

Título Clase sobre las relaciones Argentina – EEUU durante el gobierno militar 1976-83

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Investigación

The Argentine Military
and the “Antisubversivo” Genocide

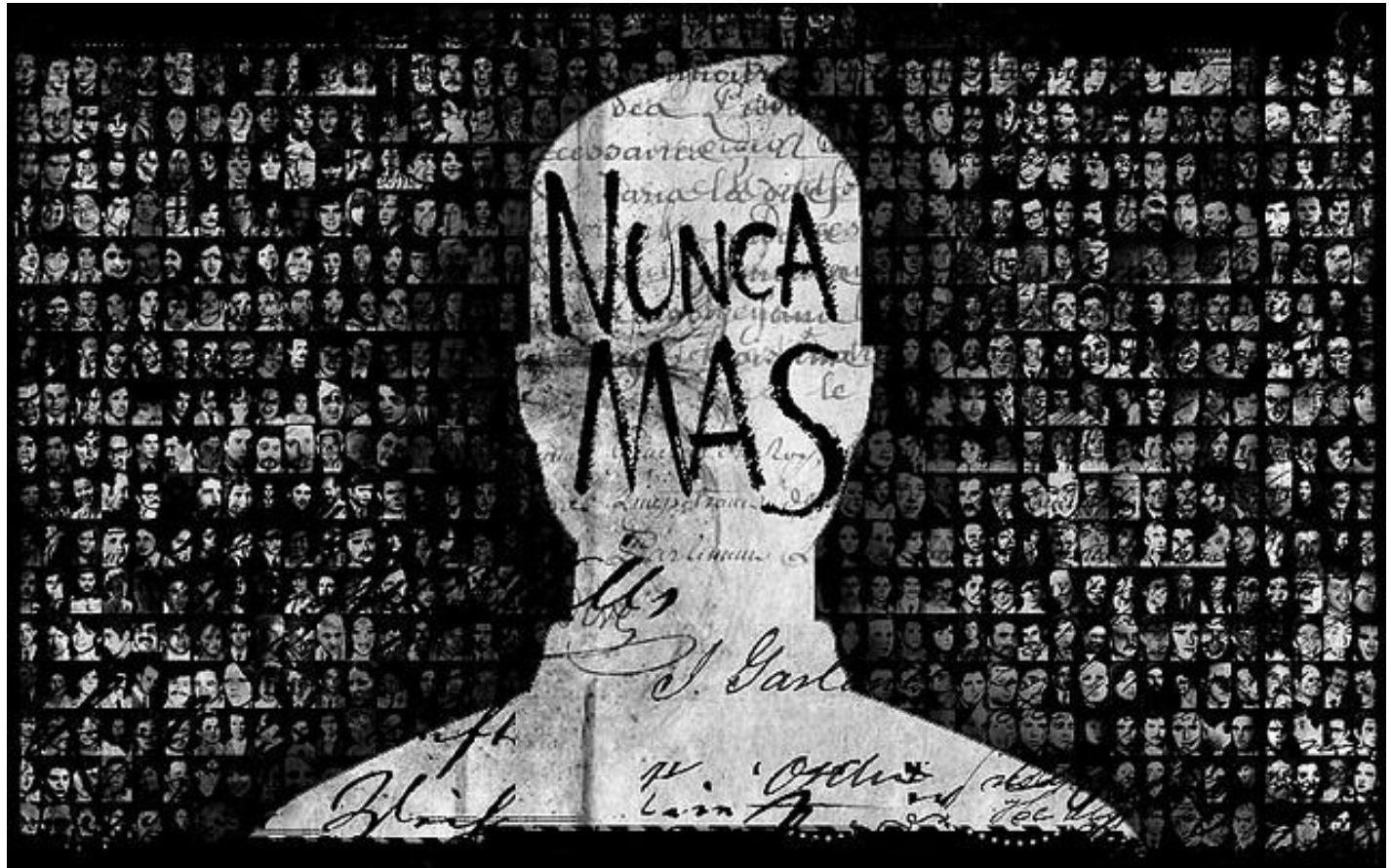
The School of the America’s contribution to
the French Counterinsurgency Model

Palma Camila
Varela Daniela



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Nunca más



Capítulo I: «La acción represiva»

- Se demuestra la intervención de la justicia norteamericana para el juzgamiento de los militares.

Capítulo II: «Víctimas»

- Resalta la importancia que los avances en investigación científica han tenido en la identificación de los niños desaparecidos.

Capítulo III: «El Poder Judicial durante el período en que se consumó la desaparición forzada de personas»

- Apoyo a nivel internacional «(...) determinados tipos de conducta lesionan supremos intereses que afectan la conciencia misma de la humanidad».

- Actividad desplegada por organismos de la O.E.A. y O.N.U permitieron llevar al conocimiento de la comunidad internacional la dimensión alcanzada por la práctica sistemática de la desaparición de personas en la República Argentina.

Capítulo IV: «Creación y organización de la Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas»

- Menciona la ayuda recibida de parte de los Organismos de DDHH a la CONADEP.
- La Comisión dio «infinidad de comunicados de prensa y atendió a numerosas delegaciones y personalidades del país y del extranjero». Continuó su investigación en comunicación con Organismos como: Naciones Unidas, Unesco, Amnesty International, Cruz Roja Internacional, Comisión Internacional de Juristas, y otras.

Capítulo V: «El respaldo doctrinario de la represión»

- El 4 de enero de 1981, el General Camps expresó:
«... Francia y EE.UU. fueron los grandes difusores de la doctrina antisubversiva»
- En «La Prensa» del 3 de noviembre de 1981 el General Galtieri expresa:
«Los Estados Unidos y la Argentina deben marchar unidos en función de sus ansiedades y anhelos comunes»

Capítulo VI: «Recomendaciones y conclusiones»

- No se menciona a EE.UU pero se hace referencia a organizaciones internacionales.
- **La CONADEP estima en 8.960 el número de personas que continúan en situación de desaparición forzosa.**



Archivos declasificados

Telegrama 1751 de la Embajada de Estados Unidos en Buenos Aires, "Ambassador's Conversation with Admiral Massera", 16 de marzo de 1976

3. MASSERA SAID MILITARY WERE FULLY AWARE OF THE NEED TO AVOID HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS SHOULD THEY HAVE TO TAKE POWER. HE SAID ARGENTINE MILITARY INTERVENTION IF IT COMES WILL NOT FOLLOW THE LINES OF THE PINOCHET TAKEOVER IN CHILE. RATHER, HE SAID, THEY WILL TRY TO PROCEED WITHIN THE LAW AND WITH FULL RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THIS DID NOT MEAN, HE SAID, THAT THEY WOULD NOT

OPENLY ADOPT THE WAR AGAINST THE TERRORISTS; ON THE CONTRARY, THEY INTENDED TO STEP UP THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM AND SUBVERSION, BUT THEY WOULD DO SO WITHIN THE LAW. THEY HAD NO INTENTION OF RESORTING TO VIGILANTE-TYPE ACTIVITIES, TAKING EXTRA-LEGAL REPRISALS OR OF TAKING ACTION AGAINST UNINVOLVED CIVILIANS. THE SERVICES HAVE TO MOVE, HE SAID, THEIR INTENTION IS TO DO SO IN THE MOST "DEMOCRATIC" AND MODERATE MANNER POSSIBLE. HE NOTED THAT THEY ARE HAVING SOME DIFFICULTIES RESTRAINING HOT HEADS, BUT EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO DO SO.

Cable 0284 de la Embajada de Estados Unidos en Buenos Aires, "Ambassador Hill's Luncheon with Minister of Planning (Major General) Ramón Díaz Bessone", 13 de enero de 1977

ABROAD TO THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROGRAM. "WHAT WE NEED TO DO", CONCLUDED THE GENERAL, "IS TO FIND A WAY TO MAINTAIN AN ACCEPTABLE IMAGE ABROAD WHILE NOT DEVIATING FROM OUR MOST IMPORTANT INTERNAL OBJECTIVES".

7. FOLLOWING UP ON HUMAN RIGHTS, THE AMBASSADOR COMMENTED THAT IN THE PAST MONTH THERE HAVE BEEN NEWSPAPER REPORTS OF AN INCREASING NUMBER OF TERRORISTS BEING KILLED EACH DAY, USUALLY IN GUN BATTLES WITH SECURITY FORCES. HE ADDED THAT WHILE THE PRECISE POLICY OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS REMAINS TO BE SEEN, JUDGING FROM CAMPAIGN SPEECHES, HUMAN RIGHTS WILL CONTINUE TO BE GIVEN GREAT IMPORTANCE BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. THEREFORE, THE AMBASSADOR ASKED, DO THE RECENT SUCCESSES OF SECURITY FORCES, AS GAUGED BY THE NUMBER OF TERRORISTS KILLED, SIGNIFY THAT THE SUBVERSIVES ARE FINALLY ON THE RUN AND THAT THE VIOLENCE AND KILLING SOON MAY BE EXPECTED TO DECREASE? TO THIS THE GENERAL STATED THE LARGER NUMBERS OF TERRORISTS ARE BEING KILLED AS THE RESULT OF INCREASINGLY MORE EFFICIENT COUNTERSUBVERSIVE OPERATIONS; HE MADE NO PREDICTION ABOUT THE LEVELS OF FUTURE COUNTERSUBVERSIVE OPERATIONS.

Archivo, "Argentina: Human Rights and Bilateral Relations", 17 de mayo de 1978

--There are five reasonably documented cases in which political prisoners were released and almost immediately assassinated, presumably by security officials.

--Official harassment of selected religious groups continues. The Jehovah's Witnesses have borne much of the brunt.

✓ --Despite President Videla's professed desires, renegade security elements continue to operate with apparent impunity because they act with the toleration if not under the orders of some military officials. At least in cases involving suspected terrorists, clandestine arrest, torture, and summary execution are standard practices.

✓ The improvements were undertaken at some political risk by President Videla and his supporters in official and military circles, because such measures are viewed by hardline officers as unacceptable concessions to Argentina's critics. Nonetheless, they are largely discretionary measures implemented to mollify foreign and domestic observers. They do not amount to a concerted, effective effort to halt fundamental abuses or revitalize the legal and institutional barriers that would prevent human rights violations in the future.

Telegrama 662I de Buenos Aires a EEUU, "Derian meeting with argentine permanent assembly for human rights", septiembre de 1977

1. HUMAN RIGHTS COORDINATOR DERIAN MET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF PERMANENT ASSEMBLY ON AUGUST 9. ASSEMBLY REPRESENTATIVES DESCRIBED TWO RECENT ACHIEVEMENTS: (1) THE SUPREME COURT'S REQUEST TO THE PRESIDENT THAT THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH THOROUGHLY INVESTIGATE THE HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS FILED BY FAMILIES ON BEHALF OF "DISAPPEARED" RELATIVES. THE ASSEMBLY HAS ITSELF AIDED IN THE SUBMISSION OF 655 HABEAS CORPUS PETITIONS; MORE PETITIONS ARE IN PREPARATION, AND (2) THE DOCUMENT PUBLISHED IN MAY BE THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS DESCRIBING CASES OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY THE PUBLIC AUTHORITIES. THEY ALSO SAID THEIR GROUP WAS GROWING AND BECOMING MORE REPRESENTATIVE OF ALL SECTORS OF ARGENTINE SOCIETY.

[REDACTED]

2. THE GROUP SAID THEY SAW NO IMPROVEMENT IN THE GENERAL HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION SINCE MS. DERIAN'S LAST VISIT, RATHER THINGS ARE INTENSIFYING. THE NUMBER OF DISAPPEARED CONTINUES TO RISE AND DETENTIONS CONTINUE, E.G. PEREZ ESQUIVEL. THEY SEE SIGNS THAT THE HIGHEST AUTHORITIES EITHER CAN'T OR DON'T WISH TO MODIFY THE SITUATION. THEY SAID THERE IS GROWING PUBLIC DISCONTENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT. PEOPLE ARE LOSING THEIR FEAR AND GOING TO THE COURTS TO PRESENT CASES AGAINST THE PUBLIC FORCES FOR MURDER, TORTURE AND DETENTION. THEY SAID THERE ARE NO MORE MILITARY ENCOUNTERS WITH GUERRILLAS BUT THERE ARE INCIDENTS SET-UP TO LOOK LIKE ENCOUNTERS DESIGNED TO KILL PRISONERS. THEY SAID THE ASSEMBLY HAS HAD SOME SUCCESS TO DATE BECAUSE IT HAS WORKED RESPECTFULLY AND DISCRETELY THROUGH LEGAL CHANNELS.

Downgrade to
Reason

Archivo, "Instructions for Mission to Argentina", 18 de mayo de 1978

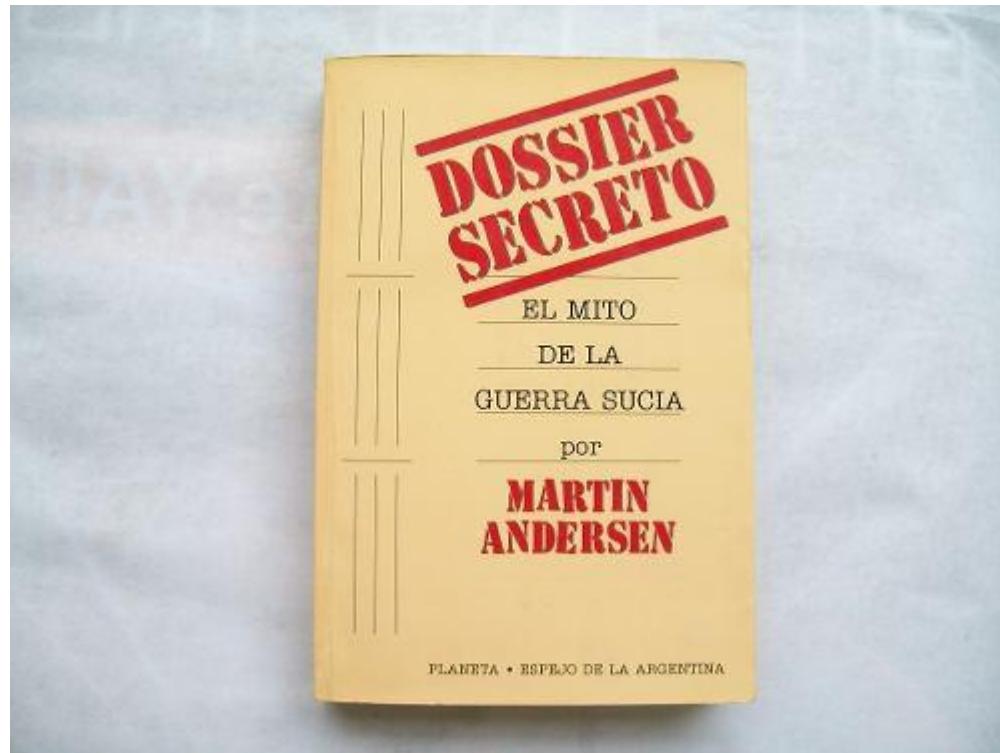
1. The purpose of the mission of the Under Secretary for Political Affairs is to try to effect a change in United States relations with Argentina, a key state in Latin America.

2. United States relations with Argentina are at a crossroads due to continuing violations of human rights by the country and the resultant deterioration in our security relationships.

3. Argentina is particularly important to the United States because it is Latin America's leading nuclear technology state, with very advanced plans for the production of plutonium through reprocessing. Argentina also has a growing arms production and export capability, and is one of the most influential political and cultural leaders in the Spanish speaking world. Its present (world's 4th largest wheat exporter) and potentially far more impressive agricultural role, as well as possibly immense offshore petroleum prospects ensure Argentina's importance into the future.

9. If the Argentine Government gives convincing indications that it will take action on our recommendations, particularly with respect to ending disappearances, the Under Secretary is authorized to approve, as a demonstration of the good faith of the United States, the pending Argentine requests to purchase military training.

“Dossier Secreto. El mito de la Guerra Sucia” Martin Andersen



Capítulo 11 “Los generales proyectan su retorno” (1975-1976)

- Golpe a Isabel Perón
- El New York Times, argumentó que Videla no ha mostrado ambición personal alguna por ocupar la presidencia.

Capítulo 15 “Los campos secretos”

- Cinco grandes campos de concentración
- «Alimento para peces» y «flotadores»
- “Sin nombre”
- Estado de existencia casi animal
- Tortura sexual

Capítulo 16 “Una sociedad de miedo”

- Silencio de los medios de comunicación

Capítulo 17 “La Junta toma el poder (1976)”

- Para los EE.UU: “no presenta un problema inmediato”
- Operación Cóndor: la guerra sin fronteras

Capítulo 18 “Los guerrilleros y la agonía de la derrocha (1976)”

- Rodolfo Walsh formula una advertencia

Capítulo 19 “El precio del poder (1976)”

- Delegación de Amnistía Internacional llegó a Bs. As para investigar los informes sobre una “guerra sucia” sancionada oficialmente.
- El Departamento de Estado emitió un informe sobre los DD.HH. en la Argentina

Capítulo 20 “Jimmy Carter y la revolución de los derechos humanos (1977)”

- 20 de enero, presidencia de Jimmy Carter: ‘Los derechos humanos’ serían ‘el alma de la política exterior de los Estados Unidos’.
- Reunión de Cyrus Vance con Madres de Plaza de Mayo
- Franklin «Tex» Harris
- Visitas de Patricia Derian a Argentina

“Los soldados le dijeron que se veían obligados a matar porque si no los mataban a ellos por desobedecer órdenes”.

“Ya no vamos a venderles elementos de tortura. ¿Lo entiende ahora?”.

Patricia Derian, en respuesta a un agregado militar mayor.

Capítulo 21 “Los campos de la muerte en la Argentina (1978-1980)”

- Según el *Washington Post*: “Massera (...) quería un pronto retorno a la democracia y mejores relaciones con los Estados Unidos. Carter tendría que “considerar a la Armada argentina como una alternativa para los derechos humanos”.
- “La ESMA es una escuela”
- En EE.UU.: interés en destruir el programa de DD.HH.
- Informe de la OEA

“El exabrupto de Derian bien puede debilitar a los integrantes relativamente moderados de la Junta comandados por el general Jorge Rafael Videla (...)

Al margen de los excesos poco diplomáticos, ¿Derian dijo la verdad?”



**Muchas gracias por su
atención**