

# US Public Diplomacy Strategies in Latin America During the Sixties

## Time for Persuasion

ROUTLEDGE

Edited by Francisco Rodríguez-Jiménez,  
Lorenzo Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, and Benedetta Calandra



# US Public Diplomacy Strategies in Latin America During the Sixties

This book seeks to address US public diplomacy strategies in Latin America, of particular importance during the 1960s when the leadership of the United States had been questioned after the Cuban Revolution.

The implicit mandate was “No more Cubas” so that what happened in the Caribbean country would not spread to other countries. The actions of the United States toward its southern neighbors in the first half of the twentieth century are quite well known. In contrast, Latin American scenarios of the Cultural Cold War have remained relatively less well known. The contributors and editors of this volume examine various facets and means of action used by the “US machinery of persuasion” with the aim of disseminating the virtues of its socioeconomic and political model, including both public and private efforts, and the significance of nonstate actors. Subjects examined include the impact of the theory of modernization; anti-Americanism; the deployment of public diplomacy in the region; the activities of the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Rockefeller Foundation; and the influence of these efforts on sporting, artistic, and musical events.

This volume will be of value to students and scholars alike interested in Latin American history and history of the Americas.

**Francisco Rodríguez-Jiménez** is currently working at the Instituto de Ciências Sociais in Lisbon and was formerly a postdoctoral researcher at Harvard University and Fulbrighter at American University and George Washington University. His research centers around the so-called *Cultural Cold War*. Among his latest publications: *Trump. Historia de una presidencia singular* (2022).

**Lorenzo Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla** is Senior Researcher at the National Research Council of Spain (CSIC). He has worked on Euro-Atlantic relations during the Cold War, especially public diplomacy and cultural, educational, and scientific transfers. Among his recent publications: *Teaching Modernization: Spanish and Latin American Educational Reform in the Cold War* (2020).

**Benedetta Calandra** is Associate Professor of History of the Americas at the University of Bergamo. Her main research interests focus on the politics of memory and exile in Latin America and Inter-American cultural Cold War. Among her recent publications: *Cultural Philanthropy and Political Exile: The Ford Foundation Between Argentina and the United States* (2019).

“This is an important book on American soft power and its limitations. Anyone with an interest in US public diplomacy and/or in Cold War US-Latin American relations should read it.”

**Arne WESTAD**, *Yale University*

“This is an essential interdisciplinary volume that adds much to the history of the Cold War in Latin America and the region’s long-sixties. Through the lens of public diplomacy, culture, philanthropy, sport and security, *US Public Diplomacy Strategies in Latin America During the Sixties* reveals the complex networks and interactions that underpinned transnational, inter-American and transatlantic relations in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.”

**Tanya HARMER**, *London School of Economics and Political Science*

“At long last! With this exceptional collection of original research, we finally have a comprehensive single-volume history of the battle for hearts and minds in Latin America. This book makes a vital contribution to our knowledge and understanding of US public diplomacy, and its impact and reception in the Western Hemisphere. Readers interested in US foreign policy, Latin American history, and the ‘Cultural Cold War’ will want this book on their shelf.”

**Kenneth OSGOOD**, *Colorado School of Mines*

“*US Public Diplomacy Strategies in Latin America During the Sixties* is an incredibly rich and diverse collection of contributions by an all-star cast that stretches our understanding of US public diplomacy in Latin America in pioneering ways. Required reading for diplomats and scholars alike!”

**Christian OSTERMANN**, *Woodrow Wilson Center*

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Designed cover image: Fidel Alejandro Castro Ruz (born August 13, 1926) is a Cuban political leader and former communist revolutionary. As the primary leader of the Cuban Revolution, Castro served as the Prime Minister of Cuba from February 1959 to December 1976, and then as the President of the Council of State of Cuba and the President of Council of Ministers of Cuba until his resignation from the office in February 2008. He served as First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba from the party's foundation in 1961. *CPA Media Pte Ltd / Alamy Stock Photo*

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# Prologue for *US Public Diplomacy Strategies in Latin America during the Sixties. Time for Persuasion*

Gilbert M. Joseph  
Yale University

The last two decades have witnessed exciting new watersheds of scholarship on both the Cold War in Latin America and the ways in which the region sought to navigate the regional and global struggles of the “long 1960s.” This provocative collection, edited by Francisco Rodríguez-Jiménez, Lorenzo Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, and Benedetta Calandra, makes significant contributions across both these fronts. Moreover, it should be read in tandem with a companion volume, edited by the same talented trio of European historians, which will appear in Spanish, *El americano imposible. Estados Unidos y América Latina: entre modernización y contrainsurgencia* (Madrid, Sílex Ultramar, 2023)

These collections, both of which feature thoroughly international casts of contributors from Europe, Latin America, and the United States, offer a representative slice of some of the best recent work that a new international history of the Cold War—particularly its emerging focus on the region’s “cultural Cold War”—has to offer. For, if the field of Latin American Cold War studies has become a veritable growth industry in the last two decades, its leading edge may well be the effort to tease out the complex, power-laden *cultural* processes, relationships, exchanges, ideological formations, and institutional forms that shaped the late twentieth-century conflict and had consequences beyond its denouement. Although grand strategists, military juntas and intelligence apparatuses, leftist guerrillas and right-wing paramilitary forces, CIA-backed coups, and destabilizing operations have remained at the center of traditional accounts of the Cold War in Latin America, before, beneath, or in the wake of the conflicts they orchestrated the Latin American Cold War was waged by an array of “diplomats,” broadly construed. These included money doctors and economic strategists; government agencies for the distribution of foreign aid; private foundations and philanthropists; scholars and scientists; doctors and health workers; agronomists, engineers, and architects; and cultural workers of myriad stripes—writers, editors and publishers, artists

and museum directors, musicians, choreographers, dancers, athletes, and sports federations. The webs of expertise they wove across international borders (including in Spain and other parts of Europe), the social and intellectual networks they articulated, the inspiration they provided, the symbolic capital they accrued, and finally the oppositions they generated served to materialize the political ideologies and grand strategies of the Cold War era, capitalist and socialist alike. Among the pleasures of this rich collection is the engrossing manner in which it underscores, across multiple fronts, that the appeal of the superpowers' "mass utopias" was predicated on dreams and competing schemes of "modernization" (or "development") that were appropriated in a variety of contexts and ways, often with different and unexpected results. These dreams and attempts at persuasion fueled complex political and cultural struggles likely just as consequential as the paroxysms of insurgent and counterinsurgent violence the period witnessed.

Perhaps the hallmark of *Time for Persuasion* is the painstaking manner in which it grapples with multistranded notions of "public diplomacy" and "soft power" in the wake of the triumph of the brash and glittering Cuban revolution of 1959, which powerfully called the US traditional hegemony in the hemisphere into question. The volume's essays explore US public diplomacy both on the ideological front, as it sought to refurbish the appeal of liberal capitalism, and more operationally, as it sought to make pragmatic political-economic responses to socialism's new challenges in the Caribbean, and by extension, throughout the restive, post-colonial "Third World." Touting the material and moral benefits of US collaboration as "Good Neighbors" and beginning to transfer the payoffs of its "soft power" throughout the region, public diplomacy became the United States' "preferred" path forward in its Latin American "backyard," along with the prime theater of its military might and privileged space of influence. Yet, even as the contributors mark out the diverse forms of this soft power, several authors read them against the backdrop of "hard" imperial power and an unbroken, complacent attitude of US exceptionalism. The emblematic program of the era, the Alliance for Progress, which underwrote a myriad of public diplomacy initiatives, always combined twin objectives: the inculcation of a modernizing, reformist democracy, and the suppression of communism; but on the ground, there was never much doubt about which goal had priority.

Consider the role-playing exercise that was staged during these years at the International Police Academy in Washington, DC, where Latin American trainees pretended to run a police command center during the simulated crisis of urban unrest. The trainees were charged with suppressing a subversive group called "the National Committee for Agrarian Reform,"

which was supported from across the border with a mythical country known as “Maoland.” At the end of the training course, the foreign policemen were each given a copy of *Masters of Deceit*, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover’s book about communist infiltration of the United States. They were also told that their nation’s militaries should stay out of politics. Which discourse would prove more compelling was easy to predict.

The contributors to both *Time for Persuasion* and *El americano imposible* represent a healthy mix of disciplines that includes history, international relations, American studies, global studies, languages, and literature. Nevertheless, it is clear that, following upon the exchanges at two international conferences in 2017 and 2018 in Salamanca, Spain, and a variety of discussions thereafter, they constitute a discursive community in their approach to excavating the political and cultural dimensions of public diplomacy during Latin America’s tumultuous Sixties. To this point, the cultural history of this “long decade” has been less well known to scholars of Latin America than that of the region’s wartime and postwar years; and certainly it has been well less studied than the problem of cultural policy and “Americanization” in postwar Europe.

Throughout *Time for Persuasion*, public diplomacy is smartly cast as including both public and private initiatives; indeed, it refers to the mechanisms used by governments, international organizations, NGOs, and even individuals to advance their policy objectives by engaging foreign publics. And, as is revealed in one of the collection’s signature essays, by Patrick Iber on the participation of leading Latin American intellectuals in the CIA’s covertly funded Congress for Cultural Freedom, public diplomacy often had critical covert or hidden dimensions. Iber provocatively observes that, considering its significant apparatus of covert action and propaganda, “it was the CIA that ended up acting as a de facto ‘Ministry of Culture’ for the United States during the Cold War.”

One of the volume’s most important takeaways, emphasized in Francisco Rodríguez- Jiménez’s broad-gauged concluding essay, is that, sadly, liberal forms of soft power invariably gave way to authoritarian modes of modernization, imposed by Latin American repressive regimes backed by the threat, if not the direct application, of US hard power. In fact, Rodríguez argues that by the time more idealistic John F. Kennedy became president in 1960, decades marked by the misuse of hard power, combined with inadequate budgets for soft power, left rather little “time for persuasion” of the United States’ “good neighbors.” After a certain point, as Alan McPherson and Elizabeth Schwall observe, the US public diplomacy responses to burgeoning anti-Americanism from the 1960s on did not prove equal to the task. Schwall’s finely textured examination of several US expat choreographers, whose work in Cuba inflected the rising tide

of anti-Americanism, resonates with many studies of the stateside anti-intervention movement in which a good many of my generation's Latin Americanists first cut their teeth as activist scholars.

This rich volume represents an important, multisided international collaboration that sheds substantial new light not only on US public diplomacy and soft power but also on the interconnections between these strategies and more draconian applications of imperial power. It also illuminates the uphill battles that the application of modernization theories has repeatedly encountered in the real world. As such, it significantly adds to our knowledge of long durée understandings of both the Cold War and the vexed international process of US-led development.

# 1 US public diplomacy strategies in Latin America in recent historiographical debates

*Francisco Rodríguez-Jiménez, Benedetta Calandra, and Lorenzo Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla*

A strong policy bias pervades most of the analysis (...) The structure of the International system and the dangers and opportunities peculiar to this setting, are often overlooked or misunderstood.<sup>1</sup>

## **Under discussion, from the beginning**

This book focuses on different US public diplomacy strategies deployed in Latin America, particularly important during the 1960s when the leadership of the United States had been questioned after the Cuban Revolution. Yet, the narrative and the chosen timeline also includes references to some of the main historical episodes that occurred previously. Two lines of study converge. On the one hand, there is the role of public diplomacy as an instrument of ideological, political, and social confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union (the so-called Cultural-Ideological Cold War). On the other hand, is the deployment of “Soft Power” by both superpowers in Latin America, a geopolitical space where the influence of US foreign policy was evident from at least the mid-nineteenth century.

The development of this volume is the result of slow maturation. It grew out of two international conferences organized by the editors in the summers of 2017 and 2018. From that moment until now, there has been an enriching exchange of ideas, reciprocal criticism, and sharing of archival evidence. The contributions of scholars from six different nationalities aspire to make a distinctive contribution to a deeper understanding of the Cold War in an important section of the so-called Global South. Its chapters address various facets and means of action used by the “US machinery of persuasion” with the aim of disseminating the virtues of its socioeconomic and political model, including both public and private efforts, and the significance of nonstate actors. Subjects treated include the impact of the theory of modernization, anti-Americanism, the deployment of public diplomacy in the region, the activities of the Congress for Cultural

Freedom (CCF) and the Rockefeller Foundation, and the influence of these efforts on sporting, artistic, and musical events.

This chronological and interpretive framework runs through the collection of studies included in this book, with emphasis in each case placed on the effects of US “Soft Power” policies on various levels of relations between the United States and its southern neighbors. The work is thus linked to one of the aspects of the Cold War to have received the greatest historiographical attention in recent years: the competition of the superpowers to spread their respective models of modernization.<sup>2</sup>

The political-ideological confrontation between the superpowers throughout that decade took on a marked socioeconomic component, which had its corresponding symbolic representation. Both contenders put special effort into the propagation of their respective modernization models, understood as global schemes of social organization with the capacity to project themselves to other countries and become a frame of reference for their developmental aspirations. The performance of public diplomacy, and several associated strategies, was essential to accompany and give visibility to economic, social, educational, and military initiatives, as well as to win support among the potential recipients of that aid.<sup>3</sup> Although diplomatic strategies of that nature were preexistent, the definition of “public diplomacy” was coined at that time,<sup>4</sup> to advance a set of objectives: projecting a positive image of the United States without awakening the wariness of foreign audiences, exporting the United States’ ways of thinking and its cultural assets, and obtaining the cooperation of the ruling classes in other countries.<sup>5</sup>

To further these aims, various courses of action were articulated: educational, technological, and agricultural training; the dissemination of liberal and democratic principles (through intellectual media such as the CCF) to support moderate options and counter criticism of “Yankee imperialism”; and the promotion of channels of understanding through sporting events, artistic and musical exchanges. On several occasions, those government programs had the support of philanthropic foundations, which contributed to the training of experts who would act as potential cultural mediators.<sup>6</sup> Although with a slightly different perspective, the overall orientation of the work converges with that outlined by the research of Gilbert and Spencer,<sup>7</sup> in that it examines the double dynamic of emission and reception (or receptions,<sup>8</sup>) that the policy of the United States toward Latin America generated.

While it is hard to assess the impact of those strategies (dissected in more detail in the chapters that follow), we can now observe succinctly that those diplomatic maneuvers sponsored by Washington had to face several pitfalls. The first and perhaps surprising one was the lack of generous and sustained budgets for those forms of Soft Power, which pale in

contrast with the money invested in Hard Power. Needless to say, the Soviet Union strove to play its cards in that area of the world. Together with those external factors, the internal ones from the diverse Latin America scenarios also proved to be a vital challenge. In sum, the multiplicity of actors involved, pursuing sometimes clashing agendas, and the different timings of the strategies deployed should warn us from the temptation of offering air-tight conclusions. The reality was complex, and the scenarios were embroiled with multiple conditioning factors.

However, it can still be said that the end of the 1960s saw a marked erosion of US leadership capacity in the region. The plans used, by way of advising on the organization of the state apparatus, investments for the creation of civil and military infrastructures, the training of cadres, and the stimulation of the emergence of a middle class to mitigate social conflicts, were ultimately hindered due to Washington's desire to consolidate the ties of dependency with the United States. US diplomatic strategies sometimes motivated unintended consequences, especially since previous US imperialistic actions and military interventions had not been forgotten. Interference from Washington was at times all it took to trigger anti-Americanism.<sup>9</sup>

While neither superpower eschewed subversive practices and political infiltration, several Soft Power campaigns were also notably intensified. Among the many examples, the United States offered English classes and produced an anticommunist telenovela titled *Nuestro Barrio*, which was aired in several Latin American countries. The Soviets, to keep up, offered English-language classes of their own in a number of countries,<sup>10</sup> and offered travel grants for Latin American students. The Soviet foreign apparatus made sure the world knew about race riots on American soil, one of the "Achilles Heels" of the capitalist archenemy, an ugly wrinkle on the face of the mighty American nation. The creation in 1960 of the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia must also be understood from this perspective. Its explicit objective was to offer educational opportunities to young people from Asia, Africa, and Latin America, especially those from poor countries. This is not to say that the superpowers completely lowered their guard in Europe.<sup>11</sup> The available literature on the European scenarios is broad, while the specific on Latin America is growing in the last years. Notwithstanding, there are still many details of the ideological-cultural Cold War in Latin America that we do not know. This volume aims to contribute to that latter historiographical expansion.

### **A process with multiple dimensions and diverse timings**

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, some authors highlighted a narrative in which the US government strove to fight back against the harsh offensive launched by the Soviet empire.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, Washington would

have acted mainly in defensive terms, and therefore the “blame” for starting the Cold War would be placed on the Communist side. Binary narratives aside, the reality was much more complex, and the responsibilities were shared between the two blocs.

The initial historiography of the last century framed the Cold War in the timeline roughly from 1946–47 to 1989–91. Perhaps that periodization is still valid for scrutinizing the main scenarios of Europe, especially in relation to Hard Power episodes. However, it casts more doubt on the Latin America scenarios. Additionally, we argue here that, in several instances, the so-called cultural-ideological Cold War, the Soft Power contest, preceded the Hard Power deployments, and not vice versa. This is particularly important for understanding the particularities of the Latin American cases described in this book.

From that point of view, the confrontation between the two blocs began decades earlier, at least in 1918, when the United States intervened in the Russian Civil War supporting the White Army against the Red Army led by Vladimir Lenin. Thus, as John Long observes, it would be important to underline that the United States “actually assumed leadership over a conscious and deliberate attempt to destroy the infant Soviet state at its inception.”<sup>13</sup>

Therefore, the roots of anti-Communism in the United States could thus be traced to that earlier age. The memory of that US intervention nurtured part of the early Soviet apparatus’s messages among Russian citizens. Abroad, in Latin America, the remembrance of Washington’s intrusion against the Soviet government would be used to justify Latin American countries’ solidarity with the Soviets—allegedly suffering the same kind of “Yankee Imperialism.” That assumption is relevant here because it affected the way the two superpowers tried to project their influence in Latin America later on.

The spatial limitations of this chapter prevent an exhaustive account of the state of the art. However, let us explore here the main tendencies. For a better understanding of the so-called Cultural Cold War in Latin America, external explanations are not enough, but nor can everything be explained from a domestic point of view.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, studies are beginning to place it within a perspective of the Global South.<sup>15</sup> There were always cycles of reform efforts and right-wing reaction with the influence of imperial powers playing a big role. So the Cold War in Latin America was played out in the context of reformist and revolutionary activity and the excessive counterrevolutionary reactions that it evoked. It played out in overlapping domestic and international fields. At the macro level, the Cold War was a global conflict over shifting geostrategic positions and competing ideologies over how societies should be organized. However, as stated by Gilbert Joseph and Daniela Spencer in the groundbreaking *Latin America’s New*

*Encounter with the Cold War*: what ultimately gave the Cold War its heat was the politicization and internationalization of everyday life.<sup>16</sup> Conflicts were over land, labor, and control of natural resources, as intertwined with the larger global conflict.<sup>17</sup>

William Booth offers an interesting additional analysis. He suggests a geological approach to Latin America's Cold War, with the metaphor of "prospecting" in the historical subsoil of the hemisphere to identify the multiple previous layers of conflict. Using a sort of *longue durée* approach, Booth question:

For how can we think about Guatemalan, Cuban, Chilean, or Nicaraguan attempts at revolution without factoring in long-standing tensions between landowner and peasant and state and citizen, or between the US quest for pseudo-imperial hegemony and local assertions of national sovereignty?

In other words, the processes and structures which gave Latin America's Cold War its own set of unique conditions are mostly very old indeed.<sup>18</sup> The growing literature on Latin America's Cold War has spawned a paradox, which Alan McPherson has summed up neatly: "the more historians find out about the Cold War in [Latin America], the more the Cold War itself fades into the background"—a point that many Latin American scholars have well understood for some time.<sup>19</sup> From these "hot zones," often regarded as mere peripheries, nuclear codes and presidential summits seem so very far away. Vanni Pettinà recently synthesized these "problems of interpretation and chronology," and this review builds upon some of the structural points he has raised.<sup>20</sup>

Many of the situations of Latin America's Cold War explained in this volume emerged out of the widening processes of social conflict in Latin America and the Global South, and it would be a mistake to reduce these processes to being explained by the strategies and machinations of the superpowers. It was an international civil conflict, not just the United States against the Soviet Union and capitalism against Communism, but at the local level, over the nature of social citizenship. As deep-seated local conflicts in Latin America became subsumed in the polarizing struggle of the Cold War, both opposition movements and governments received support from afar.<sup>21</sup> In 2005, John Lewis Gaddis pointed out,

The Cold War was fought at different levels in dissimilar ways in multiple places over a very long time. Any attempt to reduce its history exclusively to the role of great forces, great powers, or great leaders would fail to do it justice.<sup>22</sup>

Notwithstanding, Gaddis does not entirely honor that ideal. His book is a good work of political and diplomatic history in the “classic” tradition, where the fundamental pieces (almost the only ones) on the geopolitical chessboard are the states, with little attention paid to other actors such as multinationals, philanthropic foundations, civil society, or transnational political movements or trade unions.

In the almost two decades since then, the historiography on the various ramifications of the bipolar conflict in Latin America (with attention to national particularities, endogenous strengths, and specific time periods) has advanced remarkably. Harmer pointed out in 2014 that “The history of the Cold War in Latin America is waiting to be written,” while at the same time, she lamented that “scholarship is largely fragmented between different countries and time periods. There is little about when the Cold War in the region began and ended, whether it was imposed or imported and agreement precisely how it evolved over time.”<sup>23</sup> The bibliography has grown significantly since Harmer’s affirmation almost a decade ago. We now know many more details than we did then. This book aspires to fill some of the remaining gaps.

In addition, Rafael Ioris and Vanni Pettinà recently joined the effort to bridge the gap between the historiographies produced in different countries.<sup>24</sup> In a similar vein, there was a noteworthy exchange of ideas between Gilbert M. Joseph, in his 2019 article “Border Crossings and the Remaking of Latin American Cold War Studies,” and a sort of response to that text enunciated the following year by Marcelo Casals in the essay “Which Borders Have Not Yet Been Crossed? A Supplement to Gilbert Joseph’s Historiographical Balance of the Latin American Cold War.”<sup>25</sup>

The debate pivots around the alleged “Monroian historiographical isolationism” held by some US scholars who were not fully aware of the findings of scholars who did not publish in English. Following that reasoning, some authors have argued that some of the US scholars’ production has distilled a certain hemispheric historiographical exceptionalism.<sup>26</sup> That claim was voiced, among other authors, by Mario del Pero, who advocated a multilingual approach to diplomatic history, versus the tendency of some US historians who were anchored in a certain English-only historiographical insularity.<sup>27</sup>

### **Actors involved and their driven forces**

The quote from Jervis that opens this chapter, “a strong policy bias pervades most of the analysis,” identifies a factor that permeates most of the narratives compiled in this book. In not few occasions, the stereotypes and the cultural barriers acted as distortions of reality. This was true on

both sides.<sup>28</sup> To make things more complicated, the super-heated Cultural-Ideological Cold War atmosphere fueled from Washington and Moscow simultaneously left little room for non-politically biased encounters.

Was reason superseded by emotions and passions? This question has captivated historians, political scientists, sociologists, and anthropologists for hundreds, even thousands of years. Thucydides himself warned of how frequently “undisciplined passions [...] accepted traditions” and “the contagious emotion of the group” can “enslave the mind.”<sup>29</sup> The clash between “reason and emotion” runs through many of the historical situations examined in the chapters.<sup>30</sup> Emotions vs Reason?

To mention just one example, as explained by Prof. McPherson in his chapter, it seems obvious that President Lyndon B. Johnson overreacted when ordered a massive landing of US forces in Santo Domingo in 1965. Was Johnson alone responsible for that overreaction? Or should we put the responsibility on the shoulders of Johnson’s advisers who exaggerated the risk of Cuban-trained Communists supposedly controlling that nation?

Some deeper questions likewise lurk in the background of this book. What is the role of political leaders in the course of history? In that sense, President Lincoln once remarked: “I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me.” By the same token, were Castro and Kennedy in command of their respective circumstances? Or conversely, did the events control them? As we will see in this volume, the leaders’ reactions and their personalities have an influence. Notwithstanding, we do not forget the inevitable multiple casualties of any historical episode. Consequently, this volume has sought a more complex, multi-causal explanation; a narrative that would center not only the actions of leaders but also social movements from below, the motivations of students,<sup>31</sup> gender issues,<sup>32</sup> peasants,<sup>33</sup> musicians, philanthropic foundations,<sup>34</sup> and even some European publishers and cultural managers (Unofficial Diplomats) who entered in the political arena, striving to bridge the two shores of the Atlantic Ocean, of course with their own political agenda, sometimes in tune with their state/nationality, on other occasions totally against it.<sup>35</sup>

In sum, this book aspires to offer a holistic approach in line with the illuminating suggestions of Gilbert Joseph and Daniela Specer in *Latin America’s New Encounter with the Cold War* because “power does not flow only from the policies and interventions of the states; it also work through language and symbolic systems and manifest itself in identities and everyday practice.”<sup>36</sup> Additionally, we are also aware of the need for “Thinking international relations differently,” “decentering International Relations,”<sup>37</sup> and also incorporating the “unofficial diplomats” into the narrative.<sup>38</sup>

**“Bird’s” eye view**

In “Modernizing Latin America,” Lorenzo Delgado analyzes the change in the strategy of the United States administrations, from the final years of the Eisenhower administration through those led by Kennedy and Johnson, with the objective of steering the modernization of Latin America in a direction consistent with US strategic interests. The triumph of the Cuban Revolution strengthened those in favor of deploying a battery of modernizing measures through an ambitious program of reforms (the Alliance for Progress). The idea was for the 1960s to constitute the “Development Decade” for the Latin American countries. Such initiatives were accompanied by a persuasive strategy developed by public diplomacy with the purpose of generating a favorable reception in the host societies. The analysis of this entire process will provide us with some keys to its main objectives and the contradictions that arose in the course of its application.

After that, Alan McPherson periodizes anti-Americanism in Latin America from the early republican era through the Cold War. His contribution will emphasize, in each period, the relative importance of the economic, cultural, military, and ideological causes of anti-US sentiment and its most consequential manifestations. To provide background, especially pertinent for readers of this volume, it will also chart the growing desire for US citizens—and especially the US government—to respond to anti-Americanism with public diplomacy sentiment and its most consequential manifestations. It will argue that the US government too easily interpreted anti-US critiques as ill-conceived, and so proposed superficial public relations responses rather than changes to US policies.

Nicholas J. Cull considers half a century of US public diplomacy in Latin America and asks whether the experience supports the idea that the United States succeeded in integrating reputation into its concept of national security. It finds that the United States Information Agency (USIA) and its predecessor organizations back to World War I certainly understood that the security of the United States turned in part on a positive reputation for the country in its own hemisphere, and that such a reputation would be best enhanced through bilateral activity including cultural and education exchange to promote mutual understanding. It does not demonstrate an integrated approach, but rather finds positive public diplomacy undermined by missteps in other areas, as seen during the Bay of Pigs invasion. The essay concludes that the United States misunderstood the threat to its reputation in Latin America and devoted too much attention to external threats such as Nazi Germany or Soviet Russia and its allies, and ignored the extent to which the greatest damage to the reputation of the United States came from its own excesses.

The history of one of the most significant operations of the cultural Cold War in Latin America, the CCF, is exanimated by Patrick Iber. It received the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) sponsorship from its origins in 1950 and promoted a broadly liberal politics through a global network of magazines, conferences, and art galleries. Though Latin America was marginal to its interests at the beginning, it became increasingly important. By the time the CIA connection was revealed to the public in 1966, Latin America had become the CCF's largest area program. The chapter shows how the Latin American program evolved from its origins fighting Soviet intellectual influence into a program intended to provide an alternative to support for the Cuban Revolution. Much mythologized by sympathizers and critics alike, this chapter argues that the CCF is best seen as demonstrating the limitations of a project of the democratic left in alliance with the United States during the Cold War.

Andrés Sánchez Padilla devotes his work to exploring how US government engaged in a wide-ranging campaign of cultural diplomacy under the umbrella of the Alliance for Progress that included the work of philanthropic foundations (Ford, Rockefeller) and the Franklin Book Program, but also the attraction of public intellectuals through entities such as the Iowa Writers Program and the CCF. In this campaign, the Spanish publishing industry played a pivotal if sometimes begrudging role. Book programs were crucial to fight anti-Americanism because books were considered "the most enduring propaganda of all," but they were also one of the most effective conduits for the penetration of modernization theory among Latin American intellectual elites, whose support was much coveted in a region where they enjoyed outsized political prominence.

Fernando Quesada and Benedetta Calandra, in turn, inquire about the role played by the Rockefeller Foundation in Chile from the mid-1950s to the early 1970s, in relation to an agricultural development program, which took place under the umbrella of the so-called *Green Revolution*. This is a case study not sufficiently analyzed by the past historiography, which has focused on national contexts such as Mexico. The Chilean case examined here presents peculiarities of special interest, representing a territory of modernizing experimentation on the part of private US actors, a process which occurred even before the other, better-known cases of Asian countries. Indeed, the Chilean case was one of the most deeply integrated in the *Green Revolution*. The sources used, from the Rockefeller Foundation archive, show much circulation and exchange of seeds, techniques, and experts. In addition, they provide us with key information on the complementarity of interests between the foreign policy of the United States (for which Chile represented a privileged interlocutor), the philanthropic foundation, and hemispheric organizations of agricultural modernization

On the other hand, André Gounot proposes an innovative study in the field of sport diplomacy. The Central American and Caribbean Games, with their first edition in Mexico City in 1926, are the oldest regional games held under the auspices of the International Olympic Committee. Hosted in the capital of the “Commonwealth of Puerto Rico,” the tenth edition, in 1966, had a unique repercussion due to the controversial participation of socialist Cuba. In theory, the formal independent *Comité olímpico puertorriqueño* had to respect the Olympic Charter and invite all countries of the area. But in practice, its decisions needed the agreement of the State Department when they entered the field of international relations. The aim of the US government was the total exclusion of Cuba. An analysis of different primary sources suggests that the State Department suffered from a lack of experience, professionalism, and skill in the universe of international sports. Its interventions were anything but successful in terms of public diplomacy, while the Cubans’ ultimate participation, as a result of more or less bold actions, proved to be useful for Castro’s propaganda.

The following two chapters are dedicated to the role played by professional dancers during the Cold War, one of the most innovative perspective of these last years. Victoria Philips argues that Latin America was the first battleground for the dance arts as “soft power” propaganda. In both the interwar and Cold War periods, the private sector cooperated with the United States government to deploy dance as diplomacy. The first exports went to Latin America to promote American freedom of expression to fight the threat of totalitarianism with ballet, followed by de-Nazification efforts and finally pro-American propaganda with the use of modern dance, a uniquely American genre that brought the promise of a “universal” freedom for “mankind.” The dance repertory chosen and created on some tours demonstrated not only freedom but also cultural finesse offered “cultural convergences,” in which the choreographers showed that the United States was a partner of the host country. Funding and promotion used a *mélange* of efforts to promote the interests of the United States. By 1955, these early tours would be organized with military precision and serve as the institutional framework for decades during the Cold War.

Elizabeth Schwall reveals, instead, that although Cuba and the United States did not have formal diplomatic relations in the 1960s, dance exchanges continued apace across the “sugar curtain.” More specifically, US modern dancers worked with Cuban counterparts throughout the decade. These collaborations included both US expats, who had relocated to the island and worked for years with Cuban dance companies, as well as short-term choreographic and teaching residencies by visiting US dance artists. In both cases, US choreographers in Cuba took a critical stance on

their country of origin. They staged critiques of US materialism and racism, which resonated with Cuban leader Fidel Castro's denunciations of US imperialism and assaults on the 1959 Cuban Revolution. In many ways, this case study provides an example of the pitfalls and relative failure of US public diplomacy as Cuban and US dancers found common ground in their disaffection for the North American nation. As US and Cuban dancers worked together, they found common cause and degrees of difference in their political approaches and artistic visions.

In the next chapter, "US Fine Arts in Brazil" Símele Soares Rodrigues shows how the Rio de Janeiro–Sao Paulo axis was a privileged terrain of cultural competition between traditional European influences and clashes between the Soviet Union and the United States as bipolar artistic superpowers. Among the cultural and financial "influencers" of the fine arts delegations for Biennales de Sao Paulo, the ballet or a traveling symphony orchestra, and opera houses, the USIA strove to play its own, determinant, role. The chapter seeks to explore the ins and outs of that USIA intervention in the contest of the cultural Cold War and examine thoroughly the importance (if any) of that US government agency in the process of Americanization of the fine arts and the arts scene in Brazil.

To conclude, Francisco Rodriguez Jimenez strives to elucidate the perceptions and misperceptions that embroiled a sort of cultural contest between "Anglos" and "Latinos." The first section dissects how those cultural communities hampered the consolidation of the Pan-Americanism fostered by Washington to sway that disdain toward the Colossus of the North. Subsequently, the Good Neighbor Policy launched by Franklin D. Roosevelt had to overcome that challenging scenario in Latin America, together with the growing appeal of both Communism and Fascism in the region. Domestically, another important pitfall was the meager budgets due to the skepticism of more than a few Congress members of the value of Public Diplomacy initiatives.

As the Cold War temperature rose, the voices in favor of a US Foreign Policy, based in Hard Power rather than Soft Power, increased. The election of President Kennedy brought high expectations that a sort of new and better "Good Neighbor Policy," with the flagships of the Alliance of Progress and the Peace Corps, was about to dawn. However, from the very beginning, the exaggerated fear of expansion of the Cuba model all over the region hampered the possible diplomatic engagements with Castro. Here again, both parties were tainted with perceptions and misperceptions. The situation worsened after the assassination of John F. Kennedy. As a result, by the end of the 1960s, US diplomacy was running out of time for persuasion, and therefore liberal forms of Public Diplomacy invariably gave way to support for authoritarian modes of modernization, if not the direct application of Hard Power.

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