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E.O. 12065: XDS-1 1/28/10 (CASTRO, RAUL H.) OR-M  
TAGS: PEPR AR  
SUBJ: (C) DRAFT MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION: GENERAL GOODPASTER'S  
VISIT TO ARGENTINA: GENERAL POLITICAL TOPICS: JANUARY 24

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. (COMMENT: A SEPARATE MESSAGE DESCRIBES PORTIONS OF  
THE CONVERSATION WITH GENERAL GOODPASTER LED BY FOREIGN  
MINISTER PASTOR ON JANUARY 23. THIS MESSAGE DESCRIBES  
THE CONTINUATION OF THIS CONVERSATION ON JANUARY 24.  
PARTICIPANTS WERE THE SAME ON BOTH OCCASIONS; BOTH  
CONVERSATIONS WERE AT THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.  
A SEPARATE SERIES OF TWO MESSAGES OUTLINES PARTS OF  
THE CONVERSATION LED BY ECONOMY MINISTER MARTINEZ DE  
HOZ. END COMMENT.)

*Jan 24*

3. PASTOR BEGAN HIS PRESENTATION ASKING, BECAUSE OF A  
REMARK THE PREVIOUS DAY HE HAD FAILED TO UNDERSTAND,  
WHETHER CHANGES IN THE UNITED STATES UNDERSTANDING OF  
ARGENTINA'S HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION COULD BE EXPECTED  
BEFORE OR AFTER THE FEBRUARY MEETING IN GENEVA OF  
THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

4. GENERAL GOODPASTER REPLIED THAT WE WERE AMENABLE  
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TO CONSULTATIONS BEFORE THE GENEVA MEETINGS REGARDING  
WHICH OF FIVE POSSIBLE OUTCOMES OF THE COMMISSION'S  
DELIBERATIONS SEEM MOST APPROPRIATE.

5. PASTOR OUTLINED IN BRIEF ARGENTINA'S POSITION  
AT GENEVA AS ONE STRIVING TOWARD CONFIDENTIALITY, AND  
ONE WHICH SEEKS TO AVOID ARGENTINA'S BEING SINGLED

Department of State, A/GIS/IPS/SRP

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OUT AS A SPECIAL CASE -- A CASE WHOSE INVESTIGATION WOULD BE IN THE HANDS OF A SPECIAL COMMITTEE. DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER CAVANDOLI CONTINUED IN GREATER DETAIL: ARGENTINA IS ESPECIALLY CONCERNED REGARDING SIX SPECIFIC COMPLAINTS (OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS) HANDLED UNDER RESOLUTION 1503 BY THE SUB-COMMISSION WHICH SERVES UNDER THE U.N. COMMISSION, AND WHICH WILL EMERGE AT THE COMMISSION MEETING IN GENEVA AS AGENDA ITEM 10B.

6. GENERAL GOODPASTER REPLIED THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL APPROACH GENEVA WITH NO SPECIAL RANCOR TOWARD ARGENTINA AND NO INTENTION OF TRYING TO SINGLE OUT ARGENTINA FOR SPECIAL CENSURE. WE HOPE, HE SAID, FOR A GENERAL RESOLUTION. CERTAINLY WE WOULD NOT SEEK "ON-SITE" INSPECTION OF ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS -- A PROCEDURE WHICH WOULD DUPLICATE THE VISIT OF THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. (IN AN ASIDE MR. RUSER POINTED OUT THAT AT LAST YEAR'S COMMISSION MEETING THE U.S. HAD NOT SUPPORTED A WESTERN EUROPEAN RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD HAVE TAKEN ARGENTINA SEVERELY TO TASK, ALTHOUGH THERE WAS SYMPATHY IN OUR DELEGATION AT GENEVA FOR SUCH A RESOLUTION. HE ADDED AS A CAVEAT WITH REGARD TO THE FLEXIBILITY OF OUR RESPONSE AT GENEVA THAT IT WAS U.S. POLICY GENERALLY TO ACCEPT THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE "GROUP OF FIVE EXPERTS" WHO ADVISE THE COMMITTEE, AND THAT CHANGING THIS POLICY WOULD BE

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DIFFICULT.)

7. GENERAL GOODPASTER THEN ASKED WHAT SPECIFIC STEPS THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA HAS IN MIND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IMPROVEMENT. WHAT CAN BE EXPECTED FOR EXAMPLE, HE ASKED, IN RELEASES OF PRISONERS THROUGH RIGHT OF OPTION OR OTHER MEANS?

8. ECONOMY MINISTER MARTINEZ DE HOZ THEN TOOK THE FLOOR SINCE, HE SAID, IT WAS HIS MINISTRY THAT HAD BEEN SINGLED OUT RECENTLY FOR TERRORIST HITS AND ASSASSINATIONS. HE SPOKE OF THE BOMBING OF THE KLEIN HOUSE, AND THE MIRACLE THE FAMILY WAS SAVED; HE OUTLINED THE ATTEMPT AGAINST SECRETARY ALEMANN'S LIFE, AND THE TERRORIST ASSASSINATION OF SOLDATI. HE ASKED WHETHER GENERAL GOODPASTER HAD READ IN THE MORNING PAPERS OF THE LARGE CACHES OF TERRORIST ARMS JUST DISCOVERED -- ENOUGH ARMAMENT, HE SAID, TO KEEP TERRORISTS IN BUSINESS FOR MONTHS. MANY OF THE ARMS, HE SAID, HAD BEEN MANUFACTURED IN ARGENTINA AS LATE AS

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SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1979. HE ASSERTED THAT PEOPLE GRANTED RIGHT OF OPTION HAD RETURNED TO ARGENTINA, AND THAT SEVERAL OF THEM HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN THESE EVENTS. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT AS THE SOLDATI CASE INVESTIGATIONS HAD GONE FORWARD THE COMPANION OF A SLAIN TERRORIST WAS RAIDED AT HIS HOUSE, AND THAT DETAILED PLANS FOR MARTINEZ DE HOZ'S OWN ASSASSINATION HAD BEEN FOUND. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, HE CONCLUDED, RIGHT OF OPTION PROGRESS WAS GOING TO BE DIFFICULT. "THERE IS MORE INVOLVED HERE THAN UNPROVED CASES OF PEOPLE UNDER DETENTION."

9. THIS BROUGHT FOREIGN MINISTER PASTOR TO THE SUBJECT OF THE REPORT OF THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. THE REPORT CONTAINS ONLY DETAILED REPORTS OF REPRESSION, AND NOWHERE DOES IT MENTION

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THE GUERRILLA WAR WHICH WAS BEING WAGED. ARGENTINA'S DISMAY WAS GREAT, HE SAID, AFTER HAVING INVITED THE COMMISSION CONFIDENT OF ITS BASIC FAIRNESS. UNFORTUNATELY, PASTOR SAID, THE TOUGHEST MEMBER OF THE

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COMMISSION WAS FROM THE UNITED STATES, TOM FARER. COULD THE U.S.G. NOT ASK FARER TO MODIFY HIS POSITION, IF ONLY IN CONSIDERATION OF THE CERTAINTY THAT A REPORT AS HARSH AS THE ONE THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT NOW HAS IN HAND WILL SURELY PRECLUDE ANY OTHER COUNTRY'S ACCEPTING A VISIT BY THE COMMISSION?

10. CAVANDOLI ADDED DETAILS: THE ARGENTINE

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GOVERNMENT HAS UNTIL FEBRUARY 28 TO PHRASE ITS REPLY TO THE COMMISSION'S REPORT. THERE MAY STILL BE TIME FOR MODIFICATION OF IT. FOREIGN MINISTER PASTOR SAID HE WAS AWARE THAT COMMISSION MEMBERS ACTED AS INDIVIDUALS, BUT HE WAS CERTAIN THAT THE INDIVIDUALS WERE INFLUENCED BY THE VIEWS OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS. TO THIS AMBASSADOR CASTRO RESPONDED THAT NO ONE AT THE EMBASSY HAD TALKED WITH FARER DURING HIS STAY HERE, AND MR. RUSER ADDED THAT -- DESPITE AN ASSERTION TO THE CONTRARY IN "SOMOS" MAGAZINE -- DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS LIKEWISE HAD NOT SOUGHT TO SHARE FARER'S VIEWS.

11. GENERAL GOODPASTER SAID, AGAIN, THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DID NOT INTEND TO PURSUE A VINDICTIVE POLICY TOWARD ARGENTINA -- ADDING, HOWEVER, THAT  
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A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF DAMAGE HAS, UNAVOIDABLY, ACCRUED.

12. FOREIGN MINISTER PASTOR THEN LED INTO THE SUBJECT OF MILITARY SUPPLIES: AS A RESULT OF THE HUMPHREY-KENNEDY AMENDMENT, HE COMMENTED, ARGENTINA HAS BEEN FORCED TO SEEK ARMS ELSEWHERE -- INCLUDING TO ISRAEL, AND TO LOOK FOR SPARE PARTS WHEREVER THE GOVERNMENT COULD FIND THEM. HE POINTED TO THE EXPENSE OF CREATING "PARALLEL" CHANNELS OF SUPPLY. WHERE MIGHT THERE BE A STARTING POINT TOWARD CHANGING THIS SITUATION?

13. GENERAL GOODPASTER REPLIED THAT AT SOME ULTIMATE POINT IN COMPLETELY RESTORED RELATIONS THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES THE NEED TO RESTORE A MILITARY SUPPLY RELATIONSHIP. AT THE SAME TIME, HE SAID, HE KNEW OF NO IMMEDIATE PROSPECT OF THIS HAPPENING -- THOUGH HE WOULD ASK ON RETURNING TO WASHINGTON THAT A SEARCH BE MADE FOR DEFINITION OF THE POINT AT WHICH THIS RESTORATION COULD BEGIN. MEANWHILE, HE SAID, THERE WERE OTHER POSSIBILITIES FOR MAINTAINING CONTACT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ARGENTINE SERVICES: VISITS AND CONSULTATIONS FOR EXAMPLE. RECALLING HIS EXPERIENCES IN EUROPE, THE GENERAL SAID HE RECALLED VIVIDLY THE PROBLEMS THAT ACCRUE WHEN SUPPLY CHANNELS ARE CUT.

14. FOREIGN MINISTER PASTOR THEN SOUGHT TO ENGAGE GENERAL GOODPASTER IN EXPLORING PROSPECTS FOR UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE IN A BEAGLE CHANNEL SETTLEMENT. THE HISTORICAL PROBLEM WAS EXPOUNDED: CHILEAN

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EXPANSIONISM TOWARD THE SOUTH, WHICH FINALLY TURNED EASTWARDS AND ARRIVED AT A POINT WHERE ARGENTINA HAD NOTHING LEFT BUT TO RAISE THE CHALLENGE. RECENT  
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TENSIONS LED, FINALLY, TO AN AGREEMENT TO ASKE OFR THE POPE'S MEDIATION -- BUT THIS IN TURN HANGS ON RE-AFFIRMATION OF THE ATLANTIC-PACIFIC DIVISION AT CAPE HORN, WHICH THE ARGENTINES MAINTAIN (WHILE ACCEPTING PROVISIONS FOR NEUTRAL ZONES OF EXPLOITATION) BUT WHICH THE CHILEANS REJECT, STILL WITHOUT OFFERING MEANINGFUL COUNTERPROPOSALS. IN FACE OF CHILEAN RIGIDITY, PASTOR ASSERTED, IT APPEARS INCREASINGLY NECESSARY THAT THE POPE SEEK TO IMPOSE A SOLUTION ON THE TWO COUNTRIES, GOING BEYOND HIS ROLE AS JUST A MEDIATOR.

15. GENERAL GOODPASTER SAID IN RESPONSE THAT A CONFLICT BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WOULD BE IN NO ONE'S INTEREST, AND EXPRESSED HOPE FOR AN EQUITABLE SOLUTION. (MR. RUSER COMMENTED THAT WE HAD OFFERED THE VATICAN ANY COOPERATION POSSIBLE, THOUGH IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE UNITED STATES COULD NOT BECOME INVOLVED DIRECTLY IN THE DISPUTE AND MEDIATION EFFORTS.)

16. PASTOR RAISED THE ISSUE OF THE DEFENSE OF THE SOUTH ATLANTIC, TAKING AS HIS DEPARTURE AN ARGENTINA-BRAZILIAN-URUGUAYAN COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED TO CONSIDER THIS REQUIREMENT. DEFENSIVE ARRANGEMENTS HAD BECOME MORE PERTINENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION'S PRESENCE IN A NUMBER OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES. THIS PRESENCE COULD EVEN THREATEN THE PANAMA CANAL. CRUCIAL TO DEFENSE IS INCLUSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA. COULD NOT THE UNITED STATES -- ESPECIAL IN VIEW OF MODIFICATIONS MADE IN SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID POLICY AA COME CLOSER TO AN UNDERSTANDING WITH ALL THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED?

17 GENERAL GOODPASTER REPLIED THAT THESE PROBLEMS HAD OFTEN BEEN DISCUSSED WHEN HE WAS NATO COMMANDER. ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF THE OBVIOUS SOVIET UNION INTEN-  
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TION TO PROJECT THE IMAGE OF ITSELF AS A COUNTRY CAPABLE OF FIGHTING IN ANY OCEAN WAS IT NECESSARY THAT THERE BE PLANNING. THE SEVERAL NAVIES INVOLVED,

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HE SAID, APPEAR AT THIS MOMENT THE APPROPRIATE PLANNING-  
COORDINATING AGENCIES -- AND THEY SHOULD  
STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH.

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18. DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER CAVANDOLI THEN TOOK UP  
NUCLEAR AFFAIRS. THE UNITED STATES SHOULD NOT BE  
PREOCCUPIED OVER THE PROBLEMS OF SAFEGUARDS. ARGENTINA  
DOES NOT SEEK ATOMIC WEAPONRY, AND FURTHERMORE IS  
PRESENTLY SEEKING WORKABLE SAFEGUARDS WITH THE  
INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY. THE COUNTRY IS ALSO  
SEEKING A SAFEGUARDS ARRANGEMENT WITH THE FEDERAL  
REPUBLIC OF GERMANY. WILL NOT THESE ARRANGEMENTS  
SUFFICE? IN THE SAME CONNECTION, IS THERE NO WAY  
THE UNITED STATES WILL GIVE UP ITS OPPOSITION TO  
ARGENTINA'S ACQUIRING A HEAVY WATER PRODUCTION  
FACILITY?

19. TO BEGIN, GENERAL GOODPASTER SAID, HE WAS AWARE  
OF AN UNANSWERED LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF  
ARGENTINA TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
ABOUT FUEL FOR NUCLEAR RESEARCH REACTORS. HE WAS  
CONFIDENT, HE SAID, THAT A REPLY WOULD BE SENT VERY  
SOON. WITH REGARD TO A HEAVY WATER FACILITY THE  
GENERAL REITERATED THAT THE UNITED STATES IS CON-  
CERNED FOREMOST ABOUT PROPER SAFEGUARDS. RUSER  
ADDED THAT U.S. CONSULTATIONS WITH GERMAN AND SWISS  
SUPPLIERS OF HEAVY WATER FACILITIES SHOULD NOT BE  
UNDERSTOOD ATTEMPTS TO SLOW DOWN ARGENTINE  
DEVELOPMENT, BUT RATHER AS EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN A

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COHERENT INTERNATIONAL NUCLEAR POLICY DESIRED BY

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EVERYONE. ARGENTINA SHOULD REALIZE, HE SAID, THAT -- CONVINCED AS WE ARE THAT ARGENTINA WILL SOON CLOSE THE NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE -- IT IS ALL THE MORE URGENT TO CARE FOR AREAS WHICH, GIVEN PRESENT RULES OF THE GAME, WOULD REMAIN OUTSIDE A FULL SAFEGUARDS ARRANGEMENT. THIS FORMED THE BACKGROUND OF U.S. CONVERSATIONS WITH THE SWISS AND GERMANS. WE DO NOT OPPOSE SALES PER SE.

20. GENERAL GOODPASTER ASKED ABOUT ARGENTINA'S INTENTIONS TO RATIFY THE TREATY OF TLATELOLCO. PASTOR'S REPLY WAS THAT ARGENTINA'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM IS BASED ON THE ECONOMIC NEEDS OF THE COUNTRY, AND RECEIVED GUIDANCE FROM THE MINISTRY OF ECONOMY. OF MORE IMMEDIATE IMPORTANCE THAN TLATELOLCO ARE NEGOTIATIONS NOW UNDERWAY WITH THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION. (PASTOR ASKED SHARPLY ALSO WHY THE U.S. HAS NOT YET RATIFIED PROTOCOL ONE OF THE TREATY. MR. RUSER REPLIED THAT RATIFICATION IS BEING STUDIED BY THE SENATE, AND IS EXPECTED THIS YEAR.)

21. GENERAL GOODPASTER CONCLUDED THE CONVERSATION BY ASKING WHETHER IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR THE UNITED STATES TO SEND A HIGH LEVEL REPRESENTATIVE TO ARGENTINA TO DEAL FURTHER WITH NUCLEAR MATTERS. BRIGADIER PASTOR'S REPLY WAS THAT THIS WAS AN INTERESTING SUGGESTION WHICH WOULD BE RAISED WITH ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION CHIEF (ADMIRAL) CASTRO MADERO WHEN THE ADMIRAL RETURNS FROM A TOUR HE PLANS TO SEVERAL COUNTRIES. (COMMENT: CASTRO MADERO LEFT THE FOLLOWING MONDAY FOR BRAZIL.)

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22. (COMMENT: THE CONVERSATION ENDED AT 1840 WITH A DISCUSSION OF THE VISIT GENERAL GOODPASTER WOULD MAKE THE FOLLOWING DAY TO PRESIDENT VIDELA AT CHAPADMALAL.)  
CASTRO

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