

The Rand-Linowitz 'Little Wars' Scenario

The following is excerpted from Rand Corporation document entitled "Future U.S. Security Relations in the Latin American Contexts," written in 1974 by David Ronfeldt as a consultant to the Linowitz Commission. This document was a working principle for Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and his chief advisor on Peruvian and general military affairs, Rand Corporation's Luigi Einaudi.

"While U.S. analysts of the 1960s regarded internal security as the proper mission for Latin American militaries...The changing regional and international context of the 1970s is returning external defense against neighbors to the priority it held before the Cuban Revolution...

"...Governments are turning outward toward their neighbors....Local neighbors are receiving the level of foreign policy attention formerly accorded only to foreign powers. Controversy about Brazil's emergence as a subregional power, the rival ambitions of Argentina, jostling for influence in Bolivia and the other buffer states, as well as boundary tensions among Chile, Bolivia, and Peru have all served to raise new doubts about the future prospects for harmony and cooperation. The most important potential threats perceived by those states are those that may derive from conflict of interest within the Latin American region itself, as happened around the 1930s (the bloody "Chaco War" between Paraguay and Bolivia).

"Thus it should come as no surprise that militaries...are turning once again to traditional missions of external defense, and to a focus on their neighbors as potential rivals for regional leadership, natural resources, economic markets, investments, and the control of border domains that could form issues for local conflicts rather than regional integration. Indeed, there appears to be a resurgence of 'frontier-minded' military nationalism...Arms procurements, training, troop deployment, and doctrinal thinking all reflect a renewed emphasis on external defense...

"In line with these trends, local 'geopolitical' analysis are increasingly prominent elements in national security doctrines and foreign policy processes...This trend is particularly pronounced in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Peru; and relates clearly to their concerns about regional leadership and strength...(after mentioning conflicting interests between Brazil and Argentina)...Other sensitive areas include: Colombia's Guajira peninsula claimed by Venezuela, the potentially oil-rich Amazon and Andean territories that border several countries, Bolivia's Santa Cruz region, and Chile's northern province once captured from Bolivia and Peru....

"...At present, only a few armed forces have the capability to engage in regular defensive, much less offensive, operations against a determined neighbor for more than a week or two, about the time it would take to arrange international mediation to restore order."

Ronfeldt notes, in a footnote, that "local press media, by their capacity to inflame nationalistic passions, are more likely to encourage disputes than are local military policies."

Stating that "the political interests of Latin American governments and militaries can be served by avoiding the unbalancing and balkanization that might occur if the U.S. withdrew or favored one country against another (in arms sales -ed) and by maintaining the U.S. as a potential mediator in case regional differences lead to local military engagements," Ronfeldt recommends that the United States end "restrictive attitudes toward arms transfer" and follow "a principle of unrestricted but unsubsidized military sales" to Latin American nations on a strictly commercial basis.

The following is excerpted from "The United States and Latin America: Next Steps", A Second Report by the Commission on U.S.-Latin American Relations, known as the "Linowitz Commission."

The "Linowitz Report," although not specifically addressing the problem of regional wars in Latin America, accepts the Rand Corporation recommendations on policy for United States sales of arms to the continent.

While Peru has announced its intention to purchase Soviet jets, the Commission does not believe that such a development would justify variation from the policy it recommended previously: that the U.S. should make available conventional military equipment to Latin American countries only on a competitive, commercial and non-discriminatory basis...

Brookings: They'll Ask OAS to Intervene

The following is excerpted from a Brookings Institution policy draft "Setting National Priorities: The Next Ten Years." Beginning the Third World section of a chapter on "Peace or War," the report states:

Generalization about the Third World is difficult because of its diversity, but one thing that can safely be said is that the prospects for conflict are substantial...what follows is a brief description of those tensions and conflicts that might directly affect the U.S.

Large scale wars have not occurred in Latin America for many years. They are unlikely to recur, although major tensions will persist -- notably between Argentina and Brazil in the east and between Peru and its neighbors in the west....

...We should distinguish sharply between three types of conflict situations: where only the local parties are involved, where material assistance is being provided by outside communist countries, and where armed forces of

outside communist countries are involved.

In a conflict of the first category, it would be clearly unwise to commit forces. Our vital security interests are not involved, and our capabilities are limited....We should use what political influence we have to help these countries resolve their disputes; if this effort fails, the resulting wars will not be made less bloody or useless by our intervention. It does not follow, however, that we should be indifferent to the outcome... In Latin America, we should be prepared to join any action by the OAS that may be agreed on in response to uses of force that extend across national frontiers, leaving it largely up to the Latin American countries to decide what that response should be; and we should be prepared to provide military assistance to threatened governments.

Colombia Paper Calls for OAS Intervention

The following are excerpts from the Colombian

newspaper El Tiempo's editorial of January 7:

The North American magazine *Time* has published an interesting and worrisome report on the possibility, not all that remote — according to its editors — of a war between Peru, Chile and Bolivia; that is to say, the same protagonists of the so-called "War of the Pacific" which is nearing its first centennial...

Spokesmen of the three countries implicated in this disturbing chronicle of the almost always well-informed U.S. weekly, have rushed to categorically deny as false the suppositions alluded to by the important publication. However, despite the perennial protests, there are — and this is obvious — multiple and unmistakable symptoms of ill-feeling in that very noticeable area...

...in the regular statutes of the Organization of American States (OAS) the road to all such absurd and delinquent attempts at devastation and death is shut off. This could be seen not long ago in the so-called "soccer war" in Central America between El Salvador and Honduras, which was able to be stopped in its barbarous execution by the rapid and efficient intervention of the OAS...

Pressure on Brazil to Go to War

The furor over the War of the Pacific and the creation of SATO has brought to the surface a factional brawl in Brazil which has long been building. The following grid of recent Brazilian press reflects this fight: pro-development nationalist and related forces line up behind the anti-SATO and anti-war line of Folha de Sao Paulo; and the pro-Wall Street right wingers of the Medici faction aggressively push SATO and confrontation with the Soviets through the pages of Estado de Sao Paulo.

12-29-76 *New York Times* article by Jonathan Kandell on Brazil's economic crisis stresses the importance of oil imports for Brazil's balance of payments deficit. According to Kandell, 40 per cent of Brazil's export earnings goes to pay for oil imports; another 40 per cent goes to pay its foreign debt; leaving 20 per cent of export income to meet its internal needs.

1-1-77 *Estado de Sao Paulo* reprints Kandell's article without comment.

1-4-77 A *Time* magazine article on the War of Pacific entitled "Girding for a Bloody War" contends that "the Russian role in Peru continues to worry Washington. If war broke out," *Time* continues, "...it could tempt other countries into similar action. Potential territorial disputes, for example, simmer between Venezuela and Colombia and Guyana."

1-5-77 *O Globo* and *Jornal do Brasil* report *Time's* article without mentioning the problem of Bolivian sea access, a major issue of contention in the War of Pacific. The article reports only on Peru's purchase of Soviet weapons.

Defense and Foreign Policy prints an article by Leight Johnson pushing for a South Atlantic Treaty Organization (SATO) to replace the OAS' Interamerican Reciprocal Assistance Treaty (TIAR).

1-6-77 *Folha de Sao Paulo's* editorial says that because of its political, economic, and military importance, Brazil should be concerned about the hot situation between Chile, Peru, and Bolivia. It criticizes the arms buildup between countries who have serious economic problems, saying "the road to development is not through war."

1-7-77 Brazil's Foreign Ministry rejects *Defense and Foreign Policy's* article, saying that Brazil will "definitively" not participate in a SATO with Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and South Africa. "TIAR will be preserved as a valid instrument for the defense of the continent when and if it is threatened."

Estado de Sao Paulo's editorial says that the Leight Johnson article is a U.S. "trial