RELEASE IN FULL

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WORKING TAPE - 3 - SIDE A/SIDE B

| ARGENTINA PROJECT (\$200000044) U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS |
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| Margaret P. Grafeld, Director |
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REVIEW AUTHORITY: Marvin Russell, Senior Reviewer

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WORKING TAPE - 3 SIDE A

Dear Michele, Patt and Mark:

There is so much information to get up to you I am taking advantage of this electronic means to conduct a one way stanler telephone call between us, between vacation and throwing my back out of joint through a faulty lifting of a heavy trunk I have only been in the office a couple of weeks this year. Things unfortunately seem to be slipping very badly on all fronts and I wanted to send you a tape to give you my personal veiw of the situation here in Argentina. Here is a menu of the things on the tape I am going to talk rather quickly because your time is, I know, is limited to listen. First subject will be the situation in Argentina. Second subject will be the situation in the Embassy. Third I'll talk about reporting problems that we are having here.

The situation in Argentina has undergone some important changes in the last two months. Patt we fully entered into what you called stage two of our easy and cosmetic actions by the government of Argentina. The removal at Christmas time from the pan of 387 political prisoners was step one followed by the publication of course of the 3,600 or so persons still being held under the pan. In addition we have been receiving very strong signals that the fuenta is considering the U.S. high interest cases, we expect Alejandro Deutsch, who

everybody agrees is as clean as a hounds tooth to be released shortly. The Deutsch girl as well as the Vogler girl as well as Timerman, are much harder cases. There has been no movement on the difficult issues of the disappeared and calling halt to what call in my discussions with the Argentine Times of midnight operations. It is obviously clear that the government has targeted soft targets, marxists and relatives of terrorists in its latest stage. Most importantly the government is beginning to ask us for recognition of the things that they have done with respect to the man prisoners there playing their trumps and they want something back for it. Both the Navy and the Foreign Ministry in concerted efforts called me in during the week before the IFI loan decision was made in the Christopher Committee and pleaded that if there was to be further liberation in Argentina they had to be able to show that their previous moves had been recognized by the United States Government.

The next range of developments is the increasing, desperation of Massera as he faces retirement probably in September of this year to dislodge Vadella from his position as Commander in Chief of the Army. Massera when he is not making speeches attacking the Chileans regarding the Beagle Channel has been telling his visitors that the Argentine human rights record is terrible, that the CONFIDENTIAL HA EYES ONLY

Army is the blame and that this is a serious international and domestic political consideration. The fact that Massera is making these noises for his own political purposes should not lead us to overly discount them. Massera is one of the few political animals in this country, he evidently has taken a pulse reading and sees that human rights is an issue which is important for him to be on the right side of. Instodays paper former President from Dieze in a statement marking the anniversary of his government being elected into power a number of years ago issued a statement in which he says that the respect for human rights is something which the Argentine citizens can expect. These are straws in the wind but they are important. legitimation of criticism of this government human rights record by its own people, not just the permanent assembly, not just by Ambassador Castro, Patt Derian or Secretary Vance on a visit, is really the key to any substantial progress. We're seeing the first few pieces of evidence that may, repeat may be, occurring. The French have been the major battler on human rights in the last two months. The disappearance of the nuns, the total unsatisfactory efforts by the government of Argentina to recover them, the phony Montonero cover up story, the obvious envolvement of the first Corp in the operation lead to an extermely bitter exchange of notes between Disgard and the

4

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human rights situation. I believe the message will probably focus on the disappearance of their nationals. Small amount of press play here from Europe that their consideration both in Franck and in Holland having their world cup football teams withdraw has raised a number of eyebrows in Argentina. This would be an absolute body blow to the Argentine pride if there was fact of withdrawal, however, competitive sports being what they are especially the world cup which is much bigger for the rest of the world than the Olympics; there seems to be little chance of this withdrawal ever taking place. Alright, that's a nut shell of what's going on. in the country. The Argentine Government is playing its trump cards it's asking us for recognition that it's doing some good things. It is trying to get its repressive actions under better military control. It is retargetting these actions towards softer targets, intellectual subversion as the President Vadella says guilty of bad thoughts. The situation in the Embassy is perceptively worsening. There is a growing recognition here that the Embassy has little or no influence on policy decisions made in Washington. The Embassy is convinced that it must play an important role in moderating the Presidents human rights policy to avoid serious and unnecessary and unproductive ruptures in our important bilateral relations between Argentine and the United States. The Embassy is Ain daily telephonic communication with the desk. As a matter of fact the Embassy is really ARAECA south.

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Fred calls up and gives Fred the marching orders and (the country team response.) During this recent period in which decisions with respect to training IFI XM bank loans and now the E-systems have been on the plate in Washington, it has been almost impossible for 110 me to get any negative information into our reporting. The previous Embassy policy was to homogenize the bad , news to mix it in with a little good and to send it up on a delayed basis in colorless confluent pros has now changed to a policy of just hiding the ball. The only way I can get bad news out is if the Embassy believes it will appear on the wire service report or if its massaged in a monthly human rights rap up. In as much as the Embassy feels that its policy recommendations have no effect, the only way it can influence policy in Washington is by restricting and coloring reporting coming out of the Embassy. Not only does the Embassy have little impact in its policy recommendations to Washington, but the Argentine are not coming to the Embassy as their channel for important requests to Washington when there is something that has to be done still goes directly to Frank McNeil with his request one week or two weeks later the same information may be mentioned to the Ambassador by Monte or Harguindeguy during a routine courtesy call. Since the only thing the Embassy has called on to do is to report whats going on here the only way it can "participate" is to make sure that unsettling information

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does not reach Washington during the heat of decision making. I'll give you some examples later on.

Ambassador Castro is doing a good public relations
job here he is traveling aroung the country telling
the Argentine publically that they have a negative
image in the world, they have got to re-establish due
process procedures dealing with criminals in their society,
etc. He's up front in his public statements. He is not

really taking control of the Embassy, he is relaxed and out of the daily Embassy operations. Chaplan is still calling the shoots with the Ambassador occasionally putting an extra paragraph or an extra few words in the messages. I don't think the Ambassador has drafted a single message himself since he has been at post. He is extremely concerned that the Carter human rights efforts in Latin America have led to (a water ?) of our relations with Chile, Uruguay, Brazil and soon a snapping of the rubber band with relations with Argentina, to use his phrase as that this will have serious implications for President Carters re-election in 1980. As the Mexican American Latin boat in the United States which $h ilde{ imes}$ 20 million people has special interests in good U. S. relations with Latin America and they will be open to over wooing by the Republican party. Personally I disagree, I think the human rights position of the President that is something that can be pointed to that the United States has acted in support of the people in Latin America and although we have fallen out with a number CONFIDENTIAL HA EYES ONLY

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of military dictatorships here the President, the Democratic administration, has strengthened its len with the mass of people in Latin America. Any way hard to see the Latin vote in the United States voting for John Connorly as opposed to Jimmy Carter under any circumstances.

Reporting

The Embassy sent a report on the nuns during my absence it ended up by saying that we were puzzled. We were asked just before the IFI Christopher Committee vote to send in a balance sheet of human rights activities. I presented a full description of what had happened to the nuns. This was voted down by the country team as being mere speculation and the Embassy once again stated that we continued to be puzzled by the disappearance of the nuns. We know what happened to the nuns. In late November and early December the mothers. (There was a pause on the tape then it began again with the following)

In early December a group of the mothers lead by the now disappeared Mrs. Devasente developed an action program to bring increasing pressure on Vadelia to live up to his promises regarding peace by Christmas. They plan vio to stage a major demonstration in the plaza on the 15th of December bringing in mothers of disappeared children from all over the country. This was to be proceeded on December 10th by a full page advertisement in CONFIDENTIAL - HA EYES ONLY

9

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La Zacion signed by of thousands mothers of disappeared persons on the 24th of December the mothers were scheduling an all night vigil in the Plaza Demyo after midnight services to be held in the national cathedral which faces on the plaza. On December 8th Ramyò Barado who worked with a church group, which very much in support of the mother very close contact here at the Embassy, was picked up at his house at approximately 4:30 p.m. between 8:30 and 9:00 p.m., five to seven unmarked cars pulled up in front of the Santa Cruez church where money and signarthes were being collected for the advertisement to appear in the La Vacion on Saturday the 10th. The police came in took away eight or nine of the organizers of the Santa Cruez referendum as well as the money and the signature lists which had been collected at the church that day. That night and the following day four homes of the disappeared persons were searched by persons identifying themselves as police officials. On Saturday the 10th in the morning, Mrs. Devasente was picked up a block from her house at 8:30 a.m. in the morning and thrown into a Ford Falcon kicking and screaming. Later the same morning a French, a sister, La Anee accompanied two gentlemen from her house and drove away with them. Now on the following day, Press received a package Sunday the 11th the consisting of a letter from the sisters stating that they were being held by governmental forces opposed to Vadel 1a.

A letter on Montonero stationery saying that the nuns would be free if a number of demands were met, and a large 8 \times 10 glossy photograph of the two nuns holding up Saturday's newspaper with a large Motonero flag in their background. The thing was so obviously contrived that even the hardcore deffenders such as Arclia could not bring themselves to suggest that the Montoneros really held the nuns. The information was disseminated by the first Acorp. The French protested, the Argentines replied but the bottom line is that today La Plaza de Meyo instead of between two and three hundred mothers on each Thursday afternoon there are forty or fifty. Although the country team is puzzeled regarding the nuns disappearance based on the facts presented it is clear by of the circumstantial evidence that this is not an out of control operation. There were a series of four actions, the arrest of Bardo, the arrest at the church, follow-up searches of homes plus the capture on Saturday morning of the second French nun, plus the leader of La Plaza de Meyo mothers. Montoneros used polaroid cameras and do not produce 8 x 10 glossies of persons they are holding for ransom. Unfortunately the Embassy official position is that the disappearance of the nuns is still inexplicable. The reason it is inexplicable is because it is another concrete manifestation that the government has changed its targeting. The first phase of the targeting repression in the country was of course the hardcore Montonero and

erupt terrorists, they have been virtually eliminated. The second phase which began some six months ago which the Embassy has still not reported on was focusing its repressive midnight operations on the marxists intellectuals subversives, people who in Vadelfa's definition is guilty of bad thoughts. Our files are psychologists, bulging with student leaders, psychiatrists, members of socialist discussions groups, etc. who have disappeared. Family information activites and profiles of these individuals point to the fact that they were not members of the Montonero organization nor supporters but they were advertly leftists. The next phase in which we saw in a concrete way in December during a subway strike 12 of the subway union leaders disappeared and the same month 19 leaders of the ceramic union disappeared during labor difficulties. North of Buenos Aires, South of Buenos Aires in an automobile plant six labor shop floor grumblers received the same treatment. All this is kept by an action in December in which a dozen key people in the mothers group are disappeared. Argentine sources have indicated that during screening of the 225 mothers who were arrested either early November or late October in the Plaza de Congresso that only two of the individuals had records with the police. One was Sister Alecia, the French nun who had a record of subverssive activities in Corentez Province due to her social welfare efforts and another woman who was a member of the Argentine League for the Rights Man which is a Quantity of to

Argentina front. What I believe we are seeing is that the government is entering into a third stage in which the forces of the repression are being used for regime maintenance. Stage one anti-terrorists, stage two anti-subversive, stage three regime maintenance. The

of the military dictatorship here is as it has always been the economic program. country is experienceing a recession. How We read in the papers daily of layoffs, general motors laid off 600 workers yesterday, textile industry is down, the tractor industry is down. Argentine economy is feeling the effects of a very rigorous Chicago mon ftorist squeeze being applied by Marten£z Dies. It is a painful medicine. My real fear is that we will see increasing labor unrest in the next two or three months here in Argentina and that the repressive security forces will be directed in terms of bringing the workers back into line through a policy of disappearances and this will give a new long term reason for the maintenance and continuation of the governments repressive security forces. will change targets. More efforts will be directed at subversion in labor unions, subversion in education. This will replace the war on terrorism. Sorry to have taken so much of time in terms of talking about the nuns but its a key event.

The major problem with respect to fairness in reporting deals with the refusal of the Embassy to report the reaction among the human rights groups here to the governments release of the names of the Pennetanees. Our reaction paragraphs which I have placed on the second and third pen release cables have been deleted in the front office. Analysis of the list of persons detained under the Paveraview National has shown that only one or two percent of the political prisoners are formally

La Plaza de Mayo and the have come in on several occassions to express their abject dismay over the incompleteness of the list and their fear that the government will wash its hands of the entire situation after the publication of the lists. The front office has stated that the reactions of the human rights organizations to the pen lists was not important and that if I wanted to report that I should do it in the context of a larger cable or airgram on the entire disappearance question.

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The next ball that has been hidden here is regarding intellectual subversion. I have done a number of cables which tied in reported events to targeting by the Argentine security forces of individuals for intellectual subversion. This has been taken out of all of messages going out. Just this week one of our military attache had one of his reports turned back by the front office

in which one of his military contacts in the Argentine Air Force described the governments efforts at weeding out marxists and subversives. The problem is that I think we have passed stage two of targeting against subversives and have now entered in stage three where labor union leadership, human rights organizations and other groups are targeted not because they are either terrorists nor marxists subversives but because they are conducting activities innumerable to the interest of the state. last little bit of ball hiding is with respect to the Terman speech. | The very able Argentine propaganda machinery picked up the Tarman speech and took the deckalog as it is called here with respect to limitations on our human rights policy and ran it on the front page of La Penyon a foul up on the following day with a further analytical piece. The permanent assembly, the mothers of all made the La Plaza Mayo, and the calls on me immediately after the Tognan Ten points were published expressing their absolute fear that the United States had changed its policy and was going to modify its human rights policy towards Argentina which as the was A keystone to their efforts here in Argentina.

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WORKING TAPE 3 - SIDE B

The Embassy country team made a decision that it would not report the reaction of the human rights groups but would only report in its daily press roundup, The treatment given the time and speech in La Penon. Another buried gem is the fact that the human rights in Argentina are becoming increasingly radical as the promises of the government for action in the human rights area appears to be only to be cosmetic. The permanent assembly has proposed a major shift in which it would no longer single out President Vadel La for special consideration in its publications and messages but would begin a policy of considering the government has been represented by the Auenta as a whole. The assembly has seen no indication that Vadel/a is in fact opposed or trying to moderate the repressive operations within the society.

All these little hidden balls that I have mentioned. The complete nun story, the local human rights, group reaction to the Pandedimees list, the question of description tof intellectual subversion and regime maintenance activities by the security forces as new targets, the reaction to the Todman letter seem important elements that should have been at hand in Washington during considerations of policy. The question is what to do? The Embassy presees correctly that it has no influence with respect to its policy recommendations. The only thing it can do is influence those recommendations by tailored reporting. We are

polishing up the good news delaying and homogenizing the bad news and we have now come to a point where we're just not reporting certain things at all. I had hoped that my constant pecking away at the conscience of the country team would over time produce some results. I am now convinced that to a man everyone in the embassy feels that the implementation of the Presidents human rights policy towards Argentina is wrong. They of course to a man would agree human rights is a terribly important part of our foreign policy and our national heritage however we should not refuse to sell sophisticated communications systems, tear gas or helicopters as an expression of our concerns with the Argentine human rights situation. What to do and when to do it? I think the signal from you all as to how important and how public these kinds of information inputs should be made. It's not credible to send dissent cable out three times a week. I think the options are these: (1) continue to send you every month or every couple weeks a back handle tape which would be such as this strictly for your information. (2) Would be to send official informal letters which I would alternate. between sending them to Michele and Jim Bumpus with copies to the Peru counselor here. The pouch goes out once a week it takes four days to get there. There will be time delay in your action. If this information is important the problem here is I do not know when decisions are being made in Washington. (Laplin knows

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what the state of play is but I do not, therefore when something is taken out of the cable I have no way of knowing that the Christopher Committee is meeting the following day and that providing this information I could upset a favorable decision. (3) Would for me to try to put individual opinion in the cable as provided for in the Secretary's message on reporting. I think the Ambassador would really have problems with this. He is not a enlightned liberal manager, as a matter of fact he has expressed his real displeasure with the early E-systems cable in which I put in an Embassy minority position. That was a minority of one. The problem is that the earlier E-systems cable took two weeks of bloody fighting to get out of the Embassy. (4) Is to just let all this stuff build up and to put it together and send in a dissent cable down the line. I have come to a point where I believe the Embassy's news management has crossed the boundries of professional responsibility and is now limiting and delaying information to Washington to affect policy decisions. That may be the way the game is played, but I have enough personal and professional concern that I strongly feel that the game should not be played that way. I feel that something should be done. What I don't want to do is spill alot of my blood needlessly. If the Embassy reporting is credible in Washington as a major impact on policy then we need a formal Harris eye view perception through official informals, through minority opinion in cables.

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If the Embassy reporting is perceived in lack of credibility by your selves and by the members of the Christopher Committee then I can provide you personally with some information from time to time to bring you up to speed on events as I see them here in order to give you sufficient facts to work with. Please send me a letter or give me a call my home phone is: 798-3625.

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The last point is policy here. I was some what disappointed at the decision by the Christopher Committee to support the IFI's and turn down the training. believe that a strong case should be made for us giving the Argentines some signal to recognize there Christmas pen list and the publishing of the names of the persons being held under the Pan. We all know that what's being done is cosmetic and its easy for the Argentines to do. This does not mean that it wasn't done with some cost because of the extreme right wing reaction with in side the military who I'm sure opposed the publication of the list of all persons detained under the Pan. However we should have given them something, and what we should have given them is the training which is bilateral, which is tangible and which is understandable to the average mentality of the Argentine military official. Our changing our vote from no to abstain in the IFI is a signal which is understandable only to very sophiscated people in the foreign office and the Ministry of Finance here as well as the Presidency. It's an important signal

and I am running around town telling that this was done in clear recognition of improvement that they have made in the human rights situation by releasing people being held under the pen and by publishing a list of all persons being so detained. However, the IFI decision has sent a combined with the Todman speech has sent a signal to all the other embassies around town especially our friends in the community who are just beginning to take their tentative step towards a tougher policy line towards Argentina that the U. S. is some now backing off. If on the other hand we have provided training it would have been very quiet. It would have been the kind of thing we could have given to the Argentines. We could have gotten alot more mileage from the Argentines. Ambassador Castro is on the war path with respect to getting training and I am sure Patt you can expect a call from him during next week when he will be there for the Latin American Ambassadors conference.

The next major question is Exim financing. This is something that should be removed from Argentina and it should be tied to some bad actions on their part so that the rewards and punishment system becomes clear. We have gone beyond stonewalling now and I think there is a feeling by the Argentines that they are willing to play the game. They believe that they can produce enough good news to keep from getting from us. Unfortunately I am not



as sanguit. The E-systems applications has got to be disapproved. That is an absolute disaster taken by itself the E-systems communications system which would link Provincial police to the central police computer in Buenos Aires is a neutral piece of hardware. With the way this government is going it would be a powerful weapon for strengthening the hand of Argentine police forces in running operations against any groups they decided were subversives. Its police equipment, the United States allowing the sale to be made would have absolutely devastating effect on the human rights groups in this country. I would much prefer to have us sale tear gas or twenty two caliber ammunition to the police forces than to sell this kind of technology. This is one of the cases where we have the Argentines over the barrel because they have spent x million dollars installing a E-systems computer communications system in Buenos Aires. Foreign equipment is not compatible with the system if they go through other options they will be faced with enormous additional expenses and bugs in terms of working it out. It was interesting the message received last week from Rondon asking for the Ambassadors "personal views on the E-systems application. [Raplin drafted it and the Ambassador signed it. Patt and Michele I don't want to close on a down note. I want to tell you that the price of beef steaks here is still \$1.50. The wine is still good and Patt our pizza place is still in business and is still putting lots of delicious garlic into the pies.

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My very best regards to you all. Michele let me just put a little p.s. and thank you very much for your good letter regarding the visit of Herb Semmel for the Center of Law and Social Policy and the International League of Human Rights. I unfortunately did miss these gentlemen when they were through in Buenos Aires. The figures that San thete received from Hargenduey are of interest and I appreciate those that are a little bit more detailed than what we received from (Kaplin when he debriefed the group before they left. You might mention to Judy Chavchavadze that we have moved ahead on a few cases. We've got about ten identified cases for right of option certificates. I went and identified about a dozen cases and took them down to the consulate and we had a meeting last week. went over them and have selected eight or nine cases which has some U. S. interest as the first batch of cases for us to present to the Argentine Government for information. The problem that we have is that in terms of giving the right of option certificates we are handing blank checks. There is alot of concern within the consulate that the individuals that we will be taking are pinkos or crypto terrorists, etc. The problem will not be made any easier by the information which is contained in their official Argentine files. We still do not know if whether the Argentines are going to clean the files up and make some judgement on them or whether they are going to give us the information that they have. For example, we do know that in some of the cases people who the Argentines have released

Argentines have told us that these people were. One case inparticular was a priest, that he was a recruiter for the Montoneros and was responsible for military training for Montonero recruits and of course this information was phony as hell in as much as the Argentines then turned around and released the priest from the pan just before Christmas. Please Judy that we moving ahead all be it slowly. Your cable was of great use to use because the consulate which had been demanding some signal from Washington or a sign from God they would accept either before moving ahead now at least have a firm cable from Washington laying out what their policy should be.

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option program the Dutch had a team here last week reviewing applications for refugee status. The Canadians called me this morning asking me what are doing. I will be meeting with them in the near future to discuss the right of option problem. The Chakareita cemetery story which you heard from Facanetta has also been surfaced around in the French Embassy. The French are convinced that among that group were there nuns. One police sargeant who evidently stumbled across the truck bringing the cardavas to (long pause in the tape - then continues as follows;) field outside of, on the outskirts of greater Buenos Aires. Local people did not know that they

existed until an armed helicopter came down and finger printed them. Another story is between 36 and 40 women who were washed ashore Amandayaho which is near a beach resort area 200 miles from Buenos Aires down the This later appearance with information that we river. developed, but again are unable to report from the Argentine police official who bragged to one of our Embassy officers regarding the Argentine method for disposing of bodies. This is now according to the source been centralized in an operation in for all actions occuring within the first corp. People after they have been interrogated on our deemed no longer of use and a decision has been made at a senior level they should be executed. The people are then being told that they are being transferred to Coraendaz Province and must receive an injection before they go for health reasons. The people gracefully submit to the injection which contains curia which is a derivative of the poison used by Amazon natives in their blow guns. Evidently it has the effect of contracting the muscles. By receiving the dose the people very shortly there after die and one of the effects of the poison is to contract their lungs. They are then placed in planes which take off at the de capitia Mayo airfield and are dropped in the mouth of the river where they sink and are quickly devoured by the fish. We have gotten in touch with Mrs. Lajamonavich to inform her that our

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Turning to another point and thats the number of disappeared. We have gotten a new update from a source

within the Ministry of the Interior that there are seven thousands registered persons with the missing persons office in the Ministry of the Interior. Now there are two adjustments that have to be made to that number. First some of the persons registered as being disappeared have in fact reappeared. We know

on the weekly pen list we see one or two persons who have been disappeared to this Embassy surfacing. In addition we know that the permanent assembly record which are the largest in the country. They have approximately 2,400 disappearances listed in their office. By contrast the Embassy has just a little under a group has a bit over a 800. The thousand. I think the hardest number that we can look at is the Ministry of the Interior figure, which unfortunately we don't have from Harguindeguy but we have only from confidential source that we have to protect. But there are over 7,000 reported disappearances to the Ministry, so if we adjust a small percentage of those as people who have returned and then multiply that number by some factor of people whose children have disappeared but have not reported them to the Ministry of the Interior. I think probably cases in Buenos Aires Province especially in the metropolitan area due in fact report their childrens disappearances to the Ministry of the Interior. However,

it can only be done in the capitol it cannot be done on a regional basis. Consequently, if someone is missing

it means a special trip to Buenos Aires in order to make the registration. I do not think that is done in the majority of the cases there. There has been some progress we do see a slow down in the number of cases reported to the Embassy of disappearances. This also reflecting the statistics of other organizations. It is still a significant number of disappearances. have between 20 and 30 a month reported to this Embassy. I would imagine that we have to multiply that by a factor of two, three, four, five to ten or something like that. The number of people who will actually come to the American Embassy to report a disappearance must be fairly small. However, it does speak well as an indication that our policy is really understood and known to the population here in Argentina that we do get the parents of 30 disappeared children who come to the United States Embassy each month asking for help. I'm seeing almost all of them. Everyone is received we are answering all the letters to President Carter to the Ambassador, to Patt. Lopersonally sign off on the letters. We're being as responsive as we can in a public relations. Since here that's easily done it just takes a lot of time but what we're not getting with respect to the disappeared is any signal of interest on behalf of the Argentine Government. Well I could

ramble on for considerably longer, but I want to get this into the pouch to you today. Michele if you get a chance, and I realize that you are up to your ears in alligators. I would greatly appreciate a quick tape from you kind of filling me in on what is going on in Washington. what the state of play is for human rights in ARA imparticular over the next year. Your thoughts on this would be most welcomed. All the best and do take care of yourself and we'll look forward to see you in the not too distant future.



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