

Reagan advisers outline inter-American strategy

by Dennis Small

"In continental Latin America. . . [there are] non-Europeanized indigenous Indians who maintain pre-Colombian, traditional life styles and languages. Too frequently, efforts to improve these peoples' standards of living and to integrate them into the modern economy of their countries proceeds from a premise of either latent or explicit cultural imperialism."

If this quotation reminds you of Nicaragua's radical culture minister or of Fidel Castro's other friends who see industrialization and progress as a Yankee threat, you are not far from the truth. The author of these anti-imperialist lines is one of Castro's current political allies—not Mexico's "Red Bishop" Méndez Arceo, not a member of the Nicaraguan Junta, but a group of Ronald Reagan's top policy advisers for Latin America which includes the notorious Roger W. Fontaine of the Jesuit Georgetown University.

The fact of the matter is that the strangest of de facto political alliances has emerged over the past months between revolutionary Fidel Castro and conservative Ronald Reagan. They are *both* operating under the policy orientation for Latin America designed by the Society of Jesus, whose "left" and "right" branches are both run out of such Jesuit deployment centers as Georgetown University, and in particular its Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), which Henry Kissinger directs. The Jesuit strategy is: 1) create a superpower showdown in the Caribbean, using Cuba as the most convenient flashpoint; 2) reduce the entire subcontinent of Latin America into a replica of the medieval Dark Ages, whose sole purpose is to produce

drugs and vital raw materials for the American market.

Castro over the recent months has acted out his part of this scenario to the hilt. In the course of 1980 his degeneration has proceeded from endorsing Puerto Rican terrorism, to supporting Khomeini's fascist "fundamentalism" in Iran, to calling for playing the same "religious fundamentalism" card in Latin America. In a speech delivered in late July, Castro lectured that communists and socialists should form a "strategic alliance" with the Jesuit Liberation Theology radicals across the continent, and that this alliance should organize for "revolutionary armed struggle."

Reagan, for his part, has been fed the "right" version of this identical Jesuit script to destroy Latin America. The Reagan policy document quoted above calls for :

- 1) a global American alliance with China to stop "Soviet expansionism" in Latin America and elsewhere;
- 2) launching "a war of national liberation against Castro" to reverse Cuban influence in the area;
- 3) supporting military putsches like the recent "Cocaine Coup" in Bolivia;
- 4) establishing an American nuclear umbrella over the entirety of Latin America, in the guise of a refurbished Monroe Doctrine;
- 5) using food as a weapon against "potentially hostile states";
- 6) strengthening the hand of the International Monetary Fund; and
- 7) using this new body to oversee the conversion of Latin America into a "hemispheric strategic reserve" of oil and other vital raw materials for a fortress America.

It must be underlined that this is not just a scenario for Latin America. First, it is a global policy that is already being implemented by the Jesuit and other powerful forces now in control of the Reagan campaign. It defines America as at war with the rest of the world, and places us on a paranoid course of strategic provocations which will lead either to thermonuclear holocaust, or to our massive strategic humiliation in one regional hot spot or another.

Second, this policy is off the drawing boards and in the implementation stage—as signaled uniquely by last month's military coup in Bolivia.

Who, one rightfully wonders, could have concocted for Governor Reagan such a perfect recipe for combined genocide and war?

The committee of Santa Fe

Reagan's new script was written for him by a group of five experienced "Latin America hands" working out of the Washington-based Council for Inter-American Security, a "right-wing" think tank which is a close cousin to the Jesuit, Kissinger-directed Georgetown CSIS. The five, including Reagan-adviser Roger Fontaine (until last month the Latin American Director of CSIS), constituted themselves earlier this year as the "Committee of Santa Fe," and prepared a strategy document for the Reagan camp entitled "A New Inter-American Policy for the Eighties." Project editor Lewis Tambs, a professor of Latin American history at the University of Arizona, told this writer one week ago that it was "100 percent guaranteed" that its recommendations were being adopted by Governor Reagan.

Professor Tambs's participation in the project is particularly significant. Tambs is one of America's leading "geopoliticians," a self-avowed follower of the lunatic theories of the turn-of-the-century British empire-theorist, Halford Mackinder, and of his leading protégé, Karl Haushofer—Adolf Hitler's geopolitical strategist. Tambs in turn has influenced a whole generation of Brazilian and Argentine geopoliticians, who now spew out local versions of the Mackinder-Haushofer doctrine. The insanity of this geopolitical school of thought is best displayed in the opening sentences of the Reagan Report itself:

Nations exist only in relation to each other. Foreign policy is the instrument by which peoples seek to assure their survival in a hostile world. War, not peace, is the norm in international affairs.

Detente is dead. Survival demands a new U.S. foreign policy. America must seize the initiative or perish. For World War III is almost over. The Soviet Union, operating under the cover of increasing nuclear superiority, is strangling the Western industrialized nations by interdicting

their oil and ore supplies and is encircling the People's Republic of China.

Latin America and Southern Asia are the scenes of strife of the third phase of World War III . . .

The crisis is metaphysical . . . For though foreign policy and national strategy are based on the triad of climate, geography and the character of the people, it is the latter—the spirit of the nation—that ultimately overcomes.

The solutions proposed by Tambs et al., however, are far from metaphysical.

The Reagan Report starts from the premise that both Europe and the Middle East are permanently lost to "communism," and that a needed "worldwide counter-projection of American power" has to be based on the New World lined up as a fortress of power against the Old World. To extirpate Cuban or any "foreign" influence in Latin America, the report calls for strengthening the Monroe Doctrine and the Rio Treaty mechanism—originally adopted as a hemispheric collective security pact in 1947—by making sure that they "operate under the nuclear umbrella afforded all the Free World." In other words, Reagan's advisers are recommending with a straight face that America be prepared to launch *nuclear warfare* over Cuban—or Western European—influence-peddling in the Caribbean and Latin America.

A nuclear Monroe Doctrine

The report's authors are quite explicit regarding the fact that they fear not only Cuban intervention in the area, but also that of the nations of the European Monetary System:

The Monroe Doctrine, the historic cornerstone of United States-Latin American policy, recognized the intimate relationship between the struggle for power in the Old World and the New. The three great principles of that doctrine were: 1) "no further European colonization in the New World"; 2) "abstention" by the U.S. from European political affairs; and 3) opposition by the United States to European intervention in the governments of the Western Hemisphere . . .

The Committee of Santa Fe therefore urges that the United States re-proclaim the Monroe Doctrine . . .

The Reagan camp's fear of Europe is well taken. Over the past weeks, France has taken an active role in organizing Latin America around the EMS development perspective, working in conjunction with the Lopez Portillo government in Mexico.

In addition to this overall hemispheric arrangement,



Fidel's slide into fundamentalism

Fidel Castro's early training by the Society of Jesus has taken its toll over the last year. In a major late July speech, the Cuban President called for a "strategic alliance" across Latin America between Christians and Marxists, arguing that "there is only one road, that of revolution, of revolutionary armed struggle" for the troubled nations of Latin America.

The predictable outcome of such a strategy would be a head-on collision with the United States—precisely the policy Ronald Reagan's Latin American advisers prescribe from the opposite side.

With this redefinition of Cuba's strategic orientation, Castro placed himself in the camp of those who, also like Reagan's advisers, would use Christian fundamentalism in Latin America the way Khomeini has used Islamic fundamentalism in Iran—to destabilize the entire developing sector and drive it back into a new Dark Age.

Castro's adoption of a policy of forging a "strategic alliance" with the Liberation Theology movement marks the latest, lowest step in his slide into full-fledged fundamentalism. As recently as one year ago, at the Non-Aligned summit in Havana, Castro did a constructive job of organizing the developing sector behind a policy of rapid industrialization in cooperation with advanced sector nations. This approach laid the basis for positive relations between "North" and "South," and opened the door to broader collaboration with the pro-development forces behind the European Monetary System.

But even at the Havana summit there was a dangerous element present in Castro's strategic perceptions: he viewed the Iranian Revolution as a laudable example for the developing sector, and its anti-technology terrorism as a viable form of "anti-imperialism."

In March 1980, Castro sank to the level of fully supporting the four unrepentant Puerto Rican terrorists who U.S. Attorney Benjamin Civiletti freed. He endorsed their declaration of war against the United States.

Then in May 1980, during the weeks following the aborted American rescue mission in Iran, Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca offered the Iranian government Cuba's full "moral and material support" against the United States. Castro even went so far at the time as to call on Iraq—a pro-development Arab nation violently opposed to Khomeini's glorification of backwardness—to end its hostility towards Iran and stop trying to overthrow the Khomeini regime.

And now Castro has taken his support for Islamic fundamentalism and generalized it to its Latin equivalent: the Jesuit Theology of Liberation.

Fidel Castro today probably remains *personally* committed to the necessity of industrializing the developing sector, and of using the best that modern science and technology have to offer to develop Cuba. But he has cast his lot with the Theology of Liberation radicals who are totally hostile to any form of science or modernization for Latin America, radicals who have hypnotized Castro with their "leftist" jargon and promises of alliances with mass Christian movements.

It is this near-total support for the "left" side of the Jesuit scenario of confrontation for Latin America that has made Castro Ronald Reagan's strange bed-fellow.

Photo: United Nations

the Reagan Report also calls for strengthening regional military blocs, like CONDECA in Central America and SATO in the Southern Cone, by linking them up to the NATO apparatus.

Perhaps the biggest red herring in the entire Santa Fe study is its unremitting polemic against the Carter administration for having created the conditions of declining American power in Latin America that they argue must now be remedied. They blame Carter's human rights policy and his mistreatment of our neighbors to the South for virtually handing the region over to the Castroites. "The Caribbean," they protest, "is becoming a Marxist-Leninist lake."

But what authors Fontaine et al. are sweeping under the rug is the documented fact that the Carter administration's Latin America policy was traced out in an early 1977 study, sponsored by Nelson Rockefeller's Critical Choices Commission and entitled "Latin America: Struggle for Progress," which was co-authored by none other than Roger Fontaine—the same Fontaine who is now Ronald Reagan's Latin America adviser! Even at that time, Fontaine was already calling for an adventurist holy crusade against Cuba: "The long range goal of U.S. policy towards Cuba should be the reintegration of a democratic Cuba into the Western Hemispheric system. . . . Neither the Soviets nor the Cubans are likely to alter their course until they are sometime confronted by the United States."

Economic policy: raspberries for Guatemala

What makes the Reagan Report's attacks on Carter all the more hypocritical is the fact that it comes out for the same genocidal economic policies which Carter has executed in Latin America for four years.

Under the Carter administration, and its support of the antigrowth International Monetary Fund, whole sections of the developing sector have been reduced to rubble. Upwards of 50 million Africans are at this moment enduring conditions of extreme hunger; close to 20 million may die of starvation by the fall. In Latin America, the IMF has driven a half dozen countries—including Peru, Jamaica and Bolivia—into solving their extreme debt-repayment crises by resorting to massive drug exports.

The Reagan Report fully endorses such IMF activities in Latin America, and in fact calls for strengthening the monetarist institutions by "creating an autonomous Latin American capital market . . . a Latin American Monetary Fund, all to the purpose of assisting development."

The report goes out of its way to convince the reader that such development means the "transfer of technology" from the United States to Latin America. But what the authors are referring to by this is the transfer

only of "appropriate"—i.e. backward—technologies.

The construction of highways, hydroelectric plants or steel mills is not nearly so helpful to these people as is the installation of simple potable water systems . . . These people need simple technology and techniques. . . . helping people help themselves within their given situation."

Reagan's advisers conclude their economic argument with the standard Jesuit justification for maintaining backwardness, as cited at the beginning of this article: progress means "cultural imperialism." It is here that the Reagan arguments are totally indistinguishable from those of the "leftist" Jesuit networks throughout Latin America that are calling for a halt to progress—and that are Fidel Castro's strategic allies.

Just how colonialist is the Santa Fe Committee's outlook is best seen in their urging that impoverished Latin American nations like Guatemala cease producing subsistence food, and turn instead to exportable cash crops—like raspberries! Lest the reader accuse us of exaggeration, we cite the relevant section of the report:

U.S. agricultural trade policy with Latin America . . . (should) encourage shifts to the production of cash crops . . . Small farmers in Guatemala or Nicaragua could receive greater return by converting (from corn and beans) to the production of such cash crops as asparagus, raspberries, etc., for sale to the United States, and by buying corn imported from the U.S."

Although it is of course nowhere explicitly stated in the report, under the Carter administration the "cash crops" that the IMF has encouraged Latin America to produce to meet its debt payments are *marijuana* and *cocaine*. Peru, Jamaica, Bolivia, Colombia—in fact the better part of the whole continent—are rapidly being converted into one large drug plantation as a result.

What makes the report's discussion of "cash crops" all the more astonishing is the fact that it is preceded by a brazen statement of how Reagan plans to reactivate Kissinger's old idea of using food as a weapon—against precisely those countries that have been forced to import basic staples.

Food is a weapon in a world at war. Four of the globe's seven surplus agricultural producers are in the Western Hemisphere—Canada, the U.S., Brazil and Argentina. In league with the Pacific producers, Australia and New Zealand, the Americas could exert powerful pressure on potentially hostile states by holding their food imports as hostage, and thus redress the balance between the New World and the Old.

Within this global framework, the Committee of Santa Fe urges that three Latin American nations be singled out for special treatment: Mexico, Brazil, and Cuba. The choice of countries by the Reagan crew is appropriate; but every single policy they recommend for implementation will only worsen the situation in Latin America.

Take the case of Mexico. Fontaine, Tambs et al. correctly charge Carter with having driven U.S.-Mexican relations to their all-time low point, through the application of Presidential Review Memorandum 41, which premises U.S.-Mexican relations on ensuring that our southern neighbor is not allowed to industrialize. Yet the Reagan policy is a retread of the same PRM 41 policies. The Santa Fe document calls for:

- Encouraging the importation of Mexican goods only if they are from labor-intensive industries. Mexico's stated national goal is to foster *capital*-intensive industrial development.

- Seeking to import two million barrels per day of oil from Mexico by the early 1980s. Mexico has systematically refused to increase oil exports to the U.S. unless it receives in return massive transfers of advanced technologies.

- Fixing a strict quota of migrant labor allowed to enter the United States from Mexico. Putting the lid on the border in this way will lead to social convulsions in Mexico.

- Holding "interrelated talks on energy, immigration and trade." Mexico has repeatedly refused to have the migrant labor issue be used as blackmail to obtain more oil.

Although the Reagan Report loudly disavows that it is attempting to link Mexico, the United States and Canada into the "greater North American common market" scheme that Mexican President José López Portillo has time and again attacked, the fact of the matter is that it does call for establishing "long term supply agreements on gas and oil" that would turn Mexico into an American "strategic energy reserve." Even more, the document actually proposes converting the entirety of the Western Hemisphere into America's private raw material preserve, which can be relied on for the coming battles of World War III and as total instability engulfs Western Europe and the Persian Gulf.

It must be made clear that over the next two decades, the Americas must learn to depend on their own natural resources, especially energy, if the hemisphere is to remain economically healthy. The two largest nations in the Americas, Brazil and the United States, are dangerously dependent on foreign—that is, extrahemispheric—oil sup-

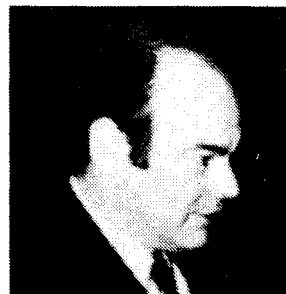
The men who make Reagan's Latin policy



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David Jordan
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Lt. General Gordon A. Sumner (Ret.)
Former chief of the Inter-American Defense Board



Francis Bouche
Executive Vice-President of the Center for Inter-American Security, sponsors of Nicaragua's Somoza government.

pliers. These same suppliers are extremely unstable and too near the Soviet Union to be considered reliable in the future.

It is only a matter of prudence that our hemisphere become energy independent in the next decade. It can be done. Not only are Mexico and Venezuela presently energy-rich; virtually every nation in the hemisphere—including the United States—possesses as yet vast and untapped sources of gas and oil.

This view of Mexico as America's private oil depot is guaranteed to raise each and every hackle in official Mexico. U.S.-Mexican relations under Reagan will make the current Carter disaster look like the heights of bilateral bliss by comparison.

In the case of Brazil, we get a glimpse of some of the broader consequences of implementing the Reagan proposals. The policy document understandably criticizes Carter's sabotage of Brazil's search for nuclear technology, and calls for "encouraging appropriate and reasonable acquisition and use of advanced technology by Brazil, including peaceful uses of nuclear energy." The authors elsewhere explain exactly what they mean by this:

The United States should adopt a strategy of technology transfer similar to that which is currently in effect with Israel.

This is an unmistakable reference to the way in which Israel was hand-delivered nuclear weapons technology by the crowd around the Nuclear Club of Wall Street. Israel has used this technology to become a nuclear policeman in the area, and to *prevent* other nations—such as Iraq—from obtaining nuclear technology.

The Reagan advisers also give their full blessing to the supposedly anti-American recent "marriage" of Argentina and Brazil, after a century of traditional rivalry and hostility between the two Southern Cone countries.

The United States should actively encourage the Argentine-Brazilian rapprochement that opens fresh possibilities for the Southern Cone's rapid economic development, a development that will help stimulate growth in the Cone's periphery countries—Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay."

The first product of this new alliance, and of the Reagan camp's blessing of it, occurred in mid-July with the violent military coup d'état in Bolivia. The takeover was directed by 200 Argentine military advisers, and with the acknowledged complicity of the Brazilian military. The putsch—designed to safeguard Bolivia's one billion dollar per year cocaine trade—is already being referred to as "the first Reagan coup" in Latin America.

The broader implication of the Argentine-Brazilian alliance is the establishment of a NATO-linked South Atlantic Treaty Organization, or SATO, which would also include the armed forces of South Africa. In fact, the co-author of the Reagan Report who has the best connections in Argentina and Brazil, Professor Lewis Tambs, is currently on a three week trip to South Africa.

It is in the case of Cuba that the full depth of the Reagan advisers' dangerous insanity is manifest. Just as the Carter administration this week declared a nuclear "counterforce" or "first strike" doctrine to be in effect in the United States, despite Soviet reiterated explanations that they will never tolerate such a strategic principle, so does the Reagan camp indulge in infantile rage and bravado against Cuba, proclaiming its commitment to topple the Castro government. Despite recent reiteration by Soviet President Brezhnev himself that Cuba is under the Soviet nuclear umbrella, and that the Carter administration should keep "hands off Cuba," the Reagan crowd is emphatic in its intent to play a nuclear "chicken game" with the Russians. The sections of the Santa Fe document dealing with Cuba are the ones that display the most psychotic of suicidal impulses:

The United States can no longer accept the status of Cuba as a Soviet vassal state. Cuban subversion must be clearly labeled as such and resisted. The price Havana must pay for such activities cannot be a small one. The United States can only restore its credibility by taking immediate action. The first steps must be frankly punitive. Cuban diplomats must leave Washington. Aerial reconnaissance must be resumed. . . . The U.S. must offer the Cubans clear alternatives. First, it must be made absolutely clear to the Cuban government that if they continue as they have, other appropriate steps will be taken . . .

Havana must be held to account for its policies of aggression against its sister states in the Americas. Among those steps will be the establishment of a Radio Free Cuba. . . . If propaganda fails, a war of national liberation against Castro must be launched."

One need not have extraordinary insight to deduce that the composite effect of the the implementation of the Santa Fe Committee's Latin American policies under a Reagan administration will quickly drive the entire subcontinent into economic blight of the sort now sweeping Africa. And it will bring the United States and the Soviet Union to the very brink of nuclear war in the Caribbean.

It is this that the Jesuit-run Reagan camp and Fidel Castro have in common today.