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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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January 26, 1977

Presidential Review Memorandum/NSC-17

TO:           The Vice President  
              The Secretary of State  
              The Secretary of Defense

ALSO:   The Secretary of the Treasury  
          The Attorney General  
          The United States Representative to the  
              United Nations  
          The Secretary of Agriculture  
          The Secretary of Labor  
          The Secretary of Commerce  
          The Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers  
          The Administrator, Agency for International  
              Development  
          The Director, Arms Control and Disarmament  
              Agency  
          The Director, United States Information Agency  
          The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff  
          The Director of Central Intelligence  
          The Special Trade Representative

SUBJECT:   Review of U.S. Policy Toward Latin America

The President has directed that the PRM/NSC-1 on Panama lead into a broad review of our overall policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean. The PRC, chaired by the Department of State, will be responsible for preparation of this review, which should clearly state areas of inter-agency agreement and disagreement.

The study should analyze the major issues of concern to the U.S. and Latin America and examine whether the current assumptions underlying U.S. policy toward the region as well as the policies

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by F. Graboske, National Security Council

themselves are appropriate to an effective handling of these issues. The review should concentrate initially on six areas and then proceed to a discussion of an overall policy.

The study should be completed by March 1.

The six areas for initial analysis include:

1. Interests. What economic, political, and military changes have occurred over the past decade in the international environment, in the U.S. and in the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean? How have these changes affected the ways in which U.S. policies can advance or protect U.S. interests in the region or influence the internal or external policies of the region's governments?

What are U.S. interests in Latin America and the Caribbean today, and how have they evolved over the past decade? What is the broad psychological climate within the hemisphere into which U.S. policies and action will be projected over the next decade?

2. Economic Issues. The economic issues of concern to Latin America, including trade, commodities, debt, international financial institutions, foreign direct investment, science and technology, and development assistance make up the agenda of the North-South dialogue. Therefore, in developing options for U.S. policies on these issues, the review should include a discussion of (a) how it would impact on U.S. and Latin/Caribbean interests, and (b) how it might be implemented, including possible need for new legislation or a modification of existing legislation. These options should take explicit account of the differentiation of Latin America and the Caribbean as between middle range powers and less-developed countries. Discussion of strategies for each option should address its relationship to the broader North-South dialogue and should identify which institution(s)--if any--might be the most appropriate and effective for dealing with the issue.

The review should also include an analysis and possible options for U.S. policy toward Latin American and Caribbean efforts at regional economic integration, including the Central American

Common Market, Caribbean Community, Andean Pact, LAFTA, and also the Latin American Economic System (SELA).

3. Human Rights. What options are available for U.S. foreign policy to reflect a higher and more effective level of concern for fundamental human rights in all nations?

Options should be developed for U.S. policy in: (a) bilateral relationships (taking into consideration distinctions between degrees of human rights violations and types of governments); (b) multilateral organizations, including intergovernmental organizations like the OAS, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Inter-American Human Rights Commission, the United Nations Human Rights Commission; non-governmental organizations like Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists; and third parties like Western European governments and the Vatican; and (c) signing and ratification of various conventions, including the American Convention on Human Rights.

A discussion should also be included of ways to strengthen the internal capacity of the U.S. Government to assess reports and to make determinations on "consistent patterns of gross violations of human rights". It should also include a review of present U.S. policy with regard to temporary asylum in U.S. Embassies, and emigration to the U.S. of refugees from political repression.

4. Special Country Problems. With regard to each, what are U.S. interests, and in the light of those interests what should U.S. objectives be? What options and strategies are available to the U.S. to attain those objectives?

- a. Cuba (can be dealt with separately and more quickly)
- b. Brazil
- c. Mexico
- d. Central America

5. Caribbean. This section should consider: (a) a discussion of the economic and political problems of the independent and non-self-governing islands of the Caribbean; (b) a review of U.S. security, economic, humanitarian, and political interests in the region, and strategies for advancing or protecting those interests; and (c) the desirability and feasibility of assisting the development of the region

in a way which will not collide with the aspirations for national independence of the new independent countries of the region.

6. Institutional and Other Issues. Issues for review include, but need not be limited to:

a. Inter-American System: U.S. purposes with respect to the Organization of American States, the Rio Treaty, and other regional organizations like the Inter-American Defense Board.

b. U.S. Policies on Territorial Disputes:

- (1) Bolivia-Chile-Peru
- (2) Peru-Ecuador
- (3) El Salvador-Honduras
- (4) Belize
- (5) Guyana-Surinam-Venezuela
- (6) Venezuela-Colombia

c. Arms Sales, military training and U.S. military representation.

d. Nuclear Proliferation and safeguards.

e. Narcotics.

f. Illegal Immigration.

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This review should identify at the conclusion the basic options for an overall U.S.-Latin American policy in light of the options identified for the major issues considered above.



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