U. S.
Ends and Means in
Central America

A Debate

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and

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"I keep my friends as misers do their treasure."

— PIETRO ARETINO, letter to Giovanni Pollastra,
July 7, 1537 (translated by Samuel Putnam)

To
José Cabranes and Kate Stith
Jack and Kathy Shepherd
Barbara and David Simpson

Tom J. Farer

Preface

What follows is not a work of scholarship but, we hope, one of scholarly analysis and considered opinion that should help to sharpen and structure broad issues of foreign policy for experts and laypersons alike. Virtually all of the facts and theories and opinions to which we refer are in the public domain. For that reason alone it seemed to us that elaborate referencing in footnotes would be otiose. Moreover, while such notes are a prop to credibility in a monologue, the dialectical form of our essay provides a more effective check on any flights of fancy in which we might have been tempted to indulge.

Where we have relied on a particular document, we have so noted in the text. We expect that many readers, provoked by our exchange, will want to deepen their knowledge of the land, culture, politics, and history of Central America, as well as to peruse other opinions, in order to form or test their own instinctive prescriptions for American policy. With them in mind, we have included a selected bibliography of works from all along the political and ideological spectrum.

Tom J. Farer
Ernest van den Haag

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I wish to thank Pergamon Press for permission to include material from my essay "At Sea in Central America: Can We Negotiate Our Way to Shore," which appeared in *Central America: Anatomy of Conflict* (Robert Leiken, ed., 1984), in the initial statement of my case.

I similarly wish to thank *Foreign Policy* and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace for permission to use, again in my opening statement, material from two articles I originally published in that journal: "Manage the Revolution?" (No. 52, Fall 1983) and "Contadora: The Hidden Agenda" (No. 59, Summer 1985).

Tom J. Farer

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