

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIAL (GDS)

LD HAS S

INFORMATION

May 8, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR:

ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

FROM:

ROBERT PASTOR

SUBJECT:

Arms Restraint in Latin America: Discussions With Suppliers, Including the Soviet Union

I spoke to you and to Bob Hunter on Saturday very briefly about our approach to arms suppliers as one of two tracks of our arms restraint program to Latin America. Both of you expressed concern that discussions with the Soviets would violate the Monroe Doctrine, inviting them into "our Western Hemisphere." Let me suggest in this memo why I believe that view of the problem is mistaken.

First of all, it is not "our Western Hemisphere," and only in American mythology has it ever been. The Latin Americans have always been free to invite anyone they wanted, and of course the British, the French, and the West Germans in the 19th Century didn't wait for invitations. The Cubans, of course, invited the Soviet Union one weekend, and like the proverbial mother-in-law, they havestayed. The Peruvians have purchased over \$1 billion worth of arms from the Soviet Union, and we really have no instruments to prevent other countries from doing the same thing. Indeed, the opposite is the case: legislation and Presidential policy discourage Latin Americans from purchasing arms from the United States, implicitly encouraging them to seek their weapons elsewhere.

The Security Assistance Act requires human rights reports, and Brazil, Argentina, and Guatemala have all denied themselves any opportunity to purchase U.S. arms because of it. Specific legislation has prohibited Chile from purchasing arms from us. Furthermore, the President's policy on arms restraint makes it difficult for the U.S. to sell arms to Latin America except in exceptional circumstances. As a result of this, we currently sell only about 15% of all the weapons purchased by the region.

Our arms restraint program in Latin America is actually an attempt to get other arms suppliers to do what we have already done. Instead of inviting the Soviets into the hemisphere, our program is designed to deal them out. There is currently no way for us to keep them out, but it is conceivable that they might be a party to such an agreement since they really have never shown any sustained interest in selling arms to the region, and the Latins have not shown any sustained interest in buying from them. Therefore, it seems at least conceivable that they may want to demonstrate their interest in arms control by agreeing to such a program in Latin America. That was the purpose of our approach to them in Helsinki, and we plan to make similar approaches to other arms suppliers at future times. At the same time, Perez will be making similar approaches to the arms purchasers. And with some luck we may be able to put together an agreement.

CONFIDENTIAL

Priscilla Clapp and Luigi Einaudi have written a strategy paper which is superb, and we have forwarded it to President Perez. It provides details on how we can move by specific steps and acceptance of general guidelines towards implementation of our goal of arms restraint. If you would like to see it I would be happy to forward it to you.

cc: Robert Hunter
Les Denend
Reginald Bartholomew
Victor Utgoff

CONFIDENTIAL - GDS