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FILE DESIGNATION

A-135 CONFIDENTIAL

HANDLING INDICATOR

NO.

TO : Department of State
INFO : Amconsulate SANTIAGO DE LOS CABALLEROS

FROM : Amembassy SANTO DOMINGO

DATE: *4/23/69*

SUBJECT : POLICY DOCUMENTS--Comment on the Draft Hemisphere Analysis and Strategy Paper (HASP)
REF : CA-12772, December 19, 1968

aw/IRG

SUGGESTED DISTRIBUTION

1. A draft Hemisphere Analysis and Strategy Paper (HASP) was circulated for field comment under cover of CA-12772, December 19, 1968. That document was--quite properly, in our judgment--defined as being "not an IRG-approved document" and "not intended to constitute substantive policy guidance".

2. In corresponding vein, and for whatever utility and possible assistance they may afford to those involved in the HASP project, there are enclosed three individual memoranda embodying the reaction and comment of various Embassy staff members.

F. J. Devine
DEVINE

3 Enclosures: *all GMB*
Memoranda of comment

GROUP 3

Downgraded at 12-year intervals; not automatically declassified.

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FORM 10-64 DS-323

In Out

Drafted by: *F. J. Devine* Drafting Date: _____ Phone No.: _____ Contents and Classification Approved by: CHARGE: FJ Devine *F. J. Devine*

Clearances: The Ambassador (in substance, prior to departure) *70* ECON - Mr. Elsbernd *70* POL - Mr. Haahr *70* USAID - Mr. Robinson *70* USIS - Mr. Friedmann *70* MAAG - Col. Joslin *70*

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STAFF COMMENT
ON
HASP

1. Provided one accepts the basic HASP (and CASP) methodology, the draft document you circulated represents an interesting and generally useful approach to the problems of dealing with Latin America. As the draft points out, we do not have "a Latin American policy" nor is one possible. What we do have--or are working toward--is a set of operational strategies to be applied to individual countries (and in some cases groups of countries) in the hemisphere. This of course raises the question of whether or not there can be or should be such a thing as a HASP.

2. My only specific comment relates to proposed policy towards this area, including the DR. On page 19 it is stated that we will place a "high value upon tranquility and avoidance of chaos"; objective 2 on page 41 repeats this same general theme but in a different way. Our policy, therefore, is to "buy time" with the expectation of later violence perhaps of a more severe nature but in a period in which the DR is of less vital security interest to us. This could be interpreted as meaning that we favor more conservative governments which would provide the hoped for political and social tranquility while at the same time modest progress is made toward development goals. If this is so, the suggested policy may be shortsighted in that it could produce the "violence and chaos" earlier than anticipated because of providing the extreme left and left with a better basis for common action.

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STAFF COMMENT
ON
HASP

Herewith are my meager comments relating to the HASP, CASP, PM and GASP (Global Analysis and Strategy Paper).

1. Conceptual Framework. I am fully in agreement that the Bureau and the Department, in fact the U.S. Government, require a forward-looking document, continuously or periodically revised and refined to provide a framework for defining U.S. policy, its rationale and the strategies in force or projected for carrying out the policy. I assume this is not the first attempt in this field although I am not familiar with past efforts and cannot make a comparison.
2. Though it has been explained to us that the HASP probably has no duplicate covering other areas, it seems to me that it should; U.S. interests in Latin America can only be a part of the total U.S. interest. Certainly, the determination of what U.S. interests are in Latin America cannot proceed without relation to interests and policy in other areas. The HASP does not reflect this. For example, in the period extending to 1972, a second order U.S. "interest" involves correction of its balance of payments problem. U.S. strategy and objectives in Latin America will play a part, although it may be a minor one, in our plans connected with this U.S. interest.
3. A concept implicit in most of the HASP is that there are undefined reasons for limiting the description of possible objectives and strategies so as to make them fit resource commitment established a priori. The Ambassador made this point during last Friday's meeting in terms of its limiting drafters of the CASP to a range which prohibited bold initiatives. My additional point is that a HASP or CASP document needs to recognize explicitly, as this HASP does in only one place, that in pursuit of the highest priority U.S. interest the ceilings on resource use have very high limits.

Definition or Terminology

1. My major problems with the HASP (and also in our attempts with the CASP) are in establishing what should be the proper level of generality. The HASP, for example, has five listed U.S. interests. To me the five are not comparable one with another. If preservation of national security, as defined, is truly illustrative of the level of a national interest then "promotion of hemispheric integrity" is only a more specific interest or an objective. One could also defend the proposition that "promotion of hemispheric development" is an "objective" which contributes to the first order or second order U.S. interest. The same could be said of the "promotion of democratic institutions". I would argue that the protection of U.S. investments is some type of second order objective falling under, what might be a first order objective, "increasing and spreading U.S. influence

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through increased investment in the hemisphere", which might be an objective tending to advance the primary U.S. interest of preserving national security. I hope the above makes clear that I feel the terminology of the HASP requires refining so that its drafters, our mentors in the HASP/CASP exercise, do not fall in the same error that we CASP drafters often do, that of confusing interests, objectives and sometimes strategies.

In the same vein, I find the "objectives" listed on page 41 vary a great deal in what I call the level of their generality or significance. The first three appear to me to be quite comparable and, within this draft of the HASP, to be legitimate "objectives". The last three while phrased in language indicating a high level of vagueness-type generality, are more descriptions of strategies without the specifics of action steps.

2. The distinction drawn on page 40 between policy objective and policy strategy is fine in theory. I would paraphrase what is stated there into, "an objective is what we wish to do and the strategy is how we propose to do it". In practice, there appear to be great difficulties involved. What is to one drafter an objective can be, to the next drafter, only a step in the achievement of a larger overall objective, and the first then becomes simply a part of the operational strategy. The concrete part of my comment is only to state that this problem requires a great deal more attention, thought and, in addition to explanation what is required is a defining and decision on the levels of generality.

Substantive Matters

Here each commentator might take up many points reflecting his background and experience. The statements of "fact" or "probability" must always reflect a broad consensus. To me the breakdown of countries in groups one, two and three is extremely arbitrary. In this draft HASP, this somewhat artificial breakdown into groups facilitates for the drafters a similarly convenient but arbitrary, and I would say fictitious division of "interests". The drafters find that the preservation of national security is primordial in one area but that "promoting economic and social development" is a leader in another area. I recognize that these conventions facilitate the placing of the analytical problem into the chosen framework but find it stretches reality a bit.

N.B.--The attached should be on every HASP-CASP drafter's desk--as a warning.

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HOW TO WIN AT WORDMANSHIP

After years of hacking through etymological thickets at the U.S. Public Health Service a 63 year old official named Philip Broughton hit upon a sure-fire method of converting frustration into fulfillment (jargonwise). Euphemistically called the Systematic Buzz Phrase Projector, Broughton's system employs a lexicon of 30 carefully chosen "buzzwords":

COLUMN 1

0. integrated
1. total
2. systematized
3. parallel
4. functional
5. responsive
6. optional
7. synchronized
8. compatible
9. balanced

COLUMN 2

0. management
1. organizational
2. monitored
3. reciprocal
4. digital
5. logistical
6. transitional
7. incremental
8. third-generation
9. policy

COLUMN 3

0. options
1. flexibility
2. capability
3. mobility
4. programming
5. concept
6. time-phase
7. projection
8. hardware
9. contingency

The procedure is simple. Think of any three-digit number, then select the corresponding buzzword from each column. For instance, number 257 produces "systematized logistical projection," a phrase that can be dropped into virtually any report with that ring of decisive, knowledgeable authority. "No one will have the remotest idea of what you're talking about," says Broughton, "but the important thing is that they're not about to admit it."

Newsweek, May 6, 1968

STAFF COMMENT
ON
HASP

The HASP is a labored paper which unrealistically strives, but fails, to compress and contain U.S. attitudes, policies, actions, etc. toward an entire and diverse geographic region within the confines of a single policy document. It may have provided a stimulating exercise but it does not represent a particularly useful end-product.

The pseudo-scientific phraseology employed in the HASP hinders rather than helps comprehension of its message.

While "preservation of the national security" is applied primarily to states within the Caribbean, Mexico and Panama, this seems to reflect rationalization based upon realistic power capabilities rather than objective analysis.

Given a decent set of CASP's or individual-country policy papers, I question most seriously whether HASP and RASP are worth the effort and man-hours which go into their being drafted in the Department and imposed upon the field for review and comment.

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Friedmann - Mr. Elshvine J. J. [unclear]
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