, it can override a presidential veto. Finally, the national legislature can remove the president: as in the United States, the lower house is empowered to impeach in such cases, and the Senate is empowered to try the bill of impeachment. No chief executive has been removed in this fashion.

The judiciary is headed by the Supreme Court. Its members and those of the appellate and district courts are named by the president, with the approval of the Senate. According to the constitution, all federal judges hold life tenure. Specialized courts include labor tribunals established during the first Perón period.

Each of the 22 provinces has a similar form of government, with an elected governor and legislature and a judiciary, in accordance with its own constitution. Elected mayors and councils rule the municipalities. However, the provinces and municipalities have relatively limited financial resources at their command.

Provincial autonomy is further limited by the constitutional provision allowing the president of the republic to "intervene" a provincial government, removing the governor, appointing an interim head of the province, and calling new elections in due time. Since the first administration of President Hipólito Yrigoyen (1916-1922), that power has been frequently used and not a little abused.

The Party System. Political parties began to be formed soon after the reunification of the republic in 1862. However, the conservative regimes that governed from then until 1916 were backed by shifting coalitions rather than a national conservative party. It was not until the 1930's that a conservative party, the National Democratic party, was established. After the overthrow of Perón in 1955, it tended to splinter into separate groups, many of which were organized only on a provincial basis.

The first long-lasting party was the Unión Cívica Radical (Radical party), established in the early 1890's. Ever since its formation, the Radical party has been either the largest or second largest in the country. It has drawn wide support from the large middle class and has also had extensive roots among the workers.

The Radicals have several times suffered major schisms. One took place in the 1920's when the supporters of Hipólito Yrigoyen constituted the Personalista Radical party, and his opponents the Antipersonalista Radical party. These factions were reunited in the early 1940's, but after the fall of Perón the Radicals split once again into the Intransigent Radicals and the People's Radicals, led respectively by Arturo Frondizi and Ricardo Balbín. The Intransigent Radicals subsequently splintered. By the early 1970's, there were the Intransigent party and the Integration and Developmentalist Movement (MID), the latter led by Frondizi. Meanwhile, the People's

Radicals had been officially authorized to reassume the old title of Unión Cívica Radical.

Another traditional Argentine party was the Socialist party, established in 1896. During the next 40 years it drew its support mainly from the urban working class, particularly in the Buenos Aires region. It was largely decimated by the rise of Peronismo in the 1940's, was split into several warring factions after the fall of Perón, and by the 1970's had almost disappeared from the political scene.

The Communist party, established in 1918, was an offshoot of the Socialists. Although it had some influence in the labor movement in the 1930's and early 1940's, it too suffered substantially from the rise of Peronismo. During the late 1970's it took a rather benign attitude toward the various military regimes, largely because of their willingness to intensify trade with the Soviet Union.

Since the early 1940's, Peronismo has been a major current in Argentine politics. Drawing its support principally from the organized labor movement, which it dominated after 1944, the Peronist movement was formally organized during the 1946 presidential campaign. Three parties were formed to back Perón's campaign. Subsequently these were joined to form the Partido Peronista, which was supplemented in 1949 by the Partido Peronista Feminino, organized by Perón's wife, Evita.

Since the ouster of Perón in 1955, the Peronistas have not used the name Partido Peronista but rather Partido Justicialista. They constituted the strongest single party until the 1983 elections, when they were surpassed by the Unión Cívica Radical.

The Military. It has been argued that the armed forces have long been Argentina's most powerful political party. Although not organized for an ostensible political purpose, they have frequently made and unmade governments since 1930.

With the establishment of a strong national government in the latter decades of the 19th century, the process of "professionalizing" the Argentine military began. It was carried out with the aid of army missions from Germany and naval ones from Britain, who organized service schools and served as advisers with their respective branches. As late as the 1950's leaders of the armed forces had received some of their training from these foreign officers.

The rank and file of the armed forces—which since 1945 have included the army, navy, and air force as autonomous units—have been made up of conscripts. Military service was made compulsory in 1900, although only a minority of Argentine males have had to serve in the armed forces. The noncommissioned officers generally have been professionals.

Military Regimes. The incumbent government has been ousted by the military in 1930, 1943, 1955, 1962, 1966, and 1976. In addition, numerous changes of presidents during military regimes have been brought about by force or the threat thereof. Moreover, a number of unsuccessful coups have occurred.

A successful military takeover clearly disrupts constitutional government, although only once (in 1955) did a coup result in repudiation of the existing constitution (that of Perón). A coup results in the dissolution of Congress and rule "by decree" by the incumbent military officers.

Argentina's

Usually sor
up of the c
has operat
quite open
personnel

In 1930,
general of t
cy, reflecti
the armed f
manders ha
utive after

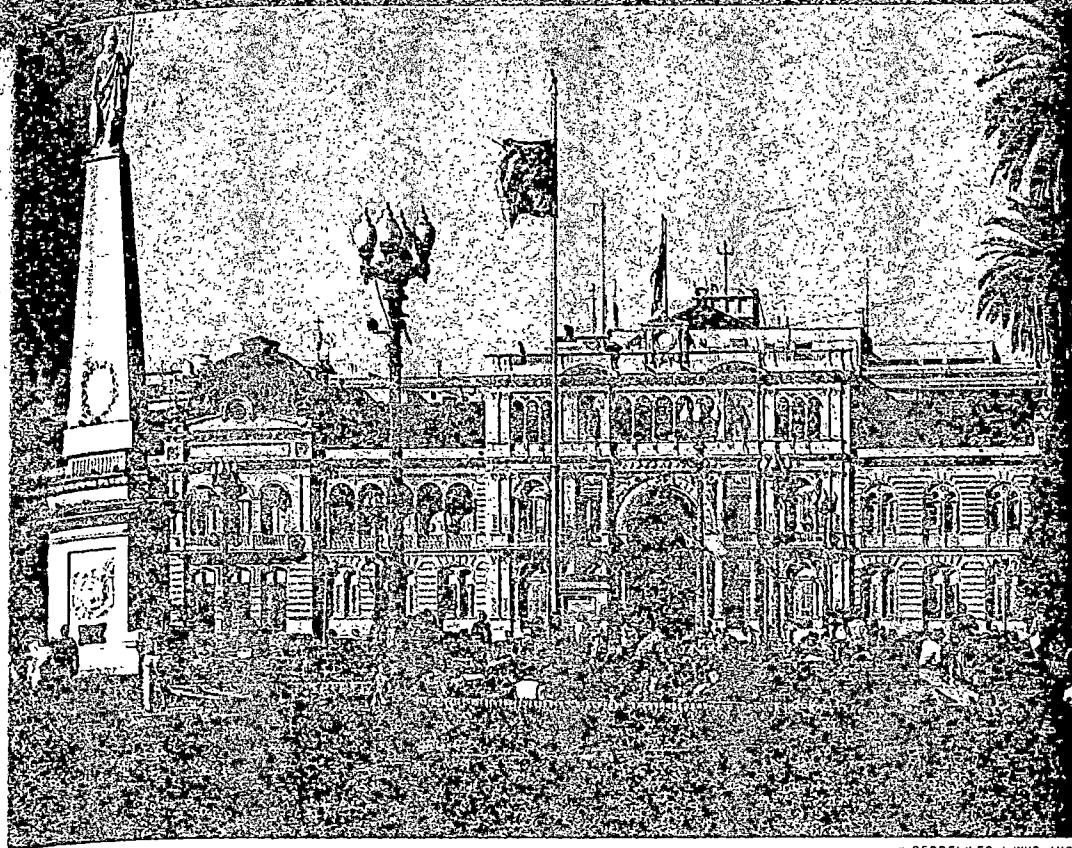
Custom:
ment decre
"legitimiza
ally cite sor
tution, as w
its actions.

quandary:
coup has
judges hav
officially re
legitimate.

dent in 19
irony, brow
one meml
grounds th
by legitimi
regime of
leading fig

Almost
civil libert
by the con
dom of spe
assembly,
cials.

Governm
a regime
from a mil:
na has ext



© GEORGE LEO DEWYS, INC.

Argentina's "White House," the Casa Rosada (Pink House), stands on the Plaza de Mayo in downtown Buenos Aires.

Usually some kind of "junta," frequently made up of the commanders of the service branches, has operated behind the scenes, or sometimes quite openly, in determining the policies and personnel of a military government.

In 1930, 1943, 1966, and 1976 it was the top general of the army who took over the presidency, reflecting the importance of hierarchy within the armed forces. In any case, the military commanders have decided who should be chief executive after each successful coup.

Customarily each coup-originated government decrees some kind of basic enabling act to "legitimize" itself. Thereafter, its decrees usually cite some appropriate segment of the constitution, as well as the enabling act, as the basis for its actions. Clearly the courts are faced with a quandary. Besides the danger of finding that a coup has made their life tenure illusory, the judges have to decide to what degree they can officially regard the acts of a usurper regime as legitimate. On becoming constitutional president in 1946, Juan Perón, with a fine touch of irony, brought about the impeachment of all but one member of the Supreme Court on the grounds that they had violated the constitution by legitimizing actions of the 1943-1946 military regime of which Perón himself had been the leading figure.

Almost always, military governments violated civil liberties supposedly guaranteed to citizens by the constitution. These have included freedom of speech and press, of organization, and of assembly, as well as the right to elect public officials.

Government, the Economy, and Society. Whether a regime is constitutionally elected or results from a military coup, the government of Argentina has extensive control over, and influence on,

the national economy and society. Key segments of the economy, including the railroads, the steel industry, public utilities, the national airline, and a major part of the banking system have belonged to the government. During the first Perón period, the government controlled all purchases and sales of the major exports—grain and meat. Even afterward, it greatly influenced the export sector through trade-treaty negotiations with Argentina's major customers.

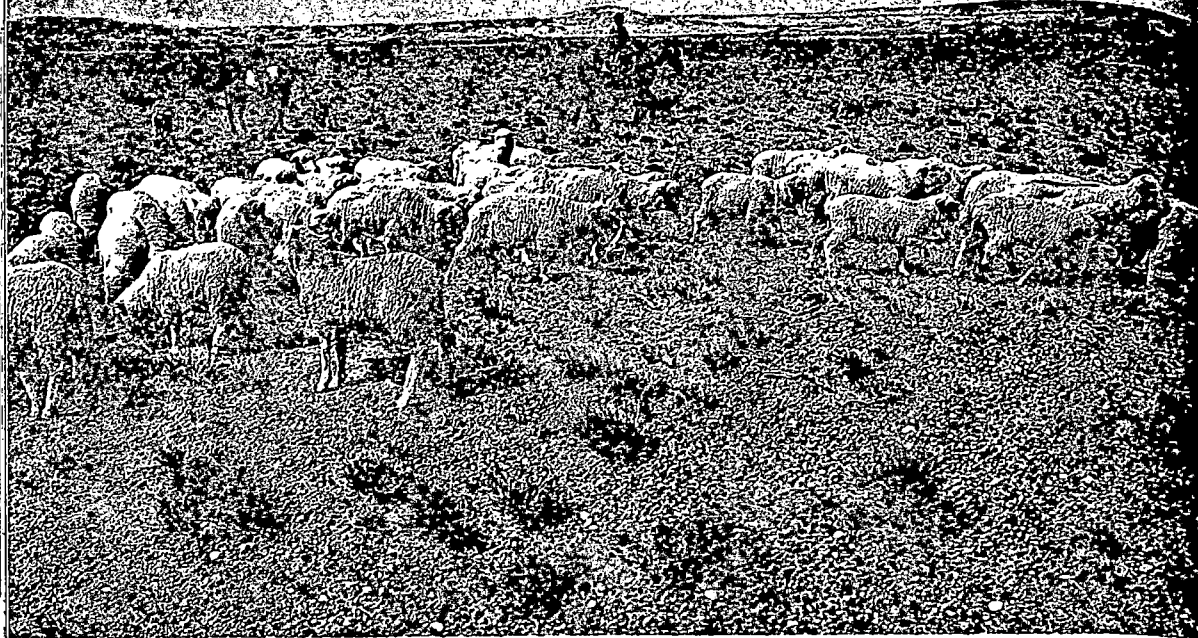
Most of the educational system has been a province of the government from at least the 1860's. Since Perón's first period in office, the government has also run an extensive social-security system providing medical care, pensions, and many other benefits. It has also intervened extensively in labor-management relations.

ROBERT J. ALEXANDER, Author of "Juan Domingo Perón: A History"

5. The Economy

Since the last decades of the 19th century, Argentina has been one of the great cattle- and grain-producing countries of the world. In the middle decades of the 20th century, it also became significant for its output of manufactured goods, ranking along with Brazil and Mexico as one of the three most productive industrial nations of Latin America.

Argentina's economic development can be traced through at least four phases: two during the colonial period, with the second lasting into the initial decades of independence; and two since the unification of the country in 1862. The colonial economy was associated first with mining activities outside of Argentina, and afterward with the rival interests of the trading port of Buenos Aires and the self-sufficient interior. The



© GEORGE HOLTON PHOTO RESEARCHERS

Sheep graze on the nearly desolate plains of Patagonia. Argentina is a major producer and exporter of wool.

modern economy was based first on trade and later became highly diversified.

Natural Resources. The most easily exploitable natural resource of Argentina is the rich soil of the great Pampa region, the central plain stretching from the Atlantic Ocean almost to the foothills of the Andes. However, other parts of the country also lend themselves to agriculture or grazing: the semiarid areas just east of the Andes—to fruit growing, particularly wine grapes; the northern tropical regions—to the cultivation of sugar; and much of the region south of the Pampa—to the grazing of sheep. Stands of usable timber cover more than a fifth of the country's area.

Argentina has a relatively modest endowment of minerals. The Spaniards discovered little gold or silver there, which explains why Argentina remained of peripheral importance to their empire during most of the colonial period. In the 20th century substantial quantities of baser metals, of use at least to the domestic economy, were discovered. These include commercially exploitable reserves of copper, lead, zinc, tungsten, manganese, iron, and beryllium. Substantial quantities of coal exist, and reserves of petroleum and natural gas are sufficient for domestic needs for the foreseeable future.

The Colonial Economy. During the halcyon days of the mining of precious metals in what are now Peru and Bolivia, the relatively few settlements made by the Spaniards in the northern parts of present-day Argentina were economically significant principally for the breeding of mules. These beasts of burden and traction were widely used in the mining operations but could not be bred at the elevations of the high Andes. Hence, horses and donkeys were mated in the relatively low-lying regions of northern Argentina, and their offspring were walked up the mountains to be worked to death.

During this early period, small urban centers were developed in northern Argentina. With the decline of the Andean mining industry in the 18th century, they and their immediate hinterlands tended to become largely self-sufficient, with local handicraft manufacturing and the cultivation of nearby rural areas producing most of the things the people needed. The port of Buenos Aires, which grew slowly until the last half century before independence, imported from Europe the relatively modest quantities of goods that the Argentine interior required. The Pampa remained largely outside the effective control of the colonial authorities and was of significance to the general economy only by providing some leather and dried and salted beef for export.

This situation largely persisted for some decades after independence was declared in 1816. One of the great causes of political controversy during those years centered on the desire of the commercial interests of Buenos Aires to flood the interior with machine-made manufactured goods from Europe and on the counterdesire of powerful interests in the interior cities to protect their artisan workshops from such competition.

The Agricultural Revolution. The "conquest of the desert" (the Pampa and Patagonia) by 1880, accompanied by the invention of barbed wire and of refrigerated shipping, ushered in the third phase of Argentina's economic development. Barbed wire enabled the Pampa to be fenced off, which in turn permitted the scientific breeding of cattle. Bulls were brought in from Britain, and in a few bovine generations breeders created a type of meat cattle specifically designed to satisfy the tastes of the British meat-eating public. Refrigerated ships promoted the growth of large slaughterhouses and meat-packing plants around Buenos Aires and Rosario and the export of beef instead of cattle "on the hoof."

The opening of the Pampas to scientific cattle

Breeding an
arly wheat
entine trad
Europe in
goods. Tra
by, improv
the last de
were built,
tie of the P
and Rosario
the world's
the same ti
ized and ex
Argentina
courage a
which beg
some inter
the 1930's.
the cattle
many more
Buenos Aires.

New c
the export
increasing
which was
was growi
bers. Ban
export-im
The gene
room for i
san indus
goods that
the incre
coastal cit
public ed
the fine a
By Wo
the nation
tence or
economic
the peopl
the expor
in the pro

Southern I



breeding and to the cultivation of grain, particularly wheat, vastly increased the volume of Argentine trade. These products were exported to Europe in return for European manufactured goods. Trade both required, and was stimulated by, improved transportation facilities. During the last decades of the 19th century, railroads were built, principally to bring the grain and cattle of the Pampa to the port cities of Buenos Aires and Rosario. Argentina thus came to have one of the world's most extensive railroad systems. At the same time, the port facilities were modernized and expanded.

Argentina's new economic opportunities encouraged a massive immigration from Europe, which began in the 1880's and continued with some interruptions until the Great Depression of the 1930's. Some of the immigrants worked on the cattle ranches and in the wheat fields, but many more settled in the cities, particularly Buenos Aires.

New commercial enterprises arose to handle the export-import trade and to provide the goods increasingly demanded by the urban population, which was rapidly expanding and whose income was growing at even a faster rate than its numbers. Banks came into existence to finance both export-import activities and domestic commerce. The general expansion of the economy made room for increasingly large numbers of small artisan industries to provide locally manufactured goods that could compete with imports. Finally, the increased population and prosperity of the coastal cities, together with the expansion of the public education system, promoted publishing, the fine arts, music, and the theater.

By World War I, the economic flowering of the nation's great plains had brought into existence or had stimulated the expansion of other economic activities, which produced largely for the people of the central region rather than for the export market. In the foothills of the Andes, in the provinces of Mendoza and San Juan in par-

ticular, irrigation was employed to foster the cultivation of grapes and their conversion into wine, a taste for which the numerous Spanish and Italian immigrants had brought with them from the "old country." Sugar production in the northern provinces of Tucumán, Jujuy, and Santiago del Estero was increased, mainly to serve the needs of the residents of Buenos Aires and other cities. The production of *yerba maté* and the exploitation of tannin bark, both in the northeastern provinces, also supplied the domestic economy centered on Buenos Aires and the Pampa.

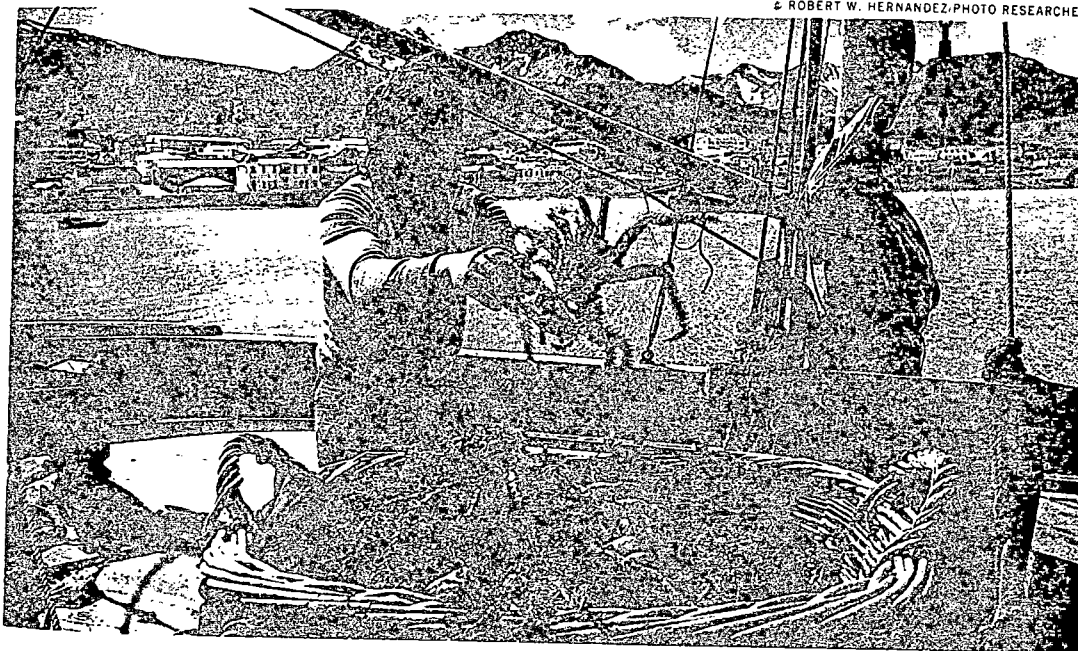
One important result of these developments was that by World War I almost the whole of the Argentine economy was monetized—that is, almost everyone in it earned a money income. In that respect, Argentina was virtually unique in Latin America at the time.

Industrialization. Also by 1914, the economy had clearly developed to the point where at least modest industrialization was possible. Indeed, World War I itself gave stimulus to industrialization, for Argentina had difficulty importing from Europe the range of manufactured goods to which its people had become accustomed. However, policies leading to deliberate industrialization were hard to adopt and did not occur until three decades later.

Until 1916, the Argentine government was dominated largely by the rural aristocracy, whose welfare was tied to the export-import economy and particularly to trade with Britain. This group saw little to be gained from industrialization. It saw much to be lost if government protection of manufacturing brought into existence industries that would compete in the Argentine market with those of Britain, because they feared that Britain would retaliate by limiting its importation of Argentine meat and grain. Even when in 1916 the essentially middle-class Radical party came to power, the government did not take any notable steps to foster industrialization. During the first Radical government of Hipólito

Southern king crab, taken from waters off Tierra del Fuego, makes a succulent dish for the tables of Buenos Aires.

© ROBERT W. HERNANDEZ, PHOTO RESEARCHERS



© GEORGE HOLTON PHOTO RESEARCHERS

ducer and exporter of wool.

period, small urban centers in northern Argentina. With the lean mining industry in the mid their immediate hinterland, some largely self-sufficient manufacturing and the cultural areas producing most of what was needed. The port of Buenos Aires slowly until the last half of the century, imported from the provinces in modest quantities of goods that were prior required. The Pampas had the effective control of the export trade and was of significance to the nation not only by providing some of the salted beef for export. The industry persisted for some decades until it was declared in 1816. The issue of political controversy centered on the desire of the provinces to flood the market with Buenos Aires to flood the market with handmade manufactured goods. The counterdesire of power in the provincial cities to protect their own such competition. The "conquest of the Pampas" (and Patagonia) by 1880. The invention of barbed wire ushered in the third economic development of the Pampa to be fenced off. The scientific breeding program brought in from Britain. The generations breeders created specifically designed to satisfy the British meat-eating public. It promoted the growth of large meat-packing plants around the coast and the export of beef by hoof." The Pampas to scientific cattle

Yrigoyen (1916–1922) the president was concerned largely with the immediate wartime and postwar economic problems. His Radical successor, Marcelo T. de Alvear (1922–1928) was himself a large landowner who shared the outlook of his class.

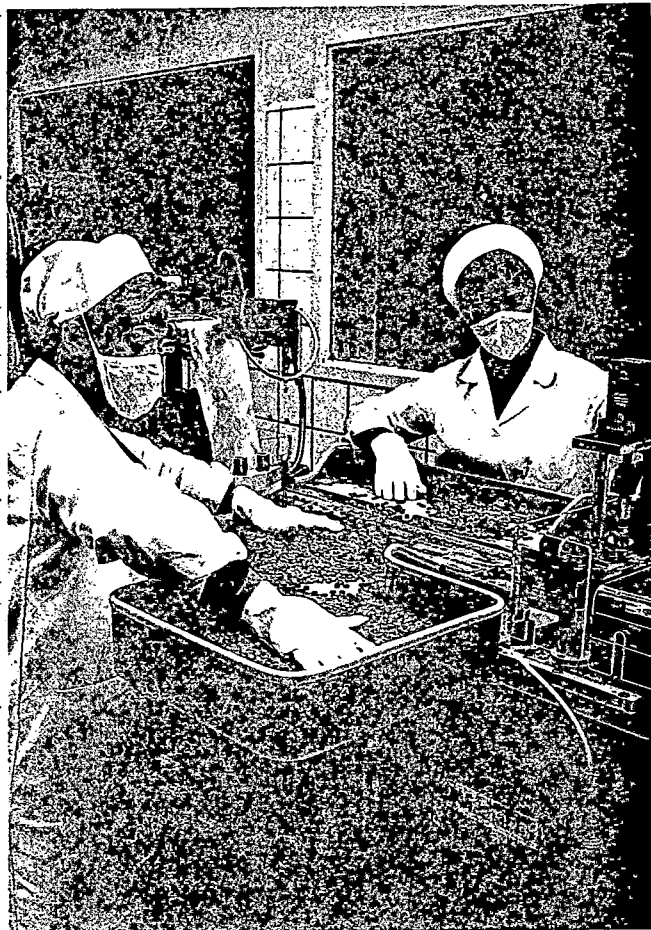
Two other factors undoubtedly were important. The new industrialist class, whose firms had grown modestly in spite of lack of protection, were largely immigrants. As such, they hesitated to challenge the power or the ideas of the native rural oligarchy. In addition, the labor movement, which in other Latin American countries tended to support protectionism, opposed it in Argentina, arguing that protective tariffs hurt the great majority of workers by raising the prices of goods they had to buy.

Nevertheless, industry continued to expand, especially in the 1930's, even though in that decade the government was once again dominated by the rural landed interests. The Great Depression of the 1930's stimulated industrial growth by markedly curtailing Argentina's exports and hence its ability to import manufactured goods. Expansion was considerable in sectors such as textile manufacturing, cement production, and metalworking.

However, not until the advent in June 1943 of the military regime in which Juan Perón soon

Pharmaceutical workers in an Argentine plant sort out defective pills at the quality-control end of production.

© JAMES FOOTE PHOTO RESEARCHERS



emerged as the principal figure did the government deliberately encourage the growth of industry. A cabinet-rank position of secretary of industry was established for the first time. During the next dozen years scarce foreign exchange was directed toward the importation of capital equipment for industry; relatively strong tariff protection was mounted; and an Industrial Bank was established to help finance the domestic currency needs of manufacturing firms.

As a result of these policies, along with the economic disruption caused by World War II and the prostration of European economies in the years right after the war, Argentine manufacturing had grown dramatically by 1955. The country was largely self-sufficient in light consumer goods and had a vigorous durable consumer-goods sector. It also produced most of the requirements of the construction industry, such as cement, paint, and steel bars for reinforced concrete. In the early 1950's a beginning had been made in establishing a steel industry and an automobile industry, although neither was yet adequate to national needs.

The governments that came after the fall of Perón in 1955 tended to zigzag in their attitudes toward industrialization. The regime of Gen. Pedro Aramburu (1955–1958) followed on the whole a pro-agricultural rather than a pro-industrial policy. In contrast, the administration of President Arturo Frondizi (1958–1962) strongly supported industrialization, bringing about an expansion of the auto industry large enough to make the country self-sufficient in that area. In addition, a large heavy-chemical sector was established. During the 14 years following Frondizi, governments did not tend strongly to favor or to discourage industrialization, and the manufacturing sector continued to grow modestly.

However, the policies of the military regimes of 1976–1983 were disastrous for industrialization. The economic policymakers of the period believed that protection brought about "artificial" and "inefficient" industries, and that protection should thus be greatly reduced if not abolished entirely. They put into effect policies designed to do exactly that. As a consequence, large numbers of small manufacturing firms were driven into bankruptcy, as were several of the largest domestic industrial enterprises.

State of the Economy. In spite of the disastrous policies of the military regimes after 1976, Argentina continued in the early 1980's to have one of the most diversified economies of Latin America. Still relying overwhelmingly on the products of the soil for its exports, Argentina nonetheless had a wide economic base that made it largely capable of meeting its needs for food, clothing, construction materials, and household appliances, and even many of its requirements for heavier industrial products.

However, also by the early 1980's, the Argentine economy faced some very severe difficulties. For one thing, its patterns of foreign trade had changed drastically. The growth, although modest, of the Argentine population, plus its enormous capacity to consume meat and grain products, had resulted long before in domestic consumption of most of the output of the Pampa. Moreover, varying governmental policies of the frequently changing regimes after 1955 had often discouraged further expansion of grazing and grain production.

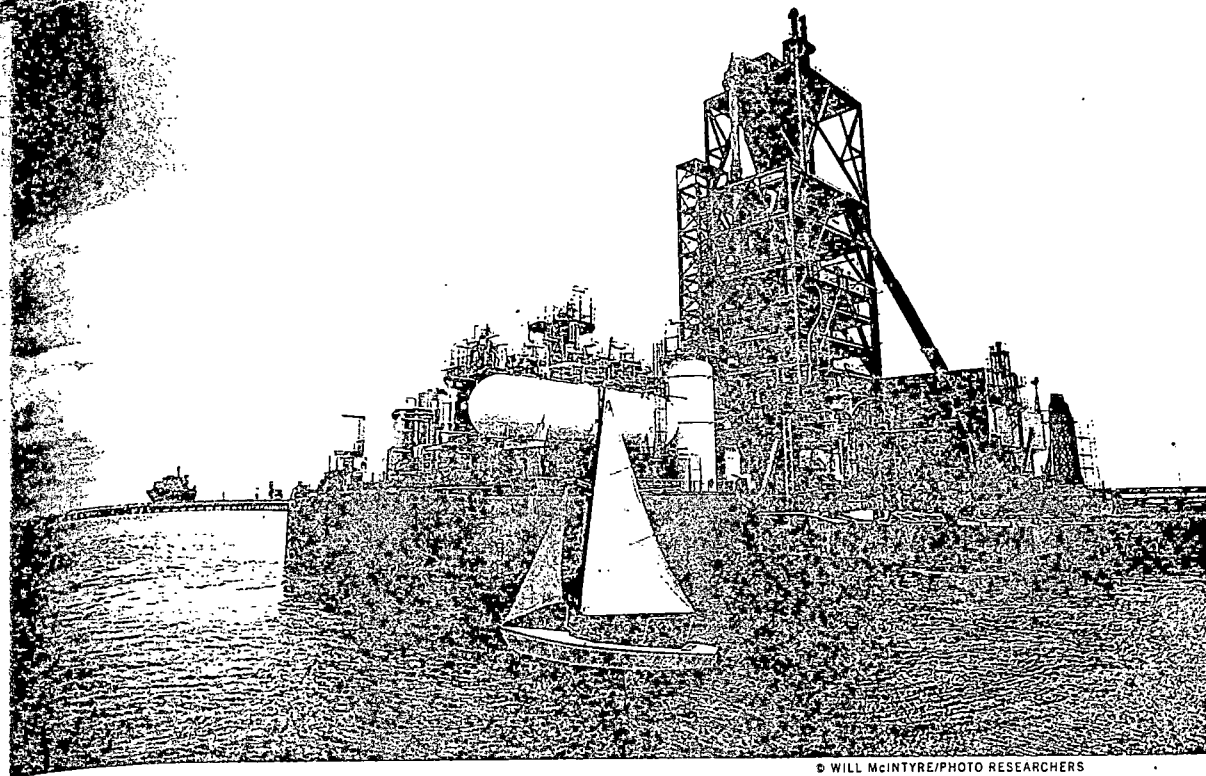
Of equal significance, Argentina's traditional

A plastic

markets for
by disappe
buyer of A
ket was lo
Economic
foreign pu
Europe.
had, to a
Britain as
ticularly f
States ref
agreement
tended to
generally
Argentine
willingnes
ter deals v
ble politic
depende
for alarm.

A majo
my by the
siderable
particular
were alre
their cond
short peri
governme
tempt to d

Anothe
to be take
Argentina
the gover
German an
ing and o
Perón adr
and public
number of
however,
the auto i
tract with



© WILL MCINTYRE/PHOTO RESEARCHERS

A plastics factory built in Japan is moored permanently in the harbor of Bahía Blanca, south of Buenos Aires.

...re did the govern...
 ...the growth of in...
 ...tion of secretary of...
 ...he first time. Dur...
 ...e foreign exchange...
 ...ortation of capital...
 ...tively strong tariff...
 ...an Industrial Bank...
 ...e the domestic cur...
 ...g firms.
 ...ies, along with the...
 ...y World War II and...
 ...economies in the...
 ...entire manufactur...
 ...y 1955. The coun...
 ...in light consumer...
 ...durable consumer...
 ...ed most of the re...
 ...on industry, such as...
 ...for reinforced con...
 ...beginning had been...
 ...l industry and an...
 ...h neither was yet

...me after the fall of...
 ...ag in their attitudes...
 ...he regime of Gen...
 ...s) followed on the...
 ...er than a pro-indus...
 ...e administration of...
 ...958-1962) strongly...
 ...bringing about an...
 ...try large enough to...
 ...ent in that area. In...
 ...ical sector was es...
 ...ars following Fron...
 ...d strongly to favor...
 ...tion, and the manu...
 ...grow modestly.
 ...the military regimes...
 ...is for industrializa...
 ...akers of the period...
 ...ought about "artifi...
 ...tries, and that pro...
 ...tly reduced if not...
 ...t into effect policies...
 ...As a consequence...
 ...cturing firms were...
 ...vere several of the...
 ...terprises.

...ite of the disastrous...
 ...nes after 1976, Ar...
 ...y 1980's to have one...
 ...mies of Latin Amer...
 ...ngly on the prod...
 ...ts, Argentina none...
 ...base that made it...
 ...its needs for food...
 ...als, and household...
 ...of its requirements...
 ...ts.

...y 1980's, the Argen...
 ...ery severe difficul...
 ...rns of foreign trade...
 ...e growth, although...
 ...opulation, plus its...
 ...me meat and grain...
 ...before in domestic...
 ...utput of the Pampa...
 ...ntal policies of the...
 ...after 1955 had ofte...
 ...on of grazing and...
 ...Argentina's traditio...

...markets for the products of the Pampa had largely disappeared. Britain had long been the chief buyer of Argentine goods, but much of that market was lost when Britain joined the European Economic Community in the 1970's and diverted foreign purchases from Argentina to continental Europe. By the late 1970's the Soviet Union had, to a considerable extent, taken the place of Britain as Argentina's principal customer—particularly for grain, as in 1980 when the United States refused to renew Soviet wheat-purchase agreements. However, Soviet grain purchases tended to be erratic. Also, though the USSR generally paid with convertible currency, some Argentines were anxious about its continued willingness to do so, for they had suffered in barter deals with the Soviet Union. Finally, possible political consequences arising from too great a dependence on the Soviet market was a cause for alarm.

A major problem facing the Argentine economy by the 1980's was the wearing out of a considerable portion of its infrastructure. This was particularly the case with the railroads. They were already in bad shape in the late 1940's, and their condition declined further. Except for the short period of the Frondizi administration, no government undertook an overall program to attempt to deal with the situation.

Another continuing problem was the attitude to be taken toward foreign investments. When Argentina finally entered World War II in 1945, the government took over as "enemy property" German and Italian firms engaged in manufacturing and other activities. In the late 1940's the Perón administration nationalized the railroads and public utilities, which constituted the largest number of foreign holdings in Argentina. Perón, however, did encourage foreign investment in the auto industry. He also made a liberal contract with Standard Oil of California to operate in

Patagonia. This unpopular arrangement went unratified by his usually compliant Congress and was canceled by his successor.

The Frondizi regime strongly favored foreign investment in manufacturing, particularly in heavy chemicals and autos. It also worked out arrangements for new contracts between foreign oil companies and the national oil firm, YPF. Subsequent governments canceled those contracts, negotiated new ones, and generally made the national oil policy a question mark. The political crisis of the late 1960's and the 1970's did not present a favorable background for extensive foreign investment.

By the early 1980's the Argentine economy was faced by the most severe crisis since the 1930's. When President Raúl Alfonsín took over from the military regime in December 1983, Argentina had the world's highest rate of inflation, the third-largest foreign debt in Latin America, and massive unemployment.

One of the many reasons for this crisis was the "deindustrialization" policies of the preceding military regimes. Another was the vast expenditures on military hardware before, during, and after the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) War of 1982 with Britain. A third was the world economic situation—vastly inflated interest rates, weak markets for most basic foodstuffs and raw materials, and the rampant inflation touched off by sharply increased oil prices in the 1970's.

ROBERT J. ALEXANDER, Author of "Juan Domingo Perón: A History"

6. History

At the beginning of the 16th century the area of present-day Argentina was sparsely settled by some 20 major Indian groups with a total population estimated at 300,000. Most of these tribes were nomadic hunters and food gatherers, although the political and cultural influence of the

Inca Empire reached into northwest Argentina. In the northeast the Guaraní had developed an advanced slash-and-burn agricultural economy, felling and burning trees to make land temporarily suitable for cultivation.

THE COLONIAL ERA

The Spanish conquerors first intruded on Argentina by way of the Atlantic coast. Following Amerigo Vespucci's lead, Juan Díaz de Solís, one of Spain's chief navigators, entered the Río de la Plata estuary in 1516 in search of a passage around the southern end of South America. He was killed by warlike Indians on the coast. Four years later Ferdinand Magellan wintered on the southern Patagonian coast before pushing on through the strait that bears his name. In 1526-1528, Sebastian Cabot planted a temporary settlement on the Paraná River not far from present-day Rosario. Spain's appetite for new lands, new subjects, and new wealth had been whetted meanwhile by successes in Mexico and Peru, and in 1536 the largest royal expedition ever organized in the conquest of the New World arrived in the Río de la Plata under the command of a Spanish nobleman, Pedro de Mendoza. But the absence of docile Indians and the lack of mineral or agricultural wealth soon discouraged these first settlers of Buenos Aires, and the expedition gradually withdrew up the Paraná to Asunción (Paraguay).

The First Permanent Settlements. Other Spaniards soon reached northwestern Argentina from Peru and in 1553 planted the first permanent Spanish town on Argentine soil, at Santiago del Estero. Establishment of other towns in the interior followed rapidly. Each of these small urban centers was dependent on the agricultural production of its surrounding region and on the

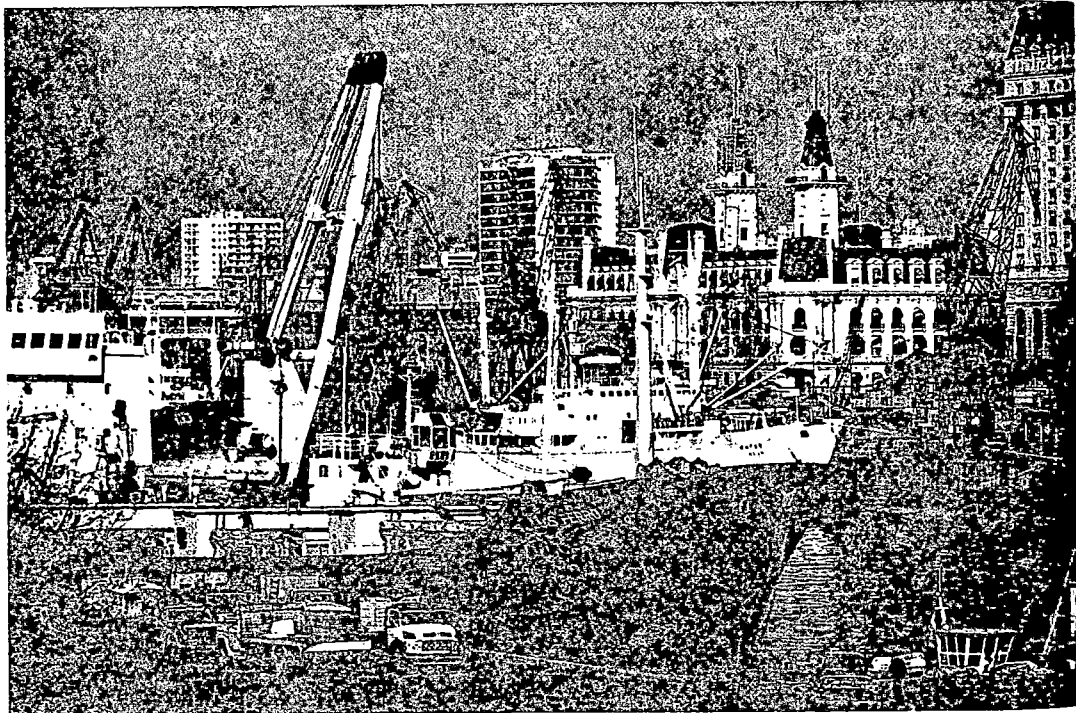
labor of "tamed" or Christianized Indians and, as the colonial period advanced, of black slaves. As the silver exploitation in Upper Peru (Bolivia) developed during the 17th century, the towns of interior Argentina acquired substantial importance as suppliers of animals, food, and textiles for the mining area. Córdoba, where in 1622 the Jesuits founded the first university in the Argentine area, soon emerged as the interior's cultural and spiritual center.

The coastal region lagged significantly behind the interior in development. The colony at Asunción finally turned its energies outward toward the Atlantic, establishing Santa Fe in 1571, resettling Buenos Aires in 1580, and building a village at Corrientes in 1588. But the delay was sufficient to introduce a permanent dichotomy in Argentine development between the coast and the interior. For most of the colonial period the coastal towns remained rude settlements, dependent on the hunting of wild horses and wild cattle and tied to an increasing flow of contraband trade in hides, slaves, and silver.

Growth of the Coastal Area. By the 18th century the structure of the Spanish Empire had begun to change. The mining economy of Upper Peru stopped expanding and then declined, and stagnation slowly spread to the supply centers of the Argentine northwest. The coast, on the other hand, showed signs of overcoming its earlier handicaps. The establishment in 1680 of a Portuguese emporium at Colonia do Sacramento (Uruguay), directly across the Río de la Plata from Buenos Aires, stimulated contraband trade, as did the licenses given a limited number of British ships after 1713 to bring slaves to Buenos Aires. The spread of wild horses and cattle across the fertile Pampa encouraged more rational exploitation of these animal resources than

The port of Buenos Aires has been so vital to Argentina that residents of the city are called *porteños*.

© MILTON & JOAN MARA



were hunting
ered in half-t
still unsubj
away from lar
al towns; fina
the lands on
east landed
Argentina.

In 1776, s
the Río de la
is capital and
by channeled
through Buen
elation, which
30,000 by the
hides, averag
increased to
end of the c
ladero, or
increased the
the hides b.

The exp
aged porte
(domination
also stimula
economic i
completely
acts for imp
tion to the
manufactur
survive.

In the la
er supervi
establishm
fiscandanci
fiscal respo
or administ
large num
increasing
ment and t

Indepen
Buenos Ai
tened the
pire. Alth
militia tw
their evac
only did
mous conf
the free e
goods at
clear prog
gained by

In May
local milit
council, o
junta that
nand VII
Spanish t
on May
dence. /
fused to
self-gover
oped bet
in Peru a
outright
1816, by
province:

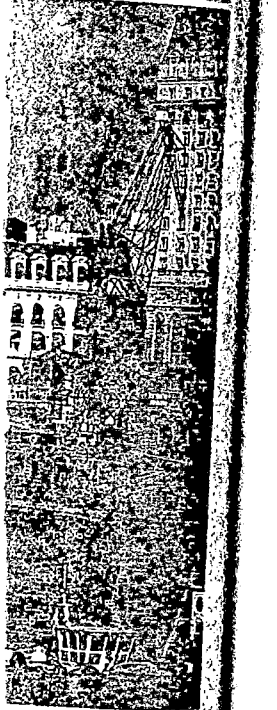
Early /
wildering
directors
1820, of
vicerojal

Christianized Indians and advanced, of black slaves in Upper Peru (Bolivia). In the 17th century, the towns required substantial imports of animals, food, and textiles. Córdoba, where in 1622 the first university in the Argentine was founded as the interior's cultural center.

lagged significantly in development. The colony directed its energies outward in establishing Santa Fe in 1573, in 1580, and building in 1588. But the delay was a permanent dichotomy between the coast and the interior. In the early period of the colonial period, the rude settlements, dependent on wild horses and cattle, encouraged a flow of contraband and silver.

By the 18th century, the Spanish Empire had begun to decline, and the supply centers of the coast, on the other hand, were overcoming its earlier dependence in 1680 of a Port of Colonia do Sacramento across the Río de la Plata. The regulated contraband trade allowed a limited number of slaves to bring slaves to Buenos Aires, wild horses and cattle encouraged more rational use of animal resources than

are called porteños. © MILTON & JOAN MARSH



were hunting. Gradually the animals were gathered in half-tamed herds by gaucho laborers; the small unsubjugated Indian tribes were pushed away from lands immediately surrounding coastal towns; finally, the crown began to sell or grant the lands on which these herds roamed, and the great landed estate, or *estancia*, took root in Argentina.

In 1776, Spain established the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata. Buenos Aires prospered as its capital and chief port. Silver bullion, formerly channeled through Lima, Peru, now passed through Buenos Aires to Spain. The town's population, which numbered 12,000 in 1750, rose to 30,000 by the end of the century. The export of hides, averaging 150,000 a year in the 1750's, increased to 700,000 a year by the 1790's. At the end of the century, the development of the *saladero*, or meat-salting plant, enormously increased the value of herds by exploiting not only the hides but also the entire carcass.

The expansion of the coast's economy encouraged *porteño* domination of the Argentine area (domination by the port of Buenos Aires) and also stimulated latent desires for autonomy. The economic interests of the *porteños* lay in the completely free exchange of agricultural products for imported manufactures in direct opposition to the interests of the interior, where local manufacturing industries needed protection to survive.

FROM COLONY TO NATION

In the late 18th century Spain undertook closer supervision of the viceroyalty through the establishment of a customhouse (1779), several *intendancies* (governorships) with military and fiscal responsibilities (1782), and an *audiencia*, or administrative court. These measures and the large number of new Spanish officials led to increasing friction between the viceregal government and the local, or creole, inhabitants.

Independence. Efforts by Britain to capture Buenos Aires in 1806 and 1807 probably hastened the area's separation from the Spanish Empire. Although the Spanish viceroy fled, local militia twice defeated the British and forced their evacuation from the Río de la Plata. Not only did the local inhabitants thus gain enormous confidence in their own abilities, but also the free entry, during several months, of British goods at Montevideo and Buenos Aires gave clear proof of the commercial advantages to be gained by free trade.

In May 1810 the creole leaders, seconded by local militia units, exerted pressure on the town council, or *cabildo*, to replace the viceroy with a *junta* that would govern in the name of Ferdinand VII, who had been deposed from the Spanish throne by Napoleon. The *junta*, named on May 25, secured autonomy, not independence. After Ferdinand was restored, he refused to recognize creole desires for self-government, and a civil-war situation developed between Buenos Aires and royalist centers in Peru and Upper Peru. These events led to an outright declaration of independence on July 9, 1816, by representatives from several Argentine provinces meeting at Tucumán.

Early Attempts at National Organization. A bewildering succession of *juntas*, triumvirates, and directors played out the drama, from 1810 to 1820, of *porteño* efforts to seize control of the viceroyalty in opposition to provincial desires for

local autonomy. *Porteño* military attempts to subjugate Asunción and Montevideo failed immediately, and those two areas went their own ways—Paraguay emerging as an independent nation in 1813 and Uruguay in 1828. In the interior of Argentina the conflict was more confused because of royalist efforts from Upper Peru to reconquer the northwestern provinces, a move that was finally outflanked by the strategy of José de San Martín and his liberation of Chile (1817–1818) and Peru (1819–1822). Behind those external events, the congress of Tucumán had produced the highly centralized constitution of 1819 but was dissolved when faced with unanimous repudiation by the provinces. In this chaotic situation the individual provinces became autonomous units under their local chieftains, or *caudillos*, although Buenos Aires acquired a certain preeminence.

The province of Buenos Aires further developed its leadership under Bernardino Rivadavia, minister of government from 1821 to 1824. Among the progressive measures adopted were projects for immigration and port works to be supported by British loans, a major commercial treaty with Britain (1825), separation of church and state, and establishment of the University of Buenos Aires (1821). Renewed efforts to implant a centralized constitution in 1826 resulted in Rivadavia's brief presidency over the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata, but the forces of provincial autonomy compelled him to resign the next year.

Juan Manuel de Rosas. The clash between the provincial, or local autonomy, position and the *porteño*, or centralist, tendency acquired new bitterness when troops shot a leading figure of the autonomist faction, Manuel Dorrego, a former governor of the province of Buenos Aires. A wealthy cattleman and local *caudillo* from southern Buenos Aires, Juan Manuel de Rosas, capitalized on the reaction to Dorrego's execution. He restored order under the autonomist banner and was elected governor of Buenos Aires in 1829.

Intermittent civil war over the issue of centralism versus autonomy afflicted Argentina for the next two decades. But Rosas, as the leader of the autonomist group, imposed a de facto control over the provinces, which had been unattainable within the framework of a centralist regime. In 1835, following a successful campaign to push the Indian frontier southward, Rosas was reelected governor of Buenos Aires with "supreme and absolute powers"—a position he was to retain, along with authority to represent the other provinces in financial and external matters, until his overthrow in 1852.

Rosas represented several significant trends in the early development of an independent Argentina. His own wealth and the position of his regime depended on the sale of products from a rudimentary cattle economy in the world market. Thus, despite his apparent political affiliation with the forces of local autonomy, his economic policies steadily undercut the interior and favored the coast. The *saladero* remained the keystone of this system, at least until the mid-19th century, linking in a viable economic unit the vast reaches of the Pampa, the huge herds, the hard-riding gauchos, the town merchants, and the port. Rosas' political strength meanwhile rested in large measure on the leading landholding and commercial groups of the coast and



MUSEO NACIONAL DE BELLAS ARTES, BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA

A Stop in the Country was painted by Prilidiano Pueyrredón, who depicted scenes on the Pampa in the 19th century.

on his charismatic appeal to the lower classes. The major accomplishment of Rosas was to hold the provinces together through the crises of civil war and several foreign interventions. His regime, however, encountered rising resistance not so much from the interior as from the other coastal provinces, which suffered from the trade monopoly maintained by Buenos Aires. In 1851 the governor of Entre Ríos, Justo José de Urquiza, raised the banner of revolution and joined in an alliance with Brazil and Uruguay to overthrow the "tyrant." Within a year Rosas had been defeated at the Battle of Caseros (Feb. 3, 1852) and had fled to exile in England.

The Confederation. At Urquiza's instigation, representatives of the provinces gathered to draft the constitution of 1853, the nation's present charter, modeled closely on that of the United States. But unity was not so easily decreed. The province of Buenos Aires, fearing that it would lose its dominant role in such a federal union, seceded.

In 1854, Urquiza was elected as the first president of a strangely decapitated Argentine Confederation of 13 provinces, lacking the customhouse, chief port, and traditional capital of Argentina. Six years later the wayward province temporarily rejoined the others under the presidency of Santiago Derqui, but it was an uneasy truce. Civil war once more broke out between the armies of Entre Ríos (leading the confederation) and Buenos Aires. Finally in 1862, following the resignation of Derqui and the dissolution of the confederation, Bartolomé Mitre, the governor of Buenos Aires, was elected president of the 14 united provinces of the Argentine Republic.

The Molding of a Nation. The second half of the 19th century marked the emergence of a nation and saw the establishment of trends and patterns that still dominate Argentina. The election of Mitre in 1862 initiated an institutionalized and usually peaceful transfer of power. Men from the provinces occupied ensuing presidencies—Domingo F. Sarmiento from San Juan in 1868, Nicolás Avellaneda from Tucumán in 1874, Julio Roca from Córdoba in 1880—but they ruled in the interest of a national authority and not as pawns in provincial-*porteño* struggles. The climax of this process occurred in 1880 when, after a brief civil war, the city of Buenos Aires was

federalized as the national capital. At the same time the power of local *caudillos* and their ability to revolt against the national government were gradually undercut, as railroads and telegraphs linked the country districts and as Remington rifles replaced the lances of gaucho cavalry.

The growth of the economy transformed Argentina even more radically than political developments did. After 1850, sheep displaced cattle on the grasslands nearest Buenos Aires. The first agricultural colonies established in Santa Fe and Entre Ríos provinces in the 1850's encouraged use of the Pampa for crop farming. The 1870's brought the necessary tranquillity and a rising tide of European immigrants and capital to change the rudimentary *saladero* economy into a major world producer of wool, cereals, and fresh meats. The "conquest of the desert" by 1880 consolidated Argentina's claim to Patagonia and effectively eliminated the Indian menace.

The completion of the first major railroad in 1870, from Rosario to Córdoba, heralded rapid expansion. Between 1870 and 1900 the population climbed from less than 2 million to nearly 5 million, and the last two decades of the century left a net balance of 1.5 million European immigrants in Argentina. Experiments with refrigeration in the 1870's enabled Argentina to begin shipping frozen meat to Europe in the 1880's. Cereal production, barely sufficient for domestic needs before 1870, contributed nearly half of the export trade by 1900.

The city of Buenos Aires, representing the administrative, commercial, and industrial core of the nation, grew even more rapidly than the rest of the country, to a metropolis of over a million inhabitants by 1900. Argentine concern with public education, evinced by Sarmiento, removed the church from a controlling position in education through anticlerical laws in 1884. A conscious cultural heritage, stimulated by two outstanding newspapers, *La Prensa* (1869) and *La Nación* (1870), found increasing reflection in the literate, cosmopolitan population of the cities, especially Buenos Aires. There was now no chance that the interior or the provinces could struggle against the predominance of the coast, and for many, especially for the outside world, Argentina became synonymous with Buenos Aires.

The
the "o
1910
owned
aged in
creation
unify t
The
tags a
the city
class n
Edical
min, Ju
A brief
ed, res
and lec
Vice P
moven
lunch
ally it
election
Yrigoye
nation
Justo,
marily
Roc
1898-1
of the P
pate w
spread
boom c

A monu

CONSERVATIVES AND RADICALS

Thus came about the Argentina typified by the "oligarchy" that ruled the nation from 1880 to 1916—enlightened, progressive trustees who owned the land, appointed presidents, encouraged investments and immigration, extended education, and modernized the cities, yet failed to unify the classes or regions within Argentina.

The Rise and Fall of Radicalism. The first stirrings against this political structure occurred in the city of Buenos Aires itself, where a middle-class movement coalesced as the Unión Cívica Radical, or Radical party, in protest against the domination and corruption of Miguel Juárez Celman. Julio Roca's brother-in-law and successor. A brief revolution in July 1890, although defeated, resulted in the resignation of the president and led to fiscal and administrative reform by Vice President Carlos Pellegrini. The Radical movement continued its opposition, however, launching revolts in 1893, 1895, and 1905. Gradually it developed cohesion around a platform of abstention from politics until guaranteed free elections, and around the personality of Hipólito Yrigoyen. Similar sentiments underlay the formation of the Socialist party in 1894 by Juan B. Justo, although this party aspired to speak primarily for the urban worker.

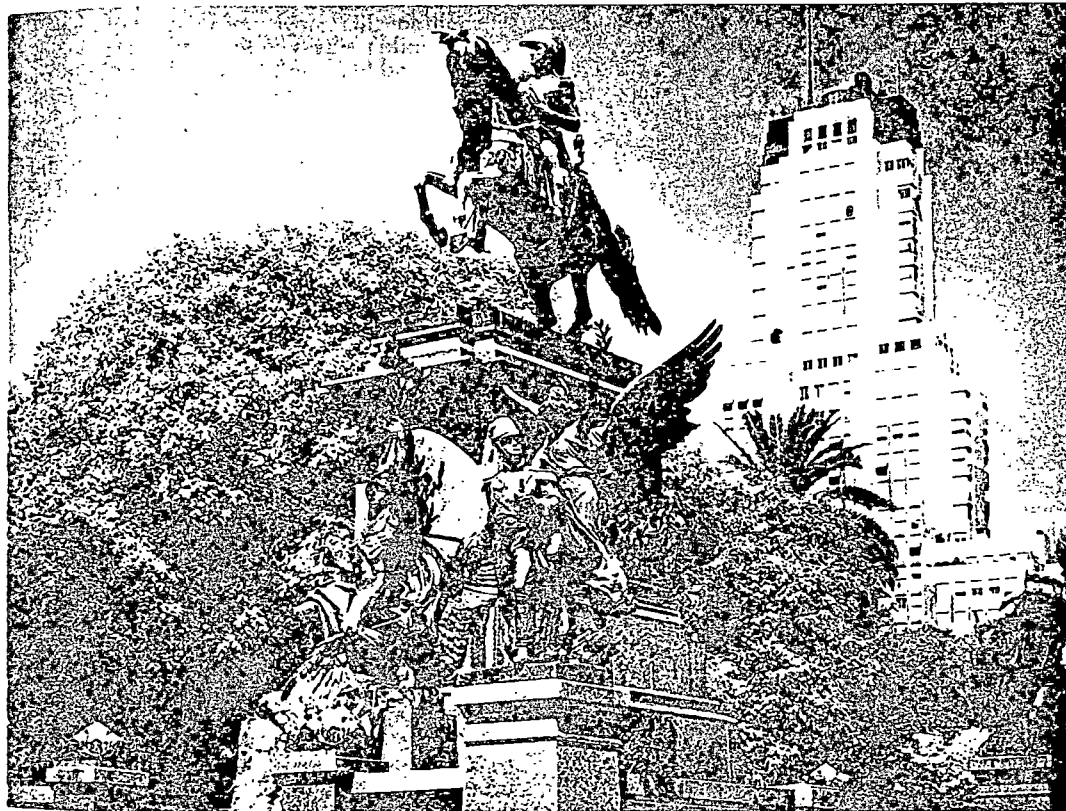
Roca became president for a second term in 1898-1904, years significant for the stabilization of the peso and the settlement of a boundary dispute with Chile, but also punctuated by widespread labor unrest and agitation. The economic boom of 1904-1912 once more stimulated rail-

road construction, immigration, public works, and urban development, but middle- and lower-class agitation continued in the cities. With the election of Roque Sáenz Peña in 1910, the reform wing of the oligarchy achieved power, and two years later the new president forced through Congress legislation establishing secret and compulsory voting for all men. In 1916 the Radicals won a close election, and Hipólito Yrigoyen embarked on the presidency with a mandate of lower- and middle-class support.

The Radical regime lasted until 1930 but introduced few changes. Yrigoyen maintained strict neutrality during World War I, and when the League of Nations in 1921 defeated an Argentine proposal to admit all states to membership, including Germany, he withdrew from that organization. Although friendly to university reform (especially as carried out by students at the University of Córdoba in 1918) and to social legislation, he vigorously suppressed labor agitation, notably a dockworkers' strike at Buenos Aires in 1919. The creation of a national oil agency in 1922 symbolized support for Argentine exploitation of mineral resources but had little immediate impact on economic development. Marcelo T. de Alvear, who succeeded Yrigoyen in 1922, represented the more conservative wing of the Radical party and soon broke with Yrigoyen. The mid-1920's saw a return to economic prosperity based on cereal and meat production, renewed immigration, and a lessening of political strife. In 1928, Yrigoyen was overwhelmingly reelected, but he soon proved unable to stem

A monument to the Argentine general and liberator José de San Martín stands near Buenos Aires' first skyscraper.

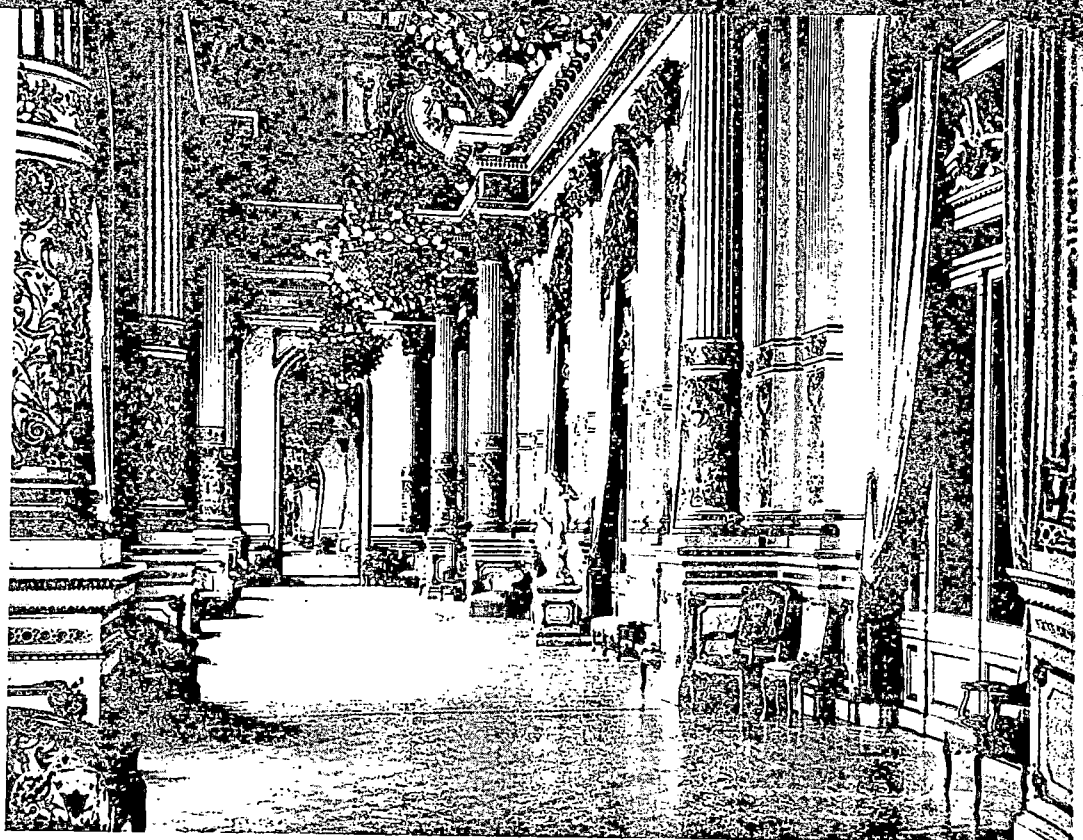
© J. ALLAN CASH/PHOTO RESEARCHERS



BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA in the 19th century

At the same time, their ability to govern was limited by primitive tools and telegraphs. As Remington's "mucho cavalry" transformed Argentine political development, displaced cattle rancheros in Buenos Aires. The landed in Santa Fe in the 1850's encouraged sheep farming. The tranquility and abundance of capital transformed the economy into wool, cereals, and "the desert" by claiming Patagonia from Indian menace. A major railroad in 1852 heralded rapid growth. By 1900 the population rose from 1 million to nearly 5 million. European immigrants with refrigerators began to populate the interior for domestic use, nearly half of the

representing the industrial core. Rapidly, a millennial concern by Sarmiento, recalling position in laws in 1884. A stimulated by two renas (1869) and sing reflection in relation of the city here was now no provinces could be outside world, with Buenos Ai-



The resplendent Teatro Colón in Buenos Aires has presented concerts, opera, and ballet since the early 20th century. © EWING GALLOWAY

the impact of the world depression on Argentina or to provide any effective political direction. On Sept. 6, 1930, Gen. José F. Uriburu, backed by the army and with the general support of most Argentines, removed Yrigoyen from the presidency.

Prologue to Perón. For Argentina the world depression of the 1930's signaled the collapse of a trade system predicated on the exchange of agricultural products for manufactures. This and the military takeover in 1930 established the trends and problems of the nation's contemporary development. The haunting imbalance of trade, the conflicting demands of agrarian versus industrial growth, and the threat of military influence and intervention constantly intruded on post-1930 governments.

The initial corporate-state, pro-Fascist drift evident under Uriburu shifted toward renewal of oligarchical control with the election in 1932 of Agustín P. Justo, an anti-Yrigoyen Radical and former minister of war under Alvear. Supported by the military, by conservative groups, and by the right wing of the Radical party, Justo moved aggressively to institute a national economic recovery program with commercial controls, monetary reforms, social-welfare measures, and public works.

The election in 1938 of Roberto M. Ortiz, another anti-Yrigoyen Radical, momentarily promised a return to political normality by curbing the controlled elections common to the Uriburu and Justo regimes. By 1940, failing health had forced Ortiz to turn over authority to Vice President Ramón S. Castillo, and under pressure of certain military groups the government evinced increasing support for the Axis powers during World War II. Industrialization and agricultural profits benefited the nation's economic

growth, despite shortages created by the war. Yet on June 4, 1943, the military once again intervened and, with general public approval, removed Castillo from power.

Behind this move were several conflicting forces: unhappiness with Argentina's declining military and economic power alongside its traditional rival, Brazil; fear of the next presidential aspirant, a Conservative with clear pro-British ties; and an initial hope of overturning a pro-Axis regime. Under the leadership of Gen. Pedro P. Ramírez, however, the coup soon revealed itself as pro-Axis, instituted stringent political and economic controls, and invited church participation in public education. Under U.S. pressure, Argentina broke relations with the Axis in 1944, but internal reaction forced Ramírez to turn over authority to Gen. Edelmiro Farrell. Meanwhile the fortunes of Juan Domingo Perón, a leading figure in the 1943 coup, were rising rapidly.

JAMES R. SCOBIE

Author of "Argentina: A City and a Nation"

PERÓN AND AFTERWARD

Two key factors led to the emergence of Juan Perón as the country's leading political figure by 1946. One was his mobilizing of civilian support from the organized labor movement. The other was his capacity as a military politician.

Perón and the Military Regime. Within a few months of the military coup of 1943, Perón got himself named to the new post of secretary of labor and social welfare. In that position he enacted a large amount of labor and social legislation between 1943 and 1945, including a social-security system covering most of the country's workers, paid holidays, minimum wages, protection against accidents on the job, and many more measures. He thus made Argentine social

legislation, w
 kind, one of t
 each law in l
 Even mo
 power and pr
 military gove
 trade unions a
 to cooperate
 served active
 always siding
 the extensive
 industries as
 refining, and
 so unions or
 union membe
 in the years a
 Within a
 won the suppo
 of the Confed
 the nation's
 same time, s
 refused to w
 led.

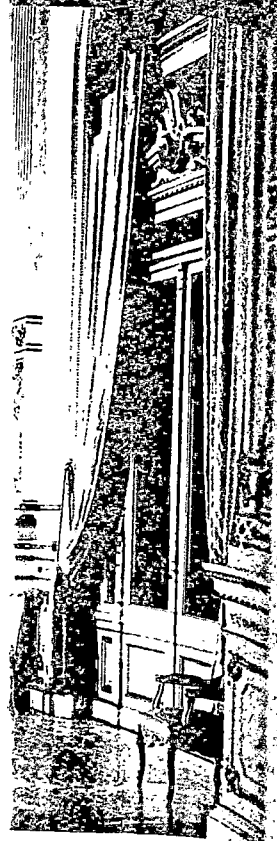
In large
 ing the sup
 class. Perón
 aspirants for
 the military
 played off e
 other group,
 personal sup
 als, and adm

In Octob
 remove Peró
 opponents w
 of his positio
 and secretary
 on the island
 labor suppor
 thousands an
 capital. In
 backed down
 umphant.

The First P
 months, Per
 and was elec
 ried his mist
 the election
 cal groups—
 Progressive l
 aligned again
 three new pa
 trade unionis
 dissident Rad
 cal party; an
 lished for tho
 nor Radicals.

After a ha
 gurated presi
 in office for
 time, his reg
 labor movem

The Preser
 control of the
 to Evita. B
 office in the
 purged the t
 those who l
 Perón to pov
 pendent has
 placed with
 totally to Pe
 ing was com
 (after 1949, t



© EWING GALLOWS

... since the early 20th century.

ges created by the war. the military once again general public approval power.

were several conflicting with Argentina's declining power alongside its tradi- of the next presidential e with clear pro-British of overturning a pro-Axis dership of Gen. Pedro P. coup soon revealed itself ringent political and eco- ited church participation nder U.S. pressure, Ar- with the Axis in 1944, but Ramirez to turn over au- rramingo Perón, a leading were rising rapidly.

JAMES R. SCOBIE

...: A City and a Nation"

AFTERWARD

o the emergence of Juan ading political figure by bilizing of civilian sup- labor movement. The a military politician. Regime. Within a few oup of 1943, Perón got w post of secretary of . In that position he f labor and social legis- nd 1945, including a ering most of the coun- lays, minimum wages, ts on the job, and many made Argentine social

legislation, which until then had lagged far be- hind, one of the most comprehensive bodies of law in Latin America.

Even more significantly, Perón threw the power and prestige of his secretariat and of the military government as a whole behind those trade unions and labor leaders who were willing to cooperate with him. The secretariat inter- vened actively in many labor disputes, almost always siding with the workers. It encouraged the extensive unionization of workers in such industries as meat-packing, metalworking, sugar refining, and textile milling who either had no unions or very weak ones before 1943. Total union membership increased by 600% to 700% in the years after 1943.

Within a year of the 1943 coup, Perón had won the support of the majority of the leadership of the Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT), the nation's major central labor body. At the same time, some of those union leaders who refused to work with Perón were jailed or exiled.

In large part because of his success in win- ning the support of the majority of the working class, Perón was able to outmaneuver all other aspirants for top leadership among the chiefs of the military regime of 1943-1946. He artfully played off each group of officers against every other group, meanwhile building up a corps of personal supporters among the colonels, generals, and admirals.

In October 1945 an attempt was made to remove Perón from leadership. A coup of his opponents within the armed forces stripped him of his positions as vice president, minister of war, and secretary of labor and put him under arrest on the island of Martín García. However, his labor supporters mobilized by the hundreds of thousands and seized control of the streets of the capital. In that confrontation the military backed down, and Perón was brought back triumphant.

The First Perón Regime. During the next few months, Perón did two major things: he ran for and was elected to the presidency, and he married his mistress, María Eva Duarte (Evita). In the election campaign all the established political groups—Conservatives, Radicals, Socialists, Progressive Democrats, and Communists—were aligned against him. So his followers organized three new parties to support his candidacy. The trade unionists established the Partido Laborista; dissident Radicals founded the Renovated Radical party; and an Independent party was established for those who were neither trade unionists nor Radicals.

After a hard-fought campaign Perón was inaug- urated president on June 4, 1946. He remained in office for the next nine years. During that time, his regime continued to be based on the labor movement and the armed forces.

The Preservation of Power. Perón turned over control of the organized labor movement largely to Evita. Between 1947 and 1951, from her office in the secretariat of labor, she thoroughly purged the trade-union leadership of virtually all those who had been instrumental in bringing Perón to power but who had also had their inde- pendent base in the unions. They were re- placed with people who owed their positions totally to Perón and Evita. Collective bargain- ing was completely centralized in the secretariat (after 1949, the ministry) of labor.

During the first three years of the Perón gov- ernment continued generally to side with the unions in collective disputes. From 1949 on, however, as the economic situation became in- creasingly difficult, it was less prone to make economic concessions to the workers.

Shortly after taking office, the president forced the three parties that had backed his elec- tion to merge into what became the Partido Peronista. After women were given the vote in 1949, Evita organized the Partido Peronista Fe- minino, which she completely dominated. The government jailed and exiled many leading op- position figures. Gerrymandering and vote stealing eliminated all but a few oppositionists from Congress and provincial legislatures. The government closed down scores of newspapers, while Evita carried out forced sales of others, particularly in Buenos Aires. On a flimsy pretext the government seized the prestigious *La Prensa* and turned it over to the CGT.

In 1949, Perón ordered a new constitution that included some of the social measures he had enacted. More important, it permitted the re- election of the president. In 1951, under circumstances that made it exceedingly difficult for the opposition to campaign, Perón was duly reelected.

Economic Policies. Perón's economic policies were nationalistic and developmental. The rail- roads, some of the public utilities, and other sec- tors of the economy were nationalized. Also, the government strongly encouraged the industrial- ization of Argentina. It used its monopoly of

President Juan Domingo Perón reviews naval personnel on a national holiday in 1950 during his first term in office.



WIDE WORLD



UPI/BETTMANN

Mourners pay tribute to Eva Perón, the most powerful woman in Argentine history, soon after her death in 1952.

purchase and sale of agricultural and grazing products through the Instituto Argentino de Producción de Intercambio (IAPI), established just before Perón took office, to channel foreign exchange into the purchase of capital goods. Through the newly established Industrial Bank, the regime extended large peso credits to industry. It also greatly increased tariff protection for domestic manufacturing.

In the early 1950's the Perón government moved to establish heavy industry. Under the aegis of the armed forces, construction of a new integrated steel plant began at San Nicolás. Also, the government encouraged a North American corporation to establish at Córdoba the first large auto-assembly plant in Argentina.

However, by the early 1950's, the economic situation turned sour for Argentina. The terms of trade became unfavorable. Furthermore, agriculture, which still provided most of the country's foreign exchange, declined. A severe drought intensified this decline. Partly because of industrialization, demand for petroleum imports grew dramatically, but the government oil agency, YPF, was unable to meet national requirements.

Therefore Perón partly reversed his economic policies. He sought loans from the U.S. Export-Import Bank and signed with Standard Oil of California a contract that was so favorable to

the company that his usually compliant Congress would not ratify it.

The Fall of the First Regime. Perón's second term was turbulent. Evita died in 1952, depriving him of his most useful and popular lieutenant. After her death Perón became involved in sexual scandals that undermined his prestige. The economic situation, particularly a growing inflation, alienated many of his working-class supporters. So did an unexplained vendetta against the Catholic Church, which he launched in 1954. The conflict and the Standard Oil contract weakened Perón's support within the military.

Finally, in June 1955, a major insurrection, principally by the navy and the air force, was launched against the regime. It failed, but in September a more formidable uprising by naval, air force, and some army units, backed by some armed civilians, forced Perón to decide to resign and go into exile. He was to be out of office for 18 years, living abroad most of that time.

Between the Perón Eras. Perón's immediate successor was Gen. Eduardo Lonardi. His attempt to insist on a policy of "no victors, no vanquished" aroused strong opposition among anti-Peronistas, and he was deposed within two months.

The Aramburu Military Regime. Lonardi was succeeded by Gen. Pedro Eugenio Aramburu. Between November 1955 and May 1958 the new government carried out policies that brought most workers, who had been disillusioned with Perón at the time of his ouster, to feel that Perón was their only political protector. Peronistas in and out of the labor movement were jailed; some were killed. The unions were put under control of military officers, and the ministry of labor was largely in the hands of "bright young men" from the personnel departments of the country's major industries.

Meanwhile, almost all anti-Peronista parties were divided between those members who sought a rapprochement with the Peronistas (if not with Perón) and those who were adamantly against everything reminiscent of the Perón regime. The Radicals and Socialists, united in the Perón years, split into rival parties.

Two elections were held during this period. The Lonardi government had suspended the 1949 constitution and gone back to that of 1853, but opinion was widespread that the 19th century document needed to be "modernized." Elections for a constitutional assembly for that purpose resulted in blank votes (as ordered by Perón) constituting the largest number of those cast. The assembly made remarkably few changes in the 1853 constitution.

In February 1958 new general elections were held. The principal candidates were Arturo Frondizi of the Intransigent Radical party, which sought rapprochement with the Peronistas, and Ricardo Balbín of the People's Radical party, the more anti-Peronista Radical faction. Both candidates sought the endorsement of Perón. Frondizi finally received that support, which assured him a majority sufficiently large to deter those military men hostile to him. Thus they were unable to keep Frondizi from becoming president in May 1958.

Frondizi and Economic Reconstruction. During Frondizi's nearly four years in office, he sought basically two objectives: to renew the drive for economic development and industrialization that had characterized the first part of the Perón peri-

and to r
country's ele
list of these
military as a
Frondizi
ed. After giv
months of h
liberation pu
markedly sle
balance of p
roleum legi
gencies to en
exploitation
As a
ports by
investm
ctors, whi
Argenti
automobile
economy w
efforts.
Political
though he c
ationally;
Peronista
They partic
tions late i
well. How
Chamber c
members in
half the g
Chamber.
the armed
siderable r
Continue
zi was succ
of the Sen.
was a turb
unrest and
three-day
navy was w
los Ongan
wanted to
ment.
In the
dle of 196:
Frondizi
tion. How
and the vi
People's P
less than
office in C
Illia, i
forces in r
in office,
from the
labor, alth
selves we
most not
of the oil
with the
oil impor
Illia w
by the mi
the gube
schedule
president
wide sup
Peronista
quarrelec
nounced
visers ali
supporte
Onganía

usually compliant Congress.

gime. Perón's second term ended in 1952, depriving him of his military and popular lieutenant's status. He became involved in several military operations, particularly a growing inflationary working-class supporters' vendetta against the military, launched in 1954. The 1954 Oil contract weakened the military.

In 1955, a major insurrection against the air force, was suppressed. It failed, but a formidable uprising by naval units, backed by some army units, was to be out of office for most of that time.

Perón's immediate successor, Gen. Lonardi. His attempt to restore a "no victors, no vanquished" opposition among anti-Peronists was deposed within two

ry Regime. Lonardi was replaced by Gen. Eugenio Aramburu in 1955 and May 1958 the new military policies that brought about a disillusioned with the military, to feel that Perón was a protector. Peronistas in the movement were jailed; some were put under control of the ministry of labor was "bright young men" from the country's major

All anti-Peronista parties, even those members who were not with the Peronistas (if those who were adamantly opposed to the Perón and Socialists, united in the rival parties.

held during this period, the government had suspended the constitution back to that of 1853, and read that the 19th century "modernized." Electoral assembly for that purpose (as ordered by the largest number of those who made remarkably few institutions.

In general elections were candidates were Arturo Frondizi, the Radical party, which was with the Peronistas, and the People's Radical party, the official faction. Both candidates were opponents of Perón. Frondizi's support, which assured a victory large to deter those who opposed him. Thus they were Frondizi from becoming presi-

Reconstruction. During his years in office, he sought to renew the drive for economic and industrialization that was the first part of the Perón peri-

and to reintegrate the Peronistas into the country's electoral politics. He succeeded in the first months of these but was finally overthrown by the military as a consequence of the second.

Frondizi's economic program was multifaceted. After giving large wage increases in the first months of his administration, he adopted a stabilization program at the end of 1958. This program markedly slowed inflation and helped adjust the balance of payments. He put through new petroleum legislation that permitted foreign companies to enter into contracts with YPF for joint exploitation of any new resources they might find. As a result, oil exports about equaled oil imports by 1962. Frondizi welcomed new foreign investments, particularly in heavy-industry sectors, while encouraging both public and private Argentine investments in these areas. The automobile and heavy-chemical sectors of the economy were created largely as a result of these efforts.

Politically, Frondizi was less successful. Although he did not re-legalize the Peronista party nationally, he did allow legalization of "neo-Peronista" parties in most of the provinces. They participated in provincial and local elections late in 1961 but did not do spectacularly well. However, in elections for the federal Chamber of Deputies and 10 provincial governorships in March 1962, the neo-Peronistas won half the governorships and a plurality in the Chamber. In the face of this Peronista victory, the armed forces overthrew Frondizi after considerable maneuvering.

Continued Efforts to Block Perón's Return. Frondizi was succeeded by José María Guido, president of the Senate. Guido's year and a half in office was a turbulent period, marked by wide social unrest and conflicts within the armed forces. A three-day civil war between the army and the navy was won by the army, led by Gen. Juan Carlos Onganía, chief of those military forces who wanted to return to an elected civilian government.

In the subsequent elections held in the middle of 1963, both the Peronistas and ex-President Frondizi were virtually barred from participation. However, a wide field of nominees ran, and the victor was Arturo Illia, candidate of the People's Radical party, who, however, received less than a third of the total votes cast. He took office in October 1963.

Illia, in turn, was overthrown by the armed forces in mid-1966. During less than three years in office, he was faced with strong opposition from the Peronistas, who controlled organized labor, although the Peronista labor leaders themselves were split into two rival factions. Illia's most notable economic policy was cancellation of the oil contracts negotiated under Frondizi, with the result that Argentina was again a large oil importer by 1966.

Illia was overthrown largely because of fears by the military of a repeat of the 1962 situation in the gubernatorial and congressional elections scheduled for March 1967. The new military president was General Onganía. At first he had wide support, including that of a part of the Peronista labor movement. However, he soon quarreled with organized labor, and the pronounced corporative-state inclinations of his advisers alienated many civilians who had at first supported him. The most serious event of the Onganía period was the "Cordobazo," an insur-

rection by students, organized workers, and other civilians in the city of Córdoba (and on a smaller scale in several other cities) during May 1969. The armed forces took close to a week to suppress this uprising. As a direct result of the Cordobazo, extremist elements among both Peronistas and Trotskyites decided to undertake guerrilla war activities.

President Onganía finally was forced to resign in June 1970, but his replacement, Gen. Roberto Levingston, remained in office for only nine months. In March 1971 the presidency was assumed by Gen. Alejandro Lanusse, who immediately began the process of preparing for general elections. He negotiated with all political factions, including the Peronistas, and with Perón personally. Little by little, Lanusse acceded to Perón's demands: that he be restored to his general's rank; that his party be legalized; and that he or someone of his choice be able to run in the new elections and, if victorious, be allowed to take office.

Peronismo Restored. Perón returned to Argentina for a short period late in 1972 but too late to fulfill the requirements for running in the March 1973 election. On leaving the country, he announced that Héctor J. Cámpora would be the Peronista candidate. Although not popular himself, Cámpora was the victor in a campaign marked by the slogan "Cámpora president, Perón in power!"

Cámpora's presidency lasted only about two months. He resigned in July 1973, paving the way for a new election, in which Perón was his party's nominee. As his running mate, Perón chose his wife, Isabel (María Estela Martínez de Perón) in a move calculated not to alienate either his old trade-union supporters or the new more radical middle-class elements who had joined the Peronista ranks in the last years of his exile. By proposing Isabel, he avoided having to choose between the two factions.

Perón returned with a very conciliatory attitude toward his old opponents, particularly the Radicals. However, he was quickly forced to make a choice among his own followers. When the secretary-general of the CGT was assassinated, presumably by left-wing Peronistas, Perón decisively took the side of the old trade unionists. During the last months of his life, relations with his more left-wing onetime supporters became increasingly hostile.

Perón died on July 1, 1974, and was succeeded by his wife. Isabel Perón's period in office was marked by growing economic chaos and mounting left-wing guerilla warfare and right-wing terrorism. She seemed helpless to deal with this situation. On March 24, 1976, she was ousted by the military and put under arrest.

The Failure of Military Rule. The new military regime, under four successive presidents—Gen. Jorge Videla, Roberto Viola, Leopoldo Galtieri, and Raynaldo Bignone—remained in power almost eight years. The military dissolved Congress, outlawed all political parties, and heavily censored the press. It succeeded largely in destroying the left-wing guerilla movements of the early 1970's. However, in doing so, it gave free rein to several right-wing terrorist groups associated with the armed forces and the police. These groups kidnapped, tortured, and murdered hundreds of people mainly associated with democratic parties, including one ambassador of



UPI/BETTMANN

Worried Argentines exchange their pesos for hard currency during the economic crisis of the early 1980's. Inflation soared over 400% a year.

the Videla government. In addition, thousands of people "disappeared" at the hands of these terrorists—their almost certain fate indicated by large mass graves discovered after the end of the military regime.

In economic policy the regime of 1976–1983 followed a completely neoliberal course. On the grounds that protection for the nation's industries was "artificial," tariffs and other protective devices were drastically reduced, when not abolished altogether. As a consequence, many industrial firms, including some of the country's largest, were driven into bankruptcy. By the end of the military period, Argentina was suffering its worst depression since the 1930's.

What finally brought down the military regime was its ill-conceived attempt to seize the Malvinas (Falkland Islands) from Britain. By early 1982, popular resistance to and protest against the regime was mounting rapidly. In an apparent attempt to divert public attention, the government of President Galtieri ordered the occupation of the Malvinas, which began on April 2, 1982. Seriously miscalculating the reactions of the United States, the Soviet Union, and, most of all, Britain, the military regime suffered a humiliating defeat. British forces completed the reoccupation of the Malvinas with the surrender of Argentine forces there on June 14, 1982.

General Galtieri was soon succeeded by General Bignone. Under Bignone's aegis, elections were held on Oct. 30, 1983. Although several candidates ran, the chief contenders were Raúl Alfonsín of the Radical party (the old People's Radicals) and Italo Luder of the Peronistas. Alfonsín scored an upset victory over Luder. Thus, for the first time since 1946, the Peronistas had been defeated in an election in which they were allowed to participate fully.

The Alfonsín government, which took over on Dec. 10, 1983, faced monumental problems. It moved swiftly to mount a major investigation of the fate of the "disappeared"; indicted ex-Presidents Videla, Galtieri, and Bignone for alleged connections with the right-wing terrorists; drastically cut military appropriations; and transferred control of heavy industry from the armed forces

to the civilian sector. While pursuing its political cleanup, the Alfonsín government had to face an economic crisis. A major depression, more than 400% inflation, and a foreign debt of over \$40 billion were some of the major problems with which it had to deal.

ROBERT J. ALEXANDER, Author of "Juan Domingo Perón: A History"

Bibliography

- Alexander, Robert J., *Juan Domingo Perón: A History* (Westview Press 1979).
- Carlson, Marifran, *Feminismo: The Women's Movement in Argentina from Its Beginnings and Evita Perón* (Academy Chicago 1987).
- Crawley, Eduardo, *A House Divided: Argentina, 1880–1980* (St. Martin's Press 1984).
- Díaz Alejandro, Carlos F., *Essays on the Economic History of the Argentine Republic* (Yale Univ. Press 1970).
- Falcoff, Mark, and Dolkart, Ronald H., eds., *Prologue to Perón: Argentina in Depression and War, 1930–1943* (Univ. of Calif. Press 1976).
- Ferns, Henry S., *The Argentine Republic, 1516–1971* (Harper 1973).
- Fleming, William J., and Bruchey, Stuart, *Regional Development and Transportation in Argentina* (Garland 1987).
- Goldwert, Marvin, *Democracy, Militarism, and Nationalism in Argentina, 1930–1966* (Univ. of Texas Press 1972).
- Lynch, John, *Argentine Dictator: Juan Manuel de Rosas, 1829–1852* (Oxford 1981).
- Munck, Ronaldo, and others, *Argentina from Anarchism to Peronism* (Humanities Press 1987).
- Page, Joseph A., *Perón: A Biography* (Random House 1983).
- Pendle, George, *Argentina* (1963; reprint, Gordon 1976).
- Potash, Robert A., *The Army and Politics in Argentina, 1945–1962: Perón to Frondizi* (Stanford Univ. Press 1980).
- Randall, Laura, *An Economic History of Argentina* (Columbia Univ. Press 1977).
- Rock, David, *Argentina, 1516–1987: From Spanish Colonization to Alfonsín* (Univ. of Calif. Press 1987).
- Rock, David, *Politics in Argentina, 1890–1930: The Rise and Fall of Radicalism* (Cambridge 1975).
- Ross, Stanley R., and McGann, Thomas F., eds., *Buenos Aires: Four Hundred Years* (Univ. of Texas Press 1982).
- Ruggiero, Kristin H., *And Here the World Ends: The Life of an Argentine Village* (Stanford Univ. Press 1988).
- Schoultz, Lars, *The Populist Challenge: Argentine Electoral Behavior in the Postwar Era* (Univ. of N.C. Press 1983).
- Scobie, James R., *Argentina*, 2d ed. (Oxford 1971).
- Slatta, Richard W., *Cauchos and the Vanishing Frontier* (Univ. of Neb. Press 1983).
- Waisman, Carlos H., *Reversal of Development in Argentina* (Princeton Univ. Press 1987).
- Wright, Ione S., and Nekhom, Lisa M., *Historical Dictionary of Argentina* (Scarecrow 1978).

ARGENTITE
When it oc
purtant silv
miners. Us
vains of sil
The opaque
cubic shap
freshly cut
sumishes to
found in sil
na, Bolivia
the United
sea, and a
such famot
Nevada.
Compos
etc gravity

ARGENTRI
1590), Fr
was born:
of Rennes
In reaction
on the Ro
size the f
to state th
quires the
quatre p
Ectagne
tume, or c
a history
(1582).

ARGO, ár
lition of
mythology
his band
divided i
Poop), V
and Cari
the secon
star in th
undergon
ness; in
is Canof

ARGOL,
acid tart
posited c
is fermen
the wine
in the va
mentatio
brings d
in the so
is white
wine fro

Whe:
solution
merce a
used in
medicine
lurgy as

ARGOLI
Greece,
the Peló
around
Saronic
the Gul
on the t
tal of th
In a
home o

JAS1
'E 8
1991
v.1
W14

The Europa World Year Book 1991

19/62/5

ARGENTINA

Introductory Survey

Location, Climate, Language, Religion, Flag, Capital

The Argentine Republic occupies almost the whole of South America south of the Tropic of Capricorn and east of the Andes. It has a long Atlantic coastline stretching from Uruguay and the River Plate to Tierra del Fuego. To the west lie Chile and the Andes mountains, while to the north are Bolivia, Paraguay and Brazil. Argentina also claims the Falkland Islands (known in Argentina as the Islas Malvinas), South Georgia, the South Sandwich Islands and part of Antarctica. The climate varies from sub-tropical in the Chaco region of the north to sub-arctic in Patagonia, generally with moderate summer rainfall. Temperatures in Buenos Aires are generally between 5°C (41°F) and 29°C (84°F). The language is Spanish. The great majority of the population profess Christianity: more than 90% are Roman Catholics and about 2% Protestants. The national flag (proportions 2 by 1) has three equal horizontal stripes, of light blue, white and light blue. The state flag (proportions 3 by 2) has the same design with, in addition, a gold 'Sun of May' in the centre of the white stripe. The capital is Buenos Aires, but the transfer to a new capital at the twin towns of Viedma-Carmen de Patagones is expected to be completed by 1995.

Recent History

In 1916 Hipólito Yrigoyen, a member of the reformist Unión Cívica Radical (UCR), became Argentina's first President to be freely elected by direct popular vote. He remained in office until 1922, when another UCR politician became President. In 1928 Yrigoyen was elected for a second term, but in 1930 he was overthrown by an army coup, and the country's first military regime was established. Civilian rule was restored in 1932. Conservative politicians and landowners held power from then until June 1943, when another coup took place. Military rule was imposed until 1946.

A leading figure in the military regime was Col (later Lt-Gen.) Juan Domingo Perón Sosa, who became Secretary for Labour and Social Welfare in November 1943. In this post, he promoted labour reforms and encouraged unionization. Subsequently, Col Perón also became Vice-President and Minister of War, but in October 1945 he was forced to resign all his posts. This led to popular protests and demonstrations. Perón won a presidential election in February 1946, and took office in June. The new Government extended the franchise to women in 1947. President Perón founded the Peronista party in 1948, and was re-elected in November 1951. His position was greatly enhanced by the popularity, particularly among industrial workers and their families, of his second wife, Eva ('Evita') Duarte de Perón, who died, aged 33, in July 1952. As President, Gen. Perón pursued a policy of extreme nationalism and social improvement. In 1954, however, his measures of secularization and the legalization of divorce brought him into conflict with the Roman Catholic Church. In September 1955 President Perón was deposed by a revolt of the armed forces. He went into exile, eventually settling in Spain, from where he continued to direct the Peronist movement.

Following the overthrow of Gen. Perón, Argentina entered a lengthy period of political instability. A provisional government that took power after the coup was replaced in November 1955 by a military junta, with Gen. Pedro Aramburu, the Chief of General Staff, as President. Congressional and presidential elections were held in February 1958. The presidential election was won by Dr Arturo Frondizi, a left-wing Radical, who took office in May. His party, the UCR Intransigente (UCRI), won large majorities in both chambers of Congress. In March 1962, following Peronist successes in national and provincial elections, President Frondizi was deposed by a military coup. He was replaced by Dr José María Guido, hitherto the President of the Senate, who resigned from the UCRI as a result of criticism from party members. The next presidential elec-

tion, in July 1963, was won by another Radical, Dr Arturo Illía, who took office in October. However, President Illía was overthrown by a coup in June 1966. Power was assumed by a military junta, led by Lt-Gen. Juan Carlos Onganía, a former Commander-in-Chief of the Army. The legislature was closed and political parties were banned. In May 1970 Gen. Aramburu, the former President, was abducted by members of the Montoneros, a guerrilla group of left-wing Peronist sympathizers. In June he was killed by his captors. Later that month President Onganía was deposed by his military colleagues, and a junta of the three armed forces' leaders took power. The junta appointed Brig-Gen. Roberto Levingston, a former Minister of Defence, to be President. In March 1971, however, President Levingston was overthrown by the junta, which nominated one of its members, Lt-Gen. Alejandro Lanusse (Commander-in-Chief of the Army since October 1968), to be President. Urban guerrilla groups intensified their activities in 1971 and 1972.

Congressional and presidential elections were held in March 1973. The Frente Justicialista de Liberación, a Peronist coalition, won control of the National Congress, while the presidential election was won by the party's candidate, Dr Héctor Cámpora, who took office in May. However, President Cámpora resigned in July, to enable the holding of a fresh presidential election which Gen. Perón, who had returned to Argentina in June (after nearly 18 years in exile), would be eligible to contest. This election, in September 1973, returned the former President to power, with more than 60% of the votes. He took office in October, with his third wife, María Estela ('Isabelita') Martínez de Perón, as Vice-President.

General Perón died in July 1974 and was succeeded as President by his widow. The Government's economic austerity programme and the soaring rate of inflation caused widespread strikes and dissension among industrial workers. This increasingly chaotic situation resulted in demands for the resignation of President Perón. In March 1976 the armed forces, led by Lt-Gen. Jorge Videla (Commander of the Army), overthrew the President and installed a three-man junta: Gen. Videla was sworn in as President. The junta made substantial alterations to the Constitution, dissolved Congress, suspended all political and trade union activity and removed most government officials from their posts. Several hundred people were arrested while Señora Perón was detained and later went into exile.

The new military regime launched a successful, although ferocious, offensive against left-wing guerrillas and opposition forces, and reintroduced the death penalty for abduction, subversion and terrorism. The imprisonment, torture and murder of many people who were suspected of left-wing political activity by the armed forces provoked protests over violations of human rights, from within Argentina and from abroad. The number of people who 'disappeared' after the coup was estimated to be between 6,000 and 15,000. Repression eased in 1978, after all armed opposition had been eliminated.

In May 1978 the junta confirmed President Videla in office until March 1981. In August 1978 he retired from the army and ceased to be part of the junta. In March 1981 Gen. Roberto Viola, a former member of the junta, succeeded President Videla and promised to extend the dialogue with the political parties as a prelude to an eventual return to democracy. After suffering a heart attack, he was replaced in December by Lt-Gen. Leopoldo Galtieri, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, who attempted to cultivate popular support by continuing the process of political liberalization which had been initiated by his predecessor.

To distract attention from the unstable domestic situation and following unsuccessful negotiations with the UK in February over Argentina's long-standing sovereignty claim, President Galtieri ordered the invasion of the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas) in April 1982 (see chapter on the Falkland

Islands, V
conflict, in
ist Arge
cession
defeat bro
Galtieri w
replaced.
Videlaide
President
for the d
the crisis
of power
Commissi
that the
members
ual Galti
officers w
the honou
the regim
onesty
police, the
had been
In Febr
and presi
April the
and trade
is titular
at remain
was suppl
announced
elections,
former P
president
Chamber
majority
a Presid
Shortly
radical re
retiremen
be addition
ordered t
the Arge
abduction
military
exhumati
throughout
and 30,000
war' betw
from 1976
the forma
nce of P
dirty war
1984, gave
the 'dirty
forces in
President
former lea
Court of J
The trial
hundred
revealed t
perpetrato
be nine a
Four of th
as the re
for two fo
Massera.
The cou
held powe
rently wit
1986 all t
negligence
12 years f
Galtieri ar
began at
1988 the C
against G
with two
Public a
the res
1985. At t

Islands, Vol. II). The UK recovered the islands after a short conflict, in the course of which about 750 Argentine lives were lost. Argentine forces surrendered in June 1982, but no formal cessation of hostilities was declared until October 1989. The defeat brought about the final humiliation of the armed forces: Galtieri was forced to resign, and the rest of the junta were replaced. The army, under the control of Lt-Gen. Cristino Nicolaides, installed a retired general, Reynaldo Bignone, as President in July 1982. The armed forces were held responsible for the disastrous economic situation, and, unable to resolve the crisis, were forced to move rapidly towards the transfer of power to a civilian government. Moreover, in 1983 a Military Commission of Inquiry into the war concluded in its report that the main responsibility for Argentina's defeat lay with members of the former junta, who were recommended for trial. Galtieri was given a prison sentence, while several other officers were put on trial for corruption, murder and insulting the honour of the armed forces. Meanwhile, in August 1983 the regime approved the Ley de Pacificación Nacional, an amnesty law which granted retrospective immunity to the police, the armed forces and others for political crimes that had been committed over the previous 10 years.

In February 1983 the Government announced that general and presidential elections would be held on 30 October. In April the ban on 'Isabelita' Perón and 25 former government and trade union officials was lifted. Señora Perón was retained as titular head of the Peronist party, the Partido Justicialista, but remained in Spain. The other main party, the UCR, which was supported by some socialist and some conservative groups, announced its candidate, Dr Raúl Alfonsín, in July. At the elections, the UCR succeeded in attracting the votes of many former Peronist supporters. It won 317 of the 600 seats in the presidential electoral college, and 129 of the 254 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, although the Peronists won a narrow majority of provincial governorships. Dr Alfonsín took office as President on 10 December.

Shortly after taking office, President Alfonsín announced a radical reform of the armed forces, which led to the immediate retirement of more than one-half of the military high command. In addition, he repealed the Ley de Pacificación Nacional and ordered the court martial of the first three military juntas to rule Argentina after the coup of 1976, for offences including abduction, torture and murder. Public opposition to the former military regime was strengthened by the discovery and exhumation of hundreds of bodies from unmarked graves throughout the country. It was believed that between 15,000 and 30,000 people had disappeared during the so-called 'dirty war' between the former military regime and its opponents from 1976 until 1983. In December the Government announced the formation of the National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons (CONADEP) to investigate the events of the 'dirty war'. A report by CONADEP, published in September 1984, gave details of 8,960 people who had disappeared during the 'dirty war' and implicated 1,300 officers of the armed forces in the campaign of repression and violence. In October President Alfonsín announced that the court martial of the former leaders would be transferred to the civilian Federal Court of Appeal.

The trial of the former leaders began in April 1985. Several hundred prosecution witnesses gave testimonies which revealed the systematic atrocities and the campaign of terror perpetrated by the former military leaders. The verdicts on the nine accused officers were announced in December 1985. Four of the accused were acquitted, but sentences were passed on the remaining five, including sentences of life imprisonment for two former junta members, Gen. Videla and Adm. Eduardo Massera.

The court martial of the members of the junta which had held power during the Falklands war was conducted concurrently with the trial of the former military leaders. In May 1986 all three members of that junta were found guilty of negligence and received prison sentences, including a term of 12 years for Galtieri. In July 1988 consideration of an appeal by Galtieri and five other military leaders against their sentences began at the civilian Federal Court of Appeals. In October 1988 the Court announced its decision to uphold the sentence against Galtieri, but in October 1989 he was pardoned, along with two other senior military leaders (see below).

Public approval of the Government's policies was reflected in the results of the national and local elections in November 1985. At the elections for one-half of the seats in the Chamber

of Deputies, the UCR received 43.5% of the votes and increased its strength by one seat. In January 1986 President Alfonsín announced the formation of an 18-member advisory body, the Consejo para la Consolidación de la Democracia, which was to advise the Government on the proposed reform of the Constitution. In September 1988, however, Alfonsín reluctantly announced the postponement of such a measure, having failed to secure any consensus with the other political parties on this issue.

In May 1986 the President announced plans to transfer the capital of Argentina from Buenos Aires to the twin towns of Viedma-Carmen de Patagones, about 750 km south of the present capital. The announcement aroused considerable controversy, principally because such a move was expected to cost in excess of US \$3,000m. A further conflict developed with the Roman Catholic Church over the administration's plans to legalize divorce, which had been overwhelmingly approved by the Chamber of Deputies in August. Following some amendment, the legislation was eventually approved in June 1987.

In late 1986 the Government sought approval for the Punto Final ('Full Stop') Law, whereby civil and military courts were to begin new judicial proceedings against members of the armed forces accused of violations of human rights within a 60-day period, ending on 22 February 1987. The legislation provoked widespread opposition but was, nevertheless, approved by the Senate in December. In early 1987 Adm. Ramón Arosa, the Navy Chief of Staff, warned the Government that more trials of military personnel would further undermine military morale. His warning was seemingly vindicated when, in April, a series of rebellions broke out at army garrisons throughout the country. The most serious insurrection occurred at the Campo Mayo base and involved more than 100 middle-ranking officers, who proclaimed their opposition to the Government's policy on the prosecution of members of the armed forces, and demanded a general amnesty and changes in the high command. Although the rebellions were resolved without incident, many observers considered that the President had made significant concessions to the rebel officers, a view supported by the Government's disclosure, in May, of new legislation governing violations of human rights, known as the Obediencia Debida ('Due Obedience') Law. Under the legislation, an amnesty was to be declared for all members of the armed forces below the rank of colonel. By June the legislation had been approved by the Senate and the Supreme Court, and had been extended to absolve all military and police officers holding the rank of Brigadier-General. Therefore, under the new law, of the 350-370 officers hitherto due to face prosecution for violations of human rights, only 30-50 senior officers were now to be tried.

The legislation provoked great controversy, and was a decisive factor in the ruling party's appeal to voters at the gubernatorial and legislative elections of 6 September 1987, when voting was held for 127 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, 22 provincial governorships, more than 700 provincial legislative seats and more than 10,000 municipal posts. The Partido Justicialista made significant gains, while the UCR suffered an unexpected and severe defeat, losing its overall majority in the lower house and five of the seven provincial governorships that it had previously held, including the key governorship of Buenos Aires province.

The UCR's defeat was also attributed to its imposition, in July 1987, of an unpopular programme of strict austerity measures. Following the elections, however, further stringent measures were introduced to reverse the economic decline, which immediately led to protests by the powerful trade union, the Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT). Since 1984 the CGT had held a series of general strikes in protest at the Government's economic policy, and two further strikes were organized in early November and December, leaving the Government's plans for a 'Pacto de Garantías', a new social and economic accord with the trade unions and Peronists, in jeopardy.

In January 1988 Lt-Col Aldo Rico, a prominent figure in the insurrection of April 1987 (see above), led a rebellion at the garrison town of Monte Caseros, and in December of the same year, at the Villa Martelli munitions depot near Buenos Aires, another revolt took place, under the leadership of a right-wing nationalist officer, Col Mohamed Alí Seineldín, with the support of some 850 followers. Both insurrections were swiftly suppressed. In both incidents, the rebel military factions

demanding higher salaries for soldiers, an increase in the military budget and some form of amnesty for officers awaiting trial for violations of human rights during the 'dirty war'. The insurgents insisted that both public and governmental recognition of the justifiable necessity of certain military actions during the 'dirty war' was vital to the restoration of the honour and morale of the armed forces.

In January 1989 the army quickly repelled an attack by 40 left-wing activists on a military base at La Tablada, 25 km west of Buenos Aires, in which 39 lives were lost. Many of the guerrilla band were identified as members of the Movimiento Todos por la Patria. While Alfonsín publicly congratulated the military on its swift suppression of the uprising, opposition groups (including the Peronist presidential candidate, Carlos Saúl Menem of the Partido Justicialista) accused government and military bodies of having deliberately provoked the attack in an attempt to discredit all opposition factions. In January the National Security Council was established to co-ordinate 'a new fight against subversion', and in March the Internal Security Committee was established, providing for legal military intervention in domestic conflicts if police and security forces were overwhelmed.

In the campaign for the May 1989 elections, Menem headed the Frente Justicialista de Unidad Popular (FREJUPO) electoral alliance, comprising the Partido Justicialista, the Partido Demócrata Cristiano (PDC) and the Partido Intransigente (PI). He sought to attract the popular vote with his flamboyant style and the promise of a 'production revolution', to be based on wage increases and significant aid to industry. On 14 May the Peronists were guaranteed a return to power after a 13-year absence, having secured, together with the two other members of the FREJUPO alliance, 48.5% of the votes cast in the presidential election and 310 of the 600 seats in the electoral college. The Peronists were also victorious in the election for 127 seats (one-half of the total) in the Chamber of Deputies, winning 45% of the votes and 66 seats, in contrast to the 29% (41 seats) obtained by the UCR.

The breakdown of attempts by the retiring and incoming administrations to collaborate, and the reluctance of the Alfonsín administration to continue in office with the prospect of further economic embarrassment, left the nation in a political vacuum. Menem was due to take office on 10 December 1989, but the worsening economic situation which compelled Alfonsín to introduce a 'war economy', to appoint a crisis Cabinet and to declare a 30-day state of siege after several people were killed and 800 arrested during food riots, looting and bombings in several Argentine cities, forced him to resign five months earlier than scheduled. Menem took office on 8 July.

Rumours of a possible amnesty for imprisoned officers and others still awaiting trial, encouraged by suspicions that such an offer had been made to the armed forces in return for electoral support, led to the biggest ever demonstration for human rights in Argentina in September 1989, when more than 100,000 people gathered in Buenos Aires. In October, however, the Government issued Decrees 1003, 1004 and 1005, whereby 210 officers, NCOs and soldiers involved in the 'dirty war', the governing junta during the Falklands War and leaders of three recent military uprisings (including Lt-Col Aldo Rico and Col Mohamed Ali Seineldín) were pardoned.

Economic affairs dominated the latter half of 1989 and much of 1990. The Minister of the Economy, Néstor Rapanelli, introduced several measures, including the devaluation of the austral, but these failed to reverse the trend towards hyperinflation, and Rapanelli resigned in December 1989. His successor, Antonio Ermán González, introduced a comprehensive plan for economic readjustment, incorporating the expansion of existing plans for the transfer to private ownership of many state-owned companies (including ENTEL, the state telecommunications company, and Aerolíneas Argentinas, a state-owned airline, both of which were acquired by consortia headed by Spanish companies in 1990), the rationalization of government-controlled bodies, and the restructuring of the nation's financial systems. Four further adjustments were made to González's economic programme during 1990. In each case, restrictions on government spending were intensified, and non-profit-making concerns were rationalized (often leading to forced retirement or temporary redundancy for thousands of employees) or offered for transfer to private ownership. Following the dismissal or resignation of a succession of Governors of the Central Bank, González appointed himself to the post and assumed almost total control of the country's financial structure. In an

attempt to attain economic targets that the Treasury had guaranteed as a condition for securing disbursements from the IMF, the Government raised charges for public utilities, transport and fuel, so as to increase revenues.

Public disaffection with the Government's economic policy was widespread. Failure to contain the threat of hyperinflation led to a loss in purchasing power, and small-scale food riots and looting became more frequent. The Government's rationalization programme proved, predictably, unpopular with public-sector employees, and industrial action and demonstrations, organized from within the sector with the backing of trades unions, political opposition parties and human rights organizations, were well supported. Attempts to declare one-day general strikes, however, were only partially successful. In October 1990, following its failure to gain support as a congressional bill, legislation limiting the right to strike of workers employed in essential services was proclaimed as a presidential decree. Opposition to González's economic readjustment programme, however, was by no means universal. In response to a request from President Menem for a 'marcha del Sí' some 80,000 government supporters gathered in Buenos Aires in April 1990 to demonstrate their approval of government policy.

Despite attempts by President Menem to gain the support of dissident trade unionists by appointing them to newly-created government commissions, divisions within the CGT between supporters and opponents of the Government's economic policy in general, and wage restraint and potential unemployment in particular, were physically realized in 1990, when both factions (the pro-Government CGT-San Martín, headed by Guerinero Andreoni, and the anti-Government CGT-Azopardo, headed by Saúl Ubaldini) received legal recognition.

Attempts by President Menem to consolidate the Government's position had failed earlier in 1990, and divisions within the Peronists themselves became increasingly apparent. Eight dissident Peronist deputies accused Menem of allying himself to traditional enemies of the Peronist movement, and published an alternative economic programme advocating a return to a system of state regulation of the market. Antonio Cafiero, Governor of the province of Buenos Aires and one of Menem's most vociferous critics, resigned from the post of chairman of the Partido Justicialista following the defeat of proposals for constitutional reform in the province, advocated by Cafiero, at a referendum held in August 1990. Although Menem had supported the proposals for constitutional reform, Cafiero's defeat allowed Menem to assume the chairmanship of the party and to gain a dominant position in a contest which had threatened to divide Peronist supporters into 'menemista' and 'cafierista' factions early in the year.

In August 1990, following a formal declaration by the PI and the PDC of their intention to leave the 1989 (FREJUPO) alliance, Menem announced his readiness to enter into electoral alliances with centre-right parties for congressional elections due to be held in 1991. It was also understood that the President planned to seek constitutional reform, at a national level, as part of the electoral campaign for 1991.

Widespread public concern at the apparent impunity of military personnel increased following President Menem's suggestion that a further military amnesty would be granted before the end of 1990, and was exacerbated by rumours of escalating military unrest (which were realized in December 1990 when 200-300 rebel soldiers staged a swiftly-suppressed uprising at the Patricios infantry garrison in Buenos Aires). Meanwhile, Menem sought to renew public confidence in the armed forces by encouraging military participation in the Independence Day parade and the unpopular decision to dispatch two warships and a small contingent of military personnel to the Persian Gulf to support the imposition of trade sanctions against Iraq, recommended by the UN following the forcible annexation of Kuwait by Iraq in August 1990.

In May 1985 a treaty was formally ratified by representatives of the Argentine and Chilean Governments, concluding the territorial dispute over three small islands in the Beagle Channel, south of Tierra del Fuego. The islands were awarded to Chile, while Argentine rights to petroleum and other minerals in the disputed waters were guaranteed.

Full diplomatic relations were restored with the UK in February 1990, following three days of high-level negotiations in Madrid. Trade and communications restrictions, which had been in force since the conflict over the Falkland Islands in 1982 (including the 150-mile military protection zone around the islands), were expected to be relaxed or removed com-

ARGE
 pletely
 disputed
 improve
 EEC sit
 with Ar
 The
 Argent
 Alfonsi
 policies
 1988-9
 Peru. C
 Govern
 Argent
 Nation
 Legis
 Chamb
 adult s
 seats r
 membe
 nine ye
 years).
 an elec
 own e
 ters n
 Defen
 A peri
 the 24
 month
 in the
 of the
 an est
 with a
 and th
 forces
 was e
 Econo
 In 198
 gross
 prices
 ing 1:
 at an
 by 1.6
 incre:
 produ
 of 0.2
 Agr
 of GI
 force
 cash
 produ
 ductio
 Indi
 power
 trial p
 Min
 of the
 of pet
 Mar
 emplo
 sector
 ing, 1
 tiles.
 annua
 Enc
 (43.8%)
 electo
 Impos
 impos
 In
 US \$:
 accou
 source
 princ
 pers
 were
 princ
 prod

ARGENTINA

pletely during 1990. The question of sovereignty over the disputed islands, however, was not resolved. Following the improvement in relations between Argentina and the UK, the EEC signed a new five-year trade and co-operation agreement with Argentina in April 1990.

The Government hoped to continue the attempt to improve Argentina's international trading position, initiated by the Alfonsín administration, through integration and co-operation policies agreed with neighbouring Latin American countries in 1988-90, and a strengthening of trading links with the USSR, Peru, Canada and Syria in 1989.

Government

Argentina comprises a Federal District, 23 provinces and the National Territory of Tierra del Fuego.

Legislative power is vested in the bicameral Congress: the Chamber of Deputies has 254 members, elected by universal adult suffrage for a term of four years (with one-half of the seats renewable every two years), while the Senate has 46 members, nominated by provincial legislatures for a term of nine years (with one-third of the seats renewable every three years). Executive power is vested in the President, elected by an electoral college for a six-year term. Each province has its own elected Governor and legislature, concerned with all matters not delegated to the Federal Government.

Defence

A period of national service is compulsory for men between the ages of 18 and 45 years. The length of service is 6-12 months in the army, 12 months in the air force or 14 months in the navy; some conscripts may serve less. The total strength of the regular armed forces in June 1990 was 75,000 (including an estimated 16,000 conscripts), of which the army had 40,000 with a further 250,000 trained reservists, the navy had 20,000 and the air force 15,000 men. There were also paramilitary forces numbering 15,000 men. Defence expenditure for 1990 was estimated to be 381,534m. australes.

Economic Affairs

In 1988, according to estimates by the World Bank, Argentina's gross national product (GNP), measured at average 1986-88 prices, was US \$83,040m., equivalent to \$2,640 per head. During 1980-88, it was estimated, GNP decreased, in real terms, at an average annual rate of 0.3%, and GNP per head declined by 1.6% per year. Over the same period, Argentina's population increased by an annual average of 1.4%, while gross domestic product (GDP) decreased, in real terms, by an annual average of 0.2%.

Agriculture (including forestry and fishing) contributed 13% of GDP (at current prices) in 1987. About 11% of the labour force were employed in agriculture in 1987. The principal cash crops are wheat, maize, sorghum and soybeans. Beef production is also important. During 1980-88 agricultural production increased by an annual average of 1.4%.

Industry (including mining, manufacturing, construction and power) contributed 43% of GDP in 1987. During 1980-88 industrial production decreased by an annual average of 0.8%.

Mining contributed 2.4% of GDP in 1987, and employed 0.5% of the labour force in 1980. Argentina has substantial deposits of petroleum and natural gas, as well as steam coal and lignite.

Manufacturing contributed 31% of GDP in 1987, and employed 20% of the labour force in 1980. The most important sectors, measured by gross value of output, are food-processing, machinery and transport equipment, chemicals and textiles. During 1986-88 manufacturing output decreased by an annual average of 0.2%.

Energy is derived principally from hydroelectric power (43.8% in 1987) and coal. As much as 15% of Argentina's electricity can be produced by its two nuclear power stations. Imports of mineral fuels comprised 11.4% of the cost of total imports in 1987.

In 1989 Argentina recorded a visible trade surplus of US \$5,709m., but there was a deficit of \$1,292m. on the current account of the balance of payments. In 1987 the principal source of imports (16%) was the USA, which was also the principal market for exports (14%). Other major trading partners are Brazil and the USSR. The principal exports in 1987 were prepared animal fodder, cereals and fats and oils. The principal imports were machinery and chemical and mineral products.

In mid-1989 the projected budget deficit for that year was estimated to be equivalent to some 15% of GDP. Argentina's total external public debt was US \$48,166m. at the end of 1988, and was expected to reach \$64,000m. by the end of 1989. In 1988 the cost of debt-servicing exceeded 32% of revenue from exports of goods and services. The annual rate of inflation averaged 3,079% in 1989 and was 1,838% in the 12-month period to October 1990. An estimated 5.2% of the labour force were unemployed in 1987.

During 1986-90 Argentina signed a series of integration treaties with neighbouring Latin American countries, aimed at increasing bilateral trade and establishing the basis for a Latin American economic community. Argentina is a member of ALADI (see p. 172).

During the 1980s the cereal and beef sectors were adversely affected by intense competition from sales of subsidized produce by other countries. Massive external debt obligations and a scarcity of raw materials damaged industry. The temporary cessation of interest payments on foreign debts in April 1988, and the failure to fulfil economic stipulations attached to loans from the IMF and the World Bank, restricted Argentine access to further significant financial aid. In September 1989, however, the IMF, recognizing the success of the austerity measures, adopted under the new Menem administration, and approving the extensive privatization plans, signed a letter of intent to guarantee a stand-by loan of US \$1,400m. By November 1990, however, disbursements had been suspended on three occasions, owing to the Government's failure to stem burgeoning inflation. In June 1990, following a 26-month moratorium, Argentina resumed interest payments on outstanding debt with a modest repayment plan of US \$40m. per month.

Social Welfare

Social welfare benefits comprise three categories: retirement, disability and survivors' pensions; family allowances; and health insurance. The first is administered by the Subsecretaría de Seguridad Social (part of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security) and funded by compulsory contributions from all workers, employed and self-employed, over 18 years of age. The second is supervised by the Subsecretaría and funded by employers. The third is administered by means of public funds and may be provided only by authorized public institutions. Work insurance is the responsibility of the employer. Of total expenditure by the central Government in 1987, A754m. (2.1%) was for health services, and a further A11,257m. (31.2%) for social security and welfare. Government expenditure on social welfare in 1990 was expected to total A622,406m.

In September 1990, owing to persistently high inflation, the minimum monthly salary for employees was increased from A20,000 to A720,000.

In 1975 there were 48,693 physicians working in Argentina, equivalent to one for every 530 inhabitants: the best doctor-patient ratio of any country in Latin America.

Education

Education from pre-school to university level is available free of charge. Education is officially compulsory for all children at primary level, between the ages of six and 14 years. Secondary education lasts for between four and six years, depending on the type of course: the normal certificate of education (bachillerato) course lasts for five years, whereas a course leading to a commercial bachillerato may last for four or five years, and one leading to a technical or agricultural bachillerato lasts for six years. The total enrolment at primary and secondary schools in 1987 was equivalent to 96% of the school-age population. Non-university higher education, usually leading to a teaching qualification, is for three or four years, while university courses last for four years or more. There are 29 state universities and 23 private universities. Government expenditure on education and culture for 1990 was budgeted at A303,973m.

According to estimates by UNESCO, the average rate of adult illiteracy in 1985 was only 4.5%.

Public Holidays

1991: 1 January (New Year's Day), 29 March (Good Friday), 1 May (Labour Day), 25 May (Anniversary of the 1810 Revolution), 10 June (Occupation of the Islas Malvinas), 20 June (Flag Day), 10 July (Independence Day), 17 August (Death of Gen. José de San Martín), 12 October (Discovery of America), 25 December (Christmas).

ARGENTINA

1992: 1 January (New Year's Day), 17 April (Good Friday), 1 May (Labour Day), 25 May (Anniversary of the 1810 Revolution), 10 June (Occupation of the Islas Malvinas), 20 June (Flag Day), 10 July (Independence Day), 17 August (Death of Gen.

Introductory Survey, Statistical Survey
 José de San Martín, 12 October (Discovery of America), 25 December (Christmas).

Weights and Measures
 The metric system is in force.

Statistical Survey

Sources (unless otherwise stated): Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, Hipólito Yrigoyen 250, 12°, Of. 1210, 1310 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 33-7872; telex 21952; and Banco Central de la República Argentina, Reconquista 266, 1003 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-8111; telex 1137; fax (1) 334-5712.

Area and Population

AREA, POPULATION AND DENSITY

Area (sq km)	2,766,889*
Population (census results)†	
30 September 1970	23,362,204
22 October 1980	
Males	13,755,983
Females	14,191,463
Total	27,947,446
Population (official estimates at mid-year)	
1987	31,137,301
1988	31,534,098
1989	31,928,519
Density (per sq km) at mid-1989	11.5

* 1,068,302 sq miles. The figure excludes the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas) and Antarctic territory claimed by Argentina.
 † Figures exclude adjustment for underenumeration, estimated to have been 1% at the 1980 census.

PROVINCES (estimates at mid-1989)

	Population	Capital
Buenos Aires—Federal District	2,900,794	
Buenos Aires—Province	12,604,018	La Plata
Catamarca	232,523	Catamarca
Córdoba	2,748,006	Córdoba
Corrientes	748,834	Corrientes
Chaco	824,447	Resistencia
Chubut	327,780	Rawson
Entre Ríos	1,005,885	Paraná
Formosa	354,512	Formosa
Jujuy	502,694	Jujuy
La Pampa	237,386	Santa Rosa
La Rioja	191,468	La Rioja
Mendoza	1,387,914	Mendoza
Misiones	723,839	Posadas
Neuquén	326,313	Neuquén
Río Negro	466,713	Viedma
Salta	822,378	Salta
San Juan	528,838	San Juan
San Luis	246,087	San Luis
Santa Cruz	147,928	Río Gallegos
Santa Fé	2,765,678	Santa Fé
Santiago del Estero	641,273	Santiago del Estero
Tucumán	1,134,309	San Miguel de Tucumán
Territory		
Tierra del Fuego	58,881	Ushuaia

Source: Ministerio de Salud y Acción Social.

PRINCIPAL TOWNS (estimated population at mid-1985)

Buenos Aires (capital)	10,728,000*	San Juan	324,000*
Córdoba	1,055,000*	Santa Fé	310,000
Rosario	1,016,000*	Salta	302,000
Mendoza	668,000*	Resistencia	262,000*
La Plata	611,000*	Bahía Blanca	242,000*
San Miguel de Tucumán	571,000*	Corrientes	197,000
Mar del Plata	448,000	Posadas	191,000
		Paraná	178,000
		Santiago del Estero	172,000

* Including suburbs.

Source: UN, *Demographic Yearbook*.

BIRTHS AND DEATHS

	Registered live births		Registered deaths	
	Number	Rate (per 1,000)	Number	Rate (per 1,000)
1982	663,429	22.8	233,071	8.0
1983	655,876	22.1	251,301	8.5
1984	635,323	21.2	255,591	8.5
1985	650,873	21.5	241,377	7.9
1986	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1987	662,871	21.1	250,226	7.9
1988	653,576	20.7	263,655	8.4

Marriages: 177,010 (marriage rate 6.0 per 1,000) in 1983.

Source: UN, *Demographic Yearbook and Population and Vital Statistics Report*.

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION*

(persons aged 14 years and over, census of 22 October 1980)

	Males	Females	Total
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	1,123,138	77,854	1,200,992
Mining and quarrying	44,194	2,977	47,171
Manufacturing	1,566,028	429,967	1,985,995
Electricity, gas and water	94,789	8,467	103,256
Construction	981,251	21,924	1,003,175
Wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels	1,221,063	481,017	1,702,080
Transport, storage and communication	424,671	35,805	460,476
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	265,475	130,229	395,704
Community, social and personal services	1,044,416	1,354,623	2,399,039
Activities not adequately described	494,678	196,624	691,302
Total labour force	7,249,703	2,739,487	9,989,190

* Figures exclude persons seeking work for the first time, totalling 44,608 (males 28,331; females 16,277).

Source: ILO, *Year Book of Labour Statistics*.

Mid-1987 (official estimates): Total labour force 11,793,000 (males 8,609,000; females 3,184,000).

ARGENTINA

Agriculture

PRINCIPAL CROPS ('000 metric tons)

	1986	1987	1988
Wheat	8,700	9,000*	7,769*
Rice (paddy)	439	371	383
Barley	133	282	266
Maize	12,100	9,250	9,200
Rye	60	88	41
Oats	495	718	620
Millet	107	80	50
Sorghum	4,061	3,040	3,200
Potatoes	2,022	2,150†	2,190†
Sweet potatoes	409	415†	420†
Cassava (Manioc)†	157	160†	160†
Soybeans	7,100	7,000	9,830
Groundnuts (in shell)	379	500	443
Sunflower seed	4,340	2,250	2,915
Linseed	622	590	535
Seed cotton	377	323	849
Cotton Lint	120	100	282
Tomatoes	824	800†	780†
Onions (dry)†	290†	280†	280†
Grapes	2,411	3,689	3,304
Sugar cane	15,465	14,479	14,773
Tea (green)	41	45	32
Tobacco (leaves)	66	70*	74*

* Estimate. † FAO estimate.
Source: FAO, *Production Yearbook*.

LIVESTOCK ('000 head, year ending September)

	1986	1987	1988
Horses*	3,000	3,000	3,100†
Cattle*	53,480	51,683	50,782
Pigs*	4,000	4,100†	4,100†
Sheep*	29,243	28,998	29,202
Goats†	3,100	3,100	3,200

* Estimate. † FAO estimate.
Chickens (million, FAO estimates): 47 in 1986; 53 in 1987; 55 in 1988.
Ducks (million, FAO estimates): 2 in 1986; 2 in 1987; 2 in 1988.
Turkeys (million, FAO estimates): 3 in 1986; 3 in 1987; 3 in 1988.
Source: FAO, *Production Yearbook*.

LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS ('000 metric tons)

	1986	1987	1988
Beef and veal	2,779	2,680*	2,650*
Mutton and lamb*	90†	82	83
Goats' meat†	6	6	6
Pig meat†	210	220	224
Horse meat†	51	51	52
Poultry meat	382	424	434
Cows' milk	6,118	6,582*	6,450*
Butter	32	34	33*
Cheese	261	277	279
Hen eggs†	279	285	293
Wool:			
greasy*	138	136	138†
scoured*	92	91	92†
Cattle hides (fresh)†	414	384	360

* Estimate. † FAO estimate.
Source: FAO, *Production Yearbook*.

Forestry

ROUNDWOOD REMOVALS ('000 cubic metres, excl. bark)

	1984	1985	1986
Sawlogs, veneer logs and logs for sleepers	1,935	1,818	2,563
Pulpwood	3,043	3,168	3,584
Other industrial wood	436	314	340
Fuel wood	5,900	5,755	4,332
Total	11,314	11,055	10,819

1987-88: Annual output as in 1986 (FAO estimates).
Source: FAO, *Yearbook of Forest Products*.

SAWNWOOD PRODUCTION ('000 cubic metres, incl. boxboards)

	1984	1985	1986
Coniferous (soft wood)	175	146	150
Broadleaved (hard wood)	846	825	1,200
Total	1,021	971	1,350

Railway sleepers: 96,000 cubic metres per year in 1984-86.
1987-88: Annual production as in 1986 (FAO estimates).
Source: FAO, *Yearbook of Forest Products*.

Fishing

('000 metric tons, live weight)

	1985	1986	1987
Freshwater fishes	9.6	8.6	7.8
Argentine hake	259.3	270.6	314.2
Other marine fishes	102.8	119.4	181.0
Crustaceans	10.6	7.3	3.1
Argentine shortfin squid	21.5	12.5	51.1
Other molluscs	2.6	2.0	2.2
Total catch	406.4	420.4	559.4

Source: FAO, *Yearbook of Fishery Statistics*.

Mining

('000 metric tons, unless otherwise indicated)

	1985	1986	1987
Hard coal	400	365	373
Crude petroleum	23,607	22,283	21,999
Natural gas ('000 terajoules)	508.8	552.6	657.0
Iron ore*	389	514	360
Lead ore*	28.6	26.9	26.1
Zinc ore*	35.7	39.5	35.6
Tin concentrates (metric tons)*	451	379	186
Silver ore (metric tons)*	68	66	60
Uranium ore (metric tons)*	126	173	100

* Figures refer to the metal content of ores and concentrates.
Source: UN, mainly *Industrial Statistics Yearbook*.
1989: Crude petroleum 23.2m. metric tons; Natural gas 775,300 terajoules (Source: UN, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*).

Industry

SELECTED PRODUCTS

('000 metric tons, unless otherwise indicated)

	1985	1986	1987
Edible vegetable oils	1,435.5	1,565.1	1,169.3
Wheat flour	2,801.0	2,761.6	2,795.6
Sugar	1,099.2	1,052.3	n.a.
Beer and malt ('000 litres)	382,698	551,801	586,100
Cigarettes (metric tons)	31,092	32,112	29,745
Paper	690	799	817
Mechanical wood pulp	125	129	126
Chemical and semi-chemical pulp	458	501	504
Quebracho extract	62	n.a.	n.a.
Rayon and acetate continuous filaments (metric tons)	1,424	3,619	3,302
Non-cellulosic continuous filaments (metric tons)	20,106	33,644	30,550
Non-cellulosic discontinuous fibres (metric tons)	16,616	27,008	27,772
Sulphuric acid (metric tons)	235,454	250,840	253,046
Rubber tyres ('000)	5,664	7,489	7,222
Portland cement	4,693	5,558	6,302
Crude steel	2,775	3,147	n.a.
Ferro-alloys	59	n.a.	n.a.
Diesel oil ('000 cu metres)	1,031	962	991
Fuel oil ('000 cu metres)	6,126	5,736	5,047
Gas oil ('000 cu metres)	8,053	7,860	7,620
Kerosene ('000 cu metres)	518	514	398
Passenger motor vehicles (number)	119,733	147,063	157,120
Commercial motor vehicles (number)	21,365	28,835	39,782
Domestic sewing machines (number)	31,778*	n.a.	n.a.
Refrigerators and washing machines (number)	271,150	378,200	308,032
Television receivers (number)	599,255	800,975	695,187

* Provisional.

Finance

CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE RATES

Monetary Units:

100 centavos = 1 austral (A).

Denominations:

Coins: 1, 5, 10 and 50 centavos.

Notes: 1, 5, 10, 50 and 100 australes.

Sterling and Dollar Equivalents (30 September 1990)

£1 sterling = 10,604.0 australes;

US \$1 = 5,660.0 australes;

100,000 australes = £9.430 = \$17.668.

Average Exchange Rate (australes per US \$)

1987	2.14
1988	8.75
1989	423.34

Note: The austral was introduced on 15 June 1985, replacing the peso argentino at the rate of 1 austral = 1,000 pesos argentinos. The peso argentino, equal to 10,000 former pesos, had itself been introduced on 1 June 1983.

BUDGET (million australes)*

Revenue	1985	1986	1987
Taxation	7,484.5	13,756	29,554
Taxes on income, profits, etc.	406.0	945	2,762
Social security contributions	2,241.8	3,826	8,564
Taxes on property	403.1	1,022	2,177
Value-added tax	1,141.5	2,306	4,762
Excises	1,850.3	3,156	6,222
Other domestic taxes on goods and services	106.0	217	342
Import duties, etc.	328.6	817	2,267
Export duties	774.0	800	624
Foreign exchange conversion tax	51.7	87	207
Stamp duties	93.6	180	339
Other tax revenue	87.8	400	1,371
Property income	287.1	213	569
Administrative fees and charges, etc.	141.8	190	407
Other current revenue	371.7	1,017	1,860
Capital revenue	1.4	3	196
Total revenue	8,286.3	15,179	32,627
<hr/>			
Expenditure†	1985	1986	1987
General public services	663.6‡	731	2,039
Defence	490.9	952	2,456
Public order and safety	n.a.‡	548	1,386
Education	566.3	965	2,455
Health	119.8	302	754
Social security and welfare	3,056.4	5,167	11,257
Housing and community amenities	39.4	65	113
Other community and social services	42.7	115	301
Economic services	1,730.4	2,902	6,275
General administration, regulation and research	226.9	148	189
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	65.7	150	456
Electricity, gas, steam and water	593.1	1,042	1,812
Roads	300.1	478	1,209
Inland and coastal waterways	27.8	67	177
Other transport and communications	451.1	700	1,629
Other purposes	2,333.1	4,512	9,100
Interest payments	1,076.8	1,246	2,862
Sub-total	9,042.5	16,259	36,133
Adjustment to cash basis	338.5	-264	-605
Total expenditure	9,381.0	15,995	35,528
Current	8,583.1	14,704	32,665
Capital	797.9	1,291	2,863

* Budget figures refer to the consolidated accounts of the central Government, including special accounts, government agencies and the national social security system. The budgets of provincial and municipal governments are excluded.

† Excluding net lending (million australes): 1,829.1 in 1985; 1,146 in 1986; 3,774 in 1987.

‡ For 1985, public order and safety are included in general public services.

Source: IMF, *Government Finance Statistics Yearbook*.

1988 (estimate, million australes): Revenue 83,050.4, Expenditure 116,052.9.

CENTRAL BANK RESERVES* (US \$ million at 31 December)

	1987	1988	1989
Total	1,617	3,363	1,463

* Figures exclude reserves of gold, totalling 4,373,000 troy ounces in all three years. The national valuation of these gold reserves was US \$1,421 million at 31 December each year.

Source: IMF, *International Financial Statistics*.

ARGENTINA
MONEY S
Currency d
Demand d
commere
Source: IM
COST OF
(Consum
Food and
Clothing
Rent, fue
Domestic
Medical s
Transport
commu
Education
Other go
servic
All item
NATION
Expend
Final co
Increas
Gross fi
Total d
Export
Less In
servi
GDP in
Gross
Agricu
fishi
Mining
Manuf
Const
Electr
Trans
Trade
Financ
Other
Total

ARGENTINA

MONEY SUPPLY (million australes at 31 December)

	1986	1987	1988
Currency outside banks	3,989.6	9,261	43,186
Demand deposits at commercial banks	1,597.9	3,306	11,850

Source: IMF, *International Financial Statistics*.COST OF LIVING
(Consumer Price Index for Buenos Aires. Base: 1974 = 100)

	1986	1987	1988
Food and drink	160,384,935	373,316,516	1,635,076,473
Clothing	61,744,792	128,392,652	544,209,115
Rent, fuel and light	123,690,853	283,004,584	1,300,319,174
Domestic goods	121,569,665	267,107,003	1,291,296,231
Medical services	241,943,993	560,741,029	2,098,193,589
Transport and communications	164,729,250	373,415,295	1,973,970,245
Education	172,298,388	400,644,832	1,632,529,439
Other goods and services	179,448,334	446,496,442	1,964,271,211
All items	149,510,306	345,863,652	1,532,020,416

NATIONAL ACCOUNTS (australes at constant 1970 prices)
Expenditure on the Gross Domestic Product

	1985	1986	1987
Final consumption expenditure	8,065	8,991	9,113
Increase in stocks	-124	-58	-20
Gross fixed capital formation	1,210	1,293	1,456
Total domestic expenditure	9,151	10,226	10,549
Exports of goods and services	1,671	1,536	1,509
Less Imports of goods and services	837	1,102	1,186
GDP in purchasers' values	9,986	10,660	10,872

Gross Domestic Product by Economic Activity (at factor cost)

	1985	1986	1987
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	1,407	1,379	1,423
Mining and quarrying	245	240	233
Manufacturing	2,035	2,297	2,265
Construction	308	309	357
Electricity, gas and water	418	449	476
Transport and communications	1,037	1,082	1,131
Trade, restaurants and hotels	1,128	1,370	1,392
Finance	693	741	768
Other services	1,579	1,575	1,587
Total	8,847	9,444	9,632

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS (US \$ million)

	1987	1988	1989
Merchandise exports f.o.b.	6,360	9,134	9,573
Merchandise imports f.o.b.	-5,392	-4,900	-3,864
Trade balance	968	4,234	5,709
Exports of services	2,040	2,150	2,483
Imports of services	-7,239	-7,999	-9,492
Balance of goods and services	-4,231	-1,615	-1,300
Unrequited transfers (net)	-8	-	8
Current balance	-4,239	-1,615	-1,292
Direct capital investment (net)	-19	1,147	1,028
Other long-term capital (net)	199	-801	-2,527
Short-term capital (net)	-132	103	-4,784
Net errors and omissions	-217	-140	-313
Total (net monetary movements)	-4,408	-1,306	-7,888
Valuation changes	-297	64	26
Exceptional financing (net)	2,365	3,226	6,615
Official financing (net)	126	-62	-75
Changes in reserves	-2,213	1,922	-1,322

Source: IMF, *International Financial Statistics*.

External Trade

PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES (distribution by BTN, US \$ '000)

	1985	1986	1987
Imports c.i.f.			
Vegetable products	124,229	245,402	176,275
Coffee, tea, maté, etc.	66,960	150,380	89,065
Mineral products	570,260	570,517	823,331
Metallurgical minerals, slag and cinder	85,735	105,514	112,931
Mineral fuels and oils, bituminous substances, etc.	460,430	423,416	664,812
Chemical products	798,876	1,036,154	1,040,014
Inorganic chemicals, compounds of precious metals, etc.	110,147	150,318	132,589
Organic chemicals and products	359,357	514,422	512,696
Artificial resins and plastics, natural and synthetic rubber, etc.	182,485	285,005	311,496
Artificial resins and plastics, cellulose, etc.	131,948	212,702	237,165
Paper-making material, paper and manufactures	74,748	123,231	141,815
Paper and paper products	50,218	85,480	103,402
Basic metals and manufactures	324,662	396,409	566,334
Iron and steel, and manufactures	228,680	254,967	388,884
Machinery and apparatus, incl. electrical	1,040,705	1,196,578	1,724,506
Boilers, machinery and mechanical appliances	693,546	701,356	1,055,760
Electrical machinery	347,159	495,222	668,746
Transport equipment	293,708	282,831	351,102
Land vehicles	239,388	272,288	319,327
Sea and river vehicles	27,356	3,189	19,260
Scientific and precision instruments, audiovisual equipment, etc.	157,333	224,408	287,992
Total (incl. others)	3,814,148	4,724,053	5,817,818

1988: Total imports US \$5,321.6m.
1989: Total imports US \$4,200.5m.

ARGENTINA

Exports f.o.b.	1985	1986	1987
Live animals and animal products	424,752	560,593	655,177
Meat and edible offal	223,834	285,509	336,858
Vegetable products	3,306,267	2,204,770	1,373,360
Edible fruits	137,387	138,247	168,147
Cereals	2,264,976	1,245,299	744,122
Oilseeds and nuts	725,205	646,882	334,207
Animal and vegetable fats and oils	992,825	656,425	546,111
Prepared foodstuffs, beverages and tobacco	855,126	1,169,047	1,336,714
Meat and fish preparations	162,807	180,897	265,513
Sugar and preserves	33,604	35,372	29,083
Residues and waste from food industry; prepared animal fodder	515,241	821,799	877,002
Chemical products	329,525	297,619	343,544
Hides, skins, furs, etc.	317,354	381,406	418,870
Hides and skins	288,945	340,715	358,178
Paper-making material, paper and manufactures	52,492	53,172	79,140
Textiles and manufactures	321,752	245,677	314,204
Wool and other animal hair	196,262	178,578	190,295
Cotton	108,923	36,039	76,312
Base metals and manufactures	508,117	474,163	532,083
Iron and steel and manufactures	357,770	343,234	377,160
Machinery and apparatus, incl. electrical	268,450	280,171	269,862
Boilers, machinery and mechanical appliances	211,324	231,289	223,535
Transport equipment	236,245	212,101	134,571
Land vehicles	94,802	122,221	119,133
Total (incl. others)	8,396,017	6,852,213	6,360,160

1988: Total exports US \$9,134.8m.

1989: Total exports US \$9,567.2m.

PRINCIPAL TRADING PARTNERS (US \$ '000)

Imports c.i.f.	1985	1986	1987
Belgium	70,594	148,741	191,626
Bolivia	382,860	352,741	304,751
Brazil	611,521	691,298	819,234
Chile	84,409	148,585	152,501
Colombia	24,288	69,372	30,089
France	207,867	236,703	236,232
Germany, Federal Republic	404,001	523,375	765,655
Italy	233,880	239,469	371,533
Japan	265,580	336,618	441,470
Mexico	59,816	100,135	153,071
Netherlands	63,151	97,093	122,577
Paraguay	20,122	47,435	70,139
Peru	36,500	60,120	46,203
Spain	67,869	102,846	120,783
Sweden	35,956	51,133	73,088
Switzerland	103,307	92,221	112,850
USSR	41,876	59,170	90,471
USA	685,028	824,811	939,392
Uruguay	65,957	92,967	113,994
Total (incl. others)	3,814,148	4,724,053	5,817,818

Statistical Survey

Exports f.o.b.	1985	1986	1987
Algeria	28,031	84,503	21,614
Belgium	148,762	190,460	161,694
Bolivia	69,252	60,478	90,662
Brazil	496,297	698,070	539,335
Canada	58,752	53,852	76,545
Chile	111,050	136,780	145,916
China, People's Republic	311,004	252,053	265,575
Colombia	132,749	60,970	61,154
Cuba	283,408	181,784	133,641
Czechoslovakia	58,013	91,832	83,102
Egypt	143,675	90,843	38,239
France	122,179	102,924	128,126
Germany, Federal Republic	289,221	352,756	382,890
Iran	313,936	256,318	191,787
Italy	300,646	285,330	232,045
Japan	360,890	391,074	223,907
Mexico	255,472	158,356	37,285
Netherlands	856,348	735,825	617,912
Paraguay	72,236	67,443	60,882
Peru	161,968	189,125	139,094
Poland	98,197	100,749	18,543
Portugal	73,841	96,071	37,697
Spain	213,093	170,578	154,829
USSR	1,212,699	208,840	640,775
USA	1,003,560	677,917	897,624
Uruguay	99,017	129,322	168,419
Venezuela	72,846	44,804	56,816
Total (incl. others)	8,396,017	6,852,213	6,360,160

Transport

RAILWAYS (traffic)

	1985	1986	1987
Passengers carried (million)	300	359	352
Freight carried ('000 tons)	34,436	15,018	13,577
Passenger-km (million)	10,544	12,459	12,475
Freight ton-km (million)	18,981	8,761	7,952

ROAD TRAFFIC (motor vehicles in use at 31 December)

	1984	1985	1986
Passenger cars	3,685,000	3,773,600	3,898,000
Buses and coaches	56,000	57,300	59,700
Goods vehicles	1,332,000	1,338,700	1,375,000

Source: IRF, World Road Statistics.

SHIPPING (vessels entering Argentine ports)

	1986	1987	1988
Displacement ('000 net reg. tons)	31,026	17,844	29,912

Source: Administraci3n General de Puertos.

CIVIL AVIATION (traffic)

	1985	1986	1987
Passengers carried ('000)	5,869	6,749	6,993
Freight carried (tons)	76,231	89,282	85,642
Kilometres flown ('000)	86,144	94,236	91,019

ARGENTINA

Tourism

FOREIGN VISITORS BY ORIGIN

	1986	1987	1988
North and South America . . .	1,566,973	1,419,905	1,473,142
Europe	172,359	159,296	160,888
Asia, Africa and Oceania . . .	36,151	45,078	46,136
Total	1,774,483	1,624,279	1,680,166

Source: Dirección Nacional de Migraciones.

Communications Media

	1983	1985	1987
Radio receivers ('000 in use) . .	16,000	20,000	20,500
Television receivers ('000 in use) . .	5,910	6,500	6,750
Telephones ('000 in use)* . . .	2,518	2,580†	n.a.
Book production‡:			
Titles	4,216	n.a.	4,836
Copies ('000)	13,526	n.a.	n.a.
Daily newspapers	n.a.	188†	218§

* Source: Empresa Nacional de Telecomunicaciones.

† Figures refer to 1984. ‡ Including pamphlets.

§ Figure refers to 1986.

1986: Book production 4,818 titles.

In 1989 there were an estimated 21.6m. radio receivers and 7.2m. television receivers in use.

Source: mainly UNESCO, *Statistical Yearbook*.

Education

(1985, provisional)

	Institutions	Students	Teachers
Pre-primary	8,015	693,259	36,287
Primary	26,275	4,811,736	254,970
Secondary	5,405	1,683,520	220,003
Universities*	462	664,200	44,038
Colleges of higher education*	912	181,945	26,661
Other	4,061	255,953	20,442

* Including faculties in other towns.

Source: Ministerio de Educación y Justicia.

Directory

Note: In June 1987 Congress approved a law to transfer the federal capital from Buenos Aires to the twin towns of Viedma-Carmen de Patagones. The transfer was expected to take place by 1995.

The Constitution

The return to civilian rule in 1983 represented a return to the principles of the 1853 Constitution, with some changes in electoral details. The Constitution is summarized below:

DECLARATIONS, RIGHTS AND GUARANTEES

Each province has the right to exercise its own administration of justice, municipal system and primary education. The Roman Catholic religion, being the faith of the majority of the nation, shall enjoy state protection; freedom of religious belief is guaranteed to all other denominations. All the inhabitants of the country have the right to work and exercise any legal trade; to petition the authorities; to leave or enter the Argentine territory; to use or dispose of their properties; to associate for a peaceable or useful purpose; to teach and acquire education, and to express freely their opinion in the press without censorship. The State does not admit any prerogative of blood, birth, privilege or titles of nobility. Equality is the basis of all duties and public offices. No citizens may be detained, except for reasons and in the manner prescribed by the law; or sentenced other than by virtue of a law existing prior to the offence and by decision of the competent tribunal after the hearing and defence of the person concerned. Private residence, property and correspondence are inviolable. No one may enter the home of a citizen or carry out any search in it without his consent, unless by a warrant from the competent authority; no one may suffer expropriation, except in case of public necessity and provided that the appropriate compensation has been paid in accordance with the provisions of the laws. In no case may the penalty of confiscation of property be imposed.

LEGISLATIVE POWER

Legislative power is vested in the bicameral Congress, comprising the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The Chamber of Deputies has 254 directly-elected members, chosen for four years and eligible for re-election; one-half of the membership of the Chamber shall

be renewed every two years. The Senate has 46 members, chosen by provincial legislatures for a nine-year term, with one-third of the seats being renewed every three years.

The powers of Congress include regulating foreign trade; fixing import and export duties; levying taxes for a specified time whenever the defence, common safety or general welfare of the State so require; contracting loans on the nation's credit; regulating the internal and external debt and the currency system of the country; fixing the budget and providing for whatever is conducive to the prosperity and welfare of the nation. Congress also approves or rejects treaties, authorizes the Executive to declare war or make peace, and establishes the strength of the armed forces in peace and war.

EXECUTIVE POWER

Executive power is vested in the President, who is the supreme chief of the nation and handles the general administration of the country. The President issues the instructions and rulings necessary for the execution of the laws of the country, and himself takes part in drawing up and promulgating those laws. The President appoints, with the approval of the Senate, the judges of the Supreme Court and all other competent tribunals, ambassadors, civil servants, members of the judiciary and senior officers of the armed forces and bishops. The President may also appoint and remove, without reference to another body, his cabinet ministers. The President is Commander-in-Chief of all the armed forces.

JUDICIAL POWER

Judicial power is exercised by the Supreme Court and all other competent tribunals. The Supreme Court is responsible for the internal administration of all tribunals. In April 1990 the number of Supreme Court judges was increased from five to nine.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

The 22 provinces retain all the power not delegated to the Federal Government. They are governed by their own institutions and elect their own governors, legislators and officials.

The Government

HEAD OF STATE

President of the Republic: CARLOS SAÚL MENEM (took office 8 July 1989).

Vice-President: EDUARDO DUHALDE.

THE CABINET (November 1990)

Minister of the Interior: JULIO MERA FIGUEROA.

Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship: DOMINGO CAVALLO.

Minister of Education and Justice: ANTONIO FRANCISCO SALONIA.

Minister of National Defence: HUMBERTO ROMERO.

Minister of the Economy: ANTONIO ERMÁN GONZÁLEZ.

Minister of Labour and Social Security: ALBERTO JORGE TRIACA.

Minister of Public Health and Welfare: ALBERTO KOHAN.

Minister of Public Works and Services: JOSÉ ROBERTO DROMI.

Secretary-General to the Presidency: EDUARDO BAUZÁ.

MINISTRIES

General Secretariat to the Presidency: Balcarce 50, 1064 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 46-9841.

Ministry of the Economy: Hipólito Yrigoyen 250, 1310 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-6411; telex 21952.

Ministry of Education and Justice: Pizzurno 935, 1020 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 42-4551; telex 22646.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Worship: Reconquista 1088, 1003 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 311-0071; telex 21194.

Ministry of the Interior: Balcarce 24, 1064 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 46-9841.

Ministry of Labour and Social Security: Avda Julio A. Roca 609, 1067 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 33-7888; telex 18007.

Ministry of National Defence: Avda Paseo Colón 255, 1063 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 30-1561; telex 22200.

Ministry of Public Health and Welfare: Defensa 120, 1345 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 30-4322; telex 25064.

Ministry of Public Works and Services: Avda 9 de Julio 1925, 1332 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 38-8911; telex 22577; fax (1) 331-9967.

President and Legislature

PRESIDENT

Election, 14 May 1989*

Candidates	Votes	%	Seats in electoral college
CARLOS SAÚL MENEM (Partido Justicialista—Peronists)	8,044,861	48.5	310
EDUARDO CÉSAR ANGELOZ (Unión Cívica Radical)	6,165,476	37.1	211
Others	2,390,100	14.4	79
Total	16,600,437	100.0	600

* The election on 14 May was for a 600-member presidential electoral college, which later met to elect the President.

CONGRESS

Cámara de Diputados (Chamber of Deputies)

President: CÉSAR JAROSLAVSKY.

The Chamber has 254 members, who hold office for a four-year term, with one-half of the seats renewable every two years.

General Election, 6 September 1987*

	Seats
Unión Cívica Radical	117
Partido Justicialista	105
Unión del Centro Democrático	7
Partido Intransigente	5
Pacto Autonomista-Liberal	4
Partido Demócrata Cristiano	3
Partido Demócrata Progresista	2
Movimiento Popular Neuquino	2
Renovador de Salta	2
Others	7
Total	254

* The table indicates the distribution of the total number of seats, following the election for one-half of the membership.

In May 1989 elections for 127 seats gave the FREJUPO electoral alliance (comprising the Partido Justicialista, the Partido Demócrata Cristiano and the Partido Intransigente) 44.6% of the total votes cast (66 seats), the UCR 28.9% (41 seats) and the UCeDé 9.5% (9 seats). Other parties obtained a total of 17% (11 seats).

Senado (Senate)

President: Dr VÍCTOR MARTÍNEZ.

The 46 members of the Senate are nominated by the legislative bodies of each province (two Senators for each), with the exception of Buenos Aires, which elects its Senators by means of a special Electoral College. The Senate's term of office is nine years, with one-third of the seats renewable every three years.

Political Organizations

Frente de Izquierda Popular: Buenos Aires; left-wing; Leader JORGE ABELARDO RAMOS.

Fuerza Republicana (FR): Buenos Aires; Leader Gen. DOMINGO BUSSI.

Grupo de 8: Buenos Aires; f. 1990; formed by dissident members of the Partido Justicialista; Leader LUIS BRUNATTI.

Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo (MID): Buenos Aires; f. 1963; Pres. ROGELIO FRIGERIO; 145,000 mems.

Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS): Leaders RUBÉN VISCONTI, LUIS ZAMORA; 55,000 mems.

Partido Comunista de Argentina: Buenos Aires; f. 1918; Leader PATRICIO ECHEGARAY; Sec.-Gen. ATHOS FAVA; 76,000 mems.

Partido Demócrata Cristiano (PDC): Buenos Aires; f. 1954; Leader ELIO SILVEIRA; 68,000 mems.

Partido Demócrata Progresista (PDP): Chile 1934, 1227 Buenos Aires; Leader RAFAEL MARTÍNEZ RAYMONDA; 85,000 mems.

Partido Intransigente: Buenos Aires; f. 1957; left-wing; Leaders Dr OSCAR ALLENDE, LISANDRO VIALE; Sec. MARIANO LORENCES; 90,000 mems.

Partido Justicialista: Buenos Aires; Peronist party; f. 1945; 3m. mems; Pres. CARLOS SAÚL MENEM; three factions within party:

Frente Renovador, Justicia, Democracia y Participación—Frejudepa: f. 1985; reformist wing; Leaders CARLOS SAÚL MENEM, ANTONIO CAFIERO, CARLOS GROSSO.

Movimiento Nacional 17 de Octubre: Leader HERMINIO IGLESIAS.

Oficialistas: Leaders JOSÉ MARÍA VERNET, LORENZO MIGUEL.

Partido Nacional de Centro: Buenos Aires; f. July 1980; conservative; Leader RAÚL RIVANERA CARLES.

Partido Obrero: Ayacucho 444, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 953-8433; f. 1982; Trotskyist; Leaders JORGE ALTAMIRA, CHRISTIAN RATH; 61,000 mems.

Partido Popular Cristiano: Leader JOSÉ ANTONIO ALLENDE.

Partido Socialista Democrático: Rivadavia 2307, 1034 Buenos Aires; Leader AMÉRICO GHIOLDI; 39,000 mems.

Partido Socialista Popular: f. 1982; Leaders GUILLERMO ESTÉVEZ BOERO, EDGARDO ROSSI; 60,500 mems.

Unión del Centro Democrático (UCeDé): Buenos Aires; f. Aug. 1980 as coalition of eight minor political organizations to challenge the 'domestic monopoly' of the populist movements; Leader ALVARO ALSOGARAY.

Unión Cívica Radical (UCR): Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 49-0036; telex 21326; moderate; f. 1890; Leader Dr RAÚL ALFONSÍN FOULKES; First Vice-Pres. CÉSAR JAROSLAVSKY; 1,410,000 mems.

ARGI
Unión
right;
Other
ción S
Patrió
Auton
servac.
Comur
ido S
The fo
Intra
Leade
Movin
Partid
FIRME
Partid
Ejérci
MATTI
Triple
Leade
The r
was :
leade
trans
In mi
releas
later
Alba
2265
Alge
telex
Aust
6841:
Aust.
1885:
Belg
telex
Boli
telex
Braz
2115:
FLöt
Bulg
9251:
Cana
Buen
BULI
Chil-
Amb.
Chin
Buen
GROS
Colo
0258
Cost
telex
Côte
3982:
Cub:
telex
Cze
(1) 8
Deni
(1) 3
Don
tel. /
Ecu
304-
Egy
Ami
El s
394

Unión para la Nueva Mayoría: Buenos Aires; f. 1986; centre-right; Leader JOSÉ ANTONIO ROMERO FERIS.

Other parties and groupings include: Alianza Socialista, Confederación Socialista Argentina, Movimiento Línea Popular, Movimiento Patriótico de Liberación, Movimiento Popular Neuquino, Pacto Autonomista-Liberal, Partido Bloquista de San Juan, Partido Conservador Popular, Partido Izquierda Nacional, Partido Obrero Comunista Marxista-Leninista, Partido Socialista Auténtico, Partido Socialista Unificado and Renovador de Salta.

The following political parties and guerrilla groups are illegal:

Intransigencia y Movilización Peronista: Peronist faction; Leader NILDA GARRES.

Movimiento Todos por la Patria (MTP): left-wing movement.

Partido Peronista Auténtico (PPA): f. 1975; Leaders MARIO FIRMENICH, OSCAR BIDEGAIN, RICARDO OBREGÓN CANO.

Partido Revolucionario de Trabajadores: political wing of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP); Leader LUIS MATTINI.

Triple A—Alianza Anticomunista Argentina: extreme right-wing; Leader ANÍBAL GORDON (in prison).

The dissolution of the Movimiento Peronista Montonero (MPM) was announced in December 1983. Mario Firmenich, the former leader of the MPM, was arrested in Brazil in 1983 and was transferred into the custody of the Argentine authorities in 1984. In mid-1990 the Government announced that Firmenich was to be released in a general amnesty which was expected to take place later that year.

Diplomatic Representation

EMBASSIES IN ARGENTINA

Albania: Olazábal 2060, 1428 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 781-7740; telex 22658; Ambassador: PIRO ANDONI.

Algeria: Montevideo 1889, 1021 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 22-1271; telex 22467; Ambassador: ABDALLAH PEDDAL.

Australia: Avda Santa Fé 846, 8°, 1059 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 312-6841; telex 21946; Ambassador: ROBERT HENRY ROBERTSON.

Austria: French 3671, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 802-7195; telex 18853; fax (1) 805-4016; Ambassador: Dr GERHARD HEIBLE.

Belgium: Defensa 113, 8°, 1065 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-0066; telex 22070; Ambassador: THIERRY MUULS.

Bolivia: Corrientes 545, 2°, 1043 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-6042; telex 24362; Ambassador: AGUSTÍN SAAVEDRA WEISE.

Brazil: Cerrito 1350, 1007 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 812-0035; telex 21158; fax (1) 814-4085; Ambassador: FRANCISCO THOMPSON-FLORES NETTO.

Bulgaria: Manuel Obarrio 2967, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 802-9251; telex 21314; Ambassador: PARVAN ALEXANDROV CHERNEV.

Canada: Edif. Brunetta, 25°, Suipacha 1111, Casilla 1598, 1368 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 312-9081; telex 21383; Ambassador: CLAYTON BULLIS.

Chile: Tagle 2762, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 802-7020; telex 21669; Ambassador: CARLOS FIGUEROA SERRANO.

China, People's Republic: Avda Crisólogo Larralde 5349, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 543-8862; telex 22871; Ambassador: LI GUOXIN.

Colombia: Avda Santa Fé 782, 1°, 1059 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 325-0258; telex 22254; Ambassador: HERNANDO PASTRANA BORRERO.

Costa Rica: Lavalle 507, 4°, 1048 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 325-6022; telex 21394; Ambassador: FERNANDO SALAZAR NAVARRETE.

Côte d'Ivoire: Ugarteche 3069, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 802-3982; Ambassador: GASTON OUASSENAN KONE.

Cuba: Virrey del Pino 1810, 1426 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 782-9049; telex 22433; Ambassador: SANTIAGO DÍAZ PAZ.

Czechoslovakia: Figueroa Alcorta 3240, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 801-3804; telex 22748; Ambassador: JAROSLAV PAVLICEK.

Denmark: Avda Leandro N. Alem 1074, 1001 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 312-7680; telex 22173; Ambassador: KARL-FREDERIK HASLE.

Dominican Republic: Avda Santa Fé 1206, 2°, 1059 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 41-4669; Ambassador: JESÚS M. HERNÁNDEZ SÁNCHEZ.

Ecuador: Avda Pte Quintana 585, 8°/10°, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 804-0073; Ambassador: LUIS VALENCIA RODRÍGUEZ.

Egypt: Juez Tedín 2795, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 801-6145; Ambassador: HASSAN I. ABDEL HADI.

El Salvador: Avda Santa Fé 868, 12°, 1059 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-7628; Ambassador: HORACIO TRUJILLO.

Finland: Avda Santa Fé 846, 5°, 1059 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 312-0600; telex 21702; fax (1) 312-0670; Ambassador: PERTTI A. O. KARKKAINEN.

France: Cerrito 1399, 1010 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 393-1071; telex 24300; Ambassador: PIERRE DÉCAMPS.

Gabon: Avda Figueroa Alcorta 3221, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 801-9840; telex 18577; Ambassador: J.-B. EYI-NKOUMOU.

Germany: Villanueva 1055, 1426 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 771-5054; telex 21668; Ambassador: HERBERT LIMMER.

Greece: Avda Pte Roque Sáenz Peña 547, 4°, 1035 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-4589; telex 22426; Ambassador: APOSTOLOS ANNINOS.

Guatemala: Avda Santa Fé 830, 5°, 1059 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 313-9180; fax (1) 313-9181; Ambassador: LESLIE MISHAAN DE KIRKVOORDE.

Haiti: Avda Figueroa Alcorta 3297, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 802-0211; Ambassador: FRANK PAUL.

Holy See: Avda Alvear 1605, 1014 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 42-9697; telex 17406; Apostolic Nuncio: Monsignor UBALDO CALABRESI.

Honduras: Avda Santa Fé 1385, 4°, 1059 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 42-1643; telex 18008; Ambassador: EDGARDO PAZ BARNICA.

Hungary: Coronel Díaz 1874, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 824-5845; telex 22843; Ambassador: LÁSZLÓ MAJOR.

India: Córdoba 950, 4°, 1054 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 393-4001; telex 23413; fax (1) 112569; Ambassador: A. N. RAM.

Indonesia: M. Ramón Castilla 2901, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 801-6622; telex 21781; Ambassador: PUDISANTO SADARJOEN.

Iran: Figueroa Alcorta 3229, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 802-1470; telex 21288; Ambassador: HOSSEIN TAJGARDON.

Iraq: Villanueva 1400, 1426 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 771-5620; telex 17134; Ambassador: SAHIB HUSSAIN TAHIR.

Ireland: 1059 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 325-8588; telex 17654; Ambassador: BERNARD DAVENPORT.

Israel: Arroyo 916, 1007 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 325-2502; telex 17106; Ambassador: ITSHAK SHEFI.

Italy: Billinghurst 2577, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 802-0071; telex 21961; Ambassador: LUDOVICO INCISA DI CAMERANA.

Japan: Avda Paseo Colón 275, 1063 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 30-2561; telex 22516; Ambassador: AGUSTIN YOSHIO FUJIMOTO.

Korea, Republic: Avda Libertador 2257, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 802-9665; telex 22294; Ambassador: SANG CHIN LEE.

Lebanon: Avda Libertador 2354, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 802-4492; telex 22866; Ambassador: JIHAD MORTADA.

Libya: Alejandro M. de Aguado 2885, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 801-7267; telex 22682; Ambassador: GIBREEL MANSOURY.

Malaysia: Sheraton Hotel, 20, San Martín 1225, 1104 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 311-6311; Ambassador: HEE K. HOR.

Mexico: Larrea 1230, 1117 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 826-2161; telex 21869; Ambassador: JESÚS PUENTE LEYVA.

Morocco: Calle Mariscal Ramón Castilla No. 2952, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 801-8154; telex 18161; Ambassador: MOHAMMED BOUCETTA.

Netherlands: Edif. Holanda, 2°, Maipú 66, 1084 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-6066; telex 21824; Ambassador: SCHELTO VAN HEEMISTAR.

Nicaragua: Villanueva 1080, 1426 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 772-2268; telex 23481; Ambassador: ARIEL RAMÓN GRANERA SACASA.

Nigeria: 11 de Setiembre 839, 1426 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 771-6541; telex 23565; Ambassador: OKON EDET UYA.

Norway: Esmeralda 909, 3°, 1007 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 312-2204; telex 22811; Chargé d'affaires: Dr LARS VAAGEN.

Pakistan: 3 de Febrero 1326, 1084 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 782-7663; Ambassador: RAJA TRIDIV ROY.

Panama: Avda Santa Fé 1461, 5°, 1019 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 42-8543; Ambassador: MARÍA ESTHER VILLALAZ DE ARIAS.

Paraguay: Las Heras 2545, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 802-4948; telex 21687; Ambassador: MIGUEL BESTARD.

Peru: Avda Libertador 1720, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 802-6824; telex 17807; Ambassador: ALFONSO GRADOS BERTORINI.

Philippines: Juramento 1945, 1428 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 781-4170; Ambassador: SIME D. HIDALGO.

Poland: Alejandro María de Aguado 2870, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 802-9681; Ambassador: JANUSZ BALEWSKI.

Portugal: Córdoba 3151, 3°, 1054 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 311-2586; telex 22736; Ambassador: ANTÓNIO BAPTISTA MARTINS.

Romania: Arroyo 962, 1007 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 393-0883; telex 24301; Ambassador: MUNTEAN MIHAIL.

Saudi Arabia: Alejandro María de Aguado 2881, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 802-4735; telex 23291; Ambassador: FUAD A. NAZIR.

ARGENTINA

Spain: Mariscal Ramón Castilla 2720, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 802-6031; telex 21660; Ambassador: RAIMUNDO BASSOLS JACAS.

Sweden: Corrientes 330, 3º, 1378 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 311-3088; telex 21340; Ambassador: ANDERS SANDSTRÖM.

Switzerland: Avda Santa Fé 846, 12º, 1059 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 311-6491; telex 22418; fax (1) 313-2998; Ambassador: KARL FRITSCHI.

Syria: Calloa 956, 1023 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 42-2113; Ambassador: ABDUL HASSIB ITSWANI.

Thailand: Virrey del Pino 2458, 6º, 1426 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 785-6504; Ambassador: VICHIEH CHATSUWAN.

Turkey: Juez Tedín 2728, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 802-3676; telex 21135; Ambassador: SEKIH BELEN.

USSR: Avda Rodríguez Peña 1741, 1021 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 42-1552; telex 22147; Ambassador: VLADIMIR V. NIKITIN.

United Kingdom: Dr Luis Agote 2412/52, Casilla 2050, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 803-7070; fax (1) 803-1731; Ambassador: HUMPHREY MAUD.

USA: Avda Colombia 4300, Palermo, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 774-7611; telex 18156; fax (1) 775-4205; Ambassador: TERENCE TODMAN.

Uruguay: Avda Las Heras 1907, 1127 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 803-6030; telex 25526; Ambassador: ADOLFO CASTELLS MENDIVIL.

Venezuela: Avda Santa Fé 1461, 2º, 1060 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 42-0114; telex 21089; Ambassador: GUIDO GROOSCOR.

Yugoslavia: Marcelo T. de Alvear 1705, 1060 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 41-2860; telex 21479; Ambassador: RUDOLF HAZURAN.

Zaire: Villanueva 1356, 2º, Casilla 5589, 1426 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 771-0075; telex 22324; Ambassador: BADASSA-BAHADUKA.

Judicial System

SUPREME COURT

Corte Suprema: Talcahuano 550, 4º, 1013 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 40-1540.

All members of the Supreme Court are appointed by the Executive, with the agreement of the Senate. Members are dismissed by impeachment. The number of members was increased from five to nine in May 1990.

President: ENRIQUE SANTIAGO PETRACCHI.

Justices: CARLOS SANTIAGO FAYT, AUGUSTO CÉSAR BELLUSCIO, ERNESTO CORBALÁN NANCLARES, JULIO OYHANARTE, RICARDO LIVENE, RODOLFO BARRA, MARIANO CAVAGNA MARTÍNEZ, JULIO NAZARENO.

Attorney-General: ANDRÉS D'ALESSIO.

OTHER COURTS

Judges of the lower, national or further lower courts are appointed by the President, with the agreement of the Senate, and are dismissed by impeachment.

The Federal Court of Appeal in Buenos Aires has three courts: civil and commercial, criminal, and administrative. There are six other courts of appeal in Buenos Aires: civil, commercial, criminal, peace, labour, and penal-economic. There are also federal appeal courts in: La Plata, Bahía Blanca, Paraná, Rosario, Córdoba, Mendoza, Tucumán and Resistencia.

The provincial courts each have their own Supreme Court and a system of subsidiary courts. They deal with cases originating within and confined to the provinces.

Religion

CHRISTIANITY

More than 90% of the population are Roman Catholics and about 2% are Protestants.

Federación Argentina de Iglesias Evangélicas (Argentine Federation of Evangelical Churches): José María Moreno 873, 1424 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 922-5356; f. 1958; 29 mem. churches; Pres. Rev. RODOLFO ROBERTO REINICH (Evangelical Church of the River Plate); Exec. Sec. Rev. ENRIQUE LAVIGNE.

The Roman Catholic Church

Argentina comprises 13 archdioceses, 46 dioceses (including one for Catholics of the Ukrainian rite and one for Catholics of the Armenian rite) and three territorial prelatures. The Archbishop of Buenos Aires is also the Ordinary for Catholics of Oriental rites.

Bishops' Conference: Conferencia Episcopal Argentina, Calle Suipacha 1034, 1088 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 311-0993; f. 1959; Pres. Cardinal RAÚL FRANCISCO PRIMATESTA, Archbishop of Córdoba.

Armenian Rite

Bishop of San Gregorio de Narek en Buenos Aires: VARTAN WALDIR BOGHOSSIAN (also Apostolic Exarch of Latin America), Charcas 3529, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 824-1613.

Latin Rite

Archbishop of Bahía Blanca: JORGE MAYER, Avda Colón 164, 8000 Bahía Blanca; tel. (91) 22-070.

Archbishop of Buenos Aires: Cardinal JUAN CARLOS ARAMBURU, Arzobispado, Rivadavia 415, 1002 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 30-3925.

Archbishop of Córdoba: Cardinal RAÚL FRANCISCO PRIMATESTA, Avda Hipólito Yrigoyen 98, 5000 Córdoba; tel. (51) 21015.

Archbishop of Corrientes: FORTUNATO ANTONIO ROSSI, 9 de Julio 1573, 3400 Corrientes; tel. (783) 22-436.

Archbishop of La Plata: ANTONIO QUARRACINO, Calle 14, N° 1009, 1900 La Plata; tel. (21) 21-8286.

Archbishop of Mendoza: CÁNDIDO GENARO RUBIOLO, Catamarca 98, 5500 Mendoza; tel. (61) 233-862.

Archbishop of Paraná: ESTANISLAO ESTEBAN KARLIC, Monte Caseros 77, 3100 Paraná; tel. (43) 211-440.

Archbishop of Resistencia: JUAN JOSÉ IRIARTE, Bartolomé Mitre 363, Casilla 35, 3500 Resistencia; tel. (711) 26867.

Archbishop of Rosario: JORGE MANUEL LÓPEZ, Córdoba 1677, 2000 Rosario; tel. (41) 21-1207.

Archbishop of Salta: MOISÉS JULIO BLANCHOU, España 596, 4400 Salta; tel. (87) 214-306.

Archbishop of San Juan de Cuyo: ITALO SEVERINO DI STEFANO, Bartolomé Mitre 240, Oeste, 5400 San Juan de Cuyo; tel. (64) 22-2578.

Archbishop of Santa Fé: EDGARDO GABRIEL STORNI, Avda General López 2720, 3000 Santa Fé; tel. (42) 35 791.

Archbishop of Tucumán: HORACIO ALBERTO BÓZZOLI, Avda Sarmiento 895, 4000 San Miguel de Tucumán; tel. (81) 31-0617.

Ukrainian Rite

Bishop of Santa María del Patrocinio en Buenos Aires: ANDRÉS SAPELAK, Ramón L. Falcón 3960, Casilla 28, 1407 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 67-4192.

The Anglican Communion

The Iglesia Anglicana del Cono Sur de América (Anglican Church of the Southern Cone of America) was formally inaugurated in Buenos Aires in April 1983. The Church comprises six dioceses: Argentina, Northern Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Peru with Bolivia, and Uruguay.

Bishop of Argentina: Rt. Rev. DAVID LEAKE, 25 de Mayo 282, 1002 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-4618.

Bishop of Northern Argentina: Rt. Rev. MAURICE SINCLAIR, Casilla 187, 4400 Salta; tel. (54) 21-5554.

Protestant Churches

Baptist Evangelical Convention: Rivadavia 3476, 1203 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 88-8924; Pres. Dr JORGE FERRARI.

Iglesia Evangélica Congregacionalista (Evangelical Congregational Church): Perón 525, 3100 Paraná; tel. (43) 21-6172; f. 1924; 100 congregations, 8,000 mems, 24,000 adherents; Supt Rev. GERARDO ARNDT.

Iglesia Evangélica Luterana Argentina: Ing. Silveyra 1639-41, 1607 Villa Adelina, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 766-8560; f. 1905; 30,000 mems; Pres. ROBERTO M. KROEGER.

Iglesia Evangélica del Río de la Plata: Mariscal Sucre 2855, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 784-1029; f. 1899; 50,000 mems; Pres. RODOLFO R. REINICH.

Iglesia Evangélica Metodista Argentina (Methodist Church of Argentina): Rivadavia 4044, 3º, 1205 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 982-3712; f. 1836; 6,040 mems, 9,000 adherents, seven regional superintendents; Bishop ALDO M. ETCHEGOYEN; Exec. Sec. Gen. Board JORGE A. LEÓN TOLEDO.

JUDAISM

Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas—DAIA (Delegation of Argentine Jewish Associations): Pasteur 633, 5º, Buenos Aires; f. 1935; there are about 400,000 Jews, mostly in Buenos Aires; Pres. Dr DAVID GOLDBERG; Sec.-Gen. Dr HÉCTOR UMASCHI.

Ámbito Fin: 31-5528; tel. business; Di
Buenos Air: 34-8477; f. 1
HANSEN; cir
Boletín Ofi:
Buenos Aire
records publi
Clarín: Pie
morning; in:
NOBLE; circ
Crónica: G
morning and
RICARDO G
ing); 450,00
El Cronista
2015; f. 1905
Diario Popu
tel. (1) 204-
circ. 145,000
La Gaceta:
RICARDO W
La Nación
tel. 18558;
circ. 210,64;
Página 12:
La Prensa:
1001; f. 180
GAINZA; cir
La Razón:
f. 1905; mor
circ. 180,00
The South
83-1371; f.
Sur: Buenc
Tiempo Ar.
1929; telex
La Voz: T
VICENTE L

La Nueva
cia de Buei
ndepender
55,000 (Sun

El Sol: E
tel. (833) 2-
SAAVEDRA.

Crónica: N
Chubut; te
DIEGO JOA

El Herald:
4508; f. 1
10,000.

Comercio
3788; tele
Editor JOR
Córdoba:
evening; D
La Voz de
535; f. 190
circ. 87,000

El Liberal:
1909; even

The Press

PRINCIPAL DAILIES

Buenos Aires

Ambito Financiero: Carabelas 241, 3º, 1009 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 511-5328; telex 17721; fax (1) 331-4547; f. 1976; morning (Mon.-Fri.); business; Dir JULIO A. RAMOS; circ. 115,000.

Buenos Aires Herald: Azopardo 455, 1107 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-8477; f. 1876; English; morning; independent; Editor RONALD HANSEN; circ. 20,000.

Boletín Oficial de la República Argentina: Suipacha 767, 1008 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 322-4164; f. 1893; morning (Mon.-Fri.); official records publication; Dir HORACIO GASTIABURO.

Clarín: Piedras 1743, 1140 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 27-0061; f. 1945; morning; independent; Dir Sra ERNESTINA LAURA HERRERA DE NOBLE; circ. 480,000 (daily), 750,000 (Sunday).

Crónica: Garay 130, 1063 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 361-1001; f. 1963; morning and evening; Dir MARIO ALBERTO FERNÁNDEZ (morning), EUCARDO GANGEME (evening); circ. 330,000 (morning), 190,000 (evening); 450,000 (Sunday).

El Cronista Comercial: Alsina 547, 1087 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 33-3015; f. 1908; morning; Editor DANIEL DELLA COSTA; circ. 100,000.

Diario Popular: Beguerestain 182, 1870 Avellaneda, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 204-6056; f. 1974; morning; Dir ALBERTO ALBERTENGO; circ. 145,000.

La Gaceta: Beguerestain 182, 1870 Avellaneda, Buenos Aires; Dir RICARDO WEST OCAMPO; circ. 35,000.

La Nación: Bouchard 557, 1106 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 313-1003; telex 18558; f. 1870; morning; independent; Dir BARTOLOMÉ MITRE; circ. 210,648.

Página 12: Buenos Aires; f. 1987; morning; left-wing.

La Prensa: Avda de Mayo 567, 1319 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-1001; f. 1869 by José C. Paz; morning; independent; Dir MÁXIMO GAINZA; circ. 65,000.

La Razón: Gral Hornos 690, 1272 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 26-9051; f. 1905; morning and evening; Exec. Dir PATRICIO PERALTA RAMOS; circ. 180,000.

The Southern Cross: Medrano 107, 1178 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 963-1371; f. 1875; Dir P. FEDERICO J. RICHARDS.

Sur: Buenos Aires; left-wing.

Tiempo Argentino: Lafayette 1910, 1286 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 28-1929; telex 22276; Editor Dr TOMÁS LEONA; circ. 75,000.

La Voz: Tabaré 1641, 1437 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 922-3800; Dir VICENTE LEÓNIDAS SAADI.

PRINCIPAL PROVINCIAL DAILIES

Bahía Blanca

La Nueva Provincia: Sarmiento 54/64, 8000 Bahía Blanca, Provincia de Buenos Aires; tel. (91) 20201; telex 81826; f. 1898; morning; independent; Dir DIANA JULIO DE MASSOT; circ. 36,000 (weekdays), 55,000 (Sunday).

Catamarca

El Sol: Esquiú 551, 4700 San Francisco del Valle de Catamarca; tel. (833) 23844; f. 1973; morning; Dir TOMÁS NICOLÁS ALVAREZ SAAVEDRA.

Comodoro Rivadavia

Crónica: Namuncurá 122, 9000 Comodoro Rivadavia, Provincia del Chubut; tel. (967) 31200; telex 86996; f. 1962; morning; Dir Dr DIEGO JOAQUÍN ZAMIT; circ. 10,000.

Concordia

El Heraldo: Quintana 46, 3200 Concordia; tel. (45) 215304; telex 45508; f. 1915; evening; Editor Dr CARLOS LIEBERMANN; circ. 10,000.

Córdoba

Comercio y Justicia: Mariano Moreno 378, 5000 Córdoba; tel. (51) 33788; telex 51563; f. 1939; morning; economic and legal news; Editor JORGE RAÚL EGUÍA; circ. 12,000.

Córdoba: Santa Rosa 167, 5000 Córdoba; tel. (51) 22072; f. 1928; evening; Dir GUSTAVO ALONSO OBIETA; circ. 25,000.

La Voz del Interior: Avellaneda 1661, 5000 Córdoba; tel. (51) 72-9535; f. 1904; morning; independent; Dir LUIS EDUARDO REMONDA; circ. 87,000.

Corrientes

El Liberal: 25 de Mayo 1345, 3400 Corrientes; tel. (783) 22069; f. 1909; evening; Dir JUAN FRANCISCO TORRENT.

El Litoral: H. Yrigoyen 990, 3400 Corrientes; tel. (783) 22264; f. 1960; morning; Dir GABRIEL FERIS; circ. 25,000.

La Plata

El Día: Avda Ameghino Diagonal 80, No 817/21, 1900 La Plata, Provincia de Buenos Aires; tel. (21) 21-0101; telex 31165; fax (21) 21-0101; f. 1884; morning; independent; Dir RAÚL E. KRAISELBURD; circ. 54,868.

Mar del Plata

El Atlántico: Bolívar 2975, 7600 Mar del Plata, Provincia de Buenos Aires; tel. (23) 35462; f. 1938; morning; Dir OSCAR ALBERTO GASTIARENA; circ. 20,000.

La Capital: Avda Champagnat 2551, 7600 Mar del Plata, Provincia de Buenos Aires; tel. (23) 77-1164; telex 39884; f. 1905; Dir TOMÁS R. STEGAGNINI; circ. 32,000.

Mendoza

Los Andes: San Martín 1049, 5500 Mendoza; tel. (61) 24-4500; f. 1882; morning; independent; Dir JORGE ENRIQUE OVIEDO; circ. 60,662.

Mendoza: San Martín 947, 5500 Mendoza; tel. (61) 24-1064; f. 1969; Dir ALFREDO ORTIZ BARILI; circ. 6,670.

Paraná

El Diario: Buenos Aires y Urquiza, 3100 Paraná, Entre Ríos; tel. (43) 21-0082; telex 45108; f. 1914; morning; democratic; Dir Dr LUIS F. ETCHEVEHERE; circ. 20,000.

Quilmes, B.A.

El Sol: H. Yrigoyen 122, Quilmes 1878; tel. (1) 253-4595; f. 1927; Dir JOSÉ MARÍA GHISANI; circ. 25,000.

Resistencia

El Territorio: Casilla 320, Carlos Pellegrini 211/231, 3500 Resistencia; f. 1919; morning; Dir RAÚL ANDRÉS AGUIRRE; circ. 15,000.

La Rioja

La Gaceta Riojana: 25 de Mayo 76, 5300 La Rioja; tel. (822) 26443; f. 1988; Editor RAÚL NICOLÁS CHACÓN.

Río Negro

Río Negro: Gral Roca (8332), Río Negro; tel. (941) 22021; f. 1912; morning; Editor JAMES NEILSON.

Rosario

La Capital: Sarmiento 763, 2000 Rosario, Santa Fé; tel. (43) 392-2193; f. 1867; morning; independent; Dir CARLOS OVIDIO LAGOS; circ. 93,920.

Salta

El Tribuno: Ruta 68, Km 1592, 4400 Salta; tel. (87) 24-0000; telex 65126; f. 1949; morning; Dir ROBERTO EDUARDO ROMERO; circ. 41,215.

San Juan

Diario de Cuyo: Mendoza 380 Sur, 5400 San Juan; tel. (64) 29680; f. 1947; morning; independent; Dir FRANCISCO MONTES; circ. 25,000.

Tribuna de la Tarde: Mitre 85 Oeste, 5400 San Juan; tel. (64) 40-0923; f. 1931; evening; Dir DANTE AMÉRICO MONTES.

Santa Fé

Hoy: 1º de Mayo 2820, 3000 Santa Fé; f. 1986; Dir ANDRÉS SAAVEDRA; circ. 30,000.

El Litoral: San Martín 2651-59, 3000 Santa Fé; tel. (42) 20101; f. 1918; morning; independent; Dir ENZO VITTORI; circ. 40,000.

Santiago del Estero

El Liberal: Libertad 263, 4200 Santiago del Estero; tel. (5484) 22-4400; telex 64114; f. 1898; morning; Editors Dr ALDO CLAUDIO CASTIGLIONE, Dr JULIO CÉSAR CASTIGLIONE; circ. 30,000.

Tucumán

La Gaceta: Mendoza 654, 4000 San Miguel de Tucumán; tel. (81) 21-9260; telex 61208; fax (81) 31-1597; f. 1912; morning; independent; Dir EDUARDO R. GARCÍA HAMILTON; circ. 80,552.

La Tarde: Mendoza 654, San Miguel de Tucumán 4000; tel. (81) 21-9260; telex 61208; fax (81) 31-1597; f. 1981; evening; Dir ENRIQUE R. GARCÍA HAMILTON.

WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

El Informador Público: Buenos Aires; right-wing; Editor JESÚS IGLESIAS ROUCO.

PERIODICALS

Aerospacio: Casilla 37, Sucursal 12B, 1412 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 322-2753; telex 39-21763; fax (81) 11-8125; f. 1931; aeronautics; Dir JOSÉ CÁNDIDO D'ODORICO; circ. 26,000.

Billiken: Azopardo 579, 1307 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 30-7040; telex 21163; f. 1919; weekly; children's magazine; Dir CARLOS SILVEYRA; circ. 240,000.

Canal TV: Azopardo 579, 1307 Buenos Aires; weekly; TV guide.

Casas y Jardines: Sarmiento 643, 1382 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 45-1793; f. 1932; every 2 months; houses and gardens; publ. by Editorial Contémpora SRL; Dir NORBERTO M. MUZIO.

Chacra & Campo Moderno: Editorial Atlántida SA, Azopardo 579, 1307 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 333-4591; telex 21163; f. 1930; monthly; farm and country magazine; Dir CONSTANCIO C. VIGIL; circ. 35,000.

Claudia: Avda Leandro N. Alem 896, 1001 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 312-6010; telex 9229; f. 1957; monthly; women's magazine; Dir MERCEDES MARQUES; circ. 17,100.

El Derecho: Tucumán 1436, 1050 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 45-3302; law.

Desarrollo Económico-Revista de Ciencias Sociales: Aráoz 2338, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 804-4949; every 3 months; publication of Instituto de Desarrollo Económico y Social; circ. 2,000.

El Economista: Avda Córdoba 632, 2º, 1054 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 322-3308; telex 23542; fax (1) 322-8157; f. 1951; weekly; financial; Dir Dr D. RADONJIC; circ. 37,800.

Gente: Azopardo 579, 3º, 1307 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 33-4591; telex 21163; f. 1965; weekly; general; Dir JORGE DE LUJÁN GUTIÉRREZ; circ. 133,000.

El Gráfico: Azopardo 579, 1307 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 33-4591; telex 21163; f. 1919; weekly; sport; Dir CONSTANCIO C. VIGIL; circ. 127,000.

Humor: Venezuela 842, 1095 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 334-5400; telex 9072; fax (1) 11-2700; f. 1978; every 2 weeks; satirical revue; Editor ANDRÉS CASCIOLI; circ. 140,000.

Jurisprudencia Argentina: Talcahuano 650, 1013 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 40-7850; f. 1918; weekly; law; Dir RICARDO ESTÉVEZ BOERO; circ. 10,000.

Legislación Argentina: Talcahuano 650, 1013 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 40-0528; f. 1958; Dir RICARDO ESTÉVEZ BOERO; circ. 15,000.

Mercado: Perú 263, 2º, 1067 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-6713; fax (1) 805-3798; f. 1969; monthly; business; Dir GERARDO LÓPEZ ALONSO.

Mundo Israelita: Lavalle 2615, 1º, 1052 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 961-7999; f. 1923; weekly; Editor Dr JOSÉ KESTELMAN; circ. 26,000.

Nuestra Arquitectura: Sarmiento 643, 5º, 1382 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 45-1793; f. 1929; every 2 months; architecture; publ. by Editorial Contémpora SRL; Dir NORBERTO M. MUZIO.

Nueva Presencia: Castelli 330, 1032 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 89-2727; weekly; Editor HERMAN SCHILLER.

Para Ti: Azopardo 579, 1307 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 33-4591; f. 1922; weekly; women's interest; Dir ANÍBAL C. VIGIL; circ. 104,000.

Pensamiento Económico: Avda Leandro N. Alem 36, 1003 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-8051; telex 18542; f. 1925; every 3 months; review of Cámara Argentina de Comercio; Dir Lic. PEDRO NAÓN ARGERICH.

Perfil: Sarmiento 1113, 1041 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 35-2552; telex 18213; Editor DANIEL PLINER.

El Periodista: Buenos Aires; weekly; Dir CARLOS GABETTA.

Política Obrera: Avda Belgrano 2608, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 943-2439; every 2 months; publication of Partido Obrero; circ. 5,000.

La Prensa Médica Argentina: Junín 845, 1113 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 961-9793; f. 1914; monthly; medical; Editor Dr P. A. LÓPEZ; circ. 8,000.

Prensa Obrera: Ayacucho 444, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 953-8433; f. 1982; weekly; publication of Partido Obrero; circ. 16,000.

Review of the River Plate: Casilla de Correo 294, 1413 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 982-4961; f. 1891; every 2 weeks; agricultural, financial, economic and shipping news and comment; Dir ARCHIBALD B. NORMAN; circ. 3,500.

La Semana: Sarmiento 1113, 1041 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 35-2552; telex 18213; general; Editor DANIEL PLINER.

La Semana Médica: Arenales 3574, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 824-5673; f. 1894; monthly; Dir Dr EDUARDO F. MELE; circ. 7,000.

Siete Días: Avda Leandro N. Alem 896, 1001 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 32-6010; f. 1967; weekly; general; Dir RICARDO CÁMARA.

Somos: Azopardo 579, 1307 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-4591; f. 1976; weekly; general; independent; Dir RAÚL GARCÍA; circ. 21,000.

Técnica e Industria: Rodríguez Peña 694, 5º, 1020 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 46-3193; f. 1922; monthly; technology and industry; Dir E. R. FEDELE; circ. 5,000.

Visión: Montevideo 496, 6º, 1019 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 49-3652; telex 21926; f. 1950; every 2 weeks; Latin American affairs, politics; Dir Dr MARIANO GRONDONA.

Vosotros: Avda Leandro N. Alem 896, 3º, 1001 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 32-6010; f. 1935; women's weekly; Dir ABEL ZANOTTO; circ. 33,000. Monthly supplements: **Labores:** circ. 130,000; **Modas:** circ. 70,000.

NEWS AGENCIES

Agencia TELAM SA: Bolívar 531, 1066 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-2162; telex 21077; Pres. HUGO HEGUY.

Diarios y Noticias (DYN): Chacabuco 314, 6º, 1069 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 33-3971; telex 23058; Dir JORGE CARLOS BRINSEK.

Noticias Argentinas SA (NA): Chacabuco 314, 8º, 1069 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 33-8688; telex 18363; f. 1973; Dir RAÚL EDUARDO GARCÍA.

Foreign Bureaux

Agence France-Presse (AFP): Avda Corrientes 456, 6º, Of. 61/62, 1366 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-8169; telex 24349; Bureau Chief GILLES BERTIN.

Agencia EFE (Spain): Guido 1770, 1016 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 41-0666; telex 17568; Bureau Chief MANUEL M. MESEGUER SÁNCHEZ.

Agencia Nazionale Stampa Associata (ANSA) (Italy): Avda Eduardo Madero 940/942, 24º, 1106 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 313-4449; telex 24214; fax (1) 313-0293; Bureau Chief RICARDO BENOZZO.

Associated Press (AP) (USA): Bouchard 551, 5º, Casilla 1296, 1106 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 311-0081; telex 121053; Bureau Chief WILLIAM H. HEATH.

Deutsche Presse-Agentur (dpa) (Germany): Avda Corrientes 456, 10º, Of. 104, 1366 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-0990; Bureau Chief HASSO RAMSPECK.

Inter Press Service (IPS) (Italy): Corrientes 456, 8º, Of. 87, Edif. Safico, 1068 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-0829; telex 24712; Bureau Chief RAMÓN M. GORRIARÁN; Correspondent GUSTAVO CAPDEVILLA.

Magyar Távirati Iroda (MTI) (Hungary): M.T. de Alvear 624, 3º, 16, 1058 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 312-9596; telex 17106; Correspondent ENDERE SIMÓ.

Prensa Latina (Cuba): Corrientes 456, 2º, Of. 27, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-0565; telex 24410; Correspondent MARIO HERNÁNDEZ DEL LLANO.

Reuters (UK): Avda Eduardo Madero 940, 25º, 1106 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 313-2021; Chief Correspondent R. JARVIE.

Telegrafnoye Agentstvo Sovetskovo Soyuzo (TASS) (USSR): Avda Córdoba 652, 11º'E', 1054 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 392-2044; Dir ISIDORO GILBERT.

United Press International (UPI) (USA): Casilla 796, Correo Central 1000, Avda Belgrano 271, 1092 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-5501; telex 350-1225; fax (1) 334-1818; Dir ALBERTO J. SCHAZIN.

Xinhua (New China) News Agency (People's Republic of China): Calle Tucumán 540, 14º, Apto D, 1049 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 313-9755; telex 23643; Bureau Chief JU QINGDONG.

The following are also represented: Central News Agency (Taiwan), Interpress (Poland), Jiji Press (Japan).

PRESS ASSOCIATION

Asociación de Entidades Periodísticas Argentinas: Esmeralda 356, 1035 Buenos Aires.

Publishers

Editorial Abril, SA: Avda Belgrano 1530, 4º, 1093 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 37-7355; telex 22630; f. 1961; fiction, non-fiction, children's books, textbooks; Dir ROBERTO M. ARES.

Editorial Acme SA: Santa Magdalena 632, 1277 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 28-2014; f. 1949; general fiction, children's books, agriculture, textbooks; Man. Dir EMILIO I. GONZÁLEZ.

Aguilar, Altea, Taurus, Alfaguara, SA de Ediciones: Beazley 3860, 1437 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 91-411; telex 25248; fax (1) 953-3716; f. 1946; general, literature, children's books; Gen. Dir ESTEBÁN FERNÁNDEZ ROZADO.

Editorial Albatros, SACL: Hipólito Yrigoyen 3920, 1208 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 981-1161; telex 24787; fax (1) 334-3156; f. 1967; technical, non-fiction, social sciences, medicine and agriculture; Man. ANDREA INÉS CANEVARO.

Amorrortu tel. (1) 393
ology, philo
Dir HORAC
Angel Est
331-6521; f.
PATRICIA I
El Ateneo
Aires; tel.
ine. engin
RUEDA, E
Editorial
(1) 331-459
fiction, chi
ALFREDO
Ediciones
tel. (1) 94
philosophy
HUGO O.
Editorial
Man. Dir
Centro E
Buenos A
JOSÉ B. S
Centro N
ción y Ju
5420; ed
GARCÍA I
Editorial
tel. (1) 4
EDUARDO
Editoria
9250; f.
Editori
5573; fa
politics;
Club de
34-3955:
Club de
and liter
Editori
tel. (1)
Dir CL
Editori
tel. (1)
and gar
Cosmo
8049; f.
Edicio.
(1) 46-1
law, p
ROBER
Editor
0088; f.
childre
Emecé
4038;
biograp
CARRÍ
Espas
tel. (1)
Colect
EUDI
1573,
books
MINA.
Fabri
21-366
Edito
AYEP
Edito
tel. (1)
ALFR
Edito
84-60
polog
LIBE
Edito
(1) 3
fictic

Amorrotu Editores, SA: Paraguay 1225, 7°, 1057 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 393-8812; f. 1967; anthropology, religion, economics, sociology, philosophy, psychology, psychoanalysis, current affairs; Man. Dir HORACIO DE AMORROTU.

Angel Estrada y Cía, SA: Bolívar 462, 1066 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-6521; telex 17990; f. 1869; textbooks, children's books; Pres. PATRICIA DE ESTRADA.

El Ateneo, Librería-Editorial: Patagones 2463, 1282 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 942-9002; telex 18522; fax (1) 11-2486; f. 1912; medicine, engineering, economics and general; Dirs PEDRO GARCÍA ESCEDA, EUSTASIO A. GARCÍA.

Editorial Atlántida, SA: Azopardo 579, 1307 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-4591; telex 21163; fax (1) 331-3272; f. 1918; fiction and non-fiction, children's books; Founder CONSTANCIO C. VIGIL; Man. Dir ALFREDO J. VERCELLI.

Ediciones La Aurora: Deán Funes 1823/25, 1244 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 941-8940; f. 1925; general, religion, spirituality, theology, philosophy, psychology, history, semiology, linguistics; Dir Dr HUGO O. ORTEGA.

Editorial Bruquera: 648-650, 1086 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 553-2885; Man. Dir JORGE MERLINI.

Centro Editor de América Latina, SA: Cangallo 1228, 2°D, 1038 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 35-9449; f. 1967; literature, history; Man. Dir JOSÉ B. SPIVACOW.

Centro Nacional de Información Educativa: Ministerio de Educación y Justicia, Paraguay 1657, 1°, 1062 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 41-5420; education, bibliography, directories, etc.; Dir LAUREANO GARCÍA ELORRIO.

Editorial Ciordia, SRL: Avda Belgrano 2271, 1094 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 48-1681; f. 1938; general educational and fiction; Man. Dir EDUARDO B. CIORDIA.

Editorial Claretiana: Lima 1360, 1138 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 27-2250; f. 1956; Catholicism; Dir JOSÉ A. HERNANDO.

Editorial Claridad, SA: San José 1627, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 23-5573; fax (1) 325-8265; f. 1922; literature, biographies, social science, politics; Pres. Dra ANA MARÍA CABANELLAS.

Club de Lectores: Avda de Mayo 624, 1084 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-3955; f. 1938; non-fiction; Dir JUAN MANUEL FONTENLA.

Club de Poetas: Casilla 189, 1401 Buenos Aires; f. 1975; poetry and literature; Exec. Dir JUAN MANUEL FONTENLA.

Editorial Columba, SA: Sarmiento 1889, 5°, 1044 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 45-4297; f. 1953; classics in translation, 20th century; Man. Dir CLAUDIO A. COLUMBA.

Editorial Contémpora, SRL: Sarmiento 643, 1382 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 45-1793; architecture, town-planning, interior decoration and gardening; Dir NORBERTO M. MUZIO.

Cosmopolita, SRL: Piedras 744, 1070 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 361-8049; f. 1940; science and technology; Man. Dir RUTH F. DE RAPP.

Ediciones Depalma SRL: Talcahuano 494, 1013 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 46-1815; fax (1) 40-6913; f. 1944; periodicals and books covering law, politics, sociology, philosophy, history and economics; Dir ROBERTO SUARDIAZ.

Editorial Difusión, SA: Sarandi 1065-67, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 941-0088; f. 1937; literature, philosophy, religion, education, textbooks, children's books; Dir DOMINGO PALOMBELLA.

Emecé Editores, SA: Alsina 2048, 1090 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 953-4038; telex 21945; fax (1) 953-4200; f. 1939; fiction, non-fiction, biographies, history, art, poetry, essays; Pres. BONIFACIO DEL CARRIL; Editors JORGE NAVEIRO, BONIFACIO P. DEL CARRIL.

Espasa Calpe Argentina, SA: Tacuarí 328, 1071 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-0073; f. 1937; literature, science, dictionaries; publ. *Colección Austral*; Dir RAFAEL OLARRA JIMÉNEZ.

EUDEBA-Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires: Rivadavia 1573, 1033 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 37-2202; f. 1958; university text books and general interest publications; Gen. Man. GUILLERMO MINA.

Fabril Editora, SA: California 2098, 1289 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 21-3601; f. 1958; non-fiction, science, arts, education and reference; Editorial Man. ANDRÉS ALFONSO BRAVO; Business Man. RÓMULO AYERZA.

Editorial Glem, SACIF: Avda Caseros 2056, 1264 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 26-6641; f. 1933; psychology, technology; Pres. JOSÉ ALFREDO TUCCI.

Editorial Guadalupe: Mansilla 3865, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 84-6066; fax (1) 805-4112; f. 1895; social sciences, religion, anthropology, children's books, and pedagogy; Man. Dir P. LUIS O. LIBERTI.

Editorial Hachette, SA: Rivadavia 739, 1002 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-8481; telex 17479; fax (1) 814-4271; f. 1931; general non-fiction; Man. Dir J. A. MUSSET.

Editorial Heliasta, SRL: Viamonte 1730, 1°, 1055 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 45-1843; telex 9900; fax (1) 325-8265; f. 1970; literature, biography, politics, social science; Pres. Dra ANA MARÍA CABANELLAS.

Editorial Hemisferio Sur, SA: Pasteur 743, 1028 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 48-9825; telex 18522; fax (1) 334-2793; f. 1966; agriculture, science; Man. Dirs JUAN ÁNGEL PERI, ADOLFO LUIS PEÑA.

Editorial Hispano-Americana, SA (HASA): Alsina 731, 1087 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-5051; f. 1934; science and technology; Pres. Prof. HÉCTOR OSCAR ALGARRA.

Editorial Inter-Médica, SAICI: Junín 917, 1°, Casilla 4625, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 961-9234; fax (1) 961-5572; f. 1959; science, medicine, dentistry, psychology, odontology, veterinary; Pres. JORGE MODOYEVSKY.

Editorial Inter-Vet, SA: Avda de los Constituyentes 3141, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 51-2382; f. 1987; veterinary; Pres. JORGE MODOYEVSKY.

Editorial Kapelus, SA: Moreno 372, 1091 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-6451; telex 18342; f. 1905; textbooks, psychology, pedagogy, children's books; Man. Dir RICARDO PASCUAL ROBLES.

Editorial Kier, SACIFI: Avda Santa Fé 1260, 1059 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 41-0507; f. 1907; Eastern doctrines and religions, astrology, parapsychology, tarot, I Ching, occultism, natural medicine; Pres. ALFONSO F. PIBERNUS.

Editorial Labor Argentina, SA (Spain): Venezuela 613, 1095 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 33-4135; f. 1924; technology, science, art; Man. Dir PEDRO CLOTAS CIERCO.

Carlos Lohlé, SA: Tacuarí 1516, Casilla 3097, 1000 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 27-9969; f. 1953; philosophy, religion, belles-lettres; Pres. CARLOS F. P. LOHLÉ; Dir FRANCISCO M. LOHLÉ.

Editorial Losada, SA: Moreno 3362/64, 1209 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 88-8608; telex 27922; f. 1938; general; Pres. JOSÉ JUAN FERNÁNDEZ REGUERA.

Ediciones Macchi, SA: Alsina 1535 PB, 1088 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 46-0594; f. 1947; economic sciences; Man. Dir RAÚL LUIS MACCHI.

Editorial Médica Panamericana, SA: Marcelo T. de Alvear 2143, 1122 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 961-8815; telex 17666; fax (1) 11-1605; f. 1962; health sciences; Pres. ROBERTO BRIK; Vice-Pres. HUGO BRIK.

Editorial Nova, SACI: Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-8698; f. 1945; arts, philosophy, religion, medicine, textbooks, science and technology; Dir HORACIO D. ROLANDO.

Ediciones Nueva Visión, SAIC: Tucumán 3748, 1189 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 89-5050; f. 1954; psychology, art, social sciences, architecture; Man. Dir HAYDÉE P. DE GIACONE.

Editorial Paidós: Defensa 599, 1°, 1065 Buenos Aires; tel. and fax (1) 331-2275; f. 1945; social sciences, medicine, philosophy, religion, history, literature, textbooks; Man. Dir MARITA GOTTHEIL.

Plaza y Janés, SA: Lambaré 893, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 86-6769; popular fiction and non-fiction; Man. Dir JORGE PÉREZ.

Editorial Plus Ultra, SAI & C: Callao 572, 1022 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 46-5092; f. 1964; literature, history, textbooks, law, economics, politics, sociology, pedagogy, children's books; Man. Editor CARLOS ALBERTO LOPRETE.

Schapiro Editor, SRL: Uruguay 1249, 1016 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 44-0765; f. 1941; music, art, theatre, sociology, history, fiction; Dir MIGUEL SCHAPIRE DALMAT.

Ediciones Siglo Veinte, SA: Maza 177, 1206 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 88-2758; telex 22146; f. 1943; fiction and non-fiction; Man. Dir ISIDORO WAINER.

Editorial Sigmar, SACI: Belgrano 1580, 7°, 1093 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 37-3045; telex 9073; fax (1) 11-2662; f. 1941; children's books; Man. Dir SIGFRIDO CHWAT.

Editorial Sopena Argentina, SACI e I: Moreno 957, 7°, Of. 2, Casilla 1075, 1091 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 38-7182; f. 1918; dictionaries, classics, chess, health, politics, history, children's books; Exec. Pres. DANIEL CARLOS OLSEN.

Editorial Stella: Viamonte 1984, 1056 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 46-0346; general non-fiction and textbooks; Propr Asociación Educativista Argentina.

Editorial Sudamericana, SA: Humberto 531, 1°, 1103 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 362-2123; telex 25644; f. 1939; general fiction and non-fiction; Gen. Man. JAIME RODRIGUE.

Editorial Troquel, SA: Bolívar 1721, 1141 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 23-9350; fax (1) 34-5437; f. 1954; general literature, and textbooks; Pres. GUSTAVO A. RESSIA.

PUBLISHERS' ASSOCIATION

Cámara Argentina de Publicaciones: Reconquista 1011, 6°, 1003 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 311-6855; f. 1970; Pres. AGUSTÍN DOS SANTOS; Man. LUIS FRANCISCO HOULIN.

Radio and Television

In 1989 there were an estimated 21.6m. radio receivers and 7.2m. television receivers in use.

Secretaría de Comunicaciones: Sarmiento 151, 4°, 1000 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-1203; telex 21706; co-ordinates 30 stations and the international service; Sec. Ing. RAÚL JOSÉ OTERO.

Subsecretaría de Planificación y Gestión Tecnológica: Sarmiento 151, 4°, 1000 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 311-5909; telex 21706; Under-Sec. Ing. LEONARDO JOSÉ LEIBSON.

Subsecretaría de Radiocomunicaciones: Sarmiento 151, 4°, 1000 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 311-5909; telex 21706; Under-Sec. Ing. ALFREDO R. PARODI.

Subsecretaría de Telecomunicaciones: Sarmiento 151, 4°, 1000 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 311-5909; telex 21706; Under-Sec. JULIO I. GUILLÁN.

Comité Federal de Radiodifusión (CFR): Suipacha 765, 1008 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-4274; f. 1972; controls various technical aspects of broadcasting and transmission of programmes; Head LEÓN GUINSBURG.

RADIO

There are three privately-owned stations in Buenos Aires and 72 in the interior. There are also 37 state-controlled stations, four provincial, three municipal and three university stations. The principal ones are Radio El Mundo, Radio del Plata, Radio Nacional, Radio Rivadavia, Radio Belgrano, Radio Argentina, Radio Continental, Radio Mitre, Radio Antartida, Radio Excelsior, Radio Ciudad de Buenos Aires and Radio Splendid, all in Buenos Aires.

Servicio Oficial de Radiodifusión (SOR): Ayacucho 1556, 1112 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 801-4804; Dir JULIO E. MAHARIBIZ; controls:

Cadena Argentina de Radiodifusión (CAR): Avda Entre Ríos 149, 3°, 1079 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 45-2113; groups all national state-owned commercial stations which are operated directly by the Subsecretaría Operativa.

LRA Radio Nacional: Ayacucho 1556, 1112 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 803-5555; telex 21250; f. 1937; Supervisor JULIO E. MAHARIBIZ.

Radiodifusión Argentina al Exterior (RAE): Ayacucho 1556, 1112 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 803-2351; f. 1958; broadcasts in 8 languages to all areas of the world; Dir-Gen. Lic. LUIS ROMEO ROJAS.

Asociación de Radiodifusoras Privadas Argentinas (ARPA): Cangallo 1561, 8°, 1037 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 35-4412; f. 1958; an association of all but 3 of the privately-owned commercial stations; Pres. EVARISTO R. E. ALONSO.

TELEVISION

There are four television channels in the federal capital of Buenos Aires, 26 in the province of Buenos Aires, 41 in the interior, and 117 relay stations. There are 28 private television channels, 14 state-supervised stations (both provincial and national) and two university channels. The national television network is controlled by the Secretariat of Culture (part of the Ministry of Education and Justice).

The following are some of the more important television stations in Argentina: Argentina Televisora Color LS82 Canal 7, LS83 Canal 9, LS84 Canal 11, LS85 Canal 13, Telenuova, Teledifusora Bahiense, Telecor, Dicom Difusión Córdoba, TV Universidad Nacional Córdoba, and TV Mar del Plata.

Asociación de Teleradiodifusoras Argentinas (ATA): Córdoba 323, 6°, 1054 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 312-4219; telex 17253; fax (1) 312-4208; f. 1959; association of 23 private television channels; Pres. ALEJANDRO ENRIQUE MASSOT.

ATC—Argentina Televisora Color LS82 TV Canal 7: Avda Figueroa Alcorta 2977, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 802-6001; fax (1) 802-9878; state-controlled channel; Dir RENÉ JOLIVET.

LS83 TV Canal 9: Gelly 3378, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 801-3065; private channel; Dir ALEJANDRO RAMAY.

LS84 Canal 11: Pavón 2444, 1248 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 941-0091; telex 22780; state-controlled channel; Dir-Gen. CARLOS M. NEGRI.

LS85 TV Canal 13: San Juan 1170, 1147 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 27-3661; telex 21762; f. 1960; state-controlled channel; Dir EDUARDO METZGER.

Finance

(cap. = capital; p.u. = paid up; res = reserves; dep. = deposits; m. = million; amounts in pesos argentinos or australes—A)

BANKING

In 1986 there were 25 government-owned provincial banks, five government-owned municipal banks, 38 private commercial banks

in the city of Buenos Aires and 90 private commercial banks in the rest of Argentina. There were also 31 foreign-owned banks operating in Argentina. In October 1986 the Government announced a reform of banking regulations, under which reserve requirements on deposits in Argentine banks were substantially reduced.

Central Bank

Banco Central de la Republica Argentina: Reconquista 266, 1003 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-8411; telex 1137; f. 1935 as a central reserve bank; it has the right of note issue; all capital is held by the State; cap. and res 745,018m. (Dec. 1983); Gov. ANTONIO ERMÁN GONZÁLEZ; Pres. JAVIER GONZÁLEZ FRAGA.

Government-owned Commercial Banks

Banco de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires: Florida 302, 1313 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 325-0726; telex 22365; fax (1) 325-2098; municipal bank; f. 1878; cap. and res A85,913.7m., dep. A458,450.8m. (Oct. 1989); Pres. SATURNINO MONTERO RUIZ; 32 hrs.

Banco de Entre Ríos: San Martín 750, 3100 Paraná; tel. (43) 223700; telex 45115; f. 1935; provincial bank; cap. and res A10,718.6m., dep. A30,979.6m. (June 1989); Pres. Dr DARIO ALBERTO V. QUIROGA; 37 hrs.

Banco de Mendoza: Gutiérrez 51, POB 19, 5500 Mendoza; tel. (061) 25-1200; telex 55204; f. 1934; provincial bank; cap. and res A807.8m., dep. A1,841.9m. (Jan. 1989); Pres. EDUARDO DEL AMOR; 77 hrs.

Banco de la Nación Argentina: Bartolomé Mitre 326, 1036 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 30-1011; telex 9190; fax (1) 112-067; f. 1891; national bank; cap. and res A22,017.2m., dep. A30,232.2m. (Jan. 1989); Pres. HUGO SANTILLI; 577 hrs.

Banco de la Provincia de Buenos Aires: Avda San Martín 137, 1004 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-3584; telex 18276; fax (1) 331-8375; f. 1822; provincial bank; cap. and res A389,520m. (Sept. 1989), dep. A20,261.5m. (Nov. 1988); Pres. EDUARDO P. AMADEO; 322 hrs.

Banco del Chaco: Güemes 102, 3500 Resistencia; tel. (722) 24843; telex 71214; f. 1958; provincial bank; cap. and res A1,367.3, dep. A976.0m. (Jan. 1989); Pres. ANGEL CARLOS GIGLI; 27 hrs.

Banco de la Provincia de Córdoba: San Jerónimo 166, 5000 Córdoba; tel. (51) 42001; telex 51756; f. 1873; provincial bank; cap. and res A2,043.7m., dep. A4,626.0m. (Jan. 1989); Pres. TITO MARCOS BATTISTEL; 157 hrs.

Banco de la Provincia de Corrientes: 9 de Julio y San Juan, 3400 Corrientes; tel. (783) 65111; telex 74106; cap. and res A778.0m., dep. A967.4m. (Jan. 1989); Pres. RICARDO J. G. HARVEY; 33 hrs.

Banco de la Provincia de Neuquén: Argentina 45, 8300 Neuquén; tel. (943) 31459; telex 84128; cap. and res A746.6m., dep. A1,247.4m. (Jan. 1989); Pres. OMAR SANTIAGO NEGRETTI; 21 hrs.

Banco de la Provincia de Santa Fé: San Martín 715, 2000 Rosario, Santa Fé; tel. (41) 40151; telex 41751; f. 1874; provincial bank; cap. and res A1,214.3m., dep. A2,829.8m. (Jan. 1989); Pres. EMILIO SÁNCHEZ GARCÍA.

Private Commercial Banks

Banco Alas: Sarmiento 528/32, 1041 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 313-3400; telex 9127; cap. and res A16.3m., dep. A57.5m. (March 1986); Govt Administrator LUIS PEDERNEIRA; 69 hrs.

Banco Comercial del Norte: Reconquista 200, 4°, 1003 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-8206; telex 9148; f. 1912; cap. and res A696.9m., dep. A1,544.8m. (Dec. 1988); Govt Administrator JOSÉ A. TOME; 1 hr.

Banco de Crédito Argentino SA: Reconquista 2, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 334-1181; telex 18077; fax (1) 334-8980; f. 1887; cap. and res A1,758.8m., dep. A5,316.9m. (Jan. 1989); merged with Banco Financiero Argentino in 1987; Pres. Dr RICARDO CAIROLI; Exec. Dir FERNANDO DE SANTIBARES; 111 hrs.

Banco Español del Río de la Plata Ltda: Juan D. Perón 402, 1003 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-2951; telex 21562; f. 1886; cap. and res A1,024.8m., dep. A627.6m. (Dec. 1988); Govt Administrator JOSÉ A. TOMÉ; 1 hr.

Banco Francés del Río de la Plata: Reconquista 199, 1003 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-7025; telex 9119; fax (1) 953-8009; f. 1886; cap. and res A997.9m., dep. A4,013.0m. (Jan. 1989); Pres. Dr LUIS MARÍA OTERO MONSEGUR; 53 hrs.

Banco de Galicia y Buenos Aires: Juan D. Perón 407, Casilla 86, 1038 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-7080; telex 9124; fax (1) 393-1603; f. 1905; cap. and res A18,390.1m., dep. A165,549.5m. (June 1989); Pres. EDUARDO J. ESCASANY; 175 hrs.

Banco Mercantil Argentino: Avda Corrientes 629, 1324 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 334-9999; telex 9122; fax (1) 11-1448; f. 1923; cap. and res A29,479.2m., dep. A278,031.2m. (Jan. 1989); Pres. NOEL WERTHEIN; 57 hrs.

ARGENTINA

Banco Quilmes SA: Juan D. Perón 564, 2º, 1038 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-8110; telex 17895; fax (1) 334-5235; f. 1907; cap. and res A1,012.2m., dep. A10,471.5m. (March 1989); Pres. Dr PEDRO O. FIORITO; 79 brs.

Banco Río de la Plata SA: Bartolomé Mitre 480, 1004 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-8361; telex 9215; fax (1) 11-1225; f. 1908; cap. and res A113,403.7m., dep. A553,975.5m. (July 1989); Exec. Vice-Pres. ROQUE MACCARONE; 169 brs.

Banco Shaw SA: Sarmiento 355, 1041 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 311-2271; telex 21226; fax (1) 312-4743; f. 1959; cap. and res A21,057.7m., dep. A184,094.8m. (Aug. 1989); Pres. Dr ALEJANDRO SHAW; 38 brs.

Other National Banks

Banco Hipotecario Nacional: Defensa 192, 1065 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-2001; f. 1886; mortgage bank; cap. and res A1,018.8m., dep. A1,039.7m. (April 1988); Govt Administrator EDGARDO CIVIT; in 1990 the Government announced the closure of all 53 brs in preparation for total restructuring.

Banco Nacional de Desarrollo: 25 de Mayo 145, 1002 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-2091; telex 9179; f. 1944; development bank; cap. and res A5,393.6m., dep. A3,866.0m. (Dec. 1988); Pres. ROBERTO L. ARANA.

Caja Nacional de Ahorro y Seguro: Hipólito Yrigoyen 1770, 1308 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 45-5861; telex 22642; fax (1) 11-1568; f. 1915; savings bank and insurance institution; cap. and res A672.8m., dep. A8,806.5m. (Jan. 1989); Pres. JESÚS L. D'ALESSANDRO; 61 brs.

Foreign Banks

Banca Nazionale del Lavoro SA-BNL (Italy): Florida 32-36, 1005 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-1580; telex 24028; cap. and res A1,613.6m., dep. A2,168.5m. (Jan. 1989); took over Banco de Italia y Río de la Plata in 1987; Pres. GIUSEPPE PASQUA.

Banco do Brasil SA (Brazil): Sarmiento 487, 1041 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 325-6633; telex 24197; f. 1960; cap. and res A452.5m., dep. A50.7m. (Jan. 1989); Gen. Man. ANTONIO MACHADO DE MACEDO.

Banco Europeo para América Latina SA: Juan D. Perón 338, 1038 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-6544; telex 9152; f. 1914; cap. and res A423.1m., dep. A758.9m. (Jan. 1989); Gen. Man. MARC LEFLOT; 17 brs.

Banco Holandés Unido (Netherlands): Florida 361, 1005 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-1022; telex 9160; f. 1914; cap. and res A370.7m., dep. A726.2m. (Jan. 1989); Gen. Man. ROBERTO WESSELS.

Banco di Napoli (Italy): Bartolomé Mitre 699, 1036 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 30-5555; f. 1930; cap. and res A547.4m., dep. A144.1m. (Jan. 1989); Gen. Man. PASCUAL FILOMENO.

Banco Popular Argentino: Florida 201 esq. Juan D. Perón, Casilla 3650, 1001 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-6071; telex 9220; fax (1) 331-0482; f. 1887; cap. and res A761.7m., dep. A1,363.6m. (Jan. 1989); Pres. LUIS CORONEL DE PALMA; 28 brs.

Banco de Santander SA (Spain): Bartolomé Mitre 575, 1036 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-0014; f. 1964; cap. and res A228.7m., dep. A576.6m. (Jan. 1989); Dir and Gen. Man. JOSÉ A. PARRA.

Banco Sudameris: Juan D. Perón 500, 1038 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-4061; telex 9186; f. 1910; cap. and res A405.2m., dep. A2,227.6m. (Jan. 1989); Gen. Man. FRANCISCO CAPURRO.

Banco Supervielle Société Générale SA: Reconquista 330, 1003 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 322-9354; telex 9108; fax (1) 11-1811; f. 1887; cap. and res A39,660m., dep. A64,712m. (Dec. 1989); Pres. and Gen. Man. GILBERT GREY.

Banco Tornquist SA: Bartolomé Mitre 531, 1036 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 30-7841; telex 9193; f. 1960; cap. and res A897.7m., dep. A2,153.9m. (Jan. 1989); Pres. JACQUES GIRAULT; Vice-Pres. FRANCIS GANIER; 33 brs.

Bank of America NT & SA (USA): Juan D. Perón 525, Casilla 3393, 1038 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-9009; telex 9145; f. 1940; cap. and res A308.9m., dep. A518.2m. (Jan. 1989); Pres. JAIME RIVERA.

Lloyds Bank (Bank of London and South America) Ltd (UK): Reconquista 101-51, Casilla 128, 1003 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-3551; telex 21558; f. 1862; part of Lloyd's Bank Group; cap. and res A1,015.1m., dep. A5,187.1m. (Jan. 1989); Gen. Man. for Argentina MICHAEL KENT ATKINSON; 41 brs.

Bank of Tokyo Ltd (Japan): Corrientes 420, 1043 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 322-7087; f. 1956; cap. and res A357.4m., dep. A366.5m. (Jan. 1989); Gen. Man. SCHINICHIRO KOBAYASHI.

Banque Nationale de Paris (France): 25 de Mayo 471, 1002 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 311-4490; telex 23285; fax (1) 311-1368; f. 1981; cap. and res A384.6m., dep. A476.0m. (Jan. 1989); Gen. Man. PHILIPPE DE BOISSIEU.

Barclays Bank International PLC (UK): 25 de Mayo 555, 6º, 1002 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 313-1638; telex 22080; fax (1) 313-1535;

f. 1979; cap. and res A160.5m., dep. A4.2m. (Jan. 1989); Gen. Man. GABIEL BUEDO.

Chase Manhattan Bank NA (USA): 25 de Mayo 140, 1002 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 30-0400; telex 9138; f. 1904; cap. and res A503.0m., dep. A1,036.9m. (Jan. 1989); Gen. Man. WILLIAM GAMBREL.

Citibank NA (USA): Bartolomé Mitre 530, 1036 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-8231; telex 21583; f. 1914; cap. and res A1,399.9m., dep. A3,875.5m. (Jan. 1989); Pres. RICARDO HANDLEY; Vice-Pres. ALCIDES MIRÓ; 16 brs.

Deutsche Bank AG (Germany): Reconquista 134 y Bartolomé Mitre 401, Casilla 995, 1036 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 30-2510; telex 9115; fax (1) 30-3536; f. 1960; cap. and res A910.4m., dep. A3,767.9m. (Jan. 1989); Dirs RAÚL G. STOCKER, KARL OSTENRIEDER, EKKEHARD WAGNER; 41 brs.

First National Bank of Boston (USA): Florida 99, 1005 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-3051; f. 1784; cap. and res A21,783m., dep. A71,743m. (June 1989); Vice-Pres. and Gen. Man Ing. MANUEL SACERDOTE; 43 brs.

Royal Bank of Canada: Florida 202, Casilla 1899, 1005 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 46-9851; telex 18613; fax (1) 40-4654; f. 1869; cap. and res A202.6m., dep. A388.2m. (Jan. 1989); Gen. Man. W. R. CAMERON; 2 brs.

Bankers' Associations

Asociación de Bancos Argentinos (ADEBA): San Martín 229, 10º, 1004 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-1430; telex 23704; fax (1) 394-6340; f. 1972; Pres. ROQUE MACCARONE; Exec. Dir Dr NORBERTO C. PERUZZOTTI; 28 mems.

Asociación de Bancos de la República Argentina (ABRA): Reconquista 458, 2º, 1358 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-1871; telex 28165; f. 1919; Pres. RICARDO HANDLEY; Exec. Dir ADALBERTO BARBOSA; 37 mems.

Asociación de Bancos de Provincia de la República Argentina (ABAPRA): Florida 470, 1º, 1005 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 322-6321; telex 24015; f. 1959; Pres. Dr EDUARDO J. DEL AMOR; Man. ADRIÁN H. FERRARI; 34 mems.

Asociación de Bancos del Interior de la República Argentina (ABIRA): Corrientes 538, 4º, 1043 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-3439; telex 28273; f. 1956; Pres. Dr JORGE FEDERICO CHRISTENSEN; Dir IGNACIO JOSÉ CARLOS PREMOLI; 30 mems.

Federación de Bancos Cooperativos de la República Argentina (FEBANCOOP): Maipú 374, 9º/10º, 1006 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-9949; telex 23650; f. 1973; Pres. RAÚL MEILLÁN SALGADO; Exec. Dir Lic. SAMUEL GLEMOCKI; 35 mems.

STOCK EXCHANGES

Mercado de Valores de Buenos Aires, SA: 25 de Mayo 367, 9º, 1002 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 313-4522; telex 17445; Pres. JUAN BAUTISTA PEÑA.

There are also stock exchanges at Córdoba, Rosario, Mendoza and La Plata.

INSURANCE

Superintendencia de Seguros de la Nación: Avda Julio A. Roca 721, 1067 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 30-6653; f. 1938; Superintendent Lic. DIEGO PEDRO PELUFFO.

In June 1985 it was announced that all existing companies should have a minimum capital of A279,090 (australes) for all classes of insurance.

In June 1983 there were nearly 260 insurance companies operating in Argentina, of which 14 were foreign. The following is a list of those offering all classes or a specialized service.

La Agrícola SA: Corrientes 447, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-5031; f. 1905; associated company La Regional; all classes; Pres. LUIS R. MARCO; First Vice-Pres. JUSTO J. DE CORRAL.

Aseguradora de Créditos y Garantías SA: San Martín 379, 6º, 1004 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-1018; telex 24334; fax (1) 325-4970; f. 1965; Pres. ALEJANDRO E. FRERS; Man. CARLOS GUSTAVO KRIEGER.

Aseguradora de Río Negro y Neuquén: Avda Alem 503, Cipolletti, Río Negro; f. 1960; all classes; Gen. Man. ERNESTO LÓPEZ.

Aseguradores de Cauciones SA: Paraguay 580, 1057 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 312-5321; telex 17321; f. 1969; all classes; Pres. Dr AGUSTÍN DE VEDIA.

Aseguradores Industriales SA: Juan D. Perón 650, 6º, 1038 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 46-5425; f. 1961; all classes; Exec. Pres. Dir LUIS ESTEBAN LOFORTE.

La Austral: Juncal 1319, 1062 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 42-9881; telex 21078; fax (1) 953-4459; f. 1942; all classes; Pres. RODOLFO H. TAYLOR.

Colón, Cía de Seguros Generales SA: San Martín 548-550, 1004 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 393-5069; telex 23923; f. 1962; all classes; Gen. Man. L. D. STÜCK.

Columbia SA: Juan D. Perón 690, 1038 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 46-1240; f. 1918; all classes; Pres. EUGENIO M. BLANCO.

El Comercio, Compañía de Seguros a Prima Fija SA: Maipú 53, 1084 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-2181; f. 1889; all classes; Pres. FELIPE JOSÉ LUIS M. GAMBA; Man. PABLO DOMINGO F. LONGO.

Compañía Argentina de Seguro de Crédito a la Exportación SA: Corrientes 345, 7º, 1043 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 313-2683; telex 24207; fax (1) 313-2919; f. 1967; covers credit and extraordinary and political risks for Argentine exports; Pres. LUIS ORCOYEN.

Compañía Aseguradora Argentina SA: Casilla 3398, Avda Roque S. Peña 555, 1035 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 30-1571; telex 22876; fax (1) 30-5973; f. 1918; all classes; Man. GUIDO LUTTINI; Vice-Pres. ALBERTO FRAGUO.

La Continental SA: Corrientes 655, 1043 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 393-8051; telex 121832; f. 1912; all classes; Pres. RAÚL MASCA-RENHAS.

La Franco-Argentina SA: Hipólito Yrigoyen 476, 1086 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 30-3091; telex 17291; f. 1896; all classes; Pres. DR GUILLERMO MORENO HUEYO; Gen. Man. Dra HAYDÉE GUZIAN DE RAMÍREZ.

Hermes SA: Edif. Hermes, Bartolomé Mitre 754/60, 1034 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-8441; f. 1926; all classes; Pres. CARLOS ANÍBAL PERALTA; Gen. Man. DIONISIO KATOPODIS.

Iguazú SA: San Martín 442, 1004 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-6661; f. 1947; all classes; Pres. RAMÓN SANTAMARINA.

India SA: Avda Roque S. Peña 730, 1035 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 30-6001; f. 1950; all classes; Pres. CARLOS DE ALZAGA; Vice-Pres. MATILDE DÍAZ VÉLEZ.

Instituto Italo-Argentino de Seguros Generales SA: Avda Roque S. Peña 890, 1035 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 45-5814; f. 1920; all classes; Pres. LUIS GOTTHEIL.

La Meridional SA: Juan D. Perón 646, 1038 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 33-0941; f. 1949; life and general; Pres. G. G. LASCANO.

Plus Ultra, Cía Argentina de Seguros SA: San Martín 548-50, 1004 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 393-5069; telex 23923; f. 1956; all classes; Gen. Man. L. D. STÜCK.

La Primera SA: Blvd Villegas y Oro, Trenque Lauquén, Prov. Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 393-8125; all classes; Pres. ENRIQUE RAÚL U. BOTTINI; Man. DR RODOLFO RAÚL D'ONOFRIO.

La Rectora SA: Corrientes 848, 1043 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-6081; f. 1951; all classes; Pres. PEDRO PASCUAL MEGNA; Gen. Man. ANTONIO LÓPEZ BUENO.

La República SA: San Martín 627/29, 1374 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 393-9901; f. 1928; group life and general; Pres. ARTURO EDBROOKE; Man. RODNEY C. SMITH.

Sud América Terrestre y Marítima Cía de Seguros Generales SA: Avda Pdte R. S. Peña 530, 1035 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 30-8570; telex 24256; f. 1919; all classes; Mans ALAIN HOMBREUX, JORGE O. SALVIDIO.

La Unión Gremial SA: Casilla 300, Gen. Mitre 665/99, 2000 Rosario, Santa Fé; tel. 47071; f. 1908; general; Pres. Cont. VÍCTOR MANUEL CABANELLAS; Gen. Man. Cont. EDUARDO IGNACIO LLOBET.

La Universal: Juncal 1319, 1062 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 42-9881; telex 21078; fax (1) 953-4459; f. 1905; all classes; Pres. RODOLFO H. TAYLOR.

Reinsurance

Instituto Nacional de Reaseguros: Avda Pte Julio A. Roca 694, 1067 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-0084; telex 2-1170; fax (1) 334-5588; f. 1947; reinsurance in all branches; Pres. and Man. REINALDO A. CASTRO.

Insurance Associations

Asociación Argentina de Compañías de Seguros: 25 de Mayo 565, 1002 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 313-6974; telex 23837; fax (1) 312-6300; f. 1894; 137 mems; Pres. DANIEL R. SALAZAR.

Asociación de Aseguradores Extranjeros en la Argentina: San Martín 201, 7º, 1004 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-3881; f. 1875; association of 11 foreign insurance companies operating in Argentina; Pres. ALEX MOCZARSKI; Sec. RICHARD MACGRATH.

Trade and Industry

CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

Cámara Argentina de Comercio: Avda Leandro N. Alem 36, 1003 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-8051; telex 18542; f. 1924; Pres. CARLOS R. DE LA VEGA.

Cámara de Comercio, Industria y Producción de la República Argentina: Florida 1, 4º, 1005 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-0813; telex 18693; fax (1) 331-9116; f. 1913; Pres. JOSÉ CHEDIEK; Vice-Pres. DR FAUSTINO S. DIÉGUEZ, DR JORGE M. MAZALAN; 1,500 mems.

Cámara de Comercio Exterior de la Federación Gremial del Comercio e Industria: Avda Córdoba 1868, Rosario, Santa Fé; tel. (42) 21-3896; f. 1958; deals with imports and exports; Pres. EDUARDO C. SALVATIERRA; Vice-Pres. HUGO ULPIANO ARROYO; 120 mems.

Cámara de Exportadores de la República Argentina: Diag. Roque Sáenz Peña 740, 1º, 1035 Buenos Aires; f. 1943 to promote exports; Pres. Ing. DANIEL BRUNELLA; Vice-Pres. Ing. ALEJANDRO ACHAVAL; 700 mems.

Similar chambers are located in most of the larger centres and there are many foreign chambers of commerce.

GOVERNMENT REGULATORY AND SUPERVISORY BODIES

Consejo Federal de Inversiones: San Martín 871, 1004 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 313-5557; telex 21180; fax (1) 313-4486; federal board to co-ordinate domestic and foreign investment and provide technological aid for the provinces; Sec.-Gen. Ing. JUAN JOSÉ CIACERA.

Instituto de Desarrollo Económico y Social (IDES): Araoz 2838, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 804-4949; f. 1961; 700 mems; Pres. TORCUATO S. DI TELLA; Sec. DR CATALINA WAINERMAN.

Instituto Forestal Nacional (IFONA): Avda Pueyrredón 2446, 1119 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 803-3728; telex 21535; national forestry commission; f. 1940; Principal Officer Ing. LEOPOLDO KUSCH-NAROFF.

Junta Nacional de Carnes: San Martín 459, 1004 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 394-6612; telex 24210; fax (1) 322-9357; f. 1933; national meat board; undertakes regulatory, promotional, advisory and administrative responsibilities on behalf of the meat and livestock industry; Pres. Lic. ROLANDO GARCIA LENZI.

Junta Nacional de Granos: Avda Paseo Colón 359, 1063 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 30-0641; telex 21793; national grain board; supervises commercial practices and organizes the construction of farm silos and port elevators; Pres. JORGE CORT.

DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS

Instituto Argentino del Petróleo: Maipú 645, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 392-3244; established to promote the development of petroleum exploration and exploitation.

Secretaría de Planificación: Hipólito Yrigoyen 250, 8º, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 331-1722; f. 1961 to formulate national long-term development plans; Sec. DR MOISES IKONICOFF.

Sociedad Rural Argentina: Florida 460, 1005 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 322-2111; fax (1) 23414; f. 1866; private organization to promote the development of agriculture; Pres. DR EDUARDO A. C. DE ZAVALIA; 9,400 mems.

STATE ENTERPRISES

Directorio de Empresas Públicas (DEP): Lavalle 1429, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 49-5414; f. 1986; holding company for state enterprises; Pres. Lic. HORACIO A. LOSOVIZ.

Sindicatura General de Empresas Públicas: Lavalle 1429, 1048 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 40-5200; f. 1978; to exercise external control over wholly- or partly-owned public enterprises; Pres. MARIO J. TRUFFAT.

Agua y Energía Eléctrica Sociedad del Estado (AyEE): Avda Leandro N. Alem 1134, 1001 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 311-6364; telex 22613; fax (1) 312-2236; f. 1947; state water and electricity board; Principal Officer CARLOS ALDERETTE.

Empresa Nacional de Correos y Telégrafos (ENCOTEL): Sarmiento 151, 1000 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 311-5031; telex 22045; f. 1972; postal services; scheduled for transfer to private ownership in 1991; Principal Officer DR RAÚL CARMELO VACCALLUZZO.

Empresa Nacional de Telecomunicaciones (ENTel): Defensa 143, 1065 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 49-9684; telex 18003; f. 1949; state telecommunications corporation; transferred to private ownership in 1990; Supervisor Ing. MARÍA J. ALSOGARAY.

Gas del Estado: Alsina 1169, 1088 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 37-2091; f. 1946; scheduled for transfer to private ownership in 1990 following merger with other state-owned energy companies; Principal Officer Ing. MIGUEL ANGEL MARIZZA.

Hidroeléctrica Norpatagónica SA (Hidronor): Avda Leandro N. Alem 1074, 1001 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 312-6030; telex 18097; f. 1967; scheduled for transfer to private ownership in 1990 following merger with other state-owned energy companies; Principal Officer DR CARLOS JOSÉ ANTONIO SERNESE.

ARGEN
Obras S
Aires; t
EDUAR
Petroqu
Aires; t
petroche
Servicio
carce 18
enterpri
Principa
Yacimie
1190, 12
enterpri
Principi
Yacimi
710, 10
enterpr
Yacimi
Avda R
31999; f
petrolet
resoure
industr
four op
energy
Man. F
Asocia
Argem
0010; t
Man. F
Asocia
4º, 10
textile
Asoci
991, 1
indust
BORSE
Asoci
Aires;
COTU;
Cáma
tel. (1
ADAL
Centr
Bueno
1943;
Confé
Arger
6010;
Confé
Bueno
Fedel
Aires;
indus
Unión
11º, :
2413;
95%
fusior
Confé
the C
MON-
Conf
of L
EDOI
1.100
CC
Re
62
Note
See
Min
1322
cont

Obras Sanitarias de la Nación: Marcelo T. de Alvear 1840, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 41-1081; f. 1973; sanitation; Principal Officer Ing. EDUARDO CEVALLO.

Petroquímica General Mosconi SAI y C: Perú 103, 1067 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 33-5964; telex 22850; fax (1) 11-2394; f. 1970; state petrochemical industry; Pres. Dr. ALFREDO JORGE CONNOLLI.

Servicios Eléctricos del Gran Buenos Aires SA (SEGBA): Balcarce 184, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 33-1901; f. 1958; state electricity enterprise; due to be transferred to private ownership in 1990; Principal Officer Ing. ANTONIO FEDERICO.

Yacimientos Carboníferos Fiscales (YCF): Avda Roque S. Peña 1190, 1364 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 35-4001; f. 1958; state coal-mining enterprise; due to be transferred to private ownership in 1991; Principal Officer HÉCTOR BUENO.

Yacimientos Mineros de Agua de Dionisio: Avda Julio A. Roca 710, 1067 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-8024; f. 1958; state mining enterprise; Principal Officer EFRAÍN J. SAADI HERRERA.

Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales Sociedad del Estado (YPF): Avda Roque S. Peña 777, 1364 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 46-7270; telex 21999; f. 1922; public corporation authorized to formulate national petroleum policy and to develop, process and market hydrocarbon resources; in July 1987, as part of the deregulation of the petroleum industry, it was announced that YPF was to be separated into four operational divisions; due to be merged with other state-run energy companies and transferred to private ownership in 1990; Man. Dir. JOSÉ ESTENSORO.

TRADE ASSOCIATIONS

Asociación de Importadores y Exportadores de la República Argentina: Avda Belgrano 124, 1°, 1092 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-0010; telex 25761; f. 1966; Pres. Lic. FERNANDO A. RAIMONDO; Man. ESTELIA D. DE AMATI.

Asociación de Industrias Textiles Argentinas: Uruguay 291, 4°, 1015 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 49-2256; fax (1) 553-8370; f. 1945; textile industry; Pres. MANUEL CYWIN; 250 mems.

Asociación de Industrias Argentinas de Carnes: Avda Córdoba 991, 1°-A, 1054 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 392-0587; telex 17304; meat industry; refrigerated and canned beef and mutton; Pres. JORGE BORSELLA.

Asociación Vitivinícola Argentina: Güemes 4464, 1425 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 774-3370; f. 1904; wine industry; Pres. LUCIANO COTUMACCIO; Man. Lic. MARIO J. GIORDANO.

Cámara de Sociedades Anónimas: Sarmiento 299, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 312-7434; Pres. Dr. JORGE ENRIQUE RIVAROLA; Man. Dr. ADALBERTO ZELMAR BARBOSA.

Centro de Exportadores de Cereales: Bouchard 454, 7°, 1106 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 311-1697; telex 18644; fax (1) 312-6924; f. 1943; grain exporters; Pres. PEDRO E. GARCÍA OLIVER.

Confederación de Productores y Exportadores de la República Argentina: Bartolomé Mitre 2241, 1039 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 48-6010; Pres. JACOBO RAIES.

Confederaciones Rurales Argentinas: México 682, 2°, 1097 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 261-1501; Pres. Dr. RAÚL ROMERO FERIS.

Federación Lanera Argentina: Paseo Colón 823, 5°, 1063 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 361-4604; telex 28269; fax (1) 362-8650; f. 1929; wool industry; Pres. JORGE D. SRODEK; Sec. JOSÉ G. GALLIA; 119 mems.

EMPLOYERS' ORGANIZATION

Unión Industrial Argentina (UIA): Avda Leandro N. Alem 1067, 11°, 1001 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 313-9399; telex 21749; fax (1) 313-2413; f. 1887; Argentine association of manufacturers representing 95% of industrial corporations; re-established in 1974 with the fusion of the Confederación Industrial Argentina (CINA) and the Confederación General de la Industria; following the dissolution of the CINA in 1977, the UIA was formed in 1979; Pres. GILBERTO MONTAGNA; Exec. Sec. JORGE GAIBISSO.

TRADE UNIONS

Confederación General del Trabajo—CGT (General Confederation of Labour): Buenos Aires; f. 1984; Peronist; Sec.-Gen. SAÚL EDOLVER UBALDINI; represents approximately 90% of Argentina's 1,100 trade unions and consists of three groups:

CGT: Buenos Aires.

Renovadores: Buenos Aires.

62 Organizaciones: Buenos Aires.

Note: In 1990 the CGT split into two legally recognized factions. See Recent History section, p. 356.

Transport

Ministerio de Obras y Servicios Públicos: Avda 9 de Julio 1925, 1322 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 38-8911; telex 22577; fax (1) 331-9967; controls:

Secretaría de Transportes: Avda 9 de Julio 1925, 1332 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 38-1435; Sec. (vacant).

Subsecretaría de Transporte: Avda 9 de Julio 1925, 1332 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 38-5838, ext. 407; Under-Sec. (vacant).

Subsecretaría de Planificación del Transporte: Avda 9 de Julio 1925, 1322 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 37-2571, ext. 465; Under-Sec. (vacant).

Subsecretaría de Marina Mercante: Julio A. Roca 734, 1067 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 30-2857; telex 21091; Under-Sec. (vacant).

Dirección Nacional de Transporte Aero comercial: Avda 9 de Julio 1925, 22°, 1332 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 37-8365; telex 22577; Dir (vacant).

RAILWAYS

Lines: General Belgrano (narrow gauge), General Roca, General Bartolomé Mitre, General San Martín, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (all wide gauge), General Urquiza (medium gauge) and Línea Metropolitana, which controls the railways of Buenos Aires and its suburbs. There are direct rail links with the Bolivian Railways network to Santa Cruz de la Sierra and La Paz; with Chile, through the Las Cuevas-Caracoles tunnel (across the Andes) and between Salta and Antofagasta; with Brazil, across the Paso de los Libres and Uruguayana bridge; with Paraguay (between Posadas and Encarnación by ferry-boat); and with Uruguay (between Concordia and Salto). In 1987 there were 34,509 km of tracks. In the Buenos Aires commuter area 270.4 km of wide gauge track and 52 km of medium gauge track are electrified. In mid-1988 work commenced on the construction of the 'Expreso del Sud' railway, linking Buenos Aires with the Bolivian capital, La Paz.

Ferrocarriles Argentinos (FA): Avda Ramos Mejía 1302, 1302 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 312-1746; telex 22507; f. 1948 with the nationalization of all foreign property; autonomous body but policies are established by the Ministry of Public Works and Services through the Secretaría de Transportes; Supt (vacant).

Cámara de Industrias Ferroviarios: Alsina 1607, 1°, 1088 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 40-5571; telex 21355; private organization to promote the development of Argentine railway industries; Pres. Ing. GUILLERMO NOTTAGE.

Buenos Aires also has an underground railway system:

Subterráneos de Buenos Aires: Bartolomé Mitre 3342, 1201 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 89-0631; telex 13979; f. 1952; became completely state-owned in 1978; controlled by the Municipalidad de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires; five underground lines totalling 36 km, 63 stations, and a 14-km light rail line, which was opened in 1987; Pres. JOSÉ MARÍA GARCÍA ARECHA.

ROADS

In 1986 there were 211,369 km of roads, of which 378 km were motorways, 36,928 km were other main roads and 174,063 km were secondary roads. In 1990 the Government announced plans to transfer 9,800 km of main road to private ownership for conversion to a tolls system. In 1983 the network carried about 80% of all freight tonnage and 85% of all medium- and long-distance passengers. Four branches of the Pan-American highway run from Buenos Aires to the borders of Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay and Brazil.

Dirección Nacional de Vialidad: Comodoro Py 2002, 1104 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 312-9021; telex 17879; controlled by the Secretaría de Transportes; Gen. Man. Ing. SAÚL MARTÍNEZ.

Asociación Argentina Empresarios Transporte Automotor (AAETA): Bernardo de Yrigoyen 330, 6°, 1072 Buenos Aires; Pres. LUIS CARRAL.

Federación Argentina de Entidades Empresarias de Autotransporte de Cargas (FADEAC): Avda de Mayo 1370, 3°, 1372 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 37-3635; Pres. ROGELIO CAVALIERI IRIBARNE.

There are several international passenger and freight services including:

Autobuses Sudamericanos SA: Bernardo de Yrigoyen 1370, 1°, Casilla 40, 1401 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 27-6591; telex 17870; fax (1) 311-4385; f. 1928; international bus services; car and bus rentals; charter bus services; Pres. ARMANDO SAMUEL SCHLEKER; Gen. Man. MARÍA ANTONIA APREA.

INLAND WATERWAYS

There is considerable traffic in coastal and river shipping, mainly carrying petroleum and its derivatives. In 1983 the total displacement of vessels entering Argentine ports for such transport was 28.2m. nrt.

Dirección Nacional de Construcciones Portuarias y Vías Navegables: Avda España 221, 4°, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 361-5964; responsible for the maintenance and improvement of waterways and dredging operations; Dir Ing. ENRIQUE CASALS DE ALBA.

ARGENTINA

SHIPPING

There are more than 100 ports, of which the most important are Buenos Aires, Quequén, Rosario and Bahía Blanca. There are specialized terminals at Ensenada, Comodoro Rivadavia, San Lorenzo and Campana (petroleum); Bahía Blanca, Rosario, Santa Fé, Villa Concepción, Mar del Plata and Quequén (cereals); and San Nicolás and San Fernando/San Isidro (raw and construction materials). In May 1987 the World Bank allocated a loan of US \$50m. to Argentina to help finance the rehabilitation of Bahía Blanca; and in 1988 Argentina received a loan of US \$7.7m. for general improvements to port facilities from the Japanese Government. Argentina's merchant fleet totalled 2,066,661 grt in 1985; it comprised 64 cargo vessels, 26 bulk carriers, 58 tankers and 41 miscellaneous vessels.

Administración General de Puertos: Avda Julio A. Roca 734/42, 1067 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-5621; telex 21879; f. 1956; state enterprise for direction, administration and exploitation of all national sea and river ports; scheduled for transfer to private ownership in 1991; Chair. (vacant).

Capitanía General del Puerto: Avda Julio A. Roca 734, 2º, 1067 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 34-9784; f. 1967; co-ordination of port operations; Port Captain Capt. PEDRO TARASCOS.

The chief state-owned shipping organizations are:

Empresa Líneas Marítimas Argentinas SA (ELMA): Avda Corrientes 389, 1043 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 312-8111; telex 22317; f. 1941; state line operating 34 vessels (474,445 grt) to Northern Europe, Scandinavia, the Mediterranean, West and East Coasts of Canada and the USA, Gulf of Mexico, Caribbean ports, Brazil, Pacific ports of Central and South America, Far East, North and South Africa and the Near East; scheduled for transfer to private ownership in 1991; Pres. Dr L. A. J. OLAIZOLA.

Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales (YPF): Avda Roque S. Peña 777, 1035 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 46-7271; telex 21792; Pres. HÉCTOR J. FIORELLI; fleet of 350,701 grt of cargo, tankers and tanker craft and motor launches.

Private shipping companies operating on coastal and overseas routes include:

Astra Compañía Argentina de Petróleo SA: Leandro N. Alem 621, 1001 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 311-0091; telex 17478; Pres. Dr RICARDO GRUNEISEN; fleet of 52,969 grt of tankers and tanker craft.

Bottacchi SA de Navegación: Maipu 509, 1006 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 392-7411; telex 22639; Pres. ANGEL L. M. BOTTACCHI; fleet of 79,696 grt of tankers and cargo craft.

Compañía Argentina de Transportes Marítimos SA: Avda Corrientes 327, 3º, 1043 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 311-6300; telex 23524; Pres. JUAN L. MARTÍN; Vice-Pres. R. E. VÁSQUEZ; fleet of 54,153 grt.

CIVIL AVIATION

Argentina has 10 international airports (Aeroparque Jorge Newbery, Córdoba, Corrientes, El Plumerillo, Ezeiza, Jujuy, Resistencia, Río Gallegos, Salta and San Carlos de Bariloche). Ezeiza, 35 km from Buenos Aires, is one of the most important air terminals in Latin America.

Aerolíneas Argentinas: Paseo Colón 185, 1063 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 30-2071; telex 22517; fax (1) 331-0856; f. 1950; transferred to private ownership (Iberia Airlines, Spain) in 1990; services to New York, Los Angeles, Miami, Mexico, Montreal and Europe; its South American services link Argentina with Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Uruguay, Brazil, Peru, Venezuela and Paraguay; the internal network covers the whole country; passengers, mail and freight are carried; Pres. EDUARDO GONZÁLEZ DEL SOLAR; Vice-Pres. OSCAR CARBONE; fleet comprises 6 Boeing 747-200B, 1 747SP, 2 707-320B, 8 727-200, 9 737-200C, 3 Fokker F.28-1000, 1 F.28-4000.

Aerolínea Federal Argentina (ALFA): Avda 9 de Julio 321, Resistencia; tel. (722) 4901; domestic passenger and cargo services from Resistencia; fleet comprises 2 Fairfield FH-227B.

Austral Líneas Aéreas (Cielos del Sur SA): Avda Corrientes 485, 1398 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 325-0777; telex 9175; fax (1) 11-1295; f. 1971; taken over by the State in 1980 to prevent financial collapse; transferred to private ownership in Sept. 1987; domestic flights linking 20 cities in Argentina; Pres. Ing. AMEDEO RIVA; fleet comprises 8 BAC 1-11 series 500, 1 MD-83, 2 MD-80.

Líneas Aéreas del Estado (LADE): Perú 710, Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 361-7174; telex 22040; f. 1940; controlled by the Air Ministry and operates through the Argentine Air Force; LADE operates from El Palomar Air Base, Buenos Aires, to 35 domestic points, all south of the capital; Dir OTTO A. RITONDALE; passenger fleet comprises 1 Fokker F.28-1000C, 2 F.27-600, 2 Twin Otter.

Tourism

Argentina's superb tourist attractions include the Andes mountains, the lake district centred on Bariloche (where there is a National Park), Patagonia, the Atlantic beaches and Mar del Plata, the Iguazú falls, the Pampas and Tierra del Fuego. Visitors to Argentina were estimated at 2,231,524 in 1988.

Secretaría de Turismo de la Nación: Calle Suipacha 1111, 21º, 1368 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 312-5621; telex 24882; fax (1) 312-1638; Sec. JOSÉ OMAR FASSI LAVALLE.

Asociación Argentina de Agencias de Viajes y Turismo (AAVYT): Viamonte 640, 10º, 1053 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 322-2804; telex 25449; f. 1951; Pres. PEDRO BACHRACH; Gen. Man. HÉCTOR J. TESTONI.

Atomic Energy

Comisión Nacional de Energía Atómica (CNEA): Avda del Libertador 8250, 1429 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 70-7711; telex 25392; fax (1) 786-9550; f. 1950; Pres. Dr MANUEL A. MONDINO.

Consejo Consultivo Nacional de Energía Atómica: Buenos Aires; f. 1987 to advise the CNEA's Pres. (see above) in the drawing-up of studies and projects concerned with the reorganization of nuclear activities.

Directorio de la CNEA: Avda del Libertador 8250, 1429 Buenos Aires; tel. (1) 70-7711; telex 25392; fax (1) 544-9252; f. 1989; Pres. Dr MANUEL A. MONDINO.

Argentina's first nuclear reactor, with a capacity of 335 MW, at Atucha, on the River Paraná de las Palmas, commenced operations in 1974. A second plant at Embalse (Córdoba), with an estimated capacity of 600 MW, came into operation in March 1983. A third plant, Atucha II, with an estimated capacity of 700 MW, was under construction in 1990, and was expected to begin operating in 1994. Argentina's first nuclear fuel production plant opened in April 1982, and a reprocessing plant began operations in early 1987. In recent years the development of the atomic energy sector has been severely hindered by lack of funds. In 1989 nuclear power supplied 13.9% of Argentina's total energy requirements.

Research reactors: The following research reactors are in operation:

- RA-1 Centro Atómico Constituyentes: maximum thermal capacity 150 kW.
- RA-2 Centro Atómico Constituyentes: maximum thermal capacity 30 MW.
- RA-3 Centro Atómico Ezeiza: maximum thermal capacity 5 MW.
- RA-6 Centro Atómico Bariloche: maximum thermal capacity 500 MW.

Locati
The Co
island
Pacific
to the
Guinea.
there a
nent (ex
August)
are liab
and A
the we
temper
enced c
for som
monsoo
In 198
(24%
natio-
repres-
a large
smaller
lation,
enclav
Territu
Recent
Since t
ant rol
econon
country
(see A
In J
as Pri
was re
Holt
Gorton
a vote
Prime
after
was de
tives.
lam, v
conflic
House
gener-
power
Repre
major:
the Se
The (e
electric
Sir Jo
dismis
under
coalti
gaine-
gener
progr.
and O
Fra
a gen
replac
mont
ized
and t
policy
Haw
earlie
with
oppos
Party
April

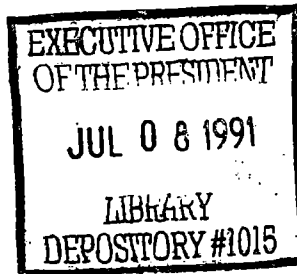
background notes

Argentina



United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs

August 1990



Official Name:
Republic of Argentina

PROFILE

Geography

Area: 2,771,300 sq. km. (1.1 million sq. mi.); about the size of the US east of the Mississippi River. **Cities:** *Capital*—Buenos Aires (metropolitan area pop. 10.5 million). *Other major cities*—Cordoba, Rosario, La Plata, Mendoza. **Terrain:** Varied. **Climate:** Varied, predominantly temperate.

People

Nationality: *Noun and adjective*—Argentine(s). **Population** (1989 est.): 31.1 million. **Annual growth rate** (1989 est.): 1.5%. **Density:** 27.8 per sq. mi. **Ethnic groups:** European 97%, mostly Spanish and Italian. **Religions:** Roman Catholic 92%, Protestant 2%, Jewish 2%, other 4%. **Languages:** Spanish (official), English, Italian, German, French. **Education:** *Years compulsory*—7. *Adult literacy*—92%. **Health:** *Infant mortality rate*—27/1,000. *Life expectancy*—70 yrs. **Work force:** *Agriculture*—19%. *Industry and commerce*—36%. *Services*—20%. *Transport and communications*—6%. *Other*—19%.

Government

Type: Republic. **Independence:** July 9, 1816. **Constitution:** 1853.

Branches: *Executive*—president, vice president, cabinet. *Legislative*—bicameral Congress (46-member Senate, 254-member Chamber of Deputies). *Judicial*—Supreme Court.

Subdivisions: 22 provinces, 1 district (federal capital), 1 territory (Tierra del Fuego).

Political parties: *Justicialista* (Peronist), Radical Civic Union, numerous smaller national and provincial parties.

Suffrage: Universal.

Flag: Horizontal blue and white bands emblazoned with "Sun of May."

Economy

GDP (1990 est.): \$70.1 billion. **Annual growth rate** (1990 est.): -0.9%. **Per capita**

GDP (1990 est.): \$2,134. **Inflation rate** (1990 est.): 1,000%.

Natural resources: Fertile plains (pampas). *Minerals*—lead, zinc, tin, copper, iron, manganese, oil, uranium.

Agriculture (15% of GNP, about 70% of exports by value): *Products*—grains, oilseeds and byproducts, livestock products.

Industry (23% of GNP): *Types*—food processing, motor vehicles, consumer durables, textiles, metallurgy, chemicals.

Trade (1989): *Exports*—\$9.5 billion (US—12%); grains, meats, oilseeds. *Imports*—\$4.2 billion (US—21%); machinery, fuel and lubricating oils, iron and steel products, wood and lumber, automotive equipment and parts, chemicals. *Major trading partners*—European Community, USSR, US, Brazil.

Official exchange rate (free market since December 1989): US\$1=Austral 5,210.00 (June 26, 1990).

External financing: IBRD and IDA—\$887 million in FY 1989 (July 1, 1988-June 30, 1989); IDB—\$12 million in CY 1989.

Membership in International Organizations

UN and some of its specialized and related agencies, Organization of American States (OAS), Latin American Integration Association, Nonaligned Movement, Group of 77, Latin American Economic System (SELA), New Group of 15, and the Rio Group (formerly known as the Group of Eight).

GEOGRAPHY

Argentina shares land borders with Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay. It is bounded by the Atlantic and the Antarctic Oceans.

Extending 3,705 km. (2,302 mi.) from north to south and with an Atlantic coastline 2,850 km. (1,600 mi.) long, Argentina is the third largest country in the Southern Hemisphere, after Brazil and Australia, and the eighth largest in the world. Its topography, as varied as that of the United States, ranges from subtropical lowlands in the north to the towering Andean Mountains in the west and the bleak, windswept Patagonian steppe and Tierra del Fuego in the south.

PEOPLE

The Argentine nation has been built by the fusion of diverse national and ethnic groups. Waves of European immigrants arrived in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Today, descendants of Italian and Spanish immigrants predominate, but many trace their origins to British and West and East European ancestors. Syrian, Lebanese, and other Middle Eastern immigrants number about 500,000 and are concentrated in urban areas. In recent years, there has been a substantial influx of immigrants from neighboring Latin American countries. The native Indian population, estimated at 50,000, is concentrated in the peripheral provinces of the north, northwest, and south.

The Argentine population has one of the lowest growth rates in Latin America (1.5%). Eighty percent of the population reside in urban areas of over 2,000, with more than one-third of the population living in the metropolitan Buenos Aires area. The sprawling capital, with more than 10 million inhabitants, serves as the focus for national life. Argentines have enjoyed comparatively high standards of living; half the population considers itself middle class.

More than 90% of Argentines are Roman Catholic. Religious freedom is allowed, although all non-Catholic denominations are required to register with the government. The Protestant community is small but active. Argentina's Jewish community of 350,000 (est.) is concentrated in Buenos Aires.

The Argentine educational system is compulsory for grades 1-7. The adult



literacy rate is 92%—one of the highest in Latin America. Literary and artistic tastes have been influenced mainly by Western Europe and, more recently, by the United States.

A large number of Spanish daily newspapers are published in the greater Buenos Aires area; a dozen community newspapers are published in English, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Polish, Ukrainian, and Yiddish. All the community newspapers are periodicals except the daily English-language *Buenos Aires Herald*.

HISTORY AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

What is now Argentina was discovered in 1516 by the Spanish navigator Juan de Solís. A permanent Spanish colony was established on the site of Buenos Aires in 1580. Argentina was further integrated into the Spanish empire following the establishment of the Vice-Royalty of Rio de la Plata in 1776, and Buenos Aires became a flourishing port.

The formal declaration of independence from Spain was made on July 9, 1816. Gen. Jose de San Martin—who campaigned in Argentina, Chile, and Peru—is the hero of national independence. Following the defeat of the Spaniards, a lengthy conflict was waged between centralist and federalist groups to determine the future structure of the nation. National unity was established and the constitution promulgated in 1853.

In the late 19th century, two forces created the modern Argentine nation—the introduction of modern agricultural techniques and the integration of Argentina into the world economy. This economic revolution was aided by foreign investment—primarily British—in such fields as railroads and ports and by the influx of European manpower necessary to develop Argentina's resources.

Conservative forces dominated Argentine politics until 1916, when their traditional rivals, the Radicals, won control of the government through a democratic election. The Radicals, with their emphasis upon clean elections and democratic procedures, opened their doors of power to the nation's expanding middle class as well as to the elites previously excluded for various reasons. Radical rule came to an end in 1930 at the hands of the Argentine armed forces as they threw out aged Radical president Hipolito Yrigoyen and, thereby, ushered in another decade of Conservative rule. Using fraud and force when necessary, the governments of the 1930s were only temporarily able to contain forces for economic and political changes that emerged with the government of Juan Domingo Peron.

In 1943, a military coup—led by, among others, Col. Juan Domingo Peron (1895–1974)—ousted the constitutional government. In 1946, Peron was elected president. He pursued a dynamic policy aimed at giving an economic and political voice to the working class. The number of unionized workers increased significantly, which helped consolidate the powerful General Confederation of Labor (CGT). In 1947, Peron announced the first five-year plan based on nationalization and industrialization. He was aided by his energetic wife, Eva Duarte Peron (1919–52). She enhanced his appeal to labor and women's groups and helped women obtain the right to vote in 1947.

Peron was reelected in 1952, was ousted by the military in 1955, and went

into exile, eventually settling in Spain. In the 1950s and 1960s, the government passed between military and civilian administrations, as each sought to deal with diminished economic growth and continued social and labor demands. When the military government of Juan Carlos Ongania (et. al., 1966–73) brought economic failure and escalating terrorism, the way was open for a return of Peronism.

On March 11, 1973, general elections were held for the first time in 10 years. Peron was prevented from running, and his stand-in, Dr. Hector J. Campora, was elected. The Peronists also commanded a strong majority in both houses of the National Congress, which assumed office on May 25, 1973. Campora resigned in July 1973, paving the way for Raul Lastiri, a Peronist Party loyalist, to assume the presidency and call for new elections. Peron won a decisive victory and returned as president in October 1973 with his third wife, Maria Estela (Isabel) Martinez de Peron, as vice president.

Even after Peron's dramatic return, extremists on the left and right continued to threaten public order. The government resorted to a number of emergency decrees, including the implementation of special executive authority to deal with violence. This allowed the government to imprison persons indefinitely without charge.

On July 1, 1974, Peron died and was succeeded by his wife, the first woman president in the Western Hemisphere. Mrs. Peron's administration was undermined by economic problems, Peronist intraparty struggles, and persistent terrorism from both the left and the right. As a result, Mrs. Peron was removed from office by a military coup on March 24, 1976. Until December 10, 1983, power was formally executed by the armed forces through a military president and a three-man junta composed of the three service commanders.

The military quashed terrorists and their sympathizers, silenced armed opposition, and restored basic order. The costs were high in terms of lives lost and basic human rights violated. The events of this "dirty war" remain controversial and divisive in Argentine politics, having fueled military discontent that produced three aborted military uprisings against President Raul Alfonsin (1983–89).

Serious economic problems, defeat by the British in June 1982 after an attempt to take control over the Falkland/Malvinas Islands, human rights abuses, and charges of growing corruption combined to discredit the military regime, which moved to a period of gradual transition leading the country toward democratic rule. Bans on political parties were lifted and other basic political liberties restored. The military implemented a successful and generally peaceful process for the return of elected government.

On October 30, 1983, Argentines went to the polls to choose a president, vice president, and 14,000 other national, provincial, and local officials in fair, open, and honest elections. Raul Alfonsin, candidate of the Radical Civic Union (UCR), was elected, winning 52% of the popular vote. He began a six-year term of office on December 10, 1983. In 1985 and 1987, large turn outs for mid-term elections demonstrated continued public support for a strong and vigorous democratic system. The Radical Civil Union-led government took steps to resolve some of the nation's most pressing problems, including accounting for the "disappeared," establishing civilian control of the armed forces, and consolidating democratic institutions. Its effectiveness was hindered by constant friction with the military and chronic economic problems.

In May 1989, Carlos Saul Menem, the Peronist candidate, was elected president with 47% of the popular vote and a clear majority in the nation's electoral college. The Peronists and their allies also won control of both houses of the new Congress, which took office in December 1989. President Menem was to have succeeded Alfonsin in December 1989, but a rapidly deteriorating economy and resulting loss of confidence in the national government led Alfonsin to resign, and Menem to succeed him in July. Although the transition came five months earlier than planned, the transfer of power was the first between democratically elected presidents in over 60 years.

Menem surprised most observers, including members of his own party, by adopting economic policies antithetical to Peronism's traditional statist approach. He initiated economic emergency and state reform legislation to cut government spending, increase revenues, and reduce state involvement in the economy.

Menem has chosen to battle inflation through conservative fiscal and monetary policies, and he has moved quickly to privatize government-owned industries such as Aerolineas Argentinas and the telephone company. These policies have generated resistance among sectors historically allied to Peronism as well as the Radical Party. However, the opposition remains fragmented, and the President's personal popularity remains relatively high.

GOVERNMENT

The 1853 Argentine constitution, similar to that of the United States, mandates a separation of powers into executive, legislative, and judicial branches at the national and provincial level. Each province also has its own constitution.

The president and vice president are elected to a six-year single term and cannot immediately run for reelection. Senators are elected by provincial legislatures (with the exception of the two senators representing Buenos Aires, who are elected by an electoral college) for nine-year terms, with one-third standing for reelection every three years. Deputies are elected for four years in alternate terms, with half up for reelection every two years. Cabinet ministers are appointed by the president. Considerable power, including a line item veto power, is granted to the president by the constitution.

The Argentine judiciary functions as a separate and independent entity of the government. The apex of the court system is the Supreme Court, whose nine judges are appointed by the president

with the consent of the Senate. The Supreme Court has the power, first asserted in 1854, to declare legislative acts unconstitutional.

Principal Government Officials

President—Carlos Saul Menem
 Vice President—Eduardo Duhalde
 President Pro Tempore of the Senate—Eduardo Menem
 Speaker of the Lower House (Chamber of Deputies)—Alberto Pierri
 Chief Justice of the Supreme Court—Ricardo Levene

Ministers

Interior—Julio Mera Figueroa
 Foreign Relations and Worship—Domingo Cavallo
 National Defense—Humberto Romero
 Economy—Antonio Erman Gonzalez
 Education and Justice—Antonio Francisco Salonia
 Labor and Social Security—Jorge Alberto Triaca
 Health and Social Action—Eduardo Bauza
 Public Works and Services—Jose Roberto Dromi
 Ambassador to the US—Guido Jose Maria di Tella
 Ambassador to the OAS—Juan Pablo Lohle
 Ambassador to the UN—Jorge Vasca

Argentina maintains an embassy in the United States at 1600 New Hampshire Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20009 (tel. 202-939-6400). Argentina has consulates general in Houston, Miami, New York, New Orleans, San Francisco, and San Juan and consulates in Chicago and Los Angeles.

ECONOMY

Argentina has impressive human and natural resources, but political conflict and uneven economic performance since World War II have impeded full realization of its considerable potential. Nonetheless, it remains one of the richest countries in Latin America.

Among the reasons for the military coup of March 1976 was the deteriorating economy, caused by declining production and rampant inflation. Under the leadership of Minister of the Economy Martinez de Hoz, the military govern-

ment, in 1978, embarked on a new developmental strategy to move away from the closed-economy model and establish a free-market economy. The strategy also featured the removal or reduction of restrictions in the manufacturing sector and financial markets as well as the search for foreign and domestic investment. Despite those efforts, by late 1980, Argentina entered a period of recession, with declines in production and real wages. After a notable economic recovery in 1986, economic growth again has slowed. Argentina has recorded successive declines in economic activity in 1988 and 1989.

Faced with healing a scarred society, the Alfonsin administration was slow to tackle the root causes of the economic problems. In an attempt to control inflation and set the country on a prudent fiscal course, in June 1985, the government introduced a "shock" plan (the Austral Plan), which succeeded temporarily. Inflation in 1986 slowed to double digits (86%) for only the second time since 1972. But in 1987, with a significant increase in the public sector deficit accompanied by very large price and wage increases, inflation climbed 175% and reached 386% in 1988.

Another economic plan, the Spring Plan, was announced in 1988; its collapse in February 1989 marked the start of a rapid deterioration of the economy which was worsened by political and economic uncertainties surrounding the May 1989 elections. Unable to instill confidence in an economic program, President Alfonsin advanced by five months the date of his departure from office.

President Menem, who took office in July, moved quickly to change expectations and to combat rapidly escalating prices. Inflation reached 198% in July, a Western Hemisphere one-month record. In contrast with earlier reform efforts, Menem's economic program includes a serious effort to reduce the government's role in the economy. Menem's economic team has taken steps to reduce import barriers, slash subsidies and transfers, and privatize public sector firms (e.g., the telephone company and the national airline). The International Monetary Fund (IMF) approved a stand-by agreement for Argentina in November 1989; however, a second bout of hyperinflation caused Argentina to fall short of negotiated targets, and the program was

Profile of the Congress (By Political Parties)

Senate:	<i>Justicialist</i>	25
	<i>Radical</i>	14
	<i>Provincial Parties</i>	6
	<i>Vacant</i>	1
	Total	46
House:	<i>Justicialist</i>	120
	<i>Radical</i>	90
	<i>UCEDE</i>	11
	<i>Small National and Provincial Parties</i>	33
	Total	254

revised in May 1990. Argentina is a major debtor country; foreign debt stands at about \$60 billion. In June 1990, for the first time since April 1988, the government made an interest payment on its foreign commercial debt. Interest arrears on the debt are currently over \$6 billion.

The heartland of Argentina is the rich temperate plains known as the pampas, which fan out for almost 800 km. (500 mi.) from Buenos Aires. Argentina's richest natural resource is this farmland, producing large quantities of wheat, corn, sorghum, soybeans, and sunflower seeds and providing year-round pasturage for Argentina's cattle industry. The country is one of the world's largest exporters of foodstuffs. The crops and livestock of the fertile pampas have long provided it with abundant food for domestic consumption in addition to unusually plentiful exports.

Agricultural products constitute the major source of foreign exchange earnings. In a good year, grains and oilseed harvests can total some 40 million metric tons. The cattle industry, with an estimated 50 million animals, provides for domestic consumption and export markets.

Argentina exports to a variety of buyers. In the early 1980s, the Soviet Union became the major purchaser of grains, while, more recently, Iran, Brazil, and China have served as major markets. Argentina also exports agricultural goods to the United States, primarily canned, precooked, and frozen beef; sugar; and fruits and fruit products.

Argentina obtains about 21% of its imports from the United States. Total imports in 1989 were \$4.2 billion, of which \$9 million was from the United States. Capital equipment, computers and peripherals, telecommunications, chemicals, and electronic components were the principal items sold to Argentina. In 1980, Argentina exported \$9.5 billion worth of goods and services; \$8 million (12%) went to the United States.

Argentina was a net energy importer in 1987. However, it has reserves of petroleum and natural gas and was self-sufficient in crude oil in 1989. An effort begun under the Alfonsín administration to open the petroleum sector to private investment and increase petroleum production has expanded since July 1989. In addition, significant deregulation of the petroleum sector, including an end to price controls, is scheduled to take effect January 1, 1991. Argentina also has large

electrical production capacity, mostly from hydroelectric sources. It has indicated it wants to reduce the size and cost of the massive Yacyreta hydroelectric project (2,400 megawatts) being jointly constructed with Paraguay and scheduled for completion in the mid 1990s.

DEFENSE

The armed forces of Argentina (army, navy, air force) are organized under the control of the president, who is commander in chief of the armed forces, and the Ministry of Defense, which is headed by a civilian; three under secretaries are also civilians. The joint staff, established in 1984, is directly under the Ministry of Defense and is staffed by officers of all services. The joint staff is an advisory and planning body with no operational or command responsibilities. The senior military officer of each of the armed services is the chief of staff. The paramilitary forces under the control of the Ministry of Defense are the Gendarmeria and the Naval Prefectura (Coast Guard).

Since the return of democratic government, the US and Argentine armed forces have developed a growing, mutually beneficial defense relationship through an extensive range of contacts, including professional exchanges, visits, training, and joint exercises. There are modest international military education, training, and foreign military sales programs. Argentina has offered its Pampa trainer aircraft as a candidate for US Air Force adoption. The Argentine armed forces also maintain defense cooperation and military supply relationships with a number of other countries, principally Israel, Germany, France, Spain, and Italy. The lack of budgetary resources is the most serious problem facing the Argentine armed forces. Current economic conditions and the government's commitment to reduce public sector spending have slowed modernization and restructuring efforts.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Argentina pursues a pragmatic foreign policy and maintains relations with almost all countries. Maintaining political sovereignty and encouraging trade and

foreign investment in Argentina are major priorities. Relations traditionally have been closest with Western Europe and Latin American neighbors. President Menem is publicly committed to improving relations with the United States and Europe, while encouraging Latin American regional integration.

Having settled its Beagle Channel dispute with Chile in 1984-85, Argentina currently has only one active territorial dispute; this is with the United Kingdom over a group of islands some 480 miles northeast of Cape Horn. The Argentines refer to the islands as the "Malvinas Islands"; the British call them the "Falkland Islands." Historically, European powers, notably Britain and Spain, made competing claims to sovereignty over the islands. In the early 1800s, Spanish and then Argentine authorities administered the islands. However, in January 1833, Britain reasserted sovereignty, and the islands first became a crown colony and later a self-governing dependency.

In an effort to establish its sovereignty claim, Argentine military forces occupied the islands on April 2, 1982. After a brief, costly war, the Argentine forces were defeated. Direct talks between Argentina and the UK began in September 1989 in an attempt to reestablish normal relations, which were severed following the Falklands/Malvinas conflict. The talks took place under a formula that separated the sovereignty question from discussions on bilateral relations. The two countries reestablished formal relations in February 1990. Argentina continues to press its sovereignty claim in a variety of forms. The United States has taken no position on the merits of the two countries' sovereignty claims.

US-ARGENTINE RELATIONS

The United States and Argentina have maintained diplomatic relations since 1823. Both countries have sought a constructive relationship based on reciprocal respect and understanding, but bilateral relations often have been turbulent.

In the 1970s, US-Argentine relations entered a particularly difficult period. Concerned about serious human rights violations by the Argentine military

Travel Notes

Visas: Visas are not required of US citizens entering Argentina for tourism for periods up to 90 days. Visas are required for visits to Argentina for all other purposes.

Climate and clothing: Climate ranges from the hot, subtropical lowlands of the north to cold and rainy Tierra del Fuego in the south. The seasons are reversed: the weather in January in Buenos Aires is like July in Washington, DC; weather in July is similar to that of San Francisco in January.

Health: Competent doctors, dentists, and specialists are available in Buenos Aires. No particular health risks exist, and no special precautions are required. Tapwater is safe.

Telecommunications: International services are adequate; however, long delays in placing international calls may occur due to the overburdened system. Most provincial cities and Uruguay also can be dialed directly from home and business phones.

Transportation: Buenos Aires' Ezeiza Airport is serviced by many international carriers, with flights originating in the US, Europe, and Latin American cities. Buenos Aires has an extensive subway and bus system. Taxis are plentiful. Outside Buenos Aires, travel by train, air, bus, or auto.

Time Zones: Argentina is one hour later than US Eastern Standard Time (EST). Daylight savings time is observed from October to April, during which time clocks are set one hour ahead.

government in the campaign against terrorism, the United States restricted both military assistance and the sales of military and other controlled-export items to Argentina. Congress prohibited both military sales and assistance. Argentina consistently maintained that these actions were attempts to influence domestic politics. In the early 1980s, better relations seemed possible as Argentina demonstrated some improvements in human rights. The Falklands/Malvinas war, however, placed additional strains on bilateral relations. The US position on the non-use of force for the resolution of disputes led the United States to impose new sanctions on Argentina and to provide limited assistance to the United Kingdom in its campaign to regain the islands.

US-Argentine relations improved after the Falklands/Malvinas war. Sanctions imposed during the fighting were lifted, and the United States supported Argentine-sponsored UN resolutions on the Falklands/Malvinas calling for renewed negotiations.

The Argentine human rights situation and political climate improved dramatically following the military's mid-1982 decision to return the country to democracy. During 1983, all remaining political prisoners being held without trial under state-of-siege powers were released. Also in 1983, the nine-year-old state of siege was lifted, and restrictions on trade union activities and press censorship virtually ceased. Legal prohibitions on military sales were removed upon the inauguration of the democratically elected government of President Alfonsín in December 1983.

Argentina maintains its independent stance in world affairs but cooperates with the United States in resolving bilateral differences. The countries consult regularly on hemispheric issues. Argentina's relatively advanced economy prompted the United States to phase out its bilateral economic assistance program in 1971, although some training assistance continues. While the program existed, the Agency for International Development (AID) and its predecessor agencies authorized development loans and grants to finance such projects as road building, housing, feasibility studies, and agriculture. There are no Peace Corps volunteers in Argentina.

Many US industrial firms and banks maintain subsidiaries in Argentina. Licensing agreements with local companies are common. US private investment totals more than \$2.6 billion, primarily in manufacturing, chemicals, agricultural manufacturing, transportation equipment, and banking. Several thousand US citizens reside in Argentina.

Principal US Officials

Ambassador—Terence A. Todman
Deputy Chief of Mission—Thomas A. Forbord
Counselor for Agricultural Affairs—
Marvin L. Lehrer
Counselor for Public Affairs—
Michael P. Canning
Counselor for Scientific and Technological Affairs—Paul Maxwell
Counselor for Political Affairs—
James D. Walsh

Counselor for Consular Affairs—
Barbara Hemingway
Counselor for Economic Affairs—
James M. Derham
Counselor for Labor Affairs—
Donald R. Knight
Counselor for Administrative Affairs—
Bernard Segura-Giron
Counselor for Commercial Affairs—
Rafael Fermoselle
Defense Attache and Air Attache—
Col. Kenneth J. Monroe, USAF
Drug Enforcement Administration—
James D. Miller
Military Group—Col. George A.
Carpenter, USA

The US Embassy in Argentina is located at 4300 Colombia, Buenos Aires 1425. The APO address for the embassy is APO Miami 34034-0001 (tel. 774-7611; 774-8811; 774-9911). ■

Published by the United States Department of State • Bureau of Public Affairs
Office of Public Communication
Washington, DC • August 1990
Editor: Phyllis A. Young

Department of State Publication 7836
Background Notes Series • This material is in the public domain and may be reprinted without permission; citation of this source is appreciated.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, US Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402.

Ambrose Evans-Pritchard

ARGENTINA DRIFTS TOWARD DISASTER

Our correspondent reports on the wages of Peronism's economic sins—and expects little repentance from Carlos Menem, for all the new president's charm and good intentions.

Buenos Aires

The monthly inflation rate in Argentina reached 115 percent in June. Interest rates were much higher. At one point they were 548 percent a month. By my calculation that adds up to annual interest rates of about 52,000,000,000 percent above the rate of inflation. One might have thought that this would dampen enthusiasm on the stock market, but apparently it did not. In June alone the Bolsa Argentina rose 152 percent in dollar terms. Over the last five months it has outperformed every stock market in the world by massive proportions.

This is very peculiar. Argentina does not conform to any of the usual norms of financial behavior. To help understand the speculative game there is *El Cronista Comercial* or *El Ambito Financiero*, dense newspapers packed with page after page of incredibly detailed bond listings, daily changes in monetary circulation, hourly changes in the currency rates, and so on. "People eat these papers for breakfast. If you miss a couple of days you can get wiped out," I was told by a grinning, cheerful banker. He looked like one of the beneficiaries of the Great Argentine Inflation of 1989. The streets are full of elegant people who do not seem too bothered by *la situacion*. Men stroll about in beautiful cashmere coats. Gorgeous women dressed from head to toe in black leather sit drinking tea or hot chocolate in the *confiterias* of downtown Buenos Aires.

The state is bankrupt, but the people still have a residue of wealth. After forty years of high inflation any Argentine with wits has learned how to protect his savings from the depredations of the government. It is not like the German inflation of 1923 when the middle class was caught unawares. Argentines have already expatriated their savings and hold an estimated \$30 billion to \$50 billion in foreign banks. According to pollster Manolo Mora y Araujo, about

five percent of the population get a significant income from these holdings. Another five percent are involved in the export business. These two groups are still enjoying filet mignon in the long cavernous steak halls of the capital. Indeed, they have never had it so good. It costs two or three dollars for an immense *bife de lomo*, with an *ensalada Waldorf*, and an exquisite wine from the Andes.

There is a further \$6 billion inside Argentina, held by all kinds of people. A maintenance worker told me he had been stashing away dollars for several years. Perhaps as much as a third of the total population hold cash dollars, buried in the garden, tucked under the floorboards, plastered into the wall—anywhere beyond the reach of thieves and the state. I heard one story about a family that kept their savings frozen inside a pie, but lost everything when grandma defrosted the fridge and chucked the pie into the garbage. These local dollars are worth about ten times the total monetary base of the Argentine austral. In other words, the work-

ing currency of the country (MI) is the dollar. Houses, cars, machinery, and now even television sets are bought and sold in cash dollars. Assets have a steady value, and in the eyes of many Argentines it is the austral that is going down, not prices that are going up, which may explain why there are so few signs of hyperinflationary panic among the middle classes.

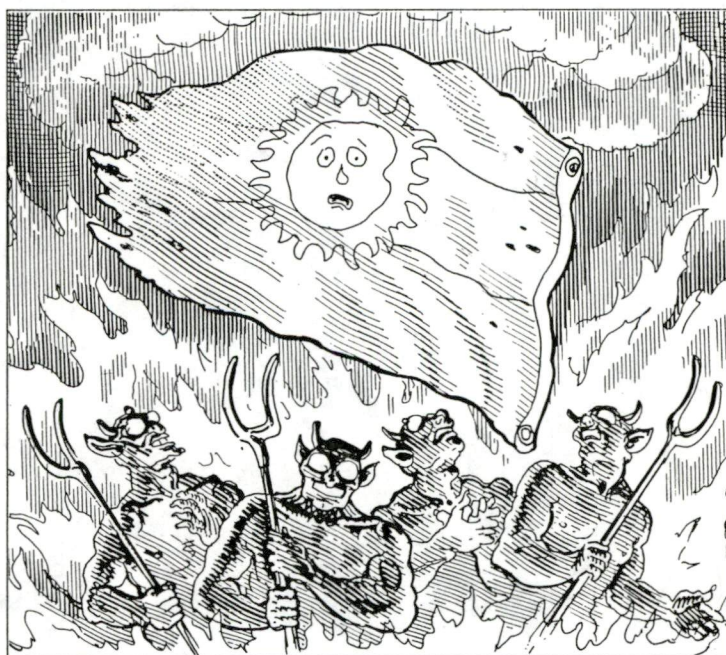
It is amazing how easily you adapt to a monthly inflation rate of 115 percent (one million percent annual) so long as you know your wealth is protected. Most shops put up their prices in jumps of perhaps 15 percent every three or four days, rather than marking up each day, and you soon become an expert at the arithmetic of relative prices. The inflation rate is expected to reach 200 percent in July (50 million percent annual), however, and if it keeps going up the economy will soon cross the threshold into chaos.

There are already colossal problems. The insurance industry is

paralyzed because it takes so long to process claims that the payment is already worthless when it arrives. More and more doctors are refusing to accept medical insurance. Commercial contracts are no longer enforced because Argentine law allows contracts to be broken in "unforeseen circumstances," which of course include hyperinflation. "The whole sense of obligation and trust is breaking down. It's every one out for himself now," says Dr. Ricardo Zinn, president of the conservative Carlos Pellegrini Foundation.

Dollarization is the last thread that holds the economic fabric together. It is probably a bad thing. "This country needs to be flattened, destroyed, like Germany in 1945. Then we can start again from scratch," said a central bank official, returning after several years abroad. Instead, the people who make decisions in Argentina are shielded from the full horror of what is happening. They know the country is headed for collapse, but the temptation to try to muddle through is still too strong. With ever more inventive forms of dollar indexation the economy can doubtless be kept alive for months, perhaps years, yet the delay is disastrous because the society is disintegrating. The other nation, the two-thirds of the population who have kept their money in australs, have no savings to fall back on, while their salaries have fallen to Bolivian levels.

Take Hugo, for instance, a 50-year-old cleaner at a parish school, who like so many Argentine workers has the class militancy of a British miner. In July he expects to earn about 45,000 australs with overtime. It takes four hours and six buses to get to and from work each day, at a total cost of 320 australs, which adds up to about 8,000 a month. His family consumes one liter of milk a day costing 120, and twelve rolls of bread costing 300, which together add up to 12,600 a month. He therefore spends nearly half his salary on buses, bread, and milk. Hugo has a good job. He earns double the minimum wage.



Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, Washington correspondent for the *Spectator* of London, has been reporting from Latin America since 1983.

Argentine poverty is unlike anything I have ever seen in Latin America. Shanty towns here are known as *villas miserias*, or miseryvilles. In Peru they are called *pueblos juvenes*—young towns. It is a telling distinction. In the *pueblos juvenes* of Lima there is an extraordinary spirit of self-improvement. Destitute peasants come from the countryside, stake out a lot on open land, and build a cardboard shack with a sheet of plastic as a roof. Then comes the miracle. Buying one brick at a time they turn their shacks into houses and within a decade they have created a thriving neighborhood. I once visited a two-year-old shanty town in Lima and was struck by two things: there were no men around because they had all gone off to the city to work or look for work; and the place was run with Prussian discipline, without any help from the state. The squatters had organized their own garbage burning system and they had improvised a school in which the mothers themselves did the teaching while rows of little children sat patiently on the floor.

Argentine poverty reminds me of Northeast Washington, D.C. I spent an afternoon in a *villa miseria* on the outskirts of Buenos Aires known as *La Cava*. There were men hanging around everywhere, and they gave me rather menacing looks as I walked down the muddy streets trying to keep my feet out of the filthy open drains. The women were much more welcoming. I was invited into the concrete house of an old woman who said she had lived there since 1952. There was a television set, two cats, and pictures of *Evita* and *Juan Peron* all over the grimy walls. Her husband had worked for forty years on the railways and she gets a widow's pension of 22,000 australs (\$35) a month, which she spends as quickly as possible on sugar, pasta, and cooking oil before the prices go up. She explained that water and electricity had been installed in the *barrio* in 1958 and for many years it was a typical working-class neighborhood. "There used to be lovely houses here, then it became a *villa miseria*." *La Cava* is a witness to urban decay, not the Malthusian curse of landless peasants fleeing to the cities so common in the Third World.

I was introduced to her neighbor, a thin stringy woman in a tattered dress who said she worked as a maid in the wealthy suburb of San Isidro. She makes 78 australs (12 cents) an hour. A dozen eggs cost 600 australs, or about eight hours work. How does she survive? "I'm fine, fine, you see they feed me, they give me lunch. It's my lad I'm worried about," she said, putting her hand on the shoulder of a 17-year-old boy, who was recently laid off by IBM. "I smuggle him food—bread,

scraps of meat, whatever I can get hold of. . . . We can't go on like this," she cried, bursting into tears. "What's he going to do? He's a good lad, he's struggled so hard. . . . Please! You can find him a job, can't you, please!"

At the turn of the century this huge fertile country of Italian and Spanish immigrants was one of the richest in the world. Only the English-speaking peoples of Britain, America, Canada, and Australia had a higher income per capita. It is the parallel with Australia that is most striking. Until

The streets are full of elegant people who do not seem too bothered by *la situacion*.

the Second World War Argentina had an economic profile very like her twin in the Southern Hemisphere. Both exported meat and grains to Europe and both were dominated by British capital, which built the railways, the ports, and the electricity systems. The Argentines were more cosmopolitan, more noted for their wealth. It was a time when the owners of the immense *estancias* spent half the year at their summer houses in Biarritz, or at their apartments on the Place Vendome in Paris. Argentines were too fond of Europe, perhaps, for they never quite came to terms with Argentina. In 1914 a third of all residents were foreign born and yet only two percent had chosen to become naturalized Argentines, an astonishing figure in comparison with immigrants to the United States. For many Italians Argentina was a job, not a country. Hundreds of thousands of Calabrians and Sicilians came over on steamboats each year to work the season on the Pampa and then return home. "We have no national identity. There is no commonweal, no *res publica*," lamented President Domingo Sarmiento toward the end of the nineteenth century. Fifty years later little had changed.

This did not matter too much as long as the British ran the economy and the government was kept to a minimum. But in 1943 a group of pro-Axis army officers seized power and began creating the corporate monster that has ruined Argentina. The pace quickened when a young colonel named *Juan Peron* was pushed to the fore by the United Workers Federation, and with breathtaking speed the credit, commerce, and industrial base of Argentina passed into the hands of the state. It was a generous state. *Peron's descamisados*, his shirtless ones, were given a job for life, retirement at 60 for men and 55 for women, and handsome wages mortgaged against the future greatness of

about Juan Peron

the country. *Justicialismo* was born. The expansion of the state alone, however, cannot account for the fiasco of the next forty years. *Peron* was only doing what had already been done by the labor governments in Australia. The difference was the xenophobic relish with which he confiscated British assets, his contempt for enterprise, and his inflammatory politicization, so typical of *dirigiste* movements in Latin America. *Peron* admired *Mussolini* but he was a poor student of Italian fascism, for he failed dismally to coopt the business sector and create a functioning corporate state. Instead he created

a partisan state, one without authority, discipline, or consensus. And it kept growing. Over the years one faction after another commandeered the state, each using it for advantage and adding yet more layers of privilege. It is not just the labor unions that have entrenched themselves, paralyzing any government that dares to take them on. Argentine business is corrupted by monopoly, and inside deals, and sub-contracting to the state. The uniforms of railway workers, for instance, are supplied privately for \$350 each, at least ten times the cost that could be expected in open tender. *Marcos Victorica*, director of a free enterprise think tank in Buenos Aires, estimates that the treasury hands out \$8 billion a year (a fifth of the budget) to the private sector in overpayments, subsidies, and special tax exemptions.

But more than anything else it was Third World disease that caused Argentina's per capita income to fall from near parity with Australia in 1945 to a mere fifth today. Let us call it *Prebischism*, in honor of the late Argentine economist, *Raul Prebisch*. He was perhaps the most influential of a school of development theorists who argued that Third World countries are locked into underdevelopment because the "terms of trade" are forever turning against them, forcing them to export more and more coffee, or meat, or copper, in order to buy the same tractor from the West. To break out of the trap, these countries must turn inwards, close off their economy with high tariffs, and build their own industrial base.

There never was much evidence for this theory, and now we know that it was calamitously mistaken. The Asian dragons have reached industrial take-off by doing just the opposite, by pur-

suing export-led growth, while dozens of countries in Africa and Latin America have languished in poverty as they clung to the religion of import substitution.

Argentina was a pioneer of *Prebischism*. *Juan Peron* took the economy into isolation and began to plunder the rural wealth of the Pampa to pay for his urban industrial dream. The export trade was nationalized and farmers were forced to sell their produce to a state marketing board at prices that fell further and further behind the world price. In 1948 *Peron* was selling wheat to the British at £4.8 a sack while only paying the farmers £1.3. It amounted to a 73 percent tax. The farmers took their revenge. The area sown with grains fell by 40 percent between 1939 and 1948. Faced with a balance-of-payments crisis, *Peron* changed course in the 1950s and offered the farmers soft credit, but he discovered that business confidence could not be turned on and off with a switch at the central bank. The rural economy never regained its dynamism.

By contrast, there was an agricultural boom in Australia after the war. The *Menzies* government had an industrialization strategy as well but not at the expense of the farmer, so food exports continued to provide the crucial exchange for imports needed by the factories.

Prebisch had an unbelievably weird theory that the Third World ought to induce inflation deliberately in order to improve its terms of trade. In Argentina restraint was thrown to the winds. Inflation became embedded in the culture and even orthodox governments could not root it out. Over the next forty years Argentina had the highest average rate of inflation in the world, with all its poisonous effects on investment and business confidence.

In fairness to *Peron* and his successors, however, none were as guilty of economic crimes as *Raul Alfonsin*, so beloved abroad and so despised at home. "There's no doubt that *Alfonsin's* administration was the worst in the history of Argentina," says *Roberto Catchanoski*, an economic consultant.

Alfonsin came in by the front door and left by the chimney, but at least he left. For the first time in sixty years, one elected president has conceded power to another elected president from a different party. *Alfonsin* had no choice, of course. Who was going to keep him in office against the popular will? Not the army. It was his Radical party that imprisoned the generals for human rights abuses committed in the 1970s during the dirty war against urban terrorism, a hazardous policy when much of the population had been so am-

bivalent about murdering leftists, and particularly hazardous for a party that through its own fabulous corruption had lost the moral authority to judge and punish others.

Alfonsín took power after the Falklands War with an immense fund of political capital, and squandered it all. None of Argentina's core problems have been solved. He failed to bring security forces back into civil society, instead leaving them so demoralized and embittered that they cannot be relied upon to uphold order, with martial law if necessary, in the chaos and looting that has already begun. Nor did he bring the bureaucracy under control. The Leviathan state is fatter than ever. The Casa Rosada, the pink fortress of the president in the Plaza de Mayo, was once again used as an employment agency for friends of the ruling party. Alfonsín added 145,000 people to the public payroll.

The American press has tended to excuse Alfonsín for bankrupting the nation, arguing that he was overwhelmed by Argentina's \$60 billion foreign debt, or even blaming the Reagan Administration for not helping him enough. But the Great Inflation has nothing to do with the debt. Alfonsín suspended debt payments in April 1988. The currency did not fly out of control until early 1989. The immediate cause of the collapse of the austral was Alfonsín's attempt to keep it artificially strong against the dollar and give the illusion of price stability in order to help his party in the 1989 election. The central bank ran down Argentina's foreign reserves to almost zero by flooding the local market with dollars. It also confiscated about 80 percent of all bank deposits in exchange for IOUs, allowing the government to get hold of Argentina's internal credit without paying the full market price. It left the private sector without commercial credit, so a parallel system of financing emerged with hundreds of thousands of post-dated checks circulating like currency. Alfonsín could foresee trouble when the IOUs fell due in June and July, so he moved the elections forward to May, seven months before his term ended. But it was already too late. The Argentine elite could see exactly what was going to happen and started dumping their australs in January 1989. The dollar soared and prices followed immediately. Once inflation got above 20 percent a month, tax revenues began to evaporate before they reached the treasury, creating a vicious circle of ever-rising inflation and falling tax revenues. "It was the most expensive election campaign in history," said a disgusted diplomat.

The Radicals lost anyway. The people turned to Carlos Menem, the

charming governor of La Rioja. Menem is a *turco*, as they call Arabs here, and therefore by tradition a Peronist. (The much larger Jewish community is Radical, by and large, although Menem's chief of staff and confidante, Alberto Kohan, happens to be a Jew.) Both Menem's parents were Syrian Muslims from educated families, and so is his wife, the volatile, slightly mad Zulema. Menem, however, is a passionate, devotional Catholic who used to read the Bible for hours each day during the five years he was a political prisoner in the late 1970s. He was one of many Peronist leaders who were locked away by the military junta in order to decapitate the movement, then linked to the left-wing terrorists known as the *montoneros* (the mountaineers). Menem hurls himself with passion into all his pursuits: soccer,

Two-thirds of the population have no savings to fall back on, while their salaries have fallen to Bolivian levels.

motor racing, and, above all, actresses. Asked about his women during the campaign, he replied with a chuckle: "Women? What about them? Would you rather I went out with men? . . . I can't do without *relaciones sentimentales*," he added with a candor that Gary Hart might have envied. "It's just part of my character." The Argentines were more amused than shocked.

Beating the disgraced Radicals in the presidential elections this year was the easy part. Menem's spectacular feat was to win the Peronist primary last year when the party machine was behind Antonio Cafiero, the experienced and urbane governor of Buenos Aires. Menem went to the pueblo, hugging and kissing the voters at tango dances and second division soccer matches. He was exuberant, and gentle. He called himself "the preacher in the desert," and sometimes, in moments of ecstasy, the "redeemer." But he never said what he would actually do. "Peronism is neither rightist, nor centrist, nor leftist," he explained. "It simply goes ahead, advancing to accomplish its sacred mission." Argentines voted with their hearts, for not one could say where this strange fellow, with long black hair and mutton chops, was going to take the country. All they had to go on was his record in the dirt-poor province of La Rioja, and it was not a promising one. Between 1983 and 1987 he had increased the number of public employees from nine percent to 23 percent of the state's population. To pay for it he created his own currency, a sort of funny money in the form of

bonds. It was known in Spanish as the "Menem-card."

Businessmen watched Menem's rise to power with a mixture of fascination and horror. They feared a reign of ignorance and demagoguery. Instead they found themselves being invited to join a coalition government. Menem announced that the new economy minister would be Miguel Roig, a retired executive from the multinational trading firm Bunge & Born. It was an astounding gesture. B & B is the arch-enemy in Peronist folklore, the headquarters of financial intrigue and capitalist hegemony. The firm is so hated (and so rich) that the *montoneros* kidnapped two of the Born brothers for a \$60 million ransom in 1974.

Then the word "privatization" began

creeping into Menem's speeches. Once Peronist anathema, it was now to be the panacea of Argentina. Julia Maria Alsogaray was instructed to dispose of the state telephone company within 180 days. There were gasps on the Peronist benches in congress. Miss Alsogaray is a leader of the free-market liberal party (UCN). Her father, the party's presidential candidate and the living symbol of capitalist philosophy in Argentina, was asked to oversee the foreign debt. At the state oil monopoly, YPF, Menem installed Octavio Frigerio with instructions to lease out wells to foreign multinationals. Frigerio's father fought a pitched battle against the oil workers in 1958, and the symbolism of his appointment was not lost on the union.

Carrying out such intentions is another matter. Hundreds of thousands of state employees will have to be sacked if Argentina is ever to be cured, and it goes against Menem's politics of sentiment. He lacks the ideological conviction that carried Mrs. Thatcher to victory in the long and bitter miners' strike in 1984-85, and it is hard to imagine that he will keep up the assault when he meets the resistance of the United Workers Federation. But he has already proved tougher than anybody expected.

There is a joke going around Buenos Aires that the intelligence services are on alert in case a Peronist infiltrates the cabinet. It is the first time in living memory that an Argentine leader has reached out, instead of entrenching himself on one side or another of the country's rifts. Menem called it *pacificación* in a mystical inauguration speech, full of biblical metaphors,

which ended with his now famous invocation: "Argentina, arise and walk." When he took power on July 8, five months ahead of schedule, there was a surge of goodwill toward the new president. All of a sudden everybody was a Peronist. It was hard to find a soul in Buenos Aires who had not voted for the messianic *turco* from La Rioja.

The tragedy is that Menem has been let down by the capitalists he so courageously took into his trust. They encouraged him to believe that it was possible to stop hyperinflation without the shock of a recession. The emergency economic plan announced by Miguel Roig just one day after Menem took power seemed to draw loosely on the theory of Lawrence Klein, a Nobel Prize-winning economist at the University of Pennsylvania. It was technical-ly incompetent and bound to fail. "They don't know what they're doing. You can't send a signal from the beginning that you're going to have an extremely expansionary policy," said a monetary expert at the central bank. "We now face the likelihood of total hyperinflation."

The plan involved a drastic increase in the money supply in order to lower interest rates abruptly from 120 percent to three percent a month, so that the vast interest rate component of the budget deficit would vanish overnight. It could have worked, conceivably, if the fiscal policy had been tougher. But instead of slashing government spending immediately, and ruthlessly, Roig turned to higher taxes and user fees. The private sector was expected to hold back its prices while the government raised the cost of gasoline, electricity, telephones, and so on, by as much as 600 percent. This colossal distortion in relative prices was accompanied by loose talk about wage increases. This was not the shock needed to shatter the psychology of inflation, and the market balked. On Friday, July 14, the dollar flew out of control on the black market and the plan, in effect, collapsed. Miguel Roig, already into his third pack of cigarettes that day, was told about the dollar as he left a Bastille Day party at the French embassy. He staggered to his car and died of a heart attack. It was the sixth day of the new government.

"You're facing a tiger, and you've got just one bullet," Menem was warned by Jeffrey Sachs, a Harvard economist who helped the Bolivians shoot their hyperinflationary tiger straight between the eyes. I fear that Menem has fired and missed. Argentina may keep up the appearance of normality for a while yet, but hyperinflation is eating away at the founda-

(continued on page 41)

EVANS-PRITCHARD
(continued from page 21)

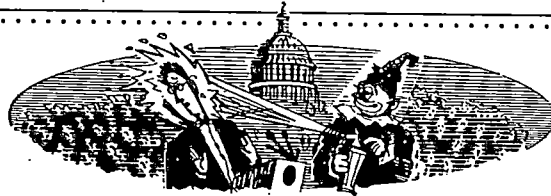
tions. Investment has come to a halt. There has been virtually no new construction for a year, and skeletal, half-finished buildings give a haunting look

to the capital. The Fiat, Ford, and Peugeot factories are running at an average 24 percent capacity. There have not been massive layoffs because the big companies are waiting to see whether the reactivation program will work. But they cannot pay their workers to do nothing for months on end.

Unemployment is about to explode, and it is going to be ugly in a culture where the elite, protected by its dollars, is not seen to share the suffering. President Menem, ultimately, will side with the *descamisados*. It is his instinct, and his political survival depends on it. If he is skillful enough, he will stick the

blame for his failed plan on the *empresarios*, the wizards of Bunge & Born, who let the country down. And then, who knows? More Peronism, perhaps. It is all going to end badly. So much hope weighs on Menem's slender frame, and so much future disappointment. □

THE WASHINGTON SPECTATOR



TOURS DE FARCE

You know somebody's been in Washington too long when he tells you that the city "empties out" during the summer. "Nothing's going on in August," he will say, with the implication (the self-delusion is breathtaking) that something of interest happens during the other eleven months. To nail the point he will add: "Everybody leaves town." As is always the case with statements so manifestly untrue, the point is something else entirely: what he means is that while congressmen are back terrorizing their districts, chomping greaseburgers at barbecue after barbecue, *toute la Georgetown* temporarily decamps as well. Ben and Sally, for example, pack their rackets for a month of doubles in the Hamptons. Chris Dodd and Teddy check out the babes on the Cape. Pamela Harriman crisscrosses Europe, tenderly feeling the pulses of widowed zillionaires. Claiborne Pell rests at the feet of some *sadhu* on the banks of the Ganges. You see the point: *everybody's gone*.

• • •

Meanwhile, the nobodys—that is, such Washingtonians as bureaucrats, slum-dwellers, crack-smokers, shop-keepers, cops, busboys, Uzi-selling black marketers, and junior editors of conservative opinion magazines—stay and take the heat. Which isn't so bad. Some of us like to be reminded, once a year, what it's like to live in a city without congressmen. But as the city empties itself of elected representatives and the rest of its elite, it is simultaneously engorged with tourists. You can see them on the Mall, whole families under the pitiless sun, trudging from one end of the shadeless expanse to the other: Dad, his face flushed and doughy, his hair matted in curlies round the crown of his head, dragging Mom, as her hairdo rapidly wilts and the sweat stains begin to appear around the waistband of her stretch pants, and

behind them trail the brats: Junior in a tank top, his shoulders adroop, his damp chubby arms swinging listlessly, and Sis with day-old clumps of cotton candy clinging horribly to her braces. For Washington nobodys, the sight is not so hard to take as it might seem: we're used to much worse. Balanced on the scales of human repulsiveness, even thousands of such families fail to match, say, a single Beryl Anthony.

• • •

I speak with authority, for not only have I met Beryl Anthony but I have also been trying, this summer, to duplicate the life of the Washington tourist (passing the time, as it were, until *everybody* comes back). The most efficient method is to take a guided tour, as so many out-of-towners wisely do. On a tour, if you plan with care and intelligence, you can get everything—the memorials, the museums, the historical sights—out of the way in four hours max and be back in your hotel watching TV before lunchtime.

• • •

The granddaddy, the Big Kahuna, the Titan of tours in Washington is the Tourmobile, a fleet of blue-and-white trams that circumnavigates the Mall, with tangents extending to Arlington cemetery, Mount Vernon, and the Kennedy Center. "Only on this tour can you see so much, so well!" the Tourmobile brochure vows. "We can't wait to share the secrets of Washington with you!" Maybe they can't wait, but you'll have to! You're allowed to disembark the tram at any of its stops ("free re-boarding!"), which then entitles you to move to the back of another line the length of a Metroliner if you ever hope to see the inside of another Tourmobile. The chances of your actually doing so, however, are only fair, for by this time all the trams are full to bursting, their

windows, which you glimpse as they pass, framing a collage of chubby arms, wilted hairdos, flushed damp faces, and faint wisps of steam.

• • •

But don't despair: you're not missing much. The "secrets of Washington" the Tourmobile guides dare to reveal are, more often than not, less than revelatory. During my various trips, for example, I learned that John F. Kennedy's assassination "shocked the nation," that the Washington Monument is 556 feet high, that Arlington cemetery is "a real cemetery," that Abner Doubleday invented baseball, that the Washington Monument is 558 feet high, that much of "Scarecrow and Mrs. King" was *not* filmed in Washington, and that the Washington Monument is 555 feet high. Other secrets are of the maddeningly unprovable kind so beloved of perky tour-guides and the late Mr. Robert Ripley. In view of the Pentagon, for example, one guide chirped: "If you took out all the telephone wiring in this building, you could wrap it *around the world seven and one-half times*." What's the proper response to such an assertion? Simple dismissal ("That's a load of crap!")? Or a direct challenge ("Prove it!")? Or an aggressive counterassertion ("I happen to know for a fact that it's three and a quarter times—*around the moon*!")? But tourists, over time, build up a natural immunity to the indignities they routinely suffer: everybody on the tram simply ignored her—the wisest course.

• • •

The wise tourist, too, can always jump the tram and take another tour, of which there are dozens. The Scandal Tour, for example, has recently gained much publicity. (Its press packet is enormous—so thick, in fact, that if you

took each clipping you could *fill the entire Tidal Basin and still have enough left over to stuff the mouth of every guide who ever worked a Tourmobile*.) The Scandal Tour is put on by the comedy troupe Gross National Product, whose actors ride the bus and impersonate celebrity guides: George Bush, Marilyn Quayle, Paul Harvey, and so on. A Fawn Hall impersonator hands out little packets of shredded paper; the rest of the jokes aren't much funnier. Still, the bus is air conditioned, and you get to look in the windows of Gary Hart's town house. Most winningly, free drinks are served in the Ritz Carlton beforehand—an old insurance policy known to unsuccessful comedians everywhere.

• • •

Drinks would come in handy on the Feminist Institute's "Feminist Tour of Capitol Hill," which is pretty much what it sounds like: a two-hour sewing club in which the tourists work eagerly on their hairshirts. Talk about facts! The VFW building reflects "the exclusion of women from military history," never mind the numberless women who served in the Civil War by aid of cross-dressing. Only six of the thirty nonprofit organizations in the Methodist building deal exclusively with women's issues—a national scandal. Mr. Folger couldn't have built the Shakespeare Library without his wife. Only male contractors worked on the Jefferson Building of the Library of Congress, even though women donated 75 percent of the money needed to complete it. The Women's Bakery has the best bran muffins in town. And this: the statue of Freedom atop the Capitol dome features a woman dressed in a robe *open to her navel*. "I like the idea that Freedom is a woman," our guide said, "but why be sexist about it? It's just the way that everybody thought back then." You see the point: *everybody*. —AF

"Get Up and Walk!"

Argentina's new leader imposes a drastic recovery plan

The situation demanded strong words, and President Carlos Saúl Menem did not shrink from using them. In his July 8 inaugural address, Menem urged his citizens to "Get up and walk!" Argentina, he declared, "is broken, devastated, razed. Inflation has reached chilling levels, but we aren't going to administer the decline. We will pulverize the crisis."

Just 36 hours after Menem's address, his administration announced the first steps of "unusually severe, exceptional and emergency" measures designed to break the nation's hyperinflation (114% for June alone) and to restore confidence in its virtually insolvent government. Among them: a 90-day wage-and-price freeze, a 116% devaluation of the austral to 650 vs. the U.S. dollar and an aggressive privatization of most state-run companies. Because the end of many government subsidies will bring unavoidable price increases for some goods and services, all workers will be given a bonus of 8,000 australes (\$12.30 at the new rate).

By early last week, Menem's economic medicine was already showing some positive effects. On Monday the black-market rate for dollars dipped below

the official exchange rate for the first time since the austral plan was implemented by former President Raúl Alfonsín in 1985, demonstrating credibility in the currency's new valuation. Investors and bankers were favorably impressed by the seriousness of the Peronist leader's austerity plan, which prompted the Buenos Aires stock exchange to rise 6.5% in a single day and sent monthly interest rates down 44 points, to 10%.

But the government's new pricing policy got off to a chaotic start. While the plan calls for prices to be rolled back to July 3 levels, prices in many stores kept on rising. The announced end of government subsidies for gasoline pushed prices up 670%, to the equivalent of \$1.60 per gal. In anticipation of a 350% rise in subway and train fares, commuters flocked to stations to stock up on tokens.

Most foreign bankers have greeted Menem's plan with hedged optimism. But since Argentina has failed to keep up its payments to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, neither agen-



Menem: bitter medicine

cy is eager to issue fresh credits without some proof of economic progress. "What's announced on paper can be very different from the results," said a U.S. credit analyst.

To stem the government's deficit spending, which reached \$9.7 billion last year, Menem plans to increase revenues by simplifying the tax-collection system and increasing levies on

exported goods. But most economists believe that Menem's most important task will be to privatize Argentina's inefficient state-owned monopolies, which are losing \$4 billion annually. Menem may get the power to do so if the Argentine Congress approves a new emergency law that would give him almost unlimited control over the nationalized companies. But Menem has so far offered no details about his privatization drive. Those particulars are not likely to come soon. On Friday, only six days after joining Menem's Cabinet, Economic Minister Miguel Roig died of a heart attack. His replacement, businessman Nestor Rapanelli, will be the fourth Economic Minister since March 31, when Juan Sourrouille resigned because of his inability to stabilize the economy.

—By Guy D. Garcia.

Reported by Laura López/Buenos Aires

Romancing The Roadster

Mazda's hot Miata is the sensation of U.S. showrooms

Once in a great while, an automaker creates a car that sends rivals into a funk and motorists into a covetous swoon. Right now that vehicle is Mazda's new MX-5 Miata, a curvaceous, two-seat convertible that is intended to combine the look and feel of mid-century roadsters with the reliability of modern engineering. The first few thousand Miatas began arriving at Mazda dealerships earlier this month, and sold out instantly.

Thanks to unusually passionate praise from car-buff magazines, the Miata is by far the most talked-about new auto on the market. *Road & Track* named it one of the five best cars in the world, along with the Ferrari Testarossa, the Porsche 911 Carrera, the Corvette

ZR-1 and the Mercedes-Benz 300E, chichi chariots all. Not the least of the Miata's attributes is its base price: just \$13,800, or about \$600 less than the average new-car price that U.S. consumers are currently paying. At the moment, however, the Miata is so popular that some dealers are tacking on a premium of as much as \$4,000 to the base price.

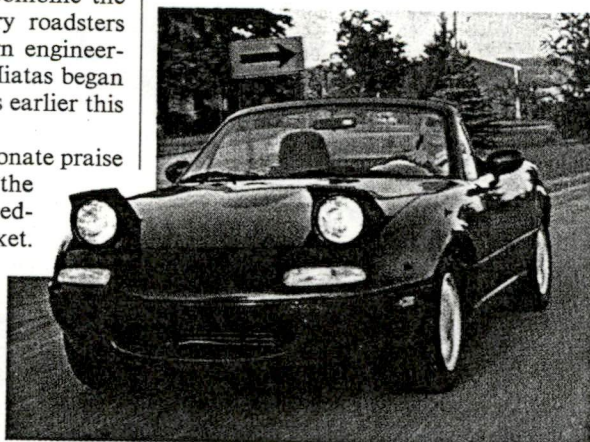
The idea for the car came out of Mazda's research-and-design center in California, where planners foresaw demand for a car reminiscent of the European roadsters of the 1950s and '60s. Miata's original designer, Mark Jordan, whose fa-

ther is head of design at GM, drew his inspiration from such legendary nameplates as M.G., Austin-Healy and Lotus.

The Miata is a rolling rebuke to Detroit, which has continued to lose ground to Japanese automakers amid slumping car sales. Mazda spent only about \$100 million to develop the Miata, a fraction of what U.S. manufacturers typically spend to bring out a new model. For one thing, the Miata is devoid of digital display panels, electronic suspension and other costly gewgaws favored by Detroit's Big Three. Instead, Mazda lavished attention on Miata's engine, a 1.6-liter, four-cylinder model that uses more valves per cylinder (four instead of two) to provide greater zip. Mazda also focused on such fine points as the simplicity of the convertible top's operation, the feel of the gas pedal and shifter, and the sound of the car's exhaust. A Mazda engineer recorded some 200 exhaust "notes" before deciding on the right pitch for the Miata.

Mazda, which is building the Miata in a plant in Hiroshima, plans to sell about 20,000 of the cars in the U.S. during 1989 and 40,000 next year. That is only a small portion of the 10 million-car U.S. market, but the Miata represents another little dent in Detroit's battered pride.

—By S.C. Gwynne/Detroit



ANDREW SACKS

Hugging a corner in Michigan

ARGENTINA QUOTES

For Trade: "... it is equally true that the prosperity of any of us can best be attained by measures that will promote the prosperity of all."

-- Teddy Roosevelt
The Strenuous Life

SPECIAL
EXECUTIVE
FASHION
PAGE 143

CHRYSLER'S MINIVAN STRATEGY GTE AFTER CONTEL

100

BusinessWeek

SEPTEMBER 24, 1990

A MCGRAW-HILL PUBLICATION

\$2.00

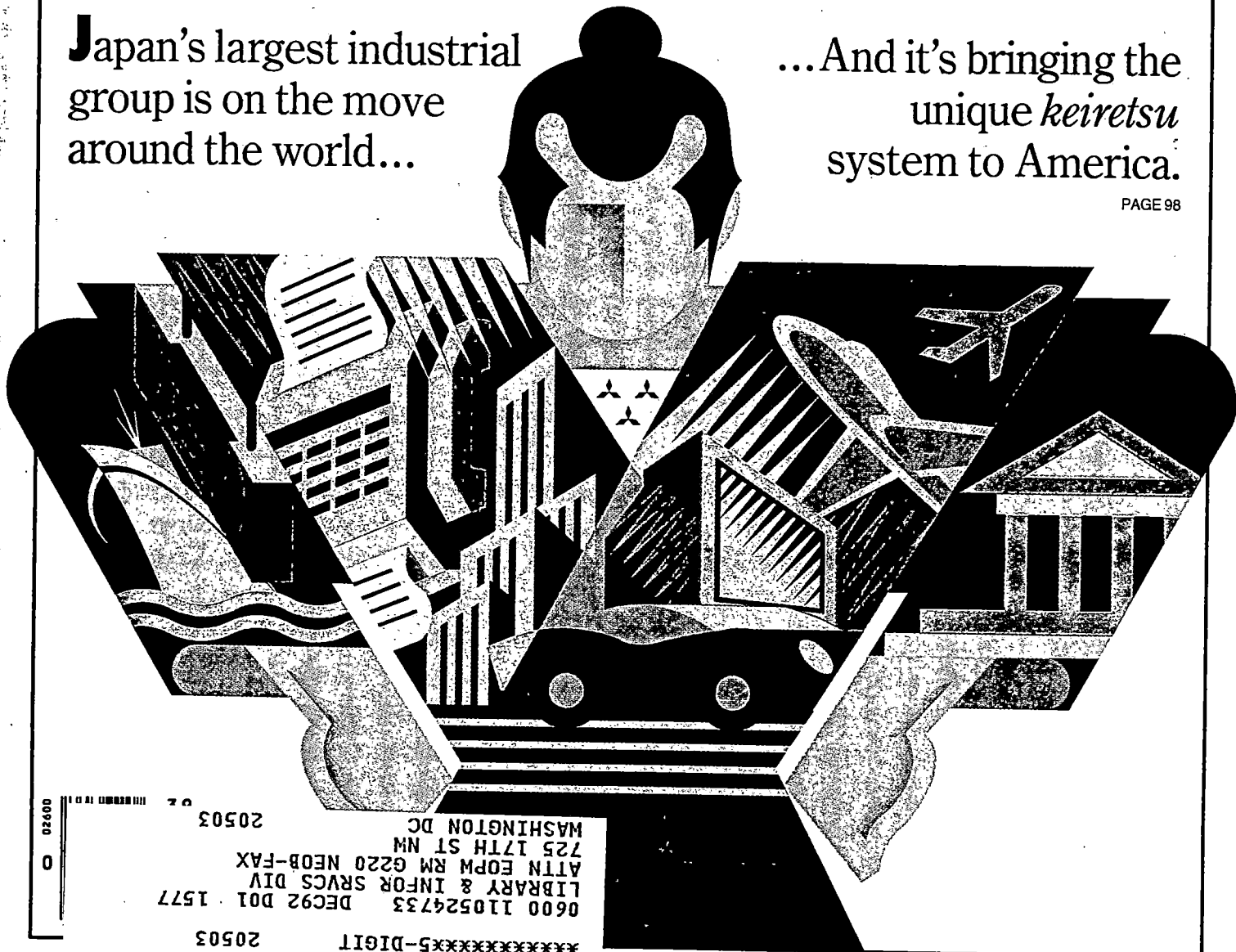
MIGHTY MITSUBISHI

SEP 17 9 32 AM '90
THE HOUSE LIBRARY
CARD
SERIALS

Japan's largest industrial group is on the move around the world...

...And it's bringing the unique *keiretsu* system to America.

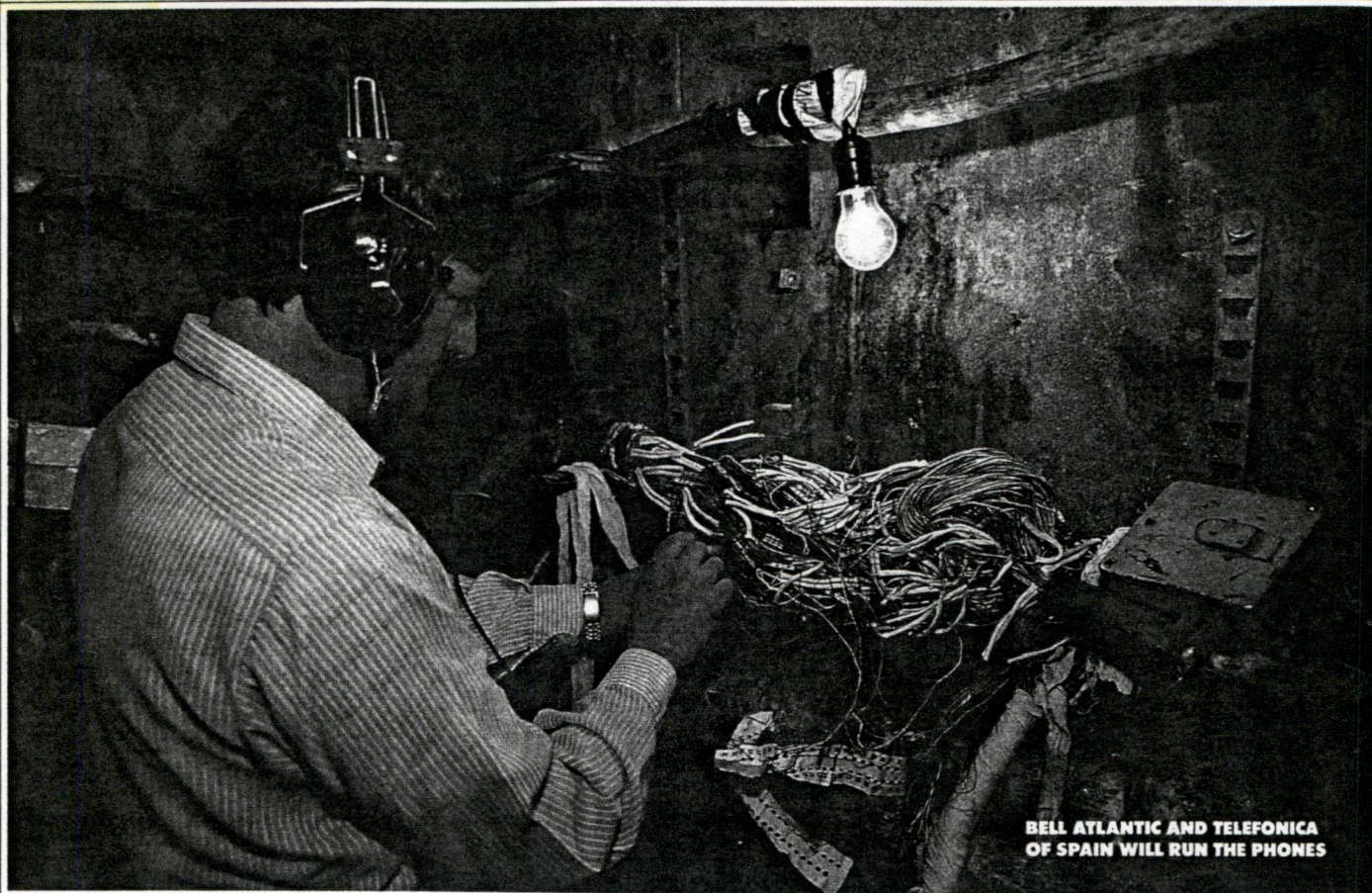
PAGE 98



0600 110524733 DEC92 D01 1577
LIBRARY & INFOR SRVCS DIV
ATTN EOPM RM G220 NE0B-FAX
725 17TH ST NW
WASHINGTON DC 20503
20503
*****5-DIGIT

International Business

ARGENTINA



BELL ATLANTIC AND TELEFONICA OF SPAIN WILL RUN THE PHONES

GOING PRIVATE WITH NO HOLDS BARRED

Carlos Menem is bulldozing obstacles in the way of the great Argentine sell-off

Inside the seedy Buenos Aires central exchange of Entel, Argentina's state-run telephone company, switchboards are being manned by young army officers. Outside, police hold off angry telephone union workers striking against President Carlos Menem's push to sell Entel to foreign-led private buyers. The strikers fear that they will lose lush fringe benefits and near-total job security.

They are getting little sympathy from Menem—or from most Argentines, who hold union practices at least partly responsible for Entel's wretched service and 12-year waiting list for telephones. "Strikers will get dismissal telegrams," Menem declared in an interview at his presidential residence (box). "If they are not happy with the state sector, they can look for work in the private sector." The tough talk reflects Menem's determina-

tion to privatize Entel and a lengthening list of other state-owned operations, from Aerolíneas Argentinas, the country's international air carrier, to railroads, highways, and oilfields.

'JUMP-START.' Other Latin American countries have also started privatizing, but Menem in recent months has been making the sell-offs a key factor in his reforms, launched after he took office in July, 1989. Sales of money-losing state companies will halt heavy drains on public finances.

To make it work, though, Menem needs to bring in foreign companies. "I would rather have Exxon's money here working for Argentina than Argentine money in a Miami bank," Menem says, referring to the estimated \$50 billion flight of capital in recent years. Exxon Corp. refines oil in Argentina, while 23 other oil companies are expected to bid

up to \$1 billion for leases on acreage that has been reserved, up to now, for Argentina's state oil monopoly.

Countries such as Argentina "need foreign investment to jump-start them, to move down the road to the kind of economies they want to have," says C. Hyde Tucker, president and CEO of Bell Atlantic International Inc., an arm of Philadelphia-based Bell Atlantic Corp. It will be the operator for a group led by Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co. that won the June 28 bidding for the northern half of Entel's system, which the Menem government is dividing in two. Temporarily called Entelnor and Entelsur, they are scheduled to be privatized on Oct. 8. Entelsur, the southern half, will be managed by Telefónica, Spain's telephone company, on behalf of a group led by Citicorp that submitted the winning bid.

As part payment for Entelnor and Entelsur, the two groups promised to turn over Argentine debt paper with a total face value of \$5 billion. In market value, that's around \$750 million, since Argentine debt has been trading at about 15¢ on the dollar. The total will include debt purchased from other banks or supplied by banks that join the two consortiums by "swapping" debt for shares in the telephone companies.

Snags have turned up, however, in the sell-offs of both Entel and Aerolíneas Argentinas. In the telephone privatization, the group led by Manny Hanny missed the government's original Sept. 6 deadline for lining up participants in its consortium. The group pledged to swap debt totaling \$2.3 billion as part payment for a 60% stake in Entelnor. The delay was caused by slowness among a group of Argentine shareholders in deciding how to allocate their 18% block of shares. Manny Hanny plans to keep 25% of the consortium's stake in Entelnor and syndicate 52% to other debt-swapping banks, while Bell Atlantic is getting 4.9%.

CASH ONLY. Now Menem insists that the two groups must plunk down their cash payments on Sept. 24 and sign contracts to take over the companies on Oct. 8. They will get an extra three months, until Dec. 28, to line up swap participants, but they must agree to underwrite the swaps themselves if necessary. Waiting in the wings, with a bank syndicate already lined up, is the runner-up bidder for Entelnor, a group headed by J. P. Morgan & Co.

Menem is having problems, too, with a syndicate led by Spain's Iberia Airlines that won the bidding for 85% of Aerolíneas Argentinas. The consortium is insisting on putting up a letter of credit in lieu of cash. The letter would be payable when the Argentine government has obtained assurances from all foreign holders of Aerolíneas debt that they would waive any right to slap liens on aircraft or other assets. That arrangement could take a long time, if it can be worked out at all.

Nevertheless, to keep up the momentum in privatization, Menem recently decided to sell off Segba, the electrical utility that serves Buenos Aires, as well as the shares in seven petrochemical plants held by the Defense Ministry. In July, Argentine and foreign companies paid \$253 million for rights to produce oil from marginal fields. And major companies such as Texaco and Amoco are lining up for the scheduled sale of leases in richer areas.

Menem is even turning to private companies to operate services such as highways and railroads. A consortium led by Techint, an Argentine steel-making and engineering group, is the apparent high

bidder for a 30-year concession to rebuild and operate 3,250 miles of grain-carrying rail lines. Chicago-based Iowa Interstate Railroad Ltd. will provide technical help and own a small stake in the venture, which calls for a \$500 million investment.

These local deals, while small, are significant, for they are signs that some confidence is returning among local Ar-

gentine investors. It is the first time a recovery "has started in Argentina, not with investments from abroad," says Carlos Etcheverrigaray, part owner of the Banco del Sud. That could be the most lasting benefit of Menem's privatizing campaign.

By Jeffrey Ryser and Richard Kessler in Buenos Aires, with Joseph Weber in Philadelphia and John Pearson in New York

'THERE IS NO FLAG ON CAPITAL': A TALK WITH CARLOS MENEM

Despite a recession caused by his drastic economic reforms, President Carlos Menem, 60, is still running strong in the polls. Seated beneath photos of Juan and Evita Perón in his office in Olivos, the tree-shaded presidential residence in suburban Buenos Aires, Menem discussed his policies with São Paulo Bureau Chief Jeffrey Ryser and Buenos Aires Correspondent Richard Kessler.

are dependent on state subsidies?

A If they don't change, they will have to shut their doors or get out of Argentina. If they go, other investors will take their place. I don't distinguish between national and foreign capital. There is no flag on capital. I ask myself, what is national capital? Fifty billion dollars in flight capital that has left the country via Argentine business executives? Or resources used by multinationals to produce here?

Q What is the key to your program?

A Adjustment and production. Until now, prices for state services were political. I want these companies to charge prices that will enable them to be profitable so they can provide needed services, which are now horrendous.

But these adjustments must pave the way for their privatization. For example, [electric utility] Segba has 1,000 doctors for 22,000 employees. It's outrageous.

Q Why are you still popular in the polls, even though your reform measures have caused hardship?

A Argentines who really work are sick and tired of the paralysis and setbacks from people who owe their income and lifestyle to privileges. Not just from the union sector, but also from companies that have existed thanks to state favors. Our measures, for the first time in the republic's history, are fair and equal precisely because they end privileges. And when privileges end, certain labor and business sectors fall.

Q Can you change businessmen who



"WHEN PRIVILEGES END, CERTAIN BUSINESS SECTORS FALL"

squeezed, asphyxiated, injured. Now they must compete.

Q What have you achieved in foreign policy?

A We have reinserted Argentina in the world. Because it had broken many pledges, it was considered by the IMF, Paris Club, and other international groups as a debtor nation that was unreliable—an estranged nation on the periphery. Now, Argentina is viewed abroad as a reliable nation. We are paying [\$40 million per month] debt interest. The amount is small, but it is a demonstration of goodwill to pay foreign debt.

Coups and Democracy: Lessons From Latin America

182/172

By Eugene Robinson

BUENOS AIRES—Argentines, like people the world over, watched with fascination as the attempted coup in the Soviet Union surged and then collapsed. But as seen from the streets of Buenos Aires, there was nothing strange or novel about what was going on. Wrapped in the cloak of patriotism and fatherland, the "militaries" came, they tried and they failed—this time. Quite possibly, someday they'll try again.

More or less the same thing has happened here four times in the past four years.

Argentina might seem an unlikely place to look for hints about the future of the Soviet Union and the emerging democracies in central Europe. But there are potential lessons to be learned here, and in other South American nations, about the compromises newly democratic governments can be forced to make with deposed authoritarian institutions if the fledgling democracies are to survive.

President Bush highlighted this fact when he mentioned that he had consulted with Latin American governments, including Argentine that of President Carlos Menem, during the failed Soviet coup.

Once a region summed up by the image of a paunchy army general dripping with medals and gold braid, South America has led the world in the rush toward democracy. "We made the mistake of being ahead of our time," a Latin foreign minister said recently, commenting ruefully on the eagerness of industrialized nations to invest in sudden democracies like Poland and Hungary.

A dozen years ago, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay were all run by military dictators. Today, all have elected presidents and legislatures, active and competitive political parties, lively newspapers, big-city patronage machines and the kind of rough-and-tumble politics generally associated with the most robust of democracies.

But in reality, the democratic institutions in these South American nations are still fragile, like untempered glass, and the military establishments they replaced are still powerful and independent enough to

Eugene Robinson is South American bureau chief of The Washington Post.

constitute a constant threat. Weeks or months can pass without so much as a whisper from the barracks. But whenever an important general in any of these countries speaks of "unhappiness" or "unease" in the ranks, it's front-page news.

That is the most obvious lesson from South America: Authoritarian institutions do not simply disappear from one day to the next. They can be purged, renamed, reshaped, redirected, even broken up, but in some form or another they can linger for years.

And so it is not enough to pull down the statue of Felix Dzerzhinsky, the patron saint of the KGB. It is also necessary to change the attitudes of the people who watched from inside KGB headquarters as an angry crowd com-

The armed forces of these Latin countries are still, at least to some extent, independent power centers.

mitted what must have seemed an act of desecration. And changing attitudes takes time.

The South American dictators began to fall in the early 1980s. Various nations have taken different approaches in dealing with their ousted military rulers, with differing results.

The Argentine experience has been the harshest. After the military junta fell in 1983—victim of its own general ineptitude and its ridiculous little war with Great Britain over the Falkland Islands—Argentina's newly elected leaders set out to settle old accounts. More than 9,000 Argentines had been executed or simply "disappeared" during seven years of military rule, and society clamored for justice.

Junta leaders and other top military officers were tried, convicted and jailed for human rights crimes. Generals and admirals who had held absolute power just years earlier were led ignominiously off to prison. Charges were filed against scores of officers for rape, murder or torture. Hundreds of others were vulnerable to prosecution.

By April 1987, the military had had enough. During Easter Week, a charismatic lieutenant colonel named Aldo Rico led a three-day uprising—and while most army units were "loyal" in the sense that they refused to join the uprising, it quickly became clear that they had no intention of forcibly putting down the rebellion. President Raul Alfonsín was forced to compromise, eventually backing laws that made it impossible to prosecute lower-ranking officers for human rights crimes.

Alfonsín suffered two more uprisings by Rico and his band and each time had to give more ground. When Menem took over in 1989, he was determined to avoid what he saw as Alfonsín's mistakes. He paid more attention to salaries, equipment levels and working conditions in the armed forces, all of which had deteriorated badly. But most important, he issued decrees pardoning the former junta members and other officers jailed under Alfonsín, saying such action was necessary for "national reconciliation."

Still, a longtime Rico associate and mentor named Col. Mohamed Ali Seineldin led a brief rebellion against Menem last December. But this time, the "loyal" forces were truly loyal. They surrounded the headquarters building that Seineldin had taken over and prepared to attack, leaving the embittered colonel no alternative but surrender. Even Rico—a convert to democracy now running for governor of Buenos Aires Province—was moved to call his former comrade-in-arms "a madman."

The turmoil in Argentina contrasts with the tense calm in Chile, where old dictators don't even fade away, they just stick around. Gen. Augusto Pinochet surrendered political power to a civilian government last year but stayed on as commander of the army. President Patricio Aylwin thus had no choice but to learn from the Argentine experience and temper his government's fervor in coming to grips with the past.

There could be no question of Nuremberg-style trials for human rights violators. Aylwin's solution was to appoint a blue-ribbon commission to exhaustively investigate the murders and disappearances that took place during Pinochet's 17-year regime. He released the panel's report, spoke eloquently on justice and human rights, then declared the matter closed.

But Chile is still left with a strange, bifurcated government in which Aylwin must negotiate his policies with Pinochet and the dictator's grandfathered-in appointees. Pinochet can remain in his post, if he wants, for years.

Somewhere in between is what happened in Brazil. In making its exit in 1985, the military left behind a transitional president, Jose Sarney, who was careful not to do anything to offend the military-industrial complex. When important policies were announced in Brasilia, observers often got the impression that it was Sarney's military advisers who were really running the country.

President Fernando Collor de Mello took office last year determined to establish civilian control. In many ways, the influence of the military seems to have receded. But Collor has had to struggle mightily to shut down nuclear research programs that were initially aimed at building nuclear weapons. Collor keeps announcing that the programs are dead, and the military keeps saying that of course the programs are dead—and then new evidence pops up

about some small nuclear facility whose research efforts have apparently rolled merrily along. The latest such report surfaced just a few weeks ago.

For South American governments—and, by extension, for central Europe and the Soviet Union—the brighter side of the transition is that the fundamental concept of democracy seems to be a resilient one.

There is remarkably little talk in this region of a return to the coup-happy past. Situations that once would have brought the tanks out onto the boulevards—the general disintegration taking place in Peru, for example, or the tumultuous bouts of hyperinflation in Argentina—now find military establishments disposed to let elected officials muddle through as best they can.

It is even possible to look forward to a day when the generals will be fully subservient to their elected leaders. That day has not come, however. The armed forces of these Latin countries are still, at least to some extent, independent power centers.

A high-ranking Peruvian army general sat in his office recently and described the situation in his woebegone country—terrorism, disease, misery—in terms that placed the army at the center of things, rather than the elected government or the average citizen.

Asked about human rights violations by the army in its war against the Shining Path terrorists, the general said that some soldiers are punished for going too far but that, of course, these incidents are never made public. "Why not?" the general asked. "Because it would destroy the image of the armed forces, which is the only thing that holds together Peruvian democracy. The democracy continues only because of the armed forces."

At another point, the general said: "Just because three people say some kind of violation happened, you want us to go and punish one of ours?"

"One of ours." Attitudes like that die hard. The South American experience suggests that they have to be handled—carefully—with time and compromise.

Democracy as Soap Opera

Argentina Stays ¹⁸²Tuned to Peronism And Its Politics of Personality

By NATHANIEL C. NASH

BUENOS AIRES

BASIC tenets of Argentine politics and national culture change very little over the years, and very important among them is that style is everything. Except for the interruption of the harsh years of the military juntas, the strength of style has been enough to propel the masses.

Gen. Juan Domingo Perón had it, and his wife, Eva, even more so. The Peróns could whip the public into a frenzy and proclaim that Peronism was for the poor, while letting corruption run wild within the movement's ranks. And for most Argentines, it became a near-religion to vote Peronist.

In eight years of democratic government, there hasn't been an heir to the Peróns' personality cult, but Carlos Saúl Menem, the Argentine President and leader of the Peronist Party, would like to be. With his dyed, carefully coiffed hair, prominent sideburns and love of fast cars and glamorous women, President Menem, in his third year in office, has injected into Argentine politics flamboyance, drama and a touch of the absurd.

In the midterm elections last Sunday Mr. Menem's Peronists scored a decisive victory, largely credited to the successes of his Government's six-month-old economic plan. But that was only part of the story, one filled with scandal and enough distractions to rival Argentina's beloved soap operas.

The result is never boring, says the Argentine comedian Enrique Pinti, whose political commentary is the stuff of a popular stage show. Argentina, he said in an interview, is like a "five-star hotel where nothing works and all the guests complain — the pipes don't work and there is a terrible odor everywhere and in the coffee shop are five drunks, but the hotel is fantastic."

Stability was the election platform for the Peronists, who boasted that inflation for August, at a monthly rate of 1.3 percent, was the lowest in 25 years and a far cry from the annual 5,000 percent of just two years ago, when Mr. Menem took office. But amid the elections of 12 governors, dozens of members of Congress and hundreds of local officials, it was the behind-the-scenes action that grabbed attention.

Estranged for months from his wife, Zu-

lema, Mr. Menem has entertained frequently and in fashion at the presidential mansion. His sister-in-law and several of his aides, meanwhile, were indicted on charges that they laundered drug money.

The voters thus preoccupied with Mr. Menem's personal life and family troubles, it seemed natural that the notion of personalities over political experience and other qualifications seeped into some races. Carlos Reutemann's only race experience had been behind the wheel of a Formula One car, but that did not deter voters; they elected the Peronist candidate governor of Santa

Menem has governed with flamboyance, drama, a bit of the absurd — and a list of serious purposes.

Fe, the country's third largest province, situated north of Buenos Aires.

Ramón (Palito) Ortega, a crooner from the 1960's with no political experience, returned to Tucumán, the province of his youth, after years of living in Miami and won its governorship. His defeat of a very popular former general and military governor of the province, Antonio Bussi, was stunning.

'Clean Hands'

"For some reason, Palito became an idol who moved multitudes," Mr. Pinti said. "He could do it because of two reasons: He was a self-made man who was not linked to any of the corruption. He had clean hands. And second, he was a man who came from the lowest rungs of society, from poverty. Therefore the people had the right to think that when he proposes something, even though it might not be for my good but for his pride, he will do it."

Aldo Rico, a hero of the Falklands War, gained notoriety as the leader of the now

disbanded secretive military unit called the Painted Faces, or Carapintadas, which staged four rebellions in the last four years. On such lore, he won more than 10 percent of the popular vote for governor in the province of Buenos Aires, with supporters calling him an alternative to the politics of President Menem.

But Mr. Menem isn't looking over his shoulder just yet. Beyond the entertainment value that Argentines find in his extracurricular activities, there is a seriousness that is shaping his policies.

His personality may not eclipse that of Juan Perón, but as the party leader he is changing the style of Peronism. The Perón legacy was one of strident anti-Americanism, semi-isolation from the industrialized world, government ownership of industry and a semblance of redistributing wealth to the poor. The rich supported the military. The intellectuals backed either the left or the Radical Party.

But Mr. Menem's economic policies are free-market, privatization, balanced budgets and stinginess with retiree benefits, all more akin to conservative Republican politics in the United States. In redefining policy, he has become a friend of the United States, sending two warships to the Persian Gulf and opposing Cuba's human rights record at the United Nations.

"Peronism is being dismantled because in general the politics of Menem has been to dismantle," said Jorge Balán, a political analyst with the Center for the Study of State and Society, an independent research organization in Buenos Aires.

"He is an anti-institutional President," Mr. Balán said. "He has broken or dismantled his own party, he has weakened the Congress and operated with considerable strength to impose his own projects."

In the process, Mr. Menem has also created a large centrist movement in Argentina. Many professionals who say they have never before voted the Peronist ticket admit to voting for Mr. Menem's candidates this year. Buoyed by the results, Mr. Menem is even looking for a change in the Constitution to permit himself a second term in office once his six-year term expires in 1995.

His success may depend on his following, which is ever-consolidating in Argentine fashion. Many here even go so far as to say that Peronism is out, Menemism is in.

CURRENT HISTORY

A WORLD AFFAIRS JOURNAL

FEBRUARY, 1991

South America

FEB 5 9 25 PM '91
WHITE HOUSE
RESEARCH CENTER

- The United States and South America: Beyond the Monroe Doctrine
— *Wayne S. Smith* 49
- Democracy in Chile — *Arturo Valenzuela* and *Pamela Constable* 53
- Argentina's Economic Reform — *Gary W. Wynia* 57
- Fujimori and the "Disaster" in Peru — *David P. Werlich* 61
- Bolivia: The Politics of Cocaine — *Melvin Burke* 65
- Colombia at the Crossroads — *John D. Martz* 69
- Brazil's Catatonic Lambada — *Eul-Soo Pang* and *Laura Jarnagin* 73

-
- Book Reviews — *On South America* 76
- World Documents — *Charter of Paris for a New Europe* 78
- *United Nations Resolutions on the Persian Gulf Crisis* 79
- The Month in Review — *Country by Country, Day by Day* 91
- Map — *South America* — Inside Back Cover



"When [President Carlos Saúl] Menem began his second year, it was clear that he had stubbornly enforced the fundamental features of his stabilization plan, using a tight monetary policy and some budget cutting. However, Argentines were still not ready to call the plan a success; much more had to be done."

Argentina's Economic Reform

BY GARY W. WYNIA

Professor of Political Science, Carleton College

ARGENTINES are still trying to determine President Carlos Saúl Menem true political colors. A devout Peronist for more than a quarter century, he came to office in July, 1989, declaring that he would replace entrenched populist capitalism with the classical free market variety. As he said, "We have begun a program that will extract blood and sweat, but we do it because there is no other way to save the nation."¹ The fact that he attempted this change was not surprising at a time when free markets were in vogue throughout South America and Mexico. What was amazing was the fact that he continued to try for more than a year in a nation where few policy innovations have been allowed to survive that long.

Menem was inaugurated six months ahead of schedule as retail prices were rising 150 percent a month. With price controls and promises to cut government spending, he halted this bout of hyperinflation in just a few weeks. Nevertheless, by November it had become obvious that Menem was not reducing spending sufficiently to keep inflation down; nor did he help the economy when he allowed a huge wage increase agreement between the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) and big business. Newspapers were filled with reports that his rescue operation was coming apart, inciting people to buy United States dollars as a defense against inflation. But this raised the price of dollars, which caused nearly all retail prices to rise. Consequently, the inflation rate, which had been "only" 7 percent in November, accelerated to 40 percent in December.

On December 15, Menem replaced Minister of Economy Nestor Rapanelli with Antonio Erman Gonzalez, an accountant who had worked for him when he was governor of La Rioja province. Immediately after taking office, Erman Gonzalez opened the economy even more than Rapanelli

had; with one sweeping decree he lifted price controls, allowed the exchange rate to float freely, slashed export and import taxes, and removed many restrictions on foreign trade. He also announced that the Treasury would no longer finance the government budget deficit.

Two weeks later, the government dropped another bombshell. Its economists were aware that many people were keeping some of their australes in interest-bearing, seven-day bank certificates. The banks had then lent the money to the Treasury to finance the national debt. But on January 3, 1990, President Menem decreed that each depositor's savings had to be converted into 10-year government bonds, with interest and principal guaranteed in dollars. Essentially, this meant that savers suddenly had less money to spend, because they were allowed to sell their bonds only for a small portion of their 10-year value, use them to pay taxes or redeem them a decade later.²

Nevertheless, the government's actions did not prevent another round of hyperinflation; prices rose 79 percent in January, 62 percent in February and 96 percent in March. Refusing to concede, Erman Gonzalez announced at the beginning of March that he was suspending payment to thousands of the government's domestic suppliers. Since the government paid several billion dollars to local industries annually, halting payments—albeit temporarily—kept even more money out of circulation. As a result, the economy went into a deep recession, hyperinflation stopped and prices rose only 11 percent in April.

The United States dollar, which had soared from a value of 14 australes in February, 1989, to nearly 6,000 australes one year later, fell and stabilized at around 5,500 australes to the dollar in April, 1990. While the cost of living increased by 716 percent during the first six months of 1990, the value of the dollar in australes rose only 291 percent. After having taken refuge in the dollar to save themselves from hyperinflation, Argentines suddenly discovered that they were better off with australes.

To tighten control over government corporations that had operated semi-autonomously and often in

¹*La Nacion* (Buenos Aires), international edition, September 10, 1990, p. 5.

²For an excellent summary of the decisions made in December, 1989, and January, 1990, see Peter Passell, *The New York Times*, January 30, 1990.

great debt, Erman Gonzalez announced in August, 1990, that no agency or government corporation could set prices for its services or prepare a budget without his approval. Unlike many of his predecessors, who talked tough and then conceded to their critics, the soft-spoken Erman Gonzalez tried hard to rein them in. He quickly became notorious for his blunt responses to anyone demanding more funding; he simply said, "sorry, we're broke," and sent them home.

Recession ended hyperinflation, but it did not eliminate inflation. Instead, prices continued to increase between 10 and 20 percent monthly through September. Moreover, the gross domestic product (GDP), which had shrunk by 3 percent in 1988 and 6 percent in 1989, was expected to fall even further in 1990. Vice President Eduardo Duhalde lamented that, "in a nation like ours, with a 17 percent monthly inflation rate, you just cannot reactivate the economy."

Menem has also begun to privatize some of the government's enterprises. After frequent postponements and sudden modifications in regulations, in June, 1990, the government auctioned Entel, the national telephone company, to two buyers. The portion of Entel that served Buenos Aires and the south was bought by Telefonía de España, the Spanish telephone company, with Citibank. Bell Atlantic, a United States company bought the portion that served northern Argentina.³

But only 4 months after its purchase, Bell Atlantic was forced to withdraw because Manufacturers Hanover Bank failed to supply Bell Atlantic with adequate financing. So Menem then turned to an Italian and French consortium, whose purchase of Entel's northern service was financed by J.P. Morgan and Company, another United States firm. The government's sale of Aerolíneas Argentinas, the national airline, was more easily accomplished; in July, 1990, it was purchased by Iberia, the Spanish airline.⁴

In October, Menem announced the second phase of privatization, which included plans to sell all or most of the Buenos Aires electric power company, the government-owned coal and natural gas firms, the government-owned shipping company and the Buenos Aires subways. The government also sold highways to Argentine firms (who turned them into toll roads) and the railway line from the interior to the port in Bahía Blanca.

³The Spanish company was to operate all phone service south of a line that went across the country starting at the northern city limits of Buenos Aires.

⁴The sale of the telephone company and airlines using debt swaps was expected to eliminate \$5 billion of Argentina's \$40-billion debt with commercial banks. See *The New York Times*, October 6, 1990.

The opposition found much to criticize in Menem's approach to privatization, claiming that he was too generous to buyers who had purchased loans made to Argentina by foreign banks at less than 20 percent of their original value and had then exchanged them at full value to purchase shares of public corporations like Entel. Menem responded that he needed to reduce the size of the government by selling deficit-ridden companies. He asked his critics to take his privatization effort seriously even though he and his fellow Peronists had opposed privatization when President Raúl Alfonsín had tried to do it two years earlier.

Budget cutting, recession, privatization and rising unemployment inflicted terrible social distress on the nation. Government services rapidly deteriorated, and the real income of government employees fell by almost one-half, hurting the middle class as well as the poor. Government facilities fell into disrepair, and people who had relied on emergency food and medicine from the Alfonsín government received less and less aid from Menem. Experts warned that this would provoke social protests, but during his first 14 months in office Menem publicly insisted that people had to pay for the nation's economic reconstruction. He was afraid to make any concessions because he was apparently convinced that people would believe him to be too weak to maintain his original plan.

When Menem began his second year, it was clear that he had stubbornly enforced the fundamental features of his stabilization plan, using a tight monetary policy and some budget cutting. However, Argentines were still not ready to call the plan a success; much more had to be done. Inflation had to come down further, and businesses needed to begin investing and producing again. Moreover, Menem could not allow social deterioration to continue. Even conservative economists warned that Menem's economic program would backfire unless a systematic effort were made to administer some relief to the poor.

PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS

Menem insisted that circumstances beyond his control had forced him to deregulate the nation's economy. In the early 1950's, President Juan Perón had imposed economic austerity and allowed multinationals to return when his economic boom had ended, and Menem claimed he was doing the same.

Most Peronists disagreed with Menem's approach, but there was little that they could do initially to stop him. He was President and they were dependent on the resources he controlled. Moreover, the Peronist party lacked discipline. Factions within the party multiplied, some of them expressing displeasure with Menem's actions. But

this was largely an exercise in theatrics, especially in the Chamber of Deputies, where Peronist members thrived on the attention the press gave to each faction's creation.

The CGT did not make Menem's task any easier. He encouraged dividing the organization into two groups similar in size; one headed by his critic, Saul Ubaldini and his CGT-Azopardo wing, and the other led by Menem's ally, Guerino Andreoni, which called itself the CGT-San Martín. For a year Menem let the two groups dance around each other, never attacking Ubaldini directly but making his preference for Andreoni clear. Ubaldini criticized Menem's economic policy, but he was careful not to mobilize any massive confrontations with the government although he allowed individual unions to strike whenever they wished.

After waiting one year, Menem gave official recognition to Andreoni and his San Martín faction as the CGT's official representative. Ubaldini immediately announced that he would respect this decision because he knew that it was not a real showdown. While this meant that only delegates from San Martín could serve on government committees dealing with labor, informal conversations with Ubaldini's people continued. Menem knew that he could not afford to alienate many labor leaders, so he avoided direct confrontation as long as he could.

Nevertheless, Menem could not resist disclosing in April, 1990, that he intended to limit the right to strike for all unions involved in essential public services. A Peronist President — not someone in the armed forces or the political opposition — was telling labor leaders that the nation's economic recovery could not tolerate a strike. Since 1955, different governments had tried to devise new regulations to limit strikes, but they had either backed off or had resorted to military repression. Menem believed that to win confidence among the investors he hoped to persuade to return to the country, he had to prevent a repeat of Argentina's strike-ridden past, especially the constant disruptions of services like electricity, transportation, communications and banking.

Ubaldini and other labor leaders objected, but Menem insisted that since Juan Perón had limited the right to strike during his presidency, he could do the same. Menem originally intended to use presidential decrees to limit strikes, but when Peronists in Congress noisily objected, he retreated,

⁵The services were broadly defined to include electricity, transportation, education and health care.

⁶Some of Menem's fans referred to his victory as equal to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's triumph over the coal miners union in the Great Britain and President Ronald Reagan's defeat of the air traffic controllers in the United States.

agreeing to seek congressional approval if they completed the new legislation within 60 days. Congress, however, debated and delayed passage for nearly six months, causing a frustrated Menem to resort to a presidential decree in late October to prohibit strikes in crucial services.⁵

The first real test of Menem's stand on the unions came in September, 1990. The telephone company union in Buenos Aires received a pay increase from the Entel company management, but Economy Minister Erman Gonzalez, with his recently acquired authority over all public corporations, refused to approve the raise, insisting that the government could not afford the increase. The Buenos Aires union immediately called a strike, hoping to force the government to back down. Menem refused; instead he dismissed several of the striking employees and persuaded the national telephone workers union to oppose the strike by its Buenos Aires members.

Two weeks later the striking workers gave in, and Menem declared a major victory for himself and his government. Menem's opponents in the Peronist party found this difficult to swallow, but they were not yet prepared to undermine Menem's presidency. It was truly a novel experience for the Peronists.⁶

Menem's Peronist government also benefitted from the Radical party's weakness after its defeat at the polls. Radical party leader Raúl Alfonsín was active and outspoken in his criticism of Menem, but he enjoyed almost no popularity outside his party; even within the party, he was forced to share leadership with Eduardo Angeloz, the governor of Córdoba province, whom Menem had defeated in the presidential election. The Radical party was so discredited by Alfonsín's presidency that only its most loyal members listened to its orators. Some Radicals knew that they had to refocus and reorganize the party to compete effectively again, but they procrastinated. In October, 1990, party leaders met to plan for the future, only to leave their convention seriously divided between followers of Alfonsín's wing and those of Angeloz's. Consequently, Menem paid little attention to the Radicals when they denounced his economic policies as cruel and arbitrary.

Menem was more prudent with the armed forces. He praised their patriotism and dedicated monuments to soldiers and sailors who were killed in the Falklands (Malvinas) War in 1982. At the same time, he cut the defense budget even more than Alfonsín did. Menem refused to exclude the military from the across-the-board budget reductions that were part of his austerity measures. Smaller budgets forced cuts in the annual army draft from the usual 80,000 per year to less than 30,000. By 1990, the number of military personnel

had declined from 200,000 to around 100,000. Many jobs once done by draftees were turned over to noncommissioned officers. Air force pilots were limited to only six hours flying time a month. Moreover, Fabricaciones Militares, the conglomerate of industries that the armed forces had dealt with over the years, was included in the government's privatization scheme, which required the conglomerate to sell all but its armaments factories to private bidders.

On December 3, 1990, Menem faced his first military rebellion. But unlike the three rebellions that Alfonsín faced, this one was bloody and quickly ended by loyalist army troops. On the morning of December 3, soldiers loyal to Colonel Mohamed Ali Seineldin, the leader of an earlier rebellion, took over army headquarters in Buenos Aires and four other installations. The rebels demanded the replacement of army chief of staff Lieutenant General Martín Bonnet. Menem proclaimed a state of siege, and units loyal to Bonnet immediately crushed the rebels. Two days later, Menem lifted the state of siege and welcomed visiting United States President George Bush. While the return to normalcy was quick, it masked the still tenuous relationship that exists between the military and the government.

A PUBLIC PROTEST

Because of its terrible experience with hyperinflation, the public was persuaded to allow Menem some leeway with the economy. But Argentines exercised less restraint in expressing their discontent with the current political process. Specifically, they objected to "elitism" in the Peronist and Radical parties and expressed this objection by electing candidates from minor parties in a few provincial elections. Then, in mid-1990, the people defied the pollsters and the nation's leaders by standing up against what they regarded as a conspiracy between Peronists and Radicals.

The conspiracy centered on the drafting of a new constitution for Buenos Aires province, which was prepared privately by leaders of the two parties instead of a constitutional convention. Much of what they proposed was necessary, for example, giving local governments more authority to raise taxes and expropriate property for public use, and allowing the governor more than one term (which was allowed in most other provinces). This last provision gave incumbent Peronist Governor Antonio Cafiero, who helped write the new constitution, the right to succeed himself. The process was too self-

serving and conspiratorial for the Buenos Aires electorate. On August 5, 67 percent of the voters rejected the constitution.

When asked why they rejected the new constitution, 54 percent of the voters said it had been drafted in an undemocratic manner, and 38 percent said their vote was a response to their growing dislike of party politicians. The rejection of the constitution was shocking, because the electorate had been urged to vote for the constitution by leaders in the Peronist and Radical parties, CGT leaders and 59 of 70 deputies in the Buenos Aires Chamber of Deputies.⁷

The vote showed that Argentines wanted more control over their elected officials, not less. In 1990, criticizing the system of representation in the national government became popular. Members of the Buenos Aires Chamber of Deputies were chosen by proportional representation, a method once regarded as representative because it distributed seats in proportion to the votes received by each party. Argentines now demanded that it be replaced with a single-member district system like the one used by the House of Representatives in the United States and the House of Commons in Great Britain.

Under the proportional representation system, party leaders could distribute seats among themselves, leaving voters to choose a party whose candidates they did not know personally. The new system would allow voters to select a candidate; along with party primaries in each district, this would force politicians to listen to the electorate. Argentines preferred not to worry about the adverse effects such a system would have on minor parties and its tendency to favor incumbents over challengers; breaking up the control exercised by party elites was a higher priority.

"PRAGMATISM" ABROAD

When Menem visited Chile in September, 1990, he announced that "we want to emerge once and for all from that provincial enclosure that made us think a few years ago that we could develop in privileged solitude."⁸ Menem spoke for most Argentines when he made this statement. He made abandoning the nationalist vanity that had circum-

(Continued on page 83)

Gary W. Wynia is the author of *The Politics of Latin American Development*, 3d edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), and *Argentina: Illusions and Realities*, 2d edition (New York: Holmes and Meier, forthcoming). The author gathered material for this article while he was in Argentina during the spring of 1990.

⁷See *La Nacion*, August 12, 1990, and *Buenos Aires Herald*, August 5, 1990.

⁸*The New York Times*, September 4, 1990.

war on drugs, explaining that these resources were destined solely for repression. The President indicated that the badly needed military aid would be welcomed as part of a package that included substantial funding for peaceful programs to wean peasants away from coca production.

When García assumed the presidency of Peru in July, 1985, some commentators glibly predicted success for his government simply because they believed that the nation's fortunes could not sink any lower; at worst, Peru would muddle through. They were wrong. President Fujimori has little room for error as he tries to bring his country back from what many observers fear is the brink of social dissolution. ■

ARGENTINA

(Continued from page 60)

scribed his predecessors seem effortless, and he acted as if it were inevitable. Once he began the process, everything that followed drew less criticism. For example, he was able to end Argentina's trade embargo with Great Britain and restore relations with it less than a year later. His motives were practical; Argentina needed better relations and more trade with Europe.

Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo called this approach "pragmatic." Foreign capital was required to modernize the nation's industries to make them more competitive. Menem made foreign access to the country easier, starting with relaxed rules on petroleum exploration. Using the Association for Latin American Integration, he sought to create a new free trade system in Latin America. He was even more ambitious within the Southern Cone, where he spoke about creating a common market that would include Brazil, Uruguay and Chile.

Menem's desire to build a closer relationship with the United States was the most unusual aspect of his foreign policy. Foreign Minister Cavallo acknowledged that good relations between the two countries in the past had been prevented by Argentina's internal political instability, its conflict with Great Britain, its refusal to sign nuclear nonproliferation agreements and mutual accusations of unfair trade. But Cavallo wanted to overcome these obstacles, either unilaterally or through careful negotiations. The change in the Argentine public's attitude toward the United States helped Menem; recent polls indicated that 50 percent of the respondents approved of closer relations between the two countries, while only one-third of those polled still opposed better relations.

Cavallo argued that Argentina would gain from closer economic ties to the United States and to

Europe. This might require that Argentina accept some United States government demands—for example, that Argentina cease building the Condor II missile—but he said that he was prepared to make such concessions if the United States would reciprocate by lowering some barriers to Argentine imports.

Menem also sent two warships to join the multinational forces enforcing an embargo against Iraq after it invaded neighboring Kuwait in August. He declared that he was placing Argentina alongside the United Nations members who were policing the new international system, now that the old, bipolar system was disappearing. But he also wanted to gain favor with the United States, hoping that Argentine goods would receive a better reception throughout North America, as he told President Bush when they met at the White House in mid-October, 1990.⁹

Menem added another surprise in November when he reversed nuclear policy. After Argentina had refused for two decades to sign any treaty that prevented it from building nuclear weapons, on November 28 Menem and Brazilian President Fernando Collor de Mello agreed to prohibit nuclear weapons in Brazil and Argentina. They also agreed to guarantee the right to inspect each other's nuclear facilities. Their accord will most likely make it possible for both governments to ratify the Treaty of Tlatelco, which was ratified more than 20 years earlier to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in Latin America.

A LONG WAY TO GO

Recently, a foreign economist who knows Argentina well said it would take Menem's reforms about 10 years to restore financial stability and economic abundance in Argentina. Most Argentines do not want to wait that long.

The deterioration in social conditions during Menem's first year presented a serious problem. The Argentine people became increasingly afraid of one another. Poverty grew among the lower classes, and a once-prosperous middle class worried about teenage thieves in the Buenos Aires suburbs. Nothing attracted more press attention in mid-1990 than the episode of a middle class engineer who pulled up alongside the car of two boys who had stolen a tape deck from his car, and then shot and killed them. He claimed that he was administering justice and many people agreed. Promises of bounty after free markets were restored offered little consolation to most Argentines.

Menem's predicament was obvious. Liberal economics was politically risky because it threatened people who relied on government employment, protection against cheaper imports and subsidies.

⁹La Nación, international edition, October 1, 1990, p. 1.

His program asked people to change the way they had been doing business for a half-century. In the short term, this accelerated the decline in an already shrinking middle class, while a few Argentines with great wealth continued to prosper. Even people who welcomed his attempt to make them live by new economic rules feared that the effort would be exploited by the few among them who were already affluent.

If anything were encouraging, it was the way citizens in Buenos Aires province were trying to build a viable democracy. Rather than fleeing from the political process the moment the economy floundered or when the President seemed to be wielding too much power, Argentines demanded reform of the political process. It was naive to think that changing a few electoral laws could make democratic government perform perfectly, but at least these Argentines were exploring ways to improve an elitist political system. ■

DEMOCRACY IN CHILE

(Continued from page 56)

return to civilian rule has helped keep debate within civilized bounds as repressed political actors try to stake out turf in a new, competitive arena. With both ideological extremes relegated to the shadows, a broad spectrum of groups—from Socialist to hardline conservative—have agreed to play by the democratic rules that they once discarded in an era of intense political passions.

In his campaign and during his first year in office, Aylwin personified Chile's need for consensus and reconciliation after two decades of political trauma and polarization. The most poignant demonstration of this effort came on September 4, 1990, when the family of the late President Salvador Allende Gossens brought his body from a coastal graveyard where it had been buried anonymously for 17 years and held a formal funeral in the National Cemetery.

Sharing the dais with Allende's widow, Isabel, and French Prime Minister Michel Rocard, Aylwin delivered a gracious speech that acknowledged Allende's inspiration to millions of Chileans and his own opposition to Allende's Socialist regime. Although the armed forces refused to participate in the ceremony, the event symbolized the Aylwin government's determination to put the divisive past behind it.

The Communist left, once a disruptive element in Chile's transition to democracy, has lost almost all relevance in the post-Pinochet era. Voters, who were tired of the political violence that culminated in the 1986 assassination attempt against Pinochet, rejected every extreme left candidate for legislative office, leaving Latin America's second largest Com-

munist party with no official representation. Adrift and in disarray, the party has been rent by a bitter struggle between reformists and hard-line Marxist-Leninists. By midyear, leading members had been expelled, and several others had split the party into factions.

In contrast, the Concertación por la Democracia, the coalition of center-left parties that formed to defeat Pinochet, has maintained remarkable cohesion. Some divisions have emerged among Socialist groups as they debate how far to renovate their thinking as changes sweep the Socialist world. The Christian Democratic party remains fragmented, but it has also emerged as a pragmatic force for compromise. As elections loom closer, more splits are possible within the Concertación. But as long as Pinochet remains in command of the army, pro-government forces have a strong incentive to remain united.

FOREIGN POLICY

After Aylwin's election, Chile quickly shed its pariah status in the international community. Pinochet rarely traveled abroad, and his only close foreign ties were with other autocratic leaders. In contrast, Aylwin's inauguration was attended by most democratic leaders in the Western Hemisphere, and he has already visited several countries in Europe and Latin America and has addressed a session of the United Nations. Chile has also been invited to join the informal association of Latin American Presidents known as the Rio Group, and Chilean officials have begun to play important roles in international financial circles and multilateral institutions.

An unexpected obstacle to Chile's otherwise smooth return to the international community is the tension in relations between Santiago and Washington, D.C. Although United States officials have heartily praised Chile's return to democracy and the implementation of free market reforms, they have nevertheless been reluctant to lift a number of economic sanctions imposed during Pinochet's reign. This has created deep resentment in Santiago and has given Aylwin's rightist opponents the grounds to argue that democracy has failed to bring Chile the international rewards promised by anti-Pinochet leaders.

In some instances the continued sanctions are not aimed at punishing Chile politically. In the 1980's, the United States rescinded Chile's preferential trade status because of labor violations, and there have been delays in restoring it. Curbs on the import of Chilean fruit through restrictive marketing orders are partly the result of protectionist pressure in the United States and partly the residue of a 1989 incident in which two poisoned Chilean grapes were



Courtesy the National Archives of Argentina

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento

Sarmiento in the United States

Elda Clayton Patton

*Visiting lecturer of Spanish
The University of Evansville*

The University of Evansville Press
Evansville, Indiana

turned her back on the provinces and faced London and Paris. She had the finest of woollens from the English, her poetry and literature from the French. And thus was born the *porteño* mentality that can be summed up as the conviction that Argentina exists for Buenos Aires and that all outside the limits of Buenos Aires is outside the limits of civilization.

To Sarmiento the city life meant civilization as contrasted with that of the *gaucho*. The Revolution succeeded in the city because there were books and ideas, a municipal spirit, courts, laws, education, and all the points of contact which we share with the European. There was a basis of organization – incomplete and backward – but precisely because it was incomplete and had not yet reached the level already known to be attainable, the revolution was enthusiastically adopted. But in the country regions, the revolution was a problem. To withdraw from the authority of the king was agreeable only insofar as it meant complete withdrawal from all authority. But the revolution was useful in the sense that it provided an outlet for the surplus energy which the *gaucho* possessed. Sarmiento is aware of the problem when he says:

The city man wears European clothing, lives the civilized life as we know it everywhere; there laws exist, ideas of progress, means of instruction, some municipal organization, the regular government, etc. Leaving the confines of the city, everything changes aspect: the country man wears other clothing, which I shall call American because it is common to all peoples; his life habits are different, his needs peculiar and limited; they appear to be two different societies, two peoples strange to each other. There is even more: the country man, far from aspiring to be like the city man, disdainfully rejects his luxuries and courteous manners; and the costume of the city man, the formal dress coat, the cape, the saddle, no European sign can present itself with impunity in the countryside. Everything civilized that exists in the city is blockaded out there, exiled to the country; and whoever should dare to appear in frock coat, for example, riding on an English saddle, would attract upon himself the mockery and brutish aggressions of the country people. (VII, 28)

4. Historical Background

Argentina looks toward Europe perhaps because unlike the other eastern countries of the Americas, she was colonized paradoxically enough from the west. Early colonization efforts by men from the Old World had failed but the Spanish settlers of Peru pushed eastward across the Andes and formed several settlements between 1551 and 1573. Mendoza, Tucumán, and Santiago del Estero were all established before Juan de Garay laid out the settlement which today forms a part of Buenos Aires, the real heart of the nation, in 1580.

These early colonists found the *pampas* well stocked with wild horses and cattle, descendants of the animals brought over by still earlier failures in colonizing Argentina. The first immigration was strengthened by more Spaniards drifting down from the northwest, and only the most daring or exceptionally strong could survive. There were always hostile Indians to fight and a discouraging trade system which offset the material advantages of the amazingly fertile soil.

The new colony was forbidden to trade directly across the Atlantic under Spain's navigation laws of that time. So it was that for 200 years the hides, tallow, and other pastoral products legally had to go by muleback through Peru, up the Pacific coast to the Isthmus of Panama, across that strip of land by muleback again and finally by ship to the mother country. Merchandise imported had to be brought back the same difficult route. This system encouraged illicit trade in wild cattle and hides which became the livelihood for the *gauchos*.

The Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata was created in 1776. Besides the present Republic of Argentina, this vast territory of nearly 2,000,000 square miles included the present republics of Paraguay, Uruguay and a part of Bolivia.

As an independent nation, Argentina dates from 1810, when a group of Argentine leaders and intellectuals, stimulated into action by the successful North American and French Revolutions, and galvanized by the repulsing of two British invasions by the Argentine militia, met in Buenos Aires on the 25th of May 1810 and proclaimed the declaration of independence. Sarmiento boasted that he was conceived during the jubilant celebrations of the Revolution of the 25th of May. This date marks the beginning of the period of emancipation and includes the movement for

independence and the process of national organization.

The separatist movement of the provinces, the United Provinces of La Plata, extended from 1810 to July 9, 1816, the date upon which the Congress of Tucumán confirmed the work of the May Revolution. The revolution, which in 1816 extended throughout the former viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata, in 1817 became an American Revolution carried by General San Martín triumphantly into the neighboring countries of Chile, Peru and Ecuador. Thus it was that General José de San Martín won independence not only for Argentina, but for Chile and Peru as well. His greatest military exploit was the organizing and training, at Mendoza, of the famous Army of the Andes which he led across that range, in a march more difficult than Napoleon's crossing of the Alps, into Chile and later into Peru. It was in this army that Sarmiento's father had participated in the battle of Chacabuco and Sarmiento was proud of his father's part in the Independence.

The period of emancipation for the destinies of Spanish America closed in 1824 with the battle of Ayacucho, which marked the close of hostilities fought by the patriots against the Spanish armies on the American continent. The Argentine Revolution is a milestone in the history of free peoples. Like the Revolution in North America and the French Revolution, it was a revolution of principles; it overthrew one regime to supplant it by another, which proved to be liberal in its laws and guarantees.

The independence of the country once secured, there was then to be solved the difficult problem of national organization. After 1810, questions of government had caused various conflicts among the patriots. There was almost as much fighting among them as against the Spaniards. Since the first patriot government was the outcome of the revolution, the logical result was that the patriots were concerned as to what type of government should be adopted by the new nation. Therefore, after 1810 we see develop two lines of thought referring to the organization of the government: one represents the external action of the revolution and has as its object independence; the other represents internal action and has as its object national organization.

While the winning of independence is determined on the battlefield, the problem of political organization is of a different nature and requires the calm and mature judgment of politicians and statesmen rather than the heroism of the nameless soldiers who have made the supreme sacrifice in the name of in-

dependence. In order to form a stable political organization, it is necessary to take into consideration many factors. It is not sufficient to adopt a constitution based upon ideals but rather one that takes into account the particular country, its history and social life, the economic conditions of its peoples and their capacity for government and along with all of this, the political ideals as indicative of the course of progress.

Almost a half a century was necessary to solve the problems and complications of the political organization of Argentina. Her independence had become complete with the founding of the United Provinces of La Plata by the Congress of Tucumán in 1816. The new republic was then launched in a series of political adventures in which juntas, triumvirates, directorates, presidents, several well-defined periods of anarchy, and the 23-year dictatorship of Juan Manuel de Rosas followed each other in rapid succession. It was not until 1853 that the Argentine nation began to inaugurate constitutional presidents. During this long period, each effort to constitute or to organize the country was followed by civil wars and strife among the sister provinces. The general constituent assembly of 1815 framed several partial organic laws and formed a commission to formulate a constitutional project yet it did not promulgate a constitution. When the Congress of Tucumán in 1816 considered the political organization of the country, the majority of its members were so unstable as to favor a monarchical form of government. However this congress did not adopt a constitution until 1819 when it formed one of the unitarian or centralistic type that the people and the political leaders disobeyed. The constituent congress of 1824 also formed a centralistic constitution in 1826, which was also resisted. In 1853, the constituent congress of Santa Fe approved the federal constitution but it was not to be put into effect throughout Argentina until after the battle of Pavón in 1861, when Buenos Aires entered the confederation.

The history of the national organization might be divided into five distinct periods: that one extending from 1810 until 1820; the one from 1820 until 1829; the one from 1829 until 1852; another from 1852 until 1880 and the last one from 1880 until the present time.

The first period begins with the successive, violent crises of the patriot governments that with the exception of that of Pueyrredón, did not last for the time set by the constitution or a

specific law. Thus the junta of patriotic government established on May 25, 1810 was replaced by the great junta because of the differences between President Saavedra and Secretary Moreno. The revolution of the 5th and 6th of April, 1811, drove out the followers of Moreno and formed the first triumvirate. This new body disrupted the junta of observation, a legislative group composed of the deputies who belonged to the great junta. The first triumvirate was overthrown on the 8th of October, 1812 by a revolution which installed a second triumvirate. This new body was dissolved in 1814 and the directory was organized, which represented unipersonal executive power. The first director was Gervasio Posadas, but he had to give up his office before completing his one-year term. His successor, Alvear, was overthrown in 1815 and for the first time the national government was interrupted in a transitory fashion. The Congress of Tucumán designated as supreme director, Juan Martín de Pueyrredón, who ruled for three years and restrained the outbreak of anarchy with an iron hand. After the Constitution of 1819 was promulgated, Pueyrredón resigned and anarchy broke out.

The period of 1820 to 1829 includes a study of political anarchy and of political leadership or *caudillismo*. Except for a short period during the presidency of Rivadavia, the national government was suspended and the provinces were in the hands of their respective *caudillos*.

The third period of from 1829 to 1852 comprises the twenty years of the rule of Rosas. This era represents an important stage in Argentine political and social evolution, because the political parties with principles, the federalists and centralists, caused a crisis owing to the peculiarities of social psychology and public spirit, and the international problems that arose. It was during this period that Sarmiento was forced into exile and carried on his attacks from the press in Chile against the barbaric practices of Rosas.

The fourth period of 1852 to 1880 includes the downfall of Rosas at Caseros and the conflict that began between the Province of Buenos Aires and the Argentine Confederation, represented respectively by Mitre and Urquiza, which for almost ten years kept the nation's organizations in suspense. In 1853 the Congress of Santa Fe promulgated the Argentine Constitution and constitutional presidencies were begun but without the Province of Buenos Aires, which entered the Confederation after the battle

of Pavón in 1861. After the revolts of 1874 and 1880 were suppressed, national organization was definitely achieved and the city of Buenos Aires was declared to be the capital of the republic and the seat of the national government.

mankind, so bitterly sundered and lacerated at the present time.¹

Among the men which South America produced during the 19th century, Sarmiento, is without doubt, the outstanding one because he combines the intensity of his ideals, the abundance of his work together with the achievement of great influence. His temperament possesses the mystery of the indigenous together with Spanish tradition of his race. It is possible that he had a trace of Indian blood, but he attacked the natives for their backwardness. Nor was he European, for when he traveled to Europe, he sharply criticized Spain, France and Italy for their political backwardness and widespread misery.

The struggle between civilization and barbarity is realized in its soul: a conflict of nature and history, of tradition and progress. In Sarmiento, the Indian and the Spaniard coexist and fight.²

Throughout his life Sarmiento was a patriot, though not in a narrow sense, and a sincere believer in democracy. The grandeur of the American continent filled his soul with joy and fired his enthusiasm with regard for the New World. This led him to be interested in all the problems of America and the imposing bulk of his 52 volumes is devoted almost entirely to America. For over a half a century he wrote tirelessly in his efforts to better the world.

If we believe him to be a man of genius it is because he brought a message and fulfilled his arduous undertaking with the constancy of an apostle and the faith of a missionary. He saw the South American reality with anguished clarity and tried to transform it abruptly, without any solidarity with the past, by means of new methods and in virtue of hopes that transcended the destiny of our Continent to the destiny of humanity. America has not produced another man like him, nor does Europe have in its history a personality that resembles him. He used journalism and the school in an illiterate country for a political intent and succeeded in attaining the social reform he proposed for himself. His originality consists in that.³

Sarmiento boasted of having been born nine months after the Revolution of the 25th of May as if he had been conceived in the joy of the holy ecstasy kindled by that historic event. His birth on the 15th of February 1811 is attested to in the following terms:

In the year of the Lord 1811 on the fifteenth of the month of February, in this main church of St. John of the Frontier and parish of St. Joseph, I, the assistant priest, gave oil and chrism to Faustino Valentín, one day old, legitimate son of don José Clemente Sarmiento and doña Paula Albarracín. The other priest, Friar Francisco Albarracín, baptised him. Godparents don José Tomás Albarracín and doña Paula Oro, whom I advised of their spiritual relationship, and so that it be confirmed, we signed it. — José María de Castro.

We can see by this birth record that his real name was not "Domingo Faustino" but rather "Faustino Valentín." However, his family called him by the name of their traditional saint and thus he came to use the name "Domingo."

Sarmiento describes his birthplace, San Juan, as "an ignorant and backward province." (III, 6) It was this and nothing more, a small village, poor and backward, situated at the foot of the Andes in the interior of Argentina. The customs were those of the Spanish Colonial period, very simple and the language of the conquerors had been preserved almost intact. However, San Juan was the theatre of heated struggles during the childhood of Sarmiento for it was here that the new ideas came in violent contact with those typically colonial. Sarmiento grew up in this period of transition and his mind was subjected to the double current of these contradictory influences. But he overcame both and became a harbinger of New Argentina.

Against this somewhat dismal picture, but casting on it a rosy light, is to be seen the exquisite silhouette of a rare and unusual woman, Sarmiento's mother. She was the daughter of a well known family, the Albarracíns, who had been founders of the colony of San Juan.

Crossing the Andes of the Cuyo region the Spaniards, who three centuries before had founded the colony of San Juan, had come from Chile. Sarmiento was descended from those

Should anyone cry for Argentina?

The national birthright—me first—may be an incurable disease

In the view of most Argentines, panicked by hyperinflation, President Carlos Menem has worked a minor miracle in his first 100 days. He has beaten the inflation index down from a soul-sapping monthly rate of 200 percent to 9 percent, talked about privatizing inefficient state enterprises and temporarily defused the threat of a military takeover.

Menem has vowed that he will become the first President in memory to attack the root of Argentina's national disease—runaway government spending. Mexico's President Carlos Salinas de Gortari has had some real success prescribing this medicine. But in Argentina, the disease is far from cured—and may be incurable. To beat it, an entire nation, everyone from blue-collar workers to pampered industrialists, must be weaned from a deeply rooted habit of dining at the public trough and from a pervasive belief that all of them are entitled to dine well simply because they are Argentines.

The new President slowed inflation with a price freeze and persuasive talk about a new monetary discipline—a cheap fix that has previously worked, if only briefly, for other new leaders in Latin America and even in Argentina itself. The question is whether Menem has the courage to press ahead with the next, far more painful and dangerous steps of actually selling off cash-hemorrhaging state companies, attacking the budget deficit and clearing the way for the firing of hundreds of thousands of nonproductive employees in both the public and private sectors.

He has nudged through a law that would cut subsidies to favored businesses and declared an end to the system of blank-check budgets for the provinces. Critics, however, note that the government was broke and couldn't pay those subsidies anyway.

A bone for the generals. Menem bought himself a bit of breathing room from the country's generals by pardoning 280 officers and civilians accused of corruption, coup-mongering and human-rights atrocities committed during the "Dirty War" of the late 1970s, when some 9,000 alleged leftists were brutally murdered or disappeared. Menem's pardon horrified human-rights activists worldwide but went virtually unremarked by most Argentines, whose eyes were fixed on the cost of living index. Menem also freed three former junta commanders jailed for mishandling the 1982 Falklands War with Britain.

The acid test of Menem's intentions will come as his October-March wage



A 100-day wonder? Peronist President Menem, left, is off to a fast start

freeze takes another bite out of the living standards Argentines consider theirs by right and the government tries to change antiquated labor laws that make it virtually impossible to fire anyone. It will take more than talk if Menem is to redeem a promise to bring inflation down to a monthly rate of 2 percent in November and squeeze it to an annual rate of 15 percent by next year.

Menem represents Argentina's last best hope of turning around an incredible slide from economic powerhouse to economic basket case. In the 1920s, Argentina had the eighth-largest economy in the world, awash in beef, grain, gold, silver and coal. Its capital, Buenos Aires, rivaled Paris. Today, the resources are still there, but Argentina has changed. In 1987, its economy ranked 58th in the world.

What went wrong? Some blame the country's wealth itself. Farming was so lucrative, so easy, that the landed rich never thought to industrialize. "They neither noticed nor cared that the world was passing them by," says sociologist Juan Carlos Portantiero. An unshakable confidence in the land, shared equally by taxi driver and provincial gaucho, may explain an inability to grasp the depth of the problem. "We are such a rich country," they insist, hoping for a quick fix.

Many date the downfall to a 1930 military coup. Robert Cox, former editor of the *Buenos Aires Herald*, says,

"After 1930, the military never really left power." While civilians would be allowed to govern again, at times, it was not until July of 1989 that any elected President survived in office to hand over power to an elected civilian successor.

Others fix the blame firmly on Juan Domingo Perón, who rose to power in the early 1940s. Argentina grew so fat on trade during World War II that when Perón became President in 1946, he boasted that he could barely walk through the central bank, it was so crammed with gold bars. Perón had plans for that wealth. He would create a neutral Argentina beholden to no one, nationalizing the foreign-owned railroad, telephone and power companies. He encouraged industrialization, throwing up trade barriers to protect against foreign competition and handing out sweetheart contracts and generous state subsidies.

Perón also brought the working class into the system, bullying industries dependent on the state into paying higher wages. Argentina's powerful unions, modeled after those in Mussolini's Italy, guaranteed jobs and rewarded members with cradle-to-grave benefits. Success for workers and owners alike came to depend mainly on their ability to lobby the government. Productivity ran a distant second. In the scramble for government goodies, individual citizens lost all sense of the commonweal or any willingness to

Introducing the all-wheel-drive Safari.

There's no better van to bring home this year. Because for 1990,

GMC Truck is giving you more good reasons to drive a Safari than ever before.

Every day isn't sunny. Every road isn't perfect. So you'll be glad to know you can choose the optional all-wheel-drive system. With full-time traction at all four wheels, you'll always feel good in a Safari, no matter how the road feels.

Every Safari now offers a standard four-wheel anti-lock brake system...an industry first. And our mid-size van is just as capable at green lights as red, thanks to the standard 150 horsepower of our 4.3-liter Vortec V-6.

So don't just ask for a van. Demand a Safari. It's a driving decision you'll feel good about...all the way home.

For a catalog and the name of your nearest dealer, call 1-800-VALUE90 (1-800-825-8390).

GM is a registered trademark and Safari is a trademark of General Motors Corporation. ©1989 General Motors Corporation. All rights reserved.

Let's get it together...buckle up.



Quality Network



GMC TRUCK

It's not just a truck anymore.®



ALEX QUIESADA—MATRIX

sacrifice for the common good. Economic-reform plans by the dozen have since foundered on that lack of trust.

The Peronist free-for-all could not go on forever. By the early 1950s, the cash began to run out and, with it, the state's ability to balance so many competing interests. Inflation surged, production stagnated. In 1955, the military stepped forward again, determined to purge Perón's memory and his system. The exorcism didn't work. Power was built on centralization, and they could not bring themselves to risk dismantling it. As a consequence, today the economy remains protected, statist, corporatist—in short, Peronist. Even Argentina's last and most vicious junta could not break the spell.

The costs are staggering. State-run industries lose billions each year; the railroad alone loses \$2 million a day. Public services are a nightmare. The telephone company currently has a backlog of more than a million requests for service. Private business is no better, taking an estimated \$4 billion annually in subsidies, tax breaks and sweetheart deals.

Can it be changed? And is Carlos Menem, self-declared heir to Juan Perón, the man to do it? If he succeeds, virtually everyone will feel the pinch. A quarter of all private businesses could fail in coming months. Workers by the thousands stand to lose their jobs. Menem's advisers insist that the Argentine people know the cost and at last are willing to pay. But there is genuine concern about what will happen now that Menem has gotten a grip on hyperinflation. It is at precisely this point that every other government has backed away from reform, fearful of social upheaval and political defeat. Maria Julia Alsogaray, a vehement free-market advocate chosen to take the telephone company



GUSTAWO GILBERT—JB PICTURES

Soup kitchens. Power, privilege and poverty are an Argentine legacy

private, believes this time will be different. "Menem is committed to dismantling the whole Peronist system," she says. "If Spain can do it, we can, too."

Shortage of discipline. The Spanish model is an intriguing one for Argentina (see page 54). Like Menem, Spanish Prime Minister Felipe González came to power with the support of organized labor and then proceeded to dismantle an old corporatist system. But there are striking differences, and perhaps the most important is the Argentine military, waiting as ever for the civilians to falter. Analyst Rosendo Fraga says that to keep the troops in the barracks Menem must professionalize and modernize the military, starting with an increase in salaries. "Seventy percent of officers and 90 percent of enlisted men are moonlighting," says Fraga. "You cannot maintain discipline under these conditions." Discipline, unfortunately, is almost as scarce as cash in Argentina. ■

by Carla Anne Robbins and Janette Staubus
in Buenos Aires

WORLD AUTHORS SERIES (TWAS)

ose of TWAS is to survey the major novelists, dramatists, historians, poets, and critics—of the nations of the among the national literatures covered of Australia, Canada, China, Eastern France, Germany, Greece, India, Italy, Latin America, the Netherlands, New Poland, Russia, Scandinavia, Spain, African nations, as well as Hebrew, and Latin Classical literatures. This complemented by Twayne's United Authors Series and English Authors Series.

t of each volume in these series is to critical analytical study of the works writer; to include biographical and material that may be necessary for reading, appreciation, and critical ap- the writer; and to present all material concise English—but not to vitiate the ly content of the work by doing so.

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento

By Frances G. Crowley
Southeast Missouri State College



Twayne Publishers, Inc. :: New York

Preface

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento should be as well known as Benjamin Franklin or Abe Lincoln. He was an Argentinian who lived what he saw, dreamt about visiting the United States and did so twice, once as a traveller on a shoestring and the next time as his country's minister plenipotentiary. The lives of great Americans and his visits to this country convinced him that nothing is impossible to those who are willing to act as well as believe. Animated by this certainty, he wrote, fought, and spoke in behalf of reform and upon his return to his country became its president. As an American he should be well known, because he, more than Horatio Alger, personifies what is live, vital, and enduring in the American dream. He represents the metamorphosis from thought to action, the vitality of the American outlook and its influence upon other nations during the early part of the last century.

Sarmiento sought universal answers for universal values with slight concern for purely nationalistic goals. He saw his country's role as that of a sovereign nation in a continent which must expand, industrialize, and change, to meet the challenge of modern times. If other countries had new systems and new methods, they must be adopted. Soon the answers of nationalism would be too narrow to allow his country to be truly competitive; international solutions and international capital had to be sought. His enemies, and they span over a century, were to resent Sarmiento for his internationalism, for his open criticism of many hallowed Latin American traditions, for his admiration for Yankee ways, and his advocacy of an association of states bounded by the Plata River, which was to form an early precursor of the Common Market with a brand new capital and port facilities equal to none in South America. So impossible was his dream deemed at that time, that very few modern observers are cognizant of our author's writing on this subject. For most people his main claim to fame consists in the writing of *Facundo*, accepted as his most important literary work, while other aspects

DOMINGO FAUSTINO SARMIENTO

of his life and career of far greater impact on the modern reader have been virtually ignored.

It is the purpose of this book to present Sarmiento from the vantage point of a new perspective. The reader is invited to follow the author along less travelled roads leading to the discovery of startling problems and answers transcending the times for which they were written. Although there are instances in which his premises seem obsolete, or even amusing, most of the time the conclusions reach from the printed page right into the present. Interesting in this connection is the Sarmiento viewpoint that war is losing its effectiveness in the modern world and that, as nations expand their weaponry, settlements will increasingly have to be reached by arbitration and by a new concept of international and intercontinental alliances. Along this line of reasoning, the funding of large enterprises, such as ports, dams, waterways, model cities, agricultural experimental stations, should pertain to the American and world picture, rather than be considered as Latin American or predominantly regional projects. Since Latin America had not yet begun to emerge from the strictly paternalistic boundaries imposed by a fundamentally Spanish economy, to many Sarmiento's views seemed short of revolutionary.

To modern readers, Sarmiento should appear quite contemporary, for he is vitally interested in all current problems, immigration, urbanization, the rights and condition of workers, the battle of civilization and progress against lawlessness, which he calls barbarism, and, above all, throughout his works, permeating them, saturating them, the ever-recurring question of how freedom is to survive.

Works consulted include most editions available in the United States and at the Library of Congress. Although extant works delve into almost every phase of Sarmiento's life, there is still lacking a total appraisal of the great Latin American statesman's significance, especially in relation to the United States and on the influence exerted by them upon the development of his ideas. It is hoped that this book will revive the Sarmiento image for tomorrow's reader.

Cape Girardeau, Mo.

FRANCES G. CROWLEY

Acknowledgments

The author wishes to acknowledge her debt to Sylvia Bowman and William Owen Cord for encouragement and perseverance, to Professor [unclear] for proofing, editing and challenging page content, to the Lindenwood College Administration for their help with [unclear], to Professors Agnes Sibley and Delores Willard for helpful suggestions, to my husband Professor Crowley of St. Louis University for checking proof and family for its good humored support.

Invaluable was the help of Miss Marjorie Karst, Librarian of Washington University. Miss Linda [unclear], student assistant at Lindenwood and Miss Lola [unclear], Sarmiento Seminar, currently a graduate student at Washington University, contributed to the transcription and proofing of this volume. To all those who helped to produce this volume, including the publishers who so graciously allowed me to publish from their authors, a rousing vote of thanks.

II Vida de Dominguito (Dominguito's Life)

In *Dominguito's Life*, Sarmiento pours forth all his love for this youngster whose premature tragic death at the age of twenty-one on the battlefields of Paraguay, during the assault of Curupaiti, September 22, 1866, would have moved anyone who had come to love the boy. Although he calls him "son," as alleged by his critics, Sarmiento gives this a most natural explanation at the outset of his biographical sketch:

Dominguito Fidel Castro was born in Santiago de Chile, April 17, 1845. His mother of Argentine descent . . . later remarried. . . . His name was changed by adoption to Sarmiento.²

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento depicts the boy with a father's warmth, his first sayings, his fall from a pony ride, signs of his precocious intelligence, even minor childhood incidents are faithfully recorded. The youngster emerges as an avid reader, a precocious writer, a promising law student, eager to earn for himself the palms of military glory. If he was the author's son, he certainly had followed in his father's footsteps, even to the point of possessing a strong style, reminiscent of the former. This, however, could have also happened through the influence and example of Sarmiento, who was very fond of adolescents and knew how to impress them with his ideals.

Dominguito's emerging style, as well as his strength of character, are shown in the last letter he writes home on the eve of the battle which will cost his life, September 27, 1866:

Dear Mother: (The actual text is *querida vieja*, "Dear Old Mom").

War is like a game of chance. Fortune may smile, or it may abandon him who exposes himself to the enemy lead. Should the spontaneous visions which come to dull the hard fatigue offer security with their promises of future life, should flattering anticipation lure us on, should the ambition for a brilliant destiny that I forge for myself suffice to impart peace to the soul, strengthened by the sacred mission of defending the country, then I have faith in myself, a firm and perfect faith in the path that lies ahead. What is faith? I can't explain it even to myself, but it is enough for me.

If, moreover, what I consider forebodings are illusions meant to vanish before the bullets of Curupaiti, or of Humaetá, don't feel my loss to the point of letting sorrow overcome you. To die for one's

Sarmiento, the Man

country is to live, it is to give our name a luster that nothing nor was woman ever worthier, than when in her stoic resentment she sent forth the son of her womb. Argentine mothers will transmit to future generations the legacy of abnegation and self-sacrifice. We leave these lines with you. In an excess of affection, I leave you these posthumous letters, even as I write them to you.

Sarmiento underscored the end of Dominguito's letter as the boy's overwhelming sense of imminent danger before his death. Quoted are Dominguito's newspaper clippings carrying his incomplete notes on the history of Paraguay, which he wished to draw for a book, but which were unfortunately scattered and lost after his death.

Dominguito's life was to be recorded twice by his father. When he first received news of the boy's death in Washington, Sarmiento jotted down a brief biography, then having gathered up some of his papers, he proceeded to rewrite it after returning to the United States. The ambassador felt the loss deeply and had to consider the months after Dominguito's demise as the most difficult of his eventful life. The more he remembered the boy and his happiness, the more difficult he found it to live with his loss. As Benita forwarded him Dominguito's book of letters, the boy seemed to come alive from the worn sheets, and the father relived the agony of his bereavement. Those who knew of the Argentine statesman who shared the conviction that Dominguito, rather than being his adoptive son, was of his flesh and spirit, may be reminded that they would have known about the young patriot, had Sarmiento not written to him. The fact he gave the boy, whether his or not, the sense of a father's love, need not lessen his stature, but might well have strengthened his character, for if Sarmiento did not always lead the way, his detractors felt should be led by an impeccable teacher. As a statesman, he lived with the consequences of his actions, and both Dominguito and Faustina to be proud of being his names. During his moments of grief the people of Paraguay respected both his love and his sorrow. They too had suffered in war, they too kept treasured letters, hoping, waiting, for peace. Sarmiento, the country boy who through study and hard work had become Ambassador to the United States, was terribly alone. He and Benita had chosen separate

have a cult for feet exceeding that of most other
 ve also greater equanimity, as political figures
 feet outstretched, to the viewpoints of their
 ose travellers who complain about the rudeness
 armiento explains that they are polite in their
 e in the United States all classes are mixed. It
 t North Americans are the "only cultured people
 mate attained by modern civilization." (p. 360)
 European and Latin-American critics of North
 ato compares the ownership of watches, every-
 ns of transportation and educational facilities
 American to the situation of most Europeans.
 y is the leader and for this reason must be for-
 er vices may accompany these advantages.

ok with veneration at these same defects. . . . A
 f all the people of the world, free as conscience,
 without tutors, without an army . . . is the result of
 ents. Its defects must be those of mankind at a
 plement. (p. 361)

at this happens to new nations, why then did it
 tin America? If some say it happened because
 mmigration, why did it not occur in Canada?
 e countries without a similar development, Sar-
 that the United States owes its tremendous
 es to freedom of religion and personal belief.
 ows the individual to move around without a
 s him, even the youngest citizen, a broader
 yth of his nation. Sarmiento has met nine and
 boys with savings of more than five hundred
 acular plans for their future. It is this incentive
 enty million people. Sarmiento admits having
 ar belief that America exploited English in-
 to his surprise, he has come to the conclusion
 States methods are in advance of European
 re being copied in England.

establishment of a free society with demo-
 , a free press, communications, comfortable

inns, and schools makes it possible for twenty million Americans
 to forge ahead as no one has since Roman times.

North Americans only can be compared today with ancient Ro-
 mans, without any other difference than that the first conquered
 nature in the raw by their own efforts, while the others availed them-
 selves of wars to take over the fruit of someone else's labor. The same
 manly superiority, the same persistence, the same strategy, the same
 preoccupation for a future of power and greatness. (p. 384)

The style here is reminiscent of the Ciceronian rhetoric and
 it is in Roman proportions that Sarmiento conceives of the
 United States. Not unlike the Romans, Americans control the
 sea. Not unlike the Romans, their individualism is marked by
 simplicity, the simplicity of Benjamin Franklin who, clad as a
 laborer and proud of his status, visited the British Crown. Even
 while kings are awake at night plotting the movements of their
 armies, America is ahead because it does not have to spend
 on its defenses. Sarmiento cannot wait to see what will happen
 when the population of America will multiply by a hundred to
 one in comparison with Europe. He cannot wait for American
 institutions to come to grips with the rest of the world.

Democracy and freedom might well be the cause of greed
 and personal avarice. Though the state may be lofty in its
 purposes, often the individual is not. Sarmiento analyzes Frank-
 lin's axiom: "be virtuous and you will acquire wealth."

Such is the feeling of life to be experienced in the United States,
 such the confidence in the future, such the faith in the results of labor
 and so great the sphere of movement that credit rests upon the ex-
 istence of the individual as much as upon the guarantee of property. A
 working man is bound to acquire. (p. 390)

Using this premise as a guideline, every man is worthy of credit.
 Should a man prosper, his credit is good; should he fail, it is a
 temporary setback. Neither the Chilean *roto* nor the French
 peasant have such luck. Of course, when the states default their
 payment, then it becomes an international incident and they are
 forced to compliance; that is, if they have the money.

In the chapter "On Moral Geography," Bancroft is the authority
 and one Sarmiento might have relied on somewhat less because

he has gathered from United States sources for the magazine *Both Americas*.

Sarmiento's concern for a United States Department of Education is very personal. Only such an agency can stabilize the objectives of mass civilization to the North and calibrate them with the forces of mass barbarism of the South. To him mass civilization is synonymous with mass education and barbarism with education for the privileged few along European and aristocratic lines. This method of reasoning may be accepted by many as an oversimplification, but it is Sarmiento, whose viewpoint is at best brought forth by his own summation:

You will then understand that with these ideas and hopes, I should deplore the suppression of the National Department of Education. It would serve as a guide to the laggards in the South of the United States and would have been a beacon to other nations following the new directions taken by the North. So convinced was I of the beneficial aspects this department would have, that I attended meetings of school-superintendents in Washington and Indianapolis . . . and founded an Educational Review to popularize in South America the important data about to be supplied by this office. (p. 191)

Soon Sarmiento has the pleasure of reporting a victory for his cause. To his delight, enabling legislation, authorizing a United States Department of Education is overwhelmingly passed, and his friend Henry Barnard, a long-time associate of Horace Mann, is placed in charge.

IX *An Evaluation of Schools, Foundation of Prosperity and the Republic in the United States*

When appraising the impact of Sarmiento's work, its practical effects must be borne in mind. Among these are the establishment of Summer Conferences in Chile, of girls' schools in Chile and Argentina, and the organization of an extensive building program. He vigorously promoted literacy through his gradual reading method, which was based on the concept that a country's civilization is based on and influenced by the reading ability of its people. Since reading can be facilitated by simpler spelling, our author ventured into extensive orthographic reforms; to popularize arithmetic he used the abacus and for faster reading he developed the concept of graded texts. He encouraged

the expansion of the upper primary curriculum; gave impetus to higher education, and expanded scientific curricula. Through his extensive correspondence with Gould, he was ultimately instrumental in the establishment of an observatory in Córdoba, where he founded an academy of sciences. According to Lugones, plants and fossils were named in his honor by appreciative scientists. As a geographer, he was very active in the formulation of new maps for his country.

Years later, Sarmiento, the president and superintendent of schools, will increase school attendance from thirty thousand to over one hundred thousand, and will found and expand public libraries. His beliefs are simple and fundamental. If democracy is the natural form of government, the people must be educated, even the jails ought to become schools. Communication is the key to knowledge. Information opens the way to democracy. Civilization is synonymous with more railroads, telegraphic communications, highways, new port facilities, parks and, above all, schools and libraries. His method is development; his motto, progress, culture, order, and liberty.

Many of Sarmiento's critics object to his internationalism, to his views on the emancipation of women and their newly acquired importance as educators and intellectuals. Roberto Tamagno can be counted among Sarmiento's most active current critics, as he comments: "One of his most disinterested passions consisted in bringing blonde women educators to civilize the country and hold back barbarism."⁶ His critics' sarcasm is directed at the intended exchange of seven hundred teachers from the United States. Sarmiento is the strongest advocate of such an infusion of the enthusiasm for education aroused by Horace Mann in Massachusetts. Obviously, Tamagno resents current United States influence in Latin America. The same can be said for Pedro de Paoli, who, in his book *Sarmiento*, blames our author for the inferiority complex which has beset Argentina for the last century.⁶ De Paoli contends that Sarmiento was a teacher for short, intermittent stretches of time, that in Chile he both taught and tended bar, and that he was forced to leave when Faustina was about to be born. Because Sarmiento never married her mother, according to de Paoli his amorous escapade could hardly be considered an activity worthy of a master teacher. He concedes that there would have been some merit to his founding of the

school in San Juan, had he only chosen to stay there. What he omits mentioning is that our subject was forced to leave and that it is difficult to run a school from jail or from exile. De Paoli further chooses to credit Avellaneda, Prime Minister of Instruction, with the founding of more schools than Sarmiento, who was to become his successor. Avellaneda was in a position to absorb our author's theories and build on his methods. What, however, really galls de Paoli are Sarmiento's pro-American and pro-British tendencies. De Paoli blames Sarmiento for what he considers the current lack of Latin-American national dignity.

At a hundred years' distance from this political theory, this Sarmiento catechism, we repeat what we already stated, we need the help of an alliance for progress, because we are "an underdeveloped country" just like Haiti, Santo Domingo and Nicaragua. (p. 390)

What de Paoli forgets to mention is that Sarmiento wanted to prevent exactly this underdevelopment and was trying desperately to catch up with the times.

De Paoli's bitterness is matched by that of Matías E. Suárez, who, in *That Unknown, Sarmiento*, quotes our author himself as admitting that he has founded only two schools.⁷ He cites statements in which Sarmiento himself lashes out against state universities, as oppressive of freedom and individual enterprise. He shows Sarmiento claiming to have founded schools actually established by his uncle, Reverend de Oro, and he asks posterity whether the great man was not vastly overrated in the light of critical appraisal. His arguments, founded on the allegations of the author throughout his work, cannot be disregarded; however, they fail to detract from Sarmiento's real accomplishments.

His critics notwithstanding, *Schools, Foundation of Prosperity and the Republic in the United States* represents some of Sarmiento's best ideas and most successful suggestions. Our author's work emerges pure and forceful, even if episodic. As in his other works, his style soars at times to great heights, while at others the pedagogue takes over, indulging in a tedious, but perhaps necessary, repetition of themes. It is his constant aim to promote culture and democracy, to advocate the victory of civilization over barbarism and introduce and defend the ideal of mass education. These objectives are chiseled within each of

his educational works, lending them unity as a complex with a definite goal.

For a fair evaluation of Sarmiento's work, the reader must appraise the goals to which it was committed and the constant pressures which beset the author, even while he wrote it, in his role as voyager, ambassador, and innovator. Those who deny democracy's role in Latin-American affairs, those who feel that chauvinistic praise should precede palpable accomplishment, have been Sarmiento's most bitter critics. Those who advocate the mutual influence and interaction of the two continents in the belief that through inter-American solidarity Latin America and North America could advance beyond any measures known or imagined, concede that our author at times strayed from the subject, but admire the genius of his vision and the basic potential of his style.

X *Biography as a Lesson in Living*

Sarmiento learned the lessons of his ascendancy from Benjamin Franklin, his politics from Washington and Lincoln, and his educational theories from Horace Mann. Without the examples of these and similar men, he would have been a struggling farmer in San Juan. He is convinced that there is no greater teacher than an honestly striving person living to the hilt within the sphere of his belief. Therefore, the best lessons to be given his people may well be derived from the lives of their antecedents and their contemporaries. For this reason Sarmiento devotes a great deal of time to the necrology and the biographical sketches of those whom he considers outstanding. Among the latter is his friend Santiago Arcos, whom the reader met during our author's first journey to America. In October, 1874, he took his life in Paris, mainly because through years of ceaseless wandering he never found a place for his talents in Argentina. Before being stricken by a fatal illness, he had written his country's history and would have had much to offer were it not for his restless nature.

General Sarmiento M. B. Pickman Mann writes to Sarmiento about his mother's demise. Mary Mann's son has just returned from a journalistic assignment in Argentina and is stationed in Washington. He writes about his mother's works, including a novel about Cuba, her translations, and original compositions

and articles. Our author sums up his respect for Mary and for her son in the following terse paragraphs:

Mary Mann's name has often been heard with pleasure by the Argentine people, because of the fame of her husband, who was the apostle of primary education, and because of her own translation into English of *Civilization and Barbarism* under the title, *Life in the Argentine Republic*. She had been accorded a certain measure of recognition for her patronage of our educational institutions and letters . . .

Her son, who was for a long time a correspondent of *El Nacional* and who currently is an employee of the Entomology Division of the Department of Agriculture of the United States, writes that Mrs. Mary Mann died at the age of eighty.⁸

Mary's sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Peabody, has also earned our author's respect as a woman of letters, as an Indian benefactress, and as a dedicated educator. Her eighty-three years of concentrated devotion seem worth mentioning to the Argentine people.

Mrs. Peabody travelled through Germany to acquire practice in kindergartens, about which she wrote extensively, making repeated tours through the United States to introduce and publicize that system of schools immortalized by Froebel. (p. 368)⁹

Young Pickman Mann, although still alive, also gets an accolade as a liaison man between North and South America, just like his father, whose educational system Argentina had adopted. Not unlike "his noble mother he familiarized the English-speaking world which can be counted in the millions with our pampas and our battles for liberty and civilization." (p. 370) As can be seen, liberty and civilization are recurring themes, as are the Manns whose very lives epitomized the values of a free society.

On May 8, 1882, Sarmiento mourned the departure of the poet Longfellow from his beloved New England. He is impressed by his good looks, by his knowledge of Spanish, and by the aura of tragedy which surrounds him, having been married to an extremely beautiful woman who burned to death when her clothes caught fire. Sarmiento has never forgotten the American's hospitality and he is proud of his understanding of the pampa and of his special liking of parts of *Facundo*. What

an ambassador he would have made if sent to one of the Latin-American countries!

Longfellow . . . with . . . his knowledge of the language came to form part of that pleiad of Hispanists who with Ticknor have enriched our literature, with Prescott our Latin-American history . . . (p. 373)

Such men, indeed, should have become United States ambassadors, for they had the ability of Washington Irving, Motley, and Bancroft, and they could have done much to enhance the prestige of both countries.

When Emerson passed on, Sarmiento wrote in an article to *El Nacional* of June 26, 1882, "The Gods Are Leaving," (p. 374) He quotes a lady who exclaimed about Longfellow and Garibaldi that the poet of Italian unity and the poet of American nature had been lost to the world. Our author views Emerson as a Greek on American shoulders, a man who captured the American imagination and formed the Emerson ideology. Emerson's theory that representative men could change the spirit of the times, even as Napoleon, or Washington introduced new values for their generation, was particularly dear to Sarmiento. Our author saw his own role as that of a contemporary Plutarch, called upon to enrich the outlook of his people by contemporary *Lives* whose excellence was beyond question. For these he looked to the United States, whose relationship towards Latin America seems comparable to that of Greece to Rome. If Latin America were to expand its horizons, it might learn the lessons from its Greece and some day, not unlike Rome, become *magistra mundi*. Exemplary lives, such as that of Lincoln, the martyred president, or that of Horace Mann, the father of American education, might help to inspire his country and his continent.

XI Vida de Lincoln (Lincoln's Life)

Lincoln's Life, first published August 16, 1865, was one of Sarmiento's works written in the United States. It is the expression of his admiration for a president he considered unique in his simplicity. To use our author's words, "how amazing to the American spirit it is to come across the life of so simple a President." (p. 6) Lincoln and the message he imparted are well loved in both North and South America. Among the legends

of his time, Sarmiento selects the young Lincoln's defense of Mr. Armstrong and the terse remark that his client was a free man before sunset of the day he appeared for trial.

From a discussion of the trials held in Springfield, Sarmiento moves on to an analysis of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, as defended in Washington. Newspaper articles describing Mr. Lincoln as a spare man, six-foot-four inches tall, who speaks with a western accent, wears neat, but never elegant clothes, is childlike in his simplicity, and has a hearty appetite and uses clean language, would strike an even more interesting note if their sources were given.

Although the work is neither original nor particularly outstanding, it succeeds in making Lincoln liked and understood by all ages. When quoting the American patriot's reactions to Harper's Ferry, Sarmiento affixes a footnote, revealing his own sentiments about the matter.

This valiant and sincere friend of the slave showed until the end the serenity and full conviction of a martyr, which he undoubtedly will be considered in history, although condemned by his country's laws and by public opinion. (p. 91)

Gradually Lincoln, as observed through his speeches, grows before the public in what might be the precursor of a modern spectacular, a synthesis of press reports, mostly unacknowledged sources, and here and there the reviewer's own love for the subject, which permeated the work and brings it life, like sunshine flashing over a wet pavement.

Since Sarmiento considered Lincoln one of the statesmen most worthy of emulation, his viewpoint about the great president is of particular significance to all interested in either of these outstanding men. To the question, "What would we say about him as a statesman?" Sarmiento gives the obvious answer.

Only that he found the government structure dilapidated from the columns to the base and that in four years' battle he lifted it firmly and securely; to an extent the whole world had imagined impossible. This is the only answer. (p. 294)

The qualities Sarmiento most admires in Lincoln are his faith in God, in man's equality, and in the future of the Union and the

courage to live by his convictions. The generally flat style of the book, reminiscent of journalistic reporting, soars whenever Lincoln's personal qualifications for leadership are discussed.

His language only achieves grandiloquence when his sights are focused upon the future and he embraces the whole human race for which, according to him, the famous Declaration of Independence was written. (p. 297)

Our author is convinced that Lincoln's cause must and will triumph. Some day from an emancipated Africa the Negro people will raise a statue to their liberator. With a prescience of things to come, Sarmiento foresees a new dawn for the African nations, "a civilized Africa, which can already be anticipated from the moral and intellectual heights achieved by Liberia." (p. 296) Sarmiento views Lincoln as more than an American president, as a force for innovation, for national vigor, for human understanding, greater than any one man or one nation, projecting into the future of humanity.

XII *Evaluation of Lincoln's Life*

Lincoln's Life has only a limited value for the modern reader. It is at best a popularization, drawn from random sources and translated into Spanish. When Sarmiento comes through in the last chapters, he identifies with Lincoln's world objectives, and he presents the great emancipator to both Americas as a symbol of tomorrow's greater humanity. Because in this rushed synthesis the author had captured some of his protagonist's universal spirit, *Lincoln's Life* was an instant success. A second edition, published in 1866, was simultaneously translated by Mary Mann, whose articles in its favor doubtless helped its diffusion in the United States.

XIII *Horace Mann's Life*

On July 8, 1865, Sarmiento writes Mary Mann how much he would have liked to be present at the dedication of Horace Mann's statue, because no one could think of him more highly. He reminds her of their encounter in 1847 and asks for her permission to translate his life into Spanish. It is his purpose to supply Latin Americans with a living example, so they may

pattern their conduct upon that of outstanding men. He believes that "the history of Latin America lacks in good examples and models, so that while attempting to practice free institutions, one finds that liberty is a double-edged instrument, requiring very special dexterity for its practice without danger."¹⁰ Some day our biographer hopes that Latin America will boast of the same advantages as its neighbor to the North; meanwhile, he sees the need for inspirational materials, such as

Plutarch's Lives, which stimulated heroic deeds and noble acts . . . even as Washington's life illuminated Mr. Lincoln's somber path through the forest, as Franklin's life served as an example to many of his illustrious compatriots to overcome the hardships dogging the first steps of their career. (p. 302)

Thus it is that our Latin-American author sets about to interpret North America to his people, as Plutarch chose the lives of illustrious Greeks to educate his contemporaries and indirectly the less informed Romans. This attitude of Sarmiento's towards his continent is bound to infuriate his detractors, who will view it as an attempt to give Latin-American values an inferiority complex throughout the world. If, theoretically, this may be true, the practical result of such prodding, if heeded, could be the eventual emancipation of a continent through education and modernization.

To comply with his request, Mary has sent Sarmiento her husband's discourses against slavery, pronounced in Congress, as well as a character sketch, "published in a work entitled *Portraits of Distinguished Americans* by Mr. John Livingston." (p. 304)¹¹ In a later edition of Mann's life, published in Henry Barnard's journal, Mary makes it clear that Horace Mann did his work under great financial strain, as he went to Europe at his own expense and edited his daily on Common Education without any help whatsoever.

Prefacing *Horace Mann's Life* is an article Sarmiento wrote in *Annals of Education* after Mann's death. In it he summarizes his friend's principles that unless man develops his reasoning power he does not attain full manhood, that ignorance is a crime, that the association of men should bring about their moral elevation, that private property must provide for the education

and enhancement of all to compensate for the free gifts of nature that are the foundation of property, that liberty presupposes the collective reason of the people, and that productivity is the result of intelligence.

These principles have been instrumental in New England's vast outlay of sums for intellectual expansion, which in turn have produced a tremendous number of inventions. Because of popular education North America has many more intellects at its disposal than Europe. Why should the Argentinians not join the ever-increasing migrants to the promised land? Migrants who, according to our author, are distributed as follows:

In Massachusetts, Maine, Connecticut, New York, Ohio, the United States and Canada in general: Prussia and Germany in their totality, France, Italy, England, Russia, and Spain. Add to these ourselves, Spain's children, covered with the dust of our moral degradation, our misery and our ignorance. Finally, the nations of Asia are coming, as well as the savages of Africa and the Indians of the islands and pampas of South America. (p. 312)

It is evident that Sarmiento considered his nation as among the most culturally disadvantaged. In it, he classified the Indian as below the Asian and African for educational achievement. His judgment may seem unfair to the modern reader and appears in contradiction to what he wrote about Africa emerging as a nation in *Lincoln's Life*. It must be remembered that here the author refers to literacy in the sense of mass education.

Instead of writing a translation, Sarmiento compiled an adaptation of the various notes he had received to meet what he considered to be his people's need for a book on Mann's principles. Sarmiento is primarily interested in Horace Mann's role as an educator and in his interest in public education. The metamorphosis from lawyer to teacher was natural and immediate. In his relationships with his students, he learned to act "like one of them." (p. 343)¹² Because Horace Mann and the youth of his state interacted most favorably, his work met with immediate success. What amazed many of the young lawyer's friends was his readiness to sacrifice a brilliant legal career for the less lucrative and exciting task of educating those for whom opportunity was an open door to the future, well worth exchanging

for a legislative seat. It was "the vital element without which there is no life." (p. 346) To him education was a creative, innovative force.

The dignity and power of individuals, the greatness of nations . . . have no other durable basis. . . . He saw in education peace, glory, life, and the only atmosphere in which Christianity may flourish. (p. 348)

Sarmiento concludes his brief sketch with the Webster-Mann controversy on slavery, showing how, although they were friends and their statues were to face each other, Mann debated against Webster and the Curtis ruling on the extradition of slaves in 1851. Sarmiento views Mann as the more progressive of the two statesmen.

Now that slavery has been abolished through the terrible decision of war, the sentiments and principles of which Mr. Mann became an early precursor and his conduct in that conflict remain perfectly justified. (p. 357)

Our author makes it seem as if Horace Mann's 1852 defeat for the gubernatorial seat of the State of Massachusetts were instrumental in his acceptance of the presidency of Antioch College. In 1859 Mann was threatened by the loss of his position because of the forced sale of his beloved institution. Ill with brain fever and informed by the doctor that he had little time, he contacted those close to him to reassure them of his love for them, repeatedly uttering the words, "man, duty, God." (p. 360)

Sarmiento's biography concludes with an excerpt from Horace Mann's work, intended to summarize his significance. Our author introduces his master with a summation worthy of his subject.

This speech will give an idea of the wealth of his language, of the loftiness of his principles . . . of his belief and faith in the high destinies of the human race, when education will illuminate all those parts currently darkened by ignorance and through it destitution or vice. He took such gigantic steps towards this future world that he made it real to all who knew him. Through only ten years' effort, he came so close to seeing it become a reality that one may well hope to see equal faith . . . aroused within reach of his inspired word. (p. 362)

XIV Significance of Horace Mann's Life and the Sarmiento-Mann Friendship

As a biography *Horace Mann's Life* is not outstanding, since it is based primarily upon the information and structure of others. It is fundamental, however, in assaying the deep and lasting impression made by the American educator upon his Latin-American colleague. Because of his subsequent political importance, Sarmiento's admiration for Horace Mann and his complete acceptance of the New Englander's methods of instruction doubtlessly increased his prestige, especially in Latin America. It would be a fitting tribute to inter-American solidarity if the statue that was to be raised for Sarmiento in Copley Square were to be erected by his beloved Massachusetts, possibly within walking distance of his master and friend, Horace Mann.¹⁸ This would be a fitting tribute for a man who first taught Latin Americans that Americanism encompasses two Continents and binds two civilizations.

CHAPTER 8

From Self-Made Man to National Leader

I Recuerdos de provincia (Recollections of a Province)

RECOLLECTIONS of a Province is the epic of the self-made man. Sarmiento draws close to his inspiration, Benjamin Franklin, and under his tutelage builds up his own image as that of the self-made country boy of poor origin on the way up. The book is dedicated to "my countrymen only" and is a defense of his position in behalf of civilization and in judgment of Facundo.¹ It is, in a broader sense, a justification of the very existence of Sarmiento, "a product of . . . democratic nobility, which cannot cast its shadows upon anyone. It is immortal, the aristocracy of patriotism and talent." (p. 27)

Born in San Juan among orange trees and lofty palms, Sarmiento draws an autobiography complete with family tree to show himself a typical son of the Latin-American frontier. In the background are the Andes, the Huarpe Indians who can find a thief by following footprints; in the forefront are the men from small towns about to forge the history of their country.

Gradually the reader is introduced to the protagonists of the Sarmiento drama, his uncle's father José de Oro and his ancestor Al Ben Racín, founder of San Juan. An Albarracín on his mother's side, Sarmiento derived great pride from the fact that in Algiers the chiefs agreed that he had remarkably Arab features. If he ascribes his features to the Albarracíns, he credits his uncle José de Oro for his intellectual curiosity.

My intelligence was moulded under his influence. I owe him my instinct for public life, my love of country and liberty and dedication to the study of the country's affairs that neither poverty, nor exile, nor prolonged absence could dim. (p. 55)

Don José was his tutor in frequent discourses of which Sarmiento kept a diary, entitled *Dialogue Between a Citizen and a Farmer*. His father's lack of success in obtaining a scholarship for his son caused Uncle José to remain his nephew's only and most important teacher. José's brother Justo de Oro was also influential in Sarmiento's life and was directly responsible for his setting up of a school for young ladies. It had been his uncle's dream to establish a convent for nuns whose vows were to be periodically renewable. This building was later dedicated as a school and directed by Sarmiento for two years, until in 1849 his girls had to bring him their assignments in jail and he was exiled once again from his country.

Domingo de Oro, "the most beautiful type emanating from Latin America" (p. 75), older brother of the two religious Oros, was the politician who won Sarmiento's admiration for fighting first Horacio Quiroga (Facundo) and later Rosas himself. So impressed was Domingo Faustino Sarmiento with his relative's qualities, that when he first saw his work in print in *El Mercurio*, he sent his uncle a copy, determined that, should Oro approve, he would continue writing, and should he disapprove he would renounce all efforts at authorship. A member of Congress, Oro first saw through Rosas when his friend Dorrego was killed. Fearful of Oro's wrath, Rosas had tried to win his favor. Unable to bribe Sarmiento's uncle with promises, he finally exiled him to Chile. Some time later the prospect of an inheritance prompted Oro to return to San Juan in spite of his fear of being stabbed by paid representatives of either Rosas or Facundo. Meanwhile, Yanzón, a friend unaware of Rosas' ban, had offered Oro a congressional seat. Immediately Rosas' henchman Aldao denounced Oro as a partner of Bareala who had just been executed by the government.

Oro, who has returned to his Chilean exile, writes about Rosas:

He is thoughtful, reflective, hardworking as few. He has neither religious nor moral ideas and all his faculties are subjugated to the passion of absolute command and vengeance, the two dominating facets of his character. (p. 94)

With his horsemanship, his patriotism, and unequalled political outlook, Oro has earned Sarmiento's admiration. That the uncle's

viewpoint is often used by Domingo to reinforce his own becomes increasingly obvious when reading *Facundo* and *Félix Aldao*.

His lifetime involvement in the battle of civilization and barbarism induces Sarmiento to accept most people as representatives of either one or the other. The Dean of the Córdoba Cathedral, Professor and Chancellor at its University, Gregorio Funes towers as a spokesman for national freedom. Not unlike Sarmiento, Funes with his interest in newer, more dynamic and creative teaching methods and ideas, has become a Chilean exile. His voluminous writings, although admired in Europe, have been condemned in Argentina, and most of his students, ardent defenders of liberty, have been pursued by Rosas. Sarmiento vows that someday he will seek out the tomb of the old historian Funes, whose search for freedom outlived him in his disciples.

Perhaps less known than Funes, but nonetheless among his country's civilizers is Domingo's uncle Manuel Eufrazio de Quiroga, Archbishop of Cuyo. Sarmiento is proud to have been his altar boy and disciple at a time when his relative had been engaged in the successful restoration of the cathedral of San Juan, originally built by the Jesuits. Imperceptibly, through the introduction of Manuel Eufrazio de Quiroga, Sarmiento has focused the reader's attention on his family as a civilizing influence and on the one member whom he considers the most influential in his career, his mother. She was always there to encourage him, even crossing the Andes at the age of seventy-six to come and visit him. Although, as age wore on, she had forgotten much of her schooling, she was quick at solving practical problems.

Her soul and conscience were cultivated to a point which the highest science by itself could never achieve. I was able to study that rare moral beauty, seeing it operate under . . . difficult . . . circumstances without fail . . . (p. 124)

Her faith was so great that one day, having found a coin, she believed Providence had sent it, and later, upon receiving some beef while the family was hard up, she was convinced God had looked her way. Her resourcefulness equalled her poverty, as she wove a cassock's width of cloth a week, supplementing this

income by working on silk suspenders, kerchiefs, and other handicrafts. It is to his mother that Sarmiento ascribes his own industrial proficiency and his love for work.

After profusely describing his mother's attributes, Sarmiento admits to having a father, Don José Clemente Sarmiento, also the son of a family whose resources had dwindled. A laborer, he lacked his wife's tenacity at hard work and insisted that his son should never work with his hands. Sarmiento does not make it clear exactly how his father made a living, he only mentions him collecting money for Belgrano in 1812, accompanying San Martín to Chile in 1817, and being remembered fondly by the latter some years later when, as the reader discovered in *Travels*, he met him in Mainville. Sarmiento describes his father as forever speculating on the future, often footloose and in exile, concerned about his son, but letting his wife do the financial worrying.

Sarmiento introduces the chapter on his education, comparing it with the history of the country:

Here ends colonial history, as I will call that of my family. What follows is the slow and painful transition from one way of being to another, the life of the republic about to be born, the party struggle, civil war, proscription, and exile. (p. 174)

The date of Domingo's birth is given as the ninth month after the twenty-fifth of May, 1811. His father had joined the revolution, leaving his mother to worry about the growing family. In 1816, he entered the school he was to describe in *Civilization and Barbarism* and again in *Popular Education*, since it left a deep impression upon him. He stayed there for nine years, nor was he absent a single day. At the age of five Sarmiento was reading, encouraged by his unlettered father to broach such forbidding subjects as a four-volume history of Spain. On the basis of his achievement he was ranked first citizen of his class and sat on a bench built for him. In spite of his ability, Sarmiento was not one of the six chosen for scholarships, such an opportunity instead having been awarded to his good friend Antonio Aberastain.

As a boy, Sarmiento was not too interested in children's games, although he knew how to hold his own in the town's gang

fight. Poverty, civil war, and revolution prevented Sarmiento from finishing his education. In 1826 he became a clerk. He spent hours reading up on ancient history, the Bible, and Benjamin Franklin, whose works he found so inspiring that he felt they should be required in all primary libraries. Any child could identify with the great American patriot, and by so doing, let his dreams grow tall.

I felt that I was Franklin. And why not? I was very poor like him, studious like him and . . . following in his footsteps I could some day come to be like him, with an honorary doctorate and a self-made place in Spanish letters and politics. (p. 162)

Sarmiento was to be awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Michigan during his American stay. His extraordinary reading habits contributed immensely to his success. Even while condemned to house arrest, he read and translated twelve French books to while the time away. After his release he translated sixty of Sir Walter Scott's novels from English into Spanish to vary the pace and relax him after a strenuous day as a crew foreman in the mines of Copiapó. Libraries were his favorite haunt and he enjoyed sharing his reading materials with his friends. To those who suggested that he attend the National Institute for further education, he answered that his readings from the works of de Tocqueville and the encyclopedia should amply equip him for any job. "Don't I as university examiner of today, know what is taught in colleges?" (p. 167) The answers to this question were to vary greatly and are still being given.

How did the sixteen-year-old clerk become a political exile? In the chapter on "Public Life," Sarmiento explains his involvement in the rebellion for independence, his first difficulties with Governor Horacio Quiroga (Facundo) to whom he complained about unnecessary oppression, his life as an enthusiastic young officer, his rebellion against Benavidez who had unjustly fined his newspaper, and finally his captivity during which he was supposed to be killed when Aldao took over his hometown. Domingo escaped by a clever ruse and took the route into exile already chosen by many of his compatriots. His life from sixteen to twenty-nine had been a series of skirmishes, struggles, and exiles, interrupted by oases of reading and planning. November

19, 1840, on passing the baths of Zonda, Sarmiento wrote beneath the coat of arms of his country the words which were to become famous: *ON NE TUE POINT LES IDÉES (IDEAS CANNOT BE KILLED)*. (p. 186) The principle that the men massacred for freedom at Chacabuco could not have died in vain formed part of Sarmiento's editorial in *El Mercurio*, February 11, 1841. Even while the author nervously waited, he was receiving the acclaim of Bello, de Oro, Olañeda, and Minvielle, the elite of Chilean public opinion. Minvielle was to introduce him to Manuel Montt, who was at the time minister of Chile and leader of his party. He remarked to Sarmiento: "Ideas, Sir, have no country." (p. 189)

Sarmiento recognized in Montt a man constantly in quest of an education. Throughout our author's trips abroad, Montt wrote him constantly, advising him, and learning from him. Only when Sarmiento believed Montt's election assured did he leave the editorship of *El Nacional* and *El Mercurio* to return to Argentina. At the border he discovered that La Madrid's men had been beaten and had returned to Chile, establishing temporary headquarters to help fellow Argentinians in their retreat.

Back at the desk of his favorite newspapers, he fought Chilean prejudice against himself as a foreigner, the ideas of his political opponents, real and imaginary, as well as rival papers and editors. Through his immense energy and capacity for unlimited debate he was instrumental in the founding of several competing journals, such as *La Gaceta*, *El Semanario*, and *El Progreso* of Santiago to which he contributed often. At times he became so embroiled in controversy as to lose the true perspective of things. He cites one occasion when he was about to write some terrible articles against Chile and its policies, but he found everyone from his publisher to Montt so wonderfully kind that he abandoned his determination, as he now admired his competitors. When his guilt caused him to be so despondent as to endanger himself, again his friends came to the rescue. Sarmiento had come to love this sense of competitive camaraderie, this tolerance of his foibles and emotional outbursts, this Chilean hospitality for dissenting ideas.

The spirit of an author's writing when he has a distinct character is his soul, his essence. The individual is eclipsed before this manifes-

tation and the public has less interest in his private actions than in the influence his writings could exert upon others. (p. 204)

II Critical Appraisal of Recollections of a Province

Manuel Gálvez, who criticizes Sarmiento for his all-encompassing egotism and for his cult of relatives, admits that his greatness would not have been the same if *Recollections of a Province* had not been written. He praises the author's literary style, the originality of his ideas,

the description of customs and the lively and at times homey Spanish prose, varied and original . . . Sarmiento's merits stand out, his infantile and juvenile talents, his arrogance before despots, his courage and ability as a warrior, his struggle for liberty, although he served an authoritarian government and had success as a writer, newspaperman, translator, and teacher. If *Facundo* is the most colorful and original biography written in our country during the nineteenth century, *Recollections of a Province* is the most beautiful book of recollections . . .²

Leopoldo Lugones considers *Recollections of a Province* Sarmiento's "most sober and most mature book in a literary sense."³ Lugones contends that Sarmiento and Hernández in *El Gaucho Martín Fierro* are the only authors representing true Argentine literature and availing themselves of exclusively local elements. "The country has begun to spiritually exist with them." (p. 165)

Alberto Palcos shares Lugones' opinion that *Recollections of a Province* marks "the highest point reached by Sarmiento's prose."⁴ Palcos admires the pages dedicated to family and friends, the warmth of the work, and the delicacy of nuances by which Sarmiento's home background is portrayed. Palcos joins the many critics who consider excessive self-praise, lack of unity, and irregularity of style as flaws in Sarmiento's work. Finding the work as a whole delightful, this critic ascribes its exciting vigor to the fact that "the persons evoked are alive." (p. 81)

Recollections of a Province is a work that should be enjoyed after the reader has acquired a thorough knowledge of Sarmientiana. The person invited to share Sarmiento's problems of exile, prejudice, journalistic persecution, hopeless dictatorship at home and poverty abroad, will come to understand the author-statesman. Such a reader will find in *Recollections* a self-portrait

which, in spite of some flaws, reveals Sarmiento's genius as a writer, a statesman, and a political propagandist.

III Journalist, Writer, and Political Campaigner

"Newspapers are in our period as essential as the act of breathing daily. Civilization, progress, and culture cannot be envisaged without this vehicle, which binds societies to one another and makes us feel at each moment members of the human race."⁵ Sarmiento is never as alive as when he writes for the press. He admits that some of his current difficulties stem from his editorship of *La Crónica*, which was engaged in lively debate with the competing *El Progreso*, favorable to Rosas.

In *Recollections of a Province*, Sarmiento summarizes his journalistic experience as follows:

1839—Foundation of *El Zonda* in his hometown of San Juan.

1841—Under the signature of "An Artillery Lieutenant," submission of an article to *El Mercurio*. Publication of *El Nacional* of Santiago.

1842-45—Publication of *El Progreso*, first newspaper in the Chilean capital. Concurrent is the publication of *El Heraldo*.

1846-47—Articles in the Latin-American and international press.

1849—*La Crónica* devoted to problems of immigration and public education. Sarmiento is convinced of his paper's importance in national affairs and he favors this one over most: "The importance of the issues aroused by *La Crónica* can be measured by the fact that legislation has been passed covering each of its major topics, education, finance, immigration, passports." (p. 206)

Prose works are also listed and explained. Sarmiento's plan to publish a collection of Chilean and Argentine biographies is revealed in *Recollections*. Aldao's life, which first appeared under the title *Biographical Notes*, was to form part of these universal sketches. "*Facundo, or Civilization and Barbarism* as well as these *Recollections of a Province* belong to the same genre." (p. 210) Listed as books are: *Civilization and Barbarism*, *Travels Through Europe, Africa and America*, and *Popular Education*. His translations range from a *Life of Jesus* to a *Manual of the History of People, Popularized Physics and Franklin's Life*.

CHAPTER 9

From Traveller to President

I *Parties, Friends, Women*

Diary of a Trip

From New York to Buenos Aires

From July 23 to August 20, 1868¹

A short diary of about two hundred handwritten pages bridges the gap between the private citizen and the President of Argentina. The notes are joyful, at times repetitive, revealing his thoughts during a most exciting period of transition. Their brevity makes them somewhat unique for an author known to be prolix. The foreword contains two mottoes, both very much a part of the author. The first is a quotation by Beaumarchais: *Ma vie est un combat*. The second is its interpretation by our author, "My life is a struggle Will I get there?" The question may well be asked, "Where?" Does he refer to the presidency?

In the chapter "Homewards," headed by the English title, Sarmiento expresses his regret at leaving his friends in Chicago, Cambridge, Washington, and Lancaster. The reader, who has come to know most of them, realizes that they were not perhaps as many as he may have liked to have and that some meant more to him than he to them; Emerson for instance, or even Longfellow. He finds it necessary not only to take leave of the people he knows, but also of the places he loves, the Hudson and the shores of Niagara, where once for a brief moment he had dreamt of perhaps settling down and becoming a Yankee.

Impressions are recorded at random—Chicago bathed in light. A Chicago in his opinion worthy of assuming "the rank of center and capital of the United States." (p. 15) This is the city of the Republican Convention and the center of the German

Sängerfest. State Street is all decked in green, filled with forty thousand Germans drinking beer, joined by a merry Sarmiento at one of the "Lager Beer Houses."

The last night there was a torchlight procession, forty thousand lights in a column, illuminating flags, inscriptions, emblems. I had seen the torrents of lava of Mount Vesuvius. This is a human torrent with fiery points, which when one looks ahead of or behind the column, come together forming a surface of fire. The Milky Way is pale and far-off in the distance. (p. 17)

The effect on Sarmiento is as startling as his first encounter with myriads of fireflies during an outing with his family as a child.

A brief mention is made of the award of his degree as Doctor of Laws by the University of Michigan. He makes this award seem the most natural thing in the world, a matter of course to a well-known man like himself.

I am an old acquaintance of the University of Michigan, and its library contains more than half a dozen of my writings. I am, then, a doctor, like Longfellow, John Stuart Mill and others who had the degree, each in his specialty . . . (p. 20)

This paragraph would seem highly credible without Emilio Carilla's documentation citing Mary Mann's letter to Henry Barnard and to Longfellow, suggesting they request Dr. Hill of Harvard to award our author a degree, revealing that the award was not as casual as his quotation makes it seem.²

Sarmiento never discusses Harvard as a degree possibility. He reminisces about a tea given in his honor by Mary Mann and attended by President Hill, Professor Gould, Emerson, Dr. Allen, and various other dignitaries and ladies. Emilio Carilla's comment to the effect that "Sarmiento's friendship with them is one of Augusto Belín Sarmiento's many inventions" (p. 118) could be modified to read one of Sarmiento's exaggerations, for he delighted in naming famous personalities as his personal friends, and he may well have believed they were.

In Washington he explains his views on his travels to Mr. Seward, justifying his many trips and his residence away from Washington by explaining his desire to know the country better, so he could make it better loved and respected at home. He

deploras the fact that on both sides envoys usually spend three years attending dinners and functions without getting to know their host countries nor understanding their problems. He is about to send *Both Americas* to all subscribing countries, but feels that his is a voice in the desert.

There is one thing that encourages him whenever low, the inspiration of women. If one may speak of women in the Bible, or of Goethe's women, why not of Sarmiento's? The reader may well wonder whether he is writing tongue-in-cheek, or whether his ambassadorship has gone to his head. He means every word of it, as he writes,

From the very beginning I always felt a woman by my side, attracted by who knows what mysterious force, who would say to me: "Keep going. You'll get there."

There must be in my appearance something profoundly sorrowful which arouses feminine maternal instincts. (p. 33)

His women range from his mother to Mary Mann, who was his interpreter with her husband in 1847. What attracted him to Mary was their common admiration for Horace Mann. Sarmiento was pleased by her admiration for his works. She would even translate *Travels* if he could only believe that they would be read! Her biography of our author apparently was much longer than it appeared in the final edition and was abridged to meet publishing requirements.

Mrs. Ida Wickersham has the distinction of being both an English teacher and a woman of queenly beauty, "of being the most womanlike woman I ever knew and I could swear that she loved me from the bottom of her heart." (p. 43) Had he not been such a famous personage she might have let herself go. She was a doctor's wife and the sister-in-law of Professor Wickersham, whom Sarmiento had met in New Haven and again in Washington. With her he enjoyed some thirty English lessons, her fine hospitality, and the feeling of being well liked. Mrs. Kate Dogget, social leader of many Chicago clubs, was another of his favorite hostesses, whom he introduced by correspondence to his other women friends. Miss Lucy Smith, a Senator's daughter with a crush on Mitre, is credited by Sarmiento for his doctorate, because he claims to have passed through Ann Arbor by chance, expecting to find young Mitre there.

The modern reader will query whether that is all Sarmiento tells us about his women. Unfortunately, it is. As an offspring of the Romantics, Sarmiento did not need much incentive to inspire his emotions. Encounters, women, and departures have an emotional impact on our author which he communicates, imparting his enjoyment.

Farewell, United States! I carry you with me here like a memory, like a model. You are the Hudson, Staten Island, Niagara, Chicago. You are Mrs. Mann, Davidson, Emerson, Longfellow, and as many noble characters as people. You are the republic as an institution, the promise of the world's future. (p. 57)

II. The Presidency

Beginning with July 24, the diary registers significant daily events. Sarmiento feels all alive. His horizons are expanding, his time is free, his mind is open. He takes mental notes of the passengers on board, the captain, a general, a writer on Brazilian affairs, and women who do not look too well when the sea is rough. Not unlike the weather, the future is uncertain, especially for Sarmiento who finds the transition from sailboat to steamboat as difficult as that from the older to the newer forms of government. They arrive in St. Thomas and pass through some of the most delightful scenic territory, as island after island comes into view and disappears. A Swiss passenger, who has settled near the Amazon in Peru and who has amassed a little fortune, tempts our writer to join him some day. The thought appeals to him. Those are lands where taxes have not as yet reached a high level, and a man can do quite some living there. Happy at the prospect, Sarmiento writes: "I have discovered a treasure. I shall cultivate this connection." (p. 82) Life acquires a dreamlike quality as they pass Montserrat with its unique churches and quaint atmosphere. Our author wonders how he can adequately describe such scenes to people who have never left their native plains and this very concern is indicative of his desire for eventual publication for a larger audience. For August 4, Sarmiento records quite a feast, accompanied by a delightful sketch. The champagne flows in his honor for his saint's day, a Southern belle sends him a poem, and the passengers give him their autographs. Significantly for a writer with Romantic ten-

dencies, nature always salutes his happy moments with breathtaking scenes, especially sunsets. Just as it will be the evening of his notification that he has attained the highest office, the sunset of his day is superb. Later, fireworks will fill the skies.

Upon arrival in Latin-American waters, rumors of his nomination begin to acquire momentum. He wishes his mother were still alive to enjoy those moments, and he thinks of Dominguito who could now sustain him in the problems ahead. He is deeply grateful to friends like Aberastain who have helped him succeed. Then, as is his custom, or the effect of his Romanticism, he thinks of "his" women and the many words of encouragement they have given him. He feels the growing confidence of success; if his friends will remain constant, he will justify his beliefs to them and to his country.

They have sighted the mountains of Panahyba where Brazil's best tea is produced. Sarmiento admires the spectacle of the light of the zodiac, which he sees for the first time, and the glittering verdant sea. As they approach the mountains of Ceara, our author thinks of pages about the Amazon River by Mrs. Agassiz. Her husband has attracted Sarmiento's attention as an opponent of Darwinism. Meanwhile, everyone on board makes happy preparations for the arrival at Pernambuco.

The arrival in Pernambuco is characterized by a big hurrah. Sarmiento's name is called out. The Argentine consul is waiting for him to step on land. Launches fly the three flags and the whole town, with its lovely palm trees, its "delicious fields and magnificent homes," is bedecked with flags. (p. 115) He is overwhelmed by the beauty of this Venice of the tropics and by Olinda, the old city at the end of the canal, fanning itself in the shade of its palm trees. Sarmiento is offered the privileges of the city as dignitaries accompanied by two marching bands come to receive him. The proclamation of his presidency is official. He leaves with a naval escort after the citizenry has presented him with quantities of oranges and pineapples. An American officer also brings him the news of his election with the added bit of information that Urquiza is armed to his teeth. For a moment our author is apprehensive, then he is again absorbed by the adventures of the moment.

Bahía is the next stop, an admirable city from afar, with peculiar odors of decrepitude as one draws near. Sarmiento

admires the public parks of the oldest Brazilian city and goes sight-seeing as a guest of the port commander. Here, too, he is given a twenty-one-gun salute. The National Guard presents its arms, he is greeted by officialdom, and comes to feel that these are becoming routine honors. He is thrilled, though, when the "Merrimac" passes a frigate and he hears the *Hail Columbia* from vessels at sea. The quiet of the sea is shattered by the now customary twenty-one-gun salute. This means that his presidency has been proclaimed to the world.

On board, the happy passengers enjoy sharing the oranges he has received. There is a farewell dinner at which Mr. Sarmiento is named chairman and fun is had by all. He is given books and a poem to celebrate this high point of his life. In Rio he is picked up by a special boat and brought ashore. Briefed by the Argentine consul of the Emperor's desire to see him immediately, he visits the botanical gardens first, because Vélez has described them to him as breathtaking. This desire not to miss what is aesthetically important leads to some temporary complications, since Brazilian officialdom is concerned lest his delay in visiting the country be caused by hostile intentions. After reassuring his hosts and meeting the United States minister for a brief conference, he embarks for home on the "Aunis."

The next morning he is brought the official transcript of the congressional record. Everyone knows that he is the president, but does everyone accept him? Personally Sarmiento has realized his every ambition. "I have nothing more to wish for, for I will always be the same." (p. 152) Some may not like the writer-president, some may wish for him to change. He is aware of his critics' apprehensions and reminds himself that in time of emergency those who surround the president are the first to fall. No matter. The final step has been taken. "Long live the country and its future!" (p. 153) The little diary's message is Sarmiento's lifelong ambition, it incorporates his great charm and vigor, his keen personal observation, his vanity, his tendency to mix the important and the trivial, and his ability to change. For this reason *Diary* is a delightful book to read and should be made available to American audiences and students of Spanish.

The Impact of Sarmiento's Legacy

IDEOLOGICALLY, Sarmiento was able to grasp the problems which would face the Americas in the twenty-first century. His very foresight into tomorrow's problems made him at times obnoxious to his contemporaries, steeped in the Hispanic tradition and unwilling to make changes. His merits are those of the self-made man become president, boundless energy, unlimited enthusiasm, faith in his country and in the people's ultimate ability to solve national problems. His shortcomings derive from his excessive optimism, from his tendency to seek easy answers, and his readiness to experiment. His eclectic application of solutions had much undeserved criticism in a country unaccustomed to social experimentation.

In spite of occasional setbacks, he was able to successfully implement social legislation in both Chile and Argentina furthering land reform, public instruction, immigration, and the acceptance of international, rather than national guidelines. His interest in racial issues and his belief that the United States would be held back in its national development by its failure to give the Negro full emancipation are evidence of his perspicacity on matters of public policy. Although some of his sociological views on racial developments are outdated, he is among the first in Latin America to evince a lasting interest in all that furthers sociological and economic growth.

Sarmiento the man often becomes the worst enemy of Sarmiento the politician. He knows the shortcomings of political appointments and wants to surround himself with efficient men. As a consequence, he finds that his opponents are beginning to attract his former supporters. Still the people who made him president like him because he is one of their own. A colorful scrapper, he fights his way right in and out of the presidency

without ever losing the common touch and without ever becoming rich. As a newspaperman he is effective in instigating change, and as a teacher he brings education to thousands in the less developed parts of the land. He welcomes immigrants and the skills they bring to Argentina. He deliberately ignores the source of the problems brought about by the mass influx of immigrants, because he remains convinced that the advantages of a broader outlook and economy by far outweigh the disadvantages of maladjustment on the part of both the newcomers and the old Argentinians, who are intolerant of outside opinions.

Sarmiento's unwillingness to face the reality of such conflicts did not bring them into being, as some of his modern critics claim, it simply was the consequence of his *Poor Richard's Almanac* styled training, which accepted success at the end of the rainbow without considering its cost.

Politically, Sarmiento was the victim of the same kind of miscalculations as soaring prices, higher wages, an increased national debt, all signs of a growing economy, to which his fellow citizens found it difficult to become accustomed, beset his administration. Although he rejected the Spanish quixotesque cult because it was based on a dream, Sarmiento outdid Quixote when he educated children by the thousands; imported immigrants by the boatload, campaigned to raise the national debt limit, established free public libraries, and dreamt of a Union of Plate States. Not unlike the weary Sancho Panza, his fellow citizens at times wondered at his sanity when he planned college centers in small towns surrounded by the Pampa. Sarmiento knew what he was doing, for a broader educational base would raise the country's standard of living and with it, he was sure, its cultural and moral level.

Controversy was his middle name. Many of his contemporaries would not share his convictions that the hallowed gaucho of the plains was uncouth and must go. It is the ultimate irony that Sarmiento is best known for portraying *Facundo*, a character he wanted removed from the Argentine scene, for being an outlaw, not unlike the rebel priest turned general, Félix Aldao, or the former general turned outlaw, *El Chacho*. By that great contradiction possible only to the writer of talent, Sarmiento succeeded in immortalizing those he wanted to destroy.

During his travels he learned much from the countries he

visited, especially the United States, where he felt he had many friends. Perhaps some of those whom he considered friends were only acquaintances; it mattered little because they helped to kindle a great and enduring love for all that was American. As an ambassador, he communicated that love to his country, and as a journalist he edited the first inter-American magazine. As a soldier and newspaperman, he fought in the field, contributing to the overthrow of Rosas. Throughout his exile he never once lost sight of his country's highest destiny and he was to become part of it as its president.

Throughout his political career, Sarmiento personally tried to span the bridge between North and South America. His was a repudiation of narrow nationalism in favor of a more open, more human, more literate internationalism. With him began a new era of international relations, an era whose problems are yet far from being solved. The impact of our author on inter-American relations will endure with them and will only cease whenever either continent gives up on the other. It is to be hoped that this will never happen.

Latin-American sociological thinking finds an early advocate in Sarmiento, and the continent has not progressed as much beyond his views as it should have during more than a century of involvement. His real concern for issues of his day, such as poverty, population, and immigration, has left an indelible imprint, especially on Chile and Argentina.

Confronted with these problems, Sarmiento the president is not always aware that he, the theorist, has contributed to the very existence of some of the dilemmas he is facing. Outgo exceeds income, in spite of increased productivity. He opposes war as costly and unnecessary, yet he spends the major part of his budget settling border incidents. Whenever faced with the dilemma of freedom versus dictatorship, Sarmiento declares himself for freedom. Every word he writes rings with this message. He pleads against Rosas long after Rosas is no more. Ironically, Alberdi calls him a reincarnation of Rosas because, in order to free his country from the small caudillos who according to him threaten its innermost security, he finds it necessary to destroy his opponents, and the elimination of a recalcitrant opposition is not what characterizes democratic government.

After almost a century the problems of poverty, population,

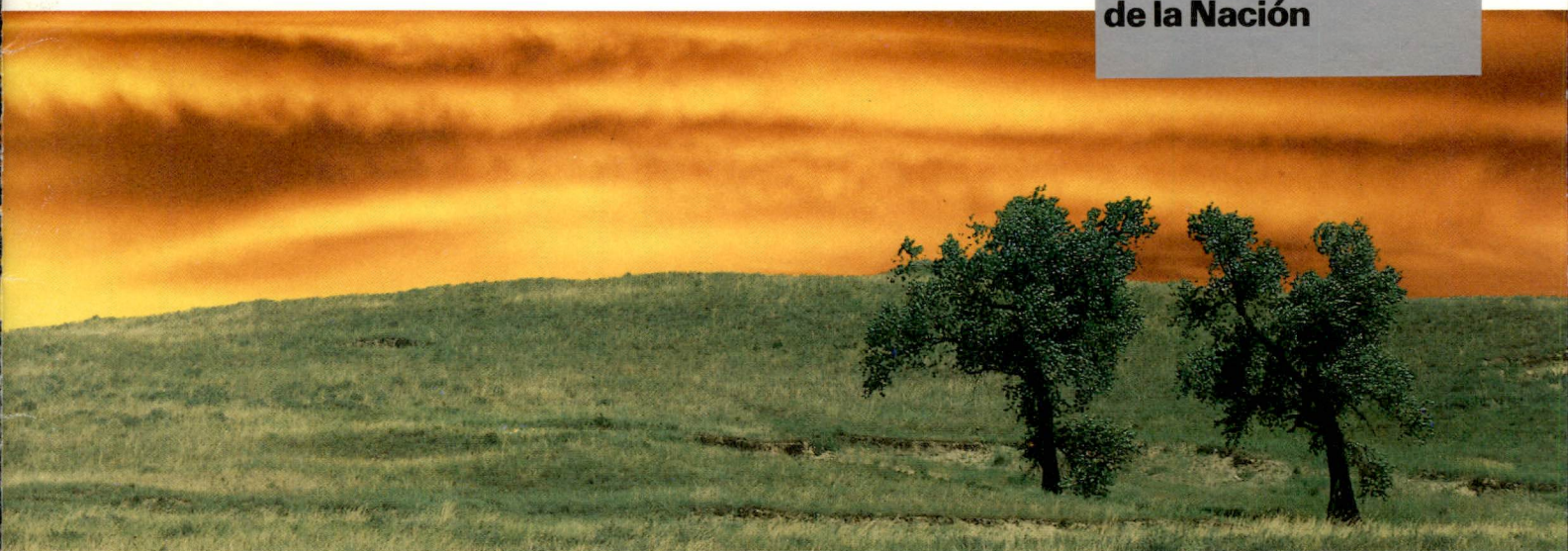
and illiteracy still beset Latin America. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento deserves credit for identifying them and trying to solve them with courage and originality. To his country Sarmiento contributed an ever-increasing drive for literacy, economic growth, and cultural aspiration. To the United States he brought a new concept of inter-American cooperation. To Latin America and the world he left as a legacy for times to come his firm belief that the key for future prosperity and peace will be found in ever-increased international cooperation. National boundaries will have to give way to national needs, the River Plate states may have to unite and build new cities for the future. Then, and then only, the barbarism which engendered *Facundo* will have been fully overcome and civilization will be on its way.



USEFUL ADVICE FOR TOURISTS VISITING ARGENTINA



**Secretaría de Turismo
de la Nación**



WELCOME TO ARGENTINA!

Argentina. A fascinating but little-known country. A country with many countries within itself. An extraordinary cultural medley and a spectacular display of living nature.

Argentina offers you everything.

All the sceneries, all the climates and a safe and pleasant atmosphere that will make you feel free and relaxed. Argentina, maybe the last reserve of peace and nature in the world.

From the refined and "European" city of Buenos Aires, with its ceaseless business activity and its high cultural level, to the desolate and phantasmagoric geography of Valle de la Luna (Moon Valley).

From the vast, almost boundless plain of the "pampas", to the colossal altitude of the Aconcagua, the highest mountain in the continent. From the desertic plateaux in the north-west region, to the exuberant Iguazú falls.

In Argentina, all possible expectations can be fully satisfied. From practising ski on the international slopes of Bariloche, Chapelco or Las Leñas, to enjoying a gala night at Colón Theatre, the most important lyric art hall in South America. And for those seeking unique and unforgettable sights, the whole Patagonia, with its captivating desolation and its rich fauna; with Ushuaia, the southernmost city in the world and the almost unexplored Antarctic, the frozen continent on the border of the South Pole.

Warm to hot weather in the North, cold weather in the South. Deserts and seas. Vineyards and lakes. Plains and high mountains.

And its people, friendly, hospitable, always ready to welcome foreigners, make Argentina a country that you cannot fail to visit.

Come to Argentina.

You will be welcome. You will be surprised.

LOCATION AND BOUNDARIES

Argentina occupies the furthest position in the South of the American Continent.

It is bordered on the North by Bolivia, Paraguay and Brazil, on the West by Chile, on the East by Uruguay, Brazil and the Atlantic Ocean and on the South by the confluence of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

AREA

The Argentine Republic's mainland comprises an area of 1,078,197 square miles (2.791.810 km²) and

stretches 2,300 miles (3.726 km.) from North to South and 870 miles (1.409 km.) from East to West. The total extension of the territories is 1,452,800 square miles (3.761.274 km²), including Malvinas Islands, the Antarctic Land Portion between parallels 75 and 24 WL, Southern Orkneys, Georgias and Sandwich Islands. Argentina is the largest Spanish speaking country in the world.

POLITICAL DIVISION

Argentina is divided into 22 provinces, a National Territory and a Federal District or Capital.

SCENERY

The variety of scenery to be found in Argentina is sure to fulfill anyone's expectations.

From the imposing Western Andes range, with the snow-capped Aconcagua, the highest mountain in the American continent rising 22,831 feet (6.959 m.) above sea level, looking down on miles of fertile plateau to the sandy beaches of the Atlantic Ocean. From the boundless land of the Altiplano, the virgin jungles with red earth and the limitless expanse of grasslands or "pampas", to the silent whiteness of the Antarctic. Not to mention the Plata estuary, the broadest in the world, with waters which are said to bear the "tawny colour of lions". Nature completes each landscape with rich vegetation and the most diverse animal species.

Argentina offers huge tracts of wilderness with tropical forests, semiarid hills, high snow-capped mountain ranges, thundering waterfalls, all creating a paradise for the Trekking enthusiast or adventurous horseman, who seeks the untouched fauna and the magnificent scenery of the unknown virgin regions.

Our country is also the avid hunter's paradise. Millions of doves and ducks are considered pests and there is no limitation on kills. Red stags, wild boars and pumas abound in many areas. Patagonia has huge numbers of wild geese and hares.

Patagonia's rivers and lakes hold the largest trout in the world. The great north-eastern Paraná river and its tributaries are the habitat of the mighty "dorado", recognized by international experts as the world's greatest fresh water battler.

CLIMATE

Due to the enormous extension of the country, a wide variety of climates is found: warm to hot weather in the North, cold weather in the South.

In Buenos Aires the yearly average temperature is 63° Fahrenheit (17° centigrades). Delightful in spring and fall, quite warm in summer.

AVERAGE TEMPERATURES

	SUMMER (December to March)				WINTER (June to August)			
	Centigrade Max.	Centigrade Min.	Farenheit Max.	Farenheit Min.	Centigrade Max.	Centigrade Min.	Farenheit Max.	Farenheit Min.
Buenos Aires	30°	17°	80°	63°	15°	5°	59°	41°
Mar del Plata	27°	15°	81°	59°	15°	6°	59°	42°
Iguazú Falls	34°	19°	93°	66°	23°	8°	73°	46°
Bariloche	21°	8°	70°	46°	7°	-1°	45°	30°
San Martín de los Andes - Chapelco	28°	0°	82°	32°	14°	-14°	57°	6°
Península de Valdés	28°	14°	82°	57°	12°	2°	54°	36°
Lago Argentino - Perito Moreno	13°	0°	55°	48°	4°	-8°	39°	17°
Tierra del Fuego	14°	6°	57°	43°	6°	-2°	43°	28°
Córdoba	30°	17°	86°	63°	19°	5°	67°	41°
Mendoza	30°	16°	86°	61°	14°	4°	57°	39°
Valle de las Leñas	23°	-3°	82°	8°	19°	-14°	63°	6°
North - west Provinces	29°	16°	84°	61°	20°	4°	68°	39°



POPULATION

The total population of Argentina is 33,000,000 inhabitants, eighty five percent of which is Argentine and fifteen percent is foreign. Ninety eight percent of the total population is of European descent.

LANGUAGE

Spanish is the official language. However, as a result of the European origin of the majority of the population, it is not unusual to find fully bilingual families who speak either French, English, Italian, Russian, German etc. besides Spanish. English is spoken in hotels, restaurants and in most of the main shops.

RELIGION

The Roman Catholic religion is the official one but there is complete religious freedom as the National Constitution allows all other denominations.

It is important to emphasize that religious freedom in Argentina is not just a nominal constitutional guarantee. People are really free to profess their faith, whichever it may be. There is a large number of mosques, synagogues, Protestant churches, etc.

TYPE OF GOVERNMENT

Argentina is a federal republic, organized in 22 provinces ruled by autonomous governors, a national territory (Tierra del Fuego, Antarctic and South Atlantic Islands) and a federal district: the city of Buenos Aires, capital of the country.

CURRENCY

Since June 1985, Argentina's official currency is the Austral -~~A~~- with 100 cents. U.S. currency and traveller's cheques are generally accepted everywhere. Other currencies are accepted in most banks. The most important credit-cards of the world are honoured.

TIME ZONE

Three hours less than G.M.T.

ELECTRIC CURRENT

Alternate current 220 volts - 50 cycles.

MAIL

Post offices are open from 8:00 AM to 8:00 PM from Monday through Saturday.
Post-Office Box - Letters may be sent to post offices to be collected by the addressee, who must show his/her passport for identification.
The words "post-office box" must be clearly written on the envelope.
Letters not collected within 30 days are returned to the sender.

TELEGRAMS

They can be sent by telephone (National Service: 331-9221/35 - International Service: 331-9251/60) or directly by post.

TELEPHONE

International calls are placed through telephone operators or by dialling directly.

WATER SUPPLY

Water is suitable for human consumption and Argentina's bottled mineral waters are excellent.

BANKS

Banks are open to the public Monday through Friday 10:00 AM to 3:00 PM.

TIPS

Service charge is included in bills, but it is customary to leave an additional tip of about 10%. It is also common to tip porters at airports and hotels.

WHAT TO WEAR

Summer (December to March): lightweight suits and dresses. Winter (June to August): woollens and a topcoat are needed.

TOBACCO AND LIQUOR

The sale of tobacco and liquor in Argentina is under no restriction whatsoever. The purchase and consumption of both products is completely free 24 hours a day.
There is a wide variety of brands and qualities. Liquor is available at hotels, liquor stores, bars, grocer's shops, etc.

DISABLED PEOPLE

Disabled people will find the necessary facilities in most hotels.
Many corners in the downtown area already have special ramps at their disposal. This kind of convenience is also available in a good number of public buildings and museums.
The Municipality of the City of Buenos Aires has recently designed a whole plan intended to enlarge the facilities for disabled people, which is being carried out at present.



ENTRY REQUIREMENTS

Passport and visa: all visitors from non-border countries need valid passports. Visa requirements must be checked at the corresponding consulates.

BELGIUM:

* Antwerp

Neigburg 1 - B
PH: (32-3) 226-0951 / 232-1585

2000 - ANTWERP

CANADA:

* Montreal

1010 St. Catherine
Street West Of. N 737
PH: (1-514) 866-3819

MONTREAL QUEBEC H3 B1 G1

FRANCE:

* Marseilles

350 Avenue Du Prado, 1st. floor
PH: (33-91) 71-4748 / 5743

13008 - MARSEILLES

* Paris

Impasse Kleber
PH: (33-1) 47043739 / 45532225

75.116 - PARIS

GERMANY:

* Düsseldorf

Graf Adolf Strasse 16, 2nd. floor
PH: (49-211) 32-4005

4000 - DUSSELDORF

* Frankfurt

Wiesenhuetteplatz 26, 8th. floor
PH: (49-69) 23-1050/3644/3645

6000 - FRANKFURT/M.

* Hamburg

Neuer Jungfernstieg 6 to 11
PH: (49-40) 34-2051 / 2052
22-5886 / 5887

2000 - HAMBURG 36

* München

Kaufingerstrasse 7/LV
PH: (49-89) 26-3787
98-5080

8000 - MUNICH 2

ITALY:

* Genoa

Piazza della Vittoria 15/b
PH (39-10) 58-1690
56-1819

GENOA 16 12 12

* Naples

Via Medina 40
PH: (39-81) 32-9047 / 3134
552-3187

NAPLES 80100

* Milan

Via Gonzaga 7, 5th. floor
PH: (39-2) 86-4184 / 4185

MILAN 20123

* Rome

Piazza Delle Belle Arti, Room 5
PH: (39-6) 360-6909 / 6902

00196 - ROME

* Venice

Dorsoduro 1383 (Zattere)
PH: (39-41) 523-6939
522-7503

VENICE 30100

NETHERLANDS:

* Amsterdam

Herengracht 94
PH: (31-20) 23-2723 / 6242

1015 BS. AMSTERDAM
NETHERLANDS

SPAIN:

* Madrid

Ortega y Gasset 62
PH: (34-1) 402-5248 / 5115

Madrid 6 MADRID

* Vigo

Marqués de Valladares 5, 3rd. floor
PH: (34-86) 41-9999

36.200 VIGO (Pontevedra)
A.P. 1520

SWEDEN:

* Stockholm

Norrlandsgatan 31-33-2 TR
IV S - 111
PH: (46-8) 20-2685
10-5267

43 - STOCKHOLM

* Göteborg

Nordenskioldsgatan 15 Box 7237
PH: (46-31) 12-5337

S-40 235 GOTEBOG

SWITZERLAND:

* Zürich

Todistrasse 5
PH: (41-1) 201-2032 / 2033 / 2035

ZURICH 8002

UNITED STATES:

* Baltimore

207 East Redwood St.
Suite 204 Keyser Building
PH: (1-301) 837-0444 / 0445 / 8116

21-202 Baltimore Maryland

* Chicago

20 North Clark St.
PH: (1-312) 263-7435 / 7639

60.602-4183 Chicago
Illinois

* Houston

2000 Post Oak Boulevard, Suite 1810
PH: (1-713) 871-8935

Houston, Texas 77.056

* Los Angeles

3550 Wilshire Boulevard
PH: (1-213) 739-9977 / 9978 / 5959 / 0618

Los Angeles C.A. 90.010

* Miami

The World Trade Center
80 SW 8 Street, Suite 1820
PH: (1-305) 373-1889 / 7794
371-7108

Miami, Florida 33130

* New York

12 West 56th. Street
PH: (1-212) 603-0400

New York 10.019

* San Francisco

870 Market St., Suite 1083
San Francisco
PH: (415) 982-3050 / 3070

California 94.102

HEALTH REQUIREMENTS

Vaccination certificates are only required for those passengers coming from endemic areas.

CUSTOMS

Passengers arriving in Argentina can enter objects of personal use and sports equipment, photographic and film cameras, musical instruments. All other objects have preestablished duties.

It is recommended to make the corresponding enquiry at the consulate.

Domestic Animals

In order to introduce domestic animals into Argentina, travellers are required to submit a health certificate visaed by the Argentine consulate. This certificate may be written in the language of origin or translated into Spanish. Customs duties must be paid.

Guns and Ammunition

To bring a shotgun into Argentina (maximum: 2 per hunter), the hunter must go to the nearest Argentine consulate and submit his personal documents together with the following data concerning the gun or guns: serial number, caliber, type and brand. A certificate of good conduct, issued by the local police of the district where the hunter lives, must be added to his personal documents.

If all these requirements are fulfilled, the applicant obtains a temporary shotgun entrance permit. On this permit he is also allowed to bring 1,500 cartridges, free of duty. Cartridges made in Argentina are of good quality, rustproof and can be bought in any caliber or size of shots.

TRAVEL INSURANCE

It is advisable for tourists to obtain some kind of travel insurance covering accidents, medical assistance, luggage, etc., in their countries of origin.

TIMETABLE

- ★ Banks are open to the public Monday through Friday 10:00 AM to 3:00 PM.
- ★ Post offices are open from 8:00 AM to 8:00 PM from Monday through Saturday.
- ★ State public offices are generally open to the public from Monday through Friday from 8:00 AM to 5:00 PM.
- ★ Private business offices are generally open from 9:00 AM to 6:00 PM, from Monday through Friday.
- ★ Shops generally open from 9:00 AM to 7:30 PM on weekdays and till 1:00 PM on Saturdays.

PUBLIC HOLIDAYS

The following days are public holidays in Argentina.

JANUARY	1	NEW YEAR'S DAY
MARCH	23	MAUNDY THURSDAY
MARCH	24	GOOD FRIDAY
MAY	1	LABOUR DAY
MAY	25	1810 REVOLUTION DAY
JUNE	10 *	MALVINAS DAY
JUNE	20 *	NATIONAL FLAG DAY
JULY	9	INDEPENDENCE DAY
AUGUST	17 *	GRAL. SAN MARTIN'S DEATH ANNIVERSARY
OCTOBER	12 *	COLUMBUS DAY
DECEMBER	8	IMMACULATE CONCEPTION
DECEMBER	25	CHRISTMAS

* If these dates fall on a Tuesday or a Wednesday, offices shall be closed the Monday before; if on a Thursday or a Friday, they shall be closed the Monday after.

CAR RENTAL

There is a large number of car rental agencies in Argentina. Cars can be hired directly at airports and hotels. The minimum age required to drive is 18. Tourists must hold the international driving licence.

AGENCIES

Airent-a-car-International

M.T. de Alvear 678 - PH: 312-9475 to 77

Argentina Rent-a-car

Uruguay 328 1st. floor - PH: 40-6994

Ama

Av. El Cano 3940 - PH: 551-6454

Avis

Suipacha 268 7th. floor - PH: 45-1943/9286/1690
(also available at the Buenos Aires Sheraton Hotel)

Belgrano car

Ciudad de la Paz 2508 - PH: 781-5082/782-0965

Budget Rent-a-car

Carlos Pellegrini 977 - PH: 313-8169

Dollar Rent-a-car

Florida 520 1st floor - PH: 322-8137/6952
(also available at the Plaza Hotel)

Fast Rent

Uruguay 328 1st. floor, of. 2 - PH: 40-6994/0220

Hertz-transparent-a-car S.A.

Esmeralda 985 - PH: 312-0787/5116 311-5489/5488

Liprandi Rent-a-car

Esmeralda 1065 - PH: 311-6832/7813/8081

National Rent-a-car

Esmeralda 1084 - PH: 312-4318 311-3583

Ovalle Rent-a-car

M.T. de Alvear 925 5th. floor - PH: 312-6665 313-3012/3712

Rent-a-car Ruiz Moreno

Suipacha 1087 11th. floor "B" - PH: 312-9466

Serra Lima

Córdoba 3121 - PH: 88-2338 89-2066/3285

CAR TROUBLE

If you have car trouble, call the Argentine Automobile Club (802-5081/6041) or the Argentine Touring Club (322-0357/6742). Both render 24-hour service 7 days a week.

Telephones are available alongside routes and highways. In case of road accidents involving casualties, it is compulsory to give notice to the police.

In order to get assistance, drivers must be members of the said organizations. But both the A.C.A. and the A.T.C. have signed several agreements with similar foreign organizations that allow tourists to enjoy their services. Please make inquiries in your country of origin.

LIMOUSINE SERVICE

Agencia Paraguay

Paraguay 2380 PH: 962-4211 961-3245

Ecuador Agencia

Ecuador 1022 PH: 962-3187/5044/4249

Eduardo San Martín

Ezeiza Airport PH: 620-0048/0866

Manuel Tienda León *

Ezeiza Airport PH: 620-0597

* Also bus service to Ezeiza Airport departing from Carlos Pellegrini 509 (next to the Colón Hotel) PH: 35-4078

Organización Sarmiento

Mario Bravo 1204 PH: 86-1510

Smith Remise

San Martín 1103 PH: 311-0387

LAND PUBLIC TRANSPORT

TAXIS

The city of Buenos Aires has a good taxi service that efficiently meets all the needs, including rush hours. Waiting at special taxi stands or driving along the streets in search of passengers, the yellow and black cars are all provided with an electronic meter with fixed rates unvarying during day and night, which are established by the Buenos Aires Municipality.

The final cost of the ride is fixed by converting the abstract figures shown on the electronic meter into money figures through an official table that is in possession of each taxi driver.

Radio-Taxi service:

Phone N°: * 93-4991 to 99

* 552-2741 / 2926 / 2960 / 2939 / 2967

BUSES

There is a very wide network of coaches, called "colectivos", which covers the whole city and its outskirts. This service is rendered throughout the day and the night.

LONG-DISTANCE BUSES

A great number of bus lines covers the entire Argentine territory, departing from: Bus Station (Terminal de Omnibus) Ramos Mejía 1680 - Buenos Aires (Zone: Plaza Retiro).

RAILWAY

Six lines departing from Buenos Aires cover almost the entire extent of the country.

They offer first and second-class sleeping cars and dining-coaches. Some special trains also offer bar and movie service.

The main stations are:

Plaza Retiro area:

General Belgrano
General Mitre
General San Martín

- north and north-westwards
- northwards
- north-westwards

Plaza Constitución area:

General Roca

- southwards

Plaza Once area:

Sarmiento

- westwards

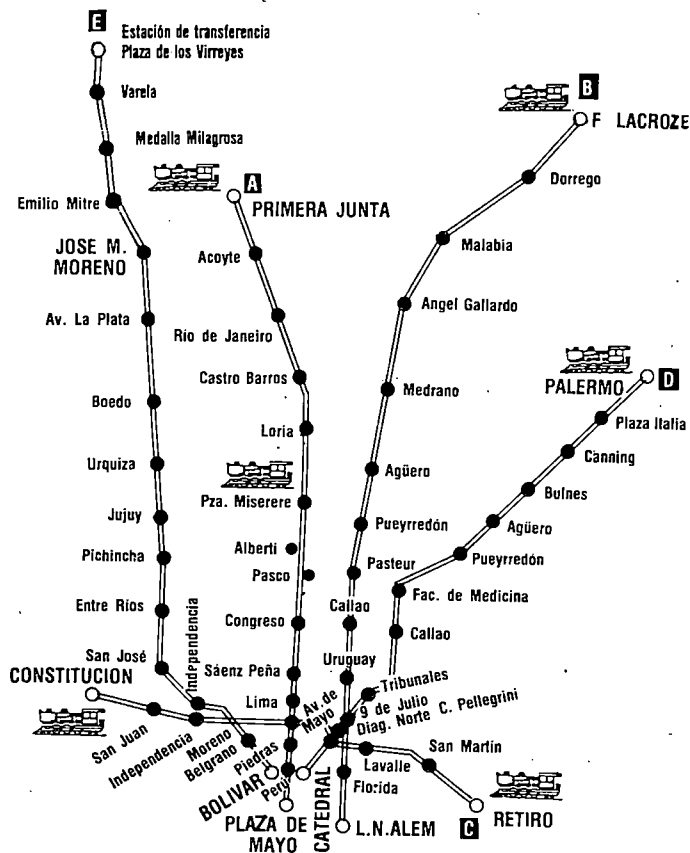
Chacarita area:

General Urquiza

- north-eastwards

UNDERGROUND

Five interconnected lines cover the more densely populated areas of the city from 5 AM to 10 PM. They also connect the main railway stations.



AIRPORTS

INTERNATIONAL AIRPORTS IN ARGENTINA

- * Internacional de Ezeiza "Ministro Pistarini" (Province of Buenos Aires)
- * Internacional "Córdoba" (Province of Córdoba)
- * Internacional "Paso de los Libres" (Province of Corrientes)
- * Internacional "Resistencia" (Province of Chaco)
- * Internacional "El Plumerillo" (Province of Mendoza)
- * Internacional "Cataratas del Iguazú" (Province of Misiones)
- * "Internacional del Neuquén" (Province of Neuquén)
- * "Internacional Bariloche" (Province of Río Negro)
- * "Internacional San Juan" (Province of San Juan)
- * "Internacional Río Gallegos" (Province of Santa Cruz)
- * "Internacional Rosario" (Province of Santa Fe)

EZEIZA AIRPORT "MINISTRO PISTARINI"

TERMINALS

- AEROLINEAS ARGENTINAS
International and regional flights for Aerolíneas Argentinas.
- INTERNATIONAL
International terminal handling all carriers except Aerolíneas Argentinas.

DISTANCE

Airport / City (Downtown) 35 km. / about 40 minutes drive.
Rush hours 7 to 10 AM / 5 to 8 PM.

CUSTOMS

Officially open 24 hours.

FACILITIES

- Tax-free shop available on Arrival and Departure.
- Banco de la Nación Argentina, national Argentine bank, daily from 7 AM to 11 PM.
- National Tourist Office (D.N.T.)
- Chemist
- Post office - telephone - telex
National and International service from 8 AM to 8 PM daily.
- Shops, kiosks, arts and crafts, jewels and precious stones, newspapers and magazines.

BAGGAGE

No baggage deposit or lockers available at airport.

RESTAURANT

Available in main hall for arriving and departing passengers.

Second restaurant for transit passengers in transit hall.

LOUNGES

First Class and Business Class lounges available on transit level.

TRANSPORT

Limousines, taxis and buses are available at the airport throughout the day.

AIRPORT TAX

Approximately countervalue of USD 10.- in local currency, for all passengers departing from Buenos Aires (including transit passengers).

DOMESTIC FLIGHTS

All domestic flights are handled at Jorge Newbery airport, about 25 miles (40 km.) from Ezeiza and 3 miles (5 km.) from the city.

LODGING

Argentina has a good hotel quality. There are, as a whole, about 4,550 hotels, motels, inns, hostels, bungalows and cottages of all categories. Besides, tourists can choose to rent a flat, make use of the numerous camping grounds available or hire a trailer. Youth hostels are also available throughout the country. Another alternative for tourists is to lodge at any of the hotels or clinics located in the hot springs areas. It is even possible to spend a few days in a typical "estancia argentina" (Argentina cattle ranch).

FOOD AND DRINKS

Argentina is well-known throughout the world for the excellence of its meat, which is the result of the first-rate cattle industry developed in the country.

Barbecues are tasty, plentiful and cheap.

Those who are fond of tasting typical food will be pleased to find that Argentina offers exquisite regional dishes such as "empanadas" (minced meat and other ingredients covered with puff pastry) and "locro" (pork and maize stew).

On the other hand, a wide range of restaurants of various categories offers all kinds of international specialties. In addition, Argentine wines are excellent and inexpensive. Their outstanding quality is recognized throughout the world.

SHOPPING

Shops are generally open from 9:00 AM to 7:30 PM on weekdays and till 1:00 PM on Saturdays.

Leather goods of excellent quality are special bargains you cannot miss. Local furs are also inexpensive.

B.A.'s chic shopping district is Recoleta, along Alvear and Quintana avenues, where you will find the best local and international brands.

Florida Street is a must for tourists. Many of the most important jeweller's shops, art galleries, fur shops and leather goods shops are located along this attractive pedestrian street.

During the last few years several modern, attractive and well-supplied shopping centres have been opened in the city of Buenos Aires and its outskirts. Patio Bullrich, Unicenter and Shopping Soleil are just a few of them. We cannot fail to mention the San Telmo Sunday flea market, located in the one-time colonial heart of the city. All kinds of fascinating antiques and handicraft are available at this picturesque fair. You may find gramophones or old cameras and other collector items at a fraction of the price you would pay for them in Europe or the US. You can find "fileteadores," artists that practise a peculiar "porteño" art, consisting of delicate arabesques and lines drawn on everyday objects. In short, a worthwhile visiting spot even if not planning to do any shopping.

SPORTS

Sports are extremely popular in Argentina and visitors are offered facilities to practise them.

Football (soccer) is the most popular. Horseraces are held

at the Jockey Club or at the beautiful San Isidro tracks. Polo matches by the best polo players in the world can be seen at Palermo and Hurlingham grounds from October to December. Golf can be played in public courses only fifteen minutes drive from downtown. There are also many public tennis courts nearby. Trout and salmon abound in lakes and rivers to the fisherman's delight. For those who prefer the exciting "dorado" fishing, the place is up the Paraná river. Deep-sea diving in Patagonia and winter sports in Bariloche, Chapelco, Esquel or Las Leñas, where skiing can be practised until November. Other attractive possibilities available to the tourist are rowing and yatching on the Delta at Tigre and hunting, mainly in the South where wild animals such as deer and wild boars abound.

NEWSPAPERS / BOOKS

Argentina is a country with a very important journalistic tradition.

A number of newspapers, such as "LA NACION" and "LA PRENSA", were founded more than a century ago. Besides, our country enjoys complete freedom of the press. "LA NACION" and "CLARIN", the most important Argentine newspapers, are publications of international level. The latter reaches the highest circulation in South America. Several newspapers in foreign languages, including Japanese and Korean, are issued in our country. Among them, we can mention "ARGENTINISCHES TAGEBLATT", "BUENOS AIRES HERALD" and "LE COURRIER DES FRANCOPHONES".

More than 350 magazines of all types are available in Argentina. They cover almost all subjects and fields, from finance and economics to fashion and cookery. A few magazines are published in English and German. Others, mainly devoted to the business world, are bilingual. Foreign newspapers and books in several languages are available in most important cities, mainly at airports and railway stations.

TELEVISION

The Argentine open-circuit television network is made up of 3 state-owned channels and 2 private ones located in the Capital City area plus 37 channels and 299 booster stations

spread throughout the country. The average transmission timetable in the main areas goes from 10:00 AM to 01:00 AM.

On the other hand, a first-rate closed-circuit television network, composed of 111 channels, covers several areas of the Capital City and its outskirts and part of the interior of the country.

Recently the access to satellite channels has been locally developed. Now it is possible, to pick these channels up from homes and hotels.

RADIO

165 radio stations make up the Argentine broadcasting network. News are broadcasted every hour or every half-hour throughout the day.

RAE RADIODIFUSION ARGENTINA AL EXTERIOR: "Argentina's voice in the world" - RAE (Argentine Radio International Service) is a member of the Official Radiobroadcasting Service, a state body which groups a total of 40 broadcasters spread throughout the country. RAE is the only Argentine Radio Service assigned to an international audience. It currently operates on four frequencies (9690, 11710, 15345, 6060) and broadcasts in eight different languages (Spanish, Portuguese, English, French, Italian, German, Japanese, and Arabic), covering America, Europe, the Far East and North Africa. Its fundamental task is to inform the rest of the world what is going on in Argentina.

RAE's short-wave broadcasting is mainly devoted to news but it also includes Argentine popular music and microprogrammes on the most diverse subjects. RAE biannual broadcasting schedule can be obtained personally at Radio Nacional LRA1 radio station (Ayacucho 1556, C.P. 1111, Capital Federal, Ph: 803-2011 / 801-7709) or by post (C.C. 555, Correo Central.)

THEATRES AND CINEMAS

There are about 1270 cinemas spread throughout the country. The majority of the ones located in the main cities are outstandingly modern, comfortable and well-equipped. A wide and up-to-date variety of Argentine and foreign films are shown throughout the year, especially from March through November.

Theatre-goers can choose from a large number of attractive alternatives. Opera, ballet, concerts, musical comedies, classical and modern plays, experimental theatre; all genres

and styles are present.

So much so that in the city of Buenos Aires only, there are 70 theatres, the most important of which are the General San Martín Municipal Theatre, the Cervantes National Theatre and the world-famous Colón Theatre.

The latter is considered Latin America's foremost lyric theatre. It can hold up to 3,500 people. The acoustics in its horseshoe-shaped, 7-storey auditorium are considered to be next best to perfection. All kinds of celebrities have performed on its 18 metre stage: Arturo Toscanini, Enrico Caruso, Richard Strauss, Igor Stravinsky, Nijinsky... The Colón houses its own museum, where some very valuable antique instruments and all sorts of mementos of the theatre's history are on exhibition.

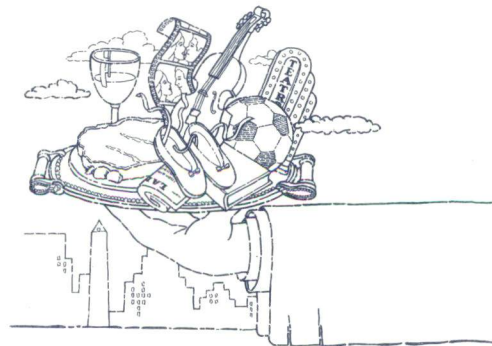
In Buenos Aires the theatre season goes from early March to late November. In tourist resorts such as Mar del Plata and Villa Carlos Paz, it is in full swing during the summer months.

CASINO

Night life in Argentina offers all kinds of exciting possibilities. Among them, 14 top-level casinos located in attractive tourist resorts.

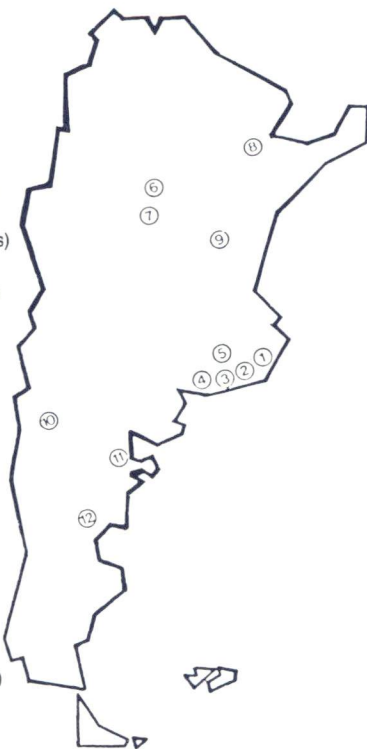
Roulette, Chemin de Fer, Black Jack and dice can be played in most of them. Maximum and minimum bets are variable.

The main casino located in the City of Mar del Plata, with room for about 24,000 people, is organized into three spacious halls (ORDINARY, INTERMEDIATE and SPECIAL). The public can play at ease at its 106 Roulette tables, 42 Chemin de Fer tables and 20 Black Jack tables. Besides, other facilities such as Snack Bars, cloakrooms, automatic cashiers, etc. are available to visitors. The extraordinary collection of paintings and sculptures on exhibition is another outstanding feature of this Casino.



CASINOS IN ARGENTINA

- 1 - **Main Casino and its Annexes I and II**
(Mar del Plata, Province of Buenos Aires)
- 2 - **Miramar's Casino**
(Miramar, Province of Buenos Aires)
- 3 - **Necochea's Casino**
(Necochea, Province of Buenos Aires)
- 4 - **Valeria del Mar's Casino**
(Valeria del Mar, Province of Buenos Aires)
- 5 - **Tandil's Casino**
(Tandil, Province of Buenos Aires)
- 6 - **Alta Gracia's Casino**
(Alta Gracia, Province of Córdoba)
- 7 - **La Cumbre's Casino**
(La Cumbre, Province of Córdoba)
- 8 - **Resistencia's Casino**
(Resistencia, Province of Chaco)
- 9 - **Paraná's Casino**
(Paraná, Province of Entre Ríos)
- 10 - **Bariloche's Casino**
(Bariloche, Province of Río Negro)
- 11 - **Puerto Madryn's Casino**
(Puerto Madryn, Province of Chubut)
- 12 - **Comodoro Rivadavia's Casino**
(Comodoro Rivadavia, Province of Chubut)



ART / MUSEUMS

Tourists will find in Argentina a large number of most interesting museums devoted to art, history, natural history and other various subjects (weapons, costumes, theatre, telecommunications, etc.). Some of them admit visitors free of charge.

Those who are interested in the colonial past of our land cannot fail to visit the Fernández Blanco Colonial Museum. The Argentine Museum of Natural Sciences, located in La Plata, is a world-famous institution founded in 1884. Many of its unique collections were started by Florentino Ameghino, a paleontologist who was considered the top authority in his field.

The National Museum of Modern Art, the Decorative Art National Museum and the Fine Arts National Museum are just a few of the most important art museums in the country. The latter, one of the most outstanding in South America, houses Argentina's largest collection of paintings.



TANGO AND FOLKLORE

One of the main attractions of the Argentine cultural heritage is "tango". Sexy and melancholic "tango" music. Born and developed in the city of Buenos Aires during the first decades of the 20th. century, it embodies the typical character and way of life of the "porteños" of that period. The tourist can enjoy world-famous "tango" music and dancing at the excellent shows performed mainly in the capital city.

Inland folklore is also rich in tradition and historical interest. Colorful and lively "gaucho" shows performed at the typical "estancias" (ranches), are sure to delight the tourist.

USEFUL ADDRESSES

Consulates

-
- * Austria
French 3671 (1425) Capital Federal
PH: 802-1400/7096/7195
-
- * Belgium
Defensa 113, 8th. floor (1065)
Capital Federal.
PH: 331-0066/69
-
- * Canada
Suipacha 1111 25th. floor (1368)
Capital Federal
PH: 312-9081/88/9775
-
- * Federal Republic
of Germany
Villanueva 1889 (1426) Capital Federal
PH: 771-5054/59
-
- * France
Av. Santa Fe 846 4th. floor (1059)
Capital Federal
PH: 312-2425/2429
-
- * Italy
M.T. de Alvear 1149 (1058)
Capital Federal
PH: 325-6134/39
-
- * Netherlands
Maipú 66 2nd. floor (1084)
Capital Federal
PH: 331-3749/4807/6066/6067
-
- * Spain
Guido 1760 (1016) Capital Federal
PH: 41-0078/0079/0070

-
- * Switzerland
Av. Santa Fe 846 12th. floor (1059)
Capital Federal
PH: 311-6491/95
-
- * Switzerland
British Affairs
in Argentina
Dr. Luis Agote 2412 (1425)
Capital Federal
PH: 803-7070/71
-
- * United States
of America
Av. Colombia 4300 (1425)
Capital Federal
PH: 774-7611/8811/9911

OTHERS

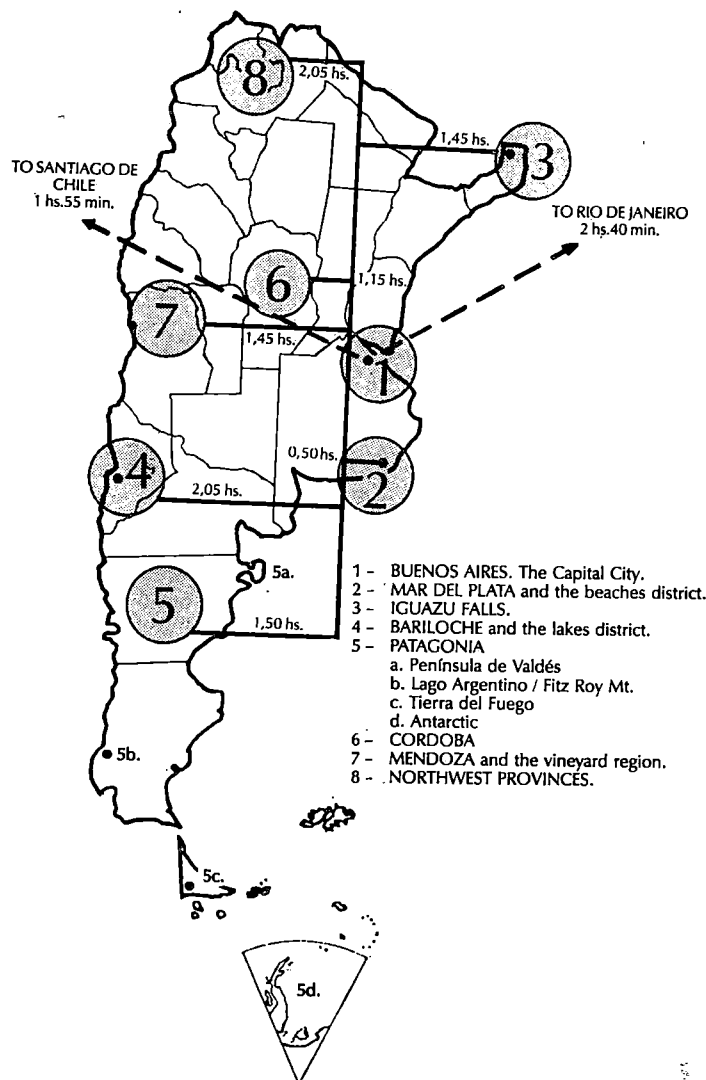
-
- * Argentine Automobile
Club (A.C.A.)
Av. Del Libertador 1850 (1425)
Capital Federal
PH: 802-5081/6041/6091/3755/4403
/7711/0624
-
- * Argentine National
Tourist Office
Suipacha 1111 20th. floor (1368)
Capital Federal
PH: 313-9832/312-1638
-
- * Argentine Touring
Club
Esmeralda 605/11 (1007) Capital Federal
PH: 322-0357/6742/5060/3153/8170
/2633
-
- * Swiss National
Tourist Office
Av. Santa Fe 846 PB. (1059)
Capital Federal
PH: 311-8930/8933/8947/8941
-
- * Tourist Hotels
Association
Rivadavia 1157 9th. floor of. "C" (1033)
Capital Federal
PH: 37-0669

USEFUL TELEPHONE NUMBERS

* Official time	113
* Information (Telephone numbers which do not appear on the directory)	110
* Operator (Long-distance calls)	19
* Operator (Uruguay)	0
* Operator (Spanish-speaking countries)	808-8000 821-2000 to 2009 821-6070 to 6079
* Operator (International calls)	000 48-8001 983-8001
* Phone-telegrams (National Service)	331-9221 / 35
* Phone-telegrams (International Service)	331-9251 / 60
* Fire-brigade	38-2222 / 37-2222 23-2222 / 47-2222
* Comando Radioeléctrico (Police Patrol)	101
* Police Headquarters	38-8041 / 40-4056
* C.I.P.E.C. (Urgent Medical Assistance)	107 34-4001
* Ezeiza Airport (International flights)	620-0217
* Jorge Newbery Airport (Domestic flights)	771-2071 773-9535
* Trains. (General Information Center)	311-6411
* American Express	312-0900
* Diners Club	22-4545
* London Card	34-2170
* Master Card	331-1022
* VISA	313-2804
* Radio taxis PIDALO S.A. LLAMENOS S.A.	93-4991 / 1763 552-2939

MAIN ARGENTINE TOURIST HIGHLIGHTS

Flight hours from Buenos Aires to the principal points in the country



WELCOME ARGENTINA MEMBERS

AIRLINES	ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE	TELEX			
AEROLINEAS ARGENTINAS	Rivadavia 578, 5th. floor PH: 331-8648	18182	CLARIDGE	Tucumán 535 PH: 322-7700 / 8025	24261 CLARI AR 23475 CLARI AR
AUSTRAL LINEAS AEREAS	Corrientes 485, 7th. floor PH: 313-3777	22098	COLON	Carlos Pellegrini 507 PH: 393-1017 / 1217 / 1717 393-1667	17011 HOCOL AR
EASTERN AIRLINES	Suipacha 1111, 23rd. floor PH: 34-0031 to 35 312-5031 to 38		CRILLON	Av. Santa Fe 796 PH: 312-8181 / 8192	23289 HOCRI AR
PAN AMERICAN	Roque S. Peña 832, 6th. floor PH: 46-9359	17880	DE LAS AMERICAS	Libertad 1020 PH: 393-3432 / 3532 / 0418	23883 OTAN AR
SAS	Paraguay 609, 1st. floor PH: 312-8161 to 69	17978	DEL BOSQUE (Pinamar)	Av. Bunge y Júpiter PH: (0254) 82480 / 82484 / 83380 / 83384	39790 BOSKE AR
SWISSAIR	Av. Santa Fe 846, 1st. floor PH: 311-8933 / 8947	21826	EDELWEISS (Bariloche)	San Martín 202 PH: (0944) 26165 to 67	80711 EDEL AR
HOTELS			ELEVAGE	Maipú 960/62 PH: 313-2082 to 2982	17374 ELEOT AR
ALVEAR PALACE	Av. Alvear 1891 PH: 804-4031 to 45	21930 ALPCH AR	ESCORIAL	Salta 92 PH: 37-2990 / 6540 / 9587	
BAUEN	Callao 360 PH: 804-1600 / 1700	17013 BAUEN AR	ESTURION (Iguazú)	Av. Tres Fronteras 650 PH: (0757) 20020 / 20161 / 20232	76902 ESTIG AR
BELLA VISTA (Bariloche)	Bmé. Mitre 124 PH: (0944) 20295	80746 PATRA AR	GRAN HOTEL IRUÑA (Mar del Plata)	Juan B. Alberdi 2270 PH: (023) 24037 to 24039 / 23095 / 23096	39990 HOIRU AR
BISONTE	Paraguay 1207 PH: 394-8041 / 8154 / 8305	23750 BISTEL AR	INTERNACIONAL (Iguazú)	Parque Nacional Iguazú PH: (0757) 20748 / 20749 / 20790 / 20297	07690 HOTIG AR
BISONTE (Mar del Plata)	Belgrano 1601 PH: (023) 26060 / 26098 / 90798	23750 BISONTEL	LA CASCADA (Bariloche)	Av. Ezequiel Bustillo, km. 6 San Carlos de Bariloche PH: (0944) 23046 / 20603 / 20688	
BISONTE PALACE	Marcelo T. de Alvear 902 PH: 311-4751 / 4938 / 3267 311-3285	28271 BIFPAL AR	PANAMERICANO (Bariloche)	Av. San Martín 536/70 San Carlos de Bariloche PH: (0944) 25846 to 50	80737 MOHOT AR
BUENOS AIRES SHERATON	San Martín 1225/75 PH: 311-6331 to 39 311-6510 to 19	9222 SHERA AR 9196 SHERA AR	PANAMERICANO (Buenos Aires)	Carlos Pellegrini 525 PH: 393-6017 / 6062 / 6111 393-6154 / 6212 / 6256	23000 PANAT AR

PISCIS - ESCORPIO ACUARIO - GEMINIS (Mendoza)	Las Leñas - Dpto. de Malargüe Provincia de Mendoza PH: (0627) 71100	56721 VLL AR 56723 VLL AR
---	---	------------------------------

PLAZA	Florida 1005 PH: 311-5011 / 5029 312-6001	22488 PLAZA AR
-------	---	----------------

PRESIDENTE (Mar del Plata)	Corrientes 1516 PH: (023) 28810 / 28819	39990 HOIRU AR
-------------------------------	--	----------------

TUNQUELEN (Bariloche)	Av. Bustillo Km. 24,5 PH: (0944) 48233 / 106 / 035	80791 TUNKE AR
--------------------------	---	----------------

TOUR OPERATORS

AMERICAN EXPRESS ARGENTINA Div. Viajes (Buenos Aires)	Av. del Libertador 498 27th. floor PH: 312-0900 / 1661	23018 AXBUE AR
--	--	----------------

ANDAR VIAJES Y TURISMO (Rosario)	Santa Fe 1131, 1st. floor PH: (041) 68525 / 25-5741	41579 ANDAR AR
--	--	----------------

BOLLAND & Cía. / CHAPELCO (Buenos Aires)	Suipacha 233, Loc. 20 PH: 35-0021 to 25 / 6620	21611
--	---	-------

CAVALIERE VIAJES Y TURISMO S.A. (Buenos Aires)	Paraguay 577, 9th. floor PH: 311-9484 / 8983 312-6759	17415 CAYDU AR
--	---	----------------

CONGRESOS INTERNACIONALES S.A. (Buenos Aires)	Moreno 584, 9th. floor PH: 34-3216 / 3283 / 3408	22036 JECON AR
--	---	----------------

GIMEZA TURISMO S.A. (Buenos Aires)	Córdoba 637, 1st. floor PH: 322-3654 / 1544 / 1150 322-1275 / 1745 / 1651	23889 GIMEZ AR
--	---	----------------

G.M. INTERNATIONAL (Buenos Aires)	Esmeralda 740, 7th. floor PH: 393-3549 / 0605 / 0586	23434 GMINT AR
--------------------------------------	---	----------------

GRAN CATEDRAL (Bariloche)	Moreno 69, Loc. 6 PH: (0944) 25348	18660 DELTI AR (Usuario Gran Catedral)
------------------------------	---------------------------------------	--

HELLAS (Bariloche)	Bmé. Mitre 124, 2nd. floor "A" PH: (0944) 20295	80746 PATRA AR
-----------------------	--	----------------

HOLDITUR S.R.L. (Buenos Aires)	Tucumán 834, 1st. floor PH: 322-2423 / 2254	23875 HITUR AR
-----------------------------------	--	----------------

INTERNATIONAL PRIME S.A. (Buenos Aires)	Av. Corrientes 531, 2nd. floor PH: 393-1985 / 1753 / 8839	25522 PRIME AR
---	--	----------------

MEDINAH S.R.L. (Buenos Aires)	Suipacha 476 PH: 49-6651 to 55	17236 MEDIN AR
----------------------------------	-----------------------------------	----------------

OPERADORES MENDOZA (Mendoza)	Las Heras 420 Galería Vía del Sol, Loc. 16 PH: (061) 23-0719	55154 TMDZ AR
------------------------------------	--	---------------

ROSARITUR VIAJES S.A. (Buenos Aires)	Córdoba 950, 5th. floor "C" PH: 393-4606 / 4599	23440 ROSA AR
--	--	---------------

SKY LEÑAS S.A. (Buenos Aires)	Reconquista 585, 3rd. floor PH: 312-0016 / 0723 / 0869	28119 SKY AR
----------------------------------	---	--------------

TRAVELCLUB (Buenos Aires)	Uruguay 367, 5th. floor PH: 953-5801 / 40-2523 / 4648 / 40-2802 / 6534 / 0478	17614 TSA AR
------------------------------	---	--------------

TREKKING ARGENTINA (Buenos Aires)	Paraguay 542, 2nd. floor PH: 311-1807 / 312-1429	25478 TREK AR
---	---	---------------

VIAJES MELIA ARGENTINA (Buenos Aires)	Santa Fe 846, 2nd. floor PH: 313-8019	25292 MELIA AR
---	--	----------------

INDEX**PAGE****PAGE**

AIRPORTS	8	NEWSPAPERS / BOOKS	9
- Ezeiza Airport "Ministro Pistarini"	8	POLITICAL DIVISION	1
AREA	1	POPULATION	2
ART / MUSEUMS	11	PUBLIC HOLIDAYS	6
BANKS	3	RADIO	10
CAR RENTAL	6	RELIGION	2
CAR TROUBLE	6	SCENERY	1
CASINO	10	SHOPPING	9
- Casinos in Argentina	11	SPORTS	9
CLIMATE	2	TANGO AND FOLKLORE	11
- Average temperatures (Table)	2	TELEGRAMS	3
CURRENCY	2	TELEPHONE	9
CUSTOMS	5	TELEVISION	10
- Domestic Animals	5	THEATRES AND CINEMAS	5
- Guns and ammunition	5	TIMETABLE	2
DISABLED PEOPLE	3	TIME ZONE	3
ELECTRIC CURRENT	3	TIPS	3
ENTRY REQUIREMENTS	4	TOBACCO AND LIQUOR	5
- Argentine Consulates	4	TRAVEL INSURANCE	2
FOOD AND DRINKS	9	TYPE OF GOVERNMENT	2
HEALTH REQUIREMENTS	5	USEFUL ADDRESSES	12
LAND PUBLIC TRANSPORT	7	- Consulates	12
- Taxis	7	- Others	12
- Buses	7	USEFUL TELEPHONE NUMBERS	13
- Long-distance buses	7	WATER SUPPLY	3
- Underground (Map)	7	WELCOME ARGENTINA MEMBERS	14
- Railway	7	WELCOME TO ARGENTINA	1
LANGUAGE	2	WHAT TO WEAR	3
LIMOUSINE SERVICE	6		
LOCATION AND BOUNDARIES	1		
LODGING	8		
MAIL	3		
MAIN ARGENTINE TOURIST HIGHLIGHTS (Map)	13		

