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Linowitz, Sol Myron  
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OAS: 20 years of subservience

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May 2 marked the 20th anniversary of the Organization of American States (OAS). As an organization it was to work for two goals: creating a forum for peaceful settlement of controversies between American states and coordinating joint efforts to promote economic growth and social progress in this hemisphere. In practice the ideal of inter-American cooperation is submerged beneath the interests and power of the dominant member—the U.S.

While all the treaties and agreements involved in creating the inter-American system in its present form hold to the principle of nonintervention and outline steps for a machinery to enforce the peace and prevent all forms of aggression, the last 20 years have shown a different reality. U.S. cold war diplomacy and anti-Communism have left the scars of intervention in Guatemala (where in 1954 a CIA-backed invasion overthrew the reform government of Jacobo Arbenz), in Cuba (where a CIA-planned and coordinated invasion at the Bay of Pigs failed in 1961) and in the Dominican Republic (where in 1965 the Johnson Doctrine of send-the-marines defeated, for the time being, the popular forces.

U.S. ambassador to the OAS at the time of the Dominican intervention was Ellsworth Bunker, once president and director of the second largest East Coast sugar cane refinery, the National Sugar Company. He also had sizable holdings in Cuban, Mexican and Dominican sugar mills. He headed the administration's and the OAS's negotiating team in Santo Domingo after the 1965 invasion. The Dominican invasion caused an outburst of criticism in Latin America and the resolution to send an "Inter-American Peace Force" was passed after heated debate by one vote, the vote of the Dominican delegate who represented the U.S.-backed military junta.

The OAS has often been used as a forum for sharp attacks on the Cuban revolution. In early 1962 Cuba was suspended from OAS membership and further steps to isolate Cuba included a measure calling for breaking diplomatic relations with the island (which was carried out by all the countries except Mexico) and OAS endorsement of the U.S.-initiated trade and travel embargo of Cuba.

The OAS Technical Cooperation Program and the preparation of economic studies were the only economic and social development tasks performed by the OAS in the 50s. With the creation of the Inter-American Development Bank in 1958 there was a revival of OAS involvement in the development pro-

cess. The U.S.-sponsored Alliance for Progress has also proliferated OAS projects. The outgoing OAS secretary general, Dr. Jose A. Mora, has been a staunch advocate of the role of private enterprise in developing Latin America. Mora believes business can benefit by adopting a uniform code for investment in Latin America and that the Latin American countries can benefit by receiving foreign capital and know-how.

The Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress maintains close reciprocal cooperation with David Rockefeller's Council for Latin America, which represents a major group of U.S. corporations. The OAS general secretariat collaborated in the development of the Atlantic Community Development Association (ADELA), a private investment company created to increase the flow of capital from countries outside the hemisphere.

Since October, 1966, our man in the OAS has been Sol Myron Linowitz. Before leaving his post as chairman of the \$500-million Xerox Corporation, his Xerox holdings were estimated at \$9 million. While Xerox is most famous for its photocopy process, the company has found new markets in the education field (which includes publishing such old favorites as "My Weekly Reader" for elementary school children and operating University Microfilms, which has the largest store of original documents on microfilm). Xerox has also been a prime supplier of "battlefield night vision devices" for the armed forces in Vietnam.

The company has affiliates in England and Japan, and at the time Linowitz left Xerox it had rapidly expanding operations in six Latin American countries. He left his post as legal and international adviser to Xerox, turning down an offer to become director of the CIA, and took over the dual responsibilities of "peacekeeping," as ambassador to the OAS, and development, as U.S. representative on the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress. As a trustee of the American Field Service and the Institute for International Education, he is in the forefront of those U.S. internationalists who understand the value of using international visitors and foreign students to win friends and influence future third world leaders.

Among his accomplishments since he assumed office has been the "quiet diplomacy" which settled the deadlock over selection of the new OAS secretary general. American-educated Galo Plaza Lasso, the man finally chosen to take the office, was Ecuador's ambassador to the U.S. (1944-1946) and later President of Ecuador (1948-1952). In 1958 he co-authored

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a case study of the United Fruit Company for a National Planning Association series on U.S. Business Performance Abroad. In this study he and Stacy May praise the role of the company in the development of the traditional "banana republics." He believes in benevolent paternalism, a policy he himself practices with Indian workers on his several thousand acre estate in Ecuador. He has been a UN observer in Lebanon, the Congo and Cyprus. Plaza was installed in the \$32,500-a-year job for a five-year term.

Linowitz has continued to push U.S. vigilance against Cuban influence in Latin America by advocating stricter controls against subversion. In an effort to further isolate Cuba from the rest of the hemisphere, he introduced a resolution denying refueling rights to vessels bound to or from Cuba.

In 1968 there is little reason for celebrating the inter-American system. While Linowitz says the major objective of the U.S. is to move toward the unification of the hemisphere, to deal with economic, social and political as well as defense relations, development plans since World War II have failed. Even among the foreign ministers sitting on the Inter-American Committee of the Alliance for Progress there is a growing realization that the goals of substantially improving the economy, public health and educational level have all fallen far short of expectations.

The committee strongly criticized the outcome of the Kennedy Round tariff talks and the more recent New Delhi meeting of the UN Conference on Trade and Development as having done nothing to open markets in industrialized countries to goods from the nonindustrialized world. The Latin nations' external debt doubled in the 60s. Foreign debt servicing (payment of interest and principal) absorbs 75% of the fluid capital of the Latin American nations, a vicious cycle to which no solution is forthcoming in the present context.

The spectre of U.S. military might which has been mounted for use against revolutions in Latin America and the elaborate counterinsurgency techniques being developed, prepared and used in Latin America foreshadow the conflict of the 70s.

There is little hope that the OAS, in its present form, will play a constructive role.

*This column is prepared exclusively for the Guardian by the staff of the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA).*