

UNCLASSIFIED

6/16/77

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Channel: n/a

Case Number: 200000044

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PAGE 01 STATE 138380 TOSEC 060010
ORIGIN ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EB-07 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 -
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 ACDA-07 OMB-01 IO-13 NSCE-00
SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CCO-00 (ISO ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS

DRAFTED BY ARA/ECA:FERONDON:JC
APPROVED BY ARA:WHLUERS
ARA/ECA:RWZIMMERMANN
EB:FTHOMAS (PHONE)
D/HA:MSCHNEIDER (SUBS)
S/S:
D:DLAMB

Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
 Release () Excise () Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: () In Part In Full
() Classify as __ () Extend as __ () Downgrade to __
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE
TREASURY/IMMEDIATE

[REDACTED] STATE 138380 TOSEC 060010

FOR TODMAN FROM LUERS; TREASURY FOR NACHMANOFF

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SHUM, AR, US, EFIN

SUBJECT: ARGENTINES NOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IMPROVEMENTS IN
ORDER TO INFLUENCE US VOTE IN IFIS

1. SUMMARY: ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR TODAY ATTEMPTED TO MAKE
CASE THAT A NUMBER OF HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIONS PLUS POLITICAL
CONSIDERATIONS ARGUE IN FAVOR OF POSITIVE VOTE BY USG IN
IFIS. AFTER CONSULTING WITH ACTING SECRETARY, WE DECIDED
TO ABSTAIN AS PLANNED BUT NOTE HOPEFUL SIGNS IN OUR

PAGE 02 STATE 138380 TOSEC 060010

Current Class: [REDACTED]

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: [REDACTED]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977STATE138380

Page: 2

Channel: n/a

Case Number: 200000044

STATEMENT OF EXPLANATION AND POINT TO THESE IN CONVERSATIONS WITH ARGENTINE OFFICIALS. END SUMMARY.

2. ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR TODAY BROUGHT TO MY ATTENTION A NUMBER OF CONSIDERATIONS WHICH HE HOPED WOULD PERSUADE US TO VOTE IN FAVOR OF ARGENTINE LOANS IN WORLD BANK. HE HAD APPARENTLY LEARNED EARLIER, PRESUMABLY THROUGH THE IBRD, THAT WE WOULD BE ABSTAINING ON \$100 MILLION INDUSTRIAL CREDITS PROJECT AND \$7 MILLION INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION SOYBEAN PLANT PROJECT.

3. AMBASSADOR MADE FOLLOWING POINTS, INTER ALIA:

- IN RESPONSE TO REPRESENTATIONS BY AMERICAN JEWISH

COMMITTEE, ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT IS BANNING JULY ISSUE OF "CABILDO" MAGAZINE. (THE APRIL EDITION OF "CABILDO" WAS BLATANTLY ANTI-SEMITIC.)

- MINISTRY OF INTERIOR WILL ANNOUNCE ON JUNE 14 THAT 198 INDIVIDUALS HAVE CEASED TO BE UNDER DETENTION AT THE PLEASURE OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER (STATE OF SIEGE) BRINGING TO 333 INDIVIDUALS THE NUMBER OF EXECUTIVE POWER RELEASES SINCE MAY 27. (THIS IS INDEED A STRIKING NUMBER OF RELEASES, BUT WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER INDIVIDUALS WILL REGAIN LIBERTY OR ARE SIMPLY BEING TURNED OVER TO JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES FOR TRIAL.)

- MINISTRY OF INTERIOR WILL ALSO ANNOUNCE THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS ISSUED INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDY THE POSSIBLE REINSTATEMENT OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO OPT TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. (THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME THAT THE SO-CALLED "RIGHT OF OPTION" IS REVIEWED, BUT THE COMMUNIQUE SUGGESTS THAT THE OBJECTIVE OF THIS LATEST EXERCISE WILL BE TO REINSTATE THE OPTION. UNDER THIS OPTION, ARGENTINES WHO ARE HELD BY THE EXECUTIVE POWER CAN OPT TO

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PAGE 03 STATE 138380 TOSEC 060010

LEAVE THE COUNTRY VOLUNTARILY RATHER THAN REMAIN IN PRISON WITHOUT CHARGES. WE HAVE REPEATEDLY URGED THE ARGENTINES TO REINSTATE THIS RIGHT AS A MEANS OF EMPTYING PRISONS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. I ASKED THE AMBASSADOR WHETHER HE THOUGHT THE REVIEW WOULD END IN A DECISION TO REINSTATE

Current Class: [REDACTED]

Page: 2

UNCLASSIFIED

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Current Class: [REDACTED]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977STATE138380

Page: 3

Channel: n/a

Case Number: 200000044

THE "RIGHT OF OPTION." HE REPLIED YES, BUT IT WOULD TAKE TIME, POSSIBLY 2-3 MONTHS.

- IT IS VERY IMPORTANT TO SUPPORT MARTINEZ DE HOZ (ECONOMY MINISTER) WHO TALKED TO BLUMENTHAL AND BRZEZINSKI AND RETURNED TO BUENOS AIRES WITH A STRONG MESSAGE THAT THE GOA HAD TO ACT ON HUMAN RIGHTS. AN ABSTENTION ON THE ARGENTINE LOANS WOULD WEAKEN VIDELA AND MARTINEZ AND WOULD REINFORCE THOSE WHO ARGUE THAT THE U.S. DOES NOT REALLY WANT TO WORK WITH THE GOA. (AJA ESPIL FELT THAT IT WAS ONE THING FOR U.S. TO DEMONSTRATE ITS VIEWS TO ARGENTINE MILITARY BY REDUCING MILITARY CREDITS BUT QUITE ANOTHER TO GO AGAINST "CIVILIAN" CREDITS, WHICH UNDERMINED THE VERY FORCES WE SHOULD BE SUPPORTING.)

- THE FRG HAS ALREADY ASSURED ARGENTINA THAT IT WOULD VOTE IN FAVOR OF THE LOAN AS WILL OTHER EC MEMBERS. A U.S. ABSTENTION WOULD ISOLATE US FROM THE EUROPEAN DEMOCRACIES. MORE IMPORTANTLY, AN ABSTENTION COULD RESULT IN A NEGATIVE SIGNAL TO THE U.S. COMMERCIAL BANKS.

4. AFTER MEETING WITH ESPIL, I DISCUSSED LOAN WITH ACTING SECRETARY, WHO RECOMMENDED THAT WE PROCEED WITH

ABSTENTION BUT NOTE HOPE FOR CHANGE IN OUR STATEMENT AT THE IBRD. WE ARE REVISING THE STATEMENT ACCORDINGLY.

5. I BELIEVE IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO EXPLAIN OUR ABSTENTION TO FOREIGN MINISTER MONTES IN GRENADA AND THAT OUR CHARGE IN BUENOS AIRES MAKE THE SAME POINTS TO MARTINEZ DE HOZ. WE WOULD EXPLAIN THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS

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PAGE 04 STATE 138380 TOSEC 060010

SITUATION LEFT US NO CHOICE BUT TO ABSTAIN AT THIS TIME, BUT WE HAD DECIDED TO MODIFY OUR STATEMENT EXPLAINING OUR VOTE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT POSSIBLE FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENTS WHICH THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAD BROUGHT TO OUR ATTENTION. WHILE NOT SAYING SO PUBLICLY, WE ARE PARTICULARLY ENCOURAGED BY THE NUMBER OF RELEASES ANNOUNCED RECENTLY AND THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE RIGHT OF OPTION WILL BE REINSTATED. WE VERY MUCH HOPE THAT THESE DEVELOPMENTS PRESAGE THE RESTORATION OF THE LEGAL PROTECTIONS OFFERED TO THE INDIVIDUAL BY THE ARGENTINE CONSTITUTION.

Current Class: [REDACTED]

Page: 3

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: [REDACTED]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1977STATE138380

Page: 4
Channel: n/a

Case Number: 200000044

6. FOR EMBASSY BUENOS AIRES. WE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR ANALYSIS BY IMMEDIATE CABLE OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS AND THE DEMARCHE TO MARTINEZ DE HOZ OUTLINED IN PARAGRAPH FIVE. CHRISTOPHER

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Current Class: [REDACTED]

Page: 4

UNCLASSIFIED

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decision

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ACTION MEMORANDUM

S/S

FEB 15 1978

ORIG: O/FADRC
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TMC
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TREASURY
RF:vhd

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NOT REVIEWED BY S/S

TO: The Deputy Secretary
FROM: ARA - Terence A. Todman
SUBJECT: U. S. Reaction in IFIs to Argentine Human Rights Actions

ISSUE FOR DECISION

Whether recent human rights actions by Argentina are sufficient grounds for revising your earlier decision to vote against two Argentine loans in the World Bank, now scheduled for a vote on February 21.

ESSENTIAL FACTORS

A vote is expected on February 21 on two Argentine projects which, before the developments outlined below, you decided to vote against: a \$109 million silo project in the IBRD and a \$9 million cement plant loan in the International Finance Corporation. The Argentine Ambassador has mentioned publicly that the silo project was developed after discussions with the U.S. Department of Agriculture, referring to our possibly negative position on it as an indication of mixed and confusing positions being taken by the U.S. government. Even if we follow current instructions on voting, we need to know what to say to Argentine feelers about our response to human rights actions which they believe are positive.

A progress report on the human rights situation in Argentina was sent to the Department by our Embassy on February 7 and is attached.

-- Prisoner releases. Approximately 440 prisoners have been released from the state of siege powers of the Argentine Executive since December 20, 1977.

-- Prisoner lists. On February 3, in a significant, long sought after step, Argentina published a list of 705 state of siege prisoners. A second list of 795 prisoners appeared on February 13; further lists are expected.

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
Release () Excise () Deny
Exemption(s):
Declassify: () In Part (X) In Full
() Classify as () Extend as () Downgrade to
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

UNCLASSIFIED

- 2 -

-- Right of option. Our Embassy believes that the right of option program, whereby prisoners may opt for exile, is now "definitely" being implemented, and the Argentine government has told foreign embassies that it will cooperate in helping prisoners meet visa requirements. The Embassy has underscored the importance of this measure to prisoner releases.

-- Treatment of prisoners. The International Committee of the Red Cross resumed prison visits in December and has reported that political prisoners are being held in the same physical conditions as other prisoners. This is an improvement.

-- U. S. interest cases. The Argentines have authorized the departure of certain high U. S. interest cases recently, including Guillermo Vogler and one of the Panero sisters.

-- Intangibles. The attached cable reports that the Argentines are becoming more "sensitized" to the importance of human rights steps and are no longer "stonewalling" the subject. The cable states also that there is an attempt underway to reorganize counter-subversive forces in order to achieve tighter control over them by the central government.

On the other hand, and as the same cable reports, there continue to be many problems. While disappearances may have declined in 1977, more recently they appear to have run at the same rate as a year before. According to our Embassy, it has heard of 39 disappearances since December 1, including two French nuns and mothers of the disappeareds who were abducted without a trace in mid-December. The Embassy adds that reports of secret detention centers persist, and that there is no evidence to suggest that torture for information is no longer practiced. In addition, the GOA admits that it is holding over 3600 prisoners under executive detention. Human rights groups estimate that many thousands more are being held secretly, in non-official detention centers. To date the GOA has answered few of our requests for information on missing persons. The International Committee of the Red Cross has not visited military camps where unaccounted for prisoners may be under detention. Few

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prisoners have been released by the right of option program to date. In the case of high U. S. interest cases such as Timerman or Deutsch, they remain detained. Internationally, the Argentine government has mounted a campaign in the United Nations against Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists.

However you decide to handle this issue, our response will come very shortly after Under Secretary Benson decided against the sale of any further military training to Argentina. This means that we have continued to get progressively tougher with Argentina.

Under Public Law 95-118 (FY 1978 IFI authorizing legislation), opposition to a loan may consist of either a no vote or an abstention. Neither of the proposed options recommend support for Argentine loans at this time.

THE OPTIONS

1. Follow current instructions but acknowledge change privately. We would advise the Argentines that we decided to vote no on the \$109 million silo loan and the \$9 million cement plant because of continuing concern with the human rights situation in Argentina. We would note that improvements in human rights will be factored into the stance we take on future projects. We would acknowledge privately, however, to both the Argentine and other bank directors that we have noted favorable signs and express the hope that they indicate a new trend.

Pro:

-- This would demonstrate our ongoing serious concern over continuing disappearances and other human rights abuses but inject an element of hope into our IFI voting pattern in return for further human rights performance. We would not run the risk of suggesting that we are willing to alter our policies in response to minor improvements.

Con:

-- This would fail to recognize sufficiently or encourage actively Argentine human rights change, which may seem minimal to us but is important in the Argentine view of things. It risks signaling, especially when we have just decided to deny all military training requests, that we remain opposed adamantly to the government, and in the context of our posture, our action might not only serve as a

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human rights disincentive but impact negatively on other major interests, notably non-proliferation.

2. Abstain on both loans in recognition of limited progress but make clear our continuing concern over the serious human rights situation, particularly in light of recent disappearances. In informing the Argentines here and in Buenos Aires, we would make a demarche to this effect and our press guidance would take the same tack.

Pro:

-- This represents a prompt revision of our earlier negative stance in the IFIs, signaling our willingness to change as the Argentines change. It could also: a) help to stem human rights regression, because the Argentines would not wish to precipitate a return to no votes in the banks and, b) it would strengthen the hand of those in the government who are seeking human rights improvement and who would be able to point to our action as indicating acknowledgment of steps being taken.

Con:

-- The publication of two lists and some prisoner releases represent only the beginning of what is needed for real improvement in the human rights situation; to reverse our position with alacrity would undermine the seriousness with which we have viewed past violations, including very recent disappearances.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve Option 2, to abstain on both the silo and cement projects, making clear to the Argentines, and through our replies to press queries, that we have done so in recognition of the limited progress that has occurred but that we remain very concerned at the human rights situation, particularly in light of the continuing disappearances (favored by ARA, S/P, Treasury, and the U. S. Director to the IBRD).

FEB 17 1983

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

UNCLASSIFIED

- 5 -

ALTERNATIVELY, that you approve Option 1, (favored by HA) maintaining your earlier decision to oppose the two projects but authorize representations to the Argentines recognizing hopeful human rights developments.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment:

Cable - Buenos Aires 965

Drafted: ARA/ECA:FERondon:jc
2/14/78:x22401

Concurrences: EB/OF:FNash (draft)
S/P:JWalker (draft)
HA:MBova (draft)
Treasury:WEscoube (draft)

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4/19/79

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

Department of State (AK097)

PAGE 01 STATE 099867 ORIGIN HA-B5

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INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 EUR-12 EA-10 NEA-06 ADS-00 SS-15 EB-08 TRSE-00 SP-02 L-03 SIG-03 SSO-00 AID-05 DMG-01 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 INRE-00 ICAE-00 PA-01 XMB-02 FRB-03 H-01 /099 R

DRAFTED BY HA/HR:BBOWIE:DJR APPROVED BY D:WCHRISTOPHER ARA:JBUSHNELL EB:FNAH TREAS:PGHZZALEZ D:JSPIEGEL S/P:JWALKER L:LBAUMANN HA/HR:CSALMON ARA:RGUZHAN

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STATE 099067

E. D. 12065 GDS - 04/04/1985 (BOWIE, BARBARA) TAGS: SHUM, AR, EFIN

SUBJECT: U. S. VOTES ON PROPOSED MULTILATERAL BANK LOANS TO ARGENTINA

REFERENCE: STATE DIS725

1. [REDACTED] ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY IS INSTRUCTING THE U. S. DIRECTORS TO THE WORLD BANK AND TO THE INTERAMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK TO ABSTAIN ON HUMAN RIGHTS GROUNDS, RESPECTIVELY ON A DOLLARS SIX MILLION ALPESCA LOAN FOR ARGENTINA WHICH IS SCHEDULED TO BE CONSIDERED IN THE IFC ON MAY 8, A DOLLARS 210 MILLION LOAN FOR THE YACYRETA HYDROELECTRIC PROJECT TO BE CONSIDERED BY THE WORLD BANK ON MAY 8 AND A DOLLARS 140 MILLION LOAN FOR THE ALICURA HYDROELECTRIC PROJECT TO BE CONSIDERED BY THE IDB ON MAY 3.

3. THE IFC HAS NOT YET ISSUED DOCUMENTATION ON THE ALPESCA PROJECT, ALTHOUGH THE LIMITED INFORMATION WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO OBTAIN TO DATE INDICATES THAT THE PROJECT WILL NOT MEET BASIC HUMAN NEEDS. LIKE MOST IFC PROJECTS, IT WILL PROBABLY BE A COMBINATION EQUITY/LOAN PACKAGE TO A PRIVATE OR PARASTATAL ENTITY. THE PROJECT WILL GIVE

ASSISTANCE TO ARGENTINA'S FISHING INDUSTRY NOT DIRECTED OR RESTRICTED TO SMALL SCALE OPERATIONS. NEITHER THE ALICURA NOR THE YACYRETA LOANS APPEAR TO MEET BASIC HUMAN NEEDS. THESE APPEAR TO BE STRAIGHT FORWARD MAJOR POWER GENERATION PROJECTS.

4. FOR ACTION ADDRESSEES, AS PART OF THE CONSULTATIONS PROCESS INITIATED BY REFTEL, PLEASE INFORM HOST GOVERNMENTS OF U. S. POSITION ON THESE PROJECTS AT THE LEVEL AND IN THE MANNER YOU DEEM MOST APPROPRIATE. YOU SHOULD DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS IN MAKING YOUR PRESENTATIONS:

-- THE TIME IN WHICH THESE VOTES OCCUR WILL BE A DIFFICULT AND IMPORTANT TESTING PERIOD FOR THE ARGENTINE COMMITMENT TO END DISAPPEARANCES. OUR ABSTENTION, RATHER THAN A NO VOTE, IS BASED ON THAT COMMITMENT, AND OUR POSITION ON FUTURE VOTES WILL DEPEND ON GOA ADHERENCE TO THIS IMPORTANT PROMISE AND THE GENERAL HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION AT THE TIME.

-- THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT ENGAGED IN A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN BRINGING A SERIOUS SUBVERSIVE THREAT UNDER CONTROL, AFFECTING LARGE NUMBERS OF PERSONS WHO HAD LITTLE OR NO CONNECTION WITH TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS. THERE ARE WIDELY VARYING ESTIMATES OF THE NUMBER OF PERSONS AFFECTED BY THE ANTI-SUBVERSIVE CAMPAIGN, BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT LARGE NUMBERS OF PERSONS HAVE BEEN EXTRA-LEGALLY DETAINED, TORTURED DURING INTERROGATION AND SUMMARILY EXECUTED.

-- THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO DETAIN A LARGE NUMBER OF PERSONS WITHOUT HAVING CHARGED THEM FORMALLY WITH SPECIFIC CRIMES.

-- PRISON CONDITIONS FOR POLITICAL DETAINEES HAVE BEEN POOR WITH OVERCROWDING AND ABUSE BY PRISON GUARDS COMMON.

-- THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN SLOW TO ACT ON REQUESTS FOR EXILE BY POLITICAL DETAINEES ALTHOUGH IT HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT OF PERSONS HELD WITHOUT CHARGE TO SEEK EXILE IN LIEU OF DETENTION.

-- THE GOVERNMENT HAS MADE LITTLE EFFORT TO INFORM CONCERNED RELATIVES OF THE FATE OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS WHO PRESUMABLY PERISHED IN ANTI-SUBVERSIVE OPERATIONS.

5. WHILE WE BELIEVE THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN

ARGENTINA CONTINUES TO WARRANT NON-SUPPORT OF NON-BNN LOANS IN THE MOBS, WE HAVE NOTED MODEST IMPROVEMENTS IN THE GOVERNMENT'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD. ABDUCTION OF CITIZENS BY THE SECURITY FORCES APPEARS RECENTLY TO HAVE DROPPED OFF SHARPLY AND MAY HAVE HALTED. THE NUMBER OF ACKNOWLEDGED POLITICAL DETAINEES HELD WITHOUT CHARGE IS DECLINING SLOWLY AND THE GOA IS MOVING TO IMPROVE PRISON CONDITIONS. ON BALANCE THE SITUATION REMAINS SERIOUS.

6. WE WILL CONTINUE TO REVIEW OUR VOTING POLICY ON MOB LOANS FOR ARGENTINA AS THEY ARISE IN LIGHT OF OUR ANALYSIS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION AS IT EXISTS AT THE TIME EACH LOAN IS CONSIDERED. VANCE

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)

U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS

Margaret P. Grafeld, Director

(X) Release () Excise () Deny

Exemption(s):

Declassify: () In Part (X) In Full

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Date Declassify on Reason

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