

Yet it appears that Latin America's cooperation with the United States is more readily explicable in terms of its political and economic stake in the U.S. position than as a matter of exchange for military aid. For political cooperation has come just as readily from countries that received no such aid, like Mexico and Costa Rica, as those that did. While it can be argued that military ties will result in political support in those nations where the military is influential in politics, nevertheless, when the whole situation is considered, the United States still runs the risk that the present military elite with whom alliances have been made, may be out of power tomorrow. The recent experience in Cuba well illustrates this point.

Insofar as military aid promotes an artificial political stability inside the dynamic Latin American environment, the inexorable buildup of popular pressures for change threatens to bring about violent upheavals. Also, U.S. security policy offers the Communists opportunity to cooperate and make common cause with the civilian resistance to militarism.

It is because the military emphasis in U.S. policy toward Latin America appears seriously out of line with our political and economic objectives and long-term interests that the following recommendations for changes in our collective security system are made:

(a) The United States should promote disarmament in Latin America. Such a policy would provide a simple method under which some of the current inconsistencies in our foreign policy could be reconciled. It would draw Latin American public opinion to our side, relieve us of much of the onus of supporting unpopular governments, and allow the savings on arms to be plowed into economically productive endeavors.

(b) The first step is to de-emphasize the military aspects of our policy toward Latin America. This does not mean that we should suddenly abandon our whole complex of military programs in the area, but a firm guiding principle should be the discouragement of any further arms buildup. To this end the United States should gradually reduce its military aid with a view to eliminating it within a few years. The reimbursable aid program can be reduced by curtailing the role of prestige weapons and tightening credit controls on arms purchases.

(c) The United States should abandon use of military programs as a means to win the political support of the Latin American military. By doing so we will free ourselves of much of the ill will heretofore engendered among the Latin American people by overemphasis upon military thinking and military policies. Also, it will soon become apparent that the risks of possible political alienation of the armed forces of a few countries are outweighed by the political advantages accruing from enthusiastic support of U.S. policies by the mass of the people.

2. Democracy and dictatorship

De-emphasis upon military policies is intimately related to the problem of democracy and dictatorship. It has already been demonstrated that most Latin American countries are moving toward greater democracy. However, events of the past decade have shown that insofar as the military aid programs increase the political influence of the armed forces, the chances for democracy suffer. For the military, far more