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29289  
SECT 01 OF 29289  
AND 42082

ACTION

DIA:

DISTR

J3(14) J5(02) J3:NMCC SECDEF(07) SECDEF: ASD:ISA(10)  
:DIA:(05) :DIA(20) NMIC  
- CMC CC WASHINGTON DC  
- CSAF WASHINGTON DC  
- ENO WASHINGTON DC  
- CSA WASHINGTON DC  
- CIA  
- SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC  
- NSA WASH DC  
FILE  
(058)

TRANSIT/011530Z/011804Z/002:34TOR2131749  
DE RUESBAA 40404 2131745  
ZNY ~~SECRET~~  
P 011530Z AUG 78

FM (b)(3):10 USC 424  
TO RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC  
INFO RULPALJ/USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ  
RULPAKA/XDR 193RD INF BDE FT AMADOR CZ  
RULPAFA/24 COMBW/IN HOWARD AFB CZ  
RUEFARA/COMNAVINTCOM ALEX VA  
RULYVGA/USCOMSOLANT  
BT

~~NOFORN~~

104200AR  
402400AR  
403055AR

REC'D 3 AUG '78

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ NOFORN SECTION 1 OF 2 JULY 78

SUBJ: THIS IS IR (b)(3):10 USC 424

1. COUNTRY: ARGENTINA (AR) (b)(3):10 USC 424
2. REPORT NUMBER: [REDACTED]
3. TITLE: (U) POLITICAL-REACTION TO USG HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES
4. PROJECT NUMBER: N/A
5. DATE OF INFORMATION: 7807
6. DATE OF REPORT: 780728
7. DATE AND PLACE OF ACQUISITION: 780727
8. REFERENCES: (b)(3):10 USC 424
9. ASSESSMENT: [REDACTED]
10. ORIGINATOR: [REDACTED]

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29337  
SECT 02 OF 29289

ACTION

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J3(14) J5(02) J3:NMCC SECDEF(07) SECDEF: ASD:ISA(10)

:DIA:(05) :DIA(20) NMIC

- CMC CC WASHINGTON DC
- CSAF WASHINGTON DC
- CND WASHINGTON DC
- CSA WASHINGTON DC
- C I A
- SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC
- NSA WASH DC

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P 011530Z AUG 78

FM (b)(3):10 USC 424

TO RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC

INFO RULPALJ/USCINCSO QUARRY HTS CZ

RULPAKA/CDR 193RD INF BDE FT AMADOR CZ

RULPAFA/24 COMPW/IN HOWARD AFB CZ

RUEBARA/COMNAVINTCOM ALEX VA

RULYVGA/USCOMSOLANT

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ UNFORN SECTION 2 OF 2 AUGUST 78

RIGHTS ISSUE FROM OTHER BILATERAL RELATIONS HAD  
BECOME INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO SUSTAIN WITHIN  
THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF GOA DECISION MAKERS PERCEIVE THAT THEY  
HAVE MADE ADVANCES IN THE DOMESTIC HUMAN RIGHTS  
SITUATION, BUT THE USG REACTION TO THESE HAS BEEN  
NEGATIVE. ACCORDING TO SOURCE A, UNTIL RECENTLY THE  
GOA HAS BEEN ABLE TO CONFINE ITS DISAPPOINTMENT TO  
USG SANCTIONS WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT, BUT THE  
PUBLICITY ATTACHED TO THE RECENT EXIM BANK DECISION  
HAS BENERATED SUCH A STRONG PUBLIC NEGATIVE REACTION  
THAT THE GOA NOW HAS TO CONCERN ITSELF WITH ITS  
DOMESTIC IMAGE VIS A VIS USG PRESSURES, SOURCE A

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SAID THAT THE GOA IS NOW CONCERNED THAT ANY FAVORABLE USG REACTION BE TIED TO SOME EVENT THAT WILL GIVE THEM THE POSSIBILITY OF PLAUSIBLE DENIAL TO CHARGES THAT IT BUCKLED UNDER TO THE USG. AS AN EXAMPLE, SOURCE A SAID THAT THE GOA WOULD LOOK FOR A MEETING OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER WITH THE SECRETARY OF STATE AS A PRETEXT TO COVER AN IMPROVEMENT IN BILATERAL RELATIONS RESULTING FROM A CHANGE IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN ARGENTINA. SOURCE A TOLD RO THAT IF THE USG OR A MEMBER OF CONGRESS WERE TO PUBLICLY STATE THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS TAKING A SPECIFIC POSITIVE STEP TO BETTER RELATIONS BECAUSE THE GOA HAD RESPONDED TO USG PRESSURES IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AREA, IT WOULD BE A DISASTER FOR THE GOA.

5. ~~(S//NOFORN)~~

Sec. 3.3(b) (1);(b)(3):10 USC 424

SOURCE B

(b)(3):10  
USC 424

TOLD THAT IN A RECENT MEETING, ALL THE ARGAF FLAG OFFICERS HAD DISCUSSED THE DETERIORATION OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS. SOURCE B HAD THAT THE ARGAF CONSIDERS THAT USG-GOA RELATIONS WILL CONTINUE TO DETERIORATE FOR THE NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS, AND THAT NOT UNTIL "YOUR SPRINGTIME" WILL THERE BE AN IMPROVEMENT. SOURCE B EXPLAINED THAT GOA STILL NEEDS ADDITIONAL TIME BEFORE IT WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES IN ITS DOMESTIC POLICIES RELATED TO HUMAN RIGHTS. SOURCE B STATED THAT ALTHOUGH THE SECURITY SITUATION IS SIGNIFICANTLY IMPROVED, THERE ARE STILL COMMUNIST-SUPPLIED ROCKETS BEING SHOT AT MILITARY INSTALLATIONS. THE IMPROVEMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS WITHIN ARGENTINA WILL COME SLOWLY, AND AT THE PACE THAT THE GOA PERCEIVES IT CAN PROCEED; NOT AS A RESULT OF USG PRESSURES. SOURCE B THEN ADDED THAT HOWEVER WELL INTENTIONED USG HUMAN RIGHTS POLICES AND SANCTION TOWARD ARGENTINA MIGHT BE, THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT IS NOW BEING PERCEIVED WITHIN THE GOA AS AN ADDITIONAL DOMESTIC POLITICAL COST TO BE CONSIDERED IN THE DEGREE AND TIMING OF DOMESTIC POLICY CHANGES. COMMENT: ~~(S//NOFORN)~~ ALL THREE SOURCE DONFIRM THAT THE GOA NOW PERCEIVES USG PRESSURES IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD AS AN IMPEDIMENT TO RAPID CHANGES IN POLICY CONCERNING THOSE RIGHTS. THE

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IMPEDIMENT APPEARS TO EXIST AT TWO LEVELS, THE RELUCTANCE AMONG GOA LEADERSHIP TO BE SINGLED OUT AS A "TRAITOR" OR SELL OUT AMONG THEIR PEERS, AND RELUCTANCE TO APPEAR TO AN AROUSED PUBLIC THAT THE GOA IS GIVING IN TO USG PRESSURES. [Sec. 3.3(b)(1)] ALL THREE SOURCES IMPLY THAT THE GOA IS NOT YET READY TO MAKE MAJOR CHANGES IN ITS HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES, AND WILL MAKE THOSE CHANGES WHEN ITS PERCEPTION OF THE DOMESTIC SITUATION INDICATES THAT THE CHANGES CAN BE MADE. ALL THREE ALSO IMPLY THAT THE PATIENCE THEY FEEL THE GOA HAS SHOWN TOWARD USG INTERFERENCE IN THEIR DOMESTIC AFFAIRS IS WEARING VERY THIN. PERHAPS MOST SIGNIFICANT IS THE PERCEPTION THAT USG DIRECT PRESSURES IN THE FORM OF SANCTIONS HAS CAUSED AN IMPORTANT BACKLASH AMONG THE ARGENTINE PUBLIC, AND WITHIN THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT, WHICH COULD ATTACH A DOMESTIC POLITICAL COST TO REMOVAL OF THOSE SANCTIONS IF THE REMOVAL MAKES THE GOA APPEAR TO HAVE GIVEN IN TO USG PRESSURES.

THIS MSG COORD W AMEMBASSY. ~~GDS 84~~

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11. REQUEST EVALUATION:

(b)(3):10 USC 424;Sec. 3.3(b) (1)

12. PREPARING OFFICER:

13. APPROVING AUTHORITY:

14.

15. SPECIAL INSTRUCTION:

~~NOFORN TO AVOID~~

~~EMBARRASSMENT TO HOST GOVERNMENT~~

16. SUMMARY: ~~(S/NOFORN)~~ NEGATIVE REACTION TO USG POLICY ON HUMAN RIGHTS IS GROWING AMONG MILITARY AND THE ARGENTINE POPULACE. CONCERN THAT USG POSITIVE REACTIONS TO HUMAN RIGHTS IMPROVEMENTS IN ARGENTINA MUST BE CAREFULLY MANAGED TO PRECLUDE APPEARANCE THAT CHANGES IN DOMESTIC PRACTICES WERE MADE IN RESPONSE TO USG PRESSURES.

22. DETAILS: 1. ~~(S/NOFORN)~~

Sec. 3.3(b) (1)

2. ~~(S/NOFORN)~~

Sec. 3.3(b) (1);(b)(3):10 USC 424

SOURCE A ON

DIRECTED SOURCE INTO A CONVERSATION CONCERNING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GOA AND THE USG. SOURCE A, WHO HAS VISITED THE UNITED STATES AS AN INTERNATIONAL VISITOR PROGRAM GRANTEE, DEMONSTRATED CONCERN OVER THE GROWING PERCEPTION AMONG THE "MEN IN THE STREET" THAT THE USG HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES ARE NOTHING MORE THAN ANOTHER ASPECT IN US IMPERIALISTIC INTERVENTION IN ARGENTINE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. SOURCE A SAID THAT THERE ARE A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF SENIOR GOA OFFICIALS WHO INTERPRET THE STRONG PUBLIC REACTION AGAINST THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE EXPORT-IMPORT BANK'S REFUSAL TO PROVIDE FUNDING FOR AN AMERICAN FIRM INTERESTED IN PARTICIPATING IN A MAJOR LOCAL HYDROELECTRIC PROJECT, AS A POLITICAL RESTRICTION TO THEIR ABILITY TO WORK WITH THE USG ON HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS. SOURCE A TOLD

(b)(3):10 USC 424

GOA OFFICIALS ARE SERIOUSLY CONCERNED THAT

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ANY USG REACTION TO A SPECIFIC GOA ACTION IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AREA WOULD BE INTERPRETED DOMESTICALLY AS A SELL OUT TO USG PRESSURES. SOURCE A EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOA WILL PROBABLY BE MAKING SOME INITIATIVES IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AREAS IN THE NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS, BUT THAT THE TIMING WILL HAVE TO BE VERY CAREFULLY STUDIED TO ENSURE THAT A PUBLIC USG REACTION TO THE IMPROVEMENTS DOES NOT SUBVERT THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL SUPPORT OF THE GOA. SOURCE A STATED THAT IT WAS A RIDICULOUS SITUATION WHEN THE GOA HAS TO BE CONCERNED WITH ITS DOMESTIC PROGRAMS CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR FEAR THAT A FAVORABLE USG REACTION WOULD HURT THE DOMESTIC SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT.

3. ~~(S//NOFORN)~~ SOURCE A ATTEMPTED TO GIVE A FLAVOR FOR THE STRONG, EMOTIONAL FEELING AGAINST THE USG THAT IS GROWING AT THE GRASS-ROOTS LEVEL, BY EXPLAINING THAT OSCAR ALENDE, WHO, DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES, DISCUSSED THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION WITH KEY USG AND CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS, FELT COMPELLED FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL REASONS TO CLARIFY HIS POSITION AND WHAT HE HAD SAID IN THE UNITED STATES TO PRECLUDE THE LOCAL APPEARANCE OF HAVING SOLD OUT TO THE USG. SOURCE A SAID THAT HE HAS PERSONALLY HEARD SENIOR OFFICIALS DISCUSS THEIR FEAR THAT RAPID ADVANCES IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELDS MIGHT BE INTERPRETED AS A SELL OUT TO THE USG. SOURCE C RELATED ON 780726 THAT A

(b)(3):10 USC 42

Sec. 3.3(b) (1) AN ARGAF FLAG OFFICER, HAD BEEN ACCUSED BY SEVERAL OF HIS COLLEAGUES OF BEING A "VENDE PATRIA" (SELLER OF THE NATION) WHEN HE ADVOCATED CONTINUED SLOW, MEASURED REACTIONS TO USG PRESSURES IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AREA. SOURCE C TOLD NUMBER OF SENIOR ARGAF OFFICIALS THAT SUPPORT MAINTAINING A LOW PROFILE RESPONSE TO USG ACTIONS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AREA HAS DWINDLED TO TWO OR THREE. THE MAJORITY OF ARGAF FLAG OFFICERS ARE NOW DISPOSED TO MORE HARDLINED RESPONSES TO USG PRESSURES.

(b)(3):10 USC 424

(b)(3):10  
USC 424

4. ~~(S//NOFORN)~~ SOURCE A WENT ON TO DESCRIBE HIS UNDERSTANDING OF THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS IN WASHINGTON. HE (b)(3):10 USC 424

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THAT GOA EFFORTS IN THE PAST TO ISOLATE THE HUMAN

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