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ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301



INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY AFFAIRS

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Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: DEC 05 2017

17 NOV 1980

#73

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

THRU THE UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE (POLICY) *18 NOV 1980

SUBJECT: Argentina

(4) State, unsurprisingly, does not want to fall off the positions expressed in the attached Muskie memorandum (Tab A). The question is how much you want to press your positions (Tab B), given the coming change of Administration. There is reason to go forward with some positive movement: at this week's Inter-American Human Rights Commission (IAHRC) meeting, we are likely to take a position--asking the Commission to make reference to specific countries contained in the report by its staff--that the Argentines will perceive as significantly anti-Argentine. Given our IAHRC position, I believe we need simultaneously to take some steps forward if we are to improve relations with Argentina, which, after all, is the course that the President approved (Tab C). In sum, I recommend we press forward with the initiatives discussed in your paper:

- an invitation to an Argentine officer to be a guest instructor at U.S. Army School of the Americas
- security consultations focusing on the security of the South Atlantic
- a high level military visit

(4) State staff will oppose on the ground that we shouldn't pre-empt the next Administration (and some in State oppose improvement in relations at all). True enough, we shouldn't pre-empt the President-elect. But our own current policy is to improve relations, which suggests movement, the new Administration is unlikely to take a different tack, and sitting dead in the water is most likely to make relations worse.

(4) State will also say that the above initiatives were supposed to follow on from Bowdler's visit which was postponed, and that they don't want to reschedule the visit until the new Administration takes office because they won't know what to say. However, the Bowdler visit is not critical to making the foregoing proposals, and, in any event, none of the consultations, etc. suggested actually need take place until after January 20.

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(U) In short, our recommendation is to go forward along the lines we had earlier proposed. If you agree, you may wish to raise this at the MBB lunch since State staff won't move. (It's tentatively on the agenda, pending your decision).



David E. McCaffert
Assistant Secretary of Defense
International Security Affairs

Attachments

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Date: DEC 03 2017

Office of the Secretary of Defense
Chief, RDD, ESD, WIIS
Date: 06 DEC 2017 Authority: EO 13526
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Reason: _____
MDR: 17 -M- 1076

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Date: DEC 05 2017

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

October 18, 1980

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MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

From:

Edmund S. Muskie

Subject:

U.S. Policy Toward Argentina

On May 29 the Inter-Agency Group for Latin America developed a strategy, subsequently approved by you, to improve our relations with Argentina during 1980.

However, following the IG meeting two events occurred which have caused us to reassess the timing of our initiatives:

-- The Bolivian military, with Argentine sympathy and support, staged a coup in Bolivia. Assistant Secretary Bowdler's visit to Buenos Aires was postponed as a result.

-- Argentina thus far has not agreed to continue cooperation beyond October on grains export restrictions to the Soviet Union.

I emphasized both of these issues, in addition to our human rights concerns, in my recent meeting with Argentine Foreign Minister Pastor at the UN General Assembly. Under Secretary Cooper in a subsequent discussion with the Argentine Minister of Economy received the impression that continued cooperation on grains is possible but much depends on the size of the 1980/81 harvests. We plan to continue our efforts through further discussions in Buenos Aires, Washington, and at international meetings.

Argentine decision-making is influenced by the nearness of our presidential election and by their own presidential transition. General Viola will replace President Videla March 29, 1981.

Under these circumstances, we believe that, while it is important to proceed with as many of the proposed 1980 initiatives as possible, it would be inappropriate to proceed this year with some of the steps earlier contemplated. However, we should maintain private dialogue and avoid public confrontation that would make this dialogue difficult. The steps we intend to proceed with this year and those we plan to defer until next year are as follows:

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I. Continuing or Early Action Initiatives:

-- We will pursue our significant commercial and economic interests in preparation for the meeting of the U.S.-Argentine Mixed Economic Commission to be held in Buenos Aires, probably in March or April (the earliest mutually convenient timeframe). The meeting will include discussion of bilateral trade issues and seek to expand commercial relations. We also would use this occasion to continue dialogue over the issues that may be current at that time.

-- We will move forward on negotiations to arrive at an agreement on the assurances required for the Nuclear Non-proliferation Act. We continue to urge the Argentines to ratify the Treaty of Tlatelolco as they had earlier promised you.

-- We will seek to conclude the negotiations for a bilateral income tax treaty and a consular convention.

II. Initiatives Postponed Until Next Years

-- The first round of periodic security consultations, focusing on security of the South Atlantic.

-- Periodic policy talks on global and hemispheric issues.

-- Signing the Agricultural Cooperation Agreement, unless we can obtain a renewal of the Argentine decision to limit grains to the Soviet Union.

-- An invitation to an Argentine guest instructor to the U.S. Army School of the Americas until consultations with the Congress are completed and we are satisfied as to the timing of the initiative.

-- A high-level U.S. military visit, although we should keep under review the desirability of an invitation to a senior Argentine military leader, such as the Argentine Army CINC or Chief of Staff.

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: U.S. Policy Toward Argentina (U)

(S) In July, the PRC recommended improving our relations with Argentina, and your reaction was that you were "inclined to move faster" than the PRC had recommended. Secretary Muskie has now proposed cutting back on our initiatives because of the Argentine support for the coup in Bolivia and the lack of Argentine cooperation on grains export restrictions to the Soviet Union. This approach strikes me as counter-productive.

(S) We have long known that the Argentines did not support the grain embargo. Indeed, one of the factual predicates for the PRC recommendation was our inability to influence the Argentines to join in the embargo. That lack of influence demonstrated the need to improve relations. The Argentine support for the Bolivian coup is regrettable, to say the least, but again we are not likely to improve our ability to influence their actions by limiting our opportunities to talk to them.

(S) Such limitations, however, are, in effect, what the State Department memorandum proposes. Leaving aside the signature of the Agricultural Cooperation Agreement, which is outside the national security area, the other proposed actions are

- to avoid talks on security and hemispheric policy issues,
 - not to extend invitations to Argentine military officers,
- and
- not to send a high level U.S. military delegation on a visit to Argentina.

(S) General Goodpaster's earlier visit demonstrated the important positive effects which can be achieved by high level personal contact between U.S. military officers and the Argentine government. The Argentines have a military government. If we

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are to bring Argentina closer to our views, the best chance rests in talking to that government and using military to military channels as appropriate conduits for our messages and views.

(S) I therefore strongly oppose the proposed postponements of military-related initiatives recommended by Secretary Muskie.

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

24 OCT 1980

In reply refer to:
I-25526/80

INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY AFFAIRS

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

THROUGH: USD(P) *K* 4 OCT 1980

SUBJECT: U.S. Policy Towards Argentina (U)--ACTION MEMORANDUM

(K) The purpose of this memorandum is to obtain your signature on a proposed memorandum to the President (Tab A) in response to a 22 October NSC request for comment on a Secretary of State memorandum to the President (Tab B).

(A) As you know, the President approved the 14 May 1980 PRC recommendation for improvement in U.S.-Argentine relations. The summary of conclusions at that meeting stated that "Commerce and Defense . . . want to press for more rapid improvement in the relationship than do other agencies." The President's hand-written note said, "I'm inclined to move faster." (Tab C)

(A) Subsequently, the Interagency Group meetings on Argentina proposed definite steps which would strengthen ties with Argentina (Tab D).

(A) Secretary Muskie's recent memorandum envisions cutting back the proposed program as a result of Argentine involvement in the recent Bolivia coup and the negative Argentine stance on curbing grain sales to the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that these are significant problems in our relations with Argentina. On the other hand, we have very little leverage with the Argentines on any issue (as their Bolivian/grain actions demonstrate) and we will not have any unless we take steps to improve relations. The Argentine government is a military one, and U.S./Argentine military contacts and visits have an important role to play in improving relations (as the Goodpaster visit demonstrated).

(K) The Muskie memo, however, proposes cutting back on the military initiatives we had in mind. Without continued talks with Argentina on hemispheric and security issues and reciprocal military visits and contacts, there is little hope of influencing the essentially military government in Argentina toward our views.

(U) Recommend you sign the proposed memorandum to the President.

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Franklin D. Kramer
Franklin D. Kramer
Acting Assistant Secretary of Defense
International Security Affairs

Attachment

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Declassify on 24 October 86

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COPIES TO:

THE WHITE HOUSE

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WASHINGTON

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July 11, 1980

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MEMORANDUM FOR

S/S

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

TMA

RF-WS

SUBJECT:

U.S.-Argentine Relations (U)

Attached is a copy of your June 14 memo on "Steps to Improve U.S.-Argentine Relations," with the President's comments. In addition to approving the approach recommended in your memo, the President added two additional instructions:

-- The Argentine Ambassador should be summoned to urge once more that the Argentines not sign (or at least delay signing) a long-term grain agreement with the Soviet Union and, failing that, that they hold sales to current levels. (S)

-- As we proceed to develop closer relationships, DOD/JCS and other agencies involved with Argentina should continually reaffirm the importance which the Carter Administration attaches to human rights and democratization. (S)

Z. Brzezinski

Zbigniew Brzezinski

Attachment

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~~Review July 11, 1986~~

*Rec'd in S/S
7/12 at 0745
HSH*

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Date: DEC 03 2017

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

June 14, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
From: Warren Christopher, Acting W.C.
Subject: Steps To Improve U.S.-Argentine Relations

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countries*

Pursuant to your instructions, the Inter-Agency Group for the American Republics has prepared a plan of action for 1980, which I am submitting for your approval.

I. OBJECTIVES

Our principal objectives in moving to improve our relationship with Argentina are to:

- foster Argentina's identification with the West and thus to contain Soviet political and economic influence;
- encourage further specific improvements in human rights practices;
- seek assistance on appropriate East-West issues (e.g. grains); and
- obtain progress on nonproliferation objectives, particularly full-scope safeguards and ratification of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, and foster increased sensitivity among Argentine leaders to global nonproliferation concerns.

We also wish to encourage continued Argentine cooperation with the Papal mediation of Argentina's dispute with Chile over territorial limits in the Beagle Channel, a dispute that very nearly led to war between the two countries in late 1978. Finally, we wish to encourage Argentina to play a constructive role with respect to developments in Central America and other Hemispheric issues.

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II. ACTIONS FOR 1980

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1. The Consultative Process

We will continue the process of political and economic consultations begun with General Goodpaster's visit to Buenos Aires in January. We contemplate:

-- a visit by the Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs to Buenos Aires, possibly about August 1, during which he will review our policy concerns and the state of our relations and will be prepared to discuss steps we would plan to take to strengthen cooperation in selected areas, depending on the nature of the Argentine response. CUX

-- a meeting of the U.S.-Argentine Mixed Economic Commission in October, the U.S. delegation possibly to be chaired by the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. The meeting would include discussion of ongoing efforts to resolve bilateral trade issues and to expand commercial relations.

-- periodic policy talks on global and hemispheric issues, with the first round to be held during the visit of the Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs.

2. Military Relations

We will begin to rebuild relations through increased contact and consultations, while stressing that further progress on human rights will be essential to the more fundamental improvement in these relations (including consideration of modification of the Humphrey/Kennedy Amendment, as reported in the conclusions of the PRC meeting). We plan to:

--begin periodic security consultations with Argentina; the first round, to be held this year in Buenos Aires, would focus on Soviet activities in the South Atlantic;

--invite an Argentine Armed Forces team to make a return visit to Washington later in the year to discuss global defense issues;

--invite Argentina to send a guest instructor to the U.S. Army School of the Americas after consulting

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with members of Congress to ensure that this initiative would not be regarded as conflicting with the spirit of the Humphrey-Kennedy Amendment.

Other issues are:

--High-Level Military Visit.

4)

We will keep under review the desirability of proceeding with an invitation to a senior Argentine military leader (such as the Commander-in-Chief of the Argentine Army or the Army Chief-of-Staff) to visit Washington this year. A final decision on this (including the question of timing) should take into account the implications of such a move on the selection of the next Argentine president now under way within the Argentine Armed Forces, as well as continued improvements in the observance of human rights and developments in U.S.-Argentine relations. ALREADY

--Sale of P-3 Aircraft.

In DOD's view, there is a strategic need for the sale of ocean surveillance aircraft to the GOA. We see no possibility, however, of seeking special legislation which would modify the Humphrey-Kennedy Amendment to permit the sale of these aircraft to Argentina this year. 1980

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3. Human Rights

We will continue the dialogue on human rights with Argentine leaders, principally but not exclusively through Ambassador Castro and during the visit by the Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, Ambassador Bowdler. In these consultations we will attempt to obtain assurances that: visit
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-- the GOA will accept an OASGA resolution which recognizes the role of the OAS Commission on Human Rights and which encompasses a call for further improvements by Argentina;

-- there will be no new disappearances, including no disappearances of persons alleged to be terrorists;

-- all persons suspected of terrorism or subversive activities, including unacknowledged detainees, will

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be processed through normal judicial channels and ensured due process;

-- guarantees will be instituted to prevent the torture of detainees; and

-- there be substantial progress, in advance of the OASGA, in reducing the number of political prisoners held without charges through release, trial, or exile (during his recent visit, Ambassador Smith was assured that half of these prisoners--1,300 at the time--would be released or sentenced by the end of the year).

The Inter-Agency Group noted that an accounting of the fate of disappeared persons was being addressed in UN fora and concluded that, while this should not be a central requirement for the improvement of our bilateral relations, it should remain an important U.S. objective. We should urge Argentina, in bilateral discussions, to cooperate with these multilateral efforts, particularly with the UN Human Rights Commission's new expert working group on disappeared persons and with other groups such as the Catholic Church.

In addition to human rights discussions initiated by the Ambassador and by Assistant Secretary Bowdler, the U.S. side of the Mixed Economic Commission will be prepared to raise or respond to human rights concerns in discussions with their Argentine counterparts, and will be fully briefed for this purpose.

4. Nuclear Relations

We want to move Argentina over time to accept IAEA safeguards on future as well as current facilities (including the reprocessing facility) and to ratify the Treaty of Tlatelolco. To do this, we need to keep open the door for continued cooperation with Argentina's nuclear program to the extent commensurate with your policy. We should:

-- try to resolve promptly, in accordance with U.S. law and our nonproliferation objectives, the remaining safeguards issues to permit delivery of highly and moderately enriched fuel for Argentina's research program, as well as components for its power program;

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-- once this is done, undertake a review of the conditions under which we could facilitate expanded participation by U.S. industry in Argentina's nuclear program. (A major case currently at issue is an export license application for the sale of a pressure vessel for the Atucha II power reactor.)

5. Other Cooperative Steps

In addition, we would:

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-- Sign the pending U.S.-Argentine Agricultural Cooperation Agreement during the visit of the Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs;

-- Seek to conclude the negotiations for the bilateral income tax treaty;

-- Seek to negotiate a consular convention.

6. Consultations with Other Allies

The Inter-Agency Group also considered whether and in what form the Administration should consult our NATO allies and Japan about issues of common concern such as human rights and recent Soviet initiatives toward Argentina and other countries in the Hemisphere. These subjects and our policies thereon could be discussed within NATO fora such as the Political Advisors Committee, the Permanent Council, and the NATO experts group on Latin America. Depending on the results of these consultations, we could consider further actions in Buenos Aires. A majority of the Interagency Group recommended against new high-level bilateral approaches to our Allies on these issues. We would continue the practice of consulting on human rights in the appropriate UN fora, such as the UN Human Rights Commission.

7. Implications for U.S. Policy Toward Brazil and Chile

The Group also considered the implications for neighboring countries, especially as regards security consultations.

With respect to Brazil, the Group noted that many of these steps will restore a better balance

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in U.S. relations with the two countries, since the U.S. already has a comprehensive consultative process with Brazil (including, most recently, security consultations).

Chile is concerned about our improving relationship with Argentina, which it sees as threatening in the context of the Beagle Channel dispute. We have attempted to persuade the Chileans that what we are doing with Argentina has nothing to do with Chile or with our position on the Beagle Channel, which is to encourage acceptance of the outcome of Papal mediation and avoidance of war. This issue will be more fully addressed in the review of our relations with Chile later this year.

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Concurrences:

H - Mr. J. Brian Atwood
EB - Mr. Deane Hinton
HA - Ms. Patt Derian
OES - Mr. Louis Nosenzo
PM - Mr. Daniel O'Donohue
EUR/SOV - Mr. Robert Perito
EUR/RMP - Mr. Stephen Ledogar
S/P - Mr. Anthony Lake
IQ - Mr. Michael Newlin
S/AS - Mr. Allen Locke
USOAS - Mr. Herbert Thompson
AID/RDP - Mr. David Raymond
NSC - Mr. Thomas Thornton
OPIC - Ms. Caryl Bernstein
STR - Mr. Robert Hormatz
DOD/ISA - Col. Patrick Briggs
JCS - Admiral J.A. Lyons
CIA [REDACTED]
Commerce - Mr. A. Katz
Treasury - Mr. Fred Bergsten
USDA - Mr. Dale Hathaway
DOE - Mr. Les Goldman
EXIMBANK - Mr. Crafton
ACDA - Mr. Charles Van Doren
ICA - Mr. Victor Olason
L/PM - Mr. T. Borek

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