# PRELIMINARY REPORT SUBMITTED BY THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE TASK FORCE COMMITTEE

AUGUST 14, 1972

## CO-CHAIRMEN: MR. RAYMOND MOLINA DR. FERNANDO PENABAZ

## COORDINATED BY: MR. MARVIN MONDRES

PRESENTED TO THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE PLATFORM HEARING SUBCOMMITTE ON NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY.

The co-chairmen and other members of the Task Force have over the past ten years dedicated themselves to an intense study of U.S. and Latin American relations. They have on their own time and at their own expense traveled more than 70,000 miles in the western hemisphere speaking with numerous heads of state and a significant number of people who in various ways direct the destinies of their countries.

This preliminary report is a result of their observations on what is taking place south of the Rio Grande. The members of the Task Force feel that it is of the utmost importance that the Platform Committee of the Republican Party be informed of its findings and recommendations which are of interest and concern to all of the American Nations in this hemisphere. An American hemisphere divided against itself will surely fall into the hands of an eager and waiting goliath, the ever increasing menace of Communist imperialism.

When President Nixon took office in January of 1969 United States prestige in our own hemisphere was at an all time low. During the past 4 years however, the administration has reversed this downward trend and has instituted some very effective measures to counteract the economic penetration and military inducements offered by the Soviet Union and their Eastern European satellites. The creation of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), the revamping and creation of new programs under the Export Import Bank, and most recently the activity of the Bureau of International Commerce a part of the U.S. Department of Commerce.

All of these efforts are geared to encourage trade and private enterprise while at the same time building United States prestige.

- 1 -

They play an important role in balancing our trade deficit and at the same time promote new enterprise through the principle of joint ventures throughout Latin America. While we help to alleviate the fast growing demand for consumer goods in Latin America we also cement our good relations with these same nations.

As we have started the Administration has taken needed and encouraging measures however many of the basic problems still remain. Psychologically our neighbors to the south cannot understand how the United States has allowed the Castro regime to last this long.

## Eight Years Ago

In order to contrast our present position with regard to our relations with our Latin American neighbors and our position in the past it is necessary to establish a time frame. Such a comparison can serve as a measure of Soviet and Marxist influence in the western hemisphere. To do this let us go back eight years to recall the observations of Dr. Fernando Penabaz before another Republican Platform Committee in San Francisco. In 1964 when this nation was under a Democratic administration Dr. Penabaz stated:

I. That the U.S. either recognize the validity of its treaty obligations <u>or</u> officially inform its citizens, and the world, that they can no longer rely on international covenants and pledges as a guarantee of their individual rights and collective security. That this must be done because euring the <u>last four years</u> the U.S. has definitely ignored the provisions of its pledges to prohibit the establishment of foreign-dominated totalitarian regimes in the Americas. These

- 2 -

solemn pledges are contained not only in the Monroe Doctrine, a unilateral declaration of U.S. policy, but also in the Rio de Janeiro Treaty and other implementing covenants and pacts which specifically and clearly state the U.S. and other Western Hemisphere nations would not and cannot tolerate the presence in the Americas of Communist regimes or regimes directed and controlled by "extra-continental powers." II. That it be recognized that military acts are rendered useless if not accompanied by correlated political agreements which may and can be invoked to halt Russian and Chinese Communist expansion and imperialism in Asia, Africa and the Western Hemisphere. The lack of adequate and implementing political clauses to treaties such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, and those that were supposed to safeguard the entire Inter-American system of government against the ever-spreading Russian and Red Chinese take-over has permitted Russia and Red China to situate themselves, during the last four years, in a position of strategic predominance over almost every vital sea lane in the entire world, as well as obtaining military and political bases in areas which until very recently were part of the Free World ....

III. That it be recognized that the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico are at present areas where Russia and its agents act at will, ignoring every semblance of international law, and that the American pations passively accepts these conditions.

I". That current U.S. policy places American Naval and Air Force units at the service of Fidel Castro and Pussia, in order to safeguard then from outside attack by Cuban patriots. Freedom loving Cubans are asking that if the U.S. is not willing to honor its Inter-American

- 3 -

treaties, it at least declare itself neutral and cease and desist from militarily aiding Castro by protecting him from outside attack, as well as harrassing anti-Communist Cuban Freedom Fighters throughout the Americas....

Four years of empty promises and dishonored covenants and pledges have only served to strengthen Marxist-Leninist objectives in the Americas. This tide must be reversed or all of the American nations will, in the long run, suffer the tragic fate of the now abandoned and forsaken Republic of Cuba, once a proud and prosperous member of the community of free American countries.

Four years of intense pro-Soviet appeasement by the U.S. have put in jeopardy the jugular veins of American military and maritime traffic; have shattered U.S. prestige abroad and permitted Russia to encircle the Guantanamo Naval Base and become an awesome menace situated in the very heart of the Western Hemisphere. The time has arrived to redeem pledges, treaties and American traditions of courage and decision. It is up to you, gentlemen, and the party you represent, to do it.

Less than a decade has elapsed since these words were spoken at the San Francisco Convention. In that short span of time and during the Administration of a Democrat President and a Democrat controlled Congress the situation has worsened in many areas. The Soviet occupation of Cuba is an accomplished fact. Soviet naval vessels roam our seas at will and use the Island of Cuba as one of their major overseas bases. In 1964 Cuba was the only nation in the western hemisphere under direct Marxist influence. Today the Republic of Chile suffers

- 4 --

under an elected Marxist regime. Peru is dominated by a pro Marxist military junta which is anti-American and openly sympathetic to the Communist block of nations.

Mexico, Guatemala, Uruguay, Venezuela, Panama, Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo are under threat of Castro's political and guerilla inspired activities. In almost every nation in Latin America with extremely few exception, self confessed rabidly anti-U.S. Marxists occupy positions of power. Meantime we in this country concentrate most of our attention in the international field on European and Asia affairs. While our attention is thus diverted the Soviet Union together with the Red satellite states conduct an all out campaign to penetrate Latin America internally, economically, politically and if the opportunity presents, militarily.

Nothing better illustrates what is now taking place in Latin America than the following excepts from the August 29, 1970 Hearings before the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the Committe on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives:

Page 65: In line with their nationalist mood, some Latin American goverments have pursued diplomatic relations with communist countries (security deletion). Communist countries, encouraged by evidence of Latin American hostility to the United States, have been more than willing to accomodate these growing aspiration. The communist nations have steadily expanded their official representation, and now have more than 120 diplomatic and trade missions in Latin America. While the communists apparently value their diplomatic presence over subversive activities, they have definitely not neglected the latter. (Security deletion).

As an adjunct to their official presence, Soviet Bloc radio stations now broadcast nearly 500 hours per week to Latin America, emphasizing "peaceful coexistence" and encouraging national governments to follow a so-called independt foreign policy. Present Soviet tactics also call for subtle and patient penetration of labor, student, and peasant movements as well as political groups in an effort to ensure mass support for communist objectives at some future date. As part of this low-profile, long-range ob-

- 5 -

jective, communist countries have provided a large number of academic scholarships to Latin American youths and there are approximately 2,000 now attending universities in the USSR and eastern Europe.

The Soviets now have nine missions in Latin American capitals. (Security deletion.) Pepresentation by eastern European states has risen also in recent years; from 1964 to the present they have expanded from 35 to 61 missions.

Trade with Latin America has also expanded steadily and is now approximately 600 million annually, with Argentina and Brazil accounting for more than 70%. The amount of sales is not large in terms of Latin America's total trade -less than 3%- but the percentage increase has been considerable. In addition, from 1955 through 1969 the U.S.S.R. and its allies extended over \$5 million in economic credits to various Latin American countries, principally for industrial projects, equipment and machinery. Latin American governments have been slow to use these credits, but the communist countries continue to make new offers and press to have existing ones drawn upon.

The Communist drive to expand relations with Latin America will probably continue to intensify and achieve a degree of success. Since communist economic offers have been appealing, and communist countries are seen as lucrative markets for Latin America's primary products, new trade pacts and additional communist missions are likely to be established. However, even with the relatively small number of communist officials now present, they are pressing to reach their short time objective of undercutting U.S. influence in the area.

It would appear then that Castro and the USSR have been effective in a significant number of nations in the Western Hemisphere. Through their intensive propaganda they have encouraged revolutionary political movements and have pursuaded many disenchanted leaders to take openly anti-American positions in order to promote themselves into greater positions of power in their respective countries.

During our extensive travels and our open and frank discussions with heads of State and political leaders throughout the hemisphere we have concluded that while many of these leaders profess friendship toward the U.S. they have lost confidance in our committments. They feel that our backbone is not as stiff as it once was. They feel that our changing im ge and our seemingly permissive society has weakened the resolve of our leaders to take the necessary stands to prevent a complete communist taken over in this hemisphere.

The memory of the Bay of Pigs remains strong in the mind of all Latin Americans. When the United States under a Democrat President turned its back and betrayed its allies who had gone ashore to free the Cuban people a chain reaction set in. President Charles DeGaulle of France questioned the reliability/of US committments to countries 3000 miles away if committments were broken within 90 miles of our own shores, almost causing the disbanbment of the NATO Alliance.

It is opportune to point out that many Democratic Party leaders including the party nominee for President have advocated the abandonment of our allies in South Viet Nam. They seem ready to capitulate to the Communists. When the pressure becomes too great will they also surrender our Latin American neighbors, one by one to communism. This is what strikes fear into the Latin American community. The leaders of these nations voice grave doubts concerning our intentions and even our ability to provide them the reassurances they need. Thus creating a serious psychological crisis.

Our military posture throughout Latin America has deteriorated due to obsolete policies on our part. The limiting of arms sales to Latin American countries thich are free to administer their own destinies has resulted not in deterring intra-hemisphere conflict but rather in driving our neighbors into the arms of our enemies. The original purpose of

- 7 -

limiting arms sales so that these countries would not divert their economy into non productive war materials is no longer valid. The economy in most of the Latin American countries has become healthier and the military capabilities have become more sophisticated thanks to our military and technical assistance programs, thus creating a frustration when they cannot obtain equally sophisticated materials from the United States. They find themselves in the same position as a skilled surgeon without an operating table nor instruments with which to practice his skill.

Presently, the military establishments in Latin America are among the most disenchanted with U.S. policy. This has been caused by our failure to supply the up to date equipment they have been trained by our government to use. Many are still using 1936 weapons and equipment of World War II vintage. An example is Paraguay which has an air force without combat planes. Latin American countries seeking to satisfy their defense needs have purchased more than a billion dollars in defense equipment in the last 2 years from countries other than the U.S. Purchases that could have gone a long way towards solving our balance of trade defecit while at the same time strengthening our position with our Latin American allies.

In ourder to deal effectively with our Latin neighbors it is necessary to understand the origin of the "sistema patriarcal". Another word we must know the meaning of is "machismo". It is inherent in the nature of the Latin individual to respect strong leadership. He has been imbued with the philosophy of strong family ties and a deep respect for the head of the family, which was the "macho". This feeling permeates the minds of the citizens in our neighboring Latin American countries

- 8 -

towards their government leaders. These countries and their people do not want the United States to dictate their destiny but at the same time they do look to us for strong leadership and firm guidlines and they will not respect less.

Recently we read the open attacks on President Nixon's Latin American foreign policy by Mr. Galo Plaza, President of the Organization of American States. Mr. Plaza has been actively pushing for the recognition of the Castro regime and of bringing communist Cuba into the OAS. He preaches equality and justice while he and his family own the largest "hacienda" in Ecuador employing hundreds of Indian "slaves" who live and work under intolerable conditions. This is just another example of our inability to make the truth known throughout our own hemisphere.

Galo Plaza is one of the many independent and anti American functionaries drawing substantial salaries and large expense accounts thanks to our foreign assistance programs. In other words we are indirectly sponsering him in assisting the USSR to undermine our influence in the Western Hemisphere.

If we continue to do this we will lose the western hemisphere psychologically, economically, and militarily. We will become the vanishing American in our own backyard while we continue to pay the tab.

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

 We must establish a new individually tailored nation to nation diplomacy taking into consideration not only our own philosophy but the temperament and nature of the Latin people themselves.

2. The President should appoin a task force to undertake a complete study

- 9 -

of the reasons for Latin Americas disenchantment with the U.S. and why the Soviet diplomacy has been so effective in this hemisphere. The task force should be composed of multi-lingual members who can hold face to face meetings in the native language of the people with whom they meet.

- 3. The United States should remove the limitations on the sales of arms and sophisticated equipment to Latin American Countries and should establish up to date and realistic guidlines for such sales.
- 4. An organization similar to our Small Business Administration should be created to stimulate and assist small and midium size business ventures in Latin American Countries whose governments are friendly to to this country.
- 5. A complete restructuring of the role of the United States Information Agency (USIA) in Latin America. At the present time it is completely ineffective in combatting communist propaganda in this vital part of the world.
- 6. In our present negotiation with the Soviet Union we should include the withdrawel of Soviet Military and related assistance to Cuba. Our continued negotiations should be contingent on this provision. It would appear that some similar accord was reached in the middle east with the withdrawel of Soviet presence from Egypt.

It is apparent to all that the decrease of US prestige in the western hemisphere is directly proportional to the anti-American and communist activities waged in Latin America by Castro Cuba. We must put a halt to the erosion of the United States position of leadership and strength in our Western Hemisphere. GEMERAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF KEY MEMBERS OF THE TASK FORCE.

MARVIN (LUCKY) MONDRES 2750 NE 183 STREET (Apt. 1511) MIAMI, FLORIDA 33160

NATIONAL: February 1969 to present, appointed by President Nixon to position of Congressional Liaison Officer in the U.S. Department of Commerce.

> January 1967 to February 1969, Chief Congressional Aide (Administrative Assistant) to Congressman J. Herbert Burke 10th Congressional District of Florida.

Listed in "Who's Who in American Politics".

FLORIDA:

DA: 1956 to January 1967 (Broward County), 7 years on Broward County Zoning Board, served as Vice-Chairman; 1 year on Broward County Board of Adjustment; 8 year member Broward County Republican Executive Committee, 2 years as Vice-Chairman; Past President South West Broward Republican Club (2 terms); Past President Civitan Club; Past President Chamber of Commerce Merchants Division; Past Member Board of Directors United Fund; Campaign Director 3 successful County Commission Election campaigns (J. Herbert Burke twice, J.W. "Bill" Stevens once) and J. Herbert Burke's first two successful campaigns for Congress.

December 1945 to 1956 (Dade County), Member Dade County Republican Executive Committee for 2 years; Republican candidate for Florida Legislature in 1954; Past Vice-President Greater Miami Young Republican Club; Organizer and Member of Executive Board Federated Yougn Republican State Convention in Miami 1953. DR. FERNANDO PENABAZ P.O. Box 303 Olympia Heights Branch Miami, Fla. 33165

Former Consul of Costa Rica in Cuba. Former News Director for) MQ, in Havana, Cuba. News Analyst for the Ft. Lauderdale News. News Director for 110 Radio Station in Latin America. Editor of "Inside of the News". Columnist of various weekly and bi-weekly papers. Former National Chairman for the Cuban-American of the Republican National Committee, Former State Chairman for the Nacionalitist Division of the G.O.P. Campaigning actively in 1968 for the election of the President. Actually President of International Research & Studies Foundation, Inc. Co-Chairman of the Western Hemisphere Task Force Committee.

## RESUME

Name: Born: Civil Status: Wife's name: Daughters: Live address: RAYMOND MOLINA Lawrenceville, Georgia in 1934 Married Martha Martha, Ana Maria and Ruth 818 W 45 Place, Hialeah, Fla.

#### EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND:

High School Georgia Military College University of Havana, LLB degree in Consulate and Diplomatic Law

## BUSINESS ACTIVITIES:

Real State Associated with Robert J. Fewell Co., Coral Gables, Fla.

President of Inter-American Public:Affairs Corp., a consulting firm specialized in Inter-american Affairs, economical and political activities, with representatives through all Latin American, INTERPAC Represents U.S. firms doing business abroad and Latin American firms doing business in the United States.

(Vice-President for Peabody Petersen, a subsidiary of Peabody Gallion, in charge of foreign affairs Vice-President of International Trade and Finance ITT, a Washington based Company, in charge of Latin American Affairs.

44

## POLITICAL ACTIVITIES:

1961 to 1962	P.O.W. Bay of Pigs Invasion
1963	Chairman for the Cuban-American For Goldwater
	Co-Cheirman of the Nationalities Division of the
	G.O.P. in the State of Florida.
1968	Candidate for the State Legislature for Dade County
	on the G.O.P. ticket
	Co-Chairman of the Nationality Division of the
	Republican Fla. State Committee
1970	Accompanied Congressman J. Herbert Burke of the
	Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of
	Representatives on a fact finding tour at the
	official invitation of the Governments of Panana and
	Micarague.
1968 until new	Advisor in Interemerican Affairs to the Heritage
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Groups Div. of the Republican National Committee.
	1