

The IPS Report On Latin America: Linowitz With A Left Cover

Two months after the appearance of the second Linowitz Report on Latin America, the Rockefeller-controlled Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) has published a study on Latin America which is a third-rate rehash of the Carterite policy proposals contained in the Linowitz Report — under somewhat more of a “left” cover. The IPS Report, *“The Southern Connection: Recommendations for a New Approach to Inter-American Relations”* parrots the Linowitz Report’s concern for “human rights,” “ideological pluralism,” an end to U.S. “paternalism and hegemonism” — all of which is intended to be the sugar-coating for the bitter economic pill that is the report’s real message to Latin America: debt moratorium is out of the question, and the U.S. government should assume direct control over debt *rescheduling* and other monetarist mechanisms for continued looting of the region.

The casual reader’s initial impulse is to charge the authors of the IPS Report with cheap plagiarism of the Linowitz Commission (see the accompanying comparative quotes for evidence) — but it turns out that they are largely the *same* group of authors and consultants. Most notably, two of the seven authors of the IPS Report, Robert Pastor and Abraham Lowenthal, were also Executive Director and Special Consultant respectively to the Linowitz Commission. Pastor is additionally the new Latin American Director for Zbigniew Brzezinski’s National Security Council (NSC), and provides the direct NSC control of both groups. On top of Pastor and ex-Council of Foreign Relations member Lowenthal, the IPS staff was manned by Roberta Salper, IPS Latin American Unit Coordinator and top “left” agent extensively involved in Caribbean counterinsurgency; Michael Locker, co-founder of the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA); and Guy Erb, Senior Fellow of the Rockefeller-funded Overseas Development Council.

This Rockefeller-NSC trail has been so badly disguised that Pastor, among others, has gotten nervous about the obvious NSC authorship of the IPS document. In a telephone interview with NSIPS this week, he denied anything more than casual involvement with the IPS Group, and said he would be demanding a retraction of their claim that he participated in the formulation of the document.

As for the IPS-Linowitz Commission connection, there is no attempt made to disguise it. The introduction to the IPS Report states: “We welcome the recently released...Linowitz Report, to which several of us have contributed in different ways. We endorse many of the Com-

mission recommendations...As specialists, however, we want to do more: to go beyond the most pressing current issues and to reach beyond the most widely accepted solutions. These are the aims of “The Southern Connection.”

The *actual* aim of the “Southern Connection” however, is just that — to establish a demagogic southern connection, especially with those governments of Latin America (such as Jamaica, Guyana, Cuba and Venezuela) that are causing problems for Wall Street, and rope them into support for Carter’s debt-collection policies, which have so far sold poorly in their Linowitz Report packaging.

The best thing one can say about the new IPS Report is that it has a better cover than its Linowitz predecessor — and nicer binding too.

Cuba Targeted for Subversion

There are only three substantive points to the IPS Report: certain blatantly subversive policy proposals regarding Cuba; Carter’s boycott of nuclear technology exports to Latin America; and the debt-collection recommendations mentioned above. The rest is typically Carterite contentless sweetener about human rights; the urgency of handing the Panama Canal back to the Panamanians (“the canal is useful to the United States, but not vital”); and how the Caribbean has “become the testing ground for ideological pluralism in the hemisphere.”

The Linowitz Report was open about its intentions towards Cuba. It offered to ease relations with Havana if the Cubans would withdraw from Angola, promise never to engage in similar expressions of internationalism, and also stop supporting the Puerto Rican independence struggle. Since this provocative Carterite “offer” has been categorically rejected by the Cubans since then, the IPS report is forced to resort to slightly greater caution to suggest...the identical policies.

Says IPS: “Implementing this kind of (new positive U.S. policy towards Cuba -ed) will require detailed negotiations and mutual compromises on issues ranging from *compensation for expropriated properties* to Cuba’s claims on Guantanamo Base, from *reconciliation among separated elements of Cuba’s community* to universal recognition of essential *human rights*, from accord on the norm of *non-interference in each other’s domestic affairs* to cooperation on broader international problems.” (emphasis added). There is little doubt that the Cuban government will not even concede to discuss either compensation for expropriated properties; or internal subversion by a flock of returning exiled Cubans (“reconciliation among separated elements of Cuba’s com-

munity”); or destabilization through the use of the “human rights” fraud; or silence around the Puerto Rico question (“non-interference in each other’s domestic affairs”). The IPS Report, like its Linowitz predecessor, is nothing but a blueprint for confrontation with the Cubans and ultimately with their Soviet allies.

*Wall Street’s “Human Right”
to Receive Debt Service*

On the “military issue,” the IPS Report is a straight regurgitation of Carter’s already active policy of “human rights” destabilization and sabotage of nuclear technology. Although no explicit mention is made of the German-Brazilian fission reactor deal, the message comes across clearly: “We recommend...that the United States not attempt to sell more nuclear plants...(We recommend) that the proposed bill applying the human rights principle to all arms sales be approved and enforced. This step would permit Congress to veto any U.S. weapons deals with countries that systematically violate human rights.”

The economic section of the IPS Report is not even circumspect the way the Cuba proposals are, but rather directly threatens Latin America with credit strangulation if debt moratoria are encouraged. Instead, says IPS, “debt rescheduling” in the interest of Latin America’s Wall Street creditors should be fostered, under the direct dictatorial control of the U.S. government and subject to blackmail dictates masquerading as enforced “respect for human rights.”

“The need of Latin American countries to maintain their creditworthiness in private banking circles contributed to their unwillingness to support calls from developing countries in 1976 for a debt moratorium. Many Latin American countries would prefer the consolidation and relaxed scheduling of commercial debt payments and the creation of a debtor-creditor agreement along the lines called for by the developed nations...With these considerations in mind, we recommend: That U.S. support (possibly including debt rescheduling) for any Latin American country administered through multilateral and bilateral channels (sic) should take the country’s position on human rights issues into account. Human rights should be considered in the decision-making process of private banks, a process that should involve debtor countries, the banks, and the U.S. government, if the policies are to be consistent.”

This is, of course, a direct call for submission to Wall Street’s precise policy for Latin America — the so-called “agreement along the lines called for by developed nations” that the report euphemistically refers to. With this as its unmistakable centerpiece, the IPS Report’s repetitive disclaimers about the need to “foment more equitable development throughout the region,” about sacrosanct human rights, ideological pluralism and so on, will undoubtedly be seen through and discarded with scorn by Latin America, much as is already occurring with the Linowitz Report’s promise of “new relations” between the United States and Latin America.

Two Sides Of The Same Mouth

IPS Report

Linowitz Report

1. U.S. Paternalism

“Apart from dropping paternalistic attitudes and practices the new thrust of U.S. policy in Latin America should be to support the ideologically diverse and experimental approaches to development that are gaining support around the world. Underlying this recognition and response must be the acceptance of ideological pluralism in both economic and political affairs.”

“We urged the government...to replace the paternalism and so-called ‘special’ relationship which had characterized our attitude and our policies in the past with a new relationship based on mutual respect and a mutual determination to resolve common problems.”

2. On Human Rights

“We believe that U.S. policy toward foreign economic and military assistance whether bilateral or multilateral should honor and support human rights...We contend therefore that legitimate U.S. concerns over human rights issues should be expressed within multilateral institutions...”

“The (Linowitz) Commission reaffirms its belief that the U.S. should consider human rights violations to be a major factor in deciding on the substance and tone of its bilateral and multi-national relations with all countries.”

IPS Report

Linowitz Report

3. On Panama

"The need for a new Treaty that clearly recognizes Panama's sovereignty in the area is significantly an issue on which all Latin American and Caribbean nations agree. Our country's legitimate interests would best be served by recognizing that we do not need to exert perpetual control over the Canal nor reserve exclusive jurisdiction over the Canal Zone...We recommend that the American public be fully informed of the justice and desirability of negotiating a new Treaty."

"The new administration w
a new Canal Treaty...and should make clear to the American public why a new and equitable treaty with Panama is not only desirable but urgently required."

4. On Cuba

(The new administration should) "bar the use of U.S. territory personnel or resources as the basis for terrorist acts or plans and also cut whatever ties may still exist between U.S. Government agencies and those who engage in terrorism or sabotage against Cuba...If such (preliminary Cuba-U.S.) talks are fruitful we recommend that the U.S. embargo on food and medicine be lifted...(and) enter into negotiations on other outstanding issues: financial claims human rights the status of the Guantanamo Base and the terms on which credit extensions and trade might be resumed."

"The President should make clear the determination of the U.S. government to use its powers to the full extent permitted by law to prevent terrorist actions against Cuba or any other foreign country or against U.S. citizens and to apprehend and prosecute perpetrators of such actions... Thereafter representatives of the Administration should indicate to Cuban representatives that the U.S. is prepared to lift its embargo on food and medicines and enter into subsequent negotiations with Cuba on the whole range of disputed issues."

5. Footnotes on the Term "Latin America"

"Hereafter throughout this Report the designation 'Latin America' is understood to include the Caribbean."

"The Commission of course recognizes the historical political and cultural diversity of the people and countries of Central and South America and the Caribbean and the term 'Latin America' will hereafter be used in this Report only for purposes of brevity."

6. Chapter Titles

- I) Introduction: Establishing New Criteria
- II) Human Rights
- III) Panama
- IV) The Caribbean
- V) The Economics of Restructuring Inter-american Relations
- VI) The Military Issues
- VII) Toward a New Immigration Policy

- I) Introduction: the Need for a New Approach
- III) Human Rights: Deeply Disturbing Developments
- II) Panama: the Most Urgent Issue
- IV) Cuba: A Lingerin Anachronism
- VI) Economic Policy: The Central Issue
- V) Arms Sales and Nuclear Proliferation
- VII) Cultural Exchange