

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

SECRET/LIMDIS (GDS)

March 7, 1973

National Security Study Memorandum No. 173

TO:

The Secretary of State

The Secretary of Defense

The Secretary of the Treasury

The Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT:

U. S. Policy Toward Latin America

The President has directed a review of United States policies and programs in Latin America. This review should take into account the studies prepared in response to NSSM 15 and NSSM 108 as well as the Rockefeller Report of 1969.

## The study should:

- -- set forth a statement of basic U.S. interests and objectives in Latin America, indicating their general order of priority (differing views as to basic interests and objectives and the order of priority should be clearly stated and discussed);
- -- analyze situations wherein the pursuit of multiple U.S. interests and objectives is prejudiced by conflicts among them, thus necessitating choices or trade-offs;
- -- describe the fundamental issues in U.S. relations with the countries of Latin America as they relate to these interests and objectives and the priorities and conflicts among them; and
- -- assess the effectiveness and shortcomings of current policies and programs in supporting U.S. interests and objectives.

Based upon this review and assessment, the study should consider the policy options open to the United States which will advance the basic U.S. interests and objectives in Latin America, minimize the conflicts among them, and result in U.S. programs that faithfully reflect U.S. priorities. The discussion of the options should be guided by the general objective of enhancing the U.S.-Latin American relationship within the concept of mature partnership as enunciated by the President on October 31, 1969. The advantages and disadvantages, and costs and consequences of each policy option should be analyzed.

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The assessment of issues and current policies and programs should include, but not necessarily be limited to, consideration of the following operational problems affecting U.S.-Latin American relations:

- -- the future of the Inter-American System and the U.S. role (OAS, CIAP, CIES, etc.);
- -- Law-of-the-Sea problems (e.g., territorial seas, resources control, boat seizures, etc.);
- -- U.S. policies on the supplying of military equipment, sales, and training and ways in which these may be broadened and made more effective;
- -- unfulfilled U.S. commitments (especially trade preference);
- -- Congressional restrictions on U.S. actions (Gonzalez, Hickenlooper, etc.);
- -- rising nationalism in Latin America and its effect on U.S. policies and programs.

In the case of each operational problem there should be a succinct statement of the issues and their effects on U.S. interests and objectives. Alternative approaches to the resolution of the issues should be analyzed and related to the basic policy options set forth in the study.

The NSC Interdepartmental Group for Inter-American Affairs should conduct this study. The study should be submitted to the NSC Senior Review Group by April 15, 1973.

Henry A. Kissinger

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cc: Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
The Assistant to the President for
International Economic Affairs

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