"We do not make pacts with communists": The Evolving Rhetoric of Argentine President Javier Milei in Relation to China

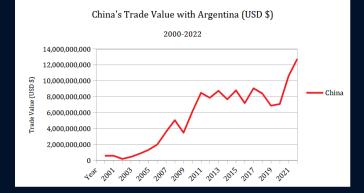
> Sawyer DeShon Research Week 2024 Textual & Investigative

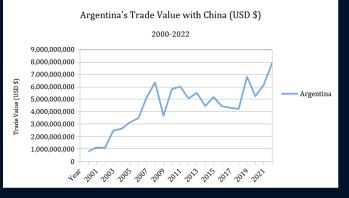


The Turn of the Millennia

Argentina's Main Export Partners:

- ca. 2000 Brazil 24%, EU 21%, US 11% (CIA World Factbook, 2000)
- ca. 2022 Brazil 16%, China 11%, US 7%, Chile 5% (CIA World Factbook, 2022)





Figures 1 & 2. Data from UN Comtrade.



Key Terms

The Swap:

- a mutual loan of foreign currency (pesos/yuans)
- political and commercial maneuver

BRICS:

- Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa
- a geopolitical bloc

Javier Milei's recent comments towards Beijing articulate the commercial and geopolitical connections between Argentina and China, and his practical approach shows an evolving understanding of a nation's obligation to maintain connections with strong trading partners, even in the face of ideological differences.

Who Is Javier Milei?

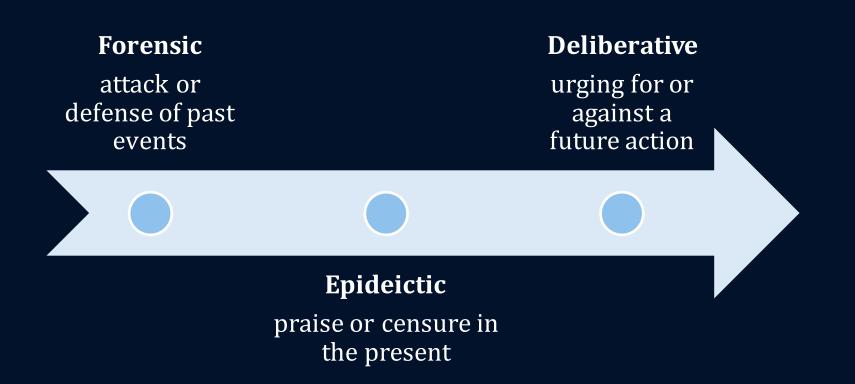
- 'anarcho-capitalist'
- libertarian
- economist by trade
- former congressman, 2020-2021



Analytical Framework

Aristotle's three genres of rhetoric, per *Rhetoric I*:

- forensic "either attacks or defends someone" (32)
- epideictic "either praises or censures somebody" (32)
- deliberative "urges us either to do or not to do something" (32)

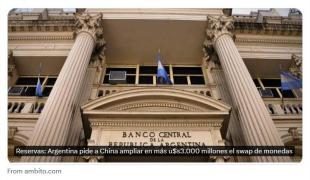




RIFAR EL PAÍS POR MONEDAS

Reservas: Argentina pide a China ampliar en más u\$s3.000 millones el swap de monedas

...



11:29 AM · Jan 26, 2022

"RAFFLING OFF THE COUNTRY FOR COINS"

Reserves: Argentina asks China to increase the currency swap by three billion dollars (USD) - January 26, 2022

"When I said during the campaign that I wouldn't do business with China, because I don't side with dictators and communists, the slaves and sycophants of this fake Steve Jobs tried to pin me as liberal and against commerce. They've only seen the tip of the iceberg, and already they're going mad." - February 5, 2022



Cuando en campaña señalé que no haría tratos con China, ya que no me junto con dictores y comunistas, los esclavos y ensobrados del Steve Jobs falso salieron a pegarme con que yo no era liberal y que estaba contra el comercio.

...

Ahora han visto sólo una punta y ya están como locos. Translate post

10:02 AM · Feb 5, 2022

Bloomberg en Español, 'Exclusiva con Javier Milei: Promete pagar deuda de Argentina y cerrar el banco central'

What are your tenets there [regarding international policy]?

"Our fundamental tenets are an open market, peace, liberty, and aligning ourselves with the West, the foremost of which are the United States and Israel."

And regarding China, is it a primary commercial partner?

"Well, they'll be commercial partners of the private sector. We do not make pacts with communists."

But then, what would you do, or rather, would you close Argentina's relations with China?

"I would not promote any relation with communists: not with Cuba, not with Venezuela, not with North Korea, not with Nicaragua, not with China."

- August 16, 2023

Tucker Carlson, 'The Javier Milei Interview'

You've said that as president of Argentina you will not do business with China.

"In fact, not only am I not going to do business with China, I'm not going to do business with any communist. Well, let's see: I am a defender of liberty, of peace, of democracy. Communists do not enter there. The Chinese do not enter there. Putin does not enter there. Lula does not enter there...

We from the state are not going to promote any type of action with communists or socialists."

- September 14, 2023



Periodista brasileño que vive en EEUU, Leonardo Coutinho expone a empresa china interviniendo en las elecciones de argentina. Los Ads pro Massa vendrían desde China. Mira los prints.

Ahora se está intentando identificar la conexión entre la empresa y el gobierno chino.

Eso es gravel En EEUU, por ejemplo, eso puede resultar en impeachment del presidente electo.

Y otra: por qué China prefere Massa a Milei? Translate post

Leonardo Coutinho 🤣 @lcoutinho · Oct 28, 2023

"O Consulado Geral da China em São Paulo aproveita a oportunidade para renovar à Alesp os protestos da sua elevada consideração."



Consulado Geral da República Popular da China em São Paulo

São Paulo, 25 de Outubro de 2023 Para

Gil Diniz

O Comudado Graf da Châne em São Parázo comprimento metanessantes a Analyse quanta de comunica es espínite: Sangano en sine da Allenço e Servisiente da Allença salance o 199 212 no da 182 da setembos, referitadares inducida da Parata Parlamenter São Paula - República da Châne afiliana da 184 da Sentembo, e Comudado Graf da Châne afile a matelistado en a probeira nobe a la colas atén em como gonzadore. Jas o da Induce de Marcelando Carda da Châne afile a matelistado Reduce hormanismos da Allenço Normana, como depatado Reduce hormanismos da Allenço Normanismos da Reduce Norma for maniane polos Presidem eta Allenço poles inso e Calasa matefina for maniane poles Presidem eta Allenço poles inso e Calasa matefina for in transiticado e concilio.

O principio de Uma Só China é a hase política e

China. O principio de Una Só Clima é um consenso geral da comunidade internacional e una noma básica das relações internacionais. Em 1974, a 2 China estabelecua relações diplomáticas com o Brasil baseada no princípio de Una Só China, destruvive relações com os governos e assembleias a nivel federal e avanicanda do Brasil. ...

Esperamos que os deputados estaduais relacionados parem de oferecer quisiquer plataformas e rapoios nos atos escescionistas do independência de Talwara, voltando aos titilitos corretos de política de Uma só China e salvaguardando com os asus próprios estreços o desenvolvimento sundivol e estável das atoletes. China Real, a renormando o, annodo activante das "A Brazilian reporter who lives in the US, Leonardo Coutinho exposes a Chinese company meddling in Argentina's elections. The pro-Massa ads come from China. Look at the screenshots. Now they're trying to identify the connection between this company and the Chinese government.

This is serious! In the US, for example, this could result in the impeachment of the president elect. And another thing: why does China prefer Massa to Milei?"

- October 28, 2023

4:25 PM · Oct 28, 2023 · 3.4M Views

Election Day November 19, 2023

"I thank President Xi Jinping for the congratulations and well wishes expressed in his letter. I send him my sincerest wishes for the well-being of the people of China."

- November 22, 2023

Javier Milei 📀 @JMilei

Agradezco al Presidente Xi Jinping las felicitaciones y los buenos deseos que me ha hecho llegar a través de su carta. Le envío mis más sinceros deseos de bienestar para el pueblo de China.

Translate post

(Traducción)

Beijing, 21 de noviembre de 2023

Sr. Javier Milei Presidente electo de la República Argentina Buenos Aires

Estimado Sr. Javier Milei:

Al enterarme de su elección como presidente de la República Argentina, quisiera en nombre del gobierno y el pueblo chinos y en el mio propio, expresarle sinceras felicitaciones y mejores votos.

China y Argentina son grandes países en desarrollo e importantes mercados emergentes. Ambos países siempre se atienen al respeto mutuo, trato en pie de igualdad, beneficio mutuo y garancia compartida, y se brindan mutuamente firme apoyo en los temas tocantes a respectivos intereses vitales. Las cooperaciones prácticas de las diversas áreas traen beneficios tangibles para ambos pueblos. La profunda amistad y el fomento constante de los lazos sino-argentinos se han convertido en consenso general de los diversos sectores de ambas sociedades.

Atribuyo alta importancia al desarrollo del vinculo sino-argentino, y estoy dispuesto a trabajar junto con usted para continuar la amistad entre ambos países, promover el desarrollo y la revitalización de los dos países con cooperación de ganancia compartida e impulsar el estable desarrollo de las relaciones sino-argentinas en beneficio de ambos pueblos.

Deseo que bajo su liderazgo, el gobierno y el pueblo de su país conquisten nuevos éxitos en la causa de la construcción nacional.

> Xi Jinping Presidente de la República Popular China

8:15 PM - Nov 22, 2023 - 11M Views

La Nación, 'El discurso completo de Javier Milei como presidente de la Argentina el día de su asunción' "Lilve the fall of the Barlin Wall marked the and of a tragia are for the world, these

"Like the fall of the Berlin Wall marked the end of a tragic era for the world, these elections have marked a turning point in our history."

- December 10, 2023

Carta de Javier Milei para los líderes de los países de BRICS

"I want to inform you that for the time being, as of January 1, 2024, the incorporation of the Republic of Argentina into BRICS is not being considered.

In spite of this, I wish to emphasize the commitment of my Government towards the intensification of bilateral ties with your country, in particular the increased flow of commerce and investments."

- December 22, 2023

Presidente de la Nación Argentina

Buenos Aires, 22 de diciembre de 2023

SEÑOR PRESIDENTE:

Tengo el agrado de dirígirme a usted en relación a la invitación a la República Argentina a sumarse al Grupo de los BRICS decidida en la Cumbre de Johannesburgo, el pasado mes de agosto.

Como es de su conocimiento, la impronta en materia de política exterior del Gobierno que presido desde hace pocos días diflere en muchos aspectos de la del Gobierno precedente. En tal sentido, algunas decisiones tomadas por la anterior gestión serán revisadas. Entre ellas se encuentra la creación de una unidad especializada para la participación activa del país en BRICS, según lo indicado por el expresidente Alberto Fernández en su carta del pasado 4 de septiembre.

Al respecto, quisiera informarle que en esta instancia no se considera oportuna la incorporación de la República Argentina al BRICS como miembro pleno a partir del 1 de enero de 2024.

Sin perjuicio de ello, deseo destacar el compromiso de mi Gobierno con la intensificación de los lazos bilaterales con su país, en particular el aumento de los flujos de comercio e inversión.

A la espera de reunirme con usted, hago propicia la oportunidad para reiterarle las seguridades de mi más distinguida consideración.

AL EXCELENTÍSIMO SEÑOR PRESIDENTE DE LA REPÚBLICA FEDERATIVA DEL BRASIL D. LUIZ INACIO LULA DA SILVA BRASILIA

Document from CNN Español.

The Wall Street Journal, 'Exclusive: Argentine President Milei Says There's 'No Plan B' for Economy'

China, which is a very important country for Argentina, not only as an enormous market for your exports, but also for its financial support; why have you declared that you don't want to have relations with communists? Why jeopardize this important relation with China? "It's true that I'm not going to be allied with communists. It's true that we reject being part of BRICS. But we have always held that commercial matters wouldn't have to be affected, because basically, it's the private sector's decision. Now it's true that I don't consider them [China] to be our strategic partner, but you have to separate geopolitical matters from commercial matters. You can have distinct differences. We can have a difference with the United Kingdom regarding the Falkland Islands. However, it doesn't make it impossible to have a set of adult commercial relations."

- January 28, 2024

Evolution of Epideictic Rhetoric

Feb. 05, 2022 **"I don't side with dictators and communists."**

Aug. 16, 2023 "Our fundamental tenets are an open market, peace, liberty, and aligning ourselves with the West… We do not make pacts with communists."

Sep. 14, 2023 **"I am a defender of liberty, of peace, of democracy. Communists do not enter there. The Chinese do not enter there."**

Dec. 22, 2023 **"...the incorporation of the Republic of Argentina into BRICS is not being considered."**

Jan. 28, 2024

"It's true that we reject being part of BRICS... Now it's true that I don't consider them [China] to be our strategic partner, but you have to separate geopolitical matters from commercial matters."

Evolution of Deliberative Rhetoric

Feb. 05, 2022 **"I wouldn't do business with China."**

Aug. 16, 2023

"I would not promote any relation with communists: not with Cuba, not with Venezuela, not with North Korea, not with Nicaragua, not with China."

Sep. 14, 2023

"I'm not going to do business with any communist... We from the state are not going to promote any type of action with communists or socialists."

Dec. 22, 2023 **"I wish to emphasize the commitment of my Government towards the intensification of bilateral ties with your country,"**

Jan. 28, 2024 **"It's true that I'm not going to be allied with communists."** How has Milei's rhetoric softened?

- dissociates communism from China
- separates Milei's opinion from the Argentine government's actions
- affirms the private sector's agency with regards to China and cements Milei's neo-liberal stance

These strategies allow Milei to maintain his campaign promises continuing to be the chainsaw-wielding outsider to his constituents —while simultaneously balancing a delicate relationship with both an ideological opponent and commercial ally. Through this analysis of his carefully-crafted rhetoric, we can see a political dance that allows him to walk the fine line of personal opinion and public policy.

Despite two years of inflammatory rhetoric, our analysis has shown that Milei has effectively changed "*we* do not make pacts with communists" to "*I* do not make pacts with communists", softening his stance and leaving the door open for Argentina's continued economic relations with China the country, even in the face of his personal qualms with China the "communist" country.

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